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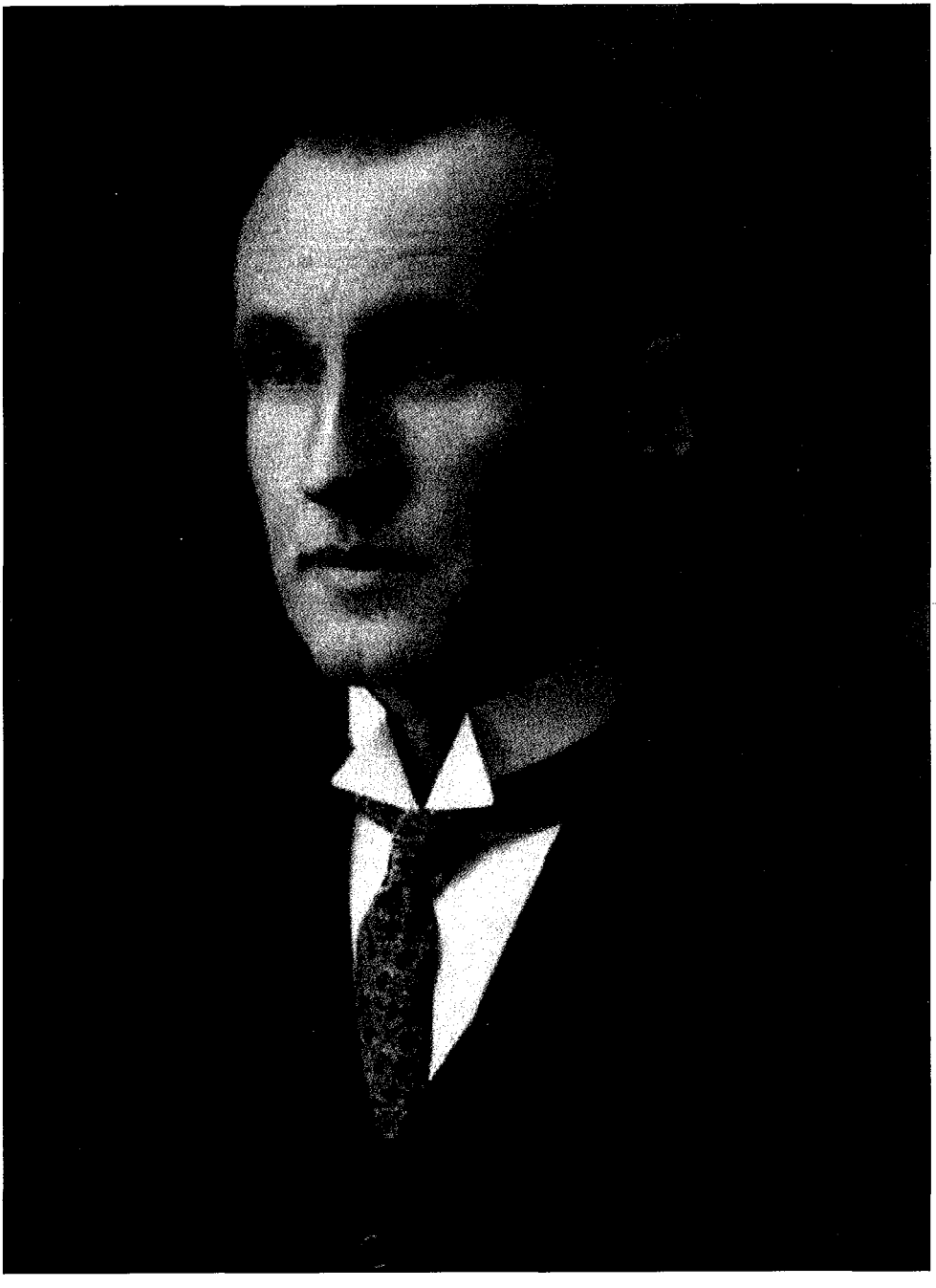

PROF. DR. JAKOB KELEMINA
(1882–1957)

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JAKOB KELEMINA ON SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

Mirko Jurak

Abstract

Among Slovene scholars in English and German studies Jakob Kelemina (19 July 1882 – 14 May 1957) has a very important place. Janez Stanonik justly places him among the founding fathers of the University of Ljubljana (Stanonik 1966: 332). From 1920 Kelemina was professor of Germanic philology and between 1920 and 1957 he was also the Chair of the Deparment of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the Faculty of Arts of this university. The major part of Kelemina's research was devoted to German and Austrian literatures, German philology, German–Slovene cultural relations, and literary theory; his work in these fields has already been discussed by several Slovene scholars. However, in the first two decades of the twentieth century Kelemina also wrote several book reviews of Slovene and Croatian translations of Shakespeare's plays as well as three introductory essays to Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays. They are considered as the first serious studies on Shakespeare in Slovenia (Moravec 1974: 437), and have not been analysed yet. Therefore this topic presents the core of my study, together with an evaluation of Kelemina's contribution to Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays done by Oton Župančič (1878-1949) during the first half of the twentieth century. Župančič's translations became the criterion for all further translations of Shakespeare's dramatic works in Slovene. Župančič is still one of our most important poets and translators of this time and Kelemina's advice and criticism undoubtedly also helped him to achieve such a high standard in his translations. In the central part of my study I also include some new material (e.g. Kelemina's letters), which is relevant for our understanding of his co-operation with Oton Župančič and other Slovene authors and critics.

In order to put Kelemina's work into a historical perspective I present at the beginning of my study a brief survey of the development of drama and theatre in Slovenia, particularly as regards productions and early attempts of translating Shakespeare's plays into Slovene. This information, which may be particularly relevant for foreign readers, ends with the year 1922, when Kelemina's last writing about Shakespeare's plays appeared. In 2007 we commemorate the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Kelemina's birth and fiftieth anniversary of his death, which is another reason why his work on Shakespeare should be finally researched and evaluated. This study should also help expand our knowledge about Jakob Kelemina's contribution regarding translations of Shakespeare's plays for the Slovene theatre and for Slovene culture generally.

INTRODUCTION

The theatre and dramatic art in Slovenia with special regard to the production of Shakespeare's plays.

Until 1919 Slovenia belonged to the Habsburg Empire and this was also the reason why cultural and theatrical life was in many ways similar to that of central Europe, particularly to regions which nowadays form parts of Austria, Germany and Italy. As in England the theatrical activities in continental Europe were carried out by professional itinerant players which represented an advanced stage of popular mummings at various, particularly religious festivals, or morris dancing. Dušan Ludvik mentions in his study on German theatre in Ljubljana that a record of such a travelling company which visited Ljubljana goes back to the year 1478 (Ludvik 1957: 17-9). Stanko Škerlj reports that Italian actors performed in Ljubljana a carnival play in 1531, but unfortunately little else is known about this performance (Škerlj 1973:16-9). Investigations carried out by France-Martin Dolinar and Nada Grošelj show that after the establishment of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana in May 1597 the students staged the first performance already in autumn of the same year (Grošelj 2004: 61-71). On the feast of Corpus Christi in 1603 the Jesuit students also performed a play based on the *History* of the Venerable Bede (673-735 A.D.), however, »the extent to which the original story was preserved in the adaptation for drama is .. a matter of speculation, since neither text nor synopsis is preserved (*ibid.* 63-7). Records of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana indicate that in 1686 its students also produced two plays dealing with the story of Mary Stuart and a declamation celebrating England's victory over "heresy". In 1698, at the concluding distribution of school prizes, they performed (in German) a version of the King Lear story. Unfortunately, there are not many details known about these performances, although in the case of King Lear, the synopsis, a twelve page quarto, offers the basic information about the Argument of the play, the scene by scene summary of the play, and a Latin list of roles and actors (*ibid.* 67-71). The activities of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana were important, because the Jesuits also used the vernacular, Slovene language, besides Latin and German. Although the above mentioned and other plays were not done by professional actors they undoubtedly contributed to cultural life in Slovenia at that time.

In 1653 the first German professional theatre group visited Ljubljana. In this group there were also two English actors (because the theatres were closed down in England in 1642 a number of English actors then left for the Netherlands and Germany), who performed in this theatre travelling company. Among the best known and influential theatre groups, which visited Ljubljana in the 17th century were the Innsbruggerische Comödianten, from Innsbruck. This group performed among other plays also works by Christoper Marlowe and Thomas Kyd. In the eighteenth century such an important theatre group was the one led by Johann Emanuel Schikaneder, which visited Ljubljana several times in the 1770s and 1780s and which performed – among others – a number of Shakespeare's plays (e.g. *Hamlet, King Lear, Macbeth, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet*).[1]

[1] Johann Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812), one of the best known leaders of the actors' companies in the German speaking world in the final decades of the 18th century. He was an actor, a singer, a director and a manager of the theatres in Regensburg and in Vienna. He also wrote musical comedies and is known as the author of the libretto for Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* (1791).

As was customary in England and elsewhere in Europe at that time, Shakespeare's tragedies were adapted, many dialogues shortened, scenes shifted and (which is today hardly believable) the endings were rewritten with a happy ending! It is also worth noting that such professional companies performed in Ljubljana plays written by Marlowe, Molière, Corneille, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Goldoni etc. (Ludvik 1957: 160), so that young Slovene intellectuals who continued their studies at the University of Vienna, received some basic information about the European theatre while still in Ljubljana. It should also be noted that among plays performed in Ljubljana before the eighteenth century a large part of the programme included light comedies, burlesques, popular »folk plays«, briefly, works which had little artistic value and were solely aimed at providing entertainment and amusement. In some periods, for example during the rule of Empress Maria Theresa (1740-80) and that of her son, Joseph II (1780-90), in spite of the fact that their social reforms represent many positive social changes (this is the so-called period of Enlightenment), the centralization of administrative power of the monarchy brought about also a rather rigid form of censorship. The rulers saw in different social reforms, which they actually helped to bring to life, also a possible threat of national upsurge in countries where the mother tongue was not German and which then belonged to the Habsburg Empire. The rulers saw the possiblity of formation and growth of new, democratic, liberal ideas and therefore they were afraid of works of art and artists who might help the advancement of such ideas. And one of them was also a "senseless and terrifying influence of Shakespeare" and his damaging impact on contemporary playwrights (Ludvik 1957: 31-4). Therefore several plays written by dramatists, who were then considered as "revolutionary" (e.g. Friedrich Schiller's *Die Räuber* or Beaumarchais's *La folle journée ou le mariage de Figaro*), were at first banned by the censor in Vienna due to their ideas.

However, during the final decade of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century the censorship was no longer as rigid and young Slovene intellectuals who studied in Vienna saw performances of the above mentioned as well as of Shakespeare's plays in the original version and not adaptations of his tragedies with a happy end. They were thrilled by these performances and wrote about them to their friends and acquaintances in Slovenia. The first one to report about excellent performances of Shakespeare's plays in Vienna and who sent back home such enthusiatic reports was Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756-1795). He hoped that he could tread "with boy's steps where Shakespeare had trodden" (Moravec 1974: 338), and he wrote his first play *Miss Jenny Love* under Shakespeare's influence. He also urged his friends to try their hand in dramatic art. Linhart refers to the Bard as »le sublime Shakespear« and he writes that he was »enchanted to madness« after having seen *Hamlet, King Lear* and *Macbeth* (*ibid.*). Linhart is also the author of the first two Slovene comedies, *Županova Micka* (1789) and *Ta veseli dan ali Matiček se ženi* (1790; this play was modelled on Beaumarchais's *Figaro*). Linhart is justly celebrated as the beginner of Slovene drama, even though the first play in Slovene language, which has been completely preserved, is *Škofjeloški pasijon* ("The Passsion from Škofja Loka", a religious play dealing with the suffering and death of Jesus), which was written more than half a century before Linhart's time, in 1721.

By the turn of the 18th century German theatre groups still visited Ljubljana quite often. During these visits they performed plays by well-known European dramatists who have been alredy mentioned as well as plays written by Shakespeare, as e.g. *Macbeth, The Taming of the Shrew, Hamlet, Othello* (Ludvik 1957: 100). In this period several Slovene authors (as e.g. Jurij Japelj, Janez Damascen Dev) began to translate into Slovene librettos for operas, and dramas. Shakespeare was not *terra incognita* for Slovene intellectuals, and the greatest Slovene poet, France Prešeren (1800-1849), mentions Romeo and Juliet in one of his poems ("Nova pisarija"). Prešeren undoubtedly also knew other plays written by Shakespeare, as one of his closest friends, Matija Čop (1797-1835), had in his library thirteen Shakespeare's plays.

In the nineteenth century many Slovene writers and critics (e.g. Stanko Vraz, Janez Bleiweis, Fran Levstik, Josip Jurčič, Josip Stritar, Fran Šuklje, Josip Vošnjak etc.) praise Shakespeare's plays in their articles and studies. The three-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, in 1864, stimulated several Slovene translators, for example, Ivan Vrban-Zadravski, Matija Valjavec, Janko Pajk, and some others to translate and publish individual scenes from Shakespeare's plays in various Slovene periodicals (Moravec 1974: 348-71). But serious attempts to translate Shakespeare's plays into Slovene only began at the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

There are two translators of Shakespeare's plays into Slovene whose involvement in translating Shakespeare's plays was relatively great but whose efforts ended badly. The first one is Andrej Smrekar (d. 1913), a Slovene priest who lived in Collinwod near Cleveland, USA, and who – according to various reports - translated into Slovene many of Shakespeare's plays, but whose manuscripts are unfortunately lost. The second one is Karel Glaser (1845-1913), a literary historian and indologist, who translated into Slovene eleven plays written by Shakespeare but whose translations were constantly rejected by the Slovene publishing houses, on the grounds that the language he used was obsolete and that his translations were not poetic enough. It is no wonder that he was rather embittered by this fact and in order to prove his knowledge of Shakespeare he attacked in his articles the work done by other translators, as we shall see later.

With the establishment of the Dramatic Society (Dramatično društvo) in Ljubljana in 1867, and of the same kind of societies in other cities (Trieste / Trst, in 1902; Maribor, in 1909; Celje, in 1911), which all performed plays only in Slovene, the repertoire of these theatre groups became comparable to other important theatres in Europe. These were also the first professional Slovene theatre companies and theatrical life in Slovenia was thus greatly improved.[2] They all performed plays in Slovene and their performances became, generally speaking, quite professional. The Dramatic Society in Ljubljana was the fore-

[2] The information regarding the programme of Slovene theatres since 1867 is available in *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč. 1867 – 1967* (A Repertoire of Slovenian Theatres. 1867 -1967, published by the Slovenski gledališki muzej, Ljubljana, 1967). The Slovene Theatre Museum also published subsequent bibliographical compilations of the repertoire, at first every five years, titled *Dokumenti slovenskega gledališkega muzeja* (Documents of the Slovene Theatre Museum), and since 1993 yearly, under the title *Slovenski gledališki letopis* (Slovene Theatre Annual). The latter publications are much more comprehensive than the earlier bibliographies and include also data on actors, the number of performances of plays and the number of theatre-goers, visits of different theatre companies in other theatres and abroad etc. In my study I use the English titles of these documents and of Slovene theatres, as they are given in these publications.

runner of the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana (Drama SNG v Ljubljani - SNG), and its founding represents the beginning of a continued activity of the professional theatre in Slovenia. Besides performing plays by well-known contemporary European and classical authors (e.g. Henrik Ibsen, Oscar Wilde, L. N. Tolstoy, N. V. Gogol, August Strindberg etc.), Drama also produced plays by a number of Slovene authors who have fallen by now into oblivion (e.g. Josip Ogrinec, Jakob Aleševec, Miroslav Vilhar, Anton Medved, Fran Govekar etc.). Govekar was also the first general manager of the Slovene National Theatre (1908-1912), and when Oton Župančič got this position he became a severe critic of Župančič's theatrical policy.[3] Govekar is also known for his adaptations of works written by European authors, which were – according to his taste – aimed at entertainment only. He believed that light comedies and burlesques would bring large audiences to the theatre, and he completely neglected the artistic value of plays which he chose for production.

Some Slovene authors used as plots of their plays novels and poems dealing with Slovene history or with folklore tradition (e.g. Fran Levstik, Josip Stritar, later on Franc S. Finžgar, and some other, minor authors) thus also trying to raise with their plays the level of Slovene national consciousness. The first Slovene playwright whose works could be compared with contemporary European drama was Ivan Cankar (1876-1918). His plays began to appear in Slovene theatres at the very beginning of the twentieth century (*Za narodov blagor*, 1901; *Kralj na Betajnovi*, 1904; *Pohujšanje v dolini šentflorjanski*, 1908; *Hlapci*, 1910). They present a real milestone in the development of Slovene drama, because his critical treatment of life in Slovenia, his use of everyday spoken Slovene enriched with symbolism and other poetic elements, gave his plays such a high aesthetic standard, which became very hard to reach and even harder to surpass by the next generations of Slovene dramatists.

At this moment of Slovene history it was really only a question of time when Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays would appear in Slovene theatres and in print. The first play which was produced by a professional theatre company in Slovenia, was Shakespeare's *Othello* at the Slovene National Theatre. It was translated by Miroslav Malovrh and produced in Ljubljana on 3 March 1896.[4] In the following season two other Shakespeare's plays were produced by the same company. These were *The Merchant of Venice* (1 Oct. 1897, trans. by Anton Zima),[5] and *The Taming of the Shrew* (18 March 1898, trans. by Anton Funtek).[6] A year later, on 29 Dec. 1899, the first Slovene performance of *Hamlet* was staged by the same company. The play was originally translated

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[3] Fran Govekar (1871-1949), teacher, short story writer, novelist, critic, dramatist, translator, journalist. Govekar also dramatized for the Slovene National Theatre several prose works written by Slovene authors. In the theatre Govekar favoured a sentimental, romantic approach to reality, full of glitter and illusion. In his views on art he advocated light entertainment and therefore he was not highly regarded by Oton Župančič and by Ivan Cankar.

4 Miroslav Malovrh (1861-1922), editor, translator, journalist. His translation of *Othello* was the first play written by Shakespeare which appeared on the stage in Slovene and which was performed by professional actors.

[5] Anton Zima is – together with Matija Valjevec, Ivan Vrban-Zadravski, Janko Pajk, Miroslav Malovrh and Sil. Domicelj – one of the early Slovene translators of Shakespeare's plays.

[6] Anton Funtek (1862-1932), wrote poems, translated European poetry and plays into Slovene. Besides *The Taming of the Shrew* he also translated into Slovene *King Lear*.

by Dragotin Šauperl,[7] but when it was produced only the name of Ivan Cankar, who adapted the play, appeared on the theatre-bill as the translator of *Hamlet.* This was probably due to his high reputation as a poet, prose writer and dramatist. However, the first important Slovene translator of Shakespeare's plays became Oton Župančič (1878-1949), who translated into Slovene eighteen plays written by Shakespeare in the period between 1905 and 1949, the year of his death.

Oton Župančič was not only a fine poet but also a man who loved the theatre and went to see theatre performances whenever and wherever he could. However, in the final period of his life he wished he did not have so many administrative duties so that he could devote his life only to translating and writing.[8] When he was a student he spent several years in Vienna and in Paris. Already in 1908 he proposed to the newly established publishing house and cultural centre, Slovenska matica, in Ljubljana, that he would translate some of Shakespeare's most important plays into Slovene. However, due to the First World War the project was postponed and the contract in which he obliged himself to translate about ten plays written by Shakespeare into Slovene was not signed until 11 Dec. 1919.[9] Župančič also agreed in the contract that each play would have Introduction, and that for the reimbursement of the author of the critical study he would provide a fee out of the payment he got from the publishing house.

Župančič often visited other countries where he saw productions of plays by some of the best theatre companies in Europe (e.g. besides performances in the Burgtheater and other theatres in Vienna he saw a number of performances at the Comédie Française in Paris, at the Narodni divadlo in Prague, at various theatres in Italy etc.). Later on, in the thirties, he also went to see performances of plays done by the theatres in Norway and in England, and when he saw *The Taming of the Shrew* at Stratford-upon-Avon, he realized that it was not only the German theatres, which could perform Shakespeare's plays well ("as it is made known by the Germans"), and the English theatre with its artistic perfection was a real revelation for him.[10] Oton Župančič was thus well-acquainted with the classical and contemporary European drama. In 1910, after his return from Vienna to Ljubljana, he began to write theatre reviews. Already at this time he was famous in Slovenia for his publications of lyric poetry and poetry written for children. In 1912-13 he became a "dramaturg" of the Slovene National Theatre (Drama) in Ljubljana, and in 1920 he resumed this post. From 1929 he was also the general manager of this theatre, and in this function he combined the adminstrative duties and duties of the artistic director. This position allowed him not only to choose the repertoire for this theatre but he was also influential in other aspects of theatrical productions.

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[7] Dragotin Šauperl (1840-1869), a priest, translator. In 1865 he translated *Hamlet* and soon afterwards also *King Lear.* His translation of *Hamlet* was so good that Ivan Cankar did not have to do any major alterations but only brought it closer to Slovene literary language.

[8] Oton Župančič's biographer and editor of his Collected letters, Jože Mahnič, believes that Župančič was tired of his official duties, which used up a lot of his time, particularly because he wished to translate Shakespeare's plays. (Jože Mahnič in Oton Župančič *ZD* 11: 640).

[9] Mahnič 1980: 10.

[10] Mahnič 2004: 95. – Oton Župančič translated into Slovene - besides Shakespeare - also a number of plays written by other famous European authors (e.g. Hofmannsthal, Calderon, Voltaire, Molière, Rostand, Schiller, Ibsen, G. B. Shaw, Galsworthy etc.).

Oton Župančič's poetic rendering of Shakespeare's plays into Slovene for the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana (in the period between the two wars several of his translations of Shakespeare's plays were also performed in Maribor), definitely marks a new era in the Slovene theatre. Throughout his life Župančič saw Shakespeare's plays as "an ever-fixéd mark" in the art of the theatre. Shakespeare was for him an icon, an ideal which was worth admiring and which he also hoped to reach in his own plays. This thought can be traced not only in the repertoire he chose for the Slovene National Theatre but also in his theatre reviews, his notes and in his prefaces in theatre bills for performances of Shakespeare's plays in Slovenia as well as in his own dramatic attempts. He also considered as one of the main tasks of the Slovene National Theatre to perform plays written by Slovene playwrights and classical drama, particularly Shakespeare's works, which, in his view, so "perfectly expressed real life". Župančič also believed that a "beautiful" translation, like that of Cankar's *Hamlet*, was essential for a good performance. In his view translations which are prepared by "craftsmen" (like Glaser) do not have an artistic value, because they lack the suggestive poetic power of the Bard. Župančič also disapproved of the contemporary naturalistic tendencies on the stage, the wish to create on the stage an illusion of reality, because this very idea was for him "an illusion", a gross deception of the theatre audience. Župančič was not thrilled by modern presentations of *Hamlet* done in England (by Hamlet wearing a tail-coat, having a monocle and smoking cigarettes), but he did not oppose theatrical improvisations in plays like *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which Shakespeare's contemporary life is shown. For the *Comedy of Errors* he would even suggest the use of "passionless marionettes and their stylized movements", because they would not cheat the public with an appearance of reality. These "technicalities" linked with performing Shakespeare's plays in Slovene theatres, particularly in the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana, show Župančič as a rather moderate innovator in theatre productions. In Shakespeare's works he mainly saw the playwright's revelation of his ideas, his view of the world and his rediscovery of man's belief in his fellow-man, in secret higher powers that lead our lives with "celestial righteousness and grace", as he expressed himself in 1925 in his introduction in the playbill to *The Winter's Tale*.[11] Župančič believed that rationalistic probability was not quintessential for Shakespeare but that the dramatist wished to present in his plays real, complex world.[12] In an interview which Oton Župančič gave for the Slovene newspaper *Jutro* in 1927 he made his famous statement that "*Hamlet* is considered by the Slovenes as our best and most beloved popular (folk) play".[13] The theatre for Oton Župančič was not only a place where his own translations were staged, it was for him a vital part of his daily life. His criticism of naturalistic tendencies, which were then practiced in various European theatres, was expressed by Župančič in his writings already in the early 1920s.

[11] Zupančič *ZD* 8: 104-5.

[12] These ideas are stressed in many of Župančič's introductory remarks written for playbills of productions of Shakespeare's plays performed by the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana already in the late 1910s and in the early 1920s, as for example, in "*Hamlet v* Slovenskem narodnem gledališču" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 67-8); "Rokodelci v *Snu kresne noči*" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 72-3); "Shakespearov oder" (Župančič *ZD* 8:74-6); "*Hamlet* in *Trmoglavka* v današnji obleki" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 162-3); "*Komedija zmešnjav*" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 94-5); "*Zimska* pravljica" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 104-5).

[13] »Oton Župančič o Shakespearu«, *Jutro* 16 April 1927: 17.

Župančič's purpose when translating plays was "to capture the spirit of the play" even though in order to do this he occasionally had to "sacrifice" some less important thoughts which he did not consider as essential. He introduced into the Slovene language many neologisms, created new verbs, introduced in his translations contemporary jargon and he sometimes used words typical only of the region where he was born (Bela Krajina). In his translations of Shakespeare's plays Župančič paid special attention to the structure of the Slovene language (e.g. he avoided the use of nominal phrases and of the passive voice, which are not typical of Slovene syntax). He also invented many new rhyme patterns and was especially attentive to the rhythmic structure of the verse. Although more than one hundred years have passed since the appearance of his earliest translations of Shakespeare's plays into Slovene, Župančič's rich imagery and the rhythm of his translations are still close to modern Slovene so that his translations of Shakespeare's plays are still occasionally used by Slovene theatre directors even though new translations of Shakespeare's plays are now available.

Župančič's work as the translator of Shakespeare's plays was followed in the second half of the twentieth century by two other artists, who are also both poets and dramatists, Matej Bor (1913 -1993) and Milan Jesih (1950-). Minor linguistic changes in Župančič's translations were made by Janko Moder (1914-2006) for Matej Bor's edition of the first complete edition of Shakespeare's plays in Slovene translation, which appeared in 1974. Although Bor's and Jesih's translations are also often labelled as "poetic", these translators paid more attention than Župančič to everyday spoken Slovene, which lent the Slovene translations that linguistic quality which is typical of everyday speech, and which is best suited for dialogues in the theatre.

PRODUCTIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN SLOVENE PROFESSIONAL THEATRES (1876-1922)

The following table shows performances of Shakespeare's plays at the Slovene National Theatre (Drama) in Ljubljana since its establishment in 1876 and 1922, when Jakob Kelemina stopped writing about Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays. The table also includes productions of Shakespeare's plays during the above mentioned period by two other Slovene professional theatres, which were established at the beginning of the twentieth century. These are the Slovene Theatre in Trieste / Trst (Slovensko gledališče v Trstu), and the Slovene National Theatre in Maribor (Drama SNG v Mariboru). An important note should be made here regarding the activities of these theatres. The Slovene Dramatic Society in Trieste / Trst, where a large Slovene population lived, began its performances on 8 March 1902, when the city was still a part of the Austrian monarchy. The professional theatrical company called "Slovensko gledališče v Trstu" (SGT) regularly began to perform plays in Slovene on 6 October 1907 in a newly built Slovene National Home, in the centre of the city. With the beginning of the First World War, in 1914, theatrical life in Ljubljana, Trieste / Trst and Maribor was interrupted. The theatres were re-opened in 1918. However, already on 13 July 1920 the Fascists burnt down the building of the Slovene theatre in Trieste / Trst. Slovene was no longer to be spoken in public and the activities of this theatre were stopped for 25 years. Theatres

in Maribor and in Trieste / Trst were also closed during WWII, whereas the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana performed during the war only light comedies and plays for children. All three Slovene professional theatres began their activities again in 1945, but the Slovene theatre in Trieste / Trst was completely reactivated only in 1964, when a new Slovene cultural centre was built in this city, which belongs now to Italy but which still has a relatively large Slovene minority, particularly in its hinterland. This short historical sketch shows us what a great influence the European history of the twentieth century had on life and activities of the Slovene theatres.

---- *The Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana:*

Date of first performance:	Title of the play - in English:	- in Slovene:	Translated by:
5 March 1896	*Othello*	*Othello*	Miroslav Malovrh
1 Oct. 1897	*The Merchant of Venice*	*Trgovec beneški / Beneški trgovec*	Anton Zima
18 Mar. 1898	*The Taming of the Shrew*	*Kako se krote ženske / Ukročena trmoglavka*	Anton Funtek
28 Dec. 1899	*Hamlet*	*Hamlet*	Dragotin Šauperl / Ivan Cankar
3 Jan. 1901	*Romeo and Juliet*	*Romeo in Julija*	S. Domicelj
28 Feb. 1903	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	*Sen kresne noči*	Oton Župančič
19 Jan. 1905	*Hamlet*	*Hamlet*	Dragotin Šauperl / Ivan Cankar
29 Nov. 1906	*The Merchant of Venice*	*Beneški trgovec*	Oton Župančič
5 Mar. 1910	*Julius Caesar*	*Julij Cezar*	Oton Župančič
26 Dec. 1911	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	*Vesele žene widsorske*	Fran Govekar
17 Dec 1912	*The Comedy of Errors*	*Komedija zmešnjav*	Oton Župančič
26 Dec. 1912	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	*Vesele žene windsorske*	Fran Govekar
1 Nov. 1918	*Hamlet*	*Hamlet*	Dragotin Šauperl / Ivan Cankar
25 Feb. 1920	*The Merchant of Venice*	*Beneški trgovec*	Oton Župančič
29 Oct. 1920	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	*Sen kresne noči*	Oton Župančič
2 Oct. 1921	*The Comedy of Errors*	*Komedija zmešnjav*	Oton Župančič
26 Jan. 1922	*Hamlet*	*Hamlet*	Dragotin Šauperl / Ivan Cankar
------*The Slovene National Theatre in Maribor:*			
23 Oct. 1920	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*	*Sen kresne noči*	Oton Župančič
------*The Slovene National Theatre in Trieste / Trst:*			
5 Mar. 1911	*The Merchant of Venice*	*Beneški trgovec*	Oton Župančič
2 Nov. 1913	*Othello*	*Othello*	Miroslav Malovrh
1 Feb. 1914	*Romeo and Juliet*	*Romeo in Julija*	Ivan Cankar

In the period between 1922 and 1941 the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana produced twenty plays written by Shakespeare, which were – with the exception of two plays – all translated by Oton Župančič. The Slovene National Theatre in Maribor performed in this period twelve plays written by Shakespeare, which were likewise – with the exception of two plays – also all translated by Oton Župančič.

An important fact concerning theatrical life in Slovenia is the increase of professional theatrical companies in Slovenia in the second half of the twentieth century. In 2005 there were (besides the three above mentioned theatres) new professional theatre groups established also in the following cities: Celje, Nova Gorica, Kranj, Ptuj, Koper. Regular, professional theatres were also established in Ljubljana (Mestno gledališče ljubljansko - The Municipal Theatre of Ljubljana) and Slovensko mladinsko gledališče (The Youth Theatre) and the Eksperimentalno gledališče Glej (The Glej Experimental Thatre). In addition, there are also several ad hoc theatre groups and three professional puppet theatres, two in Ljubljana, one in Maribor. This richness of present day theatrical activities in Slovenia also explains the fact that in just one theatre season of 2005/2006 six plays (!) written by Shakespeare were staged in various Slovene theatres, and an adaptation of *Hamlet* was for the first time performed by the Puppet Theatre in Ljubljana. Such a vivid theatrical life also provides ample opportunity for a number of plays written by Shakespeare to be produced by Slovene theatres yearly.

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHYCAL DATA ABOUT JAKOB KELEMINA

The present study is concerned with Kelemina's writings on Shakespeare and his plays although the major part of Kelemina's articles and studies was devoted to his research on German language and literature. This field has been quite extensively dealt with in other critical appraisals written by Janez Stanonik, Anton Janko, France Bezlaj and Ivan Grafenauer, whereas Kelemina's articles and studies on Shakespeare's plays have so far been neglected. Kelemina was a literary historian and a critic who was very erudite and had profound linguistic knowledge. He has been described as an intelligent, honest man (some biographers say that in the worldy matters he was also rather naive), who accepted his success with humility and the occasional blows of fate with dignity. He was always willing to help other scholars and students. It seems that his difficult youth also helped him form his remarkable character.

Jakob Kelemina was born on 19 July 1882 in the small village Vinski vrh, near Ormož, in the Slovene part of the Styria region. His father had a small vineyard and Kelemina could continue his secondary schooling only with the help of his uncle, who was a priest. But when Kelemina declined his uncle's wish to become a priest, his uncle withdrew his help, and the young Kelemina had to start earn his living by tutoring. He moved to Pula (then still a part of Austria, mainly populated by the Croatians and the Italians, now a part of Croatia), and in 1904 he finished there his secondary schooling with excellent marks. Then he began studying English and German at the University of Graz, and besides his mother tongue he also knew several other languages (German, English, Latin, Greek, Serbo-Croatian). Some of his university teachers (e.g. Karl Luick

and Anton Schönbach) had a world-wide reputation, and the latter wakened in Kelemina a vivid interest for the history of the Middle Ages. In 1910 Kelemina obtained his Ph.D. from the University in Graz and in 1911 he passed in Vienna exams which qualified him as a secondary school teacher. At that time he also published his first scholarly works in Leipzig and in Vienna. His first teaching position was at the secondary school in Novo mesto, Slovenia, and then in Ljubljana, but already in 1920 he was appointed as Assistant Professor at the newly established University of Ljubljana and as Chairman of the Department of Germanic languages and literatures, a position he held until his death. In 1924 Kelemina was promoted to the position of Associate Professor and in 1928 he became Professor of Germanic philology. That he was well-liked and thought highly of by his colleagues is also indicated by the fact that he was elected three times Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana and twice Vice-dean. He died on 14 May 1957 in Ljubljana.

Kelemina began to publish his scholarly works in German while he was still a student in Graz. He was particularly attracted by the rich medieval German literary tradition, by the *Tristansage,* which he – unlike some other researchers – did not connect with the French but with the Celtic tradition. Later on he also investigated the traces of the Gothic and the Langobard peoples in the Balkan area, although his academic research was mainly directed to philology, particularly to etymological studies, to studies of Slovene folklore and to its links with German culture. Kelemina also wrote the first book on the theory of literature in Slovene. Janez Stanonik, who succeded Kelemina as chair of the department, in many ways enriched Kelemina's work in the field of English studies, and he helped build the departmental library, which was almost completely burnt down during the Second World War. Stanonik points out in his study that Kelemina mainly researched problems, which are also significant for the understanding of Slovene cultural history (Stanonik 1966: 334). Kelemina's philological research has been judged by France Bezlaj to be a significant contribution to the ethnological Slovene toponomastycal studies (Bezlaj 1954: 227), whereas Anton Janko especially stresses Kelemina's work in German studies and Kelemina's importance for their development in Slovenia (Janko 1994: 407-15). Although all these authors briefly mention the fact that in the early phase of his scholarly career Kelemina also wrote articles, introductions and textual explanations of Shakespeare's plays, none of them has discussed Kelemina's contribution in this field in any detail. Therefore the analysis of this aspect of Kelemina's work, which has so far been neglected, will hopefully complete the picture of this important Slovene scholar.

JAKOB KELEMINA'S ARTICLES ON SLOVENE (AND ON SOME CROATIAN) TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

The Merchant of Venice (in Slovene translation by Oton Župančič)

In 1907 Jakob Kelemina published his first article on a Slovene translation of a play written by Shakespeare. This was a review of Oton Župančič's translation of Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice.* The book was published by the Slovenska

matica publishing house already in 1905. The draft of the MS prepared by Župančič has been preserved in the National and University Library in Ljubljana and we can see that Župančič altered the text for publication mainly at the beginning and towards the end of the play.

In order to understand properly the importance of Jakob Kelemina's criticism of Oton Župančič's translation of Shakespeare's comedy *The Merchant of Venice* a brief presentation about earlier public reponses of Slovene critics and editors regarding this translation is needed. A short, anonymous book review of the play appeared soon after the publication of the translation, already in 1906. It was published in the Slovene daily *Slovenski narod*, titled "Knjige Slovenske matice" (24 Jan. 1906). In it the critic derogatorily speaks about the translator and calls his translation "just sufficient". The critic's negative opinion is mainly based on his assumption that Župančič translated the play on the basis of a German translation and not from the English original. As evidence for his assertion the anonymous critic enumerates Župančič's repetitions of false translations which had appeared before in various German translations of this play. The review is written as a personal attack and therefore Župančič was justly offended by it. He replied to the critic in the same newspaper a week later ("Odgovor ocenjevalcu prevoda", 31 Jan. 1906), saying, that before the play was published he thoroughly checked his translation which was at first really prepared on a German translation but that he later compared his translation in detail with the original and that he thoroughly revised it.[14] Župančič states further on that his translation of the play for the published version was prepared "seriously and conscientiously" and that it was no "surrogate" (substitute) for the original version of the play. Therefore he demands from his critic "a serious kind of criticism, based on aesthetic criteria" and not "a senseless palaver". The anonymous critic replied to Župančič in the same issue of the newspaper, saying, that he did not criticize the poetic quality of the translation, however, he repeated his accusation that Župančič made the same kind of small, factual mistakes, which one could notice in German and in French translations of *The Merchant of Venice*. With this response of the critic the debate between him and the translator in this newspaper ended. Even if Župančič's earliest translations were not perfect, which he admits, we can see from his remarks that he was upset by the rude tone and professional incompetence of the critic. In a letter to his friend Berta Vajdič (18 Feb. 1906) Župančič adds that this arrogant critic was (most likely) Pustoslemšek, and that the critic should at first learn some manners before he begins criticizing other people's work.[15]

[14] Oton Župančič, letter to the reviwer (editor), »*Beneški trgovec.* Odgovor ocenjevalcu prevoda.« Vienna, 29 Jan. 1906. See: Župančič *ZD* 8: 8, 313-4.

[15] Zupančič ZD 8: 314. - Rasto Pustoslemšek (1875-1960), journalist, editor. Franc Govekar's friend. Pustoslemšek is now completely forgotten. His arrogant review of Oton Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* was really directed ad personam and not ad rem. The review was written in a rude, malicious tone, it was personally insulting and as regards the subject-matter, unprofessionally written. It may sound rather surprising that this kind of criticism connected with Shakespeare still exists in Slovenia even today. At the four-hundredth anniversary of *Hamlet* Meta Grosman (1936-) published a review of works written by Slovene literary historians and critics during the last decade, titled "Ob štiristoletnici Hamleta" (*Vestnik DTJ* 36 (2001): 375-84) in which she attacked the author of this study and his work on Shakespeare. Her article was later published in two other publications (!) in slightly shortened versions. Her review is full of personal and professional insults, misrepresentations, random conclusions. Let me only mention as an illustration some of her statements, which show her manner of writing and her expertise on Shakespeare.

In the same letter Župančič admits that his knowledge of English was not yet sufficient. Because he could not get a grant to go and learn English in Britain, he took English classes at the Berlitz school in Vienna, where he then lived, during the summer months of 1906. Župančič mentions this in a letter to Berta Vajdič (on 14 March 1905). In another letter to her written a year later (on 23 Jan. 1906) he points out that he had learnt English well enough to began to prepare his new translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* on the basis of the English original.[16] However, he was aware that his early translations of Shakespeare's plays were far from perfect, and this is also the opinion of Slovene critics and literary historians.[17] One of the proofs that this was so is also his alterations and revisions of his translations, either for a new publication of the play or for the theatre performance.

After the 1890s Shakespeare became one of the most favoured foreign dramatists in Slovenia, and, as I have already pointed out, several Slovene translators tried their hand at translating Shakespeare's plays, among them also Karel Glaser. He was a literary historian, translator and linguist. He studied classical and Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Vienna and then he was employed as a secondary school teacher, but he believed that his most important task in life were his translations of plays written by Shakespeare. However, all of his translations were rejected by publishing houses in Slovenia, because they were done in a Slovene which was far removed from everyday spoken language and not at all poetic. But as Glaser himself thought very highly of his own work and because his translations were constantly rejected he became embittered and as a revenge against other Slovene translators, he tried to point out in his reviews "the mistakes" made by them, particularly by Župančič. Glaser wrote a completely negative review of Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* and sent it to a prominent Slovene magazine, *Ljubljanski zvon.* But the editor, Fran Zbašnik, rejected it. In a letter to Župančič on 15 June 1906 Zbašnik mentions this event and adds his opinion that "the man (Glaser) is sick".[18] Glaser's critique was then published in *Slovan.*[19] In order to support his own opinion about the high quality of his translations Glaser included in

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So, for example, she defines my essays as "outdated", my understanding of dramatic art and Shakespeare as "weak, if not only superficial"; she decides that such articles (as mine) are "usually reprinted when the author is dead" etc. She fabricates her arguments and falsifies my views, as e.g. she asserts that I do not believe in the necessity of new readings of literature and as an argument she finds my explanation that in the second edition of my book (publ. in 1997), which followed the first edition of 1994 in three years' time, I did not change the text. She complains about the brevity of my remarks in the introduction to a new Slovene translation of *Hamlet* because "now whole books are published on translation". In Meta Grosman's opinion I do not "recognize the complexity of women's roles in Shakespeare's plays"; this assertion, of course, contradicts my opinion and my practical criticism as any reader of my articles may easily see. Besides, in her view opinions of critics whose approaches to Shakespeare I took into consideration (as e.g. T. S. Eliot, E. K. Chambers, L. C. Knights, Kenneth Muir, Jan Kott, Terry Eagleton, John Drakakis etc.) are "not modern enough", but "old, meaningless, and obsolete". Readers of my articles and essays and those who are familiar with Meta Grosman's criticism can easily see what kind of moral, aesthetic and professional arguments we use and can decide about their value. Therefore I conclude with this answer Meta Grosman's criticism of my interpretations of Shakespeare's plays.

[16] Župančič *ZD* 8: 313-4.

[17] See, e.g. Joža Mahnič's view (Župančič *ZD* 8: 279) and other views of Slovene critics and translators mentioned in this article.

[18] Župančič *ZD* 11: 617.

[19] *Ibid.*

his review passages from his own translation of this play. Among weaknesses which he attributed to Župančič he also attacked his poetic manner of translating Shakespeare and Župančič's occasional brief omissions of the original. This was for Glaser not only proof of the inaccuracy of Župančič's translation, but also perfect evidence that Župančič used for his translation the German (Schlegel's) translation and not the English original. Although Župančič was himself aware that his translation was not "perfect" Glaser was definitely wrong about the aesthetic value of Župančič's translations.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Slovene intellectuals - both translators and critics – believed that it was very important to get translations of plays written by Shakespeare and other European dramatists into the Slovene language as soon as possible, and, secondly, that these translations should be of the highest possible linguistic quality. At this point also Jakob Kelemina entered the literary scene. His first article on a play by Shakespeare was his book review of Oton Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice*. It appeared in a monthly review *Dom in svet* in 1907.[20] The play was published under the title *Beneški trgovec* by the publishing house Slovenska matica in Ljubljana already in 1905. Kelemina originally sent his review to the newspaper *Slovenec*, but the editor thought that this relatively long and professionally written article would suit better a monthly magazine, so he forwarded it *Dom in svet*. The editor of this magazine, Evgen Lampe, was pleased to receive Kelemina's review and asked him to allow the magazine to publish it.[21]

The manuscript of Oton Župančič's translation has been preserved in the Oton Župančič's archive in the National and University Library in Ljubljana. If we compare the draft with the published version we can see that Župančič changed a number of words and even whole passages for publication. He also wrote a very short, two-page introduction together with his translation, in which he states that he had been tempted to present "an apology of this impenitent Jew, whose terrible suffering makes the reader rather sympathize with Shylock than with Antonio's friends who lack seriousness and depth" (Župančič 1905: 7). The above explanation shows Župančič's rather simplified understanding of the theme of this play, particularly if it is compared with Kelemina's much more profound and competent analysis of issues presented in his introduction to Župančič's translation published in 1921. In the above mentioned book review Kelemina concentrated on philological questions connected with the Slovene translation.

Kelemina begins his review of Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* by saying how important it is to obtain Slovene translations of the best works of world literature, because this would represent a step forward "towards independence" (Kelemina 1907: 179). The critic does not specify what he means by this, because -- at the time when Slovenia was still a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy – it could well have had, besides cultural, also a political meaning, implying the idea that a higher cultural level in Slovenia would also contribute to the struggle for Slovene political independence.

[20] J. Kelemina, »*Beneški trgovec.* Poslovenil Oton Župančič«. *Dom in svet* 19 (1907): 179-82.

[21] Evgen Lampe, a postcard to Jakob Kelemina, Ljubljana, 27 Feb. 1906. – The postcard is a part of Jakob Kelemina's biographical material owned by my former colleague Mrs Doris (Kelemina) Križaj, Professor Kelemina's daughter. Mrs Križaj was kind enough to allow me to use her father's archive and I wish to thank her most sincerely for her help. In my article I refer to this material as "Doris Križaj's archive". I also wish to use this opportunity to thank the librarians of the English and German Departments as well as of the Slovene and Slavic Departments of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, for their kind help.

Kelemina mentions further on that one year after another new translations of foreign literature are published in Slovene and that Shakespeare is already present here with "a prominent number of his works" (*ibid.*). This praise is rather exaggerated, for only six of Shakespeare's plays had been translated into Slovene by that time. Kelemina's remark was possibly meant as an encouragement for further translations of important literary works, or it could have had ironical implications. He also briefly refers to the above mentioned dispute between Slovene critics and Oton Župančič as to "a short prologue" regarding the evaluation of Župančič's translation, but he does not mention any details. Kelemina accepts Župančič's statement that he had at first used as a source for his translation of the play the German translation of *The Merchant of Venice,*[22] and that when Župančič was preparing the play to be published in a book form he compared his translation with the English original. But Kelemina argues here that Župančič's "adaptation (of the play) on the basis of the original" is not very accurate. He also complains that the translator did not pay enough attention to the English grammar: he states that Župančič did not use the dictionary often enough and that when translating this play Župančič relied too much on his "instinct and imagination". The result is – in Kelemina's view – that the thoughts in the translation are not concise, and that instead of a translation we have got "a paraphrase", the work of "a diletante" (179). Then Kelemina quotes some fifty examples, about which he thinks that they were not adequately translated into Slovene. These cases include mainly various semantic inaccuracies, inapt translations of puns, and tautologies. Kelemina also criticizes Župančič's inappropriate level of language used for different characters in the play. One of his final remarks is addressed to Župančič's short initial preface upon which he comments with a brief judgement: "This is not an aesthetically-critical introduction!" (182). Kelemina ends his review by saying that his only aim when reviewing this play was to make Slovene translators perform their job critically so that classical literary works would be rendered into Slovene in accordance with their artistic level.

Kelemina's critique is written in a rather blunt, straightforward manner, and in certain points it is only partly justified, especially as regards his suggestions for new words and phrases which he believes Župančič should have used in his translation of this play. We face here a question whether the translation can ever be as "perfect" as the original (if it is "too good" it also lacks the semblance with the original). Differences in vocabulary as well as in the syntaxt between the source and the target language, differences which are the result of specific historical, cultural and social development in England and in other European countries are, of course, also reflected in translations. They require from the translator (as well as from the critic) a very thorough knowledge of various spheres of life in both languages. The critic should also make a distinction between factual "mistakes" made by a translator (and Župančič was aware of them and therefore he corrected his translations for publications and for theatre performances again and again) and between the translator's choice to use such language, which would

[22] The reference is to German translations of Shakespeare's plays by August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845). Schlegel was a poet and translator. He first earned for his living as a private teacher and later as professor in Jena. Nine volumes of his translations of Shakespeare's plays appeared in Germany during 1797-1810 and they were still widely used in German speaking countries and elsewhere in Europe, also in Slovenia, at the beginning of the twentieth century.

suit the meaning and the artistic beauty of the original and make at the same time the translation also most functional and aesthetically perfect in the target language. But it is sometimes impossible to implement linguistic variants for poetic texts which are suggested by critics and which may be excellent if taken on their own merit, if the translator wishes to preserve the original verse form, its rhythmic structure, rhymes and other figures of speech, as well as the stanzaic pattern. The English language has many monosyllabic words compared with other languages (e.g. with Slovene) and this often makes it impossible for the translator to preserve in the translation the same number of words in a line as well as the meaning of the English original. Differences between the source and the target language are at times too big to bridge the linguistic gap between two languages, particularly in poetry or in poetic drama.

Even if Župančič was shocked by Kelemina's review of his translation, judging by his numerous corrections of the text which he incorporated in the translation of this play published as a book in 1921, he nevertheless accepted many critical suggestions made by Kelemina. This criticism must have also stimulated him to improve his translations, and to obtain translations of this play in other languages, e.g. in Czech,[23] and to improve also his other translations.[24] If we also take into account the metalinguistic as well as social and cultural differences between different countries and languages spoken then we realize that every translator has his own linguistic reach and his own poetic disposition, which may improve during the years; thus better translations of the same work of art done by the same translator are possible; however, even "good" translations will always differ from one another. Uroš Mozetič believes that nowadays the saying that "the translator of literary texts is born" is no longer valid and that translators of poetic texts can also learn how to master this skill and acquire the ability to translate poetry just as one can learn any other kind of a translating process (Mozetič 1997: 57). But, in my view, translating poetry (or poetic plays) is not the same as translating other literary genres; the translator who has a poetic gift has a great advantage in expressing himself in his mother tongue also in translations, particularly if such translations are compared with works of translators who do not have such a gift. In our case this becomes very obvious if we compare translations of Shakespeare's plays prepared by Glaser and Župančič. Generally speaking, it is more likely to expect that translations of poetry (or poetic plays like Shakespeare's) will achieve a higher degree of poetic semblance with the original than if the translator has no such gift, if he does not have an ear for music of poetry in his native language.

Oton Župančič undoubtedly had a great poetic talent, which he proved not only in his translations but also in his own poetry. Therefore he still ranks among the best Slovene poets and translators of the twentieth century. However, the poetic gift does not

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[23] In a letter written on 6 Jan. 1908 to Slovene literary historian, Ivan Prijatelj (1875-1937), who then lived in Vienna, Župančič asks Prijatelj to obtain for him J. V. Sladek's Czech translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Župančič *ZD* 11: 169), which he could not get in Slovenia. From this and from Župančič's other requests to his friends about literature regarding Shakespeare, we see that even in this period he was still primarily interested in obtaining books on Shakespeare (and also his plays), which were published in German or in Slavic languages.

[24] Most of Oton Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays appeared first in individual translations published by various publishing houses. Considerable improvements in his translations can be seen, if these, early publications, are compared with later editions of Shakespeare's plays prepared by him.

qualify the translator as a "good translator" just *per se*. For example, if the translator does not know English well enough to understand Shakespeare's language - including its connotations - then his translation will not correspond to the original or even be close to it. Suggestions made by Kelemina in his book review of Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* undoubtedly helped Župančič in his future translations, particularly in the beginning period of his work as a translator; even though Župančič could not incorporate all of Kelemina's suggestions into his new translation of the play. This was also due to various reasons regarding translations from English into Slovene, which have been indicated above.

Othello (translated into Croatian by Milan Bogdanović)

The First World War stopped Kelemina from committing himself to critical writing on Shakespeare, which he continued only in 1919. In one of the main Slovene periodicals of that time, *Ljubljanski zvon*, Kelemina published a book review about Milan Bogdanović's Croatian translation of *Othello*, which was published by Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb in 1919.[25] This book review is also important because Kelemina makes in it a number of references to the reception and translation of Shakespeare's plays in Europe, including translations into Slovene.[26] Jože Glonar, editor of the review *Ljubljanski zvon*, who had friendly contacts both with Kelemina and Župančič, suggested to Kelemina already in 1917 "to get moving" and to write some articles for this review.[27] Glonar also mentions in his message to Kelemina that Župančič is "a kind editor and that he pays well". Glonar repeated his wish that Kelemina should contribute critical essays to *Ljubljanski zvon* two years later, in another letter written to Kelemina in 1919.[28] We suppose that Kelemina must have mentioned to Glonar on some occasion that he was interested in writing a study about Heine, because Glonar expresses in this letter also his wish that Kelemina should write a review of *Othello*, because "Shakespeare is much more important to us than Heine" (*ibid.*). Kelemina accepted Glonar's suggestion and wrote a review of this play, even though this translation was not published in Kelemina's mother tongue, in Slovene, but in Croatian. We should not forget that Kelemnina attended the secondary school in Pula, now in Croatia. There lived quite a numerous Slovene population, especially Slovene administrators, who served there while Pula was still a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore Croatian was definitely not a completely "foreign" language to Kelemina.

[25] Milan Bogdanović (1876-1942), Croatian translator of Shakespeare's plays in the first half of the 20th century. He graduated in law at the University of Zagreb, and was employed most of his life as public administrator. He translated seventeen plays written by Shakespeare, among which fifteen were performed by various theatres in Croatia. Bogdanović also wrote articles and studies on Shakespeare and on other authors. (*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 2. Zagreb, Jugoslovanski leksikografski zavod M. Krleže, 1985: 43)

[26] Jakob Kelemina, "Shakespeare William, Othello, mletački crnac." *Ljubljanski zvon* 39 (1919): 761-63.

[27] Jože Glonar (1885-1946), librarian (Graz, Ljubljana), historian, translator, lexicographer, editor. See Glonar's postcard to Kelemina written from Graz on 28 Feb. 1917. (Doris Križaj's archive.) Glonar was the editor of the review *Ljubljanski zvon* (1919-1921) and he was followed as editor of this review by Fran Albreht (1922-1932)..

[28] Jože Glonar, letter to Jakob Kelemina, Ljubljana, 3 June 1919. (Doris Križaj's archive.)

Kelemina's review deals with two main topics: first, the contemporary criticism of Shakespeare's plays, and secondly, with the importance and the value of Croatian and Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays. Kelemina points out that although Bogdanović used several critical works when he was preparing the introduction to the play (e.g. G. Brandes, F. T. Fischer, M. Nehajev), the translator's own contribution in the introduction is also valuable, because so little had so far been published on Shakespeare, either in Croatia or in Slovenia. Kelemina expressed his wish that Bogdanović would continue to work on this subject and maybe even prepare a monographic study on this great dramatist. This expectation also fills Kelemina with the hope that in the future Bogdanović may avoid such pitfalls as to call Shakespeare a "deterministic" writer (762). In Kelemina's view Shakespeare's multifaced distribution of his poetic power and the harmonious conclusion of the dramatist's work demands a clearer outline of Shakespeare's perception of life than that written by Bogdanović. He namely sees the Bard's views on life as a journey from his youthful joyfulness to mature pessimism, and to his "final resignation". Kelemina specifically mentions that *The Tempest* is not a good example of the dramatists's resignation, because we can definitely interpret the end of the play as "fairly optimistic". This idea undoubtedly refers to Prospero's forgiveness of the cruel deed of his brother, Antonio, and to their final reconciliation. If we bear in mind the total impression of actions and textual implications referring to life as shown in this play, and especially to its final scenes, we can definitely agree with Kelemina's conclusion (see also Jurak 1999: 135-161).

Further on Kelemina agrees with Bogdanović that criticism addressed to Shakespeare by such authors as G. B. Shaw and L. N. Tolstoy is hardly justified. He rejects their views that moral norms, social questions and philosophical ideas are not present in Shakespeare's work to a sufficient degree. Kelemina believes that their criticism is more indicative of their own views on literature than of those expressed in Shakespeare's plays. Kelemina also links such "reinterpretations" of Shakespeare with approaches made by some modern directors and editors (here Kelemina uses a pun, because Slovene word "izdajavci" may mean both editors and also "betrayers") who make Shakespeare's work suit their own taste. Shakespeare did not write his plays in order to use them as a "moral vehicle" or for "tendentious purposes", argues Kelemina (*ibid.*), because literature must have its own aim and purpose otherwise it is no longer art but didactic writing.

In Kelemina's view Shakespeare is and will remain for "our writers" (he obviously has in mind Slovene writers) an unreachable idol. He points out that the Croatian translators had already prepared twenty-five translations of Shakespeare's plays whereas Slovene translators lagged far behind. Kelemina sees one of the main reasons for this delay in Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays in the fact that they only appear from time to time, occasionally, and, secondly, that so little has been generally done to critically introduce Shakespeare's work in Slovenia. Then Kelemina (rather unexpectedly) starts to defend Karel Glaser, whose translations of Shakespeare's plays were prepared on the basis of the English original and not with the help of German translations. Kelemina believes that criticism expressed by editors of the Slovenska matica publishing house about the low artistic quality of Glaser's translations, is not totally relevant, and that the publication of Glaser's corrected translations of Shakespeare's plays would certainly help future attempts to translate Shakespeare into Slovene. Kelemina's idea was in

complete opposition to the majority of views held then by Slovene writers and critics about Glaser's translations and his suggestions had no practical consequences.

An increase in Slovene dramatic production, states Kelemina in this book review, would also enrich the Slovene language. Among the difficulties when translating Shakespeare's works into Slovene Kelemina mentions the difference in the vocabulary of both languages which makes it often almost impossible to preserve the thought, which is delivered in one line in the original, also to express it in one line in the translation, especially if the translator wished to include its complete meaning. Kelemina argues that if the translator adds a number of new lines then the rhythmic equillibrium, the whole inner dynamics of the original, is lost. Therefore he is not in favour of such approaches, which can be observed in the Croatian translation of Shakespeare prepared by Bogdanović. Kelemina finally expresses his wish that in spite of various difficulties Bogdanović would also continue his work as a translator and that he would publish his own critical studies on Shakespeare.

Although we may disagree with some of the views expressed by Kelemina in this book-review, we can, on the other hand, accept many of his points, particularly about the importance of native drama for successful translations of foreign plays. Kelemina's view on differences in the syntax in English and in Slovene and consequently also about difficulties with which translators are faced, which can be compared with the original both as regards the aesthetic quality of the verse and the meaning, are still relevant today. Judgements based on comparisons which do not take into account these difficulties, which are the result of different lexical basis of both languages, are mainly unjustified and therefore unprofessional. If we take into consideration all the above mentioned aspects of Kelemina's criticism we can say that he undoubtedly brought into the existing Slovene criticism of Shakespeare and Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays a number of important novelties and conclusions, which are still valid today.

Julius Caesar (in Slovene translation by Oton Župančič and in Croatian translation by Milan Bogdanović)

Twelfth Night (translated into Croatian by Milan Bogdanović)

King Henry IV, Part One (translated into Croatian by Milan Šenoa)

Kelemina's next piece of criticism dealt with four new translations of Shakespeare's plays. *Julius Caesar* was Oton Župančič's new translation into Slovene (publ. in 1922 by Nova založba); the same play was translated into Croatian by Milan Bogdanović (publ. in 1920), who also translated Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (publ. in 1922). The fourth play which Kelemina discussed in this review was also published in 1922 by Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb. It was the first part *King Henry IV,* translated by Milan Šenoa.[29]

[29] Milan Šenoa (1859-1961), writer, translator; professor of geography at the University of Zagreb, Croatia.

Kelemina's review was published in 1922 in a prominent Slovene review *Ljubljanski zvon* in two installments and served him mainly as a source for comparison of the translators' knowledge about Shakespeare's works, and consequently also about the quality of the above mentioned translations.[30] At first Kelemina expresses his disappointment with a relatively slow process of introduction of foreign literatures into Slovene and Croatian. He finds the main reason for the delay regarding translations of Shakespeare's works in a small number of translators, because the work is done in Slovenia only by Oton Župančič, and mainly by Bogdanović and -- recently also by Šenoa -- in Croatia. Kelemina points out that as a civilized European nation Slovenes should have in translations all of Shakespeare's works and also a monographic study on Shakespeare. He sees another main reason for such a small number of Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays in the lack of critical works available on this author, and particularly of specialised dictionaries. Kelemina suggests that such basic aids would be C. T. Onions's *A Shakespeare Glossary* (1911) and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (begun in 1914 and finished in in 1933), which was at the time of Kelemina's critique still in the process of being published, as well as some other English dictionaries.[31] Kelemina concludes that textual criticism without such basic works is impossible. He also mentions in his review J. M. Robertson's work *The Shakespeare Canon* (1922).[32] This shows that he knew what kind of new lexical and literary sources would be needed to prepare adequate translations of Shakespeare's plays. Kelemina believed that new interpretations of Shakespeare's works would not only be helpful to translators, but would also serve writers of introductory essays and notes, which are needed in scholarly editions. He also points out that such introductions and notes are lacking in Župančič's and Šenoa's translations. However, he is pleased to observe that Župančič has started to translate Shakespeare's plays on the basis of the English original and that he uses Schlegel's translations only as an aid. In the central part of his book review Kelemina compares a number of passages taken from Shakespeare's plays in Župančič's translation and in Croatian translations with English original. It seems to him that Župančič's translations show a special lyrical quality, a particular "softness" of the language. But on the other hand, Župančič chooses a rather free rendering of the thought, of the meaning contained in Shakespeare's texts. Kelemina gives here as an example a passage from *Julius Caesar* in which Župančič leaves out some details of the original, whereas Bogdanović sticks precisely to the contents of a line but the number of lines is doubled or tripled in his translation. Kelemina concludes his argument with a statement that if the translator could adequately unite both demands, namely the linguistic aspect and the meaning of a verse, then he would have solved the problem which could be compared to the solution of "something like squaring the circle" (567). Kelemina vehemently praises Župančič's translation, which has become a model for future Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays as regards the conciseness of meaning and the beauty of

[30] Jakob Kelemina, »Novi prevodi iz Shakespearja.« *Ljubljanski zvon* 42 (1922) 565-68, 628-29.

[31] Oton Župančič listened to Kelemina's advice and obtained this dictionary already by Sept. 1922. (See note 37.)

[32] John Mackinnon Robertson (1856-1933), journalist, MP. In 1922-32 he published the five volumes of *The Shakespeare Canon.* He is known for his analyses of Shakespeare's plays and poems in which he picked out "inferior passages" and attributed them to Shakespeare's contemporaries, particularly to dramatists Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman.

translation. But Kelemina also observes that Župančič's ellipses, i.e. omissions of words which are needed to complete the construction of the sentence, do not contribute to the clearness of the meaning (568). Kelemina's views are acceptable both with regard to Župančič's fine poetic translations and also as regards his occasional omissions of parts of sentences, which Župančič considered less important, because he wished to preserve the rhythm and the verse structure of the English original. In the final part of his review Kelemina also praises Bogdanovič's translation, although he says it lacks that poetic easiness, which is typical of Župančič. Bogdanović's path was easier, points out Kelemina, because four previous Croatian translations of *Othello* had paved the way for the most recent Croatian translation of this play. In Milan Šenoa's work Kelemina sees Croatian continuity in translating Shakespeare, because this task had been begun by Milan Šenoa's father. Although Šenoa had tried to preserve Shakespeare's poetic beauty in his translation of the *Twelfth Night*, examples which are quoted by Kelemina indicate that the task was too difficult for him. Kelemina's conclusion in his review of four plays written by Shakespeare is accurate and noteworthy. One of his most important suggestions relates to his demand that the publishing houses should include in Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays professionally written introductions prepared by qualified individuals who would thus take away some of the duties laid on translators. We may detect in this demand his readiness to contribute on the basis of his knowledge of Shakespeare's plays such interpretations. However, as we shall see, such close cooperation between Župančič and Kelemina, which was begun in 1918, unfortunately ended rather quickly. We shall try to provide some explanation why this was so.

Fran Albreht, who was then the editor of the review *Ljubljanski zvon*, wrote in summer 1922 a letter to Kelemina in which he informed him that "he tried to avoid printing" in Kelemina's review anything, which might have ironical connotations, "because Župančič's translation did not deserve this".[33] Besides, writes Albreht, Župančič would definitely "interpret this badly". Albreht had spoken about this matter with Župančič who disliked one of Kelemina's remarks, and so Albreht thought it was not worth "upsetting Župančič in this way, because you /i.e. Kelemina/, of course, did not think of using a derisive tone" (*ibid.*). It is likely that Kelemina did not wish to offend Župančič when he used an image that "Župančič's Muse wore the breeches", which Albreht had omitted in Kelemina's review. Albreht's explanation to Kelemina was definitely very polite, but it also seems that Albreht tried to persuade Kelemina about his intention ("you, of course, did not think of using a derisive tone"), and that Albreht had already omitted this image. In Doris Križaj's archive there is also a draft of Kelemina's reply to Albreht in which Kelemina accepts Albreht's suggestions, saying that "it is not worth

[33] Fran Albreht, letter to Kelemina, Ljubljana, 22 August 1922. (Doris Križaj's archive.) - Fran Albreht (1889-1963), poet, prose writer, translator, critic and editor of the review *Ljubljanski zvon* between 1922 and 1932. - The Slovene text of Albreht'a advice to Kelemina runs as follows: "Opozoriti Vas moram tudi na to, da sem mesto, kjer govorite o 'hlačni vlogi' Župančičeve muze, nekoliko omilil. Našel sem, da bi ta označba utegnila imeti nekak zasmehljiv prizvok, kakršnega prevod - po mojih mislih – ne zasluži. Iz ustnega pogovora z Žup(ančičem) sem opazil, da bi si on v resnici slabo tolmačil ta izraz in zato se mi vidi nepotrebno, razburjati ga, zlasti še ker Vi seveda niste mislili govoriti v zasmehljivem tonu. Zato menim, da ravnam čisto po Vaših intencijah ako razdrem dotično figuro!" This intervention made by Fran Albreht is not probably only the result of his duties as an editor but also of his was a life-long friendship with Oton Župančič, who was his brother-in-law.

offending or to make angry the poet", with his /i.e. Kelemina's/ stylistic figure.[34] We can suppose that Kelemina's reference to Župančič's Muse, who "wears the breeches" refers to Kelemina's opinion that Župančič considered it more important to find for his verse a suitable figure of speech (e.g. the rhyme), than to accurately include thoughts which are implied in the original, even if this meant to some extent a semantic deviation from the English original. But Kelemina's remark is essentially valid as we can see not only from Kelemina's criticism of Župančič's translations, but also from observations of a number of other Slovene critics and translators of Župančič's work. From Oton Župančič's (private) letter to his wife, written in September 1922 (it was published only several decades after Župančič's and Kelemina's death), we can see that Župančič was rather angry with Kelemina's review, because "he had expected Kelemina's critique to be different", probably more positive. In this letter Župančič also refers to Kelemina's "clumsy awkwardness". He mentions that Kelemina's views gave him an idea to write an essay about the principles of translation, which were "placed into darkness" by Kelemina.[35] Župančič never wrote such an essay although he made many short observations about drama and the theatre in his notes and diaries. Further on Župančič states in this letter that he wishes to show "where Kelemina searches for Shakespeare and where I have found him" (Župančič *ZD* 11: 405-6). Župančič also expresses a completely negative reaction to Kelemina's interpretation of Shakespeare's aesthetic value of his plays, saying that "he" /i.e. Kelemina/ with his "boring mind" should leave this question to other people.[36] Župančič expressed this opinion – which is rather rude and haughty - in a private letter addressed to his wife. Taking everything into consideration we can conclude that Kelemina's demand for linguistic accuracy and Župančič's wish to make his translation of Shakespeare's plays "sound as if Shakespeare had spoken the text in contemporary Slovene", did not match. It seems that Župančič was aware of this duality, because even when he gave a speech at the English-Russian Literary Society in London, on 3 July 1928, he stressed that his translations were not "academic" but were prepared for the stage.[37] Župančič's claim was true and although the occasional

[34] In the draft of Kelemina's reply to Albreht (written in Kostanjevica, n. d.) Kelemina condescendingly agreees with Albreht about the omission of »Župančič's Muse wearing the breeches«: »Ono stilistično cvetko – 'hlačno vlogo' – le izpustite; ni vredno, da bi Župančiča s tem vžalil ali vjezil.«

[35] Oton Župančič's letter to his wife (Bled, 23 Sept. 1922). Župančič *ZD* 11: 405. Župančič uses here two words, which have a synonymous meaning, "motorogasta nerodnost" (a clumsy, awkward person), now denoted in the *SSKJ* (578) as "old fashioned". The passage regarding Kelemina's review runs as follows: "..Ni pravzaprav, kakor sem si ga predstavljal po vaših poročilih: glavna oznaka – motorogasta nerodnost. Napisal bom vendarle esej o principih prevajanja, ker je to tako važno vprašanje, da ne sme ostati v temi, v katero ga je postavil Kelemina. Pokazati hočem, kje išče on Shakespeara in kje sem ga jaz našel, in da je edino moj način tolmačenja pravi. Pust duh naj bi sploh pustil estetiko drugim glavam in / človek, ki je vseučiliški profesor, je dolžan svojemu lastnemu ugledu vzdržnost v stvareh, kjer se mora blamirati /"must", but probably meant "more", i.e. "where he can blame himself for something." Župančič's comment about Kelemina is not "playfully witty, teasingly ironical", as his biographer, Joža Mahnič describes Župančič's attitude to "his opponents" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 374). Besides, Kelemina was not Župančič's "opponent" even though they had sometimes different views on translating of Shakespeare's plays.

[36] Zupančič *ZD.* 11: 405-6.

[37] Župančič *ZD* 8: 116-117. Župančič gave his talk in Slovene and it was translated into English by Janko Lavrin, professor of Russian literature at the University of Nottingham (*ibid.* 341). Lavrin was Župančič's neighbour, they were both born in the Bela Krajina region, in Slovenia. In his speech in London Župančič said among other things: » .. pravi Shakespeare je samo eden, samo angleški, in kdor ga hče poznati, ga

discrepancy between the original text and Župančič's translation has been noticed – as we shall also see later -- not only by Kelemina but also by other readers of Župančič's translations. However, this observation does not essentially diminish Župančič's role in bringing Shakespeare's plays to Slovene audiences and readers as masterly literary and theatrical creations.

Kelemina's review of Župančič's translation and Župančič's response to it show us that the co-operation between Kelemina and Župančič did not differ only from a professional perspective with regard to Župančič's practice of translating, but also that their personal relationship was not easy (probably right from the beginning of their co-operation), because of the different natures of their personalities. It should also be noted that Župančič does not mention either in his notes or in his letters help he got from Kelemina, his advice about the variety of possible explanations of meanings or about various sources he should use for his translations as well as about historical and linguistic explanations of Shakespeare's plays, which can be seen in Kelemina's contribution to the published versions of Shakespeare's plays.[38] Župančič's plea for help addressed to his friends living abroad, namely that they provide him books advised to him by Kelemina is seen from a number of his letters. The co-operation between Župančič and Kelemina was – at least at first -- rather profitable and it resulted not only in Župančič's more accurate translations of Shakespeare's plays but also in Kelemina's introductions and notes to three of Shakespeare's plays in Oton Župančič's translations: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which appeared in 1920, and *The Merchant of Venice* and *Macbeth*, which were both published in 1921. Kelemina's studies are justly referred to by Dušan Moravec as "the first serious studies on Shakespeare in Slovenia" (Moravec 1974: 437). Looking at the co-operation between Oton Župančič and Jakob Kelemina from the above mentioned perspective we can only regret that it ended so soon.

KELEMINA'S INTRODUCTIONS TO SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN SLOVENE TRANSLATIONS BY OTON ŽUPANČIČ

A Midsummer Night's Dream

Oton Župančič obviously realized in the late 1910s that some help regarding his translations of Shakespeare's plays's would be welcome. It was Jože Glonar, Kelemina's friend from Graz, the editor of the review *Ljubljanski zvon*, who suggested in a letter

mora čitati v originalu. ... Moji prevodi niso akademski; Shakespeare je delal za oder, in prav tako hočem jaz, da je pri vsi vestnosti – in moram reči, da mi je vsaka beseda sveta - moje vprašanje vedno: kako bi bil Shakespeare to povedal, če bi bil Slovenec? Jaz hočem, da je moj Shakespeare igralcu govorljiv in da gre poslušalcu naravnost v uho in do srca – zdi se mi, da sem, kakor kaže uspeh, to kolikor toliko dosegel.« (*ibid.* 116-117).

[38] In a letter (n.d.), probably written in 1922, Župančič asked his friend Alojz Kraigher (1877-1959), M.D. and writer, who lived in München in the early twenties, to send him Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night or What You Will* published by Tauchnitz in Students' Series for School, College and Home, because Župančič wished to check Kellner's commentary before giving his translation to the printer (Župančič *ZD* 11: 106-07). In September 1922 Župančič enthusiastically informed his wife, Ani (Kessler) Župančič, about his new acquisition, L. Kellner's dictionary, published by a well-known publishing house Tauchnitz in Leipzig. This book was also recommended in the above discussed book-review written by Kelemina (Župančič *ZD* 11: 661).

written to Oton Župančič in 1916 to contact Jakob Kelemina in Novo mesto.[39] From the above mentioned letter written by Oton Župančič to Jakob Kelemina in 1918 we know that this contact was established by April 1918 and that Kelemina had promised to Župančič to contribute an Introduction and Notes to his translations.

Although Oton Župančič completed his translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* already in 1908 the play was first published by Tiskovna zadruga v Ljubljani in 1920. The reasons for this delay were twofold: first, Slovenska matica was rather hesitant in its decision about the publication of the play, even though the board of this society agreed to Župančič's suggestion about publishing the most important plays by Shakespeare in Slovene translation, including this play, already in March 1908. The actual preparation for the printing was begun only in 1914, and with the outbreak of the First World War the printing was again delayed. Joža Mahnič, one of the editors of Oton Župančič's collected works expresses his opinion that the delay was caused because Slovenska matica was not particularly thrilled by this plan,[40] but he does not provide any additional reason for it. In a letter to one of his friends, Anton Schwab, written in 1908, Župančič proudly announces that he is translating the play from the original, and that the president of Slovenska Matica, Fran Ilešič, accepted his proposal about the publication of the Slovene translations of Shakespeare's selected plays.[41] In some aspects this delay was even positive, because Župančič had enough time to check his translation and at the same time it assured Kelemina's co-operation with Župančič.

Kelemina contributed to this edition the Introduction (5-15) and Notes to the play (114-28). Kelemina's interest in the historical and ethnographic material on which the play is based is seen in his choice and in his treatment of main themes. Most closely related to them is the question about the origin of the play, its first performance and its publication. Kelemina lists various reasons for his assumption that Shakespeare wrote this play for a wedding, which took place in 1594, although most modern literary historians believe that the play was written a year or two later, but that it was definitely publicly performed before 1600. In the major part of his introduction Kelemina presents various myths which could have served Shakespeare as possible sources when he wrote the play. First of all Kelemina mentions often quoted sources like "The Knight's Tale" from Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, North's translation of Plutarch (1579), and the Spanish pastoral novel *Diana* written by Jorge de Montemayor (1559; Kelemina dates it in 1560). The critic takes a rather negative position regarding the idea expressed by some literary historians that the play was influenced by the thirteenth cenury French epic tale, *chanson de geste*, dealing with history and legend, entitled *Huon de Bordeaux*, which was translated into English in 1534 (rpt. in 1570). Kelemina does not find support for this thesis in Shakespeare's portrayal of Oberon (some modern English literary historians are in favour of this influence). Among the accepted explanations of Shakespeare's creation of Puck is that the figure is based on the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (transl. into English in 1567), and Kelemina also mentions in this connection that Ovid was Shakespeare's favourite Latin poet. Kelemina relies in his interpretation of the play on a number of other contemporary investigations and he also refers to articles published

[39] Jože Glonar, letter to Oton Župančič, Graz, 18 Nov. 1916. (Župančič *ZD* 12: 306).
[40] Joža Mahnič in Župančič *ZD* 11: 565.
[41] Župančič *ZD* 11: 132-35.

in various German periodicals (e.g. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch, Deutsche Literaturzeitung).* The above mentioned sources and comparisons show that Kelemina's interest in the plot of the play and its sources was definitely that of a scholar, who tries to satisfy the curiosity of readers regarding the genesis of the play. Kelemina further on pays attention to the wedding of Theseus and Hippolyta, but he is especially intrigued by comparisons between fairies and German – Nordic mythical creatures of air and wind, especially in their popular counterparts in Germanic folk tales (Zwerge, Däumlinge, Kobolde), as well as in Italian, Spanish and French versions of these mythological creatures. In Kelemina's opinion the real and the mythical world are joined together in this play: everybody is happy and full of *joie de vivre.* There are, nevertheless, a life-like social order and man's purpose of life hidden in this world of fantasy, dreams and tales. The dream-based comedy reminds Kelemina of the world as shown in Calderón's play *La vida es sueño,* and of plays written by Franz Grillparzer (*Der Traum ein Leben,* 1840) and Gerhart Hauptmann (*Hanneles Himmelfahrt,* 1896), in which man's spiritual freedom triumphs over the fatalistic determination.

Kelemina points out in his explanation of the play that in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare finds similarities between human nature and abstract notions of man's passion, his desires and his true love. These features are combined in the play and limits between the real world and the world of fatasy are often blurred. Kelemina also states that the idea about art being just a copy of reality does not have a far reach. Many comic scenes in the play are not only the result of mad infatuation between Lysander and Hermia and Demetrius and Helena, or created by mischievous Puck, but there are also comic scenes from Shakespeare's daily life present in this play. Such scenes are enacted by Bottom and his fellows, the amateur group of players, who seem to function as Shakespeare's parody of those contemporary actors, amateurs, who lack the power of imagination which is essential for real art. According to Kelemina the play is also about men completely losing control over their actions, when love no longer reveals its sublime beauty, but becomes silly and comical. Such an interpretation provides for Kelemina adequate grounds to believe that by the time when Shakespeare wrote this play his views on the essence and nature of art were fully established.

Although Kelemina uses for his notes various English and German sources, he also enumerates some examples from Slovene folklore which are thematically linked with the English original. The mythological Puck, also named Goodfellow, who performs funny tricks, is – according to Kelemina -- known in the Styria region in Slovenia as "Šetek" or "Šotek".[42] In the dispute between Oberon and Titania, when she scolds Oberon for having disturbed "their sport", "Where the nine men's morris is filled up with mud" (2.1.98), Kelemina observes that Župančič translated the name of this shepard's game as "trojka", a game which has its origin in the region of Bela Krajina, instead of the more widely known Slovene term "špana". Shakespeare's "hymn or carol blest" (Župančič uses the word "koleda") is in Slovenia still occasionally sung by village singers who visit people at Christmas time. Kelemina also provides extensive explanation for the Greek names of mythological beings which are mentioned in this play and he also

[42] Kelemina's interest in Slovene folklore is seen in his book *Bajke in pripovedke slovenskega ljudstva* (Myths and Fairy Tales of the Slovene People), Celje, 1930 (404 pp.).

suggests movements of characters in various scenes. Kelemina also calls the reader's attention to the pantomime in which *dramatis personae* are presented and the story of the future action is indicated (in Act 5); this is a dramatic invention which is similar to the play within the play (The Dumb Show) in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (3.2) Kelemina also mentions the frequent use of Epilogue in Shakespeare's plays, which is in *Midsummer Night's Dream* appropriately spoken by Puck "that shrewd and knavish sprite Call'd Robin Goodfellow".

Kelemina also states in his introduction that Shakespeare used in this play a number of puns, which cannot be easily translated. So, for example, Demetrius uses a pun on Lysander's bond, which refers at the same time to "a written bond" and Hermia's "weak bond" on Lysander (3.2.261-270). Hermia keeps hold on Lysander, and then the exchange between Lysander and Demetrius follows:

Lysander: Demetrius, I will keep my word with thee.
Dematrius: I would I had your bond, for I perceive
A weak bond holds you. I'll not trust you word. (3.2.266-9)

Župančič tried to capture this pun in the following dialogue:

Lisander: Demetrij, jaz imam s teboj besedo.
Demetrij: Zaveži se mi; kajti kakor vidim,
Vez slaba te drži. (72)

A recent Slovene translation of this play prepared by Milan Jesih sounds more naturally than the option used by Župančič and it is also more easily understood:

Lisander: Demetrij, držal bom besedo dano.
Demetrij: Daj bolj veljavno potrdilo: vidim,
beseda tvoja nič kaj ne zaleže,
in jaz ji ne verjamem. (75)

Another difficult passage to translate in this play are the final two lines spoken by Pyramus, who tells the Moonshine to exit and then explains his fate: "Now die, die, die, die." (5.1.304):

Demetrius: No die, but an ace, for him—for he is but one.
Lysander: Less than an ace, man—for he is dead, he is nothing. (5.1.305-6).

These lines were translated by Župančič as follows:

Piram: Proč, mesca kras!
Smrt, smrt, zapri mi očesa. (Umre. – Mesečina odide.)
Demetrij: Ne očes, oko: na kockah mu je palo eno samo oko.
Lisander: Še manj torej, nego eno oko: mrtev je, nič ni. (108)

And in Jesih's translation:

Piram: Ti, jezik, mir,
ti luna v dir –
z menoj je pika, pika, pika. (Umre.) (Mesečina odide.)
Demetrij: Ne pika pika pika, marveč samo pika, ena sama,
tako je padla kocka.
Lisander: Manj ko pika: mrtev je, on je nič. (120)

The verbal ambiguities of these lines as expressed by Shakespeare and in Slovene translations indicate that notes accompanying a published translation are really valuable. Kelemina's explanations helped readers to understand the comic situations, and particularly puns, much better than if the audience only heard them spoken in the theatre. From the above quoted passages we can see that new translations may improve the reader's understanding of the text and enlarge the reader's perception of meanings, particularly when they are expressed in such a condensed way as it is often the case in Shakespeare's plays.

The Merchant of Venice

The Slovene translation of this play was prepared by Oton Župančič, and Jakob Kelemina wrote the Introduction (3-26) and Notes to the play (146-154). The book was edited by Nova založba in Ljubljana and published in 1921. From a letter written by Župančič to Kelemina already in 1918 we can see that Župančič urged Kelemina to keep to their agreement, obviously referring here to Kelemina's promise to co-operate in this project. In the same letter Župančič informs Kelemina that he has almost finished the translation.[43] He also proudly announces that he has prepared an almost completely new version of *The Merchant of Venice*, which, he hopes, is "much better that his /i.e. Župančič's/ previous translation". He adds that he meticulously insisted on the same number of lines as in Shakespeare's text, "but there are (still) two or three places where he could not do this" (*ibid.*). Župančič also mentions in this letter three authors (Delius, Riechelmann and Ost) whose works he consulted. He asks Kelemina, whether he is willing to write an introduction, and he also wants to know whether Kelemina wishes to see his translation first. This probably did not happen otherwise they would have unified the spelling of names of characters in the play. Župančič also remarks that he would be "thankful to Kelemina for any piece of advice" (*ibid.*) and he suggests that they might meet. Judging by the contents and the tone used by Župančič in this letter we can assume that Župančič then still relied very much on Kelemina's opinion about his translations and generally on Kelemina's help.

If we compare Kelemina's introduction to *A Midummer Night's Dream* with that of *The Merchant of Venice* and *Macbeth* we can see that Kelemina made important progress in his critical approach in these essays: whereas in his book reviews published

[43] Oton Župančič, letter to Jakob Kelemina, Ljubljana, 18 April 1918. (Doris Križaj's archive.)

in magazines he mainly concentrated upon his observations on philological questions regarding translations of Shakespeare's plays in Slovene and in Croatian, he later turned his attention to the themes and ethical questions presented in Shakespeare's plays, and he dealt with linguistic questions only in his Notes. In this and in the following essay Kelemina discusses more thoroughly the origin and the possible sources for the plot of the play, its structural development, and main themes. Although it is understandable that particularly when dealing with historical facts Kelemina had to rely on other sources, we notice that even in these questions he preserves his own judgment when several options are posssible. His desire for an independent evaluation of moral issues dealt with in the play is especially noticeable.

Kelemina thinks it is possible that Shakespeare wrote this play even earlier than it was (and still is) generally assumed, but he does not insist upon his estimation and suggests a wider time frame (between 1594 and 1598) than it is usually suggested. Further on he stresses that three tales dealt with in the play are skillfully woven together (a Persian and a Sanscrit tale), but he does not think that one of the possible sources for a tale was a ballad, which later appeared in Bishop Percy's collection *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.* In Kelemina's view the circumstances in these cases are rather different. He does agree though with the opinion which is generally accepted by literary historians, namely that Shakespeare relied in the Bond theme on Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone* (The Simpleton) printed in 1558, but he does not mention the commonly accepted view that Shakespeare took the casket-choosing theme from the 66th story of Richard Robinson's version of the collection of tales, *Gesta Romanorum.* Kelemina retells Fiorentino's story in detail, and stresses his point that Shakespeare's Portia is a much more noble character than her supposed prototype, and that Jessica's love affair and the story about her father have at least two possible sources, a tale by Masuccio from Salerno (1470) and an even more recent source, Christopher Marlowe's play *The Jew of Malta* (performed about 1592).

Kelemina is particularly interested in Shakespeare's moral portrayal of Shylock and in the portayal of Portia. He reaches here an interesting conclusion: the motivation of this fairy tale is not primarily based on real human characters, but on man's fate and on coincidences. In Shakespeare's time Venice was an exotic setting, often connected with immorality, and therefore such a bond between Shylock and Antonio was possible. But Shakespeare did not see Shylock as a tragic figure because of Shylock's race and religion; he saw Shylock as the playwright's portrayal of an individual, of an immoral, evil, cunning and greedy Jew, whose only value in life was money (which gave him power). And this is the reason why Shylock does not approve of Antonio's way of life and why Antonio's Christian love is unacceptable for Shylock. Shakespeare presents in Antonio a melancholic character, which cannot restrain his feelings, and not as a boasting and egocentric man, as some critics would like to see him.

Kelemina is especially intrigued by Portia's character, which represents for him an embodiment of the classical, Greek spirit, which was very close to man's ideals in the Renaissance. He considers her to be one of the most important and best drawn of Shakespeare's female characters, and can be easily compared to Juliet or to Cordelia.

Kelemina admires her education, her deep religious feelings and her self-denial. At the time when Kelemina wrote his essay the advancement of feminism was still often seen as a negative trend, but Kelemina draws a fine distinction between women's rights and the fact that Portia never gives »the impression of an emancipated woman« (17), because such a description would definitely imply (at least in Kelemina's opinion) a negative trait in Portia's character. If we use modern sociological terminology we can say that Kelemina was in favour of "equity feminism" and that he did not approve of extreme "gender feminism". Portia's character, which is based on the Christian law of mercy, is, according to Kelemina, a proper opposition to Shylock's greediness. When Shylock cannot be persuaded to give up his cruel demand, she beats him on the legal ground: he can have his pound of flesh but without shedding a drop of Antonio's blood. But this legal clause cannot be realized, and what is more, Shylock had already transgressed the laws of Venice when he attempted to seek the life of its citizen, an intention which is punished by law. Kelemina's point is that the implementation of Shylock's demand would result in injustice (Cicero's proverbial statement regarding such a situation is "summum ius, summa iniuria"). In the critic's view conflicts presented in the play (e.g. Shylock vs. Antonio and Bassanio, Shylock vs. Jessica, Portia vs. her father), if taken strictly from the legal point of view, are of secondary importance when compared with a "higher, natural law" (19). If a contract is immoral, it should not be valid. Such was also the explanation provided by several German scholars regarding this contract and their argument is also endorsed by Kelemina. Shylock's punishment, the loss of half of his fortune, is understandable, but Kelemina would rather see that Shylock was not forced to accept Christian religion, even though Kelemina accepts Antonio's explanation that it is "for his favour, / He presently become a Christian" (4.1.382-3). This verdict is such that Portia would approve of and it would be also accepted by the audience in Shakespeare's time, although nowadays it would most likely be interpreted as a result of "Christian vengence" or as anti-Semitic. However, among various possible interpretations regarding the theme of this play Kelemina suggests in his introduction that Shylock is forgiven, but, on the other hand, we can also say that Shylock »fell in the pit he dug for others«, or, that man's quest for wealth (like that of Barrabas in Christopher Marlowe's play *The Jew of Malta*) does not bring him happiness. Kelemina's conclusion is that the beauty of Shakespeare's poetry is properly enriched by the wealth of the poet's thoughts, by the play's "inner, spiritual life" (26). These arguments can still be accepted today as a possible interpretation of this play.

The Slovene translation of the play is also accompanied by a number of Kelemina's notes. However, if we compare the translation and the notes we see that Župančič and Kelemina did not coordinate the translation and Kelemina's Introduction and Notes. This becomes obvious already if we examine the spelling of proper names. So, for example, Kelemina often writes "Šekspir" (4, 8, 10 26, 146 etc.) and also "Shakespeare" (3); "Jessika" (7, 19, 25, 149) and Jessica (20); "Porcija" (7, 9, 16 etc.) and "Porzia" (149, 150 etc.), "Šajlok" (8, 10, 11 etc.) and "Shylock" (151). Župančič spells in his translation these names as "Jessica, Porzia, Shylock", and he uses the usual spelling ("Shakespeare") on the title page. In the complete edition of Shakespeare's plays in Slovene translation, published in three volumes in 1978, Matej Bor preserved the spelling of names as used by Župančič. Explanations for Kelemina's inconsistent use of

spelling of proper nouns may vary: first, he could not make up his mind which variant he would use, or, secondly, he may have been influenced in his spellings of names by the Serbo-Croatian variant, or, thirdly, the most likely explanation is that differences in spelling were caused by the lack of co-ordination between Kelemina and Župančič or by Kelemina's haste in providing his manuscript for the publication of the play. In spite of these shortcomings Kelemina's contribution to the Slovene translation of *The Merchant of Venice* is important, because it is one of the few early scholarly interpretations of this play offered by a Slovene literary historian and critic.

Macbeth

The plot and the theme of the play have attracted critics' attention to Shakespeare's presentation of the nature of evil and its embodiment in the central characters for centuries and therefore it is understandable that the central focus of Kelemina's criticism is oriented towards these questions. The play was published in 1921 in a Slovene translation prepared by Oton Župančič and edited by Tiskovna zadruga in Ljubljana. Kelemina wrote the Introduction (5-16) and Notes to the play (137-151), in which he mentions that most recent critical works were not available to him. He adds the glossary of pronounciation of proper names and names of places and regions mentioned in the play, which was a novelty in his writings on Shakespeare's plays, and particularly valuable at the time of the appearance of Slovene translation of the play when English was not yet *lingua franca* in Europe. Kelemina mentions that he used as a source for his notes works written by two German scholars (G. Kohlmann and O. Thiergen). His Notes are substantial enough and explain not only historical facts mentioned in the play but also connotations implied in the text. There is one minor slip which he made with regard to Malcolm and Donalbain: they are not King Duncan's grandsons, as mentioned in note 7 to Act 1 (*Macbeth* 139), but his sons.

Kelemina deals in his remarks with literary and theatrical aspects concerning the play. He points out that the first published version of *Macbeth*, which appeared in 1623, is an unsatisfactory text, because some of the relatively important scenes were cut and various new passages added, possibly by Shakespeare himself. He also mentions that the Hecate scenes were probably written by another playwright, Thomas Middleton (1580-1627). Kelemina accepts the suggestion often made by English literary historians, namely that Shakespeare probably wrote the play ten years before its publication, already in 1605-6. He does not mention though that it may have been performed in Edinburgh, to where Shakespeare had fled after the Essex rebellion. It is generally accepted that the first public performance of this play was in London's Globe Theatre on 20 April 1611. As the immediate source for the historical background which Shakespeare used for *Macbeth* Kelemina mentions Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), although Shakespeare probably used the second edition from 1587, which is more complete than the earlier one. Kelemina also mentions two other relevant sources both dealing with supernatural beings. These are Reginald Scot's famous work *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584) and *Daemonologie* (1597), written by James VI of Scotland, who succeded to the English throne after the death of Queen Elizabeth I

in 1603, as James I. We can see that Kelemina was familiar with all relevant historical material, which is still valid today.

After making his statement that *Macbeth* "belongs to the most complete of Shakespeare's creations" (5) Kelemina points out the differences which exist between the text in Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Shakespeare's treatment of characters. In *Chronicles* the main hero is presented from the very beginning as an arrogant, conceited and revengeful person, whereas Shakespeare depicts Macbeth at first as a proud, heroic character, who then develops into an evil man. In Holinshed's history Lady Macbeth does not have such an important role as in Shakespeare's play, so that the psychological development of both major characters can be wholly attributed to Shakespeare. Another major difference between the plot about Macbeth and his wife is the telescoped time scale in the play: Shakespeare condensed the events which are in the legendary ("historical") account spread through twelve years of Macbeth's reign, into a much shorter period, into a few important, selected scenes. Thus Shakespeare preserved the unity of composition and created a dramatic tension which is very significant for the play.

Kelemina sees the role of the witches and demons in agreement with people's belief in such supernatural beings still common in Shakespeare's time. These creatures symbolize, in the opinion of the critic, evil forces in nature and in man. The only person in the play who is independent and who does not allow evil forces abiding in man's soul to dominate his mind, is Banquo. Kelemina believes that this indicates the playwright's persuasion that witches (man's evil nature) cannot absolutely prevail in life, although the outcome of such a decision is not necessarily positive for the hero (in this case for Banquo). Another explanation of the hero is that he is aware right from the beginning that his actions are criminal, but he is too weak to oppose decisions made by his wife. The portrait of Lady Macbeth is generally interpreted either as that of an ambitious, but loving wife, or as a brutal, egotistic person, whose negative energy exerts disastrous consequences on her husband's heroic nature (13). This is the reason, in Kelemina's view, that the reader may not completely lose his sympathy for this character. However, in this play the hero's insult of God's and nature's order is suppressed. Macbeth's tragedy is caused by the fact that he cannot decide between "man's fate" as prophesied by the witches, and the trust in his own mind and in the ethical norms of society. It seems that Kelemina underestimates the complex nature of Lady Macbeth, who mentally (and also sexually) dominates her husband and whose role in Macbeth's decision is generally viewed as more important than that in Kelemina's interpretation.

In the introduction to the play Kelemina strongly advocates his belief that Shakespeare expresses in this tragedy the idea how "some higher justice" is finally victorious in life although lives of innocent people (like Banquo) may be sacrificed in this battle between good and evil. The decisions about man's actions are left to each individual separately, depending on his character and his personal integrity, although social, political and other circumstances should also be taken into account when important decisions are at stake. It is obvious that Kelemina was particularly interested in the ethical implications of this play, and even if we may occasionally disagree with some points made in his interpretation, his essay is written in such a provocative manner that we are still intrigued by his thoughts, especially by his persuasion that the play will revive our belief "in higher justice, which cannot be deceived" (16). Kelemina compares the drama of

innocent victims, caused by the cruelty of man's nature and his soul to "an apocalyptic vision of a storm or a vulcano", which have in this play been captured by the poet's imagination. In this connection Kelemina uses an image from nature according to which the idea of final justice is like "the star" showing the way to the future development of mankind. In spite of difficult tests which man has to endure in life Kelemina believes that mankind should be led into the future with the assurance of each new work of art expressing such positive ideals.

This optimism expressed in Kelemina's belief that one's life-course may depend on one's own endeavours to make life bearable as well as on one's Fate is reflected in his experiences in life. Although he was enrolled in the Austrian army at the time of the First World War, he was lucky enough not to be sent to the front line, to the Isonzo (Soča) battlefield, where so many young Slovene men died. Then, during the Second World War, he was already taken as a hostage by the German army in Kostanjevica, in Slovenia, but fortunately, he was not executed. And paradoxically enough, after the Second World War Kelemina was, as a suspected anglophile, sent to jail by the Yugoslav Communist regime, but after a few weeks of imprisonment he was released. It is also typical of Kelemina's character and his views on life that in spite of various trials he looked upon life stoically, occasionally with slightly embittered or ironic view, but essentially with positive feelings, what can also be seen from his interpretation of the above discussed macabre situations in Shakespeare's *Macbeth.* One can accept the view expressed by Janez Stanonik in his article on Kelemina that "he was a restrained character but a very kind-hearted man ....whose feelings were deeply hurt by an offensive word to which he was sometimes exposed" (Stanonik 1966: 334). In spite of many difficulties with which he was faced in his boyhood and in his adult life Kelemina succeeded to preserve his optimistic view on life and his personal integrity.

* * *

It seems that after what has been said above the question why Kelemina stopped writing book reviews and articles about Shakespeare in 1922 can be answered with some certainty. We can see from Kelemina's remarks regarding Oton Župančič's translations, from the correspondence between Kelemina and Župančič, and also from Kelemina's correspondence with Fran Albreht that Kelemina's and Župančič's views about Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays were at times different. Although Kelemina thought highly of Oton Župančič's lyrical gift, he stated in his reviews several times that Župančič did not always catch the complex meaning and connotations implied in Shakespeare's rich figurative language. Župančič's use of his local dialect from the region of Bela Krajina, where the poet was born and spent his youth, was occasionally in opposition to the standard Slovene language. Kelemina also made in his reviews various suggestions about words and passages used in Župančič's translation, which also indicates that Kelemina did not always agree with solutions offered by Župančič in his translations. However, this does not necessarily mean that Kelemina provided a better poetic solution. According to Kelemina the translation comes closest to its perfection if the translator succeeds not only in transfering from the source language to the target language the poetic form of the original text in all of its aspects (e.g. that there is the

same number of lines in the original and in the translation, the same kind of rhythm, figurative language, rhymes etc.), but when the translator also captures in the translation the greatest possible degree of the meaning expressed in the source language.[44] This is undoubtedly a demand which is still valid today. But as has already been indicated above translating from one language into another is a very complex and a difficult task, and sometimes it may even be impossible for a translator to perform this duty in the utmost degree due to different natures of both languages in question (e.g. the number of monosyllabic words in Slovene is much smaller than it is in English). Besides, translations do not depend only on the translator's knowledge of both languages, but also on the vocabulary and style of the language into which a text is translated as well as on the translator's linguistic ability to perform his task well. With regard to Župančič's translation of Shakespeare's plays several critics have observed that he did not adequately transmit various layers of the original text spoken by individual characters in English into the corresponding level of the Slovene. Besides, he did not always capture "the patina" of the original. Critics who have reviewed Župančič's translations, including Kelemina, praise Župančič's poetic gift, which is also seen in the poetic language and imagery which he used in his own poetry. On the other hand, we can also agree with Kelemina that in Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays prepared by Župančič differences representing the social and cultural habitat of Shakespeare's characters do not always match the original. This feature can also be endorsed if we compare Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays and translations prepared in the following decades by Matej Bor and Milan Jesih. Their translations are -- regarding the meaning of the text -- closer to the original than Župančič's translations. Bor and Jesih also more frequently transplant into Slovene the colloquial type of language used by some of Shakespeare's characters than Župančič.

In 1926 Miss F. S. Copeland published in the magazine *Ljubljanski zvon* an article on Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays which had appeared until then in a book form and which I have discussed above.[45] The initial point, which Copeland makes in her critique, refers to "the hard-hearted purists" (she does not mention any names though) who defend the principle that any translation is a kind of a literary "monster", and at its best "the work of a craftsman" (Copeland 1926:161). She makes a basic distinction between translations which correspond to the original, and those, which do not, and she explains her statement by saying that the translator should bring into the translation the same type of language, which was used by the author and the author's temperament. This is only possible - argues Copeland - when the translator is "in a close spiritual contact with the author". She asserts that the translator is also "the maker", "the creator from heaven ..bless'd" (162), and according to her estimation, Shakespeare, as "a maker", stands far apart from other English poets. In her view Župančič has tried to reach this,

[44] Kelemina 1919: 567.

[45] F. S. Copeland, "O Župančičevih prevodih Shakespearja." *Ljubljanski zvon* 1926: 161-170. - Fanny S. Barkworth Copeland (1872-1970) was born in Ireland, and then her parents moved to Scotland, where she spent her youth. In 1921 she came to Slovenia where she spent the rest of her life. She used to refer to herself as a "Scot". Miss Copeland was an ethusiastic mountaineer and she wrote a number of stories about her climbing in the Slovenian Alps. For a number of years she was employed as a lector in English language at the University of Ljubljana, and she also earned her living as a private tutor. Fanny S. Copeland also translated several Slovene works of fiction into English.

the highest level of correspondence between the original and the translation, not with "servile accuracy", but as a poet who created a poetic body in which the English poet is reflected with "a rare truthfulness" (163). Shakespeare tremendously enriched the English language, continues Copeland, whereas the charm of the Slovene language lies in "its spontaneous growth, its originality and homogeneity", "its colourful language, its stress and its rhythm" (164). Copeland finds the stress on the final syllable of Slovene words quite natural and therefore one of the characteristics of Shakespeare's language can easily be preserved in Slovene too.

Copeland's impressionistic statements and her "praise" about the nature of the Slovene language are rather vague so that the reader is not quite sure whether they can always be understood wholly positively. One may agree with her conclusion about the formal qualities of the Slovene langauge (such as rhythm) which enable the translator to capture the original flow of the English language in Shakespeare's plays also in Slovene translations. Her praise of Župančič's translations is almost extreme, also when she quotes a passage from *Macbeth* (3.4.146-172), both in Slovene and in English. She also quotes his translations of passages from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and from *The Merchant of Venice*, which she believes are "wonderfully translated" (170). According to her view they are translated so well that the reader does not need to know English to enjoy Shakespeare, because the poetic charm of his language is "heard and felt" (*ibid.*) in Slovene translation too, and "the inner significance" of Shakespeare's plays is raised in Slovene translations from the level of cold ratio to the level of »intuitive sympathies« (whatever she may have meant by this). Copeland concludes her impressionistically written critique by praising Kelemina's interesting introductions and his extensive notes, although "she humbly suggests" that she would like to see in his criticism more frequent parallels between the translation and the original text.

However, in the central part of her article Copeland also mentions some "faults" in Župančič's translations. Among them she refers to the lack of the inner rhyme in Župančič's translation of *Macbeth.* So, for example, she quotes the following sentence spoken by Lady Macbeth:

Lany Macbeth: The Thane of Fife had a wife; where is she now? - (5.1.41),

which runs in Župančič's translation:

L. Macbethova: Fifeski tan je imel ženo: kje mu je zdaj? (117)

Let me also quote this line from the most recent Slovene translation of this play prepared by Milan Jesih:

Lady Macbeth: Fifski gospod je imel ženo - kje je zdaj? (129).

Neither of Slovene translators succeded in finding the inner rhyme (Fife / wife), which provides in Shakespeare's play the heroine with the playfulness characteristic of her somnambulism.

On the other hand Copeland finds Župančič's translation referring to Lady Macbeth's recognition of her situation, as very good:

Lady Macbeth: Nought's had, all's spent,
Where our desire is got without content: (3.2.4-5)
Župančič:

L. Macbethova: Ničesar ne držiš, vse se podira,
Če vživaš, kar dosegel si, brez mira: (73)
Jesih:

Lady Macbeth: Ničesar ni pridobil, vse propade,
kdor z željo spolnjeno miru ne najde. (71)

In Copeland's view the observation made by Lady Macbeth shows to some extent the uncertainty felt by the heroine with the means which she and her husband have used. She concludes her comparison by pointing out that in the Slovene translation the above mentioned observation made by Lady Macbeth "does not sound like a cold, firmly made, rational statement", as it does in English. Copeland undoubtedly has a point here, however, seeing that in Jesih's translation the tone of Lady Macbeth's speech remains the same, this "feminine" manner of expressing Lady Macbeth's observation seems to reflect more the very nature of the Slovene language than the translators' weakness.

After Župančič had read these remarks made by Copeland, he reacted to them in his notes and diaries nervously, even angrily, although Copeland's critique was mainly extremely flattering. He admits that he did notice "the power" of Lady Macbeth's language in the play, but of which "the Slovene language is not capable" (*ibid.*). He also complains in the same note that Kelemina should have called his attention to this feature, but he had not done this, because he had not felt this power of Lady Macbeth's language, and that it was Kelemina who should have noticed it and not the translator.[46] Župančič further asserts that he gave to the Slovene translation of Shakespeare such power, which the translation can get from the Slovene language today. It is obvious that Župančič jotted down his remark in haste and anger, because he also adds that he (i.e. Kelemina) should have learnt from Copeland also her "respectful tone". These remarks made by Župančič call for the reader's view about his fairness. First of all, Kelemina provided for Župančič's translations a relatively large number of notes, and his comment on the tone of Lady Macbeth could be a matter for discussion. Besides, if Župančič gave to his translation »all the power the Slovene language then could give«,

[46] Župančič writes: "Pri verzih gospe Macbethove sem dobro čutil, da je v njih sila, a je slovenski jezik žal ni zmogel. Čutil sem, in če bi bil jaz delal opazke, bi bil to opomnil. Zakaj ni Kelemina takrat tega opomnil? Ker ni čutil. Zdaj pa ga je ženska gospa Copelandovva opozorila na to.

Zakaj se ni naučil od gospe tudi spoštljivega tone, v katerem se piše o velikem in za Slovence tako važnem podjetju?

Vsak jezik ima svoj značaj, ki ga loči od drugih jezikov. Ima pa vsak jezik vso moč, samo po svoje. Kje je ta moč, bi moral kritik vedeti; jaz ne; jaz sem tvorec, in sem prepričan, da sem dal slovenskemu Shakespearu tisto moč in moškost, katero mu more dati slovenski jezik v svojem današnjem razvoju." (Župančič *ZD* 8: 248)

a remark made by Kelemina simply could not be used by the translator, it would even be superfluous. Of course, it is also possible that Kelemina did not notice this particular feature, a special tone used by Lady Macbeth, but would not it be proper for the translator to notice it, too? We see that Župančič wishes to lay the blame for his "inadequate translation" (is it really?) on Kelemina. In my view the main reason lies for this in the fact that Župančič's pride as a translator was hurt and that the respectful tone, which he demands from Kelemina was still his anger because Kelemina pointed out the fact that in Župančič's translations his "Muse was wearing breeches", that the translator's poetic impulse prevailed over the original text (see above: Kelemina 1922), although Kelemina's image was never printed. It is also possible that Župančič still remembered Kelemina's rather harsh critique of his translation of *The Merchant of Venice,* published by Kelemina in 1907. Besides, as we shall see, Kelemina's review of Župančič's play *Veronika Deseniška* was not fully positive regarding the dramatic qualities of the play so that this judgment may have also influenced Župančič's rather negative attitude towards him.[47] All these details probably resulted in further disagreements between the translator and the critic, whose roles in bringing Shakespeare to Slovene readers were complementary, but not the same. It is also obvious that they both kept to their principles and that their characters were different. We can accept Župančič's high opinion about his knowledge of the Slovene language and about the aesthetic quality of his translations regardless of some weaknesses which can be found in his translations. He sees himself as one of those few people in Slovenia who can "play on this delicate intrument of the Slovene language" (Župančič *ZD* 8: 248).[48] This image, which is based on Hamlet's saying that Guildenstern cannot "play upon this pipe" (*Hamlet* 3.2.353-4), is true, but Župančič also admits that when "this instrument", that is the Slovene language is "more vivacious" it will live to see better artists.

Our analysis of Kelemina's writing on Shakespeare has shown that Kelemina was basically more interested in literary, historical, ethical, and linguistic explanations of the text than in the very process of translation. In his article on Anton Funtek's, Oton Župančič's and Matej Bor's translations of *King Lear* Velimir Gjurin asserts that although Župančič corrected thirty mistakes in lexicology, grammar, idioms, made by Funtek, he committed a dozen of his own mistakes.[49] Gjurin considers the weakest point of Funtek's and Župančič's translations their lack of knowledge of Shakespearean vocabulary, a fact, which was also mentioned by Kelemina in several of his writings. The main differences between Župančič and Kelemina can be found in their different approach to the text: Župančič looked upon it as a poet and translator and Kelemina as a scholar. But there is no doubt that Župančič profited from Kelemina's professional advice. Unfortunately, Župančič's translations that followed the publication of the above mentioned plays by 1939 did not have either an introduction or notes to the play and were thus "robbed" of a useful cohabitation between the work of art and a critical judgment.

[47] Jože Mahnič also thinks that one of the reasons for Župančič's embitterment expressed in his letter to his wife Ani in 1927 was also the critics' reaction to this play (N.p., 19 August 1927. See: Župančič *ZD* 11: 638).

[48] "Jaz si domišljam, da sem med tistimi nekaj ljudmi, ki znajo svirati na delikatni inštrument slovenskega jezika in mu izvabiti tiste tone, ki so v njem. Kadar bo ta inštrument bolj razigran, bo dočakal boljših umetnikov.« (Župančič *ZD* 8: 248)

[49] Velimir Gjurin 1976: 83.

Two main Slovene translators of Shakespeare's plays, who continued Župančič's work, are Matej Bor and Milan Jesih. Some corrections of Župančič's translations were also made by Janko Moder, who modernized Župančič's spelling, corrected some of printers's errors, and also changed some of the archaic or dialectal words with contemporary vocabulary.[50] However, a lot of work was still left to Matej Bor, who translated into Slovene about half of Shakespeare's plays, which had not been translated earlier. An even more radical change was made by Milan Jesih, who has so far newly translated into Slovene one third of plays written by Shakespeare. By 1990, fifty years after Župančič had translated *Romeo and Juliet*, Jesih introduced in his translations of Shakespeare's plays many changes in vocabulary, style, semantics and poetic elements.[51] In Jesih's translation obsolete (archaic) words, which are no longer used in everyday speech are substituted with new, coloquial expressions and idioms. He also included parts of lines which were omitted by Župančič and corrected his mistranslations.

Matej Bor, who was also the first editor of complete Shakespeare's plays in Slovene translation, admits that he began reading Shakespeare's works in Slovene translations because he was thrilled by Oton Župančič's words "which were sometimes so glittering that they even disturbed /the playwright's/ view of the world".[52] Bor sees the advantage of the Slovene language, if compared with some other European languages, in the fact that Slovene vocabulary is rich enough to include words that bear the stress on different syllables, which makes it possible for Slovene translators to use all metrical forms, from hexameter to blank verse. One of the reasons why Bor enjoyed translating Shakespeare's plays was that this task gave him the possibility to move from his own world to a different world presented by Shakespeare. Similarly, the poet, translator and playwright Milan Jesih, sees the achievement of Oton Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays in his high, masterful standards of translating the English verse into Slovene, in Župančič's "effort, extending maybe even to exhibitionism, to make his language most lyrical and poetic."[53] Like other translators and critics Jesih admires Župančič as a master "who established the standards of translating verse" into Slovene.[54] Janez Menart, who translated Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems into Slovene, also joins Slovene translators in his praise of Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays.[55] However, among "weaknesses" which appear in Župančič's translations he mentions Župančič's use of Croatian words, his use of nonstandard Slovene words (corrupted variants), of archaic words and his lax neologisms. He also points out Župančič's occasional omissions of the original text. In Menart's view these features are mainly the result of the translator's wish to preserve in his translation the original rhythmic pattern and the

[50] Janko Moder (1914 -2006), translator, linguist, bibliographer, editor.

[51] Although this is not the theme of the present article let me only mention as an illustration some examples of changes in the two translations. The order in which the examples are listed, is the following: 1. Shakespeare's text, 2. Župančič's translation, and 3. Jesih's translation. E.g. nephew / bratič / nečak; Nurse / Dojka / Pestunja; John / John / Janez; Lawrence / Laurence / Lorenzo; servant / sluga / služabnik; East / iztok / vzhod; heads (of the two houses) / starešina / oče; Chorus / kor / zbor; poison / trovilo / strup; heartless kinds / šleve / bedni kmetavzi; purple fountains / (s) studenci rdečimi / (s) curki škrlatnimi; noble uncle / žlahtni ujec / plemeniti stric; lovely / dražestna / ljubka; etc. etc.

[52] Matej Bor 1988: 152.

[53] Milan Jesih 1991: 96.

[54] *Ibid.* 103.

[55] Janez Menart 1980: 88-91.

rhyme scheme. However, Menart states that Župančič's translations are an enormous contribution to Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays in which the translator's impact is also visible in his own style.

All three Slovene translators of Shakespeare's plays mentioned above share Kelemina's view about Župančič's approach to translating Shakespeare's plays. In her critical observation regarding Župančič's use of language in his translation of *Hamlet*, Majda Stanovnik points out that in Shakespeare's works there is an extraordinary variety of the dramatist's use of language, so that the speech of his characters is richly differentiated, and this variety also throws light on Shakespeare's multi-layered society.[56] In Cankar's and Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays the language is brought close to »the polite literary language«, although Župančič adds to it elements of colloquial language. She also accepts the idea that a new translation of *Hamlet* is necessary due to the historical development of Slovene language, and new, different connotations, accompanying the fundamental lexical meaning of Slovene words. In one way of another all of these views support the theses expressed by Jakob Kelemina's articles on Oton Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays. Although Župančič did not accept some of Kelemina's suggestions connected with his explanations of the meaning of words or idioms, Kelemina definitely contributed to Župančič's increased awareness of the linguistic complexity of Shakespeare's plays. This is also a proof that Kelemina's contribution to the above discussed and indirectly also to other translations of Shakespeare's plays done by Župančič, was significant. Kelemina's studies also represent an important step in the development of Slovene criticism of Shakespeare's plays.

KELEMINA'S VIEWS ON SHAKESPEARE AS EXPRESSED IN SOME OF HIS OTHER WORKS

There are two other works written by Kelemina in which Shakespeare and his plays are dealt with, but only as subsidiary references to some other major theme. These works were both written after 1922, but they neverthless contribute to our understanding of Kelemina's views on Shakespeare's treatment of historical themes and on his dramatic technique. However, they are thematically of lesser importance than Kelemina's introductory essays to Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays which were published together with Župančič's Slovene translations. These works are Kelemina's review of Oton Župančič's play *Veronika Deseniška* and his introduction to the theory of literature, *Literarna veda.* Kelemina's review of *Veronika Deseniška* was published in 1926, and his book on the theory of literature in 1927.

Kelemina's references to Shakespeare in his review of Oton Župančič's play *Veronika Deseniška*

In 1924 Oton Župančič wrote the tragedy *Veronika Deseniška*, which was first performed by the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana on 1 Dec. 1924. The play was

[56] Majda Stanovnik 1991: 7, 18.

then discussed by a number of prominent Slovene critics, who started a vivid polemic about Župančič's treatment of this theme connected with Slovene history (e.g. Josip Vidmar, Fran Albreht, France Koblar etc.). Jakob Kelemina wrote a long study of the play and those parts of his article dealing with comparisons between Shakespeare's treatment of tragic themes and Župančič's vision of it will be briefly analysed here. Kelemina's study was published in 1926 in the well-known Slovene literary magazine *Ljubljanski zvon.*[57] Kelemina begins his essay by praising contemporary Slovene dramatists, and he believes that Župančič's choice of a tragic theme related to Slovene history is very appropriate. He thinks it is natural that Župančič found his inspiration for this tragedy in Shakespeare's "histories", which also left visible traces in this "poem" (as Kelemina refers to this text). Such are, for example, a multi-layered action, which demands a large number of characters and which makes the unity of time and place impossible; an introduction of a comic character as a "philosopher"; the inclusion of comic elements, etc. (496). According to Kelemina such a variety of dramatic components presented for Župančič a difficulty, when he attempted to unite them into a well-balanced whole.

The story of Župančič's play is based on a triangle between the count Friderik from Celje, his wife Jelisava and young Veronika, with whom Friderik has fallen in love. When Jelisava learns the truth about Friderk's love she accepts it and she forgives Veronika. But because she does not see a solution, she takes a deadly amount of sleeping potion, and dies. Friderik's father does not wish to accept Veronika as "a countess of Celje"; he accuses her of sorcery and throws his son and Veronika into prison, where Veronika, who is with Friderik's child, dies.

Kelemina mentions in his study about the play that Župančič obviously grasped in it the subject-matter, "which has waited to come into a magician's hands to be saved", because the play treats both a general theme close to mankind (a love triangle) and particular national problem, because Veronika, who is guilty of her illicit connection, also admits that it was also the result of her ambition to become a countess of Celje. In Kelemina's view Veronika's fate represents a tragedy based largely on her personal guilt, on her lust for power, a feature which has not been noticed by other Slovene critics (497-8). He also insists that Veronika's ethical guilt must be distinguished between Župančič's portrayal of this female character from Shakespeare's (morally positive) portrayals of tragic heroines -- like Cordelia, Desdemona, and Ophelia -- whose penitance is not based on their personal sins but on man's original sin. Kelemina also has some doubts concerning the structure and the technique of this play. He argues, for example, that the exposition is not properly developed, that the structure of the play is loose and that therefore the play lacks dynamism in the presentation of characters. As one of the major faults of *Veronika Deseniška* he finds the lack of causality in the plot of the play, which Župančič substituted with his use of symbolism; as a consequence of this approach the critic does not find Župančič's dialogues persuasive enough. Kelemina actually repeats here some of his observation, which he had made earlier with regard to Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays. They include Župančič's "God-like diction", and, on the other hand, his "forgetfulness" that dialogues should serve to

[57] Jakob Kelemina, "O *Veroniki Deseniški.*" *Ljubljanski zvon* 46. 7-8 (1926). 495-508.

present dramatic conflicts and should not be used without an aim or a purpose (507). Kelemina finally observes that although Župančič's characters are superb, they are not shown in dramatic struggle.

Even though Kelemina begins and ends his study on Oton Župančič's play *Veronika Deseniška* by praising its author, he also enumerates in the central part of his study its weaknesses. His final suggestion that Župančič will be able to use well a large variety of subjects, which are dealt with in this play in his "future creations" (508), seems to be more a consolation than an unreserved praise of the playwright's dramatic mastery.

The opinions of other Slovene critics who wrote about Župančič's *Veronika Deseniška* differed a lot and in the debate about the play and its criticism Kelemina's views were one-sidedly attacked by Vlado Premru as "politically shameful", and as "tendentious art of pro-Yugoslav orientation".[58] Jože Mahnič, Oton Župančič's biographer, remarks in his notes on Župančič that Kelemina's writing is mainly a discussion of basic views related to the play rather than its critique. According to him Kelemina sticks in his essay too much to the Aristotelian concept of tragedy and does not show enough understanding for the symbolism of the play (Župančič *ZD* 6: 417-8). But if we examine Župančič's views on drama as expressed in his writing we can assume that the playwright's intention was to treat the subject-matter of this play as a type of "a historical tragedy", which Župančič admired in Shakespeare's opus, and which he praised so frequently in his introductions, letters and diaries. If so, Kelemina was right in his explanation of *Veronika Deseniška*, because the play's symbolism should not hinder the development of its action and should not diminish the plausibilty of its characters.

It is possible that criticism which appeared after the production of this play at the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana also influenced Župančič's rather hesitant reply when he was asked to allow the play to be performed by the Slovene National Theatre in Maribor. In his letter to the manager he suggests that the text of the play should be shortened and (dialogues, scenes?) rearranged. When he was asked to come and see the premiere in Maribor (on 16 Oct. 1926), he declined the invitation, saying, that he had already seen Osip Šest's production of the play in Ljubljana (Župančič *ZD* 6: 419). One of the proofs that Kelemina was basically right in his judgement is also the fact that Župančič's play has not been since frequently produced in Slovene theatres and that Župančič's other attempts in the dramatic genre have not been successful either.

Kelemina on Shakespeare in his introduction to the theory of literature (*Literarna veda*)

The first Slovene manual on the theory of literature was Jakob Kelemina's book *Literarna veda* (Literary Sciences), which was published by Nova založba in Ljubljana

[58] Vlado Premru (1902-1949), a little known writer and translator. He attacked Župančič and Kelemina in his article "Slovenstvo in naši kulturni delavci" (*Mladina* 4-5, 1926-27: 94) in which he blames them from two, completely diffferent points of view, as glorifiers of former German (Austrian) rulers and as admirers of Yugoslavia. (See: Župančič *ZD* 6: 420-21).

in 1927. The text deals with different aspects of literary theory, and also includes views of a number of literary theoreticians who were well known at that time (e.g. Walzel, Ermatinger, Dilthey). In this study only Kelemina's references to Shakespeare and his plays will be dealt with. Kelemina states that drama is particularly suited to present an abstract subject-matter, but which does not exclude "our aesthetic enjoyment". As an example he mentions Hamlet's monologue "To be or not to be ...," which has an influence on us like any other elevated thought or witty reflexion even though "it may not be covered with an exuberant form of clearness" (Kelemina 1927: 42). According to Kelemina every subject-matter contains the possibility of special stylistic treatment, but when the author falsifies the essential features of an original subject-matter, the effect may be quite the opposite. Among examples offered by Kelemina for this assertion he mentions the story about Pyramus and Thisby, which was originally presented by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, but which acquired a new interpretation in Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Kelemina points out that the story is not comical by itself, but that the manner in which it is enacted by Bottom and his fellows provides it with a funny, comical meaning. The form of a work of art depends on the will of its creator who gives it different functions and forms of fantasy. Kelemina particularly stresses that the attempts to turn a slight plot into a novel or a play have often proved unsuitable.

Another topic which Kelemina mentions briefly in this study is dramatic poetry. Actions in a play are directed to a special purpose and it is essential that the struggle to achieve a certain aim takes place in a play. The core conflict in the subject-matter should be presented by dramatic diction related to acuality, stresses Kelemina, the point which we often come accross as one of the basic demands made on playwrights and critics in the first half of the twentieth century. The inner life of characters in the play is complemented by the external action of the play, and the play gains its momentum in dramatic dialogues. Kelemina also stresses that the poetic form and the structure of the play do not have their own purpose, but that they are used to enable the audience to enjoy properly the theme (the subject-matter) of the play (75). The critic also argues how very important it is to create the highest possible level of expressiveness in language into which of a work of art is translated ("the target language"). He mentions that in his criticism of translations of works written by Goethe, Shakespeare, Nietzsche, he has often pointed out the efforts of our translators to reach a high linguistic level. He repeats the argument, which he has often used, namely that it seems almost impossible to translate a play written by Shakespeare into a language, which does not have its own firmly established diction (97), the reference was clearly aimed at the then situation in dramatic art in Slovenia.

It is clear that the main concepts about drama, which are expressed by Kelemina in this survey also on the art of the theatre, are generally based on critical theories proclaimed in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, and to a lesser extent also in essays on tragedy written by F. Schiller, on Goethe's conversations with Eckermann, and on A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature.* Therefore it is understandable that Kelemina could not agree with Shaw's view that "Shakespear is full of little lectures", and with Nietzsche's celebration of power and his derision of the slave morality, which Nietzsche associated with Christianity. On the other hand, in Kelemina's insitance that poetry in drama should not be used merely as decoration, an

embellishment, and which seems to refer mainly to Oton Župančič's manner of translating Shakespeare's plays, it sounds very much like demands which were later on so persuasively made by T. S. Eliot in his essay "Poetry and Drama" (1950). To conclude: even though Kelemina's main interest regarding translations of Shakespeare's plays into Slovene was linguistically, literary, ethically and historically orientated it is a pity that Kelemina stopped writing about drama so early in his academic career, because most of his observations and suggestions are still quite modern and acceptable, of course, when basic dramatic principles of the "traditional" type of drama are discussed.

CONLUSION

Theatrical life in Slovenia has a long history, which dates back to the Renaissance period, even though for a long time it mainly depended on visits of foreign theatre groups, which came to Ljubljana quite regularly and performed here Shakespeare's plays particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. However, students of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana, had occasionally also produced plays; so, for example, they staged in Ljubljana a German a version of King Lear story already in 1698. However, the first play written in Slovene was *Škofjeloški pasijon* (1721), a religious procession about the death of Jesus Christ. Slovene intellectuals who studied in Vienna during the past three centuries could see there from the end of the eighteenth century onward a number of (original, not adapted versions) of Shakespeare's plays. The beginner of Slovene drama, Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756-1795), who was thrilled by Shakespeare's plays which he saw in Vienna and he even wrote a play (*Miss Jenny Love*) under Shakespeare's influence. The greatest Slovene poet, France Prešeren (1800-1849), was also familiar with Shakespeare's plays, but his friends did not persuade him to write a play on a historical theme, like Shakespeare.

Throughout the nineteenth century many Slovene authors and critics mention Shakespeare and his works in their essays and in their criticism. This is also the period when the first Slovene translations of individual scenes from Shakespeare's plays appeared in Slovene periodicals. After 1876 a number of Slovene professional theatre groups contributed to a very vivid theatrical life in Ljubljana and later on also in some other cities (Maribor, Trieste / Trst). As we can see from the table of professional theatre productions in Slovenia between 1867 and 1922, productions of Shakespeare's plays increased yearly, not to mention an extremely rich theatrical development in the second half of the twentieth century.

Although in the 19th century several less known translators tried to make Slovene readers (and later on also audiences) acquainted with Shakespeare's plays, the most important contribution in this field was made by Oton Župančič (1878-1949), who translated eighteen of his plays. One of the main problems at the beginning of the twentieth century was the lack of knowledge of English in Slovenia so that the majority of translators, including Župančič's first translations of Shakespeare's plays, were prepared on the basis of the German translations. This also resulted in many linguistic errors, which appeared in early Slovene translations of Shakespeare's plays..

Jakob Kelemina (1882-1957) published his first book review of Župančič's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1907. After the First World War he had already written two lengthy reviews of Župančič's translation of *Othello*, and of three Croatian translations of Shakespeare's plays. He pointed out in his reviews to a number of grammatical, lexical and syntactical mistakes also in Župančič's translation, and advised him and Croatian translators to use for their translations the English original. In 1920 Kelemina contributed an introductory essay and notes to Župančič's translations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in 1921 to *The Merchant of Venice* and to *Macbeth.* Kelemina's interpretations show his scholarly approach to Shakespeare's plays. In his introductions he discussed literary, historical, ethical, ethnographic and other aspects of Shakespeare's plays. In his meticulously prepared notes he offered abundant explanation of individual sintagms and passages in these play. This, no doubt, helped Župančič at his translations of Shakespeare's plays. But from Župančič's letters and notes we can see that Kelemina's approach to these plays, which was more philologically oriented, did not suit the translator, and it is most likely that differences in their characters did not help their cooperation either. It was stopped after 1922, when Kelemina wrote his last review of Slovene and Croatian translations of Shakespeare's plays prepared by Oton Župančič, Milan Bogdanović and Milan Šenoa. Kelemina especially pointed out in this review that Župančič's translations were more poetic than translations by the two above mentioned Croatian translators. It is not only the opinion of the author of this paper but also the opinion expressed by two most important translator's after Župančič, Matej Bor and Milan Jesih, that Župančič indulged himself in the beauty of his poetic translations to such an extent that he sometimes neglected to include in his translations the complexity of meaning expressed by Shakespeare in his plays, so rich in poetic elements. Bor's and Jesih's translations are thus much closer to everyday colloquial speech. Kelemina was the first Slovene critic whose writings about Oton Župančič's translations of Shakespeare's plays still have a scholarly value. Jakob Kelemina helped Župančič in his work as a translator with his practical suggestions regarding the possibilities of translating as well as indirectly, with his theoretical views on drama and with his suggestions for Župančič's use of literature on Shakespeare's plays, different interpretations and dictionaries to achieve a very high standard in his translations. Jakob Kelemina definitely also set the standards for future interpretation and evaluation of Shakespeare's plays in Slovenia.

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WORDSWORTH'S "TINTERN ABBEY" AND THE TRADITION OF THE "HYMNAL" ODE[1]

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In Memoriam

Abstract

Despite the claims for simplicity of language that Wordsworth articulated in the early years of his literary career, especially in the "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads*—his pronounced difference from earlier (Neoclassical) poets, poetic practice, and the forms of poetry of the Augustans—he could not escape what Walter Jackson Bate long ago termed the "burden of the past". Wordsworth's indebtedness to his literary forbears is not only ideational but formal as well. The present article aims to examine Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" and relate it to the tradition of the hymnal ode used so masterfully by William Collins in the mid-century, at the same time reconsidering the generic conceptualisation of the poem as an ode in all but name which in its structure and essence re-evokes mid-century hymnal odes but which is contextualised within Wordsworth's notion of emotional immediacy and simplicity.

Wordsworth's "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads* claims for "greater simplicity" and the representation of "elementary feelings"[2] without the "gaudiness and inane phraseology of many modern writers"[3] are commonly taken to constitute the principal poetics of post-Augustan naturalness, emotional immediacy as well as the primitivist originality of Rousseauvian Romanticism. According to John F. Danby, Wordsworthian "simplicity is an invitation to a new intimacy, a new discipline, and a new complexity."[4] This complexity is represented not only in the ideology that Wordsworth's works advocate but also in the form that the poet chose to communicate ideas to his readers. In the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* of 1800, Wordsworth seemed to see the necessity to add an

[1] I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Frederick Burwick for a critical reading of and helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

[2] Wordsworth, "Preface," 60. The "Preface" will be cited from Michael Mason ed., *Lyrical Ballads* (London and New York: Longman, 1994).

[3] Wordsworth, "Preface," 59.

[4] John F. Danby, *The Simple Wordsworth: Studies in the Poems* 1797-1807 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), 26.

explanatory note to "Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey. On Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798"[5]: "I have not ventured to call this Poem an Ode; but it was written with a hope that in the transitions, and the impassioned music of the versification, would be found the principal requisites of that species of composition."

By negation Wordsworth introduces the generic form of the ode, and characterises it by means of its typical "transitions" as well as "the impassioned music of the versification." Wordsworth's familiarity with the "species of composition" of the ode reflects his reading of the major odes of the mid-century. In the "Preface" he commended Collins who, by Romantic poets, was universally associated with the ode and whose rare first edition of *Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects* (1746) Wordsworth possessed.[6] In his 1793 "Remembrance of Collins" he imitated the poet's *Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson.* Clearly, Wordsworth was aware of the (generic and ideational) distinctness of "Tintern Abbey"; at the same time, he utilised conventions that were used by Collins but modified them significantly in his poem so that – while giving voice to his cult of Nature – the classical Hellenism that inspired Collins was no longer discernible.

Collins's odes had not developed a "religion of nature"[7] as Wordsworth's poems did, but he embedded his personifications in a framework of myth that enabled him to build, in the form of the ode, a sublime setting in which his speakers invoked the central deities of the compositions.[8] While Collins invoked emanations of Goddess Natura, Wordsworth provided a personalised version of this all-comprising deity which was not defined in mythological terms.[9] Yet, even Wordsworth attributes a mysticism to Nature that Collins saw as an inherent aspect of his deities.

Wordsworth's association of his poem with the genre of the ode is unavoidable since the ode – most prominently since the mid-eighteenth century, and especially through the renewed interest in Longinus and John Dennis's treatise on the sublime – is a lyric genre that deals with the sublime, the superhuman, supernatural and the divine. Collins had already left behind the encomiastic function that seventeenth-century odes – especially music odes – had utilised, and Wordsworth does not revive this function, either. Kurt Schlüter demonstrated in *Die englische Ode: Studien zu ihrer Entwicklung unter Einfluß der antiken Hymne* that the structure of Collins's hymnal odes consisted of three distinct parts: (i) the initial invocation of the deity, (ii) the 'pars epica', a narrative part dedicated to providing information (mythological or contextual) on the deity and its importance for the speaker, and (iii) a petition, usually, for inspiration. Schlüter

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[5] "Tintern Abbey" will be cited from Michael Mason ed., *Lyrical Ballads* (London and New York: Longman, 1994).

[6] This copy is now in the Piermont Morgan Library, New York. Edward Gay Ainsworth Jr, *Poor Collins: His Life, His Art, and His Influence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1937), 256-59, has examined Wordsworth's interest in Collins. See also, Sandro Jung, "William Collins, Wordswoth and Coleridge," *ANQ*, 20 (2007).

[7] H. W. Piper, *The Active Universe: Pantheism and the Concept of Imagination in the English Romantic Poets* (London: The Athlone Press, 1962), 60.

[8] Gray, on the other hand, in his odes demonstrated encyclopaedic learning, annotation, as well as poetic diction, features that are irreconcilable with Wordsworth's aspiration to represent the language and sentiments of "common men."

[9] See Sandro Jung, "William Collins and 'Goddess Natura'," special issue on eighteenth-century poetry (2006, forthcoming).

considered the invocation as the most important part, since it established the relationship between speaker and deity; for that reason, he does not consider "Tintern Abbey" a hymnal ode, arguing that the "Art seiner [Wordsworth's] Begegnungen mit dem Göttlichen ist wesentlich verschieden von dem Erlebnis der mythischen Schau, obwohl er sie gelegentlich mit den Worte *vision* bezeichnet.[10] He concedes, however, that there are "in Wordsworths besonderer Weise, das Göttliche zu erleben, Züge, die mit der Darstellung in der bisher bekannten odischen Form in Spannung stehen."[11] Groundbreaking though it was – and still the best history of the English ode – his study aimed to trace the history of the hymnal ode by means of concentrating on the major representatives. Recent research, as well as the revision of the poetic canon, reflects a new interest in those authors hitherto ignored or neglected. In that respect, it must be acknowledged that the hymnal ode lived on after the publication of Collins's and Gray's odes but that the strict formula that Schlüter introduced was at times translated into a tripartite structure of strophe – antistrophe – epode, while others applied a reductivist poetics and held that the hymnal invocation was the only essential component part of the ode.[12]

In Wordsworth's use of the genre of the ode the Thou-I relationship of traditional hymnal odes in which the speaker depreciates his own identity by apostrophising the "Thou" is inverted into the Romantic constellation of I-Thou. There are brief invocations in "Tintern Abbey" of "sylvan Wye" which, however, are integrated in the long contemplative passages of recollection.

Wordsworth primarily used the 'pars epica' not to describe the deity but himself in order to put into context the lengthy recollections of the speaker's experiences and sensations. One of the central topics for Wordsworth is that of recollection; the spontaneous response to the power of Nature that he may have felt when first visiting Tintern Abbey could have been uttered by means of a hymnal apostrophe; recollection, however, is a process that has already used the synthesising (inspiring) qualities that a successful petition would have conferred on him. Through his central emphasis on recollection, therefore, Harold Bloom argues, "Wordsworth so mystifies memory as to make it the one great myth of his antimythological poetry,"[13] thereby introducing mythic qualities that are inherent in the hymnal tradition. In that regard, "Tintern Abbey" "becomes more memory than spiritual or imaginative renovation."[14] The poem adopts the epic features that Pindar's Epinician odes possessed, as well as the modal correlations that were introduced in the long poem and will, later in Wordsworth's career, be employed in *The Prelude*.[15] Unlike Pindar or Collins, however, Wordsworth does not represent

[10] Schlüter, *Die englische Ode: Studien zu ihrer Entwicklung unter Einfluß der antiken Hymne* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1964), 182.

[11] Schlüter, *Die englische Ode*, 181.

[12] See Sandro Jung, "Form versus Manner: The Pindaric Ode and the 'Hymnal' Tradition in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *LiLi: Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* (2006), 21-39.

[13] Harold Bloom, "The Scene of Instruction: *Tintern Abbey*," *Modern Critical Views: William Wordsworth*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 1985), 113. See also, Stuart M. Sperry Jr., "From 'Tintern Abbey' to the 'Intimations Ode': Wordsworth and the Function of Memory," *The Wordsworth Circle*, 1 (1970), 40-49.

[14] Bloom, "The Scene of Instruction," 116.

[15] See Sandro Jung, *The Poetic Fragment in the Long Eighteenth Century*, 1660-1830 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).

the history of heroes (Pindar) or the aretalogy of his personifications (Collins), but is more concerned with a desire to re-narrate his own history, the history of his mental and poetic growth. In doing so, the 'pars epica' in "Tintern Abbey" is transformed into an autobiographical recollection of his visit to the abbey while at the same time redefining the ode as a Romantic lyric genre that no longer requires the superior deity in order for the speaker to be granted the petition that is usually the subject of the apostrophe. Rather than seeing "Tintern Abbey" as a failed hymnal ode, it represents a decisive alternative to the mythological odes of the mid-century; Alastair Fowler, writing about genre, insists that generic "features are often characteristic through their absence."[16] And in Wordsworth's poem the striking absence of the invocational petition – the central address of the deity – is silently taken for granted and echoed in his mention of Nature as his personal guide, guardian and mother, functions that Collins (similarly, if more hesitantly) attributed to Goddess Natura in his odes.

The title mention of Wordsworth's "revisiting the banks of the Wye" indicates that his composition draws on the memory of a past visit and combines this – through imaginative synthesis – with his present visit to the abbey. The force of "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings"[17] is translated into durable (and artful) form. His technique of recollecting and reconstructing the past through transforming a transient, unstable, and fragmented memory of past impressions into a lasting memory that functions as the backbone of Wordsworth's (moral) well-being and identity as a poet appears not to be based on a plan other than Wordsworth's immediate response to revisiting Tintern Abbey. It is, therefore, an impression of immediacy and spontaneity that he wants to create. Wordsworth's imagination does not merely recollect the past, but refines both the memory as well as the sensations first experienced. Although, as Mary Jacobus argues, the process of recollection concentrates the "beautifully controlled movement of the verse" with the "mood"[18] of "tranquil restoration," thereby assuming that Wordsworth only serves as mouthpiece of his imagination, she realises at the same time that this process of translating thoughts and memories into writing requires some ordering of ideas, associations, connectives and transitions which reflect the artistry of Wordsworth's poem. Michael Mason further helpfully reminds the reader that "Tintern Abbey" "was not written confronting the scene it describes or even 'composed' there. [...] The date furnished in the title confirms the Fenwick note, as this was the day on which Wordsworth returned with Dorothy from his walking tour of the summer of 1798."[19]

The "introspective recall" that is so central to Wordsworth's recollection of past experience is reflected in his "rhythms of thought – associative exploratory, fluctuating in and out of the present."[20] The poet uses the fragmentary and elusive qualities of the ode to bridge the conflict between original experience and recollected experience;

[16] Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 73.

[17] Wordsworth, "Preface," 62.

[18] Mary Jacobus, *Tradition and Experiment in Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 48.

[19] Mason ed., *Lyrical Ballads*, 205.

[20] Jacobus, *Tradition and Experiment*, 50.

this experience, through the process of poetic composition, becomes "durable" and "permanent." Steven Knapp is certainly right, in that regard, that the necessity to order the elements of memorable experience that constitute the hymnal 'pars epica' can only be achieved through reflection, for "only in the tranquil perspective of a later moment can the unwarranted excitement of the original experience be recognised as an index of the mind's transcendence through illusion of supernatural circumstances."[21] Marshall Brown reads "Tintern Abbey" in terms of the poet's construction of experiential and imaginative growth and, in his reading, traces "an interpretation of empiricism" in which "Wordsworth recomposes the genesis of his current maturity."[22]

Wordsworth successfully creates the impression that the reader is tracing his progress over the five years that have elapsed since the poet's last visit to the abbey. When Wordsworth visited Tintern Abbey for the first time, his perception of the environment was synchronic, focusing on the individual "spots of time." In order to achieve coherence within the 'pars epica' of his odic composition he needs to synthesise these "spots of time" by means of an artificial sequence. The diachronic progress of the 'pars epica', however, need not necessarily be authentic or logical; rather, it makes use of transitions and digressions, elements so characteristic of the ode since Cowley and anticipates what F. W. Bateson, dealing with the later poetry of Wordsworth, discusses in terms of the egotistical sublime.[23] This Wordsworthian "emphasis on the special nature of art-activity,"[24] despite his centring on his own mental growth, is a prominent feature of Collins's odes, too, where the speaker describes his quest in search of poetic inspiration to translate his creative energy into Coleridge's "esemplastic power."[25]

The narrated time (*erzählte Zeit*) of "Tintern Abbey" comprises five years, which are alternately termed "Five years" and "five summers," relating again to Wordsworth's personal growth from a rationalist to a devotee of Nature who perceives and understands even time only by means of reference to the seasons and natural change. While the deity-personifications that are used in the hymnal odes of Collins had been part of the mythological machinery for thousands of years, Wordsworth's experience is not embedded within the mythological context of antiquity but in that of the myth of Nature and his desire to be to her prophet. Importantly, and that is further difference to Collins, "Wordsworth adds another dimension to the dimensions of space and the dimension of time, for he presents the scene to us as interpenetrated with human feeling."[26] Rather than providing a linear progression of time in the 'pars epica', however, the poet's dealing with time appears to be circular, for as Charles Sherry observes, "the landscape remembered in bitter times in the city is a restorative; it is a source of freedom from the harshness of life, not that it enables him to escape it, but that it prevents him from succumbing to

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[21] Steven Knapp, *Personification and Sublime. Milton to Coleridge* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1985), 108.

[22] Marshall Brown, "Romanticism and Enlightenment," *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, ed. Stuart Curran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 40.

[23] F. W. Bateson, *Wordsworth: A Re-Interpretation* (London, Longmans, 1954, 1965), 150-53.

[24] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1983), 36.

[25] See Sandro Jung, "Post-Augustan Nature in William Collins's *Ode to Evening* (1746)," *Philologia*, 3 (2005), 97-106.

[26] Geoffrey Durrant, *Wordsworth and the Great System: A Study of Wordsworth's Poetic Universe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 88.

it."[27] Yet, even after his (imaginative) return to Tintern Abbey through the fictionalised permanence of the completed 'pars epica' Wordsworth will he have to return home, for his life does not end with the end of the poem. Unlike Collins's speaker, Wordsworth's does not inhabit the environment that Collins's deities do; it may, therefore, be argued that they and their spirituality permeate the landscape, whereas Wordsworth – through the association of "Tintern Abbey" with the hymnal ode tradition – hopes to gain the sense of permanence for which Collins's speaker strives continuously. Collins, however, aims to achieve a union with the emanations of Goddess Natura while Wordsworth, through his recollective capacity, is self-contained and reworks external impressions internally.

The sublime, frequently considered as the prerequisite and defining feature of the ode, is representationally reflected in Wordsworth's descriptions of the natural environment at the abbey, that is, the "steep and lofty cliffs" (l. 5) which appear to be implanted into this "wild secluded scene" (l. 6). Wordsworth hopes that in this solitude of sublimity he will be able to find the "absolute essence of truth and feeling."[28] In that respect, Wordsworth, as William Hazlitt suggested, "takes the simplest elements of nature and of the human mind, the mere abstract condition inseparable from our being, and tries to compound a new system of poetry from them."[29]

Apart from the need for Wordsworth to find a place of "more deep seclusion" (l. 7), he aims to conquer his anxiety. Paradoxically, seclusion and solitude enable him to hold communion with Nature as well as relieve his anxiety and fear of forgetting. Drawing on the images of the "Immortality" ode he suggests that it is through recollection that he can bring back impressions and feelings long forgotten. The "utter nakedness" of forgetfulness and its disintegrating characteristics are counteracted by his self-assertive act of recollection. In that regard, Bernard Groom comprehends "Tintern Abbey" as "a panoramic vision of the power of the remembered landscape working under the surface in a mind perplexed with five years of inward conflict; and, by implication, a record of the creative instinct triumphing over the forces of disintegration.[30] In other words, Wordsworth's speaker in his hymn on Nature and his account of his own growth resolves (at least temporarily) the "threat of a loss of vitality and happiness" that Michael Mason considers as the "groundwork"[31] of "Tintern Abbey."

The dialogic structure that is indicated formally through the invocation and the petition is alluded to at the beginning of the poem where Wordsworth uses an interjective opening which, as is later revealed through his address of the Wye, is addressed to the river rather than being what Bateson understands as a "reverie."[32] As in the case of Collins who used metonymy frequently, Wordsworth conceives of the Wye as an emanation of the force of Nature. In that respect the repetition of "once again" (l. 4) in line 14 emphasises the personal relationship of the speaker with Nature. The paratactical syntax employs "again" several times to depict the speaker's unchangeable delight

[27] Charles Sherry, *Wordsworth's Poetry of Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 98.
[28] Hazlitt, "The Spirit of the Age," 86.
[29] Hazlitt, "The Spirit of the Age," 87.
[30] Bernard Groom, *The Unity of Wordsworth's Poetry* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 33.
[31] Mason, ed., *Lyrical Ballads*, 206.
[32] Bateson is not aware of the generic association that "Tintern Abbey" has with the hymnal tradition,

at beholding again what he had already seen five years before.[33] In fact, the scene that Wordsworth is so eager to establish in terms of the picturesque is not real, but derives from those images that he has stored in his memory and which are then combined and perfected by his imagination.

Thomas de Quincey, focusing on the central importance of Nature for Wordsworth and the poet's association of Nature with universal memory, observes that Wordsworth existed only "through his commerce with nature."[34] In the imaginatively conjured environment of Tintern Abbey, the speaker is able to experience "long months of ease and undisturbed delight"[35] which in reality were originally – that is on the occasion of his actual visit – no more than a "few passing moments."[36] His measuring of time is influenced by his emotions and is therefore imaginatively prolonged. Rather than embedding his narrative within the mythical 'pars epica' of Collins's odes, the mythological machinery becomes unimportant and is replaced by Wordsworth's authority to evoke (and create) a world of memory, thereby achieving what Collins's speakers did not.[37] The internalisation of memories and their metamorphosing recollection are seen as ways out of the dilemma of cultural progressivism. Pessimistically, however, Wordsworth is aware that he will ultimately have to return to society and to adopt his social function again. Mark Foster comments on the metaphor of the hermit that the poet assumes in his imaginative "reveries" and remarks that the hermit "represents not simply transcendence or any achieved realisation, but rather an ideal of decisive action and coherent relation,"[38] a harmony that Wordsworth attempts to establish through his response to Nature; his speaking authority, as has already been indicated, ought therefore to be understood as his version of the fulfilment that Collins gained (in uncertain terms) through his invocations.

The recollection of memories and the translations of them into "reveries" enable Wordsworth to experience "sensations sweet" (l. 27)[39]. In that regard, recollective introspection produces a pleasing and soothing effect on him, which he feels "in the blood" but also "along the heart" (l. 28). The memory of these scenes has become essential to his being:

> These beauteous forms,
> Through a long absence, have not been to me
> As is a landscape to a blind man's eye. (ll. 22-24)

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especially as he considers them poem in terms of a monologue. See Bateson, *Wordsworth*, 143.

[33] See Eudo C. Mason, "Wordsworth: Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," *Versdichtung der englischen Romantik: Interpretationen,* ed. Teut Andreas Riese and Dieter Riesner (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1968), 131.

[34] Thomas de Quincey, "Essays on Wordsworth," *Wordsworth. Poetry and Prose. With Essays by Coleridge, Hazlitt, de Quincey*, ed. David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 40.

[35] Wordsworth, *The Prelude,* Bk. I, 26.

[36] Mary Moorman, *William Wordsworth: The Early Years* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 403.

[37] On the importance of memory in the hymnal ode, see Sandro Jung, "Some Notes on William Mason and His Use of the 'Hymnal' Ode," *Studia Neophilologica,* 76:2 (2004), 176-81.

[38] Mark Foster, "Tintern Abbey and Wordsworth's Scene of Writing," *Studies in Romanticism,* 25:1 (1986), 85.

[39] For the notion of sweetness, see Sandro Jung, " 'Sweetness' in the Poetry of William Collins," *English Language Notes*, 41:3 (2003), 36-43.

The result of the experience of "sensations sweet" is the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" which, he notes in the "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads*,

> takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity: the emotion is contemplated till [...] the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself exist in the mind.[40]

His "purer mind" (l. 29), that is, the place where all impressions and sensations are collected, collated and imaginatively purified, becomes the instrument of "tranquil restoration"; despite its epistemological inaccuracy, this recollected result of "tranquil restoration" – with its central component of the imagination – "reveals an important kind of truth."[41] Wordsworth, in that regard, confesses that he owes "this blessed Mood" (l. 37) to Nature who helps him to cope with "the heavy and the weary weight / Of all this unintelligible world" (ll. 39-40). In other words, sublimation of mundane life is effected by means of imaginative processes. It is this form of mental (imaginative) escapism that has helped the speaker to withstand the "fever of the world."

In "Tintern Abbey" Wordsworth's speaker poetically argues for Nature's ability to calm and soothe the human mind by providing the necessary impressive stimuli that are, in turn, reworked by the poet's imagination. It is these stimuli that reveal "amongst fields and mountains a substitute religion"[42] to Wordsworth. Nature possesses a therapeutic character and assists Wordsworth in softening his *Zivilisations-Klaustrophobie*.[43] Nature's goodness is expressed in her "healing thoughts / Of tender joy" (ll. 144-45) which act like a balm on the poet's strained sensibility. As a "worshipper of Nature" (l. 152) Wordsworth is confident that Nature will not forget him to whom "these steep woods and lofty cliffs / And this green landscape [are] / More dear, both for themselves and for thy [Nature's] sake!" (ll. 157-59). This confidence and trust in Nature satisfy the poet "that he can get all the wisdom he needs from the world of nature as revealed by the senses."[44]

Nature, Wordsworth notes, is the "anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse, / The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul / Of all my moral being" (ll. 109-11). Nature is no longer assigned the role of a superior being (as Collins did to Goddess Natura) but is seen as part of Wordsworth, finding an emanation in Dorothy Wordsworth. He defines Nature by means of attributes that would usually have formed part of the aratological description of the deity in the hymnal ode but appropriates them to his own mental growth. The speaker understands the spirit of Nature as omnipresent and identifies it in the character of a companion who advises him on how to lead his life. In the poem it becomes less and less possible to know whom he is addressing: Logically, in line 114 he would still be addressing Nature; contextually, however, it can be inferred

[40] Wordsworth, "Preface," 62.

[41] Maurice Bowra, *The Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 7.

[42] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background. Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950), 272.

[43] Karl Heinz Göller, "Die geistige Entwicklung Wordsworths," *Die neueren Sprachen,* 12 (1963), 343.

[44] Durrant, *Wordsworth and the Great System,* 104. See also Fritz Willy Schulze ed., *W. Wordsworth / S.T. Coleridge, Lyrical Ballads. Historisch-kritisch herausgegeben von F.W. Schulze* (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1952), 26-27.

that he invokes Dorothy, creating a deliberate ambiguity that can similarly be found in Collins's odes. This is an instance of what Bateson comprehended as the "concessions to irrationality" and the "logical contradictions" of the poem.[45] The closeness of his relationship with this companion (Dorothy – but, grammatically, also Nature) is expressed in his emphatic interjection "my dearest Friend, / My dear, dear Friend" (ll. 115-16), an address that is reminiscent of the hymnal address, despite Wordsworth's breaking down of all differences of status by collapsing the mythological and unreachably divine character of Nature and by approximating his own existence to that of his "guardian" and "guide." The hitherto public odic character of "Tintern Abbey" is here inverted, too, by his turning to his sister and announces Wordsworth's shift "to a more private poetry."[46] The interjective "Oh" then establishes without doubt that he is now addressing his sister, revealing that "prayer" (l. 121) will be rewarded by Nature, as "Nature never did betray / The heart that loved her" (ll. 122-23). In short,

> [Nature] can so inform
> The mind that is within us, so impress
> With quietness and beauty, and so feed
> With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
> Rash judgements, nor the sneers of selfish men,
> Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life,
> Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
> Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold is full of blessings. (ll. 125-33)

With the aid of Nature, Wordsworth's memory reconstructs and newly creates "all sweet sounds and harmonies" (l. 142). Nature, too, "will undertake to teach the speaker to prevent the destruction and forgetfulness of his recollections."[47] Or, in Susan C. Meisenfelder's words, "Nature taught him not by offering platitudinous moral systems but by guiding perception, eliciting feelings, by teaching him 'to see, to think, and feel'."[48] Then, that is, in the 1790s, "the exercise of his imagination was primarily a source of pleasure, mingled with a melancholy awareness that what was imagined had to remain a dream, a fancy of nothingness."[49] Reaching poetic maturity, however, the poet has succeeded in capturing the impressions of the past imaginatively and turned them into permanent and lasting reminders of the happiness he used to experience in his communion with Nature. With maturity Wordsworth has realised the true importance of memory and the imagination:

> For I have learned
> To look on nature, not as in the hour
> Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
> The still, sad music of humanity,

[45] Bateson, *Wordsworth*, 141, 142.
[46] Bateson, *Wordsworth*, 145.
[47] See Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background*, 272, 277.
[48] Susan C. Meisenhelder, *Wordsworth's Informed Reader: Structure and Experience in His Poetry* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1988), 9.
[49] Christiansen, *Romantic Affinities*, 150.

Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. (ll. 88-93)

The dialectic of inevitable change and conjured permanence is central to "Tintern Abbey." Max Byrd, in that respect, speaks of the speaker's "shifting identities"[50] and refers to his personal and artistic development. In a hymnal sense, what Willey terms the "divinization of Nature"[51] results in the poet comprehending Nature both as divine and his muse. There is no distinction between Nature's divinity and her functions as guardian and companion any more, and this marks the poet's innovation within the hymnal tradition. Through his address of Nature, Wordsworth looks for ways of "how to reestablish that parallel permanence, how to be reabsorbed into steadying interdependence."[52] His imaginative reworking of the past "is not so much recollected as created, as a speculative refuge from the pressure to realise oneself in poetry."[53]

Fred V. Randel argues that "Tintern Abbey" "is about living among ruins."[54] Wordsworth was living among the ruins of the awareness that his (actual) past was irreparably lost to him. He was eager to construct a state of mind which had not yet "establish[ed] an identity separate from the world around"[55] it. In the process, he wanted to rid his mind of the awareness that he is a "prisoner of mortality."[56] Referring to what Willey called the "divinization of Nature," Marjorie Levinson argues that one of the central points why Wordsworth may have decided to avoid writing specifically about Tintern Abbey in the poem may have been his wish to exclude religious, and more precisely Christian thought, from his poem.[57] Levinson does not realise that, notwithstanding Wordsworth's resistance to call his poem "ode," he was in fact using and inverting some elements such as the invocation and the 'pars epica' that Kurt Schlüter regarded as essential in the hymnal ode. That he did not adhere to the poetic practice of Collins can be explained with his different concerns: he was not a poet in search of a mythic gift of vision, but – possessed of Fancy – he succeeded in constructing that for which Collins (vainly) apostrophised deities such as Eve and Simplicity. Wordsworth was deeply rooted in the literary traditions of the eighteenth century, but he saw the need for generic experimentation to differentiate his voice from those of his predecessors. The hymnal tradition could still be used by a variety of Romantics such as Mary Robinson, Keats and Shelley but they had a classicist agenda rather than advocating the views of a "worshipper of Nature" (l. 152).[58]

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[50] Byrd, "Metamorphosis and *Tintern Abbey:* Two Notes," 26.
[51] Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background*, 253.
[52] Byrd, "Metamorphosis and *Tintern Abbey*: Two Notes," 30.
[53] Foster, "Tintern Abbey and Wordsworth's Scene of Writing," 88.
[54] Fred V. Randel, "The Betrayals of *Tintern Abbey," Studies in Romanticism*, 32:3 (1993), 379–97.
[55] A.S. Byatt, *Unruly Times. Wordsworth and Coleridge in Their Times* (London: Vintage, 1997), 162.
[56] Byatt, Unruly Times, 163.
[57] See Marjorie Levinson, 'Insight and Oversight: Reading *Tintern Abbey', Wordsworth's Great Period Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 15.
[58] See Sandro Jung, "Some Notes on the Hellenism of Mary Robinson's Odes," *Eighteenth-Century Women*, 3 (2002), 185-97.

MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS: A REEVALUATION

Janez Stanonik

Abstract

In the first part of my study I investigate the background in which Marcus Kappus had lived in his youth, before his departure for America. I consider that analysis of these early European formative years of a person who later had a visible role in his part of America can be a useful contribution to American studies. To this I add a brief summary of our present knowledge of Kappus' life in Sonora, and a survey of Slovene studies on him.

1.

Marcus Antonius Kappus was born on 18 April 1657 at Kamna Gorica, a moderately sized village situated some 20 km southeast of the Lake of Bled, the famous tourist centre in northwestern Slovenia, north of Ljubljana, the Slovene national capital. In German studies this village is referred to under the name Steinbüchel. This is an exact German translation of the Slovene name which signifies: Stone Village. The village is spread over a hilly ground on the western side of the Sava River valley, at the foot of the slopes in which ends a southeastern offshoot of the Julian Alps. The house in which Kappus was born still stands, and members of the Kappus family still live in this village. The family had owned since the late Middle Ages an iron works which was hardly more than of local significance. In Slovenia there existed in Kappus' time quite a number of similar iron works, based on the rather humble natural iron resources.

These were nevertheless important because neighbouring Italy had in the whole of its territory no iron ore. Iron was therefore, through the centuries imported to Italy from its Alpine hinterland. Austria was especially important because of its famous iron ore mine in the Erzberg Mauntain in Northern Styria. Iron thus travelled to Italy from Slovenia - and Austria by way of Slovenia – in considerable quantities. It was carried across Slovenia along the poorly developed local roads, such as they were in that time, on the backs of horses. It was only in the late 18th century that iron from Scandinavia began to compete in Italy with the Austrian iron. In present day Slovenia, most of these small iron works have been abolished; a few, however, have developed in the last two centuries into large modern steel mills (Jesenice, Ravne, Štore), and are now an important part of the Slovene economy. Because of his early experience in iron mining

Marcus Antonius Kappus was considered later, in Sonora, by his colleagues to be an expert in metal ores.

2.

More complex than his economic background is the question of the nationality of Marcus Antonius Kappus. When we speak of the nationality of a person who had lived in the 18th century we must be aware of the fact that the sense of this word differs in time and space. The nationality of a person can be rooted in the language he speaks, or in the country where he lives. Very often the two backgrounds cover each other, quite frequently not. This two-sided aspect of this word can therefore be misunderstood, also misinterpreted for political reasons. A Frenchman is a French national both because of his language and the state in which he lives. On the other hand, a person may speak German, but he is an Austrian national, in the same way as an English speaking person can be an American national.

In the 17th and 18th centuries local patriotism was a wide spread trend which was marked in Habsburg Austria by affiliations to counties such as Carniola, Styria, Tyrol, and others. Carniola had, in the time of Marcus Antonius Kappus, a foremost representative of this patriotism in the work of Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641 – 1693) *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain.*[1] The work was published in 1689 in four large volumes in Nürnberg by Wolfgang Moritz Emdter Verlag, in that time one of the leading Protestant publishing houses in Germany. The same publishers had also printed, in 1676, the work of the leading Czech reformer Jan Amos Komensky *Orbis sensualium pictus.* Valvasor had apparently published his work in the distant Nürnberg, in spite of the restrictions of the Counterreformation, because Nürnberg was at that time a leading German cultural centre where the modern German literary language was just reaching its final standard forms, with which Valvasor in the distant Carniola was not adequately acquainted.

3.

Valvasor provided in his work *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain* a many-sided survey of the county Crain, its land and its people. He devoted much attention to its historical background, yet the work is primarily interesting as a representation of

[1] Valvasor's work was twice reedited in modern reprints. The first reprint was made in 1877 – 1879 in the town of Novo mesto by the printer and editor Janez Krajec; coeditors were Vincenc Novak and Josip Pfeifer. The second reprint was made in Ljubljana in 1970 – 1974 by the publishing house Mladinska knjiga, and in 1971 – 1973 in München (Germany) by the publishing house Rudolf Trofenik Verlag. The editor of this second reprint was Branko Reisp. – In my quotations from Valvasor I refer to this second (Ljubljana-München) edition.

Among the numerous research works on the life and work of Valvasor the two most important publications are the book-length monographs: 1./ P. von Radics: *Johann Weikhard Freiherr von Valvasor.* Laibach 1910. Published by Laibacher Sparkasse & Ig. V. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg. – and: 2./ Branko Reisp. *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor,* Ljubljana 1983, publ. by Mladinska knjiga. – Cf. Also the study on Valvasor in *Slovenski biografski leksikon* by Branko Reisp in vol. IV. 345 – 354 (Ljubljana, 1982).

Valvasor's own time. In accordance with the new trends of his time he endeavoured to find rational interpretations for unusual phenomena, while at the same time he was ready to believe the wildest superstitions. Nevertheless Valvasor was for his scholarly achievements elected in 1687 member of the London Royal Society.[2] In his political affiliation Valvasor was primarily tied to his native county Crain. He disagreed with the predominant role of the language in the creation of the political community. Important for such a community are also common legal norms, and religious views and habits (*Die Ehre*, Vol. II, 85, 139). Valvasor called such a community a Landsmannschaft. He spoke both German and Slovene and in his published works he called both languages his own. He wrote only in German, yet in his library he had also Slovene books, including the works by Slovene Protestants which were prohibited by state authorities, among them the Slovene grammar by Adam Bohorič (Wittenberg, 1584). In his upper feudal society surroundings he spoke predominantly German, yet he had no difficulty to converse with Slovene speaking people.

In *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain* Valvasor frequently added to the German geographic name the corresponding Slovene form, and to the German words denoting individual kinds of animals or plants Slovene equivalents. His work is therefore a rich source for Slovene philologists. As for the language of the country he stated that it was Slovene, spoken by the common people, while members of the upper society were bilingual. The language of commerce, at the courts of justice, and in the correspondence was German (*Die Ehre*, vol. II, 271 f.). This corresponds exactly to the situation we find in connection with Valvasor or Kappus, if we take into consideration that Valvasor was a member of the upper feudal society, while Kappus came from the village. It is surprising that Valvasor in spite of his rich portrayal of contemporary Crain pays no attention to the problems of school and education.

Valvasor's work is a good example of local patriotism: it approached the common people with a benevolent attitude which knew its feudal limits. In the 16th century this limited local patriotism was discontinued by a short, yet important period of Protestantism which wished to reach with their published books – the first in Slovene language! – all people speaking Slovene regardless of their regional borders and social distinctions, so that everyone would be able to judge their teachings individually, and in this way to form freely his own religious conviction.[3] Towards the end of the 18th century Slovene national self-assertion reemerged, this time under the influence of preromanticism and of the ideas of French Revolution. These were promoted in Slovenia by the creation of the Illyrian Provinces (1809-1814), a state created by Napoleon, with Ljubljana as its

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[2] Branko Reisp: *Korespondenca Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja z Royal Society*, Ljubljana 1987, published by Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, Class II, Series: Epistolae Slovenorum illustrium, No. 8, Ljubljana 1987, 113 pp.

[3] Cf.: Das slowenische Wort in den Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts. Published in: *Geschichte, Kultur und Geisteswelt der Slowenen*, ed. by Rudolf Trofenik. Vol. I, München 1968, 152-268. See also Appendix with reproductions of the title pages of Slovene Protestant books, pp. Ap. 1-84. – Cf. also: Anton Slodnjak: *Über die nationalbildende Kraft der Reformation bei den Slowenen*, ib.p. 11-22. Balduin Saria: Die slowenische Reformation und ihre Bedeuting für die kulturelle Entwicklung der Slowenen, ib. 23-49. – France Kidrič: *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva od začetkov do Zoisove smrti (Die Geschichte der slowenischen Literatur von den Anfangen bis zum Tode Zois)*, Ljubljana, 1929-1938, 22 ff., publ. by Slovenska Matica.

capital.[4] The time of Metternich (1814-1848) saw a wish to restore the old order, taking recourse to political repression. It was ended with the revolution of 1848 in which people demanded for Austria the introduction of constitutional government. Slovenes demanded in 1848 the abolition of regional dissection of the land where they lived and the creation of Slovenia as a separate part of the Habsburg monarchy. These demands were rejected by circles supporting the dynasty. The revolution was finally crushed in Vienna by armies led by Felix Fürst zu Schwarzenberg.

The time from 1848 till 1918, the First World War, is in Austria the time of a steady, even if hesitant, and often obstructed, development of parliamentarian democracy. This made possible an improved growth of Slovene national consciousness with all its manifestations in the political and cultural life. The first Slovene university, however, was founded in Ljubljana only after the catastrophe of the First World War.

4.

It has been necessary to speak at greater length about the political background into which Marcus Antonius Kappus was born in order to better understand his personality. We may safely say that Kappus was a Carniolan patriot in the sense of his time. He was also favourable to the Habsburg dynasty. With his family background, however, he was a Slovene.

It may seem strange that a person like Kappus can be considered ethnically a Slovene, while at the same time all preserved texts that he had written are in German (besides Latin and Spanish), among them are also two letters to his brother, and one to his aunt.[5] It would certainly be absurd to think that the members of Kappus family spoke among themselves German, while at the same time they would consider themselves Slovenes.

Kappus had in his youth no possibility to learn Slovene in school. In his time the system of public schools in Slovenia was miserably underdeveloped. There were in the whole country of Crain only 16 primary schools and one school (Jesuitic) for a more advanced study. The teaching language in primary schools was German, in advanced schools Latin. Slovene was used in the initial stage of primary schools, to prepare pupils who knew no other language but Slovene, ready for instruction in German. The Slovene

[4] Ivan Prijatelj: Slovenščina pod Napoleonom. K stoletnici »Ilirije oživljene«. (Slovene Language under Napoleon. A contribution to the Centenary of the Poem »Illyria Revived«. *Veda* 1911, No. 1-6.

[5] In may text, which here follows, I repeatedly refer to my studies (PARTS I-VI) which reprint individual letters by Kappus, to which I add my special studies on Kappus which deal with problems touched on by that letter. These studies were published in the Ljubljana philological reviw *Acta Neophilologica (AN)*: PART I, *AN* 19 (1986), 35-56 (a letter in German from Cucurpe, dated 1689, to his aunt Francisca Adlmann, abbess in Škofja Loka). – PART II, *AN* 20 (1987), 25-38 (a letter in Latin from Kappus' ship passing Canary Islands, dated 10 July, 1687, addressed to P. Michael dell Potae, a member of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana. – PART III, *AN* 31 (1988), 3-9 (a letter in German from Cucurpe, dated 20 January, 1691, to his brother Johann von Kappus). – PART IV, *AN* 22 (1989), 39-50 (a letter in German from Matape, dated 20 June 1699, to his brother Johann von Kappus. – Part V., *AN* 23 (1990), 27-37 (a letter in Latin, dated Cucurpe 20 January, 1691, to Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher, a leading cultural figure in Ljubljana of his time). – PART VI., *AN* 30 (1997), 43-57 (a letter in Latin from Matape, dated 8 june 1701, to Philippus Alberth, a Vienna member of the Society of Jesus).

language was looked upon with suspicion as the Language of Slovene Protestants whose books were prohibited by Counterreformation. The published Slovene Catholic books were few, predominantly sermons. From that time, however, are preserved also several Slovene texts as manuscripts. They were only by chance rediscovered in the 20th century and printed in scholarly editions.

It is interesting to see the standard of German which Kappus uses in the correspondence with his relatives (see my studies Part I *AN* 19: 1986,) Part III *AN* 21: 1988), and Part IV (*AN* 22: 1989). It is obviously the standard of German that he could learn in the contemporary primary schools. In connections with his German we must remember that Kappus was later, as a member of the Society of Jesus, teacher of Latin at several advanced Jesuitic schools, also in Ljubljana. There is no trace in his letters that Kappus knew of the enormous progress German language had made in his own time towards the modern standard literary language. This development was completed in Germany in the middle of the 17th century, in Kappus' own time, due to the endeavours of such writers like Justus George Schottelius (1612-1676), a preeminent philologist in the time before Jakob Grimm. Kappus' German is marked by sounds pronounced in Austrian dialects, by a careless usage of nominal and verbal endings, and by mistakes in the gender of nouns.

5.

It was actually in the lifetime of Marcus Antonius Kappus that the family Kappus grew in its social significance. On 15 October 1693 the Austrian emperor Leopold I awarded to Joannes Kappus, the brother of Marcus Antonius, the title of nobility. The title included also the descendants of Joannes, but it was not extended to Marcus Antonius. He was nevertheless proud of his family's promotion. The son of Joannes, Karl, a jurist with university education, was a member of the Academia operosorum, a learned society which was active in Ljubljana from 1693 till about 1725, following the example of similar academies in Italy. Towards the end of the 18th century the significance of the family Kappus increased because of their relationships with Sigismund Zois (1747-1819), a spiritual mentor of Slovene cultural revival at the close of the 18th century, whose mother was a member of that family; and with Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756-1795), an important early historiographer of Slovenia and a Slovene playwright, whose stepmother was also a Kappus.

It is not known with certainty where Marcus Antonius Kappus attended secondary school: possibly at Ljubljana or at Klagenfurt. On 27 October 1676 he was accepted as member in the Society of Jesus in Vienna. In Vienna he passed also the period of probation (noviciate) of one year. As a Jesuit he worked as a teacher of Latin at various Jesuit schools: in 1679/80 in the first year (principia) in Ljubljana, in 1680/81 in the second and third years (grammatica, syntax) in Leoben in Upper Styria, in 1681/82 in the fourth year, (poesis), again in Leoben, and in 1682/83 in the fifth (the highest) class (rhetorice) in Zagreb in Croatia. In 1683 he entered the study of theology in Graz which he continued in 1684 and 1685 in Milan. During the winter 1685/86 he was probably at home and in Graz. With an agreement of the central office of the Jesuitic Order in Rome,

he left in 1686 for Spain. In Cadiz he obtained relatively quickly permission from the office of the Council of Indies in Madrid to go to America. He left Cadiz on 30 June 1687 with the ship Campechan de San Roman. The Spanish officer who coordinated the registration of passengers describes Kappus as "alto, delgado, de pelo rubio, ojos azules" (tall, slender, with red hair and blue eyes). Kappus' ship was part of a flotilla of 23 ships.[6] With the same flotilla travelled altogether 21 missionaries, selected for work in Mexico and on the Philippine Islands. The flotilla passed the Canary Islands on 10 June, and reached, on 8 August, the island of Puerto Rico where they entered the harbour of Aguadilla. They passed Haiti and in stormy weather sailed the sea between Jamaica and Cuba. On 15 September they reached Veracruiz. After a stay of three days they continued their overland journey by way of Puebla to Mexico City. It was probably during this overland journey through Mexico that Kappus was infected with malaria characterized by recurring fever (tertiana) which for several years reduced his ability, especially in autumn, to participate actively in land explorations.

In Mexico City Kappus was informed that he was determined for work in Sonora in northwestern Mexico. Around the new year 1688 he left Mexico City together with two Czech brothers, Maximilian Amarell and Adam Gilg. They went north along the so-called Camino real – The Royal Road and passed the towns of Guadalajara, Compostela, Tepic, Mazatlán, and Culiacán. The expression El Camino real does not mean that this was a road better than others: it was nothing but a trodden path for horses across the plain. The expression El Camino real had a legal meaning, signifying that a person travelling on it was under the Spanish royal protection: any crime committed against such a person was to be punished by persons commissioned with royal authority. In February they reached the Pacific coast. From there they went northwards along the coast, at the foot of Sierra Madre, by way of Fuerte to Los Alamos. At Oposura, on the River Yaqui, Father Manuel Gonzales, at that time leader of Jesuitic missions in Sonora (padre visitador), told them which places were chosen for their work. Kappus had to go to Cucurpe, an Indian settlement in the upper region of San Miguel River.

The village Cucurpe was a settlement of Opata Indians, the central tribe of Indians in Sonora. The Opata Indians were intellectually more advanced than other Indian tribes, their neighbours. They knew how to produce earthenware pottery and weave carpets. Kappus worked all his life among the Opata Indians. This tribe survived with its last members into the beginning of the 20th century. Kappus' neighbouring missionary downstream San Miguel River was Adam Gilg, a Czech by birth, originally from the surroundings of Olomouc. He came to America together with Kappus. Gilg's mission was called Santa Maria del Populo. It was inhabited by Seri Indians, the most primitive Indian tribe in this region.[7] Gilg is a culturally very interesting person, but his life and work have remained so far basically unexplored.[8] – North of Kappus' Indian reservation of Cucurpe worked Eusebius Franciscus Kino, in his time a parson of central importance

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[6] On Kappus' transatlantic voyage, cf. my study Part II, *AN* 20 (1987).

[7] Seri Indians were also known to John Steinbeck who speaks about them in his book *The Log from the Sea of Cortez* (1941), in which he writes about his fishing and rambling voyages along the shores of the Bay of California (known also under the name Sea of Cortez).

[8] I have met in my studies on Kappus again and again with the name of Gilg. Cf. in this connection my studies on Kappus, Parts I (p. 39), II. (p. 307), Part III, (p. 6).

in Sonora, whose time and work has been investigated by the leading American and Mexican scholars working in this field. Quite a number of them have been interested also in Kappus because of his connections with Kino. Kino was born in 1645 at Segno near Trent, in South Tyrol, on the Italian and German linguistic border. In 1665 he joined the Jesuit Order in Bavaria, and continued his studies at several Tyrolian and Bavarian universities. In 1678 he was selected for work in Mexico. He went to Cadiz and, after a prolonged wait there, he finally arrived in Veracruz in April 1681. In 1683 he joined the expedition led by don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, governor of Sinaloa in mainland Mexico, to the peninsula Baja California where they established several missions which, however, were soon relinquished because of the hostilities of neighbouring Indians. In 1686 Kino was assigned work in Sonora where he founded in 1687, the mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Here he was among the Pima Indians who inhabited the north-western area of Sonora, the region between the Gila River, the Bay of California, and in the east as far as the San Pedro River. Because of their warlike qualities the Pima Indians were courageous defenders of Sonora against the raids of the Apache Indians from their hinterlands in present-day Arizona.

Kino's mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was at that time the northernmost point of the Spanish colonial empire in America. The areas of Arizona and Southern California in the present-day United States were then unexplored wastelands. Kino was an exceptional personality as a missionary and explorer. In the period 1694-1711 he carried out some 40 expeditions in northern Sonora and southern Arizona. He was fearless in his contacts with Indians and he knew how to keep on friendly terms with them. He usually went on his expeditions alone or in the company of Indians, leading up to sixty horses loaded with the necessities. He slept in the open, a cow hide spread on the ground, with a cow hide for his cover and a saddle for his pillow. He introduced cattle breading among his Indians. Due to him Sonora became famous for its enormous herds of cattle. He founded numerous missions in northern Sonora and in southern Arizona. He explored above all the lower course of the River Gila down to its junction with the Colorado river. Following the lower course of the Colorado River he reached the Bay of California. In 1697 he created a new mission, San Xavier del Bac, on the Santa Cruz River. This led, three years later, to the foundation of the town of Tucson in present-day Arizona. Because of his achievements Kino is known in the USA as a pioneer of Arizona and his bust stands in the Hall of Fame in Washington, D.C.[9]

Kappus is in America known above all as friend and coworker of Kino. Because of his infliction with malaria, however, he was limited in his activities. Nevertheless he participated in 1694 in one of the most famous expeditions of Father Kino. They went from their missions Cucurpe and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores straight westwards across the most forbidding desert terrain overgrown with cactuses, to find in this way the shortest possible route to the Bay of California along which cattle could be driven. The meat of his cattle could afterwards be used as food in Baja California where people often suffered from famine because of the sterile ground of the peninsula. There exist

[9] On Kino, cf. my studies on Kappus, Chart I. (*AN.* 13, 1986, 37 f; and Part VI. (*AN* 30, 1997: on the publication of Kino's map of Sonora.) See also other parts of my study. The most important American study on Father Kino is: Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom. A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer,* New York 1936, The MacMillan Company.

statements that Kappus had written a report on this expedition, but these statements seem to be wrong: no such report by Kappus is really known.[10]

Kappus worked as a missionary at Cucurpe from 1689 until about 1697. During the last years of his life in Cucurpe, in 1694, a new organization of Jesuitic mission was created for northern Sonora, the rectorate Nuestra Seňora de los Dolores. The aim of these rectorates was to create closer links between individual missions in order to make their work and defense more effective. Usually they bound together some seven missions. The rectorates were led by rectors whose function was limited to three years. Kappus was elected the first rector of this rectorate which he led from Cucurpe and which remained also in these years his mission. During his rectorate a dangerous revolt by the Pima Indians broke out in 1695 which threatened to destroy the whole system of missions in northern Sonora. Kappus as rector successfully coordinated the Spanish defense. The revolt was finally suppressed by Spanish soldiers who came to aid the missionaries from their distant presidios in the Sierra Madre mountains.[11]

6.

Around 1696 or 1697 Kappus moved from Cucurpe to Matapé. The Opata Indian settlement Matape is situated in southern Sonora, between the rivers Sonora and Yaqui, in the source region of Rio Matapé. The church of Matapé was considered one of the most beautiful and spacious churches in Sonora. The present name of the place is Pesqueira. The mission Matapé is usually designated a collegium. We do not know, however, what the name collegium in this context signifies. It is not an institution of higher learning: Sonora was at that time not adequately developed for such an institute. Nevertheless Matape was sufficiently important that it had two priests, one working for the church and one for the college. From Matapé Kappus wrote a letter to his brother in Slovenia, dated 20 June 1699, in which he described his living conditions there.[12]

Even if Kappus was with his transfer to Matapé more removed from Kino, he remained in contact with him through letters and occasional visits. Kino was in that time interested especially in the problem of the northern end of the Gulf of California. In the years 1699 to 1703 he made several expeditions to the Colorado River, also in the company of Adam Gilg. In 1701 Kino made a famous map of Sonora, known under the title *Paso por Tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuevas Naciones y Nuevas Missiones de la Comp de Jesus en la America Septentrional*, which he dedicated to Kappus and sent it to him. Kappus forwarded this map to Philippus Alberth, a member of the society of Jesus, whom he had known since 1679, when they both worked as teachers at the Jesuit College in Ljubljana. Through Alberth's mediation the map appeared in press in 1707 in the almanac *Nova Litteraria Germaniae Aliorumque Europae Regnorum Anni*

[10] On this expedition by Kappus and Kino to the Bay of California in 1696, cf. my study on Kappus, Part I. (*AN*. 18. 1986, 40-41) Most important research in this problem is by Ernest J. Burgus: *Kino and Manje. Explorers of Sonora and Arizona. Their Vision of the Future. A Study of their Expeditions and Plans.* Jesuit Historical Institute, St. Louis, Rome 1971.

[11] About the revolt of the Pima Indians, cf. my studies, Part I, *AN* 18: 1986, 41 f.

[12] Cf. my study, Part IV, *AN* 22 (1989).

MDCCVII Collecta which was published by the publishing house Christian Liebezeit in Hamburg and Leipzig. In this way Kappus acted as an important intermediary to disseminate in Europe the knowledge of Kino's prominent geographic discovery that the Bay of California ends in the estuary of Rio Colorado, and that Baja California is a peninsula, and not an island, as it was believed till then.[13]

At Matape Kappus established good contact with Juan Maria de Salvatierra, originally from Milan in Italy, through his mother a relative of the family Sforza, the rulers of Milan. In 1697 Salvatierra founded the Loreto mission, the first permanent Spanish settlement in Baja California. Rocky Baja California, however, did not yield sufficient food to its inhabitants, so they frequently suffered from famine. Plans were therefore made by Salvatierra, Kino and Kappus how herds of cattle could be sent by way of the harbour Guaymas from Sonora to Baja California. After Salvatierra, Loreto soon became the religious and administrative capital of Baja California. It was from Loreto that less than a hundred years later the Franciscan Junipero Serra, and the governor of Baja California Gaspar de Portolá, started in 1769 an expedition to Alta California, in the present day United States, during which they founded the missions of San Diego, Los Angeles (originally called Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula), and Monterey. Soon afterwards, in 1776, the mission of San Francisco de Assis was founded by Juan Bautista de Anzá, who led another expedition of Spanish settlers, this time from New Mexico. In this way Salvatierra, aided by Kino and Kappus, had with the foundation of the mission Loreto in Baja California, prepared the ground for the Spanish expansion into the Alta California in the present day USA, and the creation of the towns of San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

7.

In 1704 Kappus was sent temporarily as a missionary to Arrivechi, a small settlement of Opata Indians east of Matapé, on the banks of the Sahuaripa river (a tributary of the Yaqui River), and deep under the slopes of the Sierra Madre. At Matapé he was succeeded by Adam Gilg as Rector of the College. In the following year, 1705, Kappus was back at Matapé, this time as Vice-Rector of the College. Nevertheless he soon returned from Matapé to Arrivechi where he remained until his death.[14]

This was a period in which many of his friends with whom he had worked together in Sonora passed away. This was the time of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) waged primarily between Habsburg Germany, France and Spain. Because of this war Kappus discontinued his contacts with home in Slovenia. So in Slovenia the conviction spread that Kappus had died in Sonora around the year 1692, killed by Indian arrows.

In this time Kino continued with his explorations in northern Sonora. With advancing age, which he tried to disregard, his powers, however, slowly declined. In November 1706 he made his last expedition to the Bay of California. Here he climbed, together

[13] Cf. my study, Part VI, *AN* 30 (1997.

[14] About Juan Maria de Selvatierra, cf. my study Part VI, *AN* 30 (1997), cf. 45.

with his companions, Cerro de Santa Clara, west of Sonoita, where they slept overnight on the top of the mountain from which they had a view over the whole upper end of the Gulf. On 15 March 1711 Kino died at Magdalena, not far from his mission Dolores.

In 1710 Adam Gilg is last mentioned. He had come to Mexico together with Kappus, and together they travelled from Veracruz to Mexico City, and from there to Sonora. Gilg was a close coworker of Kappus during the stay of Kappus in Cucurpe and at Matape. The date and the place of death of Adam Gilg are not known.

Juan Maria de Salvatierra went in 1703 from Loreto in Baja Californis to Mexico City where he worked from 1704-1706 as Padre Provincial, the highest ranking representative of the Society of Jesus in Mexico. Later he returned to Baja California and Sonora. He died at Guadalajara in 1717.

Kappus, too, with his lifelong experience as missionary in Sonora, was in the last years of his life entrusted with new responsibilities. From 1707 till 1708 he was Rector of the Rectorate San Francisco Borja in southern Sonora, and from 1715 till his death he was charged with the highest position of the Jesuit Order in Sonora, that of Padre Visitador. Kappus died on 30 November 1717, at the age of 64. The place and the circumstances of his death are not known.

8.

The time in Arrivechi, the last phase in Kappus life, is the least explored period of his activity in Mexico. From this time, however, a number of letters written by him are preserved in Mexican archives. We may therefore hope that future researches will supply important additional information useful for our investigations.

From this time, however, an important text written by Kappus is preserved which has a very interesting background.[15] This is a publication in verse form and printed in 1708 in Ciudad Mexico at Kappus' own expense. No copy of it is now known to be preserved, and so the only information we have about it comes from bibliographical surveys. It is best known through its reference in the bibliography by Augustin and Aloys de Backer and Carlos Sommervogel *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus* which appeared in press in several editons during the second half of the 19th century. On the basis of this bibliography José Toribio Medina, a Chilean diplomat and amateur bibliographer, prepared a much more carefully worked out Mexican bibliography which he published in eight volumes in the years 1908-1911 in Santiago de Chile under the title *La imprenta en Mexico 1539-1821*. Kappus' text can be found in it in vol. III. under No. 2174.

Medina informs us that after much searching in Europe an America he could locate one copy only of his work, preserved in Biblioteca Palafoxiana, in Puebla in Mexico.

Biblioteca Palafoxiana was founded in 1646. It had early served as a depository of books confiscated from Jesuit missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico in 1768. It is possible that the copy with Kappus' verse also came at that time to this library. Biblioteca Palafoxiana takes its name after Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-

[15] Cf.: Janez Stanonik: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-Born Poet in America, *Acta Neophilologica 28* (1995), 59-68.

1659), originally a Franciscan monk, and from 1639 to 1653 bishop of Puebla. He is known as protector of natives from Spanish cruelty, and for his demand that the natives may be converted to Christianity only by way of persuasion, and not through force. On the basis of Medina's report I have endeavoured to obtain Kappus publication from this library for further reexamination but found, unfortunately, that it is lost here, too. In the best case it is only misplaced.

From the bibliographic references we can get the following data: Kappus' text was published under the title: *IHS / Enthusiasmus / Sive / solemnes lvdi poetici / metris pro dvrante anno 1708 Chronographicis / svb Pyromachia depicti.* The text consists of 276 verses printed on four leaves, folio size. The book is thus a large, yet thin, publication. The pages are richly decorated with a typically baroque, typographic ornamentation. Each verse is printed as a chronogram, that is, as a text in which characters that denote at the same time Roman numerals, are printed in larger size. The text was printed in 1708 in Ciudad Mexico by the publishing house Franciscus Rodriguez Lupercio at the expense of Kappus himself. With this publication Kappus expressed his own loyalty, and the loyalty of other members of the Jesuitic Order in Mexico, to the new king of Spain, Philip V, a member of the Bourbon dynasty. The text was published in connection with huge festivities prepared in Mexico City to celebrate, with fire-works, the new ruler.

Kappus' text has thus an important historical background which must be here briefly outlined.

The 16th and 17th centuries were marked in Europe by a series of wars between France, which was ruled from 1589 till 1798 by the Bourbon dynasty, and the countries ruled by Habsburgs. France was almost completely encircled by the Habsburg-held territories: from Holland, across Germany (Holy Roman Empire), to northern Italy, and Spain. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) France, ruled by Luis XIII and Luis XIV, and led by Richelieu and Mazarin, sided with Sweden and Protestant northern Germany against Habsburgs and their allies, above all Bavaria. In this war Habsburgs and their allies were defeated.

In Spain, the Habsburg dynasty had ruled since 1496. Its last representative was Carlos II, a sickly person suffering from inherited illnesses. He died childless in 1700, 35 years old. During the last year of his reign he proposed Philip of Anjou as his successor on the Spanish throne. Philip of Anjou was the grandson of Maria Teresa, a sister of Carlos II and wife of Louis XIV. This selection was approved by the nobility of Castille. It was opposed, however, by the pro-Habsburg party which was led by Charles, the son of emperor Leopold. Charles became later known as German emperor Karl VI (1711-1740) and as father of the empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780). The pro-Habsburg party found support in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Portugal.

In this way the War for Spanish Succession (1701-1714) began. In Spain the pro-Habsburg party was decisively defeated in the battle of Almanza (25 April 1707). In the rest of Europe, however, the war continued with wavering successes till 1714. In this war Bavaria was allied with France and at war with Austria and the Habsburgs. The war ended with the victory of France when England, with change of its government, turned from an original support of Habsburgs to an ally of France. With the peace of Utrecht (1713) the Bourbon Philip V was recognized ruler of Spain and of its colonies. Even if Mexico was far from European scenes of this conflict, nevertheless those whose sym-

pathies were with the wrong side had to reckon after the war with consequences. This proved true for the Jesuitic Order in Mexico. To understand this we must reconsider the earlier history of this Order in Mexico.

The first Jesuits came to Mexico as missionaries in 1572. Here they worked first in towns with a Spanish population. In 1591, however, the missionary work among Indians was assigned to them in the area west of the line Zacatecas – El Paso.

Initially only born Spaniards were allowed to work in Spanish colonies as missionaries. Spain, however, was not able to provide a large enough number of missionaries for its enormous and rapidly growing colonial empire. An agreement was therefore reached between the Holy See and the Habsburg government which opened the missionary work in Spanish colonies also to persons coming from "any of the provinces of the House of Austria". In this way many members of the Society of Jesus who worked as missionaries in Mexico at the time of the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession had come to Mexico from parts of Europe under the Habsburg rule (including Kappus). It was therefore not easy for them to retract from their pro-Habsburg allegiance.

Kino, on the other hand, with his ties with Bavaria, acted in agreement with the new Bavarian alliance with France. He expressed therefore quite early his support for the new Bourbon ruler od Spain. In 1702 he proposed that Alta California – that is California in the present day United States – should be called Novae Philipinae, after the Bourbon Philip V. In 1704 he dedicated his autobiography *Favores celestiales* to Philip V., and suggested the name New Philippines for the land of Pima Indians. In 1708 he wrote another dedication for *Favores celestiales*, addressing it again to Philip V. and in 1710 he did the same for the concluding part of his work.[16]

The celebrations in 1708 in Mexico City, for which Kappus had writen his verses, took place one year after the battle of Almanza (25 April 1707) in which the definitive victory of the Bourbon party in Spain was won. It is possible that quite a number of persons took part in these celebrations who were not fully convinced supporters of the Bourbons but who wished to adapt themselves to the new situation. Among them we may reckon also Marcus Antonius Kappus with his verses.

Marcus Antonius Kappus died in 1717, and so he was spared from seeing the subsequent events in Mexico and in Europe. With a royal cedulla, dated 27 February 1767, the Order was banned from all Spanish territories, including Mexico. In 1768 its members were forced to leaved Sonora and Baja California under humiliating circumstances.[17] In 1762 the Jesuitic Order was also expulsed from France, and in 1773 the Order was finally dissolved by Pope Clement XIV. In 1814, however, one year after the Battle of Nations at Leipzig (16 – 19 October, 1813), and one year before the final defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Waterlo (18 June 1815), the Order was reestablished by Pope Pius VII.

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[16] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, The MacMillan Comp. 1936, 462.

[17] *Ducrue's Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California (1767-1769).* An annotated English translation of Benno Ducrue's *Relatio expulsionis,* ed. by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., St. Louis and Rome, 1947.

9.

The final part of this study tries to give a brief survey of studies on Kappus written by Slovene scholars. Thus it covers such a part of these studies to which scholars working in America do not have easy access. For that reason the present study intentionally bypasses the corresponding American researches.

In Slovenia there was a continued interest in the life and work of Kappus. It began with his contemporaries and continued almost without interruption till the Second World War. There was however, no scholarly literature available in that time in Slovenia which could make more advanced research in this field possible. The main interest of Slovene prewar researchers in Slovene emigration was centred in the personality of Frederick Baraga who went to the United States in 1830 and worked there as a missionary in the region of Lake Superior. After the Second World War the first visible researcher in the life and work of Marcus Antonius Kappus was Stanley Žele. He was an American Slovene working in the central offices of Slovene National Benefit Society (Slovenska narodna podporna jednota), a liberal organization of American Slovenes with headquarters in Chicago. Žele could use for his studies the rich resources of the Newberry Library in Chicago. He published his studies dealing also with the life and work of Kappus in the Chicago Slovene newspaper *Prosveta* (*Enlightenment*), 1963, Nos. 12-73. Žele's studies keep the standard followed by the paper which published them.

In the years 1986 to 1997 I published a series of seven studies on Kappus and his work in the review *Acta Neophilologica*, an organ of Slovene philologists interested in the literatures of Western Europe and America. The review is published by Ljubljana University. A bibliographical survey of these studies is given above in notes 5 and 16. The studies were conceived as a series of contributions to Kappus' researches, and not as a definitive work. I was interested in Kappus owing to my professorship of American literature at Ljubljana University. As such I was given two one-school year scholarships which I also used to collect American publications connected with Kappus (school year 1959/60 Ford Foundation, 1984/85 Fulbright fellowship). Kappus interested me as a Slovene who was culturally active in America already in the colonial period. In one of my studies (Part VII) I dealt with Kappus as a poet of Latin poetry, while the rest of my studies published each one letter by Kappus available in Ljubljana and specific problems in Kappus' biography, connected with the contents of these letters. In spite of the limited scope of these researches, a total sum of their results makes possible a broad survey of his life and work, such as it is summarized in the present study.

I have been fortunate that in America my studies have met with friendly attention. In Arizona, Professor Bernard L. Fontana, from Arizona State University at Tucson, reported on individual studies in the review *SMRC* (abbreviation for: Southwestern Mission Research Center) scholarly organ of Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona in Tucson. In California, the University of California at Berkeley displayed these studies among the yearly acquisitions of this university and registered them in their pamphlet on *Christmas Exhibitions.* In Sonora, the paper *Unisono*, "organo de información y analisis de la comunidad universitaria" at the University of Sonora at Hermosillo, published in No. 70, dated 20 March 1991, my survey of the present state

of Kappus research. It appeared in 1987 in the review *Slovenia*. The Spanish translation was made by Victor Tapia.

Among the historical surveys of Slovene literature produced by American Slovenes, which refer also to the work of Kappus, we must mention also two anthologies, one published in Cleveland in 1977 whose authors are Edward Giles Gobetz and Adele Donchenko, and the second anthology published in 1982 in Ljubljana, whose author is Jerneja Petrič.[18]

Most recently in 1998, Tomaž Nabergoj, a researcher in Slovene National Museum in Ljubljana, published in *Acta Neophilologica* one more letter sent in 1690 by Kappus to Kino. In it Kappus gives a numerical report on people and animals living in that year at Cucurpe.[19]

With my present research I intend to conclude my Kappus researches. My advanced age demands this. I wish to thank my American friends for their friendly attention to my work. I hope that future researches by other scholars will finally lead to a full monograph on Kappus and his work. Through such researches I see a possible expression of friendly cultural ties connecting Slovenia with the United States and with Mexico.

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

[18] Giles Edward Gobetz & Adele Donchenko: *Anthology of Slovenian American Literature,* Willoughby Miils (Ohio), 1977: publ. by Slovenian Research Center of America, Inc. (236 pp). – Jerneja Petrič: *Naši na tujih tleh* (i.e.: Our People in Foreign Countries), Ljubljana 1982, Cankarjeva založba in Slovenska izseljenska matica (524pp).

[19] Tomaž Nabergoj: A letter of Marcus Antonius Kappus to Eusebius Franciscus Kino (Sonora in 1690), *Acta Neophilologica* 31 (1998): 65-80.

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THE FIRST TRANSLATIONS OF *LEATHERSTOCKING TALES* IN SLOVENE

Darja Mazi - Leskovar

Abstract

The Leatherstocking Tales represent what is probably the most valuable contribution of James Fenimore Cooper to the development of American literature. This article surveys briefly the first translation of the series, by highlighting the domestication and the foreignization procedures which were applied to make the books accessible for the target audience. Secondly, it discusses the interplay of domestication and foreignization with regard to the forms and functions of proper names.

INTRODUCTION

James Fenimore Cooper, one of the first American men of letters who developed and popularised widely diverse literary forms, has been honoured with the title of the "founding father of the American historical novel, exploring the contradictions of American society in a time of profound change" (Gray 107). James Fenimore Cooper was born in Gulington, New Jersey and brought up in Cooperstown in the New York State. Leaving Yale University without taking a degree, he became a navy officer and then a country gentleman in Cooperstown. His first book, *Precaution* (1820) was a failure; his second book, *The Spy: the Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821), in which he created the character of the hero under the influence of Sir Walter Scott, was an immediate success. One of the reviewers even "hailed Cooper as the first who deserved the appellation of a distinguished American novel writer" (Gray 108). Just two years later other books followed, among which was the first of the Leatherstocking Tales, *The Pioneers; or, The Sources of the Susquehanna: A Descriptive Tale* (1823). The book introduced the hero Natty Bumppo who is also the protagonist of the other four novels of the same series: *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826), *The Prairie: A Tale* (1827), *The Pathfinder; or the Inland Sea* (1840) and *The Deerslayer; or The First War-Path: A Tale* (1841).

The thirteen-year time-lapse between the publication of *The Prairie* and of *The Pathfinder* was important for the reception of the series by the source American public; however, it did not have any impact on the reception of the series by Slovene readers. The translations of all five novels were published on the threshold of the twentieth cen-

tury: *The Deerslayer* and *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1900, and *The Pathfinder*, *The Prairie* and *The Pioneers* in 1901. Another lucky circumstance that accompanied the Slovene translations is that the publication chronology of the series enabled Slovene readers to follow the narrative chronology. Hence the chronological order of events described in the five novels was respected by presenting first the hero Natty Bumppo in his early twenties in *Deerslayer*, then in *The Last of the Mohicans*, where Natty, who is called Hawkeye, is in his thirties. In the translations that followed, the main protagonist is in his forties in The Pathfinder, in *The Pioneers* he is Leatherstocking in his seventies, and in *The Prairie* he is the old trapper in his eighties. The five translations were numbered accordingly: *The Deerslayer* described as Part I and *The Prairie* as Part V.

The first translations of the Leatherstocking series prove that at the start of the 20th century Slovenes followed the same literary trends as the rest of the western world.[1] Each of the translations testifies to the bridging of the gap between American culture and its literature and Slovene culture and its literary lore. The term 'culture' in the present context refers to "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to the community that uses a particular language as its means of expression", in accordance with Peter Newmark's view presented in the book *About Translation.*

The notion of translation and of the "related concepts such as adaptation and rewriting" (Lambert in Baker 130) is treated differently in various literary traditions. In this paper the term is used for any rendering of the text into another language in order to enable the non-source audience to read it (Anderman and Rogers, 2003). Hence, the term adaptation will have a status free from negative connotations and will be considered as a constituent part of the translation process. However, since translation is also "concerned with moral and with factual truth" (Newmark 1), the messages conveyed by the translations will be compared to the messages of the original texts. Accordingly, translations will be inspected also with respect to the "translation of culture" (Anderman and Rogers 88), focusing on the procedures of domestication and foreignization. Domestication is applied in order to render the texts more accessible to non-target readers, and foreignization to enable the readers to experience the foreign. Both strategies are as a rule combined in mainstream and cross-over literature. *The Leatherstocking Tales* have been written with an adult audience in mind but have from a relatively early date come also to be read by younger readers. This is, according to Griswold, a frequent phenomenon in the world of literature where "great writers wrote books for an audience composed of both children and adults" (Griswold 248). In the case of translation of such works, domestication is one of the prerequisites enabling also non-mature readers, together with those who are looking for an undemanding text, to be able to enjoy the books. In such a context, the translation of culture-bound elements, particularly proper names, is especially significant; hence this paper will discuss also the interplay of domestication and foreignization as revealed in the forms and functions of proper names.

[1] Darja Mazi - Leskovar, Ameriška mladinska proza v Sloveniji. Magistrsko delo. (Unpublished M.A. thesis.) Rokopis. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 1996.

THE TRANSLATIONS PREPARING THE GROUND FOR COOPER'S BOOKS

The ground for the translation of *The Leatherstocking Tales* was initially prepared by the first English literary text translated into Slovene: Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*. The book was published in 1812 under the title *Prava pot k dobrimu stanu, ali ena beseda ob pravim časi.* Since the book did not address a larger audience,[2] the first real literary and cultural encounters with America and its reality took place a few decades later with the publication of the translations of the works written by the Slovene missionary Friderik Irenej Baraga.[3] In order to get support for his mission among Indian tribes, he undertook various types of research and wrote books about the life and customs of the Indians from the area of the Great Lakes. One of Baraga's most popular texts, *Popis navad in zaderžanja Indijanov polnočne Amerike*, was translated from his original German version *Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebrauche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* (*The History, Character, Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*)[4]. The book was translated from German by Jožef Kek and published in 1837. Baraga's book prepared the ground for Cooper's series. Between the two, the great icebreaking translations of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America* (1852) attracted great attention from Slovene readers in 1853. However, the two Slovene versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were not translated from the original but from the German translation[5], while Cooper's novels, by contrast, were all translated from the original English text.

THE EARLIEST TRANSLATIONS OF *LEATHERSTOCKING TALES* IN SLOVENE

The first American author who was presented to Slovene readers with a whole series of books was James F. Cooper. The translations of tales in which he created "the man of the forest" (Moore 215), the frontiersman Natty Bumppo, were published under the title *Natanael Bumppo*. Since the name was presumed to cause an excessively foreignizing effect, the title of the series was given on the inner title page only. The jacket cover thus carries the Slovene title of each individual book. The cultural background of the stories and the type of the novel they all belong to are indicated with a visual clue – with a colour illustration of undisclosed illustrator appearing on each jacket cover. In the hope of attracting the attention of potential readers, the image is accompanied with a sentence which explains the scene and has thus the function of a caption. On the title

[2] The book, which was published in Graz, did not turn out to be a particularly widely read text.

[3] Friderik Irenej Baraga, born in 1797 in Mala vas pri Dobrniču (Slovenia), died in 1868 as the first bishop of Marquett (USA). Baraga was the first Slovene missionary among the Otawa and Ojibwa Indians about whom he wrote in his books.

[4] The German original and the Slovene translation are extensively presented and commented in the article "Frederick Baraga and his Book on the Manners of American Indians" written by Breda Požar and published in *Acta Neophilologica* 6 (1973): 29–71.

[5] Uncle Tom's Cabin in the Slovene Language" by Darja Mazi – Leskovar in *Acta Neophilologica*, 31. 1–2 (1998): 115–121.

page, on the other hand, there are two inscriptions that are presumably intended to mitigate the strong foreignizing effect of the title of the series. The first is the introduction of the author's name with 'Written in English' and the second is 'A tale adapted for the young'. In such a way the potential readers were not only given the cultural context of the books, but were also promised easily-readable texts.

THE DEERSLAYER

The first adaptation of *The Deerslayer* was entitled *Strelec (Marksman).* The first paragraph conveys the temporal and spatial framework of the story, indicating that it takes place around 1740 on the banks of the river Hudson. This setting for the action used to be a wilderness stretching into New England (1). In the English original, however, this information is embedded into a context conveying detailed historical and geographical background and appears in the third paragraph only. Clearly, taking into account the target text readers, the setting needed to be less specific. Besides, this reduction served the adaptation, enabling the translator to reduce the text to one fifth of its original length. These introduce the main hero of the series as Natanael Bumppo, called by his friends Natty or Deerslayer. He comes with his friend Chief Chingachgook of the Mohicans to the place that evokes memories of the events that took place fifteen years earlier.

The translation brings out above all the story of the Deerslayer's fights and struggles with the Iroquois Indians and of his friendship with Chingachgook, called also Great Snake or Serpent. The Slovene adaptation is primarily a narration of fighting and clashes between Indians and whites, between Indian tribes themselves and between Englishmen and Frenchmen. Natty is presented as a brave and loyal frontiersman, respected by his friends and feared by his enemies. However, his personality is only partly revealed. Readers get no insight into his emotional life and they are only allowed to discover fragments of his reflections and his serious consideration of moral issues. The part of the novel presenting Natty's romantic affair with a beautiful girl, Judith, does not appear in the target text; only the story of the young Indian chief and his sweetheart Wah-ta-Wah is rendered into translation. The dialogues in which Deerslayer expresses his ideas on life and death, good and evil, race and religion, customs and traditions are either completely omitted or very briefly summarized. Natty's moral image is rendered above all through the opinions he has about scalping, about killing and self-defence and about loyalty and friendship. Hence, the intellectual and moral background of the protagonist's views are only partly disclosed, contrary to the original where they are clearly explained on various occasions.

The message of the novel, which is not conveyed by the central hero only, is furthermore truncated, since the adaptation does not allow space to present the development of those traits of other characters which undergo radical changes due to their encounters with Natty. For example, there is no summarizing of a section where the white scalp trafficker decides to abandon his cruel business. In accordance with the whole structure of the adaptation, the final paragraphs, in which Cooper comments on the passing of time, and the oblivion into which the crimes that Deerslayer and Chingachgook witnessed have fallen, are also shortened. However, the melancholic tone of the closing passage

is faithfully rendered and the Serpent's son, Uncas, is introduced. He will appear in the eponymous novel *The Last of the Mohicans.*

THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS

The 'literary life' of Natanael Bumppo continued for the Slovene readers in *Poslednji Mohikanec Natanael Bumppo* (1900). The best known book about the character who was to become the "anticipation of later Western heroes" (Gray 109) turned out also as the most popular book among the target readers.

Like in *The Deerslayer*, in this adaptation also, the tale is reduced to a story full of action. The commentaries on the historical, geographical, socio-political and moral issues that are integral parts of the story are reduced to a minimum. Most of them are deleted and only the ones that appear to be indispensable for the understanding of the story, in which Hawkeye tries to help the endangered Mohican Indians and the white Munro sisters, are briefly summarised. For instance, in the first chapter of *The Last of the Mohicans,* Cooper describes the historical circumstances on which the story is based and comments on the stance of Europe with regard to the wars and the fights with Indians. The Slovene adaptation leaves out the author's reflection altogether and sets only the locale and the time frame for the story: "The events I would like to describe took place on the territory among the Great Lakes and the sources of the Hudson River, in the third year of the war between England and France" (1). Such a strategy reflects the translator's aim of reducing the text, which he manages by condensing parts of the tale and by leaving out whole episodes and chapters. Hence, the thirty-three original chapters are rendered in six Slovene chapters. In consistency with such a reduction, all the quotations from literary works which introduce individual chapters in the original, are also omitted.

Despite the reduction, which enables an important degree of domestication, *The Last of the Mohicans* has a strong foreignizing effect. The primary source of foreignization is simply the backward glance of the author, the American who converted the unique American "eighteenth-century experience into a nineteenth-century work of literature" (Merchant 85). The section of American history offered to the Slovene audience is, very much as in *The Deerslayer*, presented in its specific, double perspective. The main hero is not only ready to express his standpoint but is also able to step into the moccasins of the American Indian. However, as Hawkeye cannot represent the variety of white settlers and the multitude of viewpoints of the white fictional characters, the Native Americans that he encounters belong to various ethnic groups and have different perspectives on the whites. Neither of the two racial groups is uniform and the encounters between them are the source of the strong foreignizing effect to the novel.

Still, the "clear and clean division of persons into groups" (Merchant 87) makes also the target story transparent. The foreignizing effect may have been furthermore mitigated by the motif of spying. The episodes of spying, on which the plot markedly depends, create the atmosphere of 'mystery' which may be viewed as intrinsically related to the unknown environment and thus facilitating the encounters of the target readers with the strange and unknown in the story as a whole. Slovene readers are

faced with spying as early as in the first chapter, while the source readers meet it in the second chapter of the original. However, it is through the constructive communication between Hawkeye and other characters that information is shared. The source text readers are faced with the first significant exchange between the white protagonist and Chingachgook in the third chapter, whilst the target readers are faced with it as early as the first chapter. The frontier scout is thus introduced as the intermediary between the two extremes: the redskins and the whites. The former are represented particularly through the opposition between the Hurons and Delawares and the latter through the rivalry between English and French colonizers. The adaptation of the first chapter thus prepares the potential audience to follow the action. As the story evolves, the racial identity which appears at the start of the novel to be the most important indicator of the difference between humans, loses its weight. The former initial standpoint of the Indians, according to which the white man is only a cruel colonizer, gradually gets new features. The Mohicans, thanks to the cooperation between the main character and their tribal chief, start discovering the complex nature of the white men, and the newcomers in turn learn about the differences existing between various tribes of native Americans. The message of the final scene of the book, however, cannot be grasped by Slovene readers because Hawkeye's ideas about brotherhood among all people have not been sufficiently covered by the adaptation.

THE PIONEERS

The Leatherstocking Tales open with *The Pioneers*, the volume which, according to D. H. Lawrence, contains "some of the loveliest, most glamorous pictures in all literature" (Berkovitch 684). According to Cooper's introduction from 1832, these pictures should illustrate the transformation of American society. The introduction, which was not translated in the 1901 Slovene adaptation, also claims that *The Pioneers* gives only a general picture of the society. The Slovene abbreviation of the long English title *The Pioneers; or, The Sources of the Susquehanna: A Descriptive Tale* with only the short *Naseljenci* (Settlers, Colonists). therefore appears to be a good solution. The information that the author gives about the setting is also reduced: the tale takes place in 1793 not far from the sources of the river Susquehanne in the state of New York. The original, conversely, mentions also the lake Otsego. Both names have a foreignizing effect, consequently, the choice to present only one Indian name, mitigates the degree of strangeness of the location. Additionally, it may be presumed that at the start of the 20th century the city of New York was already known to an average Slovene reader. Moreover, the settlement as the locale of the tale has a domesticating effect if compared to the untamed nature in which the rest of the narratives take place.

The Slovene target readers were thus offered a book which "treats history as an unfinished and strife-ridden process; an area of struggle between a rising and a doomed nation, the expanding American Republic and the beleaguered society of the natives" (Bercovitch 685). The new American civilization which is not represented only by the Native Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen but also with a black American, is viewed primarily through the attitude which different groups show towards laws. Natty

Bumppo and his friends, Chingachgook and Oliver, believe that manmade law is useless for it does not encourage the proper relationship to the environment. Natty breaks a regulation and he is imprisoned even though the Judge recognises that by the norm of a higher law Leatherstocking is innocent. The law is not flexible and protects the new "market outlook" (Bercovitch 685) according to which nature is perceived as a source of limitless exploration. Still, in the course of the story the two views are increasingly difficult to tell apart. The marriage of the judge's daughter with Oliver is the most outstanding proof of the fusion of the two attitudes.

The translator adapted forty chapters into eight. He completely omitted a few chapters, as for example the seventh chapter in which Cooper explains the connections between various Indian tribes and introduces John the Mohican. Moreover, he left out the fourth and the thirteenth chapters in which Oliver Edwards, one of the major characters, is put into the limelight. In the fourth chapter the young man is introduced as a person of exceptional physical force and presence of spirit and in the thirteenth chapter the local inhabitants try to uncover why Oliver came to Templeton. Despite the omission of the information, the message of the narrative is communicated. It is obvious also from the Slovene text that the young man has been raised in the spirit of Natty and Chingachgook. When he eventually gets possession of the land that belonged to his ancestors, justice is done and he can enter the organised American society. Slovene readers have thus been shown another important aspect of the relationship between the Indians and the whites and between the newcomers and the first settlers of the USA.

THE PATHFINDER

The introductory paragraph of *Stezosledec*, which is the literary translation of *The Pathfinder,* does not create the foreignizing effect of the starting chapters in the previously presented novels. The temporal framework is rather vague: "the second half of the previous century." (1) The spatial framework is also quite loose; just "the woods around the Northern-American Great Lakes" (1). However, in the original, the place and time of action are not indicated as early as that: the only indication of the locale in the first paragraph is the proper noun, America, appearing in the context the "virgin forests of America (1). The aim to domesticate the text is additionally revealed by the interpolation of the third sentence in which the translator explains that the forest in which a group of two women and two men were walking could not be compared to the woods Slovene readers were familiar with.

"Vendar se neizmerni gozd nikakor ni dal primerjati našemu dobro oskrbovanemu gozdu, kjer pazi gozdar na dobra pota in takoj odpravi vsako drvo, ki ga podere vihar."[6]

Thus, despite the pronounced adaptation procedure which aimed at the considerable reduction of pages, very much as in the three novels already presented above,

[6] However, the immense forest couldn't be compared to our (i.e. Slovene) woods which are so well cared for and where a forester is in charge of good paths and immediately removes every tree which has fallen in a storm (my transl.).

the translator considered it appropriate to emphasize that the reality described in the source text and the one which target readers are familiar with in their own environment may not be the same. Such an extention of the text proves that the translator was aware of the need to operate "at the frontiers of language and culture" (Bush 128) and that he wanted to prevent the readers from interpreting the text according to their specific cultural experiences. Therefore in spite of the initial linking of the text with familiar experience, the translator's intervention is an attempt to emphasize those aspects of the fictional reality that are unknown or even alien to the reader. Such a move favours the foreignizing aspect of the text.

The discrepancy between reality on the one hand, and human perception and interpretation of it on the other, is one of the main themes of the novel and it is as such also presented in the Slovene adaptation. Even the cover picture on which the dying Sergeant Dunham, Pathfinder's friend, puts his daughter's hand into the hand of a young man Jasper, illustrates the scene from the novel where the reality does not correspond to the individual's perception. The point is this picture portrays a scene where the girl's father thinks that he is blessing her union with Pathfinder whom he favours as a future son-in-law. Natty, who has fallen in love with Mabel, eventually recognises that he does not really know himself and that he, a woodsman, needs the wilderness as much as the girl needs the town.

The other white fictional characters also have to go through a similar process of adaptation of their expectations to the situations in which they have to live. The French captain, for example, believes that his experience at sea ensures him all the qualities he needs for the navigation on the Great Lakes. Only when his lack of appropriate experience drives him into trouble, is he willing to recognise that in an unknown environment he has to develop other gifts. The humour arising from initial misinterpretations and from the different kinds of adaptations the characters have to go through in order to survive characterizes also the Slovene adaptation.

The Indians, conversely, are featured as the ones who mostly live in compliance with their nature and their gifts. The main hero, called also by his French name La Longue Carabine, believes that they are a remarkable race even though he, as a white man, cannot always approve of their deeds.

THE PRAIRIE

The last of *The Leatherstocking Tales*, was entitled *Na preriji.* Similarly to the other Slovene adaptations, the narrative is not preceded by any of the three introductions which Cooper wrote for his source readers. The first introduction from the year 1827 would have been, however, important for the Slovene readers as well, since it helps to understand the whole opus concerned with Natty Bumppo. Cooper explains that his books try not only to respect historic facts of the period his fiction is set into but also to introduce the Indians through their customs. His primary aim, however, is to present the life of the man who moved to escape from civilization and who has been considered a hero in whatever environment he has found himself.

The Prairie continues Natty's story from *The Pioneers*. After his code of natural justice has been defeated by the institutionalised code of social justice, he enters the area of the prairies. The Slovene adaptation defines the historic and geographical framework of the narrative. The period of the narrative is 1804, since it is stated in the first sentence that the events took place in the year after the unification of the French territories with the USA, which took place in 1803. The land of immigration, the position of the place where the action of the narrative takes place, is defined at the start of the first chapter. It is introduced as "the far away regions that previously belonged to the French Louisiana and which later joined the United States" (1). In the second paragraph, likewise on the first page, the topographic feature of the region is defined as 'the prairie.' It is the limitless prairie at the other side of the river Mississippi. In the first chapter of the original the place and time of the narrative are also specified. However, the source audience who was expected to be to a certain extent familiar with the geographical and historic facts related to the setting, is offered a whole range of footnotes giving additional information related either to the history or to the geography of the area in question. These footnotes are not translated and they are not necessary for the understanding of the abbreviated target story. The quotations from Shakespeare which introduce individual chapters are also omitted.

In order to reduce the original text to a third of its length, the translator has again put the stress on the action. The complex story about the trapper is presented in its most important aspects. Natty, called in this novel also the old man, joins a group of white people travelling through the wilderness of the Great Plains. Despite the abbreviations of the text, it is obvious also from the Slovene version that the hero can help the travellers because he knows how to act in this vast plain. By observing the behaviour of animals and Indians, he knows the manners and morals of prairie life. Hence, the group can survive the series of risks triggered by the natural environment. However, due to the presence of the unsympathetic and belligerent Indian Sioux and of the embittered outcast Ishmael Bush and his brother, Natty has also to deploy all his courage, moral rectitude and mediation skills. Finally, the travellers regain the American settlement but Natty prefers to stay with Hard Heart, the young chief of the Pawee tribe who has helped them in the prairie. The eleventh chapter of the adaptation shows how the old man dies as a loved and respected adviser of the Indians and as a dear friend of the ones he led in the prairie.

The text keeps many foreignizing aspects. The most outstanding are those related to the setting and the fictional characters. The prairie as a locale is a natural habitat unfamiliar to Slovenes. Accordingly, the animals, such as buffalos, were presumably unknown to an average reader. The Indian tribes and the differences between them represent another source of the impact of strangeness of this narrative. There are the Sioux who seem to have an almost animal-like nature and are opposed to the Pawnees, the noble and respectful friends of Natty. The reader is able to discover a similar opposition in the white group: the wise old man is represented as an ideal figure and his chief antagonist, Ishmael, even carries a Biblical name that in itself reveals his nature to the target readers at a time when the culture was still strongly marked by a knowledge of the Bible.

WHO IS THE FIRST TRANSLATOR OF *THE LEATHERSTOCKING TALES*?

It is obvious from the five translations of *The Leatherstocking Tales* that they have been translated by the same translator. Since the name does not appear either on the jacket cover or on the title page, it seems appropriate to raise the question of the name of their translator. The editor of the series, Janez Giontini, however, stated in the *List of the books published for the general public and young people* that *The Leatherstocking Tales* had been translated by Ivan Strelec. France Simonič included the same information in *Slovenska bibliografija 1550 – 1900*. Janez Stanonik, the author of the section "American – Slovene cultural relationship" in *Enciklopedija Slovenije* (Mladinska knjiga 1987) claims that the series was translated by Ivan Strelec, therefore we can consider Strelec as the first translator of the series into Slovene.[7]

THE TRANSLATION OF PROPER NAMES IN *THE LEATHERSTOCKING TALES*

The Natty Bumppo books are historical novels referring to the 'real world' of James F. Cooper: the 18th century USA. As such they contain a wide range of proper names referring to persons and places. Since proper names are strongly culturally marked, their form and function in the translated text are most indicative of the domestication and foreignization techniques applied in the translational procedures.

Domestication of personal names is achieved in several ways. In the case of English names which have a visually easily identifiable Slovene equivalent, the English names are replaced by the names familiar to the target audience. For example, Elisabeth and Louise become Elizabeta and Lujiza in *The Pioneers*[8]; Judith becomes Judita in *The Deerslayer;* Alice from *The Last of the Mohicans* becomes Alica; Paul from *The Prairie* turns into Pavel and Richard into Rihard. Biblical names used in *The Prairie* were considered to be familiar to the Slovene readers therefore the name Esther remains unchanged in the translation despite the existence of the Slovenized form Ester.

The situation is a little different with the translation of names which carry a meaning. For example, in *the Deerslayer*, Rivenoak is translated literarily into Razklani hrast; in *The Pathfinder* the Arrowhead is Puščična ost. The many names of the main hero fall into the same category when they refer to some quality or possession of his. The Leatherstocking becomes Irhasta nogavica, Stezosledec corresponds to Pathfinder and Sokolje oko to Hawkeye. The same is true about the many names of Chingachgook. When he is called Serpent or Great Serpent, the translation calls him Kača or Velika Kača. Thus, also in the adaptations the translated names are used according to the usage in the original: whenever the quality or possession of the fictional character appears to be important for the situation in which they are caught or the circumstance they are part of, the components of the name are translated.

[7] Ivan Strelec (1864–1914) was a teacher and headmaster. He was an amateur translator and besides *Natanael Bumppo*, he translated a few Czech articles related to teaching and learning.

[8] All the titles of the books in this chapter refer to the equivalent Slovene versions.

A number of names which do not have an easily recognisable Slovene counterpart are domesticated through partial alteration. For example, in a few names containing letters which are pronounced differently in English and Slovene, the English letters in question are replaced by the Slovene letters which ensure a pronunciation similar to the original. For instance, Uncas becomes Unkas. Another type of adaptation is related to the cultural context. The name Hetty, for instance, which appears in *The Deerslayer*, is modified into Ketty. The modification may remind Slovene readers of the common name Katarina and its derivatives, but the adapted form has neverthless not diminished the foreignizing impact of the girl's name, since the Slovene alphabet does not include the letter 'y' and the doubling of the identical consonants is not a normal feature in the target language. Hence the foreignizing connotation has not been abolished.

A strong foreignizing effect is derived from those personal names which remain in their original form. The most prominent example of such foreignization is the usage of the original when referring to the main character Nattanael Bumppo with his full name or with the shortened Natty. The hero is referred also with his French name La longue Carabine which, conversely, can be found also in its translated form which is Dolga puška. An alien cultural context is moreover underlined with other personal names which retain their original form. In each novel there are several characters carrying original appellations. Instances include Harry March in *The Deerslayer*, Hiram Dolittle and Billy Kirby in *The Pioneers*, Dunham and Mac Nab in *The Pathfinder*, Ellen Wade and Middleton in *The Prairie*, and Duncan and Heyward in *The Last of the Mohicans*. Similarly the names of French and German origin remain unchanged: Hartmann and Montcalm are relatively familiar to the Slovene cultural context: the former due to the traditionally strong cultural ties with the German speaking nations and the latter thanks to the historical experience from the Napoleonic era.

Despite the specificity of the target culture which must have influenced the decisions about different ways of translating personal names, it is obvious that the translator was rather inconsistent in applying the domestication techniques. For example, the name of Uncas is changed into Unkas, but the name of Duncan, used in the same novel, remains in its original form. The letter 'c' is not replaced by 'k'. The question arises as to whether the rationale behind the changed spelling is related to the frequency of the appearance of the name in the series: namely, Uncas is not in the focus only in the *The Last of the Mohicans* but is also mentioned in all other novels except *The Deerslayer* (which retell the events occurring before his birth). Duncan, conversely, is only one of the many characters in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

The names of tribes are also partly altered. As a rule the Slovene endings are added to the base forms in order to mark the gender, number and case of nouns or corresponding adjectives; this is a general and necessary strategy applied to all personal nouns and their corresponding adjectives. However, inconsistency can be observed in the way the lexical domestication is applied. Some forms adapt to the Slovene pronunciation and script, some only to one of them. For instance, the Mohicans become Mohikani, so that the right pronunciation is secured. However, Yankees are changed into Yenkezi despite the absence of the letter Y from the Slovene alphabet. On the other hand, the Iroquois are turned into Irokezi. The letter 'q', absent from the Slovene writing script, is replaced by the letter 'k'. A similar procedure is applied in the case of all the forms

of the name Delaware and its corresponding adjective. On the level of the script, 'w', a letter which is unknown to the Slovene alphabet, is replaced by the letter 'v'. Conversely, the letter 'w' remains in the form Pawneejci which is the Slovenized form of the name of the Pawnees.

The translation of geographical names is also inconsistent. The name of the country, the United States, is always rendered as Združene države, what is undoubtedly the result of the strong immigration that has been on the way for so long already that the Slovene name of the country completely established itself. On the contrary, New York and the rivers Mississipi and Hudson are always spelt in their original form. This applies also to the completely unknown locations like the fortress Edward or the river Susquehanne and the Champlain lake. Conversely, a few names are always translated. For instance, New England and The Great Lakes are translated as Nova Anglija, and as Velika jezera, respectively. The translation does not endanger understanding since these geographical entities must have been already familiar to the target public. It could be speculated that due to the writings of Baraga they were more familiar than the geographical names of other parts of the country.

As far as the usage of French is concerned, the translator has acted consistently. A few sentences which Cooper puts into the mouth of fictional characters of French origin are not translated into Slovene. Consequently, a Frenchman asks 'Qui vire?' also in the Slovene translation of *The Last of the Mohicans.* Even though it is obvious that the average Slovene reader was expected to understand basic French, such sentences contribute to the foreignizing impact of the translation. They highlight the image of the United States as a multicultural society.

Foreignization is moreover created by the introduction of "the so-called realia, words and phrases that are so heavily and exclusively grounded in one culture" (Robinson 222). The objects typical of the Indian culture, like moccasins and wigwams, are mentioned at several places. The spelling of the former is inconsistent, while the latter has always the same form as in the origin. An instance of the direct transposition of the term used in the Anglo-American culture is the usage of the term sheriff in the Slovene translation of *The Pioneers.* Moreover, despite the radical adaptation of the texts, individual narratives include a few culturally bound sayings. They all contain the names of animals which are not represented in the Slovene fauna. In *The Prairie* brings a saying that "one cannot compare a horse to a salmon". A few pages afterwards there is a saying "a buffalo cannot be a bat" (75). On the other hand, the Indian culture is presented as to be unfamiliar with the donkey, an animal very familiar to the Slovenes: the Sioux women are shown as being frightened when they hear the strange sound of this beast.

A foreignizing effect of the adaptations is thus underlined with the translations of those sections of the texts where the unfamiliar fauna and flora are mentioned. For instance, buffalos and alligators do not live in our ecosystems. The same applies to various types of landscape such as the prairie, and to ecosystems which cannot be met in the Central European context. Hence the setting itself is a strong foreignizing factor. Another source of foreignization is the cast of fictional characters representing various Indian tribes and languages. Despite the reduction of issues due to the adaptations, the translations introduce a whole panoply of themes completely foreign not only to the Slovene context but also to the European framework.

CONCLUSION

The translations of *The Leatherstocking Tales* represent an important landmark in the history of translation of American literature into Slovene. This article, which has deliberately avoided a close analysis of the translation devices used by the first translator, has focused only on the strategies of foreignization and domestication. These strongly culturally bound narratives with settings and protagonists foreign to the experience of the target audience address the readers in an adapted form. The adaptations are not only considerably shorter than the originals, but they are also significantly simplified. Accordingly, they illustrate above all the domesticating translation strategies, such as simplification and omission. Explanation and extension are applied only exceptionally which is understandable since the parts of the text which would not allow for simplification have as a rule been omitted. Consequently, the adaptations bring to the readers mainly stories full of action in which the characters are allowed to express their opinions only to the extent required for the understanding of the basic plot of the individual book. Despite such a translation strategy, books have raised a few issues, completely alien to the target environment.

Even though the texts were translated by the same person, the adaptations treat culturally bound elements, particularly proper names, in a number of ways. The names which retain their original form underline the foreignizing impact of the whole series. The names of German and French origin as well as Biblical names remain unchanged which is connected with the supposed cultural background of the target audience. "Even though there are no rules for the translation of proper names" (Nord 182), the expectation is that their usage is consistent. However, in these translations, various inconsistencies can be detected not only in the application of the domestication of different personal names but also in the usage of the forms of the same name. Conversely, geographical names and the names of tribes, which are also adapted in conformity with either the domestication or the foreignization strategies, are consistently used. While it is impossible after this lapse of time to know what kind of impact such inconsistencies had upon Slovene readers of that period, it remains very instructive to see these relatively early attempts to render such a characteristic range of culturally specific features into a form acceptable to readers from a very different background.

These first translations of *The Leatherstocking Tales* have provided the Slovene readers with a literary experience based on such an interplay of domestication and foreignization which enabled the expansion of the sphere of mutual understanding between the American and Slovene cultures. Further development of this "zone of mutual translatability" (Nikolajeva 29) was later facilitated by translations of other American authors and in 1926 with a new and more extensive translation of *The Last of the Mohicans.*

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LOUIS ADAMIC'S "OLD ALIEN" AS A RELIC OF ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION IN THE U.S.A.

Jerneja Petrič

Abstract

The paper analyzes Louis Adamic 1940 story "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window" as the foil to his 1928 reportage "The Bohunks". The latter provoked a violent controversy among Slovene Americans due to its honest, straightforward and none-too-flattering presentation of the Slavic immigrants in America known as the Bohunks. "The Old Alien" story is both a portrait of an individual as well as a broader cultural and social analysis of Slovene American life.

The inconceivable complexity of America intrigued Louis Adamic[1] from the beginning of his literary career in the 1920s. "Basically, I suppose, I am a student who is his own teacher, a finder-out, one who is trying to get at the truth about things and making an effort to understand them."(Adamic 1938:). Exploring the ethnic diversity of the American society soon became one of his top priorities. He turned into an avid collector of immigrants' personal reminiscences regardless of their nationality. In 1938, for example, "he flooded both foreign and English language publications of all kinds with requests for information about immigrants and second and third generation Americans. He combed directories and registers in search of names and addresses to which he could send specialized questionnaires – ""To Polish Americans", "To Jewish Americans" [...]" (Christian xxxi). Further, he distributed a broadside "Plymouth Rock and Ellis Island" among organizations and individuals and in 1939 conceived of a lengthy questionnaire "Let's Become Americanized –ALL OF US" with half of each page left blank for notes" (xxxii).

In the July, 1928 issue of *American Mercury*, Adamic published a "story" titled "The Bohunks". It was, in fact, a piece of mixed genre, "written in the form of a magazine report or reportage, fashionable in the twenties and thirties in the American monthly press, of which Adamic produced a great deal" (Dolenc 208). In the introduction to his rather provocative and not-too-pleasant portrait of the Slavic immigrant Adamic bluntly stated that "during the quarter of a century immediately preceding the World War, America received great hordes of Bohunks and made use of them" (Adamic 319).

[1] 1898-1951, Slovene-born American author (*Laughing in the Jungle* (1932), *The Native's Return* (1934), *From Many Lands* (1940), *A Nation of Nations* (1945), *The Eagle and the Roots* (1952), etc.)

In the last part of his text, he integrated the Bohunks in the large multitudes of other immigrants to the Promised Land saying that: "America lured them over by the million: she needed their hands even more than they needed her dollars, and made use of them. In her mines and mills she killed them by the hundreds, crushed their bodies, robbed them of their best human qualities, made them into machines, into slaves" (324).

Adamic proceeded to say that the immigrants brought with them much more than their brawn for they had plenty of spiritual energy. But America wanted only the first.

In 1940, he saw into print his new book titled *From Many Lands*. It was to become number one book of Adamic's Nation of Nations series[2]. "His characters were *dramatized* from his acquaintances and investigations and in their separate episodes they touched nearly all of the "diversity" he had insisted should be understood in order to accomplish America's complete "unity"" (my emphasis, Christian xxxii). Adamic was a passionate adversary of the obsolete melting pot idea that forced aliens to melt with individuals of various nationalities and races into a new race (Crèvecoeur in Sollors 75-6). He sooner believed in "unity in diversity" stressing the enormous potential of the immigrant as well as his/her actual contribution to the overall well-being in the U.S. That was his answer to the "general prejudice and intolerance, of ignorance and fear" (Adamic in Christian xxxii).

From Many Lands won Adamic the John Anisfield Award as "the most significant book of 1940 on race relations in the contemporary world" (xxxii). The book is a collection of stories about immigrants of different national backgrounds including Adamic's native territory, Slovenia. "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window" was first published in the July, 1940 issue of *Saturday Evening Post* to be included, a couple of months later, in the above mentioned book.

In his short fiction, Adamic seldom wrote about Slovene Americans. With the publication of "The Bohunks" in 1928 he triggered a violent storm of protest among Slovene Americans who found the piece defamatory. They accused its author of spitting venom on his fellow countrymen. The text was proclaimed unworthy of a writer of Adamic's magnitude. What was very strange, as Dolenc observed in 1981, was the fact that "the original English text of The Bohunks was read by very few Slovene Americans, partly because it was published in a magazine unfamiliar to them, but chiefly because at that time very few of them read or understood English" (207). As the first Slovene translation appeared only in 1979, this means that the whole uproar evolved from the biased opinions of the few people who did indeed read the text.

When Adamic published his story 12 years later about the Slovenian "alien", he averted his eyes from the general aspects of the phenomenon called "the Bohunks" and instead chose to focus on an individual in order to portray a fellow countryman born some 20 kilometers to the south of Adamic's own birthplace. In appears that Adamic realized the counterproductiveness of a (predominantly) negative approach such as applied in "The Bohunks" was counterproductive if the text were to promote the idea of multiculturalism. In order to convince xenophobic fellow Americans of the value of his alien character, Adamic must have realized he needed to draw a positive portrait, a likeable though nonetheless deeply human individual. Anton Kmet, or Tone for short,

[2] Other books in the series include *Two-Way Passage* (1941), *What's Your Name* (1942) and *A Nation of Nations* (1945).

the protagonist of "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window" fulfills the above conditions perfectly.

In my paper, I will examine "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window", the text that offers, on one hand, an individualized portrait of an elderly Slovene immigrant, whereas on the other it exploits some broader aspects of the protagonist's life as a source of cultural and historical analysis. It is my belief that with this story Adamic wished to achieve at least two goals: 1. to ward off alien haters by proving them wrong and 2. demonstrate his ability as writer capable of writing a good story with an interesting plot, plausible characters, universal theme, etc. The lapsing from past to present and back, the skillful creation of suspense, the satire embedded in humor as well as maneuvering between Standard English and Slovene American speech are proof enough that Adamic's literary ambitions may have given way to other interests in the politically overloaded 1940s but were not altogether dead either.

The "alien" of the title is a Slovene immigrant who is well past his prime, being eighty years old. His special status as "the alien" can be understood in two ways: according to *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, an alien means "(a) belonging to a different country, race, or group, usually one you do not like or are frightened of" (39), and "(b) someone who is not a legal citizen of the country in which they live" *(Ibid.)*. As we will see, both definitions apply to our hero.

The story is quite long and was, to facilitate reading and understanding, subdivided into ten untitled units, or parts, marked simply with Roman figures. Part I introduces the protagonist Anton – Tone – Kmet, fondly referred to as "Oché Tone" (Father Tone) by family and friends. Having worked all his active life for the American Steel and Wire Company in Cleveland, Ohio, Oché Tone has been retired since the age of fifty-five, a distinguished record of which he is mighty proud. The old man is a native of the village of Ajdovec near Žužemberk in Dolenjsko (in his time the area was called Lower Carniola). He married a Slovene immigrant woman from a village not far away from his own and they have had eleven children of whom ten are still alive.

Although he loved his job and the company he worked for, he nevertheless came home from work one day deciding "that he had done his bit in the world and sat down /.../ by the kitchen window to gaze out and smoke and think from daybreak until nightfall every day of the week, week after week, month upon month, year in and year out; and to wait for his pension check, which the postman brings him once in a month without fail" (Adamic 1940: 147). He is not a citizen of the United States and does not speak English.

Part II of Adamic's story seeks to explain Tone Kmet's life prior to emigration - his being the underprivileged second son of a peasant as well as Emperor Franz Jozef's soldier for a number of years. His transatlantic passage ended in New York whereupon he proceeded by train to Cleveland, where he ended up in a boarding house located in the midst of a vivid Slovene American community. Tall, strong and healthy, he acquired a job the very next day and soon proved he could do the work of three people. His effort did not go unnoticed and secured him a privileged status within the company: his wages were better than his colleagues' and he was duly promoted to even better-paying and less dangerous posts as he grew older.

In Parts III and IV the reader learns about Tone Kmet's marriage and his first home in America. The lucky streak was interrupted by a self-provoked accident at workplace. Kmet was laid up for months but nevertheless continued to receive his wages, much to his wonder, just as if he were working. After that, Kmet's loyalty for the company that employed him was unwavering. In the end, twenty-five years of continuous employment without ever being involved in a strike made him eligible for pension at the early age of 55.

Part V dwells on Tone Kmet's "property instinct". He started pursuing it as his family increased with the birth of each new child. He bought a small house first and then, thanks to smart land speculation, a bigger and better one. That was the place Adamic visited back in 1940. During the first twenty years of their marriage, Tone and Karolina Kmet were blessed with 11 children, three boys and eight girls. All children, except one, survived and reached adulthood. Only the oldest son, Anthony, died as a consequence of his World War I experience. The narrator then proceeds to list, in chronological order of their birth, the Kmet children, their marital status and family circumstances, their careers and achievements. If a family has multiplied into its third generation, relevant data are provided as well.

Part VI is a story within the story. It explains Tone and Karolina Kmet's official alien status. Apart from clarifying one of the most crucial aspects in Tone Kmet's life, this story also represents a piece of Slovene cultural and social history of Cleveland at the turn of the century. Adamic explains how naturalization of most Slovene immigrants at the time was in the hands of a certain Mr Boston, a fellow countryman, who sent people to night school and saw to it that everybody got their citizenship. In return, the people were expected to behave themselves during election time and vote for the candidate selected by Mr Boston. Simple, honest Kmet refused to cooperate in the game thus forfeiting his Americanization.

Part VII tells about Kmet's decision to retire at the age of 55. "Why should he work any more? He had done enough, hadn't he?/.../ In a way, he was tired of that, bored with it. And he was generally tired. *Zmatran*. Funny, how weary his legs felt" (158). Worried about his health, the protagonist came to the conclusion it would be best for him to sit down and take things easy. Blessed with healthy Old World skepticism he "decided to retire in part also to test this pension plan" (Ibid.). To his infinite surprise it worked.

Part VIII begins with, "More than nine-tenths of the daytime in the last quarter of the century he has spent in that chair by the kitchen window. He never gets tired sitting there" (160). The day Adamic-the narrator visited him, the man sat there wearing "a pair of pants he has had since 1921" (Ibid.) and a ten-year-old sweater. This is the most humorous part of the story. Adamic's humor is mild and circumstantial, and occasionally it advances into satire. "[N]ow his aim is to make a good job of idleness. He has made it a good job from the start" (Ibid.). The elderly protagonist has chosen not to bother himself about matters that are of no direct consequences to him: he has not yet seen the newly painted house from the outside nor has he been upstairs for 22 years. The old man's list of idiosyncrasies is long, including his enthusiasm for football even if he does not know the rules of the game.

The penultimate part documents the toughest moment in the life of the Kmets, their oldest son's death. Later on Karolina took ill and Tone himself lost his appetite,

which worried him a great deal. But they survived and regained their vitality. In part X Adamic lets the old man speak in order to let him give his point of view on the matter of being and remaining an alien.

The dividing line between literature and history as well as between literature and reporting has prompted an endless array of discussions, scholarly and other. There is no doubt that Adamic's story is a mixed genre, containing elements of all three: literature, history and reporting. If we take it that Adamic's imaginative gift was less pronounced – he did, after all, rely heavily on real-life stories – his power of expression was nevertheless amazing. Let us therefore examine his creation of Tone Kmet's character.

Speaking in strictly literary terms, characterization means "the way an author describes or shows what a character is like" (*Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 244). In a short story the author reveals the characters of imaginary persons "so that they exist for the reader as real within the limits of the fiction" (Holman 75). For the most part Adamic's creation of Tone Kmet's character relies on the explicit method of characterization through direct exposition illustrated by action. The starting point, however, is that Tone Kmet was a real person whose literary portrait came into existence on the basis of written records (questionnaire) as well as Adamic's interviews with Tone Kmet and his close family. We may presume that the data thus acquired helped stretch Adamic's imagination to create an image of the old man that may or may not have corresponded to the reality. Adamic wished to make his protagonist as credible and lifelike as possible. The personal data listed within the first page of Adamic's story record not the dates but Tone Kmet's six recent anniversaries -- the eightieth of his birth, the fiftieth of his beginning to work for the American Steel and Wire Company, the forty-eighth of his marriage, the forty-seventh of the birth of the first of his eleven children and the twenty-fifth of his retirement on a monthly pension. These numbers testify to the protagonist's fruitful though rather predictable (except for the early retirement) life story that could be duplicated in the lives of many other elderly (though not perhaps that old) Slovene Americans. However, the story was not written to be read by Slovene Americans alone. It was primarily written to be read by mainstream Americans and convince them of the worthiness of the character as an individual and as a representative of his group. That called for a likeable character and Tone Kmet seemed a perfect choice. In order to draw an accurate portrait, Adamic took over the role of the old man's interpreter. He acts self-consciously as a narrator but combines his role with that of a reporter both recounting the story and commenting on it. Tone Kmet hardly ever speaks; rather than this his words and thoughts are filtered through the narrator's consciousness and consequently rendered in the third person singular. Adamic justified his decision by saying that, "He [Tone Kmet] understands some English but does not speak it" (Adamic 1940: 148). Furthermore, focusing on Kmet's family genealogy, Adamic turned Kmet into a palpable, one-of-the-people hero, who is both true to life and also typical in a broader sense. Adamic discretely extrapolates general traits from Kmet's case. Between the lines, Adamic points to the Kmet family values such as industry, honesty, sincerity, integrity and loyalty, thus indirectly suggesting that these are typical Slovene family values just as they are typical American family values. The Kmet family functions as a single multigenerational entity. It has been a family tradition for men to become coremakers whereas the women mostly stayed at home looking after their families. They sought

employment outside their homes only when absolutely necessary and even then they were likely to work for one and the same company. In his presentation of the larger "Kmet clan", Adamic carefully chose from among a number of things he could have written about in order to demonstrate (a) that the Kmets as well as their children and spouses live in orderly circumstances, (b) that they are decent, hardworking and loyal people , and (c) that they all contribute to America's well-being.

Tone Kmet is an ideal laborer – hard-working, submissive, loyal, in short, he possesses all the qualities cherished by purely American bosses. But he is also a pronounced individualist when it needs be, one who won't surrender to the "herd impulse", refusing to be brainwashed by a self-proclaimed Slovene American "leader" even if it means renouncing his citizenship. In this way Kmet demonstrates a high degree of personal integrity whereby honesty and firmness of moral principles outweigh the benefit of calling oneself American.

What makes Kmet's character so compelling and lifelike are his individualistic traits, especially his little eccentricities. Adamic delights in dwelling upon his protagonist's oddities such as his faithful listening to radio transmissions of football games despite his ignorance on the topic of the rules, "What thrills him is the excitement in the voice of the reporter" (161). Or his peculiar physical passivity that has, in the course of years, evolved into incredible "monumental" (Ibid.) existence. "Since his retirement, Oché Tone has not moved a finger to do anything apart from attending to some of his personal needs[...] To sit down was his peasant idea of taking a rest, of idling [...] Of late years he has been forced to do so, as his legs have become difficult to negotiate" (160). The protagonist's list of oddities spreads out to his peculiar fondness for ancient items of clothing, his diet as well as inability to speak English, a trait not uncommon in first-generation immigrants. "He understands some English but does not speak it. His medium of expression is a Slovenian peasant dialect, but he uses many American-English words twisted into Slovene forms of his tongue. In his speech, for instance, a "house" is a *gauz*, "shoes" are *shukhi*, "street" is *shtrit*, and "beer" is *pir*" (148).

In Kmet's stubborn refusal of becoming a naturalized citizen, Adamic saw "also an element of typical Slovenian peasant stubbornness and contrariness[...]" (157). His comment on Kmet's disbelief in the American pension system demonstrates the mode of acceptance of "aliens" Adamic wished to spread among the non-alien population - humorously benevolent with reference to the possible shortcomings as well as appreciative in consideration of their positive contribution to the growth of America,

> Carniolan skepticism, however, is a formidable thing, and Anton Kmet did not even yet quite believe the check was genuine. Maybe the mill bosses were playing a trick on him. They were great jokers [...] He studies it on each occasion. There is the name of the Fund; there is his name, always spelled correctly; and there is the amount, always the same. He notices the occasional change in the signatures at the bottom, and wonders – half seriously, half humorously – what has happened to the man who signed it before, whether he has died or quit or been discharged, for Oché Tone imagines that people even in such high and extraordinary places as the United States Steel and Carnegie Pension Fund have their troubles. (159)

In his published works and otherwise, Adamic frequently argued that alien xenophobia was deeply rooted in America. The WASPS perceived the immigrants as stupid, dirty, violent and misbehaved. Adamic's egalitarian tendencies were particularly valuable because he had been, ever since the publication of his Book-of-the-Month selection, *The Native's Return* (1934), in the position to make himself heard.

Last but not least, one cannot overlook the symbolism of the protagonist's name. The immigrant Tone Kmet escaped from the poverty of his native land just like millions of other Eastern Europeans at the turn of the century. As Steinberg formulates it in his book *The Ethnic Myth*, "Immigration began as a trickle, gradually gained momentum during the nineteenth century, and finally assumed the dimensions of a flood by the beginning of the twentieth century" (32). Tone Kmet, the second-born farmer's son, whose last name ironically means *peasant*, came with the flood having had no prospect at all of ever becoming a peasant in his impoverished native country. Keeping his eyes wide open though, he learned about the large demand for labor in the United States, took his chance and emigrated. In the end the ill-fated peasant swapped the fields for the factory at the time when "America needed the immigrant at least as much as the immigrant needed America" (37). Alien, inexperienced and forced by the circumstances to accept a backbreaking menial job he could easily have become one of the millions of the exploited laborers. But *nomen est omen* -- he was, after all, a *peasant*; the term evokes stamina, vitality, physical strength and stubbornness: all assets that paid off in the end. Whether semi-fictional or real, Tone Kmet's is a success story. It tells of a double victory – the protagonist's contribution to the well-being of America and his personal achievement. It also tells of the small-scale American Dream come true whereby one of its principles, the principle of egalitarianism, is sadly missing. However, as long as the embodiment of the American dream is visible in the form of a regular monthly pension, the old alien does not care. For, as he says – papers or no papers, he is nevertheless an American of sorts: "Look at him! They call him an American sparrow; what makes him American? Has he got his papers? Is he registered? Listen: back in Ajdovec, in lower Carniola, I saw sparrows which were no different.[...] A sparrow is a sparrow, a man is a man, al' né – isn't that so?" (Adamic 1940: 164).

CONCLUSION

With "The Bohunks" Adamic "expressed some of the aspects of immigrant life and difficulties much more provocatively than those (authors, J.P.) before him" (Dolenc 218). Adamic's main idea was that the Bohunks only became "dung" upon their arrival in America once they had lost their human dignity in their struggle against the odds. Read today, "The Bohunks" "represents a Slovene American classic in English, in spite of the fact that it is compositionally far from perfect and glows artistically only in parts" (219). Compared with "The Bohunks", "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window" presents itself as a mixture of semi-biographical reportage and literature. It reads easily, in parts entertainingly, and has a certain air of orality about it. The narrator is a reporter of sorts who knows his protagonist well from personal experience. His interest in the old alien is double: as an individual, a quaint relic of the past, as well as a representative

of his immigrant group. It is here that Adamic's story emerges as the foil to his earlier text. The immigrant life of Tone Kmet is neatly divided into two equal periods, each stretching across a quarter of a century. The protagonist's post-retirement era is a rich source of his individualistic traits whereas the time of his active life within the confines of the factory spotlights an entirely different man who is willing to work hard and do overtime when necessary, who is loyal to the company he works for, and who provides well and conscientiously for his rapidly increasing family.

Louis Adamic believed in the power of explanation: if only the immigrant problem were properly interpreted to those Americans with longer roots in the country, there would be no ground for xenophobia. He had a strong determination and plenty of enthusiasm when it came to bridging the yawning gap between the worlds of the immigrants and mainstream Americans. It is true that neither "The Bohunks" nor "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window" contain "any particular new discoveries about the life of our or other Slavic immigrants in the United States" (Dolenc 218), but this is correct only if viewed from the perspective of Slovene Americans. Dolenc refers the reader to a number of other Slovene American authors (218) who in their literary works painted similarly bleak pictures of Slovene immigrant existence in the U.S. as Adamic in "The Bohunks"[3] thereby suggesting that Adamic both borrowed the themes from other Slovene American authors as well as significantly influenced a number of others. His "old alien" story attempts to "explain" an alien group of people to the other half. According to Adamic, diversity in the U.S should be accepted as healthy and invigorating. Immigrants like Tone Kmet had to invent an identity for themselves which was hard enough. Why was it so difficult for them to qualify as Americans? Viewed from the present-day cosmopolitan perspective, Adamic started a battle that has been going on for decades. In the 1999 anthology *Growing Up Ethnic in America*, Jennifer Gillan writes in the introduction that, "[....]what constitutes American identity is far from settled. [..] [W]e all must "cross over" cultural, linguistic, and actual bridges in our attempts to embody an American identity" (x, xiii). Tone Kmet as an individual was a relic of old times and it may very well be that Adamic wanted to suggest that the old man's alien status equally belonged there – in the history.

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[3] For a complete history of Slovene American literature see Jerneja Petrič, »Književnost slovenskih priseljencev in njihovih potomcev v ZDA 1891-1945«. Janja Žitnik and Helga Glušič, Eds. *Slovenska izseljenska književnost 2: ZDA*. Ljubljana, SAZU and Rokus, 1999. 89-264.

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UNDERSTANDING ZORA NEALE HURSTON'S *THEIR EYES WERE WATCHING GOD*

Tatjana Vukelić

Abstract

The work of Zora Neale Hurston, in particular, the novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, has been the object of more than a decade of critical attention. But, in addition to the critical consideration of Hurston's writings, her work has received the level of institutional support necessary for Hurston to enter the American literary mainstream. The article addresses the issue of black women literary tradition and the search for freedom and identity in the white American social and cultural environment.

Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) is today a standard text in American literature, African American literature, and women's studies courses from high school to graduate school. The popularity of Hurston's novel is largely due to the groundbreaking efforts of writer Alice Walker[1] in the early 1970s to resurrect Hurston (1903-1960) and her work from literary and critical oblivion. To rediscover and to reintroduce Hurston was, according to Walker, "to celebrate and legitimize the diversity and textured nuances of African American culture – language, folklore, American political and social history, American race relations, feminism and womanism; in short, to provide readers today with an exploration into the complex life of a black woman artist whose prolific works and whose enigmatic life defy categorization within others' convenient boundaries."[2]

In *Dust Tracks on a Road*, an autobiography written at the urging of her editor, Bertram Lippincott, Zora Neale Hurston expresses some dissatisfaction with her second

[1] Alice Walker (b. 1944.), poet, novelist, essayist, biographer, short fiction writer, womanist, publisher, educator, and Pulitizer Prize laureate. Born the eight child of a southern sharecropper and a partime maid, Alice Walker has climbed the proverbial ladder of success to become one of America's most gifted and influential writers. She has received notoriety for her taboo-breaking and morally challenging depictions of African American passions and oppressions. Although her work is diverse in subject matter and varied in form, it is clearly centered around the struggles and spiritual development affecting the survival whole of women. Her writing exposes the complexities of the ordinary by presenting it within a context of duplicity and change. See also: White, C. Evelyn. *Alice Walker, a Life*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004.

[2] Alice Walker, "Zora Neale Hurston: A Cautionary Tale and a Partisan View," "Looking for Zora," in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983., pp. 58.

novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, which was published in 1937. She says of the novel:

> I wrote *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in Haiti. It was dammed up in me, and I wrote it under internal pressure in seven weeks. I wish that I could write it again. In fact, I regret all of my books. It is one of the tragedies of life that one cannot have all the wisdom one is ever to possess in the beginning. Perhaps, it is just as well to be rash and foolish for a while. If writers were too wise perhaps no books would be written at all. It might be better to ask yourself „Why?" afterwards than before.[3]

Hurston voices the frustrations of an artist brought up in an oral culture like that of her birthplace, Eatonville, Florida, a source of inspiration throughout her writing career and, as she informs us on her autobiography's first page, the first black community in America to be incorporated, the first attempt at organized self-government on the part of Negroes in America.

Their Eyes Were Watching God appeared at the tail end of what is termed in American literature as the Harlem Renaissance. Roughly between 1917 – the end of World War – and the 1930 stock market crash that marked the beginning of the Great Depression, throngs of African Americans migrated north – a migration that technically began as early as 1910 – primarily to the northeast for economic and social reasons, escaping more overt and often violent manifestations of tensed black-white race relations. This was a time of cultural celebration of blackness – black visual arts, black music, black intellectual thought, black performing arts, and black identity. Leading voices of the Harlem Renaissance challenged black authors and artists to define African American life beyond the prescribed boundaries of stereotype and caricature, sentimentality, and social assimilation. Arguably, a movement among intellectuals, the Harlem Renaissance proved spiritually and aesthetically liberating for African Americans and established global connections with an African past. Hurston's emphasis on rural common folk of the south both challenged and continued some of the fundamental tenants of the Harlem Renaissance: national and global community, self-determination, and race pride.

Despite the fact that Hurston is a staple in many African American literature and women's studies courses throughout the world, Hurston, the person, was and remains an enigma to scholars. For one, while her gravestone marker states that Hurston was born in 1901, other sources claim her birth in 1891 or 1903. Scholars looking closely at her family history records have fairly definitely concluded that 1891 is the more acurate date. Born in Nostasulga, Alabama, Hurston grew up in the all-colored town of Eatonville, Florida, about ten miles northeast of Orlando and the source of much of her folklore writings about African American culture. The daughter of a Baptist preacher and three-time mayor of Eatonville, Hurston had a rather strained relationship with her father but a closer one with her mother. Perhaps from these relationships with her own parents Hurston drew upon certain domestic relationships that play out in her fiction.

In Eatonville, as Hurston writes in *Thier Eyes Were Watching God*, storytellers sat on the porch of Mayor Joe Clarke's (Starks's in the novel) store and "passed around

[3] Zora Neale Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road*. ed. Robert Hemenway. 1942. Reprint: Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1984. 212 pp.

pictures of their thoughts for the others to look and see" (48). Whereas these storytellers were able to retell, modify, and perfect the tales with which they entertained and enlightened other members of the community, authors such as Hurston had to be content with the successes they managed to achieve in written work which, with the seeming clarity of hindsight, might appear incomplete and hastily composed. Clearly, this is how she felt retrospectively about *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, a work written to capture "all the tenderness of my passion" experienced during the relationship that inspired the novel.[4]

Her statement reflects some of the difficulties that Hurston experienced in navigating between two distinct narrative traditions – a black oral tradition characterized by active interchange between responsive storytellers and participatory listeners, and a Western literary tradition where, typically, the author composes and the reader reads in isolation from the author – and suggests her interest in infusing the American novel with potentialities derived from African American culture. This statement and the narrative of *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, framed by a conversation wherein the protagonist, Janie, presents herself as a storyteller who will provide her audience – her best friend, Pheoby - "de understandin'" (7) of her life story, suggest Hurston's experimental impulse, her desire to employ the novel form as a means to preserve and transmit African American oral narrative practices. In the frame of her novel, Hurston approximates the relationship between speaker and listener in African American expressivity, offering in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* what Henry Louis Gates, Jr., has called a "speakerly text."[5]

Hurston's autobiographical comments also read as a prophetic warning against the types of rash judgements about her life nad work that have led to a devaluation of her accomplishments. Her novel was not widely recognized as an important achievement until long after an impoverished Hurston, seriously ill after suffering a stroke in 1959, died of heart disease in 1960 without funds to provide for a proper burial. In fact, although the novel did receive a few positive reviews from critics, the initial impression of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in African American literary circles was that it was a seriously flawed text. Such a view was expressed by Alain Locke in the journal *Opportunity*. Despite his belief that Hurston was a talented writer with a "gift for poetic phrase, for rare dialect and folk humor", Locke, an earlier supporter of Hurston's work and her teacher at Howard University, viewed her novel as an "over-simplification" of the African American situation in the post-Reconstruction South. Even more harsh than Locke was Richard Wright, the most widely read and celebrated black American writer during the last two decades of Hurston's life. Wright saw *Their Eyes Were Watching God* as lacking material that lent itself to "significant interpretation". Wright argued

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[4] For Hurston's discussion of her relationship with the man she identifies only as A. W. P., see *Dust Tracks*, 252-62. There are striking similarities between Janie's marriages and Hurston's relationship with this figure whom she shrouds in mystery. For example, connections between Joe Starks's attempts to gain Janie's submission to his authority and A. W. P.'s efforts to transform Hurston in an obedient, submissive mate can be noted. Both these attempts take the form of the male's attempt to deny to the female the power of voice: Starks commands an oratorically gifted Janie not to participate in the verbal rituals of the Eatonville community, and A. W. P. demands that Hurston abandon her burgeoning writing career.

[5] Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Zora Neale Hurston and the Speakerly Text." *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism.* New York: Oxford UP, 1988., 170-216.

that the novel evidences Hurston's shameless pandering "to a white audience whose chauvinistic tastes she knows how to satisfy."[6]

Such negative reactions were to become quite common, and made an unbiased evaluation of Hurston's work nearly impossible during her lifetime. It seems that Locke and Wright have been inspired by the perception that persisted until very recently: that the black artist's primary responsibility was to create protest fiction that explored America's historical mistreatment of blacks, boosting black self-esteem and changing racist white attitudes about African Americans in the process. Nothing that Hurston ever wrote convinced her contemporaries of the limitations either of didactic polemical fiction or of derisive biographical criticism of her work. And none of her defenders during her lifetime was able to read these limitations as persuasively as contemporary scholars such as Barbara Johnson who has asserted:

> While Hurston has often been read and jufged on the basis of personality alone, her "racy" adoption of "happy darkie" stance, which was a successful strategy for survival, does not by any means exhaust the representational strategies of her writing.[7]

After years of general neglect, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* has since the early 1980s achieved a position of prominence within the American literary tradition. Hurston's second novel, written in 1936 during a folklore-gathering expedition in Haiti while the author was recovering from a painful relationship with a younger man (a relationship that served in essential ways as emotional fodder for her novel), has come to be widely considered one of the important novels produced during the last century. The novel has become a commercial success and a best-seller. Proof of this shift can be found in the number of scholars specializing in well-established critical traditions who have recently chosen to place Hurston's work at he center of their canon. For example, male African Americanist literary critics, white feminist critics, and mainstream canonical critics have begun to discuss in illuminating ways of the significance of Hurston's work. Furthermore, what is more important, many black feminist scholars view *Their Eyes Were Watching God* as a forerunner of the African American women's fiction of the seventies and eighties believing that several black women writers such as Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Toni Cade Bambara, Gloria Naylor and many others, are repeating, imitating and revising her narrative strategies.

Their Eyes Were Watching God is the story of Janie, a black woman of mulatto ancestry, in search of spiritual liberation from patriarchal control. The format of the novel is Janie's telling of her own story in her own voice as she remembers the details of her own life. As the storyteller, Janie has an authority that even the readers cannot challenge when they want details, particularly technical details, that Janie does not remember or choose to share. While Janie's story is on many levels gender and racially specific – we never forget that Janie's grandmother was a slave or that the characters are living during Jim Crow segregation of the 1930s and 1940s – much of Janie's social

6 Michael Awkward, *New Essays on Their Eyes Were Watching God.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1990., 2-3.

7 Barbara Johnson, "Thresholds of Difference: Structures of Address in Zora Neale Hurston." *A World of Difference.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1987, 173-4.

disruption within the community of black people is gender related. Her intracommunal attacks are largely based on others's opinions of what a woman and especially a woman of her age should and should not be doing. Moreover, Janie's story is one of a person who is able to self-define and so transcend restrictive boundaries ultimately through communal storytelling rituals.

Janie's story of resistance begins with her Granny's command that she marry Logan Killicks, a man with a mule and land, to prevent her from throwing her life away now that she has moved into womanhood physiologically. Nanny's great worry, and the catalyst for Janie's search to find marriage in a male partner, is that Janie experiences sexual pleasure under a pear tree and then defines "marriage" through what she witnesses between bees pollinating flowers. That search takes her through two husbands, the old and unattractive Logan, who threatens her repeatedly with violence when she refuses to obey his commands, and the city builder and economically privileged Jody Starks, who wants to mold Janie into his vision of "the Mayor's wife" – the one who speaks only when spoken to, dresses as he designs, and stays inside his store as he demands. While Janie waited for love that never came with Logan, her relationship with Jody is initially based on the spiritual and the physical until Jody makes it publicly and privately clear that he plans to mold Janie into his perfect wife. After Jody's physical death, Janie meets and weds Tea Cake Woods, a man significantly younger than she and with absolutely nothing to offer Janie materialistically or financially. Though short-lived, Janie's relationship with Tea Cake allows her to experience the feeling she recalls from the pear tree of her youth. As the hands of fate would have it, the relationship between Janie and Tea Cake ends tragically, and Janie is left with a spiritual excitement at having loved despite her great loss. Through Janie's story, Hurston introduces a number of significant themes that bear out the complexities of human experience: gender roles in marriage, definitions of marriage legally and spiritually, community performance rituals, individual and community storytelling, male and female power struggles, and discrimination within black communities based on skin complexion and hair lengths and textures.

Their Eyes Were Watching God, the personal narrative of Janie Crawford Killicks Starks Woods, acknowledges the location of some of its major points in the life of Zora Neale Hurston. Hurston's reputation rests on her work as one of the most important literary figures to emerge from the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s; she is best known as a champion of the primacy of black folk culture, and for her challange to conventional social expectations of female conduct in relationship between men and women. As a writer in the twentieth century, she was among the early black women unequivocally to assert women's rights to self-fulfillment outside of their allegiances to men. The novel explores several themes: (1) Hurston's delineation of Janie's psychological journey from male-identified female to assertive womanhood; (2) her exploration of self-acceptance and black identity in a response to such a work as James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of An Ex-Coloured Man*; (3) Janie's text serves as a vehicle that restores black voice to the as-told-as slave narratives of the nineteenth century; and (4) Janie's achievement of voice. In the combination of these themes *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is a representative text in the Afro-American cultural tradition, but one that claims a central place for black women.

Arguably, Hurston's novel is less about action than the narrative telling of the story that defines the main character Janie as a woman and as a black woman. It defines the collective character of African Americans able to define and empower themselves in racist America through talking.

HURSTON'S PERSONAL DIMENSIONS IN THE NOVEL

Everyone who knows anything about Zora Neale Hurston knows that *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is not her autobiography. Yet the novel is autobiographical on two levels. First, in a continuation of one of the oldest tradition in fiction, Janie tells us the story of how and why her life came to be in the place that it is; second, we also know that Hurston invested this narrative with joy and pain of her own experiences of female development and romantic love, familiar subjects in women's narratives. Thus, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* offers an opportunity to examine the autobiographical impulse from the perspectives of author Hurston, the writerly self, and fictional Janie, the speakerly self. In their combined oral and written narrative, Hurston and Janie reinforce Janet Varner Gunn's theory of the autobiographer as self-reader, writing (and speaking) from the "outside in, not inside out – or in other words, from the position of the *other* side of [the] lived past which the reader self-occupies" at the time of writing. In this paradigm, Gunn expands the boundaries of "reader" and "reading" to make the reader not only one of "person," but also of "position," permitting the subject of the text to be the participant-observer par excellence – the main character in, narrator, author, and reader of his/her book-like life; and to make reading an interpretative activity in which "clear and certain knowledge of determinate meanings" give way to "contingent historical experience" and "richer depth in human significance."[8]

Autobiography as an activity that takes place from the outside in rather than from the inside out returns the debate on the subject to an issue that theorists of the genre disagree on: the nature of the "I" behind the self-in-writing. On one side of the problem, the "classical" theorists, representing predominantly a mainstream Euro-American perspective, promote the private "I" as the basis of the genre. They perceive this self, writing outward from the inside, as the best and only source of self-knowledge and remaining hidden behind public version. On the other side of the problem, another group of critics, those who study mainly the lives of women and Third World people, argue for the possibility of a different kind of self in autobiography. They believe that private "I" represents a privileged group, mostly white and male. They promote the existence of an inclusive "I" that places the autobiographer inside of and inseparable from the cultural context which, they say, informs his or her identity. From this perspective, autobiography, Gunn suggests that instead of "the private act of a self writing, autobiography becomes the cultural act of a self reading" against the background of time, place, race, class, gender, and the other aspects that define individual members of particular groups.[9]

From the beginning, scholars of African American autobiography have been in

[8] Janet Varner Gunn, *Autobiography: Toward a Poetics of Experience*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1982., 6, 12.

[9] *Ibid.* 8.

general agreement on the extent to which social and cultural forces influence African American identity. Textual evidence shows that, in the face of various oppressions, the black self achieves a wholesome identity through awareness and acceptance of interdependence between the individual and his or her supportive community and the knowledge that collective black American physical and psychological survival depends on the union of the individual and the group. In this respect, the African American autobiographer writes not from an internal position of isolated selfhood, but from having to interpret, to read the self through the existing social groups that empower and shape that individual self. *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Janie's story, simultaneously written and told, emerges as a "reading" of black female growth and development against the history of the oppression of race and sex. This narrative reinforces the cultural approach to identity that has dominated the African American male-centered tradition from the slave narratives of the nineteenth century to the present time, but it also makes of the autobiographical situation another vehicle for the self-empowerment of black women.

In African American literature, fiction and autobiography share a long history of common boundaries. Although few would dispute the claim that autobiography has been the preeminent form of writing among blacks for more than 150 years, all agree that this genre influences and is influenced by fiction. For instance, from its earliest beginnings, by adopting the artfulness and rhetorical structures more usually identified with fiction, black autobiography made of itself a form that signified as well as signified on the totality of the African American experience. Subsequently, complementing each other over time, both have, to their greater advantage, shared similar expressive strategies. As a result, contemporary African American autobiographers are among avant-garde writers in the genre who constantly transgress the narrative boundaries of fiction and autobiography. Thus, in appraising African American traditions in narrative, readers face difficulties when they attempt to separate life and art, nature and imitation, autobiography and fiction. Hurston and later black women writers have taken full advantage of the flexibility of this tradition.

As autobiography, the novel is an important text in the literature of the quest for freedom and self. In American life and writing, as experience and metaphor, white and black women have a long history of the journey as a vital part of their traditions. Among the former, the letters, diaries, and journals of pioneer women traveling with their families from east to west provide one of the most useful sources of information on life situations in the settling of the country. In the tradition of African American autobiography, beginning with the slave and spiritual narratives, traveling, physically and psychologically, in search of self and freedom was an intimate part of the lives of African American men and women. For early black women writers, travel and journey became associated with the freedom to choose useful and dignified lives. Janie's story is not only Hurston's travel in the quest for self, but of all black women whose lost identity forced them to start looking for female identity and freedom.

In narratives of quest, ex-slave women wrote of the hardships they endured in slavery and during the hazardous journeys they took in search of physical and psychological freedom. Free black women used travel stories to emphasize their efforts toward greater control over their lives. Always, travel insinuated quest for self by rejecting boundaries and limitations on the self. In addition to the successful journey from male-identified

to self-identified woman, Janie's positive black self-concept at the end of her narrative can be read as Hurston's response to anxieties of identity common among the black people in her time. From the end of the nineteenth century through the early part of the twentieth, many African Americans were especially frustrated by the oppressiveness of marginality as members of a group labelled inferior. During this period, the prevalence of novels and autobiographical accounts of the phenomenon of passing was one indication of the magnitude of this anxiety. Janie's story, set almost exclusively inside of the black community embodies anxieties of racial identities. Her positive identification with the black community and her awakening discover her racial self out of her inability to recognize her image in a photograph in which she appears among a group of white playmates. However, her identity is further fragmented by the fact that because many people have named her differenty, she is called Alphabet. Surprised, but not traumatized by it, she looks at the photograph more closely until she recognizes herself by her clothes and hair. She does not feel great shame but accepts herself fully.

In his study of the search for voice in twentieth century African American literature, John F. Callahan observes that the distinct voices in Hurston's novel represent the AfricanAmerican call-and-response dialogue that originated in the oral culture. While Callahan focuses his distinctions of narrative form on the author's independant stand against certain modernist trends in literature, and her call to readers to "respond to Janie Crawford's story ... with new thought and new words", it is also a text that looks backward to nineteenth century autobiographical narrative.[10]

The autobiographical "I" in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* finds self and voice in forging a new history constructed out of the handling down of one woman's story of liberation to another. Exchanging outsideness for individuality within the community, Janie becomes a feminist heroine with an assured place within that community, and her life becomes an influential source through which other women will find a model for their own self-empowerment.

Unlike the solitary but representative hero of male autobiography, Janie and Hurston join voices to produce a personal narrative that celebrates an individual and collective black female identity emerging out of the search for an autonomous self. Although the structure of this text is different, the tradition of black women celebrating themselves through other women like themselves began with their personal narratives of the nineteenth century. Female slave narratives generally had protagonists who shared their space with the women who instilled their pride of self and love of freedom in them. The tradition continued into the twentieth century, For instance, much of the early part of Hurston's autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road*, celebrates the relationship she had with her mother and the lessons she learned from other women in the community. Thus, Hurston's structure for Janie's story expands that already existing tradition to concretize the symbolic rendering of voice to and out of the women's community by breaking away from the formalities of conventional autobiography to make Janie's text an autobiography about autobiographical storytelling in the tradition of African American storytelling. Hurston, struggling with the pains and ambivalences she felt toward the realities of love she had to reject for the restraints it would have placed on her, found a safe place

[10] John Callahan, *In the African American Grain: The Pursuit of Voice in Twentieth Century Black Fiction*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988: 125, 127.

to embalm the tenderness and passion of her feelings in the autobiographical voice of Janie Crawford, whose life she made into a very fine crayon enlargement of life.

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DYNAMICS BETWEEN 'OLD' AND 'NEW' ETHNICITIES AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN SANDRA CISNEROS' *CARAMELO*

Branka Kalogjera

Abstract

The paper takes Candra Cisneros' epic semi-biographical novel *Caramelo* as a literary insight into dynamics between generations within a single ethnic (Chicano) community, and compares it against classics of the genre in its shifting definition of one's ethnic identity; here the postmodern approach of entwining fiction and fact and awarding them equal legitimacy mirrors the possibility of embracing multiple identities, as exemplified by the novel's protagonist.

There are two ways of looking at the issues that arise from differences between 'old' and 'new' ethnicities, depending on the relationship between the two groups: there is the often uneasy but never uninteresting, or irrelevant, interaction between various ethnic groups defined by the hierarchy set according to the chronological order in which the communities were established, and then there is a subtler variant thereof, existing within generations of the same ethnic group.[1] As every aspect of a community's life changes with the passing of time, the three to five generations of any ethnic group begin to form more distinct layers; observation of resulting differences in customs, problems and attitude offers one a greater understanding of the changing world as a whole - mainstream, integrating, and fringe communities alike - as the ethnic mindset often registers the shifts in general trends with greater sensitivity, especially in regards to the shift from the rural to the urban lifestyle. I propose to illustrate how the differences between 'the old' and 'the new' *within* ethnicities document and contribute to our understanding of the changing, modern world, using the most appropriate documentary medium - ethnic literature, of which, within the literature of the United Staets, the Chicano/Chicana corpus is the most varied, exhaustive, and telling.

Caramelo (or puro cuento) is the latest novel by the acclaimed writer Sandra Cisneros, best known for the 1984 *House on Mango Street. Caramelo* was published in 2002, eighteen years after Cisneros' breaking hit, and although it does retain some motives central to the *House on Mango Street*, this work of nine years in the making[2]

[1] Monika Kaup, "The Architecture of Ethnicity in Chicano Literature", *American Literature*, 69.2(1997): 361-97.

[2] Cisneros' interview in *Identity Theory* (Robert Birnbaum, 4 December 2004.)

is truly epic in that it actually strives to depict the totality of the Mexican American experience in its myriad forms and variations resulting from a century of documented immigration and community establishment. As reviews aptly put it, milions of Mexican Americans live in the United States, but their stories vary and depend on how they got there. Numerous works are written from the perspective of either the second- or the third- generation Chicano or that of the newly arrived immigrant, but sweeping novels that combine the two quite different psyches are rare. Most Chicano novels focus on extended families since they are essential units of the Chicano community,[3] but whereas in most books the focus remains on a single generation, *Caramelo* gives equal attention to three generations of the Reyes family. In this it has something of a precedent in Arturo Islas' 1990 *Migrant Souls*, a richly layered history of the family Angel, but while its protagonist Josie through her youth and adulthood remains a family member as knowledgeable and influential as any other, Lala, the narrator of *Caramelo*, has a more powerful role despite her young age. What sets *Caramelo* apart from similarly themed books, however, is a curious insistence on the fickle nature of its narrative which enables Cisneros to realise the book's epic scope.

From the opening line - *tell me a story, even if it's a lie* (borrowed, as the author acknowledges, from an anthropological study of border dwellers)[4] - over constant reminders throughout the narrative that the memories and history we're reading may well be imperfectly remembered, borrowed from others, partially reconstructed and partially made up, to the concluding list of people whose life and family stories Cisneros wove into that of the Reyes,[5] it is clear that her choice of a common name for the family is meant to evoke more than a few remarks made in the book regarding their numbers and omnipresence or fictional royal ancestry. The Reyes are *all* migrant families of Mexican origin, as their ups and downs, happy and unhappy marriages, reverence and irreverence, successful and unsuccessful assimilations - in Mexican as well as American communities - reflect the truth that there is more to the Chicano/Chicana than what literature burdened with political aims would have one believe. The Reyes are everywhere and yet not typical, for there can be little to deem 'typical' in an ethnic community of over five generations and twenty million people.

Certainly, such an ambition - to represent a world and note endless variations of stories resulting from human interaction - provoked criticism that the book lacks focus that drove *House on Mango Street*,[6] but this may easily be explained through frequent references to tele- and fotonovelas such as *La Familia Burron* which carry on for years with their often improbable convoluted plots. The telenovela format was even more intensely used in Ana Castillo's breathless 1993 novel *So Far From God* and the Mexicans' ve for such stories is mentioned almost without exception: Alejandro Murguia talks of his neighbourhood's *telenovela* mentality' which his alter ego of *This War Called Love* (2002) unsuccessfully tries to replace with cinematographic

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[3] Thomas Vallejos, "Ritual Process and the Family in the Chicano Novel", *MELUS*, 10.4(1983):5-16; Teresa MacKenna, *Migrant Song: Politics and Process in Contemporary Chicano Literature*, UTP, 1997: 8-26

[4] Ruth Behar, *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border With Esperanza's Story*, Beacon Press, 1994.

[5] Cisneros' interview in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Heidi Benson, 25 October, 2002.)

[6] Melanie Haupt, Caramelo's review in the *Austin Chronicle*, 4 October 2002.

achievements of the seventies' *Movimiento.*[7] Despite that, telenovelas are often replaced by romantic or adventurous films as preferred sources of storytelling, even identity. Where identity is concerned, escapism is understandable: unable to identify with either the American or Mexican communities and way of life - for Mexico, as *Caramelo* also shows, is just as burdened with racial and class issues as are the States, not to mention political and economic instability - some participants of the Chicano revolution looked towards the mythical past of Aztlan as a source of pride, essential to group - if not all human - survival. While some modern authors, especially the feminists such as Gloria Anzaldua or Estella Portillo Trambley used the spirits and symbols inherited from pre-Columbian and folk beliefs successfully in order to go against patriarchal and chauvinistic prejudices strongly present in their culture,[8] ultimate futility of addressing the mystical to deal with real life is frequently shown in works of fiction, notably for example in seduction and subsequent disillusion in Cisneros' 1991 *One Holy Night.* Telenovelas and films on the other hand - the myths of modern age which are permanently locked with real life in that they originate from it, exaggerate it, influence it, to take from it again - serve a constructive purpose in *Caramelo* in adding another layer of importance to the book's insistence on *cuentos*, pure stories, regardless of how much truth they carry.

Another, technical and possibly the most relevant layer, comes from the post-modernist desire to erase borders between fictional and actual life. What Cisneros does in *Caramelo* is make the research all novelists undertake to create credible or familiar backdrops to their characters' lives an integral part of her novel through a constant and exhaustive use of footnotes chronicling and detailing Mexico's history and celebrities - politicians, entertainers, or both. There has been much criticism regarding this move, mostly in that it ruins the book's already hazy focus, but I believe that the inclusion of footnotes, chronologies, and other intrusions of objective reality into the intensely subjective space of fiction writing make a very subtle yet very powerful point: by making background research as obvious on the page as the text of the narrative yet giving it it a subordinate role of footnote, Cisneros makes it plain that *personal experience takes precedence over documented fact.* Indeed, historical and anthropological research shows that material objects documenting the past are subject to deliberate oblivion and more importantly falsification, and if this is the attitude towards minorities why not turn to anecdote as a channel for writing history. This practice threatens to result in nothing but destruction, but history and life can be changed because they are *human* dimensions of past and present, showing that categories such as time and space can belong to humans and be defined by them, instead of defining them.

While most Chicano/Chicana authors go as far as to deconstruct identities forced upon them by the border, *la frontera*, to rebuild a transcedental new one,[9] the story of Cisneros' Lala shows that one can change, replace, or discard identities as one wishes, or carry many at once. The border was, after all - like all entities seemingly greater than fe - created by humans, and can be undone by them. In the words of Arturo Islas, "The [family Angel] had not sailed across the ocean or ridden in wagons and trains

[7] Alejandro Murguia, *This War Called Love: Nine Stories*, City Lights Books, (2002): 99.
[8] Jorge Huerta, "Chicano Drama: Performance, Society and Myth", CUP (2005): 140-141.
[9] Rosaura Sanchez, *Postmodernism and Chicano Literature*, Aztlan, 18(1987): 1-14.

across half a continent in search of a new life. They were migrant, not immigrant, souls. They surely and naturally went from one bloody side of the river to the other and into a land that just a few decades earlier had been Mexico."[10] Islas' characters admittedly define themselves as Children of the Border, but do so highly irreverently. To Lala the border is a place where sensations - colours, smells, and sounds, notably language - signify the change of cultures, but as the crossing is an annual ritual, its frequency diminishes the role of the border as a divider, let alone an 'open wound', a 'scar', 'sore', or 'garbage dump', as it has been called by various writers.[11] It serves to introduce us the issue of greatest importance in this novel, and that is family relations, or the lack thereof.

Cisneros' themes, reflected by what Lala notices and deems important, are intergenerational family dynamics as well as those between women and men, and entwined issues of race, language and class. While the family Angel of *Migrant Souls* is divided on the issue of religion, a common motif in Chicano literature, the Reyes are perfectly unburdened by it, Catholicism and folk superstition alike: "In our house votive candles never flicker from bedroom bureaus night and day. No chubby statue of the baby Jesus dressed as the Santo Nino de Atocha... no dusty rosary swags across the wall above our beds... Nobody murmurs a novena, and no dinner demands we say grace. We don't have 'the fear' swept from us with the broom. Nobody cures us of the evil eye with an egg."[12] The only religious icon in their house was installed by Lala's father Inocencio at the demand of grandmother Soledad despite protests from Lala's mother Zoila. "Father is a true devotee of mothers, both mortal and divine," Lala says, "though it could be argued that Mother is a mother too, but no one but Mother would argue her seniority over the other two."[13] Inocencio's worship of Soledad, often at the expense of his own wife, is only one of the conflicts sparking up in this family so full of competing authorities that they hardly need religious ones.

Caramelo exposes conflicts both between and within generations with particular care towards the role of women, a Cisneros forte. Whereas in Chicano classics religious attitudes influence the characters' behaviour,[14] men and women of the Reyes family act according to values set not by that particular monolithic institution but by tensions between the traditional institution of the Mexican family and the changing cultures that surround it. This is also where the dichotomies of truth vs lies, story vs history, talk vs silence as investigated by Cisneros show their darker side. The stories that Lala narrates are of no less than five generations, incorporating six marriages, two of which forced by circumstances (pregnancy), two failed engagements, one of which secret, one secret common marriage, countless infidelities. Interestingly enough, most of the racial issues responsible for the failure or secrecy of unresolved relationships underline the oft-ignored prejudices against the *Indios* by Mexicans of real or fictional Spanish heritage, less so between Mexican Americans and *Anglos*, although they are barely present to analyse;

[10] Arturo Islas, *Migrant Souls*, Avon Book, (1991): 164-65.

[11] Candida Hepworth, in *Beginning Ethnic American Literatures*, Manchester UP (2001): 20-211.

[12] Sandra Cisneros, *Caramelo*, Knopf (2002): 47.

[13] Cisneros, 44.

[14] Alberto Lopez Pulido, "Chicano religions through Chicano literature: Reinscribing Chicano religions as a hermeneutics of movement", *Religion and Literature*, 35.2-3:67-81.

the names of non-Chicano additions to the Reyes family betray ethnic origin - Slavic and Far Eastern, respectively. The issue of language is likewise impossible to divorce from the question of class and personal dignity, equality of which makes or breaks *Caramelo* relationships. With stock motifs such as oppression by the Catholic Church r North American xenophobia omitted, also since the characters are not driven across the border for economic reasons and there are only minor instances of culture shock on Lala's part as she grows up and learns of the world outside her extended family, inter- and intra-generational dynamics of the family, *la familia*, are stripped to their basic units - parents and children - and entwined with those of gender.

Speaking of gender, men of *Caramelo* do not strike one as particularly strong, let alone threatening characters, as Cisneros makes painstaking note of obligatory chivalrous upringing that forms them "feo, fuerte y formal", but the women are no apparent pillars of feminist empowerment either. The idea of family seems to have two rules - 'respect your elders' and 'do the right thing' - and everything else has to bend to accomodate them, causing repeated suffering, mostly on the part of women as they are through the biological fact of childbearing forced to stay inside families regardless of their quality, while the pressure on men seems to be mostly sociological: "No somos perros", "we are not dogs" is repeated to every generation of Reyes men as they prepare to abandon girls they got into trouble. The girls, now wives and mothers, are in turn bitter, especially as their husbands continue to pursue exotic women, all resulting in "stories that are not told".[15] Silence is the dangerous lie which Lala exorcises despite promises to stay silent, not ask questions (but to write is to ask questions, Cisneros notes), or tell stories the way their protagonists wish to be told, most notably grandmother Soledad.

The story of Soledad is the most prominent one in the book, overshadowing even that of Lala, and her life story is the story of her love for Narciso, the "first man who pays her a compliment" but who marries her out of obligation while his true passion lies in a wild independent woman unimpressed by his background. This Soledad knows but in the turn-of-the-century Mexico City she has noone else to turn to or bind with until her first son - Lala's father - is born and whom she becomes obsessively protective about. Her relationship with Narciso is based on silence, the dangerous lie, which Lala refuses to give in to as she narrates Narciso's persistent immaturity. The story of Soledad and Narciso mirrors in this loaded silence those of their parents, down to the need to remind one that men are not dogs. Soledad is damaged and goes on to perpetuate or foster damage in her children's nuptial lives, going as far as to ignore the fateful line when it comes to Inocencio's adolescent mistake and advising him to keep contact with his illegitimate family long after he has established a lawful and numerous one. Her pain caused by tolerance for erring men finds an outlet in torturing other women of her family - making Inocencio's wife Zoila suffer the way she did by telling her of his other family (noted by Zoila as "she didn't make it up this time!"),[16] or telling her own daughter that she hates her because she, unlike Soledad, "always did what she wanted with her life".[17] This exchange is later mirrored between Zoila and her daughter, Lala, but there a fundamental change between the ways in which Soledad and Zoila

[15] Cisneros, 17.
[16] Cisneros, 159.
[17] Cisneros, 377.

deal with their unfaithful husbands: Zoila - who I would believe was not insensitive to achievements of the *Movimiento* - confronts Inocencio in public (with success: "It was you I chose, over my own mother!" he says, "No Mexican man would choose his wife over his own mother!"),[18] and tells the story openly to Lala, while Inocencio pretends it never happened and even dares threaten Lala with the same old line about dogs when she merely suggests living outside a traditionally structured family of her own. Zoila also gets something of a revenge to Soledad but they manage to reconcile in their own way before the grandmother passes away; but this is not where Soledad's story resolves.

Caramelo's final chapters are devoted to Lala as her own person, not just Inocencio's daughter or Soledad and Narciso's granddaughter. Lala is not what one would traditionally expect of a girl: tall, tomboyish, and an absolute disaster in the kitchen, she, like Esperanza of the *House on Mango Street* discovers her sense of self in storytelling.[19] She is also a modern adolescent full of ideas and impressions gathered from friends, no longer influenced by or confined to family alone, as Soledad and to a great degree Zoila had been, and has outgrown Esperanza's desire for *a* house; Lala needs more: "Already the house feels too small", she says, "like Alice after she ate the 'Eat Me' cookie".[20] That she is no longer drawing references from Mexican and Mexican-American culture alone is telling, as the observation is followed by a fight with her father who insists she follow the same route women before her had done: marriage or nothing; with the family or against it. "How will you live without your father and brothers to protect you?" he asks,[21] comparing her stubbornness to that of her mother's, but Inocencio's sister is also implied.

But Lala is wise, and she can learn from all, past and present. Her failed escape with the first boy who came along but whose Catholic upbringing gave him cold feet and ultimately drove him into yet another marriage by circumstance makes her believe that her father may have a point, but after hearing of his own cowardice, and later yet after a spiritual, possibly imaginary but certainly essential confrontation with her grandmother, Lala is transformed. She strikes a deal with her grandmother's spirit who promises to expel the rigid, possessive mindset from the family if her story is told, and Lala does so uncompromisingly. In doing so she becomes the heir and owner of her ancestors' slowly acquired experience and weaves it, like the novel's titular shawl, into a single story with all its ups and downs, truths and lies; and like the shawl's many uses, she can choose what knowledge to employ or what identity to assume, because, as her best friend Viva succintly puts it, "You're the author of the telenovela of your life."[22]

As for the family - which is everything, as Lala is often told - it only works if it is open. *Caramelo* is optimistic; not only do the Reyes grow into a multiethnic family, but Inocencio also learns how to accept: "Then his old friend does the funky raza handshake with Father, like Chicano power, and... the same Father who calls Chicanos exagerados,

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[18] Cisneros, 312.

[19] Sally M. Giles, "Sandra Cisneros as Chicana Storyteller: Fictional Family (hi)stories in Caramelo", Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, August 2005, 45-48

[20] Cisneros, 390.

[21] Cisneros, 324.

[22] Cisneros, 331.

vulgarones, zoot-suiting... forgot-they-were-Mexican Mexicans, surprises us all. Father shakes the funky handshake back."[23]

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[23] Cisneros, 412.

UDK 821.111.09-31 Conrad J. :821.111(73).09-31 Fitzgerald F.S.

INDIRECT NARRATION: A CASE STUDY OF CONRAD'S *HEART OF DARKNESS* AND FITZGERALD'S *THE GREAT GATSBY*

Majda Šavle

Abstract

Joseph Conrad's narrative style has influenced many writers, including F. Scott Fitzgerald. The objective of my study on verbs used in discourse in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* was to confirm the speculation that besides Conrad's innovative technique of indirect narration there were other techniques (such as careful selection of imagistic detail) Fitzgerald learned from Conrad.

INTRODUCTION

> All art appeals primarily to the senses, and the artistic aim when expressing itself in written words must also make its appeal through the senses, if its high desire is to reach the secret spring of responsive emotions.
>
> (Conrad 2003: 2)

Conrad knew from the very beginning of his writing career what he wanted to express; it was how to express it that concerned him most. His search for such "artistic perfection" as stated in his preface *to The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* (1897) forced him into constant experimentation. The introduction of Marlow – narrator meant a turning point in Conrad's writing and offered his successors, F. Scott Fitzgerald being among them, a powerful narrative device.

The objectives of my study on indirect narration in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was to find answers to some of the questions the students of the Littoral Grammar Schools arose during their study of Fitzgerald's novel for the "matura exam" and to confirm the speculation that Conrad's influence on Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* goes far beyond the use of "indirect narration and disrupted chronology" (Moore in Stape: 227).

CONRAD'S INFLUENCE ON FITZGERALD

Fitzgerald was a very keen reader since his youth and Conrad was among his favourites, so even though Conrad's works were not yet taught at Princeton when Fitzger-

ald was a student there (1913 to 1917), he studied them closely (226). It is already in Fitzgerald's first novel *This Side of Paradise* (1920) that we come across Conrad:

> Amory was alone; he had escaped from a small enclosure into a great labyrinth. He was where Goethe was when he began "Faust; he was where Conrad was when he wrote "Almayer's Folly".
>
> (Fitzgerald 2005: 25)

We learn about Fitzgerald's acknowledgement of his debt to Conrad from his private correspondence. In a letter to his friend H. L. Mencken Fitzgerald listed not only *The Great Gatsby* (1925) but also Eugene O'Neill's play *The Emperor Jones* (1920) and Somerset Maugham's *The Moon and Sixpence* (1919) as works written in imitation of Conrad (Turnbull: 482). In another letter Fitzgerald warned Hemingway against the influence of Conrad in dialogue: "Like me you must beware of Conrad rhythms in direct quotations from characters, especially if you're pointing a single phrase and making a man live by it" (300). On the other hand it was Conrad's innovative use of the first person narrator-protagonist that offered Fitzgerald the chance to introduce a character "through whose eyes and mind the central protagonist is gradually discovered" (Biscay: 2).

> He smiled understandingly – much more understandingly. It was one of those rare smiles with a quality of eternal reassurance in it, that you may come across four or five times in life. It faced – or seemed to face – the whole eternal world for an instant, and then concentrated on *you* with an irresistible prejudice in your favour.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 54)

INDIRECT NARRATION

Generally writers choose between the first person narrator, the third person omniscient narrator and the third person limited narrator. The third person omniscient narrator allows the writer to give an overall view of the story, its characters, its setting, and its background. The reader gets the information the main character cannot or may not know or notice. The first person narrator, on the other hand, brings greater focus on the feelings, perceptions, and opinions of a particular character in the story. The reader sees how the first narrator views the world and discovers through them how the other characters in the story view it (Harper: 3). Stanzel makes the point that the most important difference between the first person and the third-person narrator is their motivation to narrate:

> For an embodied narrator, this motivation is existential; it is directly connected with his practical experiences... For the third-person narrator, on the other hand, there is no existential compulsion to narrate.
>
> (Stanzel: 93).

What is more, the first person narrator may be conscious of telling the story to a given audience, (in the case of Marlow to his audience of one time sailors), at a given place and at a given time.

> The traffic of the great city went on in the deepening night upon the sleepless river. We looked on, waiting patiently – there was nothing else to do till the end of the flood; but it was only after a long silence, when he said, in a hesitating voice, 'I suppose you fellows remember I did once turn fresh-water sailor for a bit,' that we knew we were fated, before the ebb began to run, to hear about one of Marlow's inconclusive experiences.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 10)

Many writers, especially at their first arms, prefer to use the third person narrator to the other two. Such was the case with Conrad too. In his first novels *Almayer's Folly* (1895), *An Outcast of the Islands* (1896), and *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* (1897) Conrad narrated in the conventional manner. We come across Marlow for the first time in Conrad's short story *Youth* (1898) but it is in the succeeding novels *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and *Lord Jim* (1900) that this character's function can be fully appreciated. Conrad employed the same narrative technique, i.e., "the story within the story or the frame story technique" in other works too (Weiss: 23). Where Marlow is not used, there is often an equivalent narrator (e.g. the teacher of languages in *Under the Western Eyes* (1911) or Davidson in *Victory* (1915)).

CONRAD'S NEED FOR MARLOW / FITZGERALD'S NEED FOR NICK CARRAWAY

So what does Marlow offer Conrad? He is the one that unveils the mysteries surrounding the main figure of his story, in the case of *Heart of Darkness* – the controversial Kurtz, but it is his interpretation of what he saw, heard, sensed, and imagined that matters for the readers and helps them to make the distinction between Conrad, the author/reporter and Marlow, the interpreter (Weiss: 65). The readers trust Marlow because even if he is a sailor, he does not represent his class, he is not typical. He is a wanderer, accounting his experiences with mature and objectified attitude, yet "using the forceful and idiomatic expressions of ordinary conversation" (Newhouse: 90). He often interrupts his narrative to take a drink, a smoke, or to remark something.

> There was a pause of profound stillness, then a match flared, and Marlow's lean face appeared, worn, hollow, with downward folds, and dropped eyelids, with an aspect of concentrated attention /.../ 'Absurd!' he cried. 'This is the worst of trying to tell.'
>
> (Conrad 1994: 68)

Although the reality of the story is in Marlow's head, in his words, in his observations, the reader is made perceptive to the meanings transpiring from his narration thanks to Conrad's ability to "force his audience to try to penetrate beneath the mere surface level of the narrative" (Rathburn and Steinmann: 65).

> I listened, I listened on the watch for the sentence, for the word, that would give me the clue to the faint uneasiness inspired by this narrative

> that seemed to shape itself without human lips in the heavy night-air of the river.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 40)

Fitzgerald's narrator Nick Carraway, on the other hand, "becomes a voice of what Fitzgerald called 'selective delicacy' – filtering sensations and impressions /.../, presenting a landscape of complex images" (Ruland and Bradbury: 299). Kathleen Parkinson also observes that Nick Carraway's "blend of imaginative excitement and ironic detachment hold in balanced tension the two ways of perceiving the world through which the narrative is structured" (Parkinson: 119). A different perspective has been provided by Biscay, who warns the readers to differentiate "between the separate views of Nick Carraway as the narrator and Nick Carraway as the character" (Biscay 1). He alleges that Nick Carraway's character can be seen as dishonest and hypocritical (readers can nevertheless relate to him as a person) but that "we learn to trust him as narrator, because of all the pieces of information he gives to us, received through symbolism, imagery, or personal reflection" (*ibid.*).

> The instant her voice broke off, ceasing to compel my attention, my belief, I felt the basic insincerity of what she had said. It made me uneasy, as though the whole evening had been a trick of some sort to exact a contributory emotion from me.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 24)

Trilling believes that in Fitzgerald's work "the voice of his prose is of the essence of his success" (Trilling in Mizener: 18), while Weiss concludes that what has made Conrad one of the most difficult (and most appreciated) of writers in English is not "the complexity of his thought, which appears difficult enough, but his rhetoric or language style" (Weiss: 9).

CONRAD'S / FITZGERALD'S LANGUAGE STYLE

As an artist Conrad "conspired to lift his prose to the level of eloquence" as Weiss puts it (*ibid.*); and he succeeded in doing so with his narrative devices, among which the most important are considered to be: symbolic presentation of the theme, imagery, point of view, and remarkably rich vocabulary. In Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* we come across the same techniques: chronological looping, a central symbol, careful selection of imagistic detail, an indirect narrator, and indirect and interrupted handling of interviews and dialogues.

> 'There's another little thing,' he said uncertainly, and hesitated. 'Would you rather put it off for a few days?' I asked. 'Oh, it isn't about that. At least – ' He fumbled with a series of beginnings. 'Why, I thought – why, look here, old sport, you don't make much money, do you?' 'Not very much.'
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 89)

> 'Anything since then?' asked the other, hoarsely. 'Ivory,' jerked the nephew; 'lots of it - prime sort- lots – most annoying, from him.' 'And with that?' questioned the heavy rumble. 'Invoice,' was the reply fired out, so to speak.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 45)

So why do we come across dialogue in Marlow's and Nick Carraway's indirect narration so often? The answer might be because it is one of Conrad's and Fitzgerald's most powerful writing tools. Newhouse claims that all serious novelists use dialogue for a large number of purposes – "to reveal and differentiate character and motive, to slacken or quicken the action, to provide contrast or humour, or to pin-point a moment" (Newhouse: 89). But there is more to Marlow's and Nick Carraway's narration. It is also characterized by a very rich vocabulary, used to impress and persuade the readers the way Conrad's most known phrase clearly indicates: "to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you see" (Conrad 2003: 2).

> The earth for us is a place to live in, where we must put up with sights, with sounds, with smell, too, by Jove – breathe dead hippo, so to speak, and not to be contaminated.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 71)

On the more superficial level, one could speculate that Marlow's and Nick Carraway's story is a record of things seen and done – of their experience in Congo and New York and the knowledge they gain by it. But a more close analysis of one of Conrad's and Fitzgerald's greatest talents - their very careful choice of words shows that by means of vivid, exact, diverse description of selected details they achieve their purpose of seducing the reader into perceiving and understanding the novel's ambiguous imagery and symbolism too (Weiss: 75).

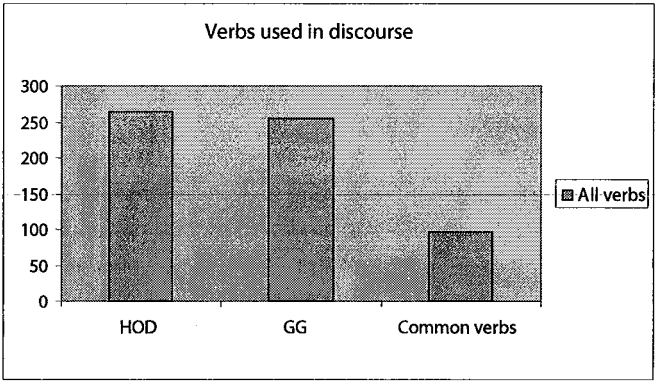
> At first I thought it was another party, a wild rout that had resolved itself into 'hide-and-go-seek' or 'sardines-in-the-box' with all the house thrown open to the game. But there wasn't a sound. Only the wind in the trees, which blew the wires and made the lights go off and on again as if the house had winked into the darkness.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 88)

CASE STUDY AND ITS RESULTS

In order to find confirmation to these assertions I focused on Conrad's and Fitzgerald's choice of verbs for Marlow's and Nick Carraway's narration about their communication with the others, that is, on discourse. Douglas Biber analyzes several types of discourse, the major ones being "involved, informational, narrative and non-narrative" (Harris-Bosselmann: 2); all to be found in the two novels too. The study was carried out on the basis of three lists of verbs: the control list, Conrad's list, and Fitzgerald's list. The control list of single-word verbs (no multi-word verbs such as *bring out, run on, sum up*, etc. were taken into consideration) included: standard reporting verbs to show

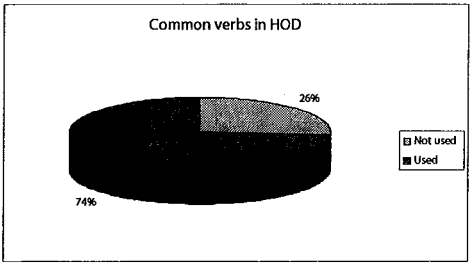
direct speech in writing (e.g. *say, tell, ask)*, most common reporting verbs or phrases occurring in indirect speech (e.g. *note, observe, remark*), frequently used verbs to "interpret" direct speech (e.g. *beg, object, wonder*), and frequently used verbs to denote non-verbal communication (e.g. *listen, see, swear*) (Alexander: 224). The same system of selection was applied to the texts of *The Great Gatsby* and *Heart of Darkness*. In addition to verbs there were other parts of the speech (e.g. nouns, adjectives, adverbs) analysed in order to get an overall picture of the most characteristic features of Conrad's and Fitzgerald's narrative techniques.

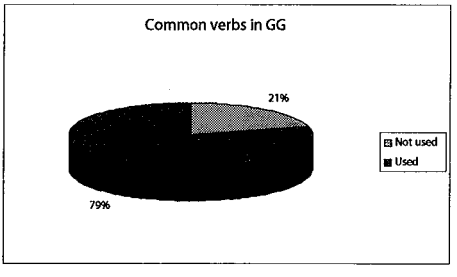
The results of the study are presented in charts and tables. The control verbs are labelled as "common" while those used by the two authors but not included in the control list as "additional". There are about a hundred verbs (96) in the control list. Marlow's (269) and Nick Carraway's (254) lists are nearly three times longer.



Graph 1: *All verbs used in discourse*

Interestingly enough, Conrad and Fitzgerald did not employ all the verbs listed as "common". Neither of them for example used such verbs as: *boast, claim, demonstrate, estimate, guarantee or teach,* but preferred verbs like: *confess, hint, inquire, protest, suspect.*





Graphs 2* and *3: *"Common" verbs*

There are many motives behind such a large number of different verbs used by both narrators. Besides their primary motive to express their own attitudes, thoughts, and feelings, and those of the other characters, Marlow and Nick Carraway also portray different social classes, nationalities or regional speeches of people they communicate with.

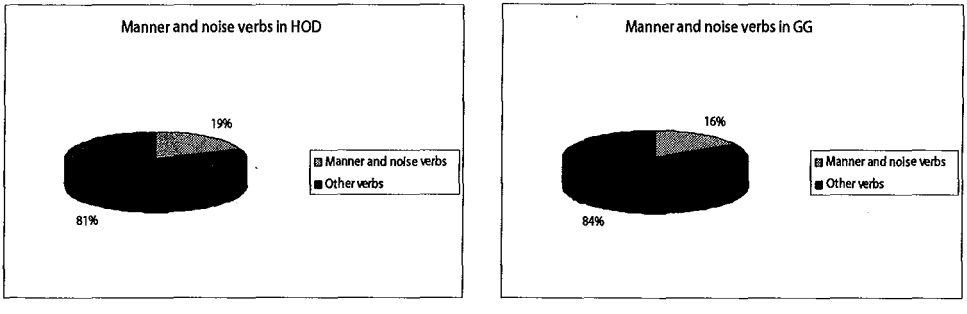
> 'Wha's matter? He inquired calmly. 'Did we run outa gas?' /.../
> 'Wonder'ff tell me where there's a gas'line station?'
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 61, 62)

> 'Been living there?' he asked. I said, 'Yes.' 'Fine lot these government chaps – are they not?' he went on, speaking English with great precision and considerable bitterness.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 21)

Another reason for so many verbs can be found in Conrad's and Fitzgerald's intent to offer their readers very detailed descriptions of nonverbal communication which is an important feature of involved discourse too. It is perceived and accepted or received with separate or individual senses or several senses contemporaneously. Wordless messages can be communicated through gesture; body language or posture; facial expression and eye contact; intonation and stress; voice quality, and speaking style (Leech and Svartvik: 134, 152).

> At first I couldn't find the source of the high, groaning words that echoed clamorously through the bare garage – then I saw Wilson standing on the raised threshold of his office, swaying back and forth and holding to the doorposts3 with both hands.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 144)

In addition to reporting what the speakers say Marlow and Nick Carraway provide extra information to the reader by reporting about acts that were performed by saying something or as a result of saying it. There are 19 % of such verbs (labelled in graphs as "manner and noise" verbs) used by Conrad and 16 % by Fitzgerald. Marlow and Nick Carraway most frequently use verbs like *mutter, sigh* or *whisper* but we also come across such less common verbs as: *flinch, gabble, grow, jabber, snort, whimper*, or *wince*.



Graphs 4* and *5*: *"Manner and noise verbs"

Besides confirming Conrad's and Fitzgerald's careful choice of a whole variety of reporting verbs, the results also show a very frequent use of such nouns as *silence, mouth, lips, ears* or *voice* instead of the verbs *to hear/listen* or *say/speak.*

Noun	HOD	GG
Ears	6	9
Lips/Mouth	5	18
Silence	19	10
Voice	41	68

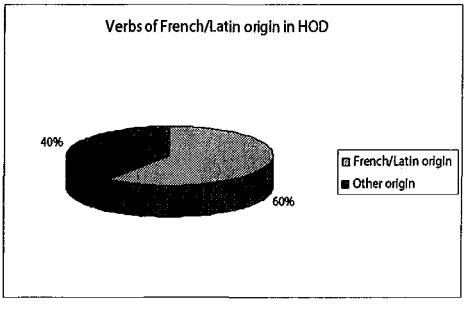
Table 1: *Nouns denoting senses*

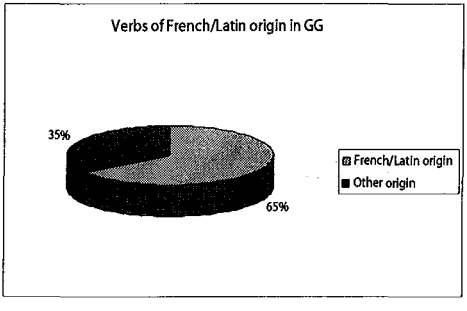
At this point we may hypothesize that these narrative devices offer Conrad and Fitzgerald the possibility to show their mastery in cumulative use of powerful adjectives and adverbs in order to present "a psychological and moral reality, rather than an external naturalism" (Weiss 10).

> The volume of tone he emitted without effort, almost without the trouble of moving his lips, amazed me. A voice! A voice! It was grave, profound, vibrating, while the man did not seem capable of a whisper.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 86)

> His speaking voice, a gruff husky tenor, added to the impression of fractiousness he conveyed. There was a touch of paternal contempt in it, even toward people he liked – and there were men at New Haven who had hated his guts.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 13)

Such a rich vocabulary as encountered in Conrad's and Fitzgerald's works can sometimes be quite demanding for a "common" reader or a reader whose mother tongue is not English. On the other hand, their preference for using simple verbs, instead of prepositional or phrasal verbs (there are only about 15% of such verbs in both texts) is of much help to such readers, especially if they are somehow acquainted with Latin or French, as 60 - 65% of the analysed verbs originate from these two languages.





Graphs 6 **and** ***7:*** *Verbs of French/Latin origin*

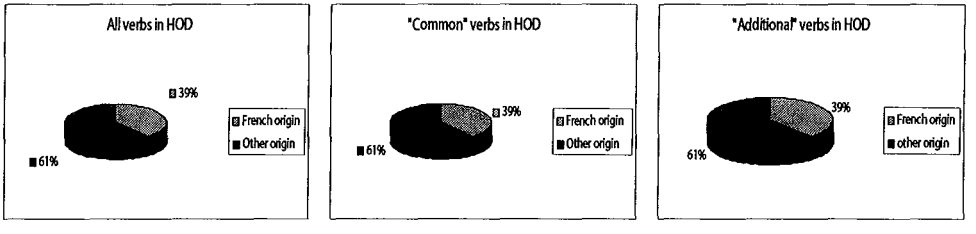
I was particularly interested in verbs that developed from French, wondering how much was Conrad's and Fitzgerald's choice of vocabulary influenced by their personal connection with the language. Conrad started to learn French as a child and left Poland in 1874 to become a sailor in Marseille, while Fitzgerald first moved to the French Riviera (where he completed *The Great Gatsby*) in 1924. It is not very clear why Conrad chose to write in English, since Polish was his mother tongue, he was equally proficient in French, and learned English relatively late (he joined the British navy in his twenties); yet it is well known that he preferred French in oral expression and personal correspondence. Conrad's friend and novelist H.G. Wells observed that "he would supplement his vocabulary-- especially when discussing cultural or political matters—with French words" (Baines: 233). It would be interesting to investigate whether this was the case with Conrad's written English too.

> He was becoming confidential now, but I fancy my unresponsive attitude must have exasperated him at last, for he judged it necessary to inform me he feared neither God nor devil, let alone any mere man.
>
> (Conrad 1994: 40)

Fitzgerald, on the other hand, did not speak French very well. Callahan observes that during his childhood spent in his native St. Paul, Fitzgerald was surrounded by French names. He became fascinated with the sounds of the language and they had significant consequences for his writing. "French became for him a language of dreams expressing fantasies of glamour, elegance, sexual conquest, and upward social mobility" (Callahan: 2).

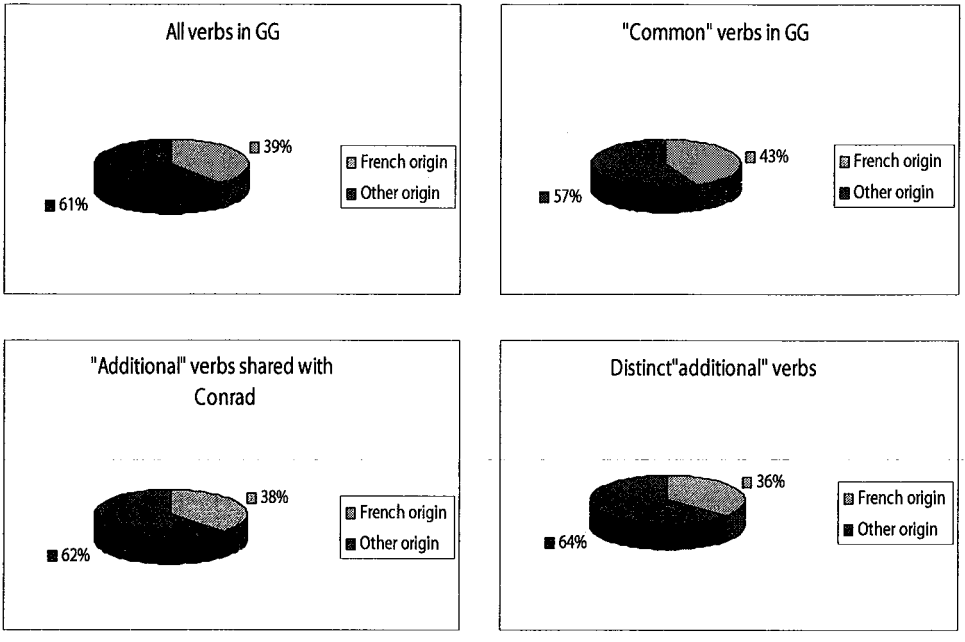
> 'What do you think?' he demanded impetuously. 'About what?' He waved his hand toward the book-shelves. 'About that. As a matter of fact you needn't bother to ascertain. I ascertained. They're real.'
>
> (Fitzgerald 1994: 51)

In *Heart of Darkness* there are 39 % of verbs that developed through Middle English via French in all three categories – all verbs, "common" verbs and "additional" verbs. Among verbs used only by Conrad there are such *uncommon* ones (at least for an average reader) as, for example, *assent, conceal, expound, regard*, etc.



***Graphs 8, 9* and *10:** Verbs of French origin in Heart of Darkness*

The Great Gatsby shows a slightly different picture. The percentage of verbs of French origin among all the verbs is the same as by Conrad (39) but it varies in the other three categories: "common" verbs (43%), "additional" verbs shared with Conrad (38%) and distinct "additional" verbs (e.g. *append, defer, dispute, interpose, etc.*) (36%).



Graphs 11, 12, 13* and *14: *Verbs of French origin in The Great Gatsby*

The results of the study make it clear that nearly every second simple verb we come across in Conrad's and Fitzgerald's indirect narration is of French origin. The questions whether and to what extent these characteristics of Conrad's and Fitzgerald's narrative contribute to a better perception and understanding of the two novels by the readers, whose mother tongue is not English, still need to be answered, though.

CONCLUSION

Discussing about Conrad's and Fitzgerald's writing style is a great challenge not just for contemporary scholars but for generations to come too, I believe. Every single characteristic of their art offers countless possibilities of investigation. Even though I restricted my study solely on indirect narration I hope I succeeded in calling the readers' attention to some of the less discussed aspects of Conrad's and Fitzgerald's language style (e.g. choice of verbs) and stimulated their curiosity into finding out more the next time they intend to reread these two novels.

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FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION IN AFRICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S LITERATURE

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Abstract

The article builds on the existing dispute between African and African American women writers on the competence of writing about female genital mutilation (FGM), and tries to determine the existence and nature of the differences between the writings of these two groups. The author uses comparative analysis of two popular African and African American novels, comparing their ways of describing FGM, its causes and consequences, the level ob objectivity and the style of the narrations. This is followed by a discussion on the reasons for such differences, incorporating a larger circle of both African and African American women authors, at the same time analysing the deviance within the two groups. While the differences between African American writers are not that great, as they mostly fail to present the issue from different points of view, which is often the result of their lack of direct knowledge of the topic, African authors' writing is in itself discovered to be ambivalent and not at all invariable. The reasons for such ambivalence are then discussed in greater context, focusing on the effect of the authors' personal contact with circumcision as well as their knowledge and acceptance of Western values.

The author concludes by establishing the African ambivalent attitude towards FGM, which includes different aspects of the issue, as the most significant difference between their and African American writers' description of this practice.

INTRODUCTION

Female genital mutilation (FGM) first became a matter of considerable international concern at the 1980s Women's NGO forum in Copenhagen, when the practice was portrayed as barbaric and cruel by western female advocates for women's rights[1]. The African delegation thought this an imposing of a subject poorly known, yet critically judged, and responded by refusing financial aid offered by the Western governments to abolish the practice. Thus, two opposing camps were born and FGM continued to stir heated international debate, in spite of the disapproval of the African circle. These world-wide conferences initially dealt with the various ways of preventing FGM among

[1] The pre-established topic, agreed on also by the African delegation, was substituted for the topic of FGM, as proposed by the French chairman upon receiving a report of the practice. This was done without prior warning to or consultation with the African delegation, and regardless of the participants' poor familiarity with the subject.

immigrants in western countries (thus, supposedly protecting their rights), but eventually outgrew the western borders and invoked in a discussion about the general harm of FGM and reasons for its worldwide eradication.

This approach further upset the African intellectual and activist spheres, with African activists feeling their peoples' rights were being violated and their ancient traditions imposed upon. A clash arose between the Western and African activists in their treating of the topic of FGM; the former claiming it should be eradicated and the latter feeling the Western sphere should not impose their views.

The opinions about the rightfulness of FGM within the African circles vary from those who strongly believe the practice to be harmful,[2] to those who do not feel qualified to judge local tribes' traditions, or even adhere by some of the reasons stated by FGM practitioners. They are all united in one belief, though: the question of whether FGM should be allowed or persecuted is not an issue the West should have any say in.

In the following years, this dispute spread on to fiction literature, when FGM became a popular topic with African American writers, whose portrayal of this practice was continuously criticised by African feminists and writers.[3] While the former argued their African descent entitled them to a critical discussion of FGM, the African camp depicted their way of FGM portrayal as necessarily biased. The reasons for such accusations mainly quoted unfamiliarity with the subject, unreliability of data, subjectivity of a purely Western attitude, and thus exclusively Western terminology, all supposedly setting African American portrayal of FGM apart from their African counterpart.

The following article will therefore try to establish the complexity of this issue by comparing African and African American texts dealing with FGM, and discuss the essential differences between their ways of describing female genital mutilation. This treatise is a cross-section of a longer study on six African and four African American novels.[4]

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DEPICTION OF FGM IN AFRICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN NOVELS

We must begin by pointing out that, some major differences between the two groups of writers notwithstanding, all the novels discussed in this study, African and African American alike, depict FGM in a negative way. Although their level and instruments

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[2] This idea is supported by many activists, i.e. Nawal El Saadawi, Asma El Dareer, Olayinka Koso-Thomas, Awa Thiam, Efua Dorkenoo.

[3] It is interesting to note that while the African feminist, activist and literary sphere is divided in their perception of FGM, their disapproval of African American dealing with this topic is nonetheless unanimous.

[4] The analysis of the differences is based on a more detailed analysis of twelve novels, which, apart from the ones, mentioned in this study, also includes four African novels: Waris Dirie: *Desert Flower*, Mende Nazer: *Slave*, Fauziya Kasindja: *Do They Hear You When You Cry?* and Jacyee Aniagolu-Johnson: *Mikela. Memoirs of a Maasai Woman* and two African American novels: Rita Williams-Garcia: *No Laughter Here* and Tracy Price-Thompson: *A Woman's Worth.* The quotations from Dirie's *Desert Flower* were translated from Slovene to English by the author of the study. Cf. Marinšek, Darja. Female Genital Mutilation in African vs. African American Women's Literature. Ljubljana: Faculty of Arts, 2006.

of criticism vary, the African way of describing FGM can not be regarded as positive, since most African writers discussed offer both positive and negative views, while at the same time trying to avoid personal opinion on the purpose of this practice. The reasons for this kind of writing originate in the FGM-practicing cultures, where this custom is considered a taboo, that is a forbidden topic, not to be spoken of by its members. The African authors included in this study have broken this cultural taboo and by this, already show defiance of this tradition. They have furthermore had at least some contact with the Western culture and its view of women's role in society, which undoubtedly caused them to compare and question the African tradition.

Thus, it is very difficult to speak of a purely »African« perspective of FGM, as it is probably at least partly marked by Western values. Accordingly, the differences between the two groups are many times very subtle, and generally do not hold true for all writers, sometimes even revealing a closer connection between writers of different groups than between writers within each individual group.

With this in mind, we will first analyze the differences between the African and African American portrayal of FGM, and then discuss the discrepancies in the authors' attitude towards and description of FGM within each individual group.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The following analysis deals with two African novels, i.e. Nawal El Saadawi's *The Circling Song* and Flora Nwapa's *Efuru*, as well as two African American novels, that is Alice Walker's *The Secret of Joy* and Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe*. A detailed study of all researched novels has shown that the more prominent differences between African and African American portrayal of female circumcision lie mainly in the importance FGM plays in the literary work, the way the practice is described, the choice of terminology, a tendency towards generalization or the lack of thereof, a tendency of assigning blame, the list of reasons for and consequences of FGM, and finally, the author's view of the future of this practice.

The first major difference between the two groups can therefore be seen in the role FGM plays in the novels. Both African novels present a life story of a certain African girl, where circumcision is only one of the many events in her life. Thus, in *Efuru*, an African girl's biography, the observation on circumcision is almost casual, touching upon the subject merely as a part of the girl's wedding preparations. Likewise, El Saadawi's *The Circling Song* tells the story of the miserable life of an Egyptian brother and sister, Halim and Halima, where again, the girl's circumcision is only one in a series of cruel events she has to endure throughout her life.

On the contrary, Alice Walker's *The Secret of Joy* is based on portraying negative consequences suffered by the novel's circumcised heroine, in fact representing her gradual development from a naive supporter of circumcision to a strong opponent of the practice that has ruined her life. Similarly, Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe* is a collage of seven different women's stories, each dealing with a specific type of abuse. FGM plays an important part in the story of an Ethiopian girl Mariam, concentrating on her ruin and the role circumcision has had in it.

Another difference can also be seen in the instruments the authors use in describing FGM. While Flora Nwapa and Nawal El Saadawi mostly touch upon the subject indirectly, avoiding explicit western terminology, Alice Walker and Gloria Naylor's novels often invoke in direct description and detailed explanation of this ritual, using critical western vocabulary.

Flora Nwapa's choice of names for this practice involves more subtle expressions, i.e. »*to have a bath*«, sometimes also »*circumcision*«, but never »*mutilation*«, which is on the other hand common for African American writers.[5] The following passage offers an example of Nwapa's use of neutral expressions:

> One day, Efuru's mother in law called her.
> 'My daughter,' she said to her. 'You have not had your bath.'
> 'No, my mother, I have not had my bath.'
> 'A young woman must have her bath before she has a baby.' (...) I want you to have your bath before there is a baby. It is better that way. It is safer really.'
> 'All right, mother. But my husband must be told and he will come from the farm before it is done.' (Nwapa, 11)

Similarly, Nawal El Saadawi's descriptions of this practice avoid explicit terms, such as clitoris, vagina, infibulation, using instead innocent child vocabulary, i.e. »*bud*«, »*newborn bird*«, which agrees with the blurred retrospective narration of an innocent girl, with which circumcision is described. The practice itself is given the name "*purification*", offering an indirect comment of the author's view of FGM in a sarcastic and subtle way:

> The razor-blade moved over her head; her soft, thick hair fell into the pail. The razor dropped to her body, and passed over her skin, uprooting the hair. When it reached the pit of her lower stomach, moving through the patch of black hair it stumbled upon the tiny white bud that looked like a newborn bird. It plucked the bud from its roots, leaving in its place a deep wound in the flesh, like the scabbed-over cleft. (In those times, this surgical operation was called 'purification'; its goal was to 'purify' the human being by removing and remaining sexual organs.) (El Saadawi, 67)

This neutral tone is even more obvious in the description of circumcision as offered by Flora Nwapa; instead of on Efuru's pain, the narration is focused on the reactions of the villagers, who sympathize with the girl, but do not condone the practice, as can be seen in the next quotation:

> The woman went to the back of the house and there it was done. Efuru screamed and screamed. It was so painful. Her mother-in-law consoled her. It will soon be over, my daughter don't cry.'
> Meanwhile Efuru's husband was in his room. He felt all the pain. It seemed as if he was the one being circumcised. (...)
> 'It's being done now,' one of the neighbours said to the other.' 'Oh, yes, that's it. I saw the woman when she came. Efuru is having her bath. Poor girl, it's so painful.'
> Efuru lay on her back with her feet apart. She was not crying any more. But it was still very painful. (Nwapa, 13-14)

[5] The English term Female Genital Mutilation has been the official western name for this practice since 1989.

Similarly, in El Saadawi's novel, immediately upon the beginning of circumcision, the author distances herself from the girl and her pain, which is demonstrated by her use of a third-person narrator in the FGM description in the following paragraph:

> Hamida did not feel the pain. Her eyes remained dry, and she abandoned herself to the dirt floor, lying there passively, while from beneath her thighs came a long ribbon of blood, its dark red hue glistening in the sunshine. (...), she raised the gallabiyya from her legs. The familiar appendage was not there; in its place she found a small cleft, which looked just like that old, closed-up wound. (El Sadaawi, 47-48)

However, looking at the next quotation from Alice Walker's *The Secret of Joy*, we notice a difference in the style of her description:

> Then, one day, my mother had to circumcise the girls in my age group. (...) when my turn came she tried to get away with cutting lightly. Of course she took the outer lips, because four strong eagle-eyed women held me down; and of course the inner lips too. But she tried to leave me a nub (...) She barely nicked me there. But the other women saw.
> What my mother started, the witchdoctor finished. (...) the witches who taught him had been put to death, because they refused circumcision and were too powerful among the women to be left free, uncircumcised. He showed no mercy. In fright and unbearable pain my body bucked under the razor-sharp stone he was cutting me with (...). (Walker, 206-207)

Here, the author has chosen a first-person narrator, focusing mainly on the pain and fear of the girl being circumcised. The description uses explicit references to the cutting of the outer and inner labia, as well as the circumcising tool.

A different example of FGM description in this novel is the following quotation, where the process is being described in retrospection by a girl who has observed it:

> As I painted I remembered, as if a lid lifted off my brain, the day I had crept, hidden in the elephant grass, to the isolated hut from which came howls of pain and terror. Underneath a tree, on the bare ground outside the hut, lay a dazed row of little girls, though to me they seemed not so little. They were all a few years older than me. Dura's age. Dura, however, was not among them; and I knew instinctively that it was Dura being held down and tortured inside the hut. Dura who made those inhuman shrieks that rent the air and chilled my heart.
> Abruptly, inside, there was silence. And then I saw M'Lissa shuffle out, dragging her lame led, and at first I didn't realize she was carrying anything, for it was so insignificant and unclean that she carried it not in her fingers but between her toes. A chicken-a hen, not a cock-was scratching futilely in the dirt between the hut and the tree where the other girls, their own ordeal over, lay. M'Lissa lifted her foot and flung this small object in the direction of the hen, and she, (...) gobbled it down. (Walker, 70-71)

Although this narration is similar to the ones of African authors, in so far as it avoids direct description of circumcision, but rather creates a distant approach from outside of the hut, the effect is not that of a neutral observation but rather the contrary. The narration is accompanied by a sense of mystery, a feeling of unknown, which, along with the powerful description of the sounds in the hut and Tashi's feelings, gradually turn into a sense of terror.

An interesting way of describing the process of circumcision is offered by Gloria Naylor, who does this by using a metaphorical allegory of cutting a plum. In avoiding

direct description of FGM, the author's tactic is very similar to the ones of African writers. Nevertheless, as the following paragraph will show, the clever parallel drawn between the cutting of the plum and the cutting of a woman's body, gradually undertakes a dramatic effect, and the scene loses its neutral tones:

> The fruit looked tender and soft. The reddish black skin was so thin you could already smell that the flesh would be sweet. (...) Eve took the plum from the counter and cradled it gently in one hand. Fruit that tender will bruise easily. With the tip of her fingernail she traced the faint seam that ran from the little round dent in the center that looked like a belly button. It was perfect and whole, with the seam dividing the front of the plum into two plump mounds. Without warning, she squeezed it quickly and the seam opened. (...) It was only a slight opening, but clear juices were already beading up from deep within the middle. And down within its fleshy walls was just the glimpse of a hard little nub. Eve held the split fruit between her fingertips and, this time, demanded the knife.(...)Eve's eyes never left mine as she held the open plum and squeezed again. The fleshy walls were spreading wider apart and its juices began to drip onto the counter. Inside, it was deep amber and red; veins swollen with sugar ran through the soft flesh. A firm tip was pushing up through its center, moist and fragile (...). She was positioning the fruit, lining up the exposed head of the pit with the tip of the blade. (...) Eve plunged the knife quickly into the middle of the split fruit. With one twist of her wrist, she cut out the large pit. It carried ragged pieces of dark amber flesh with it as it fell to the counter. (...) Juice dripped from the lightning blade, and bits of plum clung to Eve's wet fingers as she scraped away at the meaty sections left inside each half of the open fruit. (...) Small chunks splattered as they kept falling rapidly to the counter. The plum was cleaned of everything but its delicate outer skin. She held what was left in her sticky palm and it was already beginning to curl inward like a petal. (Naylor, 145-151)

This passage contains numerous analogies between the plum and Mariam; i.e. »black skin« could represent the girl's black skin, »cradled« could refer to the too-early age of Mariam's circumcision. Similarly: »Fruit that tender will bruise easily.« could be a metaphor for the psychological consequences circumcision can leave on a young girl. The plum's core is already referred to as a bellybutton by the author herself, and the fruit's description resembles the description of a woman's buttocks. The plum's interior is also named by expressions pertaining to a human body: the colour of the interior is red, full of »veins« and »flesh«. On top of all this, Eve's cutting of the plum bears a great resemblance to the cutting of the girl: while the girl is cut open and her clitoris 'hollowed out', Eve cuts the plum's surface and hollows out its pit. The red juice that runs out resembles the blood, the pit still bears some pieces of 'flesh', and Eve goes on to scoop out the remains of the plum's interior, a process described with the same words, other authors use to describe FGM. Eve's crushing and discarding the plum in the end describes what according to her happens to a circumcised girl: she is psychologically, if not also psychically ruined.

Compared to the tone of El Saadawi's metaphorical description of circumcision, where the critique is expressed in a very subtle way, the above quotation clearly shows the different effect of Naylor's narration; although the writer avoids a direct expression of opinion of FGM, the comparison still produces dramatic effects, which can not be described as neutral.

Another essential difference between the two African and African American novels can be detected in the tendency of the latter towards generalization when discussing FGM, which is not present (at least not to such an extent) in the African novels. Therefore, the two African writers concentrate on the personal story being described, keeping their presentation of FGM within the context of that individual narration. Looking closer to first Gloria Naylor's novel, we see a different approach; the narration presents a society that enforces female circumcision, and the heroine Mariam is an example of such society. Moreover, the very first description of Mariam's culture creates a distance, separating her "world" from the reader's: »In a nation that time forgot, a nation ringed by mountains, they are hemmed in by huge stone churches but have clung to the God of Abraham and the Law of Moses.« (Naylor, 146) Further on, Mariam's tribe is depicted as a fanatic religious sect, living in isolation, suppressing women and circumcising girls, which helps create an indirect comment against FGM and its cultural context.

Moving on to Alice Walker's novel, the writer begins by describing individual experiences of circumcision, which then slowly melt into one general critique of FGM. Here, more than in Naylor's narration, the reader is aware of a critical stance on a transcultural, general level, offered from an exclusively western perspective. This, so-called distant approach, can also be seen in the following passage:

> They do not want to hear what their children suffer. They've made the telling of the suffering itself taboo. Like visible signs of menstruation. Signs of woman's mental power. Signs of the weakness and uncertainty of men. When they say the word 'taboo' (...) are they saying something is 'sacred' and therefore not to be publicly examined for fear of disturbing the mystery; or are they saying it is so profane it must not be exposed, for fear of corrupting the young? Or are they saying simply that they can not and will not be bothered to listen to what is said about an accepted tradition of which they are a part, that has gone on, as far as they know, forever? (Walker, 155)

At the same time, this quotation expresses the culprit of FGM, as pointed out in several places of the novel; that is the ignorant African culture, holding on to tradition at any cost, and its men who, as the superior gender of this culture, suppress the powerless women.

Assigning guilt is thus another characteristic, specific of African American writing, which usually points the finger at patriarchal society, where women are not strong enough to rebel against cruel tradition. This idea is also expressed in the passage quoted above, and appears throughout Walker's novel. Similar ideology can be seen in *Bailey's Cafe*, expressed indirectly through the writer's stressing the importance of circumcision as a prerequisite for marriage, as the single goal of a girl's life.

At the same time, assigning guilt is connected to the reasons for circumcision, offered in the novels, where we can see another distinction between the two groups. This is one of the most important differences, since it clearly marks the complexity of the issue, as well as the writers' (in)ability of encompassing different views of this tradition. Thus, Flora Nwapa and Nawal El Saadawi's novels try to voice both sides, also giving reasons for FGM as expressed by its advocators. As mentioned before, Walker's narration tends to concentrate on the western interpretation alone, usually offering control and subordination of women as the major reasons. Nevertheless, we should point out at least one example, where the writer approaches the issue from the other, the African

side, i.e. offering an ancient African legend as the beginning of this ritual. However, the passage ends with the following comment, expressing the heroine's opinion of the myth: »Even so long ago God deserted woman, I thought, staying by her just long enough to illustrate to man the cutting to be done.« (Walker, 166) The advocators' reason of tradition is therefore given, but at the same time rejected.

On the other hand, Gloria Naylor's approach is more representational of both sides, and offers the FGM supporters' reasons. Her narration explains the importance of marriage in the described African tribe and defends Mariam's mother's decision to circumcise the girl, as can be seen in the following quotation:

> You do understand, Eve said, how much she loved her daughter. And she couldn't deny in her heart that the girl was always going to be slow-witted. Finding her a decent husband would be difficult with so many other virgins to choose from, and that is why she had the midwives close her up that tightly. It raises a woman's value. (Naylor, 152)

Nevertheless, compared to the next passage, taken from Flora Nwapa's novel, where the reasons for circumcision are presented in a conversation between the villagers and the midwife, we can see the difference in style and tone of narration:

> You know (...) Nwakaego's daughter? (...) She did not have her bath before she had that baby who died after that dreadful flood.'
> 'God forbid. Why?'
> 'Fear. She was afraid. Foolish girl. She had a foolish mother, their folly cost them a son, a good son.'
> 'How did you know?'
> 'They came to me early one morning and told me. They wanted it to be done in my house so that people will not know. The dibia had already told them that the baby died because she did not have her bath. I did it for them.' (...) (Nwapa, 13)

The difference, as shown in the passages, lies in the inherent critical tone with which Naylor describes the reasons for circumcision, giving the reader a sense of disagreement with the tribal culture, whereas Nwapa's description is offered entirely from the tribe's point of view.

Here we have already touched upon another important distinction, which lies in the style of narration, indirectly affecting the reader's view of FGM. Again, Nwapa and El Saadawi's novels seem to strive more for the presentation of the complexity of the issue at hand, mostly by constant interweaving of apologetic passages, explaining the African view of circumcision, by the choice of vocabulary, when dealing with the description of FGM related topics, as well as by the ideological stance[6] of the narration itself. Nawal El Saadawi never offers a direct personal opinion of the things her story criticizes: her FGM depictions are unclear and presented purely from a foggy retrospective of a psychologically exhausted girl; enumerated simply as one of the many hardships the children endure.[7] Therefore, the author seems to be simply stating the facts, as if they were obvious. She does not provide Halima or Halimo with a voice to express their suffering. She offers no appeal to condemn the described tradition, no

[6] I.e. the author's general view of FGM, the position she has taken in her perception of the practice, that is, whether her position is more positive, negative or neutral.

[7] In the novel *The Circular Song*, both the girl and the boy are circumcised.

criticism of patriarchal relations, guilty of FGM,[8] no over-generalized worldwide attack on FGM, no protagonist eager to educate others about FGM's true character and achieve its eradication. El Saadawi is simply a voice that describes, and then allows for the reader to decide, according to his/her own beliefs.

The regard for the complex nature of FGM in Nwapa's narration has already been shown in revealing the rather insignificant role circumcision plays in her novel, and the mild tone used in its descriptions.

On the contrary, Alice Walker and Gloria Naylor often rely on their choice of words when stating their negative views of FGM, taking advantage of shocking, dramatic terminology, comparisons, metaphorical language and whole stories,[9] a very self-righteous tone (esp. Walker, whose fictional novel at times seems almost an activist's mission) or even the choice of narrator,[10] which results in their sometimes overly exaggerated and one-dimensional FGM descriptions.

This single-perspective approach can be noted also in the description of the consequences of FGM. Here, the difference shows in the way African American narrations do not avoid direct presentation of the negative consequences of FGM, opposed to the African narrations, where these are either left out or only touched upon, avoiding their direct description. Therefore, the heroines in both African American novels are sentenced to death. Tashi, the protagonist in *The Secret of Joy*, is crippled by her circumcision, has difficulty walking and bathing, can not have intercourse and loses the will to live. In her desperation, she return to Africa to murder the midwife who circumcised her, paying for the murder with her own life. A direct description of the negative consequences of FGM is given in the following quotation:

> It now took a quarter of an hour for her to pee. Her menstrual periods lasted ten days. She was incapacitated by cramps nearly half the month. There were premenstrual cramps: cramps caused by the near impossibility of flow passing through so tiny an aperture as M'Lissa had left, after fastening together the raw sides of Tashi's vagina with a couple of thorns and inserting a straw so that in healing, the traumatized flesh might not grow together, shutting the opening completely; cramps caused by the residual flow that could not find its way out, was not reabsorbed into her body, and had nowhere to go. There was an odour, too, of soured blood, which no amount of scrubbing, until we got to America, ever washed off. (Walker, 61-62)

[8] Although I have to mention a passage that, along with Halima's father's decision to kills his daughter, could be interpreted this way: »Yet, even though she saw a female viper, Hamida knew that anything which kills, must be male (...).« (El Saadawi, 62)

[9] This was already shown in the case of Gloria Naylor, and can also be noted in the following passage from *The Secret of Joy*, where the author compares women's subordination in African culture to the so-called White Ant, a type of African termite, which is believed to have been copied by Africans in their hut-building. At the same time this is claimed to be the origin of the male view of the woman as a creature offered by god for pleasure and food; namely, since this creature's colony is based on the hierarchy of the queen, whose sole function is reproductive; her cut wings disable her escape and when her egg stock is finished, she is devoured by other ants. " This, Madame Johnson, is your dark tower. You are the queen who lost her wings. It is you lying in the dark with millions of worker termites (...) You who are fat, greasy, the color as you have said of tobacco spit, inert; only a tube through which generations of visionless offspring pass(...) You who endure all this, only at the end to die, and be devoured by those to whom you've given birth. (...)" (Walker, 216)

[10] Naylor's choice of »an innocent child«, repeating throughout the story a single sentence ('No man has ever touched me)', creates a dramatic effect with a powerful message.

The psychological pain, suffered by circumcised women, is further described in M'Lissa, the woman who circumcised Tashi, as shown in her personal confession in this passage:

> I could never again see myself, for the child that finally rose from the mat three months later, and dragged herself from the initiation hut and finally home, was not the child who had been taken there. I was never to see that child again. (...) I have never cried after that, she said. I knew in the moment when the pain was greatest, when it reached a crescendo, as when a loud metal drum is struck with a corresponding metal stick, that there is no God known to man who cares about children or about women. (...)
> I finally see her, she says, astonished. (...) The child who went into the initiation hut, she says. You know I left her there bleeding on the floor, and I came out. She was crying. She felt so betrayed. By everyone. They'd severely beaten her mother as well, and she blamed herself for this. M'Lissa sighed. I couldn't think about her anymore. I would have died. So I walked away, limped away, and just left her there. (...) She is still crying. She' s been crying ever since I left. No wonder I haven't been able to. She has been crying all our tears. (...)
> I have been strong. (...) Strong and brave. (...) In service to tradition, to what makes us a people. In service to the country and what makes us who we are. But who are we but torturers of children? (Walker, 205-210)

In the above quotation, Walker cleverly presents the psychological consequences of circumcision, using the midwife, who has been up to this point in the novel, represented as (the only) advocator of female circumcision. And here, it turns out that underneath the cruel numbness, caused by the horrors of endless circumcisions (imposed on her as a tribal duty) there is an innocent, helpless and scared little girl, who has been suffering all her life due to her own initiation. This makes the reader feel sorry for M'Lissa, while angrier at the ritual and the men behind it.

This passage was greatly criticised by George Olakunle,[11] who opposes the way in which Walker, in order to convey the wider idea of women's oppression in all patriarchal systems, according to him, draws all characters as representations of stereotypical figures, which she slowly connects throughout the novel and joins in a unified circle. Olakunle chooses the example of M'Lissa and Tashi to demonstrate his point: »In the account of her experience, M'Lissa is rendered as archetypical woman whose emotional numbness is a way of coping with old and unrelieved pain. (...) At this moment, M'Lissa's and Tashi's experiences of genital mutilation converge. The text signals the convergence in the way their two voices become fluid and indistinguishable as each confronts her pain.«[12] Through the clever use of the pronoun 'she', the image of the crying young M'Lissa becomes the image of every crying circumcised girl. And even more: ».....Tashi is confronted with her 'self' in an earlier generation ... In dialogue with M'Lissa Walker figures Tashi as archetypical woman in dialogue with archetypical mother, who is therefore her potential cultural self. The operative conceptual category here is woman-across race, class, or time itself.«[13]

[11] In criticizing the ideology behind Walker's novel, Olakunle quotes Spivak, Lionnet and Sunder Rajan, and their critique of identitarian universalism, since "collective identity is never unitary and undifferentiated." (Spivak, Lionnet and Sunder Rajan qtd. in Olakunle: Alice Walker's Africa: Globalization and the province of fiction: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3612/is_200110/ai_n8955377)

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

Gloria Naylor's description of the consequences of FGM is less explicit, but still fatal for the protagonist. Mariam becomes pregnant and, in accordance with her tribe's beliefs, feels »unclean«; wishing to wash herself in a deep chasm, confusing it for an enormous lake, she jumps in and dies. Naylor further describes the consequences of FGM in the case of Mariam's mother, telling us of the severe pain of afterbirth and the difficulty of intercourse following the delivery. The latter particularly, can be seen in the following passage:

> Her mother tells no one how hard she begged Adonai for the firstborn to be a girl. She knew she would remain unclean much longer than with a male child, and so there would be more time to heal before returning to her husband. Even in the hut of childbed there has been so much blood. (Naylor, 148)

The author is faithful to her generally indirect way of dealing with FGM and only expresses this idea through the mother's preference for a boy, which allows her more time before having to have intercourse with her husband.

Looking at the description of the consequences of FGM in *Efuru*, though, we see an even more discreet approach. The circumcised girl is introduced only a day after the operation, when there is no impression of Efuru experiencing awful pain; it is clear that she has already undergone the operation and that the worst is over. Moreover, she receives such amount of attention, we are under the impression that the circumcision has made her privileged:

> 'How are you, my daughter?'
> 'I am well. (...)'
> 'Is it very painful?'
> 'It is much better now. It was dreadful the first day.'
> 'Gbonu, my daughter. It is what every woman undergoes. So don't worry.' (...)
> Efuru's mother-in-law saw to it that she was very well looked after. She was to eat the best food and she was to do no work. She was simply to eat and grow fat. And above all she was to look beautiful. She ate whatever she wanted to eat. (...) It was said that she was feasting. On market days, her mother went to the market and bought her the best. When she prized something in the market other buyers gave her way and asked her how the feasting woman was getting on. (Nwapa, 15)

Similarly, Efuru's post-operation descriptions show how the villagers now see her as more beautiful and worthy; i.e.:

> Efuru grew more beautiful each day. (...) She looked very plump and appealing to the eyes. Now that the wound had healed, she went out with other women who were circumcised like her.
> When they went out, they tied a wrappa dyed in camwood from the waist downwards. Then they had another one laso dyed in camwood which they used in covering their breasts. (...) They were objects of attraction; men, women and children stopped to watch and to admire them. (Nwapa, 17)

Later on, when Efuru gives birth to a girl, her delivery is not too painful and uncomplicated; there are no mentions of re-stitching or any circumcision-caused side-effects.

Similarly, Nawal El Saadawi avoids the description of the consequences of circumcision. When in the end Halima dies, the blame is put mostly on the poverty and the constant physical abuse the girl was exposed to, and the author does not hint towards circumcision as the exclusive reason for the girl's death, nor does she describe any physical or psychological consequences.

Finally, another major difference lies also in the proposed dealing with FGM, which often comes out in the way the novels end. In Nwapa's novel, this vision is very subtle[14], offering a metaphoric comment on the women's position in the described society in the following passage on Efuru's dreams about the most respected tribal goddess Lady of the lake:

> Efuru slept soundly that night. She dreamt of the woman of the lake, her beauty, her long hair and her riches. She had lived for ages at the bottom of the lake. She was as old as the lake itself. She was happy, she was healthy. She was beautiful. She gave women beauty and wealth but she had no child. She had never experienced the joy of motherhood. Why then did the women worship her? (Nwapa, 221)

The rhetorical question implies that the symbolic meaning of the Lady of the lake is the fact that it is a goddess who does not stress the function of motherhood and child-bearing as the only accepted and praised values of a woman in African culture. The women worship her precisely because she represents an ulterior function and role for women in their society. This passage shows that the author, who throughout the novel avoids any criticism of FGM, does not promote women's submissiveness to all ends, but is an advocate of women's strength and economic as well as social independence. This even suggests that she does not perceive circumcision as a destructive element in African women's social position, and more importantly, does not advise any anti-FGM action, apart from the indirectly expressed idea that, same as everything else, African women can handle it on their own.

Nawal El Saadawi's approach is even more cautious; while her novel is an obvious critique of Arabic society and its cruel obedience of tradition, she avoids expressing an opinion on the future of circumcision. She rather opts for a metaphorical analogy of all the children in the world, who are exposed to various cruelties, and does not suggest the eradication of FGM.

While both African authors thus seem to treat the future of FGM along with its complex cultural background, linking it to other violent (cultural) practices, and avoid single-solution propositions, this is less obvious in the case of African American novels. Therefore, Alice Walker does not hesitate in offering eradication of female circumcision as the answer to this issue. The following passage from *The Secret of Joy* suggests that failure to eradicate FGM will only bring more needless victims: »I fell it is cruel; but that it is only the cruelty of truth, speaking it, shouting it, that will save us now. If we do not, Africa may well be depopulated of black people in our grandchildren's lifetime, and the worldwide suffering of our children will continue to be our curse.« (Walker,

[14] The analysis of the novels included in the whole study has shown that the suggestion most often offered by the writers in the African group is education, and by this, spreading awareness, which should with time result in the Africans' themselves making changes. Cf. Marinšek, Darja. Female Genital Mutilation in African vs. African American Women's Literature. Ljubljana: Faculty of Arts, 2006.

259) Similar thought is expressed in the novel's ending, when Tashi's friends watch her execution, bearing the sign: »Resistance is the secret of joy!«

On the other hand, Gloria Naylor does not offer a direct opinion of the future of FGM, but, similarly to El Saadawi, only expresses this through questioning the reasons for circumcision. She does this first by describing an ancient, isolated culture, which makes its rituals *a priori* questionable. The other way of questioning circumcision, which we have not yet mentioned, is Mariam's miraculous pregnancy. The circumcised girl is pregnant, for which she was banished from her tribe, and yet insists she had not been touched by a man. When she is examined by Eve during bathing, this turns out to be true. This gives us two possible interpretations; firstly, the author's criticism of FGM, since the operation is supposed to guarantee the girl's virginity and thus raise her value, but has caused the opposite in Mariam's case. Not only was she not protected by the operation from (forced or willing) intercourse, but the operation failed to fulfil its purpose of preventing her humiliation and social outcaste.

The second, a little more mystical interpretation is that Mariam is in fact a virgin, despite her pregnancy. Arguments in favour of this interpretation are her obviously closed vulva, which Eve has examined (»...it's not unusual along the shores of the Blue Nile for virgins to give birth. But I've bathed this girl and seen her body; no man has even tried.«), her »*No man has ever touched me.*«-chant (connected to the fact that, according to her mother, she is incapable of lying) and her retarded state (mentally challenged people are usually used as God's vessels, since these people are never mean and are seen as morally pure). Finally, the possibility of rape is overthrown in the next quotation by Eve: "So you see, if it had been rape, the whole village would have heard her screams. Even on the wedding night, the *ensaslay*, with a willing bride and a cautious husband, the village will hear the screaming. Sometimes it will take months, and many trips to that hut of blood, before the wound he slowly makes allows him to penetrate her without pain. And sometimes she's not fully opened until her first child.« (Naylor, 152)

The meaning behind this interpretation would again be more connected to the over-all idea of female victimization, of course connected to the rejection of FGM, where Mariam, the innocent and pure female-child becomes the sacrificial lamb God chooses to criticize the Africans' behaviour and the way they treat their women. Therefore, both interpretations show that even though Gloria Naylor withholds to comment on the future of FGM, her narration is not without criticism for the practice.

THE IN-GROUP DISTINCTIONS

The more extensive analysis of a larger number of African and African American novels agrees with the mentioned differences, but at the same time reveals discrepancies in the intensity of the (dis)approval of FGM, as well as the (in)ability to present the complexity of the issue within each individual group. These distinctions must be studies in line with several factors, such as the autobiographical nature of some works, the aesthetic value and purpose of the novels, (un)familiarity with the African culture, the (lack of) knowledge of FGM, and the already mentioned contact of African writers with the western culture as well as, in some cases, with anti-FGM activism.

Thus, in the case of the African autobiographical writers Waris Dirie, Fauziya Kasindja and Mende Nazer, it is necessary to take into account the actual circumstances surrounding their stories as well as the time when the novels were written.

For example, during the time of writing her novel,[15] Waris Dirie was a US ambassador for anti-FGM affairs, and so, it must be assumed, is under great influence from the Western activists' mentality. This is reflected in her occasional use of western FGM-related terminology and her choice of reasons for FGM, which are common with western FGM abolitionists. On the other hand, her strong critique of FGM notwithstanding, she fails to accuse her parents for her circumcision and is even unable to talk to them about it. An additional important element in her story is the fact that Waris was circumcised at the age of five, but decided to leave Africa years later, after being »threatened« by a marriage to an older man she did not love. In the following quotation, Dirie herself stresses that it was her father (who wanted to marry her off) and not her mother (who circumcised her) she ran away from (her mother even helped her escape):

> This horrible journey began when I ran away from my father. I lived in a nomadic tribe in Somali desert, and when I was thirteen years old, my father announced I was to be married to an older man. Since I knew I had to react fast (...) I told my mother I would run away. (Dirie, 14)

All these factors influence Dirie's ambivalent attitude towards circumcision and the consequent inconsistencies in her criticism of this practice.

A similar situation presents itself in the story of Fauziya Kasindja, who fled her native Togo and sought asylum in America. Although Fauziya repeatedly states that the reason for her escape was to avoid circumcision (these passages are numerous),[16] she is also threatened to be married to an older man with three wives, where she would probably live in service to their whims, of which she is aware. Therefore, the situation is more complex, as seen in her own words when thinking of returning to Togo: »I'd have to return to my so-called husband. Then I'd be cut and maybe I'd die. And if I didn't? If I lived? No, that would be worse. Real death would be better than the living death my life would become if I survived. I'd rather die.« (Kasindja, 521)

The fact that she is less open about other reasons for her escape can be understood as a result of her prison experience, where she learnt that FGM was the only reason that would get her asylum. Another fact in favour of this argument is the already Western terminology with which Fauziya talks about all this, proving she has grown to view this ritual in a Western manner (a definite result of the many hours of discussing FGM with her lawyers and reading American debates on FGM). We need also consider that Fauziya's family did not support circumcision and that after her father's death, Fauziya, under the care of her uncle, was to be the first circumcised woman in her family. Same as with Waris Dirie, Fauziya was assisted in her escape by her mother and sister, and so did not really escape from her own, but rather a foreign cultural practice. This point is also commented on by Njambi Wairimu Ngaruiya, claiming the western conclusions, drawn from Kasindja's story, to be unjust; i.e. when in one of the talk-shows following

[15] *Desert Flower* is Dirie's first novel in a trilogy, followed by *Desert Dawn and Desert Children.*

[16] Cf. Kasindja 1998, pp. 592-593, 650-651.

her release from prison Fauziya admitted that some girls/women in Togo did not see FGM the way she did, but adhered to it: "Instead of portraying Kasinga as a woman resisting circumcision because she (like many Africans) came from a family that perhaps taught her to disapprove of such practices, ...the media was fixated on what it saw as an example of coercion and oppression in African cultures and societies generally." (Njambi, 289)

The opposite is true in the case of Mende Nazer, who was kidnapped and sold into slavery as a young girl. Her idealised portrayals of her life in her native tribe are understandable, and at the same time important for the analysis of her descriptions of her tribal ritual of circumcision. The writer's kidnapping had a definite effect on the nostalgia with which she looks back on her childhood days; it is clear that she could not bring herself to question her parents or any of their actions, and this influences the suaveness of her criticism of her circumcision.

Thus we can see that an author's contact with western culture and its values is an important factor in the analysis of the writer's attitude towards circumcision, regardless of whether the writer has accepted the western views[17] or is, on the contrary, using her writing to try and fight western criticism and its partial view of FGM.

Therefore, a key factor to the writing of Nawal El Saadawi is her activism and feminism, as the writer is one of the strongest opponents of the African American way of treating the topic of FGM. This is closely connected to her indirect method of describing the process, cause and consequences of FGM, as well as her omission of direct criticism of this custom.

Similarly, Flora Nwapa's portrayal of female circumcision as a part of everyday life in an African tribal community is influenced by the writer's wish to fight the general assimilation of West-African writers, thus insisting on describing ancient traditions and customs of her people.[18]

Differences in describing FGM also appear among African American writers, where the most important factor is the level of the writer's (in)direct knowledge of African culture and tradition. This is often also closely connected with the aesthetic value of the literary work, since novels of less literary quality tend to place more importance on the dramatic effect of the story, than on representing both sides of the issue, thus neglecting the problematic nature of this custom. Therefore, if we compare Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe* to Tracy Price-Thompson's *A Woman's Worth*, we find that, while Naylor's novel takes a negative stance in describing FGM, it still shows some understanding of the polemics and controversy surrounding this issue. This can not be said of Price-Thompson's work, which is primarily focused on shocking the reader, thus presenting only one, that is the critical side of the argument.

As with African authors, an important factor of African American writing is the writers' participation in the activist polemics surrounding FGM, since there is a danger of engaged literature, i.e. literary works that place literary value second to

[17] Such is the case of the writer Jacyee Aniagolu-Johnson and her novel *Mikela. Memoirs of a Masaai Woman.*

[18] This characteristic of Nwapa's writing was criticised by Dawthorne, who claims that, in the very case of Efuru, the writer's insistence on describing unimportant everyday events and tribal customs, negatively affects the quality of the story. (Dawthorne, 1975)

the primary goal, i.e. the argumentation of the writer's viewpoint. Such an example can be seen in Alice Walker's *The Secret of Joy*, where the author's general criticism of FGM is evident, which brought Walker a lot of negative African criticism.[19] Similarly, her work *Warrior Marks: Female Genital Mutilation and the Sexual Blinding of Women*,[20] describes her and the co-author Pratibha Parmar's visit to an African village, presenting FGM through direct descriptions and interviews. Their purpose, though, is not to depict this practice and its reasons from the point of view of the tribal culture, but rather to present the villagers' ignorance of the dangers of circumcision, and the details of the process itself.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the novels has shown a definite distinction between the African and African American writers' perception and consequently description of female genital mutilation. The reasons for this are several and differ from author to author. Nevertheless, the essential difference seems to lie in the African writers' commitment and loyalty to their culture, their tradition and its ancient customs, as opposed to the African American writers' necessary distance and western (mis)understanding of this practice. This dictates a regard for the complexity of this issue and thus an ambivalent approach of (the majority of) African writers, vs. a partial, one-sided approach of (the majority of) African American writers. The latter is best explained by their second-hand acquaintance with this topic, along with the influence of their own cultural values and education, as well as a different understanding of the women's social role.

It is interesting to observe that, compared to the African American fairly unified one-dimensional view of FGM, the African perception of this practice is divided; the African approach to this topic is usually ambivalent, intertwining indirect, blurry descriptions with a direct portrayal of consequences, and apologetic passages, explaining the reasons behind the practice, with statistic quotations of FGM's wide presence in the world. This shows their attempt at describing the complexity of this issue, and at the same time their dilemma at trying to justify a traditional African custom, while being aware of its dangers.

At the same time we can see discrepancies between various writers within each individual group, which comes out in the level of criticism and their manner of describing FGM. Again, it is interesting to note the differences within the African group, especially in the context of their joint opposition of African American way of writing about this practice. The reasons for these differences have to be looked for in the writers' personal experience with circumcision, the purpose and intention of their novels, as

[19] Olakunle comments on the novel as "an uncompromising attack on both the practice and the tendency-rooted sometimes in weak relativism, at other times in plain sexist culturalism - to justify the oppression of women by resorting to the alibi of 'tradition'." (Olakunle: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3612/is_200110/ai_n8955377) His criticism is shared by Lovarie King, Ama Ata Aidoo, Sable Dawit, Salem Mekuria and others.

[20] This novel was followed by a documentary with the same title.

well as the level of assimilation in the western culture, i.e. their acceptance of western values and notions.

Therefore, the neutral description of Nawal El Saadawi's novel goes in line with her advocating the objective depiction of foreign cultural practices, while the early edition of Flora Nwapa's novel[21] testifies of her urge to introduce to the West the yet unknown and interesting African culture, along with its yet unfamiliar and unattacked traditional custom of circumcision, thus described simply and without the need to defend. The defining reason of Mende Nazer's gentle tone in describing FGM can be found in the fact that her circumcision was performed by her parents, for whom the writer feels great love and respect, while Fauziya Kasindja's critical view of FGM is (among other) a consequence of her family's rejection of the custom.

The differences within the African American group are less distinctive, since the rare attempts to present the issue from the point of view of the African culture, usually do not achieve their purpose.

We have shown that analysing the differences between African and African American writers' way of describing FGM is complex, since it involves specific circumstances surrounding the time of writing the novels', the knowledge of a foreign culture and the African writers' personal contact with circumcision. We have also observed the division among African writers between defending their culture and following the newly-gained perspective of the western world. This ambivalent attitude towards circumcision enables African writers to treat this controversial issue in its full complexity, and is at the same time the greatest distinction that sets them apart from the partial approach to female genital mutilation of most African American writers.

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[21] The novel was first published in 1966.

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TIME AS THE FIFTH ELEMENT IN MARGARET LAURENCE'S MANAWAKA CYCLE

Brigita Pavšič

Abstract

Margaret Laurence's Manawaka cycle has several unifying features, one of them is the four elements theory. This pattern may not be deliberate, however, it is very well developed through all four novels: *The Stone Angel* represents earth, *A Jest of God* air, *The Fire-Dwellers* fire, and *The Diviners* represents water. Additionally, *The Diviners* reconciles all four elements. The main metaphor of water running both ways in this novel also offers a new interpretation of the occurrence of the water element in the other three novels as a metaphor for the progress of time and maturing.

INTRODUCTION

Twenty years after her death, on January 5, 1987, Margaret Laurence is still one of the greatest Canadian writers. She was born and laid to rest in the small town of Neepawa in Manitoba. The town itself served as a model for Manawaka, the fictional setting for her Manawaka cycle of four novels and a short story collection: *The Stone Angel, A Jest of God, The Fire-Dwellers, The Diviners*, and *A Bird in the House*. If we exempt the short story collection, the cycle is not unified solely by the main characters' hometown. In the Manawaka cycle "we encounter a pattern which may not be deliberate, but which nevertheless seems clean and definite" (Woodcock 55); the pattern being that of the four elements: water, air, earth, and fire. From *The Stone Angel* to *The Diviners* the cycle progresses from arid drought to water in various forms and, finally, the four elements, and through them the appurtenant humours of the protagonists – the melancholic, the phlegmatic, the choleric, and the sanguine, are reconciled in the last novel.

The four elements theory originates in ancient Greece where the list was created by Empedocles. Hippocrates then used the elements to describe the four body types and humours. The concept was widely known and used in the Middle Ages and has also been used in the works of such writers as William Shakespeare. Although the theory may be scientifically primitive, in terms of myth the links between the four humours and the four elements appear in poetry and fiction from antiquity to the present (Woodcock 56).

The Manawaka cycle of novels starts with the earth element in *The Stone Angel*, continues with the air element in *A Jest of God*, and fire in *The Fire-Dwellers*, and finishes with *The Diviners* in which all four elements clash, and the protagonist Morag

Gunn reaches an understanding of the past, present, and future through the fourth element, water.

THE FOUR ELEMENTS IN THE MANAWAKA CYCLE

"In *The Stone Angel* earth, in the form of land and property, but also as wasteland and wilderness, is the foremost element" (Blewett 185). Hagar Shipley, the ninety year old protagonist, is choleric as is becoming for the earth element. She is like one of the first settlers on a new land, a pioneer in the wasteland and wilderness. Trying to survive, she is just as ruthless and coarse as the land she attempts to tame: "The night my son died I was transformed to stone and never wept at all (Laurence 1985: 243)". Hagar herself acknowledges that "[p]ride was [her] wilderness" (*ibid.* 292). None of the four protagonists show their character more clearly than Hagar Shipley, "her rages are one of the most vividly memorable things about her" (New v). She is a choleric through and through, she fights with her father and contrary to his will marries Bram; when her anger overcomes her again she leaves Bram; and she drives her beloved son John away, indirectly causing his death. Ultimately she runs away from home when her other son suggests she should go to an old people's home. Even in the end, when she becomes reconciled with her life and her son Marvin, she still acts in character when she is offered a glass of water.

> "Here. Here you are. Can you?"
> "Of course. What do you think I am? What do you take me for? Here, give it to me. Oh, for mercy's sake let me hold it myself!"
> I only defeat myself for not accepting her. I know this – I know it very well. But I can't help it – it's my nature. I'll drink from this glass, or spill it, just as I choose. I'll not countenance anyone else's holding it for me. And yet – if she were in my place, I'd think her daft, and push her hands away, certain I could hold it for her better. (Laurence 1985: 308)

Precisely for the meaningful and symbolic value of this final event the element of water is not negligible even in the 'earth' novel. After years of drought and depression when the prairies struggled to survive as did their inhabitants, Hagar is offered a drink of water on her death bed. Her need for water has not softened her and she still refuses help from the nurse and grabs the glass on her own. Nevertheless, at the end of her life, she is finally freed from her wilderness by accepting a drink of water, the symbol of change and rebirth.

Air is Rachel Cameron's element in *A Jest of God.* This is, similar to *The Fire-Dwellers*, indicated by the epigraph and several metaphors in the novel. Chapter one starts with a children's song:

> "The wind blows low, the wind blows high
> The snow comes falling from the sky,
> Rachel Cameron says she'll die
> For the want of the golden city." (Laurence 1986a: 1)

In that same chapter Rachel mentions twice more how cold the wind is. There are other such instances throughout the novel: "the air glutinous and sugary with the heat and the smell of grass and weeds that still clings around us" (Laurence 1986a: 93); "the telephone wires hum like the harps of the wind" (*ibid.* 100); "the wind, whipping dustily, circles in a cold chain around my feet" (*ibid.* 162); "the air is very cool, too cool to rain now, and the wind has gone away" (*ibid.* 167).

The imagery of air and wind is mostly cold and unpleasant, something to shield oneself against, as the air and wind represent freedom, release, relief – concepts that are unimaginable and unfathomable for the boxed-in Rachel. However, there are a few instances where Rachel comprehends the meaning of the wind in a considerably more positive manner, starting with the moment when she loses her virginity with Nick Kazlick and she thinks about how Nick does not know, "how I've wanted to lose that reputation, to divest myself of it as though it were an oxen yoke, to burn it to ashes and scatter them *to the wind*" (*ibid.* 92, my emphasis). The wind in this instance signifies how she starts to feel who she really is and how she shows the first indications of her attempting to let go. It might seem a minor change in attitude, but all Rachel's steps are small, as is evident at the end of the novel when she finally succeeds and escapes her inner prison, the Manawaka within. She decides to leave the town with her elderly mother. The way she perceives the journey and her future is telling: "[t]he bus flies along, smooth and confident as a great owl through the darkness" (*ibid.* 201); "I will be light and straight as any feather. The wind will bear me, and I will drift and settle, and drift and settle. Anything may happen, where I'm going" (*ibid.*).

The element of air is also linked to the 'Jest of God' in the title of the novel through the ecstatic utterances at the religious meetings to which Calla, Rachel's friend, invites her. The speaking in tongues at these meetings fills Rachel with shame and fear. "How can anyone bear to make a public spectacle of themselves? How can anyone display so openly?" (Laurence 1986a: 35) Or in other words, how can people give way to instincts and their nearly animalistic desires and admit to being who they really are – clowns, fools, jests of God. Through her sorrowful realization that instead of Nick's child she has a benign growth in her uterus, she finally learns to express her emotions, to mourn for the children she has never had like her Biblical namesake. Rachel realizes her children will always be temporary, "[b]ut so are everyone's" (*ibid.* 201).

Her sister, Stacey MacAindra, the protagonist of *The Fire-Dwellers,* seems to be her opposite in everything: she is married and has four children and is anything but phlegmatic. But what looks like a happy family life from Rachel's point of view, is a dangerous, untamed jungle for Stacey. She is nearly hysterical with fear of something happening to her children and of losing the last thread of sanity and normalcy in her life; fear that is closely associated with fire. She tells Luke, her short-term lover, she is terrified of her children becoming "damaged or like burned so they couldn't recover" (Laurence 1986c: 194). "Fire symbolizes Stacey's hellfire existence in which everything burns with tormenting fires: her lust, her alcoholism, visions of destruction and death, the city itself" (Blewett 188). Indeed, she describes the streets of the city as "now inhabited only by the eternal flames of the neon forest fires" (Laurence 1986c: 167).

The novel starts with two epigraphs on the theme of fire. The first is from the poem "Losers" by Carl Sandburg:

> If I pass the burial spot of Nero
> I shall say to the wind, "Well, well" –
> I who have fiddled in a world on fire,
> I who have done so many stunts not worth doing.

The second is the nursery rhyme which functions as some sort of a refrain throughout the novel, constantly underlining Stacey's anxiety:

> Ladybird, ladybird,
> Fly away home;
> Your house is on fire,
> Your children are gone.

The fire suggests imminent danger, catastrophe, ubiquitous *angst* which is at times so severe it makes Stacey lose her sense of reality. Laurence did not achieve this effect merely through the numerous fire references in the novel, but also with the novel's fragmented form. The short passages, either indented, written in capital letters or in Italics, or introduced by dashes, allude to the multitude and simultaneity of events, emotions, and sensations that envelop Stacey every minute of her everyday life. She seems unable to deal with everything at the same time, so much so that she occasionally seems overwhelmed, lost, and defeated in her attempt to be a good mother and wife. She, for example, recollects St. Paul's words: "Better to marry than burn, (...), but he didn't say what to do if you married *and* burned" (*ibid.* 211). How serious her desperation was is suggested at the end of the novel when Mac, her husband, admits he feared she might commit suicide with her father's old revolver. However, that was not Stacey's intent at all, and as she comes to realize she does not need *fire*-arms to protect herself, she throws the gun into a lake.

The "Ladybird, ladybird" rhyme is repeated once again at the end of the novel, but the intenseness and the threat of its symbolic meaning are somewhat dampened by Stacey's subsequent thoughts: "Will the fires go on, inside and out? Until the moment when they go out for me, the end of the world" (*ibid.* 307). Stacey has come to terms with the fires inside and with herself as a middle-aged housewife. She realizes she is "made of asbestos" (*ibid.* 242).

However, in *The Fire-Dwellers* the element of water is not negligible, either. Stacey remembers her vacations as a child by a lake; her son Duncan almost drowns; after a quarrel with her husband she goes to the seaside to calm herself and meets her future lover there, etc. This way the novel actually paves the way for the last novel in the sequence, *The Diviners.*

THE ELEMENTS RECONCILED

The Diviners is the summation, the culmination, and ultimately the reconciliation of the four elements and the four humours. But first and foremost, as the title

suggests, it is the 'water' novel. Morag Gunn lives next to a river which is a way for her neighbours to visit her, and it also offers fish which Royland catches and brings to Morag. The river is also the central metaphor of the novel – it runs both ways – the way our life does.

> The river flowed both ways. The current moved from north to south, but the wind usually came from the south, rippling the bronze-green water in the opposite direction. This apparently impossible contradiction, made apparent and possible, still fascinated Morag, even after the years of river-watching. (Laurence 1986b: 3)

The novel also closes with that same image. Morag realizes she can "[l]ook ahead into the past, and back into the future, until the silence" (*ibid.* 453), just as the river flows both ways, and then she wonders

> [h]ow far anyone could see into the river? Not far. Near shore, in the shallows, the water was clear, and there were the clean and broken clamshells of creatures now dead, and the wavering of the underwater weedforests, and the flicker of small live fishes, and the undulating lines of gold as the sand ripples received the sun. Only slightly further out, the water deepened and kept its life from sight. (*ibid.*)

This is closely correlated to the theme of the past and the present and the relationship between the two. Where the water is clear, one can see the immediate past and the near future, but as the river deepens one can only perceive "broken clamshells of creatures now dead", of creatures of the past; and the underwater forest conceals what awaits us in the future.

All Laurence's heroines struggle to come to terms with their past, with that nuisance of a town they were all born in – Manawaka. The town represents as much the past as it does the present and the future since it exists not only on Laurence's fictional map of Canada, but also on the maps of the inner lives of Hagar Shipley, Rachel Cameron, Stacey MacAindra, and Morag Gunn. Morag visits Scotland to find her origins, the land of her ancestors, only to realize her roots stem from the hometown of the undistinguished Christie and Prin Logan, Manawaka, the town she has despised her whole life and tried to run away from. Just as she reaches the balance between the past and the present by understanding that, the cyclic structure of the novel, and of the life it imitates, repeats when Morag's daughter, Pique, sets off on that same journey to rediscover and reinvent herself.

The same growing and maturing is evident in *The Stone Angel* where Hagar, through the act of drinking a sip of water at the end of the novel, acknowledges her progression from the unforgiving wilderness to the acceptance of change, of coming to terms with the past. Although *A Jest of God* contains the fewest images of water, it suggests change and the attainment of a certain amount of gratification through Rachel's imagining of how "[she] will walk by [herself] on the shore of the sea and look at the freegulls flying" (Laurence 1986a: 202). Laurence in this way suggests that Rachel has done the least digging through her past, unlike the rest of her characters in the Manawaka cycle. There are no extensive flashbacks as in *The Stone Angel* or

The Diviners[1]. Instead, the relationship of the past to the present and the future seems to be of minor importance. Rachel mainly struggles with the present and mentioning her 'air element' in the same sentence as the sea, with water here being the symbol of change, suggests that the change in Rachel's life is also minor – "I will be different. I will remain the same" (Laurence 1986a: 201) – especially in comparison to that of Hagar Shipley or Morag Gunn, as can be expected of a character whose humour is phlegmatic. Rachel lives in a world of her own, emphasized on the formal level of the novel by the use of the first person narrator, and in its contents by Rachel's frequent fantasies that have little to do with her dull, everyday life of a primary school teacher and carer of her demanding, widowed mother.

Morag, on the other hand, comes to understand that just as the river constantly changes, so does our past. "A popular misconception is that we can't change the past – everyone is constantly changing their own past, recalling it, revising it" (Laurence 1986b: 60). The same way Christie Logan tells the story of the Battle of Bourlon Wood just like it is described in a book, yet differently. It is the present point of view or situation of every man and woman that defines their past and vice versa, as Morag realizes.

However, as Woodcock suggests, another balance is needed for a healthy world.

> Though destiny lays a bias on each of us by giving us special natures, and we spend our lives trying to achieve the equilibrium. Hagar is only aware of the need for equilibrium at the very end, but Stacey and Rachel progress in their own ways of understanding, and Morag, because of her calling and largely despite herself, comes nearest to an understanding of the pattern. (Woodcock 61)

This is why *The Diviners*, from the four-element point of view, is somewhat different from the first three novels. It is not engaged in presenting predominantly one element, instead, its goal is to reconcile all four. Water is the most important, of course, and the principal metaphor is Morag's old friend Royland, a diviner. She relates his occupation to her own – he divines water wells, she divines words. "Old Man River. The Shaman. Diviner" (Laurence 1986b: 286). But even he is not entirely a 'water' character as he is 'king of the land' (fr. roi - king), he masters the ground and searches for water sources below the surface.

Morag reaches the desired equilibrium through her relationships with three men. Brooke Skelton, her husband, is air. He is afraid of bringing a child to earth – he refuses to have children with Morag – and even in literature he is concerned only with the superficial (airy) elements, but he is afraid to tackle the real (earthly) passions of men and women. He has a "terrible need. His terrible need for someone who could bring him light, lightness, release, relief" (*ibid.* 257).

Dan McRaith, Morag's lover in London, is a man of earth. He is tied to the seashore in Cromarty, to a mediocre wife who bore his children. Even the contours and colours on his paintings are the reflections of the earth, of the rocks, and the soil: "The colours black-green, a hundred different greys and browns, but the sun's colours, too,

[1] The flashbacks in *The Diviners* are done through the use of Memorybank Movies and Snapshots, a special technique used by Laurence to emphasize that Morag as a writer is deliberately remembering and analyzing her past.

in brief revelations" (*ibid.* 377). Or, for instance, he keeps talismans that remind him of his land: "a bowl full of oddly shaped and oddly coloured pieces of rock, from Crombruach. Perhaps they are necessary to remind McRaith of those shapes and textures" (*ibid.* 375). Dan also takes Morag to Crombruach to make her understand his "need of the place, the geographical *place*, the sea and the shore" (*ibid.* 382).

Jules Tonnerre is connected to the element of fire not only through his name (fr. tonnerre - thunder) and his sanguine character; he is also linked to fire through his sister Piquette and her children's death by fire witnessed by Morag as a reporter for the Manawaka newspaper. This relation then continues with the name Pique which is given to his daughter by Morag. Jules is a Métis, or Bois-Brûlés as they are called in French, meaning 'burnt wood'. Furthermore, Morag as water and Jules as fire can never be together as theirs is a love-hate relationship.

All three of Morag's relationships eventually end, the only constant in her life remains Royland, Old Man River, who represents water, just like her. So not only does Morag's life come full circle, the Manawaka cycle, too, is unified in *The Diviners.* After searching through the past and coping with the present, all four protagonists come to some sort of understanding and consolation in their lives.

CONCLUSION

Each novel of the Manawaka cycle represents one of the four elements. Although this pattern may not be deliberate, it is well defined particularly in *The Stone Angel* and *The Diviners.* The metaphors in *A Jest of God* and *The Fire-Dwellers* may have less symbolic force and lack a deeper level of significance, but when understood as parts of the whole cycle they gain a greater importance and relevance. The element of water is particularly in *The Stone Angel* and *The Diviners* connected with time, firstly as a symbol of the maturing and progression of the main characters, and secondly as a symbol of the intertwined past, present, and future. In this context time functions as the fifth element in the Manawaka cycle.

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ERINNERUNGSKULTUR IN ÖSTERREICH. EINE ANNÄHERUNG ANHAND DES FALLBEISPIELS BERTHA VON SUTTNER 2005

Johann Georg Lughofer

Abstract

Ausgehend von der These, Erinnerung sei ein Sinn gebendes und politisch instrumentalisiertes Konstrukt der Gemeinschaft, lohnt es sich, die Erinnerung an Bertha von Suttner während des österreichischen Jubiläumsjahres 2005 zu untersuchen. Dabei zeigt sich, inwieweit ihre wirkliche Arbeit und ihr wirklicher Kampf vergessen und inwieweit die Friedensaktivistin ungerechtfertigter Weise für eine nationale Geschichtsschreibung in Anspruch genommen worden ist.

HELDEN IM KOLLEKTIVEN GEDÄCHTNIS DER NATION

Erinnerung ist ein soziales und kein individuelles Phänomen, besagt die von Maurice Halbwachs entwickelte Theorie des kollektiven Gedächtnisses. Erinnerung wird durch den sozialen Rahmen bestimmt, in dem die Menschen eingebunden sind: „Es gibt kein mögliches Gedächtnis außerhalb derjenigen Bezugsrahmen, derer sich die in der Gemeinschaft lebenden Menschen bedienen, um ihre Erinnerung zu fixieren und wiederzufinden" (Halbwachs 1985b, 121). Über dieses kollektive Gedächtnis bestimmt insbesondere die imaginierte Gemeinschaft einer Nation, die nicht auf real erlebten Beziehungen beruht, sondern auf der unbewussten Annahme von Gleichheit, gemeinsamer Zusammengehörigkeit und Abgrenzung von anderen, und sich so zu einer imaginierten homogenen Gruppe stilisiert (Vgl. Gellner 1983, Anderson 1983 und Hobsbawm 1991). Die von der imaginierten Gemeinschaft geprägte Erinnerung ihrer einzelnen Mitglieder bestimmt wiederum die Gemeinschaft selber. Das Gedächtnis ist kollektiv geprägt und ein soziales Konstrukt. Das Individuum identifiziert sich mit den für seine Gruppe zentral erscheinenden und dementsprechend vermittelten Ereignissen. So gehen die Erinnerungen der Individuen weit über Selbst-Erlebtes hinaus. „Um seine eigene Erinnerung wach zu halten, muss der Mensch Erinnerungen anderer zu Rate ziehen. Er nimmt dabei auf Anhaltspunkte Bezug, die außerhalb seiner selbst liegen" (Halbwachs 1985b, 35). Dabei sind weniger die Ereignisse als solche oder die historische Tragweite der Erfahrungen im kollektiven Gedächtnis bewahrt, sondern der Sinn, den

diese für die Gemeinschaft tragen. Das kollektive Gedächtnis kann so vor allem Sinn geben und Identität stiften.

Jan Assmann betont dabei, dass die identitätsbestimmenden Funktionen des Kollektivgedächtnisses über die Existenz der einzelnen Gedächtnisträger hinausgehen (Assmann 1995). Die Prägung der Kulturzugehörigkeit und die Bindung an eine so einzigartige Gemeinschaft und Tradition erhalten sich von Generation zu Generation bewusst durch Sozialisation und Überlieferung. Neben Selbstvergewisserung und Identitätsstiftung trägt das kollektive Gedächtnis auch ideologische Funktionen. Aleida Assmann schreibt: „Das kollektive Gedächtnis ist immer ein politisch instrumentalisiertes Gedächtnis" (Assmann/Frevert 1999, 42). Die Vergangenheit bekommt einen Zweck; ein Bezug und ein Anspruch der Vergangenheit für die Gegenwart und für die Zukunft wird hergestellt.

Die Geschichtsschreibung mit ihren Helden, Erzählungen, Werten, Märtyrern und Führern spielt eine zentrale Rolle bei der Formung des Gedächtnisses der imaginierten Gemeinschaft der Nation. Dabei werden einzelne Erinnerungsteile vergessen, andere werden hervorgehoben. Es wird vereinfacht, gelenkt umgedeutet und geklittert. Die volle Komplexität geht im kollektiven Gedächtnis verloren. Fragen der öffentlichen Erinnerung und Geschichtswahrnehmung sind eng mit Fragen aktueller politischer Interessen und der nationalen Identität verbunden, was eine staatliche Ritualisierung der Erinnerungskultur bedingt.

Aus diesen theoretischen Überlegungen heraus soll das Beispiel des offiziellen Erinnerns an Bertha von Suttner während ihrer Jubiläumsjahre näher betrachtet werden. Die Friedensaktivistin und Nobelpreisträgerin nimmt im offiziell gelenkten kollektiven Gedächtnis Österreichs eine zentrale Rolle ein. Ihr Name und Antlitz ist in Österreich allseits bekannt. Immerhin zierte sie ja einen alten 1000-Schilling-Schein und jetzt die österreichischen 2-Euro-Münzen.

Das Gedenken an diese Person bietet verschiedenste Möglichkeiten, die Breite des Sujets zwischen Pazifismus, Literatur, historischer Tagespolitik, engagiertem Journalismus, Frauenbewegung, Liberalismus, österreichischer Aristokratie und internationalem Mäzenatentum ist faszinierend. Wie wurde an diese vielschichtige Frau erinnert? Welche Instrumentalisierung durch aktuelle Interessen war dabei möglich? Wurde an die Frau und ihr Werk erinnert? Wurde die Ikonisierung dieser Person weiter getragen? Soll selbst diese polyglotte Frau und Bürgerin eines Vielvölkerstaates zur nationalen Identitätsstiftung beitragen? Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, werden aktuelle, ministeriums- und universitätsnahe Texte der Erinnerung analysiert und den Texten der Schriftstellerin und Publizistin Suttner gegenübergestellt.

ERINNERUNGSTEXTE DER GEDENK- UND JUBILÄUMSJAHRE 2005 UND 2006 – BERTHA VON SUTTNER ZWISCHEN STAATSVERTRAG, MOZART UND FREUD

Die österreichischen Jubiläumsjahre 2005 und 2006 sind also vorbeigegangen. Die runden Jahrestage der Zweiten Republik, der Kapitulation Nazideutschlands und des Staatsvertrags wurden 2005 auf höchsten Ebenen begangen. 2006 wurden die runden

Geburtstage der österreichischen Aushängeschilder Mozart und Freud gefeiert. Dazwischen fanden auch die Jahrestage der Zuerkennung – im Oktober 1905 – sowie der Verleihung – im Februar 1906 – des Friedensnobelpreises an Bertha von Suttner einen Platz in diesem Reigen der Erinnerungen.

An Veranstaltungen fehlte es nicht. Eine Wanderausstellung des *Österreichischen Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseums* samt Broschüre (Hamann 2005), die auch im Herbst an der *Philosophischen Fakultät* der *Universität Ljubljana* gezeigt wurde, wurde von Georg Hamann, dem Sohn der bekannten Historikerin Brigitte Hamann, mit Hilfe ihres Privatarchivs zusammengestellt und ging im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für auswärtige Angelegenheiten in mehreren Exemplaren durch die Welt. Das genannte Ministerium gab auch einen populärwissenschaftlichen Essay in Broschürenform *Bertha von Suttner: living for peace* der österreichischen Exilantin und Diplomatiekorrespondentin der englischen Zeitung *The Guardian* Hella Pick heraus (Pick 2005).

In Österreich und in ganz Europa fanden vor allem in den Österreich-Bibliotheken, Kulturforen und Botschaften Vorlesungen, Friedenskonferenzen, Symposien, Workshops und sogar Konzerte zum Thema statt. Entsprechend wurden Broschüren und Einladungen publiziert. An wissenschaftlichen Publikationen zum Jubiläumsjahr erschien nur Maria Enrichlmairs *Abenteuerin Bertha von Suttner. Die unbekannten Georgien-Jahre 1876-1885* bei der Edition Roesner. (Enrichlmair 2005) Brigitte Hamanns glänzend recherchierte Biographie aus dem Jahre 1986 ging als Taschenbuchausgabe in die zweite Auflage (Hamann 2002).

Im Internet wurden viele neue Texte der Erinnerung installiert, wovon vor allem akademische und offizielle Seiten in diesem Aufsatz Erwähnung finden sollen. Als Beispiel sei schon hier genannt, dass die Abteilung politische Bildung des Bundesministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kunst am österreichischen Schulportal vom *Zentrum polis* ein Thema „Bertha von Suttner: Friedensnobelpreisträgerin" zusammenstellen ließ. (www.schule.at/index.php?url=themen&top_id=1643) Verschiedene Links zu Unterrichtsbeispielen, Publikationen und Biographien werden darin vorgestellt. Projekte zur Friedenspädagogik segelten unter den Fahnen des prominenten Jahrestags der Preiszuerkennung, an dem die Preisträgerin auch im österreichischen Parlament offiziell geehrt wurde.

SUTTNER ALS INITIATORIN DES NOBELPREISES

Die Bekanntheit Suttners ist natürlich vom Nobelpreis nicht zu trennen. Dabei wird sie selten als normale Preisträgerin präsentiert, sondern es wird immer wieder unterstrichen, dass sie Alfred Nobel angeregt hat, diese Stiftung und diesen Preis ins Leben zu rufen. Dementsprechend leitet die österreichische Außenministerin die erwähnte Wanderausstellung ein: „Bertha von Suttner war nicht nur die erste Frau, die den Friedensnobelpreis erhielt, sie war es auch, die ihren Freund und Gönner Alfred Nobel zur Stiftung des Friedensnobelpreises inspirierte." (Plassnik 2005, 2). Weiter heißt es in der Ausstellung: „Ohne Suttner gäbe es den Friedens-Nobelpreis nicht, was ihr durchaus bewusst ist." (Hamann 2005, 14). Die Formel der Initiative taucht an verschiedenen Stellen auf: „Auf ihre Anregung hin stiftete Alfred Nobel den Friedenspreis" (www.

schule.at/index.php?url=themen&top_id=1643). Suttner „regte die Stiftung des Friedensnobelpreises an" (www.aeiou.iicm.tugraz.at/aeiou.encyclp.s/s984272.htm). Auf einer Seite der *Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* taucht sogar Ort und Zeit der angeblichen Inspiration auf. Suttner „inspirierte ihn, bes. bei einer Zus.kunft in Zürich (1892), zur Stiftung eines Friedenspreises" (www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/vfb/bio_suttner.htm).

Suttners Beziehung zu Nobel wird in diesem Sinne ständig überbetont. Die Wanderausstellung spricht gar von einer Tätigkeit als Sekretärin bei Alfred Nobel in Paris von Herbst 1875 bis Sommer 1876 (Hamann 2005, 1). Die Tätigkeit als Sekretärin Nobels taucht immer wieder auf: „Sie wechselte als Sekretärin zum Industriellen Alfred Nobel nach Paris, schloss mit ihm Freundschaft. Die beiden diskutierten intensiv das Konzept einer Friedenssicherung durch Abschreckung." (www.sbg.ac.at/lwm/frei/generated/a53.html).

Doch ihre viel beschriebene Stelle als Sekretärin bei Nobel trat sie nie an, obwohl sie auf die Stellenanzeige Nobels in einer Zeitung geantwortet hatte und nach Paris gekommen war. Dort blieb sie aber nur acht Tage (Hamann 2002, 54). Nach einem Telegramm ihrer verbotenen Liebe Arthur von Suttner kehrte sie nach Wien zur Heirat zurück. Nobel dürfte Interesse an der jüngeren Suttner gehabt haben, der Kontakt riss nicht ab. Sicher diskutierten sie über Konzepte der Friedenssicherung schon in Paris, weil Nobel sich schon lange damit beschäftigt hatte. Suttner erinnerte sich in ihren Memoiren an die Abschreckungstheorie des Erfinders: Nobel „möchte einen Stoff oder eine Maschine schaffen können von so fürchterlicher, massenhaft verheerender Wirkung, dass dadurch Kriege überhaupt unmöglich würden." (Suttner 1909, 133f).

Es war also sicher nicht Suttner, die Nobel zur Auseinandersetzung mit dem Frieden gebracht hatte, sondern umgekehrt. „Die immer wieder aufgeworfene Frage, ob Nobel oder Bertha die entscheidenden Impulse für die Friedensarbeit gab, ist klar zu beantworten: der um zehn Jahre ältere und schon seit Kindertagen mit Rüstungsfragen konfrontierte Nobel setzte sich 1876 schon intensiv mit der Frage Krieg und Frieden auseinander" (Hamann 1991, 52).

Suttner entwickelte eine unterschiedliche Meinung und glaubte nicht an die Wirkung der Abschreckung, sondern baute auf internationale Vereinbarungen und Verständigung, auf die sie durch ihre aktive Arbeit hinarbeiten wollte. Auf ihre Bitte hin unterstützte sie Nobel dabei oftmals finanziell. Ihr inspirierender Anteil zum Nobelpreis war wohl vor allem die Bitte um Geld auch nach seinem Ableben hinaus: „Und auch darum bitte ich Sie mit erhobenen Händen: ziehen Sie niemals Ihre Unterstützung zurück – *niemals*, selbst nicht jenseits des Grabes, das uns alle erwartet." (Nach Hamann 2002, 341).

Der Nobelpreisgedanke selber deckte sich dann aber nur zum kleinen Teil mit ihren Vorstellungen, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Nobelstiftung auch Leistungen in Physik, Chemie, Medizin und Literatur prämierte – und Suttner stets neidvoll auf finanzielle Unterstützungen jenseits der Friedensbewegung schielte. Nur einer der fünf Preise wurde bestimmt „für denjenigen oder diejenige, welcher oder welche am besten für die Verbrüderung der Menschheit, die Herabminderung der Heere und die Förderung von Friedenskongressen gewirkt hat." (Suttner 1909, 369f).

Den Mythos ihrer Urheberschaft hatte auch Suttner selber gestreut. Nach der Verlautbarung des Testaments Nobels 1897 jubelte sie: „Ich bin auch von dem Bewusstsein

durchdrungen, dass ich als die moralische Urheberin dieser 7-Millionen-Zuwendung und dieser so eklatanten Förderung des Friedensgedankens berechtigten Anspruch auf die erste Auszahlung erheben kann." (Nach Hamann 2002, 344). In Nobels letztem Brief an Suttner vom 7.1.1893 lässt sich kein Bezug zu Suttners moralischer Urheberschaft finden (Suttner 1909, 272). Dementsprechend wurde der Anspruch Suttners auf den Preis auch nicht so gesehen. Nachdem die Proteste entfernter Erben Nobels beigelegt wurden, wählte 1901 das norwegische Parlament Frédéric Passy und Henri Dunant zu den ersten Friedensnobelpreisträgern. Suttner ist gegenüber dem Komitee zu rechthaberisch und fordernd aufgetreten. Sie hatte auch versuchte, den Norwegern gegenüber das Testament Nobels nach ihren Wünschen zu interpretieren. Die Ratschläge wurden nicht angenommen. Entgegen ihren Vorschlägen wurde der Preis von Anfang an geteilt, auch Institutionen bekamen immer wieder den Preis – so 1904 das Institut für Völkerrecht in Gent. Ihre Enttäuschung war groß, weil sie in den ersten Jahren bei der Vergabe übergangen wurde, doch sie präsentierte sich weiter als die anerkannte Urheberin des Preises.

In der Erinnerung 2005 griff man gern den von Suttner selber geförderten Mythos ihrer Initiatorenrolle des Nobelpreises auf. In Wirklichkeit war Bertha von Suttner sicher mehr von Alfred Nobel beeinflusst als umgekehrt. Da seine Stiftung nur zum Teil ihren Wünschen entsprach und sie wohl am liebsten eine direkte testamentarische Zuwendung gehabt hätte, kann man sie nur sehr bedingt als Initiatorin nennen. Sie und ihre Tätigkeit wurden im Gegenteil weitgehend von Alfred Nobel beeinflusst. Doch indem diese alte Sichtweise weitergetragen wird, gewinnt Suttner eine weitaus bedeutendere geschichtsträchtige Funktion und ihre Rolle als erste weibliche Nobelreisträgerin wird so noch stärker aufgewertet.

DIE ÖSTERREICHERIN BERTHA VON SUTTNER UND DIE UNTERDRÜCKTE EUROPÄERIN

Ins Auge sticht, dass die Erinnerungen immer der Österreicherin Suttner gelten. Die Überstülpung der österreichischen Nationalität über alle deutschsprachigen Einwohner der Donaumonarchie ist ein zentraler Teil der Identität Österreichs – nicht anders bei Bertha von Suttner. Ihr Geburtsort Prag und ihre Kindheit in Brünn wird in manchen – gar nicht immer so kurzen – Biographien weggelassen – so auf den Seiten www.sbg.ac.at/lwm/frei/generated/a53/html oder www.stephansdom.at/news/articles/2005/10/04/a9284/. Selbst in der Broschüre des österreichischen Außenministeriums taucht Suttners Geburtsort nie im Fließtext, sondern nur in einer abschließenden Zeittafel beiläufig auf (Pick 2005, 48).

Die Friedensnobelträgerin wird klar national vereinnahmt. Die nationale Perspektive als Erbe des 19. Jahrhunderts ist in der österreichischen Geschichtsschreibung auf keinen Fall überwunden. Bewusst wird in der nationalen Historiographie verblieben, obwohl kaum jemand mehr wie Suttner Zugang in ein transnationales Gedächtnis finden könnte und sollte. Für diese Person ist sicher keine klare Zuordnung zu einer Nation sinnvoll. Gerade in unserer multiethnische Region Zentraleuropa sollten solche Jubiläen zur Schaffung eines transnationalen Gedächtnisses genutzt werden, das Möglichkeiten

zu einer europäischen Identität, zu europäischen Werten und einem europäischen Bewusstsein bietet.

Warum sollte Suttner hierbei Pate stehen können? Sie wurde in der heutigen Tschechischen Republik geboren und ist dort aufgewachsen. Sie reiste viel und sprach mehrere Sprachen. Sie wurde in Wien und der österreichischen Monarchie noch immer wenig geachtet, während sie als Friedensnobelpreisträgerin international als Referentin umworben und wie im *Berliner Tageblatt* als berühmteste Frau der Welt gehandelt wurde. (Hamann 2002, 319) Vor allem aber stellte sie sich gegen jede Form von Nationalismus. Sie begriff sich als Weltbürgerin und bekannte sich nur insofern zu Österreich, soweit es als übernationales staatliches Prinzip verstanden wurde – und wollte auf keinen Fall zu den Deutschen des Reiches gezählt werden.

> Leute, die viel gereist sind, mehrere Sprachen kennen und in diesen Sprachen viel gelesen, und auf diese Weise sich das Beste von dem Geiste und dem Wesen der verschiedenen Nationen angeeignet haben, streifen ihre nationalen Fehler auch in den äußeren Merkmalen ab und sind als Engländer nicht steif, als Deutsche nicht schwerfällig, als Franzosen nicht oberflächlich und eitel, als Italiener nicht komödiantisch und als Amerikaner nicht vulgär. Sie bieten den nach allen Seiten hin veredelten Typus einer neu erstehenden Nation, die sich einst die Welt erobern muss: die Nation der Weltbürger. (Suttner 1886, 140f).

Mit diesem transnationalen Gedankengut war sie Vorreiterin eines vereinten Europa. Dieser Teil ihrer Ideenwelt, den sie auch aktiv und schriftstellerisch gefördert hatte, fand skurrilerweise während der Jubiläumsjahre keine Erwähnung. Die Idee eines vereinten Europa wurde auf den Friedenskongressen immer wieder diskutiert. Mit dem Italiener Moneta und dem Engländer Cappre stellte Suttner auf dem Friedenskongress in Berlin 1892 einen Antrag zur Anstrebung eines *Europäischen Staatenbunds*. „Damals eine noch ganz unverstandene Idee; allgemein verwechselt mit ‚Vereinigte Staaten' nach dem Muster Nordamerikas, und für Europa verpönt. So sehr verpönt, dass einem Blatte der Schweiz, betitelt *Les Etats Unis d'Europe*, der Eingang nach Österreich verboten war." Der beantragte Staatenbund sollte der Rechtlosigkeit zwischen den Staaten ein Ende bereiten und stattdessen „dauernde Rechtsverhältnisse in Europa schaffen." Die europäischen Friedensvereine wurden so aufgerufen, „als höchstes Ziel ihrer Propaganda einen Staatenbund auf Grundlage der Solidarität ihrer Interessen anzustreben, [...] welcher auch im Interesse der Handelsbeziehungen aller Länder wünschenswert wäre." (Suttner 1909, 265). Das von Suttner erträumte vereinte Europa kannte auch keine Zoll- und Handelsschranken. Gegen nationale Wirtschaftspolitik polemisierte Suttner an vielen Stellen:

> Diese Zoll-Debatten! – Da sieht man wieder, mit wie wenig Vernunft die Welt regiert wird. Nicht ein allgemeiner Gesichtspunkt (außer dem ‚nationalen Egoismus') bei den Maß- und Ausschlaggebenden. Nur die Sozialdemokraten reden gut, aber lang nicht radikal genug. – Statt einer europäischen Zollunion und verbündete Staaten Europas zu machen, werden neue Festungen gebaut, Zollkriege inauguriert, neue Kanonen eingeführt,

polnische Kinder geprügelt, katholische Professoren angestellt... o jemine! – Wie lange wird diese Reaktion dauern? (Nach Hamann 2002, 432).

Die Idee eines vereinten Europa verfolgte Suttner bis in ihre letzten Lebensjahre. Der Gründer der Paneuropa-Bewegung, Graf Coudenhove-Kalergie, holte sich in jungen Jahren erste Anregungen bei Bertha von Suttner. 1913 schrieb sie in der Friedenswarte: „Die europäische Föderation – dieses alte Postulat der Friedensbewegung reift heran." Sie wertete verschiedene Aktionen in Italien, Frankreich und England als „Zeichen des – noch embryonalen, aber schon lebenspulsierenden – Werdeprozesses der europäischen Union." (Suttner 1917b, 481f). Noch kurz vor dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs strebte sie klar das Ziel eines vereinten Europa an, das für sie mehr als ein geographischer Begriff war, sondern eine latente Persönlichkeit. „Ein geeintes, verbündetes Europa, dies hat fortan das Losungswort des geklärten Pazifismus zu sein. Das kann man nicht oft genug wiederholen." (Suttner 1917b, 518).

Von der Grundthese ausgehend, dass das historische, kollektive Gedächtnis eine bedeutende Rolle im aktuellen Bewusstsein spielt, ist es besonders traurig, dass hier die klare Gelegenheit versäumt wurde, Bertha von Suttner als die echte Europäerin, die sie war, darzustellen. An keiner Stelle der Erinnerungstexte findet sich die Nobelpreisträgerin als eine Vordenkerin der Europäischen Union. Stattdessen wurde sie als Österreicherin gehandelt und vielerorts sogar ihr Geburtsort Prag weggelassen. Wie falsch diese Wahrnehmung ist, zeigt ein Brief Suttners besonders anschaulich: „Das Europäertum erwacht, wie anno 40 nach Christi Geburt das Christentum erwachte, das heißt, wir werden dessen Triumph kaum erleben; zuerst werden sich noch die hundert Natiönchen durchsetzen wollen: *das* ist die Krankheit unserer Zeit." (Nach Hamann 2002, 432f).

DIE VERGESSENE SCHRIFTSTELLERIN UND THEORETIKERIN

Wie erwähnt ist Bertha von Suttner und ihre Erscheinung auf früheren Schillingscheinen sowie der aktuellen 2-Euro-Münze in Österreich berühmt und zur nationalen Ikone geworden. Diese Bekanntheit steht im krassen Gegensatz zu ihrem posthumen Einfluss. Ihre Texte werden kaum gelesen. Die Schriftstellerin und Publizistin Suttner ist auch während der Jubiläumsjahre kaum zu Wort gekommen, nur ihr Bestseller *Die Waffen nieder!* ist in neuen Auflagen erhältlich – übrigens in einem deutschen Verlag. Dies kann wohl als das absolute Minimum gesehen werden, wenn man bedenkt, dass es sich um einen der größten Bucherfolge des 19. Jahrhunderts handelte: 1905, als sie von der Verleihung des Nobelpreises erfuhr, war das Buch schon in der 37. Auflage, bis 1914 gab es 210.000 deutsche Exemplare, natürlich wurde es auch in fast allen weiteren europäischen Sprachen übersetzt. Doch nicht nur in Buchform erreichte der Roman Leser, Wilhelm Liebknecht initiierte 1892 einen Abdruck in Fortsetzungen in der vielgelesenen sozialdemokratischen Zeitschrift *Vorwärts*.

Dies macht es umso unverständlicher, dass keine einzige ihrer vielen anderen Texten eine Neuauflage erfuhr. Nicht einmal Anthologien ihrer Arbeiten sind erschienen, obwohl ihre Werke noch heute an vielen Stellen aktuell sind. Doch nicht nur die lit-

erarische und publizistische Arbeit Suttners fand keinen Platz in den Jubiläumsfeiern. Die politischen und juristischen Forderungen der Nobelpreisträgerin selbst fanden kaum Erwähnung. Ihre aktive Friedensarbeit wurde als Vereins- und Vortragstätigkeit gewürdigt und abgetan, doch ihre interessanten Thesen blieben vergessen.

Sie glaubte, dass Kriege als Mittel aus der internationalen Politik endgültig verbannt würden. Sprengstoffe von Nobel, Kampfgase, U-Boote und Luftwaffe erhöhten die Grausamkeit des Krieges in wenigen Jahren um ein Vielfaches. Suttner dachte, „ein Zu-Ende-führen, ein Entscheiden des Zukunftskrieges gibt es nicht: Erschöpfung, Vernichtung auf beiden Seiten!" (Suttner 1909, 15f). Sie glaubte an eine ständige Besserung der Menschheit. An Darwins Evolutionstheorie angelehnt sagte sie eine Entwicklung der Menschen zu höheren Vollmenschen oder Edelmenschen voraus – übrigens sah sie sich und ihren Gatten schon als solche. Sie war der Überzeugung, dass im 20. Jahrhundert der Krieg als legitimes Mittel der Konfliktlösung zur Gänze abgeschafft wird. Dieser Optimismus begleitete ihre ganze Arbeit:

> Wenn ich auch ganz gut weiß, dass neun Zehntel der gebildeten Welt die [Friedens-] Bewegung noch geringschätzen und ignorieren – und eines dieser Zehntel sie sogar befeindet – das tut nichts –, ich appelliere an die Zukunft. Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert wird nicht zu Ende gehen, ohne dass die menschliche Gesellschaft die größte Geißel – den Krieg als legale Institution abgeschüttelt haben wird. Ich habe bei meiner Tagebuchführung die Gewohnheit, bei Eintragungen von Situationen, die drohend und verheißend sind, ein Sternchen zu machen, ein paar Dutzend weißer Blätter umzuschlagen und dorthin zu schreiben: Nun, wie ist es gekommen? Siehe S. –. Dann, wenn ich beim Weiterschreiben ganz unvermutet auf diese Frage stoße, kann ich sie beantworten. Und so frage ich hier einen viel, viel späteren Leser, der diesen Band vielleicht aus verstaubtem Bodenkram hervorgeholt hat: „Nun, wie ist es gekommen, hatte ich recht?" Der möge dann auf den Rand die Antwort schreiben – ich sehe die Glosse schon vor mir: „Ja, Gott sei Dank! (Suttner 1917a, 386).

Suttner forderte aber nicht nur naiv den Frieden in abstrakter Zukunft, sondern eine funktionelle Neuregelung der internationalen Beziehungen – nämlich durch Schiedsgerichte und internationale Justiz. Wie oftmals vorher forderte Suttner in ihrer feierlichen Friedensrede vor dem norwegischen Parlament in Anwesenheit des norwegischen Königs bei der Nobelpreisverleihung Schiedsgerichtsverträge, um Konflikte zwischen Staaten mit friedlichen Mitteln beizulegen, eine Friedensunion, die jeden Angriff eines Staates mit gemeinsamer Kraft zurückweist, und eine internationale Institution, die als Gerichtshof im Namen der Völker das Recht vertrete. Dabei dachte sie nicht an zahnlose Institutionen der Rechtschaffenheit:

> Bewaffnete Menschen, die zum Schutz einschreiten, sind nicht Kriegführer, sind rettende Polizei. Die verbündete Kulturwelt braucht keine gegeneinander gerichteten Offensivarmeen mehr, aber sie braucht ein verbündetes und bewaffnetes Schutzheer. Nicht zum Morden, Plündern kann dieses ausgeschickt werden, sondern nur zur Bändigung von Mördern, Räubern

> und Tollen... Nein, weder Eroberungssucht noch Rachsucht darf die Intervention der künftigen Weltarmee beseelen, sondern einfach Hilfe muss sie bringen und Schutz. Wo Verfolgte, Tyrannisierte, Verhungernde ihren Klageschrei erheben, dort eile man hin und interveniere, denn nicht innere Angelegenheit – Menschenangelegenheit ist's. (Suttner 1904, 25f).

Niemand würde diese Textstelle heute einer schwärmerischen Illusionistin zuschreiben, sondern sie als optimistische Beschreibung der Blauhelme der *Vereinten Nationen* wahrnehmen. So sind heute als Gerüst viele Forderungen Suttner verwirklicht – doch bei weitem nicht in dem Umfang und mit den Konsequenzen, wie sie es sich erträumte.

Die heutigen Weltfriedensorganisationen gehen auf die Haager Friedenskonferenzen von 1899 und 1907 zurück, an denen Bertha von Suttner beteiligt war. 1920 bei der Gründung des *Völkerbundes* wurde ausdrücklich Bezug auf Den Haag genommen. Die Mitglieder verpflichteten sich zu gegenseitiger Hilfe gegen Friedensverletzungen und zur Anerkennung des Schiedsspruches des *Ständigen Internationalen Gerichtshofes* in Den Haag. Die *Vereinten Nationen* entstanden 1945 genau in dieser Traditionslinie. Mit einem *Internationalen Gerichtshof* sowie internationalen Friedenstruppen kommen sie vielen Vorstellungen Suttners nahe. Auch die *OSZE* richtete 1995 einen eigenen *Vergleichs- und Schiedsgerichtshof* ein. Diese Organisationen wären ganz nach dem Geschmack Suttners, doch nur als Zwischenstadien am Weg zu effektiven Institutionen, die Kriege gänzlich ausschließen würden. Genauso sah sie deren geistig-politische Vorlagen und praktische Modelle, die Haager Friedenskonferenzen, die für Suttner nur Schritte in die angestrebte Richtung darstellten.

Die ganz große Enttäuschung blieb ihr erspart: Eine Woche vor dem Attentat in Sarajevo, am 21. Juni 1914, ist sie gestorben. Suttner verlor nie ihren Optimismus – und ihren Glauben an die Menschheit und das 20. Jahrhundert. „Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert wird nicht zu Ende gehen, ohne dass die menschliche Gesellschaft die größte Geißel – den Krieg – als legale Institution abgeschüttelt haben wird." (Suttner 1909, 313). Diese ihre zentrale Forderung und die Stellung der heutigen Welt am Weg zu deren Verwirklichung wurden im Jubiläumsjahr überraschenderweise kaum thematisiert. Diese Auslassung im offiziellen Gedenken ist aussagekräftig. Durch eine Diskussion und Kritik der internationalen politischen Situation wollte sich niemand die Festlichkeiten verderben. In Floskeln blieben die Ideale Suttners abstrakt, ganz und gar nicht nach ihrer Art: „Bertha von Suttner blieb es erspart, die zerstörerischen Weltkriege des 20. Jahrhunderts mitzuerleben. Wir, die wir um die Erfahrung dieser fürchterlichen Kriege wissen, haben die Aufgabe, uns an von Suttners Lebenswerk zu erinnern und es weiter zu tragen." (Plassnik 2005, 2).

Die Verwässerung ihrer eindeutigen Ideen zeigt sich insbesondere darin, dass sie anstatt ihrer klaren Forderungen zur Abschaffung jeglicher Rüstung und Kriege in Richtung heute moderner Begriffe wie Menschenrechte interpretiert wird: „Die österreichische Außenpolitik wird sich im Geiste Bertha von Suttners weiterhin für den Frieden und die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte in aller Welt einsetzen. Denn dauerhafter Frieden und Sicherheit sind nur dort möglich, wo Menschenrechte garantiert sind." (Plassnik 2005, 2). Viele Veranstaltungen während der Jubiläumsjahre beschäftigten sich mit den

ständigen Anliegen der organisierenden Vereine, beispiels- und skurrilerweise ließ die Kinderrechtsorganisation *ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking for Sexual Purposes)* eine Ausstellung „Hinschauen statt Wegschauen. Kinder brauchen Schutz – weltweit" auch unter den Fahnen des Jubiläumsjahres segeln. Suttners eigene Ideen traten so vielfach in den Hintergrund, Suttner wurde als Menschenrechtskämpferin oder Kämpferin für die Gleichberechtigung zwischen den Geschlechtern vorgestellt – beides Ideen, denen Suttner wohl sympathisierend gegenübergestanden war, die sie aber nie als erstrangig wahrgenommen hatte.

Der Unwillen, sich mit den Schriften, Theorien und Forderungen Suttners, detaillierter auseinanderzusetzen und sie mit dem aktuellen Zustand zu vergleichen, ließe sich mit dem Unwillen erklären, internationale Belange zu diskutieren anstatt eine nationale Ikone zu feiern. Dieses Versäumnis hätte Suttner wohl am stärksten enttäuscht.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die kollektive Erinnerung an Bertha von Suttner in den vergangenen Jubiläumsjahren 2005 und 2006, die im aktuellen Interesse der allgemeinen Politik lag, setzte an manchen Stellen unpassende Schwerpunkte und ließ zentrale Punkte aus.

Suttner wurde ungerechtfertigter Weise als Österreicherin gefeiert. Dabei wurde die bedeutende Gelegenheit versäumt, eine Person und Heldin einer europäischen kollektiven Erinnerung zu überlassen, wodurch ihr Bezug zu Österreich auch mehr Glanz gewinnen würde. Als nationale Heldin wurde sie als Initiatorin der Friedensnobelpreises aufgewertet – historisch keineswegs belegt. Ihre bedeutenden Schriften und Theorien hingegen erfuhren kaum Berücksichtigung, da sie unweigerlich in unangenehme Diskussionen zur internationalen Politik und der Effizienz der internationalen Organisationen geführt hätten und den Blickpunkt von der Ikone Suttner wegbewegt hätten.

Die Jubiläumsjahre wurden nicht dazu genutzt, althergebrachte und falsche Schwerpunkte und Auslassungen zu korrigieren, die das Bild prägen, das sich die Öffentlichkeit von dieser Person macht. Die Jubiläumsjahre haben einmal mehr gezeigt, dass die österreichische Erinnerungskultur noch immer allzu stark in der nationalen Historiographie steckt anstatt sich einer europäischen hin zu öffnen und dass es von Bedeutung ist, die Geschichtspolitik und Erinnerungskultur stets zu hinterfragen.

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UDK 821.133.1'04.09 Chrétien de Troyes

THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE ROMANCES OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES[1]

Miha Pintarič

Abstract

Chrétien de Troyes, the most famous of the French 12th-century authors of chivalric romaces, comes to a very personal view of violence towards the end of his writing career, in his *Perceval or the grail story*. While in his previous works, the first of which was *Erec and Enid*, the object of the present article, he abided by the commonly accepted norms concerning the description of »violence«: there's no »abstract violence«, and it should never befall and idea or a tradition while the violence against the individual is a common occurrence considered "creative" and legitimate, if not indispensable, for the making of social hierarchy and order, violence ceases to be a topic of interest in his last, unfinished text.

Violence is not a central topic in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, who rather focuses on psychological and moral issues, as well as, towards the end of his writing career, on spiritual ones. However, violence was an inseparable part of chivalric life and Chrétien, together with his audience, probably took it for granted (Ménard 75). Which is no longer the case for a modern reader of medieval literature, who is shocked by (even a reported) act of violence and cannot help noticing it. Such "critical distance" is missing in the literary texts from Chrétien's period. Does the absence or, indeed, the supposed inconceivability of this critical distance imply that violence had some vital function in the life of medieval men and women, on the individual as well as on the social level? To this question, I shall suggest an answer with reference to Chrétien's romance of *Erec et Enide*.

1. THE IDEA

Violence is abundantly present in *Erec et Enide*. The form in which it appears varies according to circumstances. However, there is at least one typical situation in which violence should always be refused, regardless of its particular setting. In such cases, though, "violence" should be understood metaphorically: it is an *idea*

[1] I would like to thank Dr Toby Garfitt for his friendly help when I was writing this article.

that is never supposed to be "violated". For example:

D'Erec, le fil Lac, est li contes,
Que devant rois et devant contes
Depecier et corrompre suelent
Cil qui de conter vivre vuelent.
(*Erec et Enide* vv. 19-23)

This is the tale of Erec, son of Lac,
which, before kings and before counts,
those who try to live by storytelling
customarily mangle and corrupt.
(vv. 19-23)[2]

These four lines clearly bring out the tension between the (perfect) "idea" of a story and individuals who violate it for their private purposes. The literature of Chrétien's time almost inevitably pronounces itself in favour of the "idea", not in favour of the individual human being. In his days, it was impossible to violate "intellectual property" because the concept itself did not exist, while on the other hand, and certainly according to Chrétien, it was unacceptable to violate the "idea of a story": a story was an *aspect* of Truth, one, indivisible and all-embracing. Today, on the contrary, many individuals would claim to possess their own truths, of which there are almost as many instances as there were "aspects" of Truth in the Middle Ages. Chrétien's modern descendants experience truth as something fragmented and only inviolable because of its absolute malleability; on the other hand, considered as something "sacred", they protect intellectual property against violence, as well as protecting the individual human being against it, at least in theory.

Another example of the Idea as an inviolable entity is provided in the passages concerning the hunting of the white hart (*Erec et Enide* vv. 36-62, 288-310, 1793-1820). In the Arthurian context, this hunting is an ancient custom which provides the cohesive force and authority of an idealised past, highly honoured by medieval traditionalism. The custom consists in the privilege, for the knight who kills the white hart, of giving a kiss to the lady whom he considers as the most beautiful at the court. An important dilemma is therefore raised for King Arthur. If he continues to abide by this custom, the risk will be high of his knights falling out with each other, protesting against the winner's choice, which might lead to combat and possible killing; if he abolishes the custom, he will not honour the tradition established by his forefathers, which would be a serious error to the medieval way of thinking. In spite of this tricky situation, Arthur does not hesitate a single moment: the custom has to be honoured, even at the risk of his knights harming or killing each other.

De ce vos devroit il peser,
Se je [or] voloie eslever
Autres costumes, autres lois,
Que ne tint mes peres li rois.
(*Erec et Enide* vv. 1804-7)

It should rightly grieve you
if I sought to impose upon you
another tradition and other laws
than those held by my father the king.
(vv. 1771-4)

All the knights, however, do not agree with their king. Gauvain, for instance, disapproves of his intention and advises him not to stick to the tradition when there is no need for it. Nevertheless, Gauvain's thinking is too "modern" for Arthur, who will not tolerate it:

[2] Translations by C. W. Carroll, Garland, NY & London, 1987, except for the last two, which are by W. W. Kibler.

Car ne doit ester contredite...	*for the word of a king*
Parole puis que rois l'a dite.	*must not be opposed.*
(*Erec et Enide* vv. 60-1)	(vv. 60-1)

The word of a king, the earthly equivalent of the *verbum*, is an *idea* which obtains an independent existence as soon as it is uttered and, as such, exerts its tyranny over the individual human being. In addition to this, every individual is supposed to abide by his own "idea", i. e. his ideal self, at the cost of bringing violence into his relations with other people, and sometimes also into his relationship with his own self.

2. THE INDIVIDUAL

The violence which is a function of a principle superior to the individual human being is considered as the only "good" form of violence. Only those following an *idea*, persistently and regardless of the circumstances, are recognised as moral people and, therefore, posses an identity (*mos, moris* – habit, therefore, "identity"). For medieval man, violence is not bad in itself. It is bad when it is a sign of a "fragmented self", whose reactions depend on the circumstances and are not the consequence of decisions taken in accordance with a higher principle. Instead of conceiving a high idea of himself, in accordance with the ideas of honour and justice, instead of trying subsequently to bring such an idea into being, an amoral individual never raises above the world of *phenomena,* in which he cannot but "disperse" himself. Some typical instances of badly applied violence are those of the bandits (*Erec et Enide* v. 2792 ss) and of the two counts (*Erec et Enide* v. 3314 ss and v. 4688 ss) who cannot control their desire and persist in imposing themselves on Enide. Such serious straying away from ideal behaviour is punished by death, with the exception of the count who repents of his misbehaviour and is spared. The terrible Mabonagrain is not, after all, considered as evil, for his atrocious exploits are the consequence of his promise which he intends to honour as long as he objectively can. His promise has become the set standard for his ideal self and Mabonagrain is putting all his efforts into bringing his real self as close as possible to its ideal image. Every victory is another "creative" step on the way towards this ideal, which is of a moral nature, but also has a social function (which may appear destructive but is, in fact, reassuring and eventually confirms the established order: one could indeed send an entire army against Mabonagrain and easily get rid of him – however, the very principles of social order, the "rules of the game", the Idea, would thus be threatened, exposing the community to a far greater risk than Mabonagrain himself). The *prix*, the public recognition of socially acceptable achievements as resulting from an inner *decorum*, consecrates, in principle, the unification of what *appears* with what *is*. And violence is precisely the means by which this creativity is paradoxically realised: action is required, not so much in order to transform the world (which would be an all too modern attitude), but to bring about the moral growth of the hero and, at the same time, to let him enjoy the splendour emanating from his godlike self and mirrored by his "entourage". The perfection of such a hero is realised in a dynamic fashion, for it depends on his willpower whether ideal and reality coincide or not. When and as long as they perfectly coincide,

the hero's self seems static. His actual dynamic character is only revealed in retrospect and *per negationem*, when flawed and arrested by a defeat or by neglect of duty as in the case of Erec's *recreantise*, which splits apart ideal and reality.

"Creativity" in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes therefore appears paradoxical: material destruction allows for the structuring of the moral and, in *Perceval*, spiritual world. The very fact that violence is a function of an ideal makes it a creative and praiseworthy pursuit (surely medieval knights, even the *literati*, often perverted this idea and pushed it beyond all conceivable limits – Bertran de Born was a living proof of that). The material world has little worth in itself, almost none. The victorious hero does indeed take the defeated opponent's belongings (horse, arms, armour), but without the intention of keeping them. One takes things not to pile them up for oneself but to give them away or squander them as soon as the opportunity arises. Such was at least the "ideal" attitude. In this idealised world, where the material dimension has no importance and where gold and silver are outweighed by generosity of spirit, woman rules over man and indeed, in a metaphorical way, she behaves violently towards him. Mabonagrain, for instance, is but his beloved's puppet, his will is entirely committed to fulfilling her wishes. As such, Mabonagrain is an inverted picture of Erec *recreanz* while both heroes are dominated, consciously or not, by their respective women. However, Mabonagrain finds himself in a situation which is even worse than Erec's, worse because contradictory: if he keeps defeating his opponents and chopping their heads off, he loses, for reluctant as he may be, he continues his terrible vocation of champion-executioner; if he is himself defeated, he is a loser because he has lost his prix – his actual self is separated from its ideal image, which is equivalent to its obliteration. One must not forget, however, that Mabonagrain's idealised world is surrounded by a wall of air and thus separated from the "real" world (in the literary sense), in which man behaves violently towards woman. Who would know this better than Enide? But in the real as well as in an ideal world, violence is by and large the prevailing means of communication between human beings.

3. THE SOCIETY

This last statement already applied in epic poetry. Yet epic poetry and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes are worlds apart. This truism will make it easier to analyse the distinctive features which distinguish the use of violence in romances from that in epic poetry. Epic violence, exceeding every limit, is mad and absolute. In the *Song of Roland*, the Saracens who refuse to convert to the Christian religion are simply slaughtered. The heroes of romances, on the other hand, do not kill women, children or, generally, the defeated who beg for mercy (Haidu 163). Roland the epic hero will not blow his horn, even at the risk of jeopardising the very cause for which he is sacrificing his life. If Erec was an epic hero, he would engage in fighting against the haughty knight Yder right away, to get his revenge for the shameful treatment inflicted on him. But Erec, the hero of Chrétien's romance, is no less wise than he is courageous. He follows Yder, waiting for an opportunity to borrow the arms required for an even combat. In Chrétien's romances, violence is not absolute but controlled by reason. It is "reasonable", even

though only in order to be more efficient. Erec's sense and patience are finally rewarded as he defeats Yder, sending him to report to Queen Guenièvre and to let her know that he has been duly thrashed.

Toi et ta pucele et ton nain
Li delivreras en sa main
Por faire son commandemant.
(*Erec et Enide* vv. 1035-7)

Into her hands you will deliver
yourself and your maiden and your dwarf,
to do her bidding...
(vv. 1035-7)

In the world of romances, every feat, every victory has to be reported, by the defeated knight, either to the winner's lady, or King Arthur or to Queen Guenièvre. A victory has to be widely known, so that the winner's reputation grows and his "prix" increases:

Car por neant fet la bonté
Qui ne viaut qu'ele soit seüe
(*Yvain* vv. 4280-1)

Whoever does a good thing without its being known,
has done it in vain...
(my transl. after Foerster, 1913, vv. 4280-1)

The society pictured in romances is a "shame-culture" (as opposed to a "guilt-culture", Akehurst 126): its hierarchy is based on every individual's *prix*, the feedback image of the individual's value mirrored by society and increased by properly applied violence. This is why the result of every single combat has to be made known to the largest number of people possible. Just as modern tennis players are classified by the ATP, there was a somewhat similar classification of knights in the medieval romance as perceived by the cultivated medieval audience. Every knight is "classified" according to his *prix*, and defined in relation to the *prix* of other competitors. *Joie de la Cour*, for instance, is the "Grand Prix" won by Erec, the proof of his superiority over his rivals. But there is also something like the "Grand Slam", made up of all the important prizes together, won respectively by the main hero of every particular romance. Such a "classification" of knights, generally accepted and recognised, is not fixed once and for all, though: there are champions, yes, but there are also their challengers; there are seniors who are overthrown, and there are juniors who take their places. E. Köhler tried to trace the very origins of courtly literature to the social and historical reality of such "junior knights". Sticking to what is more certain, one can claim that this hierarchy, challenged over and over again by "young" knights, might at least have been the socio-historical context underlying courtly literature, whatever the reasons that gave rise to it. Chivalric romances indeed stage "juniors" whose youth is not necessarily equivalent to their social status (the lower nobility, according to Köhler). The opposite is rather true, for most of this bunch of young Turks are members of royal families. Their "youth" comes from the fact that at the beginning of their adventures reported by the story, they have no reputation at all and no social identity or, in some instances, no "name" – if this is not exactly the case of Erec, it will be that of Cligés and, later, that of Perceval. But Erec, no less than any other of Chrétien's heroes,

...estoit beax et prouz et genz,
Se n'avoit pas .XXV. anz.
(*Erec et Enide* vv. 89-90)

He was very handsome and valiant and noble,
and he was not yet twenty-five years old...
(vv. 89-90)

The question of identity is obviously not reducible to the knight's "youth". A knight will rarely reveal his name in advance to someone he is about to begin fighting with. This rule applies to those with an excellent reputation as well as to those without it, who stand at the beginning of their knightly career. First comes the combat, and only then the disclosing of respective identities, provided both parties are still alive. The element of surprise is as old as warfare itself. If one's identity was known before combat, the opponent, knowing whom he will be fighting with, could prepare accordingly and render his performance more effective. In the Arthurian world, mystery generally plays a very important part, and the *unknown* has a more determining function than in a context where everything matches the human scale. Ignorance increases anxiety. One's identity will therefore be hidden away from the rival knight in order to frighten him and make him uncertain about the outcome of the combat. If the two fighters do not recognise each other, their clash will indeed be an opportunity to re-evaluate their reciprocal hierarchical status, which should in principle not be challenged after it has been defined by the outcome of a (previous) combat. The defeated knight should forever remain the liege-man of the winner. However, if the two knights do not recognise each other, their encounter is always an opportunity to challenge such acquired status, and, in the case of a possibly "inferior" knight, to acquire a greater *prix* at the expense of a hierarchically "superior" one who may be hidden beneath the armour at the other end of the lance (unlike in epic poetry, the *quiproquo* as to identity of characters is one of the fundamental narrative devices in Arthurian literature – Ménard 388 ss). And even the best of knights, of which Erec is an excellent example, has to prove himself constantly if he does not wish to be seen as *recreanz*. Above all, he has to confront the knights with whom he has not yet fought, in order to establish their respective "value". The adversary is far from being always intrinsically hostile to him. When Erec has defeated Guivret le Petit, the latter tells him that meeting him was the greatest joy of his life (*Erec et Enide* v. 3885 ss). The two fighters are not at all essentially hostile to each other, they see their combat as a kind of game. Could not the "adventure", then, be redefined as the quest for circumstances which make violence necessary? Ironically, violence is a kind of game, and even when the stakes are raised to the highest point in a life-or-death combat, the ludic aspect is not missing. Is this not why, when there was no need for the application of violence out of either necessity (protection) or moral obligation (revenge), medieval man resorted to the creation of "artificial" circumstances requiring violence, in the form of tournaments? This would certainly point to the fact that in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes as well as generally in his time, violence is not a vital necessity on the concrete, material level, at least not essentially, but rather on the psychological, moral, and social levels. What matters is to assert and prove oneself, to realise one's potential through competing with other members of the same cast in order to create and improve one's *prix* or "symbolic capital", namely the mixture of intrinsic and "market" values established on a relational basis among all those who have the desire and the right to participate in the general "classification" of chivalry (*Erec et Enide* v. 2207 ss). A peaceful knight is something quite inconceivable, let alone a pacifist one (Ménard 387-9); such an individual would have no existence, no *being*, for such *recreantise*, or, in other words, shameful conduct, is socially equivalent to non-being. Violence often appears, especially in a modern context, to be a socially destructive principle introducing

anarchy into the community. It is therefore ironic that, from the medieval perspective, violence is an extremely powerful means of social integration (this conviction was at least passively endorsed even by the Church – Kaeuper): whoever declines to resort to it when it is considered as necessary, isolates himself from the chivalric and aristocratic community. If the Idea, as I have suggested, is the most powerful cohesive principle in medieval society, it is precisely violence which is the means *par excellence* to achieve the application of this principle. Violence as a way of living and a way of surviving has turned out to be, on another level, a ludic activity with its inevitable psychological and social function.

Today, sport is rigorously separated from warfare, which may explain why, under normal circumstances, the aesthetics of sport is superficial. An athlete never commits himself totally, that is, his very life is never really at stake. On the other hand, the aesthetics of violence is one of the crucial aspects of what was considered as "beautiful" in the Middle Ages, not only in epic poetry, the aesthetics of which is almost exclusively based on violence, but also in romance. Chrétien himself offers long descriptions of combat, arms and armour. In his view, all this is beautiful. Only as late as in his *Perceval* will he adopt a different aesthetic criterion:

Assez vos deïsse commant,	*I could tell you all about it*
Se je m'en vosisse antremetre,	*if I set myself to do so,*
Mais por ce n'i voil paine metre	*but I do not want to waste my efforts*
Q'autant vaut uns moz comme .XX.	*since one word is as good as twenty.*

(*Le Conte du Graal* vv. 2618-21)

Such is his "non-description" of the duel between Perceval and Clamadeu des Iles, followed by another, between the main hero and Orgueilleux de la Lande:

La bataille fu fiere et dure,	*The battle was long and hard*
De plus deviser n'ai je cure,	*but it seems to me a waste of effort*
Que paine gastee ma samble...	*to tell more about it...*

(*Le Conte du Graal* vv. 3861-3)

Far from suggesting any anachronistic "modernity" of the author, these lines simply testify to the fact that violence devoid of its ludic aspect (Perceval understands neither play nor joke) can no longer be regarded as "beautiful"; on the other hand, its aesthetic potential remains unrealised if violence is not pushed to the very limit, namely the final defeat of one party, which may end the latter's life. Violence is therefore only beautiful in so far as it is absolute, total play, for the "ultimate play" is all-absorbing. Today, violence has lost not only its aesthetic potential, but also its ethical justification. The hierarchy of the Idea having been done away with, violence can no longer be "good", for there is no universally recognised *aim* which could justify violence as its function. The state has won the monopoly of "licit violence" (Kaeuper 304), the aim of which is to establish and to preserve social order. Such an aim is based on convention rather than on belief, which makes state violence too impersonal to let it acquire any "ethical" or "aesthetic" dimensions. Today, violence is ugly, bad and serious. Playing is neither really beautiful, nor good, nor serious. In the Middle Ages, ludic violence was good and beautiful, serious because violent and ludic because playful. Violence was an organic tie

relating play to life and securing social cohesion in terms of a dynamic hierarchy which was sustained by the dominating and all-pervasive force of the Idea.

The *Joie de la Cour* episode is not exactly the epilogue to Chrétien's story but it epitomises all that has been said on violence so far. This adventure is the chivalric "Grand Prix", the most demanding and perilous task which the hero has to come to grips with, in order to be elevated, if he wins, to a quasi-divinity, or, if he loses, in order for just his head to be elevated on a stick. *Joie de la Cour* may call to mind the Celtic "other world", the judeo-christian Garden of Eden (after the Fall) or some other *locus* (more or less) *amoenus*: in the present context, for Mabonagrain as well as finally for Erec, it is a *locus communis* conveying the pseudo-eternity and self-sufficiency typical of the champion, particularly when he is being considered from the perspective of those who themselves covet his laurels. Were the Olympic champions not regarded by the Greeks as demigods?

Joie de la Cour is therefore the ultimate proof of the fact that violence constitutes the very principle of social dynamics, the basic means for settling human relations and organising life in common. Its ludic dimension, however, at least in Chrétien's romances, imposes rules on violence, preventing it from degenerating into savagery: it has already been pointed out that a knight does not kill women and children, as did the barbarians of a pre-chivalric era and as the barbarians of the post-chivalric era are still very keen on doing. Inside the rules and regulations of the game, the violence in Chrétien's romances nevertheless keeps its brutal and absolute character. It would perhaps be oversimplifying to say that play is the civilising principle of any given society (Huizinga). Very likely, violence precedes the ludic aspect of human existence. However, it seems that the brutal drive to "possess", and violence as its means, could not in themselves satisfy human beings, who needed obstacles to their desire: they needed *play*. Before springing up as a social reality, play existed as a need. It can be said, technically, that the function created its vehicle, but what really matters is to realise that man sets himself apart from beasts the very moment he becomes aware of the need to put obstacles between desire and its fulfilment, thus limiting *cupiditas* and violence as its function. Insofar as man remains violent, he will remain an animal. Insofar as he accepts that he cannot be fulfilled by mere violence but needs to restrain it by play, he will be human. And the day he renounces violence completely, he will become an angel.

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UDK 821.133.1'04.09-17 Rutebeuf

L'IRONIE DANS L'ALLÉGORIE CHEZ RUTEBEUF

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Abstract

Occupant une place très importante parmi les auteurs français du XIII^e siècle, Rutebeuf se sert dans sa poésie morale et satirique de l'allégorie, figure rhétorique typique pour le Moyen Age, dans la poésie liée surtout à la thématique du voyage. Dans les śuvres de Rutebeuf l'allégorie est jointe le plus souvent à la satire, genre de prédiléction du discours ironique. Se dressant de manière symbolique contre l'écroulement des valeurs traditionnelles l'auteur prend pour l'objet de son ironie la corruption de la société contemporaine, surtout celle des ordres mendinats, coupables selon lui pour l'emprise des vices sur l'humanité. Pour éviter la généralisation avec laquelle le système allégorique des personnifications empreint la perspective satirique et ironique Rutebeuf combine les modèles allégoriques différents, créant ainsi une situation a priori dramatique dont témoignent par exemple ses śuvres *Le débat du croisé et du décroisé*, la *Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité* ou Le dit du mensonge.

Auteur de genres divers, Rutebeuf occupe probablement la plus grande place dans la poésie française du XIII^e siècle. Ayant vécu la majeure partie de sa vie à Paris il est un des critiques les plus lucides de son temps. Au début de sa carrière de jongleur, il annonce l'écroulement des valeurs,[1] dont il est personnellement touché. Cette situation se traduit par les images de la roue de Fortune et du cycle des saisions,[2] deux motifs représentatifs de la poésie de Rutebeuf. »Conservateur«,[3] Rutebeuf l'est à »une époque qui donne de nouveaux contenus aux anciennes valeurs, ouvrant de nouvelles voies menant au salut spirituel«,[4] substituant la matérialité à la vie intérieure. Adoptant à la fois le ton de déploration et celui de satire, Rutebeuf se dresse contre les changements du monde,[5] cause principale du règne du Mal.

[1] »Por ce n'est mais ciz siecles preuz« – »Les plaies du monde«, Rutebeuf, *Śuvres complètes* (Paris : Bordas, 1989) 1, 120, 74.

[2] J. Dufournet et F. de la Bretèque citent l'image des architectures en ruine et des objets brisés qui traduit à son tour l'instabilité des choses du monde – »L'univers poétique et moral de Rutebeuf«, *Revue des langues romanes*, 1, 1984, 39.

[3] *Id.* 41.

[4] M. Pintarič, *Le sentiment du temps dans la littérature française (XII^e s.-fin du XVI^e s.)* (Paris : Champion, 2002) 157.

[5] »Por ce que li mondes se change/ Plus sovent que denier a Change,/ Rimer vueil du monde divers« – »L'état du monde«, *op. cit.* 1, 1-3, 78. M. Zink note: »*Divers* signifie à la fois 'changeant' et 'mauvais'. Le poème joue de cette ambiguïté, comme de l'homophonie 'divers' – 'hiver'. Même jeu dans les premiers vers de la *Griesche d'hiver*« – *id.* 472-3. Le changement annonce l'hiver, saison de dépouillement complet, appliqué non seulement à la nature, mais aussi à l'homme.

La poésie satirique et morale de Rutebeuf joue souvent du procédé allégorique qui s'applique généralement aux »schémas simples de l'amplification«,[6] se servant tantôt du modèle énumératif tantôt du modèle dramatique. Dans la poésie médiévale les deux types allégoriques, ainsi que leurs sous-types, sont interchangeables.[7] Chez Rutebeuf, le modèle énumératif correspond moins à la décomposition d'un ensemble à l'aide des nombres symboliques qu'à la personnification, tandis que le modèle dramatique représente soit l'aspect de la symétrie, soit celui de la progression spatiale sous forme d'itinéraire. S'ajoute à la forme poétique du voyage le motif-clé du rêve, introducteur du paysage allégorique.

L'allégorie jointe à la satire, genre de prédilection de la verve ironique, offre au poète le moyen de se dresser d'une manière symbolique contre l'emprise des vices sur l'humanité. Parmi les thèmes habituels de la satire, Rutebeuf, absorbé dans les réflexions amères sur l'instabilité de la Fortune, critique la simonie du haut clergé, les prélats et les moines et aussi les mśurs des bourgeois, bref, la corruption de la société et la perversité des hommes dans un monde qui a changé de telle manière que »chascuns devient oisel de proie«.[8] La cible, criblée le plus souvent par les flèches ironiques du poète, en est l'hypocrisie des ordres mendiants. Pour dénoncer l'écart entre leurs propos et leurs actes Rutebeuf agence l'hypocrisie et la déloyauté par tout un jeu d'images, dont par exemple l'arme à double tranchant,[9] le feu sous la cendre,[10] les épines du rosier,[11] le renard feignant la mort,[12] le loup revêtu d'une peau de mouton[13] etc. Dans le but de souligner le contraste entre les vœux originels des Ordres et le vice qui s'est emparé d'eux au cours du temps, Rutebeuf ajoute aux comparaisons un nombre symbolique, soixante-dix,[14] multiple de sept, qui revient »très souvent dans la Bible pour indiquer un laps de temps assez long et non point le nombre exact de soixante-dix années«.[15] De ce contraste avec le temps présent ressort l'ironie, employée »pour exprimer des qualités toujours valables mais que les Frères ont probablement négligées ou totalement perdues«.[16] Le décalage du temps est marqué aussi par le numéro sept;[17] en outre,

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[6] Voir la classification des types allégoriques du XIII[e] siècle dans A. Strubel, *»Grant senefiance a«: Allégorie et littérature au Moyen Age* (Paris : Champion, 2002) 127-53.

[7] Il faut noter que le double sens n'est pas manifesté exclusivement par l'intermédiaire de l'allégorie, mais aussi par de multiples comparaisons ou par d'autres tropes usuels, tels que la métaphore. Cf. »[...] à l'intérieur d'une même śuvre, le mélange des procédés est si fréquent, les auteurs glissent facilement d'une métaphore à une comparaison ou d'une allégorie obscure à un exposé qui explicite très clairement des équivalences, qu'il devinet difficile de distinguer nettement analogies, comparaisons, métaphores et allégories...« – M. Léonard, *Le* dit *et sa technique littéraire* (Paris : Champion, 1996) 135.

[8] »De l'estat du monde«, *op. cit.* 1, 9, 78.

[9] »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *id.* 70-2, 268.

[10] *Id.* 264, 280.

[11] »Le Dit des Jacobins«, *id.* 48, 220.

[12] »Le Dit des règles«, *id.* 8-15, 160.

[13] »La discorde des Jacobins et de l'Université«, *id.* 45-8, 110.

[14] Dans *Le dit du mensonge* Rutebeuf annonce qu'»N'at pas bien .LX et .X ans/[...] Que ces II. saintes Ordres vindrent« – *id.* 37-9, 206. Et dans *La voie d'Humilité*: »bien a .LX et .X. ans« que Bienveillance »pris a Envie guerre,/ Qui or est dame de la terre« – *id.* 659-62, 340.

[15] A. Serper, *Rutebeuf, poète satirique* (Paris : Éd. Klincksieck, 1969) 140.

[16] A. Serper, *id.* 141.

[17] Pendant sept ans Théophile a joui des biens matériels, offerts par le diable: »Sathan, plus de set anz ai tenu ton sentier« – »Le Miracle de Théophile«, *op. cit.* 2, 404, 50.

les vertus et les vices sont au nombre de sept,[18] tandis que le numéro trois symbolise généralement la Sainte Trinité.[19]

Afin de caractériser le caractère corrompu des moines et pour montrer leur influence sur la réalité contemporaine Rutebeuf emploie, dans le cadre de l'énumération, la personnification. L'idée fondamentale de ce procédé, »destiné, à l'origine tout au moins, à mieux faire percevoir les valeurs morales abstraites«,[20] est l'attribution de l'action et de la parole à un inanimé (chose ou concept abstrait), ce qui permet de »nommer le Mal, de l'appréhender dans ses manifestations, et surtout de le dramatiser«.[21] Hypocrisie, vice principal de la société corrompue, ne peut être retenue par aucune notion de justice, elle se cache sous les masques divers et tient les adjoints multiples, à côté de la »Couzine germainne Heresie«,[22] Avarice, Cupidité, Luxure, Orgueil, etc. Sous le masque d'Hypocrisie se cachent les moines mendiants, les agents d'un monde perverti, »bétourné« et soumis aux effets de leurs actes malfaisants. Le règne d'Hypocrisie personifiée est exposé dans le poème *Sur l'Hypocrisie*:

> *Ypocrisie est en grant bruit:*
> *Tant ai ovrei,*
> *Tant se sont li sien aouvrei*
> *Que par enging ont recouvrei*
> *Grant part el monde.*[23]

Parmi les multiples personnifications, constituantes de l'univers poétique de Rutebeuf, dominent celles des forces extérieures[24] renvoyant soit à l'attitude de certaines couches sociales qui se sont emparées du pouvoir (Avarice, Cupidité, Convoitise, etc.) face aux représentants des valeurs morales en voie de dispariton (Charité, Largesse, etc.), soit aux puissances-organisatrices du sort humain (Fortune, Nature, etc.), tandis que les personnifications des forces intérieures à caractère psychologique représentant des sentiments et des états d'âme du poète (Espoir, Folie, etc.) apparaissent plus rarement.

Il faut noter néanmoins que le système des personifications confère à la perspective satirique et ironique »un dégré de généralité et d'intemporalité [...]; la réalité ainsi représenté n'est qu'une accumulation d'écarts par rapport à la norme morale immuable«,[25] d'où son risque de devenir stéréotypé. Pour éviter une telle réduction des singularites, le modèle énumératif se combine avec le modèle dramatique, perfectionnant de cette manière l'écriture allégorique. Chez Rutebeuf, le modèle dramatique, organisateur du procédé allégorique, est composé de deux déclinaisons principales, celle de la symetrie, dans la majorité des cas négative, présentée sous forme de conflit, et celle du déplacement spatial. A travers la combinaison des modèles allégoriques le

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[18] »Le dit du mensonge«, *id.* 1, 20-36, 204.

[19] »La voie d'Humilité«, *id.* 562-3, 334.

[20] M. Léonard, *op. cit.* 137.

[21] A. Strubel, *op. cit.* 131.

[22] Le titre même, »Sur l'Hypocrisie«, aborde le thème traité, *op. cit.* 1, 8, 128.

[23] *Id.* 93-7, 132.

[24] J.-C. Mühlethaler établit une classification des personnifications dans la poésie de Charles d'Orléans: »Préface«, Charles d'Orléans, *Ballades et rondeaux* (Paris : Le Livre de Poche, 1992). Il est possible d'utiliser cette classification en interprétant les autres śuvres médiévales jouant du procédé allégorique.

[25] *Id.* 30-1.

poète crée une situation *a priori* dramatique dont l'enjeu est son *moi* poétique ou bien toute la société contemporaine.

Le conflit est le propre de ce monde à l'envers où »*le Bien est asservi au Mal*, les vertus aux vices, chaque allégorie du mal est entourée de vassaux maléfiques«.[26] Ce type d'antagonisme allégorique se manifeste dans la poésie de Rutebeuf soit sous forme du débat, soit sous forme d'une bataille véritable. Les débats placent le conflit sur le plan verbal: »le seuil de l'allégorie est à peine franchi, car l'alternance du discours se réduit généralement à la prosopopée«.[27] Ainsi, opposant deux opinions contraires *Le débat du croisé et du décroisé* met en scène deux personnages à la limite de la personnification, le croisé, défenseur de la croisade, et son adversaire, le décroisé. Le dialogue est pénétré d'images allégoriques: »Vos ireiz outre mer laÿs,/ Qu'a folie aveiz fait homage«,[28] s'exclame le décroisé, alors que le croisé n'hésite pas de lui rendre le coup: »Laz! ti dolant, la mors te chace,/ Qui tost t'avra lassei et pris«.[29] Profitant de la même déclinaison du modèle dramatique, celle de la symétrie négative, la *Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité* oppose plusieures valeurs morales dans une confrontation qui tend vers la bataille:

> *Vainne Gloire et Ypocrisie*
> *Et Avarice et Covoitize*
> *Cuident bien avoir la justise [...]*
> *D'autre part est Humiliteiz*
> *Et Bone Foiz et Chariteiz*
> *Et Loiauteiz: cil sont a destre.*[30]

Rutebeuf accuse le monde où l'humilité, la charité et la largesse ont été remplacées par de nouvelles valeurs qui n'ont plus égard à la piété. Pour dessiner le contraste entre les vices et les vertus dans *Le dit du mensonge*,[31] il emprunte le modèle largement répandu de la *Psychomachia* et l'oriente vers une polémique d'actualité, celle de la critique des ordres mendiants, plaçant côte à côte »les personnages symboliques et les personnages réels«.[32] Indubitablement, *Le dit du mensonge* se rattache à la tradition de la psychomachie,[33] mais Rutebeuf signale, entre parenthèses,[34] que ses propos sont à prendre par antiphrase. La description de la victoire des vertus due, grâce aux Frères Prêcheurs et Mineurs, à des méthodes qui sont celles des vices, est évidement ironique, parce qu'»Humilité ne peut triompher sans se dénaturer: montrer qu'elle dispose désormais de la puissance et de l'argent, c'est dire, bien entendu, qu'elle s'est transformé en son contraire«.[35] Le contraste ainsi obtenu fait renforcer l'effet ironique

[26] J. Dufournet et F. de la Bretèque, *op. cit.* 67.

[27] A. Strubel, *op. cit.* 132.

[28] »Le débat du croisé et du décroisé«, *op. cit.* 2, 99-100, 362.

[29] *Id.* 177-8, 368.

[30] »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 202-9, 276.

[31] Intitulé aussi *La bataille des vices contre les vertus*.

[32] A. Serper, *op. cit.* 139.

[33] »Le dit du mensonge«, *op. cit.* 1, 20-36, 204. Dans la description de la bataille, Rutebeuf enumère les vices et les vertus en paires antagonistes, confrontant Humilité à Orgueil, Largesse à Avarice, Bienveillance à Colère, Charité à Envie, Vaillance à Accidie, Abstinence à Gloutonnerie et Chasteté à Luxure.

[34] *Id*, 28-9.

[35] M. Zink, »Le dit du mensonge«, *op. cit.* 1, 203.

de l'image allégorique:

Humiliteiz estoit petite [...]
Or est Humiliteiz greigneur.[36]

Le conflit entre les vices et les vertus mène jusqu'au renversement de leurs rôles: le Mal s'est emparé des attributs du Bien en revêtant son apparence. Le respect qu'inspire l'habit des moines aux laïcs ne s'accorde nullement avec la nature hypocrite des mendiants, bien au contraire, le vêtement n'est qu'un masque perfide sous lequel les moines s'introduisent dans l'intimité des laïcs et les obligent à racheter leur salut. Rutebeuf veut faire comprendre qu'Humilité n'est plus »voie de veritei«[37], parce qu'elle »est tant creüe/ Qu'Orgueulz corne la recreüe«.[38] La conséquence obligatoire de ce renversement des valeurs est la soumission des vertus aux vices menant en esclavage des vertus.[39] La vérité est asservie comme le droit et la justice par la toute-puissance de l'argent:

Quar, quant dan Deniers vient en place,
Droiture faut, droiture esface.
Briefment, tuit clerc, fors escoler,
Vuelent Avarisce acoler.[40]

De cette raison la victoire de l'Humilité, désormais force constituante de la nouvelle morale à l'aide de l'argent, représente le point culminant de l'ironie allégorique. Ainsi, prenant pour point de départ le thème de la psychomachie, Rutebeuf transforme la bataille allégorique entre deux forces opposées en éloge par antiphrase des ordres mendiants, qui, dévoilant leur nature hypocrite, sert à évoquer l'injustice faite aux innocents.[41] De cette manière le conflit allégorique proposé par le poète s'accorde avec la problématique d'actualité.

L'image d'Hypocrisie qui s'est emparée du monde portant le masque du bien est présente aussi dans le *Renart le Bétourné*. L'ironie, moyen principal à l'aide duquel Rutebeuf tente de mettre à nu les vices du monde, accompagne la transposition allégorique de la société contemporaine où les quatre bêtes trompeuses, conseillers du lion Noble, présentées sous les caractères de personnages du *Roman de Renart*, le Renart, le loup Ysengrin, l'âne Bernart et le chien Roniaus ont asservi et perverti leur maître. Rutebeuf range Renart dans le même groupe qu'Ysengrin et ses complices, énumérant les vertus qui leur manquent,[42] faisant »une lecture moralisatrice du *Roman de Renart*«.[43] Il s'oppose avec la description des animaux à caractère humain, sous-entendant les moines des ordres différents, à leur influence exercée sur le roi qui finit par l'établissement d'une politique à leur choix. Dans ce poème où la satire est discrètement cachée sous les

36 Rutebeuf, *op. cit.* 65-7, 206.
37 *Id.* 52, 206.
38 *Id.* 76-7, 208.
39 Cf. »Qui toz sont sers a Covoitise« – »L'état du monde«, *op. cit.* 1, 20, 78; »Quar Avarisce li commande/ Cui il est sers« – *id.* 64, 80.
40 *Id.* 87-90, 82. Le denier était ancienne monnaie française.
41 Dans *Le dit du mensonge* Rutebeuf rappelle le procès injuste contre Guillaume de Saint-Amour et Chrétien de Beauvais.
42 »Car il sunt sens misericorde/ Et sens pitié,/ Sens charitei, sens amistié« – »Renart le bestourné«, *op. cit.* 1, 138-140, 260.
43 M. Zink, »Renart le bestourné«, *op. cit.* 1, 253.

voiles de l'allégorie, caractérisé par la personnification animale, »le pouvoir universel, la prolifération, le triomphe de Renart, dont Rutebeuf n'a pu venir à bout et dont il est devenu la victime, voire l'émule, sont ceux de la tromperie et des bas instincts, libérés par la trahison des vraies valeurs«.[44]

L'allégorie sous forme d'itinéraire ne possède pas de traits merveilleux, au contraire, elle est marquée par l'ironie même plus fortement que les autres types allégoriques de Rutebeuf. Pour rappeler son public à la vérité de ses propos et pour exposer le contraste entre les vices et les vertus, Rutebeuf introduit une parenthèse significative:

Et ele [Avarice] est dou mieulz de la vile
(Ne cuidiez pas que ce soit guile).[45]

Les vertus ont cédé la place à l'Avarice et à la Convoitise qui sont désormais les possesseurs de la ville imaginaire. Très souvent »c'est la ville de Rome, emblématique de l'Eglise, qui fournit le spectacle de toutes les corruptions«[46] dont Rutebeuf fait une énergique peinture, renforcée par l'ironie qui se présente dans toute la force de son amertume:

Car de »reüngent mains« est dite
La citeiz qui n'est pas petite.
Teiz i va riches et rians
Qui s'en vient povres mendianz.[47]

D'ordinaire le trajet allégorique est associé au songe. Rutebeuf a probablement connu la première partie du *Roman de la Rose*, écrite sous influence de Macrobe par Guillaume de Lorris, où le motif du songe introduit le récit allégorique. Le rêve de Rutebeuf fonde sa certitude sur son expérience personnelle. Dans la *Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité* Rutebeuf commence le récit avec le rêve, donné comme »une anticipation prémonitoire«[48] des événements actuels, précisément de l'élection du nouveau pape Urbain IV, successeur du pape Alexandre IV.[49] Dans ce rêve allégorique, ainsi que dans celui qui ouvre le récit de *La voie d'Humilité* Rutebeuf utilise le même procédé, avec une seule différence: le premier poème commence par le rêve automnal, le deuxième par le rêve printanier. Le passage d'été en hiver dans la *Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité* appelle le changement du monde, affectant au même titre le sort du poète, qui, en état d'ivresse, tombe en rêve et laisse son esprit s'acheminer dans un paysage allégorique:

Ce soir ne fui point esperiz
Ainz chemina mes esperiz
Par mainz leuz et par mainz païs.[50]

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[44] J. Dufournet et F. de la Bretèque, *op. cit.* 76-7.

[45] »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 181-2, 274

[46] A. Strubel, *op. cit.* 133.

[47] »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 161-4, 274. M. Zink explique qu'»un calembour polémique fréquent interprétait le nom de ROMA comme une abréviation de ROdit MAnus (qui ronge les mains)« – *id.* 488.

[48] M. Zink, »Introduction générale«, *op. cit.* 265.

[49] Ennemi du parti séculier parce que protecteur des Ordres Mendiants, le pape Alexandre IV, mort en 1261, était responsable du bannissement de Guillaume de Saint-Amour.

[50] »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 21-3, 266.

Au cours de son itinéraire onirique le poète arrive dans une grande cité, Rome, où il rencontre un honnête seigneur nommé Courtois. Cette traduction du nom Urbanus fait une allusion transparente au pape Urbain IV. Sa mère Courtoisie et sa femme Mine Accueillante représentent les qualités et les vertus du futur pape, les valeurs en train de disparaître du monde corrompu, car »Qui bele chiere wet avoir,/ Il l'achate de son avoir«.[51] A mesure que disparaissent Humilité, Bonne Foi et Charité, les vices comme Avarice, Convoitise, Vaine Gloire et Hypocrisie s'emparent du pouvoir. Pour connaitre leur fonctionnement, le poète se déguise en ermite. Reçu par Hypocrisie il en fait une description détaillé, insinuant ainsi les méfaits des Ordres Mendiants:

Aprés si wet que hons ne fame
Ne soit oïz ne entenduz
Ce il ne c'est a li renduz.[52]

L'attaque du poète contre les Mendiants n'y est nullement diluée par l'emploi du procédé allégorique. Au contraire, Rutebeuf se sert de l'allégorie »en sachant que son public n'aura aucune difficulté à saisir le sens de son poème«.[53] Contrairement à l'ironie, l'allégorie dans l'śuvre de Rutebeuf révèle plutôt qu'elle ne cache; elle n'a pas pour fonction de cacher la vérité, elle vise au contraire à éclairer l'intention de l'auteur.

Le cadre du songe, introducteur de l'allégorie, est le moyen de dénoncer les vices du monde aussi dans *La voie d'Humilité* où Rutebeuf imagine un parcours à travers des toponymes révélateurs, la cité de Pénitence, la maison de Confesse, la maison d'Orgueil, la demeure d'Avarice, etc. Dès le départ le trajet onirique se divise en deux voies: à gauche, le sentier »biaus et plaisans«[54] mène »a un repaire/ Ou trop a douleur et detresse«;[55] c'est la voie facile, mais néfaste, la route de la damnation, sur laquelle beaucoup de gens, trompés par son apparence séduisante, se sont engagés, alors qu'à droite le sentier dur et exigeant s'ouvre et fait passer par les différentes vertus pour aboutir, non sans difficulté, au salut de l'homme; c'est la voie d'Humilité menant au Paradis.[56] Dans la cité de Pénitence, le poète est accueilli par Pitié, époux de Charité, qui lui donne des consignes pour se rendre à la maison de Confesse et lui décrit les sept péchés capitaux et leures demeures qu'il risque de rencontrer en route. Afin de les éviter, il doit emprunter la route qui mène directement à la maison de Confesse à travers le quartier des vertus, tour à tour menacées par les vices auxquels elles s'opposent. Ce passage reprend la thématique du *Dit du mensonge* où la bataille des vices contre les vertus représente la querelle universitaire. Plus loin, après avoir rencontré Chastété, le poète passe par les quatre portes de Remembrance, de Bonne Espérance, de Peur et d'Amour, pour arriver finalement à la maison de Confesse, dans la Cité de Repentance. En ce qui concerne les personnifications des vices et des vertus Rutebeuf s'inspire

[51] *Id.* 118-9, 272.
[52] *Id.* 260-3, 278.
[53] A. Serper, *op. cit.* 129.
[54] »La voie d'Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 49, 308.
[55] *Id.* 56-7, 308.
[56] La thématique du voyage dans les régions d'outre-tombe est abordée déjà dans le *Songe d'Enfer* de Raoul de Houdenc. Le motif du carrefour de deux voies, celle de l'Enfer et celle du Paradis, se retrouve aussi dans un poème anonyme de l'époque de Raoul de Houdenc (début du XIII[e] siècle) et dans la *Voie de Paradis* de Badouin de Condé (fin du XIII[e] siècle).

probablement de la première partie du *Roman de la Rose*, »seulement, vers la fin, son malheureux goût pour les pointes et pour les antithèses le reprend et le fait renoncer à la correction élégante qui distingue l'œuvre de Guillaume de Lorris«.[57] Le cadre du songe est élaboré aussi dans la deuxième partie du *Roman de la Rose*, écrite par Jean de Meun qui, »engagé comme Rutebeuf dans la lutte des Séculiers contre les Mendiants, est conduit à détruire le triple fondement du statut des moines: leurs vœux de pauvreté, d'obéissance et de chasteté«.[58]

Rutebeuf constitue ainsi »un système d'opposition en noir et blanc«[59] qui traverse toute son œuvre: »dans le monde d'*autrefois*, l'on vivait selon la foi chrétienne; *aujourd'hui*, *le mal* a terrassé et vaincu *le bien*«[60] et dans le monde où triomphe l'argent, l'échelle des valeurs se trouve renversée. La situation de l'actualité répond à la situation personnelle du poète. La thématique de l'avillissement, cultivé dans les »poèmes de la misère«,[61] fournit le cadre de l'itinéraire personnel comportant lui aussi des éléments immuables: la pauvreté, précipitée par le jeu, la taverne et l'arivée de l'hiver, qui sont, à côté de la société égoïste et hypocrite, les ennemis principaux du poète. C'est la thématique des deux *Griesches*,[62] l'une d'été et l'autre d'hiver, poèmes qui imposent la figure d'un poète pauvre et malheureux, voire Rutebeuf lui-même. »Toute la *Griesche d'été* est construite sur le parallélisme des deux rêves et des deux désillusions«,[63] assuré par les deux éléments, le jeu et le vin. Les joueurs qui ont vu s'écrouler leur espoir à la griesche cherchent la consolation dans le vin et ne font face à la réalité jusqu'au moment où ils se voient jeter hors de la taverne. Rutebeuf, lui-même esclave du jeu et du vin, dénonce le monde où l'argent est devenu la valeur suprême. Les poèmes de la *Griesche* ne comportent que quelques éléments allégoriques mineurs, par exemple la pauvreté personifiée,[64] et s'ils emploient la thématique de l'itinéraire, il ne s'agit pas de l'itinéraire allégorique, mais de l'itinéraire personnel. De même, le motif du rêve, liée plutôt à la désilusion et au fol espoir, ne se rattache pas à la tradition allégorique du Moyen Age.

L'écriture de Rutebeuf n'est pas »du côté de l'idéal. Elle est du côté des nécessités matérielles, [...] de la vie quotidienne«[65] c'est pourquoi elle est fortement marquée par la verve ironique qui confère à l'auteur une certaine indépendance, non pas l'indépendance matérielle, bien entendu, mais une indépendance d'esprit. Le poète essaie de cacher sa détresse physique et morale derrière les jeux des mots et les allusions ironiques évoquant le rire de son auditoire, bien qu'il soit possible de remarquer aussi une sorte d'aveu de pessimisme et de découragement dans les interrogations, comme par exemple: »Je qu'en diroie?«.[66] C'est pourquoi les poèmes de Rutebeuf ne sont jamais entièrement

[57] A. Serper, *op. cit.* 147.

[58] P.-Y. Badel, *Introduction à la vie littéraire du Moyen Age* (Paris : Bordas, 1969) 167.

[59] J. Dufournet et F. de la Bretèque, *op. cit.* 51.

[60] *Id.*

[61] M. Zink, »Introduction générale«, *op. cit.* 1, 15.

[62] Selon M. Zink le mot »*griesche*« signifie à la fois »un jeu de dés – d'origine grecque, d'où son nom – et la malchance au jeu« – »La Griesche d'hiver, la Griesche d'été«, *id.* 182.

[63] M. Zink, »Rutebeuf et le cours du poème«, *Romania*, 428, 1986, 550.

[64] »Povreteiz est sus moi reverte:/ Toz jors m'en est la porte overte« – »Le dit de la Grièche d'hiver«, *op. cit.* 1, 22-3, 184.

[65] M. Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire* (Paris : PUF, 1985) 121.

[66] »Sur l'Hypocrisie«, *op. cit.* 41, 130.

allégoriques, au contraire, ils sont fondés sur l'alternance des passages narratifs et des descriptions allégoriques. L'allégorie peut être interrompue par les proverbes, les lieux communs que Rutebeuf introduit afin de présenter sa connaissance de la culture contemporaine.[67]En outre, le poète fait interrompre l'allégorie par ses interventions et par les interpellations du public. Celui-ci se voit interpeller soit d'une manière en apparence accidentelle, par exemple dans le cas où le poète ouvre une brève parenthèse,[68] soit d'une manière explicite,[69] tandis que la mise en scène du moi du poète est toujours transparente.[70] Ces écarts, généralement marqués par le ton ironique, constituent l'un des effets de style les plus typiques de Rutebeuf.

Plutôt qu'à présenter le passage de l'abstrait au réel, l'allégorie de Rutebeuf, teintée d'une verve ironique, sert à critiquer la société contemporaine, à dénoncer les vices, cachés sous le masque des vertus, qui se sont emparés du monde. La poésie allégorique de Rutebeuf, souvent présentée comme »le reflet de son expérience personnelle«,[71] est une plainte adressée au monde, plainte qui rappelle la justice et la foi sincère qui régnaient dans »le monde d'autrefois«.

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[67] »Car d'un proverbe me sovient/ Que hon dit: 'Tot pert qui tot tient'« – »Renart le bestourné«, *id.* 152-3, 262.

[68] Cf. *supra*, »Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité«, *op. cit.* 1, 181-2, 274.

[69] »Or escouteiz, ne vos anuit,/ Si orroiz qu'il m'avint en songe« – *id.* 18-9, 266.

70 »Tant a Ypocrisie ovrei/ Que grant partie a recovrei/ En cele tere dont je vin«– *id.* 291-3, 276.

[71] M. Léonard, *op. cit.*, 168.

UDK 821.131.1.09-3 Tabucchi A.

LE TENTAZIONI DI UN GENERE: SUL FANTASTICO NELLA NARRATIVA DI TABUCCHI

Patrizia Farinelli

Abstract

Nella rielaborazione di Tabucchi del genere fantastico, l'evento strano e inspiegabile non crea una sovrapposizione di due realtà inconciliabili, semmai richiama l'attenzione su una realtà già in partenza permeata di illogico e quindi inafferrabile. Anche l'esitazione del protagonista di fronte a tale evento appare ridotta e di conseguenza limitata la sua ricerca di spiegazioni razionali. La *quête* del personaggio tabucchiano non si indirizza all'evento strano e inspiegabile, ma piuttosto al passato irrisolto che questo fa riaffiorare. In questo senso i criteri indicati da Todorov come basilari per il riconoscimento del genere non tengono più pienamente. Indubbio è tuttavia che, pur in presenza delle trasformazioni indicate, diverse strategie narrative del fantastico continuano ad essere utilizzate da Tabucchi per costruire una dimensione multipla, sia a livello di storia che di discorso. Proprio perché la scrittura postmoderna fa dell'ambiguità momento centrale di riflessione, non può non essere tentata (e sedotta) dal fantastico.

> Come vanno le cose. E cosa le guida. Un niente. A volte può cominciare con un niente, una frase perduta in questo vasto mondo pieno di frasi e di oggetti e di volti [...]. A. Tabucchi, "Any where out of the world", in Id. *Piccoli equivoci senza importanza* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1992) 71-81, 71.

Se si cercasse un motto capace di sintetizzare i meccanismi discorsivi che generano un racconto fantastico queste due righe sarebbero perfette. Letterario per eccellenza, il fantastico crea un secondo mondo e nodi inestricabili a partire dal niente di una frase decontestualizzata. Sul nulla Tabucchi[1] costruisce storie intricate e dense di significato. L'affiliazione della sua narrativa a tale genere merita riflessione e nelle pagine che seguono si tenterà di farlo a partire dall'analisi del racconto "Voci portate da qualcosa, impossibile dire cosa"[2], in cui trovano espressione aspetti determinanti della poetica dello scrittore[3]. È un testo che permette di evidenziare in modo esemplare il suo innovativo approccio al fantastico e di trarre delle indicazioni pure sugli sviluppi attuali del genere.

[1] Antonio Tabucchi (nato a Pisa nel 1943) è uno dei più notevoli scrittori italiani contemporanei. Studioso di Pessoa e della letteratura portoghese, ha iniziato a dedicarsi alla narrativa negli anni '80. Ha ricevuto diversi riconoscimenti letterari e la sua opera è tradotta in molte lingue.

[2] Nel seguito il titolo del racconto è abbreviato con "Voci".

[3] L'esemplarità di questo testo per la narrativa di Tabucchi è stata già segnalata da Dolfi, 2000: 261.

Il racconto s'incentra sui motivi del tradimento, della colpa e del rimorso, ai quali alludono già solo il titolo della raccolta, *L'Angelo nero*, e la nota introduttiva[4]. È la storia di un uomo che un pomeriggio festivo girovaga per la sua città dedicandosi ad un gioco singolare. Raccoglie mentalmente frasi ascoltate per caso con l'intenzione di utilizzarle come materiale di scrittura. Entrato in un caffè, è stupito dalle parole di un cliente che afferma: "*Non sono mai riuscito a dirtelo prima, ma ora è necessario che tu sappia*"[5]. Pur rendendosi conto dell'assurdità, vi riconosce la voce di un amico morto e ne interpreta il contenuto come se fosse un messaggio diretto a lui. La frase lo porta a ripensare ad un'estate "infausta" del suo passato[6]. Lo stesso pomeriggio riconosce di nuovo, nella frase pronunciata da un ragazzino, la voce di Tadeus, l'amico morto. Nella sua interpretazione, costui lo inviterebbe a recarsi nel punto più alto della città per poter conoscere meglio una certa cosa, non meglio definita. Coglie infine il noto timbro di voce nella frase letta a voce alta da un giovane. Il contenuto di queste ultime parole annuncia la data e l'orario di un certo incontro che il contesto della storia lascerebbe presumere come incontro sportivo – *il giorno 10 maggio alle ore sei pomeridiane* – ma che egli prende per un'indicazione da aggiungere ai due messaggi precedenti. Esegue il preteso sollecito e raggiunge all'ora indicata il luogo più alto della città, una torre cittadina. Lì è preso da sudori freddi, prova senso di vertigine ed è sul punto di mollare la presa della ringhiera cui si tiene stretto. Con quest'episodio il racconto si conclude. Il finale della storia resta dunque aperto[7]. La logica dei fatti potrebbe lasciar presumere che il protagonista si getti nel vuoto[8], ma ogni possibile ipotesi è destinata a restare tale. Come usuale nella narrativa di Tabucchi, la ricerca di un completamento dei vuoti da parte del lettore sarà in partenza fallimentare in ragione della studiata ambiguità del testo.

Il racconto trova un ritmo, un suo respiro, in una misurata alternanza di unità narrative, con passaggi dalla descrizione esteriore dei luoghi alla resa dei sentimenti interiori del protagonista e narratore. Il calarsi di questa figura in un processo autoriflessivo è rilevato anche dall'uso di un "tu" narrante in funzione del più diffuso "io", tecnica discorsiva particolarmente adeguata ad esprimere la situazione di qualcuno che s'interroga. Nell'esordio è l'osservazione degli esterni a indurre il protagonista ad una riflessione, e questa non verte solo sui cambiamenti collegati al passare degli anni, ma anche sui meccanismi connessi al ricordare. Con stupore l'uomo osserva che la memoria funziona in modo tale da evocare un altro io in un soggetto che è rimasto lo stesso[9]. Nel seguito del racconto è invece la voce dell'amico morto a spingerlo a ripensare al suo passato e specificatamente ad un preciso episodio che lo lega a Tadeus e ad una comune

[4] Nella *Nota introduttiva* l'autore confessa la fatica che l'oggetto trattato avrebbe comportato per lui: con quel tipo di angeli dal „pelame raso, che punge" non avrebbe avuto una convivenza "delle più serene". Tabucchi, 1993a: 9.

[5] Idem: 18. (corsivo nel testo).

[6] Idem: 20.

[7] Una volta sulla torre il protagonista afferma di aver compreso il motivo per cui l'amico lo avrebbe spinto in quel luogo "[...]ora sai perché Tadeus ti ha chiamato fin lì, non poteva essere che lui a darti un simile appuntamento." Idem: 28. Le ipotesi sono lasciate al lettore.

[8] In questo senso va, ad es. la lettura proposta da Dolfi, 2000: 262.

[9] " [...] una volta al posto di questo snack-bar c'era un collegio di suore, ti viene sempre in mente quando ci passi davanti, ci andavi ad aspettare una ragazza che si chiamava Cristina, un'infinità di tempo fa, non hai neppure voglia di fare il conto, eri un'altra persona, che strano, ma la memoria è restata in questa tua persona di ora." Tabucchi, 1993a: 15.

amica. Ciò su cui cavilla è una disgrazia, mai meglio chiarita, accaduta alla donna: "E intanto ripensi a quell'estate, che avevi così accuratamente dimenticato riponendola in una cantina sulla quale avevi posato un pesante coperchio."[10]

A strutturare l'ordine temporale sono due diverse architetture: mentre la sequenza di accadimenti che concernono la vita del protagonista si regola su un movimento oscillatorio tra presente e passato fino ad arrivare ad una loro sovrapposizione nel momento in cui il morto dà segni della sua presenza fra i vivi[11], la sequenza degli accadimenti che concernono l'attualità di quel pomeriggio segue un criterio lineare e una disposizione graduale quanto ad intensità. Nella loro successione le azioni mostrano una progressiva accelerazione sia del movimento fisico del personaggio, sia della sua inquietudine interiore. Da questo punto di vista esse appaiono disposte a climax e mostrano un passaggio da uno stato di interiore di tranquillità, cui fa da cornice la banalità di una domenica pomeriggio dall'atmosfera stagnante, ad uno stato di progressiva tensione[12] fino al momento in cui la situazione dovrebbe precipitare, ma proprio a quel punto il racconto s'interrompe. Anche l'evolversi delle condizioni del tempo – la storia inizia in un pomeriggio solare cui segue un temporale e un gran acquazzone – segue una disposizione graduata così che si crea un'analogia fra il cambiamento d'animo della figura principale e i mutamenti atmosferici.

Quello che maggiormente preme rilevare di questo racconto è il modo in cui, nella sua costruzione, vengono assunti e rielaborati elementi strutturali al genere fantastico.

Innanzitutto, se si considera il piano dell'*histoire*, è evidente che l'autore recupera un motivo ricorrente in tale narrativa, e precisamente quello del *revenant*, per contaminarlo con quello dell'apparizione di una figura demoniaca. Colui che si fa presente attraverso la sola voce è presentato, infatti, come un essere che in vita fu capace di tentare gli altri e che continua a possedere questa facoltà anche dopo morto. In termini espliciti il protagonista gli riconosce delle facoltà diaboliche; sostiene che si trova già "in un luogo di maledetti"[13] e che quel posto tutto sommato gli spetta considerato che passò la vita a tentare. Ripensando ancora alla loro amica, ritiene che fosse lui " [...] a preparare la sua perdizione."[14] Il fatto strano e inspiegabile su cui ruota il racconto ha poi la caratteristica, registrabile in molta narrativa fantastica, di accadere in modo improvviso e inatteso e di avere forza destabilizzante in chi lo vive[15]. L'uomo dimentica immediatamente lo svago cui si stava dedicando, perde il proprio autocontrollo e appare

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[10] Idem: 21.

[11] Su questo preciso fenomeno temporale in *Requiem* ha richiamato l'attenzione Guidotti in un articolo che tratta l'approccio di Tabucchi al fantastico e che fa riferimento centrale proprio a "Voci portate da qualcosa, impossibile dire cosa". A partire dalla rielaborazione novecentesca del concetto di tempo la studiosa trae delle indicazioni utili a comprendere le trasformazioni del fantastico contemporaneo: "Una volta demolito il muro di un verosimile legato ad una categoria cronologica inattaccabile, il testo si frantuma e si scompone proiettando schegge di reale nell'onirico e viceversa." Guidotti, 1998: 355.

[12] L'uomo crede di non riuscire a rispettare l'appuntamento, si mette a correre, si sente osservato, suda, prova sensazioni di sudore, tremolio, vertigine.

[13] Tabucchi, 1993a: 23.

[14] Idem.

[15] "La frase è arrivata improvvisamente dentro le tue orecchie con lo stupore di una ferita che duole all'improvviso [...]"Idem: 18. Per la natura dell'evento fantastico rimando ad un mio articolo : "Statut et fonction de l'événement dans le discours fantastique" (in corso di stampa).

in preda ad una volontà altrui. Esegue le indicazioni che quella voce gli impartisce o meglio crede gli impartisca senza opporvi resistenza.

Anche a livello di costruzione del *discours* le tecniche utilizzate collaborano alla costruzione di uno spazio fantastico nel racconto. Le sequenze iniziali presentano la realtà che fa da sfondo alla storia con un *setting* del tutto verosimile: "[...] una domenica di primavera inoltrata, poca gente in giro, gruppetti di vecchi, vecchiette che si lamentano; " [...] oggi con questa bella giornata saranno venuti fuori anche i vecchietti che abitano le casupole della piazza"[16]. Ma proprio una simile antitesi tra la normalità che caratterizza la situazione iniziale (la cui determinatezza di luoghi e altri elementi svolge anche la rilevante funzione di generare credibilità nel lettore[17]) e l'eccezionalità dei fatti che seguono è un elemento strutturale al racconto fantastico. Tabucchi lo utilizza visibilmente. In una realtà fittiva costruita secondo un criterio di verosimiglianza accade improvvisamente un fatto strano e inspiegabile e, com'è tipico per il genere, tale fatto si ripete a conferma del suo accadere. Pure per le scelte lessicali l'autore segue una strategia diffusa nei racconti di questo tipo, la quale mira a disseminare nel testo lessemi collegati semanticamente all'ambito della stregoneria, del maligno e più in generale a situazioni non spiegabili razionalmente. La presenza di riferimenti a tali campi è registrabile nel racconto ancora prima dell'episodio singolare con cui il protagonista viene a confrontarsi. La funzione di questa tecnica è favorire le condizioni perché il lettore possa interpretare la storia anche fuori dagli schemi di una logica razionale. In un passo di "Voci", ad esempio, un personaggio afferma: "bah, che tempo strano, oggi pare una giornata stregata"[18]; poco oltre, a proposito del modo di esprimersi dei giocatori di briscola si parla di "frasi sibilline"[19]; in un episodio successivo appare il temine "magia": "E ora quel coperchio [sul passato], come per magia, si è mosso [...]"[20]. Considerando l'evolversi delle condizioni atmosferiche il narratore osserva che nel cielo si apre "una lama di luce violacea, sinistra"[21].

Eppure, per quanto rilevanti nella costruzione di un racconto fantastico, nessuno degli aspetti appena indicati, né la presenza del *revenant* dai tratti diabolici, né le tecniche discorsive e retoriche menzionate sarebbero sufficienti a decidere l'appartenenza di questo testo al fantastico se si restasse ai criteri che hanno fatto scuola dopo l'uscita dell'*Introduction à la littérature phantastique*. La maggioranza dei teorici, a partire dagli anni in cui lo studio di Todorov si è imposto su approcci più vaghi al genere e meno praticabili, concorda sul fatto che è la trasgressione di una barriera logica ovvero il sovrapporsi di due realtà inconciliabili l'elemento determinante del fantastico[22]. Sarà allora necessario chiedersi fino a che punto sia presente un simile fenomeno in "Voci",

[16] Tabucchi, 1993a: 15.

[17] Si veda su questo punto le osservazioni di Campra: "Se il testo realista disegna un mondo in qualche modo isomorfo rispetto a quello del lettore, il testo fantastico invece, patendo una specie di debolezza su questo piano, elabora una serie di strategie per provare la sua realtà: per provare se stesso." Campra, 2000: 49.

[18] Tabucchi, 1993a: 17.

[19] Idem: 18.

[20] Idem: 21.

[21] Idem: 22. Anche una frase banale – "allora la città si oscura, cade la notte anche in pieno giorno" (idem: 16) –, che nel contesto in cui appare sembra solo descrivere il fenomeno atmosferico dell'arrivo di un temporale, appare a posteriori possedere una densità di senso e indicare una situazione di oscurità interiore del protagonista.

[22] Cf. in part. Durst, 2001 e Bessière 1974.

ovvero se il fatto strano e inspiegabile crei nel testo una tale sovrapposizione. A ben vedere la logica del racconto permette di spiegare quel fatto anche come falsa percezione o ancora meglio come suggestione di un soggetto ricco d'immaginazione che a partire da una frase si crea una storia. Diversamente da ciò che ci attenderebbe in un testo fantastico di impianto ottocentesco, qui il fatto inverosimile non è registrabile dal protagonista o da altri personaggi attraverso prove tangibili. Il *revenant* non lascia prove concrete della sua presenza: si mostra attraverso qualcosa di così effimero com'è una voce e nella storia non ci sono nemmeno dei testimoni che confermino le percezioni avute dal protagonista. L'evento potrebbe dunque essere ritenuto un fatto puramente mentale e l'autore lascia aperta al lettore la possibilità di leggerlo come tale[23]. Per colui che lo vive (nella realtà fittiva del racconto) ha però le caratteristiche di un fatto oggettivo e porta costui ad agire di conseguenza. Dell'identità e dell'esistenza di quella voce egli non ha dubbi; non pone nemmeno in questione il proprio stato di salute, né ipotizza di avere avuto una falsa impressione dei sensi, un'allucinazione o una suggestione della propria fantasia. In altre parole il testo offre e allo stesso tempo ritrae la possibilità di assegnare fattualità all'inspiegabile accadimento. Ci si dovrebbe inoltre domandare cosa succeda con l'esitazione provata dal protagonista e dal lettore, fenomeno che Todorov ha indicato come basilare al genere accanto a quello del sovrapporsi di due ordini di realtà. La pertinenza di questo secondo criterio ai fini di una delimitazione del genere è manifesta: esistono infatti altre forme di narrativa del sovrannaturale che portano a coesistere due logiche[24] senza che il protagonista sia spinto a dare segni che l'evento vissuto è incompatibile con l'ordine di realtà in cui egli è calato. Nella narrativa del secondo Novecento che continua a rifarsi a questo genere l'esitazione di fronte al fatto inspiegabile e soprattutto ciò che le è correlato, il tentativo di razionalizzarlo, tendono però a divenire marginali. A giudizio dell'ispanista Campra la ricerca di spiegazioni non è necessariamente presente nella produzione "neofantastica" [25] e tali osservazioni trovano conferma, per quanto concerne la produzione italiana, non solo nella narrativa di Tabucchi, ma anche in quella di altri autori che si sono misurati col genere, come Landolfi e Ceronetti. Restando a "Voci", nonostante il fatto inverosimile sopraggiunga con l'istantaneità e l'imprevedibilità che caratterizza più di frequente un evento fantastico, crei uno stato di stravolgimento in chi lo vive e abbia la capacità di dare una svolta all'azione, esso non è recepito dal protagonista come qualcosa che genera una vera e propria sfida epistemologica. Ed è una rilevante differenza rispetto a ciò che si registra in testi fantastici del periodo di maggiore fortuna del genere. A ben vedere il processo di razionalizzazione subisce qui uno slittamento dall'evento inspiegabile al passato che questo rievoca; in questo senso ha la stessa funzione che in molte altre opere di Tabucchi svolge il sogno. Certamente l'uomo prova stupore, sulle prime, nel riconoscere la voce dell'amico, come indicano bene le sue reazioni[26]; solo per qualche istante, tuttavia, s'interroga sulla sua natura e non tenta, se non molto in fretta, di darsi una spiegazione

[23] Gli stessi fenomeni sono registrabili nel racconto "I pomeriggi del sabato" (Tabucchi, 1994: 55-76).

[24] Todorov, 1970, menziona ad es. l'allegoria, ma potremmo pensare anche a opere surrealiste, a testi costruiti sull'onirico.

[25] "Non più la lotta, ma l'impossibilità di spiegare qualcosa che neanche si sa se sia successo o meno". Campra, 2000: 96.

[26] "Sei balzato in piedi, guardando la porta con aria braccata, anche i giocatori ti guardano, devi avere un colore terreo e lo spavento negli occhi, ti siedi cercando un contegno [...]". Tabucchi, 1993a: 18.

logica. In ogni caso è certo che sia Tadeus a parlargli per bocca di altri. Tentando di fare chiarezza egli oscilla tra la consapevolezza di avere avuto una percezione sicura e la coscienza che, date le circostanze, questa non ha potuto assolutamente darsi.

Riassumendo, i due fenomeni indicati da Todorov come criteri fondamentali di riconoscimento del genere, il sovrapporsi di due ordini incompatibili di realtà e la relativa esitazione suscitata in chi lo recepisce, non si impongono con evidenza nel racconto esaminato. L'evento inspiegabile non è sentito dal protagonista come generatore di una vera e propria cesura nell'ordine della realtà perché questa, ai suoi occhi, già comprende il "disordine", una mescolanza di congruo e incongruo, logico e illogico. Quel fatto singolare lo porta piuttosto a riflettere sulla presenza di un'assurdità nell'azione stessa del ricordare. Nel suo ragionamento si mostra consapevole che il pensiero non procede con l'ordine, la chiarezza, il rispetto delle leggi di tempo e causalità che ci si attenderebbe:

> E a quale ordine si riferisce una frase come questa [*non sono riuscito a dirtelo prima, ma ora è necessario che tu lo sappia*]: a quale tempo, a quale momento, a quale circostanza? A tutto, può riferirsi a tutto, dunque è inutile pensare le cose per ordine, lasciale pure venire così come vengono. A. Tabucchi, "Voci portate da qualcosa, impossibile dire cosa", in Id. *L'angelo nero* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1993a) 13-28: 20.[27]

L'uomo è conscio che l'attività di riflessione è intricata. Afferma, ad es.: "E allora, con un passaggio *incongruo* ma che per te è *molto logico*, dici: Isabel era infelice, la sua paura era principalmente questo"[28]. Il suo ragionamento procede per salti, ipotesi, associazioni d'idee[29]. In preda ad un'evidente lotta con un vuoto di sapere spera allora, senza curarsi di essere illogico, che l'amico gli rechi informazioni ulteriori magari attraverso il medium di una statua: "Ti vai a sedere con l'assurda speranza che quella statua dalle fattezze realistiche possa portarti una voce che ora ti sta sfuggendo [...]"[30]. A inquietare l'uomo non è il fatto che un morto torni a fare sentire la sua presenza, ma ciò che questo ha riportato alla luce e che gli suscita sentimenti di colpa. Sa di non aver agito, in quelle lontane circostanze, come avrebbe potuto o dovuto.

Il personaggio tabucchiano in generale, e non solo quello di questo racconto, si muove già in partenza in uno spazio in cui è impossibilitato a trovare nessi logici fra le cose[31]. L'ordine della realtà è inafferrabile e riflessione, ragionamento, attività di

[27] Il richiamo all'impossibilità di cogliere i nessi fra le cose è molto frequente nella narrativa di Tabucchi. Un solo esempio: "E ha pensato che c'è un ordine nelle cose e che niente succede per caso; e il caso è proprio questo; la nostra impossibilità di cogliere i veri nessi delle cose che sono [...]." Tabucchi, 1993b: 98.

[28] Idem: 21 (corsivo mio).

[29] Il racconto visualizza verbalmente il percorso accidentato della riflessione. Il protagonista crede dapprima che la frase udita "*non sono mai riuscito a dirtelo prima, ma ora è necessario che tu sappia*" si riferisca ad un suo romanzo che fece "una brutta fine" e pensa che dovrebbe ricomporre quel testo. Si chiede poi se, nella disgrazia occorsa alla ragazza, la colpa fosse sua o delle circostanze. Osserva che solo una ricostruzione del contesto potrebbe aiutarlo a comprendere. Pensa alla donna e al suo sentimento di paura. Ritorna con la mente al romanzo e conclude che il gettare via una "creatura a quel modo" fu solo una vendetta, dove il termine "creatura" crea un'ambiguità semantica, perché non è chiaro se si riferisca alla vicenda del romanzo o a quella della ragazza.

[30] Idem: 21.

[31] Gli esempi possibili sarebbero molti. Basti pensare a *Il filo dell'orizzonte* oppure o a "Rebus" e a "Any where out of the world".

memoria non aiutano a risolvere i dubbi con cui il soggetto deve confrontarsi. Anche il solo tentativo di ricostruire una biografia (quella del personaggio femminile ne "Il gioco del rovescio") o un episodio di vita, come nel racconto in questione, lancia delle sfide epistemologiche che possono rivelarsi altrettanto dure di quelle sollevabili da un accadimento che trasgredisse le leggi di identità o di spazio, tempo e causalità o ancora che ponesse sotto la stessa logica materialità e spiritualità. Sono dei fenomeni narrativi rintracciabili anche in altra narrativa contemporanea, che pongono delle questioni sul modo in cui è ancora possibile parlare di fantastico oggi[32]. Si tratterebbe di capire se, in presenza di trasformazioni così evidenti delle strutture narrative che permettevano di riconoscere il genere nel passato, si debba ammettere un esaurirsi del fantastico o se non vadano piuttosto radicalmente rivisti i criteri che erano imposti finora nella sua determinazione, come già suggeriscono alcuni studiosi[33]. Ritenere di poterli individuare però solo in fenomeni che concernono la costruzione testuale, come la duplicazione del racconto, del personaggio, del discorso ecc. – fenomeni certamente dominanti anche nell'opera di Tabucchi –, potrebbe essere limitante; non si coglierebbero in questo modo le ambiguità che continuano a essere presenti anche a livello di storia. Si estenderebbe inoltre a dismisura il concetto di fantastico.

Il posto dell'evento fantastico è stato occupato nella narrativa tabucchiana da accadimenti che, per quanto inspiegabili (sono esemplari in questo senso anche racconti come "Rebus" e "I pomeriggi del sabato") si situano entro la logica della realtà in cui il personaggio è calato e sono accettati come parte di quella realtà. Non è un caso allora che proprio un autore come quello considerato, che per molti versi ha accolto una scrittura di segno postmoderno, si accosti al fantastico per rielaborarlo nei modi indicati. Tale genere resta determinato dal fatto di aprire lo spazio dell'ambiguità logica, e una certa narrativa postmoderna (dal Borges di *Ficciones* al Robbe-Grillet de *La répétition*) sembra esserne tentata e andare a rivisitarlo proprio in funzione di questa caratteristica. È noto che, spostando l'attenzione da una data realtà all'atto della sua 'costruzione' quale atto interpretativo di un soggetto plurale, il pensiero postmoderno fa del multiplo e dell'ambiguità connessavi proprio uno dei basilari criteri di lettura della storia, arte e letteratura. Una delle conseguenze di questa posizione è la coscienza che ogni tentativo di ricostruzione del passato tende a fallire perché non può dare che una nuova versione del passato. Come ha osservato Hutcheon, agli occhi degli scrittori postmoderni storiografia e letteratura vengono a confondersi[34].

Mentre il fantastico tradizionale mirava, attraverso la sovrapposizione di due logiche inconciliabili, ad allargare il concetto di realtà data fino a comprendervi fenomeni soprasensibili, inspiegabili attraverso le leggi di causalità, quel fantastico che fa ancora una qualche comparsa nella narrativa contemporanea, e nello specifico in quella postmoderna, tende a mettere in rilievo semmai la natura mobile, necessariamente contraddittoria e incomprensibile, perché molteplice, del reale. Quando accade, l'evento inspiegabile richiama l'attenzione dei lettori non tanto sull'eccezionalità della

[32] Mancanza di esitazione da parte del protagonista si registra ad es. in certi racconti di Ceronetti, 1993; sfide logiche sollevate anche da fatti che non trasgrediscono le leggi dell'ordine naturale appaiono nell'opera di Maggiani, 2005.

[33] Cf. Campra, 2000: 137 e Farnetti, 2000: 406.

[34] Cf. Hutcheon, 1988: 112 segg.

logica che lo caratterizza quanto, in modo paradossale, sulla somiglianza di tale logica con quella della realtà in cui succede, quella della storia narrata[35]. È ovvio dunque che non generi vera e propria esitazione nel protagonista e di conseguenza una ricerca di spiegazioni, ma piuttosto una riflessione di carattere gnoseologico su quanto (quanto poco) e come si conosce.

Una seconda motivazione evidente nel recupero in chiave postmoderna che Tabucchi fa del fantastico è mettere in luce il potere creativo e non semplicemente mimetico o evocativo della parola, ma altresì i suoi tranelli e doppi fondi. Il racconto "Voci" lo mostra in maniera emblematica attraverso la scelta di un discorso metanarrativo. Lo svago che il protagonista si concede attraversando le vie della città visualizza verbalmente la genesi di un testo letterario e più specificatamente una tecnica molto frequente nel fantastico. Essa consiste nell'estrapolare una frase dal contesto originario e utilizzarla in un senso diverso da quello atteso. Il suo uso più diffuso nel genere in questione è quello di assegnare senso concreto a frasi usate normalmente in senso traslato: espressioni come "giornata stregata" o "andare al diavolo" ricevono allora senso letterale. Attraverso le metafore di un'operazione chirurgica, della composizione di un mosaico e di una partita di poker il protagonista di "Voci" indica meticolosamente le leggi e i processi che regolano il suo gioco. Si tratta innanzitutto di scegliere delle frasi che colpiscano: "[...] basta una frase e tu decidi che è quella, la estrai dal discorso come un chirurgo che con le pinze prende un brandello di tessuto e lo isola"[36]. Si deve sorvolare sulla fonte e sul contesto, "L'importante è non guardare la portatrice della frase"[37], quindi selezionare una certa parola della frase udita ("tagli con le forbici mentali"[38]) e provare infine la portata estetica di ciò che si è selezionato[39]. Alla luce del seguito della storia si dovrà concludere che un tale gioco in certi casi costa caro. La realtà fittiva costruita grazie ad un'attività di "furto", montaggio e fantasia può prendere la mano e finire per impadronirsi anche del costruttore, in questo caso il protagonista di "Voci". Per inciso andrebbe osservato che anche in un racconto come quello considerato affiorano allora certi messaggi morali che ci si sarebbe attesi di trovare solo nella produzione fantastica classica; nello specifico essi toccano proprio il fare letterario[40].

In "Voci" l'illusione di veridicità del fatto narrato, già debole per mancanza di dati tangibili sulla presenza del *revenant*, ma sostenuta se non altro dal modo in cui il protagonista vi reagisce, riceve uno scrollo proprio se rivista alla luce dell'episodio

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[35] Nell'opera di Tabucchi precise strategie discorsive – omissioni, ambiguità, reticenze, correzioni da parte del narratore – agiscono in funzione di creare complessità nella realtà di cui narra la storia. Sulla presenza di queste figure retoriche nella sua narrativa cf. Spunta, 1998: 101-113.

[36] Tabucchi, 1993a: 13.

[37] Idem: 14.

[38] Idem.

[39] "[...] la assapori, una buona apertura, come delle buone carte di un poker, chissà cosa costruirai stasera, la sera è bello scrivere un pezzo *assurdo ma logico* che le voci degli altri ti hanno regalato, qualcosa che ti racconterà una storia del tutto diversa dalle storie che hanno raccontato tutti quelli ai quali hai rubato questa storia che invece appartiene solo a te [...]." Idem: 14 (corsivo mio).

[40] La bella interpretazione di "Voci" proposta da Dolfi richiama proprio l'attenzione su questo aspetto". L'io narrante (lo scrittore), artefice di furti, di scippi mascherati, di contraffazioni, crede di giocare, ma sulla pagina, al di là di ogni simulazione, ad un tratto, quella che finirà per trovarsi messa in gioco è la vita." Dolfi, 2000: 267.

iniziale. Esplicitando le leggi di costruzione del racconto, il protagonista segnala la possibile natura d'invenzione della sua storia. Mentre alcune caratteristiche testuali già sopra evidenziate (la certezza dell'uomo verso ciò che avverte, la sua crescita di inquietudine), vorrebbero dunque creare un'illusione di veridicità del fatto narrato, altre e prima di tutte la padronanza con cui il personaggio si crea letteratura, rodono tale illusione senza per il resto cancellarla[41]. Si genera un gioco di equilibrio, gestito dall'autore con perfetta maestria, sulle possibili letture del testo. Nell'opera di Tabucchi, come mostra il presente racconto, la barriera fra l'ordine del naturale e quello del sovrannaturale è fragile e non del tutto impermeabile; questo genera problemi di comprensione nel soggetto e lo spinge inevitabilmente ad una ricerca di senso.

Per concludere, nella narrativa considerata l'evento strano e inspiegabile provoca ancora inquietudine e mantiene una carica destabilizzante[42], ma la sua natura e funzione sembrano cambiare rispetto alla tradizione conosciuta: esso ha il ruolo di richiamare l'attenzione sulla complessità del reale e sull'impotenza conoscitiva del soggetto; rimette in moto il passato di quest'ultimo e ritorna sul rimosso, alle volte con effetti sconvolgenti – è il caso dei racconti de *L'angelo nero* – altre volte con inattesi effetti pacificanti, come si constata ne "I pomeriggi del sabato"[43] e in *Requiem*[44]. Quanto al suo statuto, tale evento ha perso di vera e propria straordinarietà. La mescolanza di logico e illogico in ciò che accade costantemente e con essa la coscienza del protagonista di non poter comprendere una realtà così costituita appaiono una costante. A chiamare attenzione sull'assurdità non è sempre necessaria una trasgressione logica, come quella costituita dalla presenza di un *revenant*. Anche qualcosa di così quotidiano come la lettura di un annuncio di giornale in cui appaiono strane coincidenze (è il caso di Any where out of the world") può evocare fantasmi. E il fantasma, per i protagonisti di questi racconti, è il loro passato, il rimosso, quella parte delle cose o di sé che non si è voluto vedere. Ce lo ricorda l'autore anche nella nota introduttiva a *L'Angelo nero*: „Quello che è stato torna, bussa alla nostra porta, petulante, questuante, insinuante"[45]. Ciò che il fatto strano e inspiegabile genera non è allora un rapporto con un altro ordine di realtà, come avveniva nella narrativa fantastica ottocentesca, ma un rapporto, che resta irrisolto, con una parte nascosta del reale in cui il soggetto è calato. Anche in questo caso fenomeni di interferenza e sovrapposizione fra due ordini – ma metonimici direi e non più antitetici – (quello del passato e del presente; dell'io e del suo doppio, della superficie visibile e invisibile delle cose) creano enormi difficoltà interpretative nel soggetto che con essi si deve misurare. Lo spazio logico del doppio resta aperto: in questo senso il fantastico odierno, nella fattispecie quello di Tabucchi, continua a lasciare dei segni ben

[41] Non solo la metanarrazione, come in "Voci", ma anche la parodia (come si verifica in certi racconti di Thomas Owen e di Landolfi) o il richiamo ad autori noti del fantastico (Ceronetti), contribuiscono ad evidenziare la natura fittiva della storia, il suo statuto di artificio, e agiscono in funzione di una rottura dell'illusione di verità del fatto narrato che sarebbe invece necessaria per una lettura in chiave fantastica.

[42] In molti dei personaggi tabucchiani sono rintracciabili gli stessi sintomi registrabili in figure della narrativa fantastica tramandata: mostrano una particolare sensibilità nel recepire i fenomeni, rispondono con inquietudine di fronte a un fatto inspiegabile, ne sono presi in maniera ossessiva.

[43] Tabucchi, 1994: 55-76.

[44] Tabucchi, 1994.

[45] Tabucchi, 1993a: 10.

riconoscibili che si situano anche nella logica della storia e non solo nella costruzione testuale che la sorregge.

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FROM DOUBLEVALENT TO MONOVALENT DISCOURSE: THE ROLE OF THE TRANSLATOR IN MEDIATING *HETEROGLOSSIA* AND *HETEROPSIA* IN A FICTIONAL NARRATIVE

Uroš Mozetič

Abstract

Among the many unresolved issues in the field of translation studies is also the one pertaining to the question of who sees/speaks in the source and in the target text. To this effect, the paper explores, firstly, excerpts from James Joyce's *Dubliners*, in order to extrapolate the prevailing narrative strategies with respect to narrative perspective and their rendering in the Slovene translation. Secondly, the results obtained from the analysis of the selected segments from both the source and target texts on the micro-structural level are compared with the effects that take place on the macro-structural level. The main objective, however, is to provide an adequate insight into those textual conditions that significantly govern the realisation of Bakhtin's notion of double-voiced discourse, particularly those which occur in a very limited stretch of language, sometimes even within a single phrase. The assumption is that such a narrative configuration is bound to present special difficulties for a translator of any text which includes a polyphony of voices and perspectives. Consequently, Bakhtin's postulation of *heteroglossia* is complemented with *heteropsia*, a medical term denoting unequal vision in the two eyes, which has been employed to signal a parallel perception of the object observed. Since these two rhetorical phenomena are most aptly realised by means of free indirect discourse, particular emphasis is placed on the variety of its function in a fictional narrative.

1. INTRODUCTION

Every translator of a fictional text, before embarking on the translation of their text, has to consider all the relevant discourse parameters, i.e. general linguistic and stylistic features as well as idiosyncratic peculiarities which make possible the realisation of the textual potentiality as to who sees and who speaks in the narrative. Our research, drawn on the theoretical and practical results of the contrastive analysis of the selected English prose texts and their corresponding Slovene translations, has revealed significant deviations especially on the axis narrator – narratee. This is largely due to the translators' inaccurate determination of the narrative mode(s) used, resulting in the displacement of the roles of the seer/speaker designated by the author of the original text. The greatest number of shifts in translation can be observed in those instances where the text either develops simultaneously on different narrative levels or where there is a comparatively weak signalling of shifting from one level to another, sometimes even within a single

sentence or clause. Such narrative manipulation enables the author to introduce a variety of perspectives on the same issue and "juxtapose two sets of values, to imply a critique of the character's views without the direct judgement which an external perspective would produce" (Fowler 1989: 138). What ensues from the interplay of two or more different views might be called a kind of hybrid perspective, the realisation of which is left entirely to the reader. The case of bringing together the author's (objective) and the character's (subjective) perspective, which happens to be the most frequent situation produced by free indirect discourse (FID), gives rise to the emergence of the so-called double voice, within which one set of values, beliefs, etc. is involved in implicit dialogue with another (Fowler 1989: 140.) The concept of double voice seems to be a plausible suggestion as to who really speaks in FID, even though it significantly departs from the traditional notion, conceived already by Genette (1972), according to which the narrator is always the speaker, except in direct speech, where the speaking is performed by the characters. What Genette's theory fails to take into account is that, particularly in FID, the author attempts to imitate the speech of the character by using the kind of lexis, grammar, and other structural and stylistic peculiarities pertaining to the typical speech and emotive behaviour of that character, but presented in the auctorial past tense and third person singular (cf. Brinton 1980: 363).

The postulation of double-voiced discourse logically entails the existence of double-viewed discourse (*heteropsia*). Consequently, two distinctive perspectives and their verbal manifestations can be emphasised to the point of presenting the reader with a set of values, beliefs, and worldviews, which are contrasting enough to motivate him/her to form an idiosyncratic opinion of the fictional world. Notwithstanding the seemingly even polarisation of the control of the speech/view activity between the narrator and character in the case of FID, as suggested by Short and many other exponents (Leech and Short 1992: 318-351), there is reason to believe that the narrator, in spite of all, has a decisive advantage over the character in that s/he not only sees what the character sees, but s/he also sees the character himself. On this score, we tend to side with Leuven-Zwart's contention that "the narrator is always a focalizor, i.e. telling a story implies seeing the events, actions and characters which are its constituent parts... Although it is not possible to tell a story without focalizing, it is possible to focalize without telling a story: a character may very well focalize without reporting what he sees" (Leuven-Zwart 1989: 176). Accordingly, the narrator's and the character's respective focalisation, when the latter's does not involve narrating, actually occur on separate levels, and should therefore be understood in hierarchical order. As this calls for a more differentiated and precise denomination of their functions, it seems appropriate to define focalisation as the process in which the point of view of the character is realised on the level of story. The term narrative perspective, however, ought to be reserved for that position on the level of discourse from which the narrator observes, comments on and qualifies the narrative. The main purpose of such delineation of perspective and focalisation is to provide some clarification, however arbitrary or even simplifying, of the perpetual issue concerning the use of FID as the most frequent means of implementing the double-voiced and double-viewed potential of literary expression.

The immense flexibility of FID, especially as far as *voice* and *view* are concerned, may indeed enable the author of the original text to freely manoeuvre in the space

between the narrator and character. However, reasonable doubt may be raised as to whether any translator may find that a blessing in disguise. Rather and especially when it comes to a textual negotiation between so inherently different languages as English and Slovene, an occurrence of FID is bound to create an uproar in a target-language system. Fortunately, such helplessness will not happen inevitably and at all times, since many instances of FID are perfectly manageable in Slovene, which is probably true of any other language as well; the true concern aims at those precarious cases of the use of FID where, no matter how skilful or inventive the translator may be, the translated text will never hold water, owing to certain insurmountable systemic differences between the source and the target language.

2. GRAMMATICAL AND MODAL INDICATIONS OF FID

To begin with, excerpts from (1) to (4) have been borrowed from James Joyce's short story 'Eveline' from his collection of short stories *Dubliners (D)*, to demonstrate some particularly hard-to-crack translation nuts (the emphases are mine, as in all the other excerpts):

(1) She would not cry many tears at leaving the Stores. (*D*, 'Eveline', 38)
Slovene: Zato ker zapušča trgovino, ne bo prelila mnogo solz. (31)

(2) People would treat her with respect then. (*D*, 'Eveline', 38)
Slovene: Tedaj se bodo vedli z njo spoštljivo. (31)

(3) She would not be treated as her mother had been. (*D*, 'Eveline', 38)
Slovene: Ne bodo ravnali kakor z njeno materjo. (31)

(4) Frank would save her. He would give her life, perhaps love, too... Frank would take her in his arms, fold her in his arms. He would save her. (*D*, 'Eveline', 41-42)
Slovene: Frank jo bo rešil. Dal ji bo življenje, morda tudi ljubezen... Frank jo bo vzel v naročje, jo stisnil k sebi. Rešil jo bo. (33-34)

All these illustrations demonstrate the use of **would** in the position of FID. The translation problem in these cases springs from the double function of would, that is from would as an auxiliary verb to form the future-in-the-past tense, and as a verb expressing conditional modality. The preservation of both functions in the target text is of vital importance here, since the suspense of the story actually draws on the main character's, Eveline's, dilemma whether or not she should elope with her boy-friend Frank to Buenos Aires. So, on the eve of her departure, "she weighs the pros and cons of this adventure as against the ties of her admittedly hard family life, looking after her violent father and two younger children after her mother died insane" (Fowler 1989: 139). For the reader of the original, the outcome of Eveline's decision is fairly uncertain and is resolved only at the very end of the story; the reader of the Slovene translation, however, in which all the would-structures have been transformed into the *future tense*, is put on the wrong track, as he is given clues throughout the story which clearly suggest that Eveline has more or less made up her mind – to take her chances. This vital

discrepancy between the two texts must not be put down to the translator's incompetence or anything else, for that matter, since he has only played by the book of Slovene grammar. Admittedly, it would be possible to preserve the modality of the original also in translation, but not without the sacrifice of the grammatical future. Deliberating which of the two would-functions is more and which one less indispensable seems beside the point and already comes into the domain of literary hermeneutics. The only and sore point is that translation deficiencies are sometimes unavoidable, notwithstanding the congeniality of the translator. However, the gravity of the losses may vary, as the next case will prove. It is an excerpt from the close of the first chapter of Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (PAYM)*:

(5) He was alone. He was happy and free: but he would not be anyway proud with Father Dolan. He would be very quiet and obedient: and he wished that he could do something kind for him to show him that he was not proud. (*PAYM*, 54)
Slovene: Bil je sam. Srečen in svoboden.; vendar nikakor ni hotel kakor koli kazati ponosa pred patrom Dolanom. Hotel je biti zelo miren in poslušen: in želel je, da bi mu mogel izkazati kako ljubeznivost in mu tako pokazati, da se ni prevzel. (55)

The expenditure of the future tense for the benefit of modality in translation (*would not* rendered into Slovene as *did not want,* and *would be* as *wanted to be*) is here not only a reasonable decision but also a justifiable one, because it is supported by the context. Having begun with the emphasis on the *heteroglossia* and *heteropsia* of FID, let us briefly consider what may be going on in this respect. In the case of 'Eveline', it appears that the main character's voice is recognisable throughout the story, but the indirect third-person report (as opposed to the direct report of stream of consciousness) prevents her point of view from becoming alienated from that of the author. Apparently, the two points of view must be running side by side, one (of the author) dominated by the would-structure denoting the future-in-the-past activity, the other (of the character) denoting, or rather, connoting modality of hesitation and indecision.

The other text, *PAYM*, effaces the auctorial control almost entirely by leaving the narrative stage to the character, Stephen Dedalus. An unreliable narrator, he speaks alone, by himself and for himself (after all, "he was alone"), therefore the translator's choice to adopt the character's modality of expression is absolutely warranted. In the end, we are left with one voice only, and that is Stephen's.

To these examples may be added one more. Again it has been borrowed from the Eveline story and it demonstrates how a grammatically marked FID situation in the original text may successfully be dealt with in translation even though the target-language system may lack equivalent grammatical apparatus. Eveline, the only provider in the family, has to hand out all her wages to her father and is then made to beg for money when she wants to go out:

(6) In the end he would give her the money and ask her had she any intention of buying Sunday's dinner. (*D*, 'Eveline', 39)
Slovene: Na kraju ji je potem denar dal in jo vprašal, ali misli kaj kupiti za nedeljsko kosilo. (32)

The underlined part of the sentence is evidently in disagreement with English grammar, however, it perfectly agrees with Gaelic, where "there is no difference in word order between a direct and an indirect question. Both are introduced by an interrogative particle showing that a question follows..." (Hedberg 1981: 115). The anomalous wording of the interrogative clause has given way to the character's voice and thus signalled that FID is at work again. In order to recreate it in translation, the Slovene language would need to resort to its own idiosyncratic arsenal, in this particular case the implementation of the colloquial conjunction *če/a* instead of the standard *ali* (both denoting "if"). The register would thus shift from formal to informal, implying that it is the character's voice we hear rather than the narrator's. Given the fact that the Slovene translator has failed to make good use of this possibility, whereby the FID has changed into a mere narrative report of speech or at best into indirect speech. And this, according to Short's cline of speech presentation, is almost exclusively in the narrator's control, meaning that instead of the character's intimate and subjective reflection we get objective information from the distanced narrator/author (Leech and Short 1992: 318-351). (This particular illustration may be of relevance to translators into the languages which resemble Slovene grammatical features.)

3. DOUBLE-VOICED/VIEWED DISCOURSE

The next field of FID presentation is, translation-wise, a much less formidable task of rendering, albeit not completely devoid of complications. It concerns the Bakhtian pure 'double-voiced discourse' which

> serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically interrelated, they–as it were–know about each other (just as two changes in a dialogue know of each other and are structures in this mutual knowledge of each other); it is as if they actually hold a conversation with each other (Bakhtin 1986: 324).

This function of FID may aptly be illustrated with the following excerpt from one of the Dublin stories, 'Clay'. Maria, a simple housemaid, looks at herself in the mirror; simultaneously, James Augustine Aloysius Joyce, born in Dublin in 1882 and educated at Jesuit schools and University College, Dublin, holds the mirror. This is what each of them sees, respectively and simultaneously:

(7) She changed her blouse too and, as she stood before the mirror, she thought of how she used to dress on Sunday morning when she was a young girl; and she looked with quaint affection at the diminutive body which she had so often adorned. In spite of its years she found it a nice tidy little body. (*D*, 'Clay', 112-113)
Slovene: Tudi bluzo je preoblekla in ko je tako obstala pred zrcalom, je pomislila, kako se je svoje dni oblačila ob nedeljskih jutrih za k maši, ko je

bila še dekletce; in s čudno ljubečim čustvom je pogledala drobceno telo, ki ga je bila tolikokrat lišpala. Letom navkljub se ji je zazdelo, da je telesce kar čedno. (90)

Apparently, the narrator's manner of describing Maria's body in the mirror differs immensely from the character's. Maria's idiolect is very specific: her word *nice* is the most frequently repeated adjective in 'Clay' – indeed it occurs twelve times here out of only twenty nine times in the whole collection of the Dublin stories. The juxtaposition of two disparate perceptions of the same object – the character's body, one given by the narrator and the other one by the character itself, serves as a basis for creating so-called "narrative irony", (Short 1991: 71-72) which in turn forms the basis for the characteristic modernist distance. From a translator's point of view, however, such an FID occurrence should not present too much difficulty, providing the target-language system has the necessary lexical tools in store. Slovene for one is definitely in command of such lexicon, even though the translator, admittedly, has not been completely successful here. The demarcation line between the narrator's presentation of perception and the character's represented perception is not as clear-cut in the translation as it is in the original text. However, as already pointed out, this sort of FID issue depends more on the translator's readiness to perceive an instance of FID and render it accordingly than on the capacity of the language of translation.

4. LEXICAL MARKERS OF FID

To round up, let me touch upon a very common and frequently used rhetorical device in FID: *reiteration.* As a rule, reiteration should be quite easily handled in translation, especially when it comes to repeating certain lexical items that constitute the ground of the character's idiolect. It is highly relevant for FID since it suggests "the unsophisticated nature of ordinary thought-processes such as would be reproduced in informal speech or writing" (Wales 1992: 41). Maria's fondness for the word "nice" has already been noted: the following items set forth all the twelve references to this adjective, merely for the sake of emphasis:

(8) The fire was nice and bright and on one of the side-tables were four very big barmbracks. (*D*, 'Clay', 110)
Slovene: Ogenj je bil živ in svetal in na eni pomožnih miz so ležale štiri štruce. (88)

(9) What a nice evening they would have, all the children singing! (*D*, 'Clay', 111)
Slovene: Kako lepo bodo prebili večer, ko bodo vsi otroci peli! (89)

10) ... (though Joe's wife was ever so nice with her) ... (*D*, 'Clay', 111)
Slovene: ... (četudi je bila Joejeva žena zmerom tako prijazna z njo)... (89)

(11) She used to have such a bad opinion of Protestants but now she thought they were very nice people, a little quiet and serious, but still very nice people to live with. (*D*, 'Clay', 111)
Slovene: Prej je imela tako slabo mnenje o protestantih, a zdaj je sodila, da so prav prijazni ljudje, nekoliko tihi in resnobni, pa vendar prijazni ljudje, s katerimi je kar moči živeti. (89)

12) ... but the matron was such a nice person to deal with, so genteel. (*D*, 'Clay', 111)
Slovene: ... toda upraviteljica je bila tako ljubezniva ženska, tako plemenita, tako lahko se je bilo sporazumeti z njo. (89)

(14) ... in spite of its years she found it a nice tidy little body. (*D*, 'Clay', 113)
Slovene: Letom navkljub se ji je zazdelo, da je telesce kar čedno. (90)

(15) She hoped they would have a nice weekend. (*D*, 'Clay', 113)
Slovene: Upala je, da bodo preživeli prijeten večer. (90)

(16) ... she wanted to buy something really nice. (*D*, 'Clay', 113)
Slovene: ... rada bi kupila kaj res lepega. (91)

(17) He was very nice with her ... (*D*, 'Clay', 114)
Slovene: Bil je zelo prijazen z njo ... (91)

(18) He was very nice with her. (*D*, 'Clay', 115)
Slovene: Zelo prijazen je bil z njo. (92)

(19) Maria had never seen Joe so nice to her as he was that night... (*D*, 'Clay', 117)
Slovene: Maria ni pomnila, da bi bil Joe kdaj tako prijazen z njo kot nocoj ... (94)

One does not need to be a speaker/reader of Slovene to observe that out of these twelve occurrences of the word "nice" as many as half of them have been replaced by their synonyms or substitutes. This is rather astonishing since the repetition is limited to such a short stretch of text and thus so obvious. But it has been noticed that quite a few translators (not only the Slovene ones) are curiously inclined towards 'polishing' the original whenever they feel an author has failed to comply with the principal rules of so-called 'elegant style'. Quite a different and pardonable matter occurs when there is a considerable textual lapse between the first and the second mention. Examples can be found in *Ulysses*, when Joyce first quotes verbatim *the love that dare not speak its name* (Joyce 1987: 41), a line from the poem 'Two Loves' by Lord Alfred Douglas (Coote 1983: 262-264), Oscar Wilde's lover, and then repeats the quote on page 166. On this score, the Slovene translation offers two different versions of the same text simply because the translator assumingly lost track. The pragmatic consequences of effacing the figure of reiteration are aptly described in the words of Katie Wales:

> With repetition that occurs in close juxtaposition rather than over successive pages we are likely in Dubliners, as in Joyce's later prose, to be also in the presence of a marked subjectivity (of character), rather than an

objectivity (of narrator). So the repetitions suggest then unsophisticated nature of ordinary thought-processes such as would be reproduced in informal speech or writing (Wales 1992: 41).

A translation which demonstrates a growing tendency towards the neutralisation of the informal or colloquial diction of the original, manifested in our case through the excessive use of reiteration, is bound to give rise to a greater objectivisation of narrative report and the shifting of perspective and focalisation away from the character towards the (omniscient) narrator. Unlike the reader of the original, who is inclined to assume a somewhat distant and sceptical position as regards the narrative information that s/he receives from the (unreliable) character, the reader of the Slovene text is more likely to trust the seemingly objective report of the author/narrator. In this respect, the former reader is confronted with a far less traditional text in that s/he can rely no longer on whatever information s/he gets from the narrator/author but has to instead realise the interpretive potential of the text entirely on his/her own.

5. BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

Translation problems of coming to terms with the phenomena of *heteroglossia* and *heteropsia*, as discussed in this paper, particularly in the light of free indirect discourse which appears to be their principal implementing tool, are but a drop in the ocean of their astonishing complexity. From my own experience with the English modernist texts in the Slovene translation, besides Joyce including also authors like Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence and several others, the impression is that the translators have been by and large negligent of the specificities of the new style of writing and have sought instead to reproduce the original works in a more or less traditional fashion. To make the matter worse, most of these translations, questionable already when they came out, are nearly half a century old and absolutely nothing is being done towards remedy, even though the fresh blood of the incoming translators seems to be running along the right veins. For example, the very book titled *Ljudje iz Dublina* (*Dubliners*) was first published in 1955 and then reprinted in 1993 without any corrections because most of the publishing houses still prefer to cling to the old better-save-than-sorry policy. A sad case, indeed, but it is free direct mammon rather than free indirect discourse that makes the world go round.

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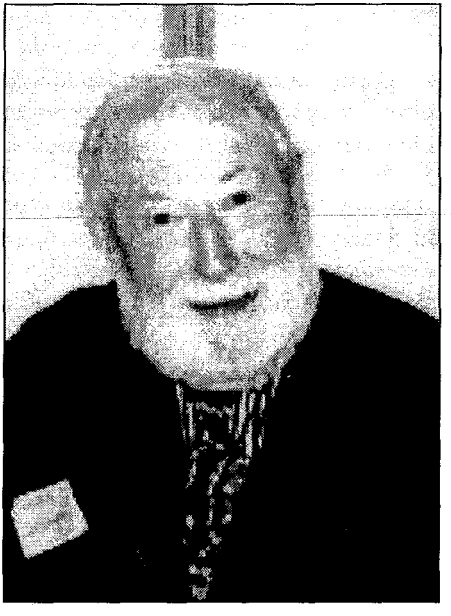
UDK 929 Hickey B.

BERNARD HICKEY
(1931 – 2007)
In Memoriam



In the mid-1970s the Australian government began to stimulate departments of English at various European universities to include in their curricula the teaching of Australian literature. Literature Board of the Australia Council helped organize various seminars and conferences, it provided some basic text-books and literary works, and also financially supported Australian university professors to give lectures at these institutions. The Department of English at the University of Ljubljana showed interest in developing these relations and Bernard Hickey was one of the first Australian guests at our university. Sad news that Bernard died on the last Sunday in July this year evoked in us the memories connected with our friendly and professional meetings.

Bernard Hickey was born in 1931 in Queensland, Australia, and his ancestors came there from Ireland. Bernard was born in a working class family and his life-course

depended very much on his own intelligence and hard work. He finished his studies at Trinity College in Dublin and then taught for several years in England before he went to Italy, which became his second home. In 1968 he joined the University of Ca' Foscari in Venice as a Professor of Commonwealth Literature. Venice became his base for his visits to other European and Asian universities, but he was always glad to return there, because he was again and again fascinated by its beauty. In 1988 he was appointed as a Chair of English Litearture at the University of Lecce. He was not discouraged by this move although he had to start there right from the beginning not only as regards teaching of Australian literature, but as an initiator of a Centre for Australian Studies with its library which includes now more than 7,000 volumes on Australian literature. In Lecce, in this beautiful baroque city, in the deepest south of Italy, he organized in 1990 a memorable conference of the European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, which was attended by several hundred participants.

Hickey's first visit to the Department of English, University of Ljubljana, took place in the late 1970s and he returned to Ljubljana a number of times. He always enjoyed his stay in Slovenia, his discusssions of Australian literature with the staff of our department and our students. Everybody loved his lectures, which were intellectually stimulating, witty, full of humour and filled with his personal charm. He suggested we should invite to our Department some well-known Australian professors and writers (among them were also Dorothy Green, Veronica Brady, Robert Brissenden, Laurie Hergenhan, Bruce Bennet, Michael Wilding, Tom Shapcott and some twenty others), who enriched our courses on Australian literature. He was also a member of the board of examiners for the doctoral thesis which Igor Maver was preparing in the eighties. When I organized a Symposium on Australian literature and culture at Lake Bled in September 1982, the list of visitors included important Australian, European, and American scholars, academics like Doireann MacDermott, Barry Andrews, Brian Kiernan and a number of other well-known names. Bernard Hickey prepared a lecture for this symposium on the Australian writer Miles Franklin (his contribution was published in *Australian Papers*, Ljubljana, 1983), and he also wrote a paper on Lawrence Durrell for another collection of essays written as a tribute to the former editor of the review *Acta Neophilologica*, Professor Janez Stanonik (*Literature, Culture and Ethnicity*, Ljubljana, 1992), which I also edited. Because we knew how busy Bernard always was, his contributions were even more appreciated. We also thank him for having been a member of the Advisory Committee of our review.

Bernard Hickey was really a person who divided his life between two continents: Australia and Europe. In a letter which he wrote to me from Brisbane on 6 Dec.1979 he described his impressions about his stay at the University of Queensland with the following words: "Dear Mirko, ... As for Australia: it has been splendid, and our Australian colleagues have a special regard for those of us in the field of Europe. My relationship is a double one, doubly enriching". However, in a letter Bernard wrote to me in 1986, he said: »Home again in Venice ...Hope you and Tom Shapcott had a nice time. My collection of books is growing so I hope your students can come over soon. We'll be in touch about a visit to Lju(bljana). ..All my very best from beautiful Venice«. When political disruption of Yugoslavia was increasing he expressed his worries and his optimism for our future: »We are very sorry to read of the crisis in your country. Please count on our

solidarity« (5 Jan. 1989). And this solidarity was also shown by the Australian government when Slovenia became independent in 1991, and the Australian government was one of the first to recognize Slovenia as a sovereign state.

Bernard Hickey was a real Australian cultural ambassador in Europe. He was a very warm person, an important scholar and a great friend. One of his personal characteristics was that he could influence with his joy of life people with whom he established good personal contacts and therefore many of us will miss him, his professional advice, his good-hearted humour and his friendship.

Mirko Jurak
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

SUMMARIES IN SLOVENE – POVZETKI V SLOVENŠČINI

UDK 81'255.4:821.111-2 Shakespeare W. =163.6

Mirko Jurak

JAKOB KELEMINA O SHAKESPEAROVI DRAMATIKI

V razpravi je osrednje mesto posvečeno analizi in vrednotenju dela univerzitetnega profesorja dr. Jakoba Kelemine (19.07.1882 – 14.05.1957) o dramatiki Williama Shakespeara. Kot piše Dušan Moravec so to prve resne, poglobljene raziskave v slovenskem prostoru o tem dramatiku. Sicer je bilo o Keleminovem zanstvenem delu doslej pri nas objavljenih že več študij, ki pa so se omejevale na njegove prispevke o avtrijski in nemški književnosti, zlasti še o njegovem raziskovanju sage o Tristanu, o nemško-slovenskih kulturnih in književnih stikih, o raznih filoloških vprašanjih kot tudi o literarni vedi. V pričujoči razpravi je raziskano in predstavljeno tisto področje, ki je bilo doslej le bežno omenjeno, s čimer je bistveno dopolnjena celovita podoba tega pomembnega slovenskega znanstvenika. Razen Keleminovih knjižnih prikazov, med katerimi se nekateri ukvarjajo tudi s prevajanjem Shakespearovih del v hrvaščino, so zlasti zanimivi njegovi uvodi k trem prevodom Shakespearovih dram (*Sen kresne noči,* 1920; *Beneški trgovec*; 1921; *Macbeth*, 1921), ki jih je v slovenščino prevedel Oton Župančič. V Keleminovih spisih so njegova razmišljanja o Shakespearovi dramatiki prisotna tudi v njegovi razpravi o Župančičevi drami *Veronika Deseniška*, kot tudi posamezni primeri, ki jih Kelemina navaja v svoji knjigi *Literarna veda.* Mimo analiz primarnih Keleminovih tekstov o Shakespearovi dramatiki, sem skušal ugotoviti tudi Keleminovo vlogo pri slovenskem posredovanju te tematike, njegova kritiška izhodišča o prevajanju teh del v slovenščino in o prevajanju svetovne klasike pri nas. Eno najbolj zanimivih raziskovalnih vprašanj te študije je vsekakor Keleminovo sodelovanje z Otonom Župančičem, ki je pokazalo osnovno razliko v njunem odnosu do Shakespearove dramatike: medtem ko je bil Župančič zlasti zainteresiran za pripravo estetsko dovršenih prevodov, pri čemer si je dovoljeval tudi nekatere odklone od natančnih vsebinskih prenosov Shakespearovega besedila v slovenščino, se je Kelemina predvsem zanimal za literarno-zgodovinska, etična in jezikovna vprašanja. Te razlike v njunih pogledih so

vplivale tudi na njuno sorazmerno kratko sodelovanje. To je razvidno tudi iz občasnih, v celotnem Župančičevem pisanju raztresenih mnenj, ki jih je pesnik izražal v svojih pismih, zapisih in dnevnikih. Pri pisanju te študije sem lahko upošteval tudi doslej neobjavljeno korespondenco med Jakobom Kelemino in njegovimi sodobniki, ki jo hrani njegova hčerka Doris Kelemina Križaj. Iz teh dopisov so razvidni tudi detajli, ki osvetljujejo tako Keleminov kot tudi Župančičev odnos do prevajanja kot tudi njune osebnostne, karakterne poteze.

Za boljše razumevanje stanja slovenskega gledališča ob koncu devetnajstega in v prvih dveh desetletjih dvajsetega stoletja sem v uvodnem delu študije podal kratek oris razvoja slovenskega gledališča, s posebnim ozirom na prevajanje in uprizarjanje Shakespearovih dram na Slovenskem. V skopih biografskih črtah je prikazano tudi življenje in delo Jakoba Kelemine, ki ga Janez Stanonik uvršča med ustanovitelje Univerze v Ljubljani in Oddelka za germanske jezike in književnosti, čigar predstojnik je bil Kelemina od njegove ustanovite, leta 1920, do svoje smrti, leta 1957.

V zadnjem delu študije skušam ugotoviti ali se mnenja nekaterih drugih slovenskih prevajalcev Shakespearovih del, kot so npr. Matej Bor, Janko Moder, Milan Jesih, Janez Menart, podobna oziroma celo enaka mnenjem in ugotovitvam Jakoba Kelemine o Župančičevem prevajanju Shakespearovih dram v slovenščino. Ugotovimo lahko, da se kljub temu, da vsi omenjeni poudarjajo Župančičevo pesniško genialnost, v veliki meri strinjajo v svojih pripombah tudi o nekaterih Župančičevih pomanjkljivostih pri prevajanju, ki jih je bil večinoma že zaznal in omenil tudi Kelemina. Seveda pa ostaja dejstvo, da Župančičevi prevodi Shakespearovih dram v slovenščino predstavljajo odločilno prelomnico z dotedanjim prevajanjem dramskih del, še posebej Shakespearovih dram, in da je bil hkrati z uprizoritvijo in še posebej z objavo the dram postavljen tudi nov standard za vse nadaljne prevode. Čeprav je bilo kritiško delo Jakoba Kelemine na področju Shakespearove dramatike in prevajanja v slovenščino kratko, je iz njegovih študij razvidno, da je prav on pripeljal Župančiča k bolj temeljitemu prevajalskemu delu kot ga je bil ta prevajalec opravil dotlej. Obenem pa lahko zatrdimo, da je bilo Keleminovo raziskovalno delo, ki je bilo osredotočeno na njegove študije in kritike Shakespearove dramatike, vseskozi znanstveno temeljito in da njegovi sklepi o literarnozgodovinskih in tudi jezikovnih vprašanjih te dramatike ostajajo temeljni tudi za vse nadaljnje študije o Shakespearovi dramatiki na Slovenskem.

UDK 821.111.09-141 Wordsworth W.

Sandro Jung

WORDSWORTHOVA PESNITEV »TINTERN ABBEY« IN TRADICIJA HIMNIČNE ODE

Članek analizira Wordworthovo pesnitev »Tintern Abbey« in jo poskuša povezati s tradicijo himnične ode kot jo je mojstrsko uporabljal že William Collins v osemnajstem stoletju. Obenem preverja generično konceptualizacijo te pesmi kot ode, ki s svojo struk-

turo in vsebino ponovno oživlja angleško himnično odo s sredine osemnajstega stoletja, čeprav je postavljena v okvir Wordsworthovega pojmovanja čustvene neposrednosti in enostavnosti, kar je zapisal v predgovoru k *Liričnim baladam.*

UDK 929 Kappus M. A.

Janez Stanonik

MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS: ANALITIČNI PRIKAZ NJEGOVEGA ŽIVLJENJA IN DELA

Študija prinašan analitični povzetek ameriških raziskav o Marku Antonu Kappusu. Te so sicer številne in razmeroma razvejane, toda nobena ni prvenstveno usmerjena na življenje in delo Kappusa. Vse obravnavajo druga vsebinska področja (na primer, biografijo Euzebija Franciska Kina, Kappusovega sodobnika; ekspedicijo Kina in Kappusa leta 1694 iz centralne Sonore k obalam Kalifornijskega zaliva, itd.), ob katerih pa ima tudi Kappus svoje pomembno, toda drugorazredno mesto. Sedanja študija povzema tudi rezultate sedmih raziskav o Kappusu, ki jih je avtor tega prispevka v letih 1986 do 1995 objavil v reviji *Acta Neophilologica.* V daljšem uvodnem delu sedanja študija govori obširneje o doslej slabo proučenem razdobju Kappusovega življenja v Sloveniji pred odhodom v Ameriko. Kappus – sicer član jezuitskega reda – ni igral v tem času neke vidnejše vloge v Sloveniji. Izstopa predvsem kot član rodbine Kappusov, ki je, zlasti preko sorodstvenih povezav, imela pomembno mesto v razvoju slovenskega železarstva v 18. stoletju ter v istočasnem slovenskem kulturnem preporodu. V Ameriki je Kappus v letih 1687–1717, kot misijonar-pionir v Sonori, viden predvsem kot tesen sodelavec Euzebija Franciska Kina, po rodu Južnega Tirolca, v svojem času osrednje osebnosti v španski severozapadni Mehiki. Kino je s svojimi ekspedicijami po dolinah rek Gile in Colorada pomembno prispeval k ekspanziji kolonialne Španije na ozemlje današnje Arizone in Kalifornije. Kappus je viden kot Kinov posrednik v Evropi, saj je omogočil objavo Kinovega zemljevida Sonore leta 1707 v Nemčiji v almanahu *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta.* S tem je seznanil Evropo z važnim Kinovim odkritjem, da je Spodnja Kalifornija (Baja California) le ogromen polotok, z zemljo povezan z ameriško celino, in ne otok kot so takrat domnevali, Kalifornijski zaliv pa podaljšek Pacifika, ki se končuje ob izlivu reke Colorado v morje, in ne začetek ogromnega preliva, za katerega so mislili da obkroža cel severni konec ameriškega kontinenta.

Zanimiv je tudi Kappusov odnos do španske nasledstvene vojne (1701–1714). Po smrti Karla II, zadnjega Habsburžana na španskem prestolu (umrl je leta 1700), je prišlo do vojne med Francijo, ki so ji vladali Burboni, in evropskimi državami pod oblastjo Habsburžanov. V Španiji so zmagali Burboni z bitko pri Almanzi (25. aprila 1707). S tem so Burboni postali vladarji Španiji in španskih kolonij, tudi Mehike. Kappus, kot tudi večina jezuitov v Mehiki, ki so prišli v Ameriko iz habsburških dežel, so v tej vojni dolgo simpatizirali s Habsburžani. Ob zmagi Burbonov so priredili v Mehiki ve-

like slovesnosti na čast nove dinastije, Kappus pa je izdal krajšo pesnitev v latinščini z naslovom *IHS Enthusiasmus Sive solemnes lvdi poetici Metris pro dvrante anno 1708 Chronographicis svb Pyromachia depicti*, v kateri izraža svojo lojalnost, kot tudi lojalnost drugih Jezuitov v Mehiki do nove dinastije. Danes ni znan noben ohranjen izvod te pesnitve, vendar obstajajo o njej dovolj izčrpni podatki v bibliografijah zgodnjega tiska v Mehiki. Kljub podobnim izrazom vdanosti so bili leta 1767 Jezuiti izgnani iz Mehike pod ponižujočimi okoliščinami, kar pa Kappus ni več doživel, saj je umrl že leta 1717. Podrobnejše okoliščine njegove smrti niso znane.

UDK 81'255.4:821.111(73)-3 Cooper J. F. =163.6

Darja Mazi - Leskovar

NAJZGODNEJŠI SLOVENSKI PREVODI KNJIŽNE SERIJE *USNJENA NOGAVICA*

Pričujoča razprava govori o prvih prevodih knjižne serije *Usnjena nogavica* ameriškega pisatelja Jamesa Fenimora Cooperja v slovenski jezik. Serija zgodovinskih romanov je proslavila pisatelja doma in v tujini ter predstavlja njegov najodmevnejši prispevek k razvoju ameriške književnosti. Romani so izhajali med letoma 1823 in 1841, prevodi pa v letih 1900 in 1901. Posebnost izdaje slovenskih prevodov je, da sledijo kronološki življenjski zgodbi glavnega junaja Natanaela Bumpppa in da so predstavljeni kot branje za mladino. Vsi prevodi so priredbe, zato se analiza osredotoča na udomačitvene in potujitvene prevajalske strategije, ki jih je uporabil prevajalec Ivan Strelec, da bi močno kulturno zaznamovano besedilo približal ciljnim bralcem. Prispevek ne more v celoti izpostaviti raznolikosti uporabljenih prevajalskih strategij v petih prevodih, zato se osredotoča na vsebinsko krčenje obsežnih besedil in na prevode lastnih imen.

UDK 821.111(73=163.6).09 Adamič L.

Jerneja Petrič

ADAMIČEV "STARI TUJEC" KOT OSTANEK ETNIČNE DIFERENCIACIJE V ZDA

Prispevek analizira zgodbo z naslovom "The Old Alien by the Kitchen Window", ki je izšla julija 1940 v časopisu *Saturday Evening Post*, nato pa jo je Adamič še isto leto vključil v z Anisfieldovo nagrado počaščeno zbirko *From Many Lands*. Zgodbo je napisal dvanajst let potem, ko je z reportažnim zapisom z naslovom "The Bohunks" močno razburil slovenskoameriško srenjo, češ da blati slovenske priseljence v ZDA. Avtorica prispevka izhaja iz predpostavke, da je pisatelj v "The Old by the Kitchen Window", ki

je prav tako besedilo mešanega žanra, čeprav bolj literarno od "The Bohunks", za razliko od slednjega skušal prikazati pozitivno podobo slovenskega priseljenca, s čimer je želel doprinesti k nastajajoči ideji multikulturalizma. Zgodba o Dolenjcu Tonetu Kmetu pripoveduje tako o njem kot zanimivemu, ekscentričnemu, že četrt stoletja upokojenemu posebnežu kot tudi o njem kot predstavniku slovenskih Američanov. Slednje stori pisatelj na subtilen, posreden način in pri tem izpostavi vrednote kot so delavnost, poštenost, poslušnost in zvestoba. Vendar pa so junakove ekscentrične posebnosti tiste, ki njegov lik napravijo zanimiv in plastičen. Portret Toneta Kmeta, ki ga je Adamič napravil s pomočjo ankete in osebnih srečanj, mu je uspel in predstavlja pozitiven doprinos k Adamičevim težnjam, da bi se slovenski živelj v Ameriki prikazal kot dragocen in predvsem enakopraven člen v medkulturnem mozaiku ZDA.

UDK 821.111(73).09-31 Hurston Z. N.

Tatjana Vukelić

O ROMANU ZORE NEALE HURSTON *THEIR EYES WERE WATCHING GOD*

Že več kot desetletje je delo pisateljice Zore Neale Hurston deležno pozornosti kritikov, še posebej to velja za njen roman *Their Eyes Were Watching God.* Razen kritiške pozornosti o pisateljevanju te avtorice, je bilo deležno njeno delo tudi široke javne podpore, ki je avtorici omogočila vstop v osrednji tok ameriške književnosti. V članku je postavljeno tudi vprašanje o književni tradiciji ameriških črnskih pisateljic ter njihovega iskanja svobode in identitete v socialnem in kulturnem okolju ameriških belcev.

UDK 821.111(73=1.72).09-31 Cisneros S.

Branka Kalogjera

MEDGENERACIJSKA DINAMIKA PRI "STARIH" IN "NOVIH" ETNIČNIH SKUPNOSTIH TER VEČPLASTNE IDENTITETE V ROMANU SANDRE CISNEROS *CARAMELO*

Roman pisateljice Sandre Cisneros *Caramelo* je osnova za literarni prikaz medgeneracijske dinamike v etnični skupnosti Chicanov. Ob tem avtorica članka primerja roman s tovrstno klasiko tega žanra ter njegov postopen prehod k definiciji etnične identitete. V pričujočem primeru se v liku osrednje junakinje kaže pisateljičin postmodernistični pristop, v katerem se prepletajo fikcija in realnost, ki jima avtorica daje enako legitimnost.

UDK 821.111.09-31 Conrad J. :821.111(73).09-31 Fitzgerald F.S.

Majda Šavle

POSREDNA PRIPOVED V CONRADOVEM ROMANU *SRCE TEME* IN FITZGERALDOVEM *VELIKEM GATSBYJU*

Joseph Corad je s svojim jezikom in stilom pisanja vplival na številne pisatelje, tudi na F. Scotta Fitzgeralda. Članek predstavlja rezultate raziskave o glagolih, ki sta jih avtorja uporabila v pogovorih, ki se odvijajo v njunih delih *Srce teme* in *Veliki Gatsby*. Cilj študije je bil potrditi hipotezo, da se Fitzgerald od Conrada ni naučil samo tehnike posredne pripovedi, temveč tudi drugih tehnik pisanja (kot je na primer skrben izbor detajlov).

UDK 821.111(6:73=96).09:392.15

Darja Marinšek

OPISI OBREZOVANJA DEKLIC V DELIH AFRIŠKIH IN AFROAMERIŠKIH PISATELJIC

Razprava primerja načina opisovanja obrezovanja deklic med afriškimi in afroameriškimi pisateljicami. S pomočjo komparativne analize štirih romanov predstavi večje razlike med obema skupinama ter na koncu poda vzroke za obstoječa razlikovanja.

UDK 821.111(71).09-31 Laurence M.

Brigita Pavšič

ČAS KOT PETI ELEMENT V CIKLU ROMANOV MARGARET LAURENCE

Cikel romanov Margaret Laurence združuje več lastnosti. Ena od njih je teorija štirih elementov. Čeprav ta vzorec morda ni nameren, je zelo jasno razvit skozi vse štiri romane: *The Stone Angel* predstavlja zemljo, *A Jest of God* zrak, *The Fire-Dwellers* ogenj in *The Diviners* predstavlja vodo. Poleg tega avtorica v tem romanu združi vse štiri elemente. Glavna metafora vode, ki teče v obe smeri, v *The Diviners* ponuja novo interpretacijo pojavljanja elementa vode v ostalih treh romanih – element vode poveže s tekom časa in s tem tudi z osebnostnim zorenjem protagonistov romanov.

UDK 821.112.2(436).09 Suttner B. v.

Johann Georg Lughofer

KULTURA SPOMINJANJA V AVSTRIJI: BERTHA VON SUTTNER (2005)

Izhajajoč iz predpostavke, da je spominjanje na zgodovinska dela smiseln in politično instrumentaliziran konstrukt družbe, članek proučuje jubilejno leto 2005, ko je bil v Avstriji obeležen spomin na mirovnico Bertho von Suttner. Pri tem spoznamo, kako sta njeno resnično delo in boj za mir šla v pozabo in kako so bila njena dela na neupravičen način uporabljena v prid nacionalnemu zgodovinopisju.

UDK 821.133.1'04.09 Chrétien de Troyes

Miha Pintarič

NASILJE V CHRÉTIENOVIH VITEŠKIH ROMANIH

Chrétien de Troyes, najznamenitejši avtor francoskega viteškega romana iz 12. stoletja, ima do nasilja, ki je samoumevno del takšne literature, poseben odnos predvsem v svojem zadnjem romanu z naslovom *Perceval ali zgodba o gralu*. Medtem ko je v prejšnjih delih (v pričujočem članku gre predvsem za njegov prvi roman, *Erec in Enida*), upošteval splošno sprejete norme glede uporabe nasilja in njegove reprezentacije v fikciji, na primer pravilo, da se, v abstraktnem smislu, ne sme storiti sile ideji oziroma tradiciji, medtem ko je nasilje nad posameznikom ne le "ustvarjalen" in dovoljen, temveč nujen način za vzpostavljanje družbene hierarhije, in s tem reda, ga v poslednjem, nedokončanem delu, nasilje ne zanima več.

UDK 821.133.1'04.09-17 Rutebeuf

Špela Žakelj

IRONIJA V ALEGORIJI PRI RUTEBEUFU

Rutebeuf, eden najpomembnejših francoskih avtorjev trinajstega stoletja, v svoji satirični in moralni poeziji pogosto uporablja alegorijo, sicer tipično srednjeveško retorično figuro, ki se v poeziji povezuje predvsem s tematiko potovanja. Alegorija se v Rutebeufovih delih najpogosteje združuje s satiro, žanrom, ki verjetno v največji meri omogoča uporabo ironičnega diskurza. Tako avtor, ki se na simbolen način upira razvrednotenju tradicionalnih vrednot, za objekt ironije vzame moralno sprevrženost tedanje družbe, predvsem t.i. beraških redov, ki so po njegovem mnenju krivi za pre-

vlado grešnosti v svetu. Da bi se izognil posploševanju, s katerim alegorični sistem personifikacij zaznamuje satirično in ironično perspektivo, Rutebeuf kombinira različne alegorične načine in ustvarja situacijo, ki je a priori dramatična, kar je razvidno na primer iz njegovih del *Le débat du croisé et du décroisé, Leçon sur Hypocrisie et Humilité ali Le dit du mensonge.*

UDK 821.131.1.09-3 Tabucchi A.

Patrizia Farinelli

SKUŠNJAVE NEKE ZVRSTI: FANTASTIČNO V TABUCCHIJEVEM PRIPOVEDNIŠTVU

V Tabucchijevi predelavi fantastične zvrsti čudni in nepojasnljivi dogodek ne povzroči prekrivanja dveh nezdružljivih stvarnosti, temveč kvečjemu usmeri pozornost na stvarnost, ki jo že od samega začetka prežema nelogično in torej nedoumljivo. Tudi protagonistovo obotavljanje pred takšnim dogodkom je videti manjše, zato je njegovo iskanje racionalnih razlag omejeno. *Quête* Tabucchijevega protagonista se ne usmeri proti čudnemu in nepojasnljivemu dogodku, temveč v nerešeno preteklost, ki ob tem ponovno pride na površje. V tem smislu kriteriji, ki jih Todorov navaja kot temeljne za prepoznanje zvrsti, ne držijo več popolnoma. V vsakem primeru pa Tabucchi kljub tem spremembam še vedno uporablja razne pripovedne strategije, ki so značilne za fantastično, in z njimi gradi mnogoterno razsežnost tako na ravni zgodbe kot na ravni diskurza. Prav zato, ker v postmoderni književnosti refleksija izvira predvsem iz dvoumnosti, jo fantastično neizogibno spravlja v skušnjavo (in jo tudi zapelje).

UDK 81'255.4:821.111.09-32 Joyce J.

Uroš Mozetič

OD DVOVALENTNEGA DO ENOVALENTNEGA DISKURZA: *HETEROGLOSSIA* IN *HETEROPSIA* V PRIPOVEDNEM BESEDILU TER VLOGA PREVAJALCA PRI NJUNEM POSREDOVANJU

Med številnimi nerešenimi problemi na področju prevodoslovja je tudi vprašanje, kdo vidi oziroma kdo govori v izhodiščnem in ciljnem besedilu. Prispevek obravnava posebne pripovedne strategije, ki jih uporablja James Joyce v zbirki kratkih zgodb z naslovom *Ljudje iz Dublina* (*Dubliners*), s katerimi dosega učinek polifonije glasov in tako ustvarja različne poglede na isti predmet žariščenja v pripovednem svetu. Prav ta okolnost pa se zdi izjemnega pomena pri prevajanju, saj se največ prevodnih odmikov

dogaja ravno na osi pripovedovalec-pripovedovano-pripovedovanec. Glede na to, da Bahtinov splošno sprejeti koncept, poimenovan *heteroglossia*, le delno opisuje in razlaga omenjeni pojav, ga dopolnjujemo z uvajanjem novega pojma – *heteropsia*, ki smo ga privzeli iz medicinske terminologije in pomeni neizenačen očesni vid, tj. vid, ki v besedilnem okolju omogoča nekakšno vzporedno percepcijo danega predmeta. Osrednja pozornost velja rabi prostega odvisnega diskurza (*free indirect discourse*), ki omogoča visoko stopnjo dinamike prepletanja pripovednih struktur.

UDK 929 Hickey B.

Mirko Jurak

BERNARD HICKEY (1931–2007)

In memoriam

Bernard Hickey je bil dve desetletji profesor za književnost Commonwealtha na univezi Ca'Foscari v Benetkah (1968–1988) in nato profesor za angleško književnost na univerzi v Lecceju, Italija. Od sredine sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja je imel tudi občasna predavanja na Oddelku za germanistiko (sedaj Oddelku za anglistiko in amerikanistiko) Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani. S svojimi nasveti nam je pomagal pri nabavi knjig za našo oddelčno knjižnico, ki jih je prispeval odbor za književnost pri Avstralskem svetu (Australia Council). Zaradi svojega velikega poznavanja avstralske književnosti, svoje duhovitosti in osebnega šarma je bil Bernard Hickey priljubljen ne le pri učiteljih, temveč tudi pri slušateljih na Oddelku za anglistiko in amerikanistiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Zlasti bomo pogrešali njegovo veliko pripravljenost za sodelovanje in še posebej njegovo prijateljstvo.

Carrigendum

The editors regret that in the previous issue of *Acta Neophilologica* (39. 1-2, 2006) the institutional affiliation of the contributor Sigita Barniskiene was not correctly stated; the correct one is Wytautus Magnus University, Kaunas.