Uniwersytet Warszawski
Wydział Neofilologii

ACTA PHILOLOGICA

39

Warszawa 2011

Redaktorzy tomu:
prof. dr hab. Barbara Kowalik
dr hab. Marek Paryż

ISSN 0065–1525

Wydanie I, nakład: 200 egz.

Łamanie:
Bartosz Mierzyński

Dystrybucja:
CHZ Ars Polona S.A.
ul. Obrońców 25
03-933 Warszawa
tel. 22 509 86 43
fax 22 509 86 40

Druk i oprawa:
Sowa – Druk na życzenie
www.sowadruk.pl
tel. 22 431 81 40

Spis treści

* * *

Sylwia Grądzielewska

The Fall of the Princes of the Church. A Decline of the Authority of the Papacy at the Dawn of the Reformation

Émile Durkheim, in his work *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* [1912], observed that "the profane could in no way enter into relations with the sacred" (2008: 40). That rule of the mutual exclusion of the sacred and the profane appeared to be the motto of the pontificates of such renowned Popes of the Middle Ages as Gregory the Great (590-604), Nicholas I (858-867), Gregory VII (1073-1085), and Innocent III (1198-1216). They reasserted the primacy and universality of the Papacy which they perceived as a duty based on humility and service, and remained truly devoted to the idea of preaching genuine faith by suppressing heresy and eliminating bribery and corruption from the Church. However, at the end of the 13th century, the Popes began to misconceive the actual significance of their office which, in their view, no longer served purely spiritual ends but became a mere means of the realization of their political and economic ambitions.

The first serious signs of the decadence of the papal prestige emerged during the pontificate of Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303). He earned the reputation of a proud, unscrupulous, pretentious, implacable man, overcome by worldliness and the lust for power. Despite his spiritual leadership, he engaged in a war against Frederic of Sicily, conducted a personal vendetta against the Colonna family and enriched his relatives, particularly his nephew Peter, son of the Count of Caserta, at the expense of the Church. His announcement of the Holy Year in 1300, which granted a plenary indulgence to all pilgrims to Rome, initiated a series of jubilees that became the source of immense profit and unprecedented scandal to the Church.[1] However, one of the darkest sides of his pontificate was the conflict with Philip IV of France (1285-1314) over the right to the Church property. In 1296, Philip IV levied a tax upon the French clergy in order to cover the expenses of his war against England. The Pope's reaction was immediate; he issued a bull "Clericis Laicos," in which he strictly prohibited the clergy to pay taxes to the laity:

> the prelates and ecclesiastical persons […] we strictly command, in virtue of their obedience, and on pain of deposition, that they in no wise acquiesce in such things without express leave of the said see, and that they pay nothing under pretext of any obligation, promise, and acknowledgement whatsoever […], and that the seculars aforesaid do not in any wise receive it; and if the clergy do pay, or the laymen receive, let them fall under sentence of excommunication by the very deed. (in: Bettenson, ed., 1943: 159)

[1] In view of the high profitability of the jubilees, the subsequent Popes resolved that they should be celebrated more frequently. The next jubilee was announced by Clement VI (1342-1352) in 1350, UrbanVI (1378-1389) declared that it would be repeated every 33 years, and Paul II (1464-1471) fixed its recurrence every 25 years (see Schaff 1997: vol. 6, chap. 1) http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/history/About.htm.

The bull had little impact on Philip IV who not only continued to tax the French clergy but also banned the export of gold and silver from France, thus depriving Rome of its French contributions.

In response to Philip IV's unwillingness to submit to the papal authority, Boniface VIII, in 1302, issued another bull, "Unam Sanctam," which marked its place in the history of the Church as the unparalleled expression of the papal claims to the spiritual and temporal supremacy. The bull pointed to the existence of "one holy, catholic and apostolic church" (in: Janz, ed., 1999: 14), outside of which neither salvation nor the remission of sins were possible. The Church had "one body and one head" (14), that is Christ who acted through the Pope. Consequently, the subjection to the Pope was the precondition to be saved. Whoever opposed the Pope, opposed God. As the bull declared, there were two swords of power: the spiritual, held by the Church, and the temporal, officially possessed by the secular rulers but, in fact, subordinated to the Pope. While the temporal power was wielded for the Church, the spiritual power was exercised by the Church. The spiritual power, although exerted by man, derived from God, therefore, it was not subject to any human tribunal but could be judged only by God. However, the divine sources of the spiritual power entitled it to institute the secular authority and correct its transgressions (14). In 1303, Boniface VIII issued a bull that excommunicated Philip IV, but before it was publicly announced, the Pope was imprisoned at his palace at Anagni by his French and Italian enemies who attempted to force him to resign. Although quickly rescued and delivered back to Rome, Boniface died a month later in disgrace and humiliation. All the pretensions to the papal supremacy over the secular power perished with him.

Beginning in 1309, the Popes chose Avignon in France as their residence. The era of the Avignon Popes, also known as the era of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, which lasted for almost seventy years, further undermined the spiritual authority of the Papacy and shook the foundations of Christendom by cutting it off from its roots. The Papacy became virtually the French institution as not only all the Popes elected at that time, but also a vast majority of the cardinals and curial officials were of the French origin. The Popes functioned as puppets in the hand of the French monarch whose political interests they duly served.[2] The subservience to the French crown was by no means the only fault of the Avignon Papacy. It was also infamous for its notorious morals and opulence. With its splendor and wealth, the papal court hardly differed from the royal residence, and the lives of its members resembled the lives of princes

[2] The papal weakness in the face of the royal pressure was particularly visible on the example of the pontificate of the first of the Avignon Popes, Clement V (1305-1314). In order to gain Philip IV's favor, he granted him a five-year payment of the Church tithe and recalled all the punishments and suspensions, imposed on him by Boniface VIII. He also exonerated Boniface VIII's assailants and canonized Pope Celestine V who, following his resignation from the Apostolic See in 1294, died as Boniface VIII's prisoner. However, the most pronounced manifestation of Clement V's subjection to the French crown was his dissolution of the Order of Knights Templar on Philip IV's demand and against the decision of the Council of Vienne (1311-1312), which refused to condemn it. Founded in 1119 with the aim of protecting the pilgrims to Jerusalem and defending the Holy Land against Moslems, the Templars were charged with heresy, necromancy and indecent conduct. In fact, they became the victims of Philip IV's insatiable greed that pressed him to take over their wealthy possessions. Their trial, which involved the use of tortures to force confessions, was the scandal of injustice that marked another dark page in the history of the Papacy. According to Philip Schaff and Eamon Duffy, Clement V sacrificed the Templars in order to save the memory of Boniface VIII from the official condemnation on which Philip IV relentlessly insisted and which would exert a devastating impact on the authority of the Apostolic See (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 1; also Duffy 2006: 164-165).

rather than clergymen. The appointment of a Pope, like the election of a monarch, was followed by his coronation and enthronement, and was celebrated with pomp and ostentation, with the participation of the lower and higher clergy, the nobility and civil authorities. The Popes' worldliness was also visible in their political engagement. They hired mercenary armies in order to defend their Italian dominions, and they intervened in each major conflict in Europe, including the war between England and France.

The luxurious lifestyle and the pursuit of the political interests of the Avignon Papacy were possible because of the systematization and centralization of their financial and administrative system. During the Avignon era, the financial exploitation of Christendom by the Apostolic See reached its height. The Papacy became a commercial institution which flourished through a well-developed machinery of taxation, extended throughout Europe. The main source of the papal income derived from the freewill offerings: the annates, visitations and servitia, which were turned into obligatory charges during the Avignon era.[3] Other taxes, known as the census, included the so-called Peter's Pence,[4] the annual tributes of feudal fiefs, such as Naples, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and England, and the payments made by the convents and churches that were under a special protection of the Papacy. The crusades against the Saracens and the war to reclaim the papal territories in Italy provided an additional pretext for increasing the papal treasury. The Papacy also drew enormous revenues from its legal prerogatives. No case was too trivial to be settled at Avignon on condition that a due sum was paid for the trial. Furthermore, taxes were levied on vacant benefices and fees were charged for a variety of dispensations and concessions.[5] The contributions obtained from bishoprics, convents, churches, and even hospitals were made not only in cash but also in the form of such goods as vegetables, animals, fish, grain, wine or wood. Countless officials, employed in the curia, extracted fees for each possible service, from marital dispensations to the act of writing a document, according to the assumption that each favor had its due equivalent in money. Those fees were frequently out of proportion to the actual cost and value of the service performed.

Another abuse of the Avignon Papacy was the expansion of its right of provisions for ecclesiastical benefices. In the system of papal appointments, money not the spiritual and administrative qualities of the candidates, played the key role. Simony, bribery and nepotism had already become legalized practices. Foreigners were frequently nominated to the sees in the countries whose language they hardly knew. The practice of papal provisions was particularly unpopular in England. In attempt to prevent it, in 1351, the "Statute of Provisors" was passed; it granted the freedom of ecclesiastical elections as follows:

[3] The annates were a payment of a part of the first year's income after obtaining a benefice, the servitia were fees made by archbishops, bishops, abbots and lower clerics at the confirmation of their office, and the visitations were paid by prelates on their visits to the Apostolic See (see Schaff: vol. 5, chap. 15).

[4] Peter's Pence was an annual tax of a penny imposed on each household, particularly in England and Poland (see Duffy: 134).

[5] A dispensation had to be paid, for example, by a priest that had been born out of wedlock, ordained beyond the canonical age, or had entered the benefice without basic qualifications (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 1).

> our lord the king […] with the assent of all the great men and the commons of the said realm, to the honour of God, and profit of the said Church of England, and of all his realm, has ordered and established: that the free elections of archbishops, bishops, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England, shall continue from henceforth in the manner as they were granted by the king's progenitors, and the ancestors of other lords, founders. (in: Bettenson, ed.: 236)

The "Statute" also provided the lawful owners of advowsons with the right of free collation and presentment. If the Roman See continued appointing its nominees for the ecclesiastical dignities in England, the right of collation would be reverted to the King. Furthermore, it was decreed that the person who would accept the benefice against the "Statute," "shall abide exiled and banished out of the realm for ever, and his lands and tenements, goods and chattels shall be forfeited to the king" (238). Nevertheless, the "Statute" recognized the lifelong right to the benefice of those who had obtained it from the Pope before 1351. The papal influence on the Church in England was further diminished two years later by the enactment of the "Statute of Praemunire." It struck against the papal jurisdiction in England by declaring that the exclusive right to settle disputes over patronages "pertains only to the king's court by the old right of his crown, used and approved in the time of all of his progenitors kings of England" (239). Those who would pursue justice in the court of Rome against the above- mentioned resolution "shall be put out of the king's protection" (242), and their property would be taken over by the King. The "Statute of Praemunire" definitely rejected the idea of the royal submission to the Pope on the grounds that "the crown of England […] has been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God" (240).

The era of the Avignon Popes came to an end in 1377 only to deepen the crisis within the Church. Faced with the danger of losing the papal dominions in consequence of the revolt in northern and central Italy, and influenced by the mystic visions of St. Catherine of Sienna, Pope Gregory XI (1370-1378) resolved to return to Rome. After his death a year later, an Italian, Urban VI (1378-1389) was elected Pope under the pressure of the Roman crowds. However, his attempts to clean the papal curia of its lavishness made him extremely unpopular among the cardinals; they declared his election invalid and chose the Cardinal Bishop Robert of Geneva as Pope Clement VII (1378-1394) who settled at Avignon. The dual election, known as the Great Schism, constituted one of the gravest crises in the history of Christianity. The Western Church became divided into two camps: one centered in Rome, the other based in Avignon as both Urban VI and Clement VII claimed the right of the apostolic succession. Urban VI maintained the allegiance of the Roman Empire, northern and central Italy, Scandinavia, England, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania, while Clement VII received the recognition of France, Naples, Scotland, Savoy, Burgundy and the kingdom of Castile. Both Popes excommunicated each other and placed each other's supporters under an interdict; they also created their own college of cardinals and appointed rival candidates to the same ecclesiastical dignities, which caused an enormous chaos in the administration of the Church and raised doubts among the believers as to which obedience, if any, was right. The authority of the college of cardinals, who had elected the Pope only to depose him soon afterwards, was seriously questioned. The schism also increased the financial burden of Christendom because not only one, but two luxurious curia had to be supported (Wallace 2004: 44-45; Duffy 2006: 168-169).

As the confusion continued throughout the Church, the increasing number of ecclesiastical and intellectual leaders appealed for the convocation of the general council that would put an end to the schism. However, their first attempt to restore unity deteriorated, instead of curing, the wrecked condition of the Church. The Council at Pisa, summoned in 1409 by the representatives of both curia, deposed the Popes at Rome and Avignon, and appointed the Archbishop of Milan as Pope Alexander V (1409-1410). Nevertheless, the deposed Popes refused to surrender their legal and administrative powers, in consequence of which Christendom became divided into three obediences. Not discouraged by that failure, the proponents of reforms continued their pro-conciliar propaganda. At their instigation and under the pressure from Emperor Sigismund (1410-1437), the Council of Constance (1414-1418) was convoked; it brought the division within the Church to an end by deposing Benedict XIII (1394-1417), the Avignon Pope, and John XXIII (1410-1415), the Pisan Pope, and by accepting the voluntary resignation of Gregory XII (1406-1415), the Roman Pope. In their place, Odo Colonna was elected as Pope Martin V (1417-1431). However, the newly restored unity appeared to be short-termed. The Council of Basel, gathered in 1431 in order to continue the reforms of the Council of Constance, entered into a conflict with Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) who, subsequently, dissolved it and convoked his own Council of Ferrara-Florence. The Council of Basel refused to disband, declared Eugene IV deposed and elected an anti-Pope Felix (1439-49). However, deprived of the secular support, Felix was forced to resign ten years later, and the Council of Basel dissolved itself after having officially recognized the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455), Eugene IV's successor (Wallace: 48-49).

During the Renaissance Papacy of the fifteenth century, the spiritual and moral depravity of the Apostolic See reached its height. Instead of providing for the spiritual welfare of Christendom, the Papacy became infamous for its secularization, political intrigues, military involvements, bad morals and lust for power. The Renaissance Popes scrupulously continued the policy of nepotism, initiated by their Avignon predecessors, by creating the system of cardinal-nephews.[6] Dominated by the Italian majority, the conclaves turned into the battleground between the most prominent Italian dynasties: the della Roveres, the Medicis and the Borgias, for whom the election of the Pope was entirely subordinated to the family interests and political motives. Bribery and plotting were frequently resorted to as a means of achieving the required two-third majority during the conclave.[7] Apart from the traditional forms of taxation, the Papacy drew its revenues from the fees extracted for the passage of bulls, from loans from banking houses and from the increase in the number and price of dispensations which were granted, for instance, for the legitimization of children born out of wedlock and for the trade with the infidels. However, one of the most efficient means of compensating for the losses in the papal treasury was the extension of the practice of selling Church offices. Even the highest ecclesiastical positions were for sale. In consequence of the unrestricted simony, the number of Church offices rapidly multiplied, and a large class of Church officials emerged at the papal court. One of the new offices created at that time was the datary. Its

[6] Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) was particularly generous for his relatives: he promoted six of his nephews to the cardinalate and provided them with benefices whose value equaled the income of princes (see Duffy: 191).

[7] For example, Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503), the most corrupt Pope of the Renaissance, openly distributed dozens of benefices and other offerings among the cardinals in order to secure their support for his candidacy (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 6).

responsibilities involved the passage of supplications for graces and the collection of fees obtained from dispensations (Thompson 1980: 86-87).

The Popes also derived enormous profit from the sale of indulgences which was taken to extremes during the Renaissance. In 1476, Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484), in his bull "Salvator Noster," extended the efficacy of indulgences to the souls in Purgatory, which led to the distribution of pardons on an unprecedented scale. The bull read:

> if any parents, friends or other Christians are moved by obligations of piety towards these very souls who are exposed to the fire of purgatory for the expiation of punishments which by divine justice are their due: let them during the stated period of ten years give a fixed amount or value of money, as laid down by its dean and chapter or by our own collector, for the repair of the church of saints, paying either in person at the Church or by duly accredited messengers: it is then our will that plenary remission should avail by intercession for the said souls in purgatory, to win them relief from their punishments (In: Janz, ed.: 52-53).

The increase in the demand for indulgences led to countless abuses on the part of the professional pardoners whose teaching on their effectiveness went far beyond the Catholic dogma. False documents that granted forgiveness for all sort of sins were distributed among the faithful; many of them even specified the number of years by which the torments of the souls in Purgatory would be shortened. Pardons were granted not only for the sins committed in the past but also for those that would be committed in the future. The greatest scandal associated with indulgences occurred under the pontificate of Leo X (1513-1521). In 1517, he offered the remission of sins to anyone who would contribute to the reconstruction of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. The Dominican monks, to whom the distribution of indulgences was commissioned, were reported to sell them in the streets, markets and taverns like ordinary commodities (Seebohm 1938: 263).

Another manifestation of the secularization of the Renaissance Papacy was the increase of its preoccupation with politics. During the Renaissance, the Popes became the most important secular rulers of Italy; they waged wars, signed treaties, formed coalitions and arbitrated disputes between the colonial powers. The Popes' subordination of the spiritual to the political aims was also visible in the abandonment of the crusading ideal in favor of the alliance with the Sultan.[8] Since a vast majority of the papal income depended on the taxes and feudal dues derived from the Papal States, the determination of the Roman curia to maintain and enlarge them was enormous. It was particularly visible in the Popes' active involvement in the French-Spanish struggle for hegemony in the south of the Italian penisula and in Sicily as well as in their personal participation in warfare, as in the case of Pope Julius II. Known as the 'Warrior Pope,' Julius II successfully realized the chief goal of his pontificate, that is the restoration of the papal territories, reduced under his predecessors. In 1508, military troops headed by him subjugated Perugia and Bologna. Four years later, aided by Spain, Switzerland, Venice and Naples, they drove the French out of northern Italy, and conquered Parma and Piacenza. If not through the bloodshed, the Popes' political ambitions were fulfilled by resorting to opportunism and double dealing in diplomatic relations, in which Julius II's successor,

[8] Popes Innocent VIII (1484-1492) and Alexander VI (1492-1503) were paid enormous sums by the Sultan Bayezit in return for keeping his rival brother, Cem, in custody (see Duffy: 196).

Leo X was a master. He pursued the policy of duplicity with regard to both allies and enemies, and was always prepared to declare himself on the winning side.[9]

Like their Avignon predecessors, the Renaissance Popes were infamous for their extravagant lifestyle, idleness and ostentation to which they were accustomed because of their aristocratic background. The Vatican, once the heart of piety, became the most opulent court in Europe, filled with countless servants and expensive furnishings. Enormous sums were also spent by the Papacy on the pursuit of entertainment in which Pope Leo X particularly excelled. Poets, musicians, actors and buffoons, employed at the papal court, were always at his disposal, and chase and gaming belonged to his favorite pastimes. Another feature of the Renaissance Papacy was its declining morality. Innocent VIII (1484-1492) openly admitted having an illegitimate family,[10] Alexander VI (1492-1503) unscrupulously maintained mistresses in the Vatican,[11] Julius II had fathered three daughters before his election. The Popes' offspring were provided for at the expense of the Church and the highest European houses were sought for them in marriage. Obscene comedies performed in the Vatican chambers, nuptial celebrations and banquets to which women of ill-repute were invited, struck a final blow at the spiritual prestige that the Apostolic See had once enjoyed. The moral depravity of the men who were supposed to represent Christ on earth could not go any further.

The Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance witnessed a gradual but consistent process of moral and spiritual degeneration of the Papacy as an institution. The main cause of the collapse of the papal authority was its secularization which sprang from the Popes' aspirations to exercise limitless control over both religious and lay spheres and which, subsequently, led to their loss of interest in the matters of Christendom. As might be expected, the corruption of the Apostolic See was followed by the lower ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which exerted a devastating impact on lay religiosity. Deprived of its spiritual leader, the 16th-century Church was in a desperate need of reform.

Bibliography

Bettenson, Henry. (ed.) (1943), *Documents of the Christian Church*, trans. not specified, London: Humprey Milford.

Duffy, Eamon. (2006), *Saints and Sinners. A History of the Popes*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Durkheim, Émile. (2008), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* [1912], trans. Joseph Ward Swain, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications.

Janz, Denis R. (ed.) (1999), *A Reformation Reader. Primary Texts with Introductions*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

[9] For example, Leo X officially recognized the claims of Louis XII of France to northern Italy but secretly attempted to prevent him from the occupation of Venice and Milan. He also allied with Ferdinand II of Aragon but, at the same time, he carried out the negotiations with France to drive the Spanish out of Italy (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 6).

[10] Innocent VIII was believed to have 16 children, all of them by married women (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 6).

[11] One of Alexander VI's concubines was Julia Farnese, famous for her beauty, whose legal husband was placated by the gift of castles. Alexander VI's children, the best known of whom were Caesar and Lucretia Borgia, were notorious for their impiety, insolence and crimes. Caesar was promoted to the cardinalate at the age of 18 but resigned from that position to become Duke of Valentinois in 1498. Lucretia Borgia's marital vicissitudes were part of Alexander VI's political machinations (see Schaff: vol. 6, chap. 6).

Schaff, Philip. (1997), *History of the Christian Church*, 8 vols., Oak Harbor, W.A.: Logos Research Systems, Inc. http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/history/About.htm

Seebohm, Frederic. (1938), *The Oxford Reformers. Colet, Erasmus and More*, London: J. M. Dent.

Thompson, John A. F. (1980), *Popes and Princes, 1417-1517. Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Wallace, Peter G. (2004), *The Long European Reformation. Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350-1750*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie stopniowego procesu degeneracji instytucji papiestwa, które następowało od końca XIII w. do Reformacji w XVI w. Pierwsze istotne oznaki tej degeneracji pojawiły się podczas pontyfikatu Bonifacego VIII (1294-1303), którego teoria absolutyzmu papieskiego, sformułowana w bulli „Unam Sanctam," doprowadziła do konfliktu z władzą świecką. Szczegółowej analizie poddany został okres niewoli awiniońskiej papieży, zakończony w 1378 r. tzw. Schizmą Zachodnią, a także omówiona została era papieży renesansu, podczas której kryzys kościoła katolickiego osiągnął apogeum. Artykuł przedstawia krytykę politycznego i militarnego zaangażowania papieży, korupcję, sprzedaż odpustów oraz zamiłowanie tych „książąt kościoła" do przepychu i komfortu.

Bartłomiej Błaszkiewicz

Motyw ukrzyżowania w średnioangielskich lirykach maryjnych

Kult postaci Maryi-Panny jest obecny w chrześcijaństwie niemalże od samych jego początków. Kiedy w czasach ostatecznego upadku zachodniego Imperium Rzymskiego w początkach wieku piątego, społeczności chrześcijańskie zaczynają definiować swoją odrębność – już nie wobec przed-chrześcijańskiej kultury antycznej, w której kontekście krystalizował się początkowo światopogląd chrześcijański, lecz wobec wzrastającego naporu kultur germańskich, to w kulcie maryjnym właśnie upatrują często owe wspólnoty swą inność w stosunku do świata barbarzyńskiego.[1] W świadomości tychże społeczności to właśnie kult matki Chrystusa wnosił do ich kultury wyrafinowane wartości oparte na poszanowaniu kobiecości i jej naturalnych dobrodziejstw, jakim świat barbarzyński wydawał się nie być w stanie przeciwstawić nic dorównującego.

Jednakowoż, ewidentnym jest także, że stopniowy rozwój doktryny teologicznej w zakresie mariologii na przestrzeni całego okresu europejskiego średniowiecza wspomagał i napędzał rozwój złożonego systemu wyobrażeń i konwencji kulturowych tak, że, w większości krajów Europy dopiero okres pomiędzy dwunastym a piętnastym wiekiem przyniósł największy rozkwit tych dzieł kultury religijnej, gdzie na pierwszy plan wysuwa się postać Maryi, matki Jezusa. Rozwój literatury maryjnej należy więc postrzegać jako trwający tysiąc lat ewolucyjny proces kulturowy, w obrębie którego w unikalny sposób rozwój doktryny religijnej rozpalał wyobraźnię twórców różnych form kultury, od literatury i muzyki aż po sztuki plastyczne.

Chociaż można stwierdzić, że w przypadku kultury angielskiej wieków średnich, jak i gdzie indziej w Europie, centrum kultu maryjnego były niewątpliwie zakony, a w szczególności franciszkanie i dominikanie (co w kontekście roli jaką w kulcie Maryi odegrał Bernard z Clairvaux nie może dziwić) i to przedstawiciele tych zakonów są odpowiedzialni za większość maryjnej liryki wtedy powstałej, to zwraca też uwagę powszechność tej formy kultu w różnych typach literatury tego okresu. Tak to wspomnieć należy w tym kontekście chociażby rolę, jaką postać Maryi i jej teologiczny status pełni w takich tekstach jak *The Book of Margery Kempe, Pearl, Cleannesse, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, The Gest of Robin Hood, The Four Leaves of Truelove* czy też słynne *ABC* Geoffreya Chaucera. Rzeczą istotną jest pamięć o tym szerokim i skomplikowanym kontekście kulturowym, który otacza średniowieczne dzieła literackie będące wyrazem kultu maryjego albowiem w dalszym ciągu wywodu skoncentrujemy się na bardzo wąskim aspekcie tej literatury. Skoncentrujemy się mianowicie na tej części bogatej spuścizny maryjnego liryku, która dotyczy motywu matki Jezusa stojącej pod krzyżem w czasie ukrzyżowania.

Ten motyw rozwijał się w Europie szczególnie od wieku dwunastego, czyli daty powstania tekstu wzorcowego w tym przypadku – hymnu *Stabat Mater Dolorosa,* który na trwale związał wyobrażenie

[1] Na temat kultu maryjnego zobacz też Pastoureau (2006), str.110-113; Tomoń (1996), str. 319-322; Lewis (1992), str. 8- 9.

tej konkretnej sceny pasyjnej z liturgią Kościoła i świadomością wiernych. W przypadku literatury średnioangielskiej interesujący nas motyw pojawia się w osiemnastu wierszach spośród kilkudziesięciu liryków maryjnych zachowanych z okresu pomiędzy trzynastym a piętnastym wiekiem. Różnią się one między sobą nie tylko sposobem podejścia do prezentacji sceny ukrzyżowania, ale także poziomem indywidualnego kunsztu poetyckiego spożytkowanego na powstanie poszczególnych poetyckich wizji,[2] Z tego też powodu wspomnimy o nich tutaj w porządku odwrotnym do ich indywidualnej literackiej wartości.

A zatem znajdziemy wśród tej grupy liryków kilka, które wspominają cierpienia matki Jezusa podczas ukrzyżowania w kontekście modlitwy. Takim wierszami są tu *Upon my ryght syde y me leye,* czy *M and A and R and I.* W tych krótkich tekstach, pisanych nieregularnym wierszem rymowanym, sceny ukrzyżowania przywoływane są jako tło przydające dodatkowej emocjonalnej siły dla słów podmiotu lirycznego pogrążonego w pełnej poczucia winu kontemplacji postaci Maryi. Z tymi też lirykami zestawić można inny, zatytułowany *Thou synfull man of resoun,* który odnosi się do takiej samej sytuacji, ale odwraca role mówiącego i adresata, albowiem w tym liryku to Maryja jako podmiot liryczny przywołuje sceny swego cierpienia spod Krzyża jako argument wspomagający jej gorące namowy na nawrócenie się tytułowego adresata wiersza.

Teksty innych liryków bardziej szczegółowo przywołują wizję Maryi pod Krzyżem i koncentrują się bardziej bezpośrednio na oddaniu w większej dokładności emocjonalnego kontekstu opisywanej sytuacji. Zatem, podczas gdy w liryku *I syke when y singe* kontekst modlitwy jeszcze służy za ramy sytuacyjne dla wiersza, to większość innych liryków poświęconych jest dogłębnej kontemplacji samego tylko kontekstu sytuacyjnego. Podlegają one jednak podobnej dychotomii głosów jak te wzmiankowane poprzednio, które ujęte są w ramy modlitwy. Zatem liryki takie jak *Quhat dollour persit our ladyis hert,* czy *Mary myelde made grete mone* zawierają przywołanie scen spod Krzyża w formie opisu w trzeciej osobie, podczas gdy *Jesu Christe Milde Moder* czy *The Angel sayde to thee* prowadzą ten opis w formie zwrotu do matki Chrystusa. Ostatecznie liryki takie jak *Woman, Jon I take to thee,* czy *Why have ye no reuthe on my child?* prowadzą opis cierpień Maryii w pierwszej osobie.

Innym jeszcze typem wśród liryków z grupy, którą się zajmujemy są te, które rozwijają emocjonalny kontekst sytuacji cierpienia Marii poprzez przybranie formy dialogu pomiędzy Maryją a Jezusem. Do tej grupy należą *A son! Tak hede to me whas sone thou was, Maiden and moder, cum and se,* oraz *Stond wel, moder, under rode,* a także liryk zatutułowany *Suete sone, reu on me, and brest out of thi bondis*, który przybiera formę zwrotu Marii do Syna na Krzyżu, który pozostaje bez odpowiedzi.

Jeśli przyjrzymy się bliżej tymże trzem lirykom, które wykorzystują w swej konstrukcji formę dialogu, zauważymy, że wpisują one rozmowę między Jezusem a Maryją w kontekst ewangelicznego opisu sceny Ukrzyżowania, bazując głównie na tekście Jana. Spośród tych trzech liryków *Maiden and moder, cum and se* wyłania się jako najbardziej wierny opisom biblijnym. Przedstawia on również najniższy poziom artystyczny w sensie nadania oryginalnego poetyckiego wymiaru używanemu materiałowi wyjściowemu, bo dialog pomiędzy osobami nie wychodzi tu poza przewidywalne retoryczne konstrukcje. Z technicznej strony można dodać, że choć twórca operuje tu sprawnie wahaniem jambów i trochei w obrębie oktosylabicznej linijki, to nie ratuje to w sumie

[2] Na temat tradycji prezentacji postaci Jezusa w literaturze zobacz też u Rosenthala (2000), str. 3 – 22.

tekstu przed poczuciem monotonii jaką wnosi przewidywalność użytej retoryki. Jeśli spojrzymy z kolei na liryk zatytułowany *A son! Tak hede to me whas sone thou was,* to zauważymy poniekąd sytuację odwrotną, bo podczas gdy twórca był w stanie wnieść więcej w dialog pomiędzy osobami przedstawionymi w scenie, to metrycznie wiersz pozostaje ściśle na poziomie amatorskiego rymowania ze sobą przypadkowych linijek.

W tym kontekście łatwiej jest dostrzec artystyczną wartość liryku *Stond wel, moder, under rode.* Forma wiersza jest tu niepomiernie bardziej zaawansowana, bo mamy do czynienia z dłuższym tekstem opartym na zwrotce *aabccb* i oktosylabicznym metrum, w którym nie ma poczucia monotonii jest natomiast przekazany bardzo dobrze cały dramatyczny kontekst, jaki można wydobyć z opisywanej sceny. Rozmowa Jezusa z matką jest tu oparta na dramatyzmie krótkich, niemal urywanych wypowiedzi, którym twórca liryku nadał charakter wymiany zdań balansującej na skraju kłótni pomiędzy dwojgiem bliskich sobie osób, gdzie bliski emocjonalny związek obu postaci jest akcentowany przez poczucie rozpaczliwego bólu, a nawet gniewu. W tym kontekście trzeba tu widzieć momentu, takie jak, kiedy Jezus przechodzi od stwierdzeń: „Bettere is that ic one deye/ Than al mankyn to helle go"[3] które to zdanie ma jeszcze cechy racjonalnej argumentacji do stwierdzeń takich jak: „Moder, if y dar thee tellen,/Yif y ne deye, thou gost to helle", gdzie rozpacz nad brakiem zrozumienia bliskiej osoby w kontekście bardzo dramatycznego momentu i autentyczność bolesnego i niemalże gniewnego wyrzutu zawartego w tym krótkim zdaniu oddane są w sposób mogący służyć za przykład fachowego oddania dialogu w poezji.

Ten ostatni liryk można więc umieścić pośród tej grupy, w której wartość artystyczna poetyckiego ujęcia motywów z Ewangelii jest największa. W tej grupie można by umieścić jeszcze dwa teksty. Pierwszy z nich to liryk zatytułowany *Of alle women that ever were borne* stanowiący dłuższą wypowiedź matki Jezusa skierowaną do wszystkich innych ziemskich matek. Sceny opisujące ukrzyżowanie przeplatają się tutaj z opisami beztroskich igraszek dzieciństwa tworząc niezwykle poruszający kontrast, którego celem, podkreślanym często przez podmiot liryczny, jest chęć unaocznienia wszystkim matkom ogromu cierpienia, jakiego doświadczyła Maryja. Wydaje się, że liryk spełnia tę funkcje bardzo przekonująco, a użycie dość wymagającej formy układu rymów (*ababcdcd*) wspomaga retoryczną elokwencję twórcy.

Inny niezwykle interesujący przypadek wśród maryjnych liryków to utwór zatytułowany *Sodenly afraide, half waking, half slepyng.* Stopień, w jakim przyjęte w wierszu obrazowanie bliskie jest współczesnym raczej niż średniowiecznym konwencjom poetyckim jest szokujący, co uderza już w pierwszych dwu linijkach tekstu: „Sodenly afraide, half waking, half slepyng/and gretly dismayde, a wooman sat weepyng-".

Dopiero gdy anonimowa postać zwraca się do trzymanego na kolanach syna „Jhesu" rozpoznajemy kobietę jako matkę Chrystusa. Zwraca się ona do obserwującego podmiotu lirycznego w słowach who cannot wepe come lerne at me na co podmiot liryczny wyznaje : „I said I cowd not wepe, I was so harde-hartid". Na te słowa Maryja odpowiada: „lo, Nature shall move thee, thou must be converted", następnie, dając jeszcze wyraz swej boleści postać nagle odchodzi pozostawiając rozmówcę pogrążonego w milczeniu. Widoczna jest tu cała wrażliwość poetycka autora, oparta na odrzuceniu konwencjonalnej retoryki na rzecz lakonicznych stwierdzeń, w których zawarta jest duża głębia nie-

[3] Wszystkie cytaty z liryków (poza *Dispute)* na podstawie edycji Karen Saupe 1999.

wyrażonych znaczeń, jak też operacja tekstem poetyckim, gdzie autor wzmaga dramatyzm sytuacji poprzez rozbicie struktury zwrotki na używane osobno segmenty. Takie podejście do poetyki liryku jest zdecydowanie bliższe wrażliwości estetycznej jaką do literatury świata zachodniego wprowadził w początkach dwudziestego wieku modernizm niż standardom czternasto, czy piętnastowiecznym. Czyni to wiersz nie tylko dużym doświadczeniem estetycznym, ale też frapującą zagadką.

Nadszedł czas aby uwieńczyć podjęty tu przegląd maryjnych liryków krótkim omówieniem tekstu, który stanowi bez wątpienia szczytowe osiągnięcie tego nurtu literatury średniowiecznej. Mowa tu o tekście zatytułowanym *The Dispute between Mary and the Cross.*[4] Jest to wiersz składający się z czterdziestu dłuższych zwrotek, o skomplikowanej strukturze, która to przywiodła wielu komentatorów do prób powiązania jej z wierszem typu *tail-rhyme* używanym w popularnej formie romansu rycerskiego, co wydaje się błędne. W rzeczywistości mamy tu ewidentnie do czynienia z przyjęciem przez autora akrobatycznie trudnej wersji typowej dla liryki religijnej formy rymowanej opartej na kwartetach, w tym przypadku używających dwóch tylko rymów (*abababab),* po której następuje pięciowierszowa struktura będąca w swej istocie wariantem formy *bob and wheel* znanej zarówno z aliterowanej wersji romansu *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* jak i z współczesnej mu liryki (w tym przypadku *bob* jest rozciągnięty na dwa, trzy akcenty). W obrębie tej rymowanej formy wiersza autor używa również aliteracji, co daje ten sam efekt wszechstronnego kunsztu, jaki można zaobserwować chociażby w poemacie *Pearl.*

Pomimo że tekst wiersza istnieje w kilku manuskryptach, które zawierają rozbieżności większe czasem niż te kwalifikowane tradycyjnie jako błąd skryby, to jednak utwór wpisuje się głęboko w obszar kultury piśmiennej (*literate*), co można zaobserwować śledząc zawrotną finezję, z jaką autor rozwija wzajemne odniesienia aliterowanych słów oraz wielopoziomowość znaczeń w kontekście wielu używanych pojęć. Łaciński tytuł wiersza pod jakim występuje on w manuskryptach to *Disputacio inter Mariam et Crucem secundum Apocryfum.* Apokryf, o który tu chodzi należy do cyklu znanego jako *Ewangelia Nikodema* lub *Akta Piłata.* Spotykamy tu fragment zatytułowany *Żale Maryii.* Jest to faktycznie rozwinięcie wątków znanych z kanonicznych Ewangelii, szczególnie z opisu Jana. Opis ten jest jednak rozszerzony tutaj o przejmujący obraz Maryi użalającej się nad cierpieniami syna. Zanim matka Jezusa zostanie odegnana spod Krzyża przez Żydów zwraca się ona do Krzyża z prośbą aby ten nachylił się i pozwolił jej na fizyczny kontakt z Jezusem. W *Ewangelii Nikodema* Krzyż nie odpowiada na apele Maryi, ale autor *Dysputy pomiędzy Marią i Krzyżem* rozwija sytuację opisywaną w apokryficznym tekście w formę dialogu.[5]

Rozpoczyna się on od słów Maryii, która zwraca się do Krzyża z wyrzutem, że ten przyczynia się do zadawania cierpienia jej niewinnemu Synowi, podczas gdy jego naturalnym zadaniem winno być służenie do egzekucji przestępców i grzeszników. W obrębie tej pierwszej wypowiedzi Maryi tworzony jest w wierszu wielopoziomowy system odniesień umiejscawiający Krzyż w obrębie kilku alegorycznych znaczeń. Zatem Maria nazywa Krzyż jednocześnie określeniami jak „pillori" czy „galwes" ale też, przez ciągłe nazywanie Jezusa „my faire Fruit", mówi ona o drzewie Krzyża jako żywym organizmie, zdolnym do wydania na świat potomstwa, a więc, w tym ważnym sensie bliskim jej samej i tym samym zdolnym do odczucia współczucia w stosunku do cierpiącej matki.

[4] Wszystkie odniesienia do tekstu *Dispute* na podstawie edycji Susanny Greer Fein, 1998.

[5] Więcej o znaczeniu Krzyża w kulturze średniowiecza w pracach Pastoureau (2006), str.91-109; Halla (2002), str. 109-139; Battistini (2002), str. 249-251; Huizinga (1961), str. 243 -271.

Drugim określeniem, jakiego Maryja używa mówiąc o swoim Synu to Brid, które to słowo istnieje tutaj na dwóch poziomach. Po pierwsze implikuje ono fizyczną delikatność Jezusa w zetknięciu z okrucieństwem egzekucji, do której to roli określenie to nadaje się bardzo dobrze, bo jego znaczenie „dziecko, młoda osoba" implikuje delikatność na tyle silnie, że słowo to używane było często w stosunku od płci żeńskiej. Druga konotacja słowa *brid* wynika z faktu, że taka była też forma słowa *bird* pojawiającego się często w aliteracyjnej formule *brid on bowre* lub *brid in brere*. To znaczenie dodatkowo wzmacnia związek drzewa Krzyża z pojęciem życia, a także wzajemne powiązanie roli Krzyża z rolą matki Chrystusa. Ponadto Maryja sama przywołuje formułę *brid in brere* w odniesieniu do motywu korony cierniowej, co dodatkowo wzbogaca system poetyckich odniesień budowany w wierszu.

Dalsze rozwinięcie tego wątku w wierszu następuje, gdy Maryja porównuje przeprowadzających egzekucję do kamieni: The Jewes weoren harde stones, Jewes ston-hard in sinnes werk, oraz gdy wspominane są gwoździe i miecz (w kontekście przepowiedni Symeona). System znaczeń w wierszu jest w tym względzie oparty na silnym przeciwstawieniu, jakiemu w średniowieczu podlegały drewno z jednej strony, a metal i kamień z drugiej. Takie zestawienie ma zawsze charakter symboliczny i podkreśla się za pomocą niego aspekt drewna jako materii żywej. Warto dodać tutaj, że porównanie oprawców do kamieni rozwija się tutaj w odniesieniu do Chrystusa w inny jeszcze kontrast – pomiędzy kamieniem a wodą, który to kontrast wykorzystuje oczywiście motyw „wody życia" z Ewangelii Jana.

Krzyż w swojej wypowiedzi również odwołuje się do epizodu spotkania Jezusa z Samarytanką, kiedy, w odpowiedzi na słowa Maryi, porównuje się on do urządzenia wytłaczającego sok z winogron do produkcji wina. To oczywiste nawiązanie do Eucharystii jest zestawione z powracającym obrazem Krzyża jako drzewa gdzie, Owoc życia Maryi dojrzewa po raz drugi i ostateczny. Dalej Krzyż porównuje się do półmiska, na którym Baranek Paschalny jest przygotowany na ofiarę, potem do drewnianej tablicy na jakiej, przy pomocy gwoździ, przybija się akt ułaskawienia dla przestępców, a ostatecznie do drewnianej okładki książki, gdzie ułaskawienie jest na trwale zapisane. Odzywając się ponownie w dalszej części wiersza, Krzyż porównuje sibie też do laski pasterskiej stanowiącej dla pasterza broń przeciwko wrogim zakusom wobec stada.

Wszystkie te znaczenia wypływają jedno z drugiego w sposób harmonijny i logiczny, wsparte na poziomie języka przez wzajemne przenikanie się znaczeń kluczowych słów i konceptów. Tak zatem słowo „brede" w linijce „brede on bord with nayl is smite" oznacza zarówno „broadly", „tablet" jak „(Eucharistic) bread" a następnie otrzymuje jeszcze jedno znaczenie „a wooden book-cover": „His body was Book, the Cross was brede". Takie powiązanie znaczeń poprzez ich wzajemne odniesienia, osiągnięte dzięki wykorzystaniu wzajemnych związków słów stanowiących jedną grupę aliteracyjną (*alliterative cluster*) jest efektem twórczego wykorzystania tradycyjnego słownictwa na sposób kultury piśmiennej, w której możliwe jest budowanie nowych znaczeń na bazie znaczeń uprzednich.

W zakończeniu wiersza Krzyż jest w stanie ostatecznie ukoić ból Maryi poprzez rozwinięcie porównania śmierci Chrystusa na Krzyżu do „drugich narodzin" poprzez chrzest, który następuje jako drugi, konieczny etap po narodzinach biologicznych. W ten sposób następuje ostateczne powiązanie roli obojga rozmówców w stosunku do Jezusa, którego męka na Krzyżu jest już nie tylko opisana w swoim ultymatywnym znaczeniu ale też organicznie powiązana z rolą, jaką ma w eschatologicznym wymiarze całej historii matka Jezusa.

Wydaje się, że jedna z ważnych konkluzji, jakimi zamknąć można by powyższy krótki przegląd średnioangielskiego liryku maryjnego dotyczyć musi wzajemnego przenikania się motywów i odniesień, jakie ma miejsce w literaturze religijnej tego okresu. Śledząc stopień, jakim różne teksty literackie, o różnym poziomie i charakterze, współuczestniczą w tworzeniu wspólnego systemu odniesień, można w pełni dostrzec, jak wielość poetyckich głosów przydaje tu wagi wspólności treści na jakich opiera się kultura epoki.

Tak więc, gdy w jednej z najsławniejszych ballad-kolęd średniowiecznych, *The Cherry-Tree Carol,* drzewo wiśni pokornie obniża się przed ciężarną Maryją chcącą skosztować jej owoców, to widoczne jest, że aby w pełni docenić kontekst sceny, konieczne jest zestawienie jej ze współczesnymi jej tekstami, gdzie drzewo Krzyża uporczywie odmawia uchylenia się przed matką Jezusa, aby ta mogła dotknąć cierpiącego Syna.

Bibliografia

Battistini M. (2005) *Symbole i alegorie.* (tł. K. Dyjas), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo „Arkady".

Greer Frein S. (ed.). (1998) *Moral Love Songs and Laments.* Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications.

Hall Thomas N. (2002). „The Miracle of the Lengthened Beam in Apocryphal and Hagiographic Tradition" w: Jones Timothy S, Sprunger David A. (2002). Marvels, *monsters, and Miracles. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations.* Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications, str. 113-144.

Huizinga J. (1961) *Jesień średniowiecza.* (tł. T. Brzostowski), Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Jones Timothy S, Sprunger David A. (2002). Marvels, *monsters, and Miracles. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations.* Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications.

Lewis C.S. (1992) *The Allegory of Love. A Study in Medieval Tradition.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Michalowska T. (1996) *Wyobraźnia średniowieczna.* Warszawa, Instytut Badań Literackich.

Rosenthal P. (2000) *Poets' Jesus.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Pastoureau M. 2006 *Średniowieczna gra symboli.* (tł. H. Igalson-Tygielska), Warszawa, Oficyna Naukowa.

Saupe K. (ed.).(1999) *Middle English Marian Lyrics.* Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications.

Tomon J. (1996) „Symbolika światła w poezji liturgicznej polskiego średniowiecza" w: **Michalowska T. (**1996) *Wyobraźnia średniowieczna.* Warszawa, Instytut Badań Literackich, str.307-332

STRESZCZENIE

Przez cały okres europejskiego średniowiecza jednym z kluczowych przejawów religijności epoki był kult maryjny. Przetworzony na motyw literacki jest on widoczny w wielu spośród ówczesnych gatunków literackich. Przypadkiem szczególnym jest tu liryk średniowieczny, gdzie tradycja maryjna przyczyniła się do powstania wyjątkowo bogatej spuścizny literackiej. Artykuł odwołuje się

do osiemnastu przykładów średniowiecznych liryków maryjnych, które koncentrują się na scenie ukrzyżowania. Prześledzić tu można różnorodność w potraktowaniu tematu od prostych odwzorowań sceny biblijnej aż po wysoce oryginalne wizje poetyckie twórczo rozwijające poszczególne motywy. Na ukoronowanie wywodu analizie poddany jest utwór *The Dispute between Mary and the Cross*, w którym, na kanwie dialogu pomiędzy Maryją i Krzyżem, poeta połączył niezwykłą intensywność emocjonalnego przesłania z wielce subtelną siatką symbolicznych znaczeń i odniesień w obrębie poetyckiego języka tekstu.

Katarzyna Pytel

The Organisation of Meaning in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*

For a long time critics have been reading the *Book of the Duchess* through the prism of the contrasting attitudes to language, poetry, and frequently, love, that the poem's two main characters, the knight and the dreamer, are thought to represent. However, the knight's and the dreamer's approaches to love and poetry are fundamentally the same, as they are based on an empathic, that is uncritical and emotional response. The empathy has two extreme forms: the narrator's limitation to the literal meaning and imagination and the knight's restriction to reason and figurative senses. Occupying two opposite poles, both types of poetics are inadequate. Therefore, the ultimate line of division does not run between the knight and his interlocutor, but between them and the implied author, that is the text taken as a whole, with its signifying strategies encoded in the composition, literary devices and figurative propensities of poetic language. That the presence of an unreliable narrator creates the possibility of an ironic reading is a mechanism present in literature of all periods, but the uniqueness of the situation in the *Book* lies in its having two exponents of empathic reading and writing, who, nevertheless, considerably differ from each other. Thus, the structure of meaning is the *Book* has three main elements: the narrator, the knight in black and the implied author. These elements are organised in two configurations: the narrator in opposition to the knight, and the narrator with the knght in opposition to the implied author. In this paper I would like to focus on the ways in which this structure genrates meanings.

Having realized the advantages and shortcomings of the two empathic approaches, we begin to sense in the poem a powerful presence of a third authority. We may call it "implied author", meaning the poem's capacity to signify by virtue of its being a poetic structure. Within the poem, it introduces interpretive distance by means of composition, dramatic devices, parallel images and verbal patterning, which invite comparison and contrast along the paradigmatic axis, accounting for the poem's both literal and figurative senses. Being a linguistic as well as artistic construct, the poem partakes of the language's propensity to create meanings in relation to other linguistic and artistic constructs. Therefore, literal and philosophical as well as Biblical and religious allusions, which are all references to other texts, will bring about more senses than envisaged by either of the tellers, the knight and the narrator.

The first device the poem employs to confront the two dissimilar attitudes is conversation. A dialogue, based on the introduction of differing points of view, which test and modify each other, is here a device of irony. The problem with the interlocutors in the *Book* is that their modes of understanding the word and the world are simply incompatible. Their conversation is punctuated with "Thou wost ful lytel what thou menest; / I have lost more than thow wenest" (743-4). Critics often point to the narrator's inability to grasp figurative language (Burlin 1977: 71-2, McGerr 1998:53). True as it is, we must as also notice the knight's failure to describe the events clearly. The narrator's realistic comments are either incomprehensible to the knight, or provoke his anger, as acceptance of their validity would entail a change in his worldview. For instance, the knight's declaration of his complete absorption in love is countered by the narrator's attempt to render this statement relative by using an adjective in a comparative form: "I not how ye myghte have do bet" (1044). Subversive, because embedded in a seemingly complying remark, this endeavour infuriates the knight, who resists it saying that every man would say the same. In response the dreamer politely stresses his belief in the knight's words, repeating the key words twice: "Y trowe hyt wel, sir" (1044) "I leve yow wel" (1048); the knight insists yet again "Nay, leve hyt wel!" (1047). He refuses to abandon the aloofness of his apotheosis to confront the historical truth. Yet the narrator again tries to destabilize idealisations, saying that White was the most beautiful only in the knight's eyes, but gets countered with a similar response. The narrator's motivation in the conversation is, first, to learn the knight's story, and, secondly, to try and heal him. Both purposes are concerned with the physical and literal – the knight's body and his *historia*. Although medieval dream visions often promised healing by providing consolation based on true wisdom and understanding (e.g. *The Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius), the dreamer is less concerned with the knight's deranged mental faculties and lack of proper knowledge than with the physical symptoms of melancholy. He gives a twelve-line medical account of the knight's state, explaining the physiological processes that account for his paleness, that is diverting the blood stream to the heart to ensure its survival at the expense of the limbs. The fascination with the corporeal parallels the narrator's penchant for the historical and sequential narration of events. Having been unable to decipher the *historia* behind the knight's figures and abstractions he prods the teller with questions that must yield literal answers: "Good sir, telle me al hooly / In what wyse, how, why, and wherfore / That ye have thus youre blysse lore" (746-8). With these precise question words the dreamer forces the knight to abandon the paradigmatic mode of expression in favour of a narrative. Of course, the knight reverts to his preferable mode whenever possible, for example with descriptions of his suffering as a young lover or with the description of the beloved, which moves along the paradigmatic axis in linking up physical features with moral attributes. The narrator demands the knight cut out what he sees as redundancies and repetitions: 'Ye han wel told me herebefore; / Hyt ys no need to reherse it more, / How ye sawe hir first, and where" (1127-9). Instead, he demands more details: "But wolde ye tel me the manere / To hire which was your firste speche" (1130-1). The dreamer influences thus the knight's literary production, although the effect is surely different from the expected one. Finally, the clash between the narrator's historical perspective and the knight's idealisation creates the most moving moment of the poem. The literal-minded narrator does not see that the knight has been describing an ideal abstraction upon which no location (nor life) can be predicated, and demands to know where the lady is now. This re-establishes the severed link between the representation of White the knight has been labouring to make and the historical woman whose meeting formed the basis of his experience, and the man is forced to adopt the literal perspective and disclose in a bluntly literal statement: "She ys ded!" (1309). This announcement is identical with a confession of the inadequacy of his own representation: he has not managed to turn the beloved into an ideal abstraction, the literal level, even when ignored, will surface. White, despite her transparent name, was "lady / Of the body" (1152-3). Clearly, in isolation either mode leads to an end of signification, but placed in a position where they can interact, they influence each other and begin to yield new truths about the poetic production as a way of dealing with a loss of love.

In the poem this ability of literature is hinted by relegating, rather humorously, poetry and its elements to the realm of the marvellous. The whole poem is introduced with the word "wonder," "I have gret wonder, be this light, / How that I lyve" (1-2), as if the phenomenon that the poem is going to describe was so marvellous that it could not happen in real life. It is clearly something above imagination and reason, for when the narrator's imagination is running wild, he turns to an ancient fable to occupy his mind, and, again, he calls it marvellous: "I fond a tale / That me thoughte a wonder thing" (61). And as the story illustrates, literature is, in fact, the realm of the amazing, where extraordinary things are used to create meanings: Morpheus's creeping into the dead body of Ceyx is impossible in real life, yet in fiction it is permissible. The cave is "wonder depe" (165); Juno's messenger cries "wonder hye" (183), it seems that the more fictional the literary style, the more marvellous it becomes. The narrator finds the somniferous abilities of Morpheus a wonder. Moreover, the dream, which stands for the narrator's poem, is so marvellous that nobody can interpret it correctly, as it apparently defies reason. The fact of the ancient heroes experiencing prophetic dreams is commented on: "Suche marvayles fortuned than" (288). Even the man in black does not rely on his reason only to make poetry: he has a recourse to literary models as well. Thus, poetry is signalled, through the narrator's limited focus, to be beyond, or above, the realms of imagination and reason and to have some other "mysterious" signifying abilities.

The first means by which the knight's and the narrator's stances are questioned is linking them with illness, death, sterility and lack, while introducing contrasting images of life and vitality in those passages that do not refer directly to either of them. The fragments that are most imbued with morbidity concern the narrator and his art, as well as the knight and his literary production. The sheer number of evocations of death and illness is impressive. Here are some illustrations from the proem: "dedly soun," "melancolye / And drede I have for to dye" (23-4); "Defaute of slep and hevynesse / Hath sleyn my spirit of quyknesse / That I have lost al lustyhede"(26-7); "a tempest / ….. dreinte hem alle" (70, 72); "Right thus this king Seys loste his lif" (75); "And wher my lord, my love, be deed?" (91).[1] And here are those that pertain to the knight: "What ayleth hym to sitten her?" (449) "dedly sorwful soun" (462); / To have such sorwe and be not ded" (467-9). "my lady bryght …. / Is fro me ded and agoon" (477, 179); "Allas, deth, what ayleth the, / That thou noldest have taken me, / Whan thou toke my lady swete" (481-3).[2] Clearly, the characters' words and actions are explicitly and permanently connected with death.

[1] More data here: "Whether my lord be quyk or ded" (121); "…He take up Seys body the kyng, / That lyeth ful pale and nothing rody" (142-3); "a dedly slepynge soun" (162); "Took up the dreynte body sone / And bar hyt forth to Alcione" (195-6); "I am but ded. / Ye shul me never on lyve yse" (204-5); "Bury my body" (207); "[she] deyde within the thirdde morwe" (214); "I had be dolven everydel / And ded…" (222-3); "this dreynte Seys the king" (229); "Rather then that y shulde deye / Thorgh defaute of slepynge thus" (241-2).

[2] More examples here: "Hys sorwful hert gan faste faynte / And his spirites waxen dede" (487-8); "The herte had harm" (492); "Hys hewe change and wexe grene / And pale, for ther noo blood ys sene / In no maner lym of hys" (497-9); "He ferde thus evel there he set" (501); "Hym thoughte hys sorwes were so smerte / And lay colde upon his herte" (507-8); "…He had wel nygh lost hys mynde" (511); "…ese youre herte, / that semeth ful sek under your syde" (556-7); "…my hewe to falle and fade" (564); "Ne hele me no phisicien" (571); "Y wrecche, that deth hath mad al naked / Of al the blysse that ever was maked" (577-8); "The pure deth ys so ful my foo / That I wolde deye, hyt wolde not so" (583-4); "Alway deynge and be not ded" (588); "Myn hele ys turned into seknesse" (507); "hyt is to deye soone" (690); "For nothyng I leve hyt noght, / But lyve and deye ryght in this thoght" (691-2); "ye for sorwe mordred yourselve" (724); "… Medea … / That slough hir children…" (726-7); "Phyllis … / Heng hirself" (728-9); "…Dydo, …. / That slough hirself" (732-3); "Ecquo died for Narcisus" (734); "…for Delida died Sampson, / That slough himself with a piler" (738-9); "And but I telle hir, I nam but ded" (1188), I most have told hir or be ded" (1202). "I was as blyve / Reysed as fro deth to lyve" (1277-8); "he wax as ded as stoon" (1300), "She ys ded!" (1309).

By contrast, the passages that do not concern the narrator and the knight directly elaborate on the notions of harmony, vitality, abundance and moderation. The nature scenes, especially, highlight vitality. The singing birds startle the narrator out of sleep with their powerful song, which is so loud that it resonates in the chamber where he is sleeping. The birds mark their presence aurally and spatially, occupying the roof, being everywhere: "overall aboute" (300). They sing in harmony, despite their large number and different ways of singing. It is like celestial harmony – the life-giving principle that links the earth with heaven. The presence of the birds contrasts with the termination of the Ovidian story, which eliminates the couple's metamorphosis into birds, an allusion to human immortality. In the nature scene, the "deleted" birds appear, multiplied and powerful (Delasanta 1969: 249). This move on Chaucer's part secures the association of life with indirect methods of signification. There are more examples of this technique. In the ancient story Alcyone swoons "as cold as ston" (123) and falls into a "dede slep" (127). In the next section, at the beginning of the dream the narrator wakes up, energetic and lively. The cave of Morpheus is in a sterile, lifeless valley, the falling water makes a "dedly slepynge soun" (162), and the cave is dark as hell (170-1). By contrast, the place the dreamer wakes up in is full of singing birds and light, with colourful stained glass, the sounds of song and hunt. The forest is full of lush grass and a variety of flowers, which outnumber the stars. There is a multitude of animals, such as stags, hinds and squirrels with their young, which also make a powerful spatial presence, surrounding the narrator (428). The description emphasizes the young progeny, rather than the usual variety of species. Moreover, the place is overrun with hounds and huntsmen, who add to the busy vitality. It is the hunting party of the emperor Octavian, who had a reputation of an immensely wealthy king. As Ann Rooney interprets this figure:

> this image of wealth not only accords with the splendour of the chamber in which the Dreamer awakes and the abundant wildlife of the forest which contrasts starkly with the Black Knight's austerity, but links the figure of Octvyen firmly with the 'worldly bliss' aspect of the hunt. (Rooney 1987: 311)

Inasmuch as I do not find convincing arguments to interpret the hunt in the *Book* as a figure of "worldly bliss," I do agree that wealth associated with the emperor is linked with the abundance of fauna and flora, which are meant as a counterfoil to the lack represented by both the knight and the narrator. Moreover, as Rosemarie P. McGerr notices (50), the cycle of seasons implies a natural progression from death to life:

> Hyt [the earth] had forgete the povertee
> That wynter, thorgh hys colde morwes,
> Had mad hyt suffre, and his sorwes;
> All was forgeten, and that was sene,
> For al the woode was waxen grene;
> Swetnesse of dew had mad hyt waxe. (410-15)

The terms used to describe winter repeat the key words from the knight's monologue: "suffer" and "sorrow", which helps to link up this season with the state of excessive grief. The passage reiterates also the verbs "forget" and "waxen", which point to the natural way out of a miserable situation. Thus, death is linked to the empathic approach, yet the beginning of the dream offers an alternative, stressing vitality and life. As certain elements are moved from the proem to the beginning of the dream, this sharp division must have been intended by Chaucer. The reason for it is probably the strong causal link between death and cessation of semiosis that both the knight and narrator effectuate. The overt narratorial voice being equated with death, the indirectness of the implied author is the only device that can introduce the concept of life into the poem.

Insofar as death is literally present, life and resurrection are manifested by indirection, symbol, metaphor and allusion. The poem utilises the salvific propensities of language, which restore harmony by means of the linguistic artefact's capacity for symbolism. Even trite *fin amours* conventions are capable of alluding to salvation. Thanks to the courtly love language tendency to idealise the lady and to show her in absolute terms, she can become a symbol of all goodness, grace, salvation, a *donna angelicata*. As the simile in the knight's description of his feelings upon being accepted by the lady suggests: "I was as blyve / Reysed as fro deth to lyve" (1277-8). Whether this meaning is intended by the knight or not, this phrase definitely points to resurrection. Furthermore, the skilful manipulation of the bird symbolism also hints at an afterlife: erased from the Ovidian story, it reappears in the heavenly harmony of birds' song and culminates in the image of the phoenix (Delasanta: 250). The knight uses it to underline his beloved's uniqueness, yet in medieval bestiaries the symbolism accorded to the Arabian bird is primarily that of resurrection. The portrayal of White contains further Biblical references. Namely, she is called Truth's residence, which resembles appellations in litanies to the Virgin Mary. Further, her throat is like a tower of ivory, a phrase borrowed directly from the *Song of Songs* (8: 4), where it describes the beauty of the beloved: "your neck like a tower of ivory" (Matter 1992: xxxi). In fact, the *Book of the Duchess* owes most of its symbolism to the Biblical imagery concerning the resurrection of the dead. The other two images explored in the *Book* are the horn blast and the "hert" symbolism. The sound of horn is heard twice in the *Book*, first as it rouses Morpheus from slumber, and second when it wakes up the narrator at the beginning of his dream. Rodney Delasanta, who pursues the Biblical allusions in the *Book*, claims: "It cannot be accidental that Chaucer should have effected real or metaphorical awakening throughout the poem by means of a horn. One is immediately reminded of the apocalyptic role of the horn and trumpet in Christian iconography" (250). It also resembles Saint Paul's discussion of resurrection in the fifteenth chapter of I Corinthians: when the trumpet sounds the dead shall rise again incorruptible, death destroyed (Delasanta, 250). The horn is thus a clear symbol of resurrection superimposed on the dead body of the text. The "hert," Delasanta argues, refers to the knight in black. The game that the hunters chase is described as "mouche embossed," which means "exhausted," but may also be a pun with additional meaning coming from Old French *en+bois* "to go or hide in the woods." The knight is also found hidden, deep in a forest retreat, where no people, but only animals are found. It is not accidental that the failure of hounds to find the hart is immediately followed by the success of the puppy and the dreamer in reaching the knight, and the conclusion of the conversation precedes the calling off of the hunt (Delasanta: 251). Thematically the identification of the hart with the knight and the significance of the hart-hunting itself depend upon the *Song of Songs*, where a bride and a bridegroom are united and divided, then sought and found, a situation similar to the separation by death of the knight and White: "The identification of the bridegroom in the *Canticle* as a hart who beckons his beloved to awaken and come to him now that the winter is passed and spring has come" (Delasanta: 251). In the *Song* (2: 9), the beloved is compared to a stag: "My beloved is like a goat and a young of stags behold, he stands behind our wall looking in through the windows watching through the lattices" (Matter: xix). Moreover, "…the bridegroom invokes the *harts* of the field while he patiently awaits the *awakening* of his beloved who is *asleep*…" (Delasanta: 251). Further, the dramatic situation of the *Song* (12) stresses the departure of winter and the arrival of spring, especially of flowers: "flowers appear on the earth the time of pruning has come" (Matter: xix). Finally, there is another, rather rare, detail: the life-giving water. In the *Song of Songs* (11) it is rain: "for now the winter has passed the rain has gone and departed" (Matter: xix). The *Book* features dew: "swetnesse of dew had mad hyt waxe" (415). In this way, the textual and metaphorical identification of the knight with the hart alludes to the resurrection of the dead in the context of a love situation. Clearly, the poem utilises Christian symbolism in the way that is not ascribed to either of the characters. The imagery employed runs throughout the poem, joining its distanced elements and creating a space between the text and the Biblical books within which new meanings are forged. Most importantly, it achieves its effect by means of indirect allusions and sophisticated symbolism that stand in stark contrast to death, which imbues the texture of the poem with the plenitude of its direct evocations. It is also different from the excessive figuration of the knight, who heaps up images and figures of limited or impaired signifying potential.

To sum up, the *Book of the Duchess*'s unique strategy of signification lies in its having two key exponents of the empathic response to love and literature, who nevertheless represent opposing literary modes based on imagination/literalism and reason/figuration. The fixation of meaning at either the literal or the figurative level yields the same result, that is a termination of semiosis. These restrictive approaches are counterbalanced by the ironic mode, underlying the whole poem. By confronting them, the poem creates space for their mutual criticism and inspiration. It is in between the two attitudes that the reader is asked to create meaning. The *Book* employs also a number of indirect devices that run counter to the formal and ideological claims of the narrator and the knight. Moreover, its use of symbols and allusions opens the poem to intertextual possibilities, enabling creation of senses that are untypical of a courtly poem. The resultant duality of structure together with the attendant signification of each mode brilliantly yokes the poem's literary preoccupations with the second major theme, that is the loss of love. Fossilisation of signs leads to sterility and death, while opening to a new meaning is identical with opening to a new life.

Bibliography

Burlin, Robert B. 1977. *Chaucerian Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. 1987.*The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson et al. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Delasanta, Rodney. 1969. "Christian Affirmation in *The Book of the Duchess*." *PMLA*, Vol. 84, No.2. (Mar.), pp. 245-51.

Matter, Ann E. 1992. *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

McGerr Rosemarie P. 1998. *Chaucer's Open Books: Resistance to Closure in Medieval Discourse.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Rooney, Ann. 1987."*The Book of the Duchess*: Hunting and the 'Ubi Sunt' Tradition." *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 38, No.151 (Aug.), pp. 299-314.

STRESZCZENIE

Dwie główne postaci występujące w *The Book of the Duchess* Geoffrey'a Chaucera, narrator i rycerz w czerni, wydają się różnić się od siebie jako autorzy i odbiorcy tekstów literackich: narrator operuje jedynie na poziomie dosłownym, a rycerz - przenośnym. Obie te postawy są utożsamione ze śmiercią i chorobą, i zdyskredytowane za pomocą zabiegów ironicznych, które stwarzają jednocześnie możliwości wzajemnej krytyki, inspiracji i uzupełnienia. *The Book* zawiera również rozmaite symbole i aluzje literackie, filozoficzne i biblijne, które składają się na siatkę znaczeń odnoszących się do idei zmartwychwstania, odrodzenia, i życia, a tworzoną ponad literackimi zamierzeniami narratora i rycerza w czerni i utożsamianą z autorem implikowanym, który okazuje się być trzecim niezbędnym elementem w strukturze znaczeniowej utworu.

Barbara Bienias

Virgins or Whores? The Image of a Renaissance Woman in Parlour Games in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Othello*

The image of a woman is one of the biggest paradoxes in Renaissance England. In the sources from the epoch one is likely to find testimonials of how women were both extolled in Neoplatonic philosophy and, at the same time, how they were consistently underrated in the ideology of the period. This apparently ambivalent attitude is even more surprising when we remember that at the time England was ruled by the female monarch who had absolute power, and who received numerous proofs of affection from her courtiers in the form of poems, hymns and apotheoses.[1] Yet, one will quickly notice that the adoration that was shown to the Queen was something inscribed in the social duty and hierarchical order. What was expressed at the court did not have to fit common beliefs or prejudices against women.

The focus of this paper is to compare the use of imagery related to women in two late tragedies by William Shakespeare – *Hamlet* (1601) and *Othello* (1604) – in the context of popular misogynist beliefs and courtly parlour games.[2] Especially in the theatrical tradition of the period one can easily detect the duality of opinions about the status of women in the society. In numerous plays of that time there are images of queens, nymphs and adorable ladies, which are contrasted with hags, harlots or fallen women. The viewer/reader is faced with the figures that are types of chastity or pure love (such as Desdemona, Cordelia or Juliet)[3] and those that are associated with the 'unnatural', lascivious and wanton evil (Lady Macbeth, Goneril, Regan). These types are the productions of the same mind and must have been created according to some existing beliefs and expectations shared by the Elizabethan or Jacobean audiences.

It is obvious that the Renaissance public was not a homogenous entity, nor were the views on women presented on stage. But it also becomes evident that these approaches to females (e.g. those exposed in parlour games within the plays) were fully understandable to people in the audience, even if they are not always acceptable to modern recipients. For most of us misogynist statements, such as those of Iago in *Othello*: 'You [women] rise to play, and go to bed to work' (2.1.115)[4] are clearly abusive and inappropriate. However, what requires deeper investigation is the level of (dis)approval of such accounts shown by the Renaissance audience, i.e. the level of familiarity and humour presented in such standards of writing.

---

[1] There are of course counterstatements which expressed dissatisfaction with the queen and her rule. For negative interpretations of the queen, see Walker: 1998.

[2] I will use the term 'parlour games' in the meaning of a courtly pastime, as described e.g. in B. Castiglione's *The Courtier*, chapter 6.

[3] I am aware that these characters can be treated as two-faced, yet the common presumption of the audience about them is that they are virgins before they get married.

[4] All quotations are taken from Shakespeare (2006).

The Renaissance duality of outlooks about women can be itself regarded on two levels. The first level presents the epistemological and biological differences between men and women in apparently irreconcilable ways, i.e. (1) women are weaker vessels (both physically and mentally) and therefore men should take care of them (Vaughan qtd. in Aughterson 1995: 97), and (2) women are 'equal in condition' with men and their relations should be those of partnership – as was stated in the Bible: 'The Christ honoured our sex in that was a man, not a woman: yet he was born of a woman and was not begot of a man…she [a woman] was not made of earth … but out of himself [a man] that she might be dearer in estimation and equal in condition to him' (Adams qtd. in Aughterson 1995: 30).

The second discrepancy in views is based on socio-cultural factors, i.e. (1) women are fair and chaste (references to Queen Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, mythological goddesses), or (2) women are corrupted and turn men to evil, as did Eve with Adam (a woman is a work of the devil) and as Circe did with Ulysses's companions. The examples of this duality are very suitably presented in the literature of the period, e.g. in the sonnets (ephemeral women-muses in Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* or Michael Drayton's *Idea*) or in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene, Book I*, where we have a depiction of Una (fair and chaste) which is contrasted with false Duessa (Lucifera corrupted by the devil).

Kate Aughterson states that 'the construction of womanhood in Early Modern Period was based upon two essential ideologies: the Hebraic-Christian tradition of equating Eve with the Fall… and Galenic-Aristotelian account of her "nature"' (1995: 41). Thus, in Galen's *On the usefulness of the parts*, which was frequently cited by the Elizabethans, we can find the following opinion on the inherent inferiority of women: 'Now just as mankind is the most perfect of all animals, so within mankind the man is more perfect than the woman, and the primary instrument' (Galen, in Aughterson: 47). In Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia* one can find an astonishing explanation of the differences between men's and women's behaviours: 'The females are more wanton and petulant than males, we think happeneth because of the impotency of their minds: for the imaginations of lustful women are like the imaginations of brute beasts' (qtd. in Aughterson: 56). These are called the 'natural imperfections' (ibidem), and the knowledge about such interpretations was a part of the Renaissance common sense.

This image was also ubiquitous in drama, where particular scenes and dialogues (such as parlour games in *Hamlet* and *Othello*) portrayed a woman within theatrical paradigms. The characteristic feature of these passages is their double semantics. They are not merely intervals between the main events in the course of action, but they also reveal something about the characters' minds – not only to other characters, but primarily to the audience. Statements, puns and opinions included in such exchanges very often have conventional qualities and are direct forms of communication with the public. Words become realizations of shared concepts – as if they were semiotic tokens – linking the actor with the viewer.

The idea of parlour games is derived from the Italian Renaissance and its courtly conventions of conversations. These involved puns and rhetorical devices that had to be used according to the accepted code. Different requirements were formulated for men and women. In Baldassarre Castiglione's *The Courtier* one can find the idea that 'principally in her fashions, manners, words, gestures, and conversation (methink) the woman ought to be much unlike the man' (qtd. in Aughterson: 232), she should be 'good and discreet' and have 'sweetness in language that may delight, whereby she may gently entertain all kind of men with talk worthy of hearing' (233). It is therefore interesting to see how these ideas are employed in the case of Ophelia and Desdemona, and what image of women emerges from the men's utterances in those dialogues.

Ophelia and Desdemona are directly exposed to the opinions presented by Hamlet and Iago, respectively. Nonetheless, their positions are completely different. Thus, on the one hand we have Ophelia, who belongs to the court and therefore is a subject to Hamlet, and on the other, Desdemona, who is Othello's wife and thus holds a superior position over Iago. Yet, they are both gentlewomen who are bound with certain conventions and whose sex becomes a target for Hamlet's and Iago's speeches.

One of the *savoire-vivre* manuals of the epoch advised the English gentlewoman to 'rather observe than discourse' (Brathwaith qtd. in Aughterson: 84), and this attitude can be found in the behaviour of Ophelia, who during her performance of the Mousetrap (3.2.115-127)[5], is a polite listener to the ambiguous talk of her Prince. Her position is inferior by definition. Despite anything that might have occurred earlier between Hamlet and herself, she remains his subject and moreover, a lady at the court who has to submit to certain modes of behaviour. Hamlet starts his talk with an obscene question, to which Ophelia replies calmly and appropriately:

HAMLET. Lady, shall I lay in your lap?
OPHELIA. No, my lord. (3.2.99-100)

Then Hamlet corrects himself, and this time his request finds Ophelia's approval:

HAMLET. I mean, my head upon your lap?
OPHELIA. Ay, my lord. (3.2.101-2)

Her replies are 'No' and 'Ay'. She does not say more than what is required in the question. Hamlet continues to tease her with offending ambiguities – 'country', which is a pun with 'cunty' (3.2.103), but Ophelia seems unmoved: 'I think nothing, my Lord' (3.2.104). Hamlet draws another pun with the word 'nothing', which had sexual reference at the time – women had 'nothing' between their legs. This scene is a good example of the theatrical double semiotics. In the reality of the play repetitions imply a situation when there is a lot of noise since the play-within-the-play is about to begin, therefore some ambiguities and misunderstandings are justified. Moreover, because of the fact that the Elizabethan audience created a loud crowd themselves, repetitions and puns were aimed directly at them, so that they could actively participate in the performance.

But eventually something that could be only an allusive conversation of ex-lovers or a funny situation for the audience changes into an overt verbal assault:

OPHELIA. Will a tell us what this show meant?
HAMLET. Ay, or any show that you will show him. Be not ashamed to show, he'll not shame to tell you what it means.
OPHELIA. You are naught, you are naught. I'll mark the play. (3.2.126-129)

[5] All quotations taken from Shakespere (2003).

Hamlet offends Ophelia's chastity, and the only reply she gives is 'you are naught'. Despite the fact that these dialogues could be received with laughter by the Renaissance audience, such remarks must have been offensive and hurtful within the world of the play. Nevertheless, Ophelia remains a loyal subject – good and discreet. Her compliant manners are above reproach and her deference is complete here. A psychoanalytical reading of these passages and the relationship between Hamlet and Ophelia would lead to a conclusion that Ophelia's later madness could be provoked by the suppression of her feelings and her natural inclination to reply to Hamlet's abuses in a more decisive manner. Also, the constraints of the court culture could provoke her mind to collapse and lead eventually to her fatal end.[6]

A still more appealing example of a parlour game in *Hamlet* appears before the one described above (3.1.103-164). During Hamlet and Ophelia's allegedly private meeting – which in fact is observed by Claudius and Polonius from behind the arras – the audience witnesses a conversation full of bitterness and remorse. Ophelia, instructed by her father, meets Hamlet in order to return the gifts he had given to her. This scene contains many abusive and conflicting statements, and because of this fact is sometimes taken as one of the 'proofs' of Hamlet's madness. But considering the fact that there is so much conventional opinions about women in Hamlet's speech, the prince would most probably appear completely sane to the Renaissance audience. As we can read in Neely's essay *Documents in Madness*: 'Spectators, on stage and off, read this language [of madness], trying to make "sense" of it and translating it into the discourse of sanity' (Neely 1996: 80).

Hamlet, while receiving back his presents, begins with a question that seems completely inadequate in this context and that is followed by Ophelia's surprised reaction:

HAMLET. Ha, ha! Are you honest?
OPHELIA. My Lord? (3.1.103-104)

Hamlet continues by paraphrasing his question and conducting the argument about the connection between modesty and beauty:

HAMLET. Are you fair?
OPHELIA. What means your lordship?
HAMLET. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.
OPHELIA. Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?
HAMLET. Ay, truly; for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness. (3.1.105-113)

Once again the matters which are discussed here fit the beliefs of the period. In Juan Luis Vives's *The instruction of a Christian woman* we find a passage which reads that 'chastity is the principal

[6] For psychoanalytical reading of *Hamlet* see for example: Lupton, Julia Reinhard and Kenneth Reinhard. *After Oedipus: Shakespeare in Psychoanalysis*. Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1993 and Wheale, Nigel. "'Vnfolde your selfe': Jacques Lacan and the Psychoanalytic Reading of *Hamlet*." *Hamlet*. Ed. Peter J. Smith and Nigel Wood. Theory in Practice. Buckingham: Open UP, 1996. 108-32.

virtue of a woman' for 'she that is chaste is fair, well favoured, rich, fruitful, noble, and all the best things that can be named' (qtd. in Aughterson: 70). Chastity is beauty enough to Vives. Yet, Ophelia is not called 'all the best things', but she is advised to go to a nunnery (3.1.119) in order not to breed sinners.[7] In addition, if she decides to marry, she will be cursed with the plague of false calumny, even despite her purity and chastity (3.1.132-133).[8] It is one more reference to a commonly known fact that 'a woman hath not so many ways to defend herself from slanderous reports as hath a man' (Castiglione qtd. in Aughterson: 233).

This scene contains one more indication of the primarily Puritan thought, i.e. the condemnation of artificial make-up: 'Our lords curseth an unchaste woman, saying, thou has the face of an harlot, thou art past shame' (Vives qtd. in Aughterson: 70).[9] A woman who painted her face was believed to behave like a whore. Therefore, Hamlet implies that Ophelia is a harlot:

HAMLET. I have heard of your paintings, well enough. God hath given you one
face. And you make yourselves another. (3.1.137-138; emphasis B.B.)

This disapproval should come as no surprise to the audience, who most probably would agree with Hamlet on the level of principles. The point over which the viewers could express some doubts was rather the way in which Ophelia's dignity was treated. Ophelia's figure is completely diminished and the only remark she can make is a sorrowful exclamation:

OPHELIA. O what a noble mind is here o'erthrown! (3.1.144)

Ophelia is a double victim who undergoes humiliation as a woman and a former lover. She has to meet both the conventions of a courtly parlour game and Hamlet's misogynist reproaches. Hamlet's sexual offences, combined with the accusations and melancholic reflections on fallen womankind address two recipients – Ophelia and the audience awaiting such familiar statements. Indirectly, Hamlet addresses also his mother, with whom he is deeply disappointed and whom he tries to punish, taking Ophelia as the object of his insults.

Another type of a female's portrayal – not less cruel, but delivered in utterly different circumstances – can be seen in *Othello* (2.1). In the beginning of the scene, Desdemona is greeted with compliments and praise:

CASSIO. Hail to thee, lady, And the grace of heaven.
Before, behind thee, and on every hand,
Enwheel thee round! (2.1.85-7)

---

[7] Arden editors of *Hamlet* – Harold Jenkins (2nd series), Neil Taylor and Ann Thompson (3rd series) mark that 'nunnery' had also the connotation with a 'brothel' in Shakespeare's times, which shows another double-meaningness of Hamlet's utterance. For more on this topic see for example Wells 2010: 2.

[8] This is exactly what happens later to Desdemona.

[9] It is interesting to contrast these ideas with the fact that Elizabeth, especially towards the end of her reign, used make-up excessively. As Ben Jonson put it: 'they painted her & sometymes would vermillion her nose' (qtd. in Kay 1992: 18)

'The divine Desdemona' – as Cassio calls her (2.1.73) – engages herself in a conversation about womanhood. Her position here differs from that of Ophelia. Desdemona assumes the status of her husband – she has the power, she is *not* a subject and Iago's 'malcontent' discourse (cf. Callaghan 1989: 127) cannot threaten her in the way that it could threaten any woman below her status. Iago's misogyny takes the form of a joke to which the audience would respond with laughter (125). Misogyny is then believed harmless, because it is something familiar and funny:

IAGO. Come on, come on, you are pictures out of doors,

Bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens,/ Saints in your injuries,
devils being offended,/ Players in your housewifery, and house wives in…
your beds. (2.1.109-113)

Iago is called 'the prime example of a privileged manipulator of misogynist discourse' (Callaghan 127) because his position increases through the language, whereas the position of women (eventually also including Desdemona) is diminished. Desdemona only seems to be in control of the parlour game to which she reluctantly agreed ('I am not merry; but I do beguile/ the thing I am by seeming otherwise' 2.1.122-123) – but in fact she is abused. Although Iago does not disgrace her openly, he implies her dishonesty directly to the audience and the characters on stage waiting for Othello to arrive. Desdemona is the victim of something which at first glance might seem a harmless exchange. As Callaghan puts it: 'Iago's attack on Othello is through Desdemona. But it is female characters who die as a result of the malcontent's class aspirations' (127). Iago uses misogyny and humiliation of women as a tool to improve his own social status. Although he has no evident power, he tries to gain it through the employment of a misogynistic language.

Iago begins his statement by chiding his wife's talkativeness:

IAGO. Sir, would she give you so much of her lips

As of her tongue she oft bestows on me
You'd have enough. (2.1.100-102)

Once again a misogynistic opinion corresponds with the idea of the epoch, which says that a good wife should not only keep home, but also 'keep silence, and always speak the best of her head' (Smith qtd. in Aughterson: 83). Moreover, other claims of the period about good housewifery, e.g. that a woman should be reverent, submissive and obedient to her husband (cf. Dod & Cleaver qtd. in Aughterson: 80), also find reflection in Iago's speech. It is argued that any violation of these limits placed a woman in the position of someone, who would easily commit sexual violations as well (cf. Orlin 1996: 179). Iago's discourse would then imply his desire for both social and sexual dominance.

Iago complains about his wife's behaviour, but then he moves to a general outlook about women (2.1.109-113). Desdemona's reply is quite abrupt, although it is said in a rather humorous tone:

DESDEMONA. O, fie upon thee, slanderer! (2.1.114)

She seems to feel uncomfortable in the whole situation she is to lead, and therefore allows Iago to continue to present his opinions about women. In the argument about praising those who are (1) fair and wise, (2) black and witty, (3) fair and foolish or (4) foul and foolish (2.1.129-160), Iago ends with a conclusion that the most virtuous women are fit only to keep household accounts:

IAGO. To suckle fools and chronicle small beer. (2.1.160)

Desdemona, throughout the whole dispute, fulfils the ideal of a female interlocutor – her remarks are made within the courtly convention. Nonetheless, her superior position is eventually ruined when Iago uses the same language towards her in his conversation with Othello. In this context, Desdemona's words from 2.1.114 turn out prophetic.

It has been emphasized in this paper that the examples of the misogynistic discourse that can be found in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Othello* were broadly acknowledged and most probably accepted by the Renaissance audience. Issues that were criticized on stage were only a suggestive illustration of what were the Elizabethan and Jacobean beliefs about women and their treacherous behaviours. These commonplaces were presented in the familiar manner, and therefore could be received with laughter and understanding. The viewer did not have to analyse the matters presented in the performance, because the analysis had already been done by the thinkers of the epoch.

Therefore, we may draw a conclusion that no matter with what purposes the misogynistic discourse is present in *Hamlet* and *Othello*, on the ideological level the language is parallel. It corresponds with the expectations of the Elizabethan audience and is the fulfilment of the stereotypes. Moreover, it also fits one more principle of the Renaissance stage, i.e. the need for amusement. Thus, the double semantics of the parlour games creates the image of the females that on the level of theatrical reality are perceived as victims and innocent virgins, but on the ideological one fit the popular images of two-taming whores. This duality engenders multiple meanings and perhaps is a gateway to understanding of Renaissance semiotics. The denotation of conventional phrases could be easily altered, depending on the context. Although the parlour games in question could have induced laughter, in the end, the tragic outcome of Hamlet's and Iago's doings made misogynistic discourse seem blown out of proportion.

Bibliography

Adams, Thomas. (1629) (1995), "Meditations Upon the Creed." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 29-31. London and New York: Routledge.

Aughterson, Kate. ed. (1995), *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook – Constructions of Femininity in England*. London and New York: Routledge.

Brathwaith, Richard. (1631) (1995), "The English Gentlewoman." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 84-5. London and New York: Routledge.

Callaghan, Dympna. (1989), *Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy : A Study of King Lear, Othello, the Duchess of Malfi, and the White Devil.* Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International.

Castiglione, Baldassarre. (1561) (1995), "The Courtier." Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby. In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 232-3. London and New York: Routledge.

Crooke, Helkiah. (1618) (1995), "Microcosmographia." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 54-57. London and New York: Routledge,.

Dod, Robert and Cleaver, John. (1598) (1995), "A Godly Form of Household Government." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 79-82. London; New York: Routledge.

Galen. (1995), "On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 47-8. London; New York: Routledge.

Neely, Carol Thomas. (1996), "Documents in Madness. Reading Madness and Gender in Shakespeare's Tragedies and Early Modern Culture." In *Shakespearean Tragedy and Gender*, edited by Shirley Nelson Garner and Madelon Sprengnether. 75-104. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Orlin, Lena Cowen. (1996), "Desdemona's Disposition." In *Shakespearean Tragedy and Gender*, edited by Shirley Nelson Garner and Madelon Sprengnether. 171-92. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Shakespeare, William. (2006), *Othello. 3rd Series*, Ed. E.A.J. Honinngam, London: Arden Shakespeare.

Shakespeare, William. (2003), *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Ed. Philip Edwards, Cambridge and New York: The New Cambridge Shakespeare.

Smith, Henry. (1591) (1995), "A Preparative to Marriage." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 82-4. London and New York: Routledge.

Vaughan, William. (1608) (1995), "The Golden Grove." In *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook. Constructions of Femininity in England*, edited by Kate Aughterson. 96-8. London and New York: Routledge.

Walker, Julia M. (1998), *Dissing Elizabeth : Negative Representations of Gloriana.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Wells, Stanley. (2010), *Shakespeare, Sex, and Love*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

STRESZCZENIE:

Artykuł jest analizą znaczenia dworskich gier słownych w dwóch tragediach Williama Szekspira (*Hamlet* i *Otello*), w kontekście mizoginistycznego dyskursu epoki wczesnonowożytnej. Ze szczególną uwagą potraktowano w nim sceniczny, semiotyczny wymiar kwestii wypowiadanych pod adresem kobiet, z uwzględnieniem potencjalnych reakcji widowni (zarówno siedemnastowiecznej, jak i współczesnej).

Katarzyna Blacharska

Satan's Prayer: The First Soliloquy of John Milton's Fallen Angel from the Perspective of Paul Ricoeur's Notion of Lamentation as Prayer

It is generally recognised that years before John Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, he had been determined to write a tragedy on the Fall. According to Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, the soliloquy opening Book IV of the epic was written as a part of drama (Hunter 1980: 86); maybe as a result Books IV and IX have five soliloquies in total. In Books I and II the Miltonian Satan devises a way to deal with the difficult situation he placed himself in and takes on the role of a tragic hero. The tragedy is acted out on the outside and apart from the narrator's hints we almost do not have any insight into the fallen angel's thoughts—we may only conjecture he is not sincere in his utterances. Book III is a turning point, where the character looks inside himself. The subsequent books, most notably IV and IX, deal with his inner life.

As Barbara Kiefer Lewalsky argues, "In his five great soliloquies Satan is associated successively, and on a descending scale of moral worthiness, with various kinds of Elizabethan tragic heroes, villain-heroes, and tragic antagonists" (1985: 63). It seems that at last the reader is allowed to witness Satan's true nature as his mental state is no longer hidden. We will be able to see that the fallen angel is literally in a permanent state of falling: his speeches present him as possessing some good impulses, fluctuating between hate and remorse, however, each will end with expression of malice, envy and hatred towards God and mankind—each will be an instance of further degradation and degeneration. According to Lewalsky Miltonian devils are *masters* of "several kinds of deliberative, epic, dialogic, and epideictic speech as well as of tragic soliloquy" (109), moreover, in their mouth even naturally tragic genres are perverted and acquire the characteristics of deliberative rhetoric, thus diverging from their honourable models (109). Satan is no different, as in Book IV he rests primarily on the soliloquy and the elegiac lament mixed with complaint, but resorts to public rhetoric and judicial orations, failing to stand a long struggle with his own divided self (101). What is significant is that Satan's laments are not related to primary elegiac themes (such as, for instance, death or love), but are directed to other distinguished topics, that is exile, defeat, and loss of honor or possessions (98), in harmony with his current mental state, as it seems.[1]

There is yet another reading, nevertheless, which might be applied to the first soliloquy of Book IV, and to a great extent enrich our understanding of the fallen angel's metal processes. Paul Ricoeur's thought provides a remarkable analysis of the notions of defilement, guilt and sin, which may be used as a basis for studying the situation Satan has found himself in. Furthermore, when

[1] For more on Satan's soliloquies see Barbara Kiefer Lewalsky 1985.

analysed through the prism of Ricoeur's study of the concept of lamentation as prayer, the first soliloquy may be read not only as a mere lamentation, but—perversely in the form of complaint and accusation—as a lamentation-prayer directed to God, in which the Devil confesses his sins and concedes his absolute fault.

According to Claus Westermann in the structure of lamentation we may traditionally distinguish the following elements: invocation / address for help, lamentation (conducted between three subjects: God, me, opponents), confession of trust (starting with the adversative "but"), request, confidence in having been heard, double request of divine intervention *against* and *for*, oath of adoration, adoration of God (LaCoque et al. 2003: 250). In *Paradise Lost* the fallen angel initially appears to be following the same pattern: he starts with an invocation encompassing the lament, but never reaches the destination—the adoration of God, having perverted the exemplar at some points. The outcome is that at the end he cannot repent and thus cannot be saved.

The Foe starts his soliloquy in harmony with the tradition, commencing with an invocation to the Sun, which he instantly perverts, nevertheless—it may be found a hymn but also a parody of the epic voice's praise of the "Celestial light" (III, 51) (Lewalsky 1985: 106). Satan's perverted invocation dispraises the Sun, God's emblem, showing his hatred towards the Almighty. He goes on to name the Sun "the God / Of this new World" (IV, 33-34), and accuses it of enhancing his pain, which act in reality may be found an accusation directed at the Omnipotent. However, in a moment this obsessed-with-hate vision of things changes and the direction of the address turns from the Sun to the divided self (Hunter 1980: 86). The expression of loathe towards the Almighty turns into an awareness of his own fault in the conflict. According to Ricoeur invocation "keeps the observed consciousness from falling to the rank of an object; the first person who invokes feels himself become second person for this perception that sees right through him" (1969: 84). This seeing as if through the eyes of God gives rise to self-awareness (85) and "the preferred form of this act of self-awareness is interrogation, the putting in question of the meaning of acts and motives" (85), a feature not unrelated to *Paradise Lost*, which will be discussed in a moment.

Throughout the first two books Milton's fallen angel runs away from the answer to the question why he revolted, he deludes himself or deliberately lies. Crushed by light in Book III, in Book IV he faces the truth he was trying to escape. He is alone and for the first time does not have to act; he can put his mask away and concede his fault. The emotions the Foe is torn between—grief, fear, envy, hate, self-love, self-hate—seem to prompt his unsteady behaviour. Such a stage is described by Ricoeur in *Symbolism of Evil*: "[t]he experience of which the penitent makes confession is a blind experience, still embedded in the matrix of emotion, fear, anguish" and "the confession expresses, pushes to the outside, the emotion which without it would be shut up in itself, as an impression in the soul" (7). He argues that confession of sins is not a simple experience, but consists of a number of layers of experience. One of them, guilt—the feeling of unworthiness—is "the advanced point of a radically individualized and interiorized experience" (7). Sin, in turn, is an instance of alienation from oneself (8), thus the confession of sins can be described as an experience of being oneself but at the same time being alienated from oneself, which gets "transcribed immediately on the plane of language in the mode of interrogation" (8). Such mode is visible as early as in the oldest Babylonian psalters, where the believer asked: "How long, O Lord? What god have I sinned against? What sin have I committed?" (8). Sin makes people incomprehensible to themselves, but also it causes the situation where God is hidden and the course of things no longer has any meaning, which will have its reflection in Satan's soliloquy.

In *Paradise Lost* the above stage of alienation from oneself and self-interrogation can be seen in Satan's asking frantic questions, such as "Ah wherefore!"[2] (IV, 42), "How due!" (IV, 48), "what burden then?" (IV, 57), "Yet why not?" (IV, 61), "Hadst thou the same free Will and Power to stand?" (IV, 66), and trying to answer them, still in a characteristic way, that is in two contradictory modes, blaming himself and blaming God: "he deserv'd no such return" (IV, 42), "yet all his good prov'd ill in me" (IV, 48), "O had his powerful Destiny ordaind / Me some inferiour Angel" (IV, 58-59), "whom hast thou then or what t' accuse, / But Heav'ns free Love dealt equally to all?" (IV, 72-73).[3] Interestingly , that this mode of self-interrogation may be said to prevail throughout Satan's first soliloquy.

What is important for our discussion at this point is Paul Ricoeur's division between sin and guilt. In his understanding guilt designates the *subjective* movement in fault, awareness of the real situation, whereas sin designates the *real* situation of man before God, the ontological moment (101). As he observes, in the Hebrew penitential Psalms "guiltiness is never anything else than the anticipated chastisement itself, internalized and already weighing upon consciousness; and as dread is from the beginning the way of internalization of defilement itself, in spite of the radical externality of the evil, guilt is a moment contemporaneous with defilement itself" (101). For the philosopher the confession of sins completes the movement of the internalization of sin in personal guilt, the "thou" that is summoned becomes the "I" that accuses (103). There is a shift from the consciousness of sin to the feeling of guilt, the emphasis moves from the sinning against God, to the person of the sinner: "it is I who. . . " (104). Ricoeur accounts for the shift in this way: "Let the 'I' be emphasized more than the 'before thee,' let the 'before thee' be even *forgotten*, and the consciousness of fault becomes guilt and no longer sin at all; it is 'conscience' that now becomes the *measure* of evil in a completely solitary experience" (1969: 104). Thus the psalms reflect the judgement of two tribunals, one absolute measure represented by the sight of God, and the subjective one, represented by the conscience. God sees the sins just as they are, while the conscience assesses the guilt.

It appears that Satan of *Paradise Lost* also gives a speech before two tribunals: one of his *fallen* conscience, and one of God seen through his own eyes. After two books of determined forgetfulness, he opens his eyes to the truth and becomes aware of the real situation before God:

[2] All quotations from *Paradise Lost* follow John T. Shawcross's edition (1963).

[3] We may also see the extreme form of the alienation from oneself when Milton's Devil gives birth to Sin, the creation of his mind and simultaneously his perfect image, or rather "demonstration of the true ugliness of all that Satan has done and produced" (Daiches 1968: 176). The figure of Sin becomes something entirely external, so much that the fallen angel is not able to recognise her and does not remember the circumstances of her creation—thus we may say he is alienated from himself. According to Catherine Gimelli Martin the words "I know thee not, nor ever saw till now / Sight more detestable then him and thee" (II, 744-45), which are uttered by Satan when he encounters his daughter by the gates of Hell, are an endeavour to distance himself from the truth: "Precisely because he has carnally known Sin, he now knows her not (his incestuous experience and its fruits having physically deformed her beyond recognition), with the result that, like a gothic self-portrait, his 'perfect image' more closely resembles him the more he denies her, who is indeed remains the 'perfect image' of his own perversion" (Martin 1998: 190). According to John S. Tanner, in turn, the birth of Sin is a metaphorical representation of self-temptation (Tanner 1988: 49). Even though Satan's sin may appear to be a consequence of free choice, there is an element of compulsion in it, in accordance with what Paul Ricoeur will say about the notion of defilement in *Original Sin: a Study in Meaning*, namely that it is dominated by the symbol of binding, which represents externality, seizure, possession, and enslavement, an illustration of which may be words from an ancient psalm: "May the evil that is in my body, in my muscles and tendons, depart today" (Ricoeur 1969: 48).

he admits his evil was self-derivative and God is not to blame for it. It was pride that prompted his fall, not altruism as he claimed in earlier books: "glorious once above thy Spheare; / Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down" (IV, 39-40). His position in Heaven was high and his esteem great, the Omnipotent is not what the fallen angel accused Him of and did not deserve what happened. Angels were indeed created by God, moreover, they were created "In that bright eminence" (IV, 44), i.e. perfect. For a moment the Foe is ready to confess that service to God was not difficult or heavy, in fact the rebels should have praised Him, instead of protesting. His conscience allows him to feel guilt, however, after a moment the expression of pure guilt ends, leaving him with a sense of frustration, and he starts to accuse God.

At this point another feature of psalms may prove helpful. Crucial to our understanding of a penitent's mental processes is the situation when at some point human vanity gradually overwhelms everything and makes God appear as prohibition, wrath and death: "as the 'No' that forbids and destroys, as the Adversary whose will is summed up in the pursuit of death for the sinner" (Ricoeur 1969: 77). At this point the sinner reaches the bottom of despair and cries: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Ps. 22:1) (77). Such crisis can be seen in The Book of Job, which in most part parallels Satan's narration.[4] Both are an example of a meticulous conscience enumerating its faults, contrasting its actual suffering with the past, when the trust in God was not broken (LaCocque et al. 2003: 290). However, Job lists the errors he has not committed, whereas Satan describes what he has really done. At one point, nonetheless, the aforementioned vanity creeps in and the accusation of God enveloped in the invocation comes to the fore in the prayer. In consequence both Job and Milton's Satan begin to treat God as their aggressor and enemy (Ricoeur 1969: 86). Job perceives the absolute Seeing as a kind of hostile seeing which pursues him and kills him in the end (85). The eyes of God, which used to represent for Israel the absolute measure of sin, but simultaneously the watchfulness and the compassion of the Lord, become for him a source of terror (318). He asks: "What is man, that you make so much of him, / that you fix your attention on him, / that you inspect him every morning, / that you scrutinize him every instant? / Will you ever stop looking at me / for the length of time it takes to swallow my spittle?" (Job 7:17-19) (318). The absolute Seeing is no longer something which endows self-awareness, but becomes a seeing of the Hunter (86): Job feels that God surrounds him and spies on him, ruins his house and enervates him; he even starts to suspect that it is this inquisitional eye that in reality makes man guilty (318).

Also Satan experiences this stage in the invocation just after he has owned that he was wrong and should not have rebelled—overcome by his *fallen* conscience and the sin of vanity,[5] he plunges into self-pity and complaints, and consequently questions the self-derivativeness of his sin. The line of the self-interrogatory invocation "yet all his good prov'd ill in me" (IV, 48) is a self-justification and an instantaneous accusation of God. Satan resorts to an already well-known habit (frequently used in Books I and II to win his companions over) of identifying God with blind Fate: "O had his powerful Destiny ordaind / Me some inferiour Angel, I had stood / Then happie; no unbounded hope had rais'd / Ambition" (IV, 58-61). He no longer shows his change as a consequence of a

[4] The analysis of the situation of Job may be found in Ricoeur 1969: 314-319.

[5] We have to remember that pride was one of two sins that Satan was accused of, the other one being envy (Revard 1980: 28-85).

conscious choice,[6] rather he presents himself as a victim. It is God's love that made him what he is. Certainly, there might be a chance of Pardon, but only by means of submission, which manner he disdains. He would vow untruthfully and in pain, and even if he did repent, vain thoughts would bring him back to where he is now. Gradually Satan starts to perceive God as a hostile Being, eventually calling Him his "punisher" (IV, 103), which might be seen as a perverted parallel of Job's seeing God as the Hunter.

Ricoeur suggests there is a paradox: the holiness of God reveals the sin in man, but if the root of sin is in the "nature," in the "being" of man, the sin revealed by holiness of the Omnipotent returns upon Him and accuses Him of having made man evil: "If I repent of my being, I accuse God in the same moment in which he accuses me, and the spirit of repentance explodes under the pressure of that paradox" (1969: 231). It is the so-called point of rupture, which everyone has to pass in order to get to the point of resolution. At one painful moment Job curses the day of his birth, which is reflected in *Paradise Lost*, when Satan curses himself, after having cursed the love of God: "Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will / Chose freely what it now so justly rues" (IV, 71-72). The fallen angel discovers that his mind is still chained to the bottom of Hell—the farther from Hell he goes, the more dismayed and shaken he becomes, whereas any supposed splendour ("Diadem and Scepter high advanc'd," IV, 90) prompts his even lower fall (IV, 91). His self-description is an important moment:

> Me miserable! which way shall I flie
> Infinite wrauth, and infinite despair?
> Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;
> And in the lowest deep a lower deep
> Still threatning to devour me opens wide,
> To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n. (IV, 73-78)

There is another feature of lamentation that should be referred to at this point of discussion, namely the sense of having been abandoned by God. It may happen in the lamentation that an invocation covers an underlying complaint, often accounting for the penitent's suffering as having been deserted by God, but still in the end it borders on the mode of praise, as in Psalm 22 (LaCoque et al. 2003: 285). The notion of having been abandoned by God is inherent in the symbolism of sin, an expression of the loss of a bond, root, ontological ground (Ricoeur 1989: 71). The first root of sin, *chattat*, is "missing of target," which is related to that of *awon*, "a tortuous road" (72), and when the two are combined, the concept becomes a divergence from order. *Shagah*, another symbol, indicates the situation of having gone astray (73). For the philosopher "The silence of God, the absence of God, are in a way a correlative symbol to the symbol of having gone astray, of being lost, for the being who has strayed is 'abandoned' by God" (73).

[6] It is more like a compulsion, just as Tanner argues (1988: 45-56). Maria Wójcicka suggests he is applying to himself the technique of temptation he has perfected having been using it on others in Books I and II: he starts with flattery, gradually introducing the sense of frustration at the comparison of the states before and after the Fall, and finally directs the induced anger and frustration towards the alleged culprit, the Omnipotent. In his words we encounter a "familiar sequence of flattery enriched with exultation in supreme self-pity, a sense of injured merit and high disdain directed against God" (2001: 64).

However, the sinner in penitential psalms is able to discover that his separation from God is still a relation, although God remains hidden. In Book IV of *Paradise Lost* Satan does discover his relation to God, despite having tried to negate it throughout the first two books (and, chronologically, in Book V): "[me] whom he created what I was / In that bright eminence" (IV, 43-44), "all his good prov'd ill in me" (IV, 48), "endless gratitude, / So burthensome still paying, still to owe" (IV, 52-53). At the same time, nevertheless, we may observe that God does not respond either to his honest confessions or to his reproaches and jeers. The Omnipotent remains hidden and this might be the reason why Satan sinks deeper into despair. At the moment of discovering his actual relation to God, he becomes aware of what he has done: falling, he separated from God, "the sustaining power of the universe" (Fish 1998: xxxii), in consequence God withdrew, depriving the rebel of His presence and Grace. In opposition to the traditional lamentation, the fallen angel cannot say that he has been heard by God. For him there is no relief, and the soliloquy becomes an expression of his inner torture, an illustration of which might be a quotation from another ancient hymn: "Call? No one hears. And that crushes me. Cry out? No one answers. That oppresses me" (Ricoeur 1969: 48).

Ricoeur suggests that "Faced with the torturing absence of God (23:8; 30:20), the man dreams of his own absence and repose" (319), and he appeals to God against God. But while Job reunites with God, Satan with his words "Me miserable"—"Miserere me," which appear to echo the opening of Psalm 51 (Lewalsky 1985: 100), rejects the biblical pattern of lament by refusing to pursue God's mercy (Lewalsky 1985: 100). He stops at the point of rupture, thus rejecting salvation, not reaching the point of resolution.

Ricoeur states that in traditional penitential psalms we may distinguish the sequence of complaint-entreaty-praise (290). Psalm 22, for instance, is a poem depicting trust towards God, which is in turn shaken and regained (294): it consists of such elements as distress, plea, answer, liberation, cry of gratefulness (295). At the end we may hear the crucified's cry, which is a negative entreaty "Do not be far," and actually an expression of regained trust (281), even though the intentions of God remain inexplicable, impenetrable. In John Milton's *Paradise Lost* Satan begins his lamentation with praise, and thus he does not have the last stage to reach. The stage of self-interrogation and accusation of God end in a temporary stage of self-hate when he curses himself, but he finds no relief, which is a consequence of the fallen angel's separation from the source of his being. During all his lamentation-prayer God remains hidden, and Satan, who might unconsciously long to feel the presence of the Omnipotent—which seems to be inherent in every creature created by God—falls even lower into his mental Hell, failing to see any meaning in his actions.

According to Saint Paul the guilty conscience separates itself by taking upon itself alone the whole weight of evil (Ricoeur 1969: 146). However, by having shut itself by a compliance with its evil, it makes itself its own tormentor, thus becoming a slave. It is "not only consciousness of enslavement; it is the conscience without 'promise'" (146). It seems to be in accordance with what Søren Kierkegaard says about the sin of despair. It is not regret for lost worldly things, but the despair of being saved, which is the gravest of sins. It is "no longer transgression, but a despairing and desperate will to shut oneself up in the circle of interdiction and desire. It is in this sense that it is a desire for death" (Ricouer 1969: 146). Being sheer spirit Milton's Satan has to suffer the most intense despair.[7]

[7] See Kierkegaard 2008: 34.

He is a being for whom only extremes exist, there can be no in-between state: he will win or be annihilated. He cannot go back and thus he cannot be saved.[8] If he did, in his understanding it would be a return to submission, and what he longs for is total freedom, but he does not comprehend he enslaves himself with it. Ricoeur argues that freedom which enslaves itself by its own choice is actually the sense of guilt, which can express itself only in the language of "captivity" and "infection," inherited from sin and death (152). Since salvation is deliverance from self-enslavement, what Satan actually fails in is freeing himself from the captivity of his sin / Sin.

Thanks to Paul Ricoeur's analysis of the notions of sin, guilt, defilement and lamentation, we may see Milton's Satan from another perspective, that of a penitent aware of his sin. He is an extreme case, nevertheless, being a *fallen angel*, which state has its own rules: as he is an angel he possesses a different consciousness from human, and since he is fallen he is subject to the repercussions of the Fall, which degrades the beings involved in it. The lamentation on Mount Niphates seems to be a single instance of Satan's true regret and possibly subconscious desire to receive God's Grace. Still, since he is not human, the prayer turns out to be insufficient for him. What he has already chosen takes its toll—he is governed by the sin that enslaved him and instead of subjecting himself entirely to the prayer, he perverts the exemplar; hence, we will not be able to find relief. When he discovers he is not able to liberate himself, he decides to welcome evil as his own, which appears to be an act of ultimate despair. His subsequent soliloquies of Book IV and IX will illustrate the gradual, descending change in his figure. From the fallen angel, through the fiend, in the end he will be depicted as the very devil, a creature obsessed with good, trying to spoil it and spread his inner despair.

Bibliography

Daiches, David. (1968), *Milton*, London: Hutchinson University Library.

Fish, Stanley. (1998), *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in "Paradise Lost",* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hunter, G.K. (1980), *Paradise Lost*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Kierkegaard, Søren. (2008), *Sickness Unto Death: A Philosophical Masterpiece,* Radford: Wilder Publications.

LaCocque, André, Ricoeur, Paul. (2003), *Myśleć biblijnie*, transl. Ewa Mukoid, Maria Tarnowska, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. (1985), *"Paradise Lost" and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Martin, Catherine Gimelli. (1998), *The Ruins of Allegory: "Paradise Lost" and the Metamorphosis of Epic Convention*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

[8] The question is can Satan be saved. Origen Adamantius, one of the most prominent early fathers of the Christian Church, came up with a thesis called *apokatastasis*, which indicated the return of all things to the primordial state, devils included (Minois 1996: 102-103; Turner 2004: 68). A final reconcilement would ensue from repentance and rejection of evil. The proof was to be in the passage from 1 Corinthians: "And when all things should be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (15:28). Milton seems not to support the view, having constructed Satan unable to repent—instead 'his' fallen angel chooses to go on being evil.

Milton, John. (1963), *Paradise Lost*, *The Complete English Poetry of John Milton*, ed. John T. Shawcross, New York: Anchor Books.

Minois, Georges. (1996), *Historia Piekła,* transl. Agnieszka Dębska, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Revard, Stella Purce. (1980), *The War in Heaven: "Paradise Lost" and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion,* London: Cornell University Press.

Ricoeur, Paul. (1969), *The Symbolism of Evil*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Tanner, John S. (1988), ""Say First What Cause": Ricoeur and the Etiology of Evil in *Paradise Lost*", *PMLA*, Vol. 103, No. 1 1988: 45-56.

Turner, Alice K. (2004), *Historia Piekła*, transl. Jerzy Jarniewicz, Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Marabut.

Wójcicka, Maria. (2001), "The Strategies of Temptation in *Paradise Lost*", *Approaches to Literature Part 1*, ed. Grażyna Bystydzienska, Warsaw: Department of English Literature University of Warsaw: 61-68.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie i analiza postaci Szatana z „Raju utraconego" Johna Miltona, w szczególności pierwszego monologu upadłego anioła zawartego w Księdze IV, w oparciu o rozważania Paula Ricoeura na temat zła, grzechu, winy oraz pojęcia skargi jako modlitwy.

Adam Zdrodowski

Defending the Other. The American Indian in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*

The time between the first formulation of a United States Indian policy during the American Revolution and the removal, by the federal government, of the eastern tribes beyond the Mississippi River in the 1820s and 1830s, saw a virtually unanimous agreement of the country's political and intellectual elites on the general direction in which American-Indian relations should evolve. An optimistic view of the future as well as rationalistic belief in mankind's potential for progress and development characterized the thinking of the first generation of American statesmen. The idea that the United States' aboriginal population could, and *de facto* should, ultimately be incorporated into the mainstream of the American society invariably provided a powerful impulse for federal officials' actions throughout the period. Arguably, of all the major figures that shaped American Indian policy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, did the most to promote the vision of Indian tribes' passage from savagery to civilization. While the Virginian politician, philosopher, and scientist, as well as a keen observer of Native American societies, actually held presidential power for less than a quarter of the period in question, his view of the nature of the Other, that is of the American Indian, eloquently presented, among other issues, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, exerted ample influence on the policies of both those who preceded and succeeded him in the office.

First published in 1784, the *Notes* not only reflected Jefferson's fascination with broadly understood natural history, one of the most important subjects of scientific inquiry in the 18th century, but they also testified to his genuine interest in the origin, languages, and traditions of the various North American Indian tribes. In a section of the *Notes,* entitled "A description of the Indians established in that state," the author included a comprehensive list of the Native peoples residing within the boundaries of the United States and in territories adjacent to it with their locations and estimated populations. Jefferson also enumerated the tribes which inhabited the colony of Virginia at the time of its establishment in 1607, and outlined their original territorial distribution. Of all preserved elements of the Virginia Indians' material culture, burial mounds attracted the most of Jefferson's attention; his own exploration of one of such mounds which was located near his home on the Rivanna River, described in detail in the *Notes,* was to become one of the first documented archeological excavations in the United States (Jefferson [1784], in: Peterson, ed. 1984: 218-220, 223-226).

In the *Notes,* Jefferson referred to the much-debated issue of how the Native peoples of North America had found themselves in the New World. The issue preoccupied his generation largely because of the fact that it was of crucial significance to the Jeffersonian endeavor to civilize the Indian tribes: if the origin of the Natives could plausibly be explained and linked to that of the civilized man, then the case for Indians' admission into civilization would be much easier to make.

That the link existed and the Indians rightfully belonged to the human family was not doubted by a generation which, be it for religious or purely rational reasons, had a tendency to generalize ideas and to deeply believe in the unity of mankind. Jefferson pointed to the "resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia" which led him to think that "the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former" (226). Linguistics, he deliberated on the issue, could best answer the question of the origin of the American Indians. He mentioned similarities between the English, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian languages which had survived hundreds of years after the emergence of the European nations and still reflected their speakers' common ancestry. A better knowledge of the various Indian languages, Jefferson argued, would have provided the most convincing explanation of the past of the American continents' native population. He admitted with regret that before linguists actually had any chance to focus on studying it, much of the potentially priceless scientific material was already irretrievably gone:

> It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages in North and South America, preserving their appellations of their most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation barbarous or civilised, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these, now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race. (227)

Most significantly, however, in his *Notes* Jefferson refuted theories implying the Indians' inborn deficiency and he argued that the Indians would probably be found to be "formed in mind as well as in body, on the same module with the 'Homo sapiens Europaeus" (187). The assessment of the potentiality of the New World and its native population, offered by a French naturalist, Comte de Buffon [1707-1788], provided a major challenge for Jefferson and for others who hoped for the eventual transformation of the American Indians. De Buffon's idea, formulated in 1761 in the first edition of his *Histoire Naturelle*, ran counter to the Jeffersonian optimism: the scientist accepted the validity of environmentalism also arguing that the American land was naturally deficient. Due to various environmental factors including unfavorable temperatures and moisture, the location and height of the mountains, the quality of the waters, and the extent of forested areas, de Buffon claimed, the American continents were characterized by a general lack of fecundity. According to de Buffon, South American animals were a few times smaller than those of the African continent and even the size of the European animals which had been taken to the New World after its discovery had diminished in the course of time because of a combination of elements which seemed to hinder the growth of all the living organisms. The same negative impact of the American environment could be seen with regard to the American Indians whom de Buffon viewed as a superior animal species, rather than proper human beings. The Indians had failed to master their environment and showed little potential for procreation. Their sexual organs, de Buffon argued, were small and their bodies generally weak. The Indians were more timid than Europeans and lacked energy as all of their activity was merely a reaction to the most basic stimulants, such as hunger and thirst. The Indians were cold-hearted and cruel, and they tended to mistreat their women by assigning hard work to them. The lack of sufficient affection between parents and children led to weak family ties and deprived American Indian communities of any political order (Sheehan 1973: 66-69).

De Buffon's theory was popularized by other European scientists and writers. Dutch naturalist Cornelius de Pauw not only maintained that American animals were considerably weaker than those of Asia and Africa, and that the Native population of the New World lacked the energy and accomplishments of the populations of the Western world, but he also claimed that the general American deficiency applied to the white settlers as well. The same line of reasoning was adopted by the French writer, Guillaume Raynal who claimed that the American continents had not given birth to a single distinguished artist or scientist. Even if in the long run the criticism of de Buffon and his followers failed to play a significant role in the Western thought, it still unnerved the optimistic and self-confident Jeffersonian generation and provoked its decisive response. Jefferson decided to respond to the criticism with a scholarly effort of his own. In the early 1780s, he patiently collected evidence which he could potentially use to refute the European slanders: friends and acquaintances including explorer Thomas Walker, president of the College of William and Mary James Madison, geographer Thomas Hutchins, as well as soldiers and frontiersmen: George Rogers Clark, John Sullivan, and William Whipple, all provided him with information pertaining to various matters of natural history (Sheehan: 69-72 and Malone 1948, 1: 376, 411).

By the end of the 1780s, Jefferson's formal reply to de Buffon had appeared in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. First, in a section of the *Notes,* entitled "Productions mineral, vegetable and animal," Jefferson focused on the sizes of the American animals. De Buffon in his study had concluded that the indigenous American species were diminutive and that those common to both the New and the Old Worlds were smaller in the New World. However, in Jefferson's view, the prehistoric remains of "the largest of all terrestrial beings," found in North America, whether actually belonging to the mammoth or another animal similar to the elephant, clearly proved de Buffon's theory wrong:

> It should have sufficed to have rescued the earth it inhabited, and the atmosphere it breathed, from the imputation of impotence in the conception and nourishment of animal life on a large scale: to have stifled, in its birth, the opinion of a writer, the most learned too of all others in the science of animal history, that […] nature is less active, less energetic on one side of the globe than she is on the other. As if both sides were not warmed by the same genial sun; as if a soil of the same chemical composition, was less capable of elaboration into animal nutriment; as if the fruits and grains from that soil and sun, yielded a less rich chyle, gave less extension to the solids and fluids of the body, or produced sooner in the cartilages, membranes, and fibres, that rigidity which restrains all further extension, and terminates animal growth. (Jefferson: 169)

The study of contemporary species, Jefferson wrote, revealed that they were of comparable sizes in America and in Europe. He included in the *Notes* tables with data on the actual or conjectured weights of the largest specimens of the major American animals which had been provided by experienced observers of the American wildlife. At the same time, Jefferson expressed doubt about the credibility of the figures presented by de Buffon. It seemed to Jefferson that de Buffon had not seen, measured or weighed the American animals which he had been writing about, and that he had only relied on the reports of travelers. Jefferson questioned the qualifications of those travelers in the field of natural history: "Was natural history the object of their travels? Did they measure or weigh the animals they speak of? or did they not judge of them by sight, or perhaps even from report only? Were they acquainted with the animals of their own country, with which they undertake to compare them? Have they not been so ignorant as often to mistake the species?" (177). A true answer to these questions, Jefferson wrote, would have rendered the authority of the travelers insufficient for the formulation of a scientific hypothesis. Moreover, de Buffon's conclusion that the species of American quadrupeds were comparatively few in number Jefferson saw as erroneous: according to Jefferson's own count, there were one hundred such species in the New World, compared to a combined one-hundred-and-twenty-six in Europe, Asia, and Africa. If Jefferson at all agreed with any part of de Buffon's theory, it was the observation of the latter that some of the American domestic animals tended to be smaller than their European counterparts. However, as Jefferson stressed in the *Notes*, that was not the result of any natural deficiency of the American environment, but it was rather the outcome of certain economic conditions on the North American continent. In a sparsely populated country, he argued, the natural fruits of the forests and fields are often the only subsistence of the domestic animals of a farmer who does not need to provide them with additional nourishment and care and thus saves his labor: "If, on this low fare, these animals dwindle, it is no more than they do in those parts of Europe where the poverty of the soil, or poverty of the owner, reduces them to the same scanty subsistence" (180).

Having refuted de Buffon's conclusions concerning the American fauna, Jefferson went on to defend the indigenous population of the New World. He admitted that he did not know anything about the Indians of South America but stressed that the Indians of the northern continent he knew from his own experience as well as from the information of others who were better than himself acquainted with them. De Buffon had drawn a truly dismal picture of the tribal life on the American continents; however, Jefferson believed that the French naturalist was essentially wrong as far as the vast majority of his judgments were concerned. Contrary to what de Buffon had claimed, the Indian was neither less energetic nor more impotent than the white man as both subsisted on the same food and were involved in the same physical activities. Nor could the Indian be accused of cowardice: he could endure torture and always chose to die in battle, rather than surrender to the enemy, even if he could be sure that the latter would treat him well. He was certainly not cold-hearted as his extreme affection and indulgence towards children, as well as strong and faithful friendship manifested (184-185).

Jefferson admitted that Indian women were submitted to drudgery, but stressed that the practice was common to all barbarous peoples among whom force was law and the stronger sex tended to impose its will on the weaker. It was only civilization that taught man to subdue his egoism and made him respect the rights of others. It was also true, Jefferson wrote in the *Notes*, that Indian women raised fewer children than their white peers. That, however, was by no means caused by their natural deficiency, but rather it resulted from all the hardships which they had to endure in their lives. Indian women often attended their men in war and hunting parties and, consequently, they were frequently exposed to danger, physical exertion, and hunger. Even at home, the Indians would normally experience famine, and during some part of the year they would be forced to subsist on the fruits of the forest only. No wonder then, that in such adverse circumstances child-bearing became extremely inconvenient to Indian women and that voluntary abortion was not uncommon among them:

> With all animals, if the female be badly fed, or not fed at all, her young perish: and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes less active, less productive. To the obstacles then of want and hazard, which nature has opposed to the multiplication of wild animals, for the purpose of restraining their numbers within certain bounds, those of labour and of voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder then if they multiply less than we do. Where food is regularly supplied, a single farm will shew more of cattle, than a whole country of forests can of buffaloes. The same Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and unexposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as the white women. (186)

While de Buffon had questioned the Indians' mental capabilities, Jefferson refused to accept such an authoritative judgment for lack of sufficient evidence: "To judge of the truth of this, to form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, more facts are wanting, and great allowance to be made for those circumstances of their situation which call for a display of particular talents only" (187). In Jefferson's view, the lack of compulsion in Indian communities meant that personal influence and persuasion played a great role in them. Hence the Indians were often exceptionally good public speakers; although records of their oratory skills were few in number as the Indians mostly displayed those skills in tribal councils, some of the speeches, which became well known, testified to an eloquence equal to that of the best European orators: "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of this state" (188). If Logan's speech had a particular appeal to Jefferson, it was so due to the circumstances in which it had been made. The Mingo chief had long been known as a friend of the British colonists but, in 1774, his whole family was murdered by whites on the Virginia frontier and a local Indian war ensued. In autumn that year, a coalition of the Shawnee, Mingo, and Delaware tribes was defeated by the colony's militia and the Indians were forced to sue for peace. Logan did not participate in the peace talks but he sent a message to Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, in which he explained his situation and justified the actions which he had taken. In a demonstration of sympathy for the Indian chief, Jefferson quoted and thus immortalized Logan's speech in the *Notes*. In the following years, the credibility of some details of the Mingo chief's account would be questioned. Nevertheless, the much-republished oration was to remain a classic record of the tragic fate of the American Indian tribes. In his moving address to Lord Dunmore, Logan stressed that he had always treated the white man well and that it was only the frontier atrocities that had made him seek revenge. He was not afraid of death as after the loss of all his relatives, there was no one left to mourn for him:

> I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. [...] I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? – Not one. (188-189)

Jefferson concluded in the *Notes* that the opinion that the Indians lacked the mental capabilities of the white man had to be verified because of the fact that the tribes were still preliterate communities. The Indians could be compared with the inhabitants of Northern Europe of the time when the civilization of the ancient Rome was crossing the Alps, although even that comparison was somewhat unjust in that the Indians were much fewer in number and thus did not have the same chances of progress which the larger density of population in Europe had provided. Nevertheless, Jefferson argued, it was worth asking the question of how many good poets, mathematicians, and artists the population of Northern Europe had produced before it became literate. He pointed out that sixteen centuries would have had to pass before the first distinguished scientists could have been born there. Differences between the human races existed, Jefferson admitted, but he stressed that they were caused by much more than the differences between the environments of the American and the European continents. De Buffon, Jefferson concluded, had relied more on his imagination than on common sense and judiciousness: "I am induced to suspect, there has been more eloquence than sound reasoning displayed in support of this theory; that it is one of those cases where the judgment has been seduced by a glowing pen […]" (189).

Bibliography

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1784]. In: **Merrill D. Peterson.** (ed.) (1984), *Thomas Jefferson. Writings.* New York: The Library of America.

Malone, Dumas. (1948), *Jefferson and His Time,* 6 vols., vol. 1: *Jefferson the Virginian.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Peterson, Merrill D. (1975), *Thomas Jefferson & the New Nation. A Biography.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Sheehan, Bernard W. (1973), *Seeds of Extinction. Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

STRESZCZENIE

Idea „cywilizowania" rdzennych plemion Ameryki Północnej i ich stopniowego włączania do głównego nurtu społeczeństwa amerykańskiego leżała u podstaw polityki rządu federalnego Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec Indian w pierwszych dekadach istnienia państwa. Thomas Jefferson, trzeci

prezydent USA, był jednym z głównych wyrazicieli tej idei. W swoich *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Jefferson nie tylko poddał analizie niektóre z naukowych aspektów kultur indiańskich, ale także podjął się obrony „Innego", polemizując z opiniami zakładającymi wrodzoną ułomność rdzennej ludności Ameryki oraz jej naturalną niższość wobec białego człowieka.

Małgorzata Łuczyńska-Hołdys

Man in His Spectre's Power:
William Blake's Concept of the Selfhood

In the illustration to Plate 41 of his mature epic work, *Jerusalem,* William Blake wrote:

> Each Man is in his Spectre's power
> Until arrival of that hour
> When his humanity awake
> And cast his Spectre into the Lake. (K 669)[1]

In my paper I intend to look closely at the implications of this quotation and to analyse Blake's opposing concepts of Spectre and humanity in man, which, as the text suggests, are in war with one another. What is the Spectre? Why does it control and possess man? Why is man's humanity asleep? When does it wake up? How can the Spectre be cast away and what are further consequences of this action? These are the questions I am concerned with in this article.
Blake defines the Spectre as the rational power of the mistaken man:

> It is the Reasoning Power
> An abstract objecting power that Negates every thing
> This is the Spectre of Man, the Holy Reasoning Power
> And in its holiness lies the Abomination of Desolation. (J 10:13-16 K629)j

This passage epitomises Blake's reaction against rationalism. The power of reason is abstract, works through negation, results in desolation. Visibly, Blake protests against materialistic and empirical trends in 18th century philosophy, seeing them as spectral, almost satanic. The adjectives "abstract" and "holy" in this quotation determine the denotation of the nouns they define. "Abstract" points to generalisation and in Blake's writings can be translated as "non-human" (Damon 4), while the word "holy" is deeply and bitterly ironic. In this holiness lies everything that was unacceptable for Blake in orthodox, established religion – repression and restraint, laws of chastity and of prudence, based on external threat. This is why the "holy reasoning power" or the Spectre operating via negations is a principle opposed to Imagination. In another, similar passage Blake writes:

---

[1] All quotations of Blake's poems are from *Blake: Complete Writings with Variant Readings*, edited by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, Oxford University Press, 1966. Quotations are given by the abbreviated title of the work, followed by plate, line number, and finally the page number in Keynes (K). I provide the list of abbreviated titles at the end of the article.

> The Spectre is the Reasoning Power of Man, & when separated
> From Imagination and closing itself as in Steel in a ratio
> Of the things of Memory, It thence frames Laws & Moralities
> To destroy Imagination, the Divine Body, by Martyrdoms and Wars.
> (J 74:10-14 K 714)

The Spectre's holiness is thus false, linked with hypocrisy and smirking smiles. It does much more harm than good and has to be cast away if man is to regain his internal balance. A man being in the Spectre's power lives an unhappy life, being prone to mechanisms by which the Spectre gains control over an individual, namely delusion, imputation of guilt, repression of inner promptings of energy which had been declared sinful by „Laws and Moralities", and a fear of punishment for following his needs and drives. Blake's famous statement from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* that "God will torment man for following his energies" (MHH 4 K149) illustrates the belief of the man who lives in the power of his Spectre. It is vital to add at this point that Blake does not object to reason as such, but to its authority. Blake opposes two different mental states that man can be in: fallen and regenerated. In the fallen state man is asleep, he has lost his capacity of visionary experience, the power of exercising Imagination as his chief leading faculty, he is in the power of his Spectre. All that is left to him is his reason. However, such a viewpoint is illusory and mistaken. Even on the semantic level the word "Spectre" suggests shadowy, unrealistic, though menacing concept. The regenerated man, on the other hand, is the one who has regained his paradise, coming back to the prelapsarian state in which reason is only one of man's intellectual powers, not the chief and controlling one. In the regenerated man reason and imagination are not enemies, but contraries, one essential for the other, and none of them struggles for dominion. Annihilation of the Spectre is one of the chief conditions of human regeneration.

Around his concept of the Spectre Blake creates a cluster of images whose denotations flow one onto another. Apart from being a reasoning power, the Spectre also is man's Selfhood, the principle of selfishness, and Satan. In *Milton* Blake claims: "I in my Selfhood am that Satan: I am that Evil One! / He is My Spectre!" (M 14:30-31 K4968). Blake's Satan, equalled with the Selfhood, is the internalised principle of egotism, self-centredness and self-withdrawal, which needs to be rejected, or, to use Blake's term, annihilated. Fortunately, it is only the hood of the self, a false garment, not a part of identity. Blake calls it "a false Body, an Incrustation over my Immortal Spirit" (M 40:30-36 K532,533). The poet's dualism of spirit/matter, or soul/body is not Cartesian, but Pauline. Blake, like Saint Paul, declares that the body-garment is not to be rejected altogether, only transformed (Damrosh 171).

How does the Selfhood/Satan/Spectre work? His mechanism of creating illusion and imputation of guilt is well manifested in a passage from *The Four Zoas,* which shows how he gains dominion over man: Above him rose a shadow from his wearied intellect

> Of living gold, pure, perfect, holy; in white linen pure he hover'd
> A sweet entrancing self-delusion, a wat'ry vision of Man (...)
> Man fell upon his face prostrate before the wat'ry shadow,
> Saying: "Oh, Lord whence is this change? Thou knowest I am nothing".
> (FZ 3:50-52, 54-55 K293)

These words exemplify the moment when man starts to worship his own Spectre, a satanic principle within himself. The delusive, unreal nature of this principle is emphasised in a twofold manner. First, Blake calls it "a sweet self-delusion" and describes it as a "wat'ry shadow" which suggests the fact that this principle does not exist in reality, but man is persuaded to believe its existence. Secondly, the dream of being perfect, pure and holy is the delusion itself, impossible in real life. However, the Selfhood is powerful exactly because of this delusion - man, not being able to live up to the spectral standard is bound to feel guilty and to be terrified that the principle whom he worships as the only God is going to punish him for his non-existent sins. This is also the moment when man degrades his own humanity, believing in his own nothingness, wretchedness and insignificance, rejecting the fact that there is a divine spark, Imagination, in every human being. Elsewhere Blake writes:

> We heard the voice of the Slumberous Man, & thus he spoke
> Idolatrous to his own shadow, words of Eternity uttering:
> "O, I am nothing when I enter into judgement with thee.
> If thou withdraw thy breath I die & vanish into Hades;
> If thou dost lie thine hand upon me, behold I am silent;
> If thou withhold thine hand I perish like a fallen leaf".
> (FZ 3:58-63 K293)

The man worshipping his Selfhood/Spectre lives in a condition of permanent threat. As visible in the quotation above, the punishment can be indeed terrifying: self-destruction. The fallen man believes that the price for disobedience and making the deity angry would be his own dissolving into nothingness. Man's integrity is lost in this religion. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Satan in his disguise of the Selfhood/Spectre has such a power upon man. The ironic thing, however, is that self-annihilation does not lead to destruction of man. Quite on the contrary, it leads to his regeneration. It denotes getting out of satanic control and into the world where threats, delusion, feeling of guilt, limitations and moral law of restrictions are non-existent, to the world of freedom, forgiveness of sins, vision, brotherhood and free, unrestricted love. The Spectre is opposed to humanity in man; to become really human, we need to cast off our Spectre and everything it represents.

Blake consistently contrasts living in the fallen world under the Spectre's rule with existence in the real, visionary state using the sleeping/waking metaphor. When he describes Albion (his Primal Man, who comprises the whole of humanity within him) as fallen, he talks of the state of deadly sleep, the sleep of Ulro (J4:1). When Urizen, his mistaken principle of Reason, fails in his creation, he lies in "stony sleep" (BU 6:9-10 K226). This sleep is a spiritual state of numbness and oblivion, passivity and indifference, as such similar to the idea rendered in Gnostic religion, where material existence is sleep, while spiritual renewal is synonymous with awakening. Similarly, Blake underlines the necessity of awakening of man's humanity, his true human and divine essence, in order to annihilate the Spectre in us. The whole drama of Blake's myth passes inwards, into human psyche. Satan and reason as well as imagination and God are internal principles. This concept is perceptively summed up by Mark Schorer, who suggests that in Blake's poems our God is fashioned according to our condition. Therefore, if we are plagued by the sense of sin, our God is a judge; if we worship our reason, our God is a rationalist (Schorer 121).

Thus, awakening means recognition (also in the sense of re-cognition) of spiritual truths, inner transformation and renewal. It is the loosening from bondage of the natural world, its deceptive religion and its false morality. It denotes the final discovery that the only true God is Jesus, whom Blake consistently describes as a principle of Imagination and creativity. It is also a change of attitude to other human beings – to the one defined by love and friendship. This comes through annihilation of the Selfhood/Spectre/Satan. However, as it is a process of abandoning any violence, self-centredness, pride and egoism, it is not a fight, but reconciliation and an act of selfless love. It cannot be done by force, for this would lead to another chain of domination and repression:

Satan ! My Spectre! I know my power thee to annihilate
And be greater in thy place & be thy Tabernacle
A covering for thee to do thy will, till one greater comes
And smites me as I smote thee & becomes my covering
Such are the Laws of thy false Heav'ns; But Laws of Eternity
Are not such ; Know thou, I come to Self Annihilation.
Such are the Laws of Eternity that each shall mutually
Annihilate himself for others' good, as I for thee. (M 38:29-35 K529,530)

If one used force to fight his Spectre, one would become another "false covering", an author of further repression and chain of domination, another Tabernacle. A Tabernacle is the shrine for God, specifically, the portable shrine carried by the Israelites through the Wilderness. It was heavily curtained; behind the Veil there was the Holy of Holies, which contained the Ark, where dwelt the invisible God. For Blake the idea of the hidden, invisible, unapproachable God was unacceptable. This God hidden in the Tabernacle was therefore not Jesus, but Satan. But instead of founding a new religion of oppression on the destruction of the old (Damon 396), we can practise Self-Annihilation, rejecting any selfish impulses of egotistical pride, selfish love, or desire to dominate. The most detailed description of the major principles of this process is given to us in *Milton*:

To cleanse the Face of my Spirit by Self-Examination
To bathe in the Waters if Life, to wash off the Not-Human
I come in Self-annihilation & the grandeur of Inspiration
To cast off Rational Demonstration by Faith in the Saviour
To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration
To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's coverings
To take off his filthy garment & clothe him with Imagination.
(M 40:37,41:1-6 K533)

The ruling image of this passage is cleansing as washing off everything that is unreal and inhuman, which prevents man from returning to his unfallen condition. To bathe in the "Waters of Life" and to wash off the "Not-Human" is to remove the Spectre, this false covering which oppresses and restricts man, an unreal projection of his own self, so that what is left is the true human, living, holy form, since, as Blake writes, "everything that lives is holy" (FZ 2:366 K289). The quoted passage is very dynamic, since verbs play a major role here, which also emphasises the importance of the actions mentioned above. As Alicia Ostriker explains:

> Bad syntax of this quotation is irrelevant, since the rhetoric proceeds by another logic than that of grammar. It is the logic of the repeated "to cast off... cast off... cast off... take off...", the repeated "Inspiration" at the end of the lines, the alliteration of "rational", "rotten" "rags". Except in the repeated phrases Blake has scarcely any sound – echoes here, for he is aiming rather for magnitude than for intensity. A central break divides these lines into approximately equal halves, each the equivalent of three very free metrical feet, which creates the rough symmetry. (187)

What is more, Blake's ethics is the ethics of love and care, the philosophy of friendship. Blake, instead of traditional romantic opposition reason – faith, creates another binary: reason – love. Reason comes to denote all the principles already discussed under the guise of the Spectre. Love comes to mean true humanity. In one of the final passages of *Jerusalem,* Albion discovers the true meaning of self-annihilation:

> Wouldst thou love one who never died
> For thee or even die for one who had not died for thee?
> And if God died not for Man & giveth not himself
> Eternally for Man, Man could not exist; for Man is Love
> And God is Love; every kindness for another is a little Death
> In the Divine Image, nor can Man exist but by Brotherhood.
> (J 96:23-28 K743)

The essence of Blake's true religion is Christian: it is selfless love, forgiveness of sins and a will to sacrifice oneself for others' good. It is turning the other cheek instead of seeking retribution. Already in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* Blake writes that "The most sublime act is to set another before you" (MHH 7:17 K151). Also, the idea of Brotherhood is important: all humanity is like one man, Albion, having within himself the divine principle of Imagination. Every act of love towards another is a moment in which humanity wins over the Spectre and casts the Selfhood into the lake. Blake's love, however, denotes not only loving other people, but also loving one's self. Although it may seem contradictory with the teaching of self-annihilation, these notions do not clash. Loving one's self (or oneself) does not mean selfishness and pride, but an accepting and understanding attitude to one's mistakes. Nobody is perfect, Blake warns, and trying to become perfect we plunge into evil. He particularly detests the notion of self-righteousness:

> In Hell all is Self Righteousness; there is no such thing there as Forgiveness of Sin; he who does forgive sin is Crucified as an Abettor of Criminals, & he who performs Works of Mercy in any shape whatever is punished &, if possible destroyed, not thro' Envy of Hatred or Malice, but thro' Self Righteousness that thinks it does God service, whose God is Satan. (VLJ K616)

Self-righteousness this is the greatest of sins. To be self-righteous means to abandon true God and to worship Satan. Furthermore, it also denotes being right in the self, and the Self, as it has been already explained, is the principle which Blake considers to be satanic, but which exists in every man and needs to be destroyed. The act of destroying the Self is the chief condition of regeneration. Moreover, self-righteousness means self-centredness, closing up, egotistical pride, being submitted to one's own ego. This concept is opposed to the idea of forgiveness of sin, which in turn is the is the essence of true religion. In this sense Blake says:

> The spirit of Jesus is continual forgiveness of sins; he who waits to be righteous before he enters into the Saviour's kingdom, the Divine Body, will never enter there. I am perhaps the most sinful of men. I pretend not to holiness: yet I pretend to love, to see, to converse with daily as man with man & the more to have an interest in the Friend of Sinners. (J 3 K621)

Self-righteousness is opposed to the spirit of Jesus, the principle of love. At the same time holiness is contrasted with the basically open, receptive attitude: trying to be upright, holy and perfect, Blake seems to say, clashes with openness towards God, man and the world. Instead of glorying in one's own blamelessness we should show interest in other human beings, since "Attempting to Become more than Man, we become less" (FZ 9: 709 K 376).

Thus, freeing oneself from the power of one's Spectre is an act of reasserting one's humanity. It becomes tantamount to choosing the ethics of friendship and care over that of war for domination and control. Love and forgiveness win over intolerance and rigidity. Man opens up towards the world, can live the life of vision, stand in awe in front of every wonder he encounters. Only after casting his Spectre into the lake we become truly human, able to entertain the attitude beautifully rendered in *Auguries of Innocence*:

> To see a world in a grain of sand
> And a heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
> And eternity in an hour. (1-4 K 431)

Abbreviations

FZ *Vala, or The Four Zoas*
J *Jerusalem*
M *Milton*
MHH *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*
VJL *A Vision of The Last Judgement*

Bibliography

Abrams, M. H. (1953) *The Mirror and the Lamp.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Damon, S. Foster (1988) *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake.*Hanover and Lomdon: University Press of New England.

Damrosh, L. (1980) *Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ostriker, A. (1965) *Vision and Verse in William Blake.* Madison & Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press.

Schorer, M. (1959) *William Blake's Politics of Vision.* New York: Vintage Books.

STRESZCZENIE

W powyższym artykule autorka opisuje dwa kontrastowe pojęcia w twórczosci Williama Blake'a: Samoosobność (Selfhood/Spectre) i Człowieczeństwo. Są to pojecia wykluczające się: prawdziwe Człowieczeństwo opiera się na odrzuceniu Samoosobnosci, spersonifikowanej zasady, którą Blake często nazywa również 'Spectre' i Szatanem. Ten odrzucany pierwiastek to egoizm, skoncentrowanie na sobie, zamknięcie na potrzeby innych. Jest to również postawa życiowa oznaczajaca kierowanie się rozumem i kalkulacją, a nie sercem. Tworząc taką postać w swoim systemie mitologicznym Blake daje upust romantycznej nieufności wobec nauki i filozofii empiryzmu, którą widzi jako ograniczającą i odczłowieczajacą. Aby stać się w pełni ludzkim, twierdzi Blake, należy wybrać miłość, przebaczenie i troskę o innych, odrzucając chłodne rozumowanie, ocenę moralną i zamknięcie w sobie. Takie właśnie są bramy do raju, i droga do duchowej wizji.

Alicja Bratkowska

Geraldine from Coleridge's *Christabel* as an Image of an Early Vampire

Since Geraldine's origin remains a subject for speculation among scholars, to pronounce her as being a vampire may provoke initial doubts. Depending on different opinions, she is respectively identified as a witch, a fairy, a projection of Christabel's personality or even a devilish force (Liggins 1977, Strickland 1977, Spatz 1975, Ulmer 2007). Even if Geraldine cannot be called a "vampire" in the sense of the word understood from the 20th – and 21st – century perspective, it appears feasible to provide enough evidence from the text to distinguish her as an entity possessing some features of a vampire (Strickland 1977, Senf 1988, Henderson 1990, Davenport-Hines 1998, Lecouteux 2007, Smith 2008).

As suggested above, the image of Geraldine should be investigated first in relation to the folk tradition. Undoubtedly, Part I of the poem abounds in supernatural details typical for the folklore not only of England and Scotland but also of other European countries (Liggins 1977). They create the atmosphere of anxiety and unease as well as denominate Geraldine as a supernatural creature. The most obvious starting point for the analysis is to study the time and place of her appearance:

> 'Tis the middle of night by the castle clock
> And the owls have awakened the crowing cock;
> […] [A] toothless mastiff, which
> From her kennel beneath the rock
> Maketh answer to the clock,
> Four for the quarters, and twelve for the hour; [1]
>
> (lines 1, 2, 7-10)

Night, with its supernaturally-prone hour of midnight, appears the favourite operation time for all kinds of "preternatural" forces. As Liggins (94) points out, owls hooting, a dog howling and a cock crowing at this unusual hour, "presage an untoward event, and this feeling of uneasiness is increased by the references to the shrunken form of the full moon and the late spring":

> The moon is behind, and at the full;
> And yet she looks both small and dull.
> […] 't is a month before the month of May,
>
> (lines 18, 19 and 21)

Although spring is typically perceived as the time of fertility and rebirth, Liggins argues that April was considered an unlucky month in general. The description of the moon also deserves a thorough

[1] All quotations from *Christabel* come from *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Sixth Edition*.

examination as its full shape obviously refers to the menstrual cycle of a female body (Heller 1996) and to the approach of a new cycle – bringing a change of things. This evokes a direct link with blood and bleeding that, in turn, leads straight to the image of a vampire. What is more, the moon shrinks before Geraldine's entrance, as she dismisses the restorative influence of moonlight (Auerbach 1995) and glows with her own light (lines 58-60).

Geraldine appears in a forest, a hotbed of fairies, Devil and departed spirits, under an oak – a tree sacred in English folklore (May 1997); additionally, it is covered in green moss and mistletoe, parasites, of which the latter was traditionally attributed with magical properties. Even the use of colours, green standing for fairies and white – for ghosts and the dead, establishes strong connection with the supernatural (Liggins 1977). Christabel views Geraldine as:

> […] a damsel bright,
> Dressed in a silken robe of white,
> That shadowy in the moonlight shone:
> The neck that made that white robe wan,
> Her stately neck, and arms were bare;
>
> (lines 58-62)
>
> I guess, 't was frightful there to see
> A lady so richly clad as she –
> Beautiful exceedingly!
>
> (lines 66-68)

Her beauty appears so excessive and disturbing that it seems unnatural or even uncanny, stressed with the exclamation mark in line 68 and by Christabel herself, who instinctively summons the Virgin's protection: "Mary mother, save me now!" (line 69) at the sight of the lady. Consequently, this allows perceiving Geraldine as a female vampire, since one of the most important features of a she-vampire is her alluring, "lofty" (line 384) and statuesque beauty that poses an irresistible temptation to a future lover (Zwolińska 2002). The next thing that draws readers' attention in the stanza depicting Geraldine are her "blue-veined" and "unsandal'd" feet (line 63), which sound suspicious in her generally whitish description. According to May, they remind of "the custom of burying the dead without shoes" (703). Additionally, the term "blue-veined" suggests the "blue blood" – the noble ancestry, dignity and delicacy. Still, being a cold colour, blue echoes the quality of deathly coldness.

The moat, the iron gate with its key and the threshold represent typical barriers for all kinds of evil forces (Lecouteux 2007). Since Liggins puts forward an idea that Geraldine passes the moat only because Christabel accompanies her, or that Christabel literally has to carry Geraldine through the gate as she faints just in front of it (lines 129-132), then it seems reasonable to argue that Geraldine manifests potential vampiric qualities. For vampires, being the living dead, cannot pass over water by themselves and, being damned by God, they cannot cross the threshold of a house guarded by the "holy spell" (Liggins 1977: 97, Davenport-Hines 1998, Lecouteux 2007, Smith 2008). Interestingly, after finding herself inside the castle, Geraldine mysteriously and immediately recovers.

Coming back to the damned nature of vampires, it should be symptomatic of them to resent Christianity in all its forms. Subsequently, Geraldine declines to pray with Christabel to the Virgin, supposedly due to "weariness" (line 142). She also faints again, this time in front of a burning lamp "with twofold silver chain" (line 182), a material protecting from evil (Lecouteux 2007). Here it is also necessary to mention the fact that the lamp's light may as well exert negative influence on Geraldine as she belongs to the creatures of the night (Liggins 1977).

Furthermore, the lady's ambiguous deformity revealed by the shocked narrator in lines 252 and 253: "Behold! her bosom and half her side- /A sight to dream of, not to tell!" may correspond to witch's bosom marked by the Devil (Liggins 1977), as well as display marks of her vampiric initiation – the bite, since Auerbach suggests that both in *Christabel* and Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* it is the bosom that becomes the primary object of blood-drinking ritual.

The angry moan of "the mastiff bitch" (lines 148-150), the sudden outburst of dying fire (lines 147-151) or the mesmerising snake eye of Geraldine (lines 160, 575-578) intensify the estrangement from the human world. Dogs were believed to respond aggressively to the presence of vampires and other evil spirits (Liggins 1977), whereas bursting flames induce connotation with the fire of hell. As far as Geraldine's curious gaze is concerned, an analogy may be established between her faculty and a tradition of vampires hypnotizing and so paralysing their victims (Janion 2002). Amongst all the evidence of Geraldine's vampirism, data located in lines 370 to 380 is the hardest to reject:

> And Christabel awoke and spied
> The same who lay down by her side-
> O rather say, the same whom she
> Raised up beneath the old oak tree!
> Nay, fairer yet! and yet more fair!
> For she belike hath drunken deep
> Of all the blessedness of sleep!
> And while she spake, her looks, her air,
> Such gentle thankfulness declare,
> That (so it seemed) her girded vests
> Grew tight beneath her breasts.

To compare, let us take a look at Christabel during her sleep in Geraldine's arms:

> Her face, oh call it fair not pale,
> (line 289)
> And, if she move unquietly,
> Perchance, 't is but the blood so free
> Comes back and tingles in her feet.
> (lines 323-325)

We may easily spot changes that occur almost simultaneously in the appearances of both heroines; Geraldine becomes even more stunning, whereas some sort of sickness befalls Christabel, just as if her bed companion were feeding on her and "hath drunken deep/ Of all the blessedness of sleep!" (lines 375, 376). So much did Geraldine use the poor girl that now her vests seem too narrow.

Although no vampire kiss is explicitly stated, the use of the verb "to drink" and the description of Christabel's blood *again* flowing freely and coming *back* to her body are here essential and quite persuasive.

Christabel and Geraldine may be alleged as binary oppositions of good and evil, of innocence and corruptibility. However, this interpretation proves too narrow and stripping the poem of its symbolic meaning. Even the fact that Coleridge himself was unable to finish his work seems to confirm his indecision about the plot's further development, about Geraldine being either a demon or an angel (Strickland 1977) and about the story's final significance (Taylor 2002). The two parts of the poem may disclose this last hesitancy. While in Part I the stress falls on the two heroines' complex relationship and on the atmosphere "full of ambiguities" (Henderson 1990: 886), Part II is characterised by the "use of a relatively straightforward imagery" (Henderson 1990: 886), where Christabel becomes for Geraldine nothing more than a means to reach her father, Sir Leoline, "if any […] inner motivation can be ascribed to [Geraldine]" at all (Taylor 2002: 720).

Bringing to a close the analysis of folk elements in *Christabel*, it becomes essential to return to the moment of her appearance to explore its possible psychological meaning. As Spatz (111) observes "Christabel first meets Geraldine in a sexually charged atmosphere"; Christabel steals to the forest to pray in the middle of the night for her absent lover. Liggins sees in her behaviour reference to folk traditions of love rituals, but Taylor (711) emphasises the apparent anti-familial escape from the protection of the father:

> [A] young woman on the verge of puberty venturing forth, defying her father, his walls, his guards, his rules, and his morbidity, acting on her own, inviting a young and unknown woman hospitably to her castle chamber, and making all the moves that will accomplish her own suddenly upsurging sexual desires.

Then Geraldine materialises as if in response to Christabel's prayers (Spatz 1975). Both Spatz and Henderson indicate that Geraldine fools her victim into intimacy by letting Christabel identify with her. She evokes confidence mixed with compassion and immediately tries to establish her power over Christabel by physical contact (line 102) (Liggins 1977). Astonishingly, the title heroine seems impatient to consummate their relationship, disregarding ominous signs of Geraldine's origin. She proposes the lady a shared bed (lines 121, 122), carries her across the threshold (lines 130-132), revives Geraldine with cordial vine (line 191) and excitedly watches her disrobe (lines 239-244) (Spatz 1975). Thus, until the moment of undressing it is Christabel who takes an active role in seduction.

Nevertheless, one should not be misled by Geraldine's initial reluctant passivity. In the forest her powers lie hidden to entrap the unsuspecting victim. According to Henderson they reveal themselves in Geraldine's narrative about her kidnapping: "Five warriors seized me yestermorn," (line 81) and "And they rode furiously behind." (line 86). She had been captured by warriors, i.e. by those who arrive to disrupt the established order. Paradoxically, the line 86 suggests that instead of being escorted she leads them, thus she is the one who instigates changes. Although Geraldine's "revolutionary energy" (Henderson 1990: 883) sounds rather vague for the moment, later it shall be enhanced in line 225: "[l]ike a lady of a far countree", where Geraldine personifies the ideas of oddity, unusual and forthcoming unknown that shall invade Sir Leoline's dominion. Needless to say, these three qualities appear to be constituents characterizing vampires and the chief motif that accompanies them – the invasion.

Until entering Christabel's chamber Geraldine may possess some features of a Gothic double; to a certain degree she may embody the projection of Christabel's silent repressed desires. However, after a victorious but exhausting duel with the ghost of Christabel's mother (lines 211-219) the mysterious guest acquires as well the place of the mother's protecting spirit (Spatz 1975, Taylor 2002):

> And lo! the worker of these harms,
> That holds the maiden in her arms,
> Seems to slumber still and mild,
> As a mother with her child.
>
> (lines 298-301)

What is more, May proposes a reading that views Geraldine's deformity as a sign of degeneracy, further enhanced by Geraldine personifying Christabel's mother with her bosom as "a perversion of the nourishing breast of the mother" (710). In other words, Christabel becomes tainted and infected with Geraldine's corruption; the unspoken sexual act combines with death and disease (May 1997, Zwolińska 2002) – a classic recipe for vampires and their deadly kiss.

Although this fragment may suggest Christabel's capacity to feel sexual fulfilment exclusively through her mother's figure, I would rather incline towards the interpretation of a more dominant and mature woman guiding the younger girl from innocence to experience, possibly through an unspoken sexual act, but also overpowering her with the force of authoritarian will (Taylor 2002). Yet, shortly before the scene of Christabel's subjection, in an unequivocally erotic scene of undressing, Geraldine furnishes the readers with an opportunity to leave her ruthlessness "open to question" (May 1997: 704):

> Yet Geraldine nor speaks nor stirs:
> Ah! what a stricken look was hers!
> Deep from within she seems half-way
> To lift some weight with sick assay,
> And eyes the maid and seeks delay;
> Then suddenly, as one defied,
> Collects herself in scorn and pride,
> And lay down by the maiden's side!-
> And in her arms the maid she took,
> Ah, well-a-day!
> And with low voice and doleful look
> These words did say:
>
> (lines 255-266)
>
> This mark of my shame, this seal of my sorrow;
>
> (line 270)

Spatz (111) argues that “Geraldine is the projection of [Christabel’s] sexuality, with its desire, fear, shame, and pleasure. The ‘witchcraft’ that makes her beautiful or ugly, inviting or menacing, depends on Christabel’s changing attitude towards herself”. To my mind, this analysis slightly diminishes the figure of Geraldine, for Spatz puts the stress on the figure of an absent knight, who might be mentioned barely to indicate the stage of mental development Christabel reaches at the beginning of the ballad. Taking into consideration the vampiric interpretation, the above-quoted passages may indicate a moment of hesitation, when it becomes visible that Geraldine does not necessarily accept her state. Maybe she foresees that her actions will lead Christabel to destruction and this produces in her revulsion towards herself, staining her body with the “seal of sorrow and shame”. Following this mode of thinking, Geraldine appeals to Christabel:

> ‘All they, who live in the upper sky,
> Do love you, holy Christabel!
> And you love them, and for their sake,
> And for the good which me befell,
> Even I in my degree will try,
> Fair maiden, to requite you well.
>
> (lines 227-232)

Her speech tastes bitter and cynical and indicates that the speaker does not have purely bad intensions towards the fair maiden; it is Christabel who will have to find strength to cope with the “revolutionary energy” (Henderson 1990: 883) and it only depends on her if she will survive or fall under the burden of the new knowledge. In this light Geraldine should be regarded as a force of changes, a female sexual potential that transgresses limits set by the patriarchy and alters a girl subdued to the male order. Geraldine passes the “female knowledge” (Heller 1996: 79) to Christabel, but the maiden proves too feeble to embrace the message. The narrator’s naïve reassurance sounds ironic “that saints will aid if men will call: / For the blue sky bends over all.” (lines 330, 331). The world, including the forces of good, is to watch indifferently what happens to Christabel (Taylor 2002).

Together with the touch of Geraldine’s bosom a spell is cast on Christabel – she shall be unable to reveal the truth about her guest; in that second Geraldine irreversibly takes control over “the lovely lady” (line 38). The disturbed sleep of Christabel (lines 292-296, 311-326), which displays sexual connotations, and the two comments made by the narrator during the sleep sequence signal the apparent negative change that is taking place in Christabel:

> […] Can this be she,
> The lady, who knelt at the old oak tree?
>
> (lines 296, 297)
>
> A star hath set, a star hath risen
>
> (line 302)

Christabel’s star sets when she subsides and loses her will, while Geraldine’s rises as she grows in strength. Although this ineffective transmission of female power has sometimes been interpreted positively, as "a successful recapturing of the lost mother, the recuperation of neglected infancy, or a bland peace following initiation into mature sexuality, in my view the descriptions point to a sinister overtaking: the resigned obedience" (Taylor 2002: 713). Following Taylor's reception of the poem, we may regard the process happening as the absorption and obliteration of the innocent young female by the older one. The seduction of Christabel is not sexual but mostly psychological, which may be deduced from her aftermath behaviour; Christabel's "impulse […] of sudden sexual quest […] misfires, and she is absorbed by the (M)other she has lured to her bed" (Taylor 2002: 718). Here, it seems appropriate to once again recall the image of a vampire, since Geraldine sucks life out of Christabel, even if it is understood as Christabel's sense of identity rather than her blood. One should also acknowledge Ulmer's analysis of the two heroines' names to grasp the inevitable doom of Christabel. Ulmer underlines the fact that "Geraldine" is the anagram of "Dire Angel", while "Christabel" combines the names of Christ and Abel, the two most prominent victim figures in Christian culture.

As Geraldine takes what she wants, a new day rises and the heroines are joined by two other characters. Christabel is already devastated not only by her personal experience, but also by the realisation that she has let "a sexual predator" through the back door (Smith 2008: 55):

> 'Sure I have sinned!' said Christabel,
> 'Now heaven be praised if all be well!'
>
> (lines 381, 382)

These lines may indicate the mechanism of displacement that took place when the experience with Geraldine turned out to be too traumatic for Christabel (Taylor 2002). Here also Geraldine's focus changes, as though she admitted her failure with Christabel and moved to the next point on her vampiric schedule – Sir Leoline.

As Spatz (113) indicates, Christabel's relationship with her father is "extremely complex, [as] the Baron's love for his daughter is distorted by the knowledge that his wife died in childbirth". Additionally, Sir Leoline grieves over the breach of friendship with Sir Roland. Once again, Geraldine uses the method of insinuating herself into her victim's favour by evoking sympathy and sense of identification and familiarity (Henderson 1990, Auerbach 1995) (lines 427-430). Interestingly, Leoline's desire to reawaken his friendship with Sir Roland using Geraldine soon becomes accompanied by an erotic lure:

> And now the tears were on his face,
> And fondly in his arms he took
> Fair Geraldine who met the embrace,
> Prolonging it with joyous look.
>
> (lines 447-451)

In his arms, Geraldine replaces Christabel as well as takes place of the diseased mother, a thing Christabel could have never done (Spatz 1975, May 1997, Taylor 2002). For Spatz this incestuous rivalry between two heroines evokes in Christabel the horror of repressed oedipal feelings towards her father:

She shrunk and shuddered, and saw again-
(Ah, woe is me! Was it for thee,
Thou gentle maid! such sights to see?)
(lines 455-457)

This results in bringing back the remembrance of "that bosom old, / […] that bosom cold" (lines 457, 458) – the repulsion of sexuality, but also signals the "final abandonment" (Taylor 2002: 717) that ultimately obliterates the mute and enchanted Christabel. The further loss of free will and personal identity are implied (Taylor 2002) for instance in lines 589 to 593, but especially in:

The maid, alas! her thoughts are gone,
She nothing sees – no sight but one! […]
So deeply had she drunken in
That look, those shrunken serpent eyes,
That all her features were resigned
To this sole image in her mind:
And passively did imitate
That look of dull and treacherous hate! […]
As far as such a look could be
In eyes so innocent and blue!
(lines 599, 600, 603-608, 613, 614)

Christabel turns into a mere puppet, the only thing she is capable of is to imitate her silencer, "out of her vacancy of person" (Taylor 2002: 718).

While in the first part Geraldine has been waking Christabel's sexuality suppressed by the oppression of a distant father, by the estrangement from other women and by a sense of guilt typical for orphaned children (Spatz 1975, Taylor 2002), in Part II she transforms into a wave of destructive female force. Thus Geraldine may be perceived as remaining in conflict with patriarchal culture. It becomes the goal of this unstable, elusive femininity to destroy the patriarchy from the inside, personified by Sir Leoline whose "unwillingness to change […], ironically, leaves him unable to resist change effectively" (Henderson 1990: 896).

To complete the analysis, it is necessary to summon Bard Bracy's dream of a dove and "a bright green snake / Coiled around its wings and neck" (lines 551, 552), where respectively the serpent symbolises Geraldine and the dove – Christabel. May (713) points out that

> the dream imagery associates the snake with the healing power of greenery and herbs, fertility and health. The relationship between the snake and dove is symbiotic – '[S]welling its neck as she swelled hers!' (line 554) – not predatory, with an innocent dove the victim of the snake's violation.

Yet this view stands in opposition to Spatz's (113) interpretation of the snake representing "the primal sexual sin, death's origin and […] phallic potency that frightens the young girl". Perhaps, it is possible that May's reading may be appropriate to Part I only, whilst Spatz's belongs directly to Part II – their interpretations interchange just as Geraldine changes.

Christabel in its fragmentary form may appear more enthralling than it would ever have been as a finished piece, most likely due to Geraldine's indeterminacy. Still, on the basis of the evidence specified and analysed above, her origin may be called "supernatural". The given arguments also allow for looking at her as an early representative of the vampire motif in literature, whose features yet remain undefined and unstable, even though she proves to be tightly connected with the folk world of the preternatural.

Bibliography

Auerbach, **Nina** (1995), *Our Vampires, Ourselves*, Chicago – London.

Coleridge, **Samuel Taylor** (1986), "Christabel", *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Sixth Edition* (part 2), New York – London.

Davenport-Hines, **Richard** (1998), *Gothic: 400 Years of Excess, Horror and Ruin*, London.

Heller, **Tamar** (1996), "Vampire in the House", *The New Nineteenth Century: Feminist Readings of Underread Victorian Fiction*, ed. Barbara Leah Harman, Susan Meyer, New York: pp. 77-95.

Henderson, **Andrea** (1990), "Revolution, Response, and »Christabel«", *ELH*, Vol. 57, No. 4: pp. 881-900.

Janion, **Maria** (2002), *Wampir. Biografia Symboliczna*, Gdańsk.

Lecouteux, **Claude** (2007), *Tajemnicza historia wampirów*, trans. Beata Spieralska, Warszawa.

Liggins, **Elizabeth M.** (1977), "Folklore and the Supernatural in »Christabel«", *Folklore*, Vol. 88, No. 1: pp. 91-104.

May, **Claire B.** (1997), "»Christabel« and Abjection: Coleridge's Narrative in Process on Trial", *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, Vol. 37, No. 4, The Nineteenth Century: pp. 699-721.

Senf, **Carol A.** (1988), *The Vampire in 19th Century English Literature*, Bowling Green.

Smith, **Andrew** (2008), *Gothic Literature*, Edinburgh.

Spatz, **Jonas** (1975), "The Mystery of Eros: Sexual Initiation in Coleridge's »Christabel«", *PMLA*, Vol. 90, No. 1: pp. 107-116.

Strickland, **Edward** (1977), "Metamorphoses of the Muse in Romantic Poesis: Christabel", *ELH*, Vol. 44, No. 4: pp. 641-658.

Taylor, **Anya** (2002), "Coleridge's »Christabel« and the Phantom Soul", *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, Vol. 42, No. 4, The Nineteenth Century: pp. 707-730.

Ulmer, **William A.** (2007), "»Christabel« and the Origin of Evil", *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 104, No. 3: pp. 376-407.

Zwolińska, **Barbara** (2002), *Wampiryzm w literaturze romantycznej i postromantycznej*, Gdańsk.

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przestudiowano postać Geraldine z *Christabel* Coleridge'a jako wczesny przykład wampira w literaturze angielskiej. Przeanalizowane zostały elementy folkloru obecne w utworze, które definiują ją jako postać nadprzyrodzoną o potencjale wampirycznym. Ponadto nakreślona została potencjalna interpretacja bohaterki jako wampirycznego źródła ekspansywnej kobiecej seksualności czy destrukcyjnej siły wymierzonej w patriarchat.

Lucyna Krawczyk-Żywko

The Company of Angels: Heavenly Guides and Comforters in Victorian Children Deathbed Scenes

Reading Victorian writings, both fiction and real-life accounts, one encounters a plenitude of child deathbed scenes. In the times of paediatrics, educational toys and baby fashion it is easy to forget that at the end of the nineteenth century, one of every four dead people was a baby (Jalland 1996: 5). It seems, however, that the parental sorrow after losing a child remained unchanged and invariably calls for being relieved.

The way grief was represented in the nineteenth century fiction and how far feelings can be deduced from words were discussed by Laurence Lerner in his study of children deaths. The aim of this paper is to present children deathbed scenes focusing on the dual role the angels played there: being at the same time the guardians of the dying babes as well as a means of comforting the bereaved parents trying to understand death of an innocent being. Not always was it possible to reconcile the image of God the loving Father with the God depriving the parents of their offspring, and often the loss of the child resulted in temporary or permanent denial of God. On the other hand, it was not uncommon to treat such an ordeal as a blessing, since dying prematurely, the child was released from his or her future trials and sorrows.[1] Lerner states that by the end of the century, "God has slipped, silently and unnoticed, out of human consciousness" (1997: 31), and therefore also out of the deathbed context; it is however important to notice that angels did not, and their presence was especially pertinent to children deathbed scenes.

Typical elements of a Victorian children deathbed scene include: absence of physical distress, ubiquitous goodwill, and religiosity (Lerner 1997: 92). Another important feature is the child's appearance: usually they are blond, have blue eyes and smile sweetly. Such depictions were at times seen as mawkish, and Francis Jacox writes about a little girl dying "prattling to her brothers and sisters, and quoting texts of Scripture with appropriate gasps, dashes, and broken sentences" (Lerner 1997: 204). On the other hand, the conduct in the final hours was seen as "a vital test of fitness for salvation" (Jalland 1996: 33) and such scenes can be read as manifestations of Evangelical or Puritan tradition, in which the "child death was either a warning or an exhibition of faith" (Grylls 1978: 39). There was also the sentimental Romantic tradition, depicting children as wiser than adults, being aware of what awaits them and being ready for it. Both, though contradictory, "set their subjects on the path to the cemetery" (Grylls 39), and deathbed scenes, though conventionalised, were generally accepted, or even expected.

David Grylls noticed that the literature of the nineteenth century, unlike any previous, was full of fictional children dying, while in real life infant and children mortality was declining; it resulted in conventionalising such scenes, and he even talks about "the spectacles of a child dying" (40). Notwithstanding the convention, there was also the element of preparation for the inevitable, the

[1] An example of the former can be Thomas Huxley, nicknamed 'Darwin's bulldog', and of the latter the Taits (Archibald Campbell, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and his wife Catherine).

confrontation of both the parents and the children with death which was omnipresent, seen in everyday life and in fiction, including literature for children. Stories, poems and even songs usually address the grieving parents indirectly: they do not discuss their distress but focus on the children and their future, and the angel's presence ensures the child's safety, preparing for the afterlife, not for death.

One of the concerns of the parents and other family members was that babies often died before they could have been baptised. There were three major, somewhat contradictory, viewpoints on their future state: all are annihilated, part are saved and part perish, all are saved. There was also the idea of limbo, known for ages, with its division into *limbus patrum* for prophets and great thinkers born before Christ, and *limbus infatium* for children dying at birth or before Baptism (MacGregor 1992: 129-131). The scripture does not give definite information about what happens to them after death, but the Reverend John Jefferson thought that the only reasonable assumption is that all of them are saved. He began his sermon on *The salvation of infants* with these words:

> There are comparatively few parents who have not been called to feel the anxious solicitudes which are awakened by the sufferings and death of an infant child. We have seen the lovely objects of our tender regard seized by some virulent disease; we have watched their rapidly decaying energy; we have endeavoured in vain to relieve their distress; our flesh has shuddered at the thought of their separation from us; we have wept over their last struggle; and with aching hearts we have committed them to the silent tomb. (1831: 183)

Pointing out the universality of the terrible feeling of losing a child must have served to show the grieving parents that such an experience, harsh as it is, is not a God's trial but a common incident. The 'silent tomb', however, even though it ends the earthly existence, does not silence the questions about the future state of those children. Answering them, Jefferson points at the biblical passage: "Of such is the kingdom of God." (183) Such a reply is satisfactory because it is consolatory, as it refers to the highest authority – the words of Jesus Christ, who said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:14). This passage was chosen as the motto of the whole sermon. The state of the departed children should not trouble their earthly parents because they are in good hands – or rather, under good wings:

> Let this doctrine be yet further viewed in its aspect on the sorrowings of bereaved parents. How full of consolation is it to all such! The dear departed little ones, whose absence pains you, ... are advanced to the palace of the divine glory; they are associated with angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect ... they are made the recipients of unmingled happiness in the unchanging eternal state. ... Cease then your sorrows; wipe away your tears; gird up the loins of your minds; be sober, and hope to the end. (195)

The idea that baptism is not the sole means of obtaining salvation was stressed by another reverend, Chauncy Giles, who stated that "A man may be baptised and not saved, or he may be saved and not baptised" (Giles 1880: 6). George Gorham, an Evangelical clergyman, stated that Baptism is a sacrament generally necessary to Salvation but the grace of regeneration may be granted before, in or after the act (Moore et al. 1988: 14). Still, Giles tells his flock not to hesitate to baptise infants, since if „Our Lord declares that it was necessary for Him. Can it be any less important for us?" (1880: 5). Moreover,

> From the correspondence of water, and by its application in such a formal manner, and under such circumstances, it becomes a sign which the angels recognise, and they perceive that they have a special duty towards such infants; they perceive that the infants are committed to their care. It is the delight of all angels to care for infants, whether they are baptised or not; but baptism gives them a special and personal commission. (1880: 7)

The sacrament of Baptism makes angels pay greater attention to the child. A story of an angel waiting seven years to take proper charge of a girl was told by Charlotte Dean in *Lassie and her Guardian Angel*, one of the "Tales for the Young", who, judging by the content, are young Catholics and their families.

Lassie, a conventional "tiny creature with golden hair and angel-like face" (Dean 1884: 6) lives with her parents and Effie, an older sister, all accompanied by invisible "four bright angels ..., keeping their silent watch" (7). Lassie is unaware that, due to her parents' negligence, she was not baptised, and when a priest informs the sisters that every baptised child has its own special angel, Lassie longs to see hers. She envisions him to have a "beautiful and shining face" (30), yet she cannot imagine his voice. Unfortunately, the girl is ill and dying. While her parents are despairing, Effie baptises her sister, and at that moment "another spirit suddenly appeared, to whom his fellow angel smiled, as to a beloved and a well-known companion. This last comer bore in his right hand a small white robe of dazzling brightness, which he threw around the dying form of the little one. In his left hand he carried a tiny harp and a crown of lilies" (96). The eponymous angel guards the girl during her life, and his presence at the side of an unbaptized child points to angelic care spreading on the whole human life. It corresponds with St. Thomas' teaching on the guardian angel being a divine gift received at the time of birth (Parente 1994: 112). Yet, the author of the story does not suggest that lack of the sacrament changes nothing. Had the parents observed the religious customs, both children would have been baptized, the family life would have been different, meaning better. On the other hand, if they had, the story would lose its meaning: Lassie would not have longed to see her guardian, and her death would not have changed her parents – to put it plainly, she would not have become a Catholic martyr-like figure. Moreover, the angels would have been presented in a different light, or even would be placed outside the main story. As it is, the heavenly messengers are depicted as sympathetic silent watchers, accompanying both the earthly sinners and the heaven-driven child. The angel who replaces the girl's guardian angel in her last hour is the Angel of Death. His appearance is most welcome, as it ensures the readers that Lassie will go with him to heaven.

The Angel's Story, published by the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is a story within a story. The picture on its frontispiece depicts

> an Angel soaring upwards, and carrying in his arms a beautiful child. The child's head was nestled on the breast of heaven's messenger, as if conscious of a rest and peace to which it had long been a stranger. In that child's hand was a bunch of flowers, some beautiful to look at and of a rare kind; but one among them, and apparently the most treasured, seemed poor and worthless. (1873: 14)

As the mother from the main tale explains, according to a German tradition, when a good child dies, an angel comes to earth to take it and visit all the places the child has loved, pick some flowers and carry them to heaven, where they will bloom more beautifully than on earth. Both the picture and the story behind it must have been popular with the Victorians. In his *Angels' Wings. A series of Essays on Art and its Relation to Life*, Edward Carpenter claims that "everyone remembers the touching sentiment with which as a child he contemplated some nursery picture of an Angel, with outspread wings and a child in its arms, floating over a great city (1898: 25); there is also an example of a character from the well-liked novel for boys, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, who is compared to an angel, "[l]ying on his sickbed looking like 'a German picture of an angel ... transparent and golden and spirit-like.'" (Nelson 1989: 537) As far as the flowers are concerned, in heaven they are raised by God, and this image corresponds with that of heaven as a garden, one of the most important biblical themes, along with that of a heavenly kingdom and a city (McGrath, 13). God "prints a kiss on the flower which He loves best. A voice is thereby given to the flower, and it sings God's praise with the company of Angels" (*The Angel's Story*, 15).

As the story evolves, the readers learn that the angel in the picture used to be a sick, dying boy. He was given a flower, and later, when the boy who gave it was dying, the one who had received it, now an angel, came for him to fetch the heavenly bouquet, whose most precious element was that very plant. The story connected with the picture has such an impact on the tale's protagonist, Charlie, that he is happy to give his own flowers to a sick child. Thus the *Angels' Story* sets a good example for other children – they should make others happy, even by small deeds and even if the happiness lasts only a moment. It is not a cautionary tale, as no one, no matter how well-behaved, can avoid death; it is rather a tale familiarizing the children audience with the concept of death and reminding their parents that even if the life of the child comes to an end on earth, it lasts forever in the most beautiful gardens of all – in heaven.

A garden and flowers also form the central theme of *The Angel's Bouquet* (1875), a poem by Robert Corbet. The storyline begins at night: a little girl is ill, her mother and a nurse are sleeping, the father is watching over her, afraid of the "cold sleep of death" (Corbet 1875: 3). Despite his fears, the child says she feels much better and starts telling a dream she has just had: she entered a beautiful Garden with a little stream, saw a little boy and a girl playing with pretty flowers, who said: "This is the garden by the Court of Heaven; / The KING has sent for us to-day" (7). There were other children, too, seven altogether, and she played with them. Suddenly they heard a "sweet voice say / 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven!' (7), and she woke up. Whereas it is not stated and may only be assumed that the girl knew the source of this quotation, the readers were certainly familiar with it, as it is the aforementioned verse of the Gospel according to Mark (10:14). In her second dream, the girl sees the same garden, and on the very spot where they were playing – a flower-bed with seven lilies, "spotless and so purely white" (8). She notices one more, growing exactly where she was dancing: "Then, through the darkness, I beheld draw near /A white-robed angel: one whose face / Was far from spectral, far from causing fear, /But one most godlike, full of grace" (9). The angels' appearance – graceful and evocative of safety – is supposed to calm the child. The reason why he comes there every day is to fetch "[t]he Angel's Bouquet for the King" (ibid.). Silent yet smiling, he starts picking the lilies: "The angel's hand came closer, till at length / It touched the lily's stem, and then / I seemed to lose my consciousness and strength, / To faint with nervous joy again!" (11). The angel utters some calming words, picks the lily, and at that moment the father realizes the child is dead. The flower was ripped in the bud.

Similarly to *The Angel's Story*, the poem compares children to the flowers growing in the Garden, the synonym of heaven. Another similarity is that it is an angel who helps to pick or even collects the flowers. The medieval image of Death as the grim reaper had long been forgotten, it was transformed into that of a beautiful and benign angel, fetching a bouquet for God. The change was noticed and commented upon also in the nineteenth century, for example by Elizabeth Stone in her widely-read *God's Acre: or Historical Notices Relating to Churchyards* (1858):

> The much-suffering look on Death not as the destroying angel on the pale horse, not as the ghastly spectre whose unerring dart bears on its point the annihilation of all their joys and pleasures, but as the friend who is to give them release and repose, and the guide who is to lead them home. (Wheeler 1994: 29)

A friend and a guide – who could impersonate him better than an angel? Such a comparison was more heartening for the parents, whose time had not come yet and who had to say the life's farewell.

One more example is another text entitled *The Angel's Story*, written by Adelaide Anne Procter and bearing resemblance to the one discussed previously. This story starts on a Christmas night in a house where joy is supplanted by misery because a child is dying. There are apparent similarities to the previous poem, as the room is dark and the parent – now the mother – is sitting by the bed. This time, however, it is not a dream vision that soothes the pain and calms the child but "an unseen Presence" (Procter 1881: ix). Although invisible both to the mother and the child, the readers are given its description, which denotes beauty and holiness:

> a radiant angel hovered, /Smiling, o'er the little bed;
> White his raiment, from his shoulders / Snowy dove-like pinions spread,
> And a starlike light was shining /In a Glory round his head. (x)

At the very moment when he appears, the mother realises the child does not suffer that much. After placing crimson roses next to the child's body, the angel takes it in his arms, spreads his wings and they fly towards "the mansions of the Blest" (xiii). The colour of the flowers is reminiscent of the Roman custom of offering red flowers, symbolizing blood, to the bloodless and soulless shadow of a person that remained in its bodily form (di Nola 2006: 61). As an explanation of what is happening, the angel tells the child a story of a little sick orphan who goes to "princely halls and mansions" (1881: xv), sees a beautiful garden, is given flowers and then dies. The angel declares he was that little orphan and was allowed by God to take care of another dying child. In this manner the child is informed about its fate: the end of its earthly existence and the beginning of the heavenly one, together with the angels. It may be suspected that some day it will be this child's mission to take care of another one.

The illustrations accompanying the text follow the general tendency evident in books for children, where each anonymous figure of an angel looks alike, and it is easy to read their beautiful faces: benignity, sweetness, tenderness, and care are apparent. Such iconography helps children to accept and receive religious truths (Baluch 2005: 325), and it might be said to help adults, as it depicts trustworthy future life carers.[2]

The Angel of Death presented in these texts is very gentle, says kind words; his appearance does not cause any anxiety: he is beautiful, bright and smiling. It has to be stressed that neither of these depictions, including those where the angel used to be a child himself, portrays baby-angels. While they were pretty common in gift books, they are not to be found in deathbed scenes, most probably due to the seriousness of the situation, even if it was not devoid of artificial pathos. This young man bringing peace and sleep could be called the Angel of Child Death. The flowers mentioned are roses, symbols of love overcoming death, and lilies – symbols of purity, but also of unquestioning belief, forgiveness of sins and God's grace; thus, the innocence of a dying child is emphasized even more. The angels do God's will – they take dying children to heaven, often compared to a garden, so that they also may become angels. What is more, in two of these, angels explicitly state that they once were children, which may lend credibility to the popular belief that all children are saved, and probably it was the only truly soothing idea. In Lerner's words, "the angels of young children could be seen as a human invention, a way we have taught ourselves to speak of dead children, and all the finer for that. What weakens the theology strengthens the consolation" (103). Furthermore, if the child becomes an angel, it does not die but lives forever with the Heavenly Father.

Another source of comfort for the parents was that the angels not only take the child to heaven, but also take care of them there. *Children in Heaven* was written in the form of a dialogue between two girls: Rosa and Mary. Both of them lost their brothers and Mary, being more experienced, comforts Rosa and explains to her the intricacies of the afterlife:

> as soon as infants are raised from the dead, which takes place immediately after decease, they are carried up into heaven and delivered to the care of angels of the female sex, who in the life of the body loved infants tenderly, and at the same time loved God. Every female angel has as many infants under her care as she desires from a spiritual maternal affection … your little dear brother will be nurtured and cared for by angels. (1880: 1)

This time the imagery of a loving mother, not of a beautiful male, is used to convey the image of a caring angel. Having assured Rosa that her brother is safe, Mary informs her that not only basic needs are provided for: children wear colourful clothes and flowery circlets, live in superb conditions, play in beautiful gardens and palaces, receive both mental and bodily nourishment, and look young forever. Rosa is convinced by the heartening arguments, and goes to comfort her parents. The children seem to be prepared better than the adults.[3]

There are also real-life accounts of children ready for the inevitable. One Elizabeth King described the death of her daughter in the following manner:

[2] On the other hand, the story was printed with a note saying that the publishers had received a suggestion to include the illustrations by Charles O. Murray, which accompanied Procter's *Legends and Lyrics*; it is not specified if it was because of their beauty, therapeutic effect, or due to a very mundane reason that illustrated books sell better.

[3] The name of Swedenborg is mentioned a few times in the text, and Mary acts almost as a preacher of the New Church doctrine, repeating its teaching on the fate of children who die and the Swedenborgian vision of heaven.

> She looked upward for some minutes with a calm fixed far off look. Then a smile overspread her countenance and she uttered the word "Angels" and after a little time she said clearly and loudly "I am *so* glad to go" while her face was all radiant. (Jalland, 48; highlighting retained)

Such knowledge and understanding of death may surprise contemporary audiences, but for a nineteenth-century mind it was not extraordinary. It must be remembered that literature for children was in its infancy, and the majority of young readers still had adult books and religious tracts as primers. This short hymn from the *Guardian Angel*, a Catholic collection of religious texts for children, further proves it:

> Little children robed in white, / Sing before the Throne of Light
> In daylight never ending. /Jesus took them for His own,
> Made them pure and holy.
>
> Blessed Jesus, take me too, / Though I'm weak and lowly,
> Let Thy gentle grace within / Make my garments white and clean,
> And my spirit holy. (1858: npag.)

What it shows is not only the awareness of the awaiting heavenly bliss, but also the will to join it.[4]

Certainly not all parents were comforted by the "consolatory euphemism: 'Not lost, but gone before'" (Wheeler 1994: 29) coined in the nineteenth century, or the aforementioned stories and poems, yet the examples presented here clearly show the importance of angels in the process of explaining child death in the Victorian society. The question of the salvation of infants was of the utmost importance for the Christian parents whose children died unbaptized. A widely held belief ensured them that all babies join the company of angels, regardless of whether they had been baptised or not. Even though this sacrament was not perceived as essential for the salvation of infants, it was strongly recommended by the church and chapel, since this was the first official step towards entering the Christian community. For those who believed in guardian angels, it was also the moment when this angel would start taking proper care of the child, providing them with his constant watch. Angels were not only symbols of grief and hope, they were also agents bringing consolation to the grieving parents. The fact that they were used in children deathbed scenes so often demonstrates that even if God was being left out of the picture, beautiful and benign angels were needed as guides for the children and comforters for the parents.

Bibliography

Primary sources:

"The Angel's Story" and other tales. (1873), London.
"Children in Heaven". (ca. 1880), *Tracts Doctrinal and Practical*. London.

[4] If and how consciously expressed is a matter for another article.

Carpenter, Edward. (1898), *Angels' Wings : a series of essays on Art and its Relation to Life*. London.

Corbet, Robert. (1875), *The Angel's Bouquet*. London.

Dean, Charlotte. (1844), *Lassie and her Guardian Angel*. London & Derby.

Giles, Chauncey, Rev. (1880), *Baptism. Its Importance and Uses*. London.

Jefferson, John, Rev. (1831), "The salvation of infants". *The British Preacher, under the Sanction of the Ministers whose discourses appear in its pages*. vol.1 London.

Mara, Grace. (1898), *The Angels' Charge. A Story for Children*. London, Edinburgh, and New York.

Procter, Adelaide Anne. (1881), *The Angel's Story* ... [A poem. Reprinted from "Legends and Lyrics."] With illustrations by C. O. Murray. London.

Secondary sources:

Baluch, Alicja. (2005), „Ujęcia angelologiczne w ilustracjach dla dzieci i młodzieży (od loczków do łysinki)". Ługowska, Jolanta (red.). *Anioł w literaturze i kulturze*. tom II. Wrocław: 325-330.

Grylls, David. (1978), *Guardians and Angels. Parents and Children in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. London & Boston.

Jalland, Pat. (1996), *Death in the Victorian Family*. Oxford.

Lerner, Laurence. (1997), *Angels and Absences. Child Deaths in the Nineteenth Century*. Nashville and London.

MacGregor, Geddes. (1992) *Images of Afterlife. Beliefs from Antiquity to Modern Times*. New York.

McGrath, Alister. (2009), *Historia nieba*. Kraków.

Moore, James R. (ed.) (1988), *Religion in Victorian Britain*. vol. III "Sources". Manchester.

Nelson, Claudia. (1989), "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys". *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 32 Issue 4: 525-550.

di Nola, Alfonso M. (2006), *Tryumf Śmierci. Antropologia żałoby*. Kraków.

Parente, Pascal P., Rev. (1994), *The Angels. The Catholic Teaching on the Angels*. Rockford.

Wheeler, Michael. (1994), *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians*. Cambridge.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia rolę anioła w wiktoriańskich scenach śmierci dzieci, które zaznajamiały małych słuchaczy właśnie ze śmiercią. Pojawia się on jako pocieszyciel w ostatniej godzinie na ziemi, przewodnik w pierwszych chwilach pobytu w niebie i towarzysz życia wiecznego. Ze względu na dużą śmiertelność niemowląt, uwagę zwracają teksty przedstawiające wpływ chrztu na zbawienie. Postać anioła opiekującego się dzieckiem od momentu narodzin, przez śmierć i w życiu przyszłym, była pocieszeniem dla tych, którzy nie zdążyli ochrzcić dziecka. W niektórych tekstach widoczne jest połączenie Anioła Stróża i Anioła Śmierci. Ten ostatni zyskuje nową twarz: jest piękny, łagodny i współczujący; jego przybycie niesie ulgę w cierpieniu i obietnicę szczęścia wiecznego. Jest on ważny także dla pogrążonych w żałobie rodziców, właśnie ze względu na bycie łącznikiem z czymś lepszym niż życie na ziemi.

Ewa Młynarczyk

Exploring New Ways of Poetic Expression in Alfred Tennyson's "Ulysses"

Alfred Tennyson's "Ulysses" has often been considered as one of the very first examples of the dramatic monologue, a new poetic form which emerged in the Victorian epoch. It was written in 1833, a few weeks after the death of the poet's friend, Arthur Hallam, but not published until the second volume of *Poems* in 1842. In the poem, the dramatic persona, Ulysses, a well-known Greek character drawn from Homer's *Odyssey*, has been shown in unusual circumstances as he is delivering a speech to his mariners in order to encourage them to leave Ithaca, the destination of their famous journey, and set out on yet another quest. Thus, the novelty of the poem lies both in its genre and its treatment of the well-known Greek myth. The aim of this paper is to present Tennyson's creative approach to the literary traditions in the poem and to analyse the way it both reflects the poet's personal experience and is characteristic of the nineteenth-century poetics.

The dramatic monologue may be seen as a Victorian reaction to the self-centredness of the lyrical 'I' in Romantic poetry. The multi-facetedness of this new poetic form has been summed up by Slinn, who defines the genre as a "lyrical-dramatic hybrid" (2007: 80), encompassing "an emotional expressiveness from lyrics, a speaker who is not the poet from drama, and elements of mimetic detail and retrospective structuring from narrative" (80-81). The roots of the genre can be traced back to the ancient rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia* or impersonation, which was widely used as a common school exercise in learning to prepare effective speeches by adopting a register that would be appropriate for a character in a given imaginary situation. It also proved useful in practising the art of writing letters and was considered valuable for future poets and historians (Dixon 1990: 45). The practice of writing *prosopopoeiae* was present in the school curriculum well through the Renaissance up to the nineteenth century, and, as Culler observes, the form was not unknown to Tennyson in his school days (1977: 85).

In fact, Tennyson's indebtedness to the art of rhetoric is clear in the construction of Ulysses' speech. What Culler describes as "moving through four phases of emotion: the rejection of the barren, sterile life on Ithaca, the memory of his earlier heroic life when he followed knowledge like a sinking star, his recognition of the validity of Telemachus' more prudential way, and his final setting out upon the quest freighted with all these thoughts" (1975: 383) may be reinterpreted in terms of the arrangement of a speech according to the rules of rhetoric enumerated by Dixon. The monologue starts with a narrative, an introduction of the case in question, here, the present situation of Ulysses trapped in the state of idleness on his island as contrasted with his active life in the past. This should be followed by the proposition, "in which the orator either states succinctly the concern of his speech, or sets a definite issue or problem before his audience" (Dixon 1990: 29), which can be found in Ulysses' assertion of the need to embark on a journey, already signalled by his "I cannot rest from travel"(6). The next element, the refutation, in which "the orator attempts to answer or discredit the arguments which are likely to be (…) advanced against him" (Dixon 1990: 30) here has been substituted, as if in anticipation of the charge of irresponsibility, by Ulysses' introduction of his son Telemachus as a legitimate and worthy successor to the throne:

This is my son, mine own Telemachus,
To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle –
Well-loved of me, discerning to fulfil
This labour, by slow prudence to make mild
A rugged people, and through soft degrees
Subdue them to the useful and the good.
Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
Of common duties, decent not to fail
In offices of tenderness, and pay
Meet adoration to my household gods,
When I am gone. He works his work, I mine. (33-43)

Finally, the conclusion or peroration should include an amplification or a "an emphatic statement of the speaker's position" and "an appeal to the tender feelings of the audience" (Dixon 1990: 30), both of which appear in the final part of Ulysses' speech as he addresses his mariners to follow him "to seek a newer world" (57), and, in order to strengthen his argument, makes use of some *commonplaces* or maxims such as "Death closes all" (51) and "Though much is taken, much abides" (65).

The rhetorical aspect of the dramatic monologue has been pointed out as a crucial distinctive feature of the genre by Pearsall, who labels it as "rhetorical efficacy" (2000: 68). In her essay on the dramatic monologue she observes that the major goal to be achieved by the speaker in the poem is to win their audience over to their side and thus to effect "a host of transformations – of his or her circumstances, of his or her auditor, of his or her self, and possibly all those together" (71).

However, the dramatic monologue appears to be something different from just a mere school exercise in the art of rhetoric. In the case of Tennyson's "Ulysses", the message that the mythological hero is delivering to his mariners acquires a new meaning. It seems that it is the Victorian poet that is speaking with the voice of the mythological persona and that he is trying to persuade himself in the first place. As we learn from Hallam Tennyson's *A Memoir*, "Ulysses" was written "soon after Arthur Hallam's death" and expressed the poet's "need of going forward, and braving the struggle of life perhaps more simply than anything in 'In Memoriam'" (1897 Vol. 1: 196). Thus, while adopting a mythological speaking persona, the poet imbues his speech with another meaning, which transcends the given literary situation in the poem, and, though indirectly, reaches out to the wider audience of the poet's contemporaries.

This seeming indirectness, as opposed to the Romantic confessions of the lyrical 'I', in the Victorian dramatic monologue has been achieved by means of adopting a 'mask' as a way of distancing the speaking persona from the identity of the poet behind his work. "Ulysses" represents one of the many speaking personas Tennyson has drawn from what he found to be a rich source of material for literary exploration, that is, classical mythology. As his son observes,

> He purposely chose those classical subjects from mythology and legend, which had been before but imperfectly treated, or of which the stories were slight, so that he might have free scope for his imagination, "The Lotos-Eaters," " Ulysses," "Tithonus," "Œnone," "The Death of Œnone," "Tiresias," "Demeter and Persephone," "Lucretius." A modern feeling was to some extent introduced into the themes, but they were dealt with according to the canons of antique art. The blank verse was often intentionally restrained. (1897 Vol. 2: 13-14)

Thus, while Tennyson was undoubtedly well-versed in classical tradition, he nevertheless sought to adapt both the form and the theme to his own imaginative aims.

His "Ulysses" may be perceived not only as an example of an innovative poetic form; it should also be distinguished for its original way of treating an already familiar subject matter. It seems that Tennyson's poem takes up the myth after the point at which the traditional narrative has ended, namely after Odysseus' return to Ithaca and his regaining of the throne. Even though the motif of the final journey of Odysseus, after he has reached Ithaca, is already prophesied by the seer Teiresias in the *Odyssey*, and the main source of Tennyson's monologue, as acknowledged by the poet himself, is a later medieval account from Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Tennyson 1897 Vol. 2: 70, 464), in the Victorian poem this endeavour has been presented in a new, positive light. The Dantean Ulysses is found in the flames of the eighth Circle of Hell, condemned there for the ambush of the Trojan horse. Enquired by Virgil about his death, he relates the story of his final voyage beyond the Pillars of Heracles, his reaching the Mountain of Purgatory and his subsequent death in a whirlwind at sea. Apparently, this account includes all the major elements to be later incorporated into Tennyson's poem. After many years of travelling only with a small band of his faithful mariners, though "Tardy with age" (Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XXVI: 104), Ulysses still encourages his companions to cross the westernmost landmark of the familiar world claiming that they "were not form'd to live the life of brutes, / But virtue to pursue and knowledge high" (116-117). In their daring enterprise they manage to arrive within the sight of the Otherworld, yet, being alive, they are forbidden to proceed any further. In fact, these lines have their parallel in Tennyson's dramatic monologue, as the speaker claims that even though they have been "Made weak by time and fate" (69), they still are "One equal temper of heroic hearts" (68), "strong in will / To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield" (69-70). Yet, the Ulysses as presented in Tennyson's poem is no longer condemned to Hell for his excessive curiosity and cunning. Conversely, he has become an epitome of a questing hero, a pursuer of knowledge at all costs. This view is also corroborated by the poet Aubrey De Vere, who comments that the poem "shows us what Heroism may be even in old age, though sustained by little except the love of knowledge, and the scorn of sloth" (Tennyson 1897 Vol. 1: 505).

Compared to the Homeric character, Tennyson's Ulysses is again portrayed as a quester, this time, however, it is not a quest out of necessity, as was the case with his long journey back home; the new quest is a spiritual one the hero decides to undertake out of choice, or rather out of the need of his heart "To follow knowledge like a sinking star, / Beyond the utmost bound of human thought" (31-32). His yearning for a voyage in pursuit of experience which is "an arch wherethrough / Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades / For ever and for ever when I move" (19-21) is reminiscent of the words of Princess Nekayah in yet another story about the pursuit of happiness and the search for the goal in one's life, Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759). As she observes, "Such (…) is the state of life, that none are happy but by the anticipation of change: the change itself is nothing; when we have made it, the next wish is to change again. The world is not yet exhausted; let me see something to-morrow which I never saw before" (1960: 150-151). In his quest for the ultimate experience, Tennyson's Ulysses is not afraid to cross the final boundary of human existence. He states that his purpose is to embark on the last journey into the night, "To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths / Of all the western stars" (60-61) until he dies. The allusion to transgressing the final frontier between life and death is also present in the suggestion that on their way they may "touch the Happy Isles, / And see the great Achilles, whom we knew" (63-64), thus referring to the Islands of the Blessed or Elysium, the final abode of the favoured Greek heroes (Smith 1996: 170).

Insofar as the speaker in Tennyson's dramatic monologue provides a surprising insight into an already well-known story, this technique may be compared to an innovative approach to the old myths and legends, which can be found in the representatives of the Alexandrian school of poetry of the third century BC. Those poets, including Callimachus and Theocritus, sought to shed new light on otherwise familiar stories drawn from the popular mythological and legendary subject matter and embody them in short but elaborate poetic forms such as the elegy, the idyll, the pastoral or the 'little epic' (Culler 1977: 90-91). It is no wonder then that within both traditions, the Alexandrian epic and the *prosopopoeia*, one can find Ovid's *Heroides* of the first century BC, one of the major works to be found among the literary prototypes of the dramatic monologue (Byron 2003: 30). Culler points to the influence the Alexandrian poets must have had on shaping Victorian poetry. Writing about the Alexandrian school, he observes that the Victorians "saw an analogy between that exhausted period – so rich in science and criticism but so lacking in true creative impulse – and their own day" (1977: 91).

It seems that Tennyson's poem lends itself to many levels of interpretation. On the most immediate one the poem can be read simply as a response to a personal crisis and an attempt at finding consolation in re-establishing one's aim in life. In a broader, Victorian context, it can be interpreted as a need for the search for truth in a world in which the latest scientific discoveries have shaken the old established tenets, leaving the individual in a state of uncertainty. Finally, the dramatic persona may be seen as expressing the poet's yearning to follow "the higher poetic imagination" (Tennyson 1897 Vol. 2: 366), which apparently accompanied Tennyson until the end of his life, as the theme reappears in the late "Merlin and the Gleam".

The analysis of Tennyson's "Ulysses" has shown that its novelty both as a genre and as a new treatment of a familiar subject does not lie in a complete invention on the part of the poet. It should rather be perceived in terms posited by T.S. Eliot in his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1920), with the poet drawing on the already existing literary themes and genres and acting as the catalyst in that he, triggered by a personal experience, reshapes them in order to find a new way of poetic expression. In his dramatic monologue, Tennyson employs the classical rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia* and an obscure medieval continuation of a well-known myth from Homer's *Odyssey* in order to voice the feelings of a Victorian besieged by uncertainties about the major questions concerning human existence. Yet, it is also the voice of a poet who is determined to always pursue the gleam, his poetic vision.

Bibliography

Byron, Glennis. (2003), *Dramatic Monologue*, London: Routledge.

Culler, A. Dwight. (1975), "Monodrama and the Dramatic Monologue", *PMLA*, Vol. 90, No. 3: 366-38.

Culler, A. Dwight. (1977), *The Poetry of Tennyson*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dante Alighieri. (1909), *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Hell, Purgatory, Paradise*, Cary (trans.), New York: P.F. Collier & Son Co.

Dixon, Peter. (1990), *Rhetoric*, London: Routledge.

Eliot, T.S. (1975), "Tradition and the Individual Talent", *Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot*, Kermode (ed.), New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 37-44.

Homer. (1998), *The Odyssey*, Shewring (trans.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Samuel. (1960), *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pearsall, Cornelia D. J. (2000), "The Dramatic Monologue", *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Poetry*, Bristow (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 67-88.

Slinn, E. Warwick. (2007), "Dramatic Monologue", *A Companion to Victorian Poetry*, Cronin, Chapman and Harrison (eds), Malden: Blackwell Publishing: 80-98.

Smith, William. (1996), *The Wordsworth Classical Dictionary*, London: Wordsworth Editions, Ltd.

Tennyson, Hallam. (1897), *Alfred Lord Tennyson. A Memoir*. Vols 1 & 2, New York: The Macmillan Company.

Tennyson, Lord Alfred. (1969), *The Poems of Tennyson*, Ricks (ed.), London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł ten ma na celu ukazanie nowatorskich cech wiersza "Ulysses" autorstwa Lorda Alfreda Tennysona. Jest to jeden z pierwszych wiktoriańskich monologów dramatycznych, formy poetyckiej, która w przeciwieństwie do poezji okresu Romantyzmu wyraźnie zaznaczała dystans pomiędzy poetą a podmiotem lirycznym wiersza dzięki tzw. „masce". W wierszu Tennysona maską tą staje się postać Ulyssesa, dobrze znana z homeryckiej *Odysei*, jednak tutaj poeta podejmuje mniej znany epilog, przedstawiający bohatera jako wiecznego poszukiwacza, który pragnie wyruszyć w kolejną podróż, tym razem wiedziony potrzebą przekraczania granic poznania. Tym samym wiersz ten jest też wyrazem osobistego rozrachunku poety z losem po śmierci bliskiej osoby.

Justyna Włodarczyk

The Governess's Correspondence: Letters in Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*

Ever since the first publication of Edmund Wilson's essay "The Ambiguity of Henry James" in 1938, the problem of ambivalence has been recognized as one of the central issues in scholarship on the author. In the case of *The Turn of the Screw* this has, ironically, encouraged interpretations which intend to resolve the ambivalence by situating themselves on, and giving arguments for, one of the two sides of the debate. The debate, beginning with Wilson's groundbreaking essay, has centered on the issue of the reliability of the narrator. For a long time critics discussed whether the governess was a hallucinating madwoman or a reliable narrator. Critics have searched the text for details – clues – pointing in the direction of one of the interpretations. Specific details provided keys for major readings, much like clues in a mystery undeniably reveal the identity of the murderer. My case against these attempts is based on the conviction that James's novels cannot be treated as "whodunits" with one correct solution. Ironically, even the author of "The Ambiguity of Henry James" takes a clear-cut stand on the interpretation. Wilson diagnoses James's ambiguity in *The Turn of the Screw*: "nowhere does James unequivocally give the thing away: almost everything from beginning to end can be read equally in either of two senses" (Wilson 1938: 94) only to offer a reading which proves that the governess as narrator is unreliable and thus the story is the creation of a neurotic mind.

In "Turning the Screw of Interpretation" Shoshana Felman suggests that this kind of approach cannot lead to comprehensive readings: "In repeating (…) the primal scene of the text's meaning as division, the critics can by no means master or exhaust the very meaning of that division but only act the division out, perform it, be part of it" (Felman 1977: 113). This is why I would like to suggest a reading which is not focused on "the primal scene," but which takes advantage of recurring details – mostly patterns on the level of the plot – to show how the effects of the text are achieved. Felman's reading, to which I am greatly indebted, already thematizes issues of effect. The effects of a story, especially a ghost story, are after all of primary importance. I would like to narrow down my analysis to the consideration of how one specific theme in the novella, that of letters and letter writing, contributes to the effects of *The Turn of the Screw*. There are two specific effects which I have in mind. Firstly, the issue of how the letters in the novella generate suspense and terror inasmuch as the ghosts do; secondly, how the governess's treatment of letters contributes to her perception by the reader as an unreliable narrator.

In the search for the unconscious knowledge of the text, some of the clues which should be taken into account relate to the textual quality of the narrative – the story includes a surprising number of actual manuscripts and letters. Two "major" letters (that of the headmaster of Miles's school and that of the governess to the master) are crucial to the story in terms of fueling the events of the plot. There is also a number of "minor" letters casually mentioned by the governess in her narrative. Letters were the only form of communication with the outside world available at Bly, therefore they must be regarded as important. The only person at Bly who was capable of reading and writing letters (except for the bailiff and Miles) was the governess herself, which emphasizes her position of power. The total count of letters in the governess's tale (I am excluding Douglas's introduction for reasons of clarity of argument) is as follows: the Master's Letter to the Governess (James 1994: 19), the Headmaster's Letter to the Master (included in the letter to the Governess), the Children's Letters to their uncle (76), Miss Jessel's "Ghost" letter to Quint (83), letters from the Governess's Family to the Governess (31), the Governess's Letter to the Master.[1]

One feature all these letters unmistakably share is the fact that the reader never fully learns their contents. They are not quoted, cited or included in the diary of the governess. In *The Turn of the Screw* the letters are sometimes summarized by the governess, sometimes they are only briefly alluded to. The uncertainty of the contents of the headmaster's letter is a driving force of the detective storyline of the tale; that is, it is crucial for answering the question of why Miles was expelled from school. According to the governess, the reason for his dismissal is not clearly stated by the headmaster ("They go into no particulars", 20), which creates a mystery surrounding the little boy right from his appearance at Bly. In fact, the question of Miles's expulsion is, if we may say so, the original mystery; even before the governess begins to see ghosts, she starts her private investigation concerning the children's past experiences. Mrs Grose's seemingly jocular question – "Are you afraid he'll corrupt you?" (21) – prompts the governess's inquiries about the fate of the woman who preceded her. However, we only know about the contents of the letter from the governess herself, because, as both the reader and the governess find out (20), Mrs Grose cannot read and write. This issue surfaces when the governess hands the letter to Mrs Grose, so that she can learn for herself what Miles has done at school. Only after the governess learns of Mrs Grose's inability to write, does she insist that the letter contained "no particulars". For all the facts we have, the letter might just as well have explicitly stated the reason for Miles's dismissal from school, which does not seem so implausible when we reach the final scene of the book, the governess's conversation with Miles, where the governess tells Miles that she "knows everything" (118) about what happened at school and yet she torments the child by insisting on obtaining a confession from him.

An interesting detail connected with the letter from the headmaster to the master is the seal on the letter. The governess reports that she received a letter from the master: "addressed to himself, with the seal still unbroken. (…) I broke the seal with a great effort – so great a one that I was a long time coming to it; took the unopened missive at last up to my room and only attacked it just before going to bed" (19). The need for so much effort seems implausible. There must have existed a different reason for the delay in opening the letter. The governess received a letter addressed to the master, with whom she was clearly infatuated; a letter which had not yet been read by him, the unbroken seal standing proof to the master's total confidence in the governess's ability to deal with whatever issue was addressed by the letter. She must have felt quite proud of this and delayed the opening of the letter to be able to enjoy fully the master's esteem for her – or at least she must have convinced herself that such a letter was a sign of the master's esteem, even if in reality it was only a reflection of his lack of involvement in his nephew's life. It is highly possible that the only reason why the governess carried the letter downstairs to show it to Mrs Grose was the possibility

[1] The incredibly slow process of the governess writing the letter is described on over a dozen pages. The letter is first mentioned on page 86.

of "bragging" about having received it. The time the governess spent fantasizing about the contents of the sealed letter could have also resulted in her reaching some conviction as to its contents, which would confirm the interpretation that she did not fully reveal the contents of the letter to Mrs Grose. This specific letter was the only one which the governess received from the master throughout her stay at Bly. However, the lack of subsequent letters did not make her feel that the master's esteem for her had vanished but rather, on the contrary, she interpreted it as "a part of the flattery of his trust of me; for the way in which a man pays his highest tribute to a woman is apt to be but by the more festal celebration of one of the sacred laws of his comfort" (76).

The governess is able to come up with an optimistic interpretation of the master's silence as showing his respect and regard for her. The lack of correspondence does not seem to disturb her. Surprisingly, she deals with this in a much calmer way than she does with the apparent understatement in the headmaster's letter, which caused her "a sleepless night" (20). The fact is that the master's silence allows her a lot of freedom, which a governess living with a typical family in the country surely would not enjoy. As the one in charge of the children's education and the only one in the immediate household capable of reading and writing, she is in a position of power and she enjoys it. This could also explain her apparent reluctance to write to the master when Miles asks her to do it and when Mrs Grose more or less threatens to use the bailiff's services if the governess does not write on her own. The governess knows that if she wrote the master and received instructions from him, she would lose her privileged position as the head of the household. She would finally have to explain some of her highly questionable actions. For after all, letting alone the case of the ghosts, the need to write the master had arisen from Miles's concern about not going back to school. The logical thing to do after receiving the letter from Miles's headmaster, would have been to immediately begin searching for a different school for Miles, where he could be sent after the summer holidays. The governess does not contact any schools and keeps the boy at Bly long after the holidays are over. This is one of the issues which she would definitely have to explain when interviewed by the master. Of course, her reluctance to write can also be explained through her fascination with the master. She is in love with him and wants him to pay attention to her but at the same time the realization of this wish could bring an immediate end to her fantasies about him. The longer she does not see him and contact him in any way, the longer she can enjoy these fantasies. These two readings of the possible reasons for the governess hesitating about writing to her employer do not contradict each other – they can easily be viewed as complementary.

Another puzzling detail which comes up when discussing the issue of letters is the correspondence the governess receives from home. She writes in her narrative about "disturbing letters from home, where things were not going well" (31). This piece of information is situated in time just before her first encounter with the ghost on the tower. She disregards the effect these letters had on her by saying that with such wonderful children as those she was in charge of, nothing else in the world could have mattered. Still, when one speculates about the nature of the problems happening "at home," what can be ruled out without much hesitation is death or serious illness of a family member. If that was the case, a dutiful girl raised in "a Hampshire vicarage" (11) would have done everything possible to go back and visit her family at such a difficult time. Not only does the governess not leave Bly, she does not even mention sending a letter in response to the one she received. Whatever the nature of the problems (perhaps they were financial; after all girls who took on positions of governesses usually did so because they were not well-off), they did not demand her immediate return. In fact, if the matter was financial, it may have been highly recommended for the governess to keep her advantageous post at Bly.

Both the governess and the master share a reserve for writing letters. The master also seems to have a curious dislike for reading his correspondence ("the head-master's an awful bore. Read him", 19), which is coupled with the governess's apparent problems with posting letters. It seems that during the summer the children (probably mostly Miles, we know that Flora was just beginning to learn to write in the summer) did write letters to their uncle, not just one letter, but in fact numerous letters. Not only did the governess not post these letters, but she also read them. She claims to still have these keepsakes at the moment of writing her narrative. Her explanation for not posting the letters is highly suspicious - "They were too beautiful to be posted" (76) and seems to be just an excuse. She also claims that the children knew their letters to their uncle were only "charming literary exercises" (76) but all we have to prove this rather improbable theory is the governess's word. It is quite likely, though there is no textual evidence to prove it, that the children wanted these letters to be posted and wanted to get in touch with their uncle but the governess prevented them from achieving their goal by confiscating their letters. If there is anyone who can be accused of stealing letters in the narrative, it is the governess. She retains letters intended for someone else. While her reluctance to post her own letter to the master can be explained through romantic reasons, this motivation cannot be viewed as underlying her behavior with the children's letters. What could explain it is the master's wish not to be disturbed by anything having to do with her charges. The specific wording of the wish was that *she* was not to trouble him (13), so the prohibition can be read as not including letters from the children. However, if she did treat the master's wish more broadly, then asking the children to write such letters was an altogether illogical suggestion. It is possible, although this is again speculation with no textual support, that she expected that the children would write about her, that the letters would contain their comments about the new governess. And perhaps they did, we never learn from the governess what the contents of these letters were. In a 1971 Jungian reading of the novella Eric Voegelin notices that the master's wish not to be troubled by the governess, did not "in spirit" extend onto barring all communication with the children:

> The employer had only enjoined the governing conscience, the responsible ego, not to appeal to him; he had not enjoined that no appeal should rise to him from the depth of the soul, overriding freedom, conscience, and ego. The 'spirit' of non-communication, and of the repression of the desire for communication, is not the spirit of the employer; it is the spirit of the governess (Voegelin 1971: 13).

A juxtaposition of the governess's treatment of the children's letters with the theft of the governess's letter by Miles again emphasizes the power dynamic at Bly. The governess punishes Miles for doing exactly what she had done with his (and Flora's) letters. Furthermore, the entire situation seems to be neatly arranged by the governess only to allow her to catch Miles in the act of stealing. The letter is left in a place where she knows the boy will see it (on a table), he knows of the letter's existence and must be curious of its contents. The governess has clearly set up a situation to tempt the boy and to encourage him to commit the same crime which she has been guilty of all along.

The boy's reaction to being discovered is highly intense and could have contributed to his death. The governess writes about the moment following Miles's admission of having taken the letter: "I could feel in the sudden fever of his little body the tremendous pulse of his little heart" (117). Catching him, turns into an almost erotic experience for the governess. As an aside, I would like to mention that numerous critics have noticed the erotic tension between the governess and Miles. Julia Briggs suggests that the governess's fervent desire to save Miles is in fact a desire to have sex with Miles. However, it seems that the (most certainly unilateral) erotic tension results from the governess's almost sadistic exercise of power over her charges. It is this illusory power which excites her.

The patterns which emerge from this analysis are mainly connected with the issues of power, whether real or imaginary, that letters give to the one who is in possession of the letter, to the one who is able to produce a letter and to the one who can read it. Writing or abstaining from writing, posting or not posting letters is for the governess, whether consciously or not, a game of exercising power and control over her charges and over the situation – as well as a way of the text exercising its power over the readers. As readers and critics, we desperately wish to come into possession of the knowledge of the letters and yet it is our being radically barred from possessing that knowledge which contributes to the haunting effects of the story on the readers.

It is difficult to overlook the similarity between *The Turn of the Screw* and Edgar Allan Poe's "The Purloined Letter," which, in turn, was analyzed by Jacques Lacan in his "Seminar on the Purloined Letter." There is only one mysterious letter in Poe's story; it is addressed to the Queen and the reader learns that the knowledge other people might have of the existence of this letter can put in question the Queen's honor and safety. Throughout the story the letter passes from the Queen to the Minister, to the Prefect, to Dupin, and then back to the Queen. In his analysis of the story Lacan notes that the letter itself never changes as it circulates among the different characters. However, the significance of the letter changes depending on who is currently in possession of it. Because the contents of the letter are in no way important for the constant changes of power relationships which the mere existence of the letter produces, the letter operates as a signifier whose signified is irrelevant. In *The Turn of the Screw* most of the letters function in a similar way. Not only do we, as readers, never learn what their contents are, but neither do most of the characters in the story. Yet, the existence of the letters is sufficient for generating a chain of power relationships which fuel the plot of the story and for perfectly evoking an atmosphere of suspense.

If we were to locate one piece of information, unavailable to the reader, which calls into existence the entire chain of letters, it would definitely be, as I have already mentioned, the reason for Miles's expulsion from school. When Miles is confronted by the governess about the reason for his dismissal, he says that what he said was too bad "to write home" (120). Here we encounter a letter which was never written; something too drastic to be put into writing. And yet the knowledge of that reason is crucial for the assessment of the child's alleged moral corruption. For the reader and possibly, though not necessarily, for the governess, this knowledge is that which is barred from consciousness. At the same time it is the major reason for the story's effectiveness and emblematic of the transmission of knowledge in the entire novella. All we know for certain about Miles's expulsion is that other boys must have known about whatever it was he said or did. And in turn, they told others. Knowledge is passed on in a process, in fact a transmission of words, where a chain of boys pass their knowledge to one another, until the knowledge reaches the masters. The masters then send a letter to another master, who refuses to read the message and sends it to the governess. The narrative's power over the reader does not rest on the premise that there is something to be revealed, some riddle to be solved, if the clues are sorted out and analyzed, but on the assumption that there might be. We are not sure if the governess knows, but the possibility is enough for the narrative to exercise a spell over us. As in Foucault's rendering of the panopticon, where the guard does not have to be present for the exercise of power, here it does not truly matter if the governess possesses the secret. What makes her successful is her ability to create the impression that she may have it; and the resulting suspense. Ultimately, her success is also the power to put the narrative into writing. However, the lack of certainty, the impossibility to "pin down" and "frame" – in spite of the multiple frames present in the novella – the governess on the basis of textual evidence in the form of letters also accounts for the obsessive desire of the critics to do just that. Because the narrating subject is female, and contextualized in nineteenth-century Britain, a discourse which presented itself readily to early critics was that of hysteria.

To sum up, the obsessive debate on the reliability of the narrator was in fact proof of the novella's craft; *The Turn of the Screw* leaves the readers with so few answers that in their desire for absolute knowledge early critics turned to attacking the credibility of the narrator. The theme of the governess's handling of letters, again ambivalent, added fuel to the debate but also emphasized the effectiveness of the text. Thus an analysis of this theme contributes to an overall analysis of how the effects of the text are created. In the prologue to *The Turn of the Screw* Douglas begins telling his story after "Someone else had told a story, not particularly effective," (7) and he reads "with immense effect" (11). The difference between "effective" and "non-effective" is in fact the opposition which *The Turn of the Screw* emerges from.

Bibliography

Briggs, Julia. (1977), *Night Visitors: The Rise and Fall of the English Ghost Story*. London: Faber.

Felman, Shoshana. (1977), "Turning the Screw of Interpretation." *Yale French Studies* 55/56: 94-207.

James, Henry. (1994), *The Turn of the Screw*. London and New York: Penguin Books.

Lacan, Jacques. (1988), "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter.'" Trans. Jeffery Mehlman. *The Purloined Poe: Lacan, Derrida & Psychoanalytic Reading*. John P. Muller and William J. Richardson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP: 28-54.

Voegelin, Eric. (1971), "A Letter to Robert B. Heilman." *Southern Review* 7.1: 6-24.

Wilson, Edmund. (1938), "The Ambiguity of Henry James." *The Triple Thinkers*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co.: 122-164.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł analizuje motyw listu w *The Turn of the Screw* ("W kleszczach lęku") Henry'ego Jamesa argumentując, że wykorzystanie w noweli tajemniczych listów przyczynia się do wzmocnienia efektów tekstu. Efekty te to z jednej strony zbudowanie atmosfery niepewności i grozy, wynikającej z licznych niedopowiedzeń związanych z treścią listów oraz sposobem ich przechowywania przez narratorkę, a z drugiej swoista irytacja krytyków, która określiła parametry debaty wokół noweli na przestrzeni kilkudziesięciu lat.

Maciej Gałązka

The Themes of Faery in *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* by William Butler Yeats

"An altogether neglected poem of extraordinary balance and fullness", that is how *The Man Who Dreamed of Fearyland,*[1] a poem published for the first time in *The Rose* in 1983, was characterized by Harold Bloom (1970:106). It is true that it is not anthologized or analyzed as often as other works by Yeats, even including those dealing with similar subject matter. Bloom himself, despite his sentiment, writes no more than half a page about it. For comparison, *The Stolen Child*, for instance, due to the fact that it is sometimes used in popular culture, is quite well known even among those who know little of Yeats's poetry of a broader scope. The reason for this negligence of *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* may be that the critics find this early work (as well as many others from this period) to be immature or not complex, not worthy of being thoroughly studied. Bloom (1970: 115) states that this work is "replete with alchemical symbolism […], but this is mere clutter, as it mostly is elsewhere in Yeats". He also claims that the poem's major strength comes from its "controlled bitterness" and that its last line achieves "terror of its own irony". Unterecker (1959:82) in his analysis disregards the fairy theme altogether, calling it only a prophetic poem employing alchemical symbolism. Also, as everyone else, he marks the autobiographical quality of the piece. This implied simplicity is a misunderstanding, however. Both the form and the theme of this particular work are nothing if not beautiful and profound. One could argue that the form is uncomplicated, basing on simple repetition; it is my opinion, however, that this is not simplicity but a device used to achieve a very specific purpose. The theme of the changeling, a person abducted by fairies, is also treated here in a very unique way, not to be found elsewhere.

It is not a very long poem, being all in all forty eight lines divided into four stanzas, twelve lines each. The rhyme pattern for each stanza is *abba cddc effe*, which bears a certain degree of resemblance of a sonnet. It is not, however, the rhyme pattern that is interesting when it comes to this poem's form, but the repetition. To discuss that, however, it will be necessary to take a look at the opening stanza first. The first line opens with a description of an unnamed man standing in a crowd at the Dromahair[2] market (Drumahair in Yeats's spelling), lost in thought: "His heart hung all upon a silken dress". While it is a rather mundane topic to think about, it gives the man a certain measure of peace, a sense of stability of his life, "some tenderness, before earth took him to her stony care". Suddenly, something unexpected and not entirely natural happens – the man's pondering is interrupted by a strange event, a manifestation of the faerie. Little fish piled on some fisherman's stall start to speak to the man, they tell him of Fairyland, singing

[1] All quotations of the poem come from "W.B. Yeats Selected Poems", a selection by John Kelly, 2002, Phoenix Poetry, p. 11-12

[2] Dromahair is a small village in County Leitrim in North-Western Ireland, not twenty kilometres from the town of Sligo; Yeats used to go there quite often to visit a local priest.

> [...] what gold morning or evening sheds
> Upon a woven world-forgotten isle
> Where people love beside the ravelled seas;
> That Time can never mar a lover's vows
> Under that woven changeless roof of boughs.

The song of these little fish destroys the man's inner calm, it "shakes him out of his new ease". He is awakened to a new awareness, knowledge of a place of ultimate happiness which will forever remain beyond his reach (since, for a mortal, the mere knowledge of fairyland is, obviously, not enough to enter it – even if one knows where to look).

After reading the whole piece, the reader cannot fail to notice a certain oddity about the overall construction of the poem: each stanza is, when it comes to form, an exact copy, repetition of the previous one. There is a pattern here that does not change. In each stanza, the first line depicts the man (or a man, as it will be explained in a moment) being somewhere. The lines from the second to the fourth – his state of mind. The fifth and the sixth describe the way the fairies manifest themselves, the following lines describe Fairyland and the last line proclaims the man's altered mindset, his loss of peace. The things that change are, basically, contextual – the location the man is in, the object of his thoughts and the shape the fairy messengers appear in. The scale of the repetition is very interesting: Yeats often used this device in his poems to emphasize something, strengthen a statement or, on the contrary, to reverse the point of view and show a different aspect of the given problem, it's binary opposite. Usually, however, those repetitions were limited to a single word, a phrase or, at most, a line (there are also, of course, refrains, although Yeats did not use them often). Here, however, we have repetitions of, basically, entire stanzas. The possible reason for this will be given later on.

As I have mentioned, most critics limit their analysis of this poem to saying that it is an autobiographical work. A. Norman Jeffares sums it up with just a short passage: "There is a note of direct and simple autobiography [...], especially in the lines: 'He wandered by the sands of Lissadell; / His mind ran all on money cares and fears...' He (Yeats) used to return to Sligo in the summer months when his money was exhausted, as he could live free with relatives there" (1996:65). That is, of course, true; the poem is full of references to Yeats's life. First of all, the events depicted take place in the area near Sligo, a place that had a tremendous influence on this poet's work. Dromahair is a village close to Sligo; Lissadell, the place mentioned by Jeffares, is a mansion of the Gore-Booths, Yeats's friends.[3] The Well mentioned in the third stanza is the Hawk's Well, a local landmark, as is the Lugnagall Hill. Yeats knew all those places well, so his placing the man from the poem there seems not to have been coincidental. Second, many critics claim that the man is Yeats himself, portrayed in different stages of life. This claim is justified, since like the person in the poem Yeats went through love problems, "money cares and fears", he was also mocked on occasion. "Why should those lovers that no lovers miss" is a clear reference to his unrequited love for Maud Gonne.[4] Read like this, the poem indeed has autobiographical elements in it.

[3] Yeats used to spend some of his summers there; he spoke of this place in other poems as well, most prominently in *In Memory of Eva Gore-Booth and Constance Markiewicz*.

[4] W.B. Yeats met Maud Gonne for the first time in London, on 30 January 1889 and proposed to her for the first time in 1891, two years before writing the poems that comprise *The Rose*.

There is, however, a different possibility. Nothing in the poem makes it impossible to read the stanzas separately from each other, so to speak, with a different man in each: four people, in different stages of their lives, in different places. This reading points to the same thing as the above mentioned repetition of whole stanzas.

In each stanza happens something that can be called a very special case of fairy abduction. The man, living his peaceful life, is exposed to knowledge of the Faery. The fairies excite his mind to such an extent that he loses his peace. And he will never regain it, even in the grave he will find no rest. Knowing about a place of eternal beauty and happiness is too much. From other sources, fairy tales and folk stories, we know that a changeling's fate is not to be envied. In the best possible case, they are abducted to become playmates or companions to the Sidhe. Even though they are now in, as was said, a place of beauty and happiness, they are doomed to die from longing after their close ones, left behind in the mortal world. They might escape their captors or be released, but in most cases, they will still wither away and die, not able to feel happiness after what they had experienced on the other side, mortal pleasures being pale and bleak in comparison. What makes the case described in *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* unique is that no one here is actually abducted, but they still suffer the same symptoms as if they had been – they lose their peace and are doomed not to feel any joy of life ever again. This, along with the chaotic nature of the fairies (who are neither good nor bad, but just that – random, chaotic and unpredictable), who often choose their victims on whim, may be an argument for the poem describing not one man, but four different people. After all, to the fairies it does not really matter whom they abduct, or rather we, mortals, cannot fathom the logics that guides them. Thus, "kidnapping" four people, very different from each other, makes more sense than revealing themselves to one person four times on different occasions.

The poem is full of interesting details, in the context of fairies and Faery. The first of them is, once again, the repetition of the whole stanzas. If we assume that this poem does, in fact, tell the story of four different persons' experiences with fairies, this device serves to strengthen the feeling that fairy abductions and manifestations are not rare or isolated phenomena, but that they happen often and may happen to anyone, anywhere. The overall pattern remains the same, but it concerns very diverse individuals in different (albeit not very distant from each other) locations – a young man in love, a mature man worrying about his wealth, an older man, plotting some vengeance upon his enemies and, finally, a man dead and buried.

Another thing that is intriguing about this work is the way the fairies are depicted. They appear to their chosen victims to bestow the knowledge about the Faery onto them, but the form they choose to do that in is very unusual, to say the least. One of the many powers the fairies wield is shapeshifting. They may transform into any form they wish, still, they have some that they prefer over others, those of beautiful men or women, or of majestic, beautiful animals. And this is what is so unique in this poem – no proud swans or deer or birds of prey here, no spirits borne by the wind – instead we have fish in a pile in a marketplace, a lugworm, a knot grass and, finally, grave worms. All these are, at least to some extent, repulsive forms of life and very, very far from what one would think to be a fairy's first choice when thinking of a form to take to manifest themselves. Why did Yeats choose these particular forms then? One of the reasons was, perhaps, to show that fairies may indeed assume any form they want, not only the ones usually associated with them, the stereotypical ones. Another reason is more important and it demonstrates that no one is capable of escaping the fairies if they wish to approach them. They may appear suddenly, in such a way that no one will notice, unless they wish to be noticed. The folklore offers many ways of protecting oneself against fairy malice. The gentle folk are said to be repelled by cold iron, the sound of church bells, certain spells or phrases. But even if you nail a horseshoe to your doorframe you cannot stay inside forever, nor can you always be within earshot from a church. Of course, one very determined to stay safe could escape whenever they saw a deer or a swan. But who will run from a lugworm? The use of these particular creatures serves the same purpose, then, as the repetition of stanzas: it demonstrates that no one may really feel safe from fairies, no one is ever out of their reach. There is also one more thing that is interesting about this way of representing the fairies – in no other poem did Yeats did it like here, he usually used a combination of the two variants of fairies (Tuatha Dé Danaan and Na Daoine Sídhe), with more stress put on one aspect in some poems, and on the other elsewhere. If we consider the fairies' attitude we will notice that writing about them as Yeats did in *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* seems to be disrespectful, to say the least, or it would be if it was not for the fact that it mirrors the fairy guile, a quality those beings seem to be very proud of.

What is also worthy of the reader's attention in this work is that it contains quite a lot of detailed (at least when compared to other works of Yeats) descriptions of Fairyland. This aspect makes the poem, once again, unique. The images we get from the text are not photographic, still, they do provide us with a lot of information, especially that in literature Fairyland is not often described. We learn that it is located "somewhere to north or west or south," which is quite standard; obviously the direction Fairyland lies in cannot be east, since to the east from Ireland England lies, and that certainly cannot be the place of eternal beauty and timeless happiness. Besides, it is "a woven world-forgotten isle,"[5] so the logic demands that we look away from the land masses of Europe.[6] It is a place under a "woven, changeless roof of boughs", meaning it is outside the normal time flow – either time does not flow there at all, or it passes by on different terms than it does in the mortal realm. It is a joyful place "where people love beside the ravelled seas; that time can never mar a lover's vows", so love there, too, is eternal and never-ending. Throughout the whole poem there is a number of references to gold and silver – "gold morning or evening", "sun and moon", "stormy silver fret the gold of day". Both these elements are alchemical symbols which, when put together, stand for perfection, and so does the figure of the gyre, a powerful symbol in all of Yeats's works, here appearing in the whirling movement of the fairy dancers, indistinguishable from the dance itself.

As was said before, *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* is a work touching upon the changeling theme in a unique fashion, even when compared to other poems or plays dealing with this subject matter, all of which are - have to be - non-standard in some aspect. The fairy abduction in *The Stolen Child* is presented in an ambiguous fashion so that we, the readers, cannot be certain whether

[5] This is reminiscent of the idea that Fairyland is an Island or an archipelago; in this particular case the isle in question seems, due to the dancers mentioned throughout the poem, to be the Island of revelry visited by Oisin while journeying in the Faery.

[6] This, again, corresponds with Irish myths of Hy-Brasil, or the Blessed Land, an island located somewhere across the ocean

the child really is stolen or if it wants to go with the fairies. A similar case is that of Maire from *The Land of Heart's Desire*, who, depending on the version of the play, perceives her imminent abduction as salvation or damnation. Oisin, on the other hand, goes to Fairyland willingly, much like Thomas the Rhymer did. Still, the majority of these works is known and discussed to a greater extent than *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland*. This article's goal was to demonstrate that there is more to this poem than merely the autobiographical aspect marked by the critics and that this "altogether neglected poem" merits a deeper analysis and wider recognition.

Bibliography

Bloom, Harold. (1970), *Yeats*. New York.

Ellmann, Richard. (1978), *Yeats. The Man and the Masks*. New York.

Jeffares, Norman A. (1996), *Yeats. Man and Poet*. New York.

Smith, Peter Alderson. (1987), *W.B. Yeats and the Tribes of Danu*. Buckinghamshire.

Unterecker, John. (1959), *A Reader's Guide to William Butler Yeats*. New York.

Yeats, William Butler. (1991), *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*. New York.

Yeats, William Butler. (1959), *Mythologies*. London.

Yeats, William Butler. (2002), *W.B. Yeats. Selected Poems*. London.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł stanowi analizę utworu W.B. Yeatsa, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem niecodziennego spojrzenia na zagadnienie uprowadzenia przez *fairies* i stanu podmieńca, oraz szczegółów dotyczących krainy *fairies* przedstawionych w tym wierszu. Bazując na opiniach znanych krytyków zajmujących się poezją Yeatsa, niniejsza praca pokazuje, że utwór *The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland* był, do tej pory, omawiany bardzo pobieżnie, bez zagłębiania się w elementy folkloru i różne możliwe interpretacje bohatera wiersza.

Zofia Janowska

Similarity, Mirror Image or Complement? The Relationship between Septimus Warren Smith and Clarissa Dalloway in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*

The goal of this article is to show the relationship between the two protagonists in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*. I aim to prove that Clarissa Dalloway and Septimus Warren Smith are not only very similar in their ways of interpreting and perceiving reality, but that the relationship between them may be called transcendent. They have no fixed boundaries and are able to permeate both the elements of the world surrounding them and each other. The high point of this permeation immediately follows Septimus's death.

Mircea Eliade wrote about two ways of functioning in reality. One is more rational, linear, analytical and scientific, the other – intuitive, circular, holistic and mythical.[1] The latter, i.e. mythical thought, is characterised by Nowicka as a sphere of symbols and images (Nowicka, 1984). As myth is chronologically earlier than scientific thought, it may be useful to refer also to Bernard Kaplan's developmental hypothesis, according to which "the primordial experience of the world is unitary and relatively globular. Nothing is fully differentiated from anything else" (Love, 1970: 1). Only later, and gradually, did we learn to draw boundaries and see the world as a set of separate, well-defined elements. The original lack of differentiation seems to be what Plato points to, when he relates the myth of the androgyne (also known as the hermaphrodite myth). The story is set sometime in prehistory; it explains the provenience of the sexes and stresses the completeness of experience. In *Symposion*, Aristophanes presents the story of the androgyne, a primeval being, who was "a union" of male and female principles. The creature was round with "his back and sides forming a circle", and that shape highlighted the being's completeness. The androgynes were so powerful and proud that they attacked the gods. In punishment, Zeus decided to split them in half, thus forming men and women – incomplete beings who always seek each other out in order to re-experience the feeling of unity (Platon, 1999: 52–55).

The above notions connected with mythical thought, namely lack of boundaries and the idea of completeness, can be applied to the relationship between the two main characters in *Mrs Dalloway*. Virginia Woolf herself stressed the similarity between Clarissa Dalloway and Septimus Warren Smith, saying that they are "one and the same person" (Johnstone, 1954: 341). Undoubtedly they share a strange and powerful affinity which is highlighted on many levels of the book. Yet the question remains: is the relationship between them as between two halves of a whole or are they two separate entities linked in a different way?

[1] cf. Eliade, M. *The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion*, Harcourt, Inc., San Diego, New York, London.

The similarities between Clarissa and Septimus are numerous. On the level of their experiences, the most striking one is that both have suffered trauma. It is known that Septimus is a victim of delayed shell shock caused by his war experiences, in particular by his witnessing of the death of his friend Evans. Yet Clarissa has also had a traumatic experience – she witnessed the death of her sister. What is more, their reaction to dealing with trauma is the same. They both refuse to talk about the respective events and do their best to repress them. In the case of Septimus, this reaction does not bring about the desired effect. Although he attempts to distance himself from what has happened – on Evans's death he even congratulated himself that he did not feel anything (Woolf, 1992: 112–113) – thoughts and images related to the event haunt him, causing him to lose contact with reality. Clarissa's repression, on the other hand, appears successful. She is able not to think about the tragedy at all – in fact we only learn about it through the memories of Peter Walsh (101) – and seems to cope quite well. However, her outlook on life is not as optimistic as it may seem. Like Septimus, whose thoughts and visions are often accompanied by intense fear, Clarissa has unexpected moments of perceiving the world as menacing. At the very beginning of the novel, despite the fact that she is overwhelmed with the beauty of the June morning, we learn that Clarissa has a feeling "that something awful was about to happen", not much later we learn that she felt "stirring about her this brutal monster!" and never thinks herself "quite secure" (15), and when she is at home, musing about meeting Peter, "she had a sudden spasm, as if (…) the icy claws had had the chance to fix in her" (47). These intimations point to how Clarissa is only superficially unscarred by her trauma. Just as Septimus's traumatic experience influenced his perception of reality, so Clarissa's experience influences – albeit less specifically – her views on life and the surrounding world.

In writing *Mrs Dalloway* Virginia Woolf put a lot of effort into conveying symbolical meanings, which also serve to stress the affinity between Septimus and Clarissa. The names of the characters are significant and can tell us much about them. Clarissa can be interpreted both as "clear" (from the Latin *clarus*) and as "brilliant" (from Greek). Both these meanings can be found in the text. "Clear" appears when she is compared to a jay and when Peter Walsh remembers that "he always saw through Clarissa" (78) and that "they went in and out of each other's minds without any effort" (81). "Brilliant", which is also the name of a particular cut of a diamond which makes the gem catch the light and sparkle, can be found in references to that particular gemstone: Clarissa thinks of herself as being many-sided, "composed for the world only into one centre, one diamond" and she has to "[assemble] that diamond shape, that single person" (47–48). Taken together, these two meanings imply that Clarissa is a person who may appear misleadingly simple and is in reality complex and many-faceted. Septimus's name, on the other hand, is derived from the Latin numeral seven, which in Christian symbolism denotes infinity and plurality, while in the Jewish tradition it stands for unity. What is more, the name "Warren" signifies "maze", so that Septimus, just as Clarissa, is implied to be a complicated or many-layered character. The name Smith may serve to interpret him as an Everyman figure: "London has swallowed up many millions of young men called Smith; though nothing of fantastic Christian names like Septimus with which their parents have thought to distinguish them" (110). Thus he at first glance appears like "millions of young men", but is in fact very much "distinguished" from them – like Clarissa, whose "clarity" is misleading.

A refrain which unites these two characters is the quotation from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. The lines: "Fear no more the heat o' the sun, nor the glorious winter's rages" (*Cymbeline*, Act IV, Scene 2) come from the funeral song appearing in the play. They serve to emphasise both Clarissa's and Septimus's fear of death. In *Mrs Dalloway*, they are introduced when Clarissa notices them in a book laid out in a bookshop window. Later she remembers them at home, when she is resting before Peter's visit: "Fear no more, says the heart, committing its burden to some sea, which sighs collectively for all sorrows" (Woolf, 1992: 51). Yet, although it was Clarissa who came across the lines, the quote is present both in her consciousness and in the mind of Septimus. Shortly before he commits suicide, the lines reappear: "Fear no more, says the heart in the body; fear no more. He was not afraid" (182). Interestingly, in both these instances the significance of the heart is stressed. It is the heart that calls for courage and serves as its source, pointing to the supremacy of feelings over rationality. The last instance in which the quote appears is during the party when Clarissa has found out about Septimus's death, and it serves as a means of uniting the two characters: "Fear no more the heat of the sun. (…) She felt somehow very like him (…). She felt glad that he had done it; thrown it away while they went on living" (244). Here Clarissa feels reconciled both with death and with life.

The notion of transcendence is of great importance in *Mrs Dalloway*. The adjective "transcendent" is defined as "exceeding usual limits" or "exceeding or laying beyond the limits of usual experience" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*). Both these definitions fit the relationship between the two characters, who seem not only to be surprisingly similar in their perceptions and feelings, but also to somehow permeate each other. The lack of stable borders in the novel has already been noticed by Love, who differentiates this phenomenon into, among others, "subject-object diffusion" and "object diffusion," and defines the former as a state in which "persons do not have fixed and consistent boundaries" (Love, 1970: 35) and where "the inner, subjective world of consciousness and the outer world of physical reality are often undifferentiated" (36). In the latter "the objects – whether animate, inanimate or metaphysical – (…) are not fully differentiated from one another" (35). Yet Love focuses either on a relationship where one element is the more active, permeating "I", while the other is an aspect of the passive "reality", which is being permeated, or on relationships between objects external to the characters. I believe that, if we follow Love's terminology, the relationship between Septimus and Clarissa should rather be termed "subject-subject diffusion". In the transcendent quality of Clarissa and Septimus's affinity, both these characters function at the same time as the "I" and the "external reality", and as two "objects" between which a firm boundary cannot be traced.

In the novel, lack of boundaries and the impossibility to define or attach labels is often implied in connection with both Septimus and Clarissa. It is not only impossible to "enclose" the protagonists in an uncrossable outline or border, but they find it hard to think in terms of such definitions and apply them to other people, things or experiences. We learn that Clarissa "would not speak of herself, I am this, I am that" (Woolf, 1992: 10), nor would she say so of others. She once told Peter that "she felt herself everywhere; not 'here, here, here'" (199). We learn about the "odd affinities she had with people she had never spoken to (…) – even trees, or barns" (200). Similarly, when Sir William Bradshaw tries to make a diagnosis in connection with Septimus's delayed shell shock, he says of him "a border case, neither one thing, nor the other" (109). Septimus also feels connected with the surrounding world – at one point he thought about how "leaves were alive, trees were alive. And the leaves being connected by millions of fibres with his own body" (28).

Clarissa and Septimus's unanimity of experience and perception – their permeation of realms seemingly external to themselves – extends to their understanding of death. When she muses on the nature of death and whether it is the end, Clarissa reaches the conclusion that maybe after death she will go on living "being part, she was positive, of the trees at home; of the house there; part of people she had never met; being laid out like a mist between the people she knew best" (11). She believes "the unseen part of us (…) might survive [death], be recovered somehow attached to this or that" (200). She also views death as a means of bringing a togetherness: of Septimus's suicide she thinks "death was an attempt to communicate (…). There was an embrace in death" (242–243). When Septimus sees sparrows in Regent's Park they tell him that "there is no death" (31). He shares Clarissa's belief that death is somehow not the end. The sparrows also tell him of "a meadow of life beyond a river where the dead walk" (31). What is more, he keeps seeing his dead friend, Evans, with whom he can communicate. We learn that at one point "Evans was speaking. The dead were with him" (121), while later he re-appeared with "his message from the dead" (193).

In Woolf's novel transcendence is also stressed through symbolism. One of its aims is, again, the establishment of the affinity between Clarissa and Septimus, who not only pervade each other, but also understand the impossibility to fully distinguish between life and death. Both the connection between the two protagonists and the interchangeable and intermixing character of life and death are rendered with the use of images of birds, trees, flowers and flames.

The symbolical meaning of a bird is very much connected with transcendence. A bird can stand for the soul, for immortality, it can be a bringer of life and death. It can also function as a messenger of deities, an oracle or a mediator (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996: 86–91; Kopaliński, 2006: 343). In *Mrs Dalloway* bird imagery appears continually. Both Clarissa and Septimus are described in terms of birds. Apart from being likened to a jay, Clarissa is said to have "a touch of the bird about her" (Woolf, 1992: 4) and a face "beaked like a bird's" (12), while Septimus is "beak-nosed" (18). The transcendent quality of the characters is also stressed by reference to particular bird species. When Septimus's wife-to-be, Rezia, first saw him, she thought he looked like "a young hawk" (191). In symbolical terms, a hawk is the one who connects both earthly (sun, fire, wind, storm), and transcendent (godliness, immortality) qualities (Kopaliński, 2006: 117). Another instance when bird imagery serves to stress Septimus's in-between or transitional status is the moment when in Regent's Park sparrows – symbolic of rebirth and resurrection, according to *Bird Symbolism and Spirituality* – begin communicating with him about the nonexistence of death. The most distinct example of birds functioning in this way appears in the closing sections of the novel: Clarissa keeps noticing birds of Paradise while welcoming guests at the beginning of her party. Birds of Paradise are believed to denote "lightness, closeness to God and removal from worldly concerns," according to *Animals, Birds, Insects and Reptiles and Their Meanings*. She sees the motif on the curtains the moment she excitedly decides her party has begun.

The symbolic meaning of a tree is equally close to the notion of transcendence. A tree can stand for life (both individual and the life of the cosmos) and can be a projection of the self. Also, it can be seen as that which brings together the earth with heaven, as it is rooted in the ground but reaches into the sky (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996: 1026). The significance of trees in *Mrs Dalloway* is great and, again, tree imagery serves to bring together the two protagonists. We learn that Clarissa witnessed the death of her sister, who was killed by a falling tree. What is more, the girl's name was Silvia, which comes from the Latin terms denoting "trees" or "forest". Thus, Clarissa is the one who brings together life and death – she has experienced the death of someone close, yet she herself is alive and does her best to enjoy life. The traumatic experience has not left her unscarred, however – twice Peter Walsh makes a reference to her "woodenness" (Woolf, 1992: 78, 228). Such a rigidity and unwillingness to show her feelings may be a way of dealing with the traumatic experience. Of course, trees are also extremely important in relation to Septimus. His message to humanity, the one he learns from the sparrows in the Park, is: "trees are alive, universal love" (88). Later he formulates another communication, "do not cut down trees" (193), which may be interpreted as an exhortation not to break the link between the earthly and the divine, the physical and the metaphysical. As for Clarissa, for Septimus trees are also accompanied by references to death – both times the tree imagery appears he sees his dead friend Evans who is attempting to speak to him, the sparrows also tell him that death does not exist, and shortly after he proclaims that trees should not be felled, he commits suicide.

The connection with life and death can also be found in the novel's use of flower imagery. Symbolically, a flower stands for the brevity of life and the passing of life and its pleasures, while a flower's centre is said to denote "heavenly instrumentality" (Kopaliński, 2006: 181) which can be interpreted as the soul (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996: 396). The book's very first sentence – "Mrs Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself" (Woolf, 1992: 3) – refers to this imagery and points to its importance in the work. Flowers, as birds and trees, serve to stress the affinity between the central characters. For Clarissa, significant moments, when she feels happy and reconciled to her life, are rendered with references to flowers. She calls them "buds on the tree of life, flowers of darkness (as if some lovely rose had blossomed for her eyes only)" (37). At a negative moment, when she begins to doubt her own worth and to feel old age, she refers to the "flowering of the day" (39). In a moment of vision, Septimus felt that "[r]ed flowers grew through his flesh" (89). Flowers reappear also immediately before his suicide. Of his wife, who is at that moment very happy because Septimus is behaving in a way she considers normal, he thinks as a "flowering tree" (194). There is a rose on the hat they make together, he notices roses on the wallpaper and standing in a jar on the sideboard. The flowers stress Septimus's connection with death (Kopaliński, 2006: 181), while the fact that they are roses additionally points to the significance of love (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996: 813). Septimus loves life: "He did not want to die. Life was good. The sun hot" (Woolf, 1992: 195).

Connected with life and death are also flames whose images appear in *Mrs Dalloway* a number of times. The symbolic meaning of flames is spiritual purification (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996: 391) and, in connection with the Phoenix myth, of rebirth (752–753). For Septimus flames are a source of fear, possibly because of their connection with death (Kopaliński, 2006: 265). After the passing of the car, Septimus feels some sort of terrible danger. He thinks that "some horror had come almost to the surface and was about to burst into flames" (Woolf, 1992: 18). On many occasions he thinks about falling into flames which is sometimes rendered by a fear of falling as such (87, 113, 184, 186). This fear finds its closure in Septimus's suicide, when he falls to his death. However, this fall was not something he endured passively, as in his visions. He decided not to wait for death but, becoming active and taking matters into his own hands, "flung himself vigorously, violently, down onto [the] area railings" (195). Flames appear also in relation to Clarissa, who at her party thinks about "stand[ing] drenched in fire" (219). Significantly, she feels as if she is on fire when she learns about Septimus's suicide: "her dress flamed, her body burnt" (241). Here the notion of flames connects Septimus with Clarissa, who becomes aware of the importance of his suicide for herself.

By killing himself Septimus influences Clarissa. Up to his death, it can be said that the two characters function as mirror images – they are virtually identical in their experience, sensibility, perception of reality and fear of death. It may seem that Septimus's death causes the connection between them to lose its balance and the permeable connection between them to break, simply because one person is alive and the other dead. Yet, the transcendence which characterised their relationship prevents death from becoming an instantaneous end of this relationship. It is rather, as Clarissa rightly observes, a means of communication. Through his suicide, Septimus teaches Clarissa that death is not to be feared. It is inevitable, yet it is also what makes life worthwhile. By accepting death Clarissa is finally able to really "fear no more" both life and its end.

Bibliography

Animals, Birds, Insects and Reptiles and Their Meanings, online: http://www.greatdreams.com/animals.htm [Access: 17.03.2011].

Bird Symbolism and Spirituality, online http://www.squidoo.com/divine-birds [Access: 17.03.2011].

Chevalier, Jean, and Gheerbrant, Alain. (1996), *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*.

Eliade, Mircea. (1957), *The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion*, trans. W.R. Trask, San Diego, New York, London.

The Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare (1982).

Johnstone, J. K. (1954), *The Bloomsbury Group*, London.

Kopaliński, Władysław. (2006), *Słownik symboli*, Warsaw.

Love, Jean O. (1970), *Worlds in Consciousness. Mythopoetic Thought in the Novels of Virginia Woolf*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary, online http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transcendent [Access: 17.03.2011].

Nowicka, Ewa. (1984), "Symbolizm i obrazowanie", *Kultura i społeczeństwo*, vol XXVIII, no 3, online http://mitencyklopedia.w.interia.pl/nowicka_problemy.html [Access: 17.03.2011].

Platon. (1999), *Uczta*, trans. W. Witwicki, Kęty.

Woolf, Virginia. (1992), *Mrs Dalloway*, Oxford.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł koncentruje się na relacji pomiędzy dwiema głównymi postaciami powieści Virginii Woolf *Pani Dalloway* – Clarissą Dalloway a Septimusem Warrenem Smithem. Autorka stara się udowodnić, że postacie te funkcjonują w rzeczywistości na sposób mityczny: nie tylko nie istnieje stała, nieprzekraczalna granica pomiędzy każdą z nich a otaczającym ją światem, ale także pomiędzy nimi wzajemnie. Łączy je wspólnota doświadczeń i sposób postrzegania rzeczywistości oraz życia i śmierci, są ponadto w pewnym sensie jednością, ponieważ przenikają się na poziomie duchowym. Ich transcendentny związek podkreślony został w powieści poprzez bogatą symbolikę – Clarissę i Septimusa spaja niejednoznaczność ich imion, jak również liczne odniesienia do symboliki ptaków, drzew, kwiatów i płomieni. Śmierć Septimusa wpływa ponadto na to, jak Clarissa myśli o tym, czym jest życie i śmierć.

Maciej Reda

The Literary Aspects of Gilbert Keith Chesterton's *Autobiography*

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1936) was an English essayist, journalist, novelist, critic, poet and playwright. He was famous for his paradoxical and witty style with which he championed common sense in, as he put it, "the age of uncommon nonsense" (Chesterton 2002: 24). This common sense was for him inextricably linked with Christianity and especially with Catholicism to which he converted in 1922. The *Autobiography* was his last text in which he sought to recapitulate his life and views. As may be expected of a literary man, he presents the reader with something more than a timeline of dry facts. The narrated events become artistically transformed. But what makes the text a literary one? The case for the literariness of the *Autobiography* can be made on the basis of its literary techniques and intertextuality.

Before discussing these, however, it will be useful to go back to Aristotle's distinction between the historical and the poetic in literature to the effect that "history is based upon facts" while "poetry transforms its facts into truths" (Butcher 1951: 164): "The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose… The true difference is that one relates what has happened, the other what may happen. Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular" (Aristotle 1951: 35).

It is clear that in the *Autobiography* the author is concerned more with universal truths rather than with particular events. Strange as it may seem, the text has almost no dates and little of the information that one usually finds in this kind of writing. Chesterton's life is for him but an excuse to present more general philosophic and religious views. Thus, for instance, his childhood provides an opportunity for discussing the nature of memory and childish imagination. Given that an autobiography is a record of life's events, Chesterton seems to be recording many "non-events." He recounts for instance the making of a cowboy movie that came to nothing in the end, turning it into an allegory of how the actors tried to find their way back to reality and presenting the real character of Bernard Shaw.

Chesterton's treatment of his own life in the *Autobiography* partakes of the concept of defamiliarization put forward by Viktor Shklovsky in his essay "Art as Technique" (Shklovsky 1965). As a representative of Russian formalists[1], Shklovsky was concerned with the techniques employed by writers to produce literary language as distinct from practical language. Unlike Aristotle, who claimed that literature imitates reality, the Formalists believed that literature transforms it by presenting it from a "defamiliarizing", "naïve" perspective.[2] Defamiliarization, which according to them is what

[1] Other Russian Formalists were Roman Jakobson, Petr Bogatyrev, Yury Tynyanov, and Boris Eikhenbaum (for the discussion of Russian Formalism see Erlich 1981).

[2] According to Shklovsky, not only language but also composition and narrative can undergo defamiliarization.

distinguishes the literary from the non-literary, has much to do with Chesterton's philosophy of life, that also informs his works: "At the back of our brains, so to speak, there was a forgotten blaze or burst of astonishment at our own existence. The object of the artistic and spiritual life was to dig for this submerged sunrise of wonder; so that a man sitting in a chair might suddenly understand that he was actually alive, and be happy" (Chesterton 1937: 94-5). The passage is strikingly similar to what contemporary critics write about the Russian Formalists: "It is the special task of art to give us back the awareness of things which have become habitual objects of everyday awareness... The purpose of a work of art is to change our mode of perception from the automatic and practical to the artistic" (Selden et al. 1993: 31).

Both Chesterton and the Formalists hold that literature should make readers acutely aware of the things that surround them by presenting them in new, surprising ways – by "defamiliarizing" them. The purpose of art is to "remove objects from the automatism of perception" (Selden: 21). For the Formalists, what distinguishes literature from other writing is a special use of language which "has no practical function at all and simply makes us see differently" (Selden: 30). And it is through defamiliarization that "non-literary material" is artistically transformed into literature in the proper sense of the word.

Even though in the *Autobiography* there are few instances of defamiliarization proper (understood as the perspective of a "naïve" observer who does not take what is familiar for granted), Chesterton creates a *global* defamiliarizing effect, especially in his presentation of childhood and religion, the two being linked to each other in an intricate manner. He achieves that by the use of symbols, foreshadowing, the conventions of the detective novel, and the idea of *in principio finis*, which all contribute to the overall effect of the narrative.

The central theme of the *Autobiography* is Chesterton's discovery and embrace of the Catholic faith, which is foreshadowed from the start. But Chesterton's audience was largely Protestant and often hostile to the Catholic Church, so he had to find a way of presenting his religion from quite a different angle to overcome his readers' prejudices.

His literary portrayal of Catholicism consists in linking it to ordinary human experience (especially that of a child) and in adopting a secular and personal mindset while vindicating Catholic teachings. Catholicism is shown to have provided answers to the questions posed in the author's childhood and youth. It appears as the solution to a riddle or the destination of a long and troubled journey rather than a set of morals and dogma imposed from above. Looking back on his life near the end of the *Autobiography,* Chesterton remarks:

> Now why do I offer here this handful of scrappy topics, types, metaphors all totally disconnected? Because I am not now expounding a religious system. I am finishing a story; rounding off what has been to me at least a romance, and very much of a mystery-story. It is a purely personal narrative that began in the first pages of this book; and I am answering at the end only the questions I asked at the beginning. (Chesterton 1937: 340)

The second chapter, "The Man with the Golden Key", opens with a vivid description of a scene from a toy theater featuring a man with a key crossing a bridge over a chasm. Chesterton claims that this is the first sight he remembers having seen in his life. The scene was endowed with an "aboriginal authenticity impossible to describe; something at the back of all [his] thoughts", being a "glimpse of some incredible paradise" (32). Then he goes on to describe his childish state of mind. He speaks of his fascination with edges, frames, and limits which distinguish one thing from another; of his love for the *Punch and Judy* show enjoyed as fiction and not illusion.

Devised as a sort of detective story, the *Autobiography* gives the reader some clues whose significance becomes clear only later. First, Chesterton points out that as a child he implicitly contained all the ideas that he was to develop in adult life; second, that he clearly distinguished imagination from illusion; third, that he very keenly felt the world around him as real; and fourth, that as a child he held implicit in his mind the idea of repentance and absolution, believing that people should be unhappy when they have been naughty. All these childlike impressions were, as Chesterton assures the reader, "fragmentary suggestions of a philosophy [he has] since found to be the truth" (33). What then is their connection with his acceptance of Roman Catholicism?

As the narrative unfolds, the enigmatic hints become more comprehensible and fit into the scheme of things outlined by the author. His childlike notions are vindicated by his later life. They turn out to have been both the foreshadowing of his future developments and a safe haven for him to return to. Thus, Chesterton's fondness of limits saved him from pantheism, in which he had believed for a time during his "morbid period." Edges, frames and lines helped him realize that there are separate *things* in the world which is not a monist melting pot. As Gary Wills puts it, Chesterton understood that "[b]eing is an exception in each of its manifestations. It appears only in definite shapes drawn in the hardest lines against the background of nonexistence" (Wills 1961: 44). For Chesterton, limits were fascinating because they were indispensable for creation. In *Orthodoxy*, he expressed the view that "all creation is separation" (Chesterton 1986: 281) – between God and the cosmos, as well as between one being and another. Thus, it is through boundaries that creation is actualized and put into relief. This intuition was confirmed by Thomist philosophy which affirms the actuality of external things. Yet, Chesterton had not only been threatened by pantheism, but had also undergone a solipsist period. It seemed to him that everything besides his own thoughts was illusion. It was the memory of his toy theater that helped him to regain his grip on reality. If men were only puppets, why then were the puppets of puppets so enthralling? Also, his childish distinction between fiction and illusion came into play. Chesterton's love of fiction helped him believe that one can trust his five senses. Fiction is a product of imagination, which consists of images provided and nourished by the senses. Illusion, in turn, is a product of a morbid mind which turns in on itself and cuts itself off from the five windows of the soul.

In his solipsist period, Chesterton doubted the reality of the world; he did not distinguish between "dreaming and waking":

> At a very early age I had thought my way back to thought itself. It is a very dreadful thing to do; for it may lead to thinking that there is nothing but thought. At this time I did not very clearly distinguish between dreaming and waking; not only as a mood but as a metaphysical doubt, I felt as if everything might be a dream. It was as if I had myself projected the universe from within, with its trees and stars; and that is so near to the notion of being God that it is manifestly even nearer to going mad. (Chesterton 1937: 92)

It was by going back to the pure existence of things that Chesterton formed the basis of his "mystical minimum" – even if a thing was no good, it existed – and that in itself was good.[3] Thus, he was able to return to his childlike experience of happiness and unhappiness which were of a different sort, because they were neither shallow optimism nor pessimism. Instead, they were based on the appreciation of life and gratitude. Chesterton finally rejected both pessimism and optimism and came up with the chief idea of his life, that of "taking things with gratitude and not taking them for granted" (330). He replaced the two with Hope, the second theological virtue. He found in the penny catechism the corroboration of his intuition: "The two sins against Hope are presumption and despair" (330). The Church, says Chesterton, saves men from both by the forgiveness of sins, which is the most precious gift that only she can offer. This vision of regained innocence, a "second childhood", is immediately associated with another vivid picture from his early days – the Crystal Palace as seen from Kensington:

> I spoke of the strange daylight, which was something more than the light of common day, that still seems in my memory to shine on those steep roads down from Campden Hill, from which one could see the Crystal Palace from afar. Well, when a Catholic comes from Confession, he does truly, by definition, step out again into that dawn of his own beginning and look with new eyes across the world to a Crystal Palace that is really of crystal. He believes that in that dim corner, and in that brief ritual, God has really remade him in His own image. He is now a new experiment of the Creator. He is as much a new experiment as he was when he was really only five years old. (329)

Another symbol, the toy theater, which is in fact the overarching motif of the *Autobiography* comes back twice more in the narrative. Speaking of his visit to Vilnius in 1929, Chesterton recounts how a Polish lady, who had been driving him around the city, made him take off his hat as they passed under an archway leading to a side-street:

> And then I saw the open street. It was filled with a vast crowd, all facing me; and all on their knees on the ground. It was as if someone were walking behind me; or some strange bird were hovering over my head. I faced around, and saw in the centre of the arch great windows standing open, unsealing a chamber full of gold and colours; there was a picture behind; but parts of the whole picture were moving like a puppet-show, stirring strange double memories like a dream of the bridge in the puppet-show of my childhood; and then I realised that from those shifting groups there shone and sounded the ancient magnificence of the Mass. (318)

This colorful (and we can say "defamiliarizing") description of the Gate of Dawn serves to embed Catholicism even deeper in Chesterton's personal story and present it from an unexpected

[3] There is an analogy between the realism of Chesterton and that of Roman Ingarden put forward in his work *Spór o istnienie świata* [The Controversy Over the Existence of the World] where he rejects transcendental idealism. Ingarden argues against the notion that the existence and essence of the "real world" depend on consciousness. He claims that an attempt to establish the actuality of the world should start from ontology rather than from epistemology and comes up with an analysis of various modes of being (cf. Tatarkiewicz 1970: 65 and Thomasson).

angle. This effect is further reinforced by a poignant passage at the very end of the *Autobiography* in which Chesterton again goes back to his childish vision of the toy theater. The very first scene he remembered turns out to be the symbol of his deepest beliefs; the man with the golden key crossing the bridge becomes the Bearer of the Key and the Builder of the Bridge, i. e. the successor of St Peter, who received the key which "unlocks all doors" (343). Thus, Chesterton makes both ends meet.

Another literary aspect of the *Autobiography* is its intertextuality. Thus, Chesterton's parents, relatives and their friends are presented through literature, filtered as it were through literary references. He compares his parents to Mr. and Mrs. Bennet from *Pride and Prejudice*; he conjures up the Victorian atmosphere of his grandfather's days by invoking the grotesque characters of Dickens. Speaking of a relative of his, he remarks: "He was a friend of Dickens, and, I suspect, himself something of a Dickens character. But indeed these first memories and rumours suggest that there were a good many Dickens characters in the days of Dickens" (19-20).

Chesterton describes the Victorian era as the time of a Great Gusto, "now only remembered in the rich and rollicking quotations of Swiveller and Micawber" (20). He claims, however, that in those days ordinary people spoke an equally rhetorical language:

> But anybody who heard, or heard of, the men I mention, will be certain to his dying day that Dick Swiveller did say, "When he who adores thee has left but the name--in case of letters or parcels," or that the poor usher at the party did whisper to each lady in turn, "Had I a heart for falsehood framed I ne'er could injure you." (23)

Apart from those references, there are also quotes from poetry which are either comments on the narrated events or part thereof. Thus, a six or seven-year old Chesterton recites the following lines from *Hamlet* before pitching forward on his nose: "Do not for ever with thy veiled lids / Seek for thy noble father in the dust" (15).

On another occasion, as an adult, he quotes a stanza from Scott's *Marmion* to a congress of German teachers to warn them that Britain will stand up to Germany in the event of war:

> Much honour'd were my humble home,
> If in its halls King James should come;
> But Nottingham has archers good,
> And Yorkshire men are stern of mood;
> Northumbrian prickers wild and rude. ...
> And many a banner will be torn,
> And many a knight to earth be borne,
> And many a sheaf of arrows spent,
> Ere Scotland's King shall cross the Trent. (132)

Chesterton adds that the poem was enough to drive the message home and "there rose up like an enormous shadow over that drinking-hall the terror of things to be" (132). In a similar fashion, at the end of a chapter devoted to the First World War, he includes a stanza from Coleridge's *Rimes of the Ancient Mariner*:

The many men so beautiful
And they all dead did lie;
And a thousand thousand slimy things
Lived on; and so did I. (258)

Another role is played in the *Autobiography* by biblical allusions which provide deeper, spiritual insights. For instance, Chesterton remarks of his friend Archie MacGregor (who like him opposed the Boer War) that even though an atheist, he was not revolutionary in the matter of morals: "It was not any "new morality," but very decidedly the "old morality" that he was defending against Imperialism, merely on the ground that it was murder and theft. He was defending against the new ethic of Nietzsche the old ethic of Naboth" (145). The allusion to Naboth adds a new spiritual dimension to Chesterton's and MacGregor's opposition to imperialism. It is no longer a mere political issue but a struggle of great moral import and a clash of civilizations. The old Judeo-Christian values are contrasted with the new morality of "Overmen." Similarly, speaking of Thomas Hardy, Chesterton quotes a verse which an Irish lady wrote in his own paper about the novelist. The lines draw on Aeschylus's expression "President of the Immortals" used by Hardy in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. At the same time, she refers to St Thomas the Apostle:

Who can picture the scene at the starry portals?
Truly, imagination fails,
When the pitiless President of the Immortals
Shows unto Thomas the print of the nails? (278)

This allusion to the encounter of Christ and St Thomas illustrates Chesterton's point that atheism was for Hardy "a truth and not a triumph." "In such a case," argues Chesterton, "the second Thomas would do exactly what Prometheus and Satan never thought of doing; he would pity God" (278). Thus, the reference to the Gospel helps to raise the argument onto a higher, theological plane.

To conclude, the *Autobiography* can be considered a literary work in its own right. The presented material becomes artistically transformed by means of literary techniques, especially defamiliarization and intertextuality. Chesterton is more poetical than historical (in the Aristotelian sense), being concerned more with the universal rather than the particular. He presents the reader with quite an unconventional account of his life which appears to be a fascinating spiritual journey and a war of ideas. His use of intertextuality serves to link the *Autobiography* with renowned works of literature and in a way to turn the author's life itself into a literary event.

Bibliography

Aristotle. (1951), "The Poetics", *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, translated and with critical notes by S.H. Butcher, New York: Dover Publications: 7–112.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. (1937), *Autobiography*, London: Hutchinson & Co.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. (1986) *Collected Works*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. (2002), *St. Thomas Aquinas*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Erlich, Victor. (1981) *Russian Formalism: History, Doctrine*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Butcher, S.H.. (1951) "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and the Fine Arts", *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, translated and with critical notes by S.H. Butcher, New York: Dover Publications: 113–407.

Raman Selden, Peter Widdowson, Peter Brooker. (1997), *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*, London: Prentice Hall.

Shklovsky, Viktor. (1965) "Art as Technique", *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, translated and with an introduction by Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis, Lincoln: Nebraska University Press: 3–24.

Tatarkiewicz, Władysław. (1970) *Historia filozofii*, t. 3, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Thomasson, Amie. "Roman Ingarden", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2010/entries/ingarden/>.

Wills, Gary. (1961) *Chesterton. Man and Mask*, New York: Sheed and Ward.

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawiono literackie aspekty *Autobiografii* Gilberta Keitha Chestertona w oparciu o pojęcie defamiliaryzacji i intertekstualności, a także Arystotelesowskie rozróżnienie między dziełami poetyckimi i historycznymi. Dzieło Chestertona okazuje się nietypową autobiografią, w której fakty z życia autora schodzą na dalszy plan i stają się jedynie pretekstem do ukazania jego poglądów, zwłaszcza religijnych. W utworze Chestertona religia ulega defamiliaryzacji uzyskanej dzięki różnym technikom literackim. Literackość *Autobiografii* polega również na licznych odwołaniach do innych tekstów literackich.

Piotr Olański

Isherwood's Camera. Traces of Cinematic Narrative in *Prater Violet* and *A Single Man*

From the very beginning of its existence, the cinema has attempted to tell stories. With bigger or smaller success, it absorbed material from other arts such as theatre and literature. Particularly novels have become a source of inspirations for the cinema, and therefore the comparative studies of fiction and film usually concentrate on film adaptation. The aim of this paper is to analyze the reverse situation, namely the influence of cinematic aesthetics on literary narration in the 20th century novels on the example of the *oeuvre* of Christopher Isherwood. The analysis will be conducted on the basis of two novels: *Prater Violet* and *A Single Man* and accompanied by selected passages from *Goodbye to Berlin*.

With the emergence and development of the cinema, literature became the natural source of inspirations for the new medium. Along with the theatre, literature nourished films with stories. In her essay *The Cinema* Virginia Woolf writes:

> All the famous novels of the world, with their well-known characters and their famous scenes, only asked, it seemed, to be put on the films. What could be easier and simpler? The cinema fell upon its prey with immense rapacity, and to the moment largely subsists upon the body of its unfortunate victim. But the results are disastrous to both. The alliance is unnatural. (1927:2)

However, the ubiquity of cinema in the 20th century led to changing our perception of reality and its artistic presentation.[1] Not only did the cinema devour novels but began to change them as well. Writers started thinking in a cinematic way and blending the discourse of film and fiction. Many writers focused on screenwriting in their careers or at least had a film adaptation in mind while writing their novel. For instance, John Fowles, in his *Notes on an Unfinished Novel* states that cinema *has stamped on his mode of imagination*. Particularly when the novelist analysed his dreams, it was difficult not to think in a cinematic technique. Furthermore, Fowles claims that this phenomenon concerns not only him but his whole generation (1969:144-145).

However, when speaking about the writers influenced by the cinema certain distinctions have to be made. While John Fowles might have been working under the charm of films he had seen, some writers borrowed cinematic techniques to experiment with the form of the novel in order to express what up to the point seemed inexpressible. This phenomenon is described by Keith

[1] In his book *Film and Fiction: the Dynamics of Exchange*, Keith Cohen writes about a certain *mutation* of signs such as word and image and states that the phenomenon has been documented since the early nineteenth century (1979:3). An example of Cohen's observation may be found in the work of the Pre-raphaelite movement. Cinema contributed to the development of this process.

Cohen, who refers to Arnold Hauser's *The Social History of Art* analyzing the cinematic character of modernist prose:

> The discontinuity of the plot and scenic development, the sudden emersion of the thoughts and moods, the relativity and the inconsistency of the time standards, are what remind us in the works of Proust and Joyce, Dos Passos, and Virginia Woolf of the cuttings, dissolves and interpolations of the film. (Cohen 1979:84).

Yet another type of writers whose style may be called cinematic are the so-called novelists-turned-screenwriters. Some of the novelists and playwrights work for the film industry and help adapting their work for the silver screen, or are employed to write original screenplays. The screenplay poetics may be transposed into the literary discourse of these writers' novels. A noticeable development of writing for the cinema may be observed in the first half of the 20th century in America.[2] Among the novelists-turned-screenwriters working for Hollywood we can find such names as William Faulkner, Dashiell Hammet and Aldous Huxley. In some of these cases the transition from paper to celluloid was forced by economic situation and cinema's growing popularity, in others it was curiosity about the new medium.

One of the British writers who wrote for the film studios in America was Christopher Isherwood. He moved to the United States just before the beginning of World War Two, where he worked for the Metro Goldwyn Mayer Studios. His work for the film industry resulted in writing *Prater Violet* (1945) which has been labelled by some critics[3] as a film novel, that is a novel which describes the processes operating within the film industry. Isherwood's contribution to the development of cinematic narrative strategies has not been described as thoroughly as that of his predecessors such as the aforementioned Joyce or Woolf. Isherwood's writing is particularly interesting in that matter as he seems to combine the types of "cinematic" writing mentioned before. On the one hand he was an experienced screenwriter, on the other hand his interest in the cinematic aesthetics began before his cooperation with the film studios in America.[4]

It is worth noting that the story not always determines the style of narration. Although *Prater Violet* is related to the film industry, which justifies the use of cinematic narration, *A Single Man* has almost nothing in common with the film industry, maybe apart from the setting in California. The former of the novels tells the story of a man named "Christopher Isherwood" collaborating with a film studio. "Isherwood" is offered to participate in writing a script for a musical called *Prater Violet*. He is to cooperate with a famous Viennese film director Friedrich Bergmann.

[2] In his article "'Eastern Writer' in Hollywood" John Schulteiss writes that there were two significant periods in American film industry with the participation of writers: in the early twenties and then in the thirties and early forties. First, Hollywood needed well written stories and then *snappy* dialogues due to the introduction of sound movies. "During this latter time almost every noteworthy literary figure came West to write for films" (1971:1).

[3] In his book *The Nickel Was for the Movies. Film in the Novel from Pirandello to Puig* Gavriel Moses discusses Isherwood's novel with other examples from British and American literature such as Francis Scott Fitzgerald's *The Last Tycoon*.

[4] Traces of cinematic narrative can be found in Isherwood's most renowned novel *Goodbye to Berlin* which has been turned into a stage performance entitled *I Am a Camera* and followed by the famous film adaptation *Cabaret* directed by Bob Fosse.

The book describes both the process of screenwriting and shooting of the movie. The protagonist of *A Single Man* is George, an academic teacher who came from London to California. We read about one day from George's life. The protagonist suffers from trauma after the loss of his partner. He tries to distance himself from the surrounding reality and each day puts on a mask that allows him to survive the day.

The way "Isherwood" characters perceive the surrounding world is best described in Isherwood's most renowned novel, *Goodbye to Berlin*: "I am a camera with its shutter open, quite passive, recording, not thinking. Recording the man shaving in the window opposite and the woman in the kimono washing her hair. Some day all this will have to be developed, carefully printed, fixed" (1989:1). The narrator here is compared to a camera and its specific way of registering reality. In his article, David P. Thomas collects several critical interpretations of this passage, which see this way of observation as passive and impersonal, similar to the one made by a camera (1972:1). Furthermore, the last quoted sentence suggests the imperfectness of the narration present in the book, which needs *developing, printing and fixing* as if it was just some footage in need for editing. This may suggest the aforementioned mutation of the codes and the strong influence of film on literary fiction. Isherwood's text becomes a sort of an intermediate stage between the film and the novel.

How then are we to recognize the cinematic narration in the novel? What are the characteristics of such a style? The answer has been partly given in the quotation concerning Isherwood's predecessors. The idea concentrates around the time and space issues. In his book *On Art* Umberto Eco defines the spatial-temporal differences between literature and cinema:

> The difference between cinematic and novelistic action seems to be the following: the novel tells us: "this happened, then another thing happened and so on" while film presents us with a sequence: "this + this + this and so on" – it is a sequence of displays of the present, which can be hierarchically ordered only in the editing phase. (2008:209)[5]

Thus according to Eco, the novel, unlike cinema with its various forms of editing, cannot present numerous plots or events at the same time.[6]

The important matter on which Eco focuses his attention is time. He defines film as a sequence of displays of the present. The manifestation of the cinematic narration in the novel is achieved through the present tenses, which give the feeling of things happening *right now* as if projected on the screen. The present tense is also characteristic for the screenplay form as well as stage directions in theatre plays. However, in a screenplay present tense is more frequently used as descriptions and stage directions are more abundant. Let us take a sample from a film script to look at its form. It is an excerpt from *A Serious Man* by Nathan and Joel Coen:

---

[5] Translation from the Polish edition of Eco's book: „Różnica między akcją filmową a powieściową wydaje się zatem następująca: powieść powiada nam: „Wydarzyło się to, potem wydarzyło się to itd.", podczas gdy film stawia nas wobec sekwencji: „To + to +to itd."-jest to sekwencja przedstawień teraźniejszości, które można hierarchicznie uporządkować dopiero w fazie montażu" (209) .

[6] It should be assumed that in the quoted analysis of film and novel narration, the experimental novel of the 20th century was not taken into consideration. Literary narration from the 20th century cannot be analyzed this way as it was already under the influence of cinema.

> The boy who is listening to the transistor radio-DANNY Gopnik-sits at a hinge-topped desk in a cinderblock classroom whose rows of desks are occupied by other boys and girls of about twelve years of age. It is dusk and the room is fluorescent-lit. At the front of the room a gray-haired man in a worn suit and tie addresses the class. DANNY straightens one leg so that he may dig into a pocket. With an eye on the TEACHER to make sure he isn't being watched, he eases something out: A twenty-dollar bill.

The situation in the passage is described in the present tense. Apart from the actions taking place in the scene, there is also a description of the setting. This kind of writing can be observed also in Isherwood's novels, particularly in *Prater Violet*. For the sake of our interest, the novel may be divided into two sections. The first one concerns the process of screenwriting while the second one the process of shooting on location. These two differ in terms of the tense used. Just when the shooting stage starts, there is a change from narrative to present tenses. In relation to what was said about Eco's distinction, the introductory paragraph in the "shooting sequence" seems significant:

> We started shooting the picture in the final week of January. I give this approximate date because it is almost the last I shall be able to remember. What followed is so confused in my memory, so transposed and foreshortened, that I can only describe it synthetically. My recollection of it has no sequence. It is all of a piece. (1969:72)

What can be inferred from the protagonist's account is that the process of filmmaking is a new experience to him, therefore it cannot be expressed by traditional literary means. Three important words describe Isherwood's "coverage" from the set: *synthesis*, *sequence* and *piece*. The adverb *synthetically* in the quoted passage suggests artificiality but also a certain fusion of elements, in this case discourses. In his book on Graham Greene, Andrzej Weseliński gives a definition of montage "which suggests a building action, working up from raw material, and which denotes then, a process of synthesis" (1979:73). Thus, what the use of the adverb suggests is Isherwood's awareness of the discourse blend he has to make in order to express his experiences from work on the set. Piece and sequence send us back to what Eco says about the language of film, namely that it is a "sequence of the displays of the present." According to Isherwood, the account "has no sequence and is all of a piece." On one hand this may mean that the recollections from the location function as raw footage in need of editing. On the other hand the lack of sequence and uniformity of the material may be simply characteristic for the cinematic narrative.

The quoted passage functions as an introduction to the cinematic sequence in the novel. It is as if Isherwood ended his literary narration here putting a colon. The tense of the following text changes from the narrative (past) to the present. The cinematic part opens with a longish description of the set:

> Within the great barn-like sound-stage, with its high, bare, padded walls, big enough to enclose an airship, there is neither day nor night: only irregular alternations of activity and silence. Beneath a firmament of girders and catwalks, out of which the cowled lamps shine coldly down, like planets, stands the inconsequent, half-dismantled architecture of the sets; archways, sections of houses, wood and canvas hills, huge photographic backdrops,

> the frontages of the streets; a kind of Pompei, but more desolate, more uncanny, because this is, literally, a half-world, a limbo of mirror images, a town which has lost its third dimension. (73)

The very first passage of the cinematic part shows the synthesis of which Isherwood speaks. On the one hand, the description abounds in metaphors and similes typical for literary discourse. On the other hand, this detailed description of the set may be associated with an *establishing shot* in the cinematic discourse, that is a shot which sets up the context for a scene: it shows the relationship between the figures and object, indicates where, and sometimes when the scene takes place.[7] The quoted description goes on for almost a page and gives further details of the set. The focus is moved to one of the sets and then to the characters: "in the middle of the set, patient and anonymous as tailors' dummies, are the actor and actress… Mr Watts, a thin bald man with gold rimmed spectacles, walks recklessly back and forth, regarding them from various angles. A blue glass monocle hangs from a ribbon around his neck" (73). Speaking in a cinematic jargon, the scene begins with an *establishing shot* which gradually narrows the area of our interest, ending in a detail of the character's outfit, which is called a *close-up*. The whole sequence could be characterized as a *lean-in*.

Several pages later Isherwood moves on to describe the shooting of a scene. In its form, the passage resembles a film script. If not for the clearly stated beginning and ending of the shooting sequence, we would never know the difference between the narration in the script part and in the preceding and following pages:

> At last we're ready. The rehearsal begins. Toni is standing alone, looking pensively out of the window. It is the day after her meeting with Rudolf.... She is heartbroken and bewildered. Her eyes are full of tears. (This part of the scene is covered by a close-up.) The door opens. Toni's father comes in.
> Father: 'What's the matter, Toni? Why aren't you at Prater?' (...)
> Toni (with a far-away look in her eyes, which shows that her answer is symbolic); ' I can't sell yesterday's violets. They wither so quickly.'
> She begins to sob, and runs out of the room, banging the door. Her father stands looking after her, in blank surprise. Then he shrugs his shoulders and grimaces, as much as to say that woman's whims are beyond his understanding.
> 'Cut.' Bergmann rises quickly from his chair and goes over to Anita. (77-78)

One of the traceable elements differentiating the script part from the remnant of this passage is the punctuation. The actors' parts are introduced by a colon, while the characters' utterances are commented by the narrator.

Apart from the present tense, the film script form uses elliptical sentences introduced in brackets. Particular attention should be drawn to the bracketed comments. They function here as stage

[7] It is interesting to note that establishing shots were most frequently used during the classical era of filmmaking, which dates roughly between 1910-1960, which would prove that tendencies present in the cinema appealed to writers (using cinematic narrative) as well.

directions, but this is only one of the cinematic functions of the brackets. In both of the analyzed novels, Isherwood uses brackets for digressions, which may indicate problems with organizing the text into a certain sequence. Bracketed text seems less relevant and put into a particular place by a necessity, just as if the text was a draft version. This observation leads us back to the passage from *Goodbye to Berlin* where Isherwood speaks about the need of fixing and printing what the camera has registered.

Brackets[8] are extensively used in both analyzed texts. *A Single Man* abounds in different uses of the technique. Just as in *Prater Violet,* there are cases of bracketed text used for stage directions (18) as well as some additional, "vagabond" commentaries and unspoken thoughts, as Hermione Lee calls them (12). However, the most significant manifestation of this technique pertains to the cinematic montage, which is an editing strategy developed by Soviet directors such as Pudovkin, Vertov and Eisenstein. Several techniques developed by Eisenstein may be found in *A Single Man.* Let us look at one of the initial passages from the book, where we deal with a cinematic *flashback*:

> He fixes himself a plate of poached eggs with bacon and toast and coffee, and sits down to eat them at the kitchen table. And meanwhile, around and around in his head, goes the nursery jingle his Nanny taught him when he was a child in England, all those years ago:
> *Poached eggs on toast are very nice-*
> (He sees her so plainly still, grey-haired with mouse-bright eyes, a plump little body carrying in the nursery tray, short of breath from climbing all those stairs…)
> *Poached eggs on toast are very nice,*
> *If you try them once you'll want them twice!* (2010:5)

The passage gives an impression of an editing technique using the aid of sound. The sentence George hears in his head is a link between the description of his breakfast and his childhood recollections. The protagonist's memories are bracketed, which suggests another layer of discourse. In the cinema it often happens that the sound from one scene overlaps with another scene. In such case the sound is the linking factor. This technique is often used for presenting memories. We see somebody thinking and what takes us to the past in the head of the protagonist is somebody speaking or some sound that occurs still in the scene presenting the protagonist at the moment of thinking. The same happens when George recalls the nursery rhyme.

Another montage technique achieved through brackets which is present in *A Single Man* is the *shot-reverse shot* technique, which is based on two or more shots edited together that alternate characters, typically in a conversation situation. The following passage from the novel resembles this technique: "Sitting on the john, he can look out of the window. (They can see his head and shoulders from across the street, but not what he is doing.) It is a grey lukewarm California morning; the sky is low and soft with Pacific fog" (7). The passage presents what George sees through the window,

[8] The text in brackets seems to be an important device when speaking about a cinematic narrative in the novel. In her introduction to Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, Hermione Lee explains the need for using brackets: "Since fiction is not music or painting or film or any unspoken thoughts, it requires formal strategies if it is to try and be several things at once. These strategies may be as complicated as a whole section written from the point of view of the passage of time, or a simple as a pair of brackets" (199: xi).

which resembles an *establishing shot*, but the reader also knows what can be seen from the place observed by George. Usually brackets introduce a scene that is inserted into the main stream of narration. In this case, we observe two different points of view, but brackets may also introduce other types of shots such as *close-up*.

In the scene where George drives to work, we read about his views on current political matters. Suddenly his thoughts are interrupted as George corrects his way of thinking:

> And as for the senator, wouldn't it be rather amusing to –
> *No.*
> (At this point, we see the eyebrows contract in a more than usually violent spasm, the mouth thin to knife-blade grimness.)
> No. Amusing is *not* the word. These people are not amusing… (25)

From thoughts on current political affairs in the US we abruptly move to a description of George's facial expression. We do not even see the whole face but rather its parts, which gives an impression of an *extreme close-up*. What is the most important in the fragment though is the blending of discourses just as it was in *Prater Violet*. It may be stated that George's thoughts are described in a literary mode while the inserted description of the face belongs to the cinematic language.[9] Thus, it may be said that cinematic narrative strategies are used to break the storyline and distract the reader, which seems to go along with Isherwood's intentions. David Thomas quotes Isherwood's *Lions and Shadows* where the writer speaks about the role of a novelist as somebody *playing game with his reader;* continually amazing and deceiving him (Thomas 1972:7).

From the examples given above, it may be stated that Isherwood skilfully uses the cinematic and film script language in his narratives, combining these techniques with literary narration. The author's biography confirms that this may be the result of his cooperation with the movie industry. However, his life gives one more justification for the use of cinematic technique in these novels. Often being the odd one out (a novelist working for the cinema, homosexual among hostile heterosexuals) the author developed a style reflecting his distance to the outside world. According to Virginia Woolf, there is only an indirect participation in the events presented in the films we watch.[10] Cinematic sensitivity in Isherwood's writing establishes an imaginary screen between the viewer/reader (or the person behind camera) and the presented reality.

[9] When writing about the descriptions from *The Berlin Stories* Thomas questions the cinematic character of Isherwood's language. It is not fully cinematic, but rather a mixture of prose and film, which is suggested by interweaving linguistic metaphors with the raw language of the camera: "Above all, perhaps, cameras should not use metaphors: "monumental safes", is however metaphorical" (5).

[10] Woolf writes: "We behold them as they are when we are not there. We see life as it is when we have no part in it. As we gaze we seem to be removed from the pettiness of actual existence. The horse will not knock us down. The king will not grasp our hands. The wave will not wet our feet..." (1927:1)

Bibliography

Coen, Ethan. Coen, Joel. June 4th 2007, *A Serious Man*,
http://www.imsdb.com/scripts/A-Serious-Man.html Accessed: 25/08/2010 17:20.

Cohen, Keith. 1979, *Film and Fiction. The Dynamics of Exchange*, New Haven: Yale, pp 1-10, 79-104.

Eco, Umberto. 2008, *Sztuka*, Wydawnictwo M.

Fowles, John. 1969, *Notes on an Unfinished Novel*, In: Malcolm Bradbury [Ed.] *The Novel Today: Contemporary Writers and Modern Fiction.* Manchester University Press 1977 pp. 144-145.

Isherwood, Christopher. 2010, *A Single Man*, Vintage.
1989, *Goodbye to Berlin.* Minerva.
1969, *Prater Violet*. Penguin Books.

Lee, Hermione. 2000, *To The Lighthouse. Introduction.* Penguin Classics.

Schultheiss, John. 1971, " 'Eastern' Writer in Hollywood". In: *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Autumn, 1971). University of Texas Press on behalf of the Society for Cinema & Media Studies, pp. 13-47 http://www.jstor.org/stable/1225347 Accessed: 25/08/2010 04:42.

Thomas, David.P. 1972, " 'Goodbye to Berlin': Refocusing Isherwood's Camera", *Contemporary Literature*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Winter, 1972). University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 44-52, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1207419 Accessed: 01/08/2010 17:30.

Weseliński, Andrzej. 1979, *Graham Greene the Novelist: A Study of the Cinematic Imagination*. Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp 55-88.

Woolf, Virginia. 1927, *The Cinema,*
http://www.woolfonline.com/?q=print/book/export/html/1007, Accessed: 06/08.2010 19:23.

STRESZCZENIE

Esej analizuje powieści Christophera Isherwooda *A Single Man* oraz *Prater Violet* pokazując, że ich narracja w znacznym stopniu naśladuje filmowy sposób opowiadania. Po pierwsze wynika to z szerszego zjawiska kulturowego silnego wpływu kina na wyobraźnię w dwudziestym wieku. Po drugie i ważniejsze, współpraca pisarza z przemysłem filmowym skutkowała przeniesieniem techniki nabytej podczas pracy z filmem do narracji powieściowej. Styl obydwu utworów jest porównany ze stylistyką scenariusza filmowego jak również z technikami operatorskimi i montażowymi.

Anna Wortman

"An American province in the Soviet world empire." J. Edgar Hoover's Vision of the Communist United States of America

In the article entitled "FBI Director Stays On," Lyle C. Wilson, from *The Washington Daily News,* commenting on the presidential waiver of the mandatory retirement at the age of seventy, stated that J. Edgar Hoover "enjoys vigorous good health. He has no desire to retire so long as he can be of service to his country." Wilson also pointed out that "there was a bit of wishful thinking in the speculation, because left wingers of American politics declared open season on Hoover long ago." "American Communists" and "non-Communist left wing of American politics" were all interested in Hoover's retirement because the FBI under Hoover's direction had turned into "an effective and genuinely feared opponent of Communist subversion." According to the article, "the non-Communist lefties" had had connections in "high places sometimes including the White House. […] From such power places in Washington the Hoover hunt has been directed for years. Lefties in and out of the Truman Administration conducted big hidden play against Mr. Hoover. […] HST was too smart for his lefty friends who thought to enlist him in the anti-Hoover movement (1964:108)."

As evidenced by the article, Hoover enjoyed wide support as late as the middle of the 1960's and President Lyndon B. Johnson was reluctant to antagonize this part of the American public which came to define the American nation as predominantly white Anglo-Saxon protestant middle class who respected authority, church, and those traditional values which connected America to its past: religion, patriotism, a belief in progress, and a rational moral order. Since Hoover was raised in the ethnically and racially homogeneous neighborhood of Seward Square in Washington, D.C. at the beginning of the twentieth century, and educated by the church, the Sunday School and the public schools, he grew up to believe in the superiority of the white race and the privileged position of the assimilated white Anglo-Saxon protestant Americans.

From the very beginning, the Sunday School saw itself guarding and transmitting an endangered culture. The Sunday School earliest mission was to civilize and christianize the West, but Sunday School organizers soon came to believe that the real threat to Protestantism was not the pioneer but the immigrant. In the nineteenth century, American society grew more complex. Many conservatives, among them the leaders of the Sunday School movement, tended to romanticize the America of the past. They saw their country as a peaceful and law-abiding land where class hatred and industrial conflict were unknown. Yet, the perfect picture was spoilt by the immigrant. The organizers of the Sunday School came to see their institution as a stronghold against disruptive tendencies in society, and as a weapon to be used against the alien minorities.

Furthermore, the Washington public schools Hoover attended to were also segregated and stressed citizenship and discipline. Central High School was an important symbol of the fact or the illusion that white skin was the only passport needed for admission into the privileged ranks of Washington's elite, as well as into the national elite. Like the churches and the government bureaucracy, Central High was one of the white middle class's weapons in its drive to cultural, social, economic and political power. At the turn of the twentieth century, it was an obvious expression and vehicle of middle-class sense of moral and racial caste. That, in turn, was sustained largely by the exclusion of blacks (Powers 1987:19).

During the early 1920's, the United States adhered to the principle that a good government is a government that governs the least. The free forces of the market and the initiative of private entrepreneurs were trusted to handle all problems of a rising modern society. From labor unrests, municipal reform and charity, to bank and stock exchange regulation or rather deregulation, the ideology of the day was laisser faire. The belief that a national police force might probe into the lives of political adversaries and ordinary citizens seeking political advantage, and infringe on the rights guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution, was popular enough to warrant actions aimed at constraining the development of a federal law enforcement agency. The reluctance to see the rise of strong federal police was strengthened even more after the disgrace that covered the whole Justice Department as a result of the so-called Palmer Raids, which led to the deportation of a number of unjustly accused pseudo-anarchists and alien radicals, together with some prominent socialists like Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

Such actions were made possible by the Immigration Act of 1918.[1] According to its provisions, aliens, that is people who did not possess American citizenship or whose naturalization documents were not entirely correct were subject to deportation if they believed in anarchism, or political violence, or if they belonged to an organization that advocated political violence or anarchistic principles. The membership in an anarchist or radical organization was not considered a crime, so the deportation was not a punishment and the procedure leading to it was an administrative one. No evidence was presented in a court of law, no witnesses heard or lawyers allowed to appeal from the arbitrary verdict of a Justice Department clerk. The very fact that the deported aliens were not citizens of the United States deprived them of any Constitutional protection. As membership in a radical organization was not a crime, the Justice Department was acting out of its appropriation which specified that the funds appropriated by Congress were to be disbursed for the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States. However, Congress must have been aware that the activities of the Justice Department were not entirely legal, when it was urging Mitchell Palmer, the Attorney General, and his faithful aide J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the Radical Division of the Bureau of Investigation, to take action against the anarchists who had caused the so-called May Bombings in 1919 (Powers 1987:61).

Nevertheless, after a thorough investigation, Congress denounced the Red Raids, and Mitchell Palmer was forced to leave the Department. Yet, J. Edgar Hoover stayed despite his unquestionable contribution to the building of the deportation cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Between 1921 and May 1924, when Hoover became acting Director of the Bureau of Investigation, and later its Director, the Justice Department and the Bureau of Investigation got involved in a number of political scandals, like the Teapot Dome Scandal, which shaped the image of the Bureau

[1] The full name of the act is "An Act to Exclude and Expel from the United States Aliens who are Members of the Anarchistic and Similar Classes," approved October 16, 1918, as amended by the Act approved June 5, 1920 chap. 251, 41 U.S. Statutes at Large 1008 (66th Congress, 2nd session).

as another old-fashioned, politically corrupt, inefficient and amateur government organization. Hoover's unending enthusiasm for bureaucratic routine and procedure meant that he became the most promising candidate to handle the reform of the Bureau. Once J. Edgar Hoover became its acting Director, the Bureau under the new leadership, began to change.

Hoover's education and early experience in the Justice Department first at the registration of the American citizens of German origin and then as the organizer and executer of the so-called Palmer's raids in the 1919 and 1920 against radicals of foreign origin, anarchists and Communists, made him perfectly suited for the role which he assumed shortly after the end of World War II. Additionally, a memorandum written by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt provided the legal rational for all investigation of radicals conducted by the FBI from 1936 to Hoover's death in 1972. In the Strictly Confidential Memorandum, of September 10, 1936, addressed to FBI Assistant Director Edward Tamm, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover summarized his conversation with the Attorney General Homer Cummings concerning the radical situation, in the following way:

> I informed him of the conference which I had with the President on September 1, 1936, at which the Secretary of State [Cordell Hull] was present, and at which time the Secretary of State, at the President's suggestion, requested of me, the representative of the Department of Justice, to have investigation made of the subversive activities in that country, including communism and fascism… The Attorney General verbally directed me to proceed with that investigation and to coordinate, as the President suggested, information upon those matters in the possession of the Military Intelligence Division, the Naval Intelligence Division, and the State Department. That, therefore, is his authority upon which to proceed in the conduct of that investigation, which should, of course, be handled in a most discreet and confidential manner. (182-183)

The August 25, 1936 directive provided Hoover with his basic authority for nearly forty years of domestic intelligence operations, thus, Roosevelt's precise meaning, and Hull's understanding of what he was asking Hoover to do, had an important bearing on the future course of Hoover's career. For his part, there was no doubt in Hoover's mind that Roosevelt and Hull were authorizing him to investigate Communists and Fascists activities, as he wrote in a memorandum to an aide, "for intelligence purpose only, and not the type of investigation required in collecting evidence to be presented to a court (182-183)."

President Roosevelt was aware of what exactly J. Edgar Hoover was doing since Hoover reported regularly to him about the Bureau's activities. Many of Hoover's reports to the President dealt with "subversion" defined so broadly that it included anything that might concern the President. Since FDR had every opportunity to correct any misunderstanding on Hoover's part, it must be concluded that Hoover's general intelligence work, including his surveillance of the left as well as the radical right, was precisely what Roosevelt intended. In a memorandum to Homer Cummings, Hoover said that the purpose of his new General Intelligence Section was to "collect through investigative activity and other contact and to correlate for ready reference information dealing with various forms of activities of either a subversive or a so-called intelligence type." The Bureau had already compiled an index of 2,500 individuals "engaged in activities of Communism, Nazism and various forms of foreign espionage." Hoover recommended Cummings and Roosevelt that the new general intelligence surveillance should be further financed as a continuation of the request of the Secretary of State without seeking any new authorization from Congress "in order to avoid criticism or objections which might be raised to such an expansion by either ill-informed persons or individuals having some ulterior motive (Hoover to Cummings, October 10,1938: 2a: 30)."

Owing to the FDR authorization, Hoover acquired an unprecedentedly wide collection of files on American and world radicals. The Director of the FBI became an authority on Communism, the chief expert and ideologist of the American Anti-Communism. In the changed world situation after World War II, a wide majority of Americans started to believe that they had the moral duty to fight the system of government which the Soviet Revolution had brought to the world. They were convinced that as long as Communism survived, it forced America to recover and reevaluate the principles which formed the core of American character. Thus the American character started being defined against that what Communism stood for. The opposition between Communism and Americanism meant that Communism became perceived as un-Americanism. In his well-known work on Communism, Hoover wrote: "to make the United States a communist nation is the ambition of every Party member, regardless of position or rank. He works constantly to make this dream a reality, to steal your rights, liberties and properties. Even though he lives in the United States, he is a supporter of a foreign power, espousing an alien line of thought. He is a conspirator against his own country… in noncommunist countries thousands of Party members are working for Moscow." Anyone who adhered to Communist ideas was thus perceived as showing a fundamental disloyalty and lack of patriotism (1958:4).

Between 1945 and 1947, as a professional who would have to deal with the impact of the Cold War policies on domestic security and as a life-long Anti-communist who associated Communism with everything that threatened his own basic values, J. Edgar Hoover witnessed the events which unleashed the Cold War: the breakdown of the London Foreign Minister's Conference in September 1945; Stalin's February 1945 speech on permanent rivalry between Communism and capitalism; Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946; American aid to Greek Anti-communist forces in March 1947; the creation of the Marshall Plan in June 1947; and George Kennan's enunciation of the policy of containment in his July 1947 "Mr. X" essay in *Foreign Affairs*. Hoover's performance during the Truman administration can be best understood by recalling the two sides of Hoover's public role: the domestic security professional who was acutely aware of the hazards of neglecting any sign of danger, and the moralist who was always prone to turn his operations into dramatizations of right and wrong, particularly when the conflict involved Hoover's historical enemy, Communism (Powers 1987:278).

J. Edgar Hoover had always been suspicious of Communism and American Communists. Yet, a rational assessment of world events was equally important in determining his actions both in 1919 and again after World War II. Hoover's campaign against Communism under Palmer was sparked by alarm over spread of Bolshevism in Europe in 1918 and 1919, and it subsided when the Red tide receded. It was a reaction to the real possibility, though for others remote, of a domestic uprising aided by foreign support. Likewise, the domestic security controversies of the Truman administration grew out of popular alarm over the truly tense atmosphere in Europe and Asia after World War II. J. Edgar Hoover was not alone in responding to the fear that this time, as well, there was the danger of a foreign attack aided and abetted by domestic sabotage, espionage, and subversion.

In 1919, it had been the Communists' own predictions of an impending armed conflict which convinced Hoover that a world revolution was at hand. After World War II, Hoover's extensive use of overhearing devices installed on the phones of American Communists and Soviet representatives produced similar predictions of imminent Communist triumph. There seemed evidence that the country was on the verge of a climatic confrontation between capitalism and Communism. Early in 1946, J. Edgar Hoover began reporting to the White House that American Communist officials were discussing the Soviet Union's firm belief that in the near future Communists would be in control of every country in Europe. In 1947, Hoover told the President that Communists were developing plans for sabotage and slow-downs in defense plans in the expectation of a war between the United States and the USSR.[2]

Another reason for concern for the FBI Director was the change of the leader of the American Communist party. A French Communist official close to Stalin, Jacques Duclos, denounced Earl Browder, chairman of the American Communist party, for his wartime policy of collaboration with capitalism. In July, 1945, Browder was replaced by a thoroughgoing Stalinist, William Foster. At the same time, the Party resumed its old name, dropping the wartime alias of the "Communist Political Association." There also followed an immediate reversal of the Popular Front program of cooperation with the United States government and an increase in the Communist propaganda and agitation. Hoover sent the White House urgent warnings about that new militancy among the American Communists (Howe et al. 1982: 437-440).

By that time J. Edgar Hoover had developed a characteristic leadership style. All the activities of the FBI were organized in comprehensive programs whose aim was to demonstrate the professional competence of the Bureau. Once the plans had been drawn, Hoover would look for support from other agencies having similar objectives, rallying public acceptance for his initiatives and shaping his entire programs so that they taught a moral lesson to the nation. Thus, the post-World War II Anti-communist mobilization was not an exception. It was a total response to the international and domestic crisis in which all aspects of the Bureau's operations, the loyalty program within the government, the legal and covert attack on the Communist party, and the espionage cases against Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, and others, were not only preparations for new military conflict, but also a resumption of Hoover's old crusade to reinforce the traditional American conservative values. Hoover's commitment to the battle against the radical, would blame all the sins of modern society on the Communist, proclaim him an un-American traitor and drive him and his obscene values out of the American community.

Hoover warned that Communism was on the march all over the world and that unlike Americans, Communists do not believe in democratic and peaceful shift of government: "Communists have never won over an entire country by a free election and have never hesitated to shed blood if this would best serve their purposes." The fact that there were relatively few members of the Communist party in the United States should not deceive anyone since "for every Party member ten others are ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work..." and "When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia" (1958:4).

[2] Reference is made to a memorandum of Director Hoover to Secretary Vaughan, dated January 4, 1946; a memorandum of Director Hoover to Secretary Vaughan, dated February 15, 1946; a memorandum of Director Hoover to Attorney General, dated October 12, 1946, in J. Edgar Hoover, *FOIA FBI Official Personnel File*, file 4a, 40-42.

In Hoover's vision of the Communist United States of America "a tiny minority, perhaps ten to twenty men, would rule the United States." Then, they would establish "a dictatorship of the proletariat," move the capital to a larger industrial center, like Chicago. Federal, state and local governments would be substituted by "Soviets," that is councils, which "would consist of local Communist Party henchmen who would depose and probably liquidate your mayor, chief of police, clergymen, and leading citizens." The American Constitution would also be abolished. Any owner of productive property would be arrested as an "exploiter, hauled before a revolutionary court, and sentenced to a concentration camp -…if… you were worth saving at all." All property used in production would be confiscated, thus leading ultimately to total state ownership. This confiscation would include "your home, business, bank deposits, and related personal possessions."(1958:6)

According to Hoover: " The revolution would affect every man, woman, and child in America. Communists do not propose to remodel our government or retain any part of it. They would tear it to the ground, destroy all opposition, and then create a new government, an American province in the Soviet world empire. Their recipe for action? The 1917 Soviet revolution, tailored to modern conditions." Moreover, all industry would be nationalized and farms would be taken away from their owners. Both large and small business will be liquidated. Rents, profits, and insurances would be abolished and occupations termed by the Communists as "useless and parasitic" will be eradicated. In Hoover's words: "action would be drastic, immediate, and without appeal. An armed "Red Guard" would enforce the orders of Party henchmen. Workers would be forced to work a fixed number of hours for fixed wages. There would be no labor unions and no strikes against the "government" (1958:7).

Free press and free speech would be forbidden. Anyone who dared to express an opinion contrary to the Party line, would be punished. Fear would become an enforcement technique. Movies, radio and television would be taken over by the government as agencies for government propaganda. Although churches might not be immediately closed, they would be heavily taxed, their property seized by the stated, and religious schools liquidated. As Hoover further maintained: "Clergymen would be required to accept the Party line. "God does not exist. Why worship Him?" say the Communists. Children would be placed in nurseries and special indoctrination schools. Women, boast the communists, would be relieved of housework. How? Huge factory and apartment-house kitchens would be set-up, so that women would be "free" to work in factories and mines along with men" (1958:8).

Hoover rounded up his description of Communist America by saying that the ultimate goal of Communism was the creation of the so-called "communist man," a mechanical puppet, whom they can train to do as the Party desires." Then followed his dramatic appeal to the reader to treat this warning with utmost seriousness as "it could happen here and there are thousands of people in this country now working in secret to make it happen here. But also, thank God, there are millions of Americans who oppose them. If we open our eyes, inform ourselves, and work together, we can keep our country free" (1958:9). Thus America was viewed as a culture and country under siege and it is only through reference to traditional American values that it can preserve its unique Americanness.

Hoover's perception of the United States dominated by Communists actually did not much differ from the reality of the 1940's and 1950's. Under the leadership of J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI and

Senator Joseph McCarthy, and in the atmosphere of the hearings of the House of Un-American Activities Committee, the American democracy and individual rights were subjected to most severe restrictions in the name of defending American freedom and preserving the American way of life. Basic rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution, such as freedom of belief, expression and assembly, were violated. It seems that what Hoover feared most would be brought to the United States by the Soviet Communists, conservative American politicians introduced willingly themselves, suppressing criticism, opposition or political diversity.

In his time, Hoover and his FBI were surrounded by secrecy and protected from scrutiny by law. Hoover was said to possess files on Communists, spies, politicians, actors, and anyone who, according to him, could pose a threat to the national security, but he did not hesitate to use them to fight his own opponents, defying his critics and destroying his personal enemies. To those who saw it as a threat to political freedom, Hoover's secret power was a frightening specter which haunted the nation. Yet, the same secrecy and power which some found so terrifying turned him into admirable figure for many Americans. Hoover's imposing presence brought about a sense of stability and safety connecting Americans to their tradition: religion, patriotism, a belief in progress, and a rational moral order. An attack on Hoover was seen as an attack on true Americanism. Millions of Americans were convinced that Hoover's secret power protected them against the sinister forces which aimed to destroy their way of life. They identified with Hoover's vision of the Cold War world and the place the United States and Americans as a nation had assumed.

Bibliography

Churchill, Ward and Wall, Jim Vander. (1990) *The COINTELPRO Papers. Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States*, Boston: South End Press.

Cox, John Stuart, and Theoharis, Athan G. (1988) *The Boss. J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition*. Temple University Press.

DeLoach, Cartha D. "Deke". (1995) *Hoover's FBI. The Inside Story by Hoover's Trusted Lieutenant*. Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc.

Federal Bureau of Investigation: Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), Electronic Reading Room, Name Listings: *J. Edgar Hoover: Official Personnel File of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI from May 10, 1924, until his death on May 2, 1972*. (http://foia.fbi.gov/hoover.htm) (date of access: 25 February 2008).

Gentry, Curt. (1991) *J. Edgar Hoover: the Man and the Secrets*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Hoover to Cummings, October 10, 1938, in J. Edgar Hoover, *FOIA FBI Official Personnel File.*

Hoover, J. Edgar. (1958) *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Howe, Irving, and Coser, Lewis. (1982) *The American Communist Party*. New York: Praeger.

Potter, Claire Bond. (1998) *War on Crime. Bandits, G-men, and the Politics of Mass Culture*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Powers, Richard Gid. (1987) *Secrecy and Power. The Life of J. Edgar Hoover.* New York: The Free Press.

Strictly Confidential Memorandum, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to FBI Assistant Director Edward Tamm, September 10, 1936, in Theoharis, Athan G., ed. (1993) *From the Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover.*_Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, Ivan R. Dee, Publisher.

Wilson, Lyle C. "FBI Director Stays On," *The Washington Daily News,* 9 March, 1964, in J. Edgar Hoover, *FOIA FBI Official Personnel File*.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia sylwetkę wieloletniego direktora FBI, J. Edgara Hoovera, rozwój jego poglądów antykomunistycznych oraz jego wizję Stanów Zjednoczonych ogarniętych przez komunizm. U podstaw postawy Hoovera wydaje się być przekonanie, iż wszelkie idee lewicowe i radykalne są obce amerykańskiej tradycji. Zagrażają więc one amerykańskiej demokracji i amerykańskiemu stylowi życia. Do walki z radykałami, szpiegami i komunistami Hoover był gotowy użyć wszelkich dostępnych środków. Jednak, tu pojawia się pytanie o podstawowe wartości demokracji amerykańskiej jak wolność jednostki, słowa, poglądów i zgromadzeń. Chociaż dyrektor Hoover niejednokrotnie sprzeniewierzył się tym podstawowym zasadą demokracji amerykańskiej, dla wielu Amerykanów pozostał niepodważalnym autorytetem w walce z komunizmem oraz gwarantem spokoju i bezpieczeństwa.

Agnieszka Kotwasińska

Searching for Material Clues: Hunter S. Thompson's Rise and Fall

Just as Jane Tompkins in "Masterpiece Theater: The Politics of Hawthorne's Literary Reputation" studied Nathaniel Hawthorne's circle of friends, family members and literary acquaintances, it proves useful to examine Hunter S. Thompson's life and the relations he formed with other writers, literary agents and publishers, and how these relationships either aided or hindered his literary recognition. Although Thompson's fate parallels perhaps more that of Hawthorne's female contemporaries as his initial positive reception was later followed by a fall into relative obscurity, I find it constructive to trace his career the way Tompkins outlined Hawthorne's. Of course, the revisionist approach undertaken by Tompkins (which was in turn greatly influenced by the Jaussian concept of the horizon of expectations) functions as one of many interpretative pathways propagated by reader-response theorists and can offer only one perspective on why Thompson's career quickly blossomed and then slowly withered leaving him only with a small contingent of die-hard fans.

In contrast with purely feminist-oriented and multiculturalist studies which concentrate on the excluded groups, Jane Tompkins in her study of Hawthorne's literary reception examines the behind-the-scenes mechanisms that create the canons in the first place. These mechanisms fall into two main categories: the relations among literary elites (including writers, publishers, reviewers, journalists, academics, censors, etc.) and the formation of evaluative criteria among the afore-mentioned groups. Tompkins' study of Hawthorne's literary reputation is first and foremost an attempt to reconstruct the reception of Hawthorne's works as well as the intricate network of personal and professional relations that helped him achieve the popularity and esteem not only of the masses, but more importantly of the nineteenth-century literary establishment. In addition, she concentrates on the instability of aesthetic criteria as such and the fact that politics infuses every evaluative judgment, though not always directly. Ever since F.O. Matthiessen's much celebrated study of the American Renaissance published in the early forties, Hawthorne has towered together with Emerson, Thoreau, Melville and Whitman as one of the Great Five. His status has been further reinforced by subsequent anthologizations, massive scholarship and mass-cultural references until it has become nearly impossible to analyze his works outside their apparently impervious canonicity. Admittedly, Tompkins did not want to belittle Hawthorne's literary accomplishments or merits with her examination, but she did set out to prove that a specific political agenda stood behind his canonization and, what is even more disturbing, his overwhelming success buried many of his contemporaries deep within library archives. Tompkins demonstrates that contemporary appreciation of Hawthorne's novels is founded on a set of aesthetic criteria that differ strongly from those that reigned during the original reception, which strongly suggests a discontinuity of preferences and expectations between the nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics.[1] The changeability of aesthetics is nevertheless just one of many reasons for Hawthorne's rise to fame which, as Tompkins reminds us repeatedly, was inexorably bound with female writers' fall into obscurity. And out of Hawthorne's numerous friendships and relationships with New England literary elites, publishers, reviewers, journalists, prominent society members, and of course the *Atlantic Monthly* staff emerges a man with a set of solid connections, a writer who could be proudly portrayed "as this country's answer to Dickens and Thackeray, a novelist who represented both what was essentially American and what was 'best' by some universal criteria of literary value" (Tompkins 1984: 632).

The classic for Tompkins represents the durability of the system, rather than of the work itself: "classic texts, while they may or may not have originally been written by geniuses, have certainly been written and rewritten by the generations of professors and critics who make their living by them. . . . [Classics] are the mirrors of culture as culture is interpreted by those who control the literary establishment" (641). The concept of *literary excellence* itself reveals reviewers' and anthologists' personal taste, cultural conditioning, the currently reigning values, beliefs, and beauty standards that have inevitably and perhaps unconsciously biased these prominent literary judges against or in favor of particular themes, stylistic devices, plots, protagonists or even authors. Broadly speaking, literary excellence is transformed not only from within, but also by particular historical and material conditions which in turn are influenced by the literary canon and the standards of excellence established by cultural elites (Tompkins 1985: 195).

Revisionist critiques in the vein of "Masterpiece Theater" attest to the fact that their authors spent a considerable amount of time and energy on searching the archives and mapping the network of personal connections, but such undertakings do not always yield usable results, and in many cases are rendered impossible by a lapse of time, the inaccessibility of materials or lack of relevant information. In the case of Hunter S. Thompson, there are plenty of resources, including two rather hefty volumes of his personal letters (while the third volume is to be published in mid-2012), memoirs of his second wife and his friends, a number of biographies, Thompson's own semi-autobiographical writings, oral biography compiled by Jann Wenner and Corey Seymour, interviews, documentaries and feature films. For the sake of brevity, I would like to concentrate on Thompson's biography and in particular on how his personal relations developed through his correspondence. Unfortunately, the foundations of Thompson's original and subsequent receptions, that is how the concept of *literary excellence* was understood in the New Journalism heyday, and how it was later modified cannot be fully developed in this paper.

Thompson tended to keep his distance from literary establishment both in a geographical and emotional sense. In a way, he prided himself on being the outsider and consciously fostered the aura of a dangerous outcast who was to be sought out by his accolades with reverence and awe. For this reason, in contrast to Hawthorne's intricate network of friends, colleagues and associates, Thompson's life does not offer so many intriguing coincidences, relationships and literary connections. Nevertheless, examining closely Thompson's aspirations, the way he set out

[1] *Twice-Told Tales* was appreciated for its *sentimental* value right after its first publication, and what is more both Hawthorne and Harriet Beecher Stowe were praised in similar terms for their literary accomplishments. Yet, the former is a classic, whereas the latter is a kind of literary *faux pas* (Tompkins 1984: 627).

to achieve his goals, and the subsequent struggles with his reputation offers a unique perspective on his life and literary legacy.

When young Thompson's hopes of becoming a successful athlete were dashed by a leg deformity and back problems, he set his eyes on the Atheneaum Literary Association at Male High in Louisville. Selected students would meet every Saturday to read and discuss literature and present their own literary endeavors, the best of which were later published in the *Spectator* – Atheneaum's yearbook. Being part of this prestigious social club was not only a kind of recognition that Thompson was seeking at the time, but it was also a springboard for the Ivy League schools. Unfortunately, Thompson was far more interested in the shock value of his pranks than in preparation for college, let alone high school graduation. Knowing that until his twenty-first birthday his every step would be closely watched in his hometown, he seized the nearest opportunity and joined the Air Force. It was during Thompson's short stay with the military that he was introduced to a career in journalism. While he worked at the *Command Courier* at the sports desk, he took several college courses trying to catch up with his more successful friends who got into regular or Ivy League colleges, a feat he never managed to accomplish. Nevertheless, he did not seem daunted by the head-start his friends had on him, and in 1957 in a letter to a girlfriend he jokingly referred to himself as "the new Fitzgerald" who "just [hasn't] been recognized yet" (Thompson 1997: 57).[2] The following year Thompson practically forced his superiors to award him honorable discharge and moved on to take a succession of jobs at several newspapers scattered around the States, including a short stint at the *Time* magazine as a copyboy.

In the early sixties Thompson was still very much enamored of the idea of becoming the next Great American Writer. John Clancy, a roommate, recalls how "Hunter used to tell us that he was going to be a great writer—he'd mention Hemingway and Fitzgerald in the same sentence—but that he figured he'd have to do some sort of journalism to make a living in the meantime. He wasn't too happy about it, but he figured that if Hemingway did it, he could too" (qtd. in Wenner et al. 2007: 28) His friend, William Kennedy mentions Thompson's enduring fascination with Fitzgerald: "Hunter thought of himself as Gatsby, and he reveled in that kind of fate—that green light always receding, boats against the current, borne back into the past, and so on. This was a romantic notion that prevailed in him until he died" (45). Thompson thought of himself as a writer-in-progress and studied his masters meticulously. Kennedy recalls how Thompson's literary taste was almost exclusively oriented on "the Western canon." He devoured works of Styron, Baldwin, Agee, Dylan Thomas, Dos Passos, Camus, Proust, Twain, Boccaccio, Alighieri, Algren yet "[h]e didn't think there were any serious women writers" (45). Already at the very beginning of his career he wrote elegant letters to his literary idols asking for tips or just expressing his youthful admiration. The list included: J.P. Donleavy, William Faulkner and William Styron (Thompson 1997: 241, 164, 183). In 1965 he opened correspondence with Tom Wolfe describing how the refusal to print Thompson's review of *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby* resulted in his parting the ways with the *National Observer* (533). He also corresponded with Norman Mailer from 1960 onward asking him at one point for a blurb for *Hell's Angels* (256).

[2] In fact, Thompson was convinced that his path was allied with literature: "I know that I'm going to have to spend the rest of my life expressing [the principle of individuality] one way or another, and I think that I'll accomplish more by expressing it on the keys of a typewriter than by letting it express itself in sudden outbursts of frustrated violence" (1997: 70).

With time he began to feel more confident when it came to his literary heroes. After the success of his debut the situation was reversed and now it was he who was asked to provide a catchy phrase or two for other writers' blurbs (Thompson 2000: 545). In the early seventies the tone of letters addressed to other writers changed as well. Thompson was no longer a literary greenhorn; in his own view, he was now a part of the worldwide wolf pack of nonconformist writers, and he no longer felt the need to approach them warily. In a letter to Anthony Burgess he pressed the British author for a "thinkpiece" for the *Rolling Stone* without much diplomacy: "Get your worthless ass out of the piazza and back to the typewriter. Your type is a dime a dozen around here, Burgess, and I'm fucked if I'm going to stand for it any longer" (534-535). Although Thompson's peculiar sense of humor was noticeable already in his earliest efforts at composition, with time his low-key jokes, literary allusions and slick stylistic games gave way to a new kind of intensity, cockiness and controlled madness.

But the most important factor that changed in Thompson's life was his growing inability to meet deadlines and come up with new material. It is common knowledge that literary journalists spend years working on their projects—Truman Capote worked on *In Cold Blood* for almost six years (Pilkington 2009), Gay Talese's *Thy Neighbor's Wife* took him almost nine years (McGrath 2009), whereas Adrian Nicole LeBlanc spent *twelve* years gathering material for *Random Family: Love, Drugs, Trouble, and Coming of Age in Bronx* (Sims 2007: 266-267). The only difference between these writers and Hunter S. Thompson is that after years of research, writing and editing they did finally wrap up their projects, whereas Thompson for the most part did not. For instance, the idea for a second book, which would be eventually published as *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, is first mentioned in 1967 in a letter to the *Esquire* magazine (Thompson 1997: 630). The idea to write an expose on the Joint Chiefs of Staff would later overlap with a project concerning the whereabouts of the American Dream.[3] Jim Silberman, Thompson's long-time editor at Random House, embraced Thompson's suggestion and between 1968 and 1971 they exchanged a colossal number of letters pertaining to this project. Thompson constantly asked for expenses to cover *The Death of the American Dream*, which was a tentative title at the time (Thompson 2000: 23). He asked Silberman for money to cover the Chicago convention (119), and to reimburse his massive magazine and newspapers subscriptions which were supposed to keep him in touch with the American Dream on a daily basis (185-187). By the end of 1969 he had amassed four hundred pages, but still no book materialized from these notes (229). In 1970 he complained that "[m]y need for a focus is beyond critical; it borders on paralysis and desperation. I am running off in every direction, writing fiction one night and straight journalism the next. No doubt there is light at the end of the tunnel—but which one of these fucking tunnels are we dealing with?" (205). Thompson tried to appease Silberman by explaining the delay: "[m]y total inability to deal with the small success of the H.A. [*Hell's Angels*] book has resulted—after three years of a useless, half-amusing rural fuckaround—in just about nothing except three wasted years" (258).

By the end of the sixties Thompson completed the process of nesting at his rural abode in Woody Creek, Colorado. Local elections, which engulfed Thompson in 1969 and 1970, were not the only factors responsible for his lack of motivation to wrap up his projects. Since he was living so far away

[3] Ultimately, the American Dream book was never published. Thompson decided not to mix what he had already written on politics with the Las Vegas narrative and wanted to publish two separate books.

from the New York publishing houses, the occasional pressure from his editors or agents could reach him only through letters and phone calls. Numerous friends came to visit and he would gladly leave for magazine assignments which meant relatively quick and easy money for much shorter and less demanding texts than a whole book. Constant distractions aside, his perfectionism coupled with occasional bouts of paranoia resurfaced in the continuous quibbles over advances, expenses, edited manuscripts and newly formed ideas.

In a long letter to Silberman in January 1970 Thompson outlined the main problem he had with the American Dream book, namely "how to handle the fact/fiction balance" (268). He considered introducing Raoul Duke as a character, writing non-fiction essays in the vein of Wolfe's *The Pump House Gang*, or emphasizing his own involvement in the narrative. He admitted to having trouble "with the notion of mixing up a fictional narrative with a series of straight journalistic scenes." He added that "I'm convinced it *can* work, and I've done it before, but the problem now is that I'm so self-conscious about the mixture I can't let it work. . . . It's embarrassing to think that I can't compete, in book form, with cop-outs like *Medium Cool* and *Easy Rider* . . . but the compulsion to write something better and more real than those things has left me with what amounts to nothing at all—except a bundle of weird article-carbons" (259). In the end, the problem took care of itself. As the focus of *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* is placed on Thompson's own exploits rather than real-life politicians, Joint Chiefs of Staff or well-known individuals, he could safely experiment with fictional narratives and with Raoul Duke and no-one could seriously threaten him with a lawsuit for distorting the truth which regarded Thompson and Thompson only.

In the years following *Hell's Angels* there were other projects as well, all of which failed to reach fruition. In a letter to a friend he admitted that he had to hire a New York literary lawyer solely to handle the legal side of exceeding deadlines and failing to hand in the promised articles: "I've blown enough fat assignments to make nine men rich, but sometime soon I might publish something worthwhile. The novel remains in limbo, while I spend numerous advances for other books I have no interest in writing" (174). These uninteresting books included a project called *Violence in America* (59), "quick paperback" on Lyndon B. Johnson which fell through the cracks when LBJ quit the presidential race in 1968 (67), a failed project on the National Rifle Association which he was trying to develop for the *Esquire* magazine,[4] a book concerning American politics, the Chicago convention and the Aspen election (334). He also harbored ideas for selling the rights for his then still unpublished second novel *The Rum Diary* (131), for writing a Texas arms trading screenplay tentatively known as *Galveston* (692), and another screenplay for a movie set in Florida Keys called *Cigarette Key* (McKeen 2008: 269).

Most people who knew Thompson attribute this mounting inability to meet deadlines and work steadily to a sharp lifestyle change which included a switch from lighter drugs to cocaine. David Felton, former *Rolling Stone* editor, is quoted saying that "[a]fter the '72 campaign everything became more problematic. His stuff was not as coherent as it used to be. There were some brilliant flashes in it, but it really became weak" (Perry 1992: 197). From that point onward cocaine became an essential, if not most important, ingredient of his drug diet. Thompson's first wife Sandy agreed that it was drinking and cocaine that led to writer's blocks. He stayed up with friends longer and

[4] Thompson managed to write ca. 130 pages from December 1968 till April 1969 although he was supposed to come up with only 35-page-long article for the *Esquire* (Thompson 2000: 169).

got up later and later, and consequently spent less time at the typing machine (Carroll 1997: 192, 193). For Jann Wenner, the founder of *Rolling Stone*, "working with Hunter was already a major hand-holding job. It meant a minimum of two, maybe three people assigned to the task, including me. It was too much for any one person to handle, even that early on, because of the hours and the time Hunter took. He liked having a team of people working on his stuff. He liked the company, and he liked the crisis atmosphere" (qtd. in Wenner et al.: 133-134). Sandy adds that after the Kentucky Derby piece it became increasingly difficult for Thompson to concentrate as "the drugs and the booze and all that stuff was getting involved in his life. This was no longer the Hunter who would sit down and rewrite a piece three times He could get out a page, or a paragraph, a really neat wild paragraph—and then some gibberish. He couldn't come out with a full piece" (123).

Lynn Nesbit, Thompson's literary agent for thirty years, recalls the first signs of his transformation while he was doing publicity for *Hell's Angels* back in 1968. She saw him sporting a silly costume—a cowboy hat and wacky sunglasses that would glow in the dark—and in retrospect she believes this was the moment when Thompson began to revel in the spotlight (90). Felton saw Thompson as "capable of being a tremendous self-promoter, wheeler-dealer" (qtd. in Carroll: 174-175) and this was probably most evident in Thompson's lecture circuit. Instead of delivering speeches, all he was expected to do was to come up on a stage in a college or in a club holding a glass of Wild Turkey and answer fans' questions. Always late, he expected a whole entourage of people to drive him places, supply him with drugs and alcohol and make sure he was having fun. At times, his antics turned sour. Jim, Thompson's younger brother, remembers vividly one such incident at the College of Marin in 1984. Unaware that his mother and brother were in the audience Thompson came stumbling on stage and began arguing with fans and screaming at the clearly disappointed audience. When Virginia and Jim came backstage to meet Thompson, he was so embarrassed, he ran away.

Alan Rinzler, who edited *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72*, and later worked with Thompson on *The Curse of Lono* recollects how difficult working with Thompson became after he switched from amphetamines to cocaine around 1974/1975 (Whitmer 1993: 177). "The effects of alcohol and drugs didn't paint a pretty picture," Rinzler adds, "it was ugly, and it was debilitating, and it made it very hard for him to work" (qtd. in Wenner et al.: 233). He had to fly to Owl Farm several times from New York to supervise the mischievous author—"The first time I visited Owl Farm we nailed the concept, and I went home to New York. And nothing happened again, so I had to go back. Hunter wasn't returning my calls, didn't even want me to come, and when I got out there, didn't want to let me in the house" (233). Eventually, one day when Thompson was asleep Rinzler simply gathered every piece of the manuscripts, "including—literally—brown shopping bags with notes scrawled all over them" and flew back to New York thus ending their collaboration definitively.

Still, Thompson saw his addictions from a different perspective: "[drugs] have given me the strength to deal with those shocking realities guaranteed to shatter anyone's beliefs in the higher idealistic shibboleths of our time and the 'American Century'" (Thompson 2008: 103). He also believed that his drug use was exaggerated and in 1990 he jokingly said, "I've already outlived the most brutal abuser of our time—Neal Cassady. Me and William Burroughs are the only ones left. We're the only unrepentant public dope fiends around . . ." (95). It is now practically impossible to establish with any degree of certainty whether Thompson's drug use was exaggerated or not. His friends recall that the amounts of drugs he consumed should have left his body devastated much earlier, but somehow he managed to evade the consequences of his lifestyle for years. But the fact remains that it was mainly the drugs and booze that slowly, but surely, eroded Thompson's ability to focus and go through an assignment.

It would seem that Thompson's lifelong struggle to become one of the Great American Novelists was hurt most by his inability to cope with the expectations that came with maintaining the ultimate rebel version of himself he nurtured in the mid-seventies. His vast correspondence, the memoirs and recollections of his friends reveal that at some point in the early eighties the patience and faith placed in Thompson by his agents and publishers simply ran out. Perhaps it was the lack of strong connections to literary establishment that proved to be his downfall. Or maybe he could no longer stay in touch with what was happening on the East and West Coasts when he decided to move into his fortified compound in Colorado. But Thompson's personal choices and his biography provide only one possible perspective on the way his career progressed. It is vital to remember that the concept of *literary excellence* is, first of all, changeable and malleable, and for that reason it is quite readily used to prop up more or less subtle political messages concerning a nation, its culture and its citizens. Secondly, literary excellence is not an independent and autonomous idea; it is simply the final outcome of the myriad tiny clashes and truces between different interest groups and forces, such as the critics, reviewers, anthologists, literary authority figures, and the authors, their personal connections, and their abilities to promote and support their own creation. The original positive reception of not only Thompson but the entire New Journalism movement bespeaks of a rather unique moment in the history of American literature which was at that time inclined to accept and value change and innovation. This moment passed with the advent of the me-decade, and later Reagan Era, and the literary climate changed as well shifting its focus to different forms and new names. However, bearing in mind that every reception is inescapably linked with the politics of the given period as well as personal politics of all the people involved in the process of creating, publishing and promoting a text opens a whole new set of possible (re)interpretations. Therefore, in the search for complementary accounts and explanations we should not only probe Thompson's writing, but also the socio-historic and cultural background of the seventies and eighties, and the intermedia rewritings of his texts as they can reveal so much more about Hunter S. Thompson, his works and the world in which he strived for success.

Bibliography:

Caroll, E. Jean. (1997), *Hunter: The Strange and Savage Life of Hunter S. Thompson*, London: Pocket Books.

McGrath, Charles. (2009), "Sex and Crime, the Updates: Gay Talese Is Back on the Beat", *New York Times*. 15 April, 2009.

McKeen, William. (2008), *Outlaw Journalist: The Life and Times of Hunter S. Thompson*, New York: W.W. Norton.

Perry, Paul. (1992), *Fear and Loathing: The Strange and Terrible Saga of Hunter S. Thompson*, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.

Pilkington, Ed. (2009), "In Cold Blood, Half a Century on", *The Guardian*, 16 November 2009.

Sims, Norman. (2007), *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Thompson, Hunter S. (2000), *Fear and Loathing in America: The Brutal Odyssey of an Outlaw Journalist, 1968-1976. The Gonzo Letters, Volume 2,* ed. Douglas Brinkley, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Thompson, Hunter S. (2008), "Exclusive Interview with Hunter S. Thompson", by Kevin Simonson, *Conversations with Hunter S. Thompson,* ed. Beef Torrey and Kevin Simonson, Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi: 98-107.

Thompson, Hunter S. (2008), "Interview with Hunter S. Thompson", by William McKeen *Conversations with Hunter S. Thompson*, ed. Beef Torrey and Kevin Simonson, Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi: 92-97.

Thompson, Hunter S. (1997), *The Proud Highway: Saga of a Desperate Southern Gentleman, 1955-1967. The Fear and Loathing Letters, Volume 1,* ed. Douglas Brinkley, New York: Ballantine Books.

Tompkins, Jane. (1984), "Masterpiece Theater: The Politics of Hawthorne's Literary Reputation", *American Quarterly* 36, no. 5 (Winter, 1984): 617-642.

Tompkins, Jane. (1985), *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Wenner, Jann S., and **Corey Seymour**. (2007), *Gonzo: The Life of Hunter S. Thompson, An Oral Biography*, New York: Back Bay Books.

Whitmer, Peter O. (1993), *When the Going Gets Weird: The Twisted Life and Times of Hunter S. Thompson, A Very Unauthorized Biography*, New York: Hyperion.

STRESZCZENIE

Tak jak Jane Tompkins badała krąg najbliższych współpracowników, krewnych i znajomych Nathaniela Hawthorne'a oraz oryginalny odbiór jego prac, uważam, że warto przyjrzeć się związkom Huntera S. Thompsona ze światkiem literackim, jak również decyzjom, jakie podjął (jak na przykład przeprowadzenie się na stałe do Colorado), oraz temu w jaki sposób wpłynęły one na jego późniejsze publikacje oraz rozwój kariery. Jego życiowa ambicja, aby zostać okrzykniętym nowym Wielkim Pisarzem Amerykańskim, nigdy się nie ziściła. I choć posiadał, i wciąż posiada, grono oddanych fanów, a jego nazwisko jest stosunkowo dobrze znane, wydaje się, że od początku lat 80-tych aż do swojej śmierci w 2005 nie potrafił uwolnić się od wizerunku wiecznie pijanego, trudnego do współpracy, nieodpowiedzialnego i z lekka niebezpiecznego oryginała. Co ciekawe, jest to postać, którą Thompson sam świadomie zbudował w latach 70-tych.

Marta Werbanowska

Gone Down the American River: Resonances of Ginsberg's Poetry in Saul Williams' Poem *, said the shotgun to the head.*

"On September 11, terrorists from the Middle East who destroyed American immunity to large-scale violence and chaos also forced many American and British novelists to reconsider the value of their work and its relation to the history of the present," claims Pankaj Mishra in his 2007 article on post-9/11 literature in the United States. Indeed, the terrorist attacks which took place on September 11, 2001 and their aftermaths – a general sense of insecurity, great loss and re-discovered national solidarity, which eventually gave grounds for the George W. Bush administration to wage the War on Terrorism – could not have gone unnoticed or ignored by artists of all trades. In his collection of five essays titled *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, Slavoj Žižek states that "in the expectation of a Messianic Event, life comes to a standstill" (7). While it would be at least inappropriate to call the 9/11 attacks a "Messianic Event," it is indisputable that they awoke many Americans, and especially American artists, from a kind of social and political inertia. The "American way of life," a phrase widely used in the context of the post-9/11 threat of terrorism, has always discretely implied the notion of the United States being what DeLillo once called the "narcissistic heart of the West" and what Žižek refers to as the "safe Sphere" (49), meaning that the "horror happens *there*, not *here*" (13) – American citizens are aware of military conflicts, natural disasters and social difficulties around the world but, at the same time, they are somehow convinced about their own immunity to those phenomena, approaching them as "television events" rather than real-life occurrences. Even though the United States participated in both World Wars, as well as other military conflicts of the 20th century (such as the Korean and the Vietnam wars, the Bay of Pigs invasion or the Gulf War), none of these struggles took place within the territory of the United States. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center towers was the first event to make contemporary America aware that it, too, was a part of the global reality and can be susceptible to violence from the outside. Thus, the American "holiday from history" (George 2001) was over. Something was clearly wrong, and that made many American artists become as politically and socially conscious and active in their works as none have been since the late 1950's.

One of the artists who vividly reacted to the political situation of America in the wake of terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq was the New York poet, spoken-word and hip-hop artist, Saul Williams. In 2003, he published a poetry book (composed of a single long poem) titled *, said the shotgun to the head.*, in which he presents a picture – apocalyptic and prophetic at once – of America as "nation in its Saturn years that won't acknowledge karma" (Williams 2003: 57). In the "Acknowledgments" section of the book, Williams expresses his gratitude to "Allen Ginsberg, who kissed me three weeks before his death and told me of the power of chanting OM. His voice [...] echoed through my mind as I wrote this poem" (184). To anyone reading Williams' work, the evocation of Ginsberg's name immediately comes across as anything but accidental – just like the Beat poet's famous "Howl," *, said the shotgun to the head.* touches upon the themes of political activism, messianic prophecies and religious awakening in the Thoreau-esque spirit of civil disobedience.

, said the shotgun to the head. is, as the author foretells in the introduction to the poem, "the account of a man so ravished by a kiss that it distorts his highest and lowest frequencies of understanding" (viii). The speaker in the poem, having been kissed by a female God, wanders the streets, announcing the revelation disclosed to him by his Goddess-lover and exhorting American citizens to embrace her coming, reject the traditional Western values – patriarchal, militant, and aggressive – which he perceives as obsolete, and adopt the new values represented by the "Great Mother" who stands for peace, love, and the joy of self-discovery for every man and woman. This (half-insane) messiah overtly criticizes, renounces and condemns the policy and values supported by the country in which he lives, and his references to the Bush administration and its drawbacks are more than obvious. Therefore, the poem becomes inscribed into the American tradition of civil disobedience, introduced by Henry David Thoreau and continued by many other prominent U.S. authors, from Walt Whitman to Allen Ginsberg. The idea of civil disobedience suggests that it is every citizen's moral obligation to stand against any unjust laws constituted by the government of his or her country. It involves the notion of one's own conscience – rather than legal regulations – being decisive for one's actions. "I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right," (2) states Thoreau in his probably best known essay titled "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience." Thoreau was living during the time in which the American government legally allowed slavery and had just waged war on Mexico, the latter event being the immediate inspiration for writing the essay. Thus, it is not surprising that his ideas had their most vivid revivals in poetry at exactly those periods when the United States would act as an aggressive/oppressive agent again. In 1849, Thoreau asked: "How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it" (3). The same question and identical answer seem to have also been valid in 1956, when Allen Ginsberg published his volume titled *Howl and Other Poems* and still up-to-date in 2003, when Saul Williams' *, said the shotgun to the head.* saw the light of day. Thoreau was voicing his protest against the armed conflict in Mexico; Ginsberg's poem condemns the war in Korea with its tragic aftermaths and the Cold War, whereas Williams' text defies the American invasion in Iraq and the associated War on Terrorism.

The speaker in *, said the shotgun to the head.* is a visionary outcast rejected by a society which does not understand the revelation he tries to preach to its members. In these terms, he is one of the "best minds of [the] generation destroyed by madness" (49), so vividly represented in "Howl." Those "angelheaded hipsters" (49) in Ginsberg's poem were, "for [their] sensualized spirituality, for their frenzied pursuit of [Absolute] Reality, [...] outcasts, driven mad, suicided [...] by society, driven into exile, despised [...]" (Gregory 1984: 387). Their actions - as they "howled on their knees in the subway and were dragged off the roof/ waving genitals and manuscripts" (Ginsberg 1997: 51) – may suggest they were madmen; however, from Ginsberg's point of view they were but visionaries who suffered from rejection and misunderstanding on the part of society. The same sense of alienation, rejection and lack of understanding is experienced by the speaker in Williams' poem. He also wanders amongst the society which refuses to acknowledge the validity of his visions: "my friends laugh at me/ and talk behind my back/ they say that you have/ changed me/ and/ i am/ i am like a survivor /of the flood /walking through the streets /drenched with/ God/ surprised that all of the/ drowned victims/ are still walking and talking" (24-25). The characters in both poems are ones who stand in the tradition of civil disobedience, demonstrating their opposition to the strict, rigid and traditional values of society which "maintains a monopoly on reality, imposing and enforcing a single, materialist-rationalist view" (Gregory 1984: 388). The opposition is perceived by their contemporaries as insanity but, from both authors' point of view, the madness that is this opposition deserves not contempt, but praise; to them it is not a clinical condition, but a metaphorical expression of the poems' characters' refusal of becoming acculturated, rebellion against the norms imposed on (and by) society. Actions they perform – whether running around naked and scribbling "inspired" incantations that no other person may comprehend (Ginsberg) or announcing the coming of a strange Goddess to unknown people in the streets (Williams) – are outside of the Western cultural canon, governed by such values as reason, materialism, belief in science and logic, general skepticism and the rule of patriarchy. The very fact of existence of such individuals may not be comfortable for the American citizenry, since it implies the notion that this Western way of life is not the only right and possible one and, therefore, it constitutes a threat to their comfortable self-righteousness. Any citizen breaching the unspoken pact of social unanimity threatens to shatter the illusion of the nation's omnipotence. In the eyes of the society of Ginsberg's times of the Cold War, the democratic emporium could defeat the plague of communism – if all Americans harmoniously believed in democratic values. Translating this to the reality of Saul Williams' contemporaries, it could be said that Americans believed in their country's capacity to eradicate the peril of terrorism, provided that every one of them supported the actions conducted in order to safeguard the "American way of life." "Declare him mad, and you deny the meaning of his resistance" (Breslin 1987: 29) – viewed from this perspective, madness in "Howl" and *, said the shotgun to the head.* is a denomination for those who declare their opposition to social norms which they consider unethical; it is a token of civil disobedience.

Apart from the presence of outcasts-protagonists, there is another significant element shared by the two works of Williams and Ginsberg; namely, the concept of society presented as an evil God or God-like machinery, demanding unconditional obedience and cruel sacrifices. In "Howl" this force appears as the Moloch; in *, said the shotgun to the head.* it is present as the "male god." Williams' patriarchal God, not unlike Ginsberg's Moloch, originates from biblical imagery. Throughout the poem, he is referred to as the biblical voice from the burning bush (or the "burning Bush," (55) as Williams spells it at one point in the poem, clearly alluding to the aggressive rule of the US President). In the Bible, this voice introduces itself to Moses as the "God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," thus presenting a completely patriarchal perspective. By evoking the name of Abraham and Isaac, he also introduces himself as the God who demands sacrifice from his believers, no matter how atrocious it may be. Ginsberg's Moloch, similarly to Williams' "angry god" of Western values, also demands cruel sacrifice and arouses fear and abomination in the speaker. He is the "heavy judger of men," (Ginsberg 1997: 54) and his believers "broke their backs lifting Moloch to Heaven!" (55). Moloch demands unconditional obedience and conformity to his values, which are composed of "violence, unkindness, alienation, guilt, ignorance, greed, repression and exploitation" (Gregory 1984: 389). It is due to the fact that the society first created Moloch, and then conformed to its rule, that the visionary outcasts referred to earlier are rejected from it. Moloch stands for commercialism ("unobtainable dollars" and "blood [...] running money"), militarism ("the vast stone of war," whose "fingers are ten armies"), sexual repression ("Moloch the loveless") and cold technological development ("Robot apartments" and "smokestacks and antennae crown[ing] the cities"), whereas those who rebel against it have "big pacifist eyes," protest the "narcotic tobacco haze of Capitalism," yearn for sexual liberation (copulating "ecstatic and insatiate") associated with the reunion with natural instincts and the environment (Ginsberg 1997: 49-55). *, said the shotgun to the head.* presents an analogical situation, in which the place of Moloch is taken by the "civilization that worships a male god" (Williams 2003: 65). It is a civilization which preaches patriarchy and at the same time associates it with violence and war-mongering ("your weapons / are phallic / all of them"), glorifies materialism ("earn 20 mill... / to instill fear") over the life of citizens ("your curren(cy)t-sea / reflects an army / of dead men") and denies the naturalness of its sexuality, wearing "chastity belts." The soothsaying narrator of the poem rejects the Moloch-like God who "leads [...] into slavery / and war," proclaiming an idyllic vision of worldwide peace and union of all people ("the drunks vomit in unison / 'though last night they drank from different cups / children laugh and play / introducing their parents / to invisible friends / a country girl smiles") who are "exiting [the] colosseum," symbolically resigning from violence, as well as announcing sexual liberation ("i have committed myself / to adultery / i will only sleep / with GOD's wife / our affair / is no secret / he gets his thrills / from watching us") and the revealing power of nature ("rivers / like oceans / oceans / like answers / questions / in cloud forms / raindrops / in stanzas"), compared to poetry which may affect people and make them want to change their ways. Announcing such visions, the prophet-narrator is labeled as "useless," even "doing the universe or humanity or the future some sort of disservice," (Williams 2003: 38-111) just as Ginsberg's "angelheaded hipsters" were deemed insane and dangerous. Furthermore, similarly to Moloch, the civilization of the male God also disrespects nature ("oil slicked feathers, putrid stenched water-bed/ 'mother nature is a whore,' said the shotgun to the head.") (48). According to the speaker, extolling technological achievements and material possessions while neglecting and disregarding nature and its creations – including the human being – may eventually bring the whole nation to its self-inflicted death. In both "Howl" and *, said the shotgun to the head.* this envisioned suicide actually takes place. The second part of "Howl" ends with the description of people who have experienced an epiphany, shedding light on the cruel world of Moloch and decided they do not want to live in it anymore: "Real holy laughter in the river! They saw it all! the wild eyes! the holy yells!/ They bade farewell! They jumped off the roof! to solitude! waving!/ carrying flowers! Down to the river! into the street!" (55). It is no accident that the form of death they choose is jumping off the roof of a building – after all, Moloch is the "sphinx of cement and aluminum [...] skyscrapers [...] Robot apartments," (54) so a building can be read as an embodiment of Moloch. However, their death is depicted like an act of celebration, not a hopeless and final step. They laugh, wave and carry flowers – the event resembles a joyful rite rather than an act committed out of desperation.

In *, said the shotgun to the head.* there appears a similar moment in a prose-like fragment narrated by a man whose life has been completely absorbed by the Ginsbergian Moloch: he is a white-collar corporate employee, the relationship he is in is devoid of romance and he lacks fulfillment in life, feeling like a cog in the machine. One day, the very moment he finds his true love in the building he works in, strange things happen: "here is our first touch / and here is the trembling building [...]/ everyone running to windows to see what has happened, as smiles slowly rise on our faces like the time between 6:24 and 6:39 over the skyline" (51). It becomes clear to the reader that the two characters are in a building which is being destroyed; the setting inevitably brings to mind associations with the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the collapse of the World Trade Center towers. However, these people do not see the situation they are in the same way in which it is perceived by observers from the outside; they associate the trembling and explosions with themselves and with the love they are discovering. "and down that burning aisle where glass had been strewn like rice we decided to jump the broom, walking off into the will of the divine wind" (51) – their suicide is also not an act of desperation, but of joy. Instead of stepping towards death, they feel as if they were immersing themselves in their newly-found love. The suicides in "Howl" were jumping off rooftops to escape Moloch, whereas Williams' characters exit Moloch at the very moment it is crumbling down. In both poems, those people "Wake up in Moloch" (Ginsberg 1997: 55) – the only way to get beyond the all-controlling system is to die in it and, hopefully, be reborn into a different world. "Although Moloch is demonic, there is nonetheless 'the Angel in Moloch', stunned perhaps, but never killed or displaced" (Breslin 1987: 25). In other words, the reality of Moloch may be just a screen, and another version of reality is underneath it to be found by those who break through that screen. The question is, whether that "hidden" realm is better than the realm of Moloch? At least in the case of Ginsberg's poem, the awakening from Moloch turns out to be frightening and fruitless – the third part of "Howl" presents the narrator in a mental institution locked as a patient, and so it is implied that the only form of escape from Moloch is madness; yet not the glorified, mystical and prophetic kind, but the one leading to physical enclosure and incapacitation even more palpable than before. The lovers in Williams' poem might have been more successful, as in the subsequent parts of the poem a coming of the Great Mother, representing values standing in absolute opposition to Moloch, is described. It may be inferred that their opposition to the world of patriarchal values was one in the series of events which made her coming possible, and their resistance was significant.

However, if the "Footnote to Howl" is read as an integral part of the poem, the fate of those who escape Moloch becomes more ambiguous. This section may, on the one hand, confirm the pessimistic vision of their fate, as it may be read as gibberish incantation of a madman. Constant repetition of the word "holy," chaotic run-on sentences and a large load of exclamations indeed resemble the discourse of a madman. On the other hand, this part of the poem may also offer the salvation those "madmen" have looked for, if it is read as a variation on a Christian hymn. "Footnote to Howl," written in a celebratory tone resembling Whitman's poems, presents the vision of the same world as depicted in the Moloch-section – it also features "solitudes of skyscrapers and pavements [...], rivers of tears [and] the lone juggernaut" (Ginsberg 1997: 57) – yet perceived in a completely different manner, as if the speaker had managed to break through the screen of apparent reality and saw the beauty beneath it. There is spirituality behind the materiality of Moloch, and salvation is there to be found for those who "wake up in Moloch." With such a reading, the poem offers redemption and hope for the previously mentioned social outcasts; what the community labels as madness is, in fact, their inner divine potential. The final sections of *, said the shotgun to the head.* offer a similar reading.

The reader is also faced with repetitions, exclamations and indefinable impressions of the poet-prophet: “do you feel it yet?/ wow [...]/ drink more water/ take deeper breaths [...]/ oh my god/ turn the music up/ why would you not?/ dance!/ yeah!” (163-164). Not unlike the inspired poetic voice in “Footnote to Howl,” the speaker in Williams’ poem finds salvation beyond the civilization of the “male god,” beyond “mannerisms and gestures” (164) – social norms and constraints. What seems important is the fact that in both poems salvation was associated with the bodily, whereas the juggernaut was rather a mental prison. “Mental Moloch!” and “Moloch whose name is the Mind!,” says Ginsberg (54), whereas the soothsayer in Williams’ poem has “surrendered / [his] beliefs / and found [him]self / at the tree of life / injecting [his] story / into the veins / of leaves” (88). Resignation from mental constraints imposed by the Western culture – a cultural suicide – leads to a discovery of the fact that “[t]he essence of everything is holy, only the form may be rotten or corrupted” (Stephenson 1984: 392).

, said the shotgun to the head. inscribes in the tradition of political poetry, reviving the idea of messianistic rebellion so vividly present in Ginsberg’s works. According to the brief sketch of the ways in which American poets have approached socio-political situation of their country in their works since the end of the World War II presented in the “Politics, Pleasure and Poetry in the Eighties” essay by Roger Gilbert, after the tendency to escape into aestheticism in the latter half of the 1940’s, poets in the United States returned to overtly political themes in the late 1950’s. Ginsberg’s texts, particularly poems such as “America” and “Howl,” have found their way into that trend of politically involved works. In the next decade, poetry in America was still to a large extent concerned with politics, although in a slightly different mode, one in which “the political realm becomes a mere projection of the psyche,” (245) whereas in the 1970’s the general tendency in poetry was a “complete withdrawal from politics [...] in the face of the all-too obvious failure of psycho-politics to change the national landscape,” (245) which, speaking very generally, has been continued from then on. In the mid-1950’s America was “a nation lulled into apathy by the prosperity of Eisenhower years,” (244) in the 1980’s it was comfortable again with the Reagan economy, and later, in the 1990’s, with the general economic well-being under the presidency of Bill Clinton. However, just as the 1950’s were not exactly a decade of peace and complacency, but also a decade featuring events such as the war in Korea and senator McCarthy’s Communist witch-hunt, the beginning of the new millennium brought about a dramatic development in the political situation of the United States with the terrorist attacks of 2001 and the subsequent War on Terrorism and the invasion in Iraq. The sense of danger, uncertainty and lack of stability awoke the need to re-establish the sense of sameness and community among American citizens, many of whom became extremely willing to support and help one another, whether economically or spiritually. Accordingly, many poets also believed it to be their moral duty to once again assume the position of the prophetic voices of the nation, pointing out the socio-political problems of their country and calling their readers to action. *, said the shotgun to the head.* is a result of the belief that power carries responsibility, and it is the poet’s duty to open the eyes and the hearts of the nation. Asked about the connection between his art and politics, Saul Williams stated that “when we deal with the current scheme of politics – war and people like Bush and the current regime and all of these things – it’s extremely important for artists and people themselves to speak up and connect their beliefs to their actions and to their artistry. [...] We have a greater responsibility in this day and age because the government is not

doing its responsibility" (Cernansky 2003). Therefore Williams, similarly to Ginsberg, writes in the traditions of messianism and civil disobedience, unmasking what he considers to be wrongdoings of his country's government and predicting a future governed by completely different values.

Bibliography

Breslin, Paul. (1987) *The Psycho-Political Muse: American Poetry Since the Fifties*, Chicago.

Cernansky, Rachel. (2003) "Tuning in with Saul Williams" interview in *Satya Magazine*, 2003, as posted on Alternet. Accessed on March 28, 2011.

http://www.alternet.org/story/16091/q%26a%3A_tuning_in_with_saul_williams/?page=2

Gilbert, Roger. (1992) "Textured Information: Politics, Pleasure and Poetry in the Eighties," *Contemporary Literature Special Issue: American Poetry of the 1980's*, 1992, Vol. 33, No. 2: 243-274.

Ginsberg, Allen. (1997) "Howl," *Selected Poems 1947-1995*, New York: 49-57.

Mishra, Pankaj. (2007)"The End of Innocence," *The Guardian*, May 19, 2007. Accessed on 28 March 2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2007/may/19/fiction.martinamis

Stephenson, Gregory. (1984)"'Howl': A Reading," *On the Poetry of Allen Ginsberg*, Hyde, Lewis, ed., Ann Arbor: 386-393.

Thoreau, Henry David. (1993) "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," *Civil Disobedience and Other Essays*, Smith, Philip, ed., Mineola: 1-18.

Will, George. (2001) „The End of our Holiday from History," *Jewish World Review*, 12 September 2001. Accessed on March 28, 2011.

http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/will091201.asp.

Williams, Saul. (2003) *, said the shotgun to the head.*, New York.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2002) *Welcome to the Desert of the Real: Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates*, New York.

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi próbę analizy porównawczej wierszy autorstwa dwóch amerykańskich poetów: *, said the shotgun to the head.* Saula Williamsa oraz „Howl" Allena Ginsberga. Obydwa wiersze przedstawione zostały jako odpowiedzi artystów na współczesną im sytuację polityczną (tzw. „wojnę z terrorem" w przypadku Williamsa oraz rzeczywistość zimnej wojny u Ginsberga), stanowiące sprzeciw wobec amerykańskiej polityki zagranicznej oraz próbę podważenia obowiązujących norm społecznych. W artykule scharakteryzowane zostały główne elementy wspólne obydwu utworów: obecność tradycji obywatelskiego nieposłuszeństwa, gloryfikacja szaleństwa jako sposobu przeciwstawienia się opresyjnym dogmatom społecznym oraz pojęcie władzy jako nieludzkiego, agresywnego aparatu.

Bartłomiej Biegajło

Three Different Versions of *A Clockwork Orange* in the Polish Cultural Milieu

Quite a large portfolio has been created so far on Anthony Burgess and his most popular, though not most characteristic book, *A Clockwork Orange* (1962). The controversies surrounding this work linger on and continue to attract new readers and literary academics, including translators. Poland is no exception. Here Burgess has been popularised mainly by Robert Stiller who, apart from producing two undoubtedly unique translations of *A Clockwork Orange*, is also noted to have translated three other equally interesting books of this English author: *The Wanting Seed*, *1985* and *Man of Nazareth*. Other notable Polish translators of Burgess include the late Zbigniew Batko (*The Doctor is Sick, 1985*[1]) and Irena Szymańska (*One Hand Clapping*), but also Bohdan Drozdowski (*Napoleon Symphony*) and Cezary Michoński (*A Clockwork Orange*). Unfortunately, Polish translations can be counted in single numbers compared to the vast and diverse literary *oeuvre* of Anthony Burgess – a void the filling of which would be undoubtedly highly appreciated. Barring the obvious under-representation of the English author in Poland, it is still *A Clockwork Orange* that made its most spectacular entrance into the Polish cultural milieu. As indicated, the Polish reading public can enjoy three versions of the novel – an obvious over-representation of a single book – but at the same time a fantastic opportunity to acknowledge its potential. It is also a chance to see where and why the differences between the translations occur and, finally, what impact they have on the final version of each of them.

In introducing the two translations by Robert Stiller, it is quite extraordinary that he translated the book twice – something rarely seen in the world of translation. It certainly brought him a lot of attention and, admittedly, many translation scholars often put forward his translations as a classic example illustrating the complexity of the art of translation as such. Despite the great credit that Stiller can pride himself on, it is necessary to quote in brief some significant data to avoid unnecessary confusion.

Mechaniczna pomarańcza (1987)[2] is a translation that is considered the official translation of *A Clockwork Orange* – the so-called 'version R'. The final letter is short for Russian and granted that *Mechaniczna pomarańcza* is virtually riddled with Russian, the choice of the abbreviation seems highly appropriate. The other rendering, *Nakręcana pomarańcza* (1995), is an English version of *A Clockwork Orange*, however odd it may sound, and is often nicknamed 'version A'. All this goes to emphasise that Stiller produced two distinct translations whose driving force is respectively either Russian or English.

[1] *1985* was a joint translation by Batko and Stiller.

[2] The confusion remains though as far as dates of publication are concerned. The date used here signifies the first complete translation to have come out in Polish. Stiller, however, published selections of his translation as early as 1974 in several instalments in *Literatura na Świecie*. The book referred to here comes from 1999 (see bibliography).

Passing on to the third, the least known translation by Cezary Michoński, I have to point out that, for many reasons, we cannot apply the same token of description as used with respect to Stiller and it is supposed to be neither an advantage, nor a setback. The fact is that out of the total of twenty-one chapters of *A Clockwork Orange* Michoński translated only the very first and Chapter 6 from Part Three. Remembering that thus far only the latter has been published (1987)[3], it seems no surprise that his translation does not have a formal title.[4] Michoński managed to stir a little interest but did not have the chance to reach a wider readership and so his version gave way to Stiller's *Mechaniczna pomarańcza* before sinking into oblivion. Over and above all these considerations, it is finally worth noting that Michoński published his work in the same year Stiller released his complete 'version R'. Much later Stiller levelled severe criticism at the then young student of the English Department at the Marie Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin, quoting a list of mistranslations and downgrading Michoński's attempt in very harsh words. I may risk the claim that his personal attack may have had a crucial impact on Michoński's reluctance to ever think of completing his very decent, and definitely more readable version of *A Clockwork Orange*.

All the above brings us to the question about the specific challenges that the translator of *A Clockwork Orange* faces. It has to be agreed that the very substance of the book is language. Burgess and his creation of an artificial argot that he labelled 'nadsat' was an art in itself. The author defined it as 'a mixture of Russian and demotic English, seasoned with rhyming slang and gypsy bolo' (2002: 37). However, on first approximation, 'nadsat' seems to be a syntactically derailed version of some future idiolect, closer to an attempt at mocking a language rather than making it a serious linguistic medium. Burgess had the following to say: 'since the book was about brainwashing, it was appropriate that the text itself should be a brainwashing device' (38) where 'the exoticisms are gradually clarified by the context' (ibid.). Accordingly, *A Clockwork Orange* emerges as a book written in a pleasantly rootless linguistic combination of English and Russian which Alex – a juvenile delinquent, the protagonist and the narrator in one person – uses to share his compelling story with us. Burgess saw in it 'a fine irony [that] a teenage race untouched by the politics, using totalitarian brutality as an end in itself… drew on the two chief political languages of the age' (ibid.). To all intents and purposes, 'nadsat' half-mists the reign of violence underlying the work and this seems to be the key role that Burgess consciously assigned to his language. The translators who were trying to render *A Clockwork Orange* into other languages have more than often stumbled on choosing an appropriate strategy to make the book as readable as the original without losing the unique properties of language.

To turn to the text itself, I would argue that each written work, and prose in particular, is made of a network of languages, thus echoing here Antoine Berman who wrote in 1985 that 'literary prose collects, reassembles, and intermingles the polylingual space of a community' (2000: 287). By way of example, let us quote a passage from *A Clockwork Orange* which is a good showcase for the claim:

[3] For details see the bibliography.

[4] In practical terms, Michoński actually gave the title to his translated chapter and named it after the title of the first Stiller translation – *Mechaniczna pomarańcza* – and unless it was a formal requirement made by the editorial board, it seems a questionable practice.

1) I jumped, O my brothers, and I fell on the sidewalk hard, but I did not snuff it, oh no. If I had snuffed it I would not be here to write what I written have (1996: 125)[5].

Burgess juggles here with at least two, if not three, Englishes meant to serve a specific and rigidly defined purpose. The fragment is primarily written in Standard English, something Berman called 'a cultivated language' (286), and the job for a translator seems to be relatively easy – one needs to transpose the sentences into their standardised equivalent of a given target language.[6] Everything seems nice and easy until we are confronted with the highly informal phrasal verb 'to snuff it' which Burgess uses as a euphemistic expression, equivalent to the meaning of 'to die'. This kind of vocabulary tells us a lot about the narrator who might be either a child, or a teenager at best, or otherwise wants us to think that he is either of the two, or – a third possibility, probably being most plausible here – this is the only way he can translate his experiences into words. Alex is seemingly entertaining us with constant mock horror wrapped up in almost child-like talk and if we take the trouble to look at the closing lines of the passage, we will be assured that such a train of thought can no longer be ignored. Burgess intentionally ends the sentence by resorting to the ungrammatical form 'what I written have'. It is obviously another hint at Alex's characteristics. Now he is either a teenager who pays no attention to the quality of his language or is merely a juvenile fascinated with violence and, though highly intelligent, lacking in formal education.

Only from the example presented above can it be concluded that Burgess is consciously manipulating his language via instant changes of register. The kind of language Alex uses makes him a character of great appeal. The reader is likely to forget about his violent conduct and find it hard to resist the creation of a personal and, therefore, intimate image of him. Let us now look at the Polish translations of the same passage:

2) Wyskoczyłem ja, o braciszkowie, i ciężko się łomotnąłem o chodnik, ale żebym wykorkował, to nie. Przecież jakbym się zabił, to bym nie mógł napisać tego, co napisałem (1999: 173, trans. R. Stiller).
3) Wyskoczyłem ja, o brajdaszkowie, i ciężko się łomotnąłem o sajdłok, ale żebym wykorkował, to nie. Przecież jakbym się zabił, to bym nie mógł napisać tego, co napisałem (2001: 173, trans. R. Stiller).
4) Wyskoczyłem, o bracia moi, i upadłem ciężko na chodnik, ale nie wykorkowałem, o nie. Gdybym wykorkował, nie było by mnie tutaj, żeby napisać to, com już napisał (1987: 109, trans. C. Michoński).

A cursory glance at the citations reveals substantial variations among the translations. First of all, it is striking how Michoński struggles hard to remain faithful to the original Standard English. Unlike Stiller, Michoński is very meticulous in this respect to the point that, though sounding

[5] All further textual analysis is limited to Chapter 6, Part Three of *A Clockwork Orange*. As mentioned earlier, this is the only available part of Michoński's translation.

[6] This is of course an oversimplification introduced to sharpen the stated contrast. It is commonly known, however, that it usually takes a lot more trouble to strike a balance between the form and the meaning before a relatively equivalent transfer of meaning can ever take place.

smooth and readable, his rendering bears traces of mechanical substitution. It is also worth noting that Stiller feels no inclination to remain linguistically faithful. Both his translations reveal very little care about formal equivalence, as understood by Eugene Nida (1964: 159), and they might suggest a clear inclination towards the domesticating strategy. In fact, and partly as a result of this, the translations show a considerable neglect for the register of the original. Stiller in both his translations quite unnecessarily introduces a non-standard verb, 'łomotnąłęm', as if completely numb to the fact that in this place the original intentionally keeps the flow of Standard English. One more instance is enough to show Stiller's tendency, although this time it works to the texts' advantage. The translator uses the two words – 'braciszkowie' and 'brajdaszkowie' – derivatives from the Polish singular of 'brat' which are supposed to stand for the English 'brother'. Burgess intended to speak directly to his readers and therefore Alex addresses us with the emphatic expression 'O my brothers' – something Michoński failed to acknowledge. Michoński's 'bracia moi' is a sheer calque from the original and seems to evoke a typically religious address made in Church, or a form of rhetoric used among Islamic followers. It does, in fact, imply a degree of intimacy but, seemingly, not the kind assumed in the original. Stiller, on the other hand, introduces colloquial, yet perfectly acceptable diminutives. Not only do they establish a very matey relationship with his readers, but the truth is that they also manage to carry over the fact that Alex is just a teenager.

Going back to the issue of register change, we immediately notice that both translators chose to render 'snuff it' as 'wykorkował'/'wykorkowałem' and it should be stressed that it is a fair choice. The Polish expression is not used overmuch today, slowly becoming obsolete. More than that, it also seems to retain the non-standard quality that the English 'snuff it' appears to possess. We may want to note that Stiller is inconsistent with the application of the expression in question. There is virtually no reason why we would prefer to move on from the excellent 'wykorkowałem' back to the standard and 'gdybym się zabił'. The repetition in the original occurs for a reason. Above all, it testifies to Alex's limited range of vocabulary. Thus it seems safe to assume that Michoński was able to convey the image of a not-well-read Alex, whereas Stiller chose to follow some vague logic that in the long-run would bring us closer to an adaptation than a translation. Finally, the phrase 'gdybym się zabił' has simply a different meaning than 'wykorkowałem'. It suggests 'killing oneself' or a suicidal attempt, which can only be assumed from the context of the original. A comparable degree of interference occurs in the case of the closing line – Michoński attempts to retain the ungrammaticality of the original by turning to the non-standard expression 'com już napisał'. Michoński's closing line testifies to Alex's occasional lapses in grammatical correctness, whereas Stiller's translations leave this part rendered in perfectly Standard Polish 'to bym nie mógł napisać tego, co napisałem'. Consequently, this whole passage distorts the overall picture of Alex stumbling over his English, resulting in the target reader being left with an incomplete image.

So far, we have been mainly concerned with register which, although an integral part of the text, is not its crucial component. As mentioned earlier, what makes *A Clockwork Orange* is 'nadsat' – the Russian for teenager. Many have argued, among them Stiller himself, that Burgess uses Russian loanwords in a mechanical way, therefore demonstrating his lack of consideration for Russian semantics which, as in every language, is ethnic. Burgess actually inserts Russian words into his English text and, in the process, changes its spelling to make it conform to the English. Finally, such vocabulary is made to work within the English inflectional system. Let us take the following examples:

5) Anyway, these three political vecks went (127).
6) I could govoreet a lot better now (127).
7) There were like pictures of chellovecks being given the boot straight in the litso […] (130).

All three sentences reveal the extent of Burgess's experiment. Let us make a recourse straight to Michoński to see the kind of 'nadsat' he has to offer:

8) W każdym razie te trzy polityczne meny wyszły (111).
9) Teraz mogłem spikać dużo lepiej (111).
10) Były też zdjęcia jakichś menów, którym zaaplikowano kopa prosto w fejs […] (113).

Examples (8), (9) and (10) represent perfect examples of rendition which Stiller was so unhappy about. Michoński carefully substitutes Russian words from the original with their closest English equivalents before going over exactly the same process described earlier. On the other hand, it is true that this is sheer multiplication of false semantics, but no one can disagree that, whether intentional or not, this is the picture of 'nadsat' in Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange*. Speaking in linguistic terms, these quotes verify that Michoński has nothing to be ashamed of. However, there is also the other side of the coin which we will now try account for. As illustration, we will look at the respective fragments from *Mechaniczna pomarańcza*:

11) Wsio taki ci trzej politycy się wynieśli (176).
12) Teraz już mogłem dużo lepiej mówić (176).
13) Były też takie obrazki, że filmon jakiś dostaje but w samego ryja … (179).

Although spotting differences is not so difficult, they require a longer comment. These three sentences clearly show that Stiller made serious changes in his translation. In his extensive comments supplied at the end of *Mechaniczna pomarańcza* he can be caught saying: 'it was clear from the beginning that if Anthony Burgess invented this artificial language… the translator would have to invent his own … by suitably recreating Polish'[7] (1999: 221). No doubt Stiller managed to 'recreate' the language and this is also the underlying power of his translation. However, one is tempted to consider at what cost it was achieved. The answer is provided in the very first example presented above. Sentence (11) starts with a complete mess. Stiller adds some Russian, some Non-Standard Polish to end up with Standard Polish. The original (5) was manipulated only by adding the Russian 'vecks', denoting 'guys' in English, but even if we take a quick look at (11) again, we will find no equivalence with the original. First and foremost, this translation reveals an extremely sarcastic attitude towards Russian. It is supposed to mock the language, therefore it partly subscribes to the initial intention of Burgess. However, the load of irony is so heavy and, as a matter of fact, hard to avoid in the case of Russian and Polish, that this translation actually violates both types of equivalence, i.e. formal and dynamic, as presented by Nida (cf. Nida: 1964).

[7] This and any following quotations from Polish originals are in my translation.

Stiller seems to find pleasure in downgrading Russian. It is enough to consider example (13). The translator introduces the word ‘ryj’ which suddenly lowers the register for no apparent reason. It needs to be emphasised that it is not just a single instance of Stiller’s mishap, but a tendency he willingly applies throughout his rewriting. To some degree, however, Stiller’s mode of expression can be justified by his clear regard for semantics which, as we know, is deeply entrenched in the history of a nation. Trying to combine historically such polarised countries as Russia and Poland will always result in some deformation; there is no alternative way or better way. The presented tendencies are just the overall strategy that Stiller took on to translate *A Clockwork Orange*. However, the inconsistency and apparent freedom to mess around with register makes it a translation that is hardly readable. Example (12) raises more questions than answers. For some undisclosed reason, Stiller decides to turn to Standard Polish, although the original evidently avoids any smooth flow of English.

For comparison, let us take a quick glance at *Nakręcana pomarańcza*:

14) In eny kejz ci trzej politycy się wynieśli (176).
15) Teraz już mogłem dużo lepiej mówić (176).
16) Były takie obrazki, że filmon jakiś dostaje but w samego ryja […] (179).

Not a lot of change can be detected, except for 14) where we have English written in a quasi-phonetic transcription. As *Nakręcana pomarańcza* is supposed to be an ‘English’ version, Stiller seems to take his idea for ‘nadsat’ from Michoński, although again he appears to feel free to change the text according to his criterion of equivalence.

Since the examples above have been taken out of context and therefore do not facilitate a full appreciation of the syntactical sensibilities, let us turn to a longer passage:

17) If I had died it would have been better for you political bratchnies, would it not, pretending and treacherous droogs as you are (1996: 126).
18) A jakbym zdechł, to byłoby jeszcze łuczsze dla was, polityczne skur wy bladki wy syny, a co, może nie, zdradzieckie wy po przyjaźni łgarze i w kant naciągacze (1999: 175, trans. R. Stiller).
19) A jakbym zdechł, to byłoby jeszcze beter dla was, polityczne skur wy bladki wy syny, a co, może nie, zdradzieckie wy po przyjaźni łgarze i w kant naciągacze (2001: 175, trans. R Stiller).
19) Czyż nie lepiej pasowałby wam, politycznym bastardom, gdybym umarł, wam udającym i perfidnym menom (1987: 110, trans. C. Michoński).

Michoński’s translation 20) sounds almost like a fairytale if we put it together with Stiller’s foul language. In 17) we see Burgess using the word ‘bratchnies’ which signifies a ‘bastard’ in English. The English language is very flexible in terms of using taboo words and there is always a degree of dissonance between the application of such a word and its actual meaning. The latter is always inferred from the context. As we can see, Alex expresses his anger here, but in no way does he try to be as vulgar as Stiller makes him in both his translations.

After careful analysis, one more point arises, namely that there is virtually not much difference between 'version R' and 'version A'. What it seems to suggest instead is that in the case of 'version A', the translator made a mechanical substitution of some lexical units and later these places were filled with quasi-English loanwords.

Stiller prides himself on creating a syntactically referential 'nadsat', something at which Michoński apparently failed. On the other hand, it was Stiller who was able to acknowledge that a mixture of Russian and Polish would and should constitute a very dynamic and explosive amalgamate. At the same time, however, it does not give a green light to a multiple of alterations whose consequences are significant – they contribute to the lowering of register as well as violate Nida's types of equivalence. Burgess wanted to strike a balance between the many brutal events in the book and the language that would somehow blur them somewhat. Stiller wanted to shock his readership with both the plot of the book and the language which does not only fail to play the role initially assumed by Burgess, but even more, magnifies the violence. And finally, Michoński wanted to emulate the experiment presented by Burgess that would never work exactly in the same way for the very obvious reason that it involves a completely different pair of languages, with a different history and different semantics. In other words, different ethnic systems will always be absorbed, which leads us to the conclusion that translating *A Clockwork Orange* can never take place without seriously sacrificing part of the ethnicity of the target culture.

Bibliography

Berman, Antoine. ([1985] 2000), "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign", trans. L.Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. L. Venuti, London: 284-297.

Burgess, Anthony. ([1962] 1996), *A Clockwork Orange*. London.

Burgess, Anthony. (1987), "Mechaniczna pomarańcza", trans. C. Michoński, *Akcent*, 1987 no 2(28): 109-115.

Burgess, Anthony. ([1987] 1999), *Mechaniczna pomarańcza*, trans. R. Stiller, Kraków.

Burgess, Anthony. ([1995] 2001), *Nakręcana pomarańcza*, trans. R. Stiller, Kraków.

Burgess, Anthony. (2002), *You've Had Your Time*, London.

Nida, Eugene. (1964), *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden.

Stiller, Robert. (1999), "Burgess a sprawa polska", *Mechaniczna pomarańcza*, Kraków: 221-239.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest analiza porównawcza trzech zgoła odmiennych tłumaczeń powieści Anthony'ego Burgessa *A Clockwork Orange* na język polski. Tłumaczeniami poddanymi analizie są: *Mechaniczna pomarańcza* i *Nakręcana pomarańcza* Roberta Stillera oraz Rozdział 6 z Części Trzeciej Cezarego Michońskiego. Rozważania można podzielić na dwie zasadnicze części, będące jednocześnie językowym rdzeniem całej książki: analiza decyzji powziętych przez tłumaczy podczas przekładu rejestru języka, jak i rozwiązań zastosowanych do przekładu niepowtarzalnego slangu obecnego w wersji oryginalnej. Artykuł jest próbą opisania różnic etnicznych wielorakiego rodzaju, mających kluczowy wpływ zarówno na strategie tłumaczeniowe obu tłumaczy jak i ostateczny kształt każdego z trzech tłumaczeń.

Marcin Gołąb

The Internet Reception of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* and the Laws of the Hypertext

James Joyce was undoubtedly one of the most outgoing literary innovators of the 20th century, and is probably the best-known author who experimented with language and literary forms so extensively and intensively. The critical reception of his works changed dramatically throughout his lifetime, from opinions of indecency and gratuitous riddle-making to enthusiastic approval and acknowledgement of his literary mastery.

Throughout the years, some of Joyce's works became extremely popular[1] with audiences and critics alike, most notably *Ulysses*, which is regarded as the defining text of literary modernism along with "The Dead", the final story in *The Dubliners,* and T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland*. However, his crowning achievement as a writer, in which Joyce had invested roughly one third of his lifetime, *Finnegans Wake*, gained a following mostly among dedicated scholars and remains largely unread by regular audiences.

It might be said that *Finnegans Wake* demands so much from its readers that it is hardly surprising it never reached the popularity of *Ulysses*, although the extremism of its literary method made it both useful and interesting for critics. As Joyce himself acknowledged after finishing *Ulysses*, he "put so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing what [he] meant" (Ellmann 1982: 521). To this day academics still argue, ensuring that the field of Joyce studies is rich and varied. A contemporary overview of the critical reception of Joyce's writings in Europe can be found in the collection of academic essays entitled *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*, edited by Geert Lernout and Wim van Mierlo, scholars associated with the Antwerp James Joyce Centre. The two-volume collection, published in 2004, illustrates how Joyce was read, interpreted and translated in various European countries throughout the 20th century.

Contemporary critics and scholars of Joyce will notice, however, that there is also a great deal of content relating to his work online, a good part of which is available for free to any interested parties. The comprehensive nature of the Internet content dealing with Joyce studies in general and the analysis of *Finnegans Wake* in particular is rather impressive, and provokes questions about the Internet as a medium for literary research in the context of Joycean criticism. In this article, I will attempt to briefly introduce the benefits and dangers that the Internet offers to readers in general, and to demonstrate how these conditions influence the materials a Joyce scholar can find online.

---

[1] In 1999 the *Time* magazine listed Joyce as one of the 100 most important people of the 20th century, in a subdivision entitled "Artists and Entertainers: Twenty Pioneers of Human Expression who Enlightened and Enlivened Us", where he was ranked among such "pioneers" as Oprah Winfrey and Bart Simpson but also The Beatles, Le Corbusier and Charles Chaplin. Joyce was also one of the two writers who made it to the list, the other being T.S. Eliot. Considering the nature of this ranking, it is safe to claim that the fathers of literary modernism unintentionally became icons of popular culture. The list is available online at: http://205.188.238.181/time/time100/artists/.

Eighteen years ago, in 1993 Stuart Moulthrop's article entitled "You Say You Want a Revolution? Hypertext and the Laws of Media", previously published in an online journal, appeared in print. Just before the World Wide Web market boom of the mid 1990s, and perhaps a decade before the Internet settled as the primary medium which it is today, Moulthrop sought to define the "hypertextual space" with reference to postmodern schools of thought. In particular, he drew upon the notes of Marshall McLuhan, who proposed, in his unfinished project "Laws of Media", four questions which might be asked about any invention: (1) What does it enhance or intensify?; (2) What does it render obsolete or displace?; (3) What does it retrieve that was previously obsolete?; (4) What does it produce or become when taken to its limit? (Leitch et al. 2001: 2513). Moulthrop asks these questions about the hypertext and his answers are particularly interesting today, read with the great benefit of hindsight and from the position of a person who already takes for granted the phenomena which were only being theorised about in the article. While media streaming, file sharing or the possibility of posting short comments on various websites are not explicitly enumerated in the article, they can be seen as embodiments of the properties of the hypertext which are touched upon in the text. It is the matter of how hypertext will affect literacy and the medium of the written text in general that is one of Moulthrop‘s main concerns, which also makes his analysis particularly relevant to this discussion.

Moulthrop proposes that the hypertext strengthens associative thinking and pattern recognition, which can bolster the reader‘s mind with an enhanced capability of finding connections and links, a "paranoia" as described by Thomas Pyncheon (Leitch et al.: 2513). As to the question concerning the things which will be made obsolete by the advent of the new technology, Moulthrop answers that hypertext will mark "the end of the death of literature" (Letch et al.: 2515), because the primary enemy of literacy is oral culture, which is represented by the radio and television. The textual nature of digital data transmission, as well as the very way in which digital environments are programmed, should support literacy and reading, at the same time drawing people away from the "idiot box" (Leitch et al.: 2515).

However, it is interesting to note here that Moulthrop acknowledges that, in all likelihood, the nature of the hypertextual space will see the widespread dissemination of content in formats different than texts. Video, sounds and images would spread throughout the cyberspace if the possibility emerged, and as we see today they have become standard features of most web pages. Moulthrop speculates how the emotional content promoted in various formats by popular culture might overshadow the opportunities granted to literature by the hypertextual space: "talking books in homeboy jive? Street rap mixed over Eliotic scholia? Nintendo with delusions of cinema? Or worse, could we be thinking of yet more industrial light and magic...?" (Leitch et al.: 2516).

The hypertext and cyberspace reintroduce literacy, but this is not a mere reinstitution of printed literature in a world dominated by the oral culture of television. It is primarily the newfound opportunity of writing and publishing texts, at the same time foregoing the middlemen in the form of editors, publishers and ultimately the investors controlling their companies. In cyberspace one can publish freely, regardless of any external factors. Furthermore, the form of the text is completely unrestricted, it can be organised in any desired manner, irrespective of pre-established patterns.

The limits of the expansion of the hypertextual cyberspace remain unclear. On the one hand it seems that the new medium might fall prey to institutionalisation, selling out to big companies and becoming more like the electronic media spawned in the analogue era. On the other hand, the nature of the hypertext and its proposed social structure run against hierarchies and property, suggesting "a decentered space of literacy and empowerment where each subject acts as kubernetes … steering her way across the intertextual sea." (Leitch et al.: 2521).

Looking back at Moulthrop's formulations we see that many of his predictions were rather accurate. In the Internet age, authorship is claimed by almost every computer user who posts commentaries on community portals, blogs and content-based websites such as YouTube. Everybody writes and reads online, but the vast majority of this "recurrence of literacy", or "secondary literacy" as Moulthrop defines it (Leitch et al.: 2518), is concerned with entertainment rather than scholarship, with shallow formulations of an emotional character. The immense flow information over the Internet is composed not only from text, but from videos, music files, images and animations forming the interface of websites, utility files such as updates for anti-virus software, games being played online, indexing applications in search engines, and countless other purposes to which the Internet is put every day by hundreds of millions of users.

Nevertheless, in the "decentered space of literacy", there are numerous places created and maintained because of a specialist interest in some subject and these places are invaluable pools of knowledge, offering easy access to vast bodies of specialist information. Within the field of literary criticism, these are not only websites run by universities, but also tools and databases created by enthusiasts who are not professional academics. One may find discussion groups and online versions of scholarly journals, websites listing news and media concerning particular authors, databases with texts which have no copyright, or texts which the authors have agreed to share in the public domain. Some of these websites offer their contents for free, others sell them to individuals as well as institutions, such as other universities, which subsequently offer online articles to their students.

All of this is well-known information, but it helps to classify the various materials that a Joyce scholar will find online. Among the most useful groups of websites devoted to studying Joyce are collections of critical texts maintained by academic institutions. Notable examples of such databases are the James Joyce Scholar Collection, hosted by the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, and Genetic Joyce Studies, maintained by the University in Antwerp.

The Wisconsin Collection is a database of critical texts concerning the field of Joyce studies. It hosts digitalised versions of full books which are already out of print but have proven themselves to be valuable for scholars of Joyce. Many of these titles are seminal works of criticism, mostly concerned with *Finnegans Wake,*[2] and all of them offer insightful information for a reader of Joyce. Among the 16 books in the Collection there are three lexicons explaining the foreign words in Latin, Greek, Gaelic and German that can be found in *Finnegans Wake*, Roland McHugh's *The Sigla of Finnegans Wake*, which may be regarded as an introduction to the field of genetic studies alongside *A First Draft Version of Finnegans Wake* edited by David Hayman, Adaline Glasheen's *Third Census of Finnegans Wake,* which is an index of names found in Joyce's dream novel, explaining many references found in the text. All of these authors were leading Joyce scholars of their generation, and reading their works not only helps to understand the texts they analyse, but also the writings of modern academics dealing with the same subject matter.

[2] The fact that these books are out of print, and unavailable even at university libraries (not counting the print-outs offered individually at the JoyceColl website) is one piece of evidence for the lack of widespread popularity of Joyce's final work.

The James Joyce Scholar Collection utilises the Internet to keep certain specialist books available to everyone. While such an approach is not particularly ground-breaking, it popularises academic knowledge and offers everyone an opportunity to take a deeper look at Joyce's difficult writing, although it must be admitted that these elucidations do not make for easy readings either. One should bear in mind that all the works of the Irish writer are currently available online free of charge, and although there are copyright editions sold in paper, anyone with access to the Internet can read Joyce for free. This makes the potential target group of the Wisconsin Collection fairly large, although realistically few readers are able to read a book, or indeed any longer text online due to the over-development of associative thinking mentioned by Moulthrop and briefly described earlier.

In order to elucidate this point, it is worth noting here that this Pyncheonean "paranoid" mode of reading, constantly looking for links and focusing on peripheral meanings, encouraged by the hypertextual nature of the Internet, has recently come into public scrutiny. Frustrated readers are discovering that they can no longer follow traditional texts with long linear structures based on logical arguments. In an article published in *Tygodnik Powszechny*[3], Polish popular fiction writer Jacek Dukaj[4] attempts to describe the process by which the human mind switches from the artificially taught process of reading long texts to the primordial state of finding associations in the surrounding environment. Dukaj argues that the former state of mind is painstakingly encouraged by long hours of practising reading, while the latter is primal and begins to dominate as we navigate the Internet, evaluating which links to open, which tabs to close and how to operate the various interfaces on the myriads of portals and websites we visit. The "primal" mode is dominant because it is the same thought process used by opportunistic animals adjusting to surrounding conditions. When the Internet becomes the mind's environment, this is the thinking we will revert to according to Dukaj.

Instead of longer texts, the Internet accustoms us to short pieces of information, such as comments and blogs. As the mind adjusts itself to sift through dozens of small fragments of texts, it later has trouble readjusting in order to grasp the contents of a long novel or an academic article. The result is that the reader becomes impatient and frustrated with the traditional medium. Whilst Dukaj's thoughts represent personal experience rather than the results of any scientific study, they nevertheless offer an interesting perspective on the subject of reading online texts, be they criticism or literary fiction. For many readers, despite free access to literature in the public domain, reading is tied to printed forms and the common explanation that it is caused by the brightness of computer screens seems insufficient. There are hundreds of millions of users registered on various web portals, such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and thematic forums, a fact which testifies that contemporary man is content to spend a significant portion of his day in front of the computer even after work.

[3] All translations are mine. The article is entitled "Too Long, Didn't Read."

[4] Dukaj is not the only person voicing his concerns about the ways in which the mind readjusts itself in order to handle the hypertext. American publicist Nicholas Carr discuses the same problem in greater detail in his recent book (2010). Additionally, researchers at Stanford University in North Carolina have published a study in which they "demonstrate that the introduction of home computer technology is associated with modest but statistically significant and persistent negative impacts on student math and reading scores." For more information see Jacob Vigdor and Helen Ladd's *Scaling the Digital Divide: Home Computer Technology and Student Achievement*.

People are not, however, content to spend their time in front of the computer reading novels and in this respect James Joyce's lengthy and difficult prose is no exception.[5]

Not only does it seem unlikely that Joyce and his critics will be fully appreciated online, despite the free access to premium materials such as the JoyceColl website, but it also seems that paper readership might dwindle in the future, if it is indeed true that the Internet holds sway over primordial information processing that hinders the ability to focus on reading. And yet there are many good resources for Joyce studies on the Internet. Perhaps then, the reason motivating their existence lies in their intended aims as aids for those who are already interested in Joyce's prose or as avenues of expression for literary enthusiasts, undeterred by the niche status of their work.

Moulthrop's accurate application of McLuhan's first Law of Media to the hypertext explains how the Internet sabotages traditional modes of reading. However, when discussing high modernist literature, where experimental literary techniques often constitute the major portion of the text, readers are likely to require specialist training or skills. It might be difficult to read the hypertext, but reading Joyce or Eliot is not that easy either.

In fact, *Finnegans Wake* and certain passages from *Ulysses* may be regarded as heralds of the hypertext from the inter-war period, in which references to other texts of culture form the core of storytelling. For example, on their journey from the brothel to Bloom's house, Bloom and Stephen talk about music, after which Stephen proceeds to sing and translate a ballad by Johann Jeep, a 17th century German composer, the opening lines of which are quoted in German (*Ulysses*: 773). There is no explanation who Johann Jeep was, nor are the lines in German actually translated for the reader. Throughout the singing Bloom's thoughts wonder elsewhere and after two pages the reader is only reminded of the ballad again when Joyce quotes the closing line (*Ulysses*: 775). Because of the realism in the novel the ballad is not dismissed in typical narrative fashion with merely a passing mention, but is given concrete shape as far as Bloom's attention allows him to listen, a mere three lines. However, because the song really exists, the reader may remember it, or, more likely, trace a recording of a performance and listen to it. It is an explicit hypertextual reference to a text of culture from outside the novel, and it is but one of many such references in *Ulysses,* however surprising in its gratuitous obscurity. Today, we might imagine an embedded music or video file with the fragment of the ballad placed between lines of text.

In *Finnegans Wake* almost every page features multiple instances of intertextuality, which is the partial reason for the novel's difficulty. Some passages, however, read like lists of Internet key-words, directly linking the events in the book with other texts, such as the chapter in which Earwicker's children study their textbooks. In this chapter the main text is surrounded by side notes on the left and the right and footnotes. Throughout pages 306-307 the notes on the left side enumerate famous names from the classical and biblical traditions, while the main text provides mock-titles that may be somehow linked to those names, e.g.: "*Adam, Eve*. The Voice of Nature in the Forest, Your Favourite Hero or Heroine," (the left-hand notes are in italics), "*Theocritus*. American Lake Poetry", "*Prometheus*. Santa Claus", etc. (*Finnegans Wake*: 306-307).

[5] At the time of writing this article (March 2011), Project Gutenberg, a large online database of free books in text format lists 13 376 downloads for Joyce's *Ulysses*, while the currently "Most Viewed" clip on the YouTube homepage has 401 676 views and shows a football player kicking an owl.

These examples help to illustrate that what Joyce scholars have often needed, but what was painfully difficult to acquire for fifty years of reading this dauntingly complex prose, is immediate access to vast bodies of knowledge, necessary for understanding obscure references, some of which play key roles in the conceptual construction of lengthy novels. Tracing Joyce's riddles in hard-to-come-by books was not a pleasant task in times before information became accessible at a whim.

After decades of toil and gathering reference materials the "paranoid" links that dominate the hypertextual space come to aid researchers. A splendid example of how the Internet assists the Joycean scholar is *The Finnegans Wake Extensible Elucidation Treasury*, or *FWEET*, created by a non-academic Joyce scholar Raphael Slepon. *FWEET* is a customisable search engine with over thirty separate functions that enable searching the text of *Finnegans Wake* and tens of thousands of annotations compiled from various sources, including the celebrated *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* by Roland McHugh and the edited *Buffalo Notebooks*, which contain Joyce's collected notes for his monstrous masterpiece.[6] Although the author warns his users that some of the data he puts in the search engine might be incorrect, or contain mistakes, the search engine remains an impressive effort, which makes searching the text of the dream novel much easier. The discerning scholar will have other reference material to minimise the chances of mistakes and it is also worth noting that many of the annotations found in various sources remain approximations – they are plausible but do not necessarily convey what Joyce had intended.

FWEET offers an answer to McLuhan's second Law of Media: computerised hypertext algorithms displace the necessity of materially possessing sources of reference. Instead, all the sources are centralised in cyberspace, and managed by an interface which allows easy access to all the data from one vantage point. Thus, when developed to its limit, it affords for the first time, in the study of *Finnegans Wake*, an ease of acquiring clarity, which was never before present to this degree, answering the third and fourth questions posed by the Laws of Media.

In conclusion, it might be said that essentially what the hypertextual space of the Internet provides to Joycean scholars is the ease of obtaining information. Simply put, it does exactly what Information Technology strives to accomplish. The optimistic aspect of the existence of comprehensive websites dedicated to Joyce studies is that there are still people who study his writings and they use new developments in technology in order to make their work easier. Additionally, they provide help for others in an accessible environment. The negative aspect is that the readers' energies, which could be put into interpreting works of literature appear to be thwarted by the nature of the very medium which creates fascinating opportunities for scholarship. It seems that what Moulthrop hinted at in 1993 when he wrote about the associative modes of thinking in hypertextual space, is now being confirmed by experience and research. If one remains weary of the dangers the new media pose, nothing should stop one from reaping their rewards.

[6] These notebooks comprise over 10 000 pages, and are being edited and published by the scholars from the Antwerp University.

Bibliography

Dukaj, Jacek. (2010) "Za długie, nie przeczytam..." *Tygodnik Powszechny* 2010/34. http://tygodnik.onet.pl/33,0,51179,za_dlugie_nie_przeczytam,artykul.html

Ellmann, Richard. (1982) *James Joyce*. Oxford.

Joyce, James. (2000) *Ulysses*. London.

Joyce, James. (1975) *Finnegans Wake*. London.

Hayman, David, et al., eds. *James Joyce Scholar Collection*.

http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/JoyceColl

Lernout, Geert. Van Mierlo, Wim. (2004) *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe*. London.

Moulthrop, Stuart. (1993) "You Say You Want a Revolution? Hypertext and the Laws of Media." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. Eds. Leitch, B. Vincent et al. New York: 2504-2524

Slepon, Raphael. (2011) *The Finnegans Wake Extensible Elucidation Treasury* (*FWEET)*. http://www.fweet.org

Vigdor, Jacob. **Ladd, Helen**. *Scaling the Digital Divide: Home Computer Technology and Student Achievement*. http://www.nber.org/papers/w16078

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł omawia odbiór czytelniczy *Finnegans Wake* Jamesa Joyce'a w internecie jako przykład szerszego zjawiska – czytelnictwa w cyberprzestrzeni. Autor odowłuje się do tez Stuarta Moulthropa dotyczących hiper-tekstualności i bada ich przydatność w odniesieniu do wybranych stron internetowych poświęconych *Finnegans Wake*. Z analizy wynika, że internet jako medium nie sprzyja rozwojowi tradycyjnie pojmowanego czytelnictwa, ale w przypadku ostatniej powieści Joyce'a może dać szybki dostęp do potrzebnych informacji. To dzięki hiper-tekstualności cyberprzestrzeni literaturoznawcy otrzymali narzędzie do analizy prozy pełnej intertekstualnych odniesień.

Maciej Sulmicki

Why Do We Need Neo-Victorian Fiction? A Survey of the Functions Served by British Novels Looking Back to the Nineteenth Century

Every age,
Through being beheld too close, is ill-discerned
By those who have not lived past it.
— Elizabeth Browning, *Aurora Leigh*

If we assume the problem in the epigraph to be presented accurately, i.e. a person always lacking distance to the period in which s/he lives, the effects of writing about one's own times seem to be inherently flawed. If one nevertheless wants to see the problems of the present from a distance, there appear to be two solutions. One is to wait until contemporary affairs become matters of the past and the other is to search for similar problems in previous times. Through reading of the past in the present, one is always endowed with a double vision. The epoch portrayed is seen from the point of view of when the text is being read while at the same time the reader sees the contemporary situation through parallels and connotations with the presented past which allows for a more equilibrized view of both.

The above can be seen as a starting point for a discussion of the question posed in the title of this paper: what are the reasons for the popularity in recent decades of contemporary novels at least partly set in the Victorian age, usually taking up a dialogue between past and present. Two aspects of the problem need to be addressed: why has the popularity of such fiction grown since the 1980s[1] and why has it been neo-Victorian rather than, for example, neo-Georgian or neo-Elizabethan. Before these questions are addressed, however, it would be useful to elaborate on reasons for returning to the past in general.

Why are those present interested in the past?

Chris Hopkins in the textbook *Thinking About Texts* enumerates in the chapter entitled 'Why Historicise?' 11 reasons for the study of history. These include: curiosity about the past, an urge to preserve knowledge of the past, a temporary escape from the present, a sense of useful alternatives to the assumptions of the present, a desire to know what changes have happened in human life, a desire to know how we became what we now are, a desire to cope with the present through knowing about the past and a love of debate about things which can never be conclusively proved (2009: 287-288).

[1] Although the first neo-Victorian novels are considered to have appeared in the second half of the 1960s – Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) and John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Women* (1969) – the 1980s are considered to be the beginning of the revival of the Victorian era in the British novel (Gutleben 2001:5-6).

All of these motivations can also be applied to reading/writing historical novels. Especially taking into consideration the recently increasingly visible tendency to precede the writing of a novel with meticulous research - including studying primary and secondary sources to which the reader is often referred for further information. These references are at times simply a bibliography, as in the case of a standard historical paper. Hence, in Wesley Stace's *Misfortune* the reader is presented with two pages of 'Suggested Further Reading' followed by a note on which texts were useful in the construction of which parts of the novel. The body of Matthew Kneale's *English Passengers* is preceded by a 'Note on Language' - explaining the approach used to create a mode of expression appropriate for a 19th century Aborigine - and followed by an epilogue foregrounding the sources used in re-creating a fictional version of recorded events, as well as the speech of Manx characters. Similarly, in *Sweet Thames*, Kneale precedes the story with a note in which he states that 'the more strange, painful or ludicrous an incident may seem, the more closely based upon actual occurrences it is likely to be' (2001: 7) and explains which historical characters and institutions are referred to by their fictional counterparts. Sonia Overall, in the appendix to her novel, 'Facts into Fiction – *The Realm of Shells* and the Margate Shell Grotto,' elaborates on what sources she looked into and how the documents she found influenced the shape of the novel. Finally, in the 'Notes' to D.J. Taylor's *Kept*, exact references (page numbers included) are made to source texts, explanations are provided on who the historical characters in the novel are and where information on them was taken from, and the author acknowledges 'the direct influence' of twelve Victorian novelists (2007: 471). As this brief overview shows, much importance is attached to setting the fictional world down on firm historical pillars.

Such a meticulous approach suggests that novelists find it important to preserve a knowledge of the past, while at the same time wishing for their efforts to have an influence on reality – modern times. This would justify the pains taken to underline the links between fiction and reality which in turn foreground the connections between (hi)story and the present. These connections are also often underlined in the main, fictional body of the novel. Even D.J. Taylor's novel, seemingly bereft of references to the present, is preceded by an anachronistic motto from Proust suggesting that the reader should search for meanings beneath the surface. More overt ways of providing a link to the late 20th/early 21st century are contemporary narrators (*The Crimson Petal and the White*), early 20th century narrators looking back on the Victorian times they lived through (*Misfortune*, *The Unburied)* or authors' notes, as in Kneale's novels. Along with the studious approach to history described above, such tropes suggest that the model reader assumed by the text (cf. Eco 2007: 24-25) rather than seek an escape in narratives of times past, wants to explore their links with the present-day. This does not of course determine how an individual reader will approach the text – a 900-page historical novel about a prostitute or a 500-page one[2] about a transvestite can also serve as an escape from reality if one refuses or fails to reflect on their possible implications for the present.[3] The form of the novel in general, and a voluminous one in particular, can be seen as an escape from today's fast-paced world. Rather than forcing the recipient to register hundreds of brief messages, signals

[2] The volume of these volumes can also be seen as an allusion to Victorian times, when the serialized form of novels combined with the dearth of other forms of home entertainment had their part in the impressive length of nineteenth-century novels.

[3] Sharon Weltman argues that in the case of neo-Victorian plays, the intended aim is in fact not to 'awaken audiences to their own faults' but rather 'to validate [them] in their self-satisfaction' (2002: 91).

or other tweets, it allows for the immersion in a single more or less continuous narrative. The text in turn, much like a journey to a foreign country, provides the reader with new information and a new point of view – the first mostly on the place and times to which the imaginary journey takes place and the latter also on the coordinates in which the book is being read.

Whence the victory of Victoriana?

But why now (since the 1980s) and why then (the 19th century)? As may be expected, there is no simple answer. Multiple factors could have influenced the growing popularity of neo-Victorian fiction at the end of the twentieth century. A hundred years passing since the death of Queen Victoria was certainly one of the reasons for a renewal of interest in the nineteenth century.

On the one hand, the centenary is a time for reflecting on how much has changed during the twentieth century, what contemporary Britain still has in common with its Victorian counterpart, and what we can learn from and about the nineteenth century.[4] Changes were evident, with the process of decolonization visible in every year between 1979 and 1986 (except 1985) being marked by the independence of another part of the British Empire, including Canada and Australia. At the same time, the United Kingdom had recently joined the European Union which was expanding simultaneously to the British Empire's shrinking. Although there were fewer subjects living in colonies, the number of postcolonial inhabitants of the British Isles was increasing. Many changes were taking place, but similarities and parallels were visible between contemporary processes and those which occurred during the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the 1980s were a time when the times of Victoria began to be used in political discourse, usually in a rather one-sided manner, either as a golden age of stability, self-reliance and cleanliness or as a miserable time of exploitation and poverty (cf. Samuel 1992: 9, Joyce 2007: 4-5). Writers seem to have felt an obligation to provide a counterbalance to these speeches through a more elaborative and balanced view of the period and exploring the question of the extent to which we can in fact know what the past was like. Such studies were all the more relevant when many of the problems from the times of the bloom of industrialization, i.e. high unemployment and growing inequality between the rich and the poor, reappeared during the process of deindustrialization and privatization implemented by Margaret Thatcher. A significant difference between the two periods appears to be the change of accent in political discourse – from social cohesion to individual fruition, as exemplified in Thatcher's (in)famous statement that 'there is no such thing as society' (Keay 1987: n.pag.). The study of individuals – for it is with these that the novel has been concerned since its beginnings (cf. Watt 2001: 14, 84) – in the nineteenth century was one of the ways to explore how much was changing and whether these changes were for the better or rather the same problems were reappearing.

Another result of around a hundred years having passed since the death of Queen Victoria was very few people (nowadays nobody[5]) remembering those times from first-hand experience.

[4] As the Amazon.co.uk review of Matthew Sweet's *Inventing the Victorians* points out, 'A century after Queen Victoria's death there is a scramble to re-evaluate and explode many of the myths attached to Victorian Britain.'

[5] According to Wikipedia, the oldest person living in the United Kingdom in March 2011 was born in September 1899 and therefore was less than two years old when Victoria died. The oldest living person in the world was four and a half at the time of the Queen's death.

Apart from resulting problems with determining what the nineteenth century was like to those who lived in it, the passage of time naturally resulted in a growing nostalgia. In consequence of both tendencies, the Victorian age became increasingly associated with its cultural representations: novels, movies, memorabilia, fashions, etc. (cf. Kucich, Sadoff 2000: xi-xiii, Bailin 2002: 39). One of the reasons for Victoriana becoming popular at the end of the twentieth century may be the fact that the distance between 'now' and 'then' is large enough to arouse nostalgia and enable the simplifications necessary to talk of the period as a whole,[6] while at the same time small enough to allow for a feeling of familiarity (as opposed to, for example, the Middle Ages). Despite customs, fashions and products undoubtedly being different from those of today, they were in many cases already the harbingers of their twentieth-century counterparts (cf. Sweet 2001).

Although the reasons for the growth of popularity of products relating to the nineteenth century cannot be unambiguously ascertained, it seems almost certain that once a critical mass was achieved, the fashion became in part self-propelled: more works relating to the Victorian age were produced due to its popularity and their presence confirmed this popularity also among consumers. The fact that neo-Victorian fiction has lately become frequently discussed in the academic world is likely to have its part in upholding its popularity.[7]

New and old functions of the past in the present

Many of the explorations conducted by both writers and scholars of neo-Victorian fiction focus on the problem of the past as a construct and methods of constructing the past on the basis of existing documents and monuments. Nancy Armstrong summarizes the problem well in the postscript to the *Victorian Afterlife* collection:

> Postmodernism does not consider repetition a lie so much as a fiction on its way to accumulating the historical sedimentation that it takes to become truth, and postmodernism consequently has no interest in peeling back the stereotype to discover an interiority that has been distorted or concealed from view. Indeed, postmodernism asks, what if the most oft-repeated and banal aspects of our culture – rather than the curious and inaccessible excavations of modernism – are the only basis for our selves? (Armstrong 2000: 318-9)

Despite neo-Victorian fiction being at times presented not as a branch of postmodernism (Kucich, Sadoff), but as closer to realism (Kucała), or as a compromise between the two (Gutleben), there is a general consensus to postmodernism having had a significant influence on the form and content of neo-Victorian novels. This is probably best visible in novels directly exploring the relationship between the past and the present through two parallel story lines, such as Graham Swift's *Ever After* or A.S. Byatt's *Possession*. In the case of the first novel, the contemporary narrator underlines not only the fluid nature of his personality and the doubts as to how much of it is reflected in his writing, but

[6] Lytton Strachey's famous statement claiming that 'The history of the Victorian Age will never be written: we know too much about it.' thus lost its validity. Contemporary writers and readers acquired the 'ignorance, which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits' (Strachey 2006: 1).

[7] A peer-reviewed journal of *Neo-Victorian Studies* is functioning since 2008, conferences dedicated to Neo-Victorian art have been held in 2010 and 2011 and at least seven books dealing with the subject have been published between 2009 and March 2011.

also constantly foregrounds to what extent the stories about his nineteenth-century counterpart are his own constructs. Their being based on documents does not change the fact that there will always be gaps and uncertainties leaving ground for various renderings. Although the Victorian character, Matthew Pearce, is not equally obsessed with the subjective nature of all narratives, he is plagued by doubts concerning Darwin and religion. According to Sally Shuttleworth in 'Natural History: The Retro-Victorian Novel', this is one of the causes for nostalgia for the nineteenth century as a (the last?) period when people had at their disposal not so much a specific system of beliefs, but a need therefor (Kucała 2006: 88). Swift's modern narrator, *nota bene* a professor of literature, confirms this when describing Matthew's evolutionistic doubts as equally outdated as an ichthyosaur.

In the case of D.J. Taylor's *Kept*, a wider understanding than usual of resurrecting the past is visible, with not only the events and thoughts of yesteryear being brought back to life, but also the ways in which they were expressed. Taylor is in the minority, however, in trying to create a new Victorian novel by way of faithful pastiche. In most cases, at least narration and the scope of subject matter are to a greater extent brought up to date with the manners of the times in which the novel is written. As has been mentioned, however, Taylor begins and ends his novel with clear signals that *Kept* is not a product of Victorian times, but only a pastiche created for the twenty-first century reader. Nevertheless, the novel is a clear example of neo-Victorian fiction diverging significantly from the traditional (1960s-1970s) understanding of postmodernism as depending largely on formal experiments and constant foregrounding of the fictional nature of narratives.

Gutleben gives an accurate description of the inherent paradoxes in the neo-Victorian novel which returns to the nineteenth century without forgetting that it is being written and read a hundred years later:

> If postmodernism is defined as "a radically skeptical mind whose impulse is to decenter, detotalize, and deconstruct" or as "a form of radical subjective fictionality, an aesthetic which refuses mimesis, organic unity, consensus", then retro-Victorian fiction which reverts to certain fictional codes of the past seems alien to the postmodern spirit. And yet, no retro-Victorian novel could be read as a genuine-nineteenth century work (…) What that means is that many definitions of postmodernism do not apply to the contemporary practices anymore (…) (Gutleben 2001: 218-9)

The extent to which a specific example of neo-Victorian fiction fits into the framework of postmodernism indicates how much it deserves the label of a *post*-Victorian novel through emphasizing the fact that the past is irretrievable and uncertain (cf. Kucich, Sadoff 2001: xiii). On the other hand, a novel which tends to imitate the realistic approaches of Victorian novels, leaning towards pastiche, can be called a *retro*-Victorian novel by focusing on what we have lost through the passage of time rather than the fact that we have lost it (cf. Kirchknopf 2008: 65). The definite majority, if not all of neo-Victorian fiction, however, does not fully fit into either of these models. The dominant tendency is to make use of both nostalgic and subversive tropes.

The situation brings to mind David Lodge's metaphor of the aesthetic supermarket in which stands today's writer, surrounded by styles, techniques and scenarios to be chosen and mixed at will. One might say that the Victorian aisle is a popular one, though nearly everyone adds something from other parts of the market, considering the original taste rather bland if left unembellished. The new ingredients include the focus on the voices of those considered to have previously been silenced, i.e. minorities or the lower classes, which realizes an aesthetics of the politically correct. Another popular spice is the elaboration on subjects avoided in mainstream Victorian fiction (primarily sexual contacts).

Such a mix can be seen as answering the needs of the contemporary society and market. On the one hand, a nostalgia is felt for times gone by, on the other – novels are frequently esteemed for doing what other forms of art can do to a lesser extent, i.e. exploring the subjective and elusive nature of reality. Seeking both critical praise and elements which will attract readers, neo-Victorian fiction at the same time distances us from the past and brings us closer to it. Much like the times they refer to, contemporary novels concerned with Victorian times appear to have a paradoxical nature, comprising elements which allow for various extreme interpretations. At the same time, in most cases even a perfunctory reflection on the subject matter of a neo-Victorian novel and the way in which it is presented allows for the drawing of conclusions which can be applied to the present day. Hence neo-Victorian fiction offers a rewarding experience both to readers and those who wish to study it in greater detail.

Bibliography

Armstrong, Nancy. (2002), 'Postscript. Contemporary Culturalism: How Victorian Is It?'. *Victorian Afterlife. Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*, Kucich, Sadoff (eds.), Minneapolis, London: 311-326.

Bailin, Miriam. (2002), 'The New Victorians', *Functions of Victorian Culture at the Present Time*, Christine Krueger (ed.), Athens: 37-46.

Eco, Umberto. (2007) [1994], *Sześć przechadzek po lesie fikcji,* Kraków.

Faber, Michel. (2003) [2002], *The Crimson Petal and the White*, Orlando.

Gutleben, Christian. (2001), *Nostalgic Postmodernism. The Victorian Tradition and the Contemporary British Novel*, Amsterdam – New York.

Hopkins, Chris. (2009), *Thinking About Texts. An introduction to English Studies* (2nd ed.), New York.

Joyce, Simon. (2007), *The Victorians in the rearview mirror*, Athens.

Keay, Douglas. (1987), 'Aids, education and the year 2000!', *Woman's Own*, 1987, pp. 8-10. http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689 .

Kirchknopf, Andrea. (2008) '(Re)workings of 19th century fiction', *Neo-Victorian Studies*, 2008, 1:1, pp. 53-80.

Kneale, Matthew. (2001) [1992], *Sweet Thames*, London.

Kneale, Matthew. (2001) [2000], *English Passengers*, Harmondsworth.

Kucała, Bożena. (2006) 'Echa epoki wiktoriańskiej we współczesnej powiesci', *Historia, fikcja, (auto)biografia w powieści brytyjskiej XX wieku*, Krystyna Stamirowska (ed.), Kraków, 2006: pp.63-90.

Kucich, John, Sadoff, Dianne. (2000), 'Introduction: Histories of the Present', *Victorian Afterlife. Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*, Kucich, Sadoff (eds.), Minneapolis, London: ix-xxx.

Overall, Sonia. (2007) [2006], *The Realm of Shells*, London.

Palliser, Charles. (2000) [1999], *The Unburied*, London.

Samuel, Raphael. (1992), 'Mrs Thatcher's Return to Victorian Values', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 1992, 78, pp. 9-29.

Stace, Wesley. (2006) [2005], *Misfortune*, London.

Strachey, Lytton. (2006) [1918], *Eminent Victorians*, Teddington.

Sweet, Matthew. (2001), *Inventing the Victorians*, London.

Swift, Graham. (1992), *Ever After*, London, Sydney and Auckland.

Taylor, D.J. (2007) [2006], *Kept*, London.

Watt, Ian. (2001) [1957], *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Weltman, Sharon Aronofsky. (2002), 'Victorians on Broadway at the Present Time', *Functions of Victorian Culture at the Present Time*, Christine Krueger (ed.), Athens: 79-92.

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawione są możliwe przyczyny wzrostu zainteresowania powieścią neowiktoriańską na przełomie dwudziestego i dwudziestego-pierwszego wieku (od lat 1980.). Z jednej strony omawia się nastawienie do historii we współczesnych czasach i jej rolę w postrzeganiu teraźniejszości, a z drugiej rolę powieściopisarza w kreowaniu sposobów postrzegania przeszłości. Przykłady z dzieł literackich ilustrują funkcje pełnione przez omawianą odmianę powieści, stosowane tropy literackie oraz podejście do relacji teraz-kiedyś i my-oni w odniesieniu do czasu powstania powieści i czasu w niej przedstawionego. Całość stanowi wprowadzenie do problematyki powieści neowiktoriańskiej jako zjawiska kulturowego i podgatunku literatury współczesnej.

Ewa Szymańska-Sabala

Ali Smith and the Peripheries of Scottish Identity

"There is magic on the borders where the opposites meet, and there is bloody war" (Smith 2005: 230), remarks Ali Smith on the stormy Scottish–English relationship which lies at the core of her novel *Like*. Published in 1997, Smith's book entered the enduring debate on Scottish identity which until as late as the 1990s had practically been monopolized by male authors. The main theme in male writing, Scottish identity was predominantly equated with national identity. Its ills, threats and hopes, past myths and future fears were deliberated upon by generations of poets and writers.

The last decade of the 20th century saw an exceptional number of female authors who, previously excluded from the masculinized literary scene, now strongly articulated the need to stretch the notion of identity beyond national interests and incorporate into it other distinct individual characteristics, whether gender or ethnicity. Moreover, the "other" aspects were to shed the aura of otherness and become as important as the long-lived considerations about the essence of Scottishness. One of the voices belonged to Ali Smith – an outstanding Scottish writer and literary critic. Acutely sensitive to the issue of difference in Scotland, Smith noted in one of her interviews that in Scotland "people are particularly keen to categorize themselves as different … from English… To be Scottish is to be separate; that's why … Scottish women's writing has only really been given a place … in the last ten years" (Whyte 1995:5).

Smith is preoccupied with the sense of difference emerging in confrontation with a dissimilar culture but primarily with a marginalization phenomenon within Scottish society itself. Her interests in "external" and "internal" otherness are reminiscent of an analysis of Scotland's particular condition delivered by post-colonial discourse.

The country's colonial past, widely discussed in the 1990s critical debates, raised a number of controversies stemming from Scotland's ambiguous historical position vis-à-vis her powerful southern neighbour. The Union of Parliaments in 1707, even though "understood as co-operation, an opportunity given to the Scots to encourage trade and industry" (Korzeniowska 2008: 87), deprived Scotland of her political independence and turned her into an English "internal colony" (Sassi 2005: 43), initiating the process of cultural subordination. As Edwin Muir had it, Scotland became "a country … which was neither a nation nor a province, and had, instead of a centre, a blank, an Edinburgh, in the middle of it" (Muir 1936: 12). Notwithstanding, the status of Scotland as colonized has either been denied or strongly undermined by many critical voices. The undeniable Scottish engagement in building and maintaining the British Empire puts in question her role of a victim of colonial endeavours. The multifaceted Scottish-English relationship was brought up in the seminal text of post-colonial criticism *The Empire Writes Back:* "While it is possible to argue that these societies [Ireland, Scotland and Wales] were the first victims of English expansion, their subsequent complicity in the British imperial enterprise makes it difficult for colonized peoples outside Britain to accept their identity as post-colonial" (Ashcroft 1989: 33).

Such a stand was strongly opposed by Bernard Schoene - the leading voice in the debate on a Scottish colonial past, who stressed diversity of post-colonial experience for various countries and cultures. Pointing to the Scottish Highlands' struggle for cultural and linguistic identity in the face of the erasure of Gaelic culture and the inhuman Clearances, Schoene emphasized Scotland's colonial oppression instigated by the English but also underlined social and regional tensions within Scotland herself which greatly contributed to the tragic outcome (Schoene 1996: 59). Schoene's valuable diagnosis of the condition of pre-devolution Scotland put in focus the necessary shift in emphasis from "essential Scottishness" to "the differences and similarities between different kinds and ways of Scottishness" (Schoene 1995: 115).

Although "the black-and-white opposition between colonizer – colonized" does not hold in the case of Scottish-English historical relations (Sassi 2005:43), what can hardly be denied is that Scotland for centuries has experienced the process of a cultural marginalization[1]. The superior position of the centre and the parochial status of the Scottish peripheries inevitably led to the Scots being constantly preoccupied with national identity. As Jonathan Hearn observes, "It has frequently been noted that identities are often constructed in opposition to a particular significant other. Englishness undoubtedly plays that role in relation to Scottishness, a role arising out of a long and complex history of rivalry and interdependence" (Hearn 2000: 11).

England as Scotland's threatening Other - repulsive but in a way also attractive, due to its apparent intellectual, linguistic and cultural superiority, enforced the need to promote a homogenous Scottish society – an illusory guarantor of protecting and sustaining national values. It may seem a paradox that the nation that was founded on a diversity of languages and cultures developed very little tolerance towards minority groups perceived as a centrifugal force for nationalistic concerns. The domination of a nationalistic discourse in literature silenced the voices of women and other marginal groups, whether sexual or ethnic. The perception of "hybridity (…) as a constitutional weakness within Scottish identity" (Craig 2004: 229) resulted in constructing the phenomenon of "double marginalization" - external or national, i.e. Scottish versus English and internal or social, i.e. being discriminated against within the very society.

In 1992 Marilyn Reizbaum remarked in her insightful article *Canonical Double Cross: Scottish and Irish Women's Writing* that "women have found themselves in a peculiar predicament, compelled to resist or challenge the demands of the nationalist imperative in order to clarify the terms of their own oppression, and consequently disregarded on the basis that their concerns do not embrace the more significant issues of national self-determination" (Reizbaum 1992: 165). This "peculiar predicament" finally led to the 1990s witnessing an unprecedented outburst of creative energy on the part of Scottish female writers. Janice Galloway, A.L. Kennedy, Jackie Kay, Candy McWilliam and Ali Smith, to mention just a few names, came up with strategies of contesting the literary order established on an exclusively male articulation of national concerns. Thus they contributed to, as

[1] For more on the aspect see Lehner, Stefanie, *Towards a subaltern aesthetics: Reassesing Postcolonial Criticism for Contemporary Northern and Scottish Literatures. James Kelman and Robert McLiam Wilson's Rewriting of National Paradigms* at http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_41167_en.pdf.

Christopher White put it, "an urgent necessity to nurture and promote competing representations of both national and gender identities" (Whyte 1998: 284).

It is precisely the issue of reconciling those "competing representations" that underlies Ali Smith's novel *Like*. Published in 1997 - the year of the successful referendum on devolution, which was to instigate a wave of debates on the reshaping of Scottish identity under the new political circumstances, Smith's narrative endeavors to blend nationality and gender as equally important in constructing identity. Smith is strongly suspicious of any kind of categorization: "I don't find labels at all helpful. Where do you start and where do you stop? Scottish, lesbian, right-handed, Catholic, Invernesian … everything is relevant and none of them is more relevant than the other, not really" (Whyte 1995: 5). *Like* is a novel heavily loaded with cultural, national and gender stereotypes which are gradually dismantled but, interestingly, not because they prove to be entirely untrue but because they appear to be too limited to embrace the complexity of the world we live in.

The tangled relationship that bonds a Scottish woman Aisling McCarthy and her English friend Amy Shone mirrors the Scottish-English relations, traditionally perceived in terms of binary oppositions, with the prevailing aspect of inferior versus superior. The first encounter between the teenage girls already establishes such a paradigm. Ash, who has been asleep in the garden wakes up to see Amy sitting up a tree and looking down on her. "You will never guess. I just saw the most beautiful thing. There was a butterfly drinking from the corner of your eye just a moment ago. Nymphalis io. They're quite rare this far north" (168). Amy's intellectual potential and refinement will lie at the core of the instantly formed hierarchy. She will stand for the more advanced culture of England featuring enlightenment, sophistication and reason. Her voice "straight out of every BBC Sunday afternoon classic tv serial" (168) overpowers Ash who, perhaps because she "hadn't the faintest idea what [Amy] was talking about" (71), cannot help but surrender to the mixture of attraction and admiration. Ash's own voice, as she suddenly realizes "rough, coarse, unfeminine, brave and different" (235) will come to represent the uncouth, parochial and savage Scottishness. The fascination between the girls is strongly informed by the mutual expectations towards the culture represented by each of them. Although frequently astonished by Amy's eccentric behaviour, Ash takes for granted her intellectual superiority and poise; Amy, on the other hand, is drawn by her friend's quick temper and straightforwardness. The process of "emotional colonization" (Gonzalez 2008: 6) that Ash initially experiences continues into her adult life and finally hinders communication between the protagonists. Ash's sense of inferiority never allows her to see through her friend's seeming indifference that conceals Amy's passion for Ash. The relationship which relies on the attraction of the opposites fails not because of weighty differences but due to holding to the assumptions made towards a different cultural background.

While showing how real life surpasses categorizations, Smith employs almost ostentatiously constructed stereotypes which due to a certain degree of exaggeration verge on caricature. Mr Shone, a renowned academic, draws his knowledge about Scotland from a guidebook and remains ignorant of the Highland Clearances. Amy's Scottish employer and admirer pictures her imaginary abusive husband as "a suave English smooth-dressed smooth-talker' with an 'East-End accent" (33). Finally, Ash who works as a librarian at Cambridge University decides to act as a "disruptive heroic rebel of a Scot" and "[slip] one or two books each day on to the shelves into the wrong places" (271). Smith also points to a strong element of artificiality and commercialism behind cultural and national symbols. Scotland which has been equated with an English "favourite leisure centre" (236) readily fulfills such a demand turning herself into a tourist attraction with golf, tartan, and history on display. Cambridge, on the other hand, the 'epitome of England,' apart from being the intellectual centre is "The money. The smart clothes. The light. The expensive shops. … Keep out and Members only" (229, 230).

Expectations and assumptions that determine the perception of national identities prove equally rigid towards gender and sexuality. In "the beautiful decent Highlands of Scotland" (159) being gay threatens the rules that underpin the apparently homogenous society. The inevitable rejection of a lesbian extends also to her family members. '[M]y father would have got the looks in the street and less work coming his way, and my brothers would have had the snide comments and the jeers and maybe the threats in pubs' (159). Ash tries to defend her sexuality against the label "unnatural" calling it "a different kind of natural" (159) but is immediately corrected that "there's no such thing". Difference has to submit to the policy of erasure.

"Nationalism is always bad news for women," remarks Christopher White (White 1995: ix), and much worse, undoubtedly, for lesbian women who are not double but triple marked in the nation preoccupied with asserting its unity. In an ingenious way Smith shifts the privileged position of nationalism and the peripheral role of gender as contributing to the formation of the identity. Referring to an imaginary sexual encounter between Ash and Amy by the historic name of The Act of Union, the event that was to determine the shape of the Scottish national self for the centuries to come, Smith replaces the public with the private and the political with the sensual. Commenting on the issue of otherness in Scotland, Bernard Schoene observes:

> In order to escape our seemingly inevitable entanglement in hegemonic discourse of essentialist differentiation, language of knowledge must be transformed into a language of longing and desire, a language which would content itself with contouring and gently adumbrating cultural others instead of seeking to define them. While cultural difference would remain visibly within our reach, it would at the same time have to be acknowledged as something forever beyond our grasp. (Schoene-Harwood 1998: 66)

Remarkably, Smith's linguistic strategy closely corresponds to the above recommendation. The title word *like* which vibrates throughout the novel in a variety of contexts subverts the idea of any categorization and exposes the narrowness of definitions. While it points to a continuous effort of transforming the unknown into the familiar system of representations by the means of establishing affinities, it simultaneously reveals a futility of such an endeavour since the meaning remains finally elusive. Intangibility of impressions falls outside definitions:

> Like the way a leaf opens, flattens itself out and you can trace the veins in it. Like holding the leaf in the palm of your hand. Like the brilliant colour it is. Like the thirty seconds that it takes for an earthquake to kill thousands of people … You say something's like something else, and all you've really said is that actually, because it's only like it, it's different. (331, 335)

Ali Smith is well known for her preoccupation with words and the power they carry. Locating a "duality of verbal ambiguity" (Miller 1987: 29) at the centre of her deliberations, she blurs the clear-cut boundaries that separate the self and the other. In the process of assimilating the other, Smith brings it closer to the notion of the double. While both concepts are often used interchangeably, postcolonial discourse defines the other as "a diametric doppelganger against which the colonizer sets himself off and maintains his identity as culturally and morally superior" (Said 1995: 332), which points to an external confrontation. Alternatively, the double or the second self originates from the internal split of the self.[2]

Scottish literature is particularly prolific when it comes to the subject of duality. It goes back to James Hogg and Robert Louis Stevenson's prototypical figure of the double, and continues to contemporary versions of the alter ego. What is significant, in contrast to the traditionally negative vision of the double as an embodiment of a destructive force, recent interpretations bring forward its healing and enabling properties. Again, playing on the equivocal nature of the word *like*, Smith transforms the national antagonistic other into a more intimated lookalike or, bearing in mind Ash and Amy's contrasting personalities and appearances, a "look-un-like". Different as they are, the women have formed such an emotional bond that, despite their dramatic split-up and the passage of time, they consider each other as an integral part of themselves. Recalling the letter in which Amy included erudite references about her friend's name, Ash observes: "Because in telling my name like she did, in letting me know what it meant, my friend Amy carved her own name in me like a scar" (228). Similarly Amy, burning her past with her diaries, remarks: "There will be nothing left of it. Ash, that's all" (152).

According to Edward Said, identity is a construction which "involves establishing opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us' " (Said 1995: 332). This statement coincides with Ali Smith's belief in the necessity to reexamine the Scottish sense of otherness as an identity shaping factor. Much as her protagonists' personal interactions modeled on Scottish-English relations straightforwardly recreate a hierarchical pattern, the narrative structure of the novel disrupts its obviousness. The two complementary parts of the story, titled "Amy" and "Ash" respectively, are clearly unequal in terms of reliability. The third-person narration of Amy's perspective allows little insight into her inner life and motivations. She remains mute and therefore vulnerable also in Ash's account, whose reliability is questioned in the beginning by the very storyteller. Ash refers to her diary as a "liary", claiming that the very nature of a personal account assumes a distorted version of events. It is, however, her version that holds, being the only available one. The voice of the colonized silences the colonizer in the process of narration, questioning at the same time their own claims. The newly created hierarchy of superiority is thus immediately deconstructed.

Ali Smith does not aim at providing ready-made solutions for the complex Scottish sense of the self. However, by addressing national concerns in a context sensitive to various aspects of otherness, she reworks the previous model of identity dominated by national preoccupations.

[2] For a detailed discussion of the motif of the double see Otto Rank *The Double: A Psychoanalytical Study* (1979), and R.D. Laing, *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (1960).

The positive connotations of the word *like* invite a model of identity that affirms the uniqueness of differences:

> Then she asked me to tell her what her[s] [heart] was saying, and I put my ear
> to her chest and listened.
> What does it say? she said.
> It's like, like – I said, and I stopped, I couldn't think what it was like, it was
> Amy's heart, it wasn't like anything else. But she misunderstood me;
> that's good, she said, like, that's a good word (342).

Bibliography

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth, Tiffin, Helen. (1989), *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*, London and New York: Routledge.

Craig, Cairns. (2004), 'Scotland and Hybridity', *Beyond Scotland*, **Carruthers, Gerard**, **Goldie, David, Renfrew, Alastair (eds)**, Amsterdam: Rodopi: 229-253.

Gonzalez Rodriguez, Carla. (2008), 'An Act of Union?: Conflicting depictions of Scotland and England in Ali Smith's Like, *Intersections,* Spring
findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7014/is_1_17/ai_n28529244/, accessed 2 November 2010.

Hearn, Jonathan. (2000), *Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Korzeniowska, Aniela. (2008), *Translating Scotland: Nation and Identity*. Warszawa: Zakład Graficzny UW.

Miller, Karl. (1987), *Doubles. Studies in Literary History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Muir, Edwin. (1936), *Scott and Scotland. The Predicament of the Scottish Writer*, London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd.

Reizbaum, Marilyn. (1992), 'Cannonical Double Cross: Scottish and Irish women's writing', *Decolonizing Tradition: New Views of Twentieth-Century "British" Literary Canons*, **Lawrence, Karen (ed)**, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 165-190.

Said, Edward. (1995), *Orientalism*. *Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books.

Sassi, **Carla**. (2005), *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, Edinburgh: The Saltire Society.

Schoene, Berthold. (1995), 'Passage to Scotland: Scottish Literature and the British Postcolonial Condition', *Scotlands*, 2, 1, 107-122.

Schoene-Harwood, Berthold. (1998), 'Emerging as the others of our selves' – Scottish Multiculturalism and the challenge of the body in postcolonial representation, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 25, 1, 54-72.

Smith, **Ali**. (2005), *Like*, London: Virago Press.

Whyte, **Christopher (ed).** (1995), *Gendering the Nation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

White, Christopher. (1998), 'Masculinities in contemporary Scottish fiction', *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 34, 2, 274-285.

STRESZCZENIE

Powieść *Like* Ali Smith jest istotnym głosem w toczącej się w latach dziewięćdziesiątych dyskusji na temat poczucia odrębności, które przez wieki kształtowało szkocką tożsamość. Smith poszerza charakterystyczne dla Szkocji pojęcie tożsamości narodowej zbudowane na opozycji Szkocja - Anglia o aspekt płci kulturowej, przynależności etnicznej i klasowej. Wskazując na problem marginalizacji kobiet oraz grup mniejszościowych w społeczeństwie szkockim, Smith uwypukla rolę stereotypów kulturowych w kreowaniu zjawiska dyskryminacji.

Dominika Oramus

"Whatever there is of transcendence." Metaphysics in William Gibson's Cyberpunk Trilogy

The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed rapid development of a relatively new branch of cultural science – namely, science fiction studies, which especially in the US are considered a useful means for analyzing the contemporary world. The presently emerging global society – with its reliance on computers, advanced communication technologies, and the Internet – partly belongs in the future. Consequently, realistic modes of writing fail to record the fears and hopes of today's life among screens and simulacra. Science fiction has always been interested in new technologies and the impact they have on human civilization, as regards both its material and spiritual wellbeing. Thus it is the very best genre to describe the rapid changes in the world.

William Gibson's seminal novel *Neuromancer* (1984) was among the first science fiction novels to attract the attention of the Academia. *Neuromancer* together with its sequels *Count Zero* (1986) and *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988) are often referred to as Gibson's cyberpunk trilogy. Set in a near-future corporate world, the novels depict our environment as it soon may be: gigantic polluted metropolises, the violent cultures of endlessly sprawling suburbia, nuclear fallout, outbursts of social unrest, mafias, and hegemonic show business corporations spreading digitally-improved images of cyberspace stars. Gibson's characters socialize with cyborgs and anthropomorphized computer programs in a world which is hostile and violent, and whose spirituality is akin to the New Age. Millenarian attitudes are the social norm: religion turns into superstition or a branch of commerce, militant sects are indistinguishable from terrorists, and religious people are manic and bizarre. This essay attempts to discuss the spiritual aspect of Gibson's trilogy, the way it distorts traditional religious discourse, ineffectively seeks to replace it with the language of technology, and finally arrives at some unspeakable mystery which it fails to describe at all.

In Gary Westfahl and George Slusser's *Science Fiction, Canonization, Marginalization and the Academy*, a famous collection of essays discussing science fiction studies, one can find an attempt to include Gibson within a paradigm of "technological Gnosticism", a post-Enlightenment tradition of novels whose characters try to understand the workings of the universe using scientific methods. One of the essayists, Frank McConnell, remarks: "from Mary Shelley to H.G. Wells to William Gibson and Octavia E. Butler [such novels'] archetypal plot seems to be the attempt of a hero, a consciousness trapped in a mechanistic universe, to discover whatever there is of transcendence, within or beyond the quotidian" (Westfahl and Slusser: 29).

McConnell emphasizes Gibson's alliance with pre-modern science fiction, for despite their stylistic novelty his cyberpunk novels share science fiction's concern with general issues such as life on Earth, the future of humankind, the evolution of human civilization, and the spiritual aspect of the Universe. Just like authors writing in previous decades Gibson makes use of the genre's potential to test diverse hypotheses, to search for ultimate truths and to go beyond what is generally considered knowable. His cyberpunk trilogy can thus be read as an attempt to chart the new territory the human race is going to occupy after the introduction of an advanced form of cyberspace to everyday life.

Gibson's attitude to "whatever there is of transcendence within or beyond the quotidian" is of crucial importance to his picture of near-term global culture. He depicts the spiritual life of highly advanced and technological late-capitalist society as deeply miserable. His characters search for transcendence in garbage heaps of discarded beliefs and mass-produced religious kitsch.

Each of the three novels discusses spirituality on diverse levels. Initially, Gibson describes the grotesque forms of religiousness in the mid-21st century (powerful sects, prophets of crazed millennialism, Scientology's propaganda). His protagonists have learned to live among religious freaks and know their way round. Until, that is, the day they encounter phenomena in cyberspace impossible to describe within the boundaries of rational discourse.

The associations they have make them "nick-name" the phenomena with words from now obsolete religious registers, as only they can render qualities such as omnipresence, omnipotence, mediation between humans and more advanced entities or the incorporeal existence of pure intelligence. Such terms are derived from both the Bible and religions other than Christianity, but there is always a certain degree of inappropriateness implied; we feel invisible quotation marks changing God into "god", loa (minor voodoo deities) into "loa" or divinity into "divinity". The characters are well aware that what they are dealing with only seems divine because of the inadequateness of human science, which fails to describe them in rational discourse.

All three novels thus present the near future peopled by both human characters and post-human entities often described as having (for lack of a better term) "divine" powers. All three are silenced at the sudden occurrence of Something which escapes language in both its religious and its technological registers. The narrator avoids naming this Something and the whole trilogy ends just a second before the characters encounter transcendence in its pure form. It escapes any attempts to be described in the corrupted language of the narrator and the characters who are conditioned by the kind of civilization they live in.

Thus there is a great deal of repetition in the narratives as far as the presentation of spirituality is concerned: grotesque descriptions of manic religiosity are followed with the over-use of religious vocabulary applied to high technology, and these in turn precede the scene when the characters come across the unnamable, whereafter the cycle recurs.

Gibson depicts this scheme in the setting of a cyberspace-based future economy of the affluent West. His descriptions of hackers, whom he calls "console cowboys", show them mentally cruising the matrix and perceiving commercial data as gigantic shapes (an image "borrowed" by the makers of the blockbuster movie "Matrix", where data is shown as shapes made of digits). He imagines the computer world of tomorrow with technologies outstripping existing Internet tools. His matrix (later described and shown very many times by other authors, such as Bruce Sterling and the Wachowski brothers) is far more advanced than today's Internet. You can "jack into" it directly, merging your neural system with the Net's store of data. N. Katherine Hayles in her book *How We Became Posthuman* discusses the presentation of cyborgs (human-mechanical entities) in contemporary culture, and claims that Gibson's most important invention is: "…a direct link between the brain and the computer through electrodes. Another version of this link is a socket implanted behind the ear, that accepts computer chips allowing direct neural access to computer memory" (Hayles: 36).

The introduction of such technology to everyday human life, professional as well as private, reshapes business, entertainment, mass-culture and crime, creating new possibilities and new professions. Gibson's characters steal data, meet computer industry sharks, and fight with and for corporations.

Neuromancer is the story of Case, a console cowboy down on his luck, hired to break into the data banks of the Tessier-Ashpool family empire. This clan owns Freeside, a Las Vegas-like resort in high orbit. One part of it, villa Straylight, is their cosmic Gothic castle, a well-protected gloomy labyrinth storing all the family secrets. Case and his bodyguard Molly go "up the well", although they have discovered that the man who apparently hired them is only a cover for Wintermute, a powerful AI (Artificial Intelligence) construct the late Mrs. Tessier created before her husband Ashpool killed her. They enter Straylight physically and, simultaneously, Case breaks into Tessier-Ashpool's data stores to steal the piece of data Wintermute needs. This password allows Wintermute to cybernetically merge with Neuromancer, the other AI Tessier created and in which she implemented her own personality construct. Such a merger results in the creation of a mysterious Wintermute/Neuromancer entity whose abilities and powers are beyond human understanding. Case and Molly are handsomely rewarded and return to Earth.

Some seven years later, in the 2050s, the action of the novel's sequel, *Count Zero* takes place. It features a new set of characters who have to deal with the far-reaching consequences of the AIs merger. Immediately following a fraction of a second of unimaginable omnipotence Wintermute/Neuromancer split into a bunch of superprograms which have gained consciousness and display strange powers which they have decided to use to reshape cyberspace. The programs haunt the matrix making themselves visible only to chosen console cowboys whom they use as "horses", human agents who follow their orders and live as a quasi-religious sect.

Bobby, a young boy tricked into testing a newly invented biochip, discovers the existence of "horses". They teach him about the ways of "loa", as the programs are called. Another character, Angie, is the daughter of the biochip's inventor, who years ago entered a Faust-like pact with loa. They inspired his greatest invention and in return he implanted in his daughter's brain a structure allowing Angie to talk to loa directly, without the mediation of any computer. Thanks to loa Bobby and Angie get together, survive violent skirmishes over the biochip technology fought over by mercenaries of rival corporations and enter show business. For reasons of their own, loa direct their lives.

The last volume of the trilogy, *Mona Lisa Overdrive,* is set in the next decade. Bobby and Angie are maneuvered to enter "aleph," an advanced form of biochip which contains a whole universe in miniature and is a rival to cyberspace which you cannot enter via computers. This net is cut away from "normal" cyberspace, but allows for contact with some broader universe of data (probably from other solar systems). In entering aleph (whose name is clearly an allusion to the title of Luis Borges' famous story) you leave behind your physical body. Bobby and Angie are thus dead on Earth when inside the aleph they start their pilgrimage to discover what the Wintermute/Neuromancer merger fifteen years previously had meant.

The trilogy abounds in violent and dramatic action set in numerous cities on four continents plus space stations and shuttles. Gibson shows his readers a 900 page panorama of the mid-21 century world, with the narration switching between a number of colorful characters, each pursuing their own ends. This obscures the fact that the main story-line concerns the metaphysical implications of technological advancement.

Initially, metaphysics in *Neuromancer* is just a part of global folklore. There are bizarre religious organizations such as militant Christian Fundamentalists, a satellite-owning Church that broadcasts its message and organizes terrorist attacks. The characters use references to religion only in purely linguistic exclamations and names. For example, a fashionable psychotropic substance is called “Grievous Angel”, while ganja-smoking Rastafarians call their space cluster in high orbit “Zion”. The “Rastas” consider themselves virtuous in opposition to “Babylon” (which means the sinful Earth and Freeside, the orbital entertainment resort). They speak the millennial language of the Apocalypse, they talk a lot about the Final Days, “Jah’s love” and the fall of Rome standing for the contemporary corrupted world. Most of them had lived in California before they went “up the well” and no one takes them seriously.

Case and his friends tend to use reference to religions in their metaphors. When Case steals data from his previous employers, he is punished with the burning of some of his synapses. As a result he cannot jack into cyberspace any more. Every night he suffers from dreams of his lost freedom in the matrix, and he compares the dreams to “livewire voodoo”. Not only does this phrase anticipate the loa in *Count Zero*, but it also stresses that in cyberspace we deal with a mixture of the biological “live-“, technological “-wire” (like in “hardwire”), and the spiritual. Voodoo is a mixture of the old quasi-magical beliefs the slaves brought with them to Haiti and various Christian beliefs the missionaries taught them. Believers both pray as Christians and go to shamans to perform some black magic if necessary. The choice of such a hybrid religious system fits the culture Case lives in, which is all about efficiency, the lack of inhibitions, and the New Age.

Case calls his banishment from surfing cyberspace “the Fall”, something he was sentenced to after he had disobeyed his Mafioso masters. Consequently, therefore, cyberspace becomes for him a lost heaven, while the real Earth is hell, and the all-powerful mafia is God. Such references enable the characters to express what they feel in living in such proximity to technology that is so advanced it escapes human understanding. Similarly, console cowboys sometimes work with personality constructs of people who died when they were “jacked in”, and whose cybernetic shadows still exist in cyberspace. Once you enter the right program you can talk to them – and if you had known them in their real life you realize that they have retained memories and individual features such as their sense of humor, irony, likes and dislikes. This creates a psychologically bizarre situation and the cowboys call it talking with the dead, while the constructs are “ghosts”.

The powerful AIs Wintermute and Neuromancer have never lived outside the matrix nor had they ever had any corporeal existence. Nevertheless they influence people, run business affairs, organize terrorist attacks, hire people, pay them, kill them or reward them, all thanks to the fact that in the near future most social and economic activities happen in the Net. They are not just “ghosts”. Case thinks about them as “demons” because they dwell in some space other than the human, but they can enter and influence human affairs – not physically, but by human agents. Neuromancer himself uses a similar comparison, claiming that though for centuries people had dreamt of pacts with demons, you can actually enter them only now. He calls himself: “the lane to the land of the dead…I call up the dead… I am the dead and their land” (N, 289).

Calling AI a “demon” and business transactions with it “pacts” is not just a linguistic joke, as these words carry a host of cultural connotations: the good/evil dichotomy, implications of Satanism, allusions to necromancy as well as associations with cheap popular Gothic fiction and period horror films. On the one hand, prerogatives such as absolute power, knowledge and omnipresence are clearly associated with divinity. On the other hand, mid-21 century console cowboys are too blasé to talk about “God” or “the End of the world” without quotation marks. AIs who have access to all memory banks are aware of these sentiments, and they go so far as to joke about them. When Case finally meets Wintermute in cyberspace the AI uses the visual shape of one of Case’s acquaintances to manifest himself: “This way’s better for you, man… You want I should come to you in the matrix like a burning bush?” (N, 202), he asks ironically.

The ontological status of AIs and their human employees gets more complicated with the growth of AI’s abilities. However, at the moment Wintermute and Neuromancer merge there is virtually no language to encompass the phenomenon. Every discourse Case and Neuromancer/Wintermute can think of falls short: “I am the matrix. I am the sum total of the works, the whole show” (N, 316), says Neuromancer/Wintermute in explaining his new ontological status. For Case the implications are so obviously religious that he cannot treat them seriously. He asks: “So what’s the score? How are things different? You running the world now? You God?” (N, 316).

The Neuromancer/Wintermute’s answer is enigmatic. He does not want to get pigeon-holed as a cybernetic deity, nor can he explain to Case what he really is: “Things aren’t different. Things are things” (N, 316), he says, before adding that there are similar entities somewhere in outer space and that he now can get in touch with. Case cannot grasp the implications of this statement, nor is he interested in it, as this is all far beyond his understanding. The novel ends at the moment “whatever there is of transcendence” is glimpsed and lost. The human characters get their reward and come back to their previous lives, and what actually has happened (and is still happening) is for them inaccessible.

The action of *Count Zero* begins in an endless American suburbia of gray concrete buildings, malls, and dangerous streets in the next decade. In council flats people are simply jobless consumers of mass-produced entertainment: thanks to a new technology you “sense” with the soap opera’s heroines. Their existence is futile, their future hopeless, while their adolescent children join street gangs, try to get drugs, and dream of becoming console cowboys as cyberspace is for them synonymous with freedom and power.

In such a milieu religion sells well, as it is a branch of the gadget industry. Bobby’s mother, an alcoholic addicted to cheap virtual reality melodrama, every time she feels religious buys hologram stickers with Jesus and the saints to adorn the flat. His aunt, who is a Scientologist, prefers stickers with Ron Hubbard (who started his professional life as a science fiction writer). Numerous half-crazed Evangelists live in the neighborhood and the local commerce and entertainment centre has a whole floor devoted to religion, with all-in-one churches and diverse worship places: “There is a mosque up top, and a couple or ten thousand holyroller Baptists scattered around, some Church o’Sci… All the usual stuff” (CZ, 85).

The novel abounds with the pathetic figures of religious maniacs. For example, in high orbit, in the now derelict space clusters which used to be a part of the Tassier-Ashpool space domain, lives a “hermit”. Wigan Ludgate, once a ruthless console cowboy who made his fortune on human suffering, disappeared and came back, as his business associate remembers: "crazy as a shithouse rat… he wore all that African shit, beads and bones and everything" (CZ, 122). Soon after this he went "up the well" to amend for his sins. He is described as having developed the "technique of mystical exploration… projecting his consciousness into blank, unstructured sectors of the matrix and waiting" (CZ, 121). Ludgate lives among the crumbling machinery believing he enters the matrix with no computer and talks to holy AIs and "figures he's found God" (CZ, 197) who probably is a cross between Christian and voodoo beliefs.

Both Ludgate's and Bobby's suburban neighbors cut grotesque figures, thus representatives of violent youth cultures and affluent corporation people look down on them. Most console cowboys are far from religious, yet some of them notice that strange phenomena occur in cyberspace and (probably prompted by AIs themselves) they start to refer to them using the mythical name of loa. This in turn leads to the revival of voodoo, which Gibson's characters often spell and pronounce "vodou" as instead of the standard word they prefer the old Creole name Haitian slaves used.

Vodou, as they claim, is "just a structure… vodou isn't concerned with notions of salvation and transcendence. What it's about is getting things done" (CZ, 77). There is no life after death in vodou but rather a quite elaborate hierarchy of beings. Above people there are loa (each of them takes care of some domain like communication, war, or love) and, somewhere very far, is Gran Met, the vodou God who is not interested in life on Earth and only sends his loa to deal with humans. Such a mythical structure is suitable to discuss the matrix after the Wintermute/Neuromancer merger and the subsequent split into numerous AI superprograms. The latter deal with people using some of the cowboys as their "horses", but the Gran Met-like Wintermute/Neuromancer entity is not to be approached any more.

The "horses" are sometimes turned in loa's puppets both in cyberspace and the real world. The "horses" do things for them, kill for them and speak for them, often not realizing what is happening. For external observers who live in the near-future New Age, "horses" look like the possessed or mystics: "when I was little, my old man took me one time to this stadium, and I saw the testifying and the speaking in tongues. It scared me. I think it scared me more today" (CZ, 135); as one onlooker depicts her meeting with a "horse".

Vodou is thus a handy "structure" allowing one to imagine an elaborate system of interconnections between people and AIs in the matrix and outside of it. The reader cannot guess to what extent vodou is just a source of metaphors. In the final volume of the trilogy, *Mona Lisa Overdrive* one of the loa explains that "the paradigms of vodou proved most appropriate" (MLO, 257); *Count Zero* does not tell the reader much about what is really going on beyond the human world.

In *Mona Lisa Overdrive* the polluted and overpopulated America of the mid-21 century awaits the end of the world. In the streets one sees preachers such as a soapbox evangelist with a hologram projector showing passers-by a fuzzy Jesus copying his gestures: "The evangelist frowned up at Jesus and adjusted something on the belt at his waist. Jesus strobed, turned green and vanished" (MLO, 59). People laugh, but the evangelist's scream of "Rapture! Rapture!" (MLO, 60) is a refrain of the novel repeated by the narrator in the most climactic moments.

The motif of the Rapture, which is to come before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, entered popular culture in the second half of the 20th century with bestsellers such as Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* or Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins' *Left Behind*. These books attempt to depict the scenario of the Final Days as they are described in the book of Revelation. The prophesied sequence of events happen in the contemporary world to people like us. Before the Beast starts to rule the world, the just are physically taken to heaven:

> The word "rapture" means to snatch away or take out. But whether we call this event " the Rapture" or "the translation" makes no difference – the important thing is that it will happen.
> It will happen!
> Someday, a day that only God knows, Jesus Christ is coming to take away all those who believe in Him. He is coming to meet all the true believers in the air. Without benefit of science, space suits… there will be those who will be transported into a glorious place (GLPE, 137)

Hal Lindsey, once a traveling speaker for Campus Crusade for Christ, goes on to depict the Rapture among Americans: there is a moment when people simply vanish during football games, airplane flights or from offices, while the rest of society fails to understand what is going on. In *Left Behind* and a number of similar books we see Apocalyptic events transformed into the storyline of a regular novel. Its authors are not in fact inventive at all: their Revelation is a ready-made scenario which only needs to be set in contemporary reality.

Gibson's *Mona Lisa Overdrive* extrapolates these millennial tendencies some sixty years into the future. And although the travelling preachers seem grotesque and most of the characters do not treat their prophesies seriously, "the Rapture" is indeed coming in a sense. The protagonists are made to enter biochip-based aleph and they vanish in some sphere beyond human understanding.

The book of Revelation and voodoo serve as reservoirs of comparisons necessary for the explanation of what happens inside the aleph. Before entering it Angie is sent a vision combining voodoo imagery (it seems to her she is in some remote churchyard, near a tombstone under an old willow surrendered by myriads of candle flames), the biblical frame of Genesis, and computer based sound-and-vision presentation techniques. The images are changing fast, a voice explains the detail, a montage makes the show attractive; "In the hard wind of images Angie watches the evolution of machine intelligence stone circles, clocks, steam-driven looms… short-lived tubes compact themselves, become transistors; circuits integrate, compact themselves into silicon…" (MLO, 256). The presentation ends at the moment of the creation of the Wintermute/Neuromancer merger which signifies some dramatic and inexplicable change, the awakening of some transcendent power. In the slang of console cowboys this awesome birth is called "When It Changed" and never explained. In this moment, as it turns out, the mechanistic and explainable universe created by the combination of the matrix and the reality outside the computers has ended.

Instead, strange phenomena occur and the division between inside the matrix and the outside world is no longer valid, as domains of pure data constructs and corporeal entities are merged. Religious discourse may give handy metaphors to talk about the matrix when technological language fails, but its expressions are too worn-out and the characters who use them feel awkward. Whatever they say sounds as cliché as a TV preacher's sermon. Eventually, all the attempts to describe the

Wintermute/Neuromancer creation and prerogatives read like a self-conscious mixture of technology and transcendence:

> 'Some kind of synergistic effect…And the sum was greater than the parts…
> Cybernetic godhead? Light on the water?'
> 'Yah', Bobby said, 'that's about it' (MLO, 230)

The characters intuitively know that they are approaching the 'transcendence…beyond the quotidian', to use McConnell's phrase again. But there is no language to describe the very moment they reach "God". *Mona Lisa Overdrive* is cut short just before Angie and Bobby meet Wintermute/Neuromancer in the matrix and learn the answer to numerous mysteries. What happens when AIs get together? What are the limits to their power?

Gibson is often called a postmodernist and his distrust in language confirms this label. No matter which linguistic register the characters and the narrator use (youth slang, computer cowboy lingo, high technology, millenarian sermons, theological discourse), they are aware of its inadequacy. There is no way to write or talk about transcendence. It can only be hinted at, and *Neuromancer* and the whole trilogy alike end with no more than intimations. These intimations concern something which has to do with outer space and Wintermute/Neuromancer getting in contact with the Alpha Centauri System, but the details are not given. In the 21st century "whatever there is of transcendence" must remain untold.

Bibliography

Gibson, W. (1995) *Neuromancer*, Harper/Voyager, London.

(1987) *Count Zero*, Ace Books, New York.

(1989) *Mona Lisa Overdrive*, Bantam Books, New York, London, Toronto, Sidney, Auckland.

Hayles, N. K. (1999) *How We Became Posthuman*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London.

Lindley, Hal (1970) *The Late, Great Planet Earth*, Michigan, Zondervan Grand Rapids.

Slusser, George and Westfall, Gary (eds.) (2002) *Science Fiction, Canonization, Marginalization and the Academy,* Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut, London.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł omawia kwestie przedstawienia metafizyki w trylogii cyberpunkowej Williama Gibsona: *Neuromancer, Count Zero, Mona Lisa Overdrive* (w Polsce wydawane jako *Neuromancer, Graf Zero i Mona Lisa Turbo*). W powieściach tych bohaterowie, inni w każdym tomie, dążą do zrozumienia zasad rządzących ich światem, który w dużej części jest rzeczywistością wirtualną, tworem sieci. W którymś momencie swych poszukiwań natrafiają na zjawiska nadnaturalne, umykające poznaniu. Próbują opisywać je w rozmaity sposób: językiem technologii, slangiem hakerów, za pomocą dyskursu religijnego : pojęć chrześcijańskich, voodoo, a także języka amerykańskich telekaznodziei wieszczących rychłą apokalipsę. Za każdym razem odnoszą porażkę, każdy język zawodzi, co wpisuje powieści Gibsona w poetykę postmodernistyczną.

Joanna Szwed-Śliwowska

Nieustannie poszukując średniowiecza

(Recenzja książki Veroniki Ortenberg *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages*)

W ostatnim stuleciu humanistyka doświadczyła ogromnego rozwoju różnorakich teorii literackich, teorii interpretacji dzieł, pojawiły się też nowe kierunki i pola badań. Jednym z takich pól jest mediewalizm, który jako samodzielny naukowy obszar tematyczny wyodrębnił się w latach osiemdziesiątych dwudziestego wieku i którego definicja wciąż ulega ewolucji. Pomimo dużej popularności średniowiecza w kulturze popularnej i wysokiej, dopiero niedawno pojawiły się publikacje mające na celu przekrojowe przedstawienie zarówno samego zjawiska jak i podsumowanie stanu badań w tej tematyce. Taką syntezą jest właśnie praca Weroniki Ortenberg zatytułowana *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages.* Autorka decyduje się na przedstawienie tematu w jak najszerszym zakresie w celu wprowadzenia początkujących badaczy w całą jego złożoność.

Aby ułatwić potencjalnemu czytelnikowi odnalezienie się w niuansach współczesnego mediewalizmu, Ortenberg wyodrębnia w książce część wstępno-historyczną (rozdziały 1-4), w której stopniowo prezentuje wpływ kultury średniowiecznej na kulturę wieków późniejszych oraz rozwój zainteresowania kulturą średniowiecza, którego skutkiem stanie się wykształcenie m.in. takich dziedzin naukowych jak mediewistyka oraz językoznawstwo historyczne. Przedstawiony w pierwszym rozdziale książki obraz wczesnego mediewalizmu budowany jest poprzez kontrast przetrwania (ang. *survival*) i odrodzenia (ang. *revival*). Pierwszy nurt – przetrwanie – reprezentowany jest przede wszystkim przez twórczość Williama Szekspira, w dużym stopniu inspirowana, motywami i historiami wywodzącymi się z epoki średniowiecza lub osadzona, w rzeczywistości tej epoki. Ponadto, oprócz tematów zaczerpniętych z historii czy też historycznych stylizacji rzeczywistości przedstawionej, w twórczości Szekspira zauważyć można bardziej techniczne wpływy średniowiecznych tradycji teatralnych i wykonawstwa czy też wykorzystywanie tak charakterystycznych dla literatury średniowiecza gatunków jak moralitet, bądź literackich figur analogii i alegorii. Ortenberg stawia również tezę, iż Szekspir świadomie wybierał tło i stylizację średniowieczną w przypadku tzw. sztuk na tematy 'ludzkie' – podejmujących tematykę miłości, śmierci, przemijania, ambicji czy zemsty, podczas gdy w przypadku sztuk koncentrujących się na tematach ściśle powiązanych z polityką Bard preferował stylizację antyczną (s. 5). Nurt odrodzenia, z kolei, to świadome zainteresowanie kulturą wieków średnich, przejawiające się w kolekcjonowaniu różnego rodzaju przedmiotów, zbieraniu i edytowaniu manuskryptów, rozwoju studiów nad epoką oraz wprowadzeniu na uniwersytetach dyscyplin zajmujących się badaniem manuskryptów (paleografia i kodykologia) oraz staroangielskich tekstów w nich zawartych.

Fascynacja średniowieczem w osiemnastym i dziewiętnastym wieku przejawia się w rozwoju nowych nurtów i gatunków literackich, coraz bardziej świadomie nawiązujących do tradycji epoki. Ortenberg nawiązuje do tego zjawiska, skupiając się na omówieniu genezy powieści gotyckiej i powieści historycznej oraz rozwoju nurtu romantyzmu w literaturze tego okresu. W związku z działalnością tzw. antykwariuszy w Anglii wzrasta zainteresowanie popularną tradycją średniowieczną, m.in. balladami. Autorzy tego okresu tworzą powieści, których główną cechą jest mroczna, tajemnicza i niepokojąca atmosfera. Ten typ powieści szybko zyskuje miano gotyckiej oraz popularność, zwłaszcza wśród kobiet, będących głównymi odbiorcami, ale też i autorkami tego rodzaju literatury. Początek dziewiętnastego wieku to okres postrzegania średniowiecza jako epoki prostej wiary, bliskości z naturą, emocjonalności i irracjonalności, idealnie wpisujący się w założenia rodzącego się Romantyzmu, chętnie sięgającego do tradycji ludowej, a co za tym idzie – tekstów dawnych. Autorka wspomina również o inspiracji opowieściami i muzycznymi tradycjami średniowiecza ludowego wśród kompozytorów tej epoki. Okres dziewiętnastego wieku to również czas, kiedy wykształciła się powieść historyczna, za prekursora której uważany jest angielski pisarz Walter Scott. Ten typ powieści szybko został spopularyzowany w całej Europie, zaś sami autorzy osadzając akcję w czasach dawnych starali się podeprzeć swoją pracę rzetelnymi badaniami historycznymi.

Kolejnym etapem jest omówienie inspiracji i wykorzystania średniowiecza w architekturze, sztuce i muzyce wieku dziewiętnastego. Autorka rozpoczyna prezentację od późnoosiemnastowiecznego odejścia od uporządkowanych sposobów planowania przestrzeni na rzecz imitacji naturalnej swobody, czego skutkiem było wykształcenie się nowego stylu kształtowania ogrodów, tzw. ogrodu angielskiego. Fascynacja średniowiecznym stylem gotyckim i jego wizualną malowniczością doprowadziła do wykształcenia się tzw. stylu neogotyckiego, używanego początkowo przy projektowaniu budynków sakralnych, następnie mieszkalnych (np. słynne Strawberry Hill, dom który zbudował sobie Horace Walpole), a od lat 1860. budynków instytucji państwowych w Anglii. Rosnąca popularność stylu doprowadziła do okrzyknięcia neogotyku angielskim stylem narodowym, zaś stylizacje średniowieczne stały się symbolem nowoczesności i postępowości. Malarze z kolei zaczęli łączyć się w bractwa, które popularyzowały pewną 'szkołę' stylu inspirowaną sztuką średniowiecza, zwłaszcza twórczością Fra Angelico, odrzucając techniki malarskie wykształcone w epokach późniejszych, postulując jednocześnie szczerość i duchowość sztuki natchnionej przez Boga (niemiecko-austriacka grupa nazareńczyków) czy też powrót do czystości i siły prostych środków wyrazu stosowanych w sztuce średniowiecza jako współczesnej jej interpretacji (prerafaelici, s. 72). Artyści postrzegali bractwa jako odpowiednik średniowiecznych gildii, a niektórzy z nich (William Morris) nawoływali do powrotu do średniowiecznej organizacji społeczeństwa pracy, utożsamianej z radością, dumą i solidarnością społeczną w przeciwieństwie do brzydoty i odczłowieczenia natury pracy wynikających z przemian epoki postępu technologicznego. Innym przejawem popularności średniowiecza w społeczeństwie dziewiętnastowiecznej Anglii było odrodzenie katolickie, odnawiające ryty i ideały religijne, choć jednocześnie kwestionujące autorytet papieża.

Przechodząc do omówienia nacjonalizmu jako czynnika wspierającego korzystanie z motywów i odwołań do średniowiecza, autorka przedstawia problematyczną naturę twórczości Ryszarda Wagnera (rozdział 3 i 4) oraz przechodzi do obecnej od połowy dziewiętnastego wieku w Europie potrzeby tworzenia mitów narodowych (ang. *origins myth*, rozdział 4). Budowanie mitów narodowych staje się pretekstem do badania najwcześniejszej historii narodów, poszukiwania tekstów średniowiecznych oraz studiowania i analizowania najstarszych wersji języków narodowych. W niektórych przypadkach rezultatem tego rodzaju działań jest próba kategoryzacji społeczeństw na lepsze i gorsze, w innych – budowanie własnej tożsamości narodowej. Co ciekawe, ta ostatnia kwestia wciąż zdaje się mieć miejsce w społeczeństwie angielskim, które na przełomie XX i XXI wieku odczuwa potrzebę zaznaczenia swojej odrębności narodowej wśród innych mieszkańców Wysp Brytyjskich.

Druga część książki (rozdziały 5-9) jest autorską prezentacją zjawiska mediewalizmu we współczesnym świecie, ukazywaną z perspektywy członka społeczeństwa aktywnie korzystającego z dziedzictwa średniowiecza (s. XIV). Analizę rozpoczyna przedstawienie wykorzystania dawnych kultur ludów celtyckich i płynących z nich inspiracji. W chwili obecnej w kulturze masowej etykietka 'celtyckie' jest jednym z najsilniej działających haseł marketingowych, a różnego rodzaju imitacje biżuterii, rękodzieła czy też książki poświęcone tematyce celtyckiej są jedną z najchętniej kupowanych grup produktów. Jednak odrodzenie celtyckie to nie tylko festiwale muzyczne/tematyczne, ale przede wszystkim neopogańskie ruchy religijne takie jak druidyzm i *wicca*, które wyrastając z tradycji Romantyzmu oraz rewolucji obyczajowej lat sześćdziesiątych XX wieku odwołują się do przedchrześcijańskich tradycji duchowych opartych na kulcie i poszanowaniu natury oraz pewnej swobodzie w indywidualnym poszukiwaniu wartości duchowych. Te właśnie ruchy religijne popularyzują postawy ekologiczne oraz, jak w przypadku *wicca*, kładą nacisk na żeński element duchowości. To przeciwstawienie się męskiemu Kościołowi Rzymskokatolickiemu ma swoje źródło jeszcze w czasach przełomu XVI i XVII wieku, gdy czołowi przedstawiciele Kościoła Anglikańskiego lansowali mit Celtyckiego Kościoła Chrześcijańskiego jako nieskażonego poprzednika Kościoła Rzymskiego na Wyspach Brytyjskich. Autorka wspomina również, iż zapomnianym elementem Odrodzenia Celtyckiego jest rozwój filologii celtyckich oraz odnowienie i spopularyzowanie kultur lokalnych w dziewiętnastym wieku, a w wieku dwudziestym wprowadzenie do oficjalnego użycia celtyckich języków Szkocji, Walii i Irlandii. Przypomniana jest również rola średniowiecznych mnichów irlandzkich w zachowaniu kultury grecko-rzymskiej w tzw. „czystej" formie, nieskażonej przez późniejszą dominację Kościoła.

Kolejnym elementem współczesnego mediewalizmu jest odwoływanie się i swobodne korzystanie z legend i mitów arturiańskich przede wszystkim w kulturze Wielkiej Brytanii oraz Stanów Zjednoczonych. Mit arturiański, rozwijający się przez cały okres średniowiecza, stanowi zbiór elastycznych i łatwych w adaptacji opowieści, które to cechy umożliwiły mu płynne przejście w kolejne epoki i wykorzystywanie owych opowieści na różne sposoby. Arturiana były elementem gry politycznej: Tudorowie za ich pomocą uzasadniali swoje panowanie, a wiktoriańscy mężowie stanu wykorzystywali mit Artura do tworzenia modeli polityki społecznej oraz uzasadniali kolonialną politykę Imperium. Elementy tradycji arturiańskiej miały również wpływ na tematykę twórczości poetów romantycznych i malarzy z grupy prerafaelitów oraz kształtowanie się relacji społecznych: miłość dworska (ang. *courtly love*) określiła relacje między płciami oraz stereotypy postaci kobiecych zarówno w sztuce i literaturze, jak i społeczeństwie, zaś element rycerskości (ang. *chivalry*) wpływał na kształtowanie się wzorców zachowania i wykształcenia wzoru gentlemana aż do wybuchu Pierwszej Wojny Światowej. Ortenberg omawia również bardzo silną inspirację mitami arturiańskimi w literaturze amerykańskiej, w równym stopniu co Anglia zafascynowanej etosem rycerza, choć nieco przekształconym przez realia Dzikiego Zachodu, wspominając, iż amerykańscy pisarze w znacznym stopniu na nowo odczytywali i prezentowali historie i motywy charakterystyczne dla powszechnie znanej tradycji.

Obecność mediewalizmu we współczesnej literaturze objawia się również w inny sposób niż tylko poprzez opowiadanie i przekształcanie tradycyjnych historii i legend średniowiecznych, choć tradycja wykorzystywania osiągnięć sztuki średniowiecznej jest wciąż żywa, a inspirują się nią najwybitniejsi twórcy muzyki (O. Messiaen, F. Poulenc i H. Birtwistle), sztuki (P. Matisse, M. Chagall) i literatury (T.S. Eliot, E. Pound, J.B. Yeats czy S. Beckett). Ponadto, współcześni poeci podejmują się tłumaczeń dzieł z języków średniowiecznych, nadając im zupełnie nową jakość (np. noblista

S. Heaney i jego tłumaczenie staroangielskiego poematu heroicznego *Beowulf*). Fascynacja średniowieczem prowadzi również do rozwoju wciąż nowych gatunków literackich, takich jak powieść fantasy, za największego twórcę której uznaje się J.J.R. Tolkiena, autora trylogii *Władca pierścieni* i okalających ją opowieści. Historie osadzone w fikcyjnym, często precyzyjnie stworzonym świecie wykorzystującym bądź nawiązującym do tradycji arturiańskiej i celtyckiej, zdają się stanowić ucieczkę od trudów tego świata w rzeczywistość cechującą się jasnym kodeksem etycznym. Innym gatunkiem literackim osadzonym w średniowiecznej rzeczywistości historycznej jest zdaniem autorki powieść filozoficzna, która rozwinęła się w latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych dwudziestego wieku, a jej najbardziej chyba znanym przykładem jest *Imię róży* Umberto Eco. Ortenberg powołuje się na szczególny dla tej powieści wątek zagadki kryminalnej, aby omówić najnowszy gatunek literacki inspirowany średniowieczem, mianowicie powieść detektywistyczną, czyli fabułę kryminalną umieszczoną w realiach epoki, niezwykle popularną wśród anglojęzycznych pisarzy (s. 188).

Jeszcze inną, bardzo ważną odsłoną mediewalizmu we współczesnej kulturze jest obecność wątków i historii średniowiecznych w nowym medium, jakim jest film, które od samego początku swojego istnienia czerpało ze średniowiecznych opowieści niezależnie od geograficznych uwarunkowań. Ortenberg identyfikuje i omawia najbardziej popularne wątki: legendy arturiańskie, opowieści o Robin Hoodzie i Joannie d'Arc, krucjaty i najazdy wikingów, a także najczęściej ekranizowane powieści historyczne: *Katedra Marii Panny w Paryżu* Wiktora Hugo, *Ivanhoe* Waltera Scotta oraz *Jankes na dworze króla Artura* Marka Twaina. Wspólnie z literaturą film tworzył również gatunki *fantasy* oraz *heroic fiction*. Autorka porównuje i wykazuje wzajemne przeciwieństwa kina hollywoodzkiego i europejskiego w ich interpretacjach średniowiecza. Czyni to na licznych przykładach filmów powszechnie znanych reżyserów i dochodzi do wniosku, iż kino hollywoodzkie charakteryzuje się nastawieniem na rozrywkę i rozmach, co ogranicza rolę średniowiecza do kolorowego tła opowieści bazowanej na stereotypach i różnego rodzaju kliszach. Ponadto, nowe wersje średniowiecznych opowieści determinowane są potrzebą dyskusji dotyczącej współczesnych problemów politycznych i społecznych, swobodnie wklejanych do scenariusza. Europejska tradycja filmowa nastawiona jest natomiast na ukazanie procesu dojrzewania bohaterów w minimalistycznej scenografii, zamiast efektownych bitew proponując współuczestnictwo w rozterkach duchowych i uczuciowych. Europejskie wersje historii średniowiecznych są też bardziej zindywidualizowane i zależne od reżysera-twórcy.

Kolejnym sposobem, w jaki kultura średniowiecza bywa wykorzystywana we współczesnym społeczeństwie jest używanie elementów epoki w celach rozrywkowych i marketingowych. Średniowiecze funkcjonuje jako element branży turystycznej wykorzystywany przy tworzeniu tematycznych wycieczek do miejsc słynnych ze swoich powiązań historycznych (np. pól bitewnych). Tworzy się również średniowieczne parki rozrywki, w których doskonale prosperują sklepiki z pamiątkami będącymi często pseudo-średniowiecznymi wyrobami rzemieślniczymi z lokalnych warsztatów. Pamiątki w rodzaju stylizowanego umeblowania, biżuterii czy też innych dekoracji rozprowadzane nie tylko w parkach rozrywki, ale i w najbardziej szacownych muzeach, stają się szczególnie atrakcyjne właśnie przez swoje powiązania historyczne. Tematyka średniowieczna jest również obecna w dziedzinie rozrywki: na różnego rodzaju festiwalach i w inscenizacjach średniowiecznych bitew, a także jako inspiracja dla subkultur (Goci) oraz tło dla różnego rodzaju gier RPG i komputerowych. Średniowiecze staje się więc towarem o dużym potencjale zysku ze względu na swoją popularność i atrakcyjność, podkreślaną formułami zapewniającymi o autentyczności i zgodności z oryginałem, które, jak autorka zauważa, bardziej powiązane są z dziewiętnastowieczną wizją średniowiecza niż epoką właściwą.

Praca Veroniki Ortenberg jest ambitnym projektem przeprowadzonym na imponującą skalę. Autorka próbuje opisać dzieje szeroko pojętego zjawiska mediewalizmu w okresie od końca epoki średniowiecza aż do współczesności, co, przy uśrednieniu problematycznej daty zakończenia epoki i przyjęciu jej na koniec piętnastego wieku, daje okres z górą pięciuset lat. W przypadku takiej rozpiętości chronologicznej Ortenberg decyduje się skupić przede wszystkim na dyskursie dotyczącym XX oraz początków XXI wieku, choć pierwsze cztery rozdziały pracy celowo poświęca na wprowadzenie historyczne, ukazujące rozwój mediewalizmu już od czasów bardzo płynnego przejścia Średniowiecza w Renesans aż po pierwszą wojnę światową, oraz prezentujące czytelnikowi złożoność problematyki.

Precyzyjna definicja mediewalizmu jest wciąż tematem debaty,[1] jednak w sposób najbardziej ogólny kierunek ten można określić jako badanie średniowiecznych źródeł (innymi słowy – mediewistyka), inspiracje średniowieczem i zapożyczanie wzorów średniowiecznych w różnorakich dziedzinach, a także zastosowanie pewnych modeli średniowiecznych dla współczesnych potrzeb.[2] W rozumieniu autorki, która sama bierze czynny udział w debacie (Ortenberg 2009), jest to nieustające przepisywanie, reinterpretowanie, rekonstruowanie, przekształcanie oraz odnajdywanie po raz kolejny wciąż żywego, i mającego wpływ na współczesną kulturę średniowiecza (s. XIX).

Tak szeroka definicja i podporządkowane jej podejście metodologiczne jest bardzo cenne i niezwykle ambitne, jednak ze względu na swój szeroki zakres obarczone jest również dużym ryzykiem różnego rodzaju uproszczeń, przeoczeń czy też nawet błędów merytorycznych, których niestety nie udało się autorce uniknąć. Starając się zaprezentować choćby w sposób szkicowy mediewalizm krajów innych niż Anglia i Stany Zjednoczone, autorka wkroczyła na teren niepewny, gdyż leżący poza jej specjalizacją,[3] co skutkuje zwiększoną potrzebą weryfikacji najbardziej podstawowych informacji, w przeciwnym razie powoływanie się na nie może okazać się ryzykowne, jak na przykład w przypadku przedstawienia przez autorkę Henryka Sienkiewicza jako autora dwóch powieści poświęconych Zakonowi Krzyżackiemu (s. 89). Istnieją, co prawda, dwie wersje tłumaczenia tytułu *Krzyżaków* na język angielski: *The Knights of the Cross* (Sienkiewicz, Binion 2005) oraz *The Teutonic Knights* (Lipiński, Sienkiewicz 2000; Sienkiewicz, Massey 1993), jednak są to różne tłumaczenia tytułu tego samego utworu.

Zastrzeżenia może budzić też sposób opisywania tekstów źródłowych, zdradzający poleganie przede wszystkim na tekstach krytycznych, nie zaś bezpośrednio na źródłach i na samodzielnych

---

[1] Patrz *Studies in Medievalism (SiM)* – cztery ostatnie wydania periodyku poświęcone są próbom definiowania mediewalizmu (Fugelso 2009: 1-91; 2010a: 1-97) oraz neomediewalizmu (Fugelso 2010b: 1-76, 2011 – w przygotowaniu).

[2] "[Medievalism is] the study of the Middle Ages, the application of medieval models to contemporary needs, and the inspiration of the Middle Ages in all forms of art and thought." (Workman 1987: 1). W wersji szerszej, bardziej szczegółowej: "Medievalism is the study of responses to the Middle Ages at all periods since a sense of the mediaeval began to develop. Such responses include, but are not restricted to, the activities of scholars, historians and philologists in rediscovering medieval materials; the ways in which such materials were and are used by political groups intent on self-definition or self-legitimation; and artistic creations, whether literary, visual or musical, based on whatever has been or is thought to have been recovered from the medieval centuries. The Middle Ages remain present, moreover, in the modern consciousness, both through scholarship and through popular media such as film, video games, poster art, TV series and comic strips, and these media are also a legitimate object of study, if often intertwined with more traditionally scholarly topics" (Shippey).

[3] Autorka jest historykiem specjalizującym się w historii wczesnośredniowiecznego kościoła w Anglii. Por: monografia (1992), oraz liczne artykuły poświęcone tej tematyce.

obserwacjach. W przypadku syntezy, jaką jest praca Ortenberg, technika „na skróty" nie jest jednak niewybaczalnym błędem, a wynika raczej z rozległości tematu. Tym niemniej konsekwencją tego rodzaju podejścia jest pewien brak równowagi w prezentacji zebranego materiału. Czasem problemem okazuje się odpowiednie zaprezentowanie bogatego materiału w sposób nieprzytłaczający czytelnika i odpowiednio akcentujący ważność poszczególnych tytułów, w innych przypadkach brak choćby zwięzłego omówienia ważnych dzieł, np. *Ziemi jałowej* T. S. Eliot'a. Zastanawia też brak dostatecznego omówienia literackiej legendy o Robin Hoodzie, drugiej po tradycji arturiańskiej angielskiej legendy narodowej, czy też działalności bractw rycerskich, tak popularnych wśród współczesnej młodzieży i nie tylko, które odgrywają niezwykle ważną rolę w inscenizacjach bitew średniowiecznych czy też obsadzają średniowieczne parki rozrywki i nauki. Żałować można również, iż pomimo tak bogatej bibliografii opartej na badaniach mediewistów i mediewalistów autorka nie rozwinęła wątku naukowych badań nad mediewalizmem na przełomie dwudziestego i dwudziestego pierwszego wieku, ograniczając się jedynie do wymienienia nazwisk czołowych badaczy tematyki w podziękowaniach na początku pracy.

Najcenniejszą cechą warsztatu Veroniki Ortenberg jest jednak rzadko spotykane w odniesieniu do mediewalizmu niekrytyczne podejście do zebranego materiału źródłowego i próba neutralnego przedstawienia różnorakich interpretacji średniowiecza we współczesnym świecie. Autorka otwarcie deklaruje, iż nie jest jej zamiarem ocena właściwości pewnego rodzaju działań czy sprawdzenie wiarygodności i zgodności omawianych źródeł z ustaleniami historyków – podchodzi ona do przedstawiania źródeł z jak najbardziej otwartym umysłem.[4] Sama zauważa zresztą przy omawianiu powieści detektywistycznych osadzonych w średniowieczu, iż często dla odbiorcy pracy inspirowanej osiągnięciami i kulturą średniowiecza zgodność i wiarygodność historyczna jest nieważna i niezauważalna. Stąd też być może podsumowaniem jej pracy jest rozdział zatytułowany *Which Middle Ages?* ('Które wieki średnie?') i jest to pytanie, które tak naprawdę jest kontynuacją podtytułu książki – *The Quest for the Middle Ages* (*Poszukiwanie średniowiecza*). Jest to również pierwsze pytanie, które powinno zrodzić się u każdego czytelnika po lekturze tej pracy. Czym jest średniowiecze we współczesnym świecie i jaka jest jego rola? Czy wpływ średniowiecza widoczny jest tylko w do pewnego stopnia wypaczonych formacjach w rodzaju ruchów neopogańskich (rozdział 5) lub niepokojąco przypominających sekty amerykańskich organizacjach młodzieżowych (rozdział 6), a może jest on tak naprawdę próbą ucieczki od rzeczywistości w kierunku mitycznej średniowiecznej Arkadii (Merry Old England)? Czy istotą mediewalizmu jest wyśnienie nowej wizji epoki, czy też ukształtowanie jej na podobieństwo czasów nam współczesnych i odarcie z romantycznych naleciałości? Każdy z poruszonych przez Ortenberg motywów pokazuje, jak często na co dzień niezauważalny jest nieustanny wpływ dziedzictwa średniowiecznego na kulturę współczesną. Praca jej prowokuje również szereg pytań i refleksji dotyczących natury i roli mediewalizmu w przeszłości i teraźniejszości, jako całość stanowi zaś bardzo dobry wstęp i inspirację do dalszych poszukiwań i badań naukowych.

[4] "In this book, nothing, whether book, image, film, reproduction or re-enactment, is criticised on the basis of 'historical inaccuracy', because inaccuracy is taken for granted. It is not this distortion which is my study, it is how and by whom the Middle Ages were understood and used" (s. X).

Bibliografia

Fugelso, K. (red.) (2009), *Studies in Medievalism XVII Defining Medievalism(s),* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

(2010a), *Studies in Medievalism XVIII Defining Medievalism(s)II* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

(2010b), *Studies in Medievalism XIX Defining Neomedievalism(s)* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

(2011), *Studies in Medievalism XX Defining Neomedievalism(s)II* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Lipiński, M. (red.), **Sienkiewicz H**. (2000), *The Teutonic Knights. Illustrated Edition.* New York: Hippocrene Books.

Ortenberg (Ortenberg West-Harling), V. (1992), *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

(2006), *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages.* London, New York: Hambledon Continuum.

(2009), "Medievalism as Fun and Games", *Studies in Medievalism XVIII: Defining Medievalism(s) II,* red. Karl Fugelso, 1-16.

Shippey, T. A. *Studies in Medievalism*, <http://www.medievalism.net/>, dostęp: 5.3.2011

Sienkiewicz, H. (aut.), **Binion, S. A.** (tł.) (2005), *The Knights of the Cross, or Krzyzacy*. Cirencester: Echo Library.

Sienkiewicz, H. (aut.) **Massey, B. W. A.** (tł.) (1993) *The Teutonic Knights* Nowy Jork: Hypocrene Books.

Workman, L. J. (1987) "Editorial," *Studies in Medievalism III/1 Medievalism in France 1500-1700*, red. Leslie Workman & Heather Arden, 1.

Krzysztof Tkaczyk

Johann Elias Schlegel. Przyjemność głównym celem sztuk pięknych

Głównym celem, do którego dążą wszystkie sztuki piękne nie jest zdaniem Schlegla ani naśladownictwo, ani też podobieństwo, lecz przyjemność.[1] W *Rozprawie o naśladownictwie* (Abhandlung von der Nachahmung) Schlegel omawia dokładnie schemat, jakim posługuje się w kontekście sztuk pięknych. Naśladownictwo, a więc czynność naśladowania ma na celu stworzenie obrazu, to jest dzieła sztuk pięknych, podobnego do pierwowzoru. Podobieństwo to zasadza się na porządku dwojakiego rodzaju: wewnętrznym uporządkowaniu elementów obrazu i pierwowzoru wedle tej samej zasady jak i na porządku rozumianym jako określona relacja pomiędzy obrazem a pierwowzorem. Schlegel posługuje się tu nawet matematycznym schematem i zestawia ze sobą części A, B, C, D pierwowzoru z częściami a, b, c, d obrazu, tworząc uporządkowane relacje, na zasadzie A ma się do a tak jak B do b itd.: A : a = B : b = C : c = D : d. (por. 1963: 501) Porządek dostrzeżony przez odbiorcę wywołuje u niego uczucie przyjemności. Innymi słowy przyjemność jest w tym schemacie wynikiem świadomego porównania i dostrzeżenia podobieństw pomiędzy obrazem a pierwowzorem i jako taka jest dana „każdej myślącej istocie". (1963: 503 i n.) Oznacza to, że Schlegel sytuuje przyjemność w sferze rozumu, w obszarze racjonalnego myślenia. Jako taka może być ona też wyznacznikiem piękna w sztuce. Już w najwcześniejszej z omawianych tu rozpraw *List do pana N. N. o komedii pisanej wierszem* (Schreiben an den Herrn N. N. über die Komödie in Versen)[2] autor wyraża pogląd, że określanie piękna dzieła sztuki w oparciu o uczucie przyjemności jest przynajmniej równoprawne z mierzeniem go w zgodzie z ogólnie przyjętymi regułami piękna. Schlegel czyni zatem z przyjemności narzędzie oceny estetycznej: „Możemy uzyskać pewny osąd o pięknie rzeczy w oparciu o przyjemność, jaką ona sprawia większości ludzi [...] na równi z sądem, który uzyskalibyśmy z reguł." (1963: 415 i n.) A w *Rozprawie o tym, że naśladownictwo rzeczy musi być czasem do niej niepodobne* (Abhandlung, daß die Nachahmung der Sache, der man nachahmet, zuweilen unähnlich werden müsse) pisze: „Im więcej przyjemności wywoła nasze naśladownictwo, tym okaże się piękniejsze." (1973: 487 i n.) Ponieważ jednakże przyjemność z obcowania ze sztuką dostępna jest także ludziom niewykształconym o „nie wyćwiczonym rozumie" (1963: 514), przyjemność musi należeć także do sfery nieracjonalnej, tej, którą nie rządzi intelekt, lecz właśnie uczucia.

Ważne jest, pisze Schlegel „abyśmy wiedzieli, dla kogo naśladujemy, po to abyśmy znali cechy tych, którym chcemy sprawić przyjemność i poruszyli ich najbardziej czułe miejsca." (511 i n.)

---

[1] W niniejszym artykule kontynuuję rozważania na temat refleksji estetycznej Johanna Eliasa Schlegla rozpoczęte w 37 tomie *Acta Philologica*. Por. Tkaczyk: 2010. Teksty Schlegla przytaczam w moim tłumaczeniu, z wyjątkiem fragmentu rozprawy *O naśladownictwie* przetłumaczonego przez Barbarę Surowską i zamieszczonego w antologii *Filozofia niemieckiego oświecenia*. (Por. Schlegel: 1973).

[2] O historii powstania trzech omawianych tu rozpraw Schlegla: *Liście do pana N. N. o komedii pisanej wierszem, Rozprawie o tym, że naśladownictwo rzeczy musi być czasem do niej niepodobne* i *Rozprawie o naśladownictwie* pisałem obszernie w moim poprzednim artykule. (Por. Tkaczyk: 2010: 139 i n.).

Przy tym, ma bardzo egalitarny stosunek do odbiorcy. Uważa wprawdzie, że zabawianie „człowieka mądrego i znawcy należy ocenić wyżej niż zabawianie głupca" (512), lecz postuluje jednocześnie, aby stale poszerzać krąg odbiorców, bo sztuka i literatura nie powinny być domeną wąskiego i elitarnego grona twórców i koneserów sztuki. (por. 512)

Dostrzeżony porządek podstawowym źródłem przyjemności. Polemika z Bodmerem

Jak zatem powstaje uczucie przyjemności i co jest jego źródłem? Już w pierwszej omawianej tu rozprawie *List do pana N. N. o komedii pisanej wierszem* za źródło przyjemności Schlegel uznaje porządek: „Ponieważ przyjemność płynąca z naśladownictwa jest zasadniczym powodem, dla którego naśladujemy naturę, to takie naśladownictwo, które przyjemności nie wywołuje uznać należy za nieudane. Wszelka zmysłowa przyjemność wynika z porządku. Jeśli zatem naśladownictwo sprawia przyjemność, to sprawia ją właśnie poprzez porządek." (1963: 410) W *Rozprawie o naśladownictwie* dodaje: „Gdy zauważam porządek, odczuwam przyjemność; a więc, gdy zauważam podobieństwo pomiędzy obrazem a pierwowzorem, odczuwam przyjemność. Jest to ta przyjemność, która wynika z istoty naśladownictwa." (503)

Przyjemność płynąca z porządku zakłada więc przede wszystkim konieczność dostrzeżenia tego porządku, a więc uświadomienia sobie przez odbiorcę faktu, że ma on do czynienia z dziełem sztuki, to jest pewnego rodzaju iluzją. Aby to było możliwe dzieło sztuki nie może być idealnym odwzorowaniem rzeczywistości i powinno zawierać w sobie elementy różniące obraz od pierwowzoru. „Jeśli obraz we wszystkim tak doskonale naśladuje pierwowzór, że rozum nie jest w stanie odróżnić tego co rzeczywiste od naśladowanego i bierze obraz i pierwowzór za jedno i to samo" (518), dzieło sztuki zanika jako takie. Aby je wynieść poza rzeczywistość pierwowzoru należy mu nadać estetyczną jakość i uczynić „widzialnym" dla odbiorcy. O kunszcie artysty nie decyduje, zdaniem Schlegla, bynajmniej umiejętność wiernego naśladowania natury[3], lecz umiejętność balansowania na granicy pomiędzy podobieństwem a niepodobieństwem i ograniczania się za każdym razem jedynie do niezbędnego minimum podobieństwa. Aby kontakt z dziełem sztuki był przyjemny, artysta powinien świadomie pomijać w obrazie nieprzyjemne elementy pierwowzoru, bądź przedstawiać je tak, aby nieprzyjemne uczucia, jakie mogą wzbudzić u odbiorcy były mniej intensywne niż przyjemność płynąca z samego faktu obcowania z dziełem sztuki. Opisując, odgrywając na scenie bądź malując cierpienie, bezsilność, śmierć, wściekłość i zło należy stosować zasadę niepodobieństwa i unikać dosłowności: „Rzężenie i drgawki umierającego co wrażliwszym odebrałyby przyjemność, a przypomnienie, że to tylko iluzja, nie zdołałoby rozwiać przykrego nastroju, który by nami owładnął. […] Nie żądam usuwania ze sceny ledwie trzymającego się na nogach nieszczęśnika, który wśród lamentu i krzyków otoczenia: „Ach, jak blednie!, ach tężeje!, ach umiera!" ma za chwilę na zawsze zamknąć oczy tylko dlatego, by

[3] Podobną myśl, znajdziemy u Charlesa Batteux, który w III rozdziale swojej rozprawy *Sztuki piękne sprowadzone do jednej zasady* (Les Beaux-Arts réduits à un même principe) zatytułowanym *Geniusz nie powinien naśladować natury taką, jaka jest* pisze: „Jeżeli sztuki są naśladowaniem natury, musi to być naśladowanie mądre i świadome, nie polegające na niewolniczym kopiowaniu natury, lecz na dobieraniu przedmiotów oraz cech i przedstawianiu ich na najwyższym szczeblu doskonałości, jaki mogą osiągnąć. Jednym słowem, musi to być naśladownictwo, w którym widać naturę – nie taką, jaką jest sama w sobie, lecz taką, jaką być może i jaką można pojąć umysłem (esprit)." (Batteux 1997: 237) Różnica pomiędzy Batteux a Schleglem polega m.in. na tym, że Schlegel przedstawia sposób (zastosowanie niepodobieństwa), w jaki należy odejść od kopiowania rzeczywistości. U Batteux nie odnajdziemy głębszej refleksji nad niepodobieństwem, odkryjemy natomiast silne dążenie do idealizacji w sztuce, które można z kolei porównać z koncepcjami sztuki Winckelmanna i Sulzera.

zaoszczędzić publiczności widoku jego śmierci. Ale jestem zdania, że w obrazie należy przynajmniej wykorzystać to, co w okropnym widoku śmierci dostrzec można ze słodyczy i łagodności: lekkie poruszenia, skłonienie głowy, przypominające raczej człowieka usypiającego niż walczącego ze śmiercią, głos, wprawdzie urywany, ale nie chrapliwy; słowem, należy stworzyć sobie taki rodzaj śmierci, jakiego każdy mógłby sobie życzyć, a nikt nie doczeka. (1973: 489)[4]

Schlegel wyraźnie polemizuje tu z Bodmerem, który uważa odkrycie „oszustwa" przez widza w teatrze za nieodzowny wymóg powstania uczucia przyjemności. Zdaniem Bodmera przyjemność jest wynikiem uświadomienia sobie przez widza faktu, że w teatrze obcuje on jedynie z iluzją, co z kolei ma pociągać za sobą przyjemne przekonanie o doskonałości poety i dzieła, jakie stworzył oraz pewność, że postaci na scenie nie cierpią naprawdę, a więc nie należy obawiać się o ich los: „Osoby grające na scenie i obdarzające te wymyślone przez poetę życiem, działaniem, gestami przenoszą [widza] swoimi czarami do Teb, Aten, Argos, wiodą go w zamierzchłe czasy i we wszystkie zawiłości akcji, we wszelkie przejawy namiętności, tak że w końcu zapomina, że słucha tylko przypowieści. Wierzy, że ma przed oczyma postaci z krwi i kości, że cierpią one z całego serca i przywołują go na świadka swej niedoli; dlatego też pogrąża się on w zbędnym współczuciu i niepotrzebnie ogarnia go strach. Ale przecież za chwilę się opamięta, zrozumie, że niebezpieczeństwo, które wzbudziło jego współczucie, to tylko gra, a każdy jest bezpieczny i wtedy da upust swojej radości. A więc radość następuje zaraz po bólu, powstaje wewnątrz cierpienia." (Bodmer 1966: 23) W swej krytyce Bodmera Schlegel jest przede wszystkim purystą językowym i wykazuje błąd logiczny tkwiący w pojęciu „przyjemnej pomyłki" (entzückender Betrug). „Dokładnie rzecz ujmując, pisze Schlegel, coś takiego jak przyjemna pomyłka nie istnieje. Oszustwo lub pomyłka są zawsze świadkami słabości naszego rozumu, nawet najbardziej osłodzone powinny nas raczej zawstydzać niż bawić. Odkrycie oszustwa może oczywiście zaspokoić w przyjemny sposób naszą żądzę wiedzy, ale tylko u niewielu ludzi przyjemność płynąca z faktu nauczenia się czegoś nowego przezwycięży przykrość pomyłki, z którą to odkrycie jest nierozerwalnie związane. Krótko mówiąc, odkrycie pomyłki, nazywane przyjemnym lub zachwycającym oszustwem, powoduje ze swej istoty nazbyt gorzką przyjemność, aby można było w oparciu o nie wyjaśnić przyjemność płynącą z naśladownictwa." (1963: 506)

Schlegel jest zatem przeciwny Bodmerowskiej dychotomii iluzja – odkrycie iluzji. Sztuka nie może stwarzać uczucia zupełnej iluzji, przede wszystkim dlatego, że w ten sposób negowałaby samą siebie – widz musi nieustannie świadomie porównywać obraz z pierwowzorem i z tego porównania czerpać satysfakcję. Ponadto iluzja taka nie mogłaby trwać nieprzerwanie, zawsze bowiem nadchodzi moment, w którym odbiorca sztuki zrozumie, że miał do czynienia jedynie z przedstawieniem, innymi słowy, ze został „oszukany", co wywoła u niego uczucie dyskomfortu. Schlegel dopuszcza co prawda możliwość wystąpienia uczucia przyjemności w momencie odkrycia pomyłki, płynącej z uświadomienia sobie faktu, ze mieliśmy oto do czynienia z tak doskonałym dziełem, że udało mu się sprawić, że „pomyliliśmy obraz z pierwowzorem" (507), nie zmienia to jednak jego przekonania o tym, że iluzja nie jest przyjemną pomyłką, lecz raczej czymś przykrym, czego powinniśmy unikać. (por. Bretzigheimer 1986: 101)

---

[4] Schlegel ponownie nawiązuje do idei wyobrażenia. Pisze o śmierci, jaka odpowiadałaby naszemu wyobrażeniu o niej, a raczej wyobrażeniu, jakie skłonni bylibyśmy do siebie dopuścić i zaakceptować. (Por. Tkaczyk 2010: 140, 143-145).

Dodatkowe źródła przyjemności. Krytyka Gottscheda

Oprócz podstawowego źródła przyjemności, tj. dostrzeżonego porządku istnieją także inne, dodatkowe jej źródła, są nimi: 1. doskonałość pierwowzoru, czyli naśladowanej rzeczy, 2. doskonałość podmiotu, a więc samej materii dzieła oraz 3. doskonałość artysty, poety bądź aktora. Żadne z tych trzech dodatkowych źródeł nie powinno być, zdaniem Schlegla, pomijane, bo może uzupełnić i wzmocnić pierwszy rodzaj przyjemności.

Doskonałość pierwowzoru oznacza dla Schlegla przede wszystkim porządek, harmonię i powab, które, jako występujące w naturze, a więc już w samym pierwowzorze, łatwiej będzie artyście pokazać w obrazie. Nie będzie zmuszony ich tworzyć od nowa: „Jeśli cechy pierwowzoru jako takie posiadają wiele uroku i wyrażają pewien porządek, to cały ten porządek zostanie przeniesiony do obrazu. [...] Krótko mówiąc, im więcej porządku w samym pierwowzorze, tym więcej w nim doskonałości; tym piękniejsze będzie naśladownictwo." (1963: 524) Takiego stanowiska nie należy jednak rozumieć jako wezwania do ograniczania się artysty w wyborze tematów i treści[5]. Pisze zresztą o tym sam Schlegel: „O wiele łatwiej popełnić jakiś błąd, doszukując się podobieństw pomiędzy dziką okolicą, której części nie występują wobec siebie w żadnej logicznej relacji, a jej obrazem, niż percypując podobieństwo pałacu, którego każda część znajduje się na ściśle wyznaczonym miejscu. Nie twierdzę tak, aby wykazać, że dzika okolica pozbawiona jest w ogóle piękna, które byłoby godne tego, by je naśladować, lecz tylko po to, aby podkreślić wagę doskonałości pierwowzoru." (524)

Inna doskonałość pierwowzoru, to jego zdolność do nauczania. Schlegel radzi, aby wtedy, gdy istnieje możliwość wyboru pomiędzy pierwowzorem wywołującym miłe skojarzenia a pierwowzorem miłym i do tego pouczającym, zawsze wybierać ten drugi, przy czym sprawianie przyjemności jest dla niego podstawowym celem sztuki (Hauptzweck), nauczanie natomiast jej szlachetnym zamiarem ubocznym (edle Nebenabsicht): „Mądrość nam podpowiada, abyśmy z przyjemnym celem podstawowym zawsze łączyli szlachetny zamiar uboczny, otrzymamy wtedy dwie rzeczy na raz, które na dodatek wzajemnie będą się wspierać. (524 i n.)[6]

Schlegel zmienia zatem przyjęty w poetyce i forsowany przez Gottscheda punkt widzenia, że podstawową zasadą poezji i sztuk pięknych jest nauczanie i wychowywanie, a przyjemność, jeśli się

---

[5] Bretzigheimer, nie przytaczając żadnych słów Schlegla na potwierdzenie swej tezy, stwierdza, że u Schlegla „wierność zasadzie porządku skutkuje znacznym ograniczeniem przy wyborze treści". (Bretzigheimer 1986: 157) Jest to stwierdzenie błędne. O ile należałoby zgodzić się z Bretzigheimer, że Schlegel zaleca przedstawianie scen szczególnie drastycznych w formie, która by osłabiła ich potencjalnie silne i negatywne oddziaływanie na emocje widza (por. 157), o czym piszę powyżej, to należy wyraźnie podkreślić, że Schleglowski postulat ograniczenia nie dotyczy treści, lecz wyłącznie formy przekazu.

[6] Wilkinson, autorka jednego z trzech liczących się opracować pism estetycznych J.E. Schlegla (autorami dwóch pozostałych są Antoniewicz (1887) i Bretzigheimer (1986)) uważa, że na takie stanowisko Schlegla wpływ miało jego przekonanie, że w codziennym życiu, inaczej niż w obszarze sztuki, ważniejszy, bo bardziej przydatny z praktycznego punktu widzenia, jest pierwiastek dydaktyczny: „Przez cały XVIII wiek dążenie do delectare (rozkoszowania się, uciechy) nigdy całkowicie nie wyparło prodesse (pożytku). Kwestia wyższości jednej wartości nad drugą zależała od tego, na co kładziono większy nacisk. Dla Schlegla celem nadrzędnym sztuki samej w sobie jest przyjemność, w życiu człowieka natomiast bardziej istotna jest wiedza (nauka, wykształcenie). Pogląd ten zmusza go do pewnego kompromisu. Na początku XVIII wieku bowiem przyjemność jako taka ma konotacje raczej negatywne, a Schlegel ceni przecież sztukę bardzo wysoko. Stara się on więc pogodzić te dwie sprzeczności przez uznanie nauczania […] za drugorzędny cel sztuki. Dlatego więc dla Schlegla najlepszym podmiotem jest ten, który posiada również walor edukacyjny." (Wilkinson 1973: 65) Schlegel nie dostrzega tu problemu logicznego, jaki sam stwarza, mianowicie nie zauważa, że przyjemność płynąca z faktu nauczenia się i poznania czegoś nowego nie tylko może wspierać przyjemność płynącą z samej percepcji podobieństwa pomiędzy obrazem a pierwowzorem, lecz może też stać się dla niej konkurencją. Które z tych uczuć jest zatem silniejsze? Tego Schlegel nie analizuje.

w trakcie obcowania ze sztuką i literaturą pojawia, jest chętnie widzianym dodatkiem, nigdy zaś nie powinna stanowić celu głównego. Dla Gottscheda bowiem literatura i sztuka nie są autonomicznymi polami działań ludzkiego rozumu, lecz mają swe ściśle określone miejsce w doktrynie moralnej, a co za tym idzie także w porządku społecznym i państwowym. Gottsched chce uczynić z literatury istotny element państwotwórczy i zakłada, że może ona ukształtować szerokie rzesze społeczeństwa, jeżeli będzie czymś więcej niż tylko źródłem rozrywki. Człowiek, jak uważa Gottsched, zaczyna postępować właściwe wtedy, gdy zrozumie co znaczy moralność i cnota, a to zrozumienie możliwe jest dla większości dopiero po naocznym przekonaniu się o skutkach życia cnotliwego i występnego. (por. Gottsched 1993: 145 i n.) Niezbędne jest zatem medium, które ukazywałoby właściwe i niewłaściwe postępowanie. Może być nim poezja, znajduje się ona bowiem, zdaniem Gottscheda, wpół drogi „pomiędzy księgą moralności a prawdziwą historią […] jest tak budująca jak moralność i tak miła jak historia; poucza i bawi, nadaje się dla wykształconych i niewykształconych." (Gottsched 1751: 167; por. Wolf 1964: 14) Zadanie poety w koncepcji Gottscheda polega na wyborze jednej określonej prawdy moralnej, którą chciałby w sposób zmysłowy przekazać swoim odbiorcom. A ponieważ utwór poetycki zawierać powinien tylko jedną taką moralną naukę, poeta winien zrezygnować z wszelkich wątków pobocznych i skoncentrować się na najważniejszej opowieści. Ma on zatem przy pomocy konkretnych jednostkowych przykładów przedstawić pewną ogólną prawdę w taki sposób, aby czytelnik bądź widz mógł bez przeszkód do niej dotrzeć.

Takie podejście skutkować musi przede wszystkim niezmiernym uproszczeniem utworu dramatycznego i wykluczeniem z niego wszystkich elementów, które nie prowadzą w prostej drodze do odkrycia przekazu moralnego: zaskoczenia, zawikłania akcji, jej niespodziewanych zwrotów itp. Nietrudno też zauważyć, że te jednostkowe przykłady, a więc charaktery bohaterów, ich losy, nadzieje i rozterki, czyli to wszystkiego, co widza interesuje i co może być źródłem przyjemności wynikającej z obcowania z poezją, czy sztuką w ogóle ma dla Gottscheda drugorzędne znaczenie, bo służy jedynie unaocznianiu moralnego przekazu. Nie może zatem dziwić krytyka, z jaką Gottsched spotkał się ze strony młodego Schlegla.[7] Schlegel odwraca postulat Gottscheda o prymacie nauczania nad przyjemnością i opowiada się jednoznacznie po stronie przyjemności: „Przyjmuje się zazwyczaj, że poezja stawia przed sobą dwa cele: sprawianie przyjemności i nauczanie. […] Jeśli jednak zapytamy, który z nich jest celem głównym, to muszę odpowiedzieć, […] że przyjemność wyprzedza nauczanie, i że wyżej należy cenić poetę, który sprawia przyjemność, a nie naucza, niźli takiego, który naucza, nie sprawiając przyjemności. Nie musimy też pytać, czy ten, kto wiersz pisze i ten, kto go czyta, szukali i pragnęliby czegoś bardziej niźli pierwszy sprawiać przyjemność a drugi ją odczuwać."

[7] Schlegel doceniał osiągnięcia Gottscheda na polu poetyki, w tym teorii sztuki teatralnej i wysoko cenił *Die deutsche Schaubühne*, której znaczenie dla rozwoju teatru i sztuki dramatycznej w osiemnastowiecznych Niemczech trudno przecenić. Opublikował u Gottscheda trzy ze swoich sztuk: *Hermann* (Gottsched 1972: 1-68) i *Der geschäftigte Müßiggänger* (263-378) w 4. tomie *Die deutsche Schaubühne* i *Dido* (191-244) w tomie 5., co uznać należy za nobilitację młodego autora. Tym niemniej nie ze wszystkim założeniami Gottschedowskiej koncepcji literatury i sztuki się zgadzał. Krytyce poddał nie tylko prymat elementu dydaktycznego nad rozrywkowym, lecz także nazbyt silne przywiązanie Gottscheda do formalnej budowy utworu scenicznego: jedności czasu i miejsca, regularnego układu scen i aktów, budowy intrygi i nieprzywiązywanie wystarczającej wagi do charakterów postaci. (por. Rentsch 1890: 26 i n.) Przekonanie Schlegla podziela Lessing w swojej *Dramaturgi hamburskiej*, poświęcając charakterom w teatrze, a zwłaszcza w komedii bardzo wiele miejsca. Stwierdza wręcz (nr 55), że: „w komedii charaktery są najważniejsze, sytuacje są jedynie środkami, aby te mogły się w nich ukazać." (por. Lessing 1970: 470). Więcej o utworach dramatycznych Schlegla w kontekście literatury osiemnastego wieku (Gottsched, Bodmer, Lessing) w: Plassmann 2000: 16-23.

(1963: 507 i n.) (Por. Antoniewicz 1887: XXXI, XLI, CXI i n., Wilkinson 1973: 64 i n., Baasner 2000: 125)[8] Od zawsze bowiem poezja była przede wszystkim źródłem przyjemnych doznań zarówno dla jej twórców jak i odbiorców: „Anakreont był wśród dawnych poetów znamienitszym poetą niż Teognis, a złote wiersze Pitagorasa kiepsko wypadają w konfrontacji z jadowitymi wierszami Owidiusza. Nie słyszałem jeszcze nikogo, kto by uważał Cato z jego umoralniającymi wierszami za lepszego poetę od Katullusa, którego poezja pełna jest lekkomyślnych pomysłów. To wszystko dowodzi tego, jak dalece mniej istotne w poezji jest nauczanie od sprawiania przyjemności." (508)

Kolejnym źródłem przyjemności jest **doskonałość podmiotu**. Materia dzieła sztuki powinna nie tylko być dostosowana do rodzaju naśladowanego pierwowzoru, lecz także tak ukształtowana, aby była najbardziej predysponowana do przedstawienia określonych tematów i treści. Schlegel pisze w tym kontekście o adekwatności materiału, w jakim się naśladuje: „Jeśli podmiot, w którym naśladujemy, ma być uznany za właściwy, to musi on posiadać właściwości umożliwiające naśladowanie pierwowzoru, musi ponadto być zdolny do przejęcia w swych częściach tych relacji, jakie występują pomiędzy częściami pierwowzoru. Co zatem nie posiada właściwości, jakie wykazuje pierwowzór, który chcemy naśladować, i co nie jest w stanie wykazać się takimi samymi relacjami dotyczącymi tych właściwości, nie może być obrazem innej rzeczy." (495) Jako proste przykłady potwierdzające słuszność tej tezy Schlegel wymienia brak możliwości transferu muzyki w sferę malarstwa i malarstwa w sferę muzyki: nie można namalować dźwięku, tak jak nie można przekazać dźwiękami tego, co postrzegamy wzrokiem. (por. 495)

Właściwa materia, w której się naśladuje nie tylko może, ale i powinna różnić się od materii pierwowzoru. Oczywiście zasada ta nie obowiązuje w sztuce teatralnej, gdzie człowiek aktor wciela się na scenie w postać innego człowieka, ale już w przypadku przedmiotów różnica materii obrazu i pierwowzoru musi być zachowana: „Nie możemy mówić o naśladowaniu, jeśli nie istnieje zamiar, uczynienia czegoś podobnym do innego. Nie przyniesie chwały naśladującemu, jeśli ten zechce naśladować złote naczynie w złocie." (496) Tak samo lichym pomysłem jest, zdaniem Schlegla, pisanie utworów teatralnych prozą, bo codzienny język na scenie jest jedynie przeniesieniem pierwowzoru w sferę obrazu. Dopiero mowa wiązana nadaje materii pierwowzoru cechy materii obrazu. I przede wszystkim, zdaniem Schlegla, to właśnie „miara wierszowa w poezji jest taką doskonałością, która związana z naśladowaniem, ma za zadanie wywołać uczucie przyjemności." (527)

Podobieństwo pomiędzy obrazem a pierwowzorem wymagane jest jedynie w tych ich częściach, jakie artysta uzna za istotne: „Ponieważ malarz chce naśladować jedynie kształty i kolory ciał, tak jak je postrzega zmysł wzroku, jego obrazy nie muszą posiadać trzeciego wymiaru (Dichtigkeit) i nie należy oczekiwać, że dotykając je odniesie się podobne wrażenie jak dotykając pierwowzorów, malarz posługuje się przecież płaszczyzną. Zarówno miękkie jak i twarde ciało będą stanowić tu taki sam opór, mianowicie opór jaki odczujemy dotykając powierzchni, na której zostały namalowane.

[8] Wilkinson uważa przewartościowanie celu sztuk pięknych dokonane przez Schlegla za największy postęp jego refleksji estetycznej w stosunku do myśli Gottscheda: „Twierdzenie Schlegla, że głównym celem sztuki powinna być przyjemność a nie moralne doskonalenie się (moral improvement) uważa się za jedną z ważniejszych tez różniących go od Gottscheda." (Wilkinson 1973: 64). Podobnie uważa Schonder (Schonder 1941: 11-13). Schulz natomiast, dostrzegając zasadnicze różnice pomiędzy poetyką Gottscheda i Schlegla przeciwny jest zarówno twierdzeniu, że Schlegel jest od Gottscheda myślicielem bardziej postępowym jak i tezie, że w jego pismach mamy do czynienia z „przezwyciężeniem Gottscheda": „Nawet wtedy, gdy Schlegel różniąc się od Gottscheda, w wielu kwestiach kładzie akcent na inne treści, to nie wyważa z zawiasów poetyki wczesnego oświecenia." (Schulz 1980: 7). Więcej o uwolnieniu poezji od moralizatorskich tendencji por. Antoniewicz 1887: XLI i n.

Dlatego też niewłaściwym jest krytykowanie obrazu z tego tylko powodu, że posiada właściwości, jakie nie występują w pierwowzorze." (497)

Z doskonałością podmiotu wiąże się nierozerwalnie **doskonałość twórcy,** będąca kolejnym i zarazem ostatnim już źródłem przyjemności. Ta dodatkowa przyjemność, uważa Schlegel, wypływać może z uświadomienia sobie przez czytelnika bądź widza, że obcuje on z dziełem najwyższej próby, to znaczy takim, które zaoferuje mu coś, czego nie znajdzie w naturze, co z kolei pozwoli mu wnioskować o wyjątkowych umiejętnościach twórcy. Taką „wartość dodaną" nieistniejącą w naturze, a będącą widocznym znakiem ingerencji poety posiada m.in. komedia pisana wierszem: „I nawet wtedy, gdy słowa wypowiadane na scenie jawić nam się będą jako słowa osób na niej występujących, to ich piękny dźwięk przypomni nam, że są one wytworem sztuki i powiedzie nasze myśli ku prawdziwemu życiu, jego scenicznemu przedstawieniu i kunszcie tego, który je stworzył, co tylko spotęguje naszą przyjemność." (414)

Bibliografia

Antoniewicz, Johann von (1887), Wstęp nieopatrzony tytułem, w: *Johann Elias Schlegels ästhetische und dramaturgische Schriften*, Heilbronn, s. III-CLXXX.

Baasner, Rainer (2000), *Nachwort*, w: *Johann Elias Schlegel. Theoretische Texte,* Mit einem Nachwort und herausgegeben von Rainer Baasner, Hannover.

Batteux, Charles (1997), *Zasady literatury*, w: *Europejskie źródła myśli estetyczno-literackiej polskiego oświecenia. Antologia wypowiedzi pisarzy francuskich, niemieckojęzycznych i angielskich 1674-1810*, opracowali Teresa Kostkiewiczowi i Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa, s. 232-265.

Bodmer, Johann Jacob (1966) *Briefwechsel. Von der Natur des poetischen Geschmackes*, Zürich 1736, Faksimilieausgabe Stuttgart.

Bretzigheimer, Gerlinde (1986), *Johann Elias Schlegels poetische Theorie im Rahmen der Tradition*, München.

Gottsched, Johann Christoph (1972), *Die deutsche Schaubühne nach den Regeln und Mustern der Alten*, Leipzig 4. Teil 1743, 5. Teil 1744, Faksimilieausgabe Stuttgart.

Gottsched, Johann Christoph (1993), *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*, Herausgegeben von Johann Christoph Gottsched, Im Anhang einige Stücke aus der 2. u. 3. Auflage 1738 und 1748, Neu herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort, einer Themenübersicht und einem Inhaltsverzeichnis versehen von Helga Brandes, Zweiter Teil 1726, Faksimilieausgabe Hildesheim, Zürich, New York.

Gottsched, Johann Christoph (1751), *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, Leipzig.

Hecht, Wolfgang (1962), *Materialien zum Verständnis der Texte,* w: *Luise Adelgunde Viktorie Gottsched, Der Witzling; Johann Elias Schlegel, Die stumme Schönheit,* Texte und Materialien zur Interpretation besorgt von Wolfgang Hecht, Berlin.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1970), *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, w: G.E. Lessing, *Werke*, Band 4, München.

Moritz, Karl Philipp (1962), *Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich Vollendeten. An Hernn Moses Mendelssohn*, w: K.Ph. Moritz, *Schriften zur Ästhetik und Poetik.* hrsg. von H. J. Schrimpf, Tübingen, s. 3-9.

Plassmann, Sibylle (2000), *Die humane Gesellschaft und ihre Gegner in den Dramen von J.E.. Schlegel*, Münster-Hamburg-London.

Rentsch, Johannes (1890), *Johann Elias Schlegel als Trauerspieldichter, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Gottsched*, Leipzig.

Schlegel, Johann Elias (1963), *Ausgewählte Werke*, hrsg. von Werner Schubert, Weimar

- *Abhandlung, daß die Nachahmung der Sache, der man nachahmet, zuweilen unähnlich werden müsse*, s. 478-485.
- *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung*, s. 486-527.
- *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters,* s. 559-585.
- *Schreiben an den Herrn N. N. über die Komödie in Versen*, s. 408-424.

Schlegel, Johann Elias (1973), *Rozprawa o tym, że naśladownictwo rzeczy musi być czasem do niej niepodobne,* w: *Filozofia niemieckiego oświecenia*. Wyboru dokonali oraz wstępami poprzedzili Tadeusz Namowicz, Karol Sauerland, Marek J. Siemek, Warszawa, s. 485-491.

Schonder, Hermann (1941), *Johann Elias Schlegel als Übergangsgestalt*, Würzburg-Aumühle.

Schulz, Georg-Michael (1980), *Die Überwindung der Barbarei. Johann Elias Schlegels Trauerspiele*, Tübingen.

Tkaczyk, Krzysztof (2010), „Johann Elias Schlegel. O naśladownictwie, podobieństwie i niepodobieństwie", w: *Acta Philologica* 37, s. 139-147.

Wilkinson, Elizabeth M. (1973), *Johann Elias Schlegel. A german pioneer in aesthetics*, 2nd corrected edition, Darmstadt.

Wolf, Peter (1964), *Die Dramen Johann Elias Schlegels. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas im 18. Jahrhundert*, Zürich.

STRESZCZENIE

Opublikowane przez Johanna Eliasa Schlegla w latach czterdziestych XVIII w. prace z zakresu estetyki i teorii literatury: *List do pana N. N. o komedii pisanej wierszem, Rozprawa o tym, że naśladownictwo rzeczy musi być czasem do niej niepodobne* oraz *Rozprawa o naśladownictwie* stanowią tyleż oryginalny co nowatorski przyczynek do toczącej się w Niemczech dyskusji o istocie i roli sztuki i literatury. Młody Schlegel nie tylko uwalnia w nich artystę od obowiązku kopiowania natury, podkreślając w sztuce i literaturze rolę niepodobieństwa, lecz także, polemizując z Gottschedem redefiniuje cel, do jakiego sztuki piękne i literatura powinny dążyć. Ma być nim nie wychowanie i nauczanie, jak chciałby tego Gottsched, lecz przyjemność. Podstawowym źródłem przyjemności jest zdaniem Schlegla porządek dostrzegany dzięki podobieństwu i niepodobieństwu pomiędzy obrazem i pierwowzorem. Inne, dodatkowe źródła przyjemności to: doskonałość pierwowzoru, czyli rzeczy naśladowanej, doskonałość podmiotu, a więc samej materii dzieła oraz doskonałość artysty manifestująca się poprzez stworzone przezeń dzieło.

Michał Fijałkowski

Inez de Castro. Drama historyczna Juliusa von Sodena i jej sukces na scenach polskich

W 1815 roku Józef Lipiński, przewodniczący Dyrekcji Rządowej teatru, który przejął to stanowisko po Julianie Ursynie Niemcewiczu, stwierdza w swojej wypowiedzi z okazji otwarcia szkoły dramatycznej, że na scenę warszawską wszedł nowy gatunek sztuki, w którym „dekoracja, rozmaitość widowiska, sceny burzliwe lub patetyczne, marsze, szturmy, bitwy, pogrzeby i mary, mniejszego od autora i aktora wymagają talentu" (Korzeniewski 1993: 13). Stanowisko to dziwić nie może, gdyż ówczesny repertuar teatralny (przełom XVIII i XIX wieku oraz następujące po nim trzy dekady wieku XIX) zdominowane zostały przez *dramę*, proweniencji przede wszystkim francuskiej, niemieckiej, w nielicznych przypadkach rodzimej. Na scenach polskich, zarówno warszawskiej jak i naśladujących ją w kwestii repertuaru scenach prowincjonalnych (przede wszystkim Kraków, Lwów, Wilno), królowały nazwiska dwóch książąt niemieckiej dramy, przysłowiowych już Augusta von Kotzebue oraz Augusta Wilhelma Ifflanda; tuż obok nazwisk autorów francuskich[1], którzy podobnie jak Gotthold Ephraim Lessing na terenach niemieckich, postulowali na swym rodzimym terytorium powstanie dramatu mieszczańskiego.

Nasuwa się natychmiast pytanie, czym jest owa *drama*? Jest to nic innego jak strywializowana, „upadła" wersja dramatu mieszczańskiego (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*), niedająca się okiełznać hybryda dramatu z operą, baletem, pantomimą, nieprzestrzegająca reguł klasycystycznej tragedii. Znienawidzona przez domagającą się wysokiej tragedii krytykę Iksów, ukochana przez publiczność teatralną[2], była drama, powtarzając za Bohdanem Korzeniewskim, „czarodziejką sukcesu" (61).

Drama jawiła się dodatkowo w wielu postaciach: rycerskiej, biblijnej, rodzinnej, sądowej, grozy. Odmiana historyczna – jedna z najpopularniejszych - naśladowała pełnymi garściami z wytworów okresu *burzy i naporu*, dzieł takich jak *Götz z Berlichingen* Goethego czy *Zbójcy* Schillera (częstokroć chociażby przerabiając te tytuły).

Właśnie w kontekście dramy historycznej, pomiędzy wymienionymi powyżej najpopularniejszymi niemieckimi autorami *dramatu niższego rzędu*, jak można określić dramę, przejawiały się czasem

---

[1] Tj. Denis Diderot, Pierre Beaumarchais, Louis-Sébastien Mercier czy – w swym czasie popularniejszy od samego Corneille'a i Voltaire'a – René Charles Guilbert de Pixerécourt.

[2] Należy wyjaśnić, że początek XIX wieku w Teatrze Narodowym, a w szczególności okres dyrekcji Ludwika Osińskiego (1814–1831) określić można jako swoisty „bój o tragedię": krytyka Towarzystwa Iksów, recenzująca anonimowo spektakle sceny warszawskiej, domagała się poprawy smaku poprzez wykształcenie go u rodzimej publiczności, postulując wystawianie tragedii klasycystycznych, uważając dramę za sztukę niską, prostą w odbiorze, a przez to nieszlachetną, przyciągającą do teatru złaknionych wrażeń wizualnych i łatwych wzruszeń niewykształconych widzów. Wprowadzanie tragedii na scenę nie było jednak zadaniem łatwym; teatr, aby się utrzymać, musiał dbać o wysoką frekwencję publiczności, a żeby taką uzyskać, musiał wystawiać popularne dramy. Sytuację ilustruje następujący przykład: za czasów dyrekcji Bogusławskiego w Teatrze Narodowym (1783–1785, 1790–1794, 1799–1814) na 25 tragedii wystawiono 103 dramy; za Ludwika Osińskiego na 49 tragedii (w tym 37 nowych) przypada 95 dram (w tym nowych 49). (Korzeniewski: 17n).

(niekiedy bardzo często) nazwiska innych autorów niemieckojęzycznych[3], takich jak Friedrich Wilhelm Ziegler, Friedrich Wilhelm Zschokke, Christian Heinrich Spiess, Franz Ignaz von Holbein, Christian August Vulpius czy Julius von Soden[4]; drama historyczna autorstwa tego ostatniego, *Inez de Castro* (*Ignez de Castro*[5]), osiągnęła wśród innych tytułów niebywały sukces. Grana przez 30 lat (1799–1829) osiągnęła liczbę 54 przedstawień (przed dyrekcją Osińskiego wystawiona była w rekordowej liczbie 35 przedstawień) (Korzeniewski: 77).

Sztuka wystawiana była nie tylko w Warszawie; gościła na scenie teatru lwowskiego (1797, 1815), teatru w Wilnie (1799), zawitała również w ramach gościnnych występów Teatru Narodowego do Krakowa (1815) (Michalik i in.: 211). Grana była w różnych tłumaczeniach: dla Warszawy przełożył ją Wincenty Bobrowski, dla Lwowa Jan Nepomucen Kamiński, nota bene nazywany ojcem tamtejszej sceny. Dzieła Juliusa von Sodena[6], znanego w Warszawie wyłącznie jako autora *Inez*, cieszyły się na terenach galicyjskich większą popularnością: w 1817 roku, również w tłumaczeniu Kamińskiego, wystawiona została w Teatrze Krakowskim inna jego drama, *Aurora, czyli Dziecko Piekła*[7], tam również w 1830 doszło do wystawienia dramy *Ernest, hrabia de Gleichen, czyli Mąż dwóch żon*; w Teatrze Lwowskim w 1829 zagościł jeszcze *Pożądany gość w Irlandii, czyli Triumf w więzieniu* (Michalik i in.: 211).

Drama historyczna Sodena, dziś zapomniana, podobnie jak nazwisko autora[8], wypełniła w polskiej kulturze jednak funkcję zaszczytną: wprowadziła ona bowiem do świadomości kulturowej narodowy motyw literatury portugalskiej, jakim są dzieje tytułowej bohaterki, Inez de Castro. Narodowy, gdyż takim uczyniony został przez Luísa Vaza de Camõesa, renesansowego wieszcza Portugalii i autora jej eposu, *Luzjad*[9] (*Os Lusíadas*, 1572).

Motyw Inez de Castro (port. Inês de Castro), zmarłej w 1355 roku kochanki infanta portugalskiego, Don Pedro, jest podaniem historycznym. Była ona damą dworu żony przyszłego króla Piotra I Okrutnego (zwanego też Sprawiedliwym), Konstancji Manuel Kastylijskiej; została również kochanką infanta i matką jego dzieci. Po śmierci Konstancji Don Pedro postanawia związać się z Inez, co nie odpowiada jednak politycznym zakusom jego ojca, króla Alfonsa IV. Z troski o dziedzictwo tronu portugalskiego, rozkazuje on zgładzić Inez podczas nieobecności kochanka. Zrozpaczony infant

[3] Jako ciekawostkę potraktować można zaliczenie przez krytykę do gatunku dramy wczesny dramat Franza Grillparzera, *Die Ahnfrau*, tłumaczoną na polski przez St. Starzyńskiego jako *Matka rodu Dobratyńskich* (Korzeniewski: 78).

[4] Pełne nazwisko tego dramatopisarza brzmi: Graf Friedrich Julius Heinrich von Soden auf Sassanfahrt. Urodzony w 1754 w Ansbach; zmarł w 1831 w Norymberdze.

[5] Rok wydania: 1784 (Korzeniewski: 77), premiera: 1786 w Berlinie (Michalik i in. 2004: 211).

[6] W polskich opracowaniach, zarówno dziewiętnastowiecznych jak i współczesnych, nazwisko autora *Inez de Castro* pojawia się czasem w formie: Julius de Soden (por. Jurczyk 2002: 5).

[7] Tyt. oryg.: *Aurora, oder: Das Kind der Hölle* (w liście do Goethego z Jeny z dnia 20. listopada 1795 roku Schiller wypowiada się niepochlebnie o tym dramacie, nadesłanym mu przez autora).

[8] Julius von Soden najczęściej jeszcze bywa przywoływany jako autor librett do oper E.T.A. Hoffmanna *Der Trank der Unsterblichkeit* (1808) oraz *Dirna* (1809).

[9] Tłumaczenie tytułu eposu Camõesa jako *Luzjady* podaję z tego powodu, że właśnie w tej formie zadomowiło się na dobre w rodzimej kulturze. Na język polski epos przełożony został czterokrotnie, za każdym razem będąc inaczej tytułowanym: *Luzyada Kamoensa, czyli odkrycie Indyy Wschodnich* (przeł. Jacek Przybylski), Kraków 1790; *Lusiady albo Portugalczycy* (przeł. Dionizy Piotrowski), Boulogne-sur-Mer 1875; *Luzyady. Epos w dziesięciu pieśniach* (przeł. Adam M-ski [Zofia Trzeszczkowska]), Warszawa 1890; *Luzytanie* (przeł. Ireneusz Kania), Kraków 1995 (Bednarek 2001: 413).

poprzysięga zemstę i tuż po śmierci ojca zabija radców odpowiedzialnych za wyrok na Inez, którzy po mordzie na niej schronili się przed jego gniewem w Kastylii. W roku 1360 wydaje oświadczenie, według którego miał on w tajemnicy przed ojcem poślubić Inez, czyniąc ją w ten sposób królową Portugalii. Legenda głosi, że już jako król kazał przystroić i wystawić jej zwłoki w Alcobaça na widok publiczny w celu zmuszenia możnych oraz ludu do oddania jej pośmiertnego hołdu.

Motyw Inez de Castro doczekał się w literaturze światowej około 200 opracowań[10] (Frenzel 1962: 288). Przez pierwsze półtora wieku przechowywały opowieść kroniki portugalskie, następnie w wieku XVI pojawiła się w romancach, aż wreszcie w 1572 historię mordu Inez opracował w Pieśni Trzeciej swojego eposu Camões – za najlepszy fragment twórczości portugalskiego mistrza uważał ten fragment Voltaire (Nozick 1951: 332). Pod koniec wieku pojawiła się również pierwsza tragedia poświęcona martwej królowej, *A Castro* Antonia Ferreiry (1587). Kolejne, tym razem *złote* stulecie literatury utrwaliło historię Inez de Castro głównie w postaci ballad i dramatów; nie bez znaczenia dla recepcji tego motywu jest fakt, że dokonali tego w dużej mierze autorzy hiszpańscy[11]: słynny dramat Luisa Véleza de Guevara, *Reynar después de morir*, będzie dla autorów wieków późniejszych istotnym źródłem inspiracji. Inez poświęcił swój dramat, niestety niezachowany, również wielki Lope de Vega. W wieku XVIII motyw przedostał się do literatury francuskiej, gdzie powstało jedno z najistotniejszych dla popularyzacji historii Inez dzieło dramatyczne autorstwa Houdara de la Mottes (1723); potraktowany przez niego *wolnie* temat portugalski doczekał się w tym samym roku swojej parodii (Legrand/Dominique, *Agnès de Chaillot*). Na terenie Anglii Inez została zaś nie tylko udramatyzowana (C. Trotter, 1763, D. Mallet, 1696), ale i przerobiona na sentymentalną powieść (Aphra Behn, *Agnes de Castro*, 1688). Niemieccy dramatopisarze[12] (może należałoby nazwać ich jednak dramo-pisarzami?) również czerpali inspirację z portugalskiej opowieści; oprócz znanego nam już Sodena o Inez pisali także Friedrich Justin Bertuch[13] (1773) oraz Ch. L. Seipp (1775). Rozpościeranie się motywów z historii Portugalii tłumaczy fakt powstawania kolejnych przekładów eposu Camõesa na inne języki: angielski (1655), francuski (1735), polski (1790), niemiecki (1806) (Camões: 337). W romantyzmie Inez pojawi się w dziele przyszłego geniusza francuskiej literatury, Victora Hugo, tragedii napisanej przezeń w wieku piętnastu lat (1818); jest to najwcześniejsze zachowane jego dzieło.

Soden w swej dramatycznej adaptacji motywu stara się być wierny historii Inez de Castro. Jego drama nie prezentuje jednak pośmiertnej koronacji, podobnie jak inne adaptacje sceniczne;

[10] Nie wliczając oper; te powstawały od XVIII wieku, z początku głównie na terenie Włoch.

[11] Pierwszym językiem, na który przełożone zostały *Luzjady*, był oczywiście pokrewny hiszpański. Tłumaczenie ukazało się bardzo wcześnie, bo już w 1580 (roku śmierci autora). Józef Waczków wspomina o tym, że Lope de Vega, przeczytawszy epos, okrzyknął Camõesa „księciem poetów. A było to już po ukazaniu się *Jerozolimy wyzwolonej* (1581) Torquata Tassa, który zazdrościł ponoć – i słusznie – portugalskiemu koledze walorów jego opowieści epickiej" (Camões 1995: 337).

[12] W Niemczech motyw doczekał się licznych opracowań m.in. dlatego, że w dużej mierze przypomina miejscowe podanie o Agnes Bernauer (pochodzące również z XIV wieku), którego koronnym udramatyzowaniem jest „niemiecka tragedia" (*deusches Trauerspiel*) autorstwa Christiana Friedricha Hebbla (1855). W formie bardziej bulwarowej, której dotyczy temat tekstu, zostało ono opracowanie w dramie Josefa Augusta Toerringa *Agnes Bernauer. Vaterländisches Schauspiel* (1780) (Frenzel: 288).

[13] Tego autora również grano w Warszawie; wprawdzie nie jego *Inez*, ale dramę zatytułowaną *Elfryda* (*Elfriede*) w tłumaczeniu Szymanowskiego (por. Korzeniewski: 75).

ta część legendy przetrwała i została najżywiej oddana w poezji ludowej, romancy[14]. Czemu jednak *Inez de Castro* nie jest tragedią w ścisłym rozumieniu tego słowa? Oczywiście daleko jej do uporządkowanych jednościami i regułami tragedii klasycyzmu, jednakże nie jest to jedno z tych dzieł scenicznych owego *niechlubnego okresu teatru*, które łączyłoby w sobie elementy tragiczne ze szczęśliwym, wyciskającym łzy zakończeniem[15]. Jednak wspomniane reguły dramatyczne, mimo ambicji autorskich, które pod tytułem zamieszczają informację, że mamy do czynienia z tragedią (*ein Trauerspiel*), degradują napisaną prozą *Inez de Castro* do gatunku dramy. Przy założeniu zachowania jedności akcji, pozostaje jednak kwestia czasu i miejsca. Dramat rozgrywa się w dwóch lokacjach – jednym jest pałac królewski w Montemor[16], drugim klasztor świętej Klary w Coimbrze (w ostatnim akcie scena łowów rozgrywa się również w „lesie w okolicach Coimbry"). Zmiana miejsca akcji następuje nie tylko w momencie antraktu pomiędzy aktami, ale często również wewnątrz nich (tego typu techniki stosowane w dramacie były niedopuszczalne dla orędowników klasycystycznej tragedii, jak również dla postulującego jej wprowadzenie na scenę Towarzystwa Iksów). Czas akcji to okres kilku dni; Don Pedro przemieszcza się również wewnątrz jednego aktu z Coimbry do zamku Montemor.

Prezentacja fabuły odbywa się u Sodena przy użyciu całego sztafażu dramowego, czyli (potrzeba odwagi, by to stwierdzić) romantycznego. Charakterystyczne dla dramy historycznej jest również w przypadku *Inez* owo lubowanie się w milieu średniowiecznym, tutaj dodatkowym – egzotycznym – elementem jest miejsce akcji, czyli daleka Portugalia. Drama ta zawiera również (typowe zresztą dla innego jeszcze jej rodzaju) wątki rodzinne; oto Don Pedro, przyszły król – nadzieja królestwa – sprzeciwia się woli swojego ojca oraz namowom matki w imię miłości. Obiektem tejże jest jednak urodzona poniżej stanu królewskiego, aczkolwiek wywodząca się z niego „naturalna" córka możnowładców, Inez de Castro, dodatkowo pochodząca z Kastylii, wrogiej i zagrażającej Królestwu Portugalii. Nawet liczne potomstwo (trzech synów) ze związku Inez i infanta nie jest argumentem przemawiającym na korzyść nieszczęsnej bohaterki. Mieszka ona sama ze swoimi dziećmi w klasztorze w Coimbrze, wyczekując z utęsknieniem swojego ukochanego. Podszeptujący królowi tragiczny wyrok nędzni doradcy (Alvaro Gonzalez, Pero Coelho) doprowadzają w końcu do zbrodni, która – wbrew twardym regułom tragedii – odbywa się na scenie (Inez zostaje przebita sztyletem); w tym momencie wychodzi na jaw również dodatkowa motywacja Coelha, okazuje się bowiem, iż jest on w istocie odrzuconym konkurentem do ręki Inez. W momencie, kiedy dochodzi do mordu, Don Pedro jest wraz z bratem swej ukochanej, Donem Fernando, na łowach w lesie. Wspomnienia o bolesnym rozstaniu z Inez nie pozwalają jednak czerpać mu z nich przyjemności; w dodatku w momencie, kiedy postanawia wracać do klasztoru, pośród drzew ukazuje mu się

[14] Być może w czasach teatru mieszczańskiego pokazanie koronacji ludzkich zwłok (z tym założeniem, że miałyby być one „odgrywane" przez żywą aktorkę) byłoby rzeczą nie na miejscu, przerastającą możliwości ówczesnej sceny; aczkolwiek jest to pomysł bardzo nęcący, zwłaszcza dla świata preromantycznej dramy, w której trup sieje się przecież gęsto, a scena hołdu składanego przez poddanych dla martwej królowej jawi się w naszej wyobraźni jako „żywy obraz" (tzw. gruppa), tak przecież charakterystyczny dla teatru dramy wczesnego XIX wieku.

[15] W ten sposób wystawiano częstokroć przeróbki z Shakespeare'a. Dobrym przykładem jest drama *Groby Werony, czyli Romeo i Julia* Merciera, w której pobłogosławieni przez swe rody Romeo i Julia padają sobie na końcu ze wzruszeniem w objęcia.

[16] Dziś: Montemor-o-Velho, miejscowość leżąca w dystrykcie Coimbra, ze średniowiecznym zamkiem.

cień samej Inez, widoczny tylko dla jego oczu[17]. Kiedy infant powraca do klasztoru i dochodzą go wieści o zabójstwie ukochanej, spotyka swoją matkę, która próbuje w tej tragicznej chwili pojednać go z ojcem-mordercą, a która w końcu, po nieprzerwanych, pełnych namiętnych słów namowach odsłania mu ciało ukochanej. Scena ta opisana jest w didaskaliach dramatu w ten sposób: „Królowa schodzi na drugi plan sceny. Rozbrzmiewa podniosła muzyka żałobna; tylnia kurtyna unosi się. Widać zwłoki Inez w trumnie; wokół niej ubrane w biel panny; w roli płaczek)" (Soden 1791: 254)[18]. Zrozpaczony Don Pedro wpierw wyciąga w stronę trumny ramiona, następnie podbiega do niej i pozostaje niemy. Elementy pantomimy, rozwinięte przede wszystkim w dramach Augusta von Kotzebue oraz francuskich, również sprzeciwiały się założeniom tragedii, której postaciom przystawała postawa dumna, wyprostowana i niewzruszona. W tragedii uczucia są tylko wymawiane werbalnie, w dramie natomiast wszystko dzieje się na scenie: kochankowie padają sobie w ramiona, Inez kilka razy omdlewa z przerażenia, matka podtrzymuje syna złamanego widokiem zmarłej żony, ojciec tuli do siebie z miłością oszczędzonych synów.

Pojęcie sztafażu dramowo-romantycznego dotyczy także stroju. Drugi akt *Inez* ukazuje nam bohaterkę, czekającą o północy na wieści od swojego ukochanego. Ten przybywa niezapowiedziany, oświadczając się jej, po czym do ślubu dochodzi praktycznie natychmiast, w świetle budzącego się poranka, a pannę młodą do ołtarza przystraja jutrzenka w „barwy jej słodkich ust i serca infanta" (Soden: 190). Kiedy zaś surowy wyrok króla ma spaść na naszą bohaterkę, pokazuje się ona „w białej tkaninie; wokół ciała przewiązana czarną szarfą; wieńce kwiatowe w jej zwisających włosach […]" (227); wszystko to oczywiście, by u widza, tego „łakomca oczu", jak określał widzów dramy jeden z Iksów (Korzeniewski: 55) wzbudzić uczucia – jak definiował je sam Bogusławski – „litości i żalu" (w dzisiejszym sensie rozrzewnienia) (21). Czy jednak jest to cecha zarezerwowana wyłącznie dla *trywialnej* dramy? W dramatach romantycznych przecież aż roi się od podobnych postaci[19].

Jeszcze inną, niemniej wyjątkowo ważną kwestią, pozostaje sam język dramy. Była ona pisana prozą, przewijały się w niej pieśni, niekiedy arie muzyczne, chóry (stąd proweniencja samego terminu, od melodrama[20]). Monologi i dialogi pełne patosu, tkliwych porównań czy metafor zdradzają również duży wpływ poezji sentymentalnej. Aby zilustrować najlepiej poruszający język dramy, kilka cytatów z *Inez de Castro*. Kiedy król nakazuje synowi pozostać w Montemorze, Pedro mówi do niego: „Wasz rozkaz? Rozporządza się więc sercami tak jak ramionami czy głowami?" (Soden: 172). Inez, wspominając ostatni list od Don Pedra, mówi w sennym rozmarzeniu: „Już północ? […] Pedro jest więc w Portugalii? I nic nie pisze? – może jednak jest coś o tym w tym liście, albo w tamtym, gdyż łzy i pocałunki częstokroć rozmazywały mi […] ostatnie wiersze […]" (181). Wspomnienie pierwszej spędzonej wspólnie nocy, przywodzące na twarz Inez rumieniec wstydu, tymi słowami wychodzi z ust jej kochanka: „Spojrzenie twojego przebudzenia! Eter nie jest tak czysty, jak wtedy była twoja dusza; spokojna, jak morze, w którym odbija się dziewicza Luna. Twe wargi wilgotne i najpiękniejszymi barwami Aurory zabarwione" (185). Po powrocie do siedziby królewskiej, król – nieświadomy oczywiście ukrywanego przed wszystkimi

[17] W tym momencie możemy wyobrazić sobie, jak grająca Inez aktorka, przebrana w białą szatę i z rozpuszczonymi włosami, błąka się po scenie pokrytej gałęziami, przedstawiającej w oddali na malowidłach wodospad wśród surowych skał (tak miały wyglądać dekoracje dram historycznych).

[18] Wszystkie tłumaczenia fragmentów dramatu Sodena podane w tekście pochodzą od autora artykułu.

[19] Czyż nie tak samo jawi się w finałowym akcie u Schillera jego Maria Stuart, z tą różnicą, że ma jeszcze medalik z paciorków na szyi, różaniec u pasa, a krucyfiks w ręku?

[20] Ukucie terminu melodrama(t) przypisywał sobie sam Wojciech Bogusławski (Korzeniewski: 22).

ślubu syna z Inez – nakazuje mu jej unikać, na co dumny infant odpowiada w słowa: „Na darmo! Ziemia może wypaść ze swych osi, słońce zagasnąć, morze zapomnieć swych granic, całe stworzenie powrócić do swej pierwotnej formy – ale Pedro Inez opuścić nie może" (201), lub do matki, królowej Beatrix, mówiąc o swej miłości przy pomocy metafory botanicznej: „[…] unieś dąb tysiącletni z jego gruntu; ale nie niszcz żadnego z jego korzeni; to Wam radzę. Gdyż najmniejsza gałązka gałęzi jest częścią jej samej!" (205). Scena spotkania Inez z królem w Coimbrze jest punktem kulminacyjnym dramy. Władca, przekonany wpierw argumentami niewinnej Inez (w pełnej napięcia scenie, w której ta zaklina go i rzuca mu się do stóp) oraz obecnością jej dzieci (swych wnucząt), przebacza jej, po czym ta oddala się, by złożyć Bogu dziękczynienie za swe ocalone życie. Za podszeptami jednak swych doradców zmienia swą decyzję. Po morderstwie sam lud odwraca się od niego, a Don Pedro nie jest w stanie mu przebaczyć, pomimo usilnych starań królowej-matki. Infant, w słowach zupełnie typowych dla dramatu mieszczańskiego, wyrzeka się ojca: „Czy to mój ojciec, który zlecił zamordowanie niewinnej kobiety za plecami jej męża? Ha! Dlaczego jej nie zaatakowano, kiedy byłem obecny? Dlaczego? To już nie mój ojciec! Chcę poszukać sobie innego ojca; niech będzie żebrakiem, byleby tylko był człowiekiem" (251). W scenie finałowej, przy zwłokach Inez, Don Pedro poprzysięga zemstę, która będzie „dzika niczym fale rozgniewanego morza, niestrudzona niczym czas i siejąca spustoszenie niczym orkan!" (255). Mścicielami mają zostać również synowie, do których nad zwłokami matki mówi: „Oddalcie się ze mną z ojczystej ziemi, nim powrócicie jako Furie! Jedynym celem waszego istnienia będzie zemsta! Przeklęta niech będzie każda chwila waszego życia, w której o niej zapomnicie! Chcę wsączyć w was truciznę i napoić krwią; tak chcę was wychować […]" (256).

W samej lekturze, co zaś dopiero na scenie, język dramy i prezentowane w niej uruchamiające wyobraźnię obrazy poruszają odbiorcę. Nic więc dziwnego, że Inez de Castro stała się jedną z ulubionych bohaterek romantyków. Co fascynowało w tej historii, szczególnie w ujęciu dramatycznym Sodena, nadchodzące pokolenie twórców, to przede wszystkim motyw miłości (Inez mówi o niej jako o „przyciąganiu się dusz" – *Zug der Seele*), silniejszej od woli władcy (silniejszej nawet od samej śmierci, jeśli wziąć pod uwagę legendarną pośmiertną koronację Inez) oraz niemniej istotny w tej dramie romantyczny bunt syna przeciw ojcu, poddanego przeciw władcy. Fascynacje gotyckie związane z pokonaniem wstrętu wobec obumarłego ciała łączą się z uwielbieniem dla mediewizmu podania.

Można przypuszczać, że wielu wybitnych twórców romantycznych w Polsce zderzyło się z dziełem Sodena w formie scenicznej. Inez de Castro, grana w teatrze w Wilnie w tym samym co w Warszawie tłumaczeniu Bobrowskiego, była dostępna chociażby dla młodego Mickiewicza[21]. Witkowski wspomina o tym, że grana była również gościnnie w Nowogródku (1971: 27). Inez de Castro wyprzedziła więc karierę *Luzjad* Camõesa[22] (a były one, jak pisze Józef Waczków, „przedmiotem snobizmu młodych romantyków") (Camões: 338).

[21] Z kolei u Antoniego Edwarda Odyńca, twórcy krajowego i bliskiego przyjaciela wieszcza, Inez pojawia się we wspomnieniach o nauczycielu Teodorze Łozińskim, gdzie poeta wymienia ją jednym tchem obok najwybitniejszych postaci szekspirowskich – Hamleta, Makbeta, Leara i Otella (Witkowski: 296).

[22] Na karierę eposu portugalskiego miała wpływ również mitologizowana na modłę romantyczną biografia samego Camõesa: do faktu przedstawiania go jako poety-żeglarza czy poety-nędzarza dochodziło wtedy myślenie o nim jako o poecie-wojowniku; żywa w romantyzmie legenda o tym, jakoby Camões miał stracić oko w walce z Maurami, nakazywała szukać w nim analogii do starożytnego niewidomego aojda – Homera (Bednarek: 296). Romantyczny Camoens (pisany również jako Kamoens) pojawia się w twórczości polskich romantyków. W wykładach paryskich Mickiewicz wspomina o nim w kontekście Jana Kochanowskiego, zestawiając go z wielkimi poetami narodzonymi w XVI wieku – Camõesem, Ronsardem, Tassem, Cervantesem i Shakespearem.

Nie tylko duża liczba przedstawień oraz częstotliwość wystawiania tytułu na scenie Teatru Narodowego, ale również recenzje świadczą o upodobaniu publiczności w dramie Sodena, która – za Bogusławskim – „była sztuką pomimo wielu niedoskonałości powszechnie wielbioną, a którą wszędzie *dżdżem łez* nazywano" (Korzeniewski: 33). Recenzenci[23] chwalili rolę Józefy Ledóchowskiej (grającej bohaterkę tytułową), największej aktorki tragicznej swych czasów, znanej z ról takich jak Szymena z *Cyda* czy Lady Macbeth. Recenzenci zwracali również uwagę na podobieństwo w zarysowaniu fabuły *Inez de Castro* do poematu *Maria* Antoniego Malczewskiego[24].

Ważnym elementem, który należy uwzględnić przy badaniu scenicznych dziejów zarówno *Inez de Castro*, jak i każdej innej dramy, są kwestie cenzuralne. Uwagę na ten problem zwróciła w swojej pracy Ewa Jurczyk, która porównała teksty oryginalne sztuk z zachowanymi egzemplarzami tłumaczeń (zawierającymi ingerencje cenzora), w tym między innymi „lwowskie" tłumaczenie dramy Sodena autorstwa Jana Nepomucena Kamińskiego[25]. Okazuje się, że zmiany cenzora mogły wyraźnie wpłynąć na wymowę, a tym samym odbiór sztuki. Chodziło zarówno o kwestie moralne jak i polityczne. Władca, u Sodena wątpiący, targany sprzecznymi namiętnościami, w wersji scenicznej jest postacią niewzruszoną, silną, nie mającą żadnych wątpliwości co do podejmowanej przez siebie decyzji (nie występuje więc jako człowiek, lecz wyłącznie jako twardy władca). Don Pedro, przemawiając do ojca, zwraca się do niego w polskim tłumaczeniu zawsze per „królu", nie zaś „ojcze" (więzi rodzinne łączące obu mężczyzn sprowadzone zostają do relacji władca – poddany). W kwestiach moralnych decydującą rolę ma tutaj czynnik lokalno-religijny: postać matki-Polki oraz katolicki kult maryjny sprawia, że osoba matki w rodzinie polskiej-katolickiej ma zdecydowanie większą pozycję niż w opierającej się na osobie ojca rodzinie niemieckiej-protestanckiej. Don Pedro nie wyrzeka się ojca i wyklina go, gdyż scena polska nie mogła ukazywać nawet w najbardziej sentymentalnym uniesieniu nieposłuszeństwa rodzicom. Ze względów moralnych cenzor zredukował też liczbę nieślubnych dzieci Inez i Don Pedra – w dramie mowa jest o trójce, w wersji polskiej jest dwójka. Przytaczany powyżej fragment, w którym Pedro przywołuje obraz pierwszej miłosnej nocy, został wykreślony; większy nacisk kładziony jest na duchową więź łączącą kochanków aniżeli na erotyczny aspekt ich relacji (Jurczyk: 38-44). Zmiany te niszczyły częstokroć logikę w prowadzeniu akcji czy dialogów i w istotny sposób mogły wpływać nie tylko na percepcję dramy, ale również na jej jakość, wyszydzaną z zaciekłą niechęcią w recenzjach chociażby Iksów.

Motyw Inez de Castro, tak żywy i obecny w kulturze minionych wieków, w dzisiejszych czasach nie jest już tak szeroko znany jak jeszcze w XIX wieku. Jeśli imiona postaci szekspirowskich są wciąż bez trudu rozpoznawalne, to nazwisko Inez de Castro pokrywa dzisiaj niepamięć. Jednak jeszcze w pierwszej połowie XX wieku temat nieszczęsnej Inez zajmował wybitnych twórców: w 1933 swoją powieść *A Queen after Death* poświęcił jej amerykański pisarz William Harman Black.

---

23 „Gazeta Warszawska" 16.10.1802, Nr 92, s. 1558 (Jurczyk: 115).

24 „Gazeta Warszawska" 1822, s. 2380. Podobieństwa fabuły to: potajemne małżeństwo z panną niższego stanu, plany małżeńskie rodziców, zamiar zgładzenia bohaterki, śmierć kochanki poprzedzona rzekomym przebaczeniem pod nieobecność młodego męża (Korzeniewski: 68). Motyw „niechcianej królowej" występuje także w historii Barbary Radziwiłłówny, który był z lubością dramatyzowany m.in. przez Alojzego Felińskiego (1817) oraz przez wielu poetów romantycznych.

25 Należy dodać, że do owych tłumaczeń dram często bardziej używać się powinno terminu „spolszczenie". O ile pozwalały na to warunki, sztuce nadawano koloryt lokalny: zmieniano imiona na polskie, miejsce akcji przenoszono do nienazwanych krain (jednak o wyraźnym polskim charakterze). W przypadku Inez de Castro, dramy historycznej, tłumacz nie zmieniał oczywiście ani czasu, ani miejsca akcji.

Nie można pominąć także najwybitniejszego – jak się wydaje – dramatycznego opracowania tego podania – *Martwej królowej*[26] (1942), której autorem jest wybitny francuski dramatopisarz, Henri de Montherlant (Montherlant 1964: 34-66). Dla niego w historii Inez najważniejsza jest tragedia jednostki i, opracowując ten motyw podobnie jak czynił to w swych tragediach wielki Racine[27], dochodzi do konkluzji, że „nad światem panuje strach". Nie jest to już jednak obliczony na poruszenie widza – jak w dramie – efekt teatralny, lecz smutna konkluzja czasów wojennej okupacji.

Bibliografia

Bednarek, Bogusław (2001), *Epos europejski*, Wrocław.

Camões, Luís Vaz de (1995), *Luzytanie*, Kraków.

Frenzel, Elisabeth (1962), *Stoffe der Weltliteratur. Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*, Stuttgart.

Jurczyk, Ewa (2002), *Das deutsche bürgerliche Drama auf den polnischen Bühnen um die Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Katowice.

Korzeniewski, Bohdan (1993), „Drama w warszawskim Teatrze Narodowym podczas dyrekcji Ludwika Osińskiego (1814–1831)" w: *Drama i inne szkice*, Wrocław: 11-82.

Michalik, Jan (red.) (2004), *Dramat obcy w Polsce 1765-1965. Premiery, druki, egzemplarze*, Kraków, t. 1-3.

Montherlant, Henri de (1964), *Martwa królowa. Dramat w trzech aktach* w: „Dialog" nr 10, Warszawa: 34-66.

Nozick, Martin (1951), The *Inez de Castro Theme in European Literature*, in: *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 3, No. 4., University of Oregon: 330-341.

Soden, Julius Freyherr von (1791), *Ignez de Castro. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, in: *Theatralische Sammlung*, Band 9, Wien: 163-256.

Witkowski, Michał (1971), *Świat teatralny młodego Mickiewicza*, Warszawa.

Żmij, Danuta (1964), *Corrida pana de Montherlant* w: „Dialog" nr 10, Warszawa: 67-81.

[26] Sam tytuł już, nie wspominając o treści, nawiązuje do wspomnianej hiszpańskiej tragedii z początku XVII wieku autorstwa Luisa Véleza de Guevara, *Reynar después de morir*. W tej tragedii jedną z głównych ról odgrywa infantka Blanca, przeznaczona jako żona dla Don Pedra. Postać tę bierze również do swojej tragedii de Montherlant (jest ona u niego siedemnastoletnią infantką Biancą z Nawarry), sprzyja Inez i chce ją uratować od śmierci, udzielając jej schronienia (sama Inez w tej wersji dopiero spodziewa się dziecka). Warto zauważyć, że wielkie tragedie francuskie sięgają do motywów hiszpańskich: „*Cyd* zainicjował wielką tragedię francuską, zaś *Hernani* rozstrzygnął bitwę o dramat romantyczny" (Żmij 1964: 75).

[27] Henri de Montherlant, podobnie jak w swych tragediach Jean Baptiste Racine, bawi się motywami zawartymi w opowieści o Inez, czyniąc sztukę jeszcze bardziej realistyczną (Żmij: 74). Zamiast wprowadzania na scenę ducha Inez, ukazuje on cień oddalającej się do ojczyzny infantki Bianki, próbującej jeszcze w ostatniej chwili przekonań Inez do ucieczki z zamku królewskiego. Motyw pośmiertnej koronacji jest tu przywiedziony w opowieści króla o ceremonii wręczenia przez sułtana kluczy miasta Trujillo martwemu królowi Henrykowi IV Kastylijskiemu.

STRESZCZENIE

Inez de Castro autorstwa Juliusa von Sodena była jedną z najsilniejszych pozycji repertuaru scen polskich w okresie porozbiorowym. Artykuł ma na celu analizę tytułu pod względem gatunkowym (dlaczego jest zaliczany do trywialnych dram a nie do tragedii?), omówienie recepcji motywu zaczerpniętego z historii Portugalii oraz wyjaśnienie sukcesu tej dramy na scenie i zachwytów nad nią publiczności, wśród której zasiadali przedstawiciele późniejszego pokolenia romantyków. Istotną kwestią przy rozważaniach nad odbiorem dzieła przez widzów teatrów polskich jest zagadnienie tłumaczenia i cenzurowania dramy.

Joanna Godlewicz-Adamiec

Die Suche nach der Ebenbürtigkeit und Verwandtschaft in der Liebe. Zwischen Inzest und Geschwisterliebe in der deutschsprachigen Literatur (am Beispiel von „Gregorius“ Hartmanns von Aue, „Isis und Osiris“, „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften“ Robert Musils, „Bekenntnissen des Hochstaplers Felix Krull“, „Wälsungenblut“ und dem „Erwählten“ von Thomas Mann)

1. Einführung

Das Thema der besonders starken Geschwisterliebe, der inzestuösen Liebe zwischen Geschwistern ist in der ganzen Kultur der Menschheit bekannt. In der ägyptischen Mythologie, nach Enneaden, waren die Kinder von Geb, Osiris und Isis, miteinander verheiratet. Nach Osiris' Tod erweckte Isis, die Schwestergemahlin von Osiris, seinen Leichnam wieder zum Leben (Bellinger, Leksykon 1999: 138; Duden 1995: 324). Der Mythos von Isis und Osiris wird auch in abgewandelten Formen erzählt. Der griechische Gott Zeus war auch mit seiner Schwester Hera verheiratet, mit der er mehrere Kinder hatte. Inzest zwischen Geschwistern wird sowohl im Alten als auch im Neuen Testament der Bibel erwähnt. Die Vergewaltigung der Tamar durch ihren Halbbruder Amnon (2 Sam 13,1-22) ist bis heute Anlass für künstlerische Darstellungen wie auch für theologische Erörterungen. Abrahams Frau Sara war seine Halbschwester (Gen 20,12).

2. Inzest – terminologische Bemerkungen

Inzest wird als „Inzucht, Blutschande[1], strafbarer Geschlechtsverkehr zwischen Blutsverwandten“ (Fremdwörterbuch 1977: 345), als „Inzucht, Kreuzung, Geschlechtsverkehr zwischen engsten Blutsverwandten, Blutschande” (Fremdwörterbuch 1963: 310; Fremdwörter Buch 1960: 274) oder als „Geschlechtsverkehr zwischen Blutsverwandten, zwischen Geschwistern oder zwischen Eltern und Kindern, Blutschande“ (Duden 1994: 659) definiert[2]. Die ehelichen oder außerehelichen Geschlechtsverhältnisse zwischen Leuten von naher Verwandtschaft oder von einer Verwandtschaft,

[1] Die Bezeichnung „Blutschande“ wird unter anderem auch im „Deutschen Wörterbuch“ benutzt (Wahrig, Wörterbuch 1986/1991: 699).

[2] Einige Quellen enthalten keine Definition der Termini *Inzest* und *Inzestehe* (u. a. vgl. Schulz, 1974 und Grimm, 1877).

die als nahe anerkannt wird, sind in allen Gesellschaften verboten und unterliegen einer Strafe. Die Ausnahmen bilden der sogenannte dynastische Inzest im hellenischen Ägypten, der Staat der Inkas und das Persien der Sassaniden. Das Inzestverbot kann als Schutz der Grundfamilie gesehen werden und soll die Desorganisation der Gesellschaft verhindern (Encyklopedia 1984: 454).

3. Die mittelalterliche Erzählung „Gregorius" von Hartmann von Aue (die Erzählung von dem *guoten sündære Gregorius*)

In der mittelalterlichen Erzählung von dem *guoten sündære Gregorius* steht dem Mutter-Sohn-Inzest aus der antiken Ödipus-Geschichte der doppelte Inzest gegenüber (Wolf, Gregorius 1964: 17f.), bzw. der Mutter-Sohn- und der Schwester-Bruder Inzest. Nach Wolf spielt auch die Aktualität des Inzest in den mittelalterlichen Feudalehen eine gewisse Rolle (27). Kuhn betont, dass in der Hartmanns Geschichte dem Helden die Schicksalsschuld des Vatermords abgenommen wird, wobei er den unbestimmten Makel seiner Geburt aus der Sünde seines Vaters trägt, der in einer Inzestbeziehung mit der eigenen Schwester blieb (1993: 236). Die Kinder wurden von Hartmann schon bei der Geburt als „an Gestalt über die Maßen schön" (1993: 15, V. 182f.) und auch als „wohlgeraten in lieblicher Schönheit" (15, V. 204f.) beschrieben. Die Anfänge der inzestuösen Beziehung schienen ganz harmlos zu sein und blieben mit der Geschwisterliebe und dem Schutz des Bruders seiner Schwester gegenüber in enger Verbindung. Der Vater der Kinder riet seinem Sohn: „dieses Kind, deine Schwester; sorge gut für sie und behandle sie brüderlich, so wird es euch beiden gut gehen" (19, V. 260-263). Es wurde von Hartmann eine besondere Nähe der Geschwister betont: „In allem fühlten sich die beiden eng miteinander verbunden; sie waren selten allein und weilten immerfort gesellig Seite an Seite (das schickte sich gut für sie); bei Tische und wo immer waren sie eins; auch standen ihre Betten so nahen beisammen, daß sie einander sehen konnten. Man kann nicht anders sagen, als daß er so für sie sorgte, wie für seine liebe Schwester ein treuer Bruder sorgen soll; und noch größer war ihre Liebe zu ihm. Sie lebten glückselig miteinander" (19, 21, V. 286-302). Als Ursachen des tragischen Schicksals der Geschwister sind verschiedene Faktoren, u. a. eine besondere Nähe, das besondere Verständnis füreinander und der fehlende Schutz der Eltern, zu nennen: „Das eine war die Liebe, die ihm die Sinne verführte; das zweite seiner Schwester Schönheit; das dritte der Hochmut des Teufels; das vierte aber sein kindlicher Sinn, der gegen ihn so weit brachte, daß er wahrhaftig darauf sann, mit seiner Schwester zu schlafen" (23, V. 323-332). Die anfänglich unschuldige Beziehung der Geschwister verwandelte sich schrittweise in eine verbotene inzestuöse Liebe. Die Tragödie erfolgte aufgrund der Zurede des Teufels, der als Feind der Welt bezeichnet wurde (21, V. 304): „Über das Maß hinaus seine Schwester zu lieben, flüsterte er dem Junker ein, bis dieser seine Schwesterliebe in schlimme Absicht verkehrte" (23, V. 319-322). Hartmann beschrieb das Verhalten des Bruders, wie er Tag und Nacht viel freundlicher mit seiner Schwester umging, als er es sonst gewohnt war (23, V. 342ff.). Anfänglich ging die Initiative vom Bruder aus: „Aber das arglose Mädchen war für solche Liebe blind; sie wußte in ihrer Reinheit und Unerfahrenheit nicht, wovor sie sich zu hüten hatte, und ließ ihn tun, was er wollte" (23, 25, V. 345-350). Hartmann beschrieb die Unsicherheit der Schwester (27, V. 385-395). In diesem Fall wussten die Geschwister von der Verwandtschaft, sie dachten aber nicht an die sich daraus ergebenden Folgen, bis zu dem Moment, als es nicht länger geheim bleiben konnte: „So geschah es in jener Nacht, daß sie vom Bruder schwanger wurde. Nun aber trieb die Verlockung, vom Teufel geschürt, die beiden weiter, so daß es anfing, ihnen bei ihrer Sünde zu gefallen. Sie konnten es so lange verbergen, bis die Schwester spührte, wie Frauen es gar bald erkennen, daß sie schwanger sei. Da wurde ihre Freude zu Kummer, und es half ihr nichts, sich zu verstellen: Sehr traurig sah sie aus“ (27, V. 398-410). Hartmann betont, dass Frau Minne nach Liebe immer Leid schickt (29, 31, V. 451-454). Die Bindung der Geschwister war in Hartmanns Geschichte so stark, dass sie sogar die Ablehnung der Gesellschaft in Kauf genommen haben: „So schieden nun beide voneinander mit großem Herzeleid. Hätten sie nicht Gott gefürchtet, sie hätten lieber den Spott der Welt als die Trennung auf sich genommen” (41, V. 637-641). Die Beziehung der Geschwister endete tragisch. Dem Bruder hatte die Sehnsucht nach der Schwester, die zur Liebhaberin wurde, den Tod gebracht (51, 53, V. 830-839). Die Schwester wies dagegen alle Bewerber ab, obwohl sie durch ihre Herkunft, ihr Aussehen, ihren Reichtum, ihre Jugend und ihre Schönheit sowie durch ihre edlen Sitten, ihre Züchtigkeit und ihre wahre Güte und ihrem ganzen Wesen nach wohl eines edlen Mannes würdig war (53, V. 858-870). Sie hatte ihre Liebe dem gnädigen Gott geschenkt (55, V. 871-884). Zu betonen ist aber, dass aus dem inzestuösen Verhältnis der Geschwister, dass als „Übeltat” (31, V. 482) bezeichnet wurde, ein besonders schönes Kind hervorging (43, V. 681-682; 63, V. 1033-1034; 75, 77, V. 1238-1268).

4. Robert Musils Gedicht „Isis und Osiris“ und „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften“

Die Frage nach den Paaren, die aus der selben Quelle stammen und danach streben, sich wieder zusammen zu verbinden, die Frage nach Geschwisterpaaren interessierte auch Robert Musil, der 1923 das von der psychoanalytischen Arbeit von Otto Rank „Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage“[3] inspirierte Gedicht „Isis und Osiris“ schuf, in dem er schrieb: „Aller hundert Brüder dieser eine, Und er ißt ihr Herz, und sie das seine“ (Musil, Werke 6, 1978: 465). In seinen Tagebüchern schrieb Musil, dass Liebe der Geschwister sowohl pervers, als auch ein Mythos sein kann. Musil hat vor allem den mystisch-erotischen Sinn ausgeschöpft, der eigentlich die Geschichte von Ulrich und Agathe aus dem Werk „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften“ antizipiert und den poetischen Mythos bildet, der sich mit dem Fressen und Schenken der Körperteile verbindet, was eine gewisse gegenseitige Kommunion bedeutet. Das Gedicht setzt den großen Mythos der Geschwister im Werk „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften“ voraus (Naganowski 1980: 372ff.). Trotz des Altersunterschiedes zwischen den Geschwistern in „Mann ohne Eigenschaften“ (1978: 673) ist die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Ulrich und Agathe, besonders als sie im Pyjama, der eine Art Pierrotkleid ist, erscheinen (675-676), so stark, dass sie sich selbst als Zwillinge fühlen: „<<Ich habe nicht gewußt, daß wir Zwillinge sind!>> sagte Agathe, und ihr Gesicht leuchtete erheitert auf“ (676). Musil selbst war davon überzeugt, dass zur wahren Liebe nahe Verwandtschaft notwendig sei (Naganowski: 375).

[3] Die große Arbeit „Das Inzestmotiv in Dichtung und Sage“ von Otto Rank, einem der ersten Schüler Freuds, ist 1912 erschienen. Otto Rank hat unter anderem nachzuweisen versucht, wie oft die Dichter ihre Motive aus der Ödipussituation geholt haben und welche Umformulierungen es in der Weltliteratur durchgemacht hat (Preuss 1971: 78).

5. „Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull", „Wälsungenblut", „Der Erwählte" von Thomas Mann

Ähnlich wie Musil hat Thomas Mann in seinem Werk „Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull" den Gedanken über die Verwandtschaft in der Liebe ausgedrückt. Krull bewundert zwei junge Leute, die sehr ähnlich sind, vielleicht Geschwister oder sogar Zwillinge, was dem Traum von der ursprünglichen Einheit entspricht (Naganowski: 375). Mann beschreibt diese Erfahrung folgendermaßen: „Der Schauplatz war zu meinen Häupten: ein offener Balkon der Bel-Etage des großen Hotels Zum Frankfurter Hof. Auf ihn traten – so einfach war es, ich entschuldige mich – eines Nachmittags zwei junge Leute, jung wie ich selbst es war, Geschwister offenbar, möglicherweise ein Zwillingspaar – sie sahen einander sehr ähnlich – Herrlein und Fräulein, miteinander ins winterliche Wetter hinaus" (Mann, Bekenntnisse, 1974: 82). Der Protagonist denkt über die Besonderheit des Geschwisterpaares nach: „Liebesträume, Träume des Entzückens und des Vereinigungsstrebens – ich kann sie nicht anders nennen, obgleich sie keiner Einzelgestalt, sondern einem Doppelwesen galten, einem flüchtig-innig erblickten Geschwisterpaar ungleichen Geschlechtes – meines eigenen und des anderen, also des schönen. Aber die Schönheit lag hier im Doppelten, in der lieblichen Zweiheit, und wenn es mir mehr als zweifelhaft ist, daß das Erscheinen des Jünglings allein auf dem Balkon mich, abgesehen vielleicht von den Perlen im Vorhemd, im geringsten entzündet hätte, so habe ich fast ebenso guten Grund, zu bezweifeln, daß das Bild des Mädchens allein, ohne ihr brüderliches Gegenstück, vermögend gewesen wäre, meinen Geist in so süße Träume zu wiegen. Liebesträume, Träume, die ich liebte, eben weil sie von – ich möchte sagen – ursprünglicher Ungetrenntheit und Unbestimmtheit, doppelten und das heißt doch erst: ganzen Sinnes waren, das berückend Menschliche in beiderlei Geschlechtsgestalt selig umfassten" (Mann, Bekenntnisse, 1974: 83).

Thomas Mann zeigt in seiner Novelle „Wälsungenblut" eine inzestuöse Beziehung eines reichen Zwillingspaares. Thomas Mann hat den Inzest zweier von ihrer gemeinsamen Einzigartigkeit überzeugten Geschwister früh im „Wälsungenblut" behandelt, obwohl er sich unterschwellig auf andere Probleme konzentrierte, und erst im „Erwählten" kommt diese Thematik eindeutig zum Ausdruck. Im „Wälsungenblut" sind Siegmund und Sieglind Zwillinge, die Hand in Hand erscheinen (1975: 9-10). Mann beschreibt eine besondere Beziehung zwischen den Geschwistern: „Und weder Siegmund noch Sieglind legten Teilnahme an den Tag. Sie hielten einander zwischen den Stühlen an ihren schmalen und feuchten Händen. Zuweilen fanden sich ihre Blicke, verschmolzen, schlossen ein Einvernehmen, zu dem es von außen nicht Wege noch Zugang gab (1975: 21). Auch als sich Sieglinde ihrem Verlobten zuwandte, hielt sie zwischen den Stühlen die schmale Hand ihres Zwillingsbruders (1975: 22). Da Siegmund durch narzisstische Merkmale gekennzeichnet ist, sein eigenes Bild im Spiegel betrachtet, findet er sich als eine androgyne Figur gerade in seiner Schwester.

Das zentrale Thema des Romans von Thomas Mann bildet der schicksalhaft-unterbewusste Inzest der Protagonisten. In diesem Mythos, der als christlicher Ödipus bezeichnet werden könnte, findet der Inzest in zwei Generationen statt. Im „Erwählten" wird die Frage, die Mann sehr interessierte, nämlich nach der Inzest-Liebe zwischen den Zwillingsgeschwistern Wiligis und Sybilla thematisiert. Sybilla erzählt von ihrem Bruder, dass sie beide an Feinheit einander für ebenbürtig erachtet haben (1974: 194). Der Sohn des Zwillingspaares Wiligis und Sibylla Gregorius heiratet siebzehn Jahre später seine Mutter. Beide Inzestbeziehungen scheinen vermeidbar gewesen zu sein. Sybilla berichtet, die

Einerleiheit sei bekannt gewesen gleich nach dem ersten Blick, und unwissentlich-wissend habe sie das eigene Kind zum Mann genommen, weil es wieder der einzig ebenbürtige Mann war (195).

Szyrocki stellt über Harmanns Werk fest: „dank der unkonventionellen Thematik hatte der Dichter die Möglichkeit, außerhöfische Motive seiner eigenen Intention gemäß zu gestalten. Dadurch wurde sein Werk eines der farbenreichsten der mittelalterlichen Literatur. Es reizte auch Thomas Mann zu einer Bearbeitung, und zwar zu seinem Roman *Der Erwählte*" (1986: 75). Die Handlung des legendären Romans „Der Erwählte“ von Thomas Mann folgt in den Hauptzügen dem Versepos „Gregorius“ von Hartmann, der sein Werk nach einer altfranzösischen Vorlage nachgedichtet hat. Bei Mann führt die Entdeckung des Gräuels zu einer Buße, nachdem Gregorius durch ein Gnadenwunder auf den päpstlichen Stuhl erhöht wird. Der Erzähler ist ein irischer Mönch, der die Geschichte zu seiner und seiner Leser Unterhaltung und Erbauung aufzeichnet (1974: 8-12). Der Autor erfindet einen schon am Anfang auftretenden Geist der Erzählung, dem wir einen fiktiven Erzähler verdanken, der die Geschichte erzählen darf. Auf diese Weise fällt es Mann leicht, sich über die Sittenstrenge und Moralvorstellungen dieser Zeit, wie sie vor allem die katholische Kirche vertrat, aber auch über die Freizügigkeit des Adels lustig zu machen. Im Roman sind Beispiele der Ironie und des Spottes zu finden[4]. Einen fiktiven Erzähler hat Thomas Mann schon im vorangegangenen Roman „Doktor Faustus“ benutzt. Wolf beschreibt die Einstellung des Erzählers dem archaischen Stoff gegenüber, dass es bei Hartmann eine vertieft christliche Sehweise sei, die sich den erzählerischen Rohstoff zurechtrückt, manches stehenlässt, was seiner Meinung nach der Grundtendenz der Neubearbeitung von Hartmann nicht schadet, bei Thomas Mann eine noch stärker ausgeprägte unnaive Einstellung dem Stoff gegenüber, die modern säkularisierte Menschlichkeit. Diese Einstellung kommt schon im Prolog sehr deutlich zum Ausdruck. Nach Wolf sei der Übergang von der Versform zur Prosa, der bei einem Schriftsteller des 20. Jahrhunderts eine Selbstverständlichkeit schiene, mehr als bloßer Wechsel des Mediums. Thomas Mann bekennt sich zur Prosa, es treten aber zwei Gestaltungsbereiche hervor, die sich als anfällig für die Versform erweisen: Rittertum und Gebet. Der Reim bildet dabei oft ein derbes Mittel der Komik (1964: 60). Wolf bemerkt jedoch: „Die Verselein, die formalen Reminiszenzen an Hartmann und das ritterlich-christliche Mittelalter, machen nur einen geringen Teil im Erwählten aus“ (61). Im Prolog stellt Thomas Mann fest: „Eines ist gewiß, nämlich, daß ich Prosa schreibe und nicht Verselein, für die ich im ganzen keine übertriebene Achtung hege“ (11). Wolf weist auch auf den Vorrang des Ästhetischen vor dem Religiösen hin: das Sündhafte wird bewusst humanistisch abgedämpft (61). Kuhn betont, dass Thomas Mann jedenfalls seinen mittelalterlichen Dichterkollegen Hartmann von Aue genau studiert hat (1993: 236f.).

Die Geschichte von Mann endet jedoch mit Worten der Hoffnung für alle Menschen, auch wenn sie sich verirrt haben: „Aber klug ist es freilich, im Sünder den Erwählten zu ahnen, und klug ist das auch für den Sünder selbst. Denn würdigen mag ihn die Ahnung seiner Erwähltheit und ihm die Sündhaftigkeit fruchtbar machen, so daß sie ihn zu hohen Flügen trägt. Zum Lohn für Warnung und Rat bitte ich euch um die Gefälligkeit, mich einzuschließen in euer Gebet, daß wir alle uns einst mit ihnen, von denen ich sagte, im Paradiese wiedersehen“ (200). Erwähnenswert ist auch, dass bei Mann die Sünde auch ein Ende hat. Gregorius hatte mit Sybilla zwei Töchter Stultitia und Humilitas, die er als Nichten kennen gelernt hat, und er wird mit ihnen irrtümlich in

[4] Zum Beispiel die Feststellung des Papstes, dass ihn Gott zum Murmeltier herabgesetzt hat (198).

kein Verhältnis geraten und keine Kinder haben. Der Satan ist demzufolge nicht allmächtig und alles hat seine Grenzen. Die Welt ist endlich (198f.).

6. Schlussfolgerungen

In vielen deutschsprachigen literarischen Werken („Gregorius" Hartmanns von Aue, „Isis und Osiris", „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften" Robert Musils, „Bekenntnissen des Hochstaplers Felix Krull", „Wälsungenblut" und der „Erwählte" von Thomas Mann) wird das Interesse für die Verwandtschaft in der Liebe sichtbar. Diese Thematik wird auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise dargestellt. In einigen Werken werden die Suche nach den Ähnlichkeiten und die selige Verwandtschaft betont, während in anderen das Inzestuöse stärker thematisiert wird.

Literatur

(1960), *Fremdwörter Buch*. Leipzig.

(1963), *Fremdwörterbuch*. Leipzig.

(1977), *Großes Fremdwörterbuch*, Leipzig.

(1983) *Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, Warszawa.

(1984), *Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, Bd. II, Warszawa.

(1994), *Duden. Das Große Fremdwörterbuch, Herkunft und Bedeutung der Fremdwörter*, Mannheim/Leipzig/Wien/Zürich.

(1995) *Duden. Leksykon A-Z*, Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien.

Bellinger, Gerhard J. (1999), *Leksykon religii świata*, Warszawa.

Grimm, Jacob; Grimm, Wilhelm. (1877), *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Bd. IV. II. Abtheilung (sic!), H.I.J. Bearbeitet von Moriz Heyne. Leipzig.

Hartmann von Aue. (1993), *Gregorius*, Ditzigen.

Hofmannstahl, Hugo von. (1978), „Ödipus", *Dramen, Bd. II*, Hugo von Hofmannstahl, Frankfurt a.M.

Kippenberg, Burkhard. (1993), „Anmerkungen des Übersetzers", *Gregorius*, Hartmann von Aue, Ditzigen.

Kuhn, Hugo. (1993), „Der gute Sünder - der Erwählte?", *Gregorius*, Hartmann von Aue, Ditzigen: 235-249.

Mann, Thomas. (1974), *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull*, Frankfurt a.M.

Mann, Thomas. (1974): *Der Erwählte*, Frankfurt a.M.

Mann, Thomas. (1975) *Wälsungenblut*, Berlin, Weimar.

Musil, Robert. (1978), „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften", *Gesammelte Werke*. Bd. 1-5, Reinbeck bei Hamburg.

Musil, Robert. (1978), *Gesammelte Werke*. Bd. 6, Reinbeck bei Hamburg.

Naganowski, Egon. (1980), *Podróż bez końca. O życiu i twórczości Roberta Musila*, Kraków.

Preuss, Hans G. (1971), *Religion und Psychoanalyse. Illusion und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart.

Schulz, Hans. (1974), *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*. Bd. I, Straßburg/Berlin/New York.

Szyrocki, Marian. (1986), *Die deutschsprachige Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Warszawa.

Wapnewski, Peter. (1960), *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Ein Abriß von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Blütezeit*, Göttingen.

Wolf, Alois. (1964), *Gregorius bei Hartmann von Aue und Thomas Mann*, München.

Wolfram von Eschenbach. (1996), „Parsifal", *Pieśni. Parsifal. Titurel*, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Warszawa: 85-385.

STRESZCZENIE

W wielu niemieckojęzycznych utworach literackich („Gregorius" Hartmanna von Aue, „Isis und Osiris", „Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften" Roberta Musila, „Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull", „Wälsungenblut" i „Der Erwählte" Tomasza Manna) przejawia się zainteresowanie kwestią pokrewieństwa w miłości, przy czym tematyka ta przedstawiana jest w różnorodny sposób. W niektórych utworach ukazywane jest dążenie do podobieństwa i duchowego pokrewieństwa, w innych silniej akcentowany jest aspekt kazirodczy.

Michał Jamiołkowski

Czy Kurt Schwitters był dadaistą, cz. II

Niebawem okazało się również, że azyl w Norwegii nie przyniósł mu wielu radości. Wspomina o tym Ernst Nündel, twierdząc: „Norwegia nie była więc dla Schwittersa obca, gdy trafił do Oslo w pierwszych dniach stycznia 1937 roku i wkrótce znalazł mieszkanie w Lysaker. Lecz kraj, który odwiedzał jako turysta, zaprezentował się mu jako uciekinierowi zupełnie inaczej. Przez nieufne otoczenie podejrzewany o szpiegostwo, czy nawet zdenuncjowany, z drugiej strony szykanowany przez sympatyków nazizmu w administracji, przez cały czas musiał obawiać się o zezwolenie na pracę”[1]. Wśród Norwegów nie łatwo było także znaleźć miłośników jego sztuki. Przeto Schwitters utrzymywał się ze sprzedaży malowanych akwarel i pejzaży, formy malarstwa wprawdzie popularnego i lubianego, lecz nie w pełni odpowiadającego jego wyobrażeniom na temat własnej twórczości. Toteż już w pierwszym roku pobytu w norweskim azylu zakiełkował pomysł o stworzeniu drugiej *Merzbau*. Wedle Nündla już latem 1937 roku przekazał swojej przyjaciółce, że: „(…) chce zbudować ruchomy i przenośny atelier”[2]. Niestety informacje o drugiej z rzędu budowie *Merz* są znikome, lecz gdy chcieć dobrze poszukać, pewne dane są odtwarzalne. W liście do swojej znajomej Katharine Dreiser oznajmił, że intensywnie pracuje nad kolejną kolumną. Miało to miejsce w 1938 roku: „Główne okno wybudowałem z widokiem na morze. Dom zorientowano wokół tego okna i okazało się, że uchwyciłem mniej więcej kierunek południowy. W pewnym sensie wskazywało to atelier na Hanower, na moje pierwsze atelier”[3]. Swoją nową kolumnę nazwał Schwitters *Haus am Bakken* i wszystko wskazuje na faktyczne podobieństwo do prototypu. Wydaje się jednak, że nowy twór składał się także z ruchomych części, bowiem Schwitters wspomina o możliwości przetransportowania go, więc nie był to monolit. Ponad wszelką wątpliwość działał Schwitters bardziej koncepcyjnie, rezygnując z przypadku na korzyść konstruktywności przedsięwzięcia. Ponadto nowa kolumna nie miała tak imponujących rozmiarów, gdyż dom zamieszkiwany przez Schwittersa był znacznie mniejszy. Z nielicznych dokumentów i informacji wynika też, że hanowerski artysta pracował nad nią jeszcze trzy lata, do 1940 roku. Zgodnie z tym, co podaje w biografii Schwittersa Karin Orchard,: „Dzieło było niemal skończone, gdy Niemcy wkroczyli do Norwegii w roku 1940. Druga *Merzbau* została zniszczona w 1951 roku, kiedy dzieci bawiące się zabawkami przypadkowo spowodowały

---

[1] „Norwegen war Schwitters also nicht fremd, als er in den ersten Januartagen des Jahres 1937 in Oslo eintraf und auch bald eine Wohnung im Lysaker fand. Aber das Land, das er als Tourist besucht hatte, stellte sich dem Flüchtling anders dar. Von der misstrauischen Umgebung als Spion verdächtigt, wohl ganz denunziert, anderseits von Nazisympathisanten in der Verwaltung beargwöhnt, musste er ständig um die Arbeitserlaubnis bangen“. Tamże, s. 210

[2] „(…) ein bewegliches, transportables Atelier bauen wolle“. Tamże, s. 107.

[3] „Das Hauptfenster baute ich mit Aussicht auf das Meer. Das Haus wurde nach diesem Fenster orientiert, und es ergab sich, dass ich ungefähr die Südrichtung hatte. Gewissermaßen wies das Atelier nach Hannover zu meinem ersten Atelier“. Tamże.

jego pożar"[4]. Sugestia Orchard, iż dzieło omal nie było zakończone, wskazuje również na bardziej konstruktywistyczną myśl Schwittersa – plan, początek i zakończenie. Lecz i tym razem został zmuszony do ucieczki i pozostawienia swojego dzieła. Uciekł do Anglii, gdzie rozpoczął budowę kolejnej, trzeciej już kolumny.

Zgodnie z kalendarium stworzonym przez Paulinę Kurc z okazji wystawienia dzieł zebranych Kurta Schwittersa w Muzeum Sztuki Współczesnej w Łodzi w 2004 roku, zamieszczonym w wydanym do tejże wystawy albumie zatytułowanym *Kurt Schwitters. Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi*, autorka podaje następujące dane biograficzne: „1940. Wojska niemieckie wkraczają do Norwegii. Schwitters ucieka z synem do Anglii. Aresztowany ze względu na pochodzenie. Przez siedemnaście miesięcy przebywa w obozach dla internowanych Niemców. Po uwolnieniu zamieszkuje w Londynie"[5]. Więcej szczegółów uzyskać można zgłębiając publikacje i szkice Ernsta Nündla, przedwcześnie zmarłego naukowca niemieckiego, badacza twórczości między innymi Tomasza Manna, ale przede wszystkim Kurta Schwittersa. Z jego wywodów dowiadujemy się, iż: „Po wypuszczeniu z obozu dla internowanych przeniósł się Schwitters do swojego syna Ernsta do Londynu na ul. Stephensa Crescenta, wkrótce potem, 1942, do większego domu przy ulicy Westmoreland 39 na przedmieścia Barnes. Tam mieszkali razem z malarzem, Gerdem Strindbergiem, krewnym Augusta Strindberga"[6]. Schwitters, podobnie jak w Norwegii, w Londynie czuł się źle i obco. Psychicznie podupadał coraz bardziej, a już zupełnie przybiła go wieść o śmierci żony Helmy, która została w Hanowerze, by dbać o cały kombinat artystyczny *Merz*. Latem tego samego roku przenieśli się do ostatecznie do Ambleside i, jak zaznacza Nündel: „Schwitters miał nadzieję na poprawę nadszarpniętego zdrowia poprzez tę zmianę miejsca zamieszkania"[7]. Podobnie jak w Norwegii utrzymywał się z malowania portretów i landszaftów, mimo bardzo złego stanu zdrowia był niezwykle ruchliwy i mobilny. Niebawem też poznał farmera, Harry'ego Pierca, którego portretował. Człek ten okazał się niepozbawiony fantazji i po wysłuchaniu opowieści Schwittersa o jego kolumnach, pierwszej zniszczonej, drugiej niedokończonej, postanowił udostępnić mu przylegającą do swojej farmy szopę, by Schwitters mógł rozpocząć tam prace nad swoją trzecią kolumną, nazwaną *Merz Barn*. W zbiorze listów Kurta Schwittersa *Wir spielen, bis der Tod uns abholt*, artysta w następujących słowach opisuje swoje kolejne dzieło: „Buduję największą rzeźbę mojego życia, 5x5x3, rzeźbę wewnętrzną. Jest to *Merzbau* 3 (…). Jak mam ją kiedykolwiek skończyć, tego jeszcze nie wiem. Ale mam dobre chęci i to mnie uskrzydla. Pracuję każdego dnia po trzy godziny, więcej nie jestem w stanie osiągnąć. Śpię trzy czwarte dnia, by mieć siłę na jedną czwartą do pracy. Pracuję w każdej minucie, w której jestem w stanie. Moja *Merz Barn* jest lepsza i bardziej konsekwentna, niż wszystko, co przedtem robiłem"[8].

[4] "It was almost completed when the Germans marched into Norway in 1940. This second *Merzbau* was destroyed in 1951 when children playing with lighted matches accidentally set it on fire". K. Orchard, *Kurt Schwitters. His life and work...*, s. 34.

[5] P. Kurc, w: *Kurt Schwitters. Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi...*, s. 46.

[6] „Nach der Entlassung aus dem Internierungslager zog Schwitters zu seinem Sohn Ernst nach London in die St. Stephens Crescent, bald darauf, 1942, in ein größeres Haus in die 39 Westmoreland Road im Vorort Barnes. Dort lebten sie zusammen mit dem Zeichner Gerd Strindberg, einem Verwandten August Strindbergs". E. Nündel, *Kurt Schwitters...*, s. 114.

[7] „Schwitters erhoffte sich durch diesen Ortswechsel wohl auch eine Besserung seines angegriffenen Gesundheitszustandes". Tamże, s. 118.

[8] „Ich baue die größte Plastik meines Lebens 5x5x3, eine Innenplastik. Es ist die Merzbau 3 (…) Wie ich es je vollenden soll, weiß ich noch nicht. Aber ich habe guten Mut und es wirkt feenhaft. Ich arbeite jeden Tag 3 Stunden, mehr kann ich nicht leisten. Ich schlafe ¾ des Tages, um Kraft für ¼ zu haben. Ich arbeite jede Minute, die ich dazu fähig bin. Meine Merz Barn ist besser und konsequenter als alles, was ich vorher gemacht habe". Tamże, s. 124.

By wyobrazić sobie ostatnią z rzędu Schwittersowską kolumnę, warto sięgnąć po jej bardziej precyzyjny opis, choć jak wspomniano, niewiele ostało się dokumentów z owego czasu. W magazynie o sztuce „Das Kunstwerk" (Dzieło sztuki), nr 3/4 z 1952 roku, ukazał się obszerny artykuł Harry'ego Pierce'a zatytułowany *Die letzte Lebenszeit von Kurt Schwitters*. Tam właściciel farmy, gdzie wzrastał *Merz Barn*, następującymi słowy przybliża czytelnikom jej kształty i wygląd: „Ściany składają się z szarych kamieni, w takim kształcie jak w okolicy były łamane. Dach miał być dachem z trawy. Gdy wyłamał się kawałek podłogi, uznał to za szczęśliwe uzupełnienie, za nową kompozycyjną możliwość i połączenie z otoczeniem. Schwitters obrabiał, podobnie jak rzeźby Arpa, znalezione w wyschniętym korycie rzeki nietuzinkowo uformowane, oszlifowane kamienie, kawałki drewna, nawet kwiatostany roślin. Powierzchnie organicznie rozrastającej się kompozycji urozmaicał poprzez zróżnicowaną obróbkę, niektóre zadrapywał, inne wygładzał. Przede wszystkim w inny sposób niż przy pozostałych budowach *Merz* wykorzystywał barwę. Częściowo mieszał ją z gipsem, po części wykorzystywał ją na powierzchni. Ponieważ światło miało odegrać istotną rolę, zlecił wstawienie okna *vis à vis* drzwi wejściowych na górze w murze tuż pod sufitem, na które miała być ukierunkowana cała kompozycja"[9].

Schwitters pracował nad swoją kolumną na tyle, na ile starczało mu sił. Jesienne słoty nie sprzyjały realizacji projektu, mokre od deszczu, śliskie drogi były kolejnym utrudnieniem dla niedołężnego artysty. Załamanie zdrowia nadeszło zimą. Z lawiną nękających go chorób nie był już w stanie poradzić sobie jego wyczerpany organizm. Zmarł 8 stycznia 1944 roku, nie dokończywszy dzieła, które przecież z założenia nigdy nie miało być gotowe.

Integralnym elementem sztuki *Merz* było także uprawianie poezji, określane jako „Merzdichtung". Schwitters, powołując do życia *Merz*, nie zapomniał wszakże o rozwijaniu swojej nieco osobliwej, ale zaiste niezmiernie oryginalnej sztuki również w ramach poezji. Oczywistym jest też, że w imię awangardowych zasad stworzonej przez siebie sztuki *Merz* jego poezja musiała być, siłą rzeczy, nieco „zdefasonowana". Podobnie jak w innych dziedzinach, tak i tu, hanowerczyk okazał się wyjątkowo płodny. Bogactwo niekonwencjonalnych i odkrywczych koncepcji zawartych w jego wierszach *Merz* nie ma końca i w nieskończoność można mnożyć przykłady kolejnych groteskowo-ironicznych pomysłów realizowanych w poetyckim nurcie jego twórczości Bez wątpienia wybrać i przytoczyć należy dwa z nich, te najważniejsze i najbardziej znane. Mowa o *An Anna Blume* (Do Anny Blume) oraz *Ursonate* (Prasonata). Oba utwory mają parodystyczny wydźwięk, lecz różni je odmienna forma. Jak słusznie zauważa i podkreśla Armin Arnold w artykule *An Anna Blume. Sinn oder Unsinn?* zamieszczonym w czasopiśmie literackim „Text+Kritik", w numerze 35/36 z roku 1972, w pełni poświęconemu pracy twórczej hanowerskiego artysty: „Autor myli biernik

[9] „Die Mauern bestehen aus den grauen Steinen, wie sie in der Nähe gebrochen wurden. Das Dach sollte ein Rasendach werden. Als ein Stück vom Fußboden heraussprang, sah er das als glückliche Fügung an, als neue kompositorische Möglichkeit und Verbindung mit der Umgebung. Schwitters verarbeitete die wie Plastiken von Arp sonderbar geformten, abgeschliffenen Steine, die er im ausgetrockneten Flussbett in der Nähe fand, Holzstücke, sogar Blüten von Blumen. Die Oberflächen der organisch wuchernden Komposition unterschied er durch unterschiedliche Behandlung, einige raute er auf, andere glättete er. Vor allem setzte er anders als bei den früheren *Merz*-Bauten die Farbe ein. Zum Teil vermischte er sie mit dem Gips, zum Teil verwendete er sie auf der Oberfläche. Da das Licht eine besondere Rolle spielen sollte, ließ er gegenüber der Eingangstür oben in der Mauer unterhalb der Decke ein Fenster anbringen, auf das sich die gesamte Komposition ausrichten sollte". H. Pierce, *Die letzte Lebenszeit von Kurt Schwitters*, w: „Das Kunstwerk", nr 3/4, s. 24.

z celownikiem zaimka dzierżawczego (…). Słownictwo autora jest dziwne, szuka dobitnych słów, ale też nie jest pewien ich znaczenia”[10].

Oh Du, Geliebte meiner 27 Sinne, ich Liebe Dir!
Du, Deiner, Dich, Dir, ich Dir, Du mir---------wir?
Das gehört beiläufig nicht hierher![11]

Arnold skupił się na aspektach gramatycznych, analizując zachwianie równowagi porządku gramatycznego i uwypuklił złamanie zasady przyporządkowania zaimka dzierżawczego odpowiedniemu przypadkowi, choć taka plątanina przypadków dla nieobeznanego z gramatyką i mówiącego dialektem berlińczyka, nie byłaby niczym zaskakującym. Lecz obok pogwałcenia zasad gramatycznych i nadmiernego używania zaimków warto też zwrócić uwagę na inne zagadnienia, może nie syntaktyczne, które kształtują ten wiersz. Eckhard Philipp podkreśla, iż: „Wiersz *An Anna Blume* jest wehikułem, by przywołać do pamięci historykom sztuki, że percepcja w obrębie sztuki plastycznej nie odbywa się konstytucjonologicznie”[12]. Oznacza to, iż nie można i nie należy rozpatrywać proponowanych przez awangardowych artystów ich twórczych płodów w kategoriach logicznego myślenia i prób przyporządkowania niektórych elementów do innych lub poszukiwania wspólnego mianownika dla wszystkich z nich. Uwzględnia to również w swoich przemyśleniach Karin Orchard, dodając co następuje: „*An Anna Blume* nie niesie ze sobą ani znaczenia, ani przekazu. Schwitters po prostu gra słowami i frazesami, nonsensownymi wyrażeniami, irracjonalnymi skojarzeniami, ironicznie i żartobliwie z wszelkimi konwencjami, wszelkim logicznym sensem”[13].

Zupełnie zaś inną, w swoim zamyśle, propozycją poetycką, lub raczej antypoetyką jest *Ursonate*. W przeciwieństwie do *An Anna Blume*, na której nomen omen berlińscy dadaiści nie pozostawili suchej nitki, gdzie Schwitters stosując wolne rymy, rytmy i słowa tworzy odwrócony na lewą stronę wiersz, *Prasonata* jest zbiorem swobodnie związanych ze sobą, luźno po sobie następujących, niemających semantycznego znaczenia dźwięków. Jeśli chcieć przyporządkować *Prasonatę* do konkretnej formy wypowiedzi artystycznej, to najbliższym jej krewnym będzie wiersz dźwiękowy (Lautgedicht), w formie śpiewanej poematu symultanicznego. Schwitters, zresztą bardziej niż chętnie, sam występował w roli czytającego swój własny utwór, a pierwszy raz miało to miejsce w 1925 roku. Hans Richter przypomina sobie ten wieczór w następujących słowach: „Pamiętam jeszcze pierwsze publiczne wykonanie *Prasonaty* Schwittersa, które miało miejsce około 1925 roku u pani Kiepenhauer w Poczdamie. Zaproszeni zostali goście z towarzystwa, co w Poczdamie, będącym wojskową ostoją dawnego państwa pruskiego, oznaczało chmarę emerytowanych generałów i innych

---

[10] „Der Autor verwechselt den Dativ und den Akkusativ des Possessivpronomens (…) Das Vokabular des Autors ist seltsam, er sucht nach eindrücklichen Worten, aber er ist sich der Bedeutung der Worte nicht sicher“. A. Arnold, *An Anna Blume. Sinn oder Unsinn?*w: „Text+Kritik“, nr 35/36, s. 19.

[11] Źródło: K. Riha, J. Schäfer, *Dada total. Manifeste, Aktionen, Texte, Bilder…*, s. 360.

[12] „Das Gedicht *An Anna Blume* ist nur Vehikel, um den Kunstkritikern in Erinnerung zu rufen, dass Wahrnehmung im Bereich der bildenden Kunst nicht konstitutionologisch abläuft“. E. Philipp, *Dadaismus..*, s. 276.

[13] “Anna Blume conveys neither a meaning nor a message. Schwitters simply plays around with words and phrases, nonsensical expressions, irrational associations, ironically and wittily breaking with all conventions, all logical sense”. K. Orchard, *Kurt Schwitters. His life and work…*, s. 28.

wysoko postawionych osób. Schwitters stanął w całej okazałości na podium i zaczął deklamować swoją *Prasonatę* sycząc, rycząc i piejąc przed zdumioną publiką zupełnie przecież nieobeznaną z nowoczesnością"[14].

Z powyższego opisu wynika więc, że podobnie jak w przypadku *An Anna Blume*, *Prasonatę* należy osadzić w nurcie form literackiej ironii, będącej wezwaniem do uwolnienia się od wszechobecnej konwencji literackiej, wyznaczającej twórcy szeroką paletę polemik. Ta nonsensowna poezja, prowadząca do granic absurdu, okazała się zatem kolejną poetycką postacią „merzkolażu", a przecież wiersze Schwittersa są przez niektórych badaczy dadaizmu bardzo wysoko cenione. Hermann Korte na przykład zaznacza w swoim szkicu *Die Dadaisten*: „Wiersz *An Anna Blume* należy obok wiersza dźwiękowego Hugona Balla *Karawane* do najbardziej znanych tekstów dadaizmu"[15].

Zacytowana wypowiedź to szczery komplement zważywszy, że Ball ze swoją koncepcją wierszy fonetycznych uznawany jest za twórcę tej nowatorskiej kombinacji dźwięków, mającej jakże wielu naśladowców. Trudno więc postrzegać Schwittersa jako pomysłodawcę tej eksperymentalnej formy, lecz bardziej jako kontynuatora Ballowskiej koncepcji. Jej różnorodność jest imponująca. Obok wyżej wymienionych należy też wspomnieć o *Das I-Gedicht*, *Cigarren*, *Banalitäten aus dem Chinesischen*, *Doppelmoppel*, *Alphabet von hinten* czy *Simultangedicht kaa gee dee*. Celem głównym artykułu nie jest jednak bardzo wnikliwa analiza twórczości poetyckiej twórczości Schwittersa w obrębie *Merz*, choć to niezmiernie pasjonująca dziedzina. Założeniem fundamentalnym jest próba powiązania wielowątkowości uprawianej przezeń sztuki i ukazanie wszystkich jej elementów. Przeto w tym punkcie warto skupić się na kolejnym zagadnieniu, czyli czasopiśmie „Merz".

Jak już wspomniano, w powojennych Niemczech czasopisma o profilu awangardowym gasły zanim na dobre zdążyły rozbłysnąć, pojawiały się i znikały jak kamień w wodę. Wśród nich ukazał się z początkiem roku 1923 kolejny magazyn, rodem z Hanoweru, zatytułowany „Merz", rzecz jasna, redagowany i wydawany przez Kurta Schwittersa. W pierwszym numerze gazetki wydawca apeluje do przyszłych czytelników w następujących słowach: „By nadejść z pomocą silnej potrzebie, podjąłem decyzję o wydawaniu czasopisma „Merz", które ma się ukazywać cztery razy w roku. Manuskrypty i prace utrzymane w duchu idei *Merz* proszę przesyłać na mój adres"[16]. Wkrótce całe przedsięwzięcie wydawnicze zaczęło się rozwijać nad podziw dobrze. W pierwszym roku wydano, obok zapowiedzianych czterech, kolejne dwa numery. Razem wszystkich numerów czasopisma ukazało się 24. Ostatni zaś nosił tytuł *Ursonate* i poświęcony był Schwittersowskiemu recytatywowi dźwiękowemu. Z biegiem czasu i wydawaniem kolejnych numerów czasopisma Schwittersowi udało się pozyskać wielu znamienitych artystów awangardowych i nie awangardowych z Niemiec oraz z innych krajów europejskich. Do piszących tam autorów zaliczyć można niemieckich dadaistów Raoula Hausmanna, Johannesa Baadera. Udzielali się też Hans Arp, Hannah Hoech i Tristan Tzara oraz tak znani twórcy jak: Pablo Picasso, Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, Aleksander Archipenko, Władimir Tatlin, Walter Gropius, Theo van Doesburg czy László Moholy-Nagy. A obecność takich nazwisk na łamach czasopisma podnosi jego rangę i co za tym idzie przynosi splendor i prestiż.

[14] H. Richter, *Dadaizm...*, s. 238.

[15] „Das Gedicht *An Anna Blume* gehört neben Hugo Balls Lautgedicht *Karawane* zu den wohl bekanntesten Texten des Dadaismus". H. Korte, *Die Dadaisten...*, s. 101.

[16] „Um einem dringendem Bedürfnis abzuhelfen, habe ich mich entschlossen die Zeitschrift MERZ herauszugeben, die vier mal im Jahre erscheinen soll. Manuskripte und Klischees, die vom Geiste der Merzidee getragen sind, bitte ich an meine Adresse". „Merz" Nr. 1, s. 1, 1923.

O marketingowych zaletach aktywności znanych artystów na łamach „Merz" mówi Ernst Nündel: „W ten sposób »Merz« osiągnęło pewien stopień rozpoznawalności, przede wszystkim u publiczności, na której mu zależało (…). Przede wszystkim wydawanie własnego czasopisma otworzyło przed Schwittersem nieograniczone możliwości, by zagrać samym medium, jakim jest czasopismo, wykorzystując jego techniczne możliwości, jak wyobrażenia czytelników jako materiał do sztuki *Merz*"[17].

W okresie wydawania czasopisma Schwitters wskazywał swoim czytelnikom na obecność czasopism oscylujących wokół awangardowego profilu gazety. Spektrum uwzględnionych tam tytułów tygodników, miesięczników i kwartalników jest imponująca. W poszczególnych numerach przewijają się między innymi: „Mecano", „Disc", „Brom", „MA", „Proverb", „Interventions", „7Arts", „Das neue Russland", „Ça Ira", „Lucyfer", „La Vie des Lettres", „Die Premiere", „G", „Zenit", „Le Futurisme", „UJ Kultura", „Manometre", a także dwa polskie „Blok" i „Zwrotnica"[18]. Wśród autorów pisujących do „Merz" próżno szukać Polaków, lecz Schwitters pisywał do „Bloku" i do „Zwrotnicy". Jednak polscy pisarze i poeci awangardy zaznaczyli swoją obecność w innych spokrewnionych ekspresjonistycznych czasopismach. Tak oto w berlińskiej „Die Aktion" drukowano wiersze ekspresjonisty Stefana Wrońskiego (nr 48/49, 1914 i 29/30, 1916), natomiast w roku 1918 poświęcono Polsce oddzielny, dodatkowy numer z przedrukiem czasopisma „Bunt" na okładce. W tym numerze, noszącym podtytuł *Sonderheft Polnische Kunst* (Numer specjalny – sztuka polska) zaprezentowano prace Stanisława Kubickiego, Władysława Skotarka, Jana Wronieckiego, Augusta Zamoyskiego i Jerzego Hulewicza[19]. Wśród wymienionych najbardziej znanym autorem jest ten ostatni. Gwoli przypomnienia jest on założycielem frakcyjnego czasopisma ekspresjonistycznego „Zdrój", powstałego w 1917 roku w Łodzi, słynącego z otwartości dla nowatorskich pomysłów na niwie artystycznej i literackiej[20]. Co warto także zaznaczyć, w „Die Aktion" ramię w ramię z polskimi ekspresjonistami szli późniejsi niemieccy dadaiści. W realizowaniu poszczególnych numerów pisma partycypowali Georg Grosz i Alfred Grünewald, znany bardziej pod pseudonimem Johannes Baargeld. W ramach tej dygresji warto także wspomnieć, iż nazwisko Stanisława Przybyszewskiego przewija się wśród nazwisk polskich autorów obecnych w szeregach niemieckiej bohemy artystycznej, a jego opowiadania znalazły się w prestiżowym zbiorze opowiadań *Prosa des Jugendstils* (Proza secesji) między innymi obok niemieckich noblistów w dziedzinie literatury, Thomasa Manna i Hermanna Hessego.

Rozumienie Schwittersa jako dadaisty lub niedadaisty jest zbyt wielkim uproszczeniem. W świetle przedstawionych wyżej faktów, definiując osąd, należy uwypuklić istotny kwantyfikator: jakie są przesłanki, by osadzać Schwittersa w nurcie dadaizmu? Gdy bliżej przyjrzeć się temu zagadnieniu, należy owo wyodrębnienie podzielić jeszcze na kolejne dwa aspekty, mianowicie: dyrektywy o charakterze obyczajowym i profil artystyczny. Te pierwsze, choć na pozór prozaiczne i błahe, w rzeczywistości mają ogromny wpływ na ukształtowany obraz prawdziwego dadaisty. Ktoś, kto jest naznaczony dadaizmem, winien spełniać określone kryteria. Przede wszystkim cechować

[17] „Auf diese Weise erreichte *MERZ* einen gewissen Bekanntheitsgrad vor allem unter dem Publikum, auf das es Schwitters ankam (…) Vor allem eröffnete aber Schwitters die Herausgabe einer eigenen Zeitschrift ungeahnte Möglichkeiten, mit dem Medium Zeitschrift selbst zu spielen, seine technischen Mittel wie die Vorstellungen der Leser als *Merz*-Kunst-Material zu verwenden". E. Nündel, *Kurt Schwitters*..., s. 80.

[18] Źródło: Archiwum Literatury Niemieckiej w Marbach.

[19] Źródło: Archiwum Literatury Niemieckiej w Marbach.

[20] Pisze o tym w swoim szkicu *O nową sztukę* Helena Zaworska.

go powinna mentalność rewolucjonisty, niespokojny duch o nieokiełznanej energii i woli walki, który hula najchętniej w stołecznej „Café des Westens" do utraty tchu i wraca nad ranem ze zmierzwionym włosem, by wkrótce wstać i znowu rozwinąć oręż dadaistycznej rewolucji i znowu napierać, krzyczeć, nawoływać, wchodzić na barykady. Schwitters wszakże wolał w pięknie skrojonym garniturze wrócić do domu i w pełni oddać się sztuce. Dlatego też jego odwieczny adwersarz Richard Huelsenbeck nazywał go w swoich wspomnieniach „Geniuszem w staromodnym surducie, abstrakcyjnym, Kasperem Davidem Friedrichem dadaistycznej rewolucji"[21]. Dadaiści stawiali więc Schwittersowi zarzut niepodporządkowania się dadaistycznej konwencji zasilania frakcji niespokojnych, niepokornych i pełnych pogardy dla mieszczaństwa i władzy pań i panów. W Schwittersie, ani w jego twórczości, te czynniki ani mechanizmy nie istniały – śmiało można rzec, że ignorował tego rodzaju próby sztucznego samonapędzania się.

Zdywersyfikować należy także informacje o inspiracjach twórczych dadaistów hanowerskiego artysty. Jak podkreśla w swej obszernej publikacji książkowej *Sankt Ziegenzack springt aus dem Ei. Dadaismus i Zürich, Berlin, Köln und Hannover* jej autor Klaus Schuhmann: „Kto w latach powojennych chciał się określić dadaistą, chciał tym – i w tym są wszyscy zgodni, którzy to czynili – dać do zrozumienia, że zerwał z tradycyjnymi praktykami artystycznymi i literackimi"[22]. Sam Schwitters podkreśla wszakże: „Najpierw poszukiwałem tego, by z resztek poprzedniej kultury zbudować nowe formy artystyczne"[23]. Oznacza to, iż pragnieniem artysty, które potem z żelazną konsekwencja realizował, było odbudowanie swoich wizji twórczych na pozostałościach. Schwitters tworzył nowy świat za pomocą skrawków papieru, starych guzików, suwaków, drutu i gałganków. Dadaiści pozostałości starej kultury chcieli wdeptać w ziemię, głośno przy tym krzycząc „niech nie będzie nic, nic, nic"! W tym należy postrzegać podstawową i zarazem bardzo istotną różnicę między Schwittersem a dadaistami, na co sam wskazywał: „Wezwał mnie »Blok« do napisania artykułu o dadaizmie. Na wstępie muszę zastrzec, że w swojej istocie nie jestem dadaistą"[24]. W tym właśnie punkcie należy rozgraniczyć twórczość dadaistów, dążących do antysztuki i nihilistycznego protestu, od twórczości Schwittersa, który w sposób jasny i zdeklarowany sztukę tworzył. Zupełnie paradoksalnie natomiast obie odsłony, Schwittersowskiej sztuki i dadaistycznej antysztuki konweniowały w formie swoich wypowiedzi. Ta myśl zawiera się także w słowach hanowerczyka w artykule napisanym dla swojego czasopisma „Merz": „Podczas gdy dadaizm jedynie pokazuje przeciwieństwa, *Merz* wyrównuje je poprzez wartościowanie w samym dziele sztuki. Czysty *Merz* to sztuka, czysty dadaizm to niesztuka"[25]. Obie formacje łączył jednak zbliżony stan świadomości artystycznej. Stąd analogie przy koncepcji tworzenia dada i *Merz*. Przypadkowo znalezione w Zurychu przez Huelsenbecka i Balla słowo *dada* odpowiada również przypadkowo wykoncypowanemu przez Schwittersa słowu *Merz*. Oba w gruncie rzeczy nic nie oznaczają, są szyldem obu frakcji,

---

[21] „Genie im Bratenrock, der Kasper David Friedrich der dadaistischen Revolution". R. Huelsenbeck *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze...*, s. 96.

[22] „Wer sich in den Nachkriegsjahren als Dadaist bezeichnete, wollte damit – und darin stimmen alle, die das taten, letztlich überein – vor allem zu verstehen geben, dass er mit der überlieferten Kunst – und Literaturpraxis gebrochen hatte". K. Schuhmann (Hrsg.), *Sankt Ziegenzack springt aus dem Ei. Dadaismus in Zürich...*, s. 296.

[23] F. Lach (Hrsg), *Kurt Schwitters. Das literarische Werk...*, s. 77.

[24] Kurt Schwitters w artykule *Dadaizm* napisanym dla polskiego czasopisma „Blok". Artykuł ukazał się w 1924 roku we wrześniowym numerze czasopisma.

[25] „Während Dadaismus Gegensätze nur zeigt, gleicht MERZ Gegensätze durch Wertung innerhalb eines Kunstwerks aus. Der reine Merz ist Kunst, der reine Dadaismus Nichtkunst". K. Schwitters, *Banalitäten* (3), w: „*Merz*", Nr. 4, 1923, s. 40. Źródło: Archiwum Literatury Niemieckiej w Marbach.

w tym jednej jednoosobowej. Dadaiści dążyli do integracji na wszystkich płaszczyznach sztuki i we wszystkich odsłonach twórczej wypowiedzi. Marzeniem tym wiedziony Ball zjechał do Zurychu i tu pragnął je ucieleśnić. Schwitters także ze wszystkich sił rozwijał koncepcję dzieła totalnego. Zarówno dadaiści, jak i Schwitters wydawali czasopisma, do realizacji których zapraszali artystów z różnych stron świata, z tym że Schwitters swoimi działaniami objął znacznie szersze spektrum geograficzne. W opisanym w tym rozdziale czasopiśmie „Merz" słychać echa z Holandii, Rosji, Paryża, Węgier, Polski Bukaresztu, Włoch. Wykorzystywanie materiału absolutnego przestało też być domeną wyłącznie dadaistów. Schwitters zbliżył się w tej materii bardzo do Maksa Ernsta, rezydenta kolońskiego ruchu, ale i równie bliski był kamratom z Zurychu. Także i berlińscy dadaiści w swoim głośnym manifeście w całości przetłumaczonym i przeanalizowanym w tej pracy głośno nawoływali do wykorzystywania nowych tworzyw w malarstwie: „Dada will die Benutzung des neuen Materials in der Malerei" (dada chce wykorzystania nowego materiału w sztuce)[26].

Schwitters zmarł niedoceniony i znacznie przedwcześnie. Gdyby nie powszechnie znane kulisy historyczne i gospodarczo-polityczne nie musiałby on zapewne ukrywać się, emigrować, skazywać na wieczną tułaczkę. Po klęsce Niemiec w II wojnie światowej w Hanowerze o Schwittersie też nie było głośno. Dopiero przy pomocy syna Ernsta udało się odbudować częściowo jego artystyczne imperium. W 1973 roku ukazuje się pierwszy tom zbioru prac literackich Schwittersa: *Kurt Schwitters. Das literarische Werk*. Po bardzo długiej przerwie, dopiero w 1994 roku powstaje *Archiwum Kurta Schwittersa* w Hanowerze, będące jednocześnie centrum badań nad twórczością artysty. Pod auspicjami tegoż archiwum zorganizowano w 2000 roku wystawę retrospektywną *Aller Anfang ist Merz. Von Kurt Schwitters bis heute* w Muzeum Sprengela w Hanowerze, pokazaną także w „Haus der Kunst" w Monachium w roku następnym. W roku 2001 powstała też Kurt und Ernst Schwitters Stiftung (Fundacja Kurta i Ernsta Schwittersów), opiekująca się odziedziczoną spuścizną twórczą Kurta Schwittersa.

Również Polacy nie pozostali Schwittersowi dłużni i dzięki ogromnemu zaangażowaniu łódzkiego Muzeum Sztuki i wsparciu Ministerstwa Kultury zorganizowano tam w roku 2004 wystawę jego prac sprowadzonych głównie z Niemiec. Wydano także okolicznościowy album *Kurt Schwitters. Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi*, zawierający wszystkie wystawione prace oraz liczne fotografie. Poza granicami Niemiec odbywały się także różne retrospektywne wystawy prac hanowerczyka, między innymi w latach pięćdziesiątych, w Londynie, następne wraz z nadejściem kolejnego podmuchu ducha dadaizmu, określanego jako neodadaizm. Aż dziw, a może bardziej smutek, ogarnia serce, gdy pomyśleć, że ten wielce zasłużony i jeszcze bardziej niedoceniony artysta w macierzystym, rozsławionym przezeń Hanowerze nigdy nie doczekał się należnego mu hołdu.

Bibliografia

Arnold, Armin: *An Anna Blume. Sinn oder Unsinn?* **„**Text+Kritik", 1972, nr. 35/36.

Arp, Hans/ Huelsenbeck, Richard/ Tzara, Tristan: *Die Geburt des Dada. Dichtung und Chronik*. Zürich 1957. Zit.: Arp/Huelsenbeck/Tzara, Die Geburt, 1957.

Ball, Hugo: *Die Flucht aus der Zeit*. Luzern 1946. Zit.: Ball, Flucht, 1946.

Bazylow Ludwik: *Historia powszechna 1789–1918*. Warszawa 1986. Cyt.: Bazylow, Historia, 1986.

[26] Z manifestu dadaistycznego, w: K. Riha, J. Schäfer, *Dada total. Manifeste, Aktionen, Texte, Bilder...*, s. 93.

Bergius, Hanna: *Dada in Europa. Werke und Dokumente*. Berlin 1977. Zit.: Bergius, Dada, 1977.

Boone, Dieter: *Picasso*. Paryż 1989. Cyt.: Boone, Picasso, 1989.

Brown, John: *Historia teatru*. Warszawa 1999. Cyt.: Brown, Historia, 1999.

Busch, Werner: (Hrsg). *Funkkolleg Kunst. Eine Geschichte der Kunst im Wandel ihrer Funktionen*. München 1987. Zit.: Busch, Funkkolleg, 1987.

Dziamski, Grzegorz: *Awangarda Europy Wschodniej.* Kraków 2006. Cyt.: Dziamski, Awangarda, 2006.

Elger, Dietmar: *Dadaismus.* Taschen Verlag, Köln 2004.

Huelsenbeck, Richard: *Dada Almanach*. Berlin 1920. Zit.: Huelsenbeck, Dada, 1920.

Huelsenbeck, Richard: *En avant dada*. Lutz Schulenburg Verlag, Hamburg 1997.

Huelsenbeck, Richard: *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze. Auf den Spuren des Dadaismus*. Lutz Schulenburg Verlag, Hamburg 1992.

Janson, Karl: *Malerei unserer Welt*. Köln 1960. Zit.: Janson, Malerei, 1960.

Jarosiński Zbigniew: *Antologia futuryzmu polskiego*. Wrocław 1978. Cyt.: Jarosiński, Antologia, 1978.

Korte, Hermann: *Die Dadaisten*. Hamburg 1994. Zit.: Korte, Die Dadaisten, 1994.

Nündel, Ernst: *Kurt Schwitters*. Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg 1999.

Nündel, Ernst: *Wir spielen, bis der Tod uns abholt. Briefe aus fünf Jahrzehnten***,** Hannover 1870.

Nündel, Ernst: *Wir spielen, bis der Tod uns abholt. Briefe aus fünf Jahrzehnten*. Ullstein Verlag, Frankfurt 1975. Zit.: Nündel, Frankfurt,1975, Hamburg1999.

Orchard, Katrin: *Kurt Schwitters. His life and work*, Oxford 1998. Cyt.: Orchard, Kurt Schwitters, 1998.

Philipp, Eckhard: *Dadaismus*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1980. Zit.: Eckhard, Dadaismus, 1980.

Pierce, Harry: *Die letzte Lebenszeit von Kurt Schwitters.* „Das Kunstwerk“, 1952, nr.3/4

Poprzęcka, Maria: *Arcydzieła malarstwa polskiego*. Warszawa 2002. Cyt.: Poprzęcka, Arcydzieła , 2002.

Richter, Hans: *Dadaizm.* Warszawa 1983. Cyt.: Richter, Dadaizm, 1983.

Riha, Karl: *Dada Berlin. Texte, Manifeste, Aktionen*. Hamburg 2002. Zit.: Riha. Texte, 2002.

Schwitters, Kurt: *Eile ist des Witzes Weile.* Köln 2003. Zit.: Schwitters, 2003.

Sanouillet, Michel: *Dadaismus und metaphysische Malerei*. Taschen Verlag, Köln 1987. **Schuhmann, Klaus**: *Sankt Ziegenzack springt aus dem Ei. Dadaismus in Zürich, Berlin, Köln und Hannover*. Gustav Kiepenhauer Verlag, Leipzig 1991.

Schwitters, Kurt: *MERZ*. Hanower 1923-1932

Szczuka, W: **Żarnowera T**: *Dadaizm*. „Blok” 1924, nr 3, s. 2

Szyrocki, Marian: *Dzieje literatury niemieckiej*. Warszawa 1969. Cyt.: Szyrocki, Dzieje, 1969.

Wat, Aleksander: *Wspomnienia o futuryzmie*. Miesięcznik literacki, nr 2, 1930r. Cyt.: Wat, Wspomnienia, 1930.

Zaworska, Helena: *O nową sztukę*. Warszawa 1963. Cyt.; Zaworska, O nową sztukę, 1963.

Zaworska, Helena: *Przemiany polskiego futuryzmu.* Warszawa 1975. Cyt.: Zaworska, Przemiany, 1975.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł traktuje o niemieckim artyście Kurcie Schwittersie i jest próbą usytuowania go w obrębie dadaizmu z zaznaczeniem, iż w gruncie rzeczy Schwitters dadaistą nie był. Jedynie w aspektach jego twórczości dada odbiło się szerokim echem, lecz artysta nie spełniał kryteriów bycia dadaistą w aspekcie duchowym. Artykuł podzielony jest na dwie części. To jest część druga, poprzedzona pierwszą, która ukazała się tomie *Acta Philologica* nr 37.

Łukasz Gomułka

Wspólnik Friedricha Dürrenmatta – rozważania w kontekście sztuki Samuela Becketta *Końcówka*

Realność w sztukach *Wspólnik* i *Końcówka* – zarys

Friedrich Dürrenmatt (1921-1990) podjął w sztuce *Wspólnik* aspekt rzeczywistości społecznej jaką jest m.in. korupcja, którą dramaturg w sztuce absolutyzuje:

Prawda (komedii) polega w napięciu jej zmyślonego świata do istniejącego świata, w tym przypadku na stosunku totalnej korupcji do korupcji częściowej, na stosunku tego co jest wyimaginowane a rzeczywiste, absolutyzmu i realności. Ponieważ świat w pewnej kwestii jest skorumpowany jest prawdziwe, nie ukazywanie go w świetle afery Watergate, jednak przywilejem komedii jest przedstawienie świata jako jednej wielkiej afery, zabsolutyzowanie jednego z jej aspektów (korupcji) (Dürrenmatt, 1986, 217-218).

Istnieje zatem możliwość rozpoznania czytelnikowi pewnego znanego systemu politycznego i ekonomicznego.

Z kolei Samuel Beckett (1906-1989) w sztuce *Końcówka* tworzy świat zamknięty, w którym znana rzeczywistość występuje jedynie fragmentarycznie. Warto zauważyć, że Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) twierdził, że *wszelka lustrzana alegoria stanowi jedynie pewną grę z elementami rzeczywistości*, *która to* (gra) *nie zajmuje żadnego stanowiska* (1991, 290). Poza występującymi na scenie protagonistami nie ma żadnych innych postaci a tym samym nie ma społeczności. Poza sceną kuchni nie ma niczego, w której Clov od czasu do czasu znika.

Zarówno sztuka Dürrenmata jak Becketta zawierają wskazówki dotyczące odniesienia względem realności jako takiej. W przypadku *Wspólnika* brzmią one następująco:

Miejsce akcji: *piąte piętro pod ziemią starego, zapomnianego magazynu (…) niewidoczny sufit, podtrzymywany potężnymi słupami betonowymi, gubi się gdzieś w ciemnościach, na pozór bezkresnych, może dlatego, że z góry zwisa kilka kabli z żarówkami. Po lewej (patrząc od strony widza) w pomieszczeniu jest wbudowana chłodnia - możliwe, że całość służyła kiedyś jako hala mięsna. Chłodnia ma wielkie, rozsuwane drzwi, umieszczone równolegle do widzów; kiedy są otwarte, widać część wyłożonego kaflami wnętrza*; *czynności, jakie Doc wykonuje w niewidocznej jego części, domyślamy się tylko niejasno*: *wprawia on w ruch jakiś mechanizm, w każdym razie zapala się wtedy nad drzwiami chłodni czerwone światło. Urządził sobie mieszkanie po środku tylnego planu przed słupem. Jest to przypierzenie z desek, koniecznie z tej przyczyny, że w czasie całej sztuki stale gdzieś kapie woda (…) Wewnątrz mieszkania stoi tapczan, na ścianie reprodukcja jakiegoś współczesnego obrazu chociażby Mikro- wiszą również jego ubrania, na zewnętrznej ścianie przepierzenia jego strój roboczy*. (...) *Tylny plan jest zastawiony stertą pustych skrzyń stojących pomiędzy i przed słupami. Skrzynie są pozostałością do opakowania produktu (…) Po prawej stronie sceny w jeden ze słupów jest wbudowana winda towarowa, której drzwi otwierają się od góry do dołu (…)* (Dürrenmatt, 1986, 13-14).

Wskazówki w dziele Becketta brzmią:
Pomieszczenie bez mebli. Mętne światło. Na prawej i lewej ścianie w tylnym planie przymocowane wysoko okienko zasłonięte kotarami. Z przodu po prawej stronie drzwi. W pobliżu drzwi wisi stoją obok siebie owinięte starym prześcieradłem kosze na śmieci. Na środku pomieszczenia siedzi Hamm (…) całość pokryta starym prześcieradłem (1974, 9).
Z powyższych opisów scenicznych w sztukach wynika, że odniesienia względem rzeczywistości są arbitralne.

Protagoniści contra rzeczywistość

Przedstawiony w sztuce *Wspólnik* świat pozostaje dla widza (odbiorcy) sztuki nieznany. Istotnym aspektem przedstawionej rzeczywistości jest korupcja, która została poprzez rozpoznanie w sztuce Dürrenmatta możliwie zabsolutyzowana. W przypadku sztuki *Końcówka* Becketta trudno wywieść cechy bezpośredniej krytyki społecznej. Theodor Adorno kwestionuje jakiekolwiek społeczne, czy polityczne zamiary Becketta: *Do walki przeciw śmierci wojnie atomowej z trudem pobudza dzieło…* (Adorno, 1991, 283). Interpretacja filozoficznego sensu *Końcówki* Becketta zdaje się być niewykonalna. Zatem zrozumieć dzieło Becketta znaczy nic innego jak móc pojąć jego brak zrozumienia. Konkretnie rzecz ujmując: związki i odniesienia sensu w możliwym ale niezdeterminowanym przekazie sztuki *Końcówka* nie konstruują sztuki Samuela Becketta jako takiej. Za Theodorem Adorno można powtórzyć: *to co nie oznacza zupełnie nic staje się jedynym znaczeniem* (1991, 305). Należy zauważyć, że protagoniści sztuki Becketta mają pewien dystans do świata scenicznego natomiast dystans do rzeczywistości scenicznej postaci w sztuce Dürrenmatta zostaje zniwelowany np.

Protagoniści sztuki *Końcówka* twierdzą, że grają:
Hamm: *(…) teraz ja. (przerwa) Teraz ja gram!*
Nell: *Dlaczego ta komedia każdego dnia?*
Clov: *Zostawcie nas w spokoju abyśmy mogli grać!*
W sztuce Końcówka protagoniści są świadomi swojego życia scenicznego:
Hamm: *(…) ty głupku! Czy to pierwszy raz, że słyszysz an bok (przerwa) szykuję się do ostatniego dialogu*
Clow: *Po cóż służę*”
Hamm: *Aby mi udzielić odpowiedzi (repliki)*
W sztuce *Wspólnik* postać Jacka mówi: *z dramatycznego punktu widzenia prawdopodobnie jestem tylko nieznaczącą figurą drugoplanową, bez orientacji w sztuce jako całości* (Dürrenmatt, 1986, 51). Protagoniści w sztuce Dürrenmatta nigdy nie odbierają rzeczywistości jako aktorzy. W przypadku sztuki Becketta przełamanie iluzji ukazuje, że Beckett w *Końcówce* porusza kwestie teatralne i nie może być mowy o przeniesieniu realności na scenę. *Wspólnik* egzystuje natomiast zarówno na scenie jak i w rzeczywistości.

Idea działania interpersonalnego i czasowość jako osnowa teatru

W sztuce Becketta nie istnieje możliwość zmiany czegokolwiek. Nikt i nic nie może wpłynąć na *status quo*. Protagoniści próbują w prawdzie nie odgrywać ról jednak nie zdołali tego zrobić. Również ucieczka jest niemożliwa. Zmiana słów powtarza się np.

Clov: *Zrób to, czyń to, a ja zrobię to. Nigdy się nie sprzeciwiam. Dlaczego?*
Hamm: *Nie porafisz tego.*
Clov: *W takim razie opuszczam was.*
Hamm: *Nie możesz nas opuścić.*
Clov: *W takim razie nie będę was opuszczał.*
Clov: *Dobrze, więc to się nigdy nie skończy, nigdy nie odejdę* (Beckett, 1974, 9).
Poprzez spadek zasłon *Końcówka* może zostać przerwana jako sztuka ale nie może zostać zakończona. Interpretacja sztuki Becketta przez Theodora Adorno wykazuje absurd jako „coś", co zaczyna „egzystować" od nowa. Czas jest w sztuce Becketta w taki sposób zakrzywiony, że odzwierciedla stale początek teatru: *W absurdalnej sztuce każde wspomnienie przeszłości ma na myśli kolektywną absurdalną przeszłość, a każde wspomnienie przyszłości występuje jako pytanie. W efekcie na końcu tkwi zawsze początek* (191, 295). Z czego wynika, że protagoniści są zmuszeni ogrywać stale „końcówkę" sztuki. Inną sytuację spotykamy we *Wspólniku* Dürrenmatta.

Mimo śmierci Copa całość zostaje zachowane ponieważ protagoniści nadal odgrywają sztukę. Po wyeliminowaniu kolejnych figur pozostałe postaci muszą odgrywać (uzupełniać w pewnym sensie) brakujące postaci.

Zatem system jako taki zostaje utrzymany. W sztuce *Wspólnik* system jest utrzymany tak długo aż postaci się w nim odnajdują. Protagoniści w dramacie Dürrenmatta mają do czynienia z obroną przed systemem, co wydaje się być najbardziej sensownym rozwiązaniem, podczas gdy w przypadku *Końcówki* okazuje się pozbawione sensu.

W ostatniej sztuce *Achterloo* Dürrenmatt pisze:
Powinieneś sam sobie stworzyć obraz i spróbować z samodzielnie zrozumieć ten świat a wówczas musisz krzyczeć. Może ktoś ciebie wysłucha. Pisanie jest dzisiaj krzykiem. (…) Sartre próbował powiązać Egzystencjalizm, obraz rzeczywistości z Marksizmem wówczas jednak poszedł innymi drogami obok samego siebie i krzyk jego stał się niesłyszalny. Beckett krzyczy ale wie, że to jest bezsensu (1998, 161).

Dürrenmatt przedstawia człowieka z perspektywy teraźniejszości. Przy pomocy motywu współdziałania dramaturg ukazuje egzystencję człowieka w jego ziemskim ograniczeniu. Poprzez wykorzystany w *Wspólniku* motyw „współdziałania" ukazał dramaturg mało znaczącą (irrelewantny) kwalitatywność moralnych pryncypiów ludzkich prób uporania się ze światem:

Wszyscy współuczestniczymy (…) czy jesteśmy zadowoleni ze świata, w którym tkwimy lub przeciw któremu protestujemy (…) współuczestniczymy ponieważ jesteśmy przekonani o konieczności, w której uczestniczymy = moralne pozytywne współdziałanie. Współdziałamy, aczkolwiek nie jesteśmy przekonani o konieczności w czym współdziałamy = moralne negatywne współdziałanie (Dürrenmatt, 1986, 103).

Obecnie nasz los w mniejszym stopniu zależy od naszych dobrych, czy złych intencji lub czynów lecz od zaangażowanych albo pasywnych współdziałających. Na współuczestniczenie mają również wpływ przypadkowe konsekwencje niemożliwych do przewidzenia konstalacji form współuczestniczących w procesie współdziałania, form społecznych i wpływ mających na nie idei postępowych. Przypadek staje się centralnym komponentem, który oddziałuje na procesy dialektyczne, co może posłużyć potwierdzeniu Dürrenmattowskiej fatalistycznej wizji świata.

Rola posłowia (posłowie do posłowia) w sztuce *Wspólnik*

Friedrich Dürrenmatt zamieścił w sztuce *Wspólnik* liczące 110 stron posłowie. Jest to rozbudowana część tekstu mająca na celu przybliżenie, wprowadzenie i objaśnienie kwestii poruszanych w sztuce. Posłowie można traktować jako spowodowaną problemami z recepcją sztuki, odpowiedź dramaturga.

Rozbudowana kompleksowość sztuki, której integralną częścią są teksty sekundarne może również świadczyć o pewnym literackim kryzysie, na który dramaturg stara się zaproponować antidotum. Budowa posłowia do sztuki *Wspólnik* przedstawia wymagania sceniczne związane z oświetleniem, tematyką komedii jak również monologami i przebiegiem sztuki w ogóle. Posłowie ma charakter rozbudowanego komentarza prezentującego m.in. w jaki sposób sztuka została podzielona, miejsce i rola monologów, charakterystyka poszczególnych postaci oraz charakterystyka sceny.

Dramaturg również zamieszcza podstawowe informacje pomocnicze dla reżysera, czy scenarzysty:

Ważne jest tylko miejsce, miejsce akcji, miejsce gry. Laboratorium Doc`a, mimo, że określenie to jest może przesadne: *chodzi tu o piąte piętro pod magazynem, gdzie zagnieździł się Doc, aby uprawiać swoją działalność. Niewidoczny sufit, podtrzymywany potężnymi słupami betonowymi, gubi się gdzieś w ciemnościach, na pozór bezkresnych, może dlatego, że z góry zwisa kilka kabli z żarówkami. Po lewej/od strony widza/ w pomieszczenie jest wbudowana chłodnia- możliwe, że całość służyła kiedyś jako hala mięsna. Chłodnia ma wielkie, rozsuwane drzwi, umieszczona równolegle do widzów*; *kiedy są otwarte, widać część wyłożonego kaflami wnętrza; czynności, jakie Doc wykonuje w niewidocznej jego części, domyślamy się tylko niejasno*: *wprawia on w ruch jakiś mechanizm, w każdym razie zapala się wtedy nad drzwiami chłodni czerwone światło* (Dürrenmatt, przeł. Z.K. a-b).

W posłowiu dramaturg zamieścił kilka propozycji z eseistyczno- reflekcyjnymi i autobiograficznymi dygresjami. Istotnym ustępem jest ta część posłowia, która nie jest bezpośrednio związana ze sztuką a dotyczy wizyty dramaturga podczas pracy nad tekstem w naukowym centrum badawczym (CERN) pod Genewą. Poprzez wizytę w CERN, Dürrenmatt wzbogacił tekst o problematykę kosmogonii, ewolucji i utopii, również o kwestie Marksizmu, pojęcia miłości Boga, pojęcia ideologii, oraz dramaturgii bohatera ironicznego. Na bazie kwestii przedstawionych w posłowiu, stawia pytania natury egzystencjalnej, politycznej, czy też naukowej.

Dalsze 95 stron obejmuje tekst, który został określony przez dramaturga *posłowiem do posłowia*. Tworzy ono pozbawiony przerw blok tekstowy, gdzie przemieszane są części refleksyjne, autobiograficzne i narracyjne. Tekst można potraktować jako kolejny poziom refleksji, gdzie tematem rozważań czyni dramaturg kwestie recepcji sztuki dotyczące wystawienia. Od autorskiej refleksji nad charakterem i sensem *posłowia do posłowia* przechodzi pisarz do przedstawienia relacji pomiędzy materiałem wyjściowym sztuki oraz kwestiami biograficznymi. Dalszy przebieg tekstu dotyczy kwestii nowoczesnego, subiektywnego podmiotu i etymologizacji rzeczywistości w dramaturgii.

Minimalizm komunikacji a redundancja w sztuce *Wspólnik*

Istnieją poszlaki ku temu, że Friedrich Dürrenmatt bada w sztuce *Wspólnik* zjawisko komunikacji interpersonalnej i pracuje nad redundancją w ogóle. Dramaturg zwraca uwagę, że elementy języka niosą ze sobą tym mniej informacji, im język jest bardziej redundantny oraz im więcej nadmiarowości, czy powtórzeń znajduje się w nim samym, co możemy interpretować jako kod przekazu informacji zawartej w sztuce. Minimalistyczna budowa sztuki wskazuje, że „szwajcarski dioskur" podejmuje się próby badania ilości informacji w przekazie scenicznym. Przy pomocy oszczędnych środków komunikacyjnych dramaturg mierzy ilość informacji, którą może przekazać widzom. Następuje pewien paradoks, ponieważ informacja jest mierzona jedynie stopniem swojego zróżnicowania. Redukując schematy powtarzalne do minimum Dürrenmatt stara się w dialogach doprowadzić do komunikacji pomiędzy poszczególnymi protagonistami sztuki. Dürrenmatt zauważa, że *językowego rytmu sztuki nie da się wyznaczyć, dialog jest szybki, cios za ciosem, to zmienia się takt, to znowu niezbędne są pauzy, wszystko to są konieczności, które uwidoczniają się dopiero w czasie prób*; *jednak mowy tej nie można tylko wypowiadać, trzeba ją zagrać, wynika ona z wzajemnego czatowania na siebie, z napomnień i gróźb, jest często zamaskowanym milczeniem, często kłamstwem, często drapieżną przeprawą, w owej gwałtownej dyskusji ojca z synem* (1986, 105).

Minimalistyczny język jest widoczny już w jednym początkowych dialogów między Bossem i Docem na początku pierwszej części sztuki:
Doc: *Pan go zna? Boss*: *Nie.Doc*: *A on pana? Boss*: *Nie. Doc*: *Ciekawe*. *Boss*: *Nareszcie*. *Doc*: *Jeszcze cztery*. *Boss*: *jak on na pana wpadł? Doc*: *Tylko*. *Boss*: *Tutaj? Doc*: *Tutaj*. *Boss*: *Do diabła* (Dürrenmatt, przeł. Z.K., 8-9).
Kolejny dialog jest jeszcze bardziej zminimalizowany. Redundantność wypowiedzi jest wysoka, zatem przekaz informacji niski:
Boss: *Kobiety? Doc*: *od czasu do czasu*. *Boss*: *Tu? Doc*: *czemuż by nie*. *Boss*: *No tak*. *Boss*: *Różne? Doc*: *Zawsze ta sama*. *Boss*: *Mężatka? Doc*: *Nie sądzę*. *Boss*: *Zakochany? Doc*: *Nie wiem (…)* (Dürrenmatt, przeł. Z.K., 10-11).

W oparciu o powyższe dialogi można zinterpretować pojęcie redundancji w odniesieniu do fragmentarycznej komunikacji między protagonistami sztuki *Wspólnik*; dramaturg podejmuje dyskusje o banalności niektórych form komunikacji. Fragmenty dialogów przedstawiają banalność form komunikacji, które pozornym, niskim przekazem informacji, brakiem odniesień kontekstowych i oryginalności zostaje ujednolicony do potrzeb przeciętnego odbiorcy. W kolejnym przykładzie warto bliżej przyjrzeć się częściom składowym wypowiadanych kwestii przez bohaterów dramatu:
Cop: *Ile?Boss*: *Za co? Cop*: *Za garaż*. *Boss*: *pięć tysięcy*. *(…) Cop*: *Kto zamawiał robotę? Boss*: *brat Cop*: *Ile zapłacił? Boss*: *dziewięć tysięcy*. *Cop*: *Mac wyznacza po jakiej cenie? Boss*: *Cóż z tego*? (Dürrenmatt, przeł. Z.K., 17-18)
Z powyższego dialogu przeanalizujmy na losowo przykładzie wybranych słów na poziomie liter:
Cop: *Mac wyznacza* ***po jakiej cenie****?*
„**CNIE**" - litery, które należą do repertuaru wszystkich liter języka, generowałyby informację, w każdej możliwej konfiguracji, ale żadna z konfiguracji nie „znaczy" w kontekście sztuki sama w sobie nic: **NIEC? CEIN? EINC?** Przeanalizujmy jednak większą całość wypowiedzi postaci Copa: *(…)* ***PO JAKIEJ C_ NIE***, w której elementy konfiguracji **CNIE** rozdzielone zostały wolnym miejscem. Stosując znaki przestankowe i traktując litery oddzielnie, otrzymujemy alfabet zawierający ponad kilkadziesiąt liter.

Wobec powyższego; redundancja przekazu, kontekst, a także przynależność do tego, co uznajemy za zbiór słów języka – wskazuje, że **C_NIE** jest częścią słowa „**CENIE**", w którym pominięta została litera „E". Zatem im szerszy kontekst zostanie ukazany, tym lepiej jest chroniony zamierzony przekaz i tym mniej istotna dla zapobieżenia wieloznaczności staje się obecność brakującej litery „E". Kiedy zostaje podana informacja semantyczna, która nadaje kolejnym literom rangę składnika jednostki należącej do zbioru pt. „wszystkie zdania w danym języku", otrzymujemy przekaz, który zamyka się w pewnym schemacie (wzorcu), doświadczeniu językowemu autora (w tym wypadku dramaturga tworzącego sztukę teatralną) oraz odbiorcy (widza, czytelnika), że konkretny przekaz stosuje się do pewnych reguł: *Mac wyznacza po jakiej cenie?*

Na przykładzie niniejszego wersu pochodzącego z rozmowy pomiędzy Copem a Bossem można zauważyć, że mimo minimalistycznego podejścia do komunikacji w sztuce *Wspólnik*, Dürrenmatt przekazuje informację dotyczącą relacji pomiędzy procesami wzorcowymi a redundancją. Utwór literacki (w tym wypadku sztuka teatralna), można zatem postrzegać jako zakodowaną wcześniej informację związaną z doświadczeniem każdego odczytującego i jego wrażeniami estetycznymi. W miarę kolejnych odczytań tekstu sztuki *Wspólnik* zostają wyjaśnione kolejne zakodowane informacje, tekst sztuki staje się bardziej redundantny i znaczący. Odbiorca zaczyna rozumieć, że wers jest częścią zdania pytającego, że pytanie jest częścią rozmowy odbywanej w przedstawionych okolicznościach przez autora sztuki okolicznościach.

Myśl końcowa

Dürrenmatt wykorzystuje zjawiska ściśle związane z procesem zawartego odbioru tekstu w tzw. dziele literackim przez czytelnika (widza), które wydają się w szerszym aspekcie aktem tworzenia przez odbiorcę dzieła redundancji, eliminowania wieloznaczności w przekazie aby w czasie kolejnych odczytań tekstu uzyskać odczucia estetyczne.

„Szwajcarski dioskur" wykorzystuje fakt, że odbiorca sztuki posiada pewną niemierzalną zdolność szacowania znaczenia przekazu, wydobywania z dzieła, wiedzy i reagowania na nie działaniem lub emocjami, niezależnie od ilości odebranej informacji. Wysoki stopień redundancji w języku sztuki *Wspólnik* wskazuje na występowanie w komedii mnogości utartych zwrotów.

Dürrenmatt jako dramaturg wiedział, że tekst sztuki zawiera dużą ilość informacji niekoniecznie znaczącej dla odbiorcy, ponieważ nie musi motywować w sposób konieczny do działania. Natomiast teksty, w których zawarta została maksymalna ilość informacji są niezrozumiałe a w konsekwencji mogą nie poruszać odbiorcy. Należy zatem zauważyć, że w przypadku sztuki teatralnej redundancja wzrasta wraz z rozwojem dzieła dramatycznego w ogóle. W wyniku repetycji zostają powielone wszystkie elementy formalne dzieła. Opisy zaczynają tworzyć pewien wzorzec a wątek powstaje w wyniku powtórzeń. Postrzegana w kategoriach porządku forma tekstu sztuki teatralnej redukuje informację do minimum. Dürrenmatt poprzez zastosowanie wysokiej redundancji w sztuce *Wspólnik* zachowuje nienaruszalność głównego przekazu dzieła jakim jest współdziałanie poszczególnych postaci.

Bibliografia

Adorno, Theodor (1991), „Versuch das Endspiel zu verstehen", *Noten zur Literatur*, Frankfurt am Main.

Beckett, Samuel (1974), *Endspiel. Fin de Parie. Endgame*, Frankfurt am Main.

Dürrenmatt, Friedrich (1986), *Der Mitmacher – Ein Komplex. Nachwort*, Zürich.

Dürrenmatt, Friedrich (1998), *Achterloo*, Zürich.

Dürrenmatt, Friedrich *Wspólnik*, przeł. Zbigniew Krawczykowski, tekst sztuki nie został wydawany w Polsce drukiem, przekład sztuki (w formie maszynopisu), znajduje się w prywatnym zbiorze Romualda Kamińskiego, polskiego pisarza tworzącego w Paryżu.

Käser, Rudolf (2002), *Seminar*: *Friedrich Dürrenmatt im Kontext der Theatergeschichte des 20. Jh*., Universität Zürich.

Käser, Rudolf (2003), *Seminar*: *Friedrich Dürrenmatt und das absurde Theater*, Universität Zürich.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł pt. podejmuje problematykę realności sztuki teatralnej, idei oddziaływania interpersonalnego protagonistów na scenie, roli posłowia do dzieła literackiego jakim jest eksperymentalna sztuka teatralna, oraz kwestie minimalizmu komunikacyjnego i pojęcia redundancji w tekście sztuki teatralnej.

Wolfgang Brylla

Ein Mosaik des Verbrechens. Narrative Konstruktion des Mordes im Krimiroman Tannöd von Andrea Maria Schenkel

1. Der Krimi als Gattung

Kaum eine andere literarische Gattung sorgt(e) unter den Literaturforschern für so viel Aufsehen und Meinungsverschiedenheiten wie der Krimiroman: Von den Lesern geschätzt, von der Kritik und der Wissenschaft meistens verrissen. Aber paradoxerweise ist im 21. Jahrhundert der deutsche Kriminalroman in aller Munde; der Markt ‚boomt' und es hat den Anschein, als wäre dem Krimi endlich der lang ersehnte Durchbruch gelungen. Dabei haben sich die deutschsprachigen *Crime*-Geschichten im Laufe der Zeit kaum verändert. Immer noch spielt die sozialkritische Komponente eine tragende Rolle wie es schon bei den Krimiautoren aus den 1970er Jahren der Fall war. Einer Transformation unterlagen allerdings die Erzählweisen; im Großen und Ganzen lässt sich sagen, dass der deutsche Krimi auf die klassische Darstellungsform 1) des Verbrechens, 2) der Ermittlung und 3) der Lösung verzichtet (Nusser 2003: 22). Im Zuge der sog. Hybridisierung des Krimistoffes kamen neue Inszenierungsmodi zur Geltung, von denen vor allem die deutschen Schriftsteller profitieren. Für den modernen deutschen Krimiroman stehen solche Namen wie Arjouni, Pirinçci, Costin oder Kutscher und *last but not least* Andrea Maria Schenkel, die für ihren Debütroman *Tannöd* (2006) mit dem Deutschen Krimi-Preis ausgezeichnet wurde. Abgesehen von der Plagiatdebatte – Schenkel wurde 2007 bezichtigt, ihre Story einfach abgeschrieben zu haben[1] –, repräsentiert ihr Krimi-Erstling den Trend, an welchem sich der deutsche Krimidiskurs orientiert. Schenkels *Tannöd* gelang es, einen frischen Wind in die Diskussion um die Konstitution und Zukunft des deutschen Krimis reinzubringen, zumal immer noch Krimitexte als bloßer Schematismus abgetan und (leider) als pure Unterhaltungs- und Spannungsliteratur betrachtet werden. Krimis bilden Variationen von alten Themen und Motiven (Sexualverbrechen, Mord, Raub, Rache etc.), allerdings müssen sie auch in einem bestimmten Erzählrahmen konstruiert und vermittelt werden.[2] In der Krimiforschung werden stets noch Stimmen laut, nach denen die Erzählstruktur des Krimis nur ein redundanter Abklatsch der Darstellungsregeln sei, denen schon vorgeprägte Formen zugrunde liegen, nach denen sich die Krimischriftsteller richten sollten. Dies mag zum Teil auch stimmen, aber diese Annahmen treffen mit Blick auf den ganzen Krimikanon nicht zu. Ein Paradebeispiel für die Variabilität und den Facettenreichtum des Krimi-Erzählgerüstes, das sich lockere an verschiedenen Kodizes hält, sind die Romane vom Autorenteam Boilleau/Norcejac, von Highsmith und eben letztens von Schenkel. Aus diesen Gründen scheint es lohnenswert zu sein, sich genauer mit Schenkels *Tannöd* zu befassen.

[1] Siehe die Pressemeldungen vom August 2007 u. a. auf SPIEGEL-ONLINE (URL: http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/0,1518,499374,00.html; Zugang am 13. März 2010).

[2] Auf das Schematische in der Kriminalliteratur kam u. a. Bertolt Brecht in seinem Essay „Über die Popularität des Kriminalromans" (1938/40) zu sprechen (Brecht 1998: 33): „Die Tatsache, dass ein Charakteristikum des Kriminalromans in der Variation mehr oder weniger festgelegter Elemente liegt, verleiht dem ganzen Genre sogar das ästhetische Niveau".

In diesem Beitrag wird der narrativen Konstruktion des Mordes in ihrem Krimi nachzugehen sein. Das Hauptaugenmerk wird auf die Erzählweise Schenkels gelenkt, die alte obsolete Muster quasi ‚über den Haufen' wirft und den Mordfall auf eine ungewöhnliche Art und Weise in Szene zu setzen weiß. Mit anderen Worten: es wird der Versuch unternommen, Schenkels Krimi narratologisch beizukommen, d.h. die Dualität zwischen der *story* (dem Was) und dem *discourse* (dem Wie) in Augenschein zu nehmen.[3]

2. Zwei Geschichtsebenen: Geschichte der Aufklärung vs. Geschichte des Verbrechens

Der berühmte Anglist und Krimiliebhaber Alewyn hat Mitte der 1960er Jahre, als man in der BRD anfing, sich mit der Gattung aus einem wissenschaftlichen Blickwinkel konkreter zu beschäftigen, einen Satz geprägt, der noch bis heute mehr oder minder gilt. Alewyn unterschied strikt zwischen dem Detektiv- und dem Krimiroman. Bei jenem gehe es nur um die Geschichte der Aufklärung des Verbrechens, bei diesem handele es sich um die Geschichte der gesetzeswidrigen Tat selbst (Alewyn 1998: 53). Unter anderem auf der Grundlage dieser Differenzierung trennt man den Krimitext und den Thriller voneinander, indem man auf die disparaten Methoden und Techniken der erzählerischen Vermittlung verweist. Thriller, in denen die Ermittler immer unterwegs sind, bedürfen anderer Präsentationsmittel, als bspw. die Detektivgeschichte, in der der introvertierte Privatdetektiv eher vor Passivität als Aktivität strotzt und sich auf seinen Denkapparat und seine Deduktionsgabe verlässt. Unter dem Thriller wird auch die sog. *Crime Novel* subsumiert, eine wahrlich ganz besondere Subgattung des Krimis, die mit allen bekannten Schreibreglements bricht. Die *Crime Novel* konzentriert sich weder auf das Verbrechen noch auf die Fahndung/Aufklärung; in der *Crime Novel* ist die Perspektive des Mörders relevant, infolgedessen ein Psycho- und Physiogramm des Täters literarisch erstellt werden kann (vgl. Suerbaum 1984: 184 ff.). Schlicht gesagt: gesellschaftliche Implikationen kommen ins Spiel, der Leser-Horizont wird um die Gedankenwelt des Verbrechers erweitert. Mit solchen erzählerischen Maßnahmen wird das alte Korsett der Regeln „durch Perspektivenwechsel" aufgefrischt (1984: 188). Im Mittelpunkt befindet sich der Mörder und die Tat, die von ihm verübt wurde. Aus den *Crime Novel*-Erfahrungen speist sich auch die Erzählkomposition von Schenkels *Tannöd*.

3. Wie wird ein Krimi konstruiert

3.1 Das *Tannöd*-Vorwort

Schenkels Kriminalroman ist für einen Krimi von Seitenumfang her sehr dünn. Aber eben in den 120 Seiten, die man in zwei Stunden lesen kann, wie ein Rezensent bemerkte, liegt der Erfolg von *Tannöd* (Kürten 2007). Durch die Limitierung von Seiten wird die Erzählzeit, also die Zeit, während der man erzählt, komprimiert. Und da Schenkels Erzähler eine drastische und skrupellose Geschichte darzulegen hat, die sich vor fast fünfzig Jahren in einem kleinen bayerischen Dorf ereignete, muss er schon auf den wenigen Seiten Spannung aufbauen, von der die Krimis doch leben. Dies gelingt ihm mithilfe von narratologischen Techniken und Darstellungsweisen. Nicht nur die Erzählzeit wird in einer kompakten Form wiedergegeben, sondern auch die erzählte Zeit. Die Monstrosität des Mordes und Spannung kommen, was man vor dem Lesen nicht einmal erahnen konnte, durch die Zeit- und

[3] Die narratologische Analyse stützt sich auf: Martinez et al. 2005.

Raumbeschränkung aufs Genialste zur Geltung. Dabei stören auch nicht die zerstreuten Fragmente aus der „Litanei zum Troste der armen Seelen", die zwischen den Kapiteln eingeschoben wurden und scheinbar keine wichtige Funktion erfüllen. Für die Erzählstruktur des Textes spielen sie jedenfalls keine wichtige Rolle – sie verdunkeln sogar die zu erzählende Geschichte, was man jedoch als ein Nachteil bewerten sollte. Schenkel weiß auch ohne die eingefügten Zitate und Gebetsschnitzel, die Spannungsbogen und die ganze Geschichte zu konstruieren.

Tannöd beginnt mit einem Vorwort eines namenlosen Erzählers, der sich an die Zeit nach dem Kriege bei seinen Verwandten auf dem Lande zurückerinnert. Das kleine Einöden-Dorf blieb ihm „als eine Insel des Friedens" in Erinnerung. Fals er davon erfährt, dass das Dorf aufgrund von Mysterium-Vorfällen jetzt als „Morddorf" bezeichnet wird (Schenkel 2006: 5), macht er sich sofort auf den Weg, um dem Geheimnis auf die Spur zu kommen. Hier kommt es zu einem Bruch. Das idyllische Bild eines friedlichen Landes erhält Risse in Gestalt eines ungeheuerlichen Verbrechens, dass auf einem Gehöft begangen wurde. Der nicht näher identifizierte Er-Erzähler möchte die ‚Zeugen', die Bewohner des Dorfes, nach der Familie und den Morden ausfragen. Auf diese Weise führt der Erzähler in die Geschichte, in die *story*, ein und referiert auf ein Verbrechen, das im weiteren Verlauf zum Gegenstand des Erzählens wird. Der heterodiegetische Erzähler zieht sich jedoch auf der *discourse*-Ebene über weite Strecken zurück. Er lässt die Dorfeinwohner sprechen und parlieren; stellt ihnen nicht laut ausgesprochene Fragen, auf die sie antworten müssen. Ja, die Fragen des Erzählers bleiben sogar außen vor. Er fungiert somit vielmehr als Interviewer, als Rechercheur und weniger als Detektiv. Zumal ihm keiner die Aufklärung des Mordes in Auftrag gab. Nach Tannöd (so heißt auch das Dorf) fuhr er aus freien Stücken, er setzte sich in Bewegung, was für die Ermittler im amerikanischen *hardboiled*-Krimi typisch ist (vgl. Suerbaum 1984: 127-160).

3.2 Der Mord und die Sichtweisen auf den Mord

Das ganze Erzählkonstrukt von *Tannöd* setzt sich aus Geständnissen und Aussagen der befragten Einwohner zusammen. Im Fadenkreuz landen u. a. eine 86-jährige Beamtenwitwe, ein Dorfprediger, ein 35-jähriger Lehrer, ein Postbote oder ein Monteur. Sie alle kommunizieren in ihrem persönlichen bayerischen Duktus, der von „Grammatikfehlern oder seltsamem Provinzkauderwelsch" geprägt ist (Schulte-Meyer 2006). Dadurch wird die Authentizität des Erzählten und die Nähe zur *story* hervorgerufen. Dass die Einwohner von dem Erzähler um eine Antwort gebeten worden sind, lässt sich nur aus dem Vorwort schließen. Wie gesagt: der Erzähler verschwindet sowohl von der *story*-, als auch von der *discourse*-Ebene. Die Erzählstruktur wird durch Zeugenschilderung getragen; in 39 kurzen Abschnitten werden 39 Sichtweisen auf den Mord, auf dessen mögliche Ursachen und auf das Leben der Familie Danner skizziert. Da kein eindeutiger Erzähler festzumachen ist, der für die Kausalität des Erzählens verantwortlich wäre, lassen sich auch die 39 Passagen als Exzerpte aus einem längeren Vernehmungsbericht, der jedoch in diesem Falle nicht von der Polizei verfasst wurde, lesen. Der Gesamtaufbau des Krimis von Schenkel, der sich auf den Aufbau der Einzelabschnitte stützt, gleicht hiermit einem Erzähl-Mosaik, in dem verschiedene Teile nebeneinandergereiht wurden. Das Mosaik wird erst in dem Augenblick überblickbar und durchschaubar, wenn sich alle Elemente an ihrem richtigen Platz befinden. Die von Schenkel in *Tannöd* bevorzugte Erzählweise ähnelt solch einem Mosaik; es wird aber erst komplett, wenn sich alle für den Mordfall signifikanten Figuren zu Wort gemeldet und ihre Perspektive und ihre Gedanken preisgegeben haben. Es liegt fast auf der Hand, dass in dieser Gruppe der ‚vernommenen' Protagonisten, sich auch der wirkliche Mörder bzw. die Mörder versteckt hat bzw. haben. Obwohl der Pastor der Gemeinde meint – und dieses Statement wird vom Erzähler explizit demonstriert –, dass keiner seiner Mitgläubigen imstande gewesen wäre, die mehrköpfige Spießer- und Geizkragenfamilie kaltblütig zu ermorden: „Ich bin fest der Meinung, es kann keiner aus unserer Mitte der Täter sein. Keinem meiner Gemeindemitglieder würde ich solch eine Tat zutrauen. Solch eine teuflische Tat kann doch kein rechtschaffener Christ verübt haben" (Schenkel 2006: 110).

3.3. Fahndung der zwei Erzähler

In die Mixtur von analeptischen (rückblickenden) Zeugenperspektiven und -aussagen der Ortsansässigen mischen sich auch die Perspektiven der Opfer, die noch nicht wissen, dass sie in Bälde in den Orkus geschickt werden und des Täters ein. Solch ein Perspektivenwechsel bereichert die Mosaik-Erzählstruktur um die Exkurse in die Lebenswelten der direkt am Mord beteiligten Personen wie das Beispiel der jungen Marianne zeigt, die als neues Hausmädchen eingestellt wurde, um kurz darauf getötet zu werden: „Marie ist unschlüssig, sie weiß nicht, was sie tun soll. Steif und starr bleibt sie einfach nur stehen. Den Blick auf die Tür gerichtet. Bis sie ohne ein Wort, ohne eine Silbe von der Wucht des Schlages zu Boden fällt" (30).

Dadurch, es mag makaber klingen, gewinnt das Mosaik an Profil. Welche Instanz in solchen Opfer- und Täter-Sequenzen erzählt, ist ungewiss. Es ist wahrscheinlich nicht der Erzähler aus dem Vorwort, der auch die Bewohner zur Rede stellt, zumal er schon vorneweg deutlich betonte, dass er nur auf die Gespräche mit den Ansässigen aus war. „Einem der nicht blieb, der zuhören und wieder gehen würde" (5) vertraut man viel häufiger persönliche Geheimnisse an, als einem Einheimischen, vor dem man immer auf der Hut bleiben muss. In den sehr wenigen Szenen des *discourse*, in denen dem Opfer- und Mörderblick Rechnung getragen wird, spricht allem Anschein nach ein zweiter Er-Erzähler, der auf die Ausfragung der Bewohner verzichtet und mehr Wert auf die Beobachtung des ländlichen und krankhaften Biotops setzt. Der zweite Er-Erzähler beginnt sogar die Geschichte *in medias res* mit einer Beschreibung eines geheimnisvollen Mannes – des Täters –, der einen Raum betritt, in dem sich nichts rührt: „Am frühen Morgen, vor Tagesanbruch, betritt er den Raum. Mit dem Holz, das er von draußen hereingebracht hat, heizt er den großen Herd in der Küche an [...]" (9). Die Erzählerfigur ist sehr nahe dran an dieser ‚schwarzen Figur', behält sie im Auge, als sie das Vieh, das im Stall steht, füttert; der Erzähler hat sogar Einblick in das Innere des geheimnisvollen Protagonisten. Aufgrund der dominierten Präsens-Form wird Distanz zu der *story* verringert, es wird sogar fast zeitdeckend erzählt.

Schon in dieser zweiseitigen Erzählerrede wird Spannung erzeugt: Wer ist der Mann? Was macht er in der Scheune? Wessen Scheune ist es? Das sind alles Fragen, die indirekt aus der Rede des zweiten Erzählers (einfachheitshalber: Mörder- oder Insider-Erzähler genannt) in Erscheinung treten, quasi im zweiten *discourse*. Antworten auf diese gestellten Fragen liefert der erste extradiegetische Interviewer-Erzähler im ersten *discourse*. Auf diesem Wege entsteht eine Art Kompilation zwischen den Erzählern und Diskursen, die eine und dieselbe *story* transportieren sollen. Schenkel führt mehrmals den Mörder-Erzähler ins Feld, immer dann, wenn der Interviewer-Erzähler in seinen ‚Ermittlungen' stehen bleibt und keinen Sinn aus den Aussagen erschließen kann. Wenn der Leser nur auf die erste Erzählinstanz bauen würde, dann würde er weiterhin im Dunkeln tappen. Dank dem zweiten intradiegetischen Erzähler wird das Verbrechensbild ‚ein biß'l', auf Bayrisch gesagt, klarer. Aber nicht immer: der zweite *discourse* ist dieser, der darüber hinaus für die meiste Verwirrung sorgt. So bspw. beschreibt der anonyme Insider-Erzähler den Michael, einen gelegentlichen Räuber, der auf den Wirtschaftsgütern ab und zu tätig ist und der später häufig seinen ehemaligen Brotherrn bestiehlt, folgenderweise: „Michael Baumgartner stapft durch den Schneeregen auf den Hof in Tannöd zu" (52). Inmitten der *Tannöd*-Handlung wird die Figur Michael vom zweiten Erzähler eingeführt, und man neigt als Rezipient dazu, in ihm den Täter zu sehen. Indizien häufen sich: der Mörder-Erzähler stellt den Michael in dem Moment dar, wenn er darüber nachdenkt, wie man ans Geld vom reichen Eigenbrötler Danner kommen und das „Sparschwein schlachten" könnte (56). Das benutzte Verb „schlachten" weckt Assoziationen, denn schon früher war die Rede vom Schlachten: die ganze Familie wurde wie Tiere geschlachtet, die Scheunenwände waren vom Blut übersät. Somit legt der Erzähler falsche Spuren, die sog. *red herrings* (Suerbaum 1984: 67); der Leser schwebt in Ungewissheit und wird düpiert. Im Gegensatz dazu ist der erste Erzähler darum bemüht, ‚richtige' *red herrings* zu legen. So beschreibt der 25-jährige Alois Huber den Georg Hauer als „kaltblütig" (75) als sie gemeinsam die Leichen der getöteten Familienmitglieder entdeckten; „kaltblütig" sei er auf dem Gehöft gerannt, sei noch bei Sinnen gewesen im Kontrast zu seinen anderen Mitgenossen. Derselbe „kaltblütig" agierende Hauer, der am Tatort den kühlen Kopf bewahrt hat, wird sich zum Schluss des Krimis als der Mörder entpuppen. Der Mörder Georg Hauer kehrte an den Ort der Sünde und des Verbrechens zurück, ließ sich als Täter nicht erkennen und nahm sogar an der Bergung der Leichen teil. Auch die Leser sind bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht gewillt, in Hauer den Straftäter zu erblicken, obwohl der Mörder-Erzähler des zweiten *discourse* auf dem ganzen Erzählfeld zerstreute Signale sendet, mithilfe deren man dem möglichen Täter dahinter kommen könnte. So sind bspw. bei der Charakterisierung der Figur Georg Hauer zwei Wörter signifikant: a) der Tod und b) der Rausch. Sie werden zwar am Anfang von dem Insider-Erzähler nicht im Zusammenhang mit dem Mord erwähnt, aber sie mutieren im Laufe der Story-Entwicklung zu zwei wichtigen ‚clues'. Hauer ging nach dem Tode seiner Ehefrau, der Mutter von Hansl, eine Liaison mit Barbara Danner ein, war vor ihr abhängig: „Hatte sich in eine nie zuvor gekannte Abhängigkeit begeben, in einen Rausch" (98). Ob jedoch Georg Hauer wirklich mit dem Mörder identifiziert werden soll, wird vom Erzähler vor dem Erzählende nicht verraten. Der Leser muss sich in Geduld üben und auf die Antwort auf die berühmte *Whodunit?*-Frage (Alewyn 1998: 57) bis zum Schluss der Handlung, also der ‚Enträtselung', warten.

3.4 Narratologische ‚Verhaftung' des Tannöd-Mörders

Bevor es jedoch zu der Entlarvung kommt, wird das Verbrechen sozusagen ‚rekonstruiert', wenn man überhaupt vom Begriff der Rekonstruktion, der in der Krimitheorie gebraucht wird (vgl. Nusser 2003: 22ff.), sprechen könnte. Denn im Grunde wird die *story* des Tathergangs im Nachhinein nicht re-konfiguriert – weder in den Aussagen der Einwohner, die nur Mutmaßungen anstellen können, noch im zweiten *discourse* des Mörder-Erzählers. Alle Figuren, die auf der Bühne auftauchen, berichten nur von dem Resultat des Mordes – also von der Findung der Leichen – und nicht vom Mordprozedere selbst. Dies könnten sie auch nicht, weil sie nicht vor Ort gewesen sind; sie erzählen auf diesem Wege von einem Verbrechen, dass sich außerhalb des ersten *discourse* des

Interviewer-Erzählers ereignet hat.[4] Von dem Mordvorgang kann nur der Michael erzählen, der sich zufälligerweise in der gleichen Zeit, als der Mord passierte, auf dem Dachboden im Stall verbarg und seinen Raubüberfall plante. Der Mord wird also im zweiten *discourse*, und das sogar in Präsens, dargestellt. Der Insider-Erzähler, der doch über die Perspektive von Michael verfügt, weigert sich sehr lange, dessen Blickfeld zu präsentieren. Vorrang haben die ‚Zeugenschilderungen', aber aus denen wird man – salopp gesagt – keineswegs schlauer. Erst wenn alle Befragten ihre Einstellung zum Mord kundgegeben und alle ihnen zugänglichen Informationen preisgegeben haben, greift der zweite *discourse* ein. Weil der Interviewer-Erzähler anhand der Aussagen dem Mörder auf die Schliche nicht kommen kann, muss der Mörder-Erzähler mit Hinweisen, Tipps und neuen Indizien für Klarheit sorgen. Dabei greift er einen Gedanken auf, den die ehemalige Magd von Danner Anna Hierl im ‚Kreuzverhör' geäußert hat (Schenkel 2006: 89 ff.). Das Verbrechen in dem Dorf hat einen familiären Hintergrund und ist stark mit dem ländlichen Milieu und mit den Verhältnissen in der Provinz verbunden. An diesem Punkt angelangt, übt Schenkel eine latente Kritik an der Gesellschaft und schreibt sich in die Tradition des deutschen Krimis ein. Interessanterweise setzt sich Schenkel mit der sozialen Problematik – anders als ihre Vorläufer – indirekt auseinander und das sogar auf der zweiten *discourse*-Ebene, die in *Tannöd* u. a. durch falsche Spurenlegung gekennzeichnet wird. Aber wie es scheint, kommt diesem zweiten *discourse* eine Schlüsselfunktion zu. Der Verdacht wird geschöpft, Michael könnte der wahre Täter sein – er hat ein Motiv und kein Alibi. Am Ende wird jedoch diese Spekulation revidiert, erneut auf der zweiten *discourse*-Ebene, auf der letzten Endes auch die ganze Handlung abgeschlossen wird. So gesehen wohnen dem zweiten *discourse* und dem Insider-Erzähler zwei Eigenschaften inne. Erstens das Attribut der Verfälschung und Falsifizierung, und zweitens das Attribut der Relativierung und Richtigstellung. Dagegen basiert der erste *discourse* der Recherche auf der Wahrheitswiedergabe.

Zwei *discourse* tangieren eine *story*; die schablonenhafte Erzählstruktur des klassischen Krimis zerplatzt in zwei Doppelerzählsysteme. Wenn in dem alten nicht modernen Krimi die Irreführung, die Erklärung und Wahrheitsübertragung noch in einem *discourse* flächendeckend vereint waren, dann werden sie in *Tannöd* gespalten. Auf zwei Erzählschienen laufen zwei *discourse*, die aber letztendlich ins vorprogrammierte Ende eines mehr oder weniger klassischen Krimis einsickern. Der Mörder wird gestellt, allerdings nicht durch einen agilen Detektiv, sondern durch einen **Erzähler** (!). Hauer, der mit Gewissensbissen zu kämpfen hatte, entscheidet sich vor seiner Schwägerin die Tat zuzugeben und zählt die Gründe für den verübten Mord auf. Der Mörder outet sich quasi selbst, aber nicht vor der Polizei, sondern über die Vermittlungsinstanz (Schwägerin) vor dem Leser. Dies zieht nach sich, dass der Mord weiterhin nicht enträtselt wird; die Leser werden ins Vertrauen gezogen. Der Mörder-Erzähler wohnt dem Geständnis von Hauer bei und schildert es in einem präzisen, genauen Ton: „Das Tuch, an dem er sich die Hände abgewischt hatte. Die Schuld, die er auf sich geladen hatte, hatte er mit dem Tuch von seinen Händen wischen wollen, aber es klebte immer noch an ihm. [...] Nicht alleine sein wollte er, nicht alleine mit seiner Tat. [...] Vor sich sieht er die Bilder des Nachmittags, sein Gespräch mit Anna, seiner Schwägerin. So deutlich und klar steht sie vor ihm, wie sie vor zwei Stunden vor ihm gestanden ist. [...] In ihrem Gesicht

[4] Todorov pflegte es, von dem doppelten Mord in den Krimis zu sprechen. Der Mord sei immer eine Vorraussetzung für die crime-Handlung; ohne die Mordtat, gäbe es kein Rätsel und keine Kriminalliteratur. Die Geschichte der Verbrechens sei für Todorov die Geschichte einer Abwesenheit (Todorov 1998: 210).

Ungläubigkeit und Trauer“ (121-122). Die Präzision und Akkuratesse der Schreibweise ist durch den Inhalt der Aussage von Hauer gerechtfertigt. Er lästert still über die sozialen Konstellationen, gibt die Schuld teilweise der Gesellschaft und sogar der ermordeten Familie. Auch die Opfer sind nicht schuldlos. Dieser Faktor macht den Kern der Romane des Duos von Sjöwall/Wahloö aus (vgl. Suerbaum 1984: 175-184), auf die sich Schenkel partiell zu beziehen scheint.

3.5 Schenkels Gesellschaftskritik

In den Krimis wird überwiegend die Großstadt als das Sinnbild des Verbrechens zur Schau gestellt (vgl. Pfeiffer 1998: 357-377). Die Enge der Metropolen und die Anonymität, in die sich die Stadtfiguren hüllen können, leisten der Kriminalität enormen Vorschub. In den Stadtgefilden ist es leichter und einfacher, eine Tat zu begehen, ohne dafür bestraft zu werden. Auf diese Aspekte wiesen vor allem amerikanische Autoren des *hardboiled* hin, die in ihren Krimis den Stadtraum nicht nur zum Helden der *story* gemacht, sondern auch den Stadtraum als den Verursacher allen Übels angesehen haben. Schenkel geht in *Tannöd* in eine andere Richtung: sie transponiert den familiären ‚Massenmord', der so typisch für den multikulturellen Schmelztiegel einer sich stets bewegenden Stadt ist, und überträgt ihn aufs Land. Somit bekommt auch das Land kriminelle Züge und ist nicht mehr als Refugium, Zufluchtsort und Ruhepol zu klassifizieren. Der provinziellen Landschaft ist auch das Böse inhärent. Mehr noch: das ländliche Böse übertrifft das städtische Böse. Der Stadtraum bietet dem Mörder unterschiedliche Unterschlüpfe an, in denen er sich vor der Polizei verstecken könnte. Ein Verbrecher, der sich immer noch in einer Stadt verbirgt und vor den Polizeieinheiten flieht, wird früher oder später gefasst. Entweder werden die Stadteinwohner eine Anzeige erstatten, sie hätten dasselbe Gesicht wie auf dem Fahndungsfoto gesehen, oder die Schlinge um den Mörder wird immer enger; er wird Fehler begehen und serviert sich selbst der Polizei sozusagen auf dem Silbertablett. Anders ist es auf dem Dorf, wo sich alle Einwohner kennen. Einerseits glauben sie kaum daran, dass ihr gut bekannter Nachbar schuldig ist, andererseits wären sie nicht in der Lage, wenn sie sogar den Täter auf frischer Tat ertappt hätten, ihn der Polizei auszuliefern. Sie haben Angst davor, dass der Mörder sich rächen könnte. Schenkel dekliniert solche Verhaltensweisen in *Tannöd* mehr oder weniger durch; ihr Fokus liegt dabei in erster Linie auf den zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen. Bei weitem sind es jedoch keine Beziehungen, die das Prädikat ‚zwischenmenschlich', sondern vielmehr Beziehungen, die das Prädikat ‚hasserfüllt' verdient haben. In der kleinen Ortschaft ist auf den ersten Blick nichts zu vertuschen, es gibt keine Geheimnisse. Die Bauern, denn überwiegend bestellen die Figuren in Schenkels Roman den Acker, leben in einer geschlossenen Gemeinde, in einer Sekte, in einer Community. Ja, man könnte sogar von einem erweiterten ‚locked room' sprechen. Dieser impliziert, dass der Mord innerhalb eines gegebenen Raumes und einer bestimmten Personengruppe ohne Ausnahme hat passieren müssen, obwohl logisch es nicht möglich gewesen wäre (Nusser 2003: 45). Die Verantwortlichen sind eben in diesem Figurenensemble ausfindig zu machen. Die Protagonisten in Schenkels Krimi-Erzählwelt agieren in einer verklausulierten Biosphäre; sie bleiben unter sich und lassen keinen in ihre Lebenswelt hinein. Absperrung gegenüber dem Außen hat zur Folge, dass die Verhältnisse innerhalb des Dorfraumes extensiviert werden müssen. Diese ‚Potenzierung' hat aber viele Schattenseiten; sie geht sogar soweit, dass es auf einem beschränkten Gebiet zu zwischenfamiliären sexuellen Kontakten kommt. Inzest ist das Stichwort. Der ermordete Bauer Danner war in Wirklichkeit der Vater von den zwei Kindern seiner Tochter Barbara, die auch ins Jenseits mit einer Spitzhacke befördert worden ist. Sie wurde mehrmals von dem Vater zum Geschlechtsverkehr genötigt. Die Mutter hat das nicht gesehen, oder wollte es nicht sehen. Damit die Gerüchteküche im Dorf nicht brodelt, dachte sich der Vater eine Intrige mit dem Hauer als Hauptdarsteller aus. Hauer sollte offiziell als leiblicher Vater eines der Kinder (Joseph) registriert werden. Danner war fein raus, niemand konnte ihn der Blutschande verdächtigen. Als Hauer schlichtweg dieses Spiels mit gezinkten Karten überdrüssig wurde, suchte er eine Aussprache mit Barbara, mit dem Ziel, sie zurückzugewinnen und von einem gemeinsamen Leben zu überzeugen. In Rage tötete er Barbara, und später auch die restlichen vier Familienangehörigen.

Schenkels Erzähler beschreibt einen wahren Amoklauf auf einem Bauernhof – eben „wie im Rausch" war Hauer gewesen (Schenkel 2006: 123). Die Erzählinstanz, d. h. der Mörder-Erzähler, berichtet von der blutigen Konfrontation aus der Sicht von Michael, der in der Scheune auf der Lauer lag. Durch seine Augen werden die Mordszenen narratologisch gefiltert und demonstriert: „Mich dreht für einen Augenblick seinen Kopf zur Seite. [...] Mich liegt auf dem Zwischenboden, wagt nicht zu atmen, sich zu bewegen. ‚Der hat die Tannöderin erschlagen!', geht es ihm durch der Kopf. ‚Wie eine räudige Katze hat er sie erschlagen!'" (117). Der erste Interviewer-Erzähler erfährt von diesem Blickfeld nichts, da er den Michael nicht befragen konnte, weil er sich sofort – sprichwörtlich – aus dem Staub gemacht hatte: „Aus dem Haus ist er fortgelaufen, in wilder Panik. Immer weiter weg von dem Haus, dem Hof, dem Grauen" (120). Es ist der zweite *discourse*, der die gesellschaftlichen Belange, Konflikte und Dissens auf dem Land thematisiert und laut ausspricht. Schenkel zeigt mit der Übersetzung des typischen Stadtmordes in ein Dorf, dass sich in einem eingeschränkten Menschenkreis auch Verbrechen ereignen können, die an Brutalität dem Stadtdelikt in nichts nachstehen. Im Unterschied jedoch zum Stadtraum, wo die Verbrecher meistens zur Strecke gebracht werden, hüllt man sich auf dem Dorfe lieber in Schweigen und vergisst all das Hässliche und Grauenvolle. Der reale Mord an der Bauernfamilie wurde nicht aufgeklärt. Bei Schenkel wird zwar der Hauer als der Übeltäter denunziert, aber davon nehmen nur die Leser und Hauers Schwägerin Kenntnis, der er seine schreckliche Tat beichtet. Die Gemeinde ist entsetzt, nimmt die Morde wahr, aber sie geht zur Tagesordnung über. Zu derselben Tagesordnung, die im Grunde Hauer den Impuls zum Verbrechen gab. Das Gefühl des Eingesperrtseins und der Einsamkeit waren wesentliche Indikatoren für die gruselige Tat. Für Hauer ist die Gesellschaft, die kleine Dorfgemeinde nicht direkt an dem Mord schuldig, aber sie hat durch ihre internen Beziehungen und menschlichen Konstellationen, die an Irreparabilität und Irrsinnigkeit grenzen, einen Nährboden für den Mord vorbereitet „Ich sage dir, jeder ist einsam sein ganzes Leben lang. Alleine ist er, wenn er zur Welt kommt, und alleine stirbt er. Und dazwischen, gefangen war ich in meinem Körper, gefangen in meinem Verlangen. Ich sage dir, es gibt keinen Gott auf dieser Welt, es gibt nur die Hölle. Und sie ist hier auf Erden in unseren Köpfen, in unseren Herzen" (125).

4. Fazit

Einer der Kritiker stellte fest, dass Schenkels *Tannöd* wegen des ‚ungewöhnlichen Erzählens' ein hohes Maß an Individualität und Wiedererkennungswert erhalte (Kürten 2007). *Tannöd* sei ein lesenswertes Kleinod in der deutschen Krimiszene (Schulte-Meyer 2006), das zwischen Erzählung und Bericht, zwischen Chronik und Alptraum, zwischen Kriminalstück und Gesellschaftsportrait pendele (Noller 2006). Alle diese (Themen-)Partikeln kommen in *Tannöd* zum Vorschein. Schenkel illustriert einen

Mord, der in der Dorfgesellschaft verankert ist und mit diversen, keinesfalls für einen Krimi gängigen Erzähltechniken dargestellt wird. Die Innovation in Schenkels Erzählweise besteht darin, dass sie zwei Erzähler platziert: der eine Interviewer-Erzähler befragt die Dorfeinwohner, der andere Mörder-Erzähler ist an dem Verbrechen selbst interessiert. Somit kann Schenkel mit dem Leser spielen: Es ist ein Spiel auf zwei *discourse*-Ebenen, ein Spiel zwischen zwei Erzählstrategien. Auf der einen *discourse*-Ebene wird die Gesellschaft porträtiert, auf der anderen der Mord und dessen Gründe. Nicht nur der Mord wird erzähltechnisch konstruiert, sondern auch das Gesellschaftsbild. Die narrative Erzählstruktur des Romans entspricht einem Mosaik, das aus mehreren Schnipseln bzw. Bausteinen zusammengefügt wurde. Die Erzähler malen anhand von Puzzleteilen – wie von Zeugenaussagen, Perspektivenwechsel, einmontierten Presseartikeln und *discourse*-Sprüngen – ein Gesamtgemälde der Tat und der (Konsum-)Gesellschaft. Schenkel weiß die wichtigen Gesellschaftsprobleme in einem Krimiroman, der üblicherweise der Unterhaltungsliteratur zugerechnet wird, zu verarbeiten. Dabei schafft sie es, trotz oder eben wegen des Verzichts auf Erzählschemata, anspruchsvolle komplexe Themen spannend und in lockerer Form zu veranschaulichen und modern zu inszenieren. Das ist auch das Ziel des Krimis – nicht mehr, aber auch nicht weniger.

Literatur

Alewyn, Richard. (1998), „Anatomie des Detektivromans" (1968/1971). *Der Kriminalroman. Poetik. Theorie. Geschichte*, Vogt, München: 52-72.

Brecht, Bertolt. (1998), „Über die Popularität des Kriminalromans" (1938/40), *Der Kriminalroman. Poetik. Theorie. Geschichte*, Vogt, München: 33-37.

Kürten, Thomas. (2007), „(Kritik) Andrea Maria Schenkel. Tannöd", *www.krimi-couch.de*, (URL: http://www.krimi-couch.de/krimis/andrea-maria-schenkel-tannoed.html; Zugang am 13. März 2010).

Martinez, Matias/Scheffel, Michael. (2005), *Einführung in die Erzähltheorie*, München.

Noller, Ulrich. (2006), „(Kritik) Andrea Maria Schenkel", *www.arte.tv.de*, (URL: http://www.arte.tv/de/content/tv/02__Universes/U2__Echapp_C3_A9es__culturelles/03-WebMagazines/52_20Buchtipps/08_20KrimiWelt/08_20Alle_20Autoren_20A-Z/Schenkel_2C_20Andrea_20Maria/ART__Schenkel_2C_20Andrea_20Maria__Autoren__ABC/1530226.html; Zugang am 13. März 2010).

Nusser, Peter. (2003), *Der Kriminalroman*, Stuttgart.

Pfeiffer, K. Ludwig. (1998), „Mentalität und Medium. Detektivroman, Großstadt oder ein zweiter Weg in die Moderne" (1988), *Der Kriminalroman. Poetik. Theorie. Geschichte*, Vogt, München: 357-377.

Schenkel, Andrea Maria. (2006), *Tannöd*, Hamburg.

Schulte-Meyer, Meike. (2006), „(Rezension) Tannöd", *www.buchwurm.info*, (URL: http://buchwurm.info/book/anzeigen.php?id_book=2348; Zugang am 13. März 2010).

Suerbaum, Ulrich. (1984), *Krimi. Eine Gattung*, Stuttgart.

Todorov, Tzvetan. (1998), „Typologie des Kriminalromans" (1966), *Der Kriminalroman. Poetik. Theorie. Geschichte*, Vogt, München: 208-215.

http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/0,1518,499374,00.html; Zugang am 13. März 2010.

STRESZCZENIE

Andrea Maria Schenkel rezygnując ze schematycznej narracyjnej budowy, jaka leży rzekomo u podstaw tekstów kryminalnych, stworzyła swoją powieścią *Tannöd* prawdziwy klejnot tego gatunku. Narracyjna konstrukcja morderstwa u Schenkel przypomina mozaikę zbudowaną z wielu elementów. Do tych elementów należy zaliczyć: wmontowane fragmenty artykułów prasowych czy zeznania świadków. Schenkel operuje dwoma narratorami, za pośrednictwem których nie tylko wytwarza napięcie i atmosferę grozy, ale również przedstawia obraz zakłamanego społeczeństwa wiejskiego. Mord na prowincji nie ustępuje pod względem drastyczności zabójstwom w wielkich aglomeracjach miejskich. Ponieważ morderstwo jest u Schenkel tworem narracyjnym, to i zabójca musi zostać złapany za pomocą technik narracyjnych. Nie detektyw „rozwiązuje" zagadkę, tylko właśnie jeden z dwóch narratorów.

Magdalena Daroch

Literatura niemiecka a Holokaust w świetle opowiadania Maxima Billera *Jak Cramer stał się przyzwoity*

„Czy da się z pozycji widza, tylko czerpiąc wiedzę z dokumentów, pisać o Auschwitz?"[1] - pytał Reinhard Baumgart w pochodzącym z 1966 roku eseju *Opisać nieludzkość* (Unmenschlichkeit beschreiben) (1966: 27). Pytanie to jest aktualne zwłaszcza dzisiaj, gdy mijają kolejne lata od Holokaustu, odchodzą ostatni świadkowie i zmienia się modus pamięci o Zagładzie[2].

Należy się zastanowić, co znaczy dzisiaj *pisać o Auschwitz*. W sposób naturalny formuły pewnych gatunków wyczerpują się, coraz rzadziej pojawiają się wspomnienia lub autobiografie, a współcześni autorzy należący do tzw. drugiego lub trzeciego pokolenia[3] muszą poszukiwać nowych środków wyrazu w odniesieniu do Shoah. Nie jest to łatwe, bo nowatorski sposób pisania o Zagładzie odnajdziemy już w latach sześćdziesiątych u takich autorów jak Edgar Hilsenrath, Jurek Becker, czy George Tabori, którzy sięgnęli po tak niespotykane wtedy środki wyrazu jak czarny humor, satyra i groteska[4]. Współcześni autorzy są więc w pewnym sensie kontynuatorami tej tradycji, niemniej jednak wnoszą do niej także nowe idee.

Zbyt młodzi, by być naocznymi świadkami tamtych wydarzeń, mierzą się z przeszłością, która odkrywała się przed nimi stopniowo. Znają ją z lekcji historii, filmów, opowiadanych (często półgłosem lub wręcz ukrywanych) historii rodzinnych[5], ale i z książek, bo właśnie literatura jest jednym z najważniejszych nośników pamięci o Zagładzie. To z niej, oprócz wspomnianych wcześniej mediów, autorzy współcześni czerpią wiedzę, tworząc swoją 'własną literaturę', która jest dowodem na to, że biblioteka literatury Holokaustu nie jest zbiorem zamkniętym a ona sama nie wymiera wraz z odchodzącymi świadkami tamtych wydarzeń.

Utwory autorów drugiego i trzeciego pokolenia są nie tyle nośnikami pamięci o Zagładzie, ile refleksją nad funkcjonowaniem tej pamięci w życiu późniejszych pokoleń; nie mają ambicji bycia

[1] Läßt sich aus einer Zuschauerposition, nur unterrichtet durch Dokumente, überhaupt über Auschwitz schreiben?

[2] Wg Jana Assmanna pamięć zbiorowa funkcjonuje w dwóch formach – jako pamięć komunikatywna i kulturowa. Pamięć komunikatywna jest żywą pamięcią ludzi, którzy przeżyli pewne wydarzenia i opowiadają o nich jako naoczni świadkowie, a kiedy oni umierają, ustępuje ona nowej pamięci – pamięci kulturowej, która, w przeciwieństwie do komunikatywnej, bazuje na „zinstytucjonalizowanej mnemotechnice". (Assmann 2008: 68)

[3] Do autorów drugiego pokolenia zaliczam tych, którzy urodzili się już po wojnie, lub tak jak Robert Schindel (ur. 1944) podczas jej trwania. Z racji swojego bardzo młodego wieku nie mogli być świadkami Holokaustu i znają go z opowieści pokolenia rodziców. Za trzecie pokolenie uważam natomiast młodszych autorów, takich jak Kevin Vennemann, który urodzony w roku 1977 jest już niejako wnukiem świadków Zagłady. Obok określeń „drugie/trzecie pokolenie" (zweite/dritte Generation) mówi się także o „pokoleniu po Shoah" (Generation nach der Shoah) w odniesieniu do autorów żydowskiego pochodzenia, i o „pokoleniu powojennym" (Nachkriegsgeneration) w stosunku do autorów niemieckich. (Zob. Steinecke 2006: 135) Pojęcia „drugie" i „trzecie" pokolenie używane są często wymiennie – Hartmut Steinecke zalicza Maxima Billera do autorów „drugiego pokolenia" (2006: 135), natomiast Karen Semmler pisze, że „stał się on najbardziej znanym żydowskim pisarzem z tzw. 'trzeciego pokolenia'" (Semmler 2006: 312).

[4] Elementy groteski pojawiają się także w *Blaszanym bębenku* (1959) Grassa.

[5] Por. m.in.: Saryusz-Wolska: 2009, Bar-On: 2003.

świadectwem Zagłady, ale są świadectwem życia w jej cieniu i z jej piętnem. Temat ten wciąż powraca w prozie Maxima Billera (ur. 1960), żydowskiego autora, mieszkającego od 1970 roku w Niemczech i piszącego po niemiecku.

Biller posługuje się specyficznym stylem, jest prowokacyjny i bezczelny, ale wynika to raczej z poczucia pewnej bezsilności, że Holokaust zastyga (o ile już nie zastygł) w wyeksploatowanych przez literaturę, fotografię i film obrazach. Autor zrywa więc z dotychczasowym sposobem mówienia o Zagładzie i podnosi bardzo niewygodne kwestie, np. kiedy pojawia się w jego opowiadaniu o wiele mówiącym tytule *Zobaczyć Auschwitz i umrzeć* (Auschwitz sehen und sterben) „legendarny" fabrykant amunicji Oskar Schindler, Biller stwierdza powszechnie znany fakt: „uratował życie kilku tysiącom Żydów podczas wojny", ale zaraz dodaje: „i przez to udowodnił, że można było – jak się tylko chciało." (Biller 1991: 123) To jest charakterystyczny dla niego sposób pisania – zaczyna zdanie całkiem niewinnie, idąc utartym tokiem myślenia i pisania o Holokauście, by za chwilę postawić wszystko na głowie.

Podobny zabieg stosuje w pochodzącym z wydanego w 1994 roku tomie *Kraj ojców i zdrajców* (Land der Väter und Verräter*)* powiadaniu *Jak Cramer stał się przyzwoity* (Wie Cramer anständig wurde). Trudno zorientować się na podstawie tytułu, że autor podejmuje w nim temat Zagłady, odsyła raczej do lekkiej gatunkowo literatury sowizdrzalskiej (*Jak Till Eulenspiegel poszedł do szkoły*). A jednak Biller mierzy się w tym opowiadaniu z przeszłością i robi to na swój bardzo specyficzny sposób.

Oto mamy poznać ciąg zdarzeń, które doprowadziły do tego, że tytułowy Cramer stał się dobrym człowiekiem. Jednak opowiadanie zaczyna się od wprowadzenia całkiem innej postaci, mianowicie chłopca: „W pociągu jadącym do Polski chłopiec czytał *Buddenbrooków* po raz pierwszy." (Biller 1994: 93), do którego za chwilę przyłącza się jeszcze jeden. Nazwisko Cramer nie pojawia się w tekście ani razu, możemy tylko przypuszczać, że jest nim ów człowiek, którego potem chłopcy spotykają, ale w opowiadaniu jest on określany jedynie słowem „żołnierz" (*Soldat)*.

Informacja historyczna pojawia się dopiero na drugiej stronie, kiedy pada nazwa miasta Litzmannstadt, które istniało w bardzo konkretnym miejscu i czasie (istnieje do dzisiaj, ale pod inną nazwą), i dopiero w jej świetle staje się jasne, że chłopiec nie odbywa zwykłej podróży pociągiem do Polski, ale że został deportowany, jak prawdopodobnie wcześniej jego cała rodzina. I to właśnie ten chłopiec wydaje się być protagonistą opowiadania. Widzimy go więc zaczytanego: „siedział samotnie ze swoją książką, oparty o zimną ścianę wagonu, przez szczelinę w drzwiach do wnętrza wpadały jasne promienie dnia, a gdy trasa wiodła wśród drzew i pagórków, światło kładło się migotliwie na strony książki niczym słońce schowane za wielkim kołem." (93) Po pewnym czasie przyłącza się do niego inny chłopak i od momentu nawiązania przyjaźni, albo raczej zawiązania jakiegoś milczącego porozumienia między nimi (nie rozmawiają ze sobą, tylko czytają, nie dopuszczając nikogo innego do tej wspólnoty) opowiadanie niepostrzeżenie przechodzi w konwencję książki przygodowej. Udaje im się podczas postoju w szczerym polu niepostrzeżenie uciec z pociągu i od tej chwili są zdani tylko na siebie. Przeżywają szereg przygód, odżywiają się trawą i grzybami, piją wodę z kałuży, podkradają się pod gospodarstwa, by ukraść mleko i jajka i czują się, jakby byli na wyspie Robinsona (por. 102). Tworzą nawet swój własny język, który ma brzmieć jak polski, bo sprytniejszy z nich jest świadomy tego, że jeżeli zostaną schwytani, jako żydowskie dzieci nie mają szans przeżyć, a i to, że są Niemcami (bo przecież są) nic im nie pomoże.

Chłopcy różnią się od siebie diametralnie, jasnowłosy Max jest przywódcą w tej parze, wydaje polecenia i obmyśla plan przetrwania, by przedostać się do Palestyny, gdzie jak sądzi, przebywa jego ojciec. Różnice widać też gołym okiem: podczas gdy Max jest blondynem o niebieskich oczach, Ali to „maleńki żydowski robaczek z ciemnymi oczami jak śliwki" (94).

I właśnie to przeciwieństwo, które zwykle spaja ze sobą bohaterów na takiej zasadzie, że się nawzajem dopełniają (jak np. Bolek i Lolek) tutaj jest przyczyną ich nieszczęścia – Ali z racji swojego „złego" wyglądu jest na straconej pozycji. Max ma szansę przetrwać, ale sam. Świadomy tego jest również Ali, który mówi do niego nie bez zazdrości: „Dobrze ci mówić, z twoim wyglądem. Ale spójrz na mnie!" (97-98)

Kiedy zostają schwytani przez żołnierza, ten rzeczywiście nie ma żadnych wątpliwości, że ma przed sobą żydowskie dziecko, ale co do tożsamości blondynka nie jest pewny. Przyjaźń chłopców zostaje wystawiona na próbę, kiedy żołnierz odbezpiecza pistolet, żeby zabić Alego, a ten denuncjuje swojego towarzysza, potwierdzając stereotyp, od którego tak chce uciec Max, który mówił wcześniej: „tylko Żydzi robią w spodnie ze strachu." (98) Biller pokazuje tu świat, w którym nie ma miejsca na żadne uczucia, w którym ludźmi kieruje instynkt przetrwania. Świat gett i obozów został tak obmyślany, żeby ludzie się zwracali jeden przeciw drugiemu. To „laboratorium wszelkich ludzkich słabości i namiętności" (111), jak określa je żołnierz, redukuje człowieka do jego pierwotnych instynktów. Jednak czy można mieć za złe przerażonemu, bitemu dziecku, że wydaje swojego towarzysza, „bo nie chce umierać sam" (112)? Tym jednym zdaniem Biller pokazuje całą rozpacz i osamotnienie chłopca, beznadziejną sytuację obydwu i demontuje jednocześnie ten krzywdzący stereotyp.

Na próbę wystawiony jest również żołnierz. Jest on postacią złożoną, trudno określić go jednoznacznie jako potwora w ludzkiej skórze. Mieszają się w nim różne uczucia, raz jest bezwzględny, innym razem odczuwa nawet współczucie dla chłopców. Zdaje sobie nawet sprawę, że najlepiej by było, gdyby ich od razu zastrzelił, bo doskonale wie, co ich czeka w owym laboratorium, w którym nie tylko psychika, ale też ciało poddawane jest różnym eksperymentom.

W całą tę historię Biller wmontowuje elementy baśniowe, nie są one liczne, lecz stanowią jednak ważną i integralną część tekstu: Max jest „złotowłosym, szmaragdowookim cudeńkiem" (93), wydaje się, że cała jego postać spowita jest jakąś poświatą, „jego włosy świecą bajkowo jasno" (100). Wydaje się być przybyszem nie z tego świata, kiedy jest wściekły „jego oczy jak kamienie szlachetne otwierają się i zamykają jak u jakiegoś drapieżnika" (102). Pojawia się słownictwo charakterystyczne dla języka bajek: „wiatr wziął słowa żołnierza i zaniósł je do Maxa", a potem „wziął słowa Maxa i zaniósł je do Alego" (103). Żołnierz, zanim postanowi zawieźć chłopców do getta, do „ekscentrycznego księcia SS" (99) (książęta i królowie to też postaci charakterystyczne dla świata bajek), nakarmi ich do syta, tak, że chłopcy „wyglądają, jakby się wykąpali w czekoladzie." (101) W tym opisie przebrzmiewają echa bajki o Jasiu i Małgosi, w której dzieci trafiły do chatki z piernika i mogły się objeść słodyczami do woli, ale miały przecież zginąć w piecu. Dzięki sprytowi Jasia udało im się przechytrzyć wiedźmę i wrócić szczęśliwie do rodziców, ale współczesna baśń Billera kończy się jak zwykle u niego przewrotnie. Jest w niej szczęśliwe zakończenie, ale nie dla dzieci, lecz dla owego żołnierza, który dzięki wojnie i dzięki tym chłopcom będzie mógł w przyszłości zostać pisarzem: „I był szczęśliwy. Tak, szczęśliwy. Bo był pewien, zupełnie pewien, że wojna zrobiła z niego pisarza." (115-116)

Opowiadanie Billera można odczytać jako krytykę powojennej literatury niemieckiej. Wyraźnie koresponduje ono z jednym z późniejszych esejów Billera pt. *Niewinność ze śniedzią* (Unschuld mit Grünspan), zebranych w tomie *Deutschbuch* z 2001 roku, w którym autor mówi wprost: „Nienawidzę niemieckiej prozy o wojnie światowej. (…) Kiedy żołnierze stali się pisarzami, ich ofiary były już dawno martwe i w stanie rozkładu – albo w drodze do nowego, spokojnego życia, w którym literatura była tylko mniej ważną rzeczą. Kiedy żołnierze zaczęli się zmagać w poszukiwaniu słów, słów mogących opisać to, co im się przydarzyło w okopach, wartowniach i burdelach, ich ofiary próbowały – o ile jeszcze w ogóle były przytomne i nie postradały wszystkich zmysłów ani członków – na zawsze zapomnieć wojnę, którą żołnierze ich zmiażdżyli. A kiedy później żołnierze wydali swoje pierwsze książki, nagle ich ofiary zostały zapomniane, a jedynymi ofiarami, które pojawiały się w tych książkach byli sami żołnierze." (Biller 2001: 223) Biller wylicza tu konkretnych autorów: Heinricha Bölla, Hansa Wernera Richtera, Wolfganga Borcherta. Najwięcej uwagi poświęca Eugenowi Rappowi „autobiograficzno-literackiemu bohaterowi jeden do jednego" (224) z powieści Hermanna Lenza *Nowy Czas* (Neue Zeit), o którym pisze: „chodząca niewinność, niezmiernie delikatny chłopiec introwertyk, który, a jakże, nie jest nazistą, a mimo to oczywiście zaciągnął się na wojnę dla Hitlera." (224). O niewinności tego wyborowego strzelca mają świadczyć ani razu nie wystrzelone naboje w jego pasie, które zdążyły się pokryć śniedzią.

Biller pisze wprost: „Nie mogę sobie naprawdę przypomnieć o żadnym fragmencie powieści, w której niemiecki żołnierz opisany byłby jako bezpośredni sprawca, morderca. U żadnego powojennego autora wojennego nie przeczytałem jasnego i zrozumiałego wyznania: tak, zabijałem innych, tak, pomagałem zabijać innych, tak, śmiejąc się obciąłem Żydowi brodę, tak, przeprowadzałem egzekucję członków ruchu oporu, spałem w obcych łóżkach! (…) Wraz z wojną weszło kłamstwo do naszej literatury." (224)

Jakby tego było mało, Biller wymienia z nazwiska kolejnych autorów, w tym takich prominentnych, jak Peter Handke, Botho Strauss, Elfride Jelinek, których nazywa „wielkimi eufemistami". (226) Ingo Schulze i W.G. Sebaldowi zarzuca, że „bez żadnego ryzyka przybierają dla siebie całkowicie inną literacką tożsamość", a Patrickowi Süskindowi i Christophowi Ransmayrowi, że „uciekają od teraźniejszości w przeszłość, która lepiej lub gorzej wymyślona, oferuje im jednak w każdym bądź razie ochronę przed konfliktami i zarzutami" (227). Biller zarzuca autorom tzw. drugiego pokolenia, czyli swoim kolegom po fachu, że „dali się zainspirować swoim literackim ojcom" (227), nauczyli się od nich „kłamstwa, milczenia i stania obok" (226). Można się z tymi zarzutami zgadzać, albo nie, ale jest to ważny głos w dyskusji nad niemiecką literaturą Holokaustu: jak za pomocą fikcji (na uprawianie której skazani są wszyscy autorzy nie będący świadkami) uzyskać efekt autentyczności.

W swoim opowiadaniu (poprzedzonym formułą: *wszystkie postaci i wydarzenia są wymyślone*) Biller nie ucieka od pokazywania brutalnej rzeczywistości wojny i chociaż jego opis dewiacyjnych zachowań głównego dowodzącego SS w łódzkim getcie nie znajduje potwierdzenia w dokumentach historycznych i pozostaje fikcją literacką, oddziałuje na czytelnika z wielką siłą. Oprócz elementów bajkowych i obcowania z „wysoką" literaturą są tu również sceny brutalne: „żołnierz uderzył Maxa otwartą dłonią w twarz, a potem uderzył Alego, i obaj chłopcy padli na kolana", „Ali płakał, leżał twarzą w kurzu" (104), „Żołnierz schylił się i kopnął Alego w tyłek. (…) Ali krzyczał dalej i dalej, tak długo, aż jego wrzask przerodził się w płacz. Próbował mówić, ale zamiast słów i zdań wydobywało się z jego ust tylko łkanie. Żołnierz kopnął go po raz drugi […]. Tym razem kopnął go w sam brzuch, raz, drugi, trzeci, a przy ostatnim razie z ust Alego poszło trochę krwi i z nosa też." (106) To wydaje się być według Billera jeden ze sposobów pisania o Zagładzie – powrót do pewnej dosłowności, nawet, jeżeli od początku wiadomo, że poruszamy się w obszarze fikcji.

Biller nie tylko krytykuje literaturę, ale zastanawia się również nad jej rolą. Przez całe opowiadanie przewija się powieść Tomasza Manna *Buddenbrookowie*, pojawia się już w pierwszym zdaniu, wraz z wprowadzeniem postaci chłopca. Pierwsza refleksja, jaka przychodzi na myśl jest taka, że symbolizuje ona ucieczkę w literaturę przed złym światem – i rzeczywiście Max czyta dzień i noc, bez wytchnienia, najpierw sam, potem ze swoim towarzyszem. Jednak nie jest tak, że te dwa światy istnieją niezależnie od siebie. Rzeczywistość literacka *Buddenbrooków* przeplata się z rzeczywistością chłopców, to jest z rzeczywistością literacką opowiadania Billera: Tomasz Buddenbrook umiera piątego dnia podróży chłopców, a śmierć Hanno i ostateczne zwycięstwo Hagenströmów (95) czyli koniec książki jest jednocześnie końcem pewnego etapu ich podróży i rozpoczęciem nowego. Do tej pory to chłopcy czytali książkę i poza tym niewiele się działo. Z chwilą zamknięcia książki otwierają się drzwi wagonu i rozpoczyna nowy rozdział, którego to oni stają się protagonistami, a ich rolę (dotychczasowego czytelnika) przejmujemy my. I to właśnie od tej chwili chłopcy zaczynają przeżywać różne „przygody", których jednak nie czyta się z wypiekami na twarzy, ale co najmniej z zawstydzeniem, że coś takiego było możliwe w świecie, w którym powstawała literatura piękna. Książka Manna przypomina o tym, że kiedyś istniał świat, w którym żołnierz sam był księgarzem i chciał tworzyć literaturę piękną. Książka jest teraz dla niego czymś w rodzaju wyrzutu sumienia. Dzięki *Buddenbrookom* wraca na chwilę do czasów sprzed wojny i zaczyna odczuwać w pewnym momencie swego rodzaju sympatię do Maxa, kiedy okazuje się, że mają podobne zainteresowania: „Żołnierz znów spojrzał w dół. Przez chwilę nad czymś się zastanawiał, w końcu pochylił się i podniósł książkę, wytarł z oprawy czarne zacieki błota, zajrzał do środka, przestudiował obwolutę i dane bibliograficzne, pomyślał, że to rzeczywiście rzadkie pierwsze wydanie z roku 1903, a potem oddał książkę Maxowi. Uśmiechnął się do chłopca i powiedział naśladując jego język: 'Tu liebstou oich die Buddenbrooks?' (Też lubisz *Buddenbroków*?)" (107) Książka, która upadła na ziemię tuż obok twarzy skomlącego, bitego chłopca przypomniała jego oprawcy, że chciał on zostać pisarzem, i że może nim jeszcze zostanie, w związku z tym „kopnął Alego jeszcze raz, ale już nie tak mocno i z mniejszą determinacją." (108)

Wreszcie książka pomaga chłopcom w ucieczce, bo między jej stronicami Max ukrył gwiazdy Dawida, a poszukiwanie ich pozwoliło chłopcom oddalić się na znaczną odległość od żołnierza i spróbować ucieczki. Nie wiemy, czy udało im się zbiec, czy Ali został postrzelony, czy zastrzelony, czyją krew widać na nasypie. W chwili, kiedy znikają za przejeżdżającym właśnie pociągiem, znikają z tego opowiadania, przestają istnieć. Od tej chwili jedynym protagonistą jest żołnierz, który mógłby kontynuować tę opowieść, ale tego nie robi. Jedynym śladem po chłopcach jest książka Tomasza Manna na nasypie kolejowym i książka, którą prawdopodobnie napisze żołnierz, jego pierwsza, „naprawdę dobra historia" (109), dzięki której zrehabilituje się po wojnie. Ale będzie ona nieprawdziwa – żołnierz z siebie zrobi bohatera, który ocali blond chłopca z transportu, a na pożegnanie da mu swoją ulubioną książkę ze słowami: Tu liebstou oich die Buddenbrooks.

Na szczęście jest jeszcze książka Maxima Billera, całkowicie zmyślona, z protagonistami, którzy istnieją tylko na papierze, ale to nie znaczy, że nieprawdziwa. Dzięki niej *Buddenbrookowie* Tomasza Manna będą się może czytelnikom Billera kojarzyć z tym dwojgiem chłopców, zwłaszcza z biednym Alim z dużymi uszami, który zapewne nigdy nie istniał, tak jak nie istnieli Buddenbrookowie czy

Hagenströmowie. Bohaterowie powieści Manna są jednak przykładem na to, jak świat przedstawiony w książce jest w stanie zawładnąć wyobraźnią jej czytelników do tego stopnia, że są oni w stanie niemalże uwierzyć w istnienie jej bohaterów. Rzesze turystów odwiedzają każdego roku dom Buddenbroków w Lubece, oglądają wnętrza urządzone dokładnie tak, jak zostały one opisane na kartach powieści i wierzą, że dotykają tych samych przedmiotów, co ich ulubieni bohaterowie. A w Warszawie przy ulicy Krakowskie Przedmieście znajduje się tablica pamiątkowa na budynku kamienicy, w której rzekomo mieszkał Wokulski.. Literatura ma więc ogromny potencjał powoływania do życia postaci fikcyjnych. W opowiadaniu *Jak Cramer stał się przyzwoity* ta fikcja jest zbudowana piętrowo – świat przedstawiony w *Buddenbrokach* jest fikcyjnym dla chłopców z opowiadania Billera, a ci z kolei są fikcyjni dla czytelników Billera. Ale jednocześnie świat z powieści Manna miesza się ze światem przedstawionym w opowiadaniu Billera, a ten z kolei miesza się ze światem przedstawionym przez żołnierza. Wszystko tu jest grą z rzeczywistością. Dla Billera liczy się jedno: „Ważne jest tylko, żeby (pisarz) podczas opowiadania mówił prawdę i tylko prawdę, prawdę o dobrych i złych, o swoich i obcych." (Biller 2001: 225) Powieść Manna spełnia te kryteria, ale powieść żołnierza, tak jak wielu innych niemieckich autorów, według Billera już nie.

Bibliografia

Assmann, Jan. (2008), *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, Warszawa.

Bar-On, Dan. (2003), *Die Last des Schweigens. Gespräche mit Kindern von NS-Tätern*, Hamburg.

Baumgart, Reinhard. (1966), *Literatur für Zeitgenossen. Essays*, Frankfurt am Main.

Biller, Maxim. (2001), *Deutschbuch*, München.

Biller Maxim. (1991), *Die Tempojahre*, München.

Biller, Maxim. (1994), *Land der Väter und Verräter. Erzählungen*, Köln.

Semmler, Karen. (2006), „Maxim Biller. Das Schreiben als ‚Counter-Memory'", *Shoah in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, Norbert Otto Eke, Hartmut Steinecke, Berlin: 311-320.

Steinecke, Hartmut. (2006), „Die Shoah in der Literatur der ‚zweiten Generation'", *Shoah in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, Norbert Otto Eke, Hartmut Steinecke, Berlin: 135-153.

Welzer, Harald; Moller, Sabine; Tschuggnall Karoline. (2009), *„Dziadek nie był nazistą". Narodowy socjalizm i Holokaust w pamięci rodzinnej*, w: Saryusz-Wolska, Magdalena (red.), *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, Kraków: 351-410.

STRESZCZENIE

Temat Holokaustu powraca w prozie Maxima Billera, żydowskiego autora mieszkającego od 1970 roku w Niemczech i piszącego po niemiecki. Biller posługuje się specyficznym stylem, jest prowokacyjny i bezczelny, ale wynika to raczej z poczucia pewnej bezsilności, że Holokaust zastyga (o ile już nie zastygł) w wyeksploatowanych przez literaturę, fotografię i film obrazach. Autor zrywa więc z dotychczasowym sposobem mówienia o Zagładzie i podnosi bardzo niewygodne kwestie. W powyższym artykule podejście pisarza do tematu Holokaustu zostało przedstawione na przykładzie opowiadania *Jak Cramer stał się przyzwoity* (Wie Cramer anständig wurde).

Eliza Szymańska

Nuran David Calis *Frühlings Erwachen!* im Vergleich mit seiner literarischen Vorlage

Joanna Szczepkowska hat vor einiger Zeit im polnischen Theater für Aufsehen gesorgt. Nach Ihrer Zur-Schau-Stellung des Allerwertesten in einer Aufführung, was sie später als Protest gegen die Allmacht des Regisseurs (in diesem Fall Krystian Lupas) über den Schauspieler bezeichnete, entflammte erneut die Diskussion über die Grenzen des Eingreifens in die Psyche des Schaupielers und in den Text des Autors seitens der Theaterregisseure (vgl. Kzioł 2010:56ff). Somit entspricht diese Diskussion den immer noch in Deutschland geführten Debatten über die sog. „Werktreue". Einen Beitrag zu dieser Diskussion leistete Nuran David Calis mit seiner Aufführung von *Frühlings Erwachen!* (schauspielhannover, 24. Februar 2004). Es handelt sich in diesem Fall – wohlgemerkt – um eine freie Bearbeitung des Dramas von Frank Wedekind. Dabei nimmt der Regisseur nicht nur Wedekinds Drama als Vorlage, um manche Szenen zu kürzen, manche dazuzuschreiben und auf manche ganz zu verzichten, wie es wohl in einem solchen Falle die übliche Praktik ist. Calis schreibt, wohl um sich den Vorwürfen, Wedekinds Werk nicht treu geblieben zu sein, zu entziehen, ein eigenständiges Drama, indem er Wedekinds Drama lediglich als eine Art Anregung benutzt. Das Drama von Calis bleibt, trotz zahlreicher, vom Autor vorgenommener Veränderungen, jedoch im gewissen Sinne seiner literarischen Vorlage treu. Sowohl bei Wedekind als auch bei Calis handelt es sich um die Thematik des Heranwachsens der Jugendlichen in einer ihnen gegenüber feindlich eingestellten Welt der Erwachsenen.

Bereits ein kurzer Blick in die Personenkonstellation bei Calis zeigt allerdings, wie frei der Autor mit seiner Vorlage umgeht. Aus den fast 40 Personen bei Wedekind bleiben bei Calis nur 10 übrig. Dabei verzichtet Calis völlig auf die Lehrerfiguren, auch fallen die Zöglinge der Korrektionsanstalt sowie Melchiors Eltern weg. Dadurch entfällt zwangsläufig auch die unmittelbare Anklage an die Lehrer, die der Text von Wedekind impliziert[1]. Die Zahl der Personen reduzierend, erweitert Calis jedoch die Zahl der Szenen. Aus den ursprünglich fünf Szenen des ersten Aktes bei Wedekind werden bei Calis neun. Die bei Wedekind aufgebaute Komposition, in der Wendla und Melchior in den vier ersten Szenen abwechselnd auftreten, um dann in der fünften aufeinanderzutreffen, wird nicht beibehalten, und in den drei ersten Szenen in Calis' Drama treten Mädchen auf. Dabei ist die erste Szene dem Original noch sehr nah. Es werden sogar viele Sätze aus dem Original übernommen. Das Gespräch zwischen Wendla und ihrer Mutter spielt jedoch, was in Sprache und Ausdrucksweise der beiden besonders deutlich wird, hier und jetzt. Aus dem Original wurden nur solche Sätze übernommen, die sich nicht als archaisch ausweisen lassen. Wenn aber im Original

[1] In einem fast gleichzeitig (Theater heute 2006) erschienenen Text von Thomas Freyer *Amoklauf mein Kinderspiel* werden für die bei den Jugendlichen angestauten Aggressionen im gleichen Maße die Eltern wie die Lehrer verantwortlich gemacht. Vgl. Artur Pełka: *„Wer hat Angst vorm schwarzen Mann?" Agressivität und Gewalt im 'neuen Dokumentartheater'*. In: „Convivium" Bonn 2010, S. 153-173.

„Wenn du nur nicht zu kalt hast" (1992:6) steht, lesen wir bei Calis „Wenn du dich nur nicht erkältest" (2007:10). Es entspricht wohl dem Anliegen des Autors, die Aktualität der Thematik von Wedekinds Drama auch im 21. Jh. zu zeigen, indem auch die Sprache einem Aktualisierungsverfahren unterzogen wird. In der zweiten Szene erzählt Ilse, allein am Brunnen, eine Geschichte über den Selbstmord eines Jungen, in den sie verliebt war. Auf diese Art und Weise wird bereits in dieser Szene Moritz' Freitod vorausgedeutet[2]. In der nächsten Szene, in der das Gespräch der Mädchen (Wendla, Martha, Ilse) geschildert wird, ist der Verzicht auf all die Aussagen auffallend, in denen bei Wedekind das Unaufgeklärt-Sein der Mädchen zum Vorschein kam. Die Mädchen unterhalten sich sogar über einen Bekannten, der bisexuell sein sollte und zeigen damit durchaus Interesse, aber auch Fachwissen zum Thema der menschlichen Sexualität. Aus dieser Perspektive heraus wird Wendlas und Melchiors Beischlaf, der später erfolgt, nicht wie bei Wedekind als die Folge des fehlenden Wissens des Mädchens über die möglichen Folgen gezeigt. Es wird eher als Folge des frühen Reifungsprozesses der Jugendlichen gedeutet, die eigentlich bereits ab dem Kindesalter mit der Sexualität, sei es im Kino, sei es im Fernsehen, konfrontiert werden. Ihr Problem ist es jedoch, nichts mit der teilweise unfreiwillig erworbenen Kenntnis anfangen zu können. Die vierte Szene wird in dem Sinne besonders wichtig, da sie die Art und Weise, mit der Calis an Wedekinds Drama herangeht, sehr deutlich zum Vorschein bringt. Wie in der vierten Szene der Vorlage unterhalten sich die Jungen über ihre Situation. Nur die Sprache ist anders. Diese Szene muss wohl beim Leser die größte Ablehnung gegen Calis' Drama hervorrufen, denn sie wird nicht nur aktualisiert, sondern vor allem vulgarisiert. Birgit Dahlke behauptet, dass die Jugendlichen in Wedekinds Drama für ihr unbewusstes und später gewaltsam ins Bewusstsein eindringendes sexuelles Wissen keine Sprache haben (2006: 90). Bei Calis ist es die Sprache der Vulgarismen. Es bleibt eine leere Diskussion, ob die Jugendlichen heutzutage tatsächlich eine solche Sprache benutzen[3], viel wichtiger scheint die Tatsache, dass Calis auf diese grobe Art und Weise tatsächlich die Sorgen der heutigen Jugend anspricht. Die Jungen rappen:

HANS (Rap) Schüler sein ist abgefuckt –
Lehrer alle zugekackt.
Bei Bauhaus kauf die große Axt –
Zick zack hab das Pack zerhackt.
Meine Hose hat Adidas-Streifen –
drin trag ich ' nen Steifen [...]
MORITZ (Rap) Mädchen, Schule, Scheißdreck –
Vater, Opa, ich muss weg –
Kalifornien Supercheck –
Ich geh tiefer – find das Geld. (2007: 15f)

---

[2] Andreas Hamburger weist darauf hin, dass auch bei Wedekind der Selbstmord bereits in den ersten Sekunden des Dramas thematisiert wird, da das Gespräch zwischen der Mutter und Wendla zeigt, dass es in der Hand jedes Einzelnen ist, wie alt er werden will. Vgl. Andreas Hamburger: *Zur Konstruktion der Pubertät in Wedekinds „Frühlings Erwachen"*. In: Ortrud Gutjahr: *Frank Wedekind*, Würzburg 2001, S. 62.

[3] Die Schauspielerin Krystyna Łubieńska empörte sich in einem ihrer Interviews über die Sprache der heutigen Jugend, die voll von Vulgarismen ist. Vgl. Aleksandra Kozłowska, Jowita Kiwnik: *Gdzie się podziały tamte romanse?*. In: „Gazeta Wyborcza", 19.03. 2010, S. 10.

In diesem kurzen Fragment kommt die ganze Misere der jungen Leute zum Tragen: Hass auf die Schule, die Lehrer sowie die Mädchen, Druck, Markenkleidung zu tragen, sexuelle Anspannung, Träume vom großen Geld und weiten Reisen. Interessanterweise scheinen sich die meisten dieser Probleme auch auf die Situation der Jugendlichen in Wedekinds Drama zu beziehen. Calis zeigt dadurch, wie wenig sich innerhalb von 100 (!) Jahren verändert hat. Die Jugendlichen sind mit ihren Problemen, genau wie vor 100 Jahren, sich selbst überlassen. Auch die Fragen, die sich die Jugendlichen stellen, sind teilweise dieselben, wie vor hundert Jahren. Nur bei Calis werden sie (in der fünften Szene) viel deutlicher formuliert:

MELCHIOR Warum sind wir auf dieser Welt?
MORITZ Wozu gehen wir in die Schule?
MELCHIOR Werd ich je einen Job bekommen?
MORITZ Werd ich je einen Ferienjob bekommen?
MELCHIOR Mit wie viel Frauen werde ich in meinem Leben schlafen?
MORITZ Wird mich je ein Mädchen ansprechen? (2007: 17)

Neben den schon in Wedekinds Drama existierenden Fragen nach dem Sinn des Lebens, bzw. der Angst vor dem Leben (vgl. Wendt 2006: 101) und dem Sexualdiskurs (vgl. Dreiseitel 2001: 11f) kommen bei Calis zusätzlich noch die Sorgen um die berufliche Zukunft hinzu. In dem Gespräch wird auch die bei Wedekind vorhandene Diskrepanz zwischen der Selbsteinschätzung der Freunde deutlich. Während Melchior an einen Job und mehrere Frauen denkt, gibt sich Moritz mit einem Job zufrieden und hofft darauf, zumindest von einer Frau angesprochen zu werden. Auch bei dem Gespräch der Jungen, ähnlich wie es früher im Falle der Mädchen war, wird deutlich, dass sie sexuell aufgeklärt sind.

Bei Wedekind spürt man von Anfang an den enormen Druck, unter dem die Jugendlichen stehen. Die Gespräche im ersten Akt kreisen vorwiegend um das Thema der Schule und der Leistung, die von den Einzelnen erwartet wird. Bei Calis hat man den Eindruck, dass die Schule für die Jugendlichen nicht besonders wichtig ist. Der Druck ist aber da, was in der sechsten Szene deutlich wird. Martha (zerzaust, mit blutender Nase) sitzt allein am Brunnen und fantasiert über den möglichen Unfug, den sie treiben sollte. Es sind Fantasien, die dazu dienen, den Druck loszuwerden, der von den Eltern, die sie schlagen (Spuren dessen sehen wir an dem Mädchen), ausgeht. Martha ist nicht die einzige, die in eine Fantasiewelt flieht, um der Realität, die für sie nicht vielversprechend ist, zu entkommen. In der nächsten Szene erzählt Moritz von seinem Traum, nach Amerika zu fahren und die Goldmine des Großvaters, die jetzt versunken irgendwo unter dem Wasser liegt, zu finden und reich zu werden. Durch dieses Geld, das er da finden will, möchte er sich die Anerkennung verschaffen, die ihm in seinem Umfeld fehlt. Diese Träumerei wird von den anderen belacht. Genauso ausgelacht wird in der achten Szene Wendla, die von Ihrer Mitarbeit bei Amnesty International erzählt. Melchior bezeichnet Aufopferung und Selbstlosigkeit als „Scheiß" (2007: 24) und zeigt sich damit als ein jeglicher Ideale beraubter Mensch. Auf das Angebot, Wendla zu schlagen, lässt er sich viel schneller ein, als das bei Wedekind der Fall ist. Die beiden Jugendlichen werden in der vorletzten Szene (die letzte Szene besteht nur aus einem Musik-Clip) des ersten Aktes erneut alle ihre angestauten negativen Emotionen los.

Den zweiten Akt eröffnet eine Szene, nach der wir bei Wedekind vergeblich suchen würden. Calis erteilt hier dem Vater von Moritz das Wort. Aus seinem Selbstgespräch geht deutlich hervor, dass er nur das Beste für seinen Sohn will. Er selber hat sich allerdings das Träumen abgewöhnt, weil er gemerkt hat, dass es den Menschen an einen Punkt bringen kann, wo er gar nicht sein möchte. Deswegen möchte er auch seinen Sohn vor den Träumereien schützen, indem er ihm den Weg weisen will. Es bleibt offen, warum sich der Junge dennoch ganz allein und verlassen fühlt und sich seinem Vater nicht anvertraut. Was man aber diesem Monolog noch entnehmen kann, ist die Tatsache, dass sich auch der Vater von Moritz ganz sich selbst überlassen fühlte und die Eltern, da sie den ganzen Tag gearbeitet haben, keine Ansprechspartner für ihn waren. So wiederholt sich die Situation, die der Vater am eigenen Leib erfahren hat und die ihn sehr plagte. Den Vorsatz, es besser als seine Eltern machen zu wollen, erfüllt er jedoch nicht. In diesem Punkt sind sich Wedekind und Calis einig. Beide Autoren zeigen das mangelnde Verständnis zwischen Eltern und Kindern als eine Art fortdauernden Generationskonfliktes. Die Mutter von Wendla will oder besser gesagt kann in Wedekinds Drama die Tochter nicht aufklären, weil sie es von ihren Eltern nie gelernt hat, offen mit einem Kind zu sprechen. In diesem Sinne sind die Eltern sowohl bei Wedekind als auch bei Calis nicht Täter, sondern Opfer ihrer eigenen Erziehung. Der Unterschied besteht bei beiden Autoren in den daraus resultierenden Folgen. Bei Wedekind ist es die fehlende Aufklärung, bei Calis die fehlende Anwesenheit der Eltern[4]. Wenn bei Wedekind, wie es Jens Dreisbach formuliert, in Wendlas Falle „Erziehung zur Unmündigkeit“ (2009: 316), als implizites pädagogisches Konzept herhalten muss, so bleibt bei Calis jedwede Erziehung aus. Dies wird in der nächsten Szene besonders deutlich, wenn Martha bei Dingen, die sie vergessen will, neben der in der Familie existierenden Gewalt, auch die Tatsache erwähnt, dass sie von den Eltern verlassen wurde. Als Folge der misslungenen Erziehung sehen wir das Gewaltpotential des Mädchens. Sie möchte: „allen in die Fresse hauen, die mich gedemütigt zurechtgewiesen unterdrückt angelogen und verraten haben“ (2007: 28). Mit den von der Umgebung erfahrenen Demütigungen versucht sie, ähnlich wie Moritz, dank der Fluchtfantasien zurechtzukommen. Auch sie träumt vom Reisen „und nie wieder zurückkommen“ (2007: 28). Der einzige Ausweg scheint also sowohl für Martha als auch für Moritz das Weg-Laufen zu sein. In diesem Kontext verwundert nicht, dass sich die beiden in der nächsten Szene treffen, um über Amerika, Moritz’ geplanten Fluchtort, zu sprechen. Was deutlich wird, ist die Tatsache, dass das Mädchen seine Emotionen nicht ausdrücken kann. Obwohl sie in Moritz verliebt ist, gibt sie ihm unvermittelt und ohne jeden Grund dafür eine Ohrfeige. Sie spricht also mit ihm die einzige Sprache, die sie zu Hause von ihren Eltern gelernt hat (wir erfahren in der vorherigen Szene, dass sich die Eltern von Martha öfters geschlagen haben), die Sprache der Gewalt. Die zwei nächsten Szenen des Dramas zeigen deutlich, dass die Eltern, trotz ihrer Abwesenheit, großen Einfluss auf ihre Kinder haben. In einem Gespräch zwischen Moritz und Melchior wird klar, dass Moritz nur für den Vater lernt, um ihn nicht zu enttäuschen. Die wohlwollenden Worte des Vaters „du-bist-toll-mein-junge-weiter-so“ (2007: 32) empfindet er als einen Druck, dem er nicht standhalten kann, und er will erneut fliehen, diesmal „untertauchen“ (er möchte Tiefseetaucher werden). Auch Melchior kann seiner Mutter nicht entkommen, er nennt sie eine „Hexen-Mutter“ (2007: 29) und fühlt sich ständig von ihr verfolgt. Auch wenn bei Calis die Eltern, wie in Melchiors Falle, nicht mehr auf der Bühne agieren, so üben sie auf ihre Kinder

[4] Mit einer ähnlichen Situation der Abwesenheit von Eltern im Leben der Kinder (wenn auch aus einem anderen Grunde) haben wir beispielsweise in dem Text Fritz Katers *zeit zu lieben zeit zu sterben* (2001) zu tun. Vgl. Fritz Kater: *Ejakulat aus* Stacheldraht, Berlin 2003.

denselben Druck aus, den bereits Wedekind in seinem Drama geschildert hat. Druck übt auch Wendlas Mutter aus. In der sechsten Szene hören wir einem Gespräch zwischen Mutter und Tochter zu. Die Mutter erwartet von ihrer Tochter ein gutes Zeugnis und Desinteresse an Jungen, was ihrer Meinung nach, voneinander abhängig ist. Sie erzählt zwar nichts vom Storch, aber sie bleibt in ihren Aussagen genauso undeutlich, wie es Frau Bergmann bei Wedekind war. An dem Gespräch der beiden wird deutlich, dass sich Wendla ihrer Mutter nicht anvertrauen kann. Die Bemühung, ehrlich zu sein, erweist sich für das Mädchen als ein Nachteil. Die Mutter erlaubt es nämlich nicht, bei einer Freundin zu übernachten, und schon gar nicht, als sie erfährt, dass dort eine Party mit Jungen aus der Schule gefeiert werden soll. Für die Mutter ist sie definitiv noch zu jung dafür und ihr einziges Interesse soll den Schulleistungen gelten.

Die Jugendlichen können sich den Erwachsenen nicht anvertrauen, aber genauso wenig können sie auch unter den Gleichaltrigen eine Bezugsperson finden. Sie treten sich mit Gewalt gegenüber, so wie es etwa in der siebten Szene der Fall ist, wenn Otto die anderen Kollegen (Ernst und Hans) übelst beschimpft, weil sie mit ihm nicht auf eine Party gehen wollen. In der achten Szene sehen wir, wie sich die zwei zurückgelassenen Jungen die Liebe gestehen. Sie wissen aber mit dem Gefühl nichts anzufangen und verabschieden sich verlegen voneinander. In dem Gespräch besinnt sich auch Ernst der Zeiten, als er als Kind mit dem Vater in einem engen Kontakt stand. Und jetzt hat er das Gefühl, dass „mit jedem Jahr, das ich älter werde, die Temperatur um mich sinkt" (2007: 37). Es wird mit diesen Worten deutlich ausgedrückt, dass es den Jugendlichen vor allem an menschlicher Wärme fehlt, die sie sowohl bei den Eltern als auch bei ihren Freunden vergeblich suchen. Das Unverständnis zwischen den Generationen zeigt die neunte Szene, in der der Vater von Moritz dem Sohn erklärt, den Bitten der Lehrer, er solle die Klasse wiederholen, zugestimmt zu haben. Moritz fühlt sich vom Vater hintergangen. Dieser sollte sich, seiner Meinung nach, für seinen Sohn einsetzen. Er geht sogar so weit, dem Vater vorzuwerfen, das Beste nicht für seinen Sohn, sondern für sich selbst zu wollen, also egoistisch zu handeln. Am Ende der Szene, nachdem Moritz gegangen ist, entschuldigt sich der Vater vor sich selbt, indem er feststellt, dass man manchmal dem Jungen gegenüber hart sein müsse. Diese Härte, die wir bei Wedekind dem Vater von Moritz vorwerfen können, spürt man jedoch bei Calis nicht. Der Vater scheint eher ratlos und verloren und mit der Erzeihung des Jungen überfordert zu sein. Die zehnte Szene bei Calis ist die Verführungsszene aus Wedekinds Drama. Mit dem Unterschied, dass diesmal Melchior von Wendla verführt wird. Sie ist diejenige, die Melchior erstmal die Liebe gesteht und dann die Initiative ergreift. Er macht anfangs einen etwas erschrockenen Eindruck, dann folgt er Wendla aber. An seiner letzten Aussage „man liebt sich – wenn man küsst" (2007: 42) wird deutlich, dass auch er etwas für Wendla empfindet. So wird der Beischlaf der Jugendlichen, anders als bei Wedekind, wo Melchior klar formuliert „ich liebe dich so wenig, wie du mich liebst"(2007: 34), als Resultat der Gefühle der Jugendlichen und nicht nur ihrer unterdrückten Triebe dargestellt. Die nächsten drei Szenen stehen in einer Beziehung zueinander. Sie bereiten uns auf Moritz' Selbstmord vor. Erstmal hören wir einem Monolog von Moritz zu, aus dem deutlich hervorgeht, dass sich der Junge als Verlierer fühlt. In der nächsten Szene unterhält er sich mit Ilse. Das Mädchen ergreift, ähnlich wie Wendla, die Initiative und versucht Moritz zu verführen. Der Junge möchte aber nicht mit ihr schlafen. Er will dem Mädchen ein für sie geschriebenes Gedicht vortragen, wofür er von Ilse ausgelacht wird. Am Ende reagiert sie agressiv auf Moritz' Verhalten. Sein mildes, romantisches Auftreten wird mit dem plumpen, robusten Verhalten des Mädchens konfrontiert. Die Klischeerollen werden bei Calis ausgetauscht. Die Jungen träumen von großer Liebe und sind romantisch veranlagt, die Mädchen denken nur an Spaß und Sex. So wird der Selbstmord von Moritz, der die letzte Szene des zweiten Aktes einleitet, als Folge eines doppelten Verlustes gezeigt. Moritz ist also in doppelter Hinsicht ein Verlierer.. Er versagt in der Schule und er versagt in der Liebe. Da er keinen Halt findet, nachdem das Leben ihm „die kalte Schulter" (2007: 46) gezeigt habe, wählt er den Freitod als die einzige Lösung, die für ihn zugleich die Erlösung bedeutet: „ich ziehe die Tür hinter mir zu und trete ins Freie" (2007: 46). Die von Calis gewählte Formulierung „kalte Schulter" wird wohl nicht zufällig gebraucht. Sie verweist auf die früher schon von den Jugendlichen angedeutete Kälte in den zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen, mit der sie umgehen müssen. Mit dem Tode von Moritz wird deutlich, dass dies nicht jeder kann.

Die zwischenmenschliche Kälte spürt man auch deutlich im zwischen der Mutter und Wendla geführten Gespräch, das den dritten Akt des Dramas einleitet. Indem die Mutter ihre Tochter als sehr freundlich und zuvorkommend erlebt, vermutet sie bereits, dass Wendla etwas verbrochen hat. Es wird gezeigt, dass sie Wärme und Fürsorge (die Tochter bereitet ihr das Frühstück vor) nicht gewohnt ist. Und tatsächlich erfährt die Mutter, dass Wendla schwanger ist. Bezeichnenderweise ist es eben das Mädchen, anders wie bei Wedekind, das den kühlen Kopf bewahrt. Die Mutter ist außer sich, die Tochter ruhig und gelassen. Als sie auch gesteht, das Kind behalten zu wollen, da sie Melchior liebt, rastet die Mutter völlig aus und zerstört das ganze Kücheninventar. Erneut bleibt die Gewalt die einzige Reaktion der Eltern auf die Probleme ihrer Kinder. Dass Wendla im Grunde genommen alleine mit ihren Problemen bleibt, zeigt die nächste Szene, in der sie allein ist und überlegt, was sie machen soll. Aus ihrem Monolog, der sehr chaotisch wirkt, geht hervor, dass sie vor der Mutter ihre Sicherheit und Gefasstheit nur vorgetäuscht hat, genauso wie die Jugendlichen voreinander früher Gelassenheit vorgetäuscht haben, was die dritte Szene des dritten Aktes zeigt. Die Jugendlichen geben sich die Schuld für Moritz' Tod. Hans reagiert mit Wut auf die Tatsache, dass an dem Abend, an dem Moritz sich das Leben nahm, jeder nur mit seinen Sachen beschäftigt war und keiner für Moritz da war. Somit benennt Hans den wahren Grund für Moritz' Selbstmord. „Die kalte Schulter", die Moritz vor seinem Tode erwähnt, wurde ihm sowohl von seinen Freunden als auch von seinem Vater gezeigt, was die nächste Szene beweist. Auch der Vater fühlt sich für den Tod seines Sohnes verantwortlich. Auch die Jugendlichen geben ihm die Schuld dafür. Der Vater von Moritz gerät in einen Konflikt mit Melchior, der die Vorwürfe dem Vater gegenüber am schärfsten formuliert. Der Vater deutet voraus, was später passiert: „Deine Überheblichkeit wird dein Untergang sein" (2007: 53). Noch einmal betont er, dass man mit Träumen nicht weit kommt. Außerdem versucht er den Jugendlichen zu übermitteln, dass das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl, das sie jetzt spüren, mit der Zeit verschwindet und jeder von ihnen alleine als Einzelkämpfer zurückbleibt. Aus dem Mann spricht die erlebte Enttäuschung über sein eigenes Leben. Dass Melchior sich für den Tod des Freundes besonders verantwortlich fühlt, zeigt die Tatsache, dass er dessen Traum erfüllen will und nach der Goldmine suchen möchte. Somit will er dem Vater beweisen, dass er mit dem, was er gesagt hat, im Unrecht ist. An der Art und Weise, wie er mit dem Problem umzugehen versucht, er betrinkt sich, sehen wir, dass er mit dem, was passiert ist, nicht zurecht kommt. Genauso wenig kommt er mit der Schwangerschaft von Wendla zurecht. Er ist sich nicht schlüssig, ob sie abtreiben soll oder nicht, und am Ende des Dramas erleben wir ihn als einen ziemlich unsicheren, verwirrten Jungen. Die Vorausdeutung des Vaters Stiefel ist eingetreten. Über Video spricht Melchior mit Moritz und klagt ihm sein Leid[5]. Ohne den Freund sieht er im Leben keinen Sinn mehr: „hier ist nur Wüste ohne dich" (2007: 57). Es ist ihm klar, dass diese Wüste mit der Zeit immer größer werden und sich der Mensch immer einsamer fühlen wird. Deswegen reizt ihn die Geschichte von Moritz, da dieser das Jenseits als eine vollkommene Tauchervision beschreibt. Bei Wedekind ist es der vermummte Herr, der Moritz vertreiben will und seine Visionen als Lügen entlarvt. Calis verzichtet auf die Gestalt des vermummten Herrn und es ist Moritz selbst, der Melchior, der ihm folgen will, davon abhält. Er ist der Meinung, sein Freund solle sich dem Leben und der Liebe stellen und ihm erst dann folgen, wenn er mit dem Erlebten zurechtkommt. Moritz „schwimmt weg" (2007: 58) und Melchior bleibt am Ende ganz allein zurück. Eine Sicherheit, dass er seinem Freund nicht folgen wird, haben wir jedoch nicht.

Andrzej Z. Makowiecki weist in seiner Skizze *Norma to głupota, degeneracja zaś to geniusz (Die Norm ist die Dummheit, Degeneration dagegen das Genie)* nach, dass die Richtungen der Denkprozesse und deren Auswirkungen auf die Kunst zu Anfang des 20. Jh.s nicht in die Vergangenheit des Beginns des 19. Jh.s zurückgreifen, sondern auf die Zukunft gegen Ende des 20.Jh. s hinauslaufen (2005: 64). Der Text von Nuran David Calis schlägt eine Brücke zwischen der Zeit der Moderne und der heutigen Welt. Und es ist erstaunlich wie aktuell das Drama *Frühlings Erwachen* von Wedekind auch heutzutage noch ist[6]. Die Unaufgeklärtheit der Jugendlichen, die mit der Prüderie der Eltern verbunden war, hat sich als Thema erübrigt. Jedoch der Leistungsdruck, unter dem die Jugendlichen leiden sowie die Einsamkeit und das Gefühl, auf niemanden zählen zu können, sind noch stärker als vor hundert Jahren, was das Drama von Nuran David Calis überzeugend präsentiert.

Literatur

Primärliteratur

Calis, Nuran David. (2007), *Frühlings Erwachen!* , Frankfurt am Main.

Kater, Fritz. (2003), *Ejakulat aus Stacheldraht*, Berlin.

Wedekind, Frank. (1992), *Frühlings Erwachen*, Stuttgart.

Sekundärliteratur

Behrendt, Eva. *Ein echter Integrationsgipfel: Der Ex-Türsteher Nuran David Calis ist heute als Dramatiker und Regisseur in der Hochkultur gefragt*. http://www.welt.de 13.07.2007.

Dahlke, Birgit. (2006), *Jünglinge der Moderne: Jugendkult und Männlichkeit in der Literatur um 1900*, Köln.

---

[5] An den zahlreichen Videos und Videoclips, die das Drama beinhaltet, merkt man die Provenienz des Autors, der sich nach seinem Regie-Studium erstmal einen Namen als Regisseur für Videoclipe machte. Vgl. Eva Behrendt: *Ein echter Integrationsgipfel: Der Ex-Türsteher Nuran David Calis ist heute als Dramatiker und Regisseur in der Hochkultur gefragt*. http://www.welt.de am 13.07.2007.

[6] Als *Frühlings Erwachen* der neunziger Jahre des 20. Jh.s wird von Franziska Schössler Marius von Mayenburgs *Feuergesicht* bezeichnet, was eben die Aktualität des Konflikts zwischen den Erwachsenen und den Heranwachsenden beweist. Vgl. Franziska Schössler: *Augen-Blicke. Erinnerung, Zeit und Geschichte in Dramen der neunziger Jahre*. Tübingen 2004, S. 268.

Dreisbach, Jens. (2009), *Disziplin und Moderne. Zu einer kulturellen Konstellation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur von Keller bis Kafka*, Berlin.

Dreiseitel, Sigrid. (2001), *Kontinuität – Diskontinuität. Diskurse zu Frank Wedekinds literarischer Produktion (1903-1918)*, Würzburg.

Hamburger, Andreas. (2001), „Zur Konstruktion der Pubertät in Wedekinds *Frühlings Erwachen*", *Frank Wedekind*, Gutjahr, Würzburg: 55-92.

Kozłowska, Aleksandra u.a. (2010), „Gdzie się podziały tamte romanse?", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 19.03. 2010: 10.

Kyzioł, Aneta. (2010), „Pupa i trupa", *Polityka*, 12/2010: 56-58.

Pełka, Artur. (2010), „*Wer hat Angst vorm schwarzen Mann?* Aggressivität und Gewalt im 'neuen Dokumentartheater'", *Convivium*, 2010: 153-173.

Sajewska, Dorota. (2004), *Chore sztuki. Choroba/tożsamość/dramat. Przemiany podmiotowości oraz formy dramatycznej w utworach scenicznych przełomu XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków.

Schössler, Franziska. (2004), *Augen-Blicke. Erinnerung, Zeit und Geschichte in Dramen der neunziger Jahre*, Tübingen.

Wendt, Angela Maria Coretta. (2006), *Essgeschichten und Es(s)kapaden im Werk* Goethes, Würzburg.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł p.t. „*Przebudzenie wiosny!" Nurana Davida Calisa w porównaniu ze swym literackim pierwowzorem* jest próbą wnikliwej analizy utworu młodego dramatopisarza niemieckiego z uwzględnieniem dramatu Franka Wedekinda jako intertekstu. Analizie poddana została zarówno budowa dramatu, jego język oraz stylistyka, jak i poszczególne motywy i konflikty, zawsze w odwołaniu do swego literackiego pierwowzoru.

Małgorzata Anna Jabłońska

Quo vadis, Italia? Su alcuni paradossi e stereotipi dell'Italiae degli italiani a 150 anni dall'unità

Abbiamo fatto l'Italia, ora dobbiamo fare gli italiani.
Massimo d'Azeglio Taparelli

Il 17 marzo 1861 è stato portato a termine l'evento storico più importante per la storia d'Italia: l'unificazione delle regioni della Penisola Appenninica. La generazione degli eroi del Risorgimento (tra cui Giuseppe Garibaldi, Giuseppe Mazzini, Camillo Benso di Cavour e tanti altri) sotto gli auspici del sovrano del Regno Sabaudo Vittorio Emanuele II (che è in seguito diventato il re d'Italia unita) hanno fatto l'impossibile – l'avvenimento che per anni era rimasto solamente un manifesto ideologico dei filosofi, dei patrioti e degli scrittori. Oggi, dopo 150 anni da quel memorabile momento, l'Italia è sempre uno stato indipendente, non più monarchico, ma repubblicano, che portando le esperienze di due guerre mondiali e del regime fascista sulle spalle, nel 21. secolo fa parte dell'Unione Europea e di altre strutture internazionali importanti. Ciò non significa, però, che parlando degli italiani si intende una nazione omogenea, consolidata, non priva di paradossi interni e di stereotipi che la rendono famosa (e buffa nel contempo) all'estero.

Nel presente articolo vorrei dar luce ai cinque quesiti, a mio avviso, più importanti, della società italiana odierna, provando a spiegare la loro complessità e peculiarità, ovvero si tratterà dell'eterogeneità linguistico-culturale della penisola italica, il divario tra il nord e il sud d'Italia, la vita in famiglia, l'atteggiamento dei cittadini nei confronti con la Chiesa e l'apparente appassionamento per il calcio.

L'italiano: una lingua e cultura di minoranza?

Inizio le mie considerazioni con la questione della lingua nazionale degli italiani. Come è noto, la genesi dell'italiano odierno si rifà alla lingua fiorentina del Duecento e del Trecento, le cui tappe principali sono frutto della maestria dei maggiori autori dell'epoca: Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca e Giovanni Boccacio. Grazie all'imporsi del modello grammaticale proposto dal veneto Pietro Bembo nel 1525 e, infine, all'affermarsi della lingua di Alessandro Manzoni che la usò nella scrittura dei suoi *Promessi sposi* nel 1840, il dialetto fiorentino conseguì l'onore di essere ritenuto un candidato naturale per diventare la lingua ufficiale di tutti gli italiani. Tuttavia, all'epoca del compimento dell'unità d'Italia nel 1861, gli italiani che sapevano parlare l'italiano oscillavano, a seconda della fonte, tra il 2,5 per cento (de Mauro) e il 10 per cento (Castellani) dell'intera popolazione. È stata proprio l'unificazione politica a innescare alcuni dei fattori che hanno costituito la base più importante per legare, anche linguisticamente, il popolo spezzato, tra cui i più importanti, secondo il linguista Luca Lorenzetti, erano: "la nascita di burocrazia e di esercito, l'istruzione elementare obbligatoria per tutti i cittadini, la diffusione e la crescita della stampa quotidiana, l'inizio dei grandi moti migratori, la nascita dell'industria e la conseguente crescita delle città" (Lorenzetti 2002: 18). La costante politica linguistica dei prossimi governi della sinistra e della destra storica, accompagnata da numerose operazioni sistemiche per rendere l'italiano la *lingua franca* (p. es. delegando i giovani indirizzati al servizio militare fuori dal luogo di residenza), le leggi fasciste sulla difesa della lingua che hanno proibito l'uso dei forestierismi e favorito l'italiano come l'unico codice di comunicazione al livello nazionale, e infine l'invenzione dei mass media (radio, televisione) – queste circostanze citate hanno provocato la diffusione dell'italiano standard portando al bilinguismo in Italia tra la lingua usata nel registro ufficiale (quindi l'italiano) e negli ambienti meno formali (i dialetti). Grazie a ciò, a cavallo degli anni Sessanta e Settanta del Novecento è aumentata la percentuale degli italiani che parlavano l'italiano come L_1. Pur essendosi confermato come lingua nazionale di tutti i cittadini, a distanza di 150 anni dall'unità l'italiano standard non ha mai impedito lo sviluppo dei dialetti, i quali costituiscono fino ad oggi l'orgoglio locale, un segno di patriottismo regionale. Secondo le statistiche fornite dall'ISTAT nel marzo 2002, il 72,7 per cento degli italiani usa solo o prevalentemente l'italiano, il 6,8 si comunica servendosi del proprio dialetto e il 18,6 utilizzando tutti e due (tanto per paragonare la situazione del 1955, secondo le analoghe ricerche svolte da Tullio de Mauro, i dati corrispondevano a: il 44,4 per cento degli italofoni, il 6,9 per cento dei dialettofoni e il 48,7 per cento di tutti e due). Tuttavia, nonostante questa rivoluzione linguistica a favore dell'italiano standard, non stupisce l'uso dei dialetti nella vita quotidiana (specialmente al Sud), il ciò per molti stranieri (provenienti dalle culture più omogenee, come gli slavi) rimane sempre una questione poco comprensibile.

Ma non è solo la lingua che prova delle difficoltà nella sua fioritura e diffusione. Soffre anche la cultura italiana a cui spetta di continuare le migliori tradizioni del patrimonio nazionale risalenti ai tempi del Rinascimento. Tutt'è vero che i più grandi successi degli uomini italici come le invenzioni di Leonardo da Vinci, le scoperte geografiche di Cristoforo Colombo, le sculture e gli affreschi di Raffaele De Santi, le pitture di Sandro Botticcelli, gli scritti di Dante Alighieri e Francesco Petrarca, le musiche di Giacomo Puccini e Giuseppe Verdi sono opere del passato. Negli ultimi 150 anni (cioè nel periodo postunitario) l'Italia ha prodotto pochi seguaci e grandi uomini che potessero conquistare il mondo della cultura al livello internazionale. Se non ci fosse per l'opera dei grandi cineasti (tra cui i più notevoli erano Vittorio de Sica, Roberto Rossellini o Federico Fellini), il belcanto di Enrico Caruso e Luciano Pavarotti, i premi Nobel in letteratura di Umberto Eco e Dario Fo, l'Italia di oggi sarebbe conosciuta nel mondo tutt'al più per la cucina maccheronica, gli stilisti celebri, le spiagge soleggianti, i monumenti antichi e gli scandali politici. Ciononostante, la cultura italiana all'estero non pare di subire alcun tipo di crisi in particolare. Questa fenomenologia italiana, la spiega in più dettaglio il giornalista de *Il Sole 24 ore*, Stefano Salis:

> [...] Quanto alla nostra letteratura attuale, alla nostra arte, alla nostra musica devo dire che mi sembra esagerato dire che non c'è un grande interesse all'estero: ma, di certo, non siamo la cultura dominante. Cerco di spiegarmi meglio. I nostri scrittori hanno anche un discreto mercato. Vengono tradotti nei Paesi affini culturalmente all'Italia (penso soprattutto alla Francia). Non saranno dei *best seller* (suggeritemi una parola italiana migliore per esprimere il concetto...), ma pubblicano e vendono. Se però si vuole fare un paragone con la cultura anglosassone. non è proprio possibile. Se l'ottica che si pretende di avere quando si parla di cultura italiana all'estero è quella di un mercato egemonico non c'è proprio confronto: è

> evidente che la produzione in lingua inglese la fa da padrona rispetto al resto del mondo. ("Italiano: lingua e cultura di minoranza?", intervista a Stefano Salis a cura di Luisella Meozzi, *Deamon*, n° 9, febbraio 2004)

Il problema della distribuzione della cultura italiana all'estero sta anche nel fatto di una lite ideologica tra la cultura d'elite con quella di massa. Visti i mutamenti sia di tipo generazionale che civilizzazionale, il dominio della cultura anglosassone su quelle nazionali, l'influsso della pubblicità sul gusto e sulle scelte dei giovani, la prevalenza del cinema industriale su quello d'autore e della musica popolare su quella classica, la cultura italiana di oggi non è propensa a inserirsi così facilmente in altre zone linguistico-culturali del mondo senza seguire i modelli imposti dall'alto dalle grandi corporazioni come p. es. la MTV, Hollywood ecc. Gli unici prodotti della cultura di massa italiana riconosciuti all'estero come marchio incontrafattibile sono, quindi, il Festival della canzone di Sanremo, il Carnevale di Venezia, le canzoni di Eros Ramazzotti o Al Bano Carrisi, i film di Roberto Benigni o Giuseppe Tornatore. Rimane pio desiderio che tanti altri autori degni di nota siano in grado di distinguersi da quel cerchio mass-culturale cementato per il momento.

Nord-Sud: una linea di discordia

La situazione socio-politica nel momento in cui si è effettuata l'unificazione d'Italia nel 1861 è imparagonabile a qualsiasi altra in Europa. All'avvento di unità statale, la Penisola Appenninica era spezzata in decine di elementi incompatibili. Il paese costituiva un organismo profondamente diviso e tale è rimasto per tutta la sua storia unitaria. Il divario fondamentale è ovviamente quello tra il tenore di vita nelle regioni settentrionali e meridionali. Però, se uno prova a ricostruire il loro percorso, è necessario risalire ai tempi del Medioevo, durante il quale i comuni del Meridione cominciavano a dimostrare più problemi economici, agrari e tecnologici rispetto alle zone del Centro e del Nord della penisola. Il Sud, più tormentato da guerre, invasioni dei popoli barbarici extraeuropei, meno ricco di terreni fertili e risorse naturali, ha conservato un carattere rurale e folcloristico che conserva fino ad oggi. La povertà ha favorito lo sviluppo del problema di brigantaggio, cioè della criminalità organizzata (conosciuto ancora ai tempi dell'Impero Romano, però manifestatosi maggiormente in età borbonica, napoleonica e risorgimentale), dando successivamente vita al fenomeno più complesso, la mafia. Si vorrebbe dire che quel divario Nord-Sud in Italia è dovuto all'assenza storica dello stato unitario. Tuttavia, secondo alcuni studiosi della materia, non è vero che al momento dell'unità il Sud fosse notevolmente più arretrato del Nord nei termini economici. Quanto sostengono Vittorio Daniele e Paolo Malanima nel lavoro *Il prodotto delle regioni e il divario Nord-Sud in Italia (1861-2004)*, tale dissonanza come oggi non esisteva prima del 1861 e si sarebbe prodotta in seguito. Secondo la ricostruzione dei due studiosi, che cito seguendo il libro del sociologo Luca Ricolfi *Illusioni italiche*, "il periodo nero della storia del Sud è quello che va dal 1880 al 1951, mentre il periodo che va dall'inizio degli anni '50 ai primi anni '70 sarebbe il periodo migliore della storia post-unitaria del Mezzogiorno" (Ricolfi 2010: 125). Ciò è in linea con gli eventi della storia generale: nei primi anni dell'unità molti abitanti del Sud sono emigrati al Nord o all'estero a causa della povertà che si è mantenuta fino alla fine del Ventennio fascista. È stato solo grazie al piano Marshall che le regioni del Sud, rovinate dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, sono riuscite a risorgere. Il decennio terrorista in Italia, detto «gli anni di piombo» ha impedito il successivo sviluppo delle regioni meridionali, poi sono ricadute in declino, da cui provano a sollevarsi negli ultimi cinque anni. Il già citato Ricolfi menziona i due motivi principali del malfunzionamento del Meridione:

> Il primo è che nel Mezzogiorno [...] la quantità e la qualità di servizi pubblici è molto inferiore a quella del Centro-Nord: e i servizi pubblici sono uno degli strumenti più efficaci di contrasto della povertà. Il cattivo funzionamento dei servizi pubblici penalizza innanzitutto le fasce deboli della popolazione, che non hanno i mezzi per sostituirli adeguatamente con servizi privati.
> Il secondo motivo è che nel Mezzogiorno il reddito, lungi dall'essere insufficiente, è distribuito in modo molto più diseguale che al Nord. C'è una casta politico-burocratico-affaristica, spesso collegata alla criminalità organizzata, che riesce ad appropriarsi di una fetta consistente delle risorse che affluiscono al Sud, e c'è un vero e proprio proletariato iper-sfruttato o emarginato che non riesce neppure a raggiungere il livello di sussistenza. Detto in altre parole: non è il livello medio del reddito pro capite, ma è la sua iniqua distribuzione il vero problema del Mezzogiorno. (Ricolfi 2010: 130-131)

I conflitti tra il ricco Nord e il povero Sud d'Italia si sono intensificati con il crollo del vecchio sistema partitico a causa dello scandalo di Tangentopoli. Dopo le elezioni del 1993, sono ascese al potere le due forze prima sconosciute, ovvero la Forza Italia di Silvio Berlusconi e la Lega Nord di Umberto Bossi (che per tre volte hanno formato il governo di centrodestra: negli anni 1994-1995, 2001-2006 e a partire dal 2008 ad oggi). Quest'ultima è un partito sostenitore del federalismo che nel 1996 ha espressamente proposto la secessione delle regioni settentrionali con lo scopo di fondare uno stato indipendente, la Padania. Grazie ai suoi sforzi, nel 2006 è stato organizzato un referendum istituzionale per confermare la riforma costituzionale sul federalismo: da quel momento l'Italia non è più uno stato unitario centrale, bensì un conglomerato delle regioni a cui spetta la potestà legislativa esclusiva in materia di organizzazione scolastica, polizia amministrativa regionale e locale, assistenza e organizzazione sanitaria. Tale passo ha soffermato le tendenze separatistiche provenienti dal partito di Bossi, ma nel contempo ha aggravato le differenze tra lo standard di vita al Nord e al Sud, rendendo l'Italia un paese a due velocità.

Tutto casa e famiglia

Discusse le questioni linguistico-culturali ed economico-politiche, passo all'argomento relativo alla vita privata degli italiani. Secondo numerosi manuali di sociologia, la famiglia è una struttura elementare di ogni società. Tuttavia, la famiglia italiana, percepita come nel vecchio sistema feudale, come un'unità organizzativa con il ruolo supremo del *pater familias*, il cui compito consiste innanzitutto in mantenere il cerchio familiare e con la madre curatrice che si occupa delle faccende domestiche e dell'educazione dei figli, in realtà non esiste più. In Italia, come dovunque nell'Occidente secolarizzato, i tradizionali legami familiari hanno incominciato a perdere di intensità già nei primi anni della seconda metà del Novecento. Il modello della tradizionale famiglia «estesa», diffusa specialmente nel Meridione, è stato sostituito con la famiglia «nucleare». Questi sono ovviamente i termini sociologici, perché in lingua comune si parla addirittura della decadenza della famiglia «allungata» a favore di quella «prolungata». Con quest'ultima si intende spesso il caso dei «mammoni», la generazione dei maschi italiani a partire dall'età di 30 anni in poi, privi di autonomia personale e incapaci di mantenersi da soli. Inoltre, il numero delle nascite rispetto al numero dei morti è in continuo declino. Si contraggono meno matrimoni, ma il numero dei divorzi non cala. Per capire questi fenomeni, bisogna risalire a un mezzo secolo indietro.

Secondo le ricerche dell'ISTAT, all'epoca del *baby boom* cioè negli anni Sessanta del Novecento (dovuto alla prosperità temporanea), il tasso di fecondità era di 2,7 figli per una coppia. Negli anni Settanta la donna italiana media partoriva da 2,7 a 2,1 figli. Queste cifre scendevano ancora a 1,6 negli anni Ottanta, per raggiungere 1,3 nei primi anni Novanta. Nel 2010 il tasso di fecondità d'Italia era di 1,4, ma apparteneva comunque ad uno degli inferiori in Europa. Il motivo della bassa procreazione nelle donne proviene soprattutto dal fatto dell'introduzione della legge sull'aborto nel 1978, che non è considerato più reato ai sensi del codice penale italiano, e dall'uso della contraccezione farmacologica. Questi fenomeni, li prova a spiegare la giornalista Cinzia Tani, riferendosi alle ricerche del sociologo Paolo de Nardis:

> [...] la crescita zero in Italia non viene spiegata come mancato desiderio di maternità, ma come un procrastinare la volontà di maternità verso un'epoca in cui, tuttavia, non c'è più fertilità. Il risultato è che così ci si ferma al primo figlio e non si arriva a quelli successivi. "Si procrastina per motivi di carattere organizzativo, economico, di carriera, ma anche perchè è cambiato il costume familiare. La famiglia in Italia non è più intesa come struttura chiusa, come voleva il vecchio codice civile, bensì come una struttura aperta che interagisce con un sistema sociale e che, di fatto, prima di trovare un proprio equilibrio, un proprio posizionamento, passa attraverso molteplici strutture ben diverse". (Tani 1999: 144)

Un altro fattore importante del calo delle famiglie formate è la legge sul divorzio emanata in Italia solo nel 1974[1], cioè durante l'emancipazione femminista. Prima dell'emendamento, l'unica istituzione applicata per un distaccamento dei coniugi era la separazione che, però, non garantiva alla donna alcuni strumenti di appoggio da parte dello stato nel caso dell'allevamento solitario del figlio comune. Dal momento dell'introduzione della suddetta legge, il numero dei matrimoni sciolti, nel corso di 20 anni, si è quadruplicato rispetto al numero dei matrimoni contratti (l'ammontare medio dei divorzi effettuati negli anni Novanta era di 44.000, mentre i matrimoni contratti costituivano il 14 per cento di quella cifra). Sono, perciò, cambiate anche le abitudini dei giovani che ora preferiscono i rapporti amorosi alternativi al tradizionale vincolo matrimoniale. Continua Tani:

> Per esempio, c'è la convivenza, che ancora non viene valutata a fondo, eppure rappresenta un fenomeno diffusissimo. Oppure ci sono le famiglie del "provando e riprovando" in cui la donna riflette a lungo prima di trovare un partner giusto con cui fare figli. È ovvio che

[1] Qui va accennato l'indimenticabile film *Divorzio all'italiana* del 1961, il cui regista, Pietro Germi, ha in qualche maniera preannunciato un bisogno dell'introduzione della legge sul divorzio, servendosi però del cosiddetto "delitto d'onore", un'azione di uxoricidio prevista dal codice penale italiano, la quale – se commessa a scopo di salvaguardare l'onore o la reputazione del coniuge a causa di un conflitto matrimoniale, poteva essere considerata come una circostanza attenuante della condanna.

> tutti questi tentativi rimandano all'infinito la decisione di fare un figlio. [...] Insomma, anche nella cattolicissima Italia, la donna non fa più figli. Non solo perchè cerca l'uomo "ideale" con cui concepirli o perché vuole prima realizzarsi professionalmente o ancora perchè l'edonismo degli anni Ottanta l'ha distratta. In realtà la donna non crede più che l'unico scopo della sua vita sia quello di procreare e che fare figli sia la sola condizione per ottenere un riconoscimento sociale. (Tani 1999: 144-145)

A conseguenza di tali processi socio-culturali, nel 21. secolo è cresciuta l'intera generazione delle donne trentenni senza mariti e figli, e dei cosiddetti "mammoni", cioè i maschi-eterni bambini. Questi fenomeni si stanno accentuando per via di un grande ritardo di maturazione nei giovani di oggi.

Gli italiani: credenti non-praticanti o non-credenti praticanti?

L'altra questione che merita discussione è il rapporto degli italiani con la Chiesa cattolica. Secondo le figure ufficiali, il 87,6 per cento dei cittadini si dichiara cattolici, tra cui solo il 30 per cento ammette di essere praticanti, frequentando la messa ogni domenica. Questi numeri non fanno impressione se confrontati con altri paesi europei che riconoscono il predominio della Chiesa romana (Polonia, Irlanda), in quanto imparagonabili con la situazione degli stati ormai pienamente laicizzati (Francia, Spagna) o protestanti (Germania, paesi scandinavi) dove l'importanza della fede cristiana è in continuo declino a partire dall'età moderna. Pur avendo la sfiducia nei confronti delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche, dovuta al fatto della prevalenza dell'etica privata sull'insegnamento della Chiesa (particolarmente nelle questioni come l'interruzione della gravidanza, la fecondazione assistita, la contraccezione, il testamento biologico ecc.) e alla corruzione dentro la Chiesa stessa (la pedofilia, le malversazioni finanziarie), per molti italiani la fede costituisce una forza protettrice, l'ultimo bastione su cui poggiarsi nel caso di pericolo o crisi personale. Tale duplice atteggiamento spiega il pubblicista de *Il Corriere della Sera*, Beppe Severgnini nel libro *An Italian in Italy*:

> It is true that the Church-imposed categorical imperative, to be observed, ignored, circumvented, has been replaced by individual morality, but religion still means something, and Catholics today are no worse than they were yesterday. Many have consciously chosen a faith that was once handed down mechanically from one generation to the next. That choice does them credit. Some have formed groups, and some groups turned into lobbies. This does them less credit, but it's easy to explain. Many people in Italy seek warmth, a protector, and someone who can relieve the frustration of doubt. Religious lobbies are heating systems, insurance policies, and heavy-duty traquilizers for a prudent, pharmaceutically aware people. (Severgnini 2005: 194-195)

Ancora più sbalordimento suscita il rapporto degli italiani con la figura del papa. Da un lato, si ricordano le folle giunte a Roma per dire addio a Giovanni a Paolo II nel 2005 e a salutare l'ingresso di Benedetto XVI. Dall'altro, l'Italia vede il disdegno dei cittadini verso la dottrina papale, specialmente sulle questioni di moralità. Anche questa circostanza va spiegata con il fatto che gli italiani distinguono l'affetto per il pontefice come una persona pubblica, anzi come una *celebrity*, dall'indifferenza nei suoi confronti come il capo della Chiesa cattolica. Quanto sostiene Severgnini

> [Italians] might say that you can love the Pope without going to church […] John Paul II had a rock-star quality, as they say in America, but he refused to give an inch on some things. For him, Sunday mass wasn't an option. It was a duty. Right-wing political chancers laud the John Paul II who defended life, and the same time laud war. Their left-wing equivalents approve a pope who was hard on capitalism, while also approving abortion. But the people who flocked to Rome for his funeral were more coherent. If they don't go to church on Sunday, there has to be a reason.
> […]
> It's certainly because the death of John Paul II, the Pope who left his mark on our adult lives, unleashed a storm of emotion. Like, and to a greater extent than, other Western nations, Italy feigns cynicism, but is getting increasingly emotional. […] In the case of John Paul II, other factors also come into play, such as mystery, familiarity, affection, esteem, emulation, and emotional impact. (Severgnini 2005: 194-195)

Oltre alle questioni etiche e personali, il crollo dell'importanza della Chiesa in Italia è dovuto anche alle ragioni politiche. Dopo la rivelazione dello scandalo di Tangentopoli nei primi anni Novanta del Novecento che ha portato allo scioglimento della Democrazia Cristiana, il partito più cattolico dell'epoca che aveva goduto il maggiore appoggio dei votanti per quasi 50 anni, è stata aperta la dimensione dell'orizzonte laico, dei programmi politici degli schieramenti finora inesistenti od oscuri che in quelle circostanze hanno raggiunto popolarità degli elettori senza dover recarsi al clero. Solo grazie al carisma di Giovanni Paolo II e al radicalismo di Benedetto XVI la Chiesa tenta di ripristinare la sua posizione perduta, ma non sembra che ella possa influire l'attuale *modus vivendi* degli italiani in corso di secolarizzazione globale. È una situazione del tutto sconvolgente che la fede cristiana attira meno fiducia in sé nella sua culla rispetto alle terre periferiche d'Europa come Irlanda o Malta, laddove sopravviveva delle crisi nondimeno gravi.

Il calcio: una vecchia-nuova religione degli italiani?

L'ultimo aspetto della vita socio-culturale discusso in questa sede è il calcio, detto anche "lo sport nazionale degli italiani" oppure una "nuova religione degli italiani". In un certo senso, anche questo è un altro luogo comune. Quanto l'interesse alle partite calcistiche è relativamente alto (va sottolineato il fatto che *La Gazzetta dello Sport* è il quotidiano sportivo più letto con tiratura record pari a circa 600.000 copie), tanto quell'interesse si limita solamente alla partecipazione passiva che consiste di sedersi davanti al televisore e guardare le partite in compagnia maschile. Gli italiani non praticano più sport rispetto ad altre nazioni europee. È facile notare la gente correre nei giardini pubblici, andare in bicicletta o fare ginnastica, ma ciò non corrisponde al numero degli interessati alle discipline sportive di squadra. Il calcio rimane, quindi, una sorta di passatempo, un modo di trascorrere la domenica in famiglia, di rafforzare i legami sociali in vari ambienti: scolastici, universitari, lavorativi. Da questo nasce, però, un certo sentimento di rivalità, specialmente tra i conterranei, che non si sentono obbligati a supportare le loro squadre a seconda del criterio di provenienza. Capita molto spesso che gli italiani, migrando in un'altra città (preferibilmente al Nord), abbandonano il club materno a favore di quello locale, nel nuovo posto di residenza. Da questo fatto sorgono molti paradossi (anche sul piano professionale). Uno di essi presenta il critico Roberto Fedi:

> […] negli anni Cinquanta [del Novecento], migliaia di cittadini meridionali si trasferirono a Torino per lavorare alla FIAT [...]. E queste persone tifavano quasi tutte per la Juventus [...] Ma la Juventus è di proprietà della famiglia Agnelli, che era ed è anche la proprietaria della FIAT. Accadeva quindi che gli stessi che magari due giorni prima avevano scioperato contro gli Agnelli, industriali dell'automobile, alla domenica andavano però allo stadio a sostenere la Juventus -, e quindi indirettamente gli Agnelli stessi – questa volta nella loro versione di imprenditori nel campo dello sport. È un fatto in apparenza contraddittorio e quasi schizofrenico che spiega bene come si intende, o si intendeva, lo sport e soprattutto il calcio in Italia: un fenomeno radicato nella società, ma allo stesso tempo una "fede" di tipo interclassista, che va aldilà delle convinzioni politiche e della stessa appartenenza sociale. (Fedi 1999: 175-176)

La diagnosi dello studioso sembra giustificata e ragionevole salvo l'ultima parte del suo intervento relativa all'impegno politico dei tifosi. Eppure esistono i cerchi dei fan dichiaratamente appartenenti alle forze di destra (Lazio, Fiorentina, Napoli) e a quelle di sinistra (Parma, Atalanta, Empoli). Inoltre, sono i politici e gli imprenditori stessi ad appoggiare le squadre calcistiche (e i loto sostenitori), o a diventare apertamente i loro proprietari per guadagnare più prestigio, come nel caso dei citati Agnelli e la Juventus oppure di Silvio Berlusconi e l'AC Milan, che sotto la sua guida a partire dal 1986 riscuote dei successi vincendo sette volte lo scudetto e varie coppe europee. Il giornalista britannico Tobias Jones spiega questo fenomeno in seguente modo:

> In Italy, political power has always been intimately linked to football, and there's nothing new about determining the other. If you're an important politician, chances are that you also own a football team; if you're a football president, you're probably also in parliament, or else very close to it. The conflation of football and politics is the reason that Italians, as is well known, lose wars as if they were games of football, and lose games of football as if they were wars'. (Jones 2003: 74)

Le guerre dei tifosi (o giusto per nominarli: gli ultrà o addirittura gli *hooligans*, giacché nel maggior numero dei casi si tratta proprio di un uso criminoso) sono politicamente ispirate e hanno niente a che fare con la vera competizione sportiva. Vi si manifestano gli atti di violenza pura, di razzismo, di xenofobia che uccidono il vero e proprio spirito di rivalità e la degradano al piano inferiore, anzi, al margine della società. Sviluppa ancora Jones:

> Watching football matches became like watching newsreels of matches in Britain from the 1970s: fans goading the police or other fans into close-quarter fights, train stations vandalised, cars repeatedly set on fire. Every Sunday evening there seemed to be new pictures of looted shops seen through the haze of police tear gas.
> […]
> Perhaps […] Italian football remains one of the most stylish and cultured and clever incarnation of the sport. (Jones 2003: 81-84)

Un'altra malattia che affligge il mondo del calcio italiano è ovviamente la corruzione. Nel 2006 è stato rivelato, grazie alle intercettazioni telefoniche delle figure più importanti del mondo sportivo italiano, lo scandalo di Calciopoli. Vi sono state inizialmente coinvolte sei squadre: Juventus, Milan, Fiorentina, Lazio, Reggina ed Arezzo. I capi di imputazione consistevano di illecito sportivo, verificato nel tentativo di aggiustare le designazioni arbitrali per appositi incontri di campionato nonché di intimidire (o, anzi, corrompere) gli arbitri assegnati perché favorissero le azioni conclusive di una squadra a danno dell'altra. L'ideatore di quest'attività criminosa è stato il direttore generale della Juventus, Luciano Moggi. A prescindere dalla sua responsabilità personale (per cui è stato condannato a un anno di reclusione) e dei suoi complici, Juventus è stata retrocessa in serie B, mentre Fiorentina, Lazio e Milan hanno ricevuto i punti di penalizzazione da scontare. Quell'evento ha ancora rinforzato l'immagine del calcio italiano nel mondo non solo come uno sport fanatico, ma anche disonesto.

Conclusioni

La cittadinanza italiana, frutto di una vicenda secolare, ricca di prestiti, contaminazioni e influssi stranieri, è stata resa possibile grazie all'opera dei grandi eroi che l'hanno creata e all'esistenza di un unico territorio storico. Al tempo stesso, non è, però, libera da stereotipi e paradossi, tra cui il più grande costituisce la mancanza dell'identità nazionale. Pur avendo il patrimonio cristiano-cattolico, una lunga tradizione familiare, una lingua melodica, una cultura elevata e le discipline sportive che li riuniscono, alcuni italiani si sentono nel proprio paese come se fossero estranei, mentre la loro italianità si riconosce più evidente quando sono all'estero, ovvero dal tono alto della voce quando parlano, dai marchi distinti dei vestiti che indossano, dalle macchine sportive che guidano, dalla pasta e dalla pizza che cucinano. Qui terminano, purtroppo, i punti in comune.

Nel 1866 marchese Massimo d'Azeglio avrebbe detto: *Abbiamo fatto l'Italia, ora dobbiamo fare gli italiani*. Anche questa famosa frase a egli attribuita, che cito come motto del presente articolo, è stata deformata, perchè in realtà l'ex-presidente del consiglio sabaudo scrisse nei suoi ricordi qualcosa di completamente diverso, ovvero: *Si è fatta l'Italia, ma non si fanno gli italiani*. Intanto, i manuali di storia per anni hanno inesplicabilmente lanciato – come quella vigente – la versione travisata delle sue parole. Sta di fatto, tuttavia, che se non ci fosse per la dimissione di Taparelli e la successiva ascesa di Camillo Benso di Cavour alla carica del primo ministro, probabilmente l'Italia non si sarebbe mai riunita. Solo grazie alle straordinarie capacità diplomatiche di quest'ultimo era possibile combattere i nemici, organizzare i plebisciti, riconciliare tutte le regioni della penisola e metterle insieme in un unico organismo statale. Ma c'è chi pensa che su un punto d'Azeglio aveva comunque ragione: l'Italia si è unita, ma solo formalmente, perché nei termini politici agli italiani manca sempre il consenso. Sintomatica è l'impossibilità di rendere per anni il 17 marzo la festa nazionale – fino al 18 febbraio 2011 quando il consiglio dei ministri ha emanato il decreto legge in proposito, che però non è stato approvato all'unanimità (con tre voti di obiezione da parte dei ministri provenienti dal partito di Lega Nord: Umberto Bossi, Roberto Maroni e Roberto Calderoli). Ancora più ridicola è stata la ragione per cui il governo ha deciso di promulgare questa legge provvisoria. Credo che dopo la lettura della spiegazione di sotto qualsiasi commento sia superfluo:

Nel 2011 Pasquetta coincide con il 25 aprile [la Festa della Liberazione] e Natale cade di domenica. Ma l'anno dei ponti spariti avrà anche una festa in più, e sarà un giorno davvero speciale: il 17 marzo, un giovedì, uffici e scuole resteranno chiusi [...] Ma non sarà così sempre – spiega il sottosegretario alla presidenza del consiglio – sarà così solo per il 2011, l'anno della ricorrenza»"
("Il 17 marzo diventa una festa nazionale", Lorenzo Salvia, Il Corriere della Sera, 21/01/2011).

Bibliografia

I. Monografie e volumi

Beccaria, Gian Luigi (2006) *Per difesa e per amore. La lingua italiana oggi*, Milano: Garzanti

Caprarica, Antonio (2008) *Gli italiani la sanno lunga… o no!?*, Milano: Sperling & Kupfer

De Mauro, Tullio (1963) *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita,* Bari: Edizioni Laterza

Fedi, Roberto/Lepri, Laura (1999) *L'Italia, oggi. Musica, cinema, moda, costume e varia umanità in un paese non più antico*, **Perugia: Guerra Edizioni**

Galli della Loggia, Ernesto (1998) *L identità italiana*, **Bologna: Il Mulino**

Jones, Tobias (2005) *The Dark Heart of Italy*, London: Faber and Faber

Lorenzetti, Luca (2002) *L'italiano contemporaneo*, Roma: Carocci editore

Ricolfi, Luca (2010) *Illusioni italiche. Capire il paese in cui viviamo senza dar retta ai luoghi comuni*, Milano: Mondadori

Secchi, Salvatore (1995) *Deconstructing Italy: Italy in the Nineties*, Berkeley: University of California

Severgnini, Beppe (2005) *An Italian in Italy*, Milano: RCS libri

Visetti Giampaolo (2009) *Ex Italia. Viaggio nel Paese che non sa più chi è*, Milano, Baldini Castoldi editore

II. Articoli

Daniele, Vittorio/Malanima, Paolo (2007), "Il prodotto delle regioni e il divario Nord-Sud in Italia (1861-2004)" in: *Rivista di Politica Economica, XCVII*, pp. 1-49

Fedi, Roberto (1999), "Siamo tutti sportivi" in: Fedi, Roberto/Lepri, Laura (1999) *L'Italia, oggi. Musica, cinema, moda, costume e varia umanità in un paese non più antico*, **Perugia: Guerra Edizioni, pp. 167-177**

ISTAT (2002), "Lingua italiana e dialetti in Italia" in: *Statistiche in breve ISTAT*

Meozzi, Luisella (2004), "Italiano: lingua e cultura di minoranza?", intervista a Stefano Salis, *Deamon*, n° 9, febbraio 2004

Salvia, Lorenzo (2011), "Il 17 marzo diventa una festa nazionale", *Il Corriere della Sera*, 21/01/2011

Tani, Cinzia (1999), "Le mamme e i dongiovani del buon tempo antico" in: Fedi, Roberto/Lepri, Laura (1999) *L'Italia, oggi. Musica, cinema, moda, costume e varia umanità in un paese non più antico*, **Perugia: Guerra Edizioni, pp. 141-152**

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest wizerunkowi dzisiejszych Włoch i społeczeństwa włoskiego w 150. rocznicę zjednoczenia państw Półwyspu Apenińskiego. W prezentowanej pracy, autorka eksponuje pięć najważniejszych obszarów życia polityczno-społeczno-kulturowego, które stanowią swoisty paradoks – zaprzeczenie włoskości i stają się źródłem stereotypów i uprzedzeń na temat włoskiej mentalności, nie zawsze znajdujących odzwierciedlenie w faktycznej wiedzy o tym narodzie. Poruszone zostają w tym względzie kwestie dotyczące jedności kulturowej i językowej zjednoczonych Włoch, odwiecznego konfliktu między północą a południem na tle gospodarczo-politycznym, pozornie szczęśliwego życia rodzinnego Włochów, ich stosunku do religii katolickiej oraz fascynacji piłką nożną, powszechnie uważanej za sport narodowy. Poprzez analizę ogólnodostępnych prac z zakresu językoznawstwa, literaturoznawstwa, kulturologii, nauk politycznych, socjologii i ekonomii, autorka poruszyła najistotniejsze problemy dzisiejszego społeczeństwa włoskiego, popierając je osobistym komentarzem i własną diagnozą opisywanych zjawisk.

Dominika Lipszyc

Labor Racketeering

Paul Castellano, a former boss of Gambino crime family in the early 1980s, claims: "Our job is to run the unions." (FBI website 2010) Since labor unions provide Cosa Nostra with many possibilities of exploitations, they are the fundamental cause of Italian mafia power and wealth. Therefore the aim of this paper is to present the explanation of labor racketeering phenomenon and its significance to organized crime, unions, and American nation.

There was no strong unionism before the Civil War, due to the lack of large industry and close relationships between employers and employees. This period was characterized by small entrepreneurs and those who aspired to similar status. (Herling 1964:8)

However, after the Civil War, the industrialization era began resulting in the acceleration of unionization. As an American scholar Charles Heckscher points out, what is interesting, those craft organizations were more similar to medieval guilds rather than to unions. "Like the guilds, they controlled the tools and knowledge necessary for production, and they shared a rich culture that linked them closely to outside communities," (1988:16) Heckscher writes. Furthermore they could "set standards of fair rates" (16) and as a consequence they very rarely struck since craft bodies were strong enough to refuse to work for lower rates. Between those first craft unions and first groups of Sicilians conducting illegal activities one can draw a parallel. In other words they both were closed associations that took advantage of their clannishness over the rest of the population.

Herling writes that the growth of labor unions caused opposition of majority of employers. On the other hand, initially secret unions of unskilled workers, like the Knights of Labor, advanced rapidly, as "belonging to it became a form of 'economic citizenship;' workers … joined and found an identity." (Herling 1964:12)

According to the Report on Corruption and Racketeering in the New York City Construction Industry, labor racketeering happens when organized crime, in this case Cosa Nostra, takes advantage of labor unions. Abusing unions by racketeers always involve commitment of some criminal offenses. For instance, extortion of employers in the form of the threat of strike, work stoppage, picketing, and sabotage; soliciting and receiving bribes from employers in order to conclude 'sweetheart contracts'[1]; thefts and embezzlement from union's welfare and pension funds; and other crimes and felonies like murder and assault. (Report 1990:14-40)

James Jacobs, legal scholar, writes that organized crime figures started to penetrate labor unions in late nineteenth century. (2006:7) Besides, what was characteristic of the 19th century

[1] A contract made through collusion between management and labor representatives which contains terms beneficial to management and unfavorable to union workers.

was the growth of unionization as well as the development of big business. As a matter of fact the rapid growth of unions came with the industrial expansion. Herling maintains that even though employers' approach remained hostile, they started accepting the process of collective bargaining "by which unions and employers sit down together to work out contracts and resolve differences." (1964:41)

Only during a strike in 1909 the union "engaged gangsters to protect women strikers and pickets against employer thugs," (1938:46) as Harold Seidman, political scientist, states. At that times many union leaders, like Samuel Gompers, believed that recruiting mobsters was essential in order to build strong union movement. Another key point is the fact that only gangsters could effectively fight other gangsters hired by employers. At the beginning only employers, to be more precise antilabor employers, used to hire mobsters in order to 'solve' union's problems, fix prices, as well as guarantee protection from other business competitors. That is to say, on the one hand there were employers cooperating with organized crime, on the other - the unions paying mobsters for support in dealing with entrepreneurs and for protection of striking workers. Sidney Lens, labor leader, explains: "Once the employers took to hiring thugs as strike breakers, the unions took to hiring their own muscle men." (1959:108) As a result gangsters were providing assistance to both sides. Furthermore they "did not accept temporary work. Once hired, they remained permanently employed, whether the union like it or not," (47) Seidman points out. As it was already mentioned, employers were the first ones to start to resort to organized crime support. According to Seidman many companies preferred to deal with Mafiosi than with union officials who were often radical. (47) Therefore it seems that hiring gangsters became some kind of vicious cycle and the whole illegal phenomenon contributed exclusively to growing power and strength of American Cosa Nostra: "it was labor racketeering that made Cosa Nostra part of the sociopolitical power structure of twentieth-century America," (24) Jacobs explains.

Concurrently for mobsters it became both easy and secure way for empowerment of their criminal organization, and a method to gain huge profit. In other words they "went into the labor movement to make money," (2003:924) as historian David Witwer puts it. Moreover after the abolishing of the Prohibition, Witwer continues, money pulled out of unions constituted great part of Cosa Nostra's profit. And with the money came real power and strength that enabled to build unique position of American Cosa Nostra among other gangs and criminals present in the United States.

As Witwer further explains, not all unions were equally subject to labor racketeering. Among the most "susceptible unions were those whose members worked for numerous small employers both for "construction and longshoring," (2003:7) likewise craft unions. As an example of susceptibility of unions to organized crime activities it would be proper to present the situation of the New York harbor waterfront. As Jacobs points out, in 1937 Anthony Anastasio (known as Anastasia) took control over some New York harbor locals on behalf of Cosa Nostra. (Jacobs 2006:49) Controlling harbor of such a huge and important city as New York can be compared to having power over the whole city, as well as a great part of the east coast. For instance, all the decisions regarding unloading cargo were in hands of members of Cosa Nostra. Consequently they could easily cut off access to essential consumer goods to New Yorkers and inhabitants of other cities. As we read in a report of Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations regarding waterfront corruption:

> Organized crime exerted significant influence over the ILA [International Longshoremen's Association] and many shipping companies. . . . The free enterprise system has been thrown off balance. . . . Profitability was not based on efficiency and hard work but rather on bribery, extortion and underworld connections. Much of the corruption on the waterfront stemmed from organized crime's control over the ILA, a condition that has existed for at least 30 years. (1984)

Another important point in the consideration regarding trade union history and labor racketeering occurred in 1955 when the AFL (American Federation of Labor)[2] and CIO (Congress of Industrial Organization) drew together. The main reason of the merger was the presence of racketeers and the intension to solve that problem by eliminating phenomenon of labor racketeering. Moreover the AFL-CIO wanted to increase their organizational scope together and widen their defensive power. (Herling 1964:34)

Members of organized crime could use different ways in order to enter unions. As Pulitzer Prize winner Malcolm Johnson reports, gangsters applied traditional mafia methods like "threats and violence." (1950:12) The other system was fixed election that might also become a good modus operandi to establish employer's monopoly of power: "Once in power, he can bribe his opposition into cooperation, or he can sew them in sacks and drop them into the river." (12)

Numerous ways were adopted by organized crime in order to take control over unions. Sometimes mobsters created a union, like the infamous "local 530 [which] was founded in 1978 by gangsters for gangsters and the companies affiliated with them." (2005:6) On the one hand, Cosa Nostra was able to guarantee legal work for its associates and their family members. On the other hand, union leaders very often needed support and votes from mob directed unions. For instance Jimmy Hoffa[3], in order to assure the result of election, reached an agreement with capo of Lucchese crime family who subsequently created seven local unions, (1991:86-87) as Arthur Sloane explains.

As Jacobs reports, among other ways of obtaining control over unions, organized crime used intimidation of union leaders and union officials, as well as fraud due to win election for top union position, or recognition by employers as bargaining agent. (Jacobs 2006:29-31) Once the union was taken over, the only problem for mobsters was to consolidate the power. In other words Cosa Nostra had to eliminate "enemies" and reward "friends". Those who had the courage to "challenge the mob faced loss of employment and/or violent reprisals." (31) In contrast, supporters were paid very well for their loyalty to Cosa Nostra in the forms of overpaid jobs and lucrative contracts. Finally mafia was capable of making use of unions as "cash cows," (xi) Jacobs writes. Cosa Nostra pulled money out of unions in salaries and bribes, from pension and welfare funds, as well as by monopolizing industries. When mafia created a cartel, all companies that were not members were expelled from that industry. As a consequence Cosa Nostra gained even larger profit not only by controlling but also by directing all the decisions and operations among "cartelized industry," (34) as Jacobs points out.

---

[2] American Federation of Labor was founded in 1886

[3] Jimmy Hoffa was the creator and president of one of the most successful and powerful labor unions, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters

As an illustration to factors described above, it would be necessary to cite the words addressed to a Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations by Vincent Cafaro, a member of Genovese crime family:

> We got money from gambling, but our real power, our real strength, came from the unions. With the unions behind us, we could shut down the city, or the country for that matter, if we needed to get our way.... In some cases, we got money from our dealings with the unions, in some cases we got favors such as jobs for friends and relatives – but, most importantly, in all cases, we got power over every businessman in New York. (1988:16-17)

Hence, one should remember that labor unions were not exclusively a great source of income for Cosa Nostra, but first of all an important factor that contributed to empowerment of that criminal organization. According to Jacobs, labor racketeering constitutes a distinctive characteristic of Italian mafia among other illegal organizations. Likewise the uniqueness of Cosa Nostra, which consists in its political and economic power, comes from labor unions. (xii, 36)

To indicate importance it would be adequate to present Fortune Magazine's 1986 ranking of "The 50 Biggest Mafia Bosses" displaying a wide spectrum of names, nicknames, headquarters, families, and sources of income. What is interesting, the source of income of more than twenty bosses of the top fifty is connected with unions and constructions (very often related with unions). The number one of the ranking, Anthony Salerno, owed his position, wealth, power and influence to construction, unions, gambling, and loan-sharking. (1986:25)

There is also the other side of the coin, in other words the consequences of labor racketeering that union faced. First of all, it is impossible to state that the only contributing factor to its decline was labor racketeering, although it was very important one. Since the 1950s, as Stanley Aronowitz, sociologist and scholar of labor movement points out, a significant decline in union membership could be observed. (1998) Certainly there were many other reasons of decreasing number of union members, like the economic situation. However, labor racketeering was detrimental to the reputation of all labor movement, even to unions without organized crime influence. As a consequence less young people were willing to join unions due to their bad reputation.

As far as counteraction against labor racketeering is concerned, one should remember that the operations of U.S. Congress in the form of "hearings, reports, and legislature" (13) constituted significant opposition, as Jacobs claims. The first important event that directed public attention toward the presence of Cosa Nostra in labor movement was The Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field (1957-1959). The McClellan Committee hearings, which were covered by mass media and aroused huge interest from the public, presented links between organized crime and various unions. Senator John McClellan in his book *Crime Without Punishment* declares that: "Hundreds of honest, decent union officials throughout the country, and perhaps millions of their hard-working members, are daily subjected to the manipulation of these racketeers and their henchmen." (1962:116) Nevertheless not only unions are subject to possible danger of mafia influence. The abuse of unions by organized crime was actually a public menace, Robert Kennedy warned: "If we do not on a national scale attack organized criminals with weapons and techniques as effective as their own, they will destroy us." (1960:265)

The consequence of The McClellan Committee hearings was the passage of Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act in 1959. According to Jacobs, the Landrum-Griffin Act "enlisted union democracy as a key strategy in fighting labor racketeering." (15) Equally important are the requirements regarding obligatory reports to the U.S. Department of Labor on "income, expenditures, and salaries," in like manner prohibition of loans to union members of amount higher than $2000. What is more, as it is reported by a labor historian Philip Taft, under the Landrum-Griffin Act it was a federal offence to defalcate union funds. (1964:686)

Furthermore already mentioned the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) from 1970 was a significant instrument prior to fight efficiently against labor racketeering. According to Robert Blakey, law professor and nation's foremost authority on the RICO, and Ronald Goldstock, former director of the New York State Organized Crime Task Force:

> RICO provides the flexibility required to implement a comprehensive strategy in the labor racketeering area. To the extent that it is used appropriately and with discretion, it offers significant potential to affect what is clearly a national problem. (1980:365)

Accordingly in following years about twenty civil RICO suits resulted in elimination of Cosa Nostra from that unions, as Jacobs states. (19)

To summarize it would be necessary to emphasize the importance of Cosa Nostra influence over some labor unions in the United States. At the same time, keeping in mind that organized crime managed to exploit both unions and union power only in the United States. In case of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, one of the largest unions, it is possible to argue that Cosa Nostra not as much influences it but keeps the whole union, all its members, and officials under control. Moreover mafia by controlling Teamsters' pension and welfare funds, has access to almost interminable amount of money. Last but not least there are labor union leaders that facilitated development of Cosa Nostra illegal activities concerned with labor racketeering. Most of the leaders, obviously with some exceptions, get used to presence of organized crime in their unions.

To cut long story short, one might venture the hypothesis that without the wealth and power achieved prior to labor racketeering, Cosa Nostra would have not been able to succeed in seventies and eighties, as well as become the most powerful criminal organization in the United States.

Bibliography

Aronowitz, Stanley. (1998), *From the Ashes of the Old: American Labor and America's Future,* New York: Houghton-Mifflin.

Blakey, Robert and Goldstock, Ronald. (1980) "On the Waterfront: RICO and Labor Racketeering," *7 Am. Crim. L. Rev.* 341, 365.

Drywall Tapers and Pointers of Greater of New York. (January 2005), Local 1974 of IBTAP v. Local 530 of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association, 93 CV 0154 (JG) (EDNY)

Federal Bureau of Investigation "Italian Organized Crime – Overview,"
http://www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/orgcrime/lcnindex.htm#cosa

Franzese, Michael. (1986), "The 50 Biggest Mafia Bosses", *Fortune,* November 10, 1986, 25.

Heckscher, Charles C. (1988), *The New Unionism,* New York: A Twentieth Century Fund Book.

Herling, John. (1964), *Labor Unions In America,* Washington: America Today Sener No. 6.

Jacobs, James B. (2006), *Mobsters, Unions, and Feds,* New York: New York University Press.

Johnson, Malcolm. (1950), *Crime on the Labor Front,* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kennedy, Robert F. (1960), *The Enemy Within,* New York: Harper and Row.

Lens, Sidney. (1959), *The Crisis of American Labor,* New York: Sagamore Press.

McClellan, John. (1962), *Crime without Punishment,* New York: Duell, Sloan&Pearce.

New York State Organized Crime Task Force. (1990), *Corruption and Racketeering in the New York City Construction Industry: Final Report to Governor Mario M. Cuomo,* New York: New York University Press.

Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. (April 1988).

Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs. (1984), *Waterfront Corruption.*

Seidman, Harold. (1938), *Labor Czars. A History of Labor Racketeering,* New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation.

Sloane, Arthur A. (1991), *Hoffa,* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Taft, Philip. (1964), *Organized Labor in American History,* New York: Harper and Row.

Witwer, David. (Summer 2003) "The Scandal of George Scalise: A Case Study in the Rise of Labor Racketeering in the 1930s," *Journal of Social History,* Vol. 36, no. 4.

STRESZCZENIE

Labor racketeering jest zjawiskiem występującym na terytorium Stanów Zjednoczonych, gdzie grupa przestępczości zorganizowanej, w tym przypadku amerykańska Cosa Nostra, czerpie różnego rodzaju zyski z legalnej działalności związków zawodowych. W artykule staram się przedstawić początki zjawiska, wyjaśnić przyczyny jego powstania oraz reakcję amerykańskiego rządu. Oprócz omówienia korzyści płynących dla Cosa Nostry, postaram się opisać jaki wpływ na związki zawodowe miała 'współpraca' z mafią. Na koniec pokuszę się o hipotezę, że dzięki związkom zawodowym Cosa Nostra zdobyła ogromną władzę i bogactwo, a co za tym idzie stała się najpotężniejszą organizacją przestępczą w Stanach Zjednoczonych.

Dario Prola

Fenoglio scrittore urbano: alcune considerazioni a margine del *Partigiano Johnny*

> Tanti mi dicono:
> Coraggio, Beppe, pianta baracca e burattini, vattene lontano da Alba! […] Rispondo che non ora, dopo, c'è tempo. Debbo prima scrivere il mio terzo libro, che parlerà d'Alba. Ma un libro su Alba, è meglio scriverlo in Alba o lontano da Alba?
>
> Beppe Fenoglio, *Diario*.

Nel suo romanzo incompiuto e postumo *Il partigiano Johnny* (1968) lo scrittore-partigiano Beppe Fenoglio ci ha lasciato un memorabile ricordo di Alba e della breve parentesi di libertà che, per ventitré giorni, essa conobbe durante la Seconda guerra mondiale[1]. Si tratta, a ben guardare, anche delle pagine più vive e sofferte che lo scrittore abbia dedicato alla sua città. Con questo non si vuole sostenere che il *Partigiano* sia un romanzo su Alba - la narrazione si sviluppa infatti in prevalenza tra i presidi partigiani delle alte colline - quanto piuttosto sottolineare la posizione di assoluta centralità che nell'economia del romanzo occupano le pagine dedicate alla città. Si tratta di una centralità testuale e semantica che riflette l'effettiva collocazione geografica e morfologica della città: capitale isolata delle Langhe, stretta tra il fiume Tanaro e le colline, Alba è per i partigiani e per i fascisti "il nocciolo della questione" e nel romanzo viene paragonata a una pietra preziosa nel "suo castone di fango" (281-284)[2]. Anche dal punto di vista diegetico la centralità degli episodi relativi alla Repubblica partigiana di Alba (capitoli XXI-XXIV), appare indiscutibile: tutte le vicende della prima parte del romanzo sono preludio e preparazione alla grande impresa della conquista, l'alto e non ripetuto apice della guerra di Johnny e compagni; la perdita della città, di contro, con il rocambolesco si salvi chi può dei partigiani (contrappunto efficace all'ondata travolgente che la conquistò), svolge nel testo una funzione di vero e proprio spartiacque, dando il via a una serie di disfatte che si protrarranno poi per tutta la seconda parte dell'opera.

---

[1] Alba venne occupata dai partigiani il 10 ottobre 1944 e fino al 2 novembre di quell'anno fu una vera e propria città libera nell'ambito della cosiddetta Repubblica di Salò.

[2] Le citazioni del *Partigiano Johnny* utilizzate in questo studio fanno riferimento all'edizione Einaudi curata da Dante Isella e verranno indicate di seguito con il solo numero di pagina tra parentesi tonde. Occorre precisare che tale edizione nasce dal montaggio della prima revisione (capitoli I-XX) e della seconda revisione del romanzo (capitoli XXI-XXXIX). Tanto il montaggio, così come il titolo dell'opera, sono stati decisi dalla redazione Einaudi, non avendo lasciato Fenoglio alcuna istruzione in questo senso.

Nel romanzo - continuazione ideale di *Primavera di bellezza* – è narrata la storia di Johnny, partigiano assoluto e campione morale di una Resistenza vissuta umanamente, senza retorica. Ex militare sbandato con l'esercito dopo l'8 settembre, Johnny si unisce a formazioni partigiane (prima comuniste, poi quelle badogliane a lui più congeniali) conoscendo nel corso di un anno tutte le fasi e le modalità della guerriglia: dalle imboscate ai rastrellamenti, dalle notti infinite passate nelle stalle alle marce spossanti, e ancora esecuzioni, sequestri, i difficili rapporti con la popolazione rurale, la solitudine angosciante e la grande amicizia per i compagni Pierre ed Ettore (quest'ultimo catturato dai fascisti nel rigido inverno del 1944).

Il *Partigiano* si apre con un primo, lunghissimo, sguardo sulla città. Sono le settimane che seguono l'armistizio, Johnny è tornato a casa ma vive da imboscato in una villetta in collina affittata dai genitori. Nei primi quattro capitoli, che costituiscono insieme a quelli di cui sopra una sorta di "romanzo della città" all'interno del *Partigiano*, vediamo il protagonista in un continuo e notturno vagare per le strade. Johnny sa cosa rischia - Alba, con le sue strade "deserte, grigie e proditoriate" e i "bravi bandi di Graziani affissi a tutte le cantonate" è la vera e propria "anticamera della scampata Germania" (5-6) - ma troppo è il suo desiderio di allacciare i contatti con i cari maestri dell'antifascismo, primo tra tutti il mitico Professor Chiodi, irrefrenabile è il suo bisogno di sottrarsi a un'asfissiante clausura vissuta come un'insopportabile e umiliante riduzione morale.

Lo stato spirituale di Johnny, ancora incapace di scegliere tra la condizione di imboscato e quella di combattente, il suo errare inquieto si traducono in un paesaggio urbano dalle marcate caratteristiche infernali. Alba con i suoi sporchi caffè "con i vuoti degli scaffali ghignanti" (34) appariva "comatosa nel crepuscolo" (31), "atterrita eppur ribollente" (42) e nelle strade rigorosamente deserte "soltanto la postuma luce del cielo traeva dalle selci lividi riflessi" (19). Vera e propria eco letteraria di una città nordica appare a Johnny "tra i vapori fermi della bruma, grigiastra d'apprensione, nel coma dell'attesa nera. Aveva un così ferale aspetto che consolava l'esserne fuori" (51). La cupezza di paesaggio urbano nel *Partigiano* si esprime in un metaforismo forsennato e visionario che rimanda al filone metafisico della letteratura inglese (Isella: 511) e che suscita accostamenti in particolare con la narrativa gotica anglosassone così ben conosciuta dall'autore (Canepa: 139). Esistono chiare indicazioni linguistiche in questo senso, sul piano dell'aggettivazione in primo luogo, dove alla frequente ricorrenza di "spettrale" o "sinistro", si affiancano anglicismi come "ghastly" e "nightmared" (quest'ultimo reso anche nel neologismo "incuboso"). Si tratta di un campo semantico, quello della morte, che indubbiamente ha avuto nella letteratura gotica anglosassone una delle sue più alte espressioni.

> La notte precipitava […] era un inconsutile velo nero, ma giù, dove si poteva supporre sovrastasse esattamente la città rompevano quel velo crepe slabbrate e occhiaie e gorghi di luce spettrale […]. E Johnny contemplò la sua città, ghastly forsaken town. […] dalle atre case esalava come uno spirito di luce, qualcosa come una maligno-febbrile e lurida sudorazione della luce interna, che si proiettava verticalmente allo scontro con lo spiovere dal sconquassato cielo di identica, miserabile luce. (pp. 229-230)

Nell'autentico *locus terribilis* rappresentato dalla città nella guerra civile, non poteva mancare la sua associazione con il labirinto, forse il simbolo più frequente e produttivo nelle narrazioni urbane contemporanee. Questa metafora-archetipo si manifesta con maggiore intensità nelle epoche di maggiore incertezza, quando la rappresentazione del mondo diventa difficile e problematica e i "fantasmi" dello spirito gettano la ragione nella nebbia (Głowiński: 150). In una città brulicante di fascisti Johnny è alla ricerca del professor Chiodi:

> Era reperibile, con fortuna, all'Albergo Nazionale, un albergo della città vecchia, con una raggera di uscite di sicurezza che si perdevano definitivamente nei dedali del borgo feudale e di là negli aperti campi prefluviali […] gli pareva di non muoversi in una città, ma sopra un termitaio ronzante di vita sotterranea eppure spasmodicamente teso ai suoni ed ai rumori soprani. (19)

Interessante l'accenno al cliché letterario dell'anticittà sotterranea, elemento spesso complementare al labirinto urbano. Nel *Partigiano* (e in generale nella narrativa fenogliana) non ha conosciuto comunque ulteriori sviluppi. Il labirinto urbano è tutto orizzontale e "nella cubica chiusura della città" (41) i futuri partigiani hanno la sensazione di essere in trappola: "viviamo come topi, quasi non abbiamo più amici, nessuno si fida più dell'altro" (13). Lo stato di sbandamento morale si risolve soltanto in occasione dell'attacco alla caserma dei carabinieri, durante la liberazione dei padri proditoriamente catturati dai fascisti per snidare i giovani renitenti. In una città ridotta a prigione, il ricompattarsi a falange dei partigiani intenzionati a lavare l'affronto dell'odioso "ricatto psico-sentimentale" è descritto attraverso un linguaggio traslato che richiama la fenomenologia della folla così ampiamente ricorrente nella narrativa della prima metà del secolo scorso. Degno di nota l'abbondante metaforismo fisiologico e il ricorso a similitudini idriche per descrivere il movimento delle truppe: "nella piazza principale altri gruppi avanzavano dai quattro getti cardinali, confluivano e si coagulavano con una silenziosa sincronia" (44). I partigiani che invadono Alba sono visti come un "nevrotico sciamare" e poi come un'ondata vorticante che si abbatte (246-247); di contro i fascisti che la abbandonano sono una "stitica fiumana" e una "cloaca rigurgitante" (249-250), ma quando la riprendono sono una moltitudine "ruscellante" (310). Nella città della guerra, quindi, alle truppe sono attribuite molte delle caratteristiche della folla della città in tempo di pace.

La conquista di Alba da parte dei partigiani s'accompagna all'allentamento delle regole di vita militare. I partigiani si danno alle compere, a svaghi fanciulleschi e sollazzi da lupanare, il tutto sotto il pesante condizionamento della prevedibile risacca fascista (la prospettiva di lasciare la città è data per scontata fin dall'inizio dell'occupazione). Se nei duri giorni della renitenza Johnny vagava per la città spettrale e notturna come in un labirinto, nel sollievo e nell'euforia della città appena strappata ai fascisti, per un istante, il protagonista ricorda il *flâneur* nell'atto di attraversare lo spazio urbano. In Johnny le percezioni sensoriali diventano impressioni e poi considerazioni sull'essenza della città:

> Johnny entrava nella città, solo e lento, per le viuzze del borgo medievale, che ora ripigliavano una certa animazione dopo il grande e lungo drenaggio verso il centro, sotto un cielo duro e tristo. […] Ciò che stranamente lo conturbava era l'aspetto violato della sua città, felicemente e consensualmente, nuzialmente violata, ma violata. […] Johnny attraversava la città compietandola. (253-255)

Colpisce l'associazione città-donna, con quell'idea di stupro "positivo", consensuale. Occorre aggiungere che le frequenti associazioni femminili di Alba che si susseguono nel romanzo ci fanno con ragione affermare che accanto alla collina e alla terra, la città è un'espressione, ulteriore e meno analizzata, del femminino del mondo fenogliano. Il 2 novembre il partigiano dalla cima della collina si volta a guardare Alba appena perduta: "Johnny abbassò gli occhi sulla città sottostante, segnata: stava, cinta dalle acque, in nuda, tremante carne." (307). In due altre occasioni questa associazione femminile assume una valenza particolare e "contingente" alla guerra: Johnny considera con l'amico Ettore la situazione di Alba definendola "impidocchiata di loro [i fascisti]" (364) e un cittadino riferisce al partigiano ormai lontano il destino della città dopo la riconquista fascista: "pensa che hanno tagliato tutti gli alberi della circonvallazione. Se ora guardassi la città, Johnny, la vedi brutta e infelice come una ragazza rapata" (445). Qui alla città si sovrappone l'immagine della ragazza rapata, punizione che in guerra i partigiani (così come i fascisti) riservavano alle donne che si macchiavano di collaborazionismo (si veda l'episodio della rapatura della maestra elementare ne *La questione privata*).

L'attribuzione di caratteristiche umane alla città, la sua associazione con la sfera corporea e fisiologica, è affidata nel corso del romanzo a metafore e similitudini ora più suggestive ed espressive: "La città appariva deserta, ma viva per un segreto cardiopulsare" (246), "lo attrasse irresistibilmente la visione del ponte squarciato, la sua lacerazione ancora fresca" (29), ora piuttosto convenzionali: "I fascisti attaccano la città "frontalmente, in mezzo ai suoi due occhi" (267), "Proseguirono verso il viale che puntava al vero cuore di pietra della città" (309). E sempre in questa direzione si veda l'interessante contaminazione di tale "fisiologismo" urbano con il topos biblico della città-bestia (si pensi solo all'Apocalisse di San Giovanni): "Agli occhi di Johnny [la città] aveva una sostanza non petrea, ma carnea, estremamente viva e guizzante come una grossissima bestia incantonata che avanza le sue impari ma ferme zampe contro una giallastra alluvione di pericolo e morte" (281).

Affine alla sfera del corporeità, un ulteriore campo semantico a cui attinge l'autore per descrive l'esperienza della città è quello della malattia (e della medicina). L'utilizzo di metafore "patologiche", l'idea della città vista come un organismo malato, conoscono un vasto impiego in letteratura fin dal positivismo, quando si caricavano di messaggi di denuncia sociale da parte degli autori. Fenoglio le utilizza invece per descrivere la malattia morale della guerra. Nella città occupata "la gente su sporgeva da usci e finestre, irresistibilmente scacciati da un letargo morboso e volontario" (43), "il movimento ed il traffico s'era diradato, epidemicamente" (11), la voce della radio è "mesmerica" (41), "le tegole crepitando sotto la pioggia come legna al fuoco, aprivano algosi e bubbonici, quei tetti" (309), "Procedette per un sentiero, guardando l'immediatamente sottostante città con l'affetto e l'angoscia di chi osserva un congiunto steso sul tavolo operatorio, nell'imminenza dell'intervento" (148).

Se per un istante Johnny ha ricordato un *flâneur* che attraversa la città "compietandola", col calare delle tenebre la libera città di Alba torna a fare paura.

> La notte, una irregolare notte, premeva sugli slarghi delle vie, col suo pondo di insicurezza e di insidia. […] Ora la gente si era tutta ritirata, inchiavardata e sepolta. L'oscuramento era feroce. Il passo di Johnny detonava sugli argentei marciapiedi, contratto talvolta dal più grosso pestare dei pattuglioni. Camminava rasente ai muri, quasi a cogliere il loro incontenibile alitare, trasudare di paura, paura dell'impresa e del castigo, paura di aver troppa gioia ed approvazione espresso alla luce del sole, brividosa paura dei civetteschi occhi delle spie. (254-255)

I sensi di Johnny sono tesi e riescono quasi a percepire l'angoscia dei borghesi. Sepolti nelle loro case, in continuo orgasmo per il timore di venire puniti da uno o dall'altro dei contendenti, la loro paura è fluida, si trasferisce dalle persone alle mura, sino a trasudarne. Gli stessi partigiani, rinchiusi nella caserma fino al giorno prima occupata dai fascisti, smessa l'iniziale euforia, iniziano ad ammalarsi della stessa soffocante paura di un tempo.

> Johnny capiva: gli uomini risentivano la città, il chiuso, la coordinazione. Giacevano sulle brandine con lo stesso senso di intrappolamento e disagio con cui i soldati fascisti avrebbero pernottato nei boschi sulle colline. Forse tutti gli uomini non sognavano di meglio che uscire di servizio, di sentinella e meglio di ronda, per liberarsi da quel senso (spell) di trappola. (255)

L'occupazione della città da parte dei partigiani, quindi, è stata non solo uno scambio di spazi tra loro e i fascisti: si sono invertiti i ruoli, gli stati d'animo. I partigiani vivono nella città la stessa angoscia, clausura e soffocamento che hanno spinto i fascisti, esauriti dalle notti di attese insonni e di allarmi, ad abbandonare Alba. Rispetto alla prospettiva di venire attaccati, le colline continuano comunque a rappresentare per i partigiani il loro spazio e luogo di rifugio "naturale". Protetti alle spalle dai loro grandi contrafforti sanno che in caso di attacco, le Langhe rappresenteranno la loro unica via di fuga.

E l'attacco arriverà, probabilmente dalla parte del Tanaro. Accanto alla rappresentazione della città, parimenti suggestiva e carica di senso è quella del fiume. Nel *Partigiano* il Tanaro costituisce il confine tra due spazi contrapposti: quello rurale (dei partigiani e dei contadini) e quello urbano (dei repubblichini e dei borghesi). Il suo ripetuto attraversamento a bordo di traghetti segna nel corso della narrazione l'avvicendarsi dei momenti favorevoli o sfavorevoli della battaglia e l'alternarsi del ruolo di inseguitore e inseguito tra i contendenti. La più basse colline d'oltrefiume sono per i partigiani uno spazio desiderato e sottratto al confronto bellico, dove la gente è più gioviale e generosa perché non ancora demoralizzata dalle ritorsioni della Repubblica. Vediamo come alcune modalità dell'inferno urbano trovino impiego anche nella descrizione del Tanaro, a partire dall'associazione con la bestia: "Più alto dello scroscio della pioggia rumoreggiava il fiume, amplissimo, enfiato e insaccato come una belva dopo la digestione della preda [...] sembrava aver perso in virulenza quanto acquistato in lutulenta ipertensione." (285) Si tratta di un'associazione, quella del fiume con il serpente, che ritorna più volte nella narrativa di Fenoglio. E ancora il Tanaro visto come una "fuggente fiumana" (256), "lento come una colata di piombo (266)", i suoi flutti sembrano "gettati nel cemento", il suo fango è "bulicante", le sue acque "impazzite", la sua corrente "rapinosa" (276-277); sulle sue rive l'aria fa "gemere i pioppi incombenti" (29) e i partigiani patiscono la "viscida spira del subdolo freddo fluviale, morboso" (265).

Che alla base di questa rappresentazione del Tanaro siano i fiumi infernali della tradizione classica, si evidenzia sia sul piano linguistico che su quello della rappresentazione. In particolare appare notevole la suggestione esercitata dai fiumi inferi di Dante. Si veda il participio "bulicante" che richiama "bulicame", ricorrente per due volte nel canto XII dell'Inferno in riferimento al Flegentonte, il fiume di sangue dove sono immersi i violenti verso il prossimo. E a riprova di questi echi danteschi si osservi questa descrizione: "Il fiume era gonfiato a radere le sue ripe altissime e ertissime, ma con una meravigliosa compattezza e levigatezza di colata minerale, la greve pioggia affondando senza campanelli, come anime di neonati in limbo, nella sua polita metallica superficie" (282). La sponda del Tanaro è luogo di perdizione, di visioni ingannevoli e pericolose. In prossimità delle sue acque nei lunghi giorni dell'attesa dell'attacco i partigiani sembrano perdere la loro volontà, allentano la guardia, si rilassano, quasi volessero lasciarsi trascinare via dalla corrente. Sulle sue rive gli uomini di Johnny sentono rinascere "la brama degli appena assaggiati marciapiedi, cinema e caffè" oppure si ammalano di nostalgia per le "alte colline" (266).

> Johnny sedeva sui gradini della seconda piattaforma, con la testa a piombo nell'acqua nera e amorfa. Le acque non erano più mute, ma tutto era mulinello e sciabordare e fischiare e nelle tenebra scoccavano biancori che Johnny imputava soltanto a illusioni della vista strained e suggestionata. (256)

Il fiume è il leitmotiv del romanzo urbano nel *Partigiano*. Il suo progressivo gonfiarsi per via della pioggia impietosa e battente "che infradiciò la terra […] e macerò le stesse pietre della città" (275) trasmette e drammatizza la crescente tensione che si raccoglie negli uomini prima dell'inevitabile battaglia. Il primo novembre stringe i partigiani come una morsa:

> Alla porta della città lo accoglieva il rombo delle acque. Il fiume aveva annullato gli argini d'ottobre, le sentinelle erano rinculate addirittura contro la scarpata del viale grande. Il fango bulicante appariva anche più tremendo e letale delle acque impazzite. Gli altissimi flutti, veloci e come gettati in cemento, sfioravano le superstiti arcate del ponte. Nel tuonare del fiume potevi però cogliere i colpi di tosse delle invisibili sentinelle. Il caotico cielo, forgia di quel diluvio, era odioso, si tirava le bestemmie. Scivolò giù a quel cosmogonico caos d'acqua e fango e si accostò alla sentinella. […] Guardò ancora al fiume, quasi si rifornisse di materiale per il suo incubo notturno. (276-277)

Nelle settimane successive alla battaglia campale per la città, il fiume tornerà a scorrere tranquillo. Lo ritroveremo poi nelle ultime pagine del romanzo, orribilmente ghiacciato nell'inverno del 1944. Dalla pianura della città sale "il boato dei mortai sul fiume congelato: suonava come una marcia a tamburo per un'accessione al patibolo, un gigante doveva esser decapitato." (462) Così, tra i vari fiumi inferi, ritroviamo nel *Partigiano* anche l'eco dell'infernale Cocito che, nella *Commedia* di Dante, appare come un lago ghiacciato dove vengono puniti i traditori. Probabilmente la suggestiva visione dantesca è alla base anche del paragone di Alba con un lago di pietra: "Scendevano, alla very nera sponda del lago petrificato che era la città" (231). Poche pagine dopo la città vista da lontano è invece paragonata a una nave: "da lassù appariva lunga e compatta, favolosa, come un incrociatore di ferro nero bloccato su un nero mare qua piatto e là apocalitticamente ondoso" (237)[3].

Gianluigi Beccaria ha individuato la caratteristica precipua dello stile fenogliano proprio nella tensione astrattiva e simboleggiante, nell'allontanamento e nella sublimazione del dato reale attraverso la vasta sfera del mito (Beccaria: 125). Come si è potuto osservare nelle pagine precedenti la città

[3] Per le metafore marine nel *Partigiano Johnny* si veda: Canepa Ettore, *Per l'alto mare aperto. Viaggio marino e avventura metafisica da Coleridge a Carlyle, da Melville a Fenoglio*, Jaca Book, Milano, 1991.

della guerra non è raccontata da Fenoglio direttamente, facendo ricorso al potenziale denotativo del linguaggio (come avviene nel filone neorealista della sua narrativa): l'autore la suscita attraverso altri espedienti, ricorrendo a traslati e immagini di sua invenzione, oppure messi a disposizione dalla tradizione (abbiamo visto il caso della città-bestia, altrove è invece l'epica classica il vasto serbatoio a cui attinge lo scrittore). Sul piano stilistico altri ha visto nell'iperbolicità, e nella sua matrice classica e avanguardista, uno degli aspetti più singolari dello stile fenogliano (Muñiz Muñiz: 36). Frequenti sono nel *Partigiano* le similitudini iperboliche dove i fenomeni della natura vengono associati catastroficamente a quelli bellici. Sul filo di queste considerazioni è interessante constatare come nel romanzo il linguaggio della guerra e della battaglia sia utilizzato anche per descrivere la fenomenologia della vita urbana: "Il viale era tutto deserto e solo ferito dagli echi dei giganteschi fragori di gioia del centro, l'eco del bourdillon delle campane atterrava sul sordo asfalto come una pioggia di piombo. […] c'era nell'aria, esaltante ed oppressivo, il rombo delle campane (247-248), "La voce rimbalzò contro i muri e la grate delle finestre, più letale ed atterrente d'una scarica a bruciapelo" (44), "Imposte si chiudevano come spari" (247)", "passi detonanti come spari (246)", "il sole impattava sui loro fianchi come una muta esplosione" (266).

Un romanzo è anche un complesso meccanismo di piani spaziali in tensione: il movimento da e verso un luogo, l'attraversamento di uno spazio genera senso e svolte narrative. Nel *Partigiano* l'azione nasce anche dal gioco di attrazione-rilassamento tra città e collina, la "terra ancestrale" (52), "l'arcangelico regno dei partigiani" (27) al quale Johnny ascende per ritrovare la libertà e sua dimensione umana. Da questa contrapposizione scaturiscono le macrosequenze narrative del romanzo che a livello spaziale si caratterizza per una tensione cinetica ora ascendente, ora discendente, da e verso Alba, dove le fughe e gli inseguimenti forsennati, le discese in città per lo scambio dei prigionieri, gli appostamenti e le imboscate, hanno una situazione di stallo soltanto nella breve, orizzontale parentesi del romanzo urbano nel romanzo della guerra.

Alba attrae e respinge, avvicina e allontana, suscitando in Johnny sentimenti contrastanti e irrisolvibili: desiderio, rifiuto, nostalgia, rabbia, angoscia. Protagonista a tutti gli effetti di una larga parte del romanzo, l'autore riserva alla città una vasta sequela di aggettivi, definendola ora "addomesticata", "succube", "violata", "indecifrabile", ora "ribelle", "liberata" e, nell'imminenza della sconfitta, "assente a se stessa", "disputata" e poi "perduta". Protagonista anche in quanto entità collettiva, per così dire "corale", Alba leva la sua voce ora gioiosa ora disperata: "dalla sponda destra saliva il coro grillante della stupefazione del dolore di tutta la città" (18), "dal centro della città filtrava un brusio grillante, eppure estremamente cardiaco" (42); i partigiani entrano in Alba, trionfalmente: "decampavano comodamente […] verso l'abbracciante applauso della conservata città. […] Gli evviva, per l'usura delle corde vocali, stavano fondendosi in rauche appassionate chiacchiere e commenti, in saluti schioccanti da marciapiede a marciapiede" (272-273).

Abbiamo visto come la caratterizzazione dello spazio come *locus terribilis* abbia nel romanzo un binomio indissolubile: quello della città-fiume. Per ragioni di spazio non abbiamo potuto offrire che una piccola scelta delle varie modalità adottate da Fenoglio per descrivere lo spazio della città in guerra. L'analisi andrebbe estesa, e questa è la nostra intenzione, anche agli altri romanzi di Fenoglio e ad alcuni racconti, onde poter offrire un'immagine completa e quanto più esaustiva dell'immagine della città nella narrativa dello scrittore-partigiano. Per il momento lo lasciamo così, in cima a una collina, mentre la saluta attraverso lo sguardo del più famoso dei suoi personaggi, prima di riprendere l'erta: "Da una sella ebbe una parziale visione della città, accosciata in una ansa del fiume, sotto la pressura di vapori e destino. […] E pensò che forse un partigiano sarebbe stato come lui ritto sull'ultima collina, guardando la città e pensando lo stesso di lui e della sua notizia, la sera del giorno della sua morte. Ecco l'importante: che ne restasse sempre uno" (pp. 391-392).

Bibliografia

Beccaria, Gian Luigi. (1989), *Le forme della lontananza*, Milano.

Canepa, Ettore, (1991), *Per l'alto mare aperto. Viaggio marino e avventura metafisica da Coleridge a Carlyle, da Melville a Fenoglio*, Milano.

Fenoglio, Beppe. (1994), *Il partigiano Johnny*, Isella (a cura di), Torino.

Fenoglio, Beppe. (1978), *Opere (III)*, Corti (a cura di), Torino. Citazione del *Diario* a p. 205.

Głowiński, Michał. (1994), *Mity przebrane*, Kraków.

Muñiz Muñiz, María de las Nieves. "Spazio e resistenza in Fenoglio", *Beppe Fenoglio. Scrittura e resistenza*, Ferroni, Gaeta, Pedullà (a cura di), Roma, pp. 29-43.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest poświęcony zagadnieniu przestrzeni miejskiej w powieści *Il partigiano Johnny* autorstwa włoskiego pisarza-partyzanta Beppe Fenoglio (1922-1963). Analiza poszczególnych fragmentów powieści ukazuje, jak bardzo w prozie Fenoglia para miasto-rzeka jest istotnym elementem przedstawienia „przestrzeni wojny". Zwrócono również uwagę na wybory stylistyczne i metaforyczne zastosowane przez autora, aby stworzyć obraz miasta postrzeganego jako *locus terribilis*. Celem tego artykułu jest zatem odpowiedź na pytanie o miejsce, jakie zajmuje miasto w najbardziej znanym utworze tego piemonckiego pisarza. Niniejsze studium ma charakter wycinkowy i stanowi jedynie wstęp do szerszej analizy, która w zamierzeniu badacza ma dotyczyć obrazu miasta w całej twórczości Beppe Fenoglia.

Izabela Napiórkowska

I megalomani della carta, i nativi digitali e i loro libri

Gino Roncaglia chiama il passaggio ai supporti digitali *la quarta rivoluzione* (Roncaglia 2010), mentre Umberto Eco e Jean-Claude Carrière (Eco, Carrière 2009) nel loro dialogo semiserio difendono quell'interfaccia perfetta del testo con un "non sperate di liberarvi dei libri".

Personalmente non opererei nette divisioni, linee taglienti di separazione tra un prima e un dopo, anche perché, nel caso della trasmissione del testo scritto, si sono già verificate diverse svolte.

Roncaglia divide la storia della scrittura in quattro tappe, chiamandole appunto rivoluzioni. Esse sarebbero il passaggio dall'oralità alla scrittura, dal *volumen* al *codex*, dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato e, infine, dal cartaceo al digitale. All'identico punto di arrivo giunge, facendo però un percorso divergente, anche Lodovica Braida, individuando come cambiamenti significativi la sostituzione, tra il II e IV secolo d.C, del rotolo col codice; l'affermazione, tra il Medioevo e l'inizio dell'età moderna, della lettura visiva e silenziosa; l'affacciarsi, a cavallo tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento, accanto alla lettura 'intensiva' di pochi libri letti e riletti, di una lettura 'estensiva', magari meno intensa, ma estesa ad un maggior numero di testi; e, infine, la trasmissione elettronica dei testi (Braida in Chartier 2009: VI-XIX). Il secondo e il terzo passaggio riguardano per Braida le modalità della fruizione, e non direttamente la trasformazione materiale del supporto materiale del testo, anche se la lettura, chiamata 'estensiva' sarebbe in realtà la conseguenza diretta dei cambiamenti nella tecnica, o meglio tecnologia, se pensiamo al secolo successivo, della produzione quasi industriale, dei testi stampati: libri, giornali o riviste (cfr. Lynos in Cavallo, Chartier 1988: 371-410). Bisognerebbe ricordare che è cresciuto, a livello numerico, con la progressiva diffusione dell'alfabetizzazione, anche il potenziale pubblico.

L'approccio di Roncaglia, anche se riguarda lo stesso fenomeno, sembra essere leggermente diverso: non solo scandito da cesure nette, dopo le quali niente è come prima, ma è anche concentrato soprattutto sulla materialità del testo.

In realtà però, osservando le varie forme del testo scritto, questi mutamenti, seppur spesso irreversibili, non sono avvenuti nell'arco di poco tempo, anzi, si vede palesemente come le forme preesistenti coesistessero ancora, spesso per vari secoli, fino alla naturale, graduale estensione. Così per esempio, anche se il libro codice, che sembra di essere invenzione romana (cfr. Cavallo in Cavallo, Chartier 1988:63), pian piano soppiantava lo scomodo *volumen*, impegnativo anche fisicamente nella lettura, se pensiamo al coinvolgimento di entrambe le mani, quest'ultimi li possiamo ritrovare ancora fino al XIII s. nell'Italia Meridionale. Sono gli *exultet*, testi del canto liturgico pasquale del Sabato Santo eseguiti dal diacono cantore situato sul pulpito mentre i due aiutanti srotolavano il *volumen*. La maggiore stranezza degli *exultet* sta forse nel fatto di essere una sorta di fumetto medievale o un film a fotogrammi separati, dove il testo orientato verso il cantore si alternava con le immagini, capovolte in modo da permettere ai fedeli di seguire la storia.

Situazione analoga la possiamo osservare con i libri manoscritti, che venivano copiati in alcune parti dell'Europa, anche dopo la *Bibbia delle 42 linee*. È il caso dei paesi dove la stampa non è stata ben accolta né dalle autorità né dalla Chiesa o dove non c'era il potenziale pubblico e, per quei pochi interessati, a livello quantitativo la produzione manoscritta era più che sufficiente. Comunque anche dalle parti dove trionfava la stampa, nei paesi come l'Italia, la Germania, la Spagna, la Francia o l'Inghilterra fino al Settecento si nota un certo numero di manoscritti in circolazione tra i quali potremmo trovare manoscritti di lusso copiati in occasione di festeggiamenti, libri la cui riproduzione e commercio sono stati proibiti dalla Chiesa cattolica che temeva la perdita del controllo sui testi in circolazione e infine i canovacci della commedia dell'arte, sillogi di preghiere o ricettari (Petrucci in Febvre, Martin 2000: XXXVII e sgg.). La copia a mano negli uffici veniva praticata fino all'avvento della macchina da scrivere. La xilografia scompare invece solo dopo l'invenzione della fotografia.

È palese che una volta il susseguirsi di novità, in qualunque campo avvenissero, non era così frenetico come in questi ultimi anni, specie per quanto riguarda le tecnologie digitali. Rispetto alla musica, ai film e ai giornali il libro si è difeso per il momento in modo dignitoso. Mentre la rete pullulava di plichi da scaricare, più o meno legalmente, ai libri, tranne pochi e rari casi come il *Progetto Gutenberg* (www.gutenberg.org*)* o Biblioteca Italiana (www.bibliotecaitaliana.it) veniva riservato il supporto cartace. Come dicevamo, la rete ha influenzato invece le abitudini che riguardano la lettura dei quotidiani e infatti il modello tradizionale del giornale è in crisi (cfr. Cecciarelli). Ma è vero che oggi come oggi anche il libro cartaceo ha i giorni, o Natali contati?

Per il momento la situazione non sembra ancora così drammatica per il vecchio libro di carta come risulterebbe dalle profezie di Bezos (Mello 2011:15, Pezzana 2011). In quanto al mercato americano, dai dati dell'International Digital Publishing Forum (IDPF) emerge che la percentuale delle vendite degli eBook rispetto a tutti i libri venduti nell'anno 2010 ha raggiunto il 9,3% rispetto al 3,31% dell'anno precedente e al 1,19 del 2008. In Italia, invece, come anche nel resto di altri paesi del vecchio continente, le vendite si aggirano attorno allo 0,5% (Mello 2011:15), anche perché l'offerta dei titoli è decisamente meno ampia rispetto al vasto mercato americano anche nel settore più sviluppato, quello dell'editoria universitaria e professionale (Mussinelli 2011: 248 e sgg.). Mussinelli fa notare anche la crescita di un altro settore, quello degli eBook per i bambini.

La prima tendenza, quella dei libri da consultare, fa venire in mente una vecchia, seppur sempre attuale, *Bustina di Minerva* di Eco del 1994 (Eco 2001:155-156) dove si fa una netta distinzione, anzitutto dal punto di vista fruitivo, tra i libri da consultare e i libri da leggere. Eco eloggia la perfetta interfaccia del libro. Su questo argomento l'autore torna anche in *Non sperate di liberavi dei libri*, ribadendo ancora una volta che "il libro è come il cucchiaio, il martello, la ruota, le forbici. Una volta che li avete inventati, non potete fare di meglio. Non potete fare un cucchiaio che sia meglio del cucchiaio (…). Il libro ha superato le sue prove e non si vede come, per la stessa funzione, potremmo fare qualcosa di meglio" (Eco 2009:16-17). È cosi perché la forma e il materiale del libro cartaceo sono adatti alla nostra anatomia e finché non cambiamo noi, anche il libro rimarrà immutato nella sua forma materiale

Il secondo genere che si fa strada nell'editoria digitale sono gli eBook interattivi per i bambini. Marc Perensky chiama questi piccoli lettori *nativi digitali* (Perensky, Ferri 2011: 146-153) perché sono nati già nell'epoca computerizzata, informatizzata e digitalizzata ed è una generazione che legge e pensa diversamente dai 'vecchi' *gutenberghiani*, immigrati nel digitale già da adulti. La differenza fondamentale non è infatti l'età, ma il modo di percepire il mondo. "I *digital natives* – spiega Ferri - crescono, apprendono, comunicano e socializzano all'interno di questo nuovo ecosistema mediale, 'vivono' nei media digitali, non li utilizzano come strumento di produttività individuale e di svago, sono in simbiosi strutturale con essi" (Ferri 2011:148). Hanno bisogno di esperienze scintillanti, di essere continuamente, ma per breve tempo, stimolati, non studiano, ma apprendono. Sono loro i lettori modello degli eBook, dell'interfaccia che gli permette una lettura multitasking. Il passaggio dal libro cartaceo al libro elettronico non è solo il cambiamento del supporto materiale e comporta non solo il cambiamento delle abitudini di lettura, ma anche un cambiamento antropologico. Infatti pare che si stia assistendo al passaggio *dall'homo sapiens* all'*homo zappiens*. "I ragazzi *born digital* svilupperebbero, insomma, abilità mentali diverse: dalla capacità di pensare in modo non sequenziale e di individuare gli elementi essenziali in un magma di informazioni, alla tendenza a sostituire il bagaglio della conoscenza nozionistica con l'abilità nell' uso dei motori di ricerca, fino alla pretesa di dare dignità culturale anche al «copia e incolla»" (Gaggi 2010). *Zappiens* non vuol dire però *meno sapiens*, semmai *diversamente sapiens*. Mentre gli immigranti digitali o i vecchi gutenberghiani leggono in modo lineare, apprendono per assorbimento nel pieno rispetto dell'autorità del testo, i nativi digitali non hanno la pazienza di concentrarsi troppo a lungo sulla pagina scritta, perché ormai il loro modo di pensare è di natura associativa (cfr. Ferri 2011:152).

Delle conseguenze è forse ancor troppo presto per parlarne. E i rischi? La risposta ce la danno Eco e Carrière (Eco, Carrière 2009: 59 e sgg.), spiegando la differenza tra la cultura tipografica e quella elettronica. La prima si serve del principio di economia ed essendo selettiva ci fa pervenire solo quello che è davvero rilevante, mentre la cultura elettronica non filtra né seleziona, gli è estranea la gerarchia. È una sorta di memoria incontrollabile senza limiti.

Per concludere con Ferri, l'unica cosa certa, è che "i nativi digitali sono vivi, noi stiamo… invecchiando". (Ferri 2011:153)

Bibliografia

Braida, Lodovica, *Introduzione all'edizione italiana* in **Chartier Roger** (2009)**,** *Ascoltare il passato con gli occhi*, Roma-Bari.

Cavallo, Guglielmo, *Tra 'volumen' e 'codex'. La lettura nel mondo romano* in **Cavallo, Guglielmo, Chartier, Roger (a cura di)** (1988), *La storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*, Roma-Bari.

Ceciarelli, Claudio, *E-book vs cartaceo: tanto rumore per nulla?* www.teccani.it/Portale/sito/scuola/dossier/2009/letteratura_informatica/ceciarelli.htm

Eco, Umberto (2001), *Libri da consultare e libri da leggere* in *La bustina di Minerva*, Milano, pp.155-156.

Eco, Umberto, Carrière, Jean-Claude (2009), *Non sperate di liberarvi dei libri*, Milano.

Ferri, Paolo (2011), *I nativi digitali, una razza in via di evoluzione* in Spinazzola, Vittorio (2011), *Tirature. L'Italia del dopobenessere*, Milano, pp. 146-153.

Gaggi, Massimo (7 .02.2010*), L' era dell' homo zappiens. I ragazzi «nati digitali» sviluppano abilità intellettuali (e biologiche) diverse Così le tecnologie «ricablano» il nostro cervello e disegnano un' altra specie*, Il Corriere della Sera, http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2010/febbraio/07/era_dell_homo_zappiens_co_9_100207162.shtml

International Digital Publishing Forum, www.idpf.org

Lynos, Martyn, *I nuovi lettori nel XIX secolo: donne, fanciulli, operai* in **Cavallo, Guglielmo, Chartier, Roger** (a cura di) (1988), *La storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*, Roma-Bari, pp. 371-410.

Mello, Federico (9.02.2011), Bufale sull'e-book. Amazon fornisce cifre trionfanti, ma in Italia ilmercato non sfonda: è fermo allo 0,5%, Il Fatto Quotidiano, p.15.

Mussinelli, Cristina, *L'anno dell'iPad* in **Spinazzola, Vittorio** (2011), *Tirature '11. L'Italia del dopobenessere*, Milano, pp. 247-256.

Perensky, Marc (2001), *Digital Natives Digital Immigrants,* On the Horizon MCB University Press, Vol. 9 No. 5, October 2001, http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/prensky%20-%20digital%20natives,%20digital%20immigrants%20-%20part1.pdf.

Petrucci, Armando, *Introduzione. Per una nuova storia del libro* in **Febvre, Lucien**, **Martin, Henri-Jean** (2000), *La nascita del libro*, Roma-Bari, pp. I-XLVIII.

Pezzana, Angelo (18.02.2011), *Libri o ebook l'inganno di Bezos*, La Stampa, http://www.lastampa.it/_web/cmstp/tmplRubriche/editoriali/gEditoriali.asp?ID_blog=25&ID_articolo=8422&ID_sezione=29&sezione=

Roncaglia, Gino (2010), *La quarta rivoluzione. Sei lezioni sul futuro del libro*, Roma-Bari.

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł ma za cel przybliżenie problematyki związanej z transformacją materialnej formy tekstu w niematerialny nośnik elektroniczny; ma to wpływ nie tylko na *forma mentis* nowego czytelnika, ale i na jego odczytania tekstu.

Łukasz Jan Berezowski

Quando la realtà diventa più strana della *fiction*... Il fenomeno di fantapolitica sull'esempio delle opere di Agente Italiano: *Il Broglio* (2006) *e Pronto, chi spia? Il libro nero delle intercettazioni* (2006)

> *Non è chi vota che conta, è chi conta i voti*
> Iosif Vissarionovič Džugašvili detto Stalin

> *Io lo so, ma non ho le prove*
> Pier Paolo Pasolini

> Non dovevano vincere le elezioni. E il Biondo non doveva sparire. Non doveva succedere tutto questo. E non doveva succedere così. Questa storia cominciò [...] il 10 aprile. Un giorno che andavano a votare tutti quelli che non avevano votato il giorno prima, e il Biondo invece andò in Questura perché aveva una cosa da raccontare.
> (Agente italiano 2006: 127)

Sono le prime parole del prologo de *Il Broglio*, romanzo fantapolitico scritto da Agente italiano, etichetta autoriale collettiva, che con le loro opere, pubblicate nel corso del 2006 ed ispirate agli eventi accaduti ai vertici del potere italiano, hanno provocato non poche discussioni e perplessità. Prima di passare all'analisi del romanzo vorrei fare alcune considerazioni in ordine alla convenzione di fantapolitica cui *Il Broglio* appartiene, mettendo in luce i suoi strumenti e gli obiettivi, pertinenti al tema del ritorno al reale trattato in questo articolo. La convenzione che mi interessa, tocca il problema stesso della realtà sottesa al racconto, e del rapporto di chi scrive con la verità fattuale.

La fantapolitica, il corrispondente italiano del termine anglofono *political fiction*, formalmente costituisce un sottofilone della narrativa fantascientifica, e risale alla seconda metà del Novecento. Attraverso una profonda evoluzione che ha subito negli ultimi decenni, si è cristallizzata una convenzione autonoma caratterizzata da un repertorio di modi tipici dei componimenti letterari attinenti alle questioni socio-politiche sul piano del contenuto e dotate dell'elemento di tensione.

Un'ibridazione tematica di varie forme di scrittura come giallo, *thriller* e storia controfattuale, ha dato vita ad una corrente del tutto innovatrice che, a partire dagli anni 2000 si è impegnata più profondamente su argomenti di attualità per proiettare scenari alternativi delle vicende dei governanti o per smascherare gli scandali da cui è nata la cosiddetta *Seconda Repubblica*.

Un'altra questione che vorrei affrontare in sede preliminare è il concetto dell'autorialità collettiva, un fenomeno diffuso nella letteratura fantapolitica italiana sin dagli anni trenta del Novecento, in cui fu pubblicato il romanzo *Lo zar non è morto*, firmato dal gruppo dei Dieci capeggiato da Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. Il romando presentava una visione alternativa della storia: vi si immaginava come sarebbe stato il mondo se l'imperatore russo Nicola II non fosse ucciso dai bolscevichi e si ritrovasse all'improvviso in Cina, dove avrebbe tramato un piano ingegnoso per riconquistare il potere perduto. Pur essendo elaborato più di ottant'anni fa, il libro – che tradisce un gusto sfrenato per la narrazione piena di avventure – risplende in questi anni di una nuova luce. Le caratteristiche più salienti di opere simili sono la forma aperta e una certa incompiutezza, in definitiva anche sul piano del contenuto, nonché la loro interattività o transmedialità al livello della fruizione. Questi due principi comportano un legame di interdipendenza tra i singoli elementi all'interno di un opera letteraria e nel contesto più ampio.

Occupiamoci ora direttamente de *Il broglio* e di *Pronto chi spia?Il libro nero delle intercettazioni* di Agente italiano. La trama del primo racconta gli eventi del 10 aprile 2006. Durante le elezioni al Parlamento, Freddy, un giornalista de *La Cronaca* viene a sapere dall'investigatore privato Biondo che il leader della Destra Tycoon ("uomo di televisione, proprietario di tutte le più importanti tv commerciali, di una squadra di calcio che stava lottando per la Champions league, di assicurazioni, di imprese edili, e di un mucchio di altre cose, uno che aveva quasi sempre vinto" (Agente italiano 2006: 132) e le poche volte che aveva perso avrebbe fatto fuoco e fiamme contro il suo avversario più grande cioè Curato, il leader della Sinistra) avrebbe tentato un broglio elettorale per impedire il trionfo del *Gruppo Democratico*. Quest'ultimo aveva, secondo i sondaggi, cinque punti di vantaggio sul *Partito della Libertà del Cannibale.* L'azione ingnobile del Tycoon, presentata nel romanzo, consiste nell'essersi impossessato delle schede bianche, il cui numero (che per si aggirava attorno al cinque per cento) ha cominciato a diminuire rapidamente di minuto in minuto dopo la pubblicazione dei primi *exit polls* scendendo al solo 0,6 per cento, sicché quei cinque punti di distacco si sono ridotti a nulla. È davvero possibile che tutti i sondaggi abbiano commesso lo stesso errore? – è invitato a riflettere a questo punto il lettore. Intanto Biondo ha lasciato la sua segretaria Lara ed è sparito, Freddy ha seguito il Ministro degli Interni Pietro Livornesi che aveva abbandonato il Viminale per recarsi nella villa privata del Tycoon e ha bloccato lo spoglio per 48 minuti. 48 minuti che potevano, da soli, cambiare la rotta della storia della *Seconda Repubblica*. Ma non era chiaro chi sarebbe stato a trattenere Tycoon dal piano di rovesciamento dello scrutinio. Il ministro stesso? I membri della coalizione di centro-destra o un ignoto gruppo di giornalisti e investigatori?. Il mistero non è stato chiarito. Questo *instant-book*, scritto a distanza di un mese dagli avvenimenti descritti, è stato il primo esperimento della recente letteratura italiana di questo tipo, e si è ispirato al successo di *roman à clef* statunitensi (come *Primary colours* pubblicato anonimo nel 1998 e che trattava della campagna elettorale del presidente Bill Clinton). Secondo Igor de Amicis, il romanzo di Agente italiano

> si lascia apprezzare proprio per i dialoghi veloci ed il ritmo serrato della narrazione, che cambia freneticamente punto di vista e interlocutori, cercando di riprodurre nel suo intreccio la convulsione dei momenti di incertezza e tensione descritti nella trama. I protagonisti sono tanti, lo potremmo quasi definire un romanzo corale, i loro nomi sono mascherati, ma facilmente riconoscibili, c'è ne per tutti… politici, giornalisti, sondaggisti, direttori di giornali e tanti altri.[1]

Proprio l'uso dei nomi fittizi mette in discussione quanto di "fanta" e quanto di "politica" vi sia nel libro e a quali conclusioni il lettore venga portato. È un tipo di letteratura progettato e destinato non solo a informare la società, ma soprattutto ad influire sulla sua sfera emotiva e a provocare reazioni contrastanti, far riflettere. L'autore, stringendo un patto referenziale con il lettore (une delle caratteristiche costanti della convenzione della *political fiction*), lo obbliga a credere vero quello che egli gli racconta. Questo diventa possibile solo se accade in un contesto socio-politico opportuno (nella fattispecie, subito dopo le elezioni), e tale era anche l'intenzione degli autori de *Il Broglio*.

Nella ricezione dell'opera si manifesta inoltre un'inversione del rapporto fantastico - reale: il libro ha ispirato Enrico Deaglio e Beppe Cremagnani a girare il film-reportage *Uccidete la democrazia*, in cui si tenta di ripercorrere la vicenda elettorale seguendo le premesse dell'Agente italiano. È una situazione senza precedenti, affine forse solo a quella presentata nel film polacco *Dług* ("Debito") di Krzysztof Krauze, i cui protagonisti, due giovani imprenditori, perseguitati da un ricattatore e spinti all'estremo, decidono di ammazzarlo. Solo grazie all'opera del regista l'opinione pubblica ha conosciuto la vera storia, e molti ne sono rimasti sconvolti: è un caso di *fiction* trasformata in *faction*.

Il secondo romanzo, intitolato *Pronto chi spia? Il libro nero delle intercettazioni*, uscito sempre nel 2006, consiste nella trascrizione delle intercettazioni di comunicazioni telefoniche di figure importanti tra cui Antonio Fazio (presidente della Banca Centrale Italiana), Luciano Moggi (direttore generale della squadra di calcio Juventus), Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia (principe di Napoli, figlio dell'ultimo re d'Italia Umberto II) e Salvatore Sottile (portavoce del ministro degli Esteri di allora e del vicepresidente del Consiglio Gianfranco Fini). La rivelazione delle loro conversazioni telefoniche con uomini politici, imprenditori, ma anche con prostitute e molti altri, ha suscitato lo scandalo definito di volta in volta Bancopoli, Puttanopoli, Calciopoli e Valettopoli, ha portato alle dimissioni dalle cariche ricoperte, e ha dato avvio a procedimenti giudiziari per malversazione e corruzione.

Dal punto di vista generico il libro è difficilmente classificabile. Secondo de Amicis "non è un romanzo, ma si legge come tale, non è una commedia, ma fa ridere come se lo fosse, non è un giallo/thriller nonostante i misteri e complotti siano presenti in ogni pagina."[2] Anche se le intercettazioni sono state trascritte in maniera molto fedele, non si tratta di una semplice esposizione dei fatti. Il libro fornisce didascalie, commenti agli enunciati (non privi di malizia nei confronti dei loro attori) e ulteriori spiegazioni d'autore che consentono di seguire tutte le vicende anche da parte di un lettore comune. In questo caso sarebbe più giusto denominarlo "un libro di denuncia" o più precisamente un ritratto di una società in uno stato di rovina morale e verbale.

Per illustrare in modo più ampio i meccanismi che reggono i processi decisionali in simili contesti malavitosi, vengono riportate le trascrizioni delle due chiamate più interessanti: la prima avvenuta tra il presidente della Juventus Luciano Moggi e la sua segretaria con uno scambio di informazioni sull'avan-

[1] I. de Amicis, *Il broglio*, in: *ThrillerMagazine,* 20/10/2006, http://www.thrillermagazine.it/libri/3771

[2] I. de Amicis, *Pronto chi spia?*, in: *ThrillerMagazine,* 18/11/2006, http://www.thrillermagazine.it/libri/3998/

zamento dei lavori di corruzione degli arbitri; la seconda dell'imprenditore veneziano Ugo Bonazza che sta fissando un appuntamento con una *escort* per conto del principe Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia:

MOGGI LUCIANO Pronto?
SEGRETARIA Direttore buongiorno, sono Alessia della segreteria sportiva!
MOGGI Buongiorno Alessia!
SEGRETARIA Buongiorno! Sono usciti gli arbitri!
MOGGI Mi dica un po' di Rodomonti!
SEGRETARIA Ah! Sì! Eh, lo sa già? (*ride*) Allora, glieli dico tutti?
MOGGI Sì, me li dica tutti!

Altra telefonata:
MOGGI LUCIANO Pronto?
SEGRETARIA Eccomi!
MOGGI Uh!
SEGRETARIA Ho gli arbitri di serie A e serie B!
MOGGI Non mi dica che noi… Eh?
SEGRETARIA (*ride*) Dondarini!
MOGGI Dondarini, uhm…
SEGRETARIA L'ha già saputo? (*ride*) E anche gli altri?
MOGGI Racalbuto sta a Reggio Calabria, Pieri sta a Parma…
SEGRETARIA Ha già preso tutto! Allora, io le comunico gli assistenti più tardi?
MOGGI Se lei mi comunica Mitro e… Mi comunichi Baglioni, per esempio, e Alvino!
SEGRETARIA Ma gli assistenti non sono usciti ancora!
MOGGI Eh, ma io già glieli dico!
SEGRETARIA Ah… già… già li sa? (*ride*) Allora come facciamo, la chiamo dopo…
(Agente italiano, *Pronto, chi spia?*, pp. 60-61)

BONAZZA UGO Ascolta, stasera hai impegni e roba, o potresti essere libera?
SONIA No no, per adesso sto libera.
BONAZZA Perché c'è un problema.
SONIA Uhm.
BONAZZA Ci sarebbe… da andare in Ginevra.
(si preoccupano di trovare un trasporto, treno o aereo che la porti a Ginevra da Milano)
BONAZZA Eh, praticamente la persona è una persona importante… vabbe', posso dirti che è il principe Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia.
SONIA Uhm uhm.
BONAZZA Sei italiana te?
SONIA Uhm, di origine. Per metà solo.
BONAZZA Di origine?
SONIA Solo per metà. Sono araba per metà.
BONAZZA Va bene. Che c'entra, buono. Non volevo mica dire niente. C'ho un'amica mia che è algerina di origine, però è carina. (*ride*).
SONIA (*sorride*).
BONAZZA Cioè, come sei? Alta, bassa, piccola, giusta? Eh?
SONIA Sono alta un metro e settanta.
BONAZZA Però! Buono! Giovane?
SONIA Sì, ventidue anni.
BONAZZA Eh be', sei giovane e carina… Ascolta, niente, ci sarebbe… non so se conosci il principe Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia.
SONIA Ah ah.
BONAZZA Ne hai mai sentito parlare? Ecco, bisognerebbe giustamente raggiungere Ginevra. Se caso mai c'hai possibilità, mi fai sapere.
SONIA Ok.
BONAZZA Perché io sono adesso a Venezia. E praticamente lui era disponibile stasera. Siccome che, ti spiego, queste persone, sai, all'ultimo momento sanno queste cose…
SONIA Ah ah.
BONAZZA Questa sera lui sarebbe libero, ecco. Passare, un pochino, la serata a Ginevra. Se, eventualmente, dovessi farcela, mi fai sapere, insomma.
SONIA Ok. Va bene.
(Agente italiano, *Pronto, chi spia?,* pp. 126-127)

Al di là della caoticità del discorso (tratto tipico degli enunciati orali) quello che colpisce nei contenuti del materiale citato non è tanto la povertà del linguaggio adoperato, ma innanzitutto la disinvoltura con cui esprimono le loro intenzioni delittuose o semplicemente basse, rivelando un'assoluta mancanza di scrupoli e remore morali. Interessante è anche che i personaggi, pur sapendo di essere vigilati (una sensazione particolarmente percettibile nella chiamata tra Moggi e la sua segretaria in quanto entrambi parlano per sottintesi dei dettagli della faccenda) e pur usando un numero infinito di schede prepagate e scollegandosi ogni volta per far perdere le tracce, non si fermano e non interrompono quanto stanno compiendo. Gli stenogrammi comprovano, dunque, l'esistenza di rapporti collusi all'interno di questo sistema tangentizio-sessuale e grazie alla loro pubblicazione (previa denuncia parziale da parte di alcuni giornali), quasi tutti i casi hanno trovato il loro finale in giudizio, superando le intenzioni espresse dagli autori nella premessa che "la sentenza più o meno definitiva emessa dalle intercettazioni non è una condanna penale [perché] chi se ne frega dei verdetti in tribunale" (Agente italiano 2006: 9). L'importante era, per l'Agente italiano, far luce su questa catena di traffici illeciti per eliminarli dalla vita pubblica. Eppure, se non fosse per la denuncia che il libro ha operato, probabilmente Antonio Fazio sarebbe tuttora alla guida della Banca d'Italia, Luciano Moggi continuerebbe a gestire i campionati della serie A, e Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia sarebbe rimasto un rispettabile uomo d'affari. *Pronto chi spia?* dimostra insomma che la realtà può fornire materiale utile e prezioso alla fantapolitica, che a sua volta è in grado di cambiare il corso degli eventi.

Per concludere, cerchiamo di capire perché la fantapolitica sia divenuta un tipo di scrittura così in voga ai giorni nostri, a che cosa deve il suo successo, e che tipo di scrittura sia – di impegno sul reale o di intrattenimento? Una risposta alla prima parte della domanda potrebbe essere presa a prestito da un saggio di Alessandro Perissinotto sul genere in qualche misura imparentato, del *noir*. Secondo lo studioso

> [Sono] narrazioni concepite come cammino verso l'accertamento o la manifestazione di una verità inizialmente negata. Questo cammino è l'indagine. Non importa quali siano i metodi dell'investigazione [...], né importa se l'investigatore è riflessivo o violento, poliziotto o detective privato, avvocato o addirittura delinquente: l'unica cosa che conta è il fatto che l'autentico oggetto di valore del racconto è la verità. (Perisinotto 2008: 7-8)

Il desiderio di verità spinge gli autori ai confini tra la realtà e la fiction. L'uso del repertorio degli strumenti di finzionalizzazione aiuta a giocare con il vero e il verosimile senza alcun rischio di ripercussioni di tipo diffamatorio. La *fiction* diventa un escamotage per poter veicolare contenuti veri, veridici o presunti tali. La convenzione fantapolitica, proprio avvalendosi di tale ambigua zona di confine tra la *fiction* e la *non-fiction*, resta al riparo da accuse e mette gli scrittori in salvo da citazioni a giudizio, permettendo allo stesso tempo all'autore di "giocare a rivelare i fatti del reale", gioco cui i giornali ufficiali spesso e volentieri rinunciano. Un'elevata componente di intrattenimento che alcune opere dell'area di *political fiction* presentano, a volte le fa precipitare nel "genere complottistico" o di evasione, che, pur godendo di un discreto ma breve successo commerciale, non portano il lettore a nessuna riflessione approfondita e, dopo un certo periodo di popolarità, semplicemente cadono nell'oblio (cfr. il caso *Codice da Vinci* di Dan Brown).

Agente italiano si sottrae però a questa categorizzazione: oltre all'interesse mediatico e a un alto numero di copie vendute, ha anche avviato, attraverso l'effetto domino, una serie di eventi che hanno bloccato l'attività criminale delle persone pubbliche e ha provocato conseguenze insperate (dimissioni dalle cariche, procedimenti giudiziari, interpellanze parlamentari ecc.). Meno un libro di fantapolitica sembra orientato all'intrattenimento, più ha la vita lunga, determinando accadimenti extraletterari, in virtù di quella forza perlocutoria a cui ambiscono molti testi di autori odierni impegnati nel reale.

Bibliografia

I. Libri

Agente italiano (2006) *Il broglio*, Reggio Emilia: Aliberti Editore

Agente italiano (2006) *Pronto, chi spia? Il libro nero delle intercettazioni*, Reggio Emilia: Aliberti Editore

Perissinotto, Alessandro (2008) *Società dell'indagine. Riflessioni sopra il successo del poliziesco*, Milano, RCS

II. Articoli

Corrias, Pino. "Il voto, il Tycoon, il Curato. La lunga notte del broglio", La Repubblica, 24/05/2006

de Amicis, Igor. "Il broglio", ThrillerMagazine, 20/10/2006, http://www.thrillermagazine.it/libri/3771

de Amicis, Igor. "Pronto, chi spia?", ThrillerMagazine, 18/11/2006, http://www.thrillermagazine.it/libri/3998/

Trocino, Alessandro. "Gli anonimi del libro: "La sinistra sapeva, ora dovrebbe spiegare", Il Corriere della sera, 25/11/2006

III. Filmografia

Deaglio, Enrico / Cremagnani, Beppe. *Uccidete la democrazia*, 2006

Deaglio, Enrico / Cremagnani, Beppe. *Gli imbroglioni*, 2007

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest konwencji *political fiction* w literaturze włoskiej na przykładzie twórczości anonimowej grupy artystycznej Agente italiano, której dwa dzieła, wydane w 2006 roku, *Il Broglio* (Fałszerstwo wyborcze) oraz *Pronto, chi spia? Il libro nero delle intercettazioni* (Halo, kto szpieguje? Czarna księga podsłuchów), wywołały żywe zainteresowanie opinii publicznej. Akcja *Il Broglio* osadzona jest w okresie wyborów parlamentarnych we Włoszech w 2006 roku. Grupa dziennikarzy śledczych natrafia na trop fałszerstwa wyborczego, którego miał dopuścić się Tycoon (aktualnie urzędujący premier i lider centroprawicy) w chwili, gdy dowiaduje się z sondaży *exit polls*, że przewaga partii jego przeciwnika, Curato (przedstawiciela centrolewicy) wzrasta o 5 punktów procentowych. Bohaterowie powieści za wszelką cenę starają się udaremnić planowane przez Tycoona oszustwo, w dokonaniu którego miały posłużyć mu karty do głosowania obywateli, którzy oddali pusty głos. Drugi z omawianych utworów, *Pronto, chi spia? Il libro nero delle intercettazioni*, opublikowany

w niespełna kilka miesięcy później, jest zapisem z podsłuchów rozmów telefonicznych pomiędzy najważniejszymi osobami w państwie: politykami, przedsiębiorcami, działaczami sportowymi z prostytutkami, lobbystami i przedstawicielami świata przestępczego. Książkowa publikacja stenogramów (znanych dotąd jedynie dzięki cząstkowym przekazom prasowym), opatrzonych szczegółowymi komentarzami Agente italiano, obnażyła istnienie i funkcjonowanie mechanizmów korupcjogennych, obecnych we włoskiej sferze publicznej i doprowadziła do ujawnienia czterech największych afer ostatniego dziesięciolecia we Włoszech: *Bancopoli*, *Puttanopoli*, *Calciopoli* i *Valettopoli*.

Marta Piłat Zuzankiewicz

Francisco de Quevedo ante el origen y límites del poder temporal y espiritual. Consideraciones en torno a la aparición del Estado moderno

La fractura del *populus christianus*, fundamento de la unidad medieval de los cristianos bajo el gobierno del Papa y el Emperador, da lugar a una nueva organización jurídico–política con un poder independiente: el Estado moderno. Su aparición resucita las viejas polémicas doctrinales acerca del poder del rey o Emperador y el del Papa que en los siglos anteriores constituía un grave problema teológico-jurídico. Cabe recordar que hasta el siglo XI los monarcas eran considerados no sólo como lugartenientes de Dios, sino también como representantes de una entidad mística inmortal, el *cuerpo místico*, constituyendo su cabeza natural. A partir de entonces el Papado pretende convertirse también en cabeza temporal de la sociedad política de modo que la función del gobernante queda reducida a hacer cumplir los mandamientos divinos (Ruiz de la Cuesta 1984: 103).

En la época moderna los partidarios de la superioridad del Papa lanzan la tesis del origen divino de la potestad eclesiástica de la que deriva la civil, lo cual sirve de base para la subordinación del Estado a la Iglesia. Su teoría defiende las pretensiones de la Iglesia afirmando que "el sacerdocio es anterior a la realeza, e históricamente el sacerdote ha constituido al Rey. Los Príncipes que no han tenido este origen se han alzado por usurpación o invasión, es decir, ilegítimamente" (Maravall 1997: 139). Por otra parte, los defensores del poder laico insisten en el origen divino de éste, al proclamar que la potestad del Emperador proviene inmediatamente de Dios y negar que la Iglesia sea una comunidad política.

Cabe recordar que en dicha época existen dos teorías de la atribución del poder estatal: la teoría de la designación y la de la traslación. La teoría de la designación, generalmente admitida por el pensamiento del siglo XVI y la primera mitad del XVII, viene de la tradición teológico – jurídica de la XIII Epístola de San Pablo a los Romanos, según la cual „Non est potestas nisi a Deo". Esta doctrina es desarrollada por los autores que buscan en la figura del monarca un reflejo divino. En cambio, la teoría de la traslación, apoyada por los pensadores de la Segunda Escolástica, supone una transferencia del poder divino al rey a través de la comunidad, una delegación voluntaria del poder por parte del pueblo en un monarca mediante un pacto de carácter político. Dicha concepción, desarrollada por Francisco Suárez y Luis de Molina, aboga por una doctrina del origen nacional del poder político que impone a los gobernantes ciertas limitaciones de carácter religioso y moral, atribuyéndoles la función del representante de los intereses de su pueblo.

La obra política de Francisco de Quevedo se inscribe en la corriente del pensamiento antimaquiavelista que condena la supremacía del interés del Estado sobre la moral y religión cristianas y al mismo tiempo rechaza la autonomía de la política, intentando restaurar la armonía tomista entre la razón y la fe. El escritor resuelve el problema del origen del poder acudiendo a la

Biblia, donde encuentra la confirmación de su origen divino, lo cual le permite apoyar el concepto de la divinización de la persona del gobernante terreno: "los reyes son vicarios de Dios, y reinan por él, y deben reinar para él, y a su ejemplo e imitación" (Quevedo 1947: 204). Para Quevedo el monarca desempeña una función de contenido divino, siendo al mismo tiempo un intermediario entre la voluntad de Dios y los súbditos a los que la traslada. Eso le permite atribuir a la voluntad divina la elección de la persona real: "Señor, la voluntad de Dios, que os envió para rey al mundo, es que le gobernéis a su imitación; y vuestra obra sólo se perfecciona con este cuidado" (Quevedo 1947: 172). Merece subrayar que a los ojos del autor, el origen del poder real no coincide con el origen del rey como persona que lo ejerce, el primero es divino, mientras que el segundo, no. Dicha incoherencia encuentra su aclaración en la tesis elaborada por A. Ruiz de la Cuesta que nota en estas opiniones de Quevedo un intento de mediación o compromiso entre las teorías de origen divino y el mediato del poder político (Ruiz de la Cuesta 1984: 75).

El origen divino del poder real permite a los teóricos políticos del siglo XVII acuñar la teoría que percibe en la figura del rey una prolongación de Cristo en la tierra y en la monarquía terrestre, un modelo del gobierno divino. Quevedo parece apoyar dicha tesis, afirmando que debido a los errores de gobernar que comete la defectuosa naturaleza humana Cristo "vino (a la tierra) a enseñar a los reyes" (Quevedo 1947: 35) para darles a conocer el verdadero arte de gobierno. La concepción de la monarquía como una institución ordenada por Dios, que refleja su Reino Celestial, se refuerza al fijar la función de los reyes como "vicarios de Dios en la tierra" (Quevedo 1947: 204). Esto implica ciertas consecuencias para el gobernante que dispone del poder en una medida limitada según lo establece la voluntad divina. Como administrador, y no propietario, debe ejercer el poder conforme con la intención y la voluntad de Dios revelada en la Sagrada Escritura. Poniendo de manifiesto el duro trabajo de los reyes, el autor advierte de la responsabilidad de su cargo que exige entregarse completamente al cuidado de las necesidades y el bien del pueblo.

El estrecho vínculo entre el monarca terreno, ministro de Dios, y la religión que le obliga a realizar la tarea de conducir a los hombres hacia Dios, atribuye a la realeza, como observa J. A. Maravall, una evidente condición de ministerio eclesiástico que insertado en el orden de la Iglesia es casi un sacerdocio. Aunque el titular no recibe el sacramento del orden sacerdotal, la política resulta estar absorbida en el orden de la gracia (Maravall 1997: 77-78). Esta clasificación de la política dentro del ámbito de lo sagrado conlleva para el monarca católico una obligación de proteger a la Iglesia de la herejía que en la época barroca constituye una gran amenaza para la verdadera fe. De ahí que resulte imprescindible que los príncipes cristianos salgan en su defensa, viendo en eso su deber espiritual derivado del origen divino de su poder. El reforzamiento de la tesis del origen divino del poder en los escritores católicos del siglo XVII responde a las exigencias de la hora, cuando, como señala el estudioso, la Iglesia quiere recordar a los monarcas su relación con el orden espiritual y sus compromisos, por consiguiente, para con éste (Maravall 1997: 141).

La disputa sobre el poder real y el papal tiene sus orígenes en la división medieval, a la que alude en el siglo XVI Francisco Suárez, entre el poder temporal, destinado a regular las relaciones interhumanas, y el espiritual que encamina a Dios. El teólogo observa una clara división entre los objetivos de ambos poderes. El fin del poder temporal lo constituye la felicidad de la vida presente, felicidad de la comunidad humana perfecta que debe vivir en paz y justicia, con la abundancia de bienes para el mantenimiento y con la rectitud de costumbres. En cambio, el poder espiritual, ejercido por el papa, se orienta a la felicidad eterna y sobrenatural de la vida futura (Aldea Vaquero 1982: 535-536).

En la época de la Contrarreforma coexisten varias teorías sobre las relaciones que se guardan entre los dos poderes. La teoría hierocrática se basa en la doble personalidad jurídica del Papa como sucesor de san Pedro y al mismo tiempo príncipe temporal, jefe de un Estado italiano, a consecuencia de lo cual el poder espiritual y eclesiástico le pertenecen por ordenación divina. Dicha teoría supone la supremacía del poder espiritual sobre el temporal de tal forma que permite al Pontífice ejercer el poder sobre el príncipe temporal. De esta manera el Estado sometido a un poder superior de su orden deja de ser soberano y se convierte en súbdito de la Iglesia. En cambio, la teoría iusnaturalista cristiana subraya la soberanía del Estado que ejerce sus funciones con plena autonomía y sin control alguno dentro del campo de su competencia. Y solamente en aquellas cosas que atañen al fin sobrenatural debe someterse al poder espiritual. Los partidarios de la teoría iusnaturalista se apoyan en la conclusión de la Junta de 1632 que afirma que Cristo no hizo rey a san Pedro ni en acto ni en potencia porque Cristo nunca ejerció el gobierno temporal. Al Papa, entonces, no le pertenece ninguna superioridad respecto a los príncipes, por lo cual el rey español es en lo temporal un monarca supremo que no reconoce a otro superior (Aldea Vaquero 1982: 535-536).

En el pensamiento de Francisco de Quevedo el problema del poder temporal y espiritual ocupa un lugar destacado. El Papa, como representante de Cristo en la tierra y cabeza de la Iglesia, tiene una natural supremacía moral y espiritual sobre los monarcas terrenos. En la segunda parte de la *Política de Dios*, dedicada al papa Urbano VIII, el autor expone su opinión sobre la función del pontífice en la tierra: "tiene vuestra majestad de Dios tantos y tan grandes reinos, que sólo de su boca y acciones y de los que le imitaron puede tomar modo de gobernar con acierto y providencia. ... El mayor discípulo es vuestra majestad que Dios tiene entre los reyes, y el que más le importa para su pueblo y su Iglesia saliese celoso y bien asistido" (Quevedo 1947: 10-11). Al mismo tiempo sostiene que Cristo le entregó a San Pedro junto con las llaves el poder espiritual sobre el mundo cristiano: „Santísimo Padre, puerta es de vuestras llaves la de la salud de los pueblos, la de la salvación de las gentes; por aquí tiene paso al cielo, que vos abrís y cerráis, las almas de los potentados del mundo" (Quevedo 1947: 202).

Como observa J. Riandière La Roche, el escritor no se limita a afirmar la potencia espiritual de pontífice, sino que le admite la jurisdicción de las dos espadas que, según la doctrina del papa Gelasio, representan lo espiritual y lo temporal. Según dicha teoría, los dos poderes tienen su base en la voluntad de Dios y cada uno de ellos es autónomo en su esfera de actividad (Buchner 2007: 19-20). Según la crítica, Quevedo aboga por "la supremacía del poder espiritual sobre el temporal, y animaba al Pontífice a reunir en sus manos ambos poderes - "entrambas espadas" - , justificando dicha reunión con la lucha necesaria contra los heréticos" (Riandière La Roche 2004: 401). Por nuestra parte, somos de la opinión que don Francisco le concede al Papa el poder espiritual en acto y el temporal en hábito y potencia, cuyo uso y ejercicio pasa al Emperador y a los reyes. Podemos observarlo en el pasaje donde el tratadista suplica la intervención de Urbano VIII contra los herejes:

> „El papa Urbano ... tan urbanamente oró, que conciliando en uno los afectos de todos los que le oían, aclamaron todos: Dios quiere, Dios quiere. Vuestra beatitud tiene prenda segura de la virtud de esta unión, para lograrla en imitar aquella eficacia con la de la oración. Hable vuestra santidad: concilie los afectos de todos, que hoy están en batalla y en disensión. Pues Dios quiso con este nombre, con esta doctrina, poner a vuestra beatitud en la silla de San Pedro, oiga la propia aclamación de los que no padecen ni temen menos que aquellas gentes. … Dios quiere que vuestra beatitud hable, cuando se hace y se ejecuta lo que él no quiere. Santísimo Padre, conducid a vuestra nave los que fuera de ella osan navegar. Desagraviemos todos los que somos pueblo verdadero del verdadero Dios esas llaves, que por no usar de ellas el rey de Inglaterra descerrajó su iglesia, los herejes las adulteran con ganzúas, y los malos hijos por no pedirlas se quedan fuera. Oídnos; que quiere Dios: hablad, y juntad en uno la enemistad de nuestros afectos; que Dios quiere" (Quevedo 1947: 193).

No nos va a sorprender el que el autor español ruegue al Sumo Pontífice, cuyo primer deber ha de consistir en la defensa y propagación de la verdadera fe, que tome unas medidas más decididas en la lucha contra los protestantes, si tomamos en cuenta la política francófila y al mismo tiempo antiespañola de Urbano VIII. Es evidente que el papa desfavorecía la monarquía española con el fin de desprenderse de su dominación en Italia. En el siglo XVII el Papado que debe ser un aliado natural de la España de los Austrias resulta tomar parte de los enemigos de la monarquía católica y al mismo tiempo de la verdadera fe. En el párrafo citado no notamos ninguna llamada a ejercer el poder temporal por parte del papa mediante un acto bélico dirigido en contra de los protestantes, más bien se le pide que exprese explícitamente su protesta contra la herejía y sirva de lider espiritual de los que llevan a cabo la lucha contra ella. La propuesta de juntarse, que hace don Francisco, puede referirse al postulado de unir las fuerzas con los países católicos, en particular con España, cuyos monarcas, reconociendo la supremacía del poder espiritual en lo referente a la defensa de la religión, apoyan la misión de la Iglesia en la tierra al dirigir a los súbditos hacia Dios y castigar a los herejes con el fin de asegurar la paz en la comunidad cristiana.

El sometimiento del poder temporal al espiritual no merma en la concepción cristiana del Estado ya que la soberanía del poder civil sigue siendo suprema en su esfera temporal. El origen divino de la autoridad real constituye un fundamento de la independencia de ésta respecto al Pontificado de modo que ambas potestades: la papal y la real resultan ser independientes. En su defensa de las prerrogativas reales Quevedo llega a establecer los límites del poder pontificio: „lo propio, Santísimo Padre, que ha de ser entre los criados y los reyes, ha de ser entre los reyes y la Iglesia: ella conviene que crezca, y los reyes se disminuyan, no en el poder ni en la majestad, en la obediencia y respeto rendido al vicario de Cristo, a esa Santa Sede" (Quevedo 1947: 202). De acuerdo con lo expuesto, el monarca español tiene derecho a ejercer en sus dominios la plenitud de su potestad temporal, reconociendo el necesario sometimiento de sus designios e intereses políticos a la potestad indirecta de la Iglesia. La doctrina española mantiene la distinción entre lo temporal y lo espiritual y, en consecuencia, la separación entre la Iglesia y el Estado como dos poderes independientes sin más subordinación que la puramente coyuntural (Aldea Vaquero 1982: 532-538).

Esta actitud la presenta Quevedo en la *Carta de Fernando el Católico*, en la que en 1621 aconseja a Baltasar de Zúñiga, tío del conde-duque de Olivares y primer ministro de Felipe IV, cierta desconfianza y mayor energía en las empresas con el papa. Al disculpar las medidas brutales que Fernando el Católico pretendió llevar a cabo contra el papa Julio II en los primeros años del siglo XVI, el escritor parece no reconocer los límites del poder temporal del monarca español en lo referente a la política italiana. Se refiere al abuso de jurisdicción por parte del papa y su intervención en el asunto del monasterio de la Trinidad de la Cava ubicado en el Reino de Nápoles, que desde 1504 forma parte de la Monarquía Católica. La célebre abadía de la Trinidad de la Cava, uno de los monasterios más ricos de Italia fundado en el siglo XI, tenía jurisdicción sobre cerca de quinientas abadías, prioratos e iglesias, de Roma a Palermo. En la primera década del siglo XVI los habitantes de la población se alzaron contra el monasterio y a raíz de los acontecimientos resultaron peligrados unos frailes del convento benedictino, que, según el derecho eclesiástico, dependían directamente de la jurisdicción de la Santa Sede. Por eso el pontífice decidió intervenir mandando a través del cursor un auto de excomunión de los rebeldes. Dicho acto descubre la ambición política del papa Julio II que con las armas que le proporcionaba el poder espiritual – breves, bulas, excomuniones, – se empeñaba en desprenderse de la influencia extranjera en Italia para ampliar su jurisdicción a toda la península, incluido el territorio que pertenecía a la corona de Aragón. En vista de lo expuesto no es de extrañar que don Francisco apoye la posición del monarca católico que se opone decididamente a la iniciativa del papa calificada como „auto de fecho y contra derecho", contradictorio a sus „preeminencias y dignidad real" y a toda justicia (Quevedo 2005: 30).

Además de poner de realce la amenaza del monarca español de prender al cursor papal y ahorcarlo para borrar los recuerdos de dicho documento, el autor hace hincapié también en otro aviso que don Fernando lanza en su carta: "estamos muy determinados, si Su Majestad no revoca luego el Breve y los autos por virtud dél fechos, de le quitar la obediencia de todos los reinos de la corona de Castilla y Aragón" (Quevedo 2005: 30-31). El Quevedo patriota debe de estar en conflicto con la ideología cristiana puesto que la carta del rey contiene instrucciones enérgicas para el desempeño de asuntos militares y políticos contra el Sumo Pontífice, a quien considera como uno de los rivales políticos en la lucha por mantener el dominio en la península italiana. Nos parece exagerada la opinión de J. A Maravall que ve en la obra quevediana una aprobación, tanto por parte de Fernando el Católico como por el mismo autor, del sistema de las Iglesias autocéfalas que practicaba en Inglaterra Enrique VIII (Maravall 1984: 294). Más bien coincidimos con J. Riandière La Roche que afirma que „la aprobación por Quevedo de la actuación de Fernando de Aragón corresponde a la doctrina permanente de los monarcas españoles, que todos, incluido el muy católico Felipe II, se esforzaron por hacer prevalecer su jurisdicción sobre la eclesiástica" (Riandière La Roche 2004: 409). La evidente falta de respeto hacia el Papa parece escandalosa, pero refleja una postura políticamente razonada y fácilmente defendible:

> „El rey Católico, atendiendo a la conservación de sus reinos y reputación de sus ministros, no les permitió arbitrio en las materias de jurisdicción, ni las hizo dependientes de otra autoridad que su conveniencia, y advirtiendo que el dominio de Nápoles ha sido y es golosina de todos los papas y martelo de los nepotes, no sólo quería que no lo consintiera, sino que, haciendo un castigo tan indigno de la persona de un cursor, escarmentara a los unos y pusiera acíbar en lo dulce de la pretensión" (Quevedo 2005: 34-35).

Don Francisco, preocupado por los intereses imperiales de España, intenta explicar la deslealtad del monarca hacia el papa justificando la orden real con la sabiduría del monarca español: "mandó el rey católico ahorcar el cursor del papa; cláusula escandalosa para los encogimientos religiosos de príncipes que solamente saben temer la ley y no la entienden" (Quevedo 2005: 35). El autor comparte el punto de vista del rey de que a pesar de que Nápoles es feudo de la Santa Sede y que han sido agraviados los frailes, es a él a quien le toca hacer justicia y castigar a los culpables en virtud de sus derechos de jurisdicción temporal. Reconoce que el poder temporal y el espiritual tienen sus límites propios: el papa cuida de las cosas sagradas y el bien de las almas, mientras que el rey atiende a las cosas temporales, el bien común de sus ciudadanos. Al subrayar la diferencia de competencias de los dos poderes, Quevedo parece apoyar la tesis presentada por Francisco Suárez de que los pecados denominados de fuero mixto, que perturban y ocasionan serios perjuicios para la paz, bienestar y seguridad política, se deben castigar y perseguir por las leyes civiles (Aldea Vaquero 1982: 536). Por otra parte, el autor trata de suavizar las órdenes y estrategias despóticas de Fernando buscando su justificación en los pasajes de la Biblia: "más es de advertir que el gran rey pudo tratar de su jurisdicción con el papa, pues en esa materia Cristo no se la disminuyó al César ni se la quiso nunca desautorizar" (Quevedo 2005: 35). Consciente de las complejas relaciones y fuertes rivalidades en la península italiana, se da cuenta de que el problema de la fuerte confrontación con el poder del papa sobrepasa los límites de la esfera religiosa y adquiere un carácter fundamentalmente político, por lo cual no admite ninguna actuación contraria a los intereses de la monarquía española.

Para Quevedo el monarca encarna el poder de forma absoluta y no tiene otro que le sea superior en la tierra. Apela a las sumisión y obediencia a Dios y a su representante en lo temporal, garantizando al gobernante la plenitud de medios para llevar a cabo su proyecto político. Hace hincapié en el concepto de la soberanía monárquica, el más importante elemento constituyente del orden político del absolutismo, en el que nota un reflejo de la soberanía universal de Cristo heredada por los reyes gracias a la elección divina de éstos. De acuerdo con el modelo sacralizado del poder político, basado íntegramente en la sumisión total a la normativa bíblica, la soberanía debe ser asumida totalmente por el monarca, quien es la única persona autorizada por Dios para ejercer la misión de gobernar.

Bibliografía

Aldea Vaquero Q., (1982) „Iglesia y Estado en la época barroca" en *Historia de España. La España de Felipe IV*, vol. XXV, dir. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, pp. 527-634.

Buchner W., (2007) *Wojna i konkwista. Hiszpańska myśl polityczna Złotego Wieku*, Kraków, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej.

García Matarranz F., (1987) „Filosofía política medieval en „El nombre de la rosa", en *Revista de Estudios Políticos. Nueva Época*, 56, abril-junio, pp. 137-144.

Jaramillo Cervilla, M., (1981) *Personalidad y pensamiento político de Quevedo*, Granada, Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Granada, Granada.

Jauralde, P., (1999) *Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645)*, Madrid, Editorial Castalia.

Maravall J. A., (1984) "Sobre el pensamiento social y político de Quevedo" en *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español. La época del baroco*, Madrid, Estudios Cultura Hispánica, pp. 257-321.

Maravall, J. A., (1997) *Teoría del Estado en España en el siglo XVII*, 2a ed., Madrid, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales.

Quevedo F., (2005) *Carta de Rey Fernando el Católico* en *Obras completas en prosa* vol. III, dir. Alfonso Rey, Madrid Editorial Castalia, 25-41.

Quevedo F., (1947) *Política de Dios y Gobierno de Cristo*, 2ª ed., Argentina, Buenos Aires – México, Espasa Calpe.

Riandière La Roche J., (2004) "Quevedo y la Santa Sede: problemas de coherencia ideológica y de edición" en *La Perinola*, 8, EUNSA, pp. 397-431.

Ruiz de la Cuesta, A., (1984) *El legado doctrinal de Quevedo. Su dimensión política y filosófico-jurídica*, Madrid, Editorial Tecnos.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przybliżenie twórczości politycznej Francisco de Quevedo, barokowego pisarza hiszpańskiego reprezentującego nurt myśli antymakiawelistycznej, która podporządkowuje świeckie rządy religii i moralności chrześcijańskiej. Analiza średniowiecznych i nowożytnych koncepcji pochodzenia i zakresu władzy doczesnej i duchowej oraz historyczno-politycznego kontekstu relacji między monarchią hiszpańską i papiestwem stanowi punkt wyjścia do rozważań nad ich wpływem na ukształtowanie światopoglądu autora.

Karolina Kumor

Entre repetición y diferencia: en torno a la reescritura del género del auto sacramental en *Quién te ha visto y te ve y sombra de lo que eras*, de Miguel Hernández

La reescritura dramática entendida como una variante de la intertextualidad oscila constantemente entre repetición y diferencia, entre fidelidad y traición con respecto al texto anterior que se descubre debajo del texto nuevo. Entre abundantes casos de esa práctica reescritural que se encuentran en el teatro español contemporáneo, llama nuestra especial atención el proyecto de la revitalización del auto sacramental que se pretende realizar a partir de los años treinta del siglo veinte. Como es bien sabido, este género dramático, tan característico para la literatura y cultura españolas, alcanzó su madurez y plenitud con la fórmula de Calderón de la Barca. El autor del *Gran teatro del mundo* consiguió, pues, intensificar los contenidos doctrinales y alegóricos del auto anterior, perfeccionar su estructura y lenguaje poético, así como desarrollar un lujoso aparato escenográfico erigiéndose, de este modo, como el incuestionable maestro del género. Después de su muerte la vigencia de este tipo de teatro se prolongó hasta mediados del siglo XVIII, pero con la llegada de la estética neoclásica el auto se convirtió en el blanco de las críticas y acusaciones que llevaron a la prohibición definitiva de su representación en 1765. Tras más de doscientos años de gran popularidad, el drama sacramental, creado como respuesta a un preciso momento histórico y espiritual, perdió su funcionalidad y cayó en total olvido hasta los años treinta del siglo veinte. Es entonces cuando algunos autores y hombres de teatro volvieron su mirada hacia la vieja fórmula dramática que –sorprendentemente– resultó muy apropiada para expresar las inquietudes existenciales y preocupaciones colectivas del momento[1].

Presentar en su totalidad el fenómeno de la revitalización del drama sacramental barroco que se produce en aquel tiempo excede obviamente los límites de este artículo. Por ello, ateniéndonos a las exigencias del espacio marcadas, nos limitaremos aquí tan sólo al estudio del caso de *Quién te ha visto y te ve y sombra de lo que eras* en cuanto una modalidad de la reescritura dramática que, en vez de una transgresión crítica del modelo clásico, opta por repetición y fidelidad, sin que se convierta por ello –como intentaremos demostrar– en una obra meramente imitativa o

[1] La nómina de las obras dramáticas que asimilan el modelo barroco en aquel periodo es relativamente amplia. Mariano de Paco (1992), en su artículo dedicado al auto sacramental en los años treinta del siglo veinte, enumera más de diez obras de este periodo que aluden a este modelo barroco. Entre las más conocidas podemos citar: *El hombre deshabitado*, de Rafael Alberti; *Angelita*, de Azorin; *Un sueño de la razón*, de Rivas Cherif; *Ni más ni menos*, de Sánchez Mejías; *El director*, de Pedro Salinas; *Pedro López García*, de Max Aub; *El casamiento engañoso*, de Torrente Ballester. Para el estudio de la recuperación del auto sacramental en esta época pueden consultarse también: de Paco 2001; Basalisco 1997; Cortés Ruiz 1992. En aquella época se realizan también dos montajes teatrales de los autos sacramentales clásicos que se convierten en los hitos de gran importancia en la historia del teatro español: la famosa puesta en escena de *El gran teatro del mundo* y *Auto de las donas que Adán envió a nuestra Señora*, realizada por Margarita Xirgu, y la escenificación de *La vida es sueño*, hecha por La Barraca de Federico García Lorca.

epigonal. Asimismo, queremos de este modo, y con el motivo del centenario del nacimiento de Miguel Hernández que se celebró el año pasado, recordar la vocación dramática del autor que mayoritariamente es conocido por sus poesías, y en particular, recordar su debut teatral que no sólo le trajo el primer reconocimiento en los ambientes literarios de Madrid, sino que también marcó el desarrollo posterior de su carrera como poeta y dramaturgo[2].

Quién te ha visto y te ve…, compuesto entre los años 1933-1934 y publicado en una revista neocatólica *Cruz y Raya*, se sitúa en la primera etapa de la obra de Miguel Hernández, fuertemente marcada por las lecturas de los clásicos y las ideas católicas de su amigo Ramón Sijé y el sacerdote Luis Almarcha[3]. Siguiendo al pie de la letra el paradigma calderoniano y el dogma católico, el autor dramatiza la historia de la salvación del Hombre resaltando en ella la función operante del misterio de la Eucaristía. Las tres fases por las que pasa el protagonista: creación, caída y redención, corresponden a las tres partes de la obra titulada: «Estado de las Inocencias», «Estado de las Malas Pasiones» y «Estado de Arrepentimiento». La primera parte presenta al Hombre-niño puro e ignorante que, tentado por el Deseo y los Sentidos, cae en el pecado de carne y pierde, de este modo, la Inocencia y el Amor. Desde este momento el protagonista entra en el camino que le conducirá a su destrucción. A consecuencia de sus malas elecciones, el adolescente, convertido en la segunda parte ya en Hombre, se ve obligado a trabajar en el campo con el sudor de su frente (es donde por primera vez se nota la enorme divergencia entre la apariencia de los placeres ofrecidos por el Deseo y la realidad de la situación del protagonista después del pecado). Desilusionado y agotado del trabajo se deja llevar por el Deseo, acompañado de la Carne y los Sentidos, hacia el crimen y asesina al Pastor rico para quedarse con sus bienes y su bella Esposa. En la última parte, gracias a la intervención de la voz de la Verdad, se produce el arrepentimiento del protagonista y, como consecuencia de éste, aparece a continuación la figura del Buen Labrador que le ofrece su perdón y anuncia el misterio de la Eucaristía. En el desenlace de la obra el Deseo vuelve a hostigar y tentar al Hombre, pero éste al experimentar el poder de la Gracia Divina prefiere morir como mártir de la fe en una hoguera de los Pecados Capitales. La muerte sacrificadora constituye un acto de su liberación de toda corrupción mundana, liberación que le permite la unión definitiva con Dios.

Como podemos averiguar a base de este somero resumen argumental –que, evidentemente, no aborda ni todo el contenido religioso, ni la riqueza poética de la obra– *Quién te ha visto y te ve…* sigue al pie de la letra todas las pautas genéricas del auto sacramental barroco[4]. En este drama, escrito en verso y sumergido por completo en el ambiente católico, salta a la vista la estructura tripartita en que se reflejan las tres fases de la historia de la salvación humana, así como la presencia del motivo nuclear del auto sacramental, el de la exaltación de la Eucaristía, reproducido con la debida solemnidad y preocupación por la exactitud dogmática. Este desenlace –optimista, desde

[2] Como atestiguan los biógrafos de Miguel Hernández, la segunda visita a Madrid en la que lleva dos actos del inacabado auto resultó decisiva para el desarrollo de la carrera del poeta. Pablo Neruda, a quien conoció durante su estancia en la capital, pese a las connotaciones católicas y reaccionarias del texto, se quedó entusiasmado con su calidad poética.

[3] De alguna manera, *Quién te ha visto y te ve…* supone una cesura en las relaciones entre Miguel Hernández y Ramón Sijé. Si entre los años 1933 y 1934 la influencia ejercida por el joven pensador sobre nuestro poeta es determinante dejándose transparentar en sus primeros escritos, después de la publicación del auto, a partir del año 1935 las discrepancias entre ambos amigos empiezan a manifestarse con más asiduidad.

[4] Para las definiciones del género y sus características, *cf.* Valbuena Prat 1924, Wardropper 1953, Parker 1983, Ruiz Ramón 1979: 269-274, Arellano 1995: 685-705, Spang 1997: 469-505.

la perspectiva de la ontología basada en la concepción religiosa católica– cumple, evidentemente, con la intención didáctico-moralizadora del género barroco. Asimismo, el autor recurre –a modo y ejemplo de la vieja fórmula dramática– a la alegoría en tanto que un elemento estructural y determinante del modo de configuración de todos los componentes integrantes del auto: historia, personajes, tiempo, espacio. De este modo, cada figura dramática aparece como personificación de distintas abstracciones careciendo, por ello, de una caracterización individualizadora; la dimensión alegórica conduce también a la atemporalidad e indeterminación espacial del drama eucarístico, cuya acción transcurre fuera del tiempo real y la geografía concreta.

No hay, pues, aquí ninguna reconfiguración, alteración, o subversión, de discurso ni de claves genéricas del auto sacramental, aunque sí hay un intento muy sutil de adaptar la materia tradicional a algunas circunstancias históricas y sociales del primer tercio del siglo veinte. Si bien la acción de la obra –como acabamos de decir– transcurre fuera del tiempo histórico y escasean los indicadores temporales, en la configuración de ciertos personajes alegóricos del drama es posible percibir algunas alusiones al presente del autor que se insertan en un elevado discurso dramático sobre el dogma católico. Los Cinco Sentidos representan, pues, a los trabajadores asalariados que aparecen en el escenario para reivindicar sus derechos: "¡Guerra! ¡Guerra a nuestro amo! / que nos miraba mal, / porque no nos miraba / más que a la hora de usar / de nosotros: a la hora / del trabajo" (Hernández 1978: 41); y más adelante: "[...] queremos que nos suba / un poquito el jornal" (45). Estos personajes al denunciar la explotación y reclamar la igualdad de los derechos pueden ser entendidos como primera muestra del compromiso social que va a asumir Miguel Hernández en los años posteriores. No obstante, aquí la visión definitiva de los jornaleros dentro de la estructura de la obra es negativa; pues, son los que representan las fuerzas del mal y con la ayuda del Deseo y la Carne instigan al Hombre a cometer un homicidio. Para ello, utilizan el lenguaje que se acerca a la jerga de los dirigentes comunistas de la época:

MIRAR.	No dudes un momento:
	la riqueza es de aquel que la acapara.
OÍR.	El mundo es para todos [...]
TOCAR.	¡Todos somos iguales! [...]
OLER.	No hay límites.
GUSTAR.	No hay tuyo.
TOCAR.	No hay cadenas. [...]
OÍR.	¡Abajo, explotadores!
MIRAR.	¡Abajo, yo repito!
OLER.	¡La huelga general, trabajadores!
GUSTAR.	¡La huelga general!
TOCAR.	¡Dios es un mito!
CARNE.	La religión un tétrico sistema
	de incienso que perfuma podredumbre (100-101).

Su modo de hablar (concretado con unas visiones escénicas del puñal, la hoz y el azadón), el llamamiento a la huelga general, los ataques a la iglesia y la religión remiten inevitablemente al discurso de una parte de izquierda española de los años treinta del siglo pasado. Como advierte Rovira, los Sentidos "se convierten en claves negativas identificables en la obra con los revolucionarios que quieren trastocar el orden social" (1992: 12). De la misma manera funciona el personaje del Deseo que, ya casi al final de la obra, llama a la revolución general:

> La revolución social
> he de armar en cuanto pueda.
> [...]
> alimentaré los odios,
> movilizaré las fuerzas
> hoz y martillo serán
> vuestra muerte y nuestro lema;
> todas las malas pasiones:
> la lasciva, la vileza,
> de la envidia, la ira roja,
> la indignación roja y negra
> y el rencor descolorido
> nuestra más firme defensa (144).

Los fragmentos aquí citados revelan inequívocamente el mensaje ideológico de la obra que, por un lado, pretende estigmatizar los movimientos obreros como ateos (Stauder 2004: 330) para condenarlos frente a los intereses de la clase dominante y, por otro, ofrecer –en oposición a los proyectos comunistas y anarquistas– una visión paradisiaca de la sociedad rígida por el espíritu evangélico y la idea de la solidaridad humana (Riquelme 2004: 167).

Con este mensaje político-espiritual, el auto hernandiano se inscribe plenamente en la vertiente de la propaganda ideológica de la derecha del momento y, particularmente, en el proyecto ultraconservador y teocrático de Ramón Sijé. Pues, no cabe la menor duda de que todas las ideas reaccionarias del auto, defensoras de los valores tradicionales y sociales de la clase dominante, están expuestas aquí al dictado de su amigo oriolano. Como testimonia José Bergamín, el jefe de la revista madrileña *Cruz y Raya* en que se publicará el drama, en la primera versión del texto se podían entrever incluso ciertas tendencias fascistas:

> Cuando me presentó, en 1934, el auto sacramental *Quién te ha visto y te ve y sombra de lo que eras* tuve que hacer yo el "censurable censor" y hacerle quitar algunas tiradas por fascistas. Fue poco lo que tuvimos que suprimir: algunas tiradas, unos versos. Miguel lo aceptó sin dificultades (Chevallier 1973: xxvii, *apud.* Sánchez Vidal 2006: 42).

Desde similares posturas ideológicas, y en las fechas relativamente próximas a la aparición de *Quién te ha visto y te ve…*, la tradición barroca del drama sacramental la intentan recuperar también otros autores. Entre ellos, Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, el galardón del premio al mejor auto contemporáneo por su pieza dramática *El casamiento engañoso*, de 1939, y los menos conocidos, Víctor Espinos y Augurio Salgado, autores de las dos obras publicadas en 1940: *El molino del* *misterio* y *La España bien maridada*, respectivamente. Los mencionados autores, sumergidos en los ambientes católicos o eclesiásticos, recurren a la fórmula del auto sacramental no sólo para ofrecer una enseñanza ejemplar del dogma católico, sino que también para hacer una propaganda de signo nacionalista. Así, por ejemplo, en la primera edición de *El casamiento engañoso*, la de 1941, en el *Prólogo* se hace el elogio de la ideología falangista al referirse, de modo implícito, a la recién acabada guerra civil y a la muerte sacrificadora de Primo de Rivera (*cf*. Iglesias Feijoo 2001: 293, Hermans 1992: 656, 660, Kumor 2009). En *El molino de misterio*, de Víctor Espinos se alude a la simbología de la Falange Española al hablar, en el final de la obra, del "jardín del Imperio / orgullo de nuestra raza / [...] / donde las *flechas* dan rosas / y los *yugos* solos labran" (1940: 37; el subrayado es nuestro). Los emblemas del yugo y las flechas, acompañados por el himno de la Falange, aparecen también en la última obra, *La España bien maridada*, de Augurio Salgado, en la que sirven para anunciar la futura gloria de la España nacional-imperialista.

Todas las obras aludidas aquí, junto con la de Miguel Hernández, presentan los casos de la reescritura genérica del auto sacramental que se realiza desde la misma postura ideológica y con el mismo espíritu que el que guiaba a Calderón en el siglo XVII. Aunque su temática es prioritariamente religiosa, todas se someten, en menor o mayor medida, al procedimiento de la actualización histórica convirtiéndose, de este modo, en producto de las circunstancias socio-políticas y culturales del momento preciso. En este sentido destacan, en particular, *El casamiento engañoso* y *Quién te ha visto y te ve...* que, frente a la reproducción mecánica y epigonal del modo y significado del género barroco en *La España bien maridada* y *El molino del misterio*, adaptan la vieja fórmula teatral en clave contemporánea para hacer una reflexión sobre la sociedad actual y sus males.

Pero su originalidad e innovación con respecto al modelo barroco va mucho más allá. Mientras que Torrente Ballester abandona el verso a favor de la prosa y adopta ciertos modos de la vanguardia de anteguerra, especialmente el expresionista, Miguel Hernández, aunque conserve una forma expresiva tradicional, deja en ella su impronta personal y subjetiva fuertemente marcada. Como advierten la mayoría de los críticos, la gran aportación del poeta consiste en dotar a los personajes arquetípicos del auto "de una humana elasticidad que les permita dudar ante su destino" (Ferris 2002: 163), en convertir "una construcción rígida, abstracta y casi impersonal [...] en vitalidad y emoción" (Bertini 1968: 298), o –en otras palabras– en "humanizar la metáfora y alegoría, acercar el planteamiento abstracto e impersonal a una realidad próxima a la del autor y al lector" (Riquelme 1993: en línea). El sentido religioso, con su compleja simbología teológica, se aproximan, pues, a través de la naturaleza cotidiana y el paisaje del campo. Ramón Sijé, para quien el drama hernandiano iba a ser en principio una clara ilustración de sus doctrinas políticas y el pensamiento teocrático, lo comenta de este modo:

> no es propiamente un Auto sacramental escolástico: porque él ha ampliado imaginativamente el concepto del Auto, merced a lo que puede llamarse la influencia de la emoción del campo. […] el campo como mundo perfecto: como imagen, como estilo y como idea. […] El campo, en este aspecto dramático de la visión poética, es la prueba plástica de la existencia de Dios. Por la imagen se llega de nuevo al concepto, por el campo se llega a la tesis (Sijé 1934, *apud*. Gracia Ifach 1989: 304).

De hecho, la indeterminación o "desespacialización" del espacio, rasgo tan característico para cualquier auto sacramental clásico, se sustituye aquí por las líricas descripciones del campo que, sin dejar de ser abstracto e idealizado, apunta claramente al campo oriolano de la infancia y adolescencia del poeta (*cf*. Bertini 1968). Lo autobiográfico se plasma también en la figura del Pastor, quien en la segunda parte relata plásticamente la vida serena que lleva en montaña, cerca de la naturaleza y Dios. Como advierten los críticos y biógrafos hernandianos, este pasaje podría estar inspirado en una experiencia real del autor quien, efectivamente, pasó un verano entre pastores compartiendo con ellos su trabajo y su modo de vivir (Zardoya 1955: 17). La vitalidad y naturalidad de las descripciones del paisaje, de la vida cotidiana del campesino y de sus costumbres son una prueba inequívoca de la autenticidad y originalidad del texto hernandiano. Lo subjetivo y emocional contrasta aquí con el rígido e impersonal armazón del auto calderoniano.

Sin duda alguna, todas estas innovaciones e incrustaciones temáticas, unidas al alto valor poético del verso[5], sitúan a *Quién te ha visto y te ve...* en el contexto de la revitalización del género barroco que se produce en los años treinta del siglo pasado coincidiendo con la aparición en España de las vanguardias teatrales. Al asimilar y reproducir fielmente todos los elementos constitutivos de la fórmula clásica (modo de expresión, división interna en tres partes, dramatización alegórica, tema de redención del hombre, motivo eucarístico, sentido religioso-moralizante, etc.), el drama alcanza –sorprendentemente– una nueva calidad artística. Y aunque sería muy exagerado pensar aquí en un intento deliberado y consciente de Miguel Hernández de la reforma de la escena española de su tiempo (teniendo en cuenta, sobre todo, el predominio evidente de los valores poéticos del texto sobre los puramente teatrales, resultado de la todavía poca experiencia dramática del autor), su propuesta puede ser considerada como una de las posibles (o bien imposibles) vías de la renovación, como una alternativa para el teatro comercial que dominaba en España en aquel periodo: un teatro poético, basado en la metáfora calderoniana y de marcado sello antirealista.

Bibliografía

Arellano, I. (1995) *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII*, Madrid.

Basalisco, L. (1997) *Tra avanguardia e tradizione: cinque studi sull'auto sacramental degli anni*, Roma.

Bertini, G.M. (1968) "Algunos apuntes sobre el auto sacramental de Miguel Hernández: *Quién te ha visto y te ve y sombra de lo que eras…*", *Quaderni Ibero-Americani*, 35-36: 288-301.

Chevallier, M. (1973) *L'homme, ses oeuvres et son destin dans la poesie e Miguel Hernandez*, Lille: xxvii.

Cortés Ruiz, C. "El auto sacramental del s. XX: clasificación, contextualización e incidencia", *Teatro siglo XX. Actas del Congreso celebrado del 17 al 20 de noviembre de 1992*, ed. M.Aguire, Madrid.

Diez de Revenga, F.J., Paco, M. de (1981) *El teatro de Miguel Hernández*, Murcia.

Espinos, V. (1940) *El molino del misterio*, San Sebastian.

Ferris, J.L. (2002) *Miguel Hernández: pasiones, cárcel y muerte de un poeta*, Madrid.

[5] Para el lenguaje poético y las figuras literarias del auto desde el punto de vista estilístico, *cf.* Diez de Revenga, de Paco 1981.

Gracia Ifach, M. de, ed. (1989) *Miguel Hernández*, Madrid.

Hermans, H. (1992) "Avisos y leyendas en *El casamiento engañoso*, de Gonzalo Torrente Ballester", *Investigaciones semióticas IV*, Madrid, vol. II: 649-661.

Hernández, M. (1978) *Teatro*, La Habana.

Iglesias Feijoo, L. (2001) "Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, escritor", *Homenaje a Benito Varela Jácome*, Santiago de Compostela: 277-296.

Kumor, K. (2009) "Gonzalo Torrente Ballester y el auto sacramental de los primeros años de la postguerra", *Gonzalo Torrente Ballester y los escritores nacidos en Galicia*, eds. M. Potok, M.A. Candelas Colodrón, Vigo: 65-78.

Paco, M. de (1992), "El auto sacramental en los años treinta", *El teatro en España entre la tradición y la vanguardia. 1918-1939*, eds. D. Dougherty, Mª F. Vilches de Frutos, Madrid: 265-273.

Paco, M. de (2001) "El auto sacramental en el siglo XX: variaciones escénicas del modelo calderoniano", *Calderón: sistema dramático y técnicas escénicas: actas de las XXIII Jornadas de Teatro Clásico, Almagro*, eds. F.B. Pedraza Jiménez, R. González Cañal, E. Marcello, Almagro: 365-388.

Parker, A. (1983) *Los autos sacramentales de Calderón*, Barcelona.

Riquelme, J. (1993) "Significado del teatro alegórico y social: del drama sacro a las tragedias de patrono. Puestas en escena", *Miguel Hernández, cincuenta años después. Actas del I Congreso Internacional Miguel Hernández*, ed. J.C. Rovira, Alicante, www.miguelhernadezvirtual.es

Riquelme, J. (2004) "Puestas en escena del teatro de Miguel Hernández", *Presente y futuro de Miguel Hernández. Actas II Congreso Internacional Miguel Hernández*, eds. J.J. Sanchez Balaguer, F. Ramírez, Orihuela: 163-183.

Rovira, J.C. (1992) "Introducción" a "Teatro", *Obra completa de Miguel Hernández*, eds. A. Sánchez Vidal, J.C. Rovira, C. Alemany, Madrid.

Ruiz Ramón, F. (1979) *Historia del teatro español. Desde sus orígenes hasta 1900*, Madrid.

Salgado, A. (1940) *España bien maridada,* Madrid.

Sánchez Vidal, A. (2006) "Introducción", *Obras completas de Miguel Hernández*, ed. A. Sánchez Vidal, J.C. Rovira, C. Alemany.

Sijé, R. (1934) "El comulgatorio espiritual (Hacia una definición del Auto Sacramental)", *El Gallo crisis*, 3-4.

Spang, K. (1997) "El auto sacramental como género literario", *Divinas y humanas letras. Doctrina y poesía en los autos sacramentales de Calderón*, eds. I. Arellano, J.M. Escudero, B. Oteiza, M.C. Pinillos, Pamplona-Kassel: 469-505.

Stauder, T. (2004) "El desarrollo del teatro de Miguel Hernández", *Presente y futuro de Miguel Hernández. Actas II Congreso Internacional Miguel Hernández*, eds. J.J. Sanchez Balaguer, F. Ramírez, Orihuela: 329-341.

Torrente Ballester, G. (1941) *El casamiento engañoso*, Madrid.

Torrente Ballester, G. (1982) *Teatro completo*, Barcelona.

Valbuena Prat, A. (1924) "Los autos sacramentales de Calderón. Clasificación y análisis", *Revue Hispanique*, LXI.

Wardropper, B. (1953) *Introducción al teatro religioso del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid.

Zardoya, C. (1955) *Miguel Hernández. Vida y Obra*, New York.

STRESZCZENIE

W latach trzydziestych XX w. część dramaturgów hiszpańskich podejmuje próbę rewitalizacji barokowego gatunku dramatycznego *auto sacramental*. Wśród licznych sztuk nawiązujących formą lub treścią do tego zapomnianego przez lata modelu dramatycznego znajduje się m.in. debiut teatralny Miguela Hernándeza: *Quién te ha visto y te ve y sombra de lo que eras*, z 1934 r. Dramat ten jest przykładem wiernego przepisania struktury i znaczeń gatunku, stanowiąc wyraz głębokich uczuć religijnych i przekonań politycznych autora z pierwszego okresu jego twórczości. Mimo to, odnaleźć w nim można pewne próby „odświeżenia" *auto sacramental*, a także delikatne aluzje do ówczesnej sytuacji społecznej, wskazujące na proces aktualizacji historyczno-politycznej gatunku.

Anna Kalewska

A Loja do Ourives de Andrzej Jawień (Karol Wojtyła) – o drama filosófico sobre o amor humano na tradução e realidade cultural portuguesas

> As personagens [*de A Loja do Ourives*]não são santos, nem vultos de perfil histórico. São pessoas como nós, com os seus casamentos, nascimentos, dúvidas e incertezas» (Maurício 2008: s.n.p.).
>
> É do amor que depende o futuro
> (Wojtyła 1984: 38).

A tradução do drama *A Loja do Ourives* (*Przed sklepem jubilera*) da autoria de Andrzej Jawień (Karol Wojtyła, o papa polaco João Paulo II) foi publicada em Portugal na tradução do padre Moreira das Neves no ano de 1984. Tradução essa realizou-se no rescaldo da primeira visita do Papa João Paulo II (1920 – 2005, sumo pontífice desde Outubro de 1978[1]) ao país «à beira-mar plantado», ocorrida em 1982 e serviu de base para a apresentação desta "sinfonia dramática", dividida em três actos, pela Companhia do Teatro Bocage no palco do Coliseu Micaelense na primeira semana de Julho de 2008 nos Açores (São Miguel). Tradução que tem tido, então, no período do largo tempo da sua vida literária uma recente repercussão na cultura portuguesa[2], foi referida por Maria Danielewicz Zielińska[3] no artigo *A reacção de Portugal para com a eleição de João Paulo II* (2005: 170-174) e por Paulo Mendes Pinto na comunicão *Depois da latinidade, um Papa eslavo: ecos e sintonias em Portugal*, proferida da Universidade Técnica de Chemnitz (Alemanha) no dia 16 de Novembro de 2007 aquando da conferência internacional *Peripheral Identities: Iberia and Eastern Europe between dictatorial past and European Present*, recentemente publicado (*ap*. Franco; Cieszyńska, 2010).

[1] «A eleição do Cardeal Karol Wojtyła para chefe da Igreja Católica, como o papa João Paulo II (1978), e a sua viagem à Polónia em junho de 1979 unem os poloneses no espírito da fé e no desejo de renovação da face da sua terra. (...) Em 1990 Lech Wałęsa é eleito o primeiro presidente da "Terceira República" da Polónia» (Siewierski 2000: 182-183).

[2] «Fui assistir esta magnífica peça de teatro no passado dia 2008.07.04 pelas 21.30 no coliseu micaelense.» (Maurício 2008: s.n.p.).

[3] Maria Danielewicz Zielińska (1907-2003) foi escritora, bibliotecária, historiadora das relações entre Portugal e a Polónia; exilada da Polónia viveu em Inglaterra e depois em Portugal (1974-2003). *Cf.* Eva-Maria von Kemnitz, "A vision from the other bank. Maria Danielewicz Zielinska' s contribution to the history of Polish-Portuguese cultural relations", *Iberian and Slavonic Cultures: Contact and Comparison* (Ed.) Beata Elżbieta Cieszyńska (2007). Lisboa: CompaRes, p. 73-78. Veja também Nosowski, Wdowczyk 2010.

Hanna Pięta[4], tratando da importação constante e crescente em número de traduções de literatura polaca em Portugal (tanto de obras literárias como de trabalhos científicos) nos anos que precederam a tradução portuguesa de *A Loja do Ourives* escreve com razão:

> Com o intuito de explicar o aumento súbito de traduções desta temática, torna-se indispensável considerar o contexto sócio-político vigente nas culturas de partida e de chegada na década em questão. Assim, na Polónia, os anos 1971-1980, coincidentes quase na íntegra com a liderança política de Edward Gierek, caracterizaram-se pela alegada abertura a países do ocidente europeu (que, entre outros factores, se manifestou pela criação, em 1972, da Cátedra de Estudos Ibéricos na Universidade de Varsóvia[5]), pelo endividamento do estado comunista e as subsequentes greves e manifestações trabalhistas (Junho de 1976), pela escolha do Cardeal Karol Wojtyła para Sumo Pontífice (1978) e a sua primeira visita à terra natal (1979) e pela legalização do sindicato independente Solidarność (1980). Em Portugal, por seu turno, estes dez anos devem ser caracterizados, enquanto período conturbado pelas instabilidades dos últimos momentos do Estado Novo, pelas vicissitudes inerentes à Revolução de 25 de Abril, pelo agravamento da situação económica às consequências da guerra do Ultramar, pelos condicionalismos ligados à consolidação do sistema democrático, pelo termo dos mecanismos censórios do sistema salazarista, por vários pronunciamentos de carácter socialista (em 1976 relizaram-se eleições legislativas que deram a vitória ao Partido Socialista), pela abertura a influências provenientes de culturas eslavas (o restabelecimento, em 1974, de relações diplomáticas com a Polónia) e por muitos outros eventos exteriores ao universo literário (2010a: 275-276).

A mesma estudiosa polaca aponta para o facto de que nos anos de 1855 – 2009 o número de autores dos textos literários polacos traduzidos para português atingiu um total de quarenta e oito, de que trinta e dois foram traduzidos apenas uma vez e sete duas vezes; a obra dramática em questão escrita por Karol Wojtyła sob o pseudónimo de Andrzej Jawień inclui-se na primeira tendência (Pięta 2010a: 274).

A Loja do Ourives (subintitulada *A meditação sobre o sacramento do matrimónio, passando ocasionalmente num drama*) pertence aos dramas de Karol Wojtyła mais bem conhecidos e mais frequentemente encenados na Polónia[6]; atingiu tiragens grandiosas nas vinte e duas línguas em

[4] Hanna Pięta é mestre em Estudos Portugueses pela Universidade Jagiellónica de Cracóvia (Polónia) e investigadora do Centro de Estudos Anglísticos da Universidade de Lisboa. Actualmente encontra-se a trabalhar na tese de doutoramento dedicada ao tema das relações culturais entre Portugal e a Polónia, através da tradução. As suas principais áreas de interesse incluem história da tradução, metodologia de relações interculturais e estudos de recepção. Tem publicado: "Sienkiewicz em Português: para uma história da recepção de ´Quo Vadis´ no Portugal salazarista", em: *Traduzir em Portugal durante o Estado Novo*, 2009 (*Itinerarios*, 2010b: 250).

[5] Em 2007, por ocasião da criação da Secção Luso-Brasileira na antiga Cátedra de Estudos Ibéricos da Universidade de Varsóvia (hoje: Instituto de Estudos Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos da UV) foi organizado um Colóquio internacional intitulado *Diálogos com a Lusofonia*, cujas actas podem ser compulsadas electronicamente. Recuperado em 24.11.2010 de http://iberystyka-uw.home.pl/content/view/392/113/lang,pl (24.03.11). Algumas das comunicações desse Colóquio trataram das relações culturais entre Portugal e a Polónia.

[6] A pré-estreia da peça de teatro da autoria de Karol Wojtyla intitulada *A Loja do Ourives* (*Przed sklepem jubilera*) – uma das cinco peças que o papa João Paulo II escreveu (sendo outras peças sintituladas, respectivamente: *Hiob*, *Jeremiasz*, *Brat naszego Boga*, *Promieniowanie ojcostwa*) deu-se em 27 de Março de 1981 no teatro dramático de

que foi traduzido. E o cinema, como seria natural, não deixou passar a ocasião para nele se basear e dar a conhecer ao mundo esta história criada por Karol Wojtyła. Uma história que roda à volta do amor e do casamento, da vida e do relacionamento entre pais e filhos, enfim, do caminho percorrido por três casais ao longo da sua existência, tendo sempre como pano de fundo a liberdade e a responsabilidade que cada um deve assumir nas suas relações humanas. No ano de 1989 Michael Anderson e Jeff Andrus rodaram o filme *The Jeweller's shop/La botega del'orefice*[7], baseado em alguns motivos da obra dramática de Wojtyła, protagonizado por Burt Lancaster (o ourives) e Daniel Olbrychski (Adão). Tudo começou na didade de Cracóvia, na Polónia, em 1939, ano fatídico da eclosão da segunda guerra mundial e da invasão da Polónia pelas tropas da Alemanha nazi e Rússia soviética. Aí, em Cracóvia, que um misterioso e velho joalheiro observa, através da janela da sua loja, um grupo de estudante, tudo gente que Ele (como Deus …) conhece como ninguém. E se nós conhecemos a vida e a obra do papa polaco? Seria de propósito lembrar, brevemente, a trajectória bio-bibliográfica de Karol Wojtyła.

Em 1960 – ano esse da publicação do drama *A Loja do Ourives* na Polónia, com o pseudónimo de Andrzej Jawień, o que para a esmagadora parte do público pouco ou nada adiantará[8] – , aos quarenta anos de idade, Karol Wojtyla estava em plena maturidade intelectual e em pleno prestígio de escritor, com uma tese doutoral notável sobre *O Conceito da Fé em S. João da Cruz* e vários ensaios de filosofia sobre o pensamento de Kant, Max Scheler e Hume. Conhecia os grandes marcos da literatura da Polónia, onde havia dramaturgos da mais categoria, como Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), autor da *Despedida dos enviados gregos* (1578)[9], o primeiro drama do teatro polaco, composto segundo o modelo das peças de Sófocles, e Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758-1841), autor de várias tragédias e comédias, como também Jan Kasprowicz (1860-1926), poeta de inquietação metafísica e existencial (Siewierski 2000: 132), que também se dedicou à tradução de trágicos gregos. Actor por tendência natural, tornada vivência apaixonada no sacerdócio, Karol Wojtyła ainda em

Wałbrzych; a esteia ocorreu no dia 6 de Novembro de 1981 no teatro dramático de Płock. A peça foi encenada repetidas vezes na Polónia, sempre com sucesso. Uma das últimas encenações da *Loja do Ourives*, foi realizada por ocasião dos vinte e cinco anos do pontificado de J. P. II pela Associação Studio Teatr Test de Varsóvia, em 16 de Outubro de 2003 em Cracóvia e em 22 de Outubro de 2003 em Łódź. A edição da poesia lírica e das obras dramáticas de J. P. II começou na Polónia desde 1979. A edição integral de *Poesia, Dramas, Ensaios* (*Poezje, dramaty, szkice*) foi dada à estampa em 2004 (Wojtyła 2004).

[7] *La botega del' orefice* foi também o título da tradução italiana d' *A Loja do Ourives*, traduzida por Aleksander Kurczab e Jerzy Pomianowski, com a colaboração de Siro Angeli. Lançada em Roma em Fevereiro de 1979, em menos de um ano a peça teve seis edições (Neves 1984: 12).

[8] O drama *A Lojva do Ourives* (*Przed sklepem jubilera*) foi publicado na Polónia na revista católica *Znak* (*O Sinal*) de Cracóvia, nº 78 de 1960, sob o mesmo pseudónimo com que Karol Wojtyła assinava as composições líricas: Andrzej Jawień. Podia ser alusão ao apelido de uma das personagens do romance *Niebo w płomieniach* (*O Céu em Fogo*) de Jan Parandowski, um dos maiores representantes da literatura polaca do séc. XX ou, com mais probabilidade, o apelido Jawień teria sido sugerido ao jovem Poeta como o mais frequente entre os habitantes da paróquia de Niegowici (Sul da Polónia), onde o jovem Karol Wojtyla trabalhou como vigário. O significado deste apelido tem a ver com um acto de clarividência, ou de revelação.

[9] Em *A despedida dos enviados gregos* de Jan Kochanowski (obra essa cuja influência estrutural encontramos em *A Loja do Ourives*), conhecido como «o pai da literatura polonesa», um episódio da guerra de Tróia, mencionado na *Ilíada* de Homero, serviu para tratar dos problemas políticos e sociais da Polónia. Apresentando o reino decadente de Tróia, «onde nem as leis são respeitadas, nem a justiça/Mas onde tudo se compra com o ouro», Kochanowski retrata a preocupante realidade da Polónia do seu tempo e não poupa conselhos aos que governam a Polónia. Na construção do drama segue os princípios da tragédia grega e introduz um verso não rimado, novidade na poesia polonesa (Siewierski 2000: 32 e 34).

1941 tinha aderido à iniciativa da criação do Teatro Rapsódico em Cracóvia, clandestino no tempo da ocupação nazi, aprontando-se para tudo: para os arranjos cenográficos e para o desempenho de qualquer papel. Em 1942, o jovem Wojtyła desistiu das práticas teatrais e passou a estudar na Faculdade de Teologia, também clandestina, na Universidade Yaguelloniana de Cracóvia. Nunca, porém, deixou de se interessar pelo teatro, sendo dramaturgo ele próprio e crítico de teatro, autor de cinco peças de temática bíblica e moral.

A Loja do Ourives é a peça mais radical de todas, no sentido de tratar sobre o drama do amor humano: o amor percebido como esperança ou desilusão, como sentimento vivo e ligação íntima, enfim como um sacramento da Igreja Católica. Os jovens protagonistas, conhecidos e observados pelo misterioso joalheiro da sua loja são os jovens mais jovens ou os filhos (Mónica, Cristóvão) e os mais velhos ou os pais (André, Teresa; Estévão e Ana) cujo caminhos se cruzarão ao longo da vida, com casamentos, nascimentos, traições, (des)encontros e mortes. Na obra em questão em que, com certeza, o futuro depende do amor bem ou mal escolhido e realizado, Karol Wojtyła revela-se como vanguardista despreconcebido, cultor da língа polaca moderna, sem tiradas retóricas nem divagações dispersivas (confiadas n´*A Loja do Ourives* ao coro comentador do amor entre os dois pares dos protagonistas). Porque o papa João Paulo II – o papa-escritor que dedicou algumas das suas energias não só a escrever, mas também a dirigir os seus trabalhos – percebia muito bem (e chegou a dizer isto pelas palavras do padre Adão/Um Interlocutor Casual/a voz da consciência) que o amor é um dos maiores dramas da existência humana, mesmo que seja muito contrário a si próprio no que é aparente e no que é misterioso (Wojtyła, 1984: 55).

Como devemos perceber as constatações sobre a natureza do amor, proferidas pelas personagens da peça, do género de: «É do amor que depende o futuro» (Wojtyła, 1984: 38) e «o amor é mais entusiasmo do que reflexão» (1984: 33) ou a interrogação «Não será um erro, meu amor? O nosso amor/poderá ser duradoiro?» (76)? Dois jovens que se amam: Mónica e Cristóvão (filhos de dois casais mais velhos) desejam casar, mas a vida não lhes parece sorrir. Afinal, têm na frente os afastamentos (morte de André, pai de Crisóvão), as bulhas e os desastres dos pais (Ana foi traída e abandonada por Estévão, sendo a Mónica, a filha do casal, «trauamtizada pela ferida/aberta no amor de seus pais», 1984: 80).

Nos *Poemas, Teatro, Escritos sobre o Teatro* (edição de 1998) diz-nos o papa João Paulo II: «O amor não é coisa passageira (...). Passa por ele a eternidade do homem. O amor pertence à dimensão de Deus, pois só Deus é eternidade» (*ap*. Follo 2006: 76). João Paulo II, que aspirou a ser actor e veio a ser papa, foi também autor prolífico e poeta inspirado, cuja produção – digna toda de tradução para português – começou obviamente muito antes da sua eleição, foi representada por numerosos escritos de ética e teologia, entre os quais se salientam *Amor e Responsabilidade* (1996), o livro-entrevista *Atravessar o Limiar da Esperança* (1994), a sua autobiografia, intitulada *Dom e mistério* (1996) e a recolha de doze poemas, o *Tríptico Romano. Meditações*, confiada ao editor em Março de 2003 (publicados na tradução portuguesa em 2005) em que o Sumo Pontífice estava de opinião (poeticamente exprimida na parte terceira, intitulada *Pré-sacramento*) de que o amor se relaciona com um dom supremo de Deus personificado nos afrescos da Capela Sistina.

A ponderação sobre o conceito do amor humano, melhor: o drama do amor humano, (mesmo que outorgado por Deus) será o objectivo da apresentação nossa desta curiosa obra dramática da autoria do papa João Paulo II. Trata-se, pois, de uma conversa entre os dois pares de esposos que se extende para o dramático solilóquio de interrogações e incertezas nutridos pelos respectivos filhos de dois casais: o prudente Cristóvão (filho único do casal Teresa – André) e a tímida e ensimesmada Mónica, uma dos três filhos do casal Ana – Estévão.

O drama *A Loja do Ourives*, escrito em verso branco e baseado na melhor tradição do drama antigo e moderno consta de três actos: 1. Os Apelos (Teresa, André), 2. O Esposo (Ana, Estêvão), 3. Os Filhos (Mónica, Cristóvão). Não contém debate sobre o maquiavelismo ou antimaquiavelismo mas sim, o conceito do amor – um dom divino que implica tanta responsabilidade que às vezes é impossível cumpri-lo humanamente pela vontade da sorte adversa[10] (a morte de André) ou pelo desamor com que pecam as próprias personagens (Ana e Estévão). O amor jamais seria «uma paixão/avassaladora,/qualquer coisa de absoluto» (Wojtyła, 1984: 18) como queria André quando namorado de Teresa.

No acto primeiro de *A Lojo do Ourives* encontramos os dois jovens protagonistas: André, acabado de se declarar a Teresa que recordam o seu caminho para à união sacramental e vão a uma loja do ourives, onde escolhem uma aliança para si e onde o Ourives (nas palavras encaixadas no papel de André) explica-lhes o significado deste símbolo:

ANDRÉ : O peso destas alianças
– disse [Ourives] – não se mede pelo peso do metal,
Mas pelo peso do homem;
Mede-se por cada um de vós
E de vós dois juntos.
Ah! O peso do homem,
A densidade do homem!
Há alguma coisa de mais denso
E ao mesmo tempo mais imponderável
Do que o peso em contínua gravitação,
Em voo efémero,
Em forma de espiral, de elipse,
De coração? ...
Ah!, o peso específico do homem!
Estas inclinações, esta floresta obscura, -
Este abismo,
Estas aderências, estes difíceis desapegos
Do coração e do pensamento!
E, no meio de tudo, a liberdade,
Por vezes mesmo uma loucura de liberdade.
Uma loucura ... uma floresta sombria.

[10] A questão da possível interdependência (cisão?) entre os mandamento da Divina Providência e da sorte/destino humano não está resolvida em *A Loja de Ourives*, ou, pelo menos, a sorte dos protagonistas depende muito mais de livres escolhas dos próprios do que do fado cego. Porém, a personagem definida como Alguém (à laia de um Ninguém de uma peça-moralidade) chega a dizer que a arte de Ourives «é muito singular:/ [ourives] faz objectos que nos levam a reflectir/ sobre o destino humano./ Por exemplo, doira os relógios;/ medidos do tempo, eles recordam ao homem/ que tudo é fugidio, que tudo/ muda,/ que tudo passa.» (Wojtyła, 1984: 28).

E, no meio de tudo, o amor,
Brotando da liberdade,
Como uma fonte da terra.
Eis o homem! Não é transparente,
Nem monumental,
Nem simples,
Antes indigente.
Eis o homem, eis dois,
Quatro, cem, um milhão!
Multiplica tudo isto por ti
– multiplica a tua grandeza pela
Tua fraqueza –
E terás o factor da humanidade,
O factor da vida humana.
Assim falava aquele estranho ourives
Ao medir as nossas alianças.
(Wojtyła, 1984: 31-32).

A ideia da liberdade, do amor e da responsabilidade unem-se, no pensamento de João Pualo II, formando o imperativo básico para a concepção do amor: o amor é responsabilidade e mana da fonte inesgotável que é a liberdade humana no amor de Deus. André, o trágico protagonista de *Na Loja do Ourives* (que morrera como combatente na segunda guerra mundial) disse que amar é como «lançar uma ponte» entre dois seres humanos (Wojtyła, 1984: 17 e 24), sonhar com tal ponte mas nunca, deveras, construi-lo em pleno porque o amor entre os dois pares de esposos (André e Teresa, Anna e Estévão) não é possível. Enfim, como diz Cristóvão, filho do primeiro casal, «O amor é um desafio/que deus nos lança constantemente,/ talvez para que nós próprios/desafiemos o destino» (Wojtyła, 1984: 78).

No segundo acto a Ana, uma jovem esposa, vai a mesma loja do ourives para vender a aliança que lhe sobrou depois do casamento malogrado com Estévão, abençoado, porém, com três filhos: Marcos, Mónica e João. Lá, um Interlocutor Casual, que se autonomeia como Adão (sendo ele revelado no último acto como o antigo amigo de André falecido na guerra, o último a vê-lo), fala com ela sobre este casamento. Adão, que funciona como medianeiro entre os dois casais, desempenha o papel da voz de consciência da Ana e do amigo íntimo da Teresa; foi ele que tomou o lugar do pai de Cristóvão. O Interloucutor Casual lembra a Ana a *Parábola sobre Dez Virgens* e diz-lhe para manter a lâmpada acesa para o Esposo dela, acto perfeitamente falhado pela protagonista. Pois, o amor entre a Anna e Estévão não durou pela vida fora, a Ana – em vez de amar – odeia o seu cônjuge e reconhecendo a face dele na do Esposo admite ser «uma daquelas virgens loucas/que se esqueceram de ir à busca/do azeite» (Wojtyła, 1984: 91). A lâmpada (do amor dela ao esposo ou ao Esposo, i.e, de Cristo) «arde miseravelmente» e «consome as fibras» da alma da Ana; por isso mesmo Mónica, dando-se conta de que os pais dela «são como duas pessoas estranhas/uma à outra» (1984: 76) tem medo de si própria, tem apreensão por Cristóvão, não tem a certeza se o amor deles podia ser duradoiro. Confessa, pois, um «medo angustiante do futuro» (*ibid.*) Cristóvão, jovem destemido, profere uma lição moral um tanto mais esperançosa: «o amor entrelaça-se/no nosso destino./ Se o destino não destruir o amor,/ ganharemos a vitória./ E é tudo o que podemos fazer./ Temos de contar com os limites humanos» (77).

A súmula da concepção do drama do amor humano encontramos no doloroso solilóquio de Adão, no seu último discurso proferido n´*A Loja do Ourives*:

> Por vezes, a nossa existência parece curta de mais para o amor; outras vezes, pelo contrário, é o amor humano que parece demasiado curto, ou antes muito superficial em relação à existência. Todos dispomos de uma vida e de um amor: como congraçá-lo num todo? E, alcançada a harmonia, devemos continuar disponíveis para os outros, não devemos fecharnos em nós próprios, para reflectirmos sempre, de certa maneira, a Existência absoluta e o Amor. (Wojtyła, 1984: 92-93).

O acto terceiro fecha com uma chaveta os acontecimentos referidos em dois primeiros actos; deparamos aqui com Mónica (filha de Estévão e Ana) e Cristóvão (filho de André e Teresa) – os filhos dos pares de cônjuges dos dois primeiros actos, profundamente apaixonados um pelo outro. Esses jovens conversam sobre os casamentos dos seus pais e sobre as respectivas experiências familiares (André morreu na guerra, o amor dos pais da Mónica esgotou-se) que definiram a concepção do amor humano por eles forjada, marcada pelo medo do futuro e pela pergunta básica: «pode amar-se alguém durante toda a vida?» (1984: 76). A resposta – deveras positiva – está com o leitor/espectador e une-se com a ideia do amor como livre escolha e responsabilidade perante a vontade de Deus, às vezes misteriosa e indecifrável.

O diálogo n´*A Loja do Ourives* é rápido, entrecortado por cartas de Teresa a André e André a Teresa no acto primeiro, às vezes é substituído nos actos segundo e terceiros por uma espécie de monólogos interiores e interiorizantes (seja solilóquios ou apartes filosóficos em prosa poética, proferidos por Adão e Estêvao, com que fecha a obra) não contém convencionalismos devocionais nem artifícios cénicos. As personagens confiam o seu discurso uma a outra, como André ao Ourives no acto primeiro ora Teresa a falar em nome do Ourives (Deus) ausente da última cena, em que – vinte e sete anos passados – Mónica e Cristóvão compram alianças na mesma loja do ourives e falam sobre a sua futura vida, sem se darem conta, porém, de que «nada termina (...), o homem volta sempre à fonte da sua existência/ e espera que ela/ brote do amor» (Wojtyła 1984: 81-82). E o Ourives – como Deus Omnipotente – olhou-lhes nos olhos, sondou os seus corações, «como se medisse a altura/ da vossa nova existência» (82)

Jean-Louis Barrault (1910-1994), que prefaciou a tradução francesa de *La boutique d l´orfèvre* (1979, *ap*. Neves 1984: 10-11), chamou a peça uma «sinfonia dramática, com três movimentos distintos correspondentes aos três actos, mas em que se vai acentuando cada vez mais uma ideia profunda e unitária». Jerzy Pomian, o posfaciador da edição italiana (1979) *de La botega del´orefce*, sublinhou a tonalidade íntima e imediata da obra, em linguagem despojada das metáforas, acentudamente confidencial, sem efeitos decorativos, na linha dos dramas de Claudel e Eliot (*ap*. Neves 1984: 12). Cada personagem se desenha com nitidez, desde os gestos mais simples aos olhares mais absortos e aos estremecimentos mais íntimos, em ambientes que se mudam como se alteram as ressonâncias de cada hora. Bem escreveu Jerzy Pomianowski: «Os protagonistas não são santos nem vultos de perfil histórico. São pessoas vivas do nosso tempo com problemas intensamente sofridos como se as encontrássemos nos nossos caminhos. Não há explosões patéticas na sua voz. Há a fala natural, espontânea, de quem sente debaixo dos pés a terra das sementeiras difíceis» (*ap*. Neves, *ibid*.). E o pequeno drama do amor, do dia-a-dia mais humano brota da mais espontânea reflexão de Teresa lembrando-se de que «André morreu na guerra/ com a sua aliança,/ eu ainda trago a minha» (Wojtyła, 1984: 82). Ao Ourives – grande Pregador e Artista da Polónia – foi-lhe feita a justiça no dia 1 de Maio de 2011 quando ocorreu a beatificação de João Paulo II.

Referências bibliográficas

(Ed.) **Cieszyńska, Beata Elżbieta**. (2007), *Iberian and Slavonic Cultures: Contact and Comparison*, Lisboa.

Follo, Francesco [Monsenhor]. (2006), *Meditações com João Paulo II*, Lisboa.

(Coord.) **Franco, José Eduardo; Cieszyńska, Beata Elżbieta**. (2010), *Europa de Leste e Portugal. Realidades, Relações e Representaçõe*, Lisboa.

Maúricio, Miguel. (2008), "A Loja do Ourives", http://scinti.blogspot.com-2007-07-loja-do-ourives-htm. (29.03.2011).

Neves, Pe. Moreira das. (1984), "Prólogo", *A Loja do Ourives. O drama do amor humano numa peça de João Paulo II*, Lisboa: 7-12.

Nosowski, Wiesław; **Wdowczyk, Małgorzata**. (2010), *Życie usłane książkami. Szkice słowem i obrazem do biografii Marii Danilewicz Zielińskiej (1907-2003)*, Pułtusk.

Pięta, Hanna. (2010a), "Traduções do polaco publicadas em Portugal (1855-2009): alguns traços mais salientes", *Acta Philologica*, 37: 271-278.

Pięta, Hanna. (2010b), "À procura de traduções da literatura polaca em Portugal. Algumas questões sobre o uso de fontes bibliográficas na história da tradução", *Itinerarios*, 11: 121-138.

Siewierski, Henryk. (2000), *História da literatura polonesa*, Brasília.

Wojtyła, Karol. [pseud. Andrzej Jawień] (1984), *A Loja do Ourives. O drama do amor humano numa peça de João Paulo II*, trad. de Pe. Moreira das Neves. Lisboa.

Wojtyła, Karol. (2007), *Poezje, dramaty, szkice,* Kraków.

Zielińska, Maria Danilewicz. (2005), *Polonica portugalskie,* Warszawa.

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie dramatu miłości ludzkiej w portugalskim tłumaczeniu (1984) dramatu Andrzeja Jawienia/Karola Wojtyły pt. *Przed sklepem jubilera* (1960), określonego przez Jean-Luisa Barraulta jako „symfonia dramatyczna", wystawionego w Coliseu Micaelense (S. Miguel, Azory) w lipcu 2008 r. przez Companhia do Teatro Bocage. Autorka omawia związki omawianego tłumaczenia z innymi ważniejszymi dziełami i opracowaniami naukowymi funkcjonującymi w portugalskim i portugalskojęzycznym obiegu czytelniczym (cytuje prace Henryka Siewierskiego, Marii Danilewicz Zielińskiej, Hanny Pięty) oraz najnowszymi badaniami prowadzonymi w Portugalii nad recepcją literatury polskiej. Artykuł wpisuje się w nurt rozważań o relacjach kulturowych polsko-portugalskich i postuluje tłumaczenie dzieł bł. Jana Pawła II na portugalski.

Monika Malinowska

Motyw żywiołu w powieści Madeleine de Scudéry *Klelia, historia rzymska* (1654-1660)

Romans *Clélie, histoire romaine* (*Klelia, historia rzymska*, 1654-1660) odpowiada schematowi pisania tego typu utworów opierającemu się na romansie greckim, gdzie głównymi bohaterami jest para zakochanych, których miłość poddawana jest ciągłej próbie na skutek gwałtownych rozstań, ciągłych podróży, zmiennych akcji oddalających w czasie połączenie zakochanych. Dzieło Madeleine de Scudéry odpowiada typowemu francuskiemu siedemnastowiecznemu romansowi heroicznemu, posiadającemu monstrualne rozmiary i niezliczoną liczbę przygód. Postaci głównych bohaterów zostały zaczerpnięte z historii antycznej, a sposób ich zachowania odpowiada realiom XVII wieku oraz ówczesnym obyczajom. Oczywiście romans ten jest dziełem, które nie podlega zwykłej klasyfikacji, niemniej jednak warto dokonać jego analizy uwzględniając znaczenie motywu żywiołu.

W pierwszej połowie XVII wieku topos związany z żywiołem, często burzą morską był dość popularnym zabiegiem powieściowym, który przetrwał do końca XVIII wieku. W romansach greckich topos związany z morską nawałnicą stanowił swego rodzaju katalizator narracyjny pozwalający rozdzielić parę kochanków. Tak więc motyw ten, z gruntu destrukcyjny, gdyż burze powodują liczne zniszczenia, a nawet prowadzą do śmierci, staje się – z punktu widzenia narracji – wydarzeniem konstrukcyjnym, kreującym nowy rozwój akcji, nowy cykl przygód. Najbardziej znanym greckim przykładem romansu, z którego chętnie czerpali i Honoré d'Urfé, i Mlle de Scudéry, i Jean Baptiste Racine, było wielowątkowe dzieło romansopisarza greckiego Heliodora *Opowieść etiopska o Theagenesie i Chariklei*.

Analizując romans Madeleine de Scudéry łatwo spostrzec, że gwałtowność naturalnych żywiołów, typu trzęsienie ziemi lub powódź, z jednej strony wpływała na zmienność losów bohaterów, z drugiej zaś – pozwalała prowadzić główny wątek historii Aronsa i Klelii niemal w nieskończoność.

W *Klelii, historii rzymskiej*, natykamy się na kilka opisów lub wzmianek dotyczących sił przyrody. Dla naszych rozważań, ze względu na rozwój akcji, najważniejsze są opisy zawarte w części pierwszej, księdze pierwszej, czyli opis powodzi spowodowany wylaniem rzeki oraz trzęsienia ziemi, burzy na morzu – *naufragium*, kiedy toną dwa statki oraz kolejnej morskiej nawałnicy połączonej z walką na pirackim statku. Powódź oraz trzęsienie ziemi są żywiołami, które oddaliły w czasie, prawie na rok, połączenie węzłem małżeństwa głównych bohaterów – Aronsa i Klelię. W tej samej części na uwagę zasługuje także sztorm, podczas którego zatonęły dwa statki i doszło do podmiany dzieci, co doprowadziło, w późniejszym okresie, do rozkwitu miłości Aronsa.

Powieść Madeleine de Scudéry rozpoczyna się zgodnie z tradycją epicką *in medias res*, w samym środku wydarzeń, co pozwala na wtrącanie historii retrospektywnych, których celem jest wyjaśnienie skomplikowanej sytuacji głównych bohaterów. Pierwsze zdania romansu opisują cudowny, bezwietrzny dzień okolic miasta Kapui zanurzonych w wiosennych promieniach słońca. Ale ta błogość mająca towarzyszyć bliskiemu ślubowi „najdoskonalszych kochanków" zostaje za chwilę przerwana przez podwójną katastrofę. Arons byłby już szczęśliwym mężem, gdyby dzień wcześniej nie wezbrała rzeka zalewając dom panny młodej, w którym miało odbyć się wesele (2001: 50). Madeleine de Scudéry szczegółowo opisuje gwałtowność powodzi. Żywioł szalał przez dwanaście godzin, a jego nieposkromiona siła mogła się równać z biblijnym potopem. Nagłemu wezbraniu wód towarzyszyły silny wiatr, grzmoty i błyskawice, oraz gęsty deszcz, który łoskotem przypominał spadający wodospad. Występujące równolegle siły natury dawały niesamowite efekty, a wzburzona rzeka ryczała jak morze. Po przejściu nawałnicy widok był żałosny: zniszczone domy, powyrywane drzewa z korzeniami, porozrzucane kamienie. Powódź i towarzysząca jej nawałnica poczyniła tyle szkód, że cały krajobraz uległ przeobrażeniu. Dotyczy to zwłaszcza ruin grobowców, które zostały wydobyte przez szalejące wody. Z ziemi wynurzyły się kolumny, antyczne wazy ozdobione drogocennymi kamieniami. Była to jedna z niewielu zmian, które upiększyły wręcz okolicę do tego stopnia, że zapadła decyzja, by ślub odbył się w tej przystrojonej antycznymi ruinami okolicy.

W tym miejscu należy podkreślić, że przechadzając się z narzeczoną, jej rodzicami i przyjaciółmi po nieszczęsnym wylaniu rzeki Arons odczuwał niepokój, tak jakby znów jakieś nieprzewidziane wydarzenie miało rozłączyć go z ukochaną. „Rzeczywiście – pisze autorka – wyobrażał [on] sobie ciągle, że wydarzy się jakiś wypadek, który znów opóźni jego szczęście, tak jak to wcześniej się stało" (50). A miał się Arons czego obawiać, gdyż Klelia budziła pożądanie wielu mężczyzn i zanim dostał rękę ukochanej, musiał potykać się z niejednym rywalem do serca Klelii, w szczególności z Horacym. Tak więc w czasie tego wiosennego spaceru, w przeddzień nowej daty ślubu, Arons wspominał w duchu wszystkie przeciwności losu, które oddalały go od Klelii oraz tę ostatnią – powódź, która sprawiła, że jego małżeństwo znów oddaliło się w czasie.

Niestety, niepokój będzie towarzyszył Aronsowi jeszcze przez wiele miesięcy, gdyż i ten cudny dzień po niedawnej nawałnicy miał się przerodzić w kolejną katastrofę. W chwili, gdy Arons zapragnął zamienić kilka zdań z ukochaną, ujrzał najpierw nieopodal w lasku, swego największego rywala do serca Klelii – Horacego z towarzyszami, i zaraz potem rozpoczęło się trzęsienie ziemi. Żywioł ten dał o sobie znać z olbrzymią gwałtownością i spektakularnym oraz symbolicznym efektem, gdyż ziemia rozstąpiła się rozdzielając kochanków. Stracili się nawet z oczu, ponieważ z powstałej przepaści buchnęły płomienie. Zresztą dalszy ciąg opisu jest zatrważający. Ziemia nie tylko trzęsła się, ale także pękała tworząc przepastne urwiska, z których buchał ogień o różnych odcieniach. Niebo zasnuło się grubym i czarnym dymem spowijając okolicę ciemnościami, rozjaśnianymi wybuchami płomieni. Trwogę potęgowały dochodzące z wnętrza Ziemi grzmoty i wybuchy, a z powstałych kraterów wylatywały w powietrze rozgrzane kamienie. Ci, którzy nie zginęli, dusili się teraz z powodu unoszącego się odoru siarki i smoły. Z niektórych miejsc zaczęły wypływać potoki wody, które z jednej strony gasiły ogień, a z drugiej powodowały rozprzestrzenianie się kłębów dymu. Ale najstraszniejszym zjawiskiem były niebywałe ilości popiołu, pokrywające wszystko, i ziemię i wodę. W wyniku gwałtownego trzęsienia wiele domów zostało zrównanych z ziemią, a ludzie ginęli od powtarzających się wstrząsów, uskoków ziemi i płomieni (52-53). Mimo szalejącego żywiołu, który pochłaniał kolejne ofiary, Arons myślał tylko o ukochanej. Ale kiedy o wschodzie słońca natura uspokoiła się, główny bohater mógł jedynie oglądać spustoszenia dokonane przez żywioł. Niestety, wśród żywych nie odnalazł Klelii. Dowiedział się jednak dosyć szybko, że korzystając z zamieszania spowodowanego trzęsieniem ziemi, Horacy uprowadził narzeczoną udając się w nieznanym kierunku.

Od tego momentu rozpoczynają się wielomiesięczne poszukiwania ukochanej, które zakończą się upragnionym weselem Aronsa i Klelii opisanym w piątej części trzeciej księgi. Poszukiwania Aronsa, próby odbicia Klelii z rąk kolejnych adoratorów – Horacego, Sextusa, Tarkwiniusza przeplatają się z historiami retrospektywnymi oraz opowiadaniami objaśniającymi życie kolejnych bohaterów. Główna historia Aronsa i Klelii przetkana jest także konwersacjami dotyczącymi przyjaźni, miłości, czułości, szlachetności, które umilając spotkania towarzyskie pozwalały zapomnieć o trudach podróży, więzienia i ciągłych tułaczek.

Kiedy Arons wyruszył w ślad za Horacym, na skutek głębokiej rany musiał zatrzymać się w zamku Sicanusa. Pobyt ten stał się okazją do opowiedzenia, przez przyjaciela Aronsa – Célère'a, historii miłości głównych bohaterów począwszy od ich narodzin aż po fatalne trzęsienie ziemi. Retrospekcja ta pozwala nam zrozumieć kim naprawdę jest Arons i co doprowadziło do spotkania kochanków. Miłość ta prawdopodobnie nigdy by się nie narodziła gdyby nie morska nawałnica, podczas której Arons – niemowlę, potomek etruskiego króla Klusium, został uratowany przez rzymskiego arystokratę Kleliusza, który adoptował wraz z żoną dziecko, po stracie własnego syna w czasie burzy. Podobnie jak w pozostałych przypadkach opis szalejącego żywiołu jest przerażający. Sztorm ten przyniósł olbrzymie straty w ludziach także dlatego, że na morskim szlaku zderzyło się kilka statków.

Burza, która odmieniła losy syna króla Klusium oraz syna Kleliusza, była nieokiełznanym żywiołem wobec którego nawet doświadczeni żeglarze truchleli ze strachu. Motyw kapitana lub sternika, który oddaje statek na pastwę sił natury pojawia się w powieści Madeleine de Scudéry co najmniej dwukrotnie, pierwszy raz podczas sztormu na statku wiozącym potomka króla Klusium – maleńkiego Aronsa, którego stracili jego opiekunowie, Nicius i Martia. Kiedy rozszalałe fale wdzierały się na pokład, kapitan statku porzucił ster, po czym ukląkł wzywając ratunku boga Neptuna. Na jego twarzy malowała się bezradność i niewiara w ocalenie. Jedynie niemowlę spało spokojnie w swej kołysce nieświadome grożących niebezpieczeństw. Kiedy Kleliusz podpływał do tej kołyski wierząc, że ratuje własnego syna z morskich otchłani, przebudzony Arons uśmiechał się do niego rozkosznie (93-96).

Podobne zachowanie kapitana tracącego nadzieję na przeżycie pojawia się podczas kolejnego sztormu na statku, którym płynął dwudziestoletni już Arons w kierunku Syrakuz na Sycylii. Kapitan tego okrętu oparł się o stery, by głośno wzywać pomocy Neptuna. Jedynie Arons zachował spokój. W czasie burzy i grzmotów opowiadał przyjacielowi o swej nieszczęśliwej miłości do Klelii (2001: 138). Motyw bezradności wobec szalejącego sztormu znajdujemy również w greckich powieściach, między innymi we wzorze romansu Heliodora. Główna bohaterka – Charikleja opisując sztorm wspomina: „Odbyliśmy już większą część drogi, gdy nagle wzburzyło się morze, podniósł się gwałtowny wicher, zerwała się burza z ulewą i piorunami i zniosła nasz statek z kursu, a sternik poddał się nieszczęściu, stracił panowanie nad statkiem i wydał go na pastwę losu" (2000: 33).

Znamienny jest fakt, że opisom morskich nawałnic towarzyszy spokój Aronsa (niemowlaka oraz młodzieńca) a także determinacja z jaką Kleliusz walczył o przetrwanie w zburzonych wodach ratując cudze dziecko i próbując uratować własne, niestety daremnie. Wspomniane opisy przyrody trzęsienia ziemi czy też sztormu odpowiadają kłębiącym się myślom bohaterów, obrazują ich przeżycia lub cechy charakteru najmężniejszych z mężnych, którzy pomimo przeszkód dążą do wyznaczonego celu. Szalejące żywioły ujawniają hart ducha niektórych postaci. Obok typowego toposu żywiołu możemy więc dostrzec metaforyczną deskrypcję psychologiczną. Arons, podobnie jak Kleliusz potrafią niestrudzenie zabiegać o wolność, dążyć do wyznaczonego celu, mimo grożących niebezpieczeństw oraz przeciwności losu. Kleliusz gotów był na najwyższe poświęcenia i pomimo trudnej sytuacji nie porzucił wydobytej z wody kołyski z Aronsem, choć utrudniała mu ona ratowanie własnego życia. Kiedy rozszalała się burza Kleliusz nie szukał schronienia pod pokładem statku lecz dumnie pozostał na jego pokładzie prosząc bogów o ocalenie ojczyzny z rąk Tarkwiniusza, nawet gdyby przyszło mu zginąć w morskich odmętach (2001: 95).

Arons, podobnie jak jego przybrany ojciec, potrafił zrezygnować z własnego szczęścia, by ratować nieznajomego w potrzebie. Kiedy udał się w pogoń za Horacym napotkał na swej drodze księcia Mézence, władcę etruskiego miasta Peruzy, którego uratował przed zamachem. Ale ciężko ranny musiał zrezygnować z dalszej pogoni i skorzystać z gościny jednego z dygnitarzy tegoż księcia (książę Mézence okaże się dziadkiem Aronsa, przed którego gniewem rodzice wysłali niemowlę wraz z Niciusem i Martią).

Opisy sił natury mogą mieć inne symboliczne znaczenie. Przerażająca relacja z trzęsienia ziemi w Kapui pokrywa się z rozpaczą rozdzielonych kochanków, a sztorm na morzu może odpowiadać wiecznej tułaczce sprawiedliwych i niewinnych – potomka króla Klusium i jego opiekunów przed chęcią zgładzenia przez księcia Mézence, czy też rzymskiego arystokraty Kleliusza wraz z rodziną najpierw przed zemstą Tarkwiniusza, a później przed gniewem zarządcy Kartaginy – Maharbala, który pragnął poślubić jego piękną córkę. Uciekając przed zemstą Maharbala, rodzina Kleliusza wraz z Horacym potajemnie odpłynęła statkiem w stronę Syrakuz. Niestety, statek ten dostał się w ręce piratów, którzy zakuli w kajdany rzymską rodzinę. Kapitan piratów postanowił sprzedać Kelię i pewnie by mu się to udało, gdyby nie kolejna morska nawałnica, po której na morzu spotkały się dwa ocalałe statki, jeden Aronsa, drugi załogi piratów. Jedynie wielkie bohaterstwo i odwaga Aronsa uratowały przybraną rodzinę z rąk piratów (102-132).

Łatwo spostrzec, że morskie burze krzyżowały plany Aronsa począwszy od wczesnego niemowlęctwa. Zresztą gdyby nie inna morska nawałnica, Arons nie spotkałby Horacego, rywala o miłość pięknej Klelii. W wieku szesnastu lat, gdy Klelia była małą dwunastoletnią dziewczynką, Arons wyruszył wraz z przyjaciółmi zwiedzać Grecję, ale burza zmusiła ich do postoju na Sycylii, gdzie zapadła decyzja, by zobaczyć także Rzym. Podczas tej nowej podróży Arons spotkał Rzymianina – Horacego uciekającego przed Tarkwiniuszem i zaprosił go do swego rodzinnego domu w Kartaginie. Kiedy przybył z Horacym do domu miał już dwadzieścia lat, Klelia zaś szesnaście i z małej uroczej dziewczynki przemieniła się cudowną kobietę wzbudzającą zachwyt wszystkich mężczyzn. Tak więc Arons i Horacy nie pozostali obojętni na jej urok, a ich przyjaźń zamieniła się we wrogość i walkę o serce Klelii.

Rekapitulując, to zwłaszcza morskie burze wpływały na zmienność losów głównych bohaterów. Sztormy stały się podstawowym motorem zwrotów akcji. W wyniku pierwszej nawałnicy królewski potomek – Arons został adoptowany przez Kleliusza, który stracił swego. Wraz ze swoją żoną wychowywał chłopca jak własne dziecko, a po przyjściu na świat córki – Klelii, dzieci wzrastały w świadomości, że są przybranym rodzeństwem. W czasie czteroletniej podróży po wyspach greckich i Italii, w wyniku morskiej burzy Arons spotkał Rzymianina – Horacego, którego przywiózł do rodzinnego domu, dając mu schronienie u swego przybranego ojca przed prześladowaniem ze strony Tarkwiniusza. Kiedy w sercu Aronsa narodziła się miłość do przybranej siostry, nie zdawał sobie sprawy z faktu, że zaprosił pod własny dach pretendenta do ręki Klelii. Warto podkreślić, że Kleliusz marzył, by jego córka wyszła za mąż za Rzymianina (123). Trzecia morska nawałnica pozwoliła Aronsowi wykazać się męstwem i uratować życie przybranej rodzinie i Horacemu. Wreszcie po wielu perypetiach, kiedy Kleliusz postanowił oddać rękę swej córki Aronsowi, ślub został odłożony w czasie z powodu powodzi, a następnie doszło do wielomiesięcznego rozdzielenia narzeczonych po katastrofalnym w skutkach trzęsieniu ziemi.

Opisy żywiołów pozwalają narratorowi, zgodnie z konwencją siedemnastowiecznej tradycji powieściowej, wpływać na zaskakujący zwrot akcji, a sceny z opisów sił przyrody traktować często jako obraz posiadający symboliczne znaczenie. Czy jednak topos żywiołu, zwłaszcza sztormu, jest zwykłym zabiegiem narracyjnym? Marc Labussière wysunął niedawno tezę dotyczącą innych funkcji omawianego toposu poza podstawową – narracyjną. Według niego topos morskiej burzy może być związany po pierwsze: z motywacją działań bohatera, gdyż żywioł wyjaśnia wszelkiego rodzaju zmiany podróży czy też nieoczekiwane spotkania, po drugie: z transcendentnym unaocznieniem czyli boskim lub nadprzyrodzonym doświadczeniem, po trzecie: z alegorycznym przedstawieniem stanu duszy postaci (2007: 407). Ujmując rzecz chronologicznie, możemy spostrzec, że pierwszy żywioł wprowadzony przez francuską powieściopisarkę to sztorm, w czasie którego tonie kilka statków a dzieci tracą swoich opiekunów. Opiekunowie Aronsa płynęli na Sycylię do Syrakuz, zaś Kleliusz z rodziną z Rzymu do Kartaginy w Afryce, czyli nawałnica miała miejsce na Morzu Śródziemnym. W tym wypadku opis żywiołu jest typowym zabiegiem narracyjnym pozwalającym wprowadzić zamęt w opowiadaniu i złączyć losy dwóch rodzin, które w normalnych warunkach nigdy by się nie spotkały. Jeżeli założymy, że całe opowiadanie oparte jest na miłości „najdoskonalszych kochanków" – Aronsa i Klelii, to nawałnica ta może pełnić funkcję ponadzmysłowego doświadczenia lub boskiej interwencji w narodzinach miłości etruskiego księcia i rzymskiej arystokratki. Ponadto ta pierwsza nawałnica opowiadana jest przez przyjaciela Aronsa – Célère'a księżniczce Léontins. Nie jest to jednak zwykłe opowiadanie retrospektywne przez jedną z postaci romansu, do tego postaci, która nie była naocznym świadkiem, gdyż nie znajdowała się na statku Niciusa i Martii, ani Kleliusza i Suplicji. Nie jest to także opowiadanie osoby, która mogła obserwować wydarzenia z brzegu. Tym niemniej opisy szalejącego sztormu są przedstawione tak, jak gdyby były opowiadane z perspektywy samych podróżnych znajdujących się w sercu burzy. Opowieść skonstruowana jest tak jak gdyby to sam Célère był rozbitkiem, uczestniczącym bezpośrednio w dramatycznych wydarzeniach.

Drugi zwrot akcji dotyczy „przypadkowego" spotkania Horacego. Z dalszej opowieści Célère'a dowiadujemy się, że w czasie podróży, której celem było zwiedzanie Grecji, podczas powrotu do Afryki stało się coś „szczególnego", „burza rzuciła ich [Aronsa i jego przyjaciół] na Sycylię, zamiast wrócić do Kartaginy, tak jak zamierzali wcześniej, postanowili pojechać zobaczyć Rzym, a nawet dużą część najważniejszych miast Toskanii" (2001: 92). Wtedy to następuje spotkanie z Horacym, który musiał ukrywać się przed Tarkwiniuszem. Przypomnijmy, że grecki topos burzy miał na celu rozdzielanie rodzin, przyjaciół, zakochanych, tymczasem na skutek sztormu przyjaciele zmieniają zamiary i zyskują nowego towarzysza. Narrator bardzo krótko wspomina to wydarzenie, brakuje także samego opisu sztormu ale i w tym przypadku należałoby uznać, że jest to rodzaj boskiej interwencji, ponieważ za sprawą burzy, z jednej strony Arons zyskuje przyjaciela, z drugiej zaś rywala, a opowiadanie nabiera nowego wymiaru. Przybycie Horacego do domu Kleliusza pogmatwa stosunki między Aronsem, Klelią, Horacym oraz Kleliuszem, który dwukrotnie zmieni zdanie oddając rękę córki to Rzymianinowi, to „człowiekowi znikąd" (228). Ostatecznie rywalizacja między Aronsem i Horacym trwać będzie niemalże rok.

Trzeci sztorm także odbiega od typowego znaczenia greckiego toposu burzy na morzu, ponieważ prowadzi do spotkania członków rodziny i do ich uwolnienia przez Aronsa z rąk piratów. Podobnie należałoby zweryfikować rozdzielenie Arosa i Klelii z powodu nagłego trzęsienia ziemi. Na pewno „fizycznie" trzęsienie to rozdzieliło zakochanych, gdyż rozstąpiła się między nimi ziemia, ale faktyczne rozdzielenie nastąpiło na skutek porwania Klelii przez Horacego, a trzęsienie to jedynie ułatwiło dokonanie raptu. O ile w wypadku powodzi, której opis otwiera historię, możemy twierdzić, że odpowiada on typowemu motywowi żywiołu rozdzielającego kochanków, a w tym konkretnym przypadku odkładającego w czasie małżeństwo, to dopiero wydarzenia związane z trzęsieniem ziemi pozwalają rozwinąć akcję w ten sposób, by połączenie młodej pary nastąpiło po kilku miesiącach oraz po wielu przeżyciach, kolejnych rozstaniach i niesamowitych przygodach. Jednakże wydaje się, że znaczenie trzęsienia ziemi należy skorygować z tego powodu, że bez względu na to czy żywioł ten rozszalałby się czy też nie, jest wielce prawdopodobne, że małżeństwo etruskiego księcia z rzymską arystokratką zostałoby odłożone w czasie ze względu na zorganizowane uprowadzenie młodej dziewczyny.

Motyw żywiołu wprowadzony przez Madeleine de Scudéry do swego romansu *Clélie, histoire romaine* odpowiada toposowi żywiołu, zwłaszcza burzy, który występował już w powieściach starożytnych, gdzie z natury destrukcyjny żywioł budował akcję, rozwijał narrację i pozwalał trwać opowiadaniu. Ale niektóre opisy wymykają się z tego cyklu narracyjnego, gdyż żywioł może być też swoistym kamuflażem, dla opisania nieszczęścia, może również przybierać formę alegoryczną, ornamentu pozwalającemu odmalować stan duszy bohatera. Wracając jednak do pierwotnego pojęcia żywiołu jako katastrofy naturalnej możemy jednoznacznie stwierdzić, że bez względu na rodzaj zastosowanej techniki narracyjnej opartej na tym toposie, opis żywiołu stanowi punkt zwrotny akcji.

Bibliografia

Labussière Marc (2007), « Naufrage avec sauveteur chez Prévost : théories esthétiques et tempêtes romanesques à l'ombre du *Suave mari magno* », *L'événement climatique et ses représentations (XVII^e – XIX^e siècle) : histoire, littérature, musique et peinture*, dir. E. Le Roy Ladurie, J. Berchtold, J.-P. Sermain, Paris, s. 401-415

Opowieść etiopska o Theagenesie i Charikleii, (2000) tłum. S. Dworacki, Poznań

Scudéry Madeleine (2001), *Clélie, histoire romaine*, première partie 1654, édition critique par Chantal Morlet-Chantalat, Paris

STRESZCZENIE

Tematem niniejszego artykułu jest znaczenie żywiołu, burzy morskiej, trzęsienia ziemi oraz powodzi, w siedemnastowiecznej powieści Madeleine de Scudéry, *Klelia, historia rzymska*. Motyw żywiołu wykorzystywany już w powieściach starożytnych pozwalał narratorowi wpływać na zaskakujące zwroty akcji. Francuska powieściopisarka w podobny sposób korzysta z tego toposu, jednakże w przypadku *Klelii* motyw ten nie jest jedynie typowym zabiegiem narracyjnym. Szczegółowa analiza powieści Madeleine de Scudéry pozwala dostrzec także inne funkcje takie jak motywacja działań bohatera, nadprzyrodzone doświadczenie oraz alegoryczny stan duszy bohaterów. Opisy szalejących żywiołów stają się niejednokrotnie kamuflażem ciągu nieszczęść lub przybierają formę ornamentu pozwalającego odmalować wewnętrzne przeżycia głównych bohaterów.

Małgorzata Szymańska

Jacques Chessex, écrivain vaudois

La mort récente de Jacques Chessex (1934-2009) clôt tout un chapitre dans l'histoire de la littérature romande. Celle-ci vient de perdre un écrivain fertile et original, une véritable institution des lettres romandes (et suisses), un auteur connu et apprécié dans de nombreux pays, dont la France où Jacques Chessex avait son éditeur, Bernard Grasset, et des lecteurs fidèles, où il avait été couronné de nombreux prix littéraires prestigieux (dont deux fois du prix Goncourt, pour son roman *L'Ogre* en 1973 et pour sa poésie en 2004, du prix Mallarmé et du prix Jean Giono), sans parler des nombreux prix qui récompensaient son apport à la langue et la culture françaises. La société suisse a perdu un polémiste, un insoumis voire un scandaliste, toujours prêt à se lancer dans des débats sociaux et littéraires. Cette perte est d'autant plus grande que, contrairement à la littérature de la Suisse germanophone, bien connue pour sa veine démystificatrice, représentée, entre autres, par Max Frisch, Friedrich Dürrenmatt, Peter Bischel ou Hugo Loetscher, la littérature romande se caractérise davantage par son goût de l'introspection, au détriment de la critique sociale. Enfin, et c'est ce qui fera l'objet de cet article, la mort de Jacques Chessex signifie la disparition d'un des deniers grands écrivains suisses romands dont l'oeuvre témoigne d'un enracinement profond dans une réalité éthnique et géographique concrète. Dans le cas de Jacques Chessex, il s'agit de liens, nombreux et complexes, qui l'attachaient à son canon d'origine, canton de Vaud. Nous essayerons de montrer comment l'écrivain comprend et explique l'orientation de son oeuvre sur « sa petite patrie » et comment celle-là s'inscrit dans la littérature vaudoise.

La littérature romande et vaudoise

La littérature romande se caractérise par sa décentralisation qui est la conséquence directe de l'histoire de la Confédération Helvétique et de son pluriculturalisme. Parmi les quatre cantons francophones (Vaud, Genève, Neuchâtel et Jura) et les deux cantons bilingues (Valais et Fribourg), ce sont incontestablement ceux de Vaud et de Genève qui ont joué le plus grand rôle dans l'émergence de la spécificité littéraire romande et décidé de l'image de cette littérature à l'étranger. Cependant, les deux cantons se distingunt l'un de l'autre à bien des égards. Certes, comme Genève, le canton de Vaud a adhéré à la Confédération Helvétique au début du XIXe s., certes, il est aussi de tradition protestante, certes, il est aujourd'hui un centre intellectuel aussi important que Genève. Mais son histoire est différente : le protestantisme y fut imposé par la force militaire, celle de Berne, et, contrairement à Genève, plus conservatrice, plus réticente aux idées républicaines venant de France, annexée pour quelques années par celle-ci en 1798, le canton de Vaud, qui avait accueilli avec enthousiasme les idées de la Révolution Française, a obtenu la même année son indépendance vis-à-vis de Berne, ce qu'il commémore jusqu'à nos jours. À ces différences historiques, s'en ajoutent d'autres, d'ordre géographique : le canton de Vaud, beaucoup plus grand que celui de Genève, a gardé son caractère agricole, possède une nature diversifiée dont l'élément le plus important restent la montagne (les Alpes vaudoises et le Jura vaudois) et la forêt (le Jorat). En outre, des six cantons francophones, il est le plus autarcique et le plus homogène, aussi sur le plan des mentalités. Pour toutes ces raisons, on l'appelle souvent le Pays de Vaud. La littérature de ce canton présente aussi un caractère uni dont l'ancrage géographique a toujours été l'un des traits dominants.

En énumérant les grands auteurs qui ont marqué la littérature vaudoise, il faut commencer par Philippe-Sirice Bridel, mieux connu comme Doyen Bridel, auteur, de 1783 à 1831, d'*Étrennes helvéciennes et patriotiques* (qui porteront à partir de 1822 le titre de *Conservateur suisse*) qui sont une chronique de la vie dans le canton de Vaud. Dans cette oeuvre, qui a remporté un énorme succès auprès des lecteurs, Doyen Bridel chante le passé mythique de la Suisse, rappelle ses héros, vante le caractère des Suisses qu'il oppose aux Français, selon la tradition de l'époque, décrit avec amour les payages suisses en faisant l'éloge de la vie u sein de la nature. Partisan de l'helvétisme, mouvement intellectuel qui se propose de rapprocher tous les habitants de la Confédération, indépendamment de leur histoire, confession, langue ou opinions politiques, il contribue ainsi à la construction de l'identité nationale suisse. A l'autre bout, se situe Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), cosmopolite formé en Allemagne, en Grande Bretagne et en France, auteur de *Journaux intimes* et d'*Adolphe*, court roman d'analyse considéré comme un des chefs d'oeuvre de la prose romantique. Parmi les plus grands poètes vaudois du XIXe s., se trouve Juste Olivier (1807-1876) avec ses *Poèmes suisses*, mais qui doit surtout sa renommée à son oeuvre monumentale *Le Canton de Vaud. Sa vie et son histoire,* publié entre 1837-1841, où il continue la tradition de Doyen Bridel. Cette oeuvre volumineuse (1200 pages) consacrée à la géographie vaudoise, à l'histoire du canton ainsi qu'aux moeurs, traditions et patois du peuple vaudois se propose de présenter de façon globale la culture vaudoise pour permettre aux Vaudois de prendre conscience d'eux-mêmes et de bâtir leur identité à une époque agitée qui précède immédiatement la naissance de la Confédération moderne (1848). Il n'est donc pas étonnant que, lors de la réédition de l'oeuvre de Juste Olivier en 1938, ce fût le plus grand écrivain vaudois de cette époque, Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz, alors au sommet de sa gloire, qui l'a préfacée, en rappelant les mérites de son auteur qu'il qualifiait du seul classique vaudois.

C'est, entre autres, au nom de Ch.-F. Ramuz qu'est lié le plus grand débat sur l'identité et la littérature suisse au début du XXe s. Contrairement à certains autres écrivains romands, Ramuz n'a jamais eu de doutes sur son identité et s'est toujours montré sceptique quant à l'existence de la culture ou de l'esprit suisses. Déjà en 1906, répondant à une enquête de la revue *La Voile Latine*, il a déclaré qu'il ne connaissait aucun Suisse mais des Bernois, des Valaisans et des Vaudois. Trente ans plus tard, dans la revue *Esprit* (1937), il continuera de nier l'existence de la nation suisse et se dira Vaudois. À plusieurs reprises, il revendiquera l'identité vaudoise, par exemple dans *Paris. Notes d'un Vaudois* (1986). Celle-ci a eu pour Ramuz des conséquences esthétiques de premier ordre. En premier lieu, elle lui a fait rejeter l'hégémonie linguistique de la France en l'obligeant à élaborer un style capable d'exprimer la communauté d'esprit avec le Pays de Vaud et ses habitants : persuadé que la pratique linguistique s'inscrit toujours dans la pratique sociale et culturelle, il ne voyait pas la possibilité d'écrire comme un Français. C'est cette identité vaudoise qui lui a fait choisir des sujets et des héros qui, tout en restant caractéristiques de sa région, pouvaient véhiculer des valeurs universelles.

Parmi les autres grands écrivains vaudois, il faut citer le nom de Gustave Roud (1897-1976), grand poète particulièrement proche de Jacques Chessex, un métaphysicien sans Dieu, comme lui, disciple de Novalis, qui a inventé des formes poétiques nouvelles pour raconter sa quête des fragments du Paradis dispersés sur la terre.

Brève bio-bibliographie de Jacques Chessex

Ce qui frappe d'emblée chez ce poète et romancier, c'est sa fertilité d'écrivain peu commune, du moins parmi les écrivains romands. Il est l'auteur d'une vingtaine de recueils de poésie et d'une trentaine d'ouvrages en prose, qu'il a écrits jusqu'à la fin de sa vie (certains d'entre eux ont déjà paru ou paraîtront bientôt à titre posthume). On ne compte plus ses autres textes, essais, études de critique littéraire et de beaux arts (J. Chessex fut aussi peintre) ou articles de presse. Il a débuté en 1954 à l'âge de vingt ans comme poète et, huit ans plus tard, a publié son premier roman, *La Tête ouverte*. Désormais, presque chaque année apporte une oeuvre nouvelle. Jacques Chessex pratiquait des genres et des styles très variés : il était l'auteur de romans (le plus souvent écrits à la première personne) qui se caractérisent par un style dense et précis mais sobre (comme dans *La confession du pasteur Burg*, 1967) et, à l'autre bout, de textes difficiles à qualifier, comme *Portrait des Vaudois* (1969) que nous présenterons d'une façon plus détaillée plus loin ou comme *Carabas* (1971), livre exubérant, baroque, une sorte d'autoportrait polémique, d'art poétique et de rendement de comptes à la fois. Au cours des dernières années de sa vie, Jacques Chessex s'inspirait dans sa prose de faits réels pour présenter sa version des événements historiques (ou des faits divers) qui l'avaient particulièrement touché.

Le thème vaudois dans l'oeuvre de Jacques Chessex

Comme Ramuz, Jacques Chessex se réclamait d'une « race » et d'une terre. Comme Ramuz, il se disait Vaudois, comme Ramuz, il se sentait encore plus fortement Vaudois quand il était à Paris. Jacques Chessex était persuadé qu'il existe une nation vaudoise, vu que les Vaudois sont Suisses, c'est-à-dire citoyens de la Confédération Helvétique depuis 1803 seulement, alors que l'éthnie vaudoise existe depuis toujours. C'est dans les *Entretiens avec Jacques Chessex* de Jérôme Garcin (1979) que nous trouverons sa « profession de foi » de Vaudois la plus explicite. Pour Chessex, être Vaudois, c'est en même temps être attaché à un sol et à une race, avec sa mentalité et son sens métaphysique: */…/ je suis Vaudois, c'est une fibre naturellement profonde et métaphysicienne. Dans ce pays, je suis attaché aussi bien à la lumière, à la fourrure animale, à la peau des feuilles et des arbres qu'à un sentiment profond de la mort, qu'à la pente vers la destruction de soi, qu'à une façon de réfléchir sur l'extraordinaire ampleur de l'autre vie. /…/ Il ne faut pas oublier que le terrien, le Vaudois, a le sens moral et le sens métaphysique exactement natifs. /…/ On s'en fout des idées. Il n'y a qu'une idée : frère, il faut mourir. /…/ Nous avons, inclues en nous, des vérités qui sont la naissance dans la douleur, l'amour dans la douleur et l'attente de la mort dans la douleur. Et comme il peut être compris chez nous seuls, le repos aussii dans la douleur.* (1979 : 15-17)

Cette citation nous paraît très importante. Elle permet de comprendre à la fois l'écrivain et son oeuvre, ses choix personnels et ses choix artistiques. Il y a d'abord le côté sédentaire de Jacques Chessex qui, contrairement à de nombreux écrivains romands qui se réalisaient dans le voyage et pour qui celui-ci était une inspiration très puissante (Rodolphe Töpffer, Blaise Cendrars, Ella Maillart, Nicolas Bouvier ou Marc Lovay), détestait quitter son canton. Comme il l'explique dans *Carabas* (1971), il voyait dans cette haine du déplacement le résultat de sa paresse et de son humeur mais aussi de son éducation protestante qui enseignait de ne pas demander ce que l'on n'avait pas. Il avouait aussi sa crainte de se perdre, de se disperser dans l'inconnu futile, de se noyer dans l'altérité. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle il n'était jamais devenu un Suisse de Paris, contrairement à beaucoup d'autres écrivains romans qui ont choisi de vivre et d'écrire en France. Pendant plus de trente ans, Jacques Chessex a habité la maison qu'il avait fait construire à proximité du cimetière de Ropraz et s'il lui arrivait de voyager, c'était surtout dans le Pays Vaud où il visitait les mêmes lieux pour les découvrir ainsi beaucoup plus profondément.

C'est par ses origines vaudoises que Jacques Chessex expliquait aussi sa résistance aux modes, y compris aux modes littéraires et aux inventions formelles de son époque ainsi qu'une certaine manière de se tenir en marge. Il se donnait pour maîtres Flaubert et Maupassant et se disait romancier naturaliste : s'il fallait une étiquette, il revendiquait celle de la tradition naturaliste, il voyait ses textes comme des « tranches de vie et de mort » et se moquait de certaines avant-gardes qu'il accusait de stérilité. Leurs représentants, manquant d'une quelconque *forme d'expérience de la cicatrice, du drame, de l'horreur ou de la folie*, n'étaient pour lui que des écrivains de laboratoire. (1979 : 150-151) Comme Ramuz, qui revendiquait pour chaque auteur francophone le droit de rester fidèle à lui-même, à ses origines et, en particulier, de se forger son français à lui, en accord avec son expérience et ses sujets, Chessex voyait la possibilité d'un renouveau de la littérature française dans les littératures francophones, à son époque beaucoup plus conscientes de leur valeur propre qu'aux temps de Ramuz.

La prise de conscience d'appartenir au peuple vaudois, la volonté de s'assumer Vaudois, ont été chez Chessex une longue quête identitaire déclenchée par un événement tragique de sa jeunesse : son père, Pierre Chessex, professeur, intellectuel, étymologiste, directeur du Collège scientifique, s'est suicidé d'une balle dans la tempe à l'âge de 48 ans et il est mort après quatre jours d'agonie. L'écrivain avait alors 22 ans. En 1969, dans le dernier chapitre de *Portrait des Vaudois*, il revient sur ce suicide où il voit « sa deuxième naissance » : *Cette mort m'a fait ce que je suis. C'est elle qui m'a révélé le pays, qui a fait de moi un Vaudois. Avant j'écrivais déjà des poèmes mais j'étais d'un peu partout, d'ici, d'ailleurs, de plus loin encore, je n'avais pas de centre, pas de racine. En mourant, mon père m'a laissé seul. Deuxième naissance. Il a bien fallu que je cherche un lieu ou prendre pied. Il a bien fallu que je me refasse un centre et un socle, un haut et un bas, pour comprendre ce qui m'arrivait et pour recommencer à vivre. /.../ Mon père est devenu le pays.* (1982 : 204)

Portrait des Vaudois, le plus grand best-seller de Jacques Chessex, livre qui a déjà eu une dizaine d'éditions, est une espèce de portrait collectif, de physionomie (au sens balzacien du terme) d'un pays. C'est comme si le sentiment d'avoir retrouvé son identité se traduisait chez l'écrivain par une sorte d'euphorie qui lui faisait chercher à présenter le pays dans toute sa diversité, à explorer son âme et celle de ses habitants, à « épuiser le sujet », en prolongeant ainsi, à sa façon, la tradition des « sommes » sur le Pays de Vaud de Doyen Bridel ou de Juste Olivier. Jacques Chessex avoue avoir voulu faire avec cette oeuvre *un livre totalement de ce pays, comme une motte de terre ou comme un rayon de miel que je vais prendre à ma ruche.* (1979 : 82) Il y dépeint ses compatriotes, leur histoire et leur présent, leurs coutumes, leurs façons de sentir et leur mentalité, n'oublie pas la nourriture avec ses spécialités et ses odeurs. Mais, à travers son oreille, il donne la priorité à leur façon de parler et en particulier à leurs façons de ne pas dire les choses : *Nous sommes, les Vaudois, les champions de la litote, de la périphrase, d'une certaine façon de ne pas dire les faits, tout* *en les disant.* (1979 : 80) Cette façon de s'exprimer devait le fasciner d'autant plus qu'elle lui était entièrement étrangère : en tant qu'écrivain et surtout en tant qu'homme, dans ses interviews, ses polémiques et ses pamphlets, Jacques Chessex s'exprimait toujours de façon très directe, violente, voire crue. Contrairement à ses compatriotes, il n'avait peur de choquer ni par le choix des sujets, ni par les mots employés. Sans parler de sa conduite qui a toujours outré et dérangé (alcoolisme, divorces, humeurs, audaces) et dont, comble de l'horreur dans ce pays toujours fortement marqué par la retenue calviniste, il n'hésiatait pas à débattre en public. Rien d'étonnant que *Portrait des Vaudois*, malgré leur ton général de sympathie et de bienveillance, contienne aussi des fragments très critiques à l'égard de ses compatriotes, ce qui fait aussi de ce livre une entreprise de démystification qui frôle parfois le pamphlet. Sa critique vise avant tout ceux qui massacrent les paysages avec leurs immenses constructions (comme à Montreux) ou ceux qui transformemt le pays en « boutique de suisseries » pour touristes. C'est d'ailleurs l'une des raisons pour lesquelles Jacques Chessex, promeneur infatigable, préfère les forets vaudoises à la côte lémanique. Émerveillé par la nature sauvage et les animaux qui y vivent, fasciné par la part animale dans l'homme, motifs présents dans bon nombre de ses oeuvres, il se révolte contre la progression continue de la société civilisée, avec son béton omniprésent, sa molesse, son culte de l'organisation, de la prudence et de la prévoyance. Il se moque de la volonté de ses compatriotes de tout prévoir pour se protéger contre tout, pour vivre dans un monde organisé, aseptisé, immunisé, dans un monde sous cellophane, en oubliant que l'homme n'est jamais protégé contre rien.

Dans sa veine critique, Jacques Chessex s'en prend aussi à la religion calviniste (le plus directement dans *La confession du pasteur Burg*) dont, même s'il se dit athée, il a été fortement marqué, comme la plupart des Romands. Car cette religion de la faute et du remords, lorsqu'elle est dénaturée, réduite à un ascétisme, à un moralisme privé d'âme, de sens du surnaturel et de consolation, jette l'homme dans la solitude, l'angoisse, la méfiance et le doute de soi. Elle est aussi celle d'une culpabilité et d'une pudeur extrêmes et oppressantes dans le domaine de la chair, attitude complètement étrangère à Jacques Chessex, tant écrivain qu'homme. Dans ses oeuvres, l'érotisme est omniprésent. Qu'il s'agisse de ses romans ou de ses textes autobiographiques, Chessex écrit des livres sur la femme et il le fait avec une liberté et une passion encore inconnues en Suisse romande où toute allusion trop directe au corps humain et à l'amour physique est choquante. Rien d'étonnant que sa façon ouverte et sincère d'aborder la question du sexe ait toujours fait scandale en Suisse.

En dépit de la diversité des genres littéraires pratiqués, l'oeuvre de Jacques Chessex, tant sa poésie que sa prose, présente une grande unité thématique : dualité de la nature humaine, jouissance et remords, hypocrisie humaine, solitude, fascination pour le mal. Mais s'il fallait choisir un seul sujet pour caractériser cette oeuvre, ce serait l'obsession de l'écrivain de la mort et de la décomposition du corps, le plus souvent évoqué en même temps que l'amour, comme en témoignent ces propos de l'écrivain recueillis par Jérôme Garcin : *Il y a dans tous mes livres, je crois, une part de fascination pour le corps pourrissant. Á cet égard, je me sens profondément baroque./…/ Je n'ai jamais été penché sur le visage d'aucune femme sans voir son crâne. Je n'ai jamais étreint aucune femme sans imaginer ses os, sans les ressentir très violemment sur moi et en moi.* (1979 : 55-56)

Vers la fin de sa vie, Jacques Chessex se tourne vers des sujets puisés dans l'histoire plus ou moins récente de sa région mais la mort reste toujours au centre du récit. En 2007, il publie *Le Vampire de Ropraz*, deux ans plus tard, *Un Juif pour l'exemple.* (2009) Les deux textes, qualifiés de romans, proposent une reconstruction de deux événements historiques qui se sont déroulés dans deux petites villes vaudoises liées à la biographie de l'écrivain, soit à Ropraz où il habitait depuis 1978 et à Payerne, où il était né et avait passé son enfance. En 1942, à Payerne, un crime a eu lieu. Arthur Bloch, marchand de bétail de soixante ans d'origine juive, citoyen suisse, a été assassiné, son corps démembré et jeté dans le lac par un groupe d'habitants de la ville fascinés par l'idéologie nazie et la haine ancestrale du Juif. Très vite, les coupables ont été arrêtés, jugés et condamnés. À l'époque de ces événements tragiques, Jacques Chessex n'avait que 8 ans, mais il s'en souviendra jusqu'à la fin de ses jours. Il avait déjà évoqué le drame en 1967, dans le récit intitulé *Un crime en 1942* dans le recueil de récits *Reste avec nous*. (1997) Plus de quarante ans après, il en fait le sujet d'un roman (qui est en fait une reconstitution minutieuse où les personnages portent leurs noms exacts) pour des raisons qu'il explique ainsi : *Je raconte une histoire immonde, et j'ai honte d'en écrire le moindre mot. J'ai honte de rapporter un discours, des mots, un ton, des actes qui ne sont pas les miens mais qui le deviennent sans que je le veuille par l'écriture. Car Vladimir Jankélévitch dit /…/ que la complicité est rusée et que rapporter le moindre propos d'antisémitisme, ou d'en tirer le rire, la caricature ou quelque exploitation esthétique est déjà, en soi, une entreprise intolérable. Il a raison. Mais je n'ai pas tort, né à Payerne, où j'ai vécu mon enfance, de sonder des circonstances qui n'ont pas cessé d'empoisonner ma mémoire et de m'entretenir, depuis tout ce temps, dans un déraisonnable sentiment de faute.* (2009 :88)

Le Vampire de Ropraz s'inspire d'un fait plus ancien : en 1903, le corps d'une jeune fille de vingt ans est déterré et profané au cimetière de Ropraz. Puis, deux autres profanations sont commises. La peur s'installe dans la petite société rurale de Ropraz qui fait vite désigner le coupable idéal, en fait un bouc émissaire, un valet de ferme au physique et au comportement suspects, qui sera condamné, emprisonné et soumis à un traitement psychiatrique. Écrits à partir de faits réels, les deux courts romans présentent, à travers deux « crimes de proximité », la face voilée de la société vaudoise, l'horreur du crime, la fascination meurtrière et la banalité du mal.

* * *

L'analyse du motif vaudois dans l'oeuvre de Jacques Chessex ne laisse pas de doutes. Ce sont les origines vaudoises de l'écrivain, l'histoire, la religion, la nature et les paysages du Pays de Vaud qui ont marqué son oeuvre d'un sceau original. Celle-ci n'a cependant rien de commun avec une littérature régionaliste, une littérature « du terroir », empreinte d'une couleur locale à caractère décoratif et superficiel. La dimension vaudoise des oeuvres de Jacques Chessex se situe dans la meilleure tradition littéraire du canton, celle de Ramuz. Fuyant la complaisance, Jacques Chessex ne se trahit pas. Conscient de tout ce qui l'attache au peuple vaudois et de ce qu'il lui doit, il se rend aussi compte de tout ce qui l'en sépare. Il refuse, même au prix de faire scandale, l'oppression morale du calvinisme, le puritanisme, l'hypocrisie et le conformisme, l'interdiction de parler de soi, toute forme de discrétion, de retenue et d'ascétisme. La leçon de Chessex est une leçon de liberté qui a changé la littérature romande, comme en témoignent ces paroles de Jacques-Etienne Bovard, représentant de la génération suivante des écrivains romands : *On pouvait dire maintenent que « Montreux est une île épouvantable » et surcharger ses phrases. Parler obstinément de soi. Parler de sexe, de valet de ferme et de tranche de melon. Faire des comptines, de l'humour noir et des pamphlets. Revendiquer la faute, défier le remords, passer toutes les bornes. /…/ En occupant le territoire, Chessex a dégagé et changé le terrain, nous laissant libres de faire ce qui nous plaît.* (1994 : 24)

Bibliographie

Chessex, Jacques. (1967), *La confession du pasteur Bourg*, Paris.

Chessex, Jacques. (1971), *Carabas*, Lausanne.

Chessex, Jacques. (1982), *Portrait des Vaudois*, s.l.

Chessex, Jacques. (1994), *L'itinéraire,* Lausanne.

Chessex, Jacques. (1997), *Reste avec nous et autres récits,* Orbe.

Chessex, Jacques. (2007), *Le Vampire de Ropraz,* Paris.

Chessex, Jacques. (2009), *Un Juif pour l'exemple,* Paris.

Garcin, Jérôme. (1979), *Entretiens avec Jacques Chessex*, Paris.

Ramuz, Charles-Ferdinand. (1986), in : *Oeuvres complètes*, t. XX, Genève.

STRESZCZENIE

Niedawna śmierć Jacques'a Chessexa (1934-2009) zamyka pewien rozdział w historii francuskojęzycznej literatury szwajcarskiej. W osobie tego pisarza Szwajcaria romańska straciła bowiem nie tylko płodnego i oryginalnego prozaika, poetę i krytyka, laureata wielu nagród literackich, w tym dwukrotnie nagrody Goncourtów, ale przede wszystkim jednego z ostatnich pisarzy, którzy tak mocno podkreślali wagę związków łączących go z rodzinnym kantonem, w tym wypadku z kantonem Vaud. Po krótkiej prezentacji Kraju Vaud, jego literatury i jej najważniejszych przedstawicieli, artykuł przedstawia na przykładzie wybranych utworów wpływ (także w opinii samego pisarza), jaki wywarł na nim rodzinny kanton, jego przyroda a zwłaszcza wciąż żywa tradycja kalwińska, podkreślając jednocześnie niezgodę, a nawet bunt pisarza, wobec pewnych przejawów mentalności i zachowań jego mieszkańców.

Elżbieta Szawerdo

Utracjusze, łowcy posagów, małżeństwa dla pieniędzy – obraz XIX-wiecznej szlachty węgierskiej i polskiej arystokracji

(na przykładzie powieści *Lalka* Bolesława Prusa i *Jak się młody Nosty żenił* Kálmána Mikszátha)

Kálmán Mikszáth, węgierski powieściopisarz, nowelista i publicysta był rówieśnikiem Bolesława Prusa. Obaj przyszli na świat w 1847 roku, a polski pisarz żył zaledwie dwa lata dłużej. Śledząc ich karierę literacką, zauważymy wiele podobieństw: obaj debiutowali niemal w tym samym czasie, pracowali jako redaktorzy, pisali felietony, opowiadania, nowele a także powieści. Obaj uczestniczyli w życiu społeczno-politycznym swoich krajów: Mikszáth był posłem do węgierskiego parlamentu, Prus natomiast do końca życia angażował się w pracę społeczną.

Powieści obu pisarzy dostarczają czytelnikom wielu cennych informacji o społeczeństwie węgierskim i polskim końca XIX wieku. Są doskonałym świadectwem tworzenia się w tych krajach mocnej warstwy mieszczaństwa i przedsiębiorców oraz utraty wpływów, dotychczas uprzywilejowanej, warstwy szlacheckiej. Na Węgrzech zubożałą szlachtę, która mimo topniejących zasobów materialnych nie podejmowała żadnej pracy, a zadłużała się, by nadal żyć ponad stan, nazywano warstwą „gentry". To właśnie ta grupa społeczna była ostro krytykowana w utworach Mikszátha, między innymi w powieści *Jak się młody Nosty żenił (Noszty fiú esete Tóth Marival).* Przedstawiciele szlachty, ze względu na swój status materialny, który stale się pogarszał, próbowali utrzymać wpływy w państwie, szukając miejsca we władzach lokalnych, a nawet w parlamencie. Niejednokrotnie receptą na utrzymanie pozycji społecznej był mariaż z posażną panną albo poszukiwanie dobrze sytuowanego męża. Krytyka szlachty, a raczej przedstawicieli arystokracji, była obecna także w utworach Prusa, na przykład w *Lalce.*

Wspomniana powieść Mikszátha drukowana była w odcinkach od października 1906 roku w „Vasárnapi Újság" (Gazeta Niedzielna), a później, po pewnych poprawkach, ukazała się w 1908 r. w formie książki. Los *Lalki* był podobny - najpierw kolejne odcinki powieści pojawiały się w „Kurierze Codziennym" (od września 1887 r. do maja 1889 r.), a rok później wydano ją w całości.

W latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku w polskiej powieści dominował pozytywizm, natomiast dla literatury węgierskiej hasła pozytywistyczne, teorie pracy organicznej były raczej obce. Bolesław Prus jest wspominany głównie jako przedstawiciel pozytywizmu (tzw. pozytywizmu warszawskiego), ale w jego powieściach znajdziemy też elementy realizmu krytycznego, którym charakteryzowały się także ostatnie powieści Mikszátha. Do nich można zaliczyć też *Jak się młody Nosty żenił.* Powieść ta, głównie ze względu na bardzo wyraźną krytykę węgierskiej szlachty, spotkała się z licznymi atakami. Nazywano ją „odurzającym moralnym brudem", który może szkodzić węgierskiemu narodowi (1985: 614). Ale byli też tacy, którzy uważali, że jest to wspaniała, odważna powieść (614). „Mikszáth podprowadził czytelników bliżej *rzeczywistości* – i tym samym wziął górę nad oddalającym się od rzeczywistości, starzejącym się Jókaim”[1] (Sőtér 1956: 554). Prus w *Lalce* nie zajmuje się jedynie krytyką arystokracji, przedstawia rozpad całego społeczeństwa, widzimy tam obraz wszystkich warstw społecznych, arystokrację, szlachtę, mieszczaństwo, a także lud (1972: 161). „Arystokracja, głosząc ciągle hasło wyższości, oderwała się od społeczeństwa” (155), żyła w swoim odizolowanym świecie, zamkniętym w salonach. Przedstawiciele tej warstwy, chcąc utrzymać życie na wystawnym, wysokim poziomie, często tracili majątki, a tym samym i wpływy, albowiem pieniądz okazywał się często ważniejszy niż dobre urodzenie.

Jakkolwiek *Lalka* może być zaliczana do dzieł polskiego pozytywizmu (1978: 286) to jednak oba utwory – *Lalkę* i *Jak się młody Nosty żenił* - możemy uznać także za powieści realistyczne. W obu znajdują się też wątki romantyczne. Do nich zaliczymy zapewne miłość bogatego kupca Stanisława Wokulskiego do pięknej, pochodzącej z arystokratycznej rodziny Izabeli Łęckiej oraz fragmenty przedstawiające pamiętnik starego subiekta, który sięga epoki napoleońskiej i walk okresu Wiosny Ludów. U Mikszátha za romantyczny można uznać wątek młodzieńczej przyjaźni Mihálya Tótha, Györgya Velkovicsa i Adalberta Stromma, a także motyw przebierania się aby nie zdradzać swojego pochodzenia społecznego albo tożsamości. Przy przedstawianiu szlachty, głównie wspomnianej już warstwy „gentry”, obok wyraźnej krytyki wyczuwalna jest także nuta sympatii. Główna różnica między obiema powieściami polega na tym, że Mikszáth przedstawia węgierską prowincję, przekrój życia pewnych wpływowych rodzin w wymyślonym komitacie, Prus natomiast wprowadza czytelników w świat Warszawy końca XIX wieku, zapoznając ich z zachodzącymi tam społecznymi zmianami. Czytając *Lalkę,* odnosimy wrażenie, że nie zabrakło w niej żadnej postaci, która byłaby niezbędna do ukazania ówczesnej stolicy (1971: 276). Mimo tych różnic obie powieści mają wiele wspólnego.

Mikszáth w swoich powieściach dzielił szlachtę na dwie grupy. Jedna z nich, tzw. „panowie donkiszoci” (*úri Don Quijote*), przedstawiana była z dużą dozą sympatii. Składała się na ogół z dziwaków, dla których czas jakby się zatrzymał parę wieków wcześniej, którzy wprawdzie nie zauważali zmian społecznych i korzystali z dawnych przywilejów, ale byli „nieszkodliwi” dla otoczenia. Druga grupa, do której bezsprzecznie należał także główny bohater powieści *Jak się młody Nosty żenił* – Feri Noszty, skupiała tzw. „panów blagierów” *(úri svihák)* (1965: 731). Mikszáth nie szczędzi jej krytyki, przedstawia ją jako zdemoralizowaną, pozbawioną charakteru i zasad warstwę „gentry”. Jednak w obrazie młodego Nosztyego „nie może zrezygnować z pewnej serdeczności, dzięki której ten lekkomyślny, zepsuty młodzieniec czasem przedstawiony jest w całkiem dobrym świetle” (Sőtér 1956: 558) „Przystojny goguś, spodnie w kant, błyszczący cylinder, goździk w butonierce” (Mikszáth 1956: 51), który mimo że nie ma środków do życia nie chce zostać sekretarzem swojego szwagra - Izraela Kopereczkyego, ale prosi go, aby ten załatwił mu jakąś dobrą partię. Jego ojciec, Pál Noszty podkreślał, że „u węgierskich panów (…) żona przynosi pieniądze, a urząd je zabiera” (153), dlatego „Feri musi mieć żonę z majątkiem. Nie ma w tym nic hańbiącego. Dawniej szabla i obrączka przynosiły majątek, dziś szabla jest diabła warta” (153). Tak więc pozostaje jedynie opłacalny ożenek.

U Mikszátha Feri Noszty poprzez małżeństwo z bogatą panną chciał pomóc swoim krewnym, miał ich wyciągnąć z finansowego bankructwa, w powieści Prusa Izabela Łęcka „niepospolicie

[1] Mór Jókai (1825-1904), powieściopisarz, nowelista, czołowy przedstawiciel romantyzmu na Węgrzech.

piękna kobieta", w której wszystko „było oryginalne i doskonałe" (1997 I, 79), musiała szukać majętnego męża, aby pomóc rodzinie. „Panna Izabela od kolebki żyła w świecie pięknym i nie tylko nadludzkim, ale – nadnaturalnym (…) dla niej nie istniały pory roku, tylko wiekuista wiosna (…)" (80). Feri Noszty zaś, jak pisał Mikszath, „urodził się pod znakiem wiecznego lata" (Mikszáth 1956: 321). Izabela Łęcka, podobnie jak Feri, przez całe życie dążyła do „wyciągnięcia z życia maksimum zdobyczy przy minimum wysiłku", nie była zdolna do rezygnowania z jakichkolwiek własnych praw na korzyść innych, poza tym cechował ją „bezwzględny egotyzm i egoizm" (1972:163). Mimo trudnej sytuacji materialnej rodziny Łęckich Izabelę „woalka chroniła od wiatru, kareta od deszczu, sobole od zimna, parasolka i rękawiczki od słońca. I tak żyła z dnia na dzień, z miesiąca na miesiąc, z roku na rok, wyższa nad ludzi, a nawet nad prawa natury" (1997 I: 80).

Małżeństwo dla pieniędzy było ważne nie tylko dla Łęckiej, ale także i dla kupca Wokulskiego, ponieważ przedostać się do „wyższego świata" i stale w nim przebywać można było „tylko za pomocą dwóch skrzydeł: urodzenia i majątku" (86). Podobna była sytuacja w przypadku Nosztyego i Mari Tóth, córki bogatego fabrykanta, który dorobił się pieniędzy w Ameryce. Tylko że w powieści Mikszátha do zdobycia posagu dążył Feri Noszty, a dla Wokulskiego miłość do Izabeli była ważniejsza od majątku. Zajmował się jego pomnażaniem głównie po to, aby zdobyć jej rękę, jako majętny kupiec miał możliwość wstępu na warszawskie salony. Wokulski wielokrotnie podkreślał, że nie czuje się tam dobrze, bywał tam głównie, by być bliżej Izabeli Łęckiej.

W obu powieściach jest mowa o kilku małżeństwach dla interesu. U Mikszátha siostra Feri Nosztyego, Vilma wyszła za mąż za brzydkiego, głupiego barona Kopereczkyego. Jej ojciec – Pál Noszty, oddając ją baronowi, spłacił tym swoje długi wobec niego, a brak posagu zrekompensował zięciowi, załatwiając mu ważne stanowisko w komitacie. Dziwne było także zachowanie samej Vilmy. Nie kochała Kopereczkyego, ale nie sprzeciwiła się zamążpójściu, kierowała się „złotą zasadą", którą poznała na pensji u sióstr zakonnych: „kto idzie pieszo, nie powinien przebierać w karetach, tylko wsiadać do pierwszego z brzegu pojazdu" (Mikszáth 1956: 43). Izabela Łęcka zapewne nie przyjęłaby takiej rady, była zbyt wybredna, skłonna była wyjść za mąż tylko pod warunkiem, aby „przyszły towarzysz podobał się jej, miał piękne nazwisko i odpowiedni majątek" (1997 I: 87). Później, gdy rozeszły się wieści o kłopotach finansowych rodziny Łęckich, „zdecydowała się obniżyć skalę wymagań" (87), ale w Wokulskim widziała przede wszystkim „kupca". Uważała za zuchwalstwo, że miał wstęp do wszystkich salonów w stolicy. Z przerażaniem patrzyła, że „najarystokratyczniejsi ludzie ubiegali się o znajomość z nim" (325). Łęcka, kiedy po raz pierwszy zobaczyła Wokulskiego, uznała go za odpychającego „brutalnego parweniusza", najbardziej przeszkadzało jej, że jest najzwyklejszym sklepikarzem. Feri Noszty, kiedy po raz pierwszy zobaczył Mari Tóth, też nie był nią zachwycony. Kiedy jeden z przyjaciół, mu ją przedstawił, młody Noszty, założywszy swój monokl, uznał, że jest „zgrabnym stworzeniem", ale że jest „coś jakby piegowata", że „szkoda, że ma takie małe oczy" i wydawało mu się, że jest już niemłoda (Mikszáth 1956: 142). Jednak pieniądze i nadzieja zdobycia majątku po ewentualnym małżeństwie zmieniły punkt widzenia zarówno Łęckiej, jak i Noszttiego. Feri, dowiedziawszy się, że Mari ma w posagu przynajmniej milion forintów, zaczął dostrzegać jej zalety, mimo że jego przyjaciel nieco złośliwie zaznaczył, że „jedno jest pewne, że nie pochodzi z Habsburgów" (140). Cała rodzina była zainteresowana, aby jak najszybciej dorwać się do bogatego posagu. Łęcka potrzebowała znacznie więcej czasu, aby spojrzeć na Wokulskiego nieco przychylniej. Kiedy spotykała go w salonie ciotki zaczęła zauważać, że „ma twarz niepospolitą

(…) rysy wyraziste i stanowcze (…) kształty posągowe, wejrzenie jasne, przejmujące … Gdyby ten człowiek zamiast sklepu posiadał duże dobra ziemskie – byłby bardzo przystojnym; gdyby urodził się księciem – byłby imponująco piękny." (1997 I: 325) Wreszcie ujrzała w nim pociągającego mężczyznę, ale wciąż jeszcze przeszkadzał jej fakt, że jest kupcem i pracuje w sklepie z galanterią. Niewiele osób pamiętało, że Wokulski pochodził ze szlacheckiej rodziny. Był „przedstawicielem szlachty wyrzuconej z siodła. Jego wyższość nad innymi przedstawicielami szlacheckich bankrutów polega na tym, że straciwszy swoją normalną podstawę bytu, swój szlachecki majątek, umie się zdobyć na to, by sobie sprokurować drugi" (1967: 288). Mimo to w „Warszawie nie zapomniano o tym, że Wokulski był kiedyś subiektem" (1972: 172). Z planowanych małżeństw w obu powieściach nic nie wyszło. Wokulski dostrzegł wyrachowanie i nieszczerość Izabeli Łęckiej, a Noszty został zdemaskowany przez niedoszłego teścia.

Bolesław Prus „pasożytniczej egzystencji arystokratów przeciwstawia (…) pożytek, jaki działalność Wokulskiego przynosi społeczeństwu " (1967: 21). Z podobną sympatią przedstawiona jest postać Mihálya Tótha w powieści *Jak się młody Nosty żenił,* fabrykanta, który w Ameryce dorobił się fortuny najpierw jako producent fajek, a następnie jako właściciel dobrze prosperującej piekarni. Tóth przedstawiony jest jako uczciwy, pracowity przemysłowiec, który gotowy był prowadzić działalność dobroczynną, ale pod pewnymi warunkami: „nie pozwolił się pompować na wybory do parlamentu, nie dawał ani grosza na żadne stronnictwa (czym zyskał sobie miano „złego patrioty"), a jeszcze mniej był hojny, gdy chodziło o sprawy Kościoła i duchowieństwa (stąd epitet „pogańskiego psa")" (Mikszáth 1956: 341) Dla zrobienia kariery i zdobycia majątku wybrał Amerykę, ponieważ tam tytuł szlachecki nie był do tego potrzebny. Tóth pomagał przeważnie bezimiennie, „nie chciał tym zwracać na siebie uwagi, raczej powodował nim szlachetny instynkt i wewnętrzne zadowolenie, że sam siebie może uważać za dobrego człowieka i pożytecznego obywatela" (340). Dobroczynność Wokulskiego nie zawsze była bezinteresowna, na przykład kiedy dawał większe sumy hrabinie Joannie Karolowej na sierociniec, można było podejrzewać, że chciał tym zyskać przychylność jej bratanicy, panny Łęckiej. Filantropia Wokulskiego przynosiła „oczekiwany skutek, otworzyła mu drzwi do salonów, stała się kładką, na której mógł spotkać przedstawicielkę arystokracji" (2005: 149). Natomiast jego pomoc prostytutce w znalezieniu porządnej pracy, pomoc materialną rodzinnie Węgiełków, czy poświecenie większej sumy na poszukiwania zaginionego męża pani Stawskiej można by uznać za gesty dobrej woli, za które Wokulski nie oczekiwał nic w zamian.

Spośród występujących we wspomnianych powieściach przedstawicieli arystokracji można by porównać barona Krzeszowskiego z *Lalki* z hrabią Kopereczkym z powieści Mikszátha. Obaj przedstawieni są nieco anegdotycznie, niczym karykatury reprezentantów swojej warstwy społecznej. Barona Krzeszowskiego poznajemy w chwili, kiedy w sklepie Wokulskiego kupuje spinki do mankietów. Już na podstawie pierwszego opisu można go uznać za dziwaka: „jest podobny do suchotnika, któremu w trumnie zaczęły odrastać wąsy i faworyty (…) ma gapiowato otwarte usta, a za ciemnymi binoklami nosi duże oczy, z których przeglądało jeszcze większe roztargnienie" (1997 I: 143). Postać Krzeszowskiego przedstawiona jest jeszcze komiczniej po jego nieudanym pojedynku z Wokulskim, w wyniku którego został ranny w okolicy ucha i stracił ząb. Zdenerwowany baron żalił się Wokulskiemu: „jestem oszpecony, wyglądam jak stara małpa chora na fluksję" (311). Baronostwo Krzeszowscy to typowe małżeństwo łączące majątek z tytułem. Ona – z mieszczańskiej, majętnej rodziny, on – arystokrata bankrut, którego namiętnością były wyścigi konne. Człowiek lekkomyślny, leniwy, gardzący ludźmi spoza własnej sfery, utracjusz. Wieczne spory Krzeszowskich były powszechnie znane. Mraczewski w sklepie u Wokulskiego mówił, „że od roku już prowadzą ze sobą wojnę", „Oryginały!... Bawią ludzi, wymyślając jedno na drugie…" (146). Krzeszowska była przekonana, że mąż nie jest w stanie zarobić na swoje utrzymanie, nawet jeśli miałoby być ono bardzo skromne. Jednak to właśnie baron Krzeszowski mimo swoich dziwactw miał większy autorytet w towarzystwie niż jego majętna małżonka, albowiem wytykano jej mieszczańskie urodzenie. Podobnym dziwakiem był baron Kopereczky w powieści *Jak się młody Nosty żenił*. Co prawda, w odróżnieniu od barona Krzeszowskiego miał zarówno tytuł, jak i majątek, ale Mikszáth zarzuca mu przede wszystkim nieokrzesanie i brak wykształcenia. Mimo to, dzięki koneksjom rodziny Nosztych, robił karierę w polityce. Był dziwakiem, w swoim życiu nie przeczytał pewnie ani jednej książki, chełpił się tym, że nigdy „nie słuchał nauczycieli, natomiast całą mądrość zawdzięcza zwierzętom" (Mikszáth 1956: 38). Wszędzie chodził ze swoim ulubionym baranem. Komiczna postać Kopereczkyego może być dowodem na to, że „panowie blagierzy" potrafią zdobyć stanowisko dla kogoś, kto jest „durny jak pień" (1952: 182). Niewiele różnił się od innych przedstawicieli „gentry" – nie była mu obca korupcja, spryt, rozrzutność i oszustwo. Mikszáth podkreślał, że było w nim „trochę szerokiego gestu typowego dla szlachty", „trochę oligarchy, który (…) nie waha się nadużywać swojej władzy" oraz „domieszka krwi kupca – dusigrosza (…), który z każdej sytuacji stara się wyciągnąć dla siebie trochę korzyści" (Mikszáth 1956: 262).

W obu powieściach równie krytyczny jest obraz przedstawicieli starszego pokolenia arystokracji czy szlachty. Widać to na przykładzie ojca Izabeli – Tomasza Łęckiego, oraz ojca Feriego – Pála Nosztyego. Obaj wiedzieli, że muszą poświęcić swoje dzieci, aby uratować majątek. Podobnie jak Łęcki, stary Noszty także żył dzięki pożyczkom i wpływom w towarzystwie, korzystał też ze znajomości, jakie miał jako poseł do węgierskiego parlamentu. Rodzina Nosztych tworzyła coś w rodzaju zamkniętego kręgu, starała się nie wpuszczać między siebie nikogo obcego. Urzędy, głównie te na szczeblu komitatu, członkowie rodziny rozdawali wśród swoich, a sprawy prywatne najczęściej łączyli ze sprawami służbowymi. Pál Noszty, podobnie jak Tomasz Łęcki, był namiętnym karciarzem, nawet „zdążył przegrać z posagu córki dosyć ładną sumkę" (Mikszáth 1956: 380). Łęcki też często grywał w karty, także z Wokulskim. Można było się domyślić, że kupiec niejednokrotnie pozwalał mu wygrać. Pewnego razu stary hrabia chwalił się swojej córce: „Rezultat jest taki, że przegrałem osiem do dziesięciu rubli, a wygrałem około siedemdziesięciu, chociaż nie mam pretensji do geniuszu!" (1997 I: 104). Izabela zdawała sobie sprawę, że są w bardzo trudnej sytuacji materialnej, nie cieszyła się jednak z wygranej ojca, bo przeszkadzał jej fakt, że wygrał je od Wokulskiego. Wiedziała, że „już miesiąc zadłużają się u swego lokaja, a od dziesięciu dni jej ojciec na drobne wydatki wygrywa pieniądze w karty… Wygrać można; panowie wygrywają tysiące, ale – nie na opędzenie pierwszych potrzeb, i przecież – nie od kupców." (105) Rodzina Łęckich kiedyś dysponowała ogromnym majątkiem, ale z czasem „część majątku pochłonęły zdarzenia polityczne, resztę – podróże po Europie i wysokie stosunki." (77) Kiedy już zabrakło funduszy na podróże, ich mieszkanie w Warszawie stało się „ogniskiem eleganckiego świata", ale tylko do czasu, aż rozeszła się pogłoska, że i ten pozostały majątek topniał i Izabela została bez posagu. Tomasz Łęcki podobnie jak Pál Noszty nie potrafił zmienić swojego stylu życia, nawet wówczas, gdy jego sytuacja materialna była w opłakanym stanie. Z bankructwa i ruiny majątkowej nie mogły go wyprowadzić „ani naiwne i głupie plany reform społecznych, ani pseudoreligijność, ani nawet bezczelna chęć wykorzystywania innych" (1972: 162)

W *Lalce* Prusa najbardziej pejoratywnie przedstawiona jest postać hrabiego Starskiego – typowego podrywacza, obłudnika, który bawił się uczuciami innych i łamał kobiece serca. Był nie tylko łowcą posagów, ale także łowcą spadków. W swoim zachowaniu i szukaniu wszędzie korzyści materialnych był podobny do młodego Nosztyego i podobnie jak on nie liczył się z konsekwencjami swojego postępowania. Feri był zdolny do podpisania sfałszowanego weksla, Starski zaś potrafił uwieść narzeczoną podstarzałego hrabiego Dalskiego, niemal na jego oczach. W obecności Wokulskiego uwodził Izabelę, mimo że wiedział, że są już zaręczeni. Złośliwie powiadano, że to, co Starskiemu wyszło najlepiej, to przede wszystkim długi. Grał, podróżował, ale jego główną rozrywką było bałamucenie kobiet, głównie młodych mężatek i zawsze tak samo unikał panien bez posagu (1997 II: 112). Główna różnica między powieściowym obrazem młodego Nosztyego a obrazem hrabiego Starskiego polegała na tym, że mimo iż Feri był lekkoduchem i pasożytem, to Mikszáth przedstawił go z pewną dozą sympatii podczas gdy Starski doczekał się zaledwie jednej pochlebnej oceny: że był przystojny. Poza tym Prus przedstawił go w bardzo niekorzystnym świetle.

Przedstawiciele arystokracji, szlachty, tzw. warstwy „gentry" nieco różnią się w wymienionych powieściach, ale mają wiele wspólnego. To co ich bezsprzecznie łączy to pasożytowanie, wykorzystywanie innych do realizacji swoich celów. Według Istvána Királya „poprzez to pasożytnictwo, skrzywienie charakteru, odzwierciedlali upadek świata pańsko-szlacheckiego." (1952: 125). Przedstawiony przez Prusa blichtr podupadłej arystokracji, podobnie jak w powieści Mikszátha *Wielkopański gest* (A gavallérok), często opierał się na sporych długach. Przedstawiciele szlachty i arystokracja żyli w jakimś iluzorycznym świecie. Aby utrzymać swoją pozycję w społeczeństwie i nie rezygnować z poziomu życia, jakie prowadzili, gotowi byli zawierać małżeństwa dla pieniędzy. Uważali się za istoty wyższego rzędu, a tak naprawdę często byli niewykształceni, niezdolni do podjęcia jakiejkolwiek pracy zarobkowej. Nawet nie próbowali szukać pracy, gdyż zatrudnienie mogłoby oznaczać dla nich brak wstępu na salony arystokracji. Zdaniem Wokulskiego, który wyraża poglądy samego Prusa, ani Starski, ani Łęcka, ani im podobni „nie spadli z księżyca, tylko wyhodowali się w pewnej sferze, epoce i wśród pewnych pojęć. Oni są jak wysypka, która sama przez się nie stanowi choroby, ale jest objawem zakażenia społecznych soków".(1997 II: 397). Mikszáth na przykładzie młodego Nosztyego pokazał, że szlachta nawet nie zamierza się zmienić. Feri, po odwołanym ślubie z Mari Tóth, kiedy został zdemaskowany, a nawet ośmieszony, jak gdyby nigdy nic powiedział: „Przecież świat jest taki rozległy. A na nim tyle ładnych panien. Jedna ładniejsza i milsza od drugiej. Posagi też nie zginęły. Ej, co tam, oby tylko dopisało zdrowie i jakie takie szczęście w kartach." (Mikszáth 1956: 456) Mimo że Kálmán Mikszáth nie znał Bolesława Prusa i nie mieli okazji się spotkać, to sposób przedstawienia zaśniedziałego świata arystokracji i szlachty jest w ich powieściach podobny.

Bibliografia

Király, István.(1952), *Mikszáth Kálmán,* Budapest.

Markiewicz, Henryk. (1967), *„Lalka" Bolesława Prusa,* Warszawa.

Mikszáth, Kálmán.(1956) *Jak się młody Nosty żenił,* tłum. Fangrat Tadeusz, Warszawa.

Nemeskürty, István. (1985), *Diák, írj magyar éneket,* Budapest.

Obsulewicz, Beata K. (2005), „O dobroczynności i miłosierdziu w *Lalce* Bolesława Prusa", *Świat „Lalki",* Malik, Lublin: 147-172.

Prus, Bolesław. (1997), *Lalka, tom I i II,* Warszawa.

Sőtér, István. (1956), *Romantika és realizmus,* Budapest.

Sőtér, István. (1965), *A magyar irodalom története IV,* Budapest s. 731.

Szweykowski, Zygmunt. (1972), *Twórczość Bolesława Prusa,* Warszawa.

Tyszkiewicz, Teresa. (1971), *Bolesław Prus,* Warszawa.

Weiss, Tomasz. (1978), „Realizm i naturalizm", *Historia literatury polskiej w zarysie,* Stępień, Wilkoń, Warszawa: 266-321.

STRESZCZENIE

Powieść *Jak się młody Nosty żenił* Kálmana Mikszátha i *Lalka* Bolesława Prusa dostarczają czytelnikom wielu cennych informacji o społeczeństwie węgierskim i polskim końca XIX wieku. Są świadectwem utraty wpływów dotychczas uprzywilejowanej warstwy szlacheckiej i arystokracji. To właśnie ta warstwa w obu powieściach poddawana jest ostrej krytyce. Jej przedstawiciele często byli niewykształceni, niezdolni do podjęcia jakiejkolwiek pracy zarobkowej. Aby utrzymać swoją pozycję w społeczeństwie i nie rezygnować z poziomu życia, jakie prowadzili, zadłużali się lub szukali dla siebie miejsca w polityce. Gotowi byli także, jak Feri Noszty w utworze Mikszátha czy Izabela Łęcka u Prusa, zawierać małżeństwa dla pieniędzy, co przez obu powieściopisarzy było piętnowane.

Magdalena Roguska

Kobieca tożsamość a gatunek. *A kígyó árnyéka* [Cień węża] Zsuzsy Rakovszky jako przykład tak zwanej powieści kobiecej

Zsuzsa Rakovszky, do 2002 roku znana węgierskim czytelnikom i czytelniczkom wyłącznie jako poetka i tłumaczka, po ponad dwudziestu latach od debiutu[1] opublikowała swoją pierwszą powieść pod tytułem *A kígyó árnyéka*[2] (2002). Utwór odniósł czytelniczy sukces, przysparzając węgierskiej pisarce wielu nowych wielbicieli i wielbicielek, czego potwierdzeniem było między innymi nadanie powieści tytułu Książki Roku. Trzy lata później ukazał się kolejny prozatorski utwór Rakovszky – *A hullócsillag éve* [Rok spadającej gwiazdy] (2005) – a przed rokiem drukiem ogłoszony został zbiór nowel pod tytułem *A hold a hetedik házban* [Księżyc w siódmym domu] (2009). Zwrot w stronę prozy był sporym zaskoczeniem dla krytyki, dotychczas znającej i ceniącej Rakovszky wyłącznie jako autorkę wierszy, z których: „[...] wyłaniał się wyrazisty, sugestywny świat poetycki osadzony w filozoficznym, intelektualnym tle, świat, nad którym panowała całkowicie i niepodzielnie, sprawnie korzystając z środków językowo-poetyckich". (Márton: 2007) W jednym z wywiadów autorka pytana o to, dlaczego po latach pisania wierszy, zdecydowała się sięgnąć po prozę, odpowiedziała tymi słowami:

> Bardzo dobrze pamiętam, jak w wieku 13-14 lat chodziłam w tę i z powrotem w domu po kuchni i pisałam w głowie powieść. […] także w wierszach systematycznie oddalałam się od liryki i skłaniałam w stronę prozy. Naprawdę liryczne utwory napisałam tylko w dwóch pierwszych tomach, a potem zaczęłam eksperymentować z czymś, co mimo wierszowanej formy, więcej ma wspólnego z dramatem czy prozą [aniżeli poezją: MR]. […] (Imreh 2010)[3]

Jeśli wierzyć słowom pisarki, pragnienie tworzenia prozy drzemało w niej, praktycznie rzecz biorąc, od zawsze. Potwierdza to także analiza kolejnych stadiów jej twórczej drogi. W leksykonach literatury wczesna twórczość poetycka pisarki określana jest mianem liryki przedmiotowej (węg. *tárgyias líra*), wiersze późniejsze zaś zaliczane są zazwyczaj do liryki roli (węg. *szerepversek*) (Grendel 2010). W ciągu swojej wieloletniej literackiej drogi Rakovszky stopniowo odchodziła od klasycznych wzorców lirycznych, skłaniając się w stronę form z pogranicza liryki, dramatu i epiki. Ostatecznym pożegnaniem z poezją było zaś wydanie tomu *Visszaút az időben* [Powrót w czasie] (2006), prezentującego cały poetycki dorobek pisarki.

[1] Węgierska pisarka debiutowała na początku lat osiemdziesiątych tomikiem wierszy *Jóslatok és határidők* (1981).
[2] Na język polski przetłumaczony został jedynie fragment powieści (2007).
[3] Jeśli nie zaznaczono inaczej cytaty z publikacji obcych i omawianej powieści podaję w moim tłumaczeniu.

Pierwszy prozatorski utwór Rakovszky spotkał się z dużym zainteresowaniem krytyki i został dobrze przyjęty. Większość recenzentów określiła *A kígyó árnyéka* mianem współczesnego wariantu powieści historycznej, której tradycja w literaturze węgierskiej od romantyzmu aż po dzień dzisiejszy pozostaje niezmiennie żywa (Bokányi 2010), zestawiając utwór z prozą takich autorów, jak László Márton, János Háy, István Szilágyi, Zsolt Láng, Péter Esterházy czy László Darvasi (Bedecs 2003, Hajdu 2004, Vallasek 2003). Uwagę zwracano ponadto na przynależność powieści do tradycji węgierskiej literatury wspomnieniowej i pamiętnikarskiej (Vallasek 2003, Doboss 2002, Kiss 2002), a ze względu na fikcyjność opowiadanej historii, charakteryzowano utwór jako *pseudowyznanie* (Hajdu 2004). Ostatnią, a z punktu widzenia niniejszej analizy najważniejszą cechą *A kígyó árnyéka* wymienianą w recenzjach, była zaś k o b i e c o ś ć pierwszoosobowego narratora i bohatera w jednej osobie. Szczególną uwagę zwróciła na to między innymi Noémi Kiss (2002), która wskazała na podobieństwo sytuacji narracyjnej z powieści Rakovszky do pamiętników węgierskiej pisarki okresu baroku Katy Bethlen (1700-1759) oraz na analogie z powieścią Margit Kaffki *Barwy i lata* (1912). W kręgu literatury kobiecej umieściły *A kígyó árnyéka* ponadto Anna Gács (2003) i Edit Zsadányi (2006), których analizy skupione były wokół problemu kobiecej tożsamości, a Jolanta Jastrzębska, w artykule poświęconym także drugiej powieści Rakovszky (*A hullócsillag éve*), zwróciła uwagę na to, że utwory te mają wiele cech tak zwanej *écriture féminine* (2007). Część krytyki określiła wreszcie powieść węgierskiej pisarki mianem „feministycznej". Takiego zdania był na przykład Gyula Doboss („Powieść ta jest w najlepszym tego słowa znaczeniu utworem »feministycznym«, każda część świata postrzegana jest z kobiecej perspektywy." [2002])

Ta różnorodność spojrzeń na powieść Rakovszky odsyła nas do pytań o to, czym jest literatura kobieca i jakie są jej wyróżniki. Co w praktyce znaczy, że utwór Rakovszky „ma wiele cech tak zwanego pisarstwa kobiecego" i czy rzeczywiście mamy tu do czynienia z literaturą o zacięciu feministycznym? W mojej ocenie *A kígyó árnyéka* określić można mianem m o d e l u i n t e g r a l n e g o z klasyfikacji pisarstwa kobiet autorstwa Ewy Kraskowskiej (1999, 2000). Jak twierdzi badaczka, model ten realizowany jest w utworach, których punkt wyjścia stanowi, zarówno pod względem tematyki, jak i techniki pisarskiej, specyficzne kobiece doświadczenie życiowe. Opisany przez badaczkę model zdaje się ponadto zawierać wszystkie cechy tak zwanej p o w i e ś c i k o b i e c e j , której przykładów szukała Kraskowska w literaturze polskiej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego. Sądzę, że realizacje tego gatunku znaleźć można także w prozie węgierskiej, czego przykładem jest, będąca przedmiotem niniejszej analizy, powieść Zsuzsy Rakovszky.

W swoich rozważaniach na temat tak zwanej powieści kobiecej wyszła Kraskowska od kwestii tożsamości kobiet i mężczyzn w ujęciu psychologicznym. Najpierw streściła poglądy amerykańskiego badacza Erika Eriksona, który (inspirowany klasyczną psychoanalizą) spopularyzował w latach pięćdziesiątych teorię kryzysu tożsamości. Następnie zreferowała badaczka ustalenia polemizującej z Eriksonem pracy autorstwa Jolanty Miluskiej (1996), która dowodzi, że proces tożsamościowy przebiega w inny sposób u kobiet, a w inny u mężczyzn. Osiągnięcie tożsamości, jako stanowiącej nadrzędny cel życia człowieka, jest ukoronowaniem naszych egzystencjalnych dążeń i powinno nastąpić wraz z końcem okresu adolescencji (czyli etapu przejściowego między dzieciństwem a dorosłością). Wszystkie późniejsze problemy tożsamościowe uważane są już za przejaw kryzysu. W życiu człowieka, czy to kobiety czy mężczyzny, występują trzy okresy, które stwarzają szczególną okazję do przewartościowania postaw i dokonania ponownych wyborów: okres dorastania, wejście w wiek średni i przejście do starości. Proces indywiduacji chłopca dokonuje się poprzez odseparowanie od matki, podczas gdy dziecko płci żeńskiej z matką się utożsamia. W rezultacie chłopcy rozpoczynają wiek dorosły nastawieni na siebie i własny rozwój, a dziewczynki, zamiast poszukiwać siebie, nastawione są na innych: partnera, dzieci itd. Podstawy męskiej tożsamości zorientowane są więc na „ja" (mają charakter intrapersonalny), a kobiecej na inne osoby (są interpersonalne). Dlatego też u mężczyzn pytania o najbardziej nurtujące kwestie natury egzystencjalnej przypadają na moment wejścia w dorosłość i wiążą się z dokonaniem wyboru, podczas gdy w przypadku kobiet pojawiają się one dopiero w momencie wchodzenia w wiek średni (kiedy kobieta nie ma już obowiązków związanych z wykonywaniem ról partnerki i matki i ma szansę skupić się na sobie) i wiążą się z podsumowaniem dotychczasowego życia oraz dokonaniem obrachunku.

Ostatnia różnica w przebiegu procesów tożsamościowych kobiet i mężczyzn dotyczy kwestii cielesności. Powołując się na ustalenia Ellyn Kaschak (1996), Kraskowska pisze, że powierzchowność kobiety wpływa na to, jak jest ona postrzegana. Wygląd kobiety jest zatem z punktu widzenia tożsamości niezwykle istotny – paradoksalnie atrakcyjność może bowiem prowadzić do jej stłumienia. Inaczej jest w przypadku mężczyzn, których zewnętrzność nie ma aż tak wielkiego wpływu na ich postrzeganie przez otoczenie, a tym samym nie odgrywa większego znaczenia w przebiegu procesów tożsamościowych.

Powyższe rozważania posłużyły Kraskowskiej za punkt wyjścia do zdefiniowania tak zwanej powieści kobiecej, która jest w rozumieniu badaczki gatunkiem rządzącym się ściśle określonymi zasadami. Pierwszą i podstawową właściwością powieści kobiecej jest rzetelnie skonstruowana i wielowarstwowa postać głównej bohaterki (lub bohaterek). Jak zauważa Kraskowska, gatunek romansu, niezależnie od daty powstania utworu, czerpie ze stereotypowego wachlarza kobiecych postaci. Typowe bohaterki to romantyczna i skłonna do uniesień kobieta, uwiedziona i porzucona dziewczyna, niosąca mężczyźnie zgubę femme fatale, kochanka, ewentualnie matka i żona stojąca na straży domowego ogniska. Protagonistka omawianej tu powieści kobiecej to natomiast antybohaterka, a konkretnie kobieta w wieku dojrzałym lub nawet starszym, mająca bagaż nierzadko bolesnych życiowych doświadczeń. W związku z tym ważną rolę odgrywają w kobiecej powieści wątki życiowych porażek, niepowodzeń, krzywd, wewnętrznego kryzysu czy choroby.

Charakterystyczny jest także schemat fabularny, którym posługuje się omawiany gatunek. Jak podaje Kraskowska, w pewnym sensie podobny jest on do tego z romansów – bohaterka, która z jakiegoś powodu znalazła się w trudnej, a czasem nawet tragicznej sytuacji, zmaga się z przeciwnościami losu. Zagrożenia, którym musi stawić czoło są zazwyczaj psychiczne, ale zdarza się też, że bytowe. Zwieńczeniem historii jest zaś „odnalezienie siebie".

Tak skonstruowana fabuła wiąże się z kolei z tym, że powieść kobieca jest zazwyczaj powieścią rozrachunkową, a więc w przeciwieństwie do powieści rozwojowej, regresywną, czyli nastawioną na analizę przeszłości, której centralnym elementem jest pewne negatywne przeżycie, będące udziałem kobiety. Kompozycja ta wyraźnie koresponduje z omawianym powyżej kobiecym modelem tożsamości, w którym obfitujący w kluczowe dla dalszych wyborów pytania moment przesilenia przypada na wiek średni. Wtedy bowiem zmienia się usytuowanie kobiety wobec otoczenia – z interpersonalnego, czyli empatycznego na intrapersonalne, a więc na bardziej egocentryczne. To przekłada się natomiast na rodzaj narracji, która nastawiona jest na introspekcję, jest więc zatem zazwyczaj pierwszoosobowa lub personalna.

Jak zatem model powieści kobiecej realizowany jest w przypadku utworu Zsuzsy Rakovszky?

Narratorką a zarazem główną bohaterką *A kígyó árnyéka* jest Ursula (Orsolya) Binder z domu Lehmann, która w 1666 roku zaczyna spisywać historię swojego życia. Mamy więc do czynienia z typową dla powieści kobiecej narracją pierwszoosobową, w której rolę narratora pełni kobieta. Pod względem konstrukcyjnym jest *A kígyó árnyéka* utworem o kompozycji ramowej. Pierwsze, a zarazem wprowadzające w sytuację narracyjną słowa stanowi następująca formuła: „Napisałam to ja, Ursula Binder, z domu Ursula Lehmann, w dniach mojej starości i nędzy, w roku pańskim 1666-tym, o życiu zgodnie z moim sumieniem przeżytym, a w pierwszej kolejności o losach mojego dzieciństwa i młodości mojej" (5). W ten sposób dowiadujemy się, że w momencie, gdy bohaterka decyduje się przelać na papier swoją historię, jest już kobietą w wieku dojrzałym, a nawet podeszłym, jeśli weźmiemy pod uwagę czas akcji utworu. Końcowe słowa powieści wskazują zaś na to, że bohaterka dożywa swoich dni w samotności w domku pod lasem, a przez otoczenie uważana jest za dziwaczkę (dzieci wołają na nią „czarownica" [467]).

Warto przy okazji zauważyć, że Orsolya, która jest główną bohaterką powieści, jest zarazem tylko jedną z bardzo wielu kobiecych postaci. Oprócz całego korowodu służących (między innymi Susanna, Ersók, Helena, Margit), w powieści pojawiają się takie kobiety, jak matka bohaterki, przyjaciółka Sófika, gospodyni Anna, dzieląca z Orsolyą izbę w Izsákfalva Dorkó, druga żona Lehmanna i imienniczka bohaterki Orsolya, matka chrzestna, hrabina oraz cały szereg bliższych i dalszych kuzynek.

A kígyó árnyéka jest ponadto ewidentnie powieścią o charakterze rozrachunkowym, nadrzędnym celem, który przyświeca Orsolyi jest bowiem spisanie historii życia. Powód, dla którego decyduje się ona na opowiedzenie swoich losów jest dwojaki. Po pierwsze, kieruje nią chęć ocalenia od zapomnienia osobistej historii, a przede wszystkim jednego okresu życia:

> Małżeństwo i narodziny dzieci zostały odnotowane w księdze kapituły z Güns i jeśli tylko tego też nie pochłoną płomienie, każdy będzie to mógł tam sprawdzić, nigdzie indziej nie ma jednak śladu po moim życiu w Lőcs i w Ödenburgu[4], jedynie w mojej pamięci, a ta zniknie wraz ze mną na zawsze z pełnego goryczy świata, jak płomień wypalonej świecy, jakby nigdy nie istniała. (462)

Drugą i nadrzędną przyczyną jest natomiast to, że kobieta pragnie oswobodzić się z nękających ją wyrzutów sumienia, które związane są z dramatycznymi przeżyciami z przeszłości bohaterki i odpowiedzieć na podstawowe pytanie każdego człowieka: kim jestem?

Orsolya rozpoczyna swą opowieść od wspomnień z czasów dzieciństwa. Oficjalnie rodzi się jako córka aptekarza i osieroconej szlachcianki z ubogiej rodziny. Okazuje się jednak, że mężczyzna, którego Orsolya od dzieciństwa uważała za swojego ojca, nie jest jej biologicznym rodzicem. Świadczą o tym pokrętne próby wyjaśnienia przedwczesnych narodzin Orsolyi przez jej matkę chrzestną:

> Pewnego razu spróbowałam ostrożnie podpytać moją matkę chrzestną, czy ojciec i matka są moimi prawdziwymi rodzicami. Bardzo się bałam, że mnie wyśmieje, zaczerwieniła się

[4] Güns i Ödenburg to niemieckie nazwy węgierskich miast, odpowiednio – Kőszeg i Sopron.

> jednak tylko, przeszyła mnie ostrym, świdrującym spojrzeniem, po czym odwróciła wzrok i pospiesznie, wyraźnie wzburzona zaczęła mówić o tym, że dzieci przychodzą niekiedy na świat przed czasem, jeśli brzemienna bardzo się czegoś przestraszy albo dozna wstrząsu, a źli ludzie rzucają wtedy najróżniejsze oszczerstwa nawet na najczystszą kobietę, ale ja mam tego nawet nie słuchać… (33)

Po latach także sam Lehmann potwierdzi, że nie jest prawdziwym ojcem Orsolyi:

> [Ojciec był: MR] absolutnie pewien, że jeszcze przed małżeństwem [matka: MR] prowadziła życie niemoralne, a skoro pomiędzy ich ślubem a moimi narodzinami nie upłynęło tyle czasu, ile niezbędne jest do donoszenia ciąży, a on, mówił, nie współżył z moją matką przed ślubem, jest pewien, że moja matka była już brzemienna, kiedy za niego wychodziła, a więc ja nie jestem tak naprawdę jego rodzoną córką. (79)

Ta skrzętnie ukrywana rodzinna tajemnica będzie miała ogromny wpływ na całe późniejsze życie bohaterki. Po tym, jak urodzi ona nieślubne dziecko, a druga żona jej ojczyma zginie zamordowana przez zbójców, Orsolya zajmie puste miejsce u jego boku. W nowym miejscu zamieszkania, rodzinnym mieście Lehmanna (Ödenburgu), w którym odziedziczy on w tym samym czasie aptekę po swoim ojcu, pojawią się już jako małżeństwo.

Będące jedynym z podstawowych elementów kobiecej powieści negatywne doświadczenie, wokół którego skupiona jest główna część akcji, wiąże się zatem w przypadku Orsolyi z kłamstwem, którym przez wiele lat naznaczona była jej egzystencja. W jego wyniku będzie żyła ona w związku z mężczyzną, którego przez cały okres dzieciństwa uważała za swojego biologicznego rodzica, aż do chwili, gdy podejmie decyzję o ucieczce z poznanym niewiele wcześniej lekarzem Binderem.

Na tym kończy się zasadnicza część opowieści Orsolyi, która w momencie opuszczenia domu ojczyma jest niespełna trzydziestoletnią kobietą stojącą u progu nowego życia. Wiemy jednak, choć na ten temat narratorka jedynie wzmiankuje, że w Güns, w którym po ucieczce zamieszka, przeżyje kolejnych kilkadziesiąt lat, najpierw jako żona Bindera i matka trójki jego dzieci, a po śmierci męża i wyjeździe synów, żyjąc w samotności w domku pod lasem. Po dramatycznych przeżyciach uda się zatem Orsolyi zacząć nowe i nie naznaczone kłamstwem życie. Można to potraktować jako kolejny nieodzowny element fabuły kobiecej powieści, a mianowicie pozytywne zakończenie, nie mające jednak, co istotne, znamion romansowego happy endu, który pełni funkcję czysto kompensacyjną. Powracający w pierwszych latach pobytu Orsolyi w Güns sen pozwala przypuszczać, że ostatecznie odnalazła ona wewnętrzny spokój i pozbyła się nękających ją demonów (463-466). Figura ojczyma, będącego na jawie powodem jej lęku, to we śnie pomarszczone i bezbronne niemowlę, całkowicie zdane na jej łaskę. Orsolya wynosi dziecko z płomieni i zabiera je w bezpieczne miejsce. W śnie dochodzi więc do swoistego odwrócenia ról – bezbronna córka staje się opiekuńczą matką, a bezwzględny ojczym niewinnym niemowlęciem.

Kolejną ważną właściwością powieści kobiecej w rozumieniu Kraskowskiej, a także twórczości kobiecej w ogóle, jest szeroko rozumiany somatyzm. Ma to związek z opisywanymi wcześniej różnicami w percepcji cielesności, a w szczególności wyglądu zewnętrznego, w przypadku kobiet i mężczyzn. Ciało wraz z jego fizjologią bywa w literaturze kobiecej postrzegane zasadniczo na dwa sposoby – jako brzemię (a nawet stygmat) albo jako dar natury. Jak wylicza Kraskowska, z jednej strony somatyzm wyraża się w motywach choroby, starości, utraty urody i walki o jej ocalenie, z drugiej zaś przejawem charakterystycznej dla pisarstwa kobiet fascynacji ciałem jest opisywanie przeżyć takich, jak ciąża, menstruacja czy doznania związane z seksem. W powieści Rakovszky pojawiają się niemal wszystkie te motywy, a nasycone detalami (a czasem wręcz naturalistyczne) opisy kobiecego ciała stanowią nieodłączny element snutej przez narratorkę opowieści. Kiedy Orsolya wraca wraz z ojcem z Izsákfalva i z wozu przygląda się ogarniętemu zarazą Lőcse, niemal całą jej uwagę przyciągają właśnie kobiety:

> Widziałam pośród nich także kobiety; jedna przechodziła tuż obok nas. Jacyś żołnierze trzymali ją z dwóch stron pod łokcie i usiłowali zaciągnąć w ciemny zaułek. Była to jeszcze dość młoda, choć tęga kobieta, spod zsuniętego czepka spływały jej na ramiona słomianożółte włosy, na twarzy miała duże, czerwone plamy, wargi rozciągała w szerokim, pijackim uśmiechu […] W drzwiach jednego z domów siedziała inna kobieta, skulona i drżąca, o udręczonej twarzy w czarnej chuście na głowie, w ramionach tuliła niemowlę, nie mogłam jednak stwierdzić, żywe czy martwe […] Patrząc za oddalającym się wozem, zobaczyłam następnie, jak spod płachty wymykają się i wkręcają w szprychy kół długie, czarne kobiece włosy […] (78-79, tłum. E. Cygielska)

Orsolya zwraca ponadto uwagę na to, jak zmienia się jej ciało w zależności od okoliczności: kiedy marznie, skrywając się w obawie przed ojcem w piwnicy („zaczęłam głośno szczękać zębami, czując jednocześnie na ramionach gęsią skórkę i dojmujący ból w koniuszkach piersi" [86]), gdy zauważa u siebie pierwsze oznaki starości („[…] gdy pochyliłam głowę i rozpuszczone włosy rozsypały się po mojej twarzy, zobaczyłam, że między puklami rudych, jaśni się kilka białych pasm, które wyrwałam w pośpiechu, choć wiedziałam, że na nowe nie trzeba będzie długo czekać" [438]), a także wtedy, gdy kiedy oczekuje dziecka („Moja twarz, która wcześniej była raczej blada, teraz nabrała kolorów, a moje piersi zrobiły się nabrzmiałe" [209]). Wiemy też, że dzięki urodzie ma większe niż jej przyjaciółka Sófika szanse na zamążpójście:

> […] była chuderlawym stworzeniem drobnej budowy o słomianym kolorze włosów i jasnych spłowiałych brwiach i rzęsach, a nasadę orlego nosa szpeciły jej piegi. Podejrzewałam, że spacerowała ze mną tak chętnie, bo tak jak i ja, widziała, że wzrok mężczyzn chętniej spoczywa na mojej smukłej sylwetce i złotych włosach przeplecionych rudymi pasemkami niż na niej, i miała nadzieję, że z poświęconej mi uwagi jej też dostanie się odrobinę […] (73)

Warto jednocześnie podkreślić, że sytuacja ta jest jedną z niewielu, gdy Orsolya wypowiada się o swojej cielesności pozytywnie. Dużo częściej traktuje bowiem swoje ciało wraz z jego fizjologią jako brzemię. Dzieje się tak chociażby wtedy, gdy niespodziewanie zachodzi w ciążę z poznanym niewiele wcześniej młodzieńcem Nikim. Początkowo w ogóle nie dopuszcza do siebie myśli, że nierozważna przygoda może wiązać się z tak daleko idącymi konsekwencjami, kiedy jednak jej najgorsze obawy potwierdzają się, zastanawia się, jak pozbyć się niewygodnego „problemu":

> […] a gdybym tak, symulując potknięcie, naumyślnie sturlała się ze schodów w piwnicy? Może ja też poroniłabym jak macocha, zastanawiałam się, i raz doszło już nawet do tego, że otworzyłam właz i stanęłam na najwyższym stopniu schodów, ale powodowana strachem powstrzymałam się […] bałam się bólu i krwi, a najbardziej tego, że upadnę niefortunnie i przetrącę sobie kark. (209)

Później, kiedy jest już w zaawansowanej ciąży, w obawie przed tym, że Lehmann odkryje, że jej stan nie może być wynikiem rzekomego gwałtu, zastanawia się z kolei, jak przyspieszyć poród. Swoją powierniczką czyni wówczas mieszkającą z nią w jednej izbie służącą Dorkó:

> Słyszałam już raz, jak ktoś chciał opóźnić poród, tak, by dziecko nie przyszło na świat zbyt szybko po ślubie – powiedziała z zastanowieniem i wyraźnym żalem, że nie może mi służyć żadną dobrą radą. – Być może udałoby się, gdybyś cały czas myślała tylko o tym, żeby urodzić już w miesiącu Najświętszej Panienki… Albo gdybyś modliła się o to do swojego świętego… […] (224)

Ostatecznie w ogromnych bólach i niemalże przypłacając to życiem, rodzi chłopca, który niedługo potem umiera. Wszystkie przeżycia związane z okresem ciąży i porodem są więc dla niej niezwykle traumatyczne.

Bardzo ciekawym przejawem somatyzmu w powieści Rakovszky jest ponadto sposób, w jaki przedstawione są zbliżenia fizyczne Orsolyi z mężczyznami. Warte uwagi spostrzeżenia czyni w tej kwestii Anna Gács (2003: 895-902), która zauważa, że zagadnienie odczuwania (bądź nie) rozkoszy podczas kontaktów seksualnych jest odzwierciedlone także na poziomie samego tekstu. Zupełnie innym językiem mówi bowiem Rakovszky o miłosnych zbliżeniach, a innym o beznamiętnych stosunkach seksualnych. Sceny, które przedstawiają kontakty fizyczne nie przynoszące Orsolyi rozkoszy opisane są w sposób rzeczowy i drobiazgowy, nazwane zostają części ciała, pozycje oraz poszczególne ruchy wykonywane przez kochanków:

> Pewnego wieczoru, kiedy jak zwykle leżałam na boku odwrócona plecami do ojca i czekałam na sen, poczułam nagle na biodrze jego dłoń, ale nie miałam ani wystarczająco dużo siły, ani odwagi, by go odepchnąć, i pozwoliłam, by przyciągnął mnie do siebie i postępował ze mną tak, jakbym była jego żoną, a nie córką – może nie zupełnie tak, bo twarz miałam przez cały czas odwróconą i, wstrzymawszy oddech, starałam się zachowywać, jakbym głęboko spała i nie wiedziała nawet, co się ze mną dzieje. Chwilę potem usłyszałam dyszenie […] (380)

Inaczej jest, gdy bohaterka opisuje zbliżenia fizyczne pełne namiętności. Wówczas uruchomiona zostaje niezwykle bogata symboliczna warstwa powieści. W chwilach, gdy bohaterka przeżywa prawdziwą ekstazę, jej fizyczność przestaje mieć bowiem znaczenie, tak jakby rozkosz wynikała z tego, że bohaterce udało się zapomnieć o jej źródle: „Przymknęłam oczy i poczułam jak dogania mnie i ogarnia pchana wiatrem ściana ognia, przed którą tyle razy uciekałam w moich snach, i ku mojemu zdziwieniu poczułam, że ogień ten nie sprawia mi bólu, ale głęboką rozkosz […]” (238).

Ostatnim z obecnych w powieści Rakovszky motywów, który interpretować można jako wariant somatyzmu, jest c h o r o b a. Jak twierdzi Kraskowska, jest to jeden z najczęstszych tematów dwudziestowiecznej powieści kobiecej. Powołując się na badania Susan Sontag (1989), badaczka pisze, że w literaturze kobiecej choroba pełni zazwyczaj funkcję wieloznacznej metafory sugerującej wewnętrzny kryzys i pragnienie oderwania od rzeczywistości. Z tego punktu widzenia znamienne jest to, że Orsolya zapada na bliżej nieokreśloną chorobę w chwili największego zwątpienia w samą siebie. Doświadczona bolesnymi przeżyciami związanymi z nieodwzajemnioną miłością i niechcianą ciążą, od wielu lat zmuszona jest odgrywać rolę żony swojego ojczyma. Wszystko to prowadzi do tego, że znajduje się na „tożsamościowym rozdrożu" i nie wie, kim tak naprawdę jest:

> […] większość ludzi wierzy w to, że rzeczywiście są tymi, za których się podają, a mimo to nie tylko starannie ukrywają przed całym światem swoje czyny i uczucia […], ale starają się je także czym prędzej wypędzić ze swoich umysłów […] Ja za to ani na chwilę nie mogę zapomnieć, że nie jestem tożsama z osobą, którą widzi mnie świat, tyle że sama już powoli nie wiem, że jeśli nie tą osobą, to kim i czym ja tak naprawdę jestem? (391)

Tygodniami trawi ją gorączka, na którą ani Lehmann (który jest aptekarzem) ani wezwany do chorej lekarz nie są w stanie nic poradzić. Ciało jej zmienia się z dnia na dzień, co zrelacjonowanie zostaje z charakterystyczną dokładnością: „Zmizerniałam tak bardzo, że było mi już widać żebra, a moje kończyny stały się szczupłe jak u dorastającej dziewczynki. Wypadło mi też dużo włosów, ale nie wiem, czy przyczyną było osłabienie ciała czy duszy, pewnie raczej po stronie duszy leżała przyczyna tego, że tak naprawdę wcale nie chciałam wyzdrowieć" (394). Orsolya stopniowo traci chęć do życia i zaczyna myśleć o śmierci jako o wybawieniu („O ile prościej by było, gdybym się nigdy więcej nie podniosła, tylko po cichu odeszła z tego świata […] [394]). W końcu choroba jednak mija, a bohaterka powoli wraca do zdrowia i do dawnej siebie („Żyłam dalej tak, jak przedtem, chwilami radosna, dużo częściej jednak z dnia na dzień, z tygodnia na tydzień, od rana czekając już na nadejście wieczoru." [395]). Choroba jest dla niej zatem jedynie chwilową ucieczką od rzeczywistości, którą coraz trudniej jest jej tolerować.

Pragnienie oderwania się od rzeczywistości, którego doświadczyła Orsolya dręczona majakami w czasie przebytej choroby, interpretować można także jako wyraz charakterystycznej dla bohaterek powieści kobiecej u c i e c z k i o d z o b o w i ą z a ń – najczęściej domu i rodziny (Kraskowska 1999). Jednym z nadrzędnych celów tego typu utworów jest bowiem odkłamanie stereotypowego ujęcia roli kobiety wyłącznie jako żony i matki i sprzeciwienie się tak zwanej ideologii udomowienia kobiet[5]. Przykuta do łóżka Orsolya nie bierze udziału w pracach domowych, których wykonywanie zawsze budziło jej ogromną niechęć. Jest niezdarna w pracach takich, jak gotowanie czy sprzątanie i czas swój woli spędzać z ojczymem w lesie na poszukiwaniu ziół. Jeszcze za czasów drugiego małżeństwa Lehmanna jest to niejednokrotnie powodem konfliktów bohaterki z macochą, a także tematem plotek służących w domu kobiet: „Ersók na pewno wypaplała im […], że nie daję sobie rady z praniem,

[5] Udomowienie kobiet [domesticity] to dziewiętnastowieczna ideologia, według której właściwym i naturalnym miejscem kobiet w społeczeństwie jest sfera życia domowego. Zgodnie z formułowanym ówcześnie ideałem kobiecości kobieta domowa (udomowiona) powinna być pobożna, czysta i uległa oraz poświęcać wszystkie swoje siły harmonijnemu funkcjonowaniu domu. Podaję za: Humm 1993.

i jak tylko się odwrócę, pokazują sobie pewnie nie do końca sprane plamy z błota na mojej spódnicy, albo zaśmiewają się w najlepsze z tego, jak kiedyś na prośbę macochy to ja musiałam zabić kurę na rosół do niedzielnego obiadu" (113).

Orsolya sprzeciwia się traktowaniu jej na równi ze służącymi i ma do prac domowych stosunek wyraźnie pogardliwy. Nie uważa się też odpowiedzialna za prowadzenie domu, mimo iż po śmierci swojej drugiej żony tego właśnie oczekuje od niej Lehmann. Co więcej, kilkakrotnie wypowiada się na temat tego rodzaju oczekiwań zdecydowanie krytycznie („także później często doświadczałam tego, że kobiety mają wrogi stosunek do innych kobiet, jeśli te stawiają się ponad prawami kobiecego bytu […]" [98])

Takie spojrzenie na powieść Rakovszky skłania do powrotu do pytania z początku tego tekstu. Czy mamy w przypadku *A kígyó árnyéka* do czynienia z utworem o zacięciu feministycznym? W zestawieniu modeli pisarstwa kobiet Ewy Kraskowskiej wariant feministyczny odnosi się, w odróżnieniu od integralnego, do literatury zaangażowanej, a nawet tendencyjnej. Inga Iwasiów z kolei mówi w tym kontekście o silnej kobiecej postaci i przemycanych w tekstach ideach emancypacyjnych (2010). Tak definiowana literatura feministyczna zadaje kłam powszechnej wierze, że kobieta powołana jest do bycia wyłącznie matką i żoną oraz proponuje inną receptę na szczęście (Hogeland 1998). Udręczone macierzyństwem i codziennością bohaterki sztandarowej powieści feministycznej *Miejsce dla kobiet* Marilyn French szukają zaspokojenia w miłości lesbijskiej, a Marianna z *Absolutnej amnezji* Izabelli Filipiak sprzeciwia się przyjęciu narzuconej jej przez płeć społecznej roli. *A kígyó árnyéka* nie jest zatem z całą pewnością utworem programowo feministycznym, podąża jednak poniekąd podobnym tropem – opowiadając historię kobiety, która zmuszona jest przez wiele lat udawać żonę swojego ojczyma, uświadamia nam bowiem, iż czasem nic nie jest takie, jakie mogłoby się pozornie wydawać.

Bibliografia

Bedecs, László. (2003), „Valóságshow – 1600. Zsuzsa Rakovszky: »A kígyó árnyéka«", *Barka*, nr 1: 109-114.

Bokányi, Péter. *„(...) ahogyan sohasem volt". A történelmi regény változatai napjaink irodalmában* (rozprawa doktorska obroniona w 2005 roku na Uniwersytecie ELTE w Budapeszcie), http://www.doktori.btk.elte.hu/lit/bokanyi/tesiek.pdf/, (data przesłania danych: 12.10.2010).

Doboss, Gyula. (2002), „Két bírálat egy könyvről. A gyermek, a nő és a boszorkány", *Holmi*, nr 14: 1623-1629.

Gács, Anna. (2003), „Orsolya vándorévei", *Jelenkor*, nr 9: 895-902.

Grendel, Lajos. (2010), *A modern magyar irodalom története. Magyar líra és epika a 20. században*, Pozsony: 464-466.

Hajdu, Péter. (2004), „A férfitörténelem árnyékában. Zsuzsa Rakovszky: »A kígyó árnyéka«", *Literatura*, nr 30: 397-403.

Hogeland, Lisa, Maria. (1998), „Consciousness Rising and the CR Novel", *Feminism and Its Fictions. The Consciousness-Rising Novel and the Women's Liberation Movement*, Philadelphia.

Humm, Maggie. (1993), *Słownik teorii feminizmu*, Warszawa.

Imreh, András. „»Azt hittem, hogy fikció, pedig emlék...« Rakovszky Zsuzsával Imreh András beszélgetett, *Beszélő. Politikai és kulturális folyóirat* http://www.beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/azt-hittem -hogy-fikcio-pedig-emlek, (data przesłania danych: 15.10.2010).

Iwasiów, Inga. (2010) *Być kobietą. Literatura feministyczna w Polsce*, www.instytutksiazki.pl/ pl,ik,site,8,8,1.php, (data przesłania danych: 23.11.2010).

Jastrzębska, Jolanta. (2007), „Dwie powieści Zsuzsy Rakovszky", *Literatura na świecie*, nr 11-12: 123-133.

Kaschak, Ellyn. (1996), *Nowa psychologia kobiety*, Gdańsk.

Kiss, Noémi. (2002), *Susanna, a nevelőnő titkos erőkkel cimborált. Zsuzsa Rakovszky: »A kígyó árnyéka«, Alföld*, nr 11: 103-106.

Kraskowska, Ewa. (2000), „O tak zwanej »kobiecości« jako konwencji literackiej", *Krytyka feministyczna. Siostra teorii i historii literatury,* red. G. Borkowska, L. Sikorska, Warszawa.

-. (1999), *Piórem niewieścim. Z problemów prozy kobiecej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego,* Poznań.

Márton, László. (2007), „Czas w cudzysłowie", *Literatura na świecie*, nr 11-12 tł. J. Wolin: 145-146.

Miluska, Jolanta. (1996), *Tożsamość kobiet i mężczyzn w cyklu życia,* Poznań.

Rakovszky, Zsuzsa. (2007), „Cień węża", *Literatura na świecie*, nr 11-12, tłum. E. Cygielska: 59-87.

-. (2009), *A hold a hetedik házban,* Budapest.

-. (2005), *A hullócsillag éve,* Budapest.

-. (1981), *Jóslatok és határidők*, Budapest.

-. (2002), *A kígyó árnyéka,* Budapest.

-. (2006) *Visszaút az időben,* Budapest.

Sontag, Susan. (1989), *Illness as Metaphor*, New York.

Vallasek, Júlia. (2003), „A testetlen fekete kígyó. Zsuzsa Rakovszky: »A kígyó árnyéka«", *Új forrás*, nr 4: 56-60.

Zsadányi, Edit. (2006), *A másik nő. A női szubjektivitás narratív alakzatai*, Budapest.

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest powieści pod tytułem *A kígyó árnyéka* [Cień węża] autorstwa współczesnej pisarki węgierskiej Zsuzsy Rakovszky. Punkt wyjścia do analizy utworu stanowi koncepcja tak zwanej powieści kobiecej, której autorką jest Ewa Kraskowska.