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SHAKESPEARIANA

AN ANTHROPOLOGIC READING OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S ROMANCES

ILEANA GALEA

ABSTRACT. — William Shakespeare lived at a point in time when feudal social organization was passing into a system that recognized the diversity and democracy which characterize the modern age. The models of worlds offered by Shakespeare's romances reveal a concern with man both as a creature of nature and as a creator of culture. Insights and concepts borrowed from the modern discipline of anthropology are found useful in making the reader more perceptive of the sociocultural evolution of mankind as revealed in the models of worlds presented in Shakespeare's later romances. Such a view reveals the ground not only of mankind's common heritage but also of its common destiny.

William Shakespeare's dramatic text is a dynamic object that reveals its significances in the complex elaboration of models of existence, of axiologies, ideologies and conventions at work in certain ages and socio-cultural communities. Having a metamorphic structure, Shakespeare's romances present changes in personal identity and no less in cultural configurations and literary modes. These changes reveal a concern with man both as a creature of nature and as a creator of culture and prove Shakespeare's interest in anthropology.

William Shakespeare's romances are legendary dramas in which the reader is taken out of reality, historical or geographic. It is at the same time difficult to place these writings in a certain dramatic category or to define their nature. The particular structure of Shakespeare's romances, which includes a tragic predisposition modified by patterns of romance and comedy, the mixture of realism with the fantastic and the supernatural in an original synthesis, makes the task extremely difficult. But this special nature of the romances allows for the possibility of retracing some important stages in the history of mankind, illustrating culture in its most general definition as » the mode of life of a particular people living together in one place"¹. Culture is essentially a social phenomenon and was as early as 1871 defined by E. B. Tylor as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art and morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" to which one should add political organization, material objects of human manufacture, language, religion etc.² Culture reflects the specific quality of each

¹ T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, Harcourt, Bruce and Company, N. Y., 1949, p. 35.

² Zdenek Salzman, *Anthropology*, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1939, p. 17.

epoch and is thus historically determined. The triad nature — society — culture constitutes a basic concern of anthropology. It brings into relief and illuminates the fundamental themes and values of Shakespeare's romances.

The romances reflect the epoch when Shakespeare wrote his work. The great structural and epistemological crisis that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be summed up as the conflict between the feudal heritage and a new model inaugurating the modern age. Passing from feudalism to a social system that recognized diversity and democracy, England was shaped by Reformation and the Renaissance. Reformation meant release from continental domination. At the same time the middle classes asserted their force and importance against the old feudal power so that intellectual freedom had already been fully manifest by the end of Elisabeth's reign³.

The opposition between the old world and the new one is expressed in the conflict between generations. *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* begin with a state in which authority — patriarchal, parental, hierarchical is challenged. The corresponding orders are at stake: the microcosm (family and the father — son relationship) and the macrocosm (state, sovereign, the life of the community). Both plays present the drama of broken natural relations, resulting from an error of judgement or false interpretation of life. Leontes, King of Sicily, falsely accuses his wife of unfaithfulness and his best friend Polixenes, King of Bohemia, of having become her lover. Cymbeline, the King of Britain, falsely accuses Belarius of treason and banishes him. This error has negative effects upon the community, symbolically reflected in both plays by the disappearance or death of the lawful heir to the throne. As the father — son relationship is broken off, it is now the motif of the quest that directs the action of the plays, in view of the re-establishment of the traditional hierarchy (succession to the throne) which Shakespeare viewed as an element of stability, as well as of the natural connections. This model of reality reflects the pattern of disintegration, as it transcribes oppositions rooted within the tensions of the respective historical epoch. The unnatural state of separation is rendered by images of nature and the re-establishment of blood relations, the welfare of the people and personal happiness are dependant upon the results of the quest: "and when from a stately cedar shall be lopped branches, which being dead many years, shall after revive, be joined to the old stock and freshly grow, then shall Posthumus end his miseries, Britain be fortunate, and flourish in peace and plenty" (*Cymbeline*, act V scene 5). After revealing Leontes' error, the oracle of Delphos points out that: "The King shall live without an heir, if that which is lost be not found" (*The Winter's Tale*, act III scene 2). The conflicts disrupt the patterns of nature and a former world order or culture, represented by a certain hierarchy and affairs of the state. The emphasis is on lifelikeness or representation.

³ G. M. Travelyan, *English Social History*, Penguin Books, 1979, p. 251.

Shakespeare's romantic plays illustrate a variety of worlds. As the characters pass from one world into another, they assume masks. The change of mask involves a changed name, a changed social status and locus: the island in *The Tempest*, the shepherd's cottage in *The Winter's Tale* and a cave in the forest in *Cymbeline*. The dynamic quality of the plays is achieved through a manifold process of identity change, associated with the metaphor of the road as the space of quest. The transitions involve a confrontation of social groups as well as of cultural systems. As the possession of culture is the distinct mark of being human and shows man's supremacy over nature, each model of the world has its specific culture.

Existence in a pastoral setting, in the forest or on an island, associated with harmony and innocence, is structured according to the pattern of human aspiration, and it defines the world of romance. This somehow idealised world, if only for the reason that it is contrasted to the city life, is populated by virtuous women (Perdita and Miranda), by wise old men (Prospero), and by brave young heroes (Ferdinand, Florizel). In *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* the romantic life is defined by abundance in the season of summer and by the celebration of a fulfilment of a spiritual or material kind: the sheep-shearing feast over which Perdita presides and the engagement between Miranda and Ferdinand. If the world of romance is a *locus amoenus*, characterized by unity and harmony (people closely bound together within the community), the world of experience in the city is one of disintegration and contradiction. According to Northrop Frye the art of the analogy of innocence includes most of the comic, idyllic, romantic literature. It reflects the attempts to present the desirable in human, familiar, attainable terms. On the other hand tragedy is a vision of what does really happen and must be accepted. It expresses the resentments of humanity against all obstacles to its desires⁴. Indeed the contradictions in Shakespeare's plays, reflected in the life at court, would certainly lead to a tragic end if the intervention of magic and supernatural forces did not direct human existence towards harmony and final reconciliation. Nevertheless the text contains notes of self-referential irony towards the desired world of romance, to be noticed in the relationships between Autolycous and the naïve rustics. Not only does he cheat them out of their money by robbery, but he also sells them printed ballads about fabulous happenings which the rustics believe, so that the desired world is subtly deconstructed.

The palace, the tower and the prison are the chief images of habitation for experience while the humble shelters (the cave and the cottage) are the signs of spiritual freedom and harmony. The contrast between the two worlds also reflects the difference between two types of cultures of which one is closer to nature. Culture is defined by some as being opposed to nature, as an expression of the detachment of the human from the biological. The transition from nature to culture and the dialectics between them are basic concerns of cultural anthropology and of the

⁴ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, Atheneum, N. Y., 1968, p. 157.

sociology of culture. Regarding this relationship, two points of view are expressed in *The Winter's Tale*. One is uttered by Perdita who believes that culture falsifies nature under the pretence of improving it so that she does not wish to raise gillivors "which some call nature's bastards" in her garden. Culture acts upon nature according to man's conscious aims, changes it and changes itself in the process. But this process may distort spontaneous inclinations, Perdita seems to think, and brings in conventions contrary to nature: "I'll not put/The dibble in earth to set one slip of them ;/ No more than were I painted, I would wish / This youth would say, 'twere well, and only therefore / Desire to breed by me" (act IV scene 3). Some believe that culture exists even at subhuman levels, others consider that there were periods in the history of humanity devoid of cultural values etc. Claude Lévy-Strauss thinks that it is difficult to establish the point at which nature ends and culture begins⁵. The opposition between nature and culture of which Perdita seems to be a supporter, is relative as in the process of man's detachment from nature, one could hardly establish a clear-cut dividing line between the natural-biological component of existence and the social-cultural one. Humanizing nature, like other activities devised in accordance with certain conscious aims, culture is a prolongation of nature rather than its opposite. In support of this view and in response to Perdita, Polixenes expresses an interesting idea according to which art itself is produced by nature: "So, o'er that art / Which you say adds to nature, is an art / That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry / A gentler scion from the wildest stock, / And make conceive a bark of baser kind / By bud of nobler race. This is an art / Which does mend nature — change it rather ; but / The art itself is nature" (act IV scene 3). Terry Eagleton shows that this speech shows Nature as both profuse and particular: "it is a fluid, diverse, inexhaustible energy but also a given structure of intrinsic values"⁶.

The contrast between the two modes of life is reflected in the dualities: tyranny vs. liberty, virtue vs. vice, reality vs. appearance. In the world of romance natural feeling comes before other values related to power, social status etc., an idea expressed by Florizel when he speaks about his love: "Were I crowned the most imperial / Thereof most worthy ; were I the fairest youth / That ever made eye swerve, had force and knowledge / More than was ever man's — I would not prize / Without her love" (act IV scene 3). Polixen asserts the values of the city and prevents the marriage, showing that social hierarchy comes before feeling. Natural phenomena such as growth, development associated with the sun (symbol of power and vigour) as well as death are invoked for the justification of human equality. Thus when Perdita realizes that Polixen will never allow his son to marry her, who is merely "the queen of curds and cream", she declares: "I was not much afraid: for once or twice / I was about to speak, and tell him plainly / The self-same sun that shines upon his court / Hides not his visage from our cottage, but / Looks on alike".

⁵ Aurelian Bondrea, *Sociologia culturii*, E. D. P., București, 1988, p. 86.

⁶ Terry Eagleton, *William Shakespeare*, Billing and Sons Ltd., 1988, p. 92.

(act IV scene 3). Death annihilates not only life but also social differences that are alien to nature. To Arviragus' suggestion that they should be brothers, Imogen answers: "So man and man should be ; / But clay and clay differs in dignity / Whose dust is both alike" (act IV scene 2).

The relationship between culture and personality is another motif that the romances explore and related to it is the argument on grafting in *The Winter's Tale* which G. Wilson regards as a "microcosm of the whole play"⁷. In fact the young characters Perdita, Miranda, Guiderius and Arviragus as offspring of royal blood are grafted on nature. The motif of grafting reveals how people begin very early their adjustment to the customs and standards of the group to which they belong. The world view is the particular way in which the members of a culture respond to their total environment⁸.

Perdita perceives the passage of time in terms of the seasons of the year and existence on the basis of the life-death-life pattern of nature. Her speech shows mainly an awareness of birth, fulfilment and decline as the natural law of life. Living as hunters, Guiderius and Arviragus develop instincts related to the animal world: "We are beastly ; subtle as the fox for prey ; / Like warlike as the wolf for what we eat / Our valour is to chase what flies" (act III scene 3). *The Winter's Tale* is not only an allegory of creating nature and does not present merely a vital philosophy of growth but, like the other romances of Shakespeare, it shows the interaction between nature and culture as well as the confrontation and fusion of various kinds of cultures.

The three types of cultures, that of the *hunters*, of *pastoral life* and of the *city* retrace some important stages in the sociocultural evolution of mankind. The man of nature is brought face to face with the man of culture, a confrontation that ends up with the assumption that they reflect each other and that "human cultures are the many reflections of man in his infinite variety"⁹.

The three modes of life exist simultaneously and one may interpret the ending of the plays as the result of the interaction among various types of cultures. The final reconciliation and rebirth in Shakespeare's romances are not brought about merely by virtue and time, as some critics believe¹⁰, but also by a synthesis of modes of thinking and of attitudes springing from various sociocultural environments. Another possibility is to rearrange these cultures in their chronological sequence as stages in the development of mankind and in so doing to find out the basic model for each of the modes of existence presented in Shakespeare's romances, which is the aim of this paper.

⁷ *Preface to The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Richard Proudfoot, Methuen, London, 1986, p. XII.

⁸ Zdenek Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 12.

¹⁰ E. M. W. Tillyard, F. C. Tinkler and F. R. Leavis regard the last plays as developments from the tragedies, showing not only destruction but also what is only suggested in the tragedies, reconstruction and rebirth brought about by virtue and time. *Preface to The Winter's Tale*, *op. cit.*, p. XII.

The Tempest shows interest in human evolution and physical variation, an attempt to go beyond the span of recorded history, to see the human being within the context of evolutionary change. Francis Barker and Peter Hulme show that the figure of usurpation is the nodal point of the play's imbrication into the discourse of colonialism¹¹. Prospero's existence on the island as Caliban's usurper reiterates the usurpation of the throne of Milan by Antonio. These two parallel stories of usurpation reverberate in Sebastian's plan to kill his brother, the King of Naples and Milan and in the project of Trinculo and Stephano to govern the island. Caliban, the ape-like monster may be considered as a kind of primeval man. Shakespeare marks the stages of man's transition from an ape-like creature to a homebuilder and tiller of the soil. The aim of confronting Prospero and Caliban might be to bridge the gap between man's humble origins and the city civilization of Milan and Naples; to trace the stages by which our earliest human ancestors evolved into homo sapiens. Through the appearance of the city people on the island one form of culture is superimposed upon Caliban's mode of existence. Being a hairy apelike creature, he is also described as half man, half fish, which makes it difficult to locate him from a biological point of view. But the important thing is that Prospero has taught him speech: "I pitied thee, / Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour / One thing or other: When thou didst not, savage, / Know thy own meaning, but wouldst gabble like / A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes / With words that made them known: But thy vile race / Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good natures / Could not abide to be with..." (act I scene 2). Caliban's drives are instinctual while Prospero reproaches him in the name of spiritual values that belong to another civilization, thousands of years ahead of the savage's mode of life. Caliban's dramatic condition springs from the fact that, remaining alone on the island, he has no use for the notions Prospero has taught him.

Language may be defined as a structured system of arbitrary vocal symbols used traditionally by the members of a society to communicate¹². Human language is part of culture and we may assume that its beginnings go back to the beginnings of culture. The gift of speech can be fully developed only through social contacts with other people. Recent theories hold that our prehuman ancestors used a limited set of distinct vocal signals in order to communicate information concerning such things as danger, the discovery of food, the feeling of pain, whenever the particular stimulus was present. It is thus reasonable to assume that the blending of two or more of these calls into a new one would have been a crucial point in the transformation of the call system into a preliminary form of language¹³. It is the case illustrated by Caliban.

In *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* life in the midst of nature is set in contrast with city life, whereas *The Tempest* shows the island as a possible model of an ideal world which implies a return to a primeval

¹¹ *Alternative Shakespeare*, ed. by John Drakakis, Routledge, 1988, p. 198.

¹² Zdenek Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

paradise and a negation of the city culture. This utopian image of a world without "treason, felony, / Sword, pike, knife, gun or need of any engine" (act II scene 1), sends us back to Caliban's primeval paradise before Prospero's arrival.

The general progress of man's material culture points to two types of archaic economy: food gathering by hunters and fishermen and food producing by herders and farmers. Mircea Eliade mentions that the archaic cultures based on hunting and fishing were still alive at the end of the nineteenth century on the peripheral areas of the inhabited terra, in Africa, the Arctic zone, Australia and in the great tropical woods. Moreover, some rites and prehistoric beliefs persist in the primitive cultures of today¹⁴. Both the synchronic existence of types of cultures and a diachronic one should be taken into account. As descendants of a mythic terriomorphic ancestor in archaic times, men reacted to the environment like hunting animals. The first military organizations may have been modelled on the groups of hunters who defended the villages. Later on the warriors and the conquerors took over the symbolism and the ideology of the exemplary hunter and, according to Mircea Eliade, thousands of years after the agrarian economy had gained supremacy the Weltanschauung of the primitive hunter continued to manifest itself in the invasions of the Indo-Europeans, of the Turks and of the Mongols¹⁵. We have seen that living as hunters Guiderius and Arviragus develop instincts related to the animal world. When the war breaks out between Britain and Rome, they defy Belarius's warnings about the dangers that might await them and join the army of their countrymen against the Romans. Their life is a variant of the hunter's mode of existence, echoing the condition of the warrior, as Arviragus states: "What thing is it that I never / Did see man die! scarce ever look'd on blood, / But that of coward hares, hot goats, and venison! / Never bestrid a horse, save one that had / A rider like myself, who ne'er wore rowel / Nor iron on his heel! / I am asham'd / To look upon the holy sun, to have / The benefit of his blessed beams, remaining / So long a poor unknown" (act IV scene 4).

Subsistence based on food gathering could not support large populations. In the Mesolithic Age an older economy based on hunting and food gathering was replaced by one in which the producing of food was of utmost importance. In the Neolithic Age man planted crops and afterwards domesticated animals. It was in that age that farming appeared. This laid the basis for urban civilization and helped to bring about specialization and technological progress, leading to the appearance of the city culture or mode of existence. The Sumerian city states with monumental temples and palaces appeared between 3200–2500 B. C. Each city state was owned by a god, administered by a high priest and the king was a military leader. The invention of bronze and of writing marked the passage from prehistory to historic times.

¹⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1981, p. 24.

¹⁵ *I d e m*, p. 36.

But the development of agriculture was associated with a new mode of living and with new cultural values. Woman assumed an important role in the producing of the means of subsistence, in the cultivation of crops and harvesting. The world view was based on the cyclic renewal that takes place in nature and thus a mystic solidarity was established between man and vegetation. There appeared mythologies and rituals presenting the mystery of birth, death and revival, identified with the vegetal rhythm. Cosmogony was based on the dialectics between two opposed principles: life-death, day-night, winter-summer. Hence the idea of circular time and of the cosmogonic cycle. In *The Winter's Tale* the sheep-shearing festivity takes place against a floral background. Time and the values of pastoral life are expressed through the phases and elements of nature. The seasons of the year, the ages of people and the stages of vegetation are closely bound together. This is how Perdita characterizes the sheep-shearing time: "Sir, the year growing ancient, / Not yet on summer's death / Nor on the birth of trembling winter long" (act IV scene 3). Florizel calls Perdita: "Flora / Peering in April's front".

Belief in the supernatural takes the form of religion or of magic, being part of the culture of the communities presented in the plays. According to Northrop Frye, myth is the imitation of actions near or at the conceivable limits of desire¹⁶. It reveals man's attempt to come out of the profane time, to escape from its power and to dominate it¹⁷. The contact with the forces of myth is achieved through the unconscious or in dream. The divine forces predict events, guide the actions of the characters and explain things. The oracle of Delphos corrects the error of the king and focuses attention upon the finding of the successor to throne. In *Cymbeline* Jupiter appears in Posthumus' dream, explains the dramatic events and announces the future harmony. If the world of romance is governed by the desirable in terms of harmony, the mythic world is governed by the ideal of knowledge. The value of myth which involves a return to the exemplary models of gods consists not so much in man's aspiration to imitate those models but rather in his desire to know the secret of life and of the future¹⁸. Shakespeare's romances are representations of Apollo's spirit, of everything it stands for in classical Greek culture and in world culture¹⁹. Having killed Python, Apollo expiated his sin and became the god of purifications who made known the will of Zeus to man. This absolute respect for Zeus associates Apollo with the idea of order and law. After the evil doers suffer for their sins, there is forgiveness and mercy in all the romances. The final harmony is achieved through the recognition of error (*Leontes* and *Cymbeline*), the meta-

¹⁶ Northrop Frye, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁷ Mircea Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, Ed. Univers, București, 1978, p. 132.

¹⁸ Myth has a cognitive value as it presents a sacred history about how things come into being. We come to know the origins of things and thus are able to dominate and manipulate them according to our will, Mircea Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹ In following this idea we start from Mircea Eliade's presentation of Apollo in *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-290.

morphosis of the villain (Antonio and Jachimo), the reunion of people unnaturally separated: Perdita is restored to her father, Imogen is restored to her husband, Cymbeline's sons are recognized as potential heirs to the throne of Britain. Prospero secures recognition of his claim to the usurped duchy of Milan, a recognition sealed in the blessing given by Alonso to the prospective marriage of Ferdinand to Miranda. The circularity of the models of worlds suggested by the dramatic text reveals the circularity of the literary modes and the return to Realism or the representational art.

Apollo is also the god patron of the shamans who discover what us hidden and who know the future. Divination is a practice aimed at foretelling the course of future events by supernatural means. In the romances this power is embodied by Pythias and the Soothsayer, both agents of gods, having visions and opening the way to meditation. The power of divination is symbolized by the bow and lyre, Apollo's signs which denote the mastering of reality at a distance, the detachment from the present and the concrete as well as calm and concentration involved in any intellectual activity²⁰. Loss and reunion, suffering and redemption are related themes in Shakespeare's romances. Heraclitus shows that harmony is the result of a tension between opposed terms, like that between the bow and the lyre. This opens the way to knowledge, revelation and wisdom, divine gifts bestowed by Apollo mainly. *Apollinic serenity* becomes the emblem of spiritual superiority. The discovery of this superiority comes after a series of conflicts followed by reconciliations and the mastery of ecstatic and oracular procedures. It is also the emblem of William Shakespeare's romances.

Magic refers to those dealings with the supernatural which attempt to manipulate it for the benefit of a person. For the Upper Paleolithic man religion and magic were a part of life. Prospero's supremacy over spirits and nature might be regarded as an allegorical presentation of the power of science under the form of magic whose workings are enumerated by him in the last act of *The Tempest*. Richard Chase shows that psychologically we may state the difference between magic and religion thus: magic is the coercion of the objective world by the ego and it is a dynamic subjectivism. Religion is the coercion of the ego by gods and spirits who are conceived as beings in control of nature and man²¹. Both are reflected in Shakespeare's romances. This fundamental clash of emotions and attitudes projected in magic and religion was probably felt pervasively in primitive societies, and it illustrates a basic condition of Shakespeare's heroes. The definition of myth given by Richard Chase explains, we think, the fundamental nature of human destiny in Shakespeare's romances: "I suggest that myth dramatizes in poetic form the disharmonies, the deep neurotic disturbances which may be occasioned by this clash of inward and outward forces and that by making them interact coercively towards

²⁰ *Idem*, p. 288.

²¹ Richard Chase, *Myth and Literature in Myth and Method*, ed. by James E. Miller Jr., University of Nebraska Press, p. 143.

a common end, myth performs a profoundly beneficial and life-giving act"²². It reveals its value within the interaction between the divine and the human, in which the human continuously strives to go beyond its limits, imitating always the Promethean model.

If we speak of the Shakespearian text as a historical utterance it is necessary to read it within a series of contexts. One of them is made up of the geographic and commercial expeditions undertaken by the British in those times which might explain the anthropologic interest coming to the fore in Shakespeare's romances. As England dominated the newly discovered routes of trade and colonization, travellers were bringing to light information about cultures little known to Europeans. Shakespeare lived among people for whom trade involved also curiosity as to the human beings living in the unmapped spaces of those times.

From a literary point of view myth is at one extreme of the design in which gods do whatever they like, while at the other extreme there is naturalism, imitating human experience. In between is the world of romance which is based on the tendency to displace myth in a human direction²³. Existence in Shakespeare's romances is made up of a synthesis of these worlds, the crucial moments being determined by the points at which they interfere with one another.

The community's life is subjected to historical necessity and is set right not merely by virtue and the intervention of gods, but also by social change which asserts the victory of the new forces. The transition from one type of culture to another, the coexistence of several cultural levels in man open the way for a world of harmony and cooperation which is an ideal of contemporary life. The aim of modern anthropology is to support a view of humanity as an indivisible whole and to regard culture not as the achievement of a particular people but to show that it belongs to all humanity.

Analysed from an anthropological perspective, Shakespeare's romances make us aware of mankind's heritage but also of its common destiny.

²² *Ibidem.*

²³ Northrop Frye, *op. cit.*, pp. 136—137.

COHERENT IMAGERY IN SIX SHAKESPEAREAN PLAYS
(*JULIUS CAESAR, RICHARD III, KING LEAR, MACBETH,
HAMLET, THE TEMPEST*)

EMMA TĂMAIAN

ABSTRACT. — The study views and analyzes six thematically related Shakespearean plays as a single global Text. Each of the plays is built upon a recurrent pattern of the process of self-(re)discovery with four functions: agent, mediator, catalyst, patient, a process that unfolds within a specific time and space structure. Further on, the analysis of the level of catalysts provides arguments of imagistic organicity. The paper selectively applies suggestions of archetypal criticism.

Theoretical preliminaries. Recurrent artistic images stem from an organic matrix of archetypes that can mediate a demonstration of the formers' own cohesiveness, thus substantiating further interpretation. As archetypal moulds¹ enforce themselves on the writer, they become engulfed in the text providing clues of interpretation and at the same time creating in the reader a particular type of openness with respect to the text. Identifying these clues and their interrelationship may prove instrumental in: (i) tracing back a semantic infrastructure deeper than coherence² and of a different nature: while motivating coherence, the matrix infrastructure is pre-conceptual. The former is given by a set of discrete connections, whereas the latter is a diffuse field polarized by certain areas of higher tension (e.g. "water", "sleep", "madness"); (ii) identifying the lines of force that organize archetypal images, in an attempt to explain their "ineffable" consistency.

With the six plays chosen, both the main theme and the symbolic intensity justify a selective application of the associative methods of archetypal interpretation. The dynamic potency of the archetype appears as a premise to bringing forward the very "literariness" of the Shakespearean text. We have identified textual elements (mostly within the field of imagery) which seem to shape an undelying psycho-semantic substratum that can, for methodological reasons, be dissociated from the outcome of deliberate artistic endeavour. This deep layer is integrated in (and, in a way, generates) a pattern of the process of self-(re)discovery recurrent in the analysed plays, although they are scattered along the three periods of Shakespearean creation.

Leon Levițchi lists³ the modalities by which the plays' organicity is assured, in compensation for the loose treatment of classical unities. Our analysis extends this system with a specific demonstration of the

¹ C. G. Jung, *Les racines de la conscience. Études sur l'archétype*, Paris, 1971, p. 13.

² R. A. de Beaugrande, W. V. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, Longman, London and New York, 1981, p. 4.

³ L. Levițchi, Introduction to W. Shakespeare, *Opere complete*, vol. I, Ed. Univers, București, 1982, p. 95–97.

text's imagistic organicity. As we focus on intratextual reality, we operate according to R. Barthes' contention⁴ that any element must be examined as virtually being a clue of significance — as far as the approach is methodologically consistent.

Levels of interpretation. The fate of the Shakespearean hero is motivated by an obsessive urge to achieve self knowledge and knowledge — premise to a vast work of reconciliation that proceeds in three major steps: individuation⁵, socialization and universalization. The process develops as a threefold initiation, not as a linear sequence of three phases. We may view them as super-imposed levels that center in the following relationships: Man to himself; Man to his fellow-men; Man to reality. The particular actualization of these steps in each play is apt to suggest and justify architextual distinctions⁶.

Prior to discussing the actual pattern of the process, we shall analyse the structure of the ritual space and time, as they do not merely circumscribe the rite, but also generate and weave its threads together.

Structure of ritual space. Ritual space presents three main characteristics: ISOLATION, LABYRINTHINE qualities and the property of possessing a CENTRE. The elements that render it in the text are the island (*Tempest*), the castle (*Hamlet*), the forest with the variant orchard (*Julius Caesar*), the graveyard (*Hamlet*), the battlefield (*Richard III*)⁷. As it is one of the latest Shakespearean creations, the *Tempest* fuses and decants elements from earlier plays: the pattern of self-rediscovery appears here as a model reduced to relevant marks and devoid of all variables, with sharply dissociated functions and concentrated imagery. This is why we consider this particular text as a starting point throughout our approach. The most detailed spatial representation is indeed to be found in *The Tempest*. What we have here is a triple isolation: (i) that of the island itself, turning it into a proper place for the initiation; (ii) that of the groups of characters, each group being confronted with an adequate illusory enactment; (iii) that of each individual, fettered within the "I", prone to a hallucinatory actualization of inner potentiality. The ever-changing space is pervaded (and somehow "ushered into being") by musical vibrations; it is a labyrinth of sound whose double intricacy (not only sinuous in structure, but also in continual unpredictable movement) is confirmed in the play: "... here's a maze trod..." (III: III), "a stange maze" (V: I) oscillating between the real and the virtual.

Nowhere is there a fixed labyrinthine architecture to be found, but merely the suggestion of a dynamic labyrinth, sometimes even explicitly one that effaces the borderline between the "I" and the outer world.

⁴ R. Barthes, *Critică și adevăr*, in *Pentru o teorie a textului*, Ed. Univers, București, 1980, p. 169.

⁵ C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

⁶ G. Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Ed. du Seuil, Paris, 1982, p. 7.

⁷ Psycho-semantically, all these elements have feminine connotations; cf. S. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, London, 1940, p. 389–393.

The Ghost in *Hamlet* "would have much amaz'd you" (I:II), i.e. literally "to put into a maze"⁸. Its center is marked by a symbol of the universal matrix (Prospero's *cell*), the womb which engulfs and then regurgitates (Cal. This is the mouth o'th' cell — IV:I). We recognize the same dynamism in the *grave* images (*Hamlet*, I:IV), but in a different tonality: "mouth" becomes "jaws", and beyond them one may sense "sulph'rous and tormenting flames" (I:V). The functional transtextual analogy between *cell* and *grave* further highlights the symbolic complexity of the spacial point "grave". The core "where truth is hid" (II:II) points to the graveyard where Hamlet finds answers to the puzzles his conscience had confronted, and there again does he face Laertes. Now the grave appears as the place of reconciliation with oneself and one's fellowmen, and as a threshold towards self-integration in the universe through hyperbolic dissipation: "Ham. Be buried quick with her..." (V:I). The text supports our interpretation by a fresh transtextual reference to *The Tempest* "Fort... O proud Death / What feast is toward in thine eternal *cell*" (V:II).

Structure of ritual time. Shakespearean exegeses state that time specifications do not merely constitute background elements to the unfolding dramatic process, but define an inseparable component of the process itself, sometimes even with generative role (*Richard III*, *Macbeth*). An important dichotomy, however, must be operated. We shall begin by tracing it back in *The Tempest*, where both terms are manifestly present in the text. The play's well-known unity of time situates its events in simultaneity with their representation on stage, and thus clearly delineates physical time (imposed by *consensus omnium*) as contrasted with the time of rememoration, storytelling, enactment⁹). As to the latter time current, it can be further dissociated into non-ritual and ritual time in fundamental divergence: the sailors are anchored in objective time felt as a burden to be annihilated through action (as borne out by their tense, elliptic replies in the storm scene) while all those who will undergo the initiation are at prayer and can "be patient" (Gon.). Similarly, those who have "come out of the storm" (*King Lear*) have in fact eluded the action of ritual time and transforming agents (water, air, fire, night) and in this moment only Gloucester and Lear are subject to the initiation. But what does the process set in motion by the current of ritual time signify? When Prospero asks Miranda what she can recollect from "the dark backward and abysm of the time" (I:II), the syntagm is not repetitious, as maintained in the Arden edition¹⁰, but it reflects the bidirectional nature of introspection: the flow of memory is simultaneously hor¹

⁸ cf. The Arden Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Harold Jenkins, London and New York, 1986, footnote p. 195.

⁹ To state the dichotomy in terms of 'non-textual' versus 'textual' respectively would be misleading, as both temporal currents are imprinted in the text. Theoretically the situation is the same even when the marks of physical time are not manifest in the surface structure.

¹⁰ The Arden Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode, London, 1958, footnote, p. 12.

zontal regression to the past and vertical descent into the deep layers of the self. This points to an initial argument of imagistic organicity: the textualization of *both* ritual space and ritual time results in two axes of the images (horizontal and vertical) and in two corresponding movements (withdrawal and catabasis).

Ritual time appears as either (i) INNER (subjective) time — *The Tempest*, *King Lear*, *Richard III*, or (ii) MYTHICAL/MAGICAL time (e.g. the Lupercalia in *Julius Caesar*¹¹ or the “witching time of night” (*Hamlet*, III:III). The convergence of the two types of temporal trains is acknowledged¹² and does not require further support here.

There is only one way of abolishing time: proving oneself to be consubstantial to time by a power of pre-cognition. The Fool in *King Lear* convolutes time according to his will and to the movement of his consciousness only in this quality of truth-teller, so that his prophecy describes two tangent temporal loops: “this prophecy Merlin shall make, for I live before his time” (III:II). As a human being he is subject to the accidents of fate, but, nevertheless, after his death ritual time — the time of sooth — dissolves, and the plot swiftly moves toward its dénouement.

Nature of the process. Individuation. In all the plays under analysis the main character must first of all solve an inner schism, exorcise conglomerations of repressed feelings in order to resist the charging unconscious forces and engulf them into consciousness. Never is individuation accomplished through detached cognition, but through tuning up all of man’s affective, cognitive and volitive instances; it isn’t contemplation, but live experience¹³. The Shakespearean text renders this situation by the multitude of enactments — no longer mere convention, but ones stemming from the very deep matter of the plays.

1. Beyond morally sanctioning an emperor’s acts, Brutus’s dilemma concerns the rapport between the obscure powers of the psyche and reason: “Bru. I have not known when his affections sway’d / More than his reason” (II:I) and the solution must then be externalized through a perceptible act of will: “A piece of work that will make sick men whole” (II:I).

2. The state of things Hamlet is called upon to heal is the usurpation of man as rational being endowed with the spark of divinity (“Hyperion”) by man as subject to his pulsions (“a satyr”)¹⁴. As the two kings are brothers, and Hamlet is the son of one of them, the whole conflict is absorbed within the conscience of the main character, and it compels him to transcend the limitations of the “I”: / The Ghost shakes / our disposition / With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls...”

¹¹ cf. The Arden Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, ed. by T. S. Dorsch, London, 1986, footnote p. 7.

¹² cf. M. Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, Ed. Univers, București, 1978, p. 80–86.

¹³ apud R. D. Laing, *The Divided Self. An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness*, Penguin Books, 1969, p. 32.

¹⁴ cf. L. Levițchi, *op. cit.*, p. 51–52.

(I: IV). An inner process whose point of reference is the serene Horatio "whose blood and judgement are so well commended" (III: II).

3. With Macbeth, the edifice of the super-ego ("I dare do all that may become a man / Who dares more is none" — I: VII) is corroded by the invasion of abyssal powers and breaks down under the weight of illusion: "Macb... and nothing is / But what is not" — I: III); "Macb. My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical [...]" (I: III).

4. Cordelia's answer does not justify the suddenness and violence of Lear's reaction: it is beyond doubt that some deeper and older conflict is now bursting out. His conduct appears absurd unless we consider it a histrionic act of *mise-en-scène*¹⁵. What urges him to do so is stated from the very beginning: "Reg. ... He hath ever but slenderly known himself". (I: I); "Lear. Does any here know me? ... / ... / Who is it that can tell me who I am? / Fool. Lear's shadow." (I: IV). The lethargic self-confusion can only be overcome by confrontation, self-splitting and mirroring.

5. Anticipated by the Duchess of York ("... the conquerors / Make war upon themselves..." — II: IV), the nature of Richard's tribulations clears up in his conscience with insane intensity. The decision which sets the tragedy in motion, although with every appearance of lucidity (see the logical implication): "... since I cannot prove a lover... / I am determined to prove a villain" (I: III) is in fact his defence in a situation of primary ontological insecurity¹⁶. At first projected upon the others, it intensifies itself until it turns against his own consciousness, which it shatters to pieces: "Rich. What! do I fear myself?..." (V: III). What has been disintegrated is not merely the unity of personality, but the very certainty of individual being ("I" no longer equals "I").

6. That Prospero's plan is a therapeutic act rather than vengeance is peremptorily borne out by his awareness that Antonio "Made such a sinner of his memory / To credit his own lie, he did believe / He was indeed the duke..." (I: II).

Initial state. The state which must be transgressed through a rite of knowledge presents three cardinal characteristics: (i) *Axiologic confusion*: the lack of a functional modality not so much to discern values (good and evil, desirable and undesirable, the rational and the instinctual are always grasped and contrasted), as to accept their presence within one and the same situation or individuality and to balance their interplay. Thus, the witches in *Macbeth* meet "When the battle's lost and won..." (I: I) and Macbeth admits: "so foul and fair a day I have not seen" (I: III). In *Hamlet* the Ghost is a morally ambivalent entity: "Ham. Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd..." (I: IV) and Hamlet is propelled on his long searching path "by heaven and hell". The recurrent term in the texts which designates this state is "unnatural"; (ii) *Acquiescence in silence*. Axiologic confusion determines a temporary arrest of the will to act and the imposition of an oath of silence. Such is Hamlet's insistent command: "Give it an understanding, but no tongue" (I: II)

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 44: Lear ca "regizor".

¹⁶ R. D. Laing, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 42.

and Richard's self-censoring: "Dive, thoughts, down to my soul..." (I: I). Confining the conflict within the "I" makes it accumulate latent power which, overpassing a certain threshold intensity, explodes on the surface¹⁷. "Ham. But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue" (I: II). (iii) *The Void Aporia*. In the texts under discussion the agent-character finds himself in the position to institute the world in a fresh axiological cycle. In the tragedies the individual is chained to one of the following extreme alternatives, deluded by the fact that, after Aristotelian logic, they seem mutually exclusive: "Fool. ... can you make no use of nothing, nuncle? / Lear. ... nothing can come out of nothing." (I: IV) versus "Macb. ... and nothing is / But what is not." (I: III). Paradoxically, a decision in any sense is nothing but self-condemnation to non-being, and the two opposing premises lead to the same conclusion: "Fool. ... not thou art a O without a figure... thou art nothing" (I: IV) and respectively, to be means not to be. The aporia is only dissolved through successful socialization, similar to the smooth completion of a rite of passage. Only Prospero succeeds in actually instituting the world of men at the very moment when its enacted counterpart (which for a while had taken its place) spins back into illusion. This third characteristic of the initial state underlies universalization; as it integrates the two previous ones (that correspond, without sharp delimitation, to socialization and individuation) it can constitute a test for assessing the rite's effectiveness¹⁸.

Functions in the process. We distinguish four functions: agent, mediator, catalyst and patient of the rite. The dissociation is methodological, for only *The Tempest* presents precise borderlines between the roles. In the other plays the frontiers are blurred: the agents are also actual patients, and in *Hamlet*, for instance, the Ghost (mediator) can also be regarded as a second agent of lesser influence.

1. Agents. Of all the agents (Lear, Macbeth, Brutus, Hamlet, Richard, Prospero), Prospero presents a special case, being the one who undergoes a process of individuation in its pure form. He is the theurgist who already possesses knowledge — but who nevertheless tests his power one last time in order to internalize knowledge and harmonize it with sensibility within the self. Thus, Ariel and Caliban are dominated over with comparative difficulty, by an effort of coercion that must never fail, for if it does the whole „project” is menaced (I: VI). Though Prospero has the wisdom of ages at his command, he hasn't yet achieved poised serenity¹⁹ and he perceives this ultimate rite as ineluctable; it is only after its completion that he can go forward without his magician's staff. It is, we believe, the meaning anticipated in (I: II), when the justness

¹⁷ cf. R. D. Laing, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁸ cf. R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise*, Penguin Books, 1977, p. 36–37: "If there are no meanings, no values, no source of sustenance or help, then man, as creator, must invent, conjure up meaning and values, sustenance and succour out of nothing. He is a magician."

¹⁹ cf. L. Levițchi, *Vorbirea digresivă și fluxul conștiinței în „Furtuna”*, in *Studii Shakespeareane*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1976, p. 160–163.

of a tormented destiny is acknowledged: "Mira. What foul play had we..."

2. Mediators. The mediators play the part of external stimuli of consciousness²⁰. If Ariel and Caliban are explicitly internal rather than external agencies which Prospero knows to have subdued and integrated, and if they fit into a polar relation directly correspondent to the couple of archetypes Anima-Shadow²¹, such distinctions are less marked in the other plays, where even personages with well-rounded individuality mediate the process, without being confined to this role only. All the mediators are conveyors of repressed truths and represent dramatical hypostases of the agent. This fact is supported either by lexical marks of possession (with all ghosts, the possessive pronoun or adjective *thy*, *thine*, *thine own*, or the name *Hamlet*), or by elements belonging to the story (Gloucester's parallel destiny to Lear's, family relations). We distinguish two groups of mediators:

2.1. *Human*. The most important human mediators are placed under the sign of *illusion*, which can appear as either disguise (Kent), simulation of madness (Edgar), or theatrical convention (the players, the fools). Thus, the play-within-the-play in *Hamlet* unveils the King's conscience. After being chased away, Kent comes back to Lear in disguise²² offering to act as a substitute of the "eyes" in lethargy. Again as compensation in blindness appears Edgar, who guides Gloucester and simulates his suicide, only to save him (IV: V). The fool is the conveyor of moral truth and defines himself in these terms in *King Lear*: "Prithee, nuncle, keep a schoolmaster that can teach thy fool to lie..." (I: IV), and in this quality he also acts as a sooth-sayer. In some situations the fool expresses existential truths that rise from the very depths of being, eluding the sift of consciousness, and then his discourse is indeed devoid of cohesion²³, but not devoid of coherence (the Porter in *Macbeth*). Sometimes the process of reflection is even of a third degree: during the storm in *King Lear* Edgar disguises himself as a madman, and, together with the fool and Kent, the latter again behind a mask, they put on stage the judgement of Lear's ungrateful daughters.

2.2. *Non-Human*. Ghosts and witches are by convention messengers from beyond the grave, from beyond the scope of human perception. They come from the depths of the psyche and give the initial impulse in action. Lady Macbeth is herself a hypostasis of the abyssal powers she knows, summons and imitates.

3. Catalysts facilitate the actual transformation. They usually have a dual nature, signifying both the object in transmutation (the psyche) and its medium and instrument, and can sometimes unite contrary valen-

²⁰ I. I. eviči, Introduction to W. Shakespeare, *Opere complete, ed. cit.*, p. 53.

²¹ C. G. Jung, *op. cit.*, Anima: p. 42-49; Shadow: p. 55.

²² Which is precisely the movement of repressed psychic contents, re-emerging into consciousness through sublimation.

²³ Cohesion refers to the surface structure and coherence to the deep structure: cf. R. A. de Beaugrande, *op. cit.*, p. 3-4.

ces: they induce both mortification and revival. We distinguish two categories of catalysts: elements (water, fire, air, earth, night, blood) and symbolic states of the characters, whether physical or psychic (sleep, madness, blindness).

3.1. *Water*. The archetype is actualized in all complexity in *The Tempest*; from here we shall derive the element's referential semantic charge, and interpret the deviations with respect to it that occur in the other plays. At the magician's command, the calm, benevolent sea bursts into an irrationally destructive storm, and the upsurge brings forth the latent powers of the depths that go beyond human "authority" (I:I). All that defines worldly order is shattered. All the characters who had been involved in the usurpation, and only those, as the sailors "have no drowning mark upon them" (I:I), will be made to confront their feelings of guilt. The storm itself is described not so much by natural tumult, as by confused shrieks "We split, we split, we split" (I:I). It is through *immersion* that the migration to an unknown co-ordinate, of nature yet unspecified, is effected. Waters engulf the broken personalities, and these emerge not yet revived, but receptive to the teachings of a pre-logical adventure: "... doth suffer a sea-change / Into something rich and strange" (I:II), where "rich" may also be read, under the system's pressure, in the sense of "virtual", "allowing manifold evolution". If characters are initially reluctant to the transformation ("Gon. I would fain die a dry death" — I:I) because it ensues total denudement of the "I", it is the same Gonzalo who first infers the significance of the change: "Is it not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it? I mean, in a sort". (II:I). A subtle cataphoric connection comes to substantiate our interpretation. "The first day I wore it" is the occasion of Claribel's wedding, and the analogy is fully developed in Act V, scene I. Death through water thus signifies regression to a time prior to the fragmentation of the psyche and foretells rebirth — not yet actualized, however, at this moment in the dramatic development. Garments are "fresh" only "in a sort", i.e. people themselves are "fresh" as a newborn baby's mind is "fresh": through death, previously acquired patterns of thought and behaviour have been wiped out and the theurgist is free to engrave new, conciliatory, more luminous characteristics.

Synthetically, the marks of this element are: [isolation, inward schism (assault of the Unconscious), disaggregation] vs [unification (fluid whole), purification, redemption].. In the tragedies the connotations of regeneration are lost, either in an un-mediated way, or by translations between symbols.

3.1.1. Ophelia dies during immersion, unable to counterbalance the assault of the Unconscious²⁴: "Lear. Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia" (IV:VII) and malevolent water corrodes even after physical death. Water again is the mortifying agent induced by Richard (see Clarence's dream of drowning — I:IV) and summoned by Queen Elisabeth

²⁴ cf. I. Zamfirescu, *Teatra și umanitate. Motive general-umane în creația dramatică a lumii*, E.J. Eminescu, București, 1979, p. 128.

for revenge (II: II). In *Macbeth* the element is actualised in lunar hallucinogenic mist: "Hecate. Upon the corner of the moon / There hangs a vaporous drop profound, / ... /)" (III: V).

3.1.2. Two translations between symbols are of crucial importance: WATER → STONE, which confirms on the level of imagery the double movement of petrification whose meaning we have anticipated: "Rich. Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes fall tears" — I: III).

WATER → BLOOD. We can identify two stages in the textualisation of this translation: (i) an incomplete one: both terms are still present: "Macb. Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood..." (II: II); (ii) a complete one, when only the term "blood" is lexically manifest, while the initial term may be sensed from other elements, especially from the images' dynamism: "... stream forth thy blood..." (*Julius Caesar*, III: I). In the tragic regimen, however, a fresh positive connotation appears: blood can turn into a witness to the events and a word of accusation ("Ant. Show you sweet Caesar's wounds, poor, poor, dumb mouths / And bid them speak for me" — III: II).

3.2. *Fire* only appears with negative semantic charge: [inward schism, slow torture], acts only upon the spirit and the purification it ultimately may imply is far-off and abstract: "Ghost... Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature / Are burnt and purg'd away" (*Hamlet*, I: V); "Lear... I am bound / Upon a wheel of fire..." (IV: VII).

3.3. *Air*. The Ghosts generally are manifestations of the element *air*, but this also functions as actual catalyst; it is acid, it undetermines and corrodes: "The air bites shrewdly...", "It is a nipping and an eager air" (*Hamlet*, I: V); or acts as lethal wind (the storm in *King Lear*). Moreover, it symbolically creeps inside one's being in order to shape it anew: "King. How fares our cousin Hamlet? / Ham... of the chameleon's dish, I eat the air, promise-crammed..." (III: II)²⁵. Anyway, in its quality of medium of the transformation, air cannot be eluded or obliterated: "Pol... Will you walk out of the air, my lord? / Ham... Into my grave?" (*Hamlet*, II: II).

3.4. *Night*. In tragedies again the element appears exclusively in a negative regimen: [mourning — death; blindness; implosion of light]. Hamlet's garment is "an inky cloak" of "nighted colour" (I: II), the poison is drawn out of "midnight weeds" (III: II) and night is poison in Richard's eyes too: "Clarence, whom I, indeed, have cast in darkness" (I: III). Its origin is light's concentration gone out of control; upon reaching paroxysmal intensiveness, the element turns into its opposite: "... light thickens..." (III: II).

3.5. *Sleep*. Following the first two phases of the rite in *The Tempest* (being severed from the initial condition and preparing to enter the fresh

²⁵ cf. *Hamlet*, ed. cit., footnote, p. 293.

one, rendered by "storm" and "immersion" respectively), the actual passage is favored by an insidious invasion of sleep; the dissociation is now complete, conscious will is numbed: "Pro. Thy nerves are in their infancy again, / And have no vigour in them" (I: II); "Seb. It is a sleepy language, and thou speak'st / Out of thy sleep..." (II: I). The fact that a transforming process is under way is signalled by submergence in sleep/dream, in "drowsiness" (*Tempest*, II: II) or "murd'rous slumber" (*Julius Caesar*, IV: III), all of them interpretable as states of trance. As with *madness* and *blindness*, the function of *sleep* is many-sided: initial state that must be overcome, medium and agent of the transformation, as well as final state of calm reconciliation reached through the rite²⁶. He who annihilates one of these functions is doomed (Macbeth).

3.6. *Madness* displays the same functional multivalence: initial state that must be cured, but "Therein the patient / Must minister to himself..." (*Macbeth*, V: III) permanent peril of the initiation, as well as incentive of the process, especially, though not exclusively, in the form of *simulated* madness (see Edgar, Hamlet, some of the fools, versus Lear, Richard).

3.7. *Blindness* transfigures a movement of seclusion and represents a defence reaction to events that besiege reason (if clear sight = clear insight, as in "Kent: See better, Lear..." — I: I); "Macb. What hands are here! Ha! they pluck out mine eyes". (II:II); or against reason's failure to grasp the true nature of things: "Glo. I have no way, and therefore need no eyes; / I stumbled when I saw." (*King Lear*, IV: I). Obliterating outward sight is a prerequisite to gaining more piercing sight directed to the inwards of the world, and this is the solution adopted in tragedy. In *The Tempest* the function of blindness is taken over and transposed into positive regimen by the element *sleep*.

3.8. *Synergy of catalysts*. Along with a revigoration of conventions — the storm in *King Lear* — one of the most spectacular imagistic devices is the textualized synergetic action of several catalysts. We mention here some such instances: Water — Night → "Fool. 'tis a naughty night to swim in..." (*King Lear*, III: IV); Night (Light) — Water — Blood → "Titin. But Cassius is no more. O setting sun..." (*Julius Caesar*, V: III); Sleep — Blindness — Madness → The illness that consumes Lady Macbeth; Water — Sleep → It is the crucial element of symmetry and balance in the highly concentrated pattern of *The Tempest*. "'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd / As he that sleeps here swims." (II: I). Ferdinand, however, *is* undrowned, so it is also possible that "he that sleeps" should be at the same time "swimming" submerged in hallucination.

We have analyzed each element in its *lexically manifest* form. Unsubstantiated leap unto "symbolic" significance seems to us unscientific, if not utterly misleading (e.g. affirming that *night* "symbolizes" *blindness*

²⁶ No contradiction resides here; multivalence seems to be a fundamental law in the dynamics of the Unconscious; cf. C. H. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 246. Imagery exerts a subliminal influence foisting an idea seldom, if ever, made explicit by other elements. The reader decodes the text on a conscious level already under an overpowering subconscious sensation that it is all a story of self acting upon self.

does not help in deciphering the text as an *artistic* one, it only blurs crucial functions and semantic shades).

Socialization. Although operative in all the plays under discussion, socialization appears as a *structurally* distinct textual level only in *The Tempest*. It is the epilogue that determines, through feed-back, the shift from one level to the other. Ariel's assistance (linked to the level of individuation) is assessed in these terms: "For else his [Prospero's] project dies" (II: I). The moment the staff is broken this is replaced by the audience's participation. The textual mark of the shift is reiterative: "Pro. Or else my project fails" (Epilogue)²⁷. Reconciliation with oneself and one's fellow-men may also take place in the tragedies (*Hamlet*), sometimes subsumed to a trans-individual and perhaps even trans-communal sense; "If it be now, 'tis not to come; ... / If it be not now, yet it will come. / The readiness is all!" (V: II).

Universalization. We denote by this term man's self-situation in the world, as the ultimate aim of the rite is to reveal the nature of reality from the mediated perspective of the cognitive process. In *The Tempest* the first clue in this sense comes from Trinculo and Stephano, "This is a tune of our catch, played by the picture of Nobody" (III: II), a drunkard and a jester, both structurally situated within *illusion* or *convention*. Consistently, the revelation imparted at the core of the labyrinth is "We are such stuff / As dreams are made on..." (IV: I). By breaking the charm Prospero does not (and indeed cannot) restore the world to objective, reality. Men become "themselves" and reach a common frame of reference, a functional system of mutual confirmation²⁸, but life itself remains an intricate interplay of illusion and truth. Individuation and socialization are then two intermingled ways to cope with the spell of reality. The revelation preserves the same nature in the tragedies as well, but the reaction to it may differ. Macbeth dies without consuming socialization and universalization; his attitude through to the dénouement is one of denying the meaning of the human link in the vast chain of Being: "Life's but a walking shadow..." (V: V). He thus remains deluded by the void aporia; the case is different with *Hamlet*, *Brutus* or *Lear*.

Conclusions. 1. The existence of a unitary deep pattern in six thematically related plays enables us to assume that anywhere in Shakespearean creation the theme of knowledge will bring along a similar organization of the imaginary material, observing the four identified functions. The level of catalysts plays a crucial role in the text's accurate decoding (most of all, perhaps, at a preconscious stage) and should therefore be observed as closely as possible in translation. 2. The individual elements and stages in the initiatory process do not always provide functional criteria for establishing the play's belonging to a certain species. We believe that such criteria can derive from the characters' response to the void

²⁷ cf. Northrop Frye, *A Natural Perspective. The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance*, New York, p. 158-159.

²⁸ cf. M. Buber, apud R. D. Laing, *Self and Others*, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 98: "... a society may be termed human in the measure to which its members confirm each other."

aporia and from the specificity of ritual time and space. In tragedy the recovery of the ritual time and space does *not* occur, and the consummation of the three stages of cognition can no longer be actualized in the continuum of existence, except, perhaps, by a devious way (memory, as in *Hamlet*, oral or written account). Ritual space is not perfectly closed and self-contained, but exists only as a temporarily modified state of objective space, and consequently it undergoes (as the rite progresses) irreversible disaggregation. In *The Tempest*, on the other hand, ritual space is self-consistent and the revel of illusion can start again any time.

3. The complex transtextual warp threads constitute in themselves another organism whose life subsumes and modifies the shape and functioning of its components, creating the possibility to read the texts in their interstices, in a transtextual approach "Shakespeare through Shakespeare".

ELECTRONIC SHAKESPEARIANA¹

RODICA ALBU*

ABSTRACT. — This paper is a compilation of data concerning a number of projects meant to facilitate access to Shakespeare's life, work and reception: the Shakespeare Data Bank, the project of the American Society for Theatre Research, the electronic version of the Riverside Shakespeare, the electronic editions of Shakespeare's plays in the versions printed before 1642 and the computerized bibliography of the periodical *Shakespeare Quarterly*. The author's final suggestion is that these scholarly achievements can serve as an archetype for future encoding and storage of the valuable Eminescu information.

In a lecture entitled *Shakespeare ex Machina* delivered at Columbia University in 1957, the American professor Louis Marder declared that it was no longer necessary to work in the libraries of today in the same manner as scholars did in the Alexandrine Library 2000 years ago. The computer era was beginning and Professor Marder's plan was "to encode and store for rapid retrieval all that was of value in Shakespeare studies so that scholars for all time would have access to the past without spending so much time doing the research that there was little energy and time left for drawing the conclusions — often based on incomplete data" (*SNL*, Spring 1984).

If the first response to Marder's idea consisted mainly of skeptical and ironical smiles, 27 years later the project began to become a reality and is now taking definite shape and increasing proportions. In the spring of 1984, with the granting of permission to use the IBM computer storage facilities of the University of Illinois-Chicago, the father of the long-planned Shakespeare Data Bank (SDB) was at last able to announce its status and intentions and to call for vast cooperation.

In the years that have elapsed since 1957, the storage and retrieval capabilities of computers and programming techniques have progressed considerably. Data can be stored and become available on library and home terminals nationwide and beyond. Nevertheless, the task Professor Marder and his associates (now over 150 from many countries) took upon themselves is not easy. But once completed, the project will be permanently kept up to date by them or subsequent scholars. Professors, students, directors and scholars will thus have at their disposal a complete variorum life of Shakespeare, a complete variorum of Shakespeare's works, outlines of all the sources, classified dictionaries and various comments on every topic and theme — medicine, law, women, folklore, music, botany, art etc. — of the author himself or of his interpreters. The Eli-

¹ The data presented in this paper are compiled from the last ten years' issues of the *Shakespeare Newsletter* (*SNL*, Illinois, U.S.A.) and from private correspondence with the American scholar Louis Marder.

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zabethan Calendar, compiled by Louis Marder in his youth, which contains over 5000 dates arranged by single years from 1550 to 1623 will be included (and extended). Lists of films, filmstrips, recordings, methods of teaching, a variorum of staging and casting for each play, the authorship controversies, descriptions and indexes of memorabilia and art work invoking the Bard and his characters will all be accessible by the use of a series of lists which will display what topics are stored and by one or two steps provide a complete view of the limited area being researched.

Marder's collaborators, mostly university professors, have already organized group work on topics² chosen in accordance with their own or their assistants' interests. They will also use the research capabilities of their students, who will thus see their work computerized and available for universal use instead of being wasted only on seminar papers with no other end but getting grades and credits.

Another remarkable project is the one initiated by the American Society for Theatre Research (ASTR), which was also started in 1984 and planned to compile a complete, annotated, international bibliography of all materials relating to theatre. The taxonomy is arranged in five major categories (Theatre: General Reference Works; Theory and Criticism; Performance/Production; Theatre in Society; History), further divided into about 250 subdivisions. The portions containing reference to Shakespeare will be noted and cross referenced in the SDB for the obvious benefit of the Shakespeareologists.

An extremely useful tool, completed about two years ago, is the electronic version of the Riverside Shakespeare in the WordCruncher Bookshelf series (also including the works of Twain, Melville, Thoreau, etc.), which enables the researcher to study, analyse and review Shakespeare's works with high technical speed and thoroughness (it helps find references and phrases quickly, see the references in context, examine frequency distributions, print the text of selected references, copy selected portions so one does not have to retype quotations, create a book-style index etc.). The computerized edition simplifies the researcher's work enormously.

To this other projects are added, such as the electronic edition of Shakespeare's plays in the versions printed before 1642 (which must have been published by now by Oxford University Press) or the computerized bibliography of the periodical *Shakespeare Quarterly*. All these clearly point to the new trends and ways of study which are the only ones acceptable today when there are about 150,000 books, articles and dissertations regarding Shakespeare's works and every year 3000 more titles are added

² Here are some of the topics in progress dealt with by SDB founding associates (S = Shakespeare): S's London; Ann Hathaway, Mary Arden and Others; S's Mulberry Tree; S's Marriage; S's Retirement; Literary Taste in S's Time; Background of S's Thought; Sources of King Lear; Repeated Themes in the Plays; Historical Theory in the History Plays of S and His Contemporaries; S's Knowledge of Foreign Languages; S's Medical Knowledge; Folklore and Witchcraft in S; S and the Sea; Animals and Birds in S; S's Use of the Bible; S's Similar Scenes; The Impact of Richard III on the Arts; Stylometric Authorship Analysis; 18th Century Editors of S; Productions of S in England; S in Italy; S in Czechoslovakia; S in India; S Criticism in France; Classified Dissertations on S; Hamlet 1965-1975...

se that, as Professor Marder remarked, one should read ten items every single day just to keep up.

Of course, the experience of the Association of Shakespeare Computer Scholars (as the contributing editors of the SDB have called themselves and of those who initiated related projects could inspire similar projects) regarding other major figures of world literature.

The Romanians, too, ought to begin to wonder about the tremendous material already accumulated on Eminescu. The Eminescu bibliography proliferates in increasing rhythms. Naturally, much of what is written is repetitive. If we want to progress in the field of Eminescu studies we have first to order the past. We can only hope that the devotion and enthusiasm of some Eminescologists will unite with the ingenuity and craftsmanship of a computer programmer to start a similar action before the Eminescu bibliography grows so old and so wide as the Shakespeare one is now. But we must still be optimistic: Eminescu is only in his second century, not in his fifth, like Shakespeare. Further more, there are no great authorship controversies...³

³ We would be happy to be let know that these lines are outdated and that, somewhere in Romania, an EDB (= Eminescu Data Bank) project has already been initiated.

THE FIRST ROMANIAN CRITICAL EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S COMPLETE WORKS

LEON D. LEVIȚHI*

ABSTRACT. — In my capacity as general editor of the first Romanian critical edition of Shakespeare's Complete works, I explain on the one hand its opportune character (updating, correction and completion of the 1955—1964 edition) and, on the other, the principles that have guided me in the exercise of my responsibility. Most of these principles are those set forth in the early 1950's by the Romanian Writers' Union Shakespeare Commission; but since it would have been impossible to intervene in all instances of departure from the original, I had to limit myself almost exclusively to the observance of the principle of essential correctness (above all the meaning and drift of Shakespeare's message).

The earliest Romanian translation of a Shakespearean play was "Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark", made in 1840 by Ioan Barac after a German version. It was soon followed by other major tragedies translated from the French and the practice of using intermediaries went on for a long time with an occasional substitution of English originals. By 1955, in various editions and translations, 21 plays by Shakespeare had been offered to the Romanian reader — by 1955, for that was the year which marked the publication of vol. 1 of the first Romanian edition of *Shakespeare's Complete Dramatic Works*, in 11 volumes (The State Publishing House for Literature and the Arts, 1955—1964). The initiative belonged to the Romanian Writers' Union and a Shakespeare Commission (poets and Anglicists) was set up in the early fifties to work out a plan, draw up a list of general technical recommendations, and make the translations in their spirit.

In the early eighties, following in the footsteps of its predecessor, the Universul Publishing House planned a new Shakespeare edition, this time complete (including the Sonnets and the Poems), critical and annotated. The first of the envisaged nine volumes came out in 1982 and, with the rhythmical publication of one volume a year, the seventh "episode of the serial" — *Timon of Athens, King Lear, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus* — is now in the press. The last volume of plays will appear in 1989 and the poetical works in 1990.

About three-fourths of the 1955—1964 translations have been preserved, although, besides the inevitable corrections, other modifications have been necessary: unification of stage directions as well as of the order and division of certain scenes mainly on the basis of one text (W. J. Craig's Oxford University Press edition, London, 1964); ordering of the plays in accordance with one of the more or less accepted chronologies text/

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(F. E. Halliday's list in *A Shakespeare Companion*, 1964); updated interpretations (chiefly in the light of the *Arden Shakespeare*); wherever possible, reduction of "explanatory" renderings, of prolixity when there is none in Shakespeare, of too many extra verse-lines; also, a closer transposition of broken and amphibious verse-lines, which more often than not, discharge characteristically Shakespearean functions. In my capacity as editor of the work, I must add that, despite the efforts made by the translators and myself, there is still plenty of room left for further improvement. For reasons that are hard to substantiate here in detail, Romanian is singularly apt to render both the formal and the deep-structure style and musicality of the English language: it has highly comparable linguistic strata (abstract, concrete, colloquial, pedantic, humorous, etc.) as well as essential versification patterns (for instance, blank verse does not sound less natural than it does in English), and although English is largely monosyllabic and juxtaposition is almost unlimited, Romanian, with its preponderance of plurisyllabic words and its scarcity of non-scientific compounds, enjoys so many "traditional combinations", stock phrases, etc., that these can, frequently at least reproduce faithfully the semantic and stylistic value of an English sentence within much the same space.

Given this generosity of the Romanian language and prosody, the real difficulties facing a Romanian translator of English poetry lie elsewhere, in a zone full of pitfalls for any translator of any poetical composition, regardless of the nature of the target language. They may be conveniently grouped as (a) difficulties of a general linguistic order, embedded in the source language as a result of specific backgrounds and realities in specific periods of time, and (b) difficulties connected with a poet's work.

For (a) right of priority should be given to the so-called "realia" (e. g. "Jack of the clock" — a figure striking the bell in old clocks, *Richard II*, V, 5, 60), antiquated words, connotations — of which many are lost now (e.g. the "good-night" refrain in *Hamlet* alluding to the good-night ballads of the 16th century), puns (according to M. M. Mahood there are 78 puns per one Shakespearean play), nonce-words.

The name of (b) difficulties is legion. In Shakespeare they range from the well-known "cruxes" of small lexical units to the "syntax of impulsive speech" (Prof. W. Raleigh), or from the "corrupt" texts in the 1623 Folio to the "good" ones which, however, often prove to be nuts hard to crack even to educated native speakers of English, despite the huge amount of Shakespeare lexicons and grammars and annotated editions. What shall (translator's name) speak? Love (Shakespeare) and be silent? We, Romanians, treasure Shakespeare highly and want to have him translated as satisfactorily as possible. But an honest translator's task is far more difficult than that of a "creator" or "original writer", although the latter is also a "translator" (after all, every kind of linguistic utterance is paraphrase and synonymy). Whereas the creator has to establish a correspondence between A (intention, content, attitude) and B (rendering, i.e. their translation into words), the translator, permanently weighed down by the heavy responsibility of mediating between two cultures, expresses a writer's message in a language which is his in the sense that he knows (or

should know) it (C) and yet is not his for he must adopt the author's way of thinking, feeling and writing (C'), therefore $A' + B' + C + C'$, which is tantamount to challenging the perfidious bon mot "traduttore-traditore" by empathy and, on the other hand, by renouncing his own artistic propensities in the name of the classical rule "The greatest art of all, the art to blot" (A. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*). The writer's is Ariel's freedom before he was pent up by Sycorax in the cleft of an oak; the translator's is the freedom of Ariel when, released by Prospero, he had to submit to the latter's will. This is the terrible ordeal of a conscientious translator, the "strait so narrow/where one/but goes abreast" (*Troilus and Cressida*, III, 3, 154—155), if my definition of translation is acceptable: "Rendering in the target language with utmost accuracy the content, logical sequence, modality and style of the original so that the transposition may have on the recipient the impact which the original text has on the source-language recipient and, by the correctness and the adequacy of the target language it should not look like a translation". The straitjacket is particularly repugnant to poets with a strong personality, which accounts for their inability to be good translators (the few exceptions prove the rule). There are also poets and would-be poets (to say nothing of certain stage-managers) who consider themselves if not Shakespeare's rivals, at least the only persons capable to translate Shakespeare, although their wooing is commonly by proxy (through French or German). A translator of Shakespeare's works must be, to use R. Browning's phrase, *xa* "soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst", but before tincturing his translation with his own artistic endowments, he must be a very good reader. This elementary requirement is sometimes either forgotten or replaced by a most harmful substitute, the *impression* that the text has been understood. In this way the translator becomes a "traditore" from the outset.

To remove or to smooth out the disparities caused by the "impression" mentioned above was one of my first concerns, along with the observance of the principles endorsed by the former Shakespeare Commission: the obligatory use of the English original (foreign translations could only be resorted to as auxiliary material); preservation of Shakespeare's metrical structures with a maximum of 5 per cent addition to the number of verse-lines; cautious use of archaisms (the flavour of olden times is best suggested in Romanian by a slightly antiquated word-order and other syntactic means); avoidance of jarring neologisms.

Many of the problems signalled so far are dealt with more minutely in the fairly extensive *Introductory Study*. The motto accompanying it is borrowed from an article by Mihail Eminescu (1850—1889), our great national poet (who, by the way, had translated the first 132 lines of *Timon of Athens* with the English original by his side): "Shakespeare must be studied, not read". It is with an eye to this recommendation that I wrote the respective chapters and subchapters, most of them orientated linguistically: I Documentary; II Difficulties in the interpretation of Shakespeare's texts; III Shakespeare, the Thinker; IV Shakespeare, the Poet; V Shakespeare, the Dramatist (with special emphasis on his characters' linguistic mimicry). Ample notes signed by Prof. Virgiliu Ștefănescu—Drăgă-

nești are appended to each play and poem to supply the Romanian reader with apposite information. Additional remarks on the text are also inserted in my commentaries, chiefly when certain repeated/ words or phrases are "thematic" ("to think" in *Othello*, "honour" in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, "nature" in *King Lear*, etc.).

After a succinct presentation of external data, the commentaries set out to examine Shakespeare's sources, his original contribution, his dramatic structures, characters, pithy passages, the purple patches, etc.; concurrently, to give fragments from the most important critical views (usually conflicting) in the "bibliography". Here and there I have thrown in my own vote, pro or con. It is on Shakespeare the Thinker that I drew to find the principal and constant unifying element of the commentaries; and the general propositions I had mapped out in the preface have been not only confirmed time and again, but also enriched with supplementary material during the examination of each separate play. The linguistic stepping board to Shakespeare's speculative thinking is, to my mind, the verb *to be*: "to exist"; "to be" — "not to be", or "to seem" ("I am that I am", *Sonnet 121* — cf. *Exodus*, 3, 14 — and "I am not what I am", Iago in *Othello*, I, 1, 67, etc.; the world as a stage, the play-within-a-play); "to be oneself" — "not to be oneself" (largely exploited especially in *Antony and Cleopatra*); "to be like (somebody, something)" — "to be (somebody, something)" (simile — metaphor; "becoming").

Conscience (and its synonyms), often interpreted by Shakespeare as the real essence or identity of a man, is a constant presence in and after *Richard III*, where the word echoes well-known proverbs such as "Conscience is a thousand witnesses" or "Conscience serveth instead of a thousand witnesses" (recorded by R. Greene in *Philomela*, 1592):

Earl of Oxford. Every man's conscience is a thousand men
To fight against that bloody homicide.

(V, 2, 17—18)

King Richard: My conscience hath a thousand tongues
And every tongue brings in a several tale
And every tale condemns me for a villain.

(V, 3, 194—196)

It is worth noting that in the interior monologue of which the second quotation is a part Richard is puzzled about his feelings (cf. Plato's "Philosophy begins with wonder") and tries hard to unravel what practically boils down to the problem of split personality ("I am: / Then fly: what! from myself? Great reason why . . . / What! myself upon myself?" 185—189), that is he takes another step on the path of knowledge (Cf. the ancient "Know thyself"). Always accompanied by the characters' illustrative peripeteias, similar debates are present in *The Merchant of Venice* (Launcelot Gobbo's soliloquy in III, 2, 1—30), *Hamlet*, *Measure for Measure*, *Macbeth* and above all in *The Tempest*, where the personages' attitude towards the still small voice contributes to their characterization.

Prospero means to restore harmony on the island by knocking at the door of people's consciences. The executive is Ariel and his credentials are

music. Ferdinand and Gonzalo are not at loggerheads with their selves — consequently they can hear the “sweet sounds”. Alonso, too, hears the “harmony” (III, 3, 18) and is the first to understand the awful summonings (“Methought the billows spoke,” etc.) (III, 3, 95). Of the three great offenders he is the most receptive morally and when Prospero forgives them he alone repents. Sebastian speaks about conscience with some apprehension (II, 1, 270) but as he is “a furtherer in the act”, Prospero punishes him with remorse, the “heart-sorrow” against which Ariel had warned the trio. The conscience of Antonio the instigator of the crime, remains fast asleep to the end. As to Caliban, an embodiment of the missing link, Prospero fails to bring him “into his system of order” (John P. Cutts, *Music and the Supernatural in “The Tempest”*).

Finally, there is Shakespeare’s unflagging interest in man’s perceiving faculty, the limits of human cognition and consciousness, as well as the obstacles (Bacon’s idols) that obstruct our way to truth and mutual understanding between people. Partly eclipsed for the benefit of conscience in *Richard III*, consciousness comes to the fore in Shakespeare’s first comedy, *The Comedy of Errors*. As it was written for one of the London courts, viz. for an audience with a classical education and a good judicial training, it abounds in classical allusions and judicial debates which go well beyond the aims of mere amusement. The whys and wherefores are seconded by insistently repeated causal conjunctions (because, since, for) and causal participial constructions and before their final “baptismal feast”, some of the characters proceed towards knowledge along Richard’s lines: they wonder at what happens to them in Ephesus, then ask themselves whether / there / has not been some change in their identity (e.g. *Dromio of Syracuse*. I am transformed, master, am I not? *Antipholus of Syracuse*. I think thou art in mind, and so am I. — II, 2, 195—196; *Dromio of Syracuse*. Do you know me sir? Am I Dromio? Am I your man? Am I myself? — III, 2, 72—73). In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* the characters on whom the “experiment” is made begin to wonder after it, when they remember (vaguely) the strange happenings in the Athenian wood. In *The Taming of the Shrew* Petruchio and Katharina come to know each other and themselves through empathy and love, while in *King Lear* the autarch becomes pervious to love as knowledge after passing through the stage of empathy on the heath. The wood in *As you Like It*, the romantic Belmont in *The Merchant of Venice*, the island in *The Tempest*, awaken the characters’ curiosity about their self-knowledge. Love as lust is the idol described by Bacon in *Essay X (Of Love)* and by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Pride precludes Coriolanus from knowing himself and understanding others. In *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare’s idea that *observation* is an indispensable instrument for human knowledge is as emphatically dwelt upon as in *Hamlet* and *The Tempest*, and the Duke, like the Prince or Prospero, keeps a close watch on the ignorant, corrupt and wicked people round him. At the same time, as Escalus points out, “above all other strifes” he “contended especially to know himself” (III, 2, 252—253). *Much Ado About Nothing*, is according to White Grant and other specialists, *Much Ado About Nothing* (observation, watching, eavesdropping

spying), frequently wrong noting (and transmission), although the well-meaning wrong information makes the play end happily. In its turn, *Hamlet* ends tragically as a result of the complex interplay of correct and false "notings". Nor shall we overlook the significant fact that several Shakespearean plays have been characterized by critics from the viewpoint of "knowledge": *Richard II* is a "tragedy of knowledge gained through experience" (Ian Kott), *Ling John* "is entirely governed by 'observation'" (L. C. Knights), *Othello* is "a tragedy of incomprehension" (John Bayley), "self-knowledge *is* the essential quest in *Measure for Measure* (J. W. Lever).

In the highly dramatic *Cressida*—Diomedes scene in *Troilus and Cressida* (V, 2) the problem of identity is treated both morally and in the spirit of Bacon's philosophy. *Cressida* is aware of her split personality: "Troilus, farewell! my eye yet looks on thee, / But with my heart the other eye doth see. / Ah! poor our sex! This fault is us I find, / The error of our eye directs our mind" (104—107); but it is *Troilus* who elaborates on identity, after assuring *Ulysses*: "I will not be myself, nor have cognition / Of what I feel: I am all patience" (61—62). He doubts what he has seen and heard ("Was *Cressid* here?", 122; "She was not, sure," 123), justifying his attitude first on moral grounds ("Let it not be believ'd for womanzood! / Think we had mothers," etc., 126), then "rationally" ("This she? no, this is *Diomed's Cressid*", 134 et seq.), concludes that "If there be a rule in unity itself, / This is not she" and of a sudden realizes the absurdity of his judgment: "O madness of discourse, / That cause sets up with and against itself! / Bifold authority! where reason can revolt / Without perdition, and loss assume all reason / Without revolt: this is and is not, *Cressid*" (139—143). The speech ends with his acceptance of "instances" (proofs), prefiguring or borrowing Bacon's verification through "experiment": "Instance, O, instance! strong as Pluto's gates; / *Cressid* is mine, tied with the bonds of heaven: / Instance, O instance! strong as heaven itself; / The bonds of heaven are slipp'd, dissolv'd, and loos'd" (150—153). We can only conjecture that it was no mere coincidence in the use of the word "proof" before *Troilus'* long speech (*Thersites*: . . . a proof of strength, 110) and its resumption later as an echo-word (*Nestor* saying that *Hector* "does so much / That proof is called impossibility", V, 5, 28—29). When I revised my first translation of the play and had to opt either for the double, therefore stressed repetition of "instance, O instance" with the addition of an undesirable foot in Romanian, or for the preservation of the pentameter pattern with the loss of one "instance", I finally adopted the first alternative. A mistake in prosody is less graveous than one of emphasis.

The personages' level of awareness/knowledge, often in combination with their attitude towards conscience, contributes to the delineation of their status as does conscience alone, e.g. in *The Tempest* (see ante). Thus in *Hamlet*: the prince's consciousness and conscience reach the utmost confines of human possibilities; *Ophelia* enjoys a certain degree of conscience but is not conscious of what is going on, loves *Hamlet* but is incapable of empathy and under the impact of the "tangible proofs" which she does not interpret causally (the murder of *Polonius*, the loss of *Hamlet's*

affection), goes mad. Claudius is aware of realities (to a certain extent, for in the first part of the play he only suspects Hamlet) and is deprived of conscience (also to a certain extent, for he tries to repent); Gertrude has neither consciousness nor conscience ("a beast, that wants discourse of reason," I, 2, 150), etc.

To be, Conscience, Knowledge and other key words (less important than these only because they occur within more limited spaces, in a group of plays, or sometimes in a single play, yet "o'erinforming" "their" tenement" in like manner) must consequently be both preserved all along in a translation and stressed in their contexts as forcibly as they are in Shakespeare's original. The all-important thing in a literary work is what the author deems it necessary to stress.

It rests with the reader to judge the quality of each translation; I can only express a general appreciation: some versions are better than others. As to superlatives, they are out of place in the case of Shakespeare. All translations are a necessary evil. This evil can be either bad or good. Hopefully the present collection of Shakespeare translations is a good evil.

THE IMAGE OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORLD IN THE ROMANIAN PERIODICALS FROM TRANSYLVANIA (THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

LUCIA PAVEL*

ABSTRACT. — The paper deals with the image of Shakespeare's world created in the Romanian press from Transylvania in the nineteenth century. It presents the interest manifested by the Romanian men of culture in the work of the English playwright, an interest which was with some oscillations constant. Although much has been written about the subject, the present paper brings new aspects and gives more precision to the already existing information. Thus it presents significant moments of the contact of the Romanians with the work of W. Shakespeare such as that represented by the translation of a fragment of the play *The Merchant of Venice* done by Ioan Barc, which can be considered as the first Romanian translation of a Shakespearian play. The paper also shows the spiritual atmosphere in Transylvania which made here possible an earlier integration of Shakespeare's art than in the Principalities.

To study the image of Shakespeare's world in the Romanian culture is to disclose a long-ago vanished world with its specific tastes and mentality.

Nevertheless the interest manifested by the Romanians in the literary activity of the famous English playwright, with some oscillations, was constant. Important research work in the field of comparative literature has been done by famous men of culture such as: Marcu Beza, Petre Grimm, Nicolae Iorga, Tudor Vianu, and more recently Alexandru Dușu, Zoe Dumitrescu—Bușulenga, Dan Grigorescu, Dan Lăzărescu, Leon Levițchi etc.¹ And yet, further investigation is necessary in order to find out

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¹ I. Botez, *Studii și observații* (Studies and Observations) in „Viața Românească”, 1914, p. 33–34; I d e m, *Shakespeare în românește* (Shakespeare in Romanian), in „Viața Românească”, 1923, p. 277–294; I d e m, *Shakespeare tradus* (Shakespeare translated), in „Viața Românească”, 1924; P. G r i m m, *Traduceri și imitațiuni românești după literatura engleză* (Translations and Imitations after the English Literature), in *Dacoromania*, 1924, p. 284–377; M a r c u B e z a, *Shakespeare în România* (Shakespeare in Romania), London, 1931; I. Rădulescu, *Les intermédiaires français de Shakespeare en Roumanie*, Paris, 1838, extrait de la „Revue de littérature comparée”, nr. 70, 1938, p. 251–271; T. V i a n u, *Eminescu și Shakespeare* (Eminescu and Shakespeare), in *Literatură națională și literatură universală*, București, 1956, p. 213–216; M. G h e o r g h i u, *Un Shakespeare al erei moderne* (A Shakespeare of the Modern Era), in *Orientări în literatura străină*, București, 1958, p. 568; A. I. D u ș u, *Traduceri românești din opera shakespeareiană* (Romanian Translations from the Shakespearian Work), in “Steaua”, nr. 9, 1964; I d e m, *Shakespeare în România* (Shakespeare in Romania), București, 1966; I d e m, *Explorări în istoria literaturii române* (Explorations in the History of the Romanian Literature), București, 1969; S. B ă r b u l e s c u, *Scriitorii români despre Shakespeare* (Romanian Writers about Shakespeare), in *Comentarii critice*, București, 1969, p. 211–246; Z. D u m i t r e s c u B u ș u l e n g a, *Influențe shakespeareiene în trilogia dramatică a lui Delavrancea* (Shakespearian Influences in the Dramatic Trilogy of Delavrancea) in „Limbă și literatură”, nr. 6, 1962, p. 337–346; D. G r i g o r e s c u, *Shakespeare în cultura română modernă* (Shakespeare in the Modern Romanian Culture), București, 1971; D. L ă z ă r e s c u, *Introducere în shakespeareologie* (Introduction in Shakespeareology), București 1974; L. L e v i ț c h i, with his recently published volumes — a commented Romanian translation of Shakespeare's plays; and many others.

new aspects and round off the already existing information, thus completing the image of Shakespeare's world in the consciousness of the Romanians during the nineteenth century.

There are several phases in the reception of Shakespeare's plays during the last century. The process started at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, reaching a period of more fertile contacts in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first contacts of the Romanians with the work of the "Great Will" — as they used to call him — go back to the end of the eighteenth century, when German and Italian theatrical companies, which visited our country, frequently included in their repertory plays written by Shakespeare. But only towards the middle of the last century was the first Romanian translation of one of Shakespeare's play completed.

The nineteenth century represents the epoch of the formation and affirmation of our national literature as a result of the sustained activity of many men of culture who devoted their entire life and their whole creative power to the progress of the Romanian nation. In their fight against the representatives of the feudal world, the most advanced representatives of the bourgeois class, which was the bearer of progress during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, tried to advance novelty in all the fields. The creation of a progressive culture, which implied an intense preoccupation with the affirmation and development of a national culture and of a modern literature, was an inseparable part of the process which prepared the social-political events in the middle of the nineteenth century.

During the nineteenth century our language and literature were in full progress of formation and had to transcend many obstacles and pass through different phases of development. One of these, a necessary and compulsory one, was the integration of the Romanian culture into the European rhythm of development. So that during the last century we witness "a process of occidentalization of the Romanian mentality"² as Dimitrie Popovici says. This must be understood in the sense of the instilling, through adaptations and creative assimilation, of some ideas, trends and literary works from world literature and culture.

The Romanian writers were receptive to the foreign models, a fact which for a long period of time had facilitated the eclecticism and the diversity of the aesthetic-literary opinions. Yet, there were many points of contact between the literary ideas in Transylvania and those existing over the Carpathians under the influence of the same literary movements in world literature. The best way to follow in the fulfilment of the high mission of promoting the Romanian modern literature and integrating it into the world literary creation was to blend the efforts made for the advancement of the original literary creation with those of translating the most representative works from other languages. And this was in fact the way chosen by the progressive men of culture during the last century.

² D. Popovici, *Tendențe de integrare în ritmul occidental* (Tendencies of Integration in the Western Rhythm), lecture held at the University of Cluj in 1939–1940, p. 219.

The translations, adaptations, and localizations of foreign works were considered among the best means of spreading ideas, literary trends and models in our culture. And one of the most important factors in the spreading of economic, political and cultural news among the people was *the press*, a real help in the cultural development of the country.

The development of a Romanian periodical press was a longed for desideratum whose achievement in Transylvania timidly started during the eighteenth century. But it was during the first half of the nineteenth century that it became a reality. It was the result of a necessity deeply felt by the entire Romanian population from Transylvania. Reviews as: "Gazeta Transilvaniei" (1838—1945) and its literary supplement "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură" (1838—1865), "Amicul școlai" (1860—1865), "Familia" (1865—1906) — the first series, and others had in view the social, political, and cultural education of the people. The articles published in their columns deal either with social-political problems or have an educational-moralizing character. They also contain original literary works, thus contributing to the development of the Romanian culture and literature.

One of the main tasks of the Romanian men of culture during the nineteenth century was the fight for the progress of an original literature and for the development of the literary language. The publisher of the Brașov review "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", George Bariț was aware of the cultural importance of the thorough knowledge of foreign literatures for the development of the original culture. Even in 1838, the first year of its publication, the Brașov review printed an article dealing with world literature and the way it should be examined. The article entitled "Scritori clasici" (Classical Writers) gave the definition of the notion of "classic" and some examples of classical writers in European and world literature, advising young people to read their books. One of the best representatives of English literature warmly recommended to be studied, was William Shakespeare.

Much has been written on the subject "Shakespeare and the modern Romanian culture". And yet the analysing of the Romanian periodicals from the nineteenth century could add precious information in this field. They bring new data enriching the documentary store and at the same time they nuance the interpretation of the significance of this relation in the last century. The Romanian press from Transylvania holds an important place in this respect and needs more profound studying.

The main Romanian literary reviews from Transylvania, "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură" edited by the polyvalent intellectual George Bariț, and "Familia" edited by the scholar Iosif Vulcan, cover a period of about a century, beginning with the year 1838. Studying these reviews one could notice the gradual broadening of the area of knowledge of the life and work of "The Great Will". And indeed, the majority of researches have already done this and have published their research work in important studies. But other reviews, periodicals, and almanachs edited in Transylvania in the last century, although of more restricted preoccupations and of less importance but having a broader area of diffusion in various in-

tellectual media, could complete the image which our predecessors had of the famous English playwright. They are: "Foișoara Telegrafului Român" and "Amicul școalei" from Sibiu, "Amicul familiei" from Gherla — the reviews we have in attention in our present study. They published information, aphorisms, literary fragments, imitations and adaptation from the works of William Shakespeare.

In the articles written by modest literary men of culture or by important cultural leaders on both sides of the Carpathians, one can detect the gradual chrysalization of a "Romanian attitude" towards the "Divine Brit". This attitude was formed in direct relation with the birth and affirmation of the original literature and developed in the process of the elaboration of a national dramatic repertory, a problem which highly preoccupied the most advanced intellectuals of the time: Ion Eliade Rădulescu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, George Bariț, Iosif Vulcan and others.

In the history of the contacts between Romanian culture and Shakespeare's work, there existed some important moments previous to the publication in the Romanian reviews from Transylvania of some fragments from Shakespeare's work. One of them is the presence of the German and Italian theatrical companies in the towns from Transylvania; or the moment represented by Gheorghe Asaki and Ion Eliade Rădulescu in Moldova and Țara Românească; or the moment represented by Ion Barac in Brașov. All these have been noticed and discussed by specialists. To them we want to add a new contribution represented by the initiative of Alexandru Gavra, teacher in Arad, which took place in the year 1833. According to the project of the famous "Bibliographical Society" (Societatea bibliograficească) which had in view the publication of both original works and translations necessary for the cultural emancipation of the people, in 1838 Al. Gavra intended to publish the Romanian translation of one, perhaps two, plays written by W. Shakespeare. Because of the inadequate title given to the play in the Romanian version ("Două nopți groaznice, sau Chepeneagul verde de Veneția", or "Două nopți groaznice, sau Paliul cel verde din Veneția") it was difficult to recognize the famous Shakespearian play "The Merchant of Venice". It would not have been easy for us either to come to this conclusion if besides the Romanian version, presented in an interesting study by Iosif Pervain³, we hadn't consulted the German version found in the archives of Vienna⁴. In the identification of the title we were helped by two facts: 1. in the list annexed to the documents translated in German and handed to the Habsburg authorities, the translator, a certain teacher from Năsăud, gave the play the title by which it was known among the Germans: "Der grüne Kolier aus Venedig"⁵ which reminds us of the ring worn by Portia in the 5th act of the

³ I. Pervain, *Alexandru Gavra întemeietor al „Societății bibliograficești” (1833) și al revistei „Ateneul Român” (1835)* (Al. Gavra, Founder of the „Bibliographical Society” and of the “Ateneul Român” Review), in “Studia”, Seria Philologie, Fasc. 1, Cluj, 1968, p. 3—30.

⁴ “Allg. Verwaltungsarchiv”, Wien, Studienhofkommision, Fasc. 35, Siebenbürgen, nr 1171, 1842.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

play; 2. the second argument, which also solves the problem of the Romanian translator, is the fact that the person who sent the manuscript to Gavra in order to be published was Ion Barac from Braşov⁶. Ion Barac published in 1840 in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură" some fragments from this play⁷. We may conclude that before the month of February 1830, when Ion Barac sent his manuscript to Gavra, the first Romanian translation from Shakespeare's work had already been done⁸. But Gavra's initiative of publishing the manuscript failed because the authorities hindered it and Barac's translation could be published only after more than a decade⁹.

Yet the significance of the moment represented by Barac—Gavra initiative in 1830—1833 can't be reduced to the facts mentioned. It must be placed in a broader context of integrating the values of European literature into the Romanian culture through the project of the "World Library" (Biblioteca universală) which preceded and prepared the publication in periodicals or in separate volumes of the works written by W. Shakespeare. The priority with over a decade of Barac—Gavra initiative over Ion Eliade Rădulescu's great plans from 1848¹⁰ and the publication, in 1844 in Bucharest, of Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar* translated by I. Stoica¹¹ was a fact meant to clarify the spiritual atmosphere from Transylvania which made possible an earlier integration than in the Principalities, of Shakespeare's values in the Romanian culture.

But the early option of Barac and Gavra for the play *The Merchant of Venice* also shows an Enlightenment sense of the act of culture. In the epoch of the interference of late Enlightenment with early Romanticism, the moralizing aspect of the literary work prevailed over its aesthetic qualities. After 1840, when the Romanians from Transylvania engaged themselves more firmly in the fight for obtaining civilian and national liberties the appeal to Shakespeare's work became more intense. For example, his play *Julius Caesar*, which showed the triumph of the republican spirit over despotism and tyranny, was often translated into Romanian and was published in the Romanian periodicals of the time¹².

The first phase of approaching the work of the English Renaissance writer constitutes a beginning which later on will become tradition when the modern Romanian culture would turn to good account the creative suggestions offered by the golden age of English dramaturgy.

⁶ G. Marica in his study in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură" Bucureşti, 1969, didn't speak about the translator of the Romanian version.

⁷ W. Shakespeare, *Indurarea (mila)* (The Mercy), in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", nr. 15, 7th April, 1840, p. 118.

⁸ For the translation supposed to be done in 1816 we lack proofs.

⁹ See note 7.

¹⁰ D. Popovici, *Louis Aimé Martin și proiectele de biblioteci de la Bucureşti* (L. A. Martin and the Projects of the Libraries in Bucharest), in "Revista istorică", XXII, 1936, nr. 7—8, p. 225.

¹¹ I. Stoica's translation of the play was considered the first Romanian translation of "Julius Caesar".

¹² e. g. *Din Julius Caesar a lui Shakespeare*. Actul I, scena 2 (From Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar". Act 1, Scene 2), in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", 1844, 29 th September, p. 316—319.

The moral sense, the ideological impulses, and the aesthetic qualities of the Shakespearian text, all these were highly appreciated by the Romanian men of culture. They were eager to translate Shakespeare's plays and to comment on them in the periodicals. After the publication, in April 1840 in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", of a fragment of the play *The Merchant of Venice*, the same review published in September of the same year another fragment, this time from Shakespeare's play "Julius Caesar"¹³. Thus it drew the attention of its readers to a masterpiece of the English drama and it signified — as Dan Grigorescu points out — a recognition on behalf of the 1848 Romanian fighters of the political sense of a literary manifesto which came from another epoch and from a far away country¹⁴.

Although new fragments¹⁵ and references, dramatical chronicles and comments on the play *The Merchant of Venice* were published in the periodicals "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", "Familia" etc., nothing new was added to the initial interpretation of the text. And yet we may mention an element concerning the source used for the Romanian translation of the play. In 1846 there appeared a stanza from Lorenzo's final speech annexed as a motto to an article pleading for the necessity of musical culture¹⁶. The fragment, published both in English and Romanian, showed its translator rather poor in artistic qualities but having a good command of English. Nicolae Tincu Velia from Banat — the translator of the above mentioned fragment — came across the original text of Shakespeare's play in Bucharest where he settled rather early in his life. We don't know whether he translated the whole play, but by the fragment he published in the Brașov review he preceded the translation done by Petre Carp, a "Junimea" society member, considered till now as being the first translator into Romanian of a Shakespearian play directly from the original¹⁷.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Shakespeare's work was integrated into Romanian culture from the perspective of the literary pro-

¹³ W. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, in "Familia", XXIII (1887), 5th/13th January, nr. 3; „Telegraful Român” XLV (1897), nr. 118–129, 131, 134–135 etc.

¹⁴ D. Grigorescu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁵ „Familia”, XXI (1886), XXII (1887) etc.

¹⁶ The article *De cultura muzicală* (On Musical Culture) was accompanied by a motto from Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice*. Both the original and the translation were published in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", 1846, nr. 44, p. 348:

"The man that has no music in himself,
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for transous, stratagems and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus".

Shakespeare

„Omul care nu are muzică în sine,
Nici se mișcă de armonia dulcilor tonuri,
Gata e spre trădare,ucidere și tot răul;
Cugetul și spiritul aceluia sunt negre ca noaptea,
Simțămintele inimii lui întunecate ca tartarul (iadul)".

Șecspir

¹⁷ Cf. D. Grigorescu, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

gramme of the Romanian Romanticism. In the view of Geroge Bariț, the publisher of the Brașov review, as well as in the view of the whole 1848 generation, the literature of national inspiration should find in history "characters" and fragments of past life having the same suggestive force as those found in Shakespeare's plays. "We can say", George Bariț wrote in 1840, with reference to the play *Julius Caesar*, "that like the biography of such men, so the better knowledge of life or — at least — of Shakespeare's plays wouldn't be superfluous"¹⁸.

Alongside the tradition of the Romanian Romantic criticism expressed in "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", in estimating the values of Shakespeare's works, three decades later Mihai Eminescu set forth in "Familia" (another review from Transylvania) the condition of the originality of the national literary criticism. According to the genius of Romanian lyricism, Shakespeare gave brightness to the "English spirit" thus introducing it to universality. It was the period when the Transylvanian people led by Iosif Vulcan fought for the development of a Romanian theatre with a national repertory. The enterprise for the setting up of a "Society in Support of a Romanian Theatre" (Societatea fondului pentru teatru românesc) caused reflexions of an unusual insight expressed by Mihai Eminescu in the article "The Romanian Theatre and its Repertory", published in "Familia" at the beginning of the year 1870¹⁹. Eminescu's appeal to the model offered by the "Great Will" can't be reduced to the above mentioned facts; a whole literature has been written on the subject²⁰.

Besides the already mentioned periodicals from Transylvania "Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură", the suggestions given to the modern Romanian culture by Shakespeare's work could be detected in other, more modest reviews such as "Amicul școlii" from Sibiu and "Amicul familiei" from Gherla.

For the intellectuals from Sibiu grouped round Visarion Roman, the publisher of "Amicul școlii" which dealt with school and social pedagogy, Shakespeare was "a literary genius whose works give — moral percepts and his aphorisms contain a deep humanist message"²¹. We can't be sure of how well the contributors to the review knew Shakespeare's work, but they often used to adorn their articles with short sentences or aphorisms taken from the works of the great English writer.

More intimate and more fruitful seems to be the contact of the group of intellectuals gathered round the magazine-review "Amicul fami-

¹⁸ „Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură”, 1840, nr. 40, p. 319.

¹⁹ M. Eminescu, *Teatrul românesc și repertoriul lui* (The Romanian Theatre and its Repertory), in "Familia", 1870, nr. 2.

²⁰ D. Grigorescu, *op. cit.*, p. 81—104; G. Călinescu, *Eminescu traducător al lui Shakespeare* (Eminescu Shakespeare's Translator) in *Adevărul literar și artistic*, Cf. *Studii de literatură universală și comparată*, p. 566—572; I. Tohăneanu, *Un leitmotiv eminescian* (One of Eminescu's Leitmotifs), in *Eminescu și Creangă*, in *Studii*, Timișoara, 1965, p. 110 etc.

²¹ *Mărgăritare* (Pearls), in "Amicul școlii", III (1862), nr. 20, p. 160; *Ibidem*, IV (1863), nr. 50, p. 392; *Ibidem*, I (1860), p. 277.

liei" edited by I. F. Negruțiu in Gherla²². Although this review aimed at amusing its readers with funny stories and romantic happenings, the atmosphere it breathed was full of gravity and seriousness due to the social, cultural, and national oppression of millions of Romanians in the pluri-national Austro-Hungarian empire. Unlike other reviews which used to publish only short quotations, mottos, and aphorisms, "Amicul familiei" shows perseverance in the familiarization of the Romanians with the great Shakespearian tragedies "King Lear" and "Othello". Both tragedies had been published in the South of the Carpathians in Romanian versions and they were known to the people from Transylvania. But the review from Gherla undertook once again the publication of these tragedies in order to widespread in broader circles of readers the masterpieces of world literature. Because of lack of room the review published the tragedy "King Lear" in an original interpretation done by Petre Dulfu and rendered Othello's moral drama in a version done by a translator whose name was hidden under the pseudonym of Fr. D. (perhaps the historian Frederic Dame).

Petre Dulfu, a rather well-known versifier from Transylvania, warned his readers that he took up again, in a personal vision, "an English tradition"²³. His "translation" published in "Amicul familiei" in 1879, followed only in broad lines the subject and personages of the English playwright. He told the tragedy of King Lear in a schematic way making changes whenever he considered it necessary. For instance, the episodes he considered insignificant — e.g. the story of old Gloucester whose fate is similar to that of King Lear and which gives depth to the Shakespearian play — were removed from the Romanian version. The same thing happened to details, descriptions of atmosphere, or to the personages. In the Romanian version there appeared instead passages which didn't exist in the original: the wanderings of Cordelia all over the country after she had been sent away by her father. This was probably meant to underline the physical and moral sufferings endured by the character in a society tormented by passions and full of ungratefulness²⁴. Then Petre Dulfu turns back again to the Shakespearian text to show that Cordelia's misfortunes end in a happy marriage to the king of France²⁵. Another estrangement from the original text is represented by the end of the play: the Romanian versifier couldn't render the depth and the atmosphere of Shakespeare's play, so he simplified it presenting the death of father and daughter as a heroic fall on the battlefield²⁶. In order to give a redeeming note to the story, P. Dulfu presents in the last scene of the play the patriarchal image of the country's noblemen who, indignant at what happened to

²² See L. Pavel, *Prezențe literare engleze într-o revistă transilvăneană din a doua jumătate a veacului trecut: „Amicul familiei”* (English Literary Presences in a Review from Transylvania: "Amicul familiei"), in "Lucrări științifice", Oradea, Seria Philologia, 1972, p. 117—123.

²³ P. Dulfu, *Regele Lear. Tradițiune engleza după C. S.* (King Lear. An English Tradition after C.S.), in "Amicul familiei", III (1879), nr. 1, p. 2—3.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

their unhappy king, meet in a court and sentence the two guilty daughters to death²⁷.

The second Shakespearian play, *Othello*, was rendered in prose in the Romanian version²⁸. It is a simple retelling of the story after a French version, probably that of Le Tourneur. In broad lines, and sometimes in details, the subject of the play was faithfully rendered. The first two acts were published as separate entities but the last three were issued together.

The translations, imitations, adaptations of Shakespeare's plays published in the Romanian reviews till 1880 do not go beyond that "primitive phase of culture interception", as the art critic Helmuth Khun says. The ecstatic exclamations and the rhetorical hyperboles about "The Divine Brit" or / The Great Will" do not convince us that he was understood, but perhaps he was well-known among the Romanians from Transylvania.

The maturation of the autochthonous literary creation and the promotion of the Romanian critical school in the last decades of the nineteenth century were sure signs of a superior understanding of Shakespearian dramaturgy and of a beginning of its true integration in the modern Romanian culture. The literary comment based on the thorough knowledge of the Shakespearian text gave birth to inspired theatrical chronicles, aesthetic controversies, thus attesting the rightness of the invocation of Shakespeare's work in the debates on the original creation and on the literary ideology in our country.

From such a perspective the review "Familia" is an example. Before 1880, like other Romanian reviews, it didn't rise to the point of understanding the Shakespearian phenomenon²⁹. But after that year, nearly all the numbers of the review contain references to Shakespeare's work and dramatic chronicles of the plays acted in all the theatres of the country³⁰. Iosif Vulcan's chronicles, published in 1889, 1892, 1893 etc.³¹, surpass the usual theatrical chronicle. They show a deep understanding of the spirit of the original text and his comments are meant to embetter the Romanian versions of the plays³². Another theatrical chronicler, Ioan Russu Şirianu, addressing the readers, says that "the subject / of "Romeo

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Othello, dramă în 5 acte de W. Shakespeare, rezumată de Fr. D.* (Othello, drama in 5 acts resumed by Fr. D.), in „Amicul familiei”, II (1885), nr. 13, p. 142–144.

²⁹ See L. Pavel, *Literatura engleză în „Familia” în primele două decenii de apariție (1865–1884)* (English Literature in "Familia" in its first two decades of publication: 1865–1884), in "Lucrări științifice", Seria Philologia, Oradea, 1971, p. 195–200.

³⁰ Dramatic chronicles of Shakespeare's plays published in the periodical: *Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, Othello, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Much Ado About Nothing, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Coriolanus, The Taming of the Shrew* etc. A bibliography of Shakespeare's plays published in the Romanian periodicals hasn't been done yet.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Teatrul și muzica* (Theatre and Music), in "Familia", XXI (1885), nr. 42, p. 503: Speaking about Grigore Manolescu's interpretation of Hamlet, Iosif Vulcan notices the poor Romanian translation of the play, done after a French version of Le Tourneur which had "an unusual division into 6 acts instead of 5, a division which maybe suits the French language but doesn't suit Shakespeare's criteria".

and Juliet" / is too well known by the cultivated readers of this review so that it would be outrageous for their culture to be repeated"³³. Other contributors to the review, C-tin Sor, C. Sutz, C. I. Stănescu, N. A. Bogdan — try in their articles either to bring personal points of view concerning Shakespeare's plays or they side with the European critics.

The "Familia" review, encouraging the original literature, published also more or less successful attempts at imitating Shakespeare's work. These were original creations having as model Shakespeare's characters. As an example there is the long "original novelette" *Cordelia* written by Emilia Lungu and published in 4 numbers in 1880³⁴, and the prose work of S. Secula inspired from the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet³⁵, as well as the one act verse play *Lady Macbeth* written by A. Naum³⁶.

Converging a long period, from the beginning of the affirmation of the original Romanian literature upto the period of the classical writers, the Romanian periodicals from Transylvania were among the multiple ways of contact between Shakespeare's work and the Romanian culture. The Romanian intellectuals enriched their own spiritual world with the deep human values of the famous Renaissance English writer, William Shakespeare, thus contributing to the development of the Romanian culture and literature.

³³ I. Russu / Șirianu/, *Romeo și Julieta* (Romeo and Juliet), in "Familia", XXII (1886), nr. 12, p. 141—142.

³⁴ E. Lungu, *Cordelia (noveletă originală)* (Cordelia, original noveletta), in "Familia", XXVI (1880), nr. 16, p. 94; nr. 17, p. 101, nr. 18, p. 106, nr. 19, p. 113—114.

³⁵ S. Secula, *Romeo și Julieta* (Romeo and Juliet), in "Familia", XXXV (1899), nr. 13, p. 145—146.

³⁶ A. Naum, *Lady Macbeth (scenă în versuri)* (Lady Macbeth, sketch in verse), in "Familia", XLI (1905), nr. 16, p. 181—182.

STUDIA LITTÉRARIA

ÄSTHETIK IN DER KRISE? BLICK ZURÜCK NACH VORN
(TEIL I)

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ABSTRACT. — *Aesthetics in Crises? A Look Backward to the Beginnings (I).* The philosophical aesthetic is in a state of severe crisis, encompassing object, categorisation, function and the power of expression. The article analyses the various reasons behind this crisis, and discusses possible perspectives of the aesthetic today. Through the reconstruction of the history of aesthetics, especially that of the German 'Idealismus', the historico-systematic, scientific and sociohistoric co-ordination points will be determined, and the state of the problem, including its principle branches and possible solutions, will be explored.

Veränderungen in der Nomenklatur des Wissens signalisieren Veränderungen und Verschiebungen in der Ordnung der Dinge. Der Begriff der Ästhetik ist heute in die Konjunktur einer wuchernden Semantik geraten, die viele seiner überlieferten Inhalte in Frage stellt. Neue, mehr oder weniger scharfe Begriffe wie „Ästhetik des Alltags“, „Ästhetik des Schreckens“, „Ästhetik des Bösen“ (Bohrer), „Ästhetik der Gewalt“ (Jürgens), „Ästhetik des Widerstands“ (Weiss) indizieren weniger Erweiterungen eines allgemeinen Begriffs von „Ästhetik der Kunst“ als vielmehr Fragwürdigkeit einer seiner überlieferten und dominanten Bestimmungen, die man als Kunstzentrismus bezeichnen kann. Man kann diese Momentaufnahme einer chaotisch anmutenden inflationären Nomenklatur ergänzen durch den Hinweis auf die verbreitete Unsicherheit über den institutionellen Ort der Ästhetik im System der Wissenschaften. Ist sie ein Teilbereich der Philosophie, soll sie sich als systematische Ästhetik neu begründen oder soll sie von der Theorie der einzelnen Künste mitverwaltet werden wie manche meinen, die aus einer Krise philosophischer Ästhetik deren praktische Unbrauchbarkeit ableiten? Das sind Fragen, die sich nur auf dem Wege neuer Überlegungen über den Gegenstand der Ästhetik und seine Bestimmung wie über den der Kunstwissenschaften beantworten lassen. Ästhetik als allgemeine und philosophische Theorie hat heute keinen guten Ruf. Anders verhält es sich mit ästhetischen Theorien, die sich auf die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Terminus Ästhetik (aisthesis = Wahrnehmung) besinnen und das spezifisch Ästhetische im Universum unserer Wahrnehmungsweisen und Beziehungen erkunden. Es tut der Ästhetik immer gut, sich auf ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung zu besinnen, ohne daß ihr philosophischer Charakter aufgegeben werden muß. Hatte

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doch bereits das Fahnenwort „aisthesis“ eine nicht zu übersehende Ambivalenz. Als niederes, sinnliches Vermögen war die sinnliche Wahrnehmung eine Möglichkeit, zum höheren Denken aufzuschließen. Neben diesem Zug des Programmatischen, das genuin ästhetische Vermögen zum Vehikel des Denkens zu machen, gab es aber schon in der Geburtsurkunde dieser Wissenschaft wichtige Antizipationen, die mit trotzigem Wohlbehagen erinnert werden sollen: die sinnlich erfahrende, selbstbewußt fühlende Persönlichkeit bekam eine Aufwertung, die Wahrnehmung an sich wie das „schöne Denken“ der Kunst wurden theoriwürdig. Sondierungen der von der Theorie meist ausgeblendeten ästhetischen Aktivitäten außerhalb der Kunst wurden vorbereitet. Das Medium der Künste entwickelt sich tendenziell zu einem besonders ausgezeichneten im ästhetischen Universum, aber es ist und bleibt doch nur eines unter anderen. Das erklärt die den ursprünglichen Gegenstandsbereich der Kunstästhetik sprengenden Theorien über eine Ästhetik des Alltags oder über ästhetische Erfahrung. Ob darin eine generelle Tendenz der Umschaltung von objektbezogener zu subjektbezogener Einstellung der Theorie erkennbar ist, kann man nur verifizieren, wenn man sich der Ästhetik aus der Sicht ihrer historischen Rekonstruktion nähert.

Die notwendige historische Rekonstruktion ästhetischen Denkens schärft das Bewußtsein darüber, daß nicht die Ästhetik zu bestimmen ist, sondern jeweils konkrete Denkmethode, — strukturen und — inhalte, die sich nur in Sonderfällen selbst als Ästhetik begreifen. Historische Rekonstruktion ist Aufklärungsarbeit hinsichtlich der historischen Dimension gegenwärtiger Ästhetik und ihrer tradierten wie perspektivischen Denkmuster in der Dialektik von Systematischem und Historischem, von Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Bestimmung ihrer Methoden und Gegenstände, ihrer Protagonisten und sozialen Funktionen. Denken in historischen Dimensionen ist kein Akt. bloßer Einsicht in historische Zusammenhänge und Entwicklungsabläufe, keine bloße Rekonstruktion realer oder ideeller Tatbestände, sondern: Allgemeines wird als Besonderes entdeckt aufgesucht, erfahren; ist Rekonstruktion der Bedeutungsgeschichte von Ästhetik in einem: ihrer Begriffe, ihres kategorialen Instrumentariums, ihrer normierten und normierenden Wertvorstellungen, um deren reale und potentielle Reichweite auszuloten, zu formulieren und zu begründen. Ästhetisches Denken ist gegenüber der Ästhetik als Wissenschaftsdisziplin historisch weitreichender und systematisch umgreifender. Geschichte der Ästhetik meint ästhetisches Denken von den Anfängen her bis zur Gegenwart. Die Konzentration auf ausgewählte Epochenabschnitte ist dabei so legitim wie problematisch: So bietet z. B. das dezidierte Interesse am antiken, renaissance — oder klassisch — bürgerlichen Denken die Möglichkeit, dem historischen Material seine Bedeutung von aktuellen systematischen Fragestellungen her zuzugestehen und ein Kontinuum von Denkleistungen vorzustellen, das die Unabgegottheit ästhetischer Ideen einsichtig macht. Zugleich allerdings wird nicht nur die relative Eigenwertigkeit historischer Epochen und Ideen tendenziell kassiert, sondern vor allem greift eine theoriegeschichtliche Methode zu kurz, die sich auf eine Teilung und Teilbarkeit von Geschichte einläßt und ganze Epochen und

Denksysteme der Homogenität zusammenfassender und widersprüchlichkeitsreduzierender Namen und Begriffe unterwirft. Ein solches Verständnis von Ästhetikgeschichte setzt sich mit dem Postulat von der vermeintlichen Bedeutungslosigkeit ganzer Epochen (wie Mittelalter und Absolutismus) der Gefahr aus, historische Dialektik als Analyseverfahren aufzugeben, sie zum „subjektiven Schaukelsystem“ (Hegel) verkommen zu lassen bzw. systematischem Interesse zu subsumieren. Ästhetikgeschichte muß sich auf das widersprüchliche Gesamt kulturgeistes- und kunstgeschichtlicher Prozesse beziehen. Dadurch beläßt sie allen Epochenabschnitten ihre Eigenständigkeit und öffnet Bezugssysteme vertikaler und horizontale Art, die auch und gerade durch Rekonstruktion der Bedeutungsgeschichte von Begriffen, Gegenstandsbestimmungen usw. deren Kontinuitäten, Brüche und Wandlungen einholen kann. Geschichte der Ästhetik bezieht ihr Material und ihr Gegenstandsverständnis über lange Abschnitte hinweg aus nicht ästhetik-spezifischen Quellen: Mythologie, Philosophie und Theologie, Moralistik, Emblematik und politische Manifeste, Kunst und kunsttechnische Traktate, Künstlerbekenntnisse und Kunstwerke. Aus und mit ihnen entwirft sie das Bild spannungsgeladener Dialektik von Kunst und Gesellschaft, künstlerischer Praxis und gesellschaftlicher Normen, politischer Machtausübung und weltanschaulich-theoretischer Reflexion. Das reicht bis in die kultur- und geistesgeschichtliche Entwicklung des 18. Jahrhunderts hinein.

Ästhetik als Wissenschaftsdisziplin ist ein historisches Spätprodukt. Ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts erst beginnt sie sich als besonderer Bereich von Philosophie zu konstituieren, ohne sich hinsichtlich der verwendeten Begriffe und Methoden schon von ihr zu lösen. Es ist die Definition ihres Gegenstandes, die sie als eigenständiges Wissenschaftsgebiet charakterisiert. Von Baumgarten und seinem Umkreis als Analogon zur Logik für den Bereich sinnlicher Erkenntnis entwickelt, unterliegt die Gegenstandsbestimmung im klassisch-bürgerlichen Denken einem vielschichtigen Wandlungsprozeß, der — selbst Bestandteil des Epochenumbruchs zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft — alle wesentlichen kulturellen Veränderungen festhält und begrifflich reflektiert. Antike und Mittelalter haben zwar technische Anleitungen und metaphysische Reflexionen über das Schöne gekannt, aber sicher nur Ansätze einer philosophischen Ästhetik. Die Betrachtungen über das Wesen der Dichtung und zu den anderen Künsten blieben untereinander isoliert und ohne gegenseitige Vermittlung. Als eigene Wissenschaftsdisziplin hat sich Ästhetik erst dann entwickelt, als der Begriff des Geschmacks gefunden war und ein rezeptives ästhetisches Subjekt konstituiert werden konnte. Die Konstitutierung der Ästhetik als philosophische Disziplin und einer Theorie des modernen Systems der fünf Künste (Malerei, Plastik, Architektur, Musik, Poesie) sind geschichtlich parallele Vorgänge. Grundgedenke wie Autonomie, Genie, Originalität, Einbildungskraft usw. entstehen im 18. Jahrhundert und erhalten ihre moderne Bedeutung in dieser Zeit der europäischen Aufklärung. Ein dreifacher geschichtlicher Scheidungsprozeß ist dabei wesentlich: 1. die Trennung der mechanischen von den schönen Künsten, 2. die Trennung der schönen Wissenschaften von den schönen Künsten und 3. die Trennung

von philosophischer und technischer Kunstbetrachtung. In diesem Vorgang liegt der irdisch konstatierbare Ursprung des permanenten Widerspruchs von philosophischer und praktischer Kunstbetrachtung, der Gewaltenteilung von ästhetischer Theorie und künstlerischer Praxis, aber auch die Weltgeltung der Kunstphilosophie, wie sie sich von ihrem deutschen Epizentrum aus begründete.

Ästhetische Systementwürfe (Kant, Moritz, Schelling, Hölderlin, Hegel) und kunsttheoretisch orientierte Vorstellungen (Lessing, Herder, Winkelmann), Schiller, Goethe) markieren den Prozeß stringenten philosophischen Denkens in Sachen Sinnlichkeit, Geschmack und Kunst. Von der Logik der Sensitivität zur Philosophie der schönen Künste — in diesem sich weit ausdifferenzierenden Selbstverständnis der Ästhetik ist definitorisch umschrieben, was realhistorisch sich gesellschaftlich vollzogen hat: die Verbürgerlichung aller sozialen Verhältnisse, die Durchsetzung von Markt — und Tauschwertbeziehungen, die Entwicklung bürgerlicher Kunstverhältnisse hinsichtlich der Produktion, Distribution und Rezeption, die Hoffnung und die Enttäuschung gegenüber dem Kultur — und Emanzipationsfaktor Kunst, die radikale Verweltlichung kultureller Wertnormen. Konnten die aufklärerisch-klassischen Anfänge dem freien Subjekt die freie Kunst zur Seite stellen, so rafft die spätere Erfahrung bürgerlich-entfremdeter Kultur diese Erkenntnis zur systemimmanenten Unfähigkeit jeder Kunst zur umfassenden Welterklärung zwiespältig zusammen und läßt in Hegels Ästhetik spekulativ konsequent das Ende der Kunst begründen. Diese These vom Ende der Kunst ist wohl das schockierendste Ergebnis einer Ästhetik, die als erste philosophische systematische, welche die Geschichte der Künste in sich einschloß, zugleich die Kunst „nach der Seite ihrer höchsten Bestimmung“¹ verabschiedete; wobei die Verschiebung der Künste aus dem Zentrum gesellschaftlicher Interessen bzw. ihrer Artikulationsweisen zu den Voraussetzungen ihrer eigentlich philosophisch-historischen Betrachtung gehört. Das Wort von der Eule der Minerva, die ihren Flug erst in der Dämmerung beginnt, wenn eine Gestalt des Lebens alt geworden ist², gilt auch für die Kunstanalyse und Ästhetik. Die Erkenntnis der Historizität von Kunst korrespondiert notwendig die der geschichtlichen Dimension jeder Kunsterfahrung und ihrer theoretisch-analytischen Reflexion.

Der epochale Wandel kultureller Lebensformen und — räume seit dem 18. Jahrhundert bringt im ästhetischen Denken Strategien individueller sowie gesellschaftlicher Bewältigung der neuen Kultursituation hervor, die sich wesentlich auf eine Begründung der respektivischen Bedeutung von Kunst — ein Dennoch oder Trotz der Hegelschen These gegenüber, nicht zuletzt von ihrem Verfasser selbst vorgetragen konzentrieren und am klassischen Konsens des allgemeinen Autonomieprinzips partizipieren. Dieser Konsens der Funktionalität von Kunst ist nicht ohne theoretische Vorleistung: erst mit der abstrahierenden Verallgemeinerung der konkreten einzelnen Künste zur Kunst und ihrem gedachten Zusam-

¹ G. W. Fr. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, Berlin und Weimar, 1965, Band 1, S. 37.

² Vgl. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Berlin, 1981, S. 28.

menschluß mit den Vorstellungen von Schönheit wird es möglich, nicht nur die Einheit von Gegenstand und Methode der Ästhetik, sondern auch deren soziale Dimension und kritische Potenz im Gegenstand selbst zu verankern. Der hohe Grad an Utopiegehalt einer derartigen Wissenschaftskonzeption zeichnet mit verantwortlich für die seit dem ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts einsetzende und anhaltende Zerfaserung in differente und diffuse Gegenstands- und Methodenentwürfe bis zum ausdrücklichen Verzicht auf philosophische Anstrengung und weltanschauliches Erkenntnisinteresse.

Um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts konnte Baumgarten eine kämpferische Diskussion um den Gegenstandsbereich der herrschenden Philosophie — die sinn/lische Erkenntnis und ihre Gesetzmäßigkeiten —, dessen Logik er als Ästhetik bezeichnete, zusammenfassen. Mendelssohns Feststellung anlässlich der Geburtsstunde der Ästhetik, Baumgarten habe systematischen Geist in eine Wissenschaft gebracht, in der man bislang gewohnt war zu schwatzen, traf auch den theoretischen Leistungsgrad des Schönen, denn auf sein Konto muß die Wissenschaftlichkeit der Ästhetik zumindest dieses Zeitabschnittes mit verbucht werden³. Zwei konzeptionelle Voraussetzungen waren wesentlich: zum einen die theoretische Verallgemeinerung und Zusammenfassung der einzelnen schönen Künste zum Begriff der Kunst, zum anderen die gedankliche Herstellung einer Verbindungslinie zwischen Schönheit und Kunst, einer Verbindung, die schnell normativen Charakter erlangen sollte. Zwar war über die Schönheit weit eher verhandelt worden (vor allem unter dem Vorzeichen religiöser Kulte, z. B. ägyptische Sonnenkulte, Altes Testament: Hohelied Salomons, Kosmos — und Spärenaesthetik sowie Erosauffassungen der griechischen Antike), zum künstlerisch-ästhetischen Phänomen wurde sie erst unter bürgerlichem Vorzeichen. Die bis dahin seit der Antike überkommenen Vorstellungen über die Schönheit boten sich besonders an; namentlich ihre Bindung an die menschliche Sinnlichkeit, ihre Affinität gegenüber den Künsten und vor allem ihre philosophische Grundsubstanz kam den Belangen der ästhetischen Diskussion entgegen. Alle kunstphilosophischen Überlegungen waren seit Baumgarten darauf gerichtet, dem Schönen und der Kunst eine unverwechselbare Eigenheit zuzuerkennen, den Künsten und der ästhetischen Urteilsfähigkeit des Menschen eine angemessene Stellung im Gefüge menschlichen Tätigseins und Denkens einzuräumen und sie so der theoretischen Betrachtung zugänglich und würdig zu machen. Der Begriff des Schönen wurde zunehmend zum Sammelbecken des sich profilierenden bürgerlichen Denkens in Sachen Kunst und Kunstgeschmack.

Was dem Schönheitsbegriff bei Baumgarten angeht, so bleibt er wesentlich bestimmt durch die rationalistische Schweise, beschränkt auf ein gnoseologisch verstandenes Subjekt-Objekt-Verhältnis. Was bei ihm mehr Exkurs als ausgeführte Theorie bleibt, gewinnt aber für die weitere Entwicklung der Ästhetik an Bedeutung: Durch die Orientierung auf die

³ Zitiert nach: H. Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1961, Band 1, S. 387.

subjektiven Komponenten der sinnlichen Erkenntnis und auf den Zusammenhang von Schönheit und Struktur äußerer Objekte (Kunstwerke) werden grundlegende Weichen gestellt für künftige ästhetische Konzeptionen. Baumgartens Kritiker, die sich schnell zu Wort meldeten, richteten die Polemik gegen den schwächsten Punkt seiner Überlegungen: gegen seine Abstinenz gegenüber der Vielfalt der schönen Künste. Nur unter Berücksichtigung der realen Kunstprozesse könne Ästhetik, damit auch die Frage nach dem Schönen, vorangetrieben werden⁴. Goethe war es, der Winckelmann in einem ihm gewidmeten Aufsatz die Orientierung auf das sinnlich Schöne, auf die Kunst und auf den Menschen als für die moderne Kunstauffassung wegweisend bescheinigte. Tatsächlich kann diese Verklammerung von Sinnlichkeit, Kunst und Schönheit als unbedingte kunstphilosophische Leistung gelten. Die konkrete Kunstanalyse war es, in der sich dieser Zusammenhang bestätigte: die Erfahrung und das Erleben griechisch-antiker Kunstwerke boten in bis dahin unbekannter Weise anschauliches Beweismaterial. Winckelmanns Kanon von der Unübertrefflichkeit der Griechen in Kultur und Kunst und seine Forderung nach unbedingter Nachahmung der griechischen Vorbilder hat in seinem normativen Grundton einen nachhaltigen Einfluß auf das ästhetische Denken ausgeübt. Höchste Schönheit und griechische Kunst fielen zusammen; dennoch lag in diessen Thesen ein innerer Widerspruch, dessen Austragung in Richtung Klassik wies, dessen Vereinseitigung in einem sich schnell verfestigenden Klassizismus mündete. Aus der Formel von der „edlen Einfalt und stillen Größe“, die alles wesentlich Schöne ausmache, wurde vor allem der Harmoniegedanke herausgelöst und hervorgehoben. Die Dialektik, die ihr innewohnt, wurde nicht mit gleicher Intensität aufgenommen und weitergedacht. Daß Winckelmann in Gegensätzen sprach, wurde permanent mißverstanden und mißachtet. Noch Hegel fand im antiken Muster die höchste Ausbildungsform künstlerischer Entwicklung, griechische Kunst sei „die begriffsmäßige Darstellung des Ideals, die Vollendung des Reichs der Schönheit. Schöneres kann nicht sein und werden“⁵. Wenn hier die gehaltlichen Implikationen des Schönen nicht im zeitgenössischen Kultur- und Kunstgeschehen gesucht (und gefunden) werden, so verweist das auf die Problematik der zeitgenössischen Gegenwart: Im antiken Modell fanden die bürgerlichen Ideologen ihr Alternativprogramm zur zeitgenössischen Kultursituation beschlossen. Waren es die Griechen, die „in der glücklichen Mitte der selbstbewußten Freiheit und der sittlichen Substanz“ lebten, so konnte letztlich „das Menschliche den Mittelpunkt und Inhalt der wahren Schönheit und Kunst“⁶ ausmachen. Was Hegel von Winckelmann trennte und ihn zugleich mit ihm wieder verband, war sein Wissen um die Geschichtlichkeit aller künstlerischen Entwicklung. Die Antike ist für Winckelmann wieder herstellbar, geschichtliche Entwicklung also korrigierbar, für Hegel dagegen bleibt sie unwiederruflich vergangen. Den Optimismus Winckelmannscher Prägung konnte er nicht mehr teilen. Der theoretische

⁴ Vgl. dazu: Hettner, a. a. O., S. 389.

⁵ G. W. Fr. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, a. a. O., S. 498.

⁶ Ebenda, S. 422.

Weg, der zwischen beiden lag, der aufkeimende Gedanke der Geschichtlichkeit aller Kunst und Schönheit, führte vor allem bei Herder, Goethe u.a. zur Erschütterung des klassizistischen Grundtons der Antikerezeption. Die Sprengkraft aber der Sturm-und-Drang-Konzepte reichte nicht aus, sich vom antiken Modell zu lösen. Die philosophische Kritik an Winckelmann entzündete sich nicht nur an seinem Griechenenthusiasmus im engeren Sinne. Sein Schönheitskonzept war radikaler Kritik ausgesetzt, namentlich seine These vom Gegensatz zwischen Schönheit und Ausdruck. Sie widersprach allen Erfahrungen mit realen Kunstwerken. Lessings Gegenargumente sind die bekanntesten, Herder und Goethe haben Originelles beigesteuert. Lotet man aber tiefer, so erkennt man hinter einer scheinbar metaphysischen Trennung ein Problem von Belang: Winckelmann macht aufmerksam auf die untrennbare Einheit beider Elemente im konkreten Kunstwerk; jedes Kunstwerk lebt im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Ausdruck und Schönheit. Ist hier nicht der Versuch erkennbar, sich theoretisch der Struktur der Kunstwerke zu nähern, somit auch den Fragen ihrer Produzierbarkeit? Damit aber leitet sein Denken über zur unbedingten Verbindung von Schönheit und Kunst, ein Gedanke, der in das klassische Schönheits- und Kunstverständnis einfließt und aufgehoben wird.

Goethe sagt dazu in einem bedeutsamen Aufsatz, daß „Schönheit das letzte Ziel der Kunst sei ... kein höheres (ist) bekannt“⁷. Ästhetik wird in diesem Sinne immer ausgeprägter Theorie des Schönen, genauer des Kunstschönen. Indem der Gedanke vor der Bedeutung der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung mit der Überzeugung von der Produzierbarkeit alles Schönen verbunden wurde, ergab sich die Möglichkeit, in der Kunst mehr zu sehen als bloße Nachahmung der Wirklichkeit. So wurde unter dem Vorzeichen des Schönen über das Problem des schöpferischen Menschen (Genie) diskutiert. Der Künstler als der zweite Schöpfer — diese Auffassung (vom englischen Sensualismus geprägt und der deutschen Ästhetik aufgenommen) bedeutete für die Kunst- und Schönheitsbestimmung, diese selbst sei eine neue, zweite Wirklichkeit. So entwickelt sich eine folgenreiche Position: die deutliche Orientierung auf die Ausgewogenheit zwischen Objektivem und Subjektivem, die Anerkennung gesetzmäßigen Produzierens für den Kunstbereich. Die Objektivität des Schönen wird mit Notwendigkeit an die Subjektivität des Künstlers oder des Betrachters gekettet: Nur nach der Maßgabe seines Vermögens gelingt ästhetische, d.h. schöne Bewältigung der Wirklichkeit. Schönheit zwischen Objektivität und Subjektivität anzusiedeln, gehört spätestens seit ihrer klassischen Ausprägung zu den grundlegenden und bleibenden ästhetischen Erkenntnissen.

Der Horizont des ästhetischen Denkens verlief dort, wo die Entdeckung, Entwicklung und Kultivierung einer bedürfnisreichen, selbstbewußten bürgerlichen Individualität sich mit dem Anspruch künstlerischer Produktivität traf. Was allgemein-weltanschaulich Kampfansage und Utopie des Bürgertums war, erhielt unter ästhetischem Blickwinkel das Stig-

⁷ J. W. Goethe, *Der Sammler und die Seinigen*. In: *Berliner Ausgabe*, Berlin 1973, Band 19, S. 234.

ma des Individuell-Schöpferischen; derart aber entsteht das Ästhetische aus einem Kraftakt der Abstraktion.

Die bürgerliche Subjektbefindlichkeit spiegelt sich u.a. in der Fähigkeit zum ästhetischen Urteilen. Was von der Aufklärungsästhetik unter dem Stichwort „Geschmack“ thematisiert worden war, läßt Kant 1790 nach den wissenschaftlichen Kriterien ästhetischen Urteilens fragen. Seine Bestimmung des Schönen als das „was/ohne Begriffe, als Objekt eines allgemeinen Wohlgefallens vorgestellt wird“, der Hinweis, es sei ein „Wohlgefallen oder Mißfallen ohne alles Interesse“⁶ stellt Schönheit zwischen die Angemessenheit von wertendem Subjekt und bewertetem Objekt. Interesselosigkeit gehört demnach zu den unbedingten Kennzeichen ästhetischer Urteile, die Befreiung vom unmittelbaren Begehungsvermögen macht aufmerksam auf deren Eigenständigkeit. Diese Autonomie aber ist höchst widersprüchlich. Der Satz von der Interesselosigkeit grenzt einerseits den Umfang, die Reichweite und die Besonderheiten ästhetischen Urteilens ab von allen anderen Vermögen des Menschen, andererseits entbindet er zugleich die ästhetische Sphäre aus dem Umkreis sozialer Verbindlichkeiten, verhindert er weitgehend dessen positive inhaltliche Bestimmung. Die innere Dialektik des Schönen ist im Kantschen Konzept ambivalent; was von der These von der Interesselosigkeit inauguriert wird, kann sie in ihren Konsequenzen nicht durchhalten.

Schönheit findet ihre inhaltliche Bestimmung nicht innerhalb der ästhetischen Sphäre, sondern in außerästhetischen Bereichen, vorrangig im Sittlich—Humanen. Derart entsteht ein gewisser Grad an Unverbindlichkeit, der sich dann auf der methodologischen Ebene als Schwierigkeit der Begriffslosigkeit eines Begriffes anzeigt. Die subjektive Uninteressiertheit, die dem Schönen nach Kant eigen ist, wird als eine Fähigkeit bestimmt, die unbeschadet bzw. trotz gegensätzlicher empirischer Erfahrungen sich konstituiert. Sie gerät damit in Kollision und ist zugleich deren folgenreicher Ausdruck mit dem tatsächlichen Interesse der sich entwickelnden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Perspektivisch geht bei Kant die Abwehr einer auf partikuläre Zwecke und äußere Zwänge gerichteten Gesellschaft mit in die Definition des Schönen ein, wiewohl diese zugleich die Entwicklung eben dieser bürgerlichen Gesellschaft legitimiert.

Indem die Ästhetik den Bereich des Schönen — der Kantschen Analytik folgend — endgültig für sich konstituiert hatte, verlief ihre weitere Entwicklung immer stärker in Richtung einer Orientierung auf das Kunstschöne, auf das Gebiet der Künste. Was Kant mit dem ästhetischen Urteil begonnen hatte, wurde für den Bereich der Kunst weitergeführt: dessen ausschließliche Okkupation für ästhetische Anstrengungen. Von der Ästhetik erhielt sie das Monopol des überhaupt Ästhetischen zugesprochen bei gleichzeitiger Ausschaltung aller anderen Wirklichkeitsbereiche. Am Übergang von der folgenreichen Kantschen Ästhetik zur Ästhetik des Deutschen Idealismus (beginnend mit dem sog. „Ättesten Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus“) entsteht eine großartige Konzeption ästhetischer Erziehung.

⁶ I. Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Leipzig, o. J., S 62.

Schiller war es, der seine Vorstellungen über die Kunstbündel Schönheit in den Zusammenhang der kulturellen Entwicklung der Menschheit stellte. Die neue Begründung und Ableitung des Schönheitsbegriffs, deduziert aus dem „reinen Begriff der Menschheit“, signalisiert, daß die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Ästhetik und Moral entschieden war. Der Schönheit ist damit eine neuartige Bedeutungsfülle gesichert: Sie gilt nun als eine Existenzweise und als ein Hervorscheinen der Menschheit, der Sittlichkeit selbst, ja sogar als deren Gipfel und höchste Ausprägung, als „Konsummation seiner Menschheit“⁹. Programmatisch bestimmt Schiller Schönheit als Vermittlerin und Zusammenhalt aller historisch und genetisch notwendigen. Vereinseitigungstendenzen menschlicher Kulturentwicklung und macht sie zugleich als Ideal bewußt, dem man sich geschichtlich konkret nur asymptotisch nähern kann. Die schöne menschliche Individualität ist die erste und vornehmste Realisation des Schönen, es wird derart zum Ideal vollendeter Menschlichkeit; dabei ist die schöne menschliche Individualität nur denkbar als Teil eines schönen gesellschaftlichen Ganzen, hieraus vermag sie ihre Substanz zu ziehen. In den „Ästhetischen Briefen“ sind die individuelle und die gesellschaftlich-politische Dimension des Schönheitsbegriffs noch untrennbar verbunden: Als höchste und adäquateste Existenzweise des Schönen erscheint seine gesellschaftlich-politische Realität (in dessen Kunst zum Idealbild einer zukünftigen Republik wird). In der zweiten Großen Abhandlung ändert sich die geschichtsphilosophische Einschätzung der Art und Weise der Umsetzung des Ideals entscheidend: Das Ideal wird nun als in prinzipieller Weise nicht mehr realisierbar qualifiziert, es verliert seinen Charakter als ein praktisch-politisches Ziel und wird zu einer regulativen Idee, die prinzipiell nicht mehr einholbar ist. Der Gehalt des Ideals selbst verändert sich und paßt sich seiner nur ideellen Existenzweise in der Moderne an. Für den „wissenschaftlich prüfenden Leser“ bemerkt Schiller (und hier zeigt sich der orriginelle Kant—Schiller), daß die sentimentalische Poesie kategoriell auf der dritten, nicht auf der zweiten Stufe angesiedelt ist, er bestimmt sie „in ihrem höchsten Begriff gedacht“¹⁰ als eine Verwirklichung des Ideals unter den Bedingungen der Kunst. Allein die Poesie vermag den Prozeß unendlicher Annäherung als das Ideal zu überbieten durch eine Darstellung des erfüllten Ideals, und zwar durch die Idylle: „Der Begriff dieser Idylle ist der Begriff eines völlig aufgelösten Kampfes sowohl in dem einzelnen Menschen, als in der Gesellschaft, einer freien Vereinigung der Neigungen mit dem Gesetze, einer zur höchsten sittlichen Würde hinaufgeläuterten Natur, kurz, er ist kein anderer, als das Ideal der Schönheit, auf das wirkliche Leben angewendet“¹¹.

i Kunst repräsentiert so das Maximum, den Höhepunkt von Geschichte, der auf geschichtliche Weise nicht mehr einholbar ist, die progressive Idyl-

⁹ Fr. Schiller, *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*. In: *Schillers sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig o. J., Band 12, S. 42.

¹⁰ Fr. Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*. In: *Schillers sämtliche Werke*, Band 12, S. 155.

¹¹ Ebenda, S. 154.

le ist nun das „höchste poetische Werk“¹². Mit der Verlagerung der höchsten Realisationsmöglichkeiten des Ideals aus dem Bereich geschichtlichen Handelns in ein ideelles Medium gelangt die Geschichte gleichsam im Medium der Kunst an ihr Ende.

Insgesamt war Schillers Konzeption historisch und utopisch in einem, und er war sich dessen bewußt. Als Kommentar zur nachrevolutionären Entwicklung ist sie auch der Versuch, den realen gesellschaftlichen Widersprüchen zu begegnen, einen kulturellen Raum zu finden, der menschliche Freiheit nicht verkümmern läßt und zu bewahren vermag, und dieser Raum, ist für Schiller in hohem Maße die schöne Kunst. Durch das ganze „Labyrinth der Ästhetik“ führen seine Überlegungen zum Schönen, dabei konzentriert sich die Frage nach dessen Wesen auf die möglichen Beziehungen von im Grunde auseinanderstrebenden Elementen: Vernunft und Sinnlichkeit, Leben und Gestalt, Notwendigkeit und Freiheit, Stoff und Form. Der Doppelcharakter des Schönen — latent seit Baumgarten in der Ästhetik bewußt, von Schiller mit erneuter Bestimmtheit formuliert — begründet zugleich dessen Schwierigkeiten. Die Schönheit ist „Gegenstand für uns“, zugleich aber ist sie ein „Zustand unseres Subjekts“ — Schiller ist so die Gleichzeitigkeit von Objektivität und Subjektivität im Schönen illusionär bewußt, in dieser Bestimmung liegt wohl der Kern seiner theoretischen Leistung. Die Auffassung vom „schönen Schein“ informiert nicht nur über die Unterscheidung von Realität und Schein im kulturhistorischen Zusammenhang, vielmehr wird der Scheincharakter der Welt als ausdrückliche Kulturleistung gewertet. Ästhetischer Schein will weder Realität vertreten noch will er von ihr vertreten werden, nur in seinem Reiche sind die Ideale von Gleichheit und Freiheit realisierbar. Die theoretische Kettung des Schönen an den ästhetischen Schein fängt die Diskrepanz zwischen Wirklichkeit und Ideal auf, macht aber zugleich aufmerksam auf die Brüchigkeit des Begriffs und des Gesamtkonzepts. Ästhetik, beladen mit den Erfahrungen der Französischen Revolution und des bürgerlichen Alltags, muß mehr und mehr auch die aufbrechenden Widersprüche der neuen Gesellschaft in sich aufnehmen, muß zur Kritik an diesen Verhältnissen werden.

Sie wird es bei Schiller vor allem dort, wo die Vermittlung zwischen Schönheit und Realität im ästhetischen Schein nur noch partiell gelingt, wo der utopische Grundzug aber auch umschlägt in einen affirmativen Zungenschlag des sich Einrichtens in die gegebenen Verhältnisse. Ist so auch ein immanentes Versöhnungsparadigma in Schillers Ästhetik nachweisbar, so hat sie doch mächtige Anstöße für die philosophische und weltanschauliche Entwicklung gegeben: 1. indem die Überwindung des Kantischen Dualismus gesucht wird; 2. indem das Schöne vor dem Hintergrund einer umfassenden Epochenkritik inhaltlich bestimmt und ihm von hier aus ein utopischer Gehalt verliehen wird; 3. indem Poesie gerade dort eine Leitbild und Erkenntnisfunktion zugeschrieben wird, wo das metaphysisch-analytisch beschränkte Denken notwendig enden mußte; 4. indem die

¹² Schiller an Humboldt, 30. November 1795. In: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Schiller und Wilhelm von Humboldt*, Berlin 1962, Band 1, S. 243.

ästhetische Reflexion auf die Epochenproblematik bezogen und damit die Historisierung der philosophischen Ästhetik einen entscheidenden Schritt vorangetrieben wird; 5. schließlich ,indem insgesamt in der Einheit von Theorie und Poesie die wesentliche, vorantreibende Problemstellung benannt wird: Geschichte als Widerspruchsbewegung und Poesis als geschichtliches Verhalten in bezug auf diese Bewegung zu denken.

Philosophisches Interesse an der Sinnlichkeit, am Geschmack und Geschmacksurteil, an der Kunst, an der Dialektik ihrer Strukturen und Funktionen ist Reaktion auf eine sich ändernde gesellschaftliche Praxis in Sachen Kunst. Es reflektiert dabei mehrfache theoretische Grenzüberschreitungen: vor allem die Herauslösung des Gegenstandes aus einem Methoden- und Sinnzusammenhang, in dem Wissen innerhalb von Philosophie (die sich dem Prinzip rationalistischen Denkens verpflichtet fühlt) organisiert ist. Rationalistisches Weltverständnis und vernunftzentrierte Philosophie grenzen spezifische Bereiche aus ihrem Interessenfeld aus, derer sich Ästhetik seit Baumgarten als eigenständige Gegenstandsgebiete versichert: Sinn, Sinne, Sinnlichkeit; Singularität und Individualität; Künstler, Kunstwerk, Kunst; Kunst und außerkünstlerische Bereiche.

Zu all diesen Fragen nimmt Hegel prononciert Stellung, im Mittelpunkt seines Denkens über die Kunst steht aber das Problem des Schönen in seiner Geschichtlichkeit. Hegel spricht davon, man müsse das Prinzip einer Wissenschaft in ihrem Gegenstand finden, und er benennt in seinem Programm für die Darstellung des Kunstschönen alle methodologischen Grundsätze, die das System seiner Philosophie ausmachen: die Vermittlung von Empirie und Begriff, die konsequente Historisierung aller Begriffe, deren ideelle Selbstbewegung, die schließliche Identität von Idee und Realität. Für die Analyse des Schönen ergeben sich eine Reihe von Konsequenzen: 1. Der historische Aspekt wird hervorgehoben durch die Überzeugung, „daß die Kunst oder das Schöne ein Resultat von Vorhergehendem sei“¹³ und folglich nur als historisch bedingte und begrenzte Erscheinungsweise der Idee von Bedeutung ist. Im Kunstschönen sind nach Hegel alle wesentlichen Elemente des Kunstprozesses vermittelt bzw. spiegelt die Art und Weise ihrer jeweiligen Vermittlung den geschichtlich sich wandelnden Kunstcharakter. Grundlegende Elemente sind dabei Gehalt und Gestalt, Materie und Idee, deren dialektische Entwicklung sich von der Unangemessenheit, der Vorherrschaft der Gestalt in der symbolischen Kunstform über deren Einheit in der klassischen bis zur erneuten Diskre-

¹³ G. W. F. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, a. a. O., S. 35.

¹⁴ Ebenda, S. 117.

panz unter der Herrschaft des ideellen Moments in der romantischen Kunstform und des letztlich Übergangs der Kunst in ihre eigene Theorie vollzieht. Historisch konkret ist die Phase der Kongruenz nur in der griechischen Klassik. Die historische Bewegung zur Klassik erscheint als Bewegung zum Schönen, die nachklassische Kunst wird Entfernungsbewegung vom Schönen und über die Kunst hinaus — der Gedanke, die Reflexion überflügelt die Kunst. 2. „Das Schöne bestimmt sich . . . als das sinnliche Scheinen der Idee⁴, so definiert Hegel das Kunstschöne näher. Darin ist der dialektische Widerspruch zwischen der Idee und der sinnlichen Gestalt im Moment ihrer größten Annäherung festgehalten; in der sinnlichen Gestalt des Kunstwerkes kommt die Idee zum Scheinen, und dieser Schein ist ihr wesentlich: „. . . der Schein selbst ist dem Schein wesentlich, die Wahrheit wäre nicht, wenn sie nicht schiene und ersiene . . . Den Schein und die Täuschung dieser schlechten, vegänglichen Welt nimmt die Kunst von jenem wahrhaften Gehalt der Erscheinungen fort und gibt ihnen eine höhere, geistgeborene Wirklichkeit“¹⁵.

3. Hegels allgemeine Kunstbestimmung fällt zusammen mit der Bestimmung griechischer Kunst. Hier sah er die Dialektik der geschichtlich auseinandertreibenden Kunstelemente realisiert, zugleich fand er nur in ihr den Zusammenhalt von Wahrheit und Schönheit, nur in ihr kam die Schönheit zu den ihr angemessenen Intentionen. Als allgemein Menschliches schlechthin definiert, hat klassische Schönheit „zu ihrem Inneren die freie, selbständige Bedeutung, die nicht eine Bedeutung von irgend etwas, sondern das sich selbst Bedeutende und damit auch sich selber Deutende. Dies ist das Geistige. . .“¹⁶ Für alle nachklassischen Epochen wird die Zerstörung des dialektischen Gleichgewichts, das Prinzip der Entzweiung, der schließliche Anachronismus der Harmonie konstitutiv, die Schönheit verliert den Wahrheits- und Sinngehalt. Das Bewußtsein über die reale bürgerliche Kultur — und Kunstsituation bedingt den Gehaltswandel des Schönen, seine Entleerung im sozialen und ideologischen Sinne, am deutlichsten dort, wo der Kunst nach der Seite ihrer höchsten Bestimmung hin ihre Funktion unter bürgerlichem Vorzeichen abgesprochen wird. Die Kunst sei in dieser Hinsicht etwas Vergangenes, es sei nur sinnvoll, sich noch theoretisch zu ihr ins Verhältnis zu setzen. Je stärker der Konflikt zwischen Kunstanspruch und realer Abhängigkeit sowie Funktionslosigkeit hervortritt, desto energischer strebt die Theorie der Kunst zu ihrer philosophischen Grundlegung. Insofern ist die Tendenz der Ästhetik in Richtung Kunstphilosophie, die philosophische Untermauerung aller Aussagen über die Schönheit — von Hegel mit letzter Konsequenz vorgetragen — auch Symptom für den zunehmenden Verlust gesellschaftlicher Relevanz der Kunst. Hegel konstatiert die Differenz zwischen dem Schönen und der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung: die Prosa der Welt ist dem Schönen ungünstig. Sein resignatives Resumé lautet: „Nach allen diesen Rücksichten hin gewährt das Individuum in dieser Sphäre nicht den An-

¹⁵ Ebenda, S. 19.

¹⁶ Ebenda, S. 413.

Blick der selbständigen und totalen Lebendigkeit und Freiheit, welche beim Begriff des Scönen zugrunde liegt"¹⁷. Wo die Ästhetik vor Hegel noch weitgehend im Begriff auf die dialektische Vermittlung insistieren konnte, gelingt im Hegelschen System der Zusammenhang nicht mehr von der Sache her, sondern nur noch unter historischem Vorzeichen. Die Hegelsche Ästhetik läßt die Kunst einfach mit der schönen Kunst enden, um die zeitgenössische Wirklichkeit (auch) vor einer sie anprangernden häßlichen Kunst retten zu können: Der schöne Schein der Häßlichkeit bildet die Grenze Hegels ästhetischer Reflexion. Kann aber die häßliche Moderne „Lehrerin der Menschheit“, so wie es der junge Hegel der Poesie prophezeit hatte?

¹⁷ Ebenda, S. 152.

LE THÈME DE LA MER COSMIQUE DANS L'OEUVRE DE SAINT-JOHN PERSE

DORINA ROMAN

ABSTRACT. — *The Theme of Cosmic Sea in Saint-John Perse's Poetry.* This paper shows the manner in which Saint-John Perse imagines the sea as a mirror of Time conceived in its progress and permanence, as a combination of the permanent and the elementary, and a symbol of the unity and permanence of a Being — the Heraclitean Logos or Universal Reason, the foundation of the world. Perse's sea is an allegory the poet employs in order to express the Being's tendency to comprehend the world of things as a whole, his attempt to escape historical time. The Logos-Sea, permanent and unitary and ever-moving, is the voice of the Divinity, the Heraclitean meaning of Universal Wisdom, and the call of the Absolute, figuring a spiritual quest the roots of which are to be found in the Darkness of times immemorial.

On peut déceler dans la poésie de Saint-John Perse une aspiration métaphysique, une tentation de joindre l'humain au divin — sans aucune connotation religieuse — dans une apologie de l'homme, incarné et concentré dans l'ordre cosmique, dans un éloge de l'ardeur à vivre, du désir toujours renouvelé et de la création qui assure la palingénésie du monde. Dans cette perspective, la poésie est un médiateur qui met l'homme en relation avec son „essence”, l'Être, vu comme „souffle originel”¹ et énergie vitale — Logos ou Raison universelle, dans l'acception d'Héraclite — comme perfection indicible dans laquelle tout l'univers de la Parole se trouve résumé, comme puissance spirituelle qui, tout en se situant au-delà de la psychologie individuelle, pousse l'homme vers une intégration à l'ordre cosmique. Le pivot de la réflexion persienne n'est donc qu'une dynamique spirituelle, la force de son impatience, sa vocation d'être la soif qu'il excite, sa quête perpétuelle d'un Au-delà insaisissable.

La poétique persienne repose sur l'idée d'une parfaite concordance entre la destinée humaine et l'ordre universel. Le poète a l'intuition d'un Ordre supérieur qui, d'ailleurs, n'est à confondre avec aucune Divinité, mais qui se manifeste dans l'âme de l'homme comme un besoin impérieux de transcendance. Et le poète de motiver sa propre aspiration à l'Absolu : „La recherche en toute chose du „divin”, qui a été la tension secrète de toute ma vie païenne, et cette intolérance, en toute chose, de la limite humaine, qui continue de croître en moi comme un cancer, ne sauraient m'habiller à rien de plus qu'à mon aspiration [...]. C'est ma vie tout entière qui n'a cessé, simplement, de porter et d'accroître le sentiment tragique de sa frustration spirituelle, aux prises sans orgueil avec le besoin le plus élémentaire d'Absolu”².

¹ S. J. Perse, *Exil, Oeuvres Complètes*, Ed. Gallimard, coll. „Bibliothèque de la Pléiade”, Paris, 1972, p. 130.

² *Ide m*, *Lettre à Paul Claudel*, O. C., pp. 1019—1020.

³ *Ide m*, *Éloges*, IX. O. C., p. 41.

Il est question d'une „intolérance" des limites humaines, d'une griserie de l'espace ouvert, du large — qui nous rappelle le vers de Victor Hugo : „Homme libre, toujours tu chériras la mer!" — d'où, chez Perse, la hantise de la marche et du voyage, et surtout du voyage en mer, suggéré d'abord dans *Éloges*, par le symbole de la voile :

„...et ces clameurs, et ces silences! et ces nouvelles
en voyage et ces messages par marées, ô libations
du jour!... et la présence de la voile, grande âme
malaisée, la voile étrange [...]”³.

D'où encore l'aspiration à embrasser la globalité de l'univers, l'océan des choses, pour employer des termes persiens, „l'humain avec le surhumain, et tout l'espace planétaire avec l'espace universel"⁴, d'où aussi le recours au symbole du nomadisme, en tant que mouvement sans limites et propension à la découverte de l'Être. Le Prodiges et le Pérégrin d'*Exil*, le Numide et l'Étranger d'*Exil* et d'*Amers*, ne sont que les différents avatars du Conquérant d'*Anabase*, l'homme qui ne peut se fixer jamais et nulle part et qui erre à la recherche de cet Être dont il pressent la plénitude et dont il ne peut pas se passer. D'où enfin, le symbole de la mer, remplissant une fonction ontologique privilégiée, puisque, par son *perpetuum mobile*, balancement incessant pareil à une respiration cosmique et par ses déchaînements de forces, elle figure l'Éternité, un mouvement inlassable et créateur qui assure la pérennité du monde. En termes persiens, c'est „impregnation divine"⁵ et „semence de Dieu"⁶, „incessant afflux"⁷. Il s'agit en somme, de toute évidence, d'un humanisme qui prend ses assises sur une phrase résumant forcément la pensée du poète : „...spiritualisme sans objet ni fin religieuse ; où tout, de l'être humain, dans l'impatience de la condition humaine, n'est que vaine irruption et tentative d'effraction au-delà des limites humaines"⁸.

La mer persienne est l'allégorie de l'éternité cosmique, sur le plan cosmologique et sur le plan noologique aussi, le principe de la vie et de la force, la dynamique sans répit de toutes les choses de ce monde en osmose — dans lesquelles se propage le Logos —, voire l'ampleur d'une existence qui par sa plénitude sort du temps historique. Le poète l'envisage non seulement sous son aspect mythique, comme l'assise du monde et de la vie — l'Océan primordial, la Mer des genèses — origine de la Création, source de vie et mouvement débordant de la matière, mais aussi comme le symbole de la quête infinie de l'esprit humain, comme l'image de l'Infini et de l'Éternité. Et cette quête spirituelle qui hante Perse apparaît déjà dans *Anabase* :

⁴ Idem, *Discours de Stockholm*, O. C., p. 445.

⁵ Idem, *Lettre à Paul Claudel*, O. C., p. 1017.

⁶ Idem, *Chant pour un équinoxe*, O. C., p. 432.

⁷ Idem, *Discours de Stockholm*, O. C., p. 446.

⁸ Idem, *Lettre à Paul Claudel*, O. C., p. 1017.

„... ô chercheurs de points d'eau sur l'écorce du monde,
ô chercheurs, ô trouveurs de raisons pour s'en aller
ailleurs..."⁹

pour se développer amplement dans *Exit*, dans *Vents* et dans *Amers*.

Saint-John Perse tend ainsi à donner du relief poétique à un rêve de Bergson : surprendre la durée et le changement dans leur mobilité initiale. Il l'illustre par un argument d'étoffe poétique car, par ses soulèvements et ses contractions, la mer mime les pulsations indéchiffrables de l'Univers, l'essentiel de l'Être promu à l'agir. Même quand elle est calme et rêveuse, „immeuble”, couleur de sédiment"¹⁰, elle laisse voir un mouvement retenu :

„Et toi-même mouvante dans tes agencements d'écaille
et tes vastes mortaises, Mer incessante sous l'armure
et Mer puissance très agile [...]”¹¹

La réflexion ontologique persienne repose donc sur l'appréhension du symbole marin personnifié, image de la permanence et de l'unité de l'Être, propension à la défaite du Temps, à la régénération cyclique de la vie, car, le mouvement du temps chez Perse, c'est le mouvement des eaux qui assurent cette régénération. Et, comme pour renchérir sur l'idée de la palinogénésie du monde, à l'encontre de certaines thèses philosophiques et religieuses qui en prônent la fin, le poète affirme dans son *Discours de Stockholm* : „Les civilisations mûrissantes ne meurent point des affres d'un automne, elles ne font que muer.”¹² Aussi, le poète s'intéresse-t-il au lointain du temps, où passé et avenir se confondent. C'est une tentative de sortir du temps historique, du temps humain, pour embrasser, par la promotion ontologique de la mer, le Temps universel. Ainsi, la mer est-elle chez Perse, en premier lieu, l'image quintessenciée de l'ancienneté du monde et de sa pérennité :

„Ainsi, la Mer vint-elle à nous dans son grand âge
et dans ses grands plissements hercyniens — toute la
mer à son affront de mer, d'un seul tenant et d'une
“seule tranche!”¹³

Métaphoriquement, elle se retrouve dans des images qui mettent en lumière la vieillesse géologique de „l'Ancêtre” : „levée de siècles sous l'écaille” (*Exit*, III), „Mer légendaire de nos pères (*Amers*, III), dont la „majesté terrible” (*Amers*, IV) a marqué toute notre Histoire. Elle exprime ontiquement le „souffle originel” aux vertus remontantes :

”... Toujours il y eut cette clameur, toujours
il y eut cette fureur,

⁹ *Idem*, *Anabase*, I, O. C., p. 94.

¹⁰ *Idem*, *Amers*, IV, O. C., p. 339.

¹¹ *Idem*, *Amers*, *Choeur*, O. C., p. 370.

¹² *Idem*, *Discours de Stockholm*, O. C., p. 446.

¹³ *Idem*, *Amers*, *Invocation*, O. C., p. 265.

Et ce très haut ressac au comble de l'accès,
 toujours, au faite du désir [...]''¹⁴
 „Que voulez-vous encore de moi, ô souffle originel?
 Et vous que pensez-vous encore tirer de ma lèvre vivante [...]''¹⁵.

La prédilection que Saint-John Perse manifeste pour les épithètes „grand”, „vaste”, „immense”, „large”, „haut”. „lointain” et pour des déterminations temporelles et spatiales telles que „toujours” „ailleurs” explique la place privilégiée que la mer occupe dans sa représentation poétique du monde. Ils agrandissent la vision cosmique de la mer et éclaircissent l'aspiration du poète à créer l'image de l'Éternité, de l'absence des limites spatio-temporelles. Rien qu'à la voir et elle donne un aperçu de ce qui existe et a existé depuis toujours. La mer cosmique est „haute transe par le monde” et „rumeur plus vaste par le monde”, „très haut ressac au comble de l'accès” et „grande chose sourde par le monde”¹⁶. Le mouvement même du „regard fixé au large”¹⁷, du regard qui se promène „partout où s'arrondit le vase sans défaut de la mer”¹⁸ et qui attend „le lever du grand vent [...]divisant les nuées”¹⁹ appelle l'image d'une dilatation, d'une expansion que le poète compare dans le poème *Les Cloches* à une musique venue de très loin, „aux sifflements de rives plus lointaines” et à „l'amplification de clameurs sous la mer”²⁰.

Doublé d'un peintre, S.-J. Perse figure aussi le mouvement extensif marin, qui semble conduire à l'Infini, au moyen d'images picturales exprimant la circularité, la croissance, généralement des images arborescentes, dont les plus représentatives sont celle des palétuviers qui „propagent” l'île²¹ „par l'aspect abondant et touffu de leurs racines aériennes suggérant l'espace qui se déplace toujours, et celle du „banyan de la pluie”, dans *Pluies, I*. Ce sont les expressions hyperbolisées des grands arbres de *Vents*²², dont un seul „de haut rang montait déjà des grandes Indes souterraines”, reflet terrestre de l'arbre corallien, ce „polypier hâtif” qui „monte à ses noces de corail dans tout ce lait d'eau vive . . .”²³, comme pour épouser la montée même de la mer.

Dans l'oeuvre persienne, la mer cosmique, envisagée comme une allégorie de l'existence, du mouvement et de la vitalité, voire de la parole qui se propage dans les choses, se définit pour la première fois d'une manière péremptoire dans *Vents*. C'est ici que le poète l'assimile à une femme „visité du dieu” et qui parle „par signes et par intelligence du regard”²⁴, à

¹⁴ *Ide m, Exil, III, O. C., p. 126.*

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ *Ide m, Exil, III, O. C., p. 127.*

¹⁷ *Ide m, Images à Crusoe, Le Livre, O. C., p. 20.*

¹⁸ *Ide m, Ibidem, La Ville, O. C., p. 13.*

¹⁹ *Ide m, Ibidem, Le Livre, O. C., p. 20.*

²⁰ *Ide m, Ibidem, Les Cloches, O. C., p. 11.*

²¹ *Ide m, Ibidem, La Ville, O. C., p. 14.*

²² *Ide m, Vents, IV, O. C., p. 251.*

²³ *Ide m, Pluies, I, O. C., p. 141.*

²⁴ *Ide m, Vents, I, O. C., p. 189.*

une force croissante qui incite „ce grand mouvement des hommes vers l'action”²⁵ et qui domine l'esprit humain :

„Plus vite, plus vite!... jusqu'à la chose elle-même,
jaillissante! la mer elle-même jaillissante! hymne
de force et de splendeur ...”²⁶

En tant que symbole biblique de l'Origine et de l'Éternité, le „souffle” thalassal se laisse percevoir au moyen d'images sonores qui s'étoffent d'un poème à l'autre. Il s'agit de la „mer retentissante” d'Homère, dont parle Pierre Leroux dans *La Grève de Samarez, poème philosophique* (1863) :

„C'était l'heure de la marée, montante. L'île en ce moment devient toute sonore. J'aime cette voix qui s'élève et s'abaisse alternativement comme le flot, mais qui ne s'abaisse jamais au point de discontinuer son éternel murmure. Cette sonorité du rivage me rappelle Homère ou Leibnitz ; le premier qui parle si souvent de la mer retentissante, le second pour qui ce bruit de la mer est une des clefs de la philosophie”²⁷.

Il est intéressant de se rappeler encore une image très pittoresque, et révélatrice dans ce sens, appartenant à Eugène Sue, passionné romancier des mers, qui joint le sonore et le visuel dans une expression de la mer en tant qu'éternité mouvante :

„Écoutez le murmure, sourd et mélancolique de l'Océan ; on dirait le bruit confus d'une grande cité qui s'éveille ; voyez comme les vagues se soulèvent à de longs intervalles et déroulent avec calme leurs immenses anneaux ; quelquefois une mousse blanche et frémissante jaillit du sommet diaphane des deux lames qui se rencontrent, se heurtent, s'élèvent ensemble, et retombent en poussière humide après un léger choc”²⁸.

Chez Saint-John Perse, il ne s'agit pas, tout simplement, du bruit monotone et régulier des vagues, croissant et diminuant comme une respiration et exprimant par cela l'éternité, mais d'une métaphorisation, poussée jusqu'à l'extrême, de la rumeur marine, qui devient Parole poétique, preuve ontologique de l'Être. Ainsi, la mer cosmique apporte-t-elle des messages sonores dans la restitution poétique desquels il y a toute une hiérarchie et qui se transforment en texte poétique.

La mer vient d'abord avec son „frémissement du large”²⁹, son „haléine d'outre monde”³⁰, son „souffle d'un autre âge”³¹ et son „souffle du large”³², pour devenir „vagissement des eaux”³³, „clameur”³⁴ de toujours

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

²⁶ *Idem*, *Vents*, IV, O. C., p. 237.

²⁷ P. Leroux, *La Grève de Samarez, poème philosophique*, 1863, T. II, L. II, p. 10, cité par M. Brosse, dans *La Littérature de la mer en France, en Grande-Bretagne et aux États-Unis* (1829-1870). Tome I-er. Thèse présentée devant l'Université de Paris IV, 1978, p. 172.

²⁸ E. Sue, *Atar-Gull. Publications du Journal Le Siècle*, 1857, I, cité par M. Brosse, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

²⁹ S. J. Perse, *Anabase*, VI, O. C., p. 102.

³⁰ *Idem*, *Poème à l'Étrangère*, III, O. C., p. 171.

³¹ *Idem*, *Pour fêter une enfance*, V, O. C., p. 28.

³² *Idem*, *Chronique*, I, O. C., p. 389.

³³ *Idem*, *Images à Crusocé, La Ville*, O. C., p. 14.

³⁴ *Idem*, *Exil*, III, O. C., p. 127.

et qui ne se taira jamais, „rumeur” pareille à „une insurrection de l’âme”³⁵, „bruit frais de l’autre rive”³⁶ et „bruit soyeux du large”³⁷. Le Poète est l’Écouteur de *Vents*³⁸, dont la destinée s’exhibe dans l’action „d’épier au très lointain des choses ce grondement, toujours, de grandes eaux en marche... ”³⁹ et le moment où le souffle et les bruits de la mer deviennent une „plainte sans mesure”⁴⁰ et une „plainte d’un autre âge”, plainte des vagues et „plainte des coraux”⁴¹, ensuite, parole „proférée” par les vagues⁴². C’est comme une sorte d’incantation qui prend la forme d’un chant des vagues et des conques, dont le Poète est l’interprète ; le Prodiges qui „sous le sel et l’écume de Juin”⁴³ alimente la force secrète de ce chant. Le murmure de la mer cosmique est tellement fascinant que le Poète y entend la musique d’un choeur, des „répons d’or par grandes phrases lumineuses”⁴⁴. La mer est le résonateur qui enregistre le souffle du monde et des siècles, de tant de civilisations disparues.

Envisageant le mouvement, la lumière et le souffle en osmose, comme éléments de la génération et de la régénération de l’Univers, Perse attribue à la Mer, celle qui réalise cette osmose, la valeur de symbole de la création constamment renouvelée, dont l’une des images poétiques est celle de „la même mouette sur son aile, la même mouette sur son aire”⁴⁵, de la ductilité du désir, en tant que poursuite et captation, unité retrouvée dans l’image du dieu Civa, destructeur et générateur de vie. Ainsi, l’univers marin persien est-il gouverné par les lois de l’unité et de l’harmonie, ce qui chez Plotin signifiait l’essence du „beau” :

„Une même loi d’harmonie régit pour lui le monde entier des choses. Rien n’y peut advenir qui par nature excède la mesure de l’homme”⁴⁶.

Il convient d’y ajouter l’expression poétique de cette idée, acclamée par le *Choeur d’Amers*, à propos de la Mer vue comme image de l’osmose des choses :

„Unité retrouvée, présence recouverte! ... C’est la clarté pour nous faite substance, et le plus clair de l’Être mis à jour [...] : l’Être surpris dans son essence...”⁴⁷.

Tout ce qui entre, donc, dans cette poésie d’inspiration marine, dans tout ce qui exprime la mer cosmique persienne, il y a co-existence et unité. Ainsi, les sensations elles-mêmes suscitent des associations nombreuses et surprenantes, vu que la multiplicité fait partie de l’unité. Il y a même

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *I d e m*, *Anabase*, IV, O. C., p. 98.

³⁷ *I d e m*, *Amers*, *Invocation*, O. C., p. 261.

³⁸ *I d e m*, *Vents*, I, O. C., p. 182.

³⁹ *I d e m*, *Vents*, IV, O. C., p. 234.

⁴⁰ *I d e m*, *Exil*, III, O. C., p. 126.

⁴¹ *I d e m*, *Exil*, V, O. C., p. 130.

⁴² *I d e m*, *Exil*, III, O. C., p. 126.

⁴³ *I d e m*, *Exil*, VII, O. C., p. 137.

⁴⁴ *I d e m*, *Amers*, I, O. C., p. 274.

⁴⁵ *I d e m*, *Exil*, III, O. C., p. 126.

⁴⁶ *I d e m*, *Discours de Stockholm*, O. C., p. 446.

⁴⁷ *I d e m*, *Amers*, *Choeur*, O. C., p. 368.

un mariage entre les choses, les êtres et le néant, aspirant tous à se confondre avec la mer :

„Les peuples tirent sur leurs chaînes à ton seul nom de mer, les bêtes tirent sur leur corde à ton seul goût d'herbage et de plantes amères et l'homme appréhendé de mort ...”⁴⁸.

„La mer totale m'entourne”⁴⁹, c'est le monde de l'unité retrouvée, parfaitement assemblé, où chaque élément trouve sa place et sa fonction : l'or et l'iode, le sang et la sève, le lait, l'acide et le sel. Il s'agit encore d'une affinité scientifiquement constatée entre la composition complexe de l'eau de mer et celle des liquides vitaux du corps humain : liquide amniotique, sang, sérum.

„La mer égale m'entourne”⁵⁰, c'est la mer plénière de l'alliance et de la mésentente, incarnation de l'Être dont le changement incessant mène à une perception simultanée de toutes les choses, de leurs rapports, de l'immensité de la durée et de l'espace. Aussi, le poète construit-il ce mouvement à l'aide d'expressions associant des termes contraires : „mesure et démesure”, „anarchique et légale”, etc. Poétiquement, c'est une „hydre de force et de douceur”⁵¹, „de toutes choses instruite et dans toutes choses se taisant”, équilibre et mesure⁵². Et plus encore, cette unité des contraires, ce calme mêlé à l'insoumission, que représente la mer, est placé sous le signe de l'alliance et des épousailles : la mer est „alliance sans retour”⁵³, „alliance consommée” et „collusion parfaite”⁵⁴, „mer plénière d'alliance”⁵⁵ et „Épouse universelle”⁵⁶.

Les êtres et les choses se confondent dans l'existence marine dans un mouvement unique. C'est ce dont le poète donne une belle image dans *Choeur d'Amers* où, par la disposition des noms désignant des humains, des bêtes et des choses, qui se refusent à toute tentative de conciliation, mais que l'imagination du poète réunit dans la même mobilité marine, on débouche de nouveau sur l'idée d'harmonie cosmique :

„...ô Mer [...] serrant du même trait le Maître et la servante, le Riche et l'indigent, le Prince et tous ses hôtes avec les filles de l'intendant, et toute la faune aussi, familière ou sacrée, la hure et le pelage, la corne et le sabot, et l'étalon sauvage avec la biche au rameau d'or ...”⁵⁷.

Certains aspects particuliers de l'étendue mouvante de la mer se détachent pour s'imposer à la conscience poétique persienne. Symbole de l'éternité retrouvée, elle n'est pas moins celui de la puissance et de la vitalité, voire de l'agressivité, ce qui maintient Perse dans le sillage des romantiques, qui en subissaient la séduction, mais aussi l'effroi. Pour Perse, c'est l'image d'une guerrière :

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 375.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, *Amers*, II, O. C., p. 282.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, *Amers*, V, O. C., p. 342.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, *Amers*, IV, O. C., p. 339.

⁵² *Ibidem*, *Amers*, *Choeur*, O. C., p. 380.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 366.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 368.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 374.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

„...Mer incessante sous l'armure et
Mer puissance très agile — ô massive, ô totale — luisante
et courbe sur ta masse, et comme tuméfiée d'orgueil, et
toute martelée du haut ressac de ta faune de guerre /.../,
levée du plus grand Ordre...”⁵⁸.

On y évoque le poids et la solidité de la mer, mais aussi une agressivité spécifique, comme une menace de guerre. Martelée et tuméfiée par le choc qu'elle subit en se heurtant contre les récifs, elle est agrandie par l'image poétique de son armure et de sa „faune de guerre”.

Tout comme les pluies sont comparées à un groupe de religieux rebelles du Moyen Âge, „l'Ordre de Flagellants”⁵⁹, la mer est „levée” d'un grand Ordre guerrier, image qui développe une autre image pareille d'*Exil*, où la mer était „un haut fait d'armes en marche par le monde”⁶⁰. Sa beauté farouche et belliqueuse est encore mieux évoquée dans *Amers* : levée et tumulte, „une armée sans maître, encombrée de devins”⁶¹. Elle y devient aussi une puissance hyperbolisée par l'image de créatures abyssales et fableuses, animaux prédateurs, généralement marins, symboles cynégétiques à grande valeur épique, connotant la force et la vitalité et sous-tendant même une allusion au manichéisme : le python, le serpent de mer, la pieuvre, l'hydre. Dans *Amers* surtout, on trouve encore un nombre d'images greffées sur des termes anatomiques suggérant la puissante respiration marine :

„Tout ce puissant plexus de forces et d'alliances : la mer
ses boucles, ses sphinctères, et son million de bouches
closes sur l'anneau du désir...”⁶².

En tant qu'expression d'un gigantesque rhéisme, la mer persienne est aussi course, soulèvement, jaillissement. L'idée de course incessante et inlassable des vagues, associée à celle de tension, est rendue par des images différentes du point de vue de leur organisation sémantique. C'est tantôt l'image d'un roulement perpétuel des eaux, tantôt celle du glissement sur les eaux de certaines bêtes blanches figurant le bouillonnement et le mou-tonnement de l'écume, tantôt celle d'un cheval qui court et dont les mou-vements évoquent ceux des vagues cabrées. La présence dynamique des eaux est suggérée par tout un agencement insolite d'images : la lune pour-suit sur les eaux : „les loutres blanches de l'enfance”⁶³, „l'étrille de l'athlète court déjà sur l'eau vive”⁶⁴. La mobilité de l'étendue thalassale implique forcément l'idée de soulèvement, dont le poète se sert pour imaginer la respiration cosmique, „cette pulsation très forte et qui tout gagne”⁶⁵. Dans

⁵⁸ *Ide m*, *Amers*, *Choeur*, O. C., p. 370.

⁵⁹ *Ide m*, *Pluies*, VIII, O. C., p. 152.

⁶⁰ *Ide m*, *Exil*, III, O. C., p. 126.

⁶¹ *Ide m*, *Amers*, VI, O. C., p. 351.

⁶² *Ide m*, *Amers*, IX, O. C., p. 339.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 349.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 351.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 358.

Invocation d'Amers, la mer se manifeste par „grands soulèvements et grandes intumescences du langage”⁶⁶. L'image du soulèvement, en tant que mouvement vers le haut, conduit à celle de l'expansion, voire à celle d'une dilatation de l'Être à l'échelle cosmique, associée aux „grandes forces en croissance sur toutes pistes de ce monde”⁶⁷, expression d'une création continue.

Pour conclure sur l'identification de Saint-John Perse à la mer cosmique, il faut souligner qu'elle n'est pas un thème poétique très cher, mais un tropisme congénital du Poète qui se confond à „son afflux de mer”, une fusion totale de sa subjectivité dans l'objectivité du monde.

En la personnifiant dans une extase presque mystique, le poète écrit son nom en majuscules, comme pour mettre en évidence son caractère d'Être suprême, unique par son immensité et sa vivacité, qui exalte l'imagination. Il avoue l'avoir choisie, symboliquement, comme matière de sa poésie, parce qu'elle illustre le mieux possible „la quête errante de l'esprit moderne, aimanté par l'attrait même de son insoumission”⁶⁸.

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⁶⁶ Idem, *Amers, Invocation, O. C.*, p. 266.

⁶⁷ Idem, *Vents, I, 3. O. C.*, p. 183.

⁶⁸ Idem, *Note pour un écrivain suédois sur la thématique d'Amers, O. C.*, p. 570.

DDR-PROSA IN DEN 80er JAHREN. THEMEN, TENDENZEN, BEISPIELE.

REINHARD RÜSLER*

ABSTRACT. — *Prose of the German Democratic Republic in the 80s.* Following introductory remarks on the 10th Writer's Congress of the GDR (1987), the variety and diversity of the literature of the GDR, from the late 60s onwards, is being described through the example of a number of writers' poetic concepts. Then, important writings that are being widely discussed in the GDR, are being presented. It is concluded that the literature of the GDR deals with a series of everyday problems and that, of late, it has had a marked tendency of posing questions concerning humanity and the world.

Vorbemerkung. In der DDR erscheinen pro Jahr mehr als 200 belletristische Neuerscheinungen von Autoren des Landes; Ausführungen über diese Literatur können also nie auf Vollständigkeit aus sein. Beschränkung auf relativ wenige wichtige Autoren und Bücher ist die für den hier vorgelegten Beitrag gewählte Möglichkeit; das Bild muß zwangsläufig lückenhaft bleiben, denn die DDR-Literatur mit allen ihren Stimmen ist interessant und überaus vielfältig.

Es sind also mehr oder weniger unvollständige Bemerkungen zur DDR-Prosa der 80er Jahre, die hier gemacht werden, auf keinen Fall „runde“ Tendenzbeschreibungen. Solche können und sollen nicht versucht werden — einmal aus Gründen, die mit dem oben Gesagten zusammenhängen, zum anderen aber auch deshalb, weil sich der Verfasser einer „diskutierenden“ Literaturwissenschaft verpflichtet fühlt. Über die Gegenwartsliteratur eines Landes sprechen heißt über unabgeschlossene Prozesse sprechen, und das ist immer auch ein Abenteuer. Hermann Kaut hat in seiner Diskussionsrede auf dem XI. Parteitag der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands schön und treffend formuliert, daß Gegenwartsliteratur stets auch Erkundung, ungesicherter Aufstieg in unbekanntes, schwieriges Gelände sei, bei dem der Autor in die Irre gehen, gar abstürzen könne — ein wenig von diesen Gefahren birgt auch literaturwissenschaftliche und rezensorische Beschäftigung mit dieser Literatur.

Nach wenigen Bemerkungen zum X. Schriftstellerkongreß der DDR soll die Vielfalt der DDR-Literatur am Beispiel einiger poetologischer Konzepte verschiedener Autoren angedeutet werden, ein dritter Abschnitt beschäftigt sich mit wichtigen, öffentlich diskutierten Büchern der 80er Jahre.

Beim Nachdenken über aktuelle DDR-Literatur und literarisches Leben in diesem Land kann der X. Schriftstellerkongreß (Ende 1987) nicht übersehen werden. Er war das auffälligste Ereignis im literarischen Leben

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der DDR in den letzten Jahren, und er wird folgenreich sein. Grundfragen der Literatur und Lebensfragen unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft und der Menschheit überhaupt wurden in einer unerhörten (das heißt: bisher so noch nicht gehörten) Offenheit diskutiert; das haben nach dem Kongreß viele der delegierten Autoren als großes, wichtiges Erlebnis für sie beschrieben. Auffällig war, daß der Kongreß nicht auf das Feiern von Erfolgen in der Verbandsarbeit, Auflagenzahlen usw. zielte, sondern ein sehr problemorientierter Kongreß war. Diese Orientierung auf Probleme, aus Unerledigtes, noch zu Leistendes kennzeichnete schon das (wie immer brillante) Referat des Verbandspräsidenten Hermann Kant; sie zog sich durch die meisten Diskussionsbeiträge im Plenum des Kongresses (alle vor laufenden Kameras aus Ost und West), sie beherrschte erst recht die Debatten in den vier Arbeitsgruppen, wo es z. T. scharf, kontrovers zuing. Bei aller Schärfe in den Diskussionen (vor allem in den nichtöffentlichen Arbeitsgruppen) waren sich die Autoren in einer ganz wesentlichen Frage einig: In der DDR existiert ein sozialistisches Gemeinwesen; für dieses Gemeinwesen schreiben die Autoren, zu ihm bekennen sie sich. Schreiben und sich bedeckt halten — so hat das Christoph Hein formuliert — wird als unvereinbar miteinander angesehen. Einen witgehenden Konsens gab es schließlich auch hinsichtlich der Problematik der Offenheit gegenüber Unzulänglichkeiten in der Gesellschaft einschließlich ihres literarischen Lebens. Als Stichwort soll hier nur Dauer und Umfang des Genehmigungsverfahrens für Bücher erwähnt, werden, ein auf dem Kongreß immer wieder angeschnittenes Thema.

Wichtig für das literarische Leben des Landes: All diese Diskussionen sind nachlesbar, Wort für Wort; die beiden 1988 im Aufbau-Verlag erschienenen Protokollbände sind eine erregende Lektüre.

Der Grundkonsens der DDR-Schriftsteller schließt natürlich sehr unterschiedliche literarische Konzepte, unterschiedliches subjektives Funktionsverständnis ein. Hermann Kant hat vor einigen Jahren einen wesentlichen Aspekt der gesellschaftlichen Funktion unserer Literatur angedeutet, als er formulierte, Feiern und Problemnennung gehörten zusammen, seien gleichermaßen wichtig. Das heißt aber eben, nicht daß beides in jedem einzelnen Buch als Einheit anzutreffen sein müßte — nur die DDR-Literatur in ihrer Gesamtheit kann das realisieren. Der Versuch, dies in einem Buch unterzubringen, kann Glätte, Kaschierungen zum Ergebnis haben. Damit ist jedoch letzten Endes niemandem geholfen, weder dem einzelnen Leser noch der Gesellschaft (und auch dem Autor nicht). Seit dem Ende der 60er Jahre ist die DDR-Literatur zunehmend differenzierter, auch aufregender geworden; und man muß eigentlich am Ende der 60er Jahre beginnen, wenn man aktuelle DDR-Literatur vorstellen will. Am Beginn dieser Differenzierungsprozesse stehen Bücher wie Günter de Bruyns *Buridans Esel*, Alfred Wellms *Pause für Wanzka*, Christa Wolfs *Nachdenken über Christa T.* In diesen Romanen — alle 1968 erschienen — wurden Tendenzen sichtbar, die dann in den 70er Jahren unsere Literatur kennzeichneten und die auch noch heute wesentlich sind. Der Alltag verschiedener sozialer Schichten kam ins Bild, z. B. in dem erwähnten Roman

de Bruyns; die Autoren zeigten ein ausgeprägtes Interesse für das Individuum, seine Bedürfnisse, Ziele, Möglichkeiten in der Gesellschaft (wie kann der einzelne schöpferisch handeln in einer Gesellschaft, die doch die Kollektivität auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben hat?). In Christa Wolfs *Nachdenken über Christa T.* und in Alfred Wellms *Pause für Wanzka* werden solche Fragen äußerst zugespitzt behandelt. Diese Romane lösten zur Zeit ihrer Erstveröffentlichung beträchtliche Debatten aus, die nicht selten auch am Kern der Sache vorbeigingen. Und man kann auch nicht sagen, daß alle damals aufgeworfenen Fragen bis zu Ende diskutiert worden sind, schon gar nicht sind sie gelöst. Heute, in den 80er Jahren, sind es Autoren wie Volker Braun, die beharrlich nach den Möglichkeiten des Individuums fragen, dabei auch z.T. ungerechtfertigte Verallgemeinerungen nicht scheuend (die aber produktiv gemacht werden können). Volker Braun in seinem Rimbaud-Essay von 1985 (*Sinn und Form* 5/1985, S. 979): „Die Gesellschaft hat uns in ihre Obhut genommen. Gouvernante, die uns ihre Liebe verbarg. Sie hat uns ferngehalten von der harten Welt. Die Schule — nicht das Leben. Der Glaube — nicht die Widersprüche. Das Kollektiv — nicht die Gemeinsamkeit...“ Und Sigrid Damm (Jahrgang 1940), Autorin zweier in der DDR mit großer Anteilnahme aufgenommenen Bücher über Gestalten aus dem 18. Jahrhundert — Jakob Lenz nämlich und Cornelia Goethe — erklärte in ihrer Dankrede anläßlich der Verleihung des Lion-Feuchtwanger-Preises 1987 in der Akademie der Künste der DDR (*Sinn und Form* 1/1988, S. 247), daß Lenz sie angezogen habe als einer, der „Leute nicht mit Harmonien versorgen“ konnte, als einer, der „Menschen nicht als 'künstliche kleine Maschine', als 'Rad' wollte“; und sie artikuliert in dieser Rede ihre Erfahrung als Generationserfahrung, Volker Brauns eben zitierte Sentenz ähnlich und nicht weniger zugespitzt: „Die Erfahrung meiner Generation, nicht mit den Eigenschaften gebraucht zu werden, die uns wichtig waren, unsere Kräfte nicht gefordert zu sehen. Kein Training daher. Verkümmern. Blaß, farblos. Eine Generation ohne Biographie. Wir wurden einander gleich; Mittelmaß, das sich in Geschäftigkeit verbrauchte...“

Mit dem ausgeprägten schriftstellerischen Interesse für das Individuum hängt die deutliche Ablehnung normierten Lebens, Lebens nach vorgeprägten Mustern zusammen. Unter Kritik gestellt wird solches Leben u.a. in Helga Schültz' Roman *Julia oder Erziehung zum Chorgesang* (1982) und in der überraschenden Prosa von Helga Königsdorf (Prosa-debüt 1978 mit *Meine ungehörigen Träume*). Inzwischen sind von dieser Autorin zwei weitere Bände mit Kurzprosa und das aufsehenerregende Buch *Respektloser Umgang* erschienen; letzteres von Dieter Schlenstedt — Zeitschrift für Germanistik 1/1988, S. 17 — als „poetische Prosa“ gekennzeichnet, Selbsterkundung einer Wissenschaftlerin und Schriftstellerin, Befragung der Situation, in der sich unsere Welt befindet, Frage nach dem Sinn heutigen Lebens. Zwei Frauenschicksale werden miteinander verknüpft. Die Ich-Erzählerin, eine Physikerin, befindet sich in einer Extremsituation. Sie ist unheilbar krank, weiß um diesen Zustand, fürchtet den Verfall ihrer geistigen und körperlichen Kräfte. Resignation und Fatalismus könnten die Folge ihrer schonungslosen Selbstbefragung

sein und bedrohen sie auch. In fiktiven Begegnungen und Gesprächen mit der Atomphysikerin Lise Meitner (1878–1968) — sie hat als Mitarbeiterin Otto Hahns einen wesentlichen Beitrag zu jenen Forschungen geleistet, die zu der folgenreichen Entdeckung der Kernspaltung führten — gewinnt die Erzählerin den Mut zum Leben. In der gedanklichen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Schicksal der Meitner in der Vergangenheit und mit ihrem eigenen in unserer bedrohten Gegenwart wird ihr bewußt, daß die eine Aufgabe zu erfüllen hat. Ihrem Sohn, dem künftigen Physiker, wird sie sagen, daß die Humanität mobilisiert werden muß, geringer lasse es sich nicht machen. Und ihre Erkenntnis wird sie weitergeben, daß der Sinn des Lebens das Leben ist und daß es bewahrt werden muß. Helga Königsdorf plädiert für ein sinnerfülltes Menschsein und fordert von uns Lesern Nachdenken darüber, was wir zur Mobilisierung der Humanität tun können, „weil es zwischen Verantwortung und Mitschuld in Zukunft nichts mehr gibt“. Literatur wie die von Helga Königsdorf Kommunikation mit den Lesern („Schreiben ist maximale Kommunikation“, heißt es in einem Prosatext von ihr). Sie unterbreitet Fragen, legt auch Antwortversuche vor, regt zur Verständigung an, ist ganz und gar subjektiv.

Andere schriftstellerische Konzepte in Stichworten:

Erik Neutsch will mit seinem auf sechs Bände veranschlagten Romanzyklus *Der Fricke im Osten* (vier Bände sind bereits erschienen) eine Chronik vom Werden und Wachsen der DDR und ihrer Erbauer — vor allem seiner eigenen Generation, Neutsch ist Jahrgang 1931 — geben. Er will Stolz auf Erreichtes vermitteln helfen, Geschichte bilanzieren, Probleme und Konflikte der Entwicklung spart er dabei beileibe nicht aus. Leider nimmt Neutchs Erzähler dem Leser allzu viel eigene Arbeit ab, indem er im Stil eines Journalisten ständig historische Erklärungen gibt. In solchen Passagen vertraut der Autor zu wenig der Wirkung seiner Geschichte, da traut er dem Leser einfach zu wenig zu.

Christoph Hein (Jahrgang 1944). — damit wird hier aber nur ein Aspekt seiner Konzeption benannt — geht es auch um die Aufarbeitung von DDR-Geschichte, in dem von Petru Forna ins Rumänische übersetzten Roman *Horns Ende* etwa. Aber Hein nimmt dem Leser gar keine Arbeit ab, im Gegenteil, er macht ihm schwere Arbeit, verlangt einen wachen, einen kritischen Leser. Und er bilanziert weniger die Erfolge, sondern benennt Offengebliebenes, Problematisches.

Volker Braun (Jahrgang 1939) praktiziert in Prosa, Lyrik und Dramatik, was er (in dem schon zitierten Rimbaud-Essay) zugespitzt als Aufgabe von Literatur sieht: „Ernüchterung ist die Arbeit der Literatur. Arbeit gegen die Deckgebirge der Verheißungen, wenn wir uns nicht zu 'Propheten von übermorgen' machen wollen.“ Ihm geht es darum, Glättungen nicht zu dulden, er will das Spannungsverhältnis von Utopie und realer gesellschaftlicher Bewegung sichtbar machen.

Andere Autoren versuchen, mit ihren Texten gegen das Nur-Rationale anzugehen, die Leser mit dem Einsatz phantastischer Mittel sensibler zu machen für sich und die Umwelt. In zunehmendem Maße ist die reiche Literatur für junge Leser durch den Einsatz phantastischer Mittel gekenn-

zeichnet; in der sogenannten Literatur für Erwachsene ist besonders die über die Grenzen der DDR hinaus bekannt gewordene Inmtraud Morgner zu nennen, die eine französische Trobadora in das Berlin von heute holt und gar Hexen auftreten läßt.

Wieder andere Autoren versuchen, mit authentischer, z.T. protokol- larischer Prosa Tabus aufzubrechen und Lebenshilfe zu leisten. Literatur über das Leben mit Behinderten, Berichte über Alkoholranke finden in der DDR ein überaus zahlreiches Lesepublikum. Und „Protokoll-Literatur“ ist nach dem Beginn von Sarah Kirsch (*Die Pantherfrau*, 1973) und dem Riesenerfolg der frühverstorbenen Maxie Wander (*Guten Morgen du Schöne*, 1977) fast schon so etwas wie eine Mode geworden. Folgenreich für die Literatur der DDR wurde die Maxime, der M. Wander mit ihren Proto- kollen über Frauenschicksale in unserem Land gefolgt ist, die Maxime nämlich, daß jedes Leben hinreichend interessant sei, um anderen mitge- teilt zu werden.

Christa Wolf schließlich verfolgte in den letzten Jahren ein individuelles schriftstellerisches Konzept, für das sie selbst die Formulierung von der subjektiven Authentizität gebraucht hat. In diesem Konzept ist die Wahr- haftigkeit des Autors der entscheidende Faktor für die Glaubwürdigkeit fiktionaler Prosa,

Wo anfangen, wo aufhören, wenn man über wichtige Bücher der 80er Jahre in der DDR sprechen will? Die Auswahl wird doch recht persönlich sein, die ist gedacht als Anregung. Genannt werden vor allem Bücher, die eine breitere öffentliche Resonanz gefunden haben.

In Darstellungen zur neueren DDR-Literatur wird immer wieder Christa Wolf (Interview von 1983, abgedruckt in *Die Dimension des Au- tors*, Bd. 2, S. 481 ff.) zitiert, die dort ihr Gefühl artikulierte, von den Le- sern gebraucht zu werden und ebenso feststellte, daß „Literatur, wenn sie diesen Namen verdient, das heißt, wenn sie gewohnte Denkgrenzen überschreitet, sehr unbequem“ sein und das Publikum spalten kann. Letz- teres ist in der DDR geschehen, die Leserschaft ist gespalten, und nicht jeder Autor schreibt für jeden Leser bzw. für alle Leser. In seinem viel- diskutierten *Hinze-Kunze-Roman* (1985) läßt Volker Braun eine Litera- turwissenschaftlerin mit dem sprechenden Namen Messerle auftreten, die sein Erzähler so charakterisiert: „Sie konnte nicht genug gleichartige Bü- cher bekommen, musterhafte, sie stellte sie vermutlich im Wohnzimmer nebeneinander, eine sichere Bastion gegen die unzuverlässige Wirklichkeit. /.../ Hätte sich der Autor, fuhr Frau Prof. Messerle fort, an das gehalten, was wir gesagt haben, immer wieder gesagt haben, immer und immer wie- derholt haben in unseren Modezeitschriften, hätte er einmal die Strick- vorlagen angesehen!“ Der Hieb richtet sich gegen eine nicht-diskutierende Literaturwissenschaft, das ist klar, und er richtet sich gegen Literatur, die nach Strickmustern, nach Vorlagen geschrieben wird statt der Realität auf den Fersen zu sein. Solche Bücher gibt es noch, ohne Zweifel, und Vol- ker Braun maskiert seine Attacke auch kaum, läßt deutlich erkennen, wen er im Auge hat bei seinem ironischen Geplänkel (es ist der Autor Dieter Noll und sein Roman *Kippenberg*), aufs ganze gesehen ist jedoch die am

Ende der 60er Jahre einsetzende kräftige Differenzierung innerhalb der DDR-Literatur heute noch deutlicher zu erkennen. Die Art und Weise des Erzählens ist vielfältig wie wohl nie zuvor in der DDR-Literatur.

Da ist zum Beispiel Erwin Strittmatters Roman *Der Laden* (Band 1: 1983; Band 2: 1987), der höchstes Lob bei der Fachkritik fand und den die Leser mit nahezu einhelliger Zustimmung aufgenommen haben. Es ist dies ein Roman vom individuellen Gewordensein, ein Roman, in dem Entwicklung nacherlebbar gemacht wird. Erzählt wird hier von der Entwicklung des Jungen Esau Matt in den zwanziger Jahren im Sorbischen und über den Schriftsteller Erwin Strittmatter und sein Gewordensein durch alle Probleme und Kämpfe hindurch; mit großer Fabulierfreude erzählte Kindheit und zum Nach- und Mitdenken zwingende Reflexion über unsere Gegenwart bilden die beiden wichtigen Ebenen dieses Buches. Und der Erfolg dieses bedeutenden Alterswerkes eines wesentlichen DDR-Autors hängt wohl damit zusammen, daß Strittmatter, wie er im *Laden* selbst sagt, erzählt, was nur er erzählen kann, und nicht, was er möglicherweise erzählen sollte; daß er aufschreibt, was er denkt, fühlt, sieht, und nicht, was er vielleicht denken, fühlen, sehen sollte. Die Reflexionsebene des Romans ist von Strittmatters Haltung geprägt, nicht belehren zu wollen, sondern seine Erfahrungen weiterzugeben, auf daß er Leser zusehe, was er damit anfangen kann. Die Ebene der erzählten Kindheit (und im 2. Band der beginnenden Jugend) lebt von der tiefen Poesie dieses Erzählens. Die Welt wird mit den Augen des (zu Beginn siebenjährigen) Jungen gesehen, er entdeckt seine Familie und mit ihr die Welt in ihren Widersprüchen, und er beginnt, seinen Platz darin zu suchen. Der Erzählgestus dieses Romans ist von der Haltung bestimmt, die Strittmatter in einem sehr schönen, nachdenklich stimmenden Satz zum Ausdruck gebracht hat: „Der Sinn meines Lebens scheint mir darin zu bestehen, hinter den Sinn meines Lebens zu kommen.“ Dahinter steht des Autors Überzeugung vom Wert des einzelnen Lebens und von der Wichtigkeit der individuellen Sicht auf die Welt. Daher kommt in dieser Prosa die Genauigkeit des Erzählens, der große Atem, das Authentische. Eine wahre Fundgrube ist der *Laden* hinsichtlich der Sprachbereicherung durch eine Fülle okkasioneller Wortschöpfungen (z.B. Gemöbel; rüchige Stoffabfälle; eine angebrauchte, in Geld eingefaßte Magd). Strittmatters *Laden* ist ein so überzeugendes Buch, weil hier ein Autor vernehmlich „Ich“ sagt, ohne dabei etwa laut oder aufdringlich zu wirken.

1985 überraschte ein Autor Kritiker und Leser mit meisterhafter kurzer Prosa, den man bis dahin als Filmszenaristen und Hörspielautor kannte: Günther Rucker (Jahrgang 1924). Rucker bietet Texte voller sinnlich-konkreten Erzählens (2 Bände erschienen in kurzer Folge, *Herr v. Oe./Hilde das Dienstmädchen* — 1985 — der eine, *Anton Popper und andere Erzählungen* — 1986 — der zweite). Geschichten werden erzählt, die z.T. weit in die Vergangenheit zurückreichen, dabei ist wohl viel Familiengeschichte, Selbsterlebtes. Immer werden Geschichten von Menschen erzählt, die Texte kommen ohne besondere Reflexionsebene aus. Es geht um Leben und Tod, und es sind anrührende, zu Herzen gehende Geschichten, die Rucker erzählt. Diese Prosa ist überaus dicht, und der Autor kommt

ohne jede historische oder zeitgeschichtliche Erklärungen aus, so weit seine Geschichten doch in die Vergangenheit zurückreichen und wieviel Weltgeschichte des 19. und des 20. Jahrhunderts sie enthalten (die erzählten Schicksale reichen zurück ins 19. Jahrhundert und die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie — Rücker selbst ist böhmischer Herkunft — ; der furchtbare 2. Weltkrieg und die Entwicklung bis heute bildet den Hintergrund einiger Geschichten). Freilich verlangen Rückers Texte einen mündigen, wissenden Leser. Diesem helfen sie, Geschichtsbewußtsein zu entwickeln, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart — auch und besonders die eigene — zu befragen, nach einem sinnvollen Leben zu streben. Und vor allem erzählt Günther Rücker Geschichten gegen das Vergessen ; solche Geschichten brauchen wir nötig.

Wichtige Bücher sind in den 80er Jahren von Hermann Kant gekommen : seine Kurzprosa-Bände *Der dritte Nagel* (1981) und *Bronzezeit* (1986) sowie der brillante Text *Die Summe. Eine Begebenheit* (1988). Die Titelgeschichte des erstgenannten Bandes und alle Texte des Bandes *Bronzezeit* haben einen mit Kantscher Sprachgewalt ausgestatteten Ich-Erzähler — den Buchhalter Farßmann. Unter Kritik stehen in den Farßmann-Geschichten ärgerliche Zustände in unserer Gesellschaft, dem Sozialismus, nicht angemessene unwürdige Verhaltensweisen, Konsumdenken. Entscheidend für Reiz und Wirkung der Texte ist ihre Erzählweise. Allesamt sind das nämlich, um es mit Worten Farßmanns zu sagen, „verfächter Geschichten“, manches „Rededelta“ tut sich auf und will erschlossen werden, manche „Trällerschleife“ regt den Leser an, genauer hinzusehen und hinter dem, was da spaßhaft, ironisch, wortfunkelnd, aber auch satirisch und z. T. sarkastisch daherkommt, die Kritik an ärgerlichen Erscheinungen zu entdecken.

Im *Dritten Nagel* geriet Farßmann, um zu den täglich erwünschten frischen Brötchen zu kommen, in einen Kreislauf, in dem man etwas zu bieten haben mußte, um etwas anderes zu bekommen. Und er stand, wie man sich denken kann, am Ende ohne die frischen Brötchen da. In den Geschichten des Bandes *Bronzezeit* spannt Kant den Bogen vom ganz privaten Bereich (*Das Wesen des L.*) bis zur „Geldgeschichte für das Vaterland“, als welche dem Buchhalter Farßmann *Die Sache Osbar* erläutert wird, in der wir teilhaben an dessen Bemühungen, im Auftrage eines in der DDR nicht eben unwichtigen Rechtsanwaltes mormonische Dollarströme aus der Gegend des Großen Salzsees im Staate Utah in den USA nach Berlin zu lenken. Und wir lesen, um noch eine Geschichte zu erwähnen, von der Entdeckung und Wiederaufstellung eines bronzenen Großen Reiters in Berlin, der für kurze Zeit in Gefahr gerät, eingeschmolzen zu werden zum Zwecke der Produktion exportfähiger Orden (*Bronzezeit*). Diese Geschichte über die „Neue Unbefangenheit“ gewissen Gestalten unserer Vergangenheit gegenüber ist ein Musterbeispiel Kantscher Erzählkunst und Fabulierfreude, und Buchhalter Farßmann genießt die volle Sympathie des Lesers. In der ersten Geschichte des Bandes *Bronzezeit* (PLEXA) betont Farßmann, er mache keine Ereignisse, sondern trage sie nur ein. Das stimmt und stimmt auch wieder nicht, denn, um mit Thomas Mann zu sprechen — nicht jede Geschichte geschieht jedem, und Farßmann ist ja auch Han-

defunder, er macht sich seine Gedanken, kommentiert, stellt Fragen. Genau das wird vom Leser gefordert, und an ihm ist es, eigene Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen.

Die Summe ist Hermann Kants Reaktion auf die von G. Grass auf dem Budapester Kulturforum vorgetragene Idee, eine gemeinsame europäische Kulturstiftung zu schaffen und derart den Politikern zu zeigen, wie unter dem Dach einer einigenden europäischen Kultur (unter Einfluß freilich der USA und Kanadas als KSZE-Mächte) alle Gegensätze verschwinden könnten. In Verfolg dieser Idee wird nun — wieder in Budapest — in Kants Buch eine Konferenz mit 35 Staatsdarstellern simuliert, die diese gemeinsame Kulturstiftung vorbereiten sollen. Man kann sich vorstellen, wie es da zugeht; die Probleme und Schwierigkeiten nehmen kein Ende. Mit diesem Buch hat Hermann Kant Prosa vorgelegt, die sich einmischt in die großen, weltbewegenden Prozesse, in die Politik; Prosa, die Schwierigkeiten nicht verschweigt und doch eben auch Wege andeutet, wie wir im gemeinsamen „Haus Europa“ mitsamt der Gäste, die sich einquartiert haben (USA, Kanada als KSZE-Mächte), leben können, ohne die Gegensätze unter den Tisch zu kehren. Kant leistet damit in gewissem Sinne so etwas wie „literarische Friedensforschung“, wie sie Christa Wolf will, sie freilich auf ganz und gar andere Art und Weise. Ironie, Wortspiel, Spaß gibt es bei ihr nicht; ihr Erzählgestus ist ernst, manchmal bitter. Hier sollen nur zwei Bücher dieser Autorin aus den 80er Jahren genannt werden: *Kassandra. Vier Vorlesungen. Eine Erzählung* (1983) und *Störfall. Nachrichten eines Tages* (1987), geschrieben nach dem Reaktorunglück in Tschernobyl in sehr kurzer Zeit und sehr schnell auch den Lesern zugänglich gemacht. Beide Bücher sind Belege dafür, daß in den 80er Jahren auch die „Welthaltigkeit“ der DDR-Literatur größer geworden ist.

Kassandra: Faszinierend zu lesen in den vier Vorlesungen, wie diese Gestalt von Christa Wolf Besitz ergreift, faszinierend dieses öffentliche Nachdenken einer großen Schriftstellerin über die Möglichkeiten, Chancen, Bedrohungen heutigen Schreibens. Hervorragende Prosa dann die Erzählung. Im Angesicht des Todes erinnert *Kassandra* ihr Leben, fragt nach Möglichkeiten anderen Lebens. Ein Buch gegen alle trojanischen Kriege; ernsthaft, zugespitzt in den Fragen und Argumenten, 1983 in der DDR durchaus nicht unumstritten. Kurze Zeit später bestätigten die überaus weit reichenden Abrüstungsvorschläge der Sowjetunion und anderer sozialistischer Staaten in vielem Christa Wolfs Gedanken.

Viele Schichten gilt es in diesem Buch zu erschließen — das Mythologische und Christa Wolfs sehr kritischen Umgang mit dem Mythos und den Figuren dieses Mythos („Achill das Vieh“!), den Versuch der Autorin, die *Kassandra*-Figur aus dem Mythos in die (gedächten) sozialen und historischen Koordinaten zurückzuführen, das überaus gegenwärtige dieser Frauengestalt, die es ablehnt, sich zum Objekt machen zu lassen, die dafür lebt und das Recht beansprucht, wirklich sie selbst zu sein. Eine Frau, die mit ihrer eigenen Stimme sprechen will, sprechen muß. Und man spürt, wie hier Christa Wolf mit ihrer Stimme spricht.

Störfall: Ein Text tiefster Betroffenheit. Christa Wolf hat zur Sprache gebracht, was sehr viele in jenen Tagen bewegte, sie hat sich nicht gescheut,

alle ihre Ängste, Zweifel, Befürchtungen öffentlich zu machen, der große Ernst dieser authentischen Prosa ist anrührend. Umso mehr deshalb, weil Christa Wolf ja zwei Linien verfolgt: Ihre Ich-Erzählerin hört die „Nachrichten eines Tages“, die sie ganz persönlich betreffen — jene aus Tschernobyl (wobei dieser Name nicht genannt wird) in Rundfunk und Fernsehen, und sie empfängt Nachrichten aus der Klinik, in der sich ihr Bruder gerade an diesem Tage einer gefährlichen Hirnoperation unterziehen muß. Im Zwiegespräch mit diesem räumlich von ihr entfernten Menschen artikuliert sie ihre Fragen und Ängste. Eine der Fragen, die sich auch dem Leser nachdrücklich mitteilt ist die, wie wir alle im Schatten solcher Gefahren leben.

In einem der vielen Beiträge zu Christa Wolfs 60. Geburtstag ist zu lesen: „Christa Wolf ist uns seit *Nachdenken über Christa T.* immer ein Stück voraus gewesen. Der Künstler als Seismograph — auf sie trifft dieses Wort zu wie selten“ (Karin Hirdina in *Weimarer Beiträge* 3/1989, S. 472). Dem ist hier nichts hinzuzufügen.

Zu den heiß diskutierten Büchern der 80er Jahre in der DDR gehört Volker Brauns *Hinze-Kunze-Roman* (1985). Da ist nichts von sinnlich-konkretem Erzählen; hier wird von einem gedanklichen Prinzip aus erzählt. Spielerisch geht Braun mit mancherlei literarischen Vorbildern um, der Text ist voller Zitate, Eigenzitate. Das Figurenpaar Hinze und Kunze hat der Autor diesmal in die Tradition von Diderots *Jaques der Fatalist und sein Herr* gestellt (früher hat er mit Hinze und Kunze die Faust-Mephisto-Konstellation benutzt). Sitzen Diderots Helden zu Pferde, so fahren die Volker Brauns zeitgemäß mit dem Auto: Hinze ist der Kraftfahrer, Kunze ein hoher Funktionär. Er bestimmt, wohin wann gefahren wird. Hinze führt das aus. Gern übrigens, wie sich zeigt, er begehrt, eigentlich gegen sein Los nicht auf. Die Verwendung der Herr-Knecht-Konstellation hat in der Literaturkritik der DDR zu beträchtlichen Kontroversen geführt und auch zu Mißverständnissen. Man sollte aber sehen: Zunächst einmal wird mit der Herr-Knecht-Konstellation eine literarische Tradition aufgenommen. Aber natürlich wird mit diesem Verhältnis auch ein Zentralproblem gesellschaftlicher Relationen angepackt — Selbständigkeit/Unselbständigkeit, Leiten/geleitet werden. Die Frage, wie es seine beiden Helden miteinander aushalten, spitzt Braun aufs äußerste zu, wobei er vielfältige literarische Mittel einsetzt (Dialoge wie auf dem Theater, Monologe, Erzählerrede, der Autor selbst tritt auf und mischt sich ein). „Viele offene Fragen unserer Gesellschaft, unseres Alltags, der Produktion werden aufgegriffen — überaus zugespitzt, ohne jeden Hang zur Harmonisierung, im Sinne der schon zitierten Maxime Volker Brauns, daß Ernüchterung die Arbeit der Literatur sei. Brauns Texte lassen keinem die Chance, sich aus dem, was da verhandelt wird, herauszuhalten — darin unter anderem liegt ihre beachtliche Wirksamkeit.“

Zu den wichtigen Büchern der letzten Jahre gehören die, in denen Wertvorstellungen unseres heutigen Lebens über literarische Figuren vermittelt werden, die alt bzw. sehr alt sind. Hervorragend hier Jurij Brezans ergreifender Roman *Bild des Vaters* (1983). In diesem Buch werden „historisch gewachsene Wertvorstellungen als erstrebenswert für gegen-

wärtige Haltungen und Lebenseinstellungen anempfohlen" (H. Kaufmann in *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 1/1985, S. 22). Und auffällig ist, daß Brezan in diesem Buch eines besonders betont: sein alter Mann ist ein einfacher Mann. Zitat aus dem Epilog: „Er war ein Mann gewesen ohne Amt und Würden, ohne Einfluß und Vermögen und hervorgehoben durch nichts als das eigene Leben.“ Nur dieses Leben mit seinen reichen und eben, einmaligen Erfahrungen hat er als Erbe zu vergeben an Kinder, Enkel und auch schon Urenkel, und des Autors Sorge ist, ob wir bereit sein werden, solches Erbe anzunehmen, also nicht nur auf das Materielle aus sind und eben auf Ämter und Würden. Als Motto hat Jurij Brezan dem Roman die Frage vorangestellt, was das denn sei — in Würde durch das Leben gehen. Es ist dies eine wichtige und hoffentlich viele Menschen beunruhigende Frage.

Eines der umstrittensten Bücher der DDR in den 80er Jahren war Christoph Heins Nouvelle *Der fremde Freund* (1983). Sie war und ist dies z.T. heute noch vor allem wegen ihrer Erzählweise, vor allem dann, wenn Leser in der Literatur stets Identifikationsfiguren erwarten oder gar fordern. Heins Heldin, die vierzigjährige Ärztin Claudia, reflektiert in diesem Buch über den unsinnigen Tod des ihr fremd gebliebenen Freundes und auch über ihr Leben in der Gesellschaft, ihr Zusammenleben mit Kollegen, ihr Verhältnis zu den Eltern usw. Bild von der (DDR-) Wirklichkeit und Figurenperspektive sind eins, kein Erzählerkommentar hilft verwirrten Lesern, auch keine der anderen literarischen Figuren tut das. Und da Claudias Perspektive die einer vom Leben enttäuschten Frau ist, mußte es förmlich zu Irritationen kommen. Diesen Text muß man sehr genau lesen, dann sieht man, daß das Bild, welches Claudia von sich gibt (Ich bin zufrieden; mir geht es gut), brüchig und überaus widerspruchsvoll ist. Sie redet sich ein, daß es ihr gut gehe, sie verdrängt, anstatt zu bewältigen. Hein liefert mit dieser Geschichte ein Warnbild, und er stellt auch an die Gesellschaft Fragen. Christoph Hein selbst hat sinngemäß so formuliert, daß doch eigentlich jedes Wort dieser Frau ein Aufschrei ist — aber niemand hört ihn.

Letztes Beispiel: Alfred Wellms 1987 veröffentlichter großer Roman *Morisco*. Das ist ein ungewöhnliches Buch in Anspruch und Realisierung — der behandelten Grundfragen unseres Lebens wegen ebenso wie auf Grund der Art und Weise, in der Wellm dies erzählt. Es ist kein Buch für Freunde linear erzählter Geschichten mit spannender Handlung, sondern eher Lesestoff für Nachdenkliche, für Leute, die von Literatur Anstöße für eigenes Denken und Überlegen erwarten. Zudem ist der Roman angefüllt mit DDR-Alltag aus einem Lebensbereich, der wohl keinem Leser gleichgültig ist: dem Wohnungsbau. Wellms Held Andreas Lenk ist Architekt. Auf eine wissenschaftliche Laufbahn nach dem Studium hat er verzichtet, weil er lieber Wohnungen bauen will. Er wird Bauleiter in einem riesigen Neubaugebiet. Mancherlei Umstände tragen zu einem raschen beruflichen Aufstieg bei, Chefarchitekt und Ehrendoktor der Bauakademie sind gar keine fernen Stationen mehr — doch das alles erfährt der Leser erst später. Zunächst lernt er Lenk als Leiter einer kleinen Restaurierungsbrigade in einem Renaissanceschloß im Norden der DDR kennen. Der

erfolgreiche und hoch gelobte Architekt hat seine Karriere von sich aus beendet, will neu anfangen. Lenk ist auch der Ich-Erzähler dieses kunstvoll gebauten Romans. Von einem späteren Zeitpunkt aus erzählt er von einem ungewöhnlichen Sommer in dem Schloß. In jenem Sommer hat er dem schweigsamen Kollegen Matthias seine Geschichte erzählt. Studium, Utopien, Pläne fürs Leben, beruflicher Aufstieg und krisenhafte Ehe mit Anna; Scheidung, schmerzvoller Abschied von den Söhnen. Und er hat erzählt von den Städten Helianthea I und II, die er auf dem Reißbrett entworfen hat als Träume von der menschenfreundlichen und menschenwürdigen Stadt der Zukunft. Alfred Wellm erzählt davon, wie ein Mensch nach und nach eingepaßt und angepaßt wird. Lenk wird bewußt, daß er immer zugestimmt hat, sobald er begriffen hatte, was man von ihm erwartete. Allmählich erst wird ihm bewußt, daß er damit sein Menschsein überhaupt aufs Spiel gesetzt hat. Im Roman gibt es einen Erzählstrang, der von der Dressur des Hengstes Morisco handelt. Die von Lenk zunächst so bewunderte feinfühligke Art des Pferdepflegers, mit dem Tier umzugehen läuft darauf hinaus, ihn zu kastrieren. Und man kann wohl auch Lenks Geschichte als die Geschichte einer Dressur lesen. Aber: Lenk gelingt es auszubringen, er findet noch die Kraft dazu. In der Einsamkeit des alten Schlosses findet er zu sich selbst zurück; Einsamkeit erscheint hier als Lebensnotwendigkeit, als „Notbremse“ (K. Hirdina). Beeindruckend ist in diesem Roman auch der Einsatz phantastischer Mittel. Für Andreas Lenk belebt sich das alte Schloß, in dem er nachts allein ist, mit Menschen der Renaissance. Er selbst wird einer von ihnen und beobachtet sich dabei. Sich frei in den Jahrhunderten bewegend, versucht er seinen Platz in der Zeit genauer zu bestimmen. Wie es Alfred Wellm gelingt, Realität und Vision, Vergangenes, Gegenwärtiges und Zukünftiges ins Verhältnis zu setzen, das weist ihn als Erzähler von Rang aus.

Abschließend läßt sich sagen: DDR-Literatur der 80er Jahre ist kritische Literatur hinsichtlich vieler Probleme und Fragen unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft — bei dem eingangs erwähnten Grundkonsens. DDR-Literatur dieser Jahre mischt sich ein in viele Fragen unseres Alltags und ist dabei alles andere als bequem, und es ist eine Literatur die sich auch verstärkt Welt- und Menschheitsfragen (H. Kaufmann) zuwendet.

VARIA

EXPRESII FOLCLORICE ALE ATITUDINII ȚĂRANULUI ROMÂN FAȚĂ DE DIVINITATE*

DUMITRU POP

ABSTRACT. — Folk Expressions Indicating the Romanian Peasant's Attitude Towards the Divinity. The present paper represents the text of a lecture given by the author on June 1, 1983. At that time it could not be published. Unlike many other European peoples that were christinized *officially through the authority of the state at a certain time, the Romanian people was born christian.* The christian religion was accepted of its own accord, penetrating the deepest layers of the people. It is such facts that account for the characteristic features of the Romanian variety of christianity, captured in the phrase „cosmic”, „popular” or „peasant” christianity, representing the object of investigation for many famous scholars. However, they could not exhaust the question. The author tackles again the notion of „popular christianity”, clearing up some points and then he proceeds to discuss „Folk expressions indicative of the Romanian peasant's attitude towards the Divinity.

Față de manifestările stingiste ale unor naivi slujitori ai vremurilor noi și ai ideii de ateism, care în zelul lor se străduiesc să radieze nu numai din textele mai vechi, ci chiar și din vocabularul de toate zilele orice cuvânt, orice termen de rezonanță religioasă creștină, față de asemenea manifestări, zic, trebuie să subliniem cu toată tăria unul din adevărurile asupra cărora nu există astăzi nici un fel de îndoială: că, spre deosebire, de multe alte popoare europene, vecine sau mai îndepărtate, poporul român a fost dintotdeauna creștin, că s-a născut creștin; și e foarte bine că s-a întimplat să fie astfel; că noua credință religioasă a ajuns de timpuriu pe aceste locuri, românii numărându-se printre cele mai vechi popoare creștine de pe continent. Faptul îl dovedește cu prisosință terminologia creștină de bază (*biserică* < *basilica*; *Dumnezeu* < *dominus* + *deus*; *lege* (= *credință*) < *legem*; *cruce* < *crucem* etc.), care este la noi de origine latină, dar și o seamă de mărturii arheologice și istorice.

Mai mult decât atita: spre deosebire de alte popoare, la care creștinismul a fost adoptat mai târziu cu patru-șase secole și a fost adoptat la o anume dată¹ și în mod oficial, așadar de către autoritatea de stat și de clasa dominantă, care l-au impus maselor poporului, împreună cu formele de organizare și cu ierarhia bisericească, la noi încreștinarea a avut un caracter democratic. Noua religie a pătruns treptat, fiind acceptată benevol și a pătruns anume de la început în straturile adânci ale poporului, prin misionari veniți din sudul Dunării, acolo unde stăpînirea romană continua să reziste valurilor popoarelor migratoare. În spațiul carpato-dunărean procesul acesta a început în secolul al IV-lea, cu unul-două secole mai târziu

* Articolul de față reprezintă textul unei conferințe ținute în cadrul Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare din Cluj, în ziua de 1 iunie 1983

¹ Englezii au adoptat creștinismul în sec. al VIII-lea, germanii, în anul 800, bulgarii, în 864, polonii, în anul 960, rușii, în 988, iar ungurii în 1000.

decît în regiunile vestice ale Imperiului roman (Franța, sec. II, Spania, sec. III), dar, oricum, s-a produs înainte ca etapa principală a formării poporului român să se fi încheiat. Astfel, pe teritoriul Dobrogei au fost descoperite peste douăzeci de basilici paleocreștine; tot acolo existau trei episcopate (Durostorum, Histria, Callatis) și o mitropolie (Tomis); alte izvoare atestă pătrunderea creștinismului în sudul Munteniei și Olteniei; din același secol, al IV-lea, datează o inscripție descoperită la Biertan, lângă Mediaș, care atestă prezența unei comunități creștine de limbă latină². Cu excepția Dobrogei, nu există însă în această perioadă o ierarhie bisericească bine stabilită.

Dacă am amintit toate aceste lucruri, am făcut-o nu cu scopul de-a sublinia protocronismul nostru în materie de creștinism, primordialitatea poporului român în adoptarea acestuia față de alte popoare, și deci, angajarea lui mai timpurie pe treptele unei culturi religioase superioare celei politeiste existente înainte. Am făcut-o cu scopul de-a înțelege mai bine una din trăsăturile proprii — cel puțin ca nuanță — ale variantei românești a creștinismului, trăsătură care, așa cum vom vedea, s-a răsfrînt generos în mentalitatea poporului nostru, și de aici, în creația lui folclorică, ajungînd, în special pe această cale, pînă în zilele noastre. Pornind de la aceste răsfrîngeri folclorice, vom înțelege mai bine nu numai notele specifice pe care le-a înregistrat creștinismul în viața istorică, concretă, a poporului nostru³, ci și adîncimea la care s-a realizat acest „creștinism cosmic”, „popular” sau „țărănesc”, despre care s-a vorbit la noi, cu perfectă îndreptățire, de către învățați de talia lui Lucian Blaga, Mircea Eliade, Nichifor Crainic, Henri Stahl⁴ ș.a., fără ca problema să fie însă nici pe departe epuizată.

Noțiunea de „creștinism cosmic”, „popular”, „țărănesc” sau cea de „teologii populare”, care pot fi aplicate, cu oarecare bunăvoință în studiul tuturor variantelor naționale ale creștinismului (variantele naționale constituind și ele o problemă reală, dar neabordată pînă acum în bibliografia internațională de specialitate) sînt valabile îndeosebi în cazul popoarelor ortodoxe din sud-estul Europei, între care și poporul român.

Învățați de prestigiu mondial⁵ au demonstrat, încă mai demult, că o parte însemnată din textul Bibliei, mai ales din vechiul Testament, își are izvorul în creația folclorică și că în multe din elementele ei fundamentale însăși religia creștină e mitologie. Figura lui Isus Christos și creștinismul însuși pornesc de la un „mit originar”, pe care unii autori au încercat să-l

² Cf. *Istoria României*. Compendiu, ed. II revăzută și adăugită, București, E. D. P. 1974, p. 65, 76—77.

³ Avem în vedere, între altele, faptul că religia creștină ortodoxă a devenit componentă a specificului național desemnat prin termenul „lege românească”, „lege” însemnînd atît religie, cît și limbă port, obiceiuri etc.

⁴ A se vedea în legătură cu aceasta M. Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, București, Ed. Univers, 1978, p. 160—163; vezi și H. H. Stahl, *Eseuri critice*, București, Ed. Minerva, 1983, p. 166 și urm.

⁵ Vezi P. S a i n t y v e s, *Les saints successeurs des dieux*, Paris, 1907, J. G. Frazer, *Le folklore dans l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1924, O. D e n s u ș i a n u, *Originea păstărească a „Cîntării Cîntărilor”*, București, 1916, ș.a.

reconstituie, după cum practica creștină „nu se poate desolidariza cu de-săvîrșire de gîndirea mitică” — după cum se exprimă Mircea Eliade⁶.

Substratul mitic și folcloric al religiei creștine în general și al cărților ei de căpetenie constituie unul din temeiurile pe care a crescut și pe care a fost posibil să se dezvolte acel „creștinism cosmic” la care ne-am referit, căci dintru început receptarea noii religii de către masele populare a găsit un punct de sprijin în ea însăși, receptarea putîndu-se realiza astfel sub semnul unei îndelungate tradiții culturale precreștine. Celălalt temei, hotărîtor, pe care a crescut „creștinismul cosmic”, l-a constituit tradiția religioasă premergătoare religiei creștine, și pe care slujitorii acesteia au denumit-o cu termenul de „păgînism”. S-au întîmplat, mai cu seamă în cursul veacurilor de început din istoria creștinismului, două fenomene importante și de mare anvergură: pe de o parte, creștinismul a preluat, asimilînd și adaptînd propriilor nevoi, unele din divinitățile, miturile și sărbătorile păgîne⁷, pe de altă parte, receptarea elementelor religiei creștine s-a făcut pe baza experienței religioase „păgîne”, a reperelor care dominau universul tradiționalelor credințe și reprezentări religioase, sfinții creștini, de pildă, fiind imaginați asemenea vechilor sfinți păgîni etc. Așa cum vom vedea mai departe, însuși Creatorul suprem — Dumnezeu — a fost imaginat și tratat adesea asemenea Marelui Zeu al păgînatății.

Așa cum s-a arătat, „creștinismul cosmic” sau „popular”, cum ar fi mai adecvat să fie numit, „nu este o formă nouă de păgînism, nici un sincretism păgîno-creștin”, ci „o creație religioasă originală”⁸ (subl. ns. D.P.), proprie cu deosebire sud-estului european. Încercînd o caracterizare a acestei noi creații religioase, Mircea Eliade arată că, pe de o parte, ea „proiectează misterul cristologic asupra naturii întregi, iar, pe de altă parte, neglijează elementele istorice ale creștinismului, insistînd, dimpotrivă, asupra dimensiunii liturgice a existenței omului în lume”⁹. Avem de-a face cu „o creație religioasă originală” — notează Eliade într-o altă lucrare-creație” în care eshatologia și soteriologia sînt afectate de dimensiuni cosmice; și mai mult încă: fără a înceta de a fi Pantocratorul, Cristos coboară pe pămînt și-i vizitează pe țărani, așa cum proceda în mitul populațiilor arhaice Ființa Supremă, înainte de a se transforma într-un deus otiosus”¹⁰. Creștinismul cosmic ne apare astfel ca o religie creștină, dar adesea foarte îndepărtată ca viziune de forma ei oficială; ea e lipsită de rigiditatea acesteia, fiind mult mai umană, mai apropiată mentalității folclorice, sufletului mulțimilor.

Referindu-ne în continuare la poporul român, putem spune că natura specifică a creștinismului său, de esență „cosmică”, „țărănească”, „po-

⁶ *Aspecte ale mitului*, p. 154.

⁷ „Un mire număr de zei sau de eroi ucigători de balauri au devenit niște Sfinți Gheorghe; zeii furtunii s-au transformat în Sfinții Ilie; nenumăratele zeități ale fertilității au fost asimilate cu Fecioara Maria sau cu alte sfințe. S-ar putea spune că o parte din religia populară a Europei precreștine a supraviețuit, camiflată sau transformată, în sărbătorile calendarului și în cultul sfinților” (*Ibidem*, p. 160).

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

⁹ *Ibidem*, *Mioara năzdrăvană*, în *De la Zalmoxis la Genghis-han*, București, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980, p. 246.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, *Aspecte ale mitului*, p. 161—162.

pulară” se datorește înainte de toate însăși vechimii lui mari și modului în care s-a propagat în straturile de adâncime ale poporului, așadar în masele acestuia, prin misionari din primele generații. El descinde așadar din „paleocreștinism”, din „creștinismul primitiv”, netrecut încă prin critica marilor teologi și teoreticieni ce aveau să apară în veacurile următoare. În afară de aceasta, el poartă pecetea mediului receptor, aflat atunci la un anumit nivel de dezvoltare culturală, propriu vremii, mediu care a selectat și interpretat noua învățătură potrivit condiției sale intelectuale, sociale, culturale etc., alta decât a urmașilor din secolele următoare. Cred că tocmai aici, în vechimea și în condițiile specifice de încreștinare a poporului român și în caracterul mai puțin dogmatic și mai tolerant al ortodoxismului trebuie căutată explicația faptului că el (poporul român) n-a manifestat niciodată înclinații către misticismul religios, n-a înscris, cu o singură excepție, sfinți în calendarul creștin, și nici nu s-a manifestat bigot, habotnic în plan religios¹¹.

Dar dacă atitudinea aceasta în plan religios ar putea fi considerată ca o expresie a echilibrului, a simțului de măsură ce caracterizează în general firea poporului român (și faptul poate fi urmărit în cele mai diferite aspecte ale manifestărilor sale), există numeroase alte manifestări care vin să definească varianta românească a creștinismului. Ceea ce ne interesează însă, pe noi acum este atitudinea țaranului român față de divinitate, așa cum s-a răsfrânt ea în creațiile lui folclorice, ceea ce constituie, evident, expresia cea mai fidelă a naturii creștinismului său.

Una dintre ideile fundamentale ale religiei creștine este, cum se știe, ideea omniprezenței lui Dumnezeu; ea a fost lansată și propagată de biserică, impunându-se și dăinuind veacuri de-a rândul la popoarele creștine. Corelată cu ideea atotputerniciei lui Dumnezeu și cu preceptele moralei creștine, ideea aceasta era chemată, între altele, să instaureze cea mai severă cenzură asupra conștiinței și conduitei omului, din ea născându-se sentimentul fricii de Dumnezeu. Îndeosebi la popoarele ortodoxe din sud-estul Europei, sentimentul acesta n-a ajuns să înregistreze însă forme acute, deoarece biserica n-a izbutit să alunge definitiv din sufletele oamenilor străvechi credințe care, contaminându-se cu o altă idee creștină, aceea a bunătății lui Dumnezeu, a generozității sale, și cu achizițiile neîncetate ale experienței umane, a creat efecte contrarii. S-a produs anume o pronunțată umanizare a lui Dumnezeu. Cel despre care biserica spunea că e pretutindeni prezent, în cer și pe pământ, în toate locurile și în toate lucrurile firii, a ajuns, pornind chiar de aici, nu numai să nu mai emoționeze, și cu atât mai mult să înspăimînte cu prezența sa pe pămînteni, ci, dimpotrivă, a ajuns la o pierdere treptată a prestigiului ce-l va fi avut odinioară, la un gen de banalizare. Dumnezeu a ajuns așadar să nu mai inspire teamă, ci dimpotrivă, a ajuns să fie tratat cu o relativă facilitate și indiferență, uneori chiar irreverențios. Dovadă, între altele, numeroasele colinde religioase apocrife cu caracter legendar, sau numeroasele legende populare despre pățaniile lui Dumnezeu în lungile-i peregrinări pe pământ, fără sur-

¹¹ Cf. și A. Densușianu, în „Revista critică literară”, 1893, nr. 10, S. Pușcariu, prefață la *Antologie română*, Halle, 1938, p. 4, A. Joja, *Profilul spiritual al poporului român*, în *Elogiu folclorului românesc*, București, Ed. pentru Literatură, 1969, p. 652 și urm.

le și trîmbițe, fără pompă imperială și fără suită strălucitoare, ci însoțit doar de bunul și apropiatul său colaborator, Sfîntul Petru, așadar asemenea conducătorilor cu adevărat mari. Iată-l astfel, apropiindu-se, pe înserate, împreună cu Sf. Petru, de casa „bogatului” și cerînd mas, sau ceva de-ale gurii, iar apoi, umilit și jignit de către gazdă, care nu se dă uneori înapoi să asmută cîinii asupra lor. Iată-i apoi la „casa săracului”, omenindu-se din puținul acestuia, luat adesea cu împrumut de la vecini¹². Alteori, într-o altă colindă religioasă apocrifă îl întîlnim pe Dumnezeu, în tovărășia aceluiași sfînt, Petru, coborît pe pămînt, ca să vadă „ce fac domnii cu iobăgii” și „bogații cu săracii” — așadar un Dumnezeu foarte concret, veghind și urmărind de-aproape stările sociale din viața satului nostru de odinioară¹³. Alteori, într-o altă colindă religioasă apocrifă, Dumnezeu devine cioban la oi; el paște oile „pe rîtul cu florile”, cîntă din fluiet și astfel întoarce turma și o bagă în „turîstea oilor”, ca orice cioban. Numai că neputîndu-se odihni noaptea de „rosura” lor și de „zbieratul mieilor”, Dumnezeu se înfurie și blestemă, suduie oile, așa cum mai fac cîteodată și ciobanii noștri¹⁴. În sfîrșit, într-o altă colindă, tot în tovărășia lui Sf. Petru, Dumnezeu se scaldă cu acesta într-un „feredeu” și sporovăiesc, conversează pe o temă de viață pămîntească, și anume „ce-i mai bun p-aiest pămînt?”. Țăranul român, creatorul acestei colinde, a pus în gura lui Dumnezeu și a sfîntului său însoțitor gînduri și idei proprii. Astfel, asemenea lui, Atotputernicul socotește că în ierarhia bunurilor pămîntene primul loc îl ocupă „omul bun”, și este bun omul ospitalier, acela care își „face casa lîngă drum” și care „dă sălaș drumarilor” și „adapă pe setoși” și „ncălzește friguroși”, „Locul al doilea în ierarhia valorilor pămîntene îl ocupă „boul bun” pentru că cu ajutorul lui țăranul răstoarnă „brazdă neagră”, în care aruncă apoi „grîu roșiu”. Urmează „oaia”, care „vara te hărănește” și „iarna te-mpodobește”, iar la urmă „calul” care „te duce și te-aduce și-n streziș, și-n beție și-n draga de voinicie”. Iată-l așadar pe Dumnezeu gîndind ca un țăran gospodăruș și comportîndu-se asemenea acestuia. Așa l-a văzut, evident, țăranul român creator al colindei sau, poate, un modest cărturar cleric, țăran în viața de toate zilele și slujitor al altarului în dumineci și sărbători, așa cum se întîmplă adesea la românii ortodocși din Transilvania decolelor trecute. Dar chiar în acest caz, viziunea corespundea pe deplin maselor țărănești, de vreme ce colinda apare în toate regiunile țării¹⁵.

În snoavele cu caracter legendar sau în legendele cu caracter anecdotic Dumnezeu era pus în situații și mai puțin adecvate condiției sale divine. Doarme, de pildă, într-un pat cu Sf. Petru la casa bețivului, ca să fie bătut măr cînd acesta se întoarce beat de la cîrciumă; iar cînd, profitînd de o pauză, Sfîntului Petru i se face milă de Atotputernicul și schimb

¹² Vezi M. Brătulescu, *Colinda românească*, București, Ed. Minerva, 1981, Tip. 155: *Bogatul și săracul*, unde se indică și o parte a variantelor.

¹³ A. Viciu, *Colinde din Ardeal*, București, 1914, colinda *Domnul pe pămînt*, p. 61.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 46, colinda *Dumnezeu cu oile*.

¹⁵ Vezi variantele colindei la M. Brătulescu, *op. cit.*, Tip. 150, *Ce-i mai bun pe lume*. Noi am rezumat o variantă culeasă de noi din Rogojel, jud. Cluj, în 1956 de la Fort. Gavrilă „Prala”, 60 ani și Pleș Dumitru, 38 ani.

între ei locurile, ghinionul îl urmărește, fiindu-i potrivit tot lui Dumnezeu, bejivul socotind că e cazul să-l bată și pe cel „de către perete”¹⁶.

Atitudini ca cele ce rezultă din asemenea creații folclorice față de divinitate nu apar izolat în comportamentul și în variatele domenii ale culturii noastre populare tradiționale, și ele nu au apărut în afara vieții religioase, ci în interiorul ei, în așa fel încît trebuie privite ca reflexe în plan folcloric ale creștinismului românesc, de esență țărănească, folclorică prin excelență. În viziunea țaranului român, Dumnezeu nu reprezintă o abstracțiune; dimpotrivă, e alături de el, îi e prieten sau părinte¹⁷; pentru că rostul suprem al lui Dumnezeu este, în concepția religioasă a țaranului român, să-i ajute pe ai săi, să le satisfacă nevoile, să le aline durerile etc., așa cum procedează, de altfel, el însuși cu ai săi, cu cei mai mici și mai slabi decît el.

Nu mai că relațiile acestea atît de intime și de libere în același timp între om și Dumnezeu s-au repercutat nefavorabil asupra acestuia, creînd premisele „uitării lui Dumnezeu”, a neglijarii și ignorării sale, ceea ce a dat mult de lucru slujitorilor de mai târziu ai bisericii. Atitudinea aceasta a omului epocii creștine față de Creatorul Suprem — Dumnezeu — nu este însă nouă în istoria umanității, ci transpunerea în creștinism a unei atitudini foarte vechi, ce se întîlnește în forme apropiate de cele originare la triburile primitive¹⁸.

Cultura populară atestă însă și existența unui alt raport între om și divinitate. De data aceasta nu e vorba de „uitarea lui Dumnezeu” de către oameni, ci de uitarea oamenilor de către Dumnezeu. Expresii ca „l-a uitat” sau „ne-a uitat Dumnezeu”, „și-a întors Dumnezeu fața de la el” sau „de la noi”, „s-a depărtat Dumnezeu de noi”, „ne-a părăsit Dumnezeu” ș.a., alături de imaginea lui Dumnezeu care „doarme cu capu pe-o rădăcină” sau „pe-o mănăstire” „și de lume n-are știre”, care apare și în legătură cu miticul Crăciun, despre care o colindă spune că doarme și el „mort de beat” („Învîrte-te, pană de brad / Că Crăciunu-i mort de bat, / Nu știi batu-i, ori să face, / La Crăciun pâlınca-i place”¹⁹) ș.a., toate acestea nu sînt la origine simple expresii lingvistice sau imagini artistice, și nici creații originale ale bisericii creștine, ci reminiscențe ale unor străvechi reprezentări și concepții care vin de dincolo de lumea creștină, pe care aceasta le-a asimilat numai, perpetuîndu-le astfel pînă în epoca noastră. Expresia „mînia lui Dumnezeu” relevă o altă ipostază a amintitului raport dintre om și divinitate, prezentă și ea la populațiile aflate pe o treaptă inferioară de evoluție.

Expresii și imagini ca cele citate, despre uitarea oamenilor de către Dumnezeu, despre indiferența acestuia față de ei, despre oboseala și som-

¹⁶ E vorba de o legendă apocrifă cu caracter anecdotic, al cărui început îl regăsim și la S. C. Stroescu, *La typologie bibliographique des facéties roumaines*, II (București). Ed. Academiei, 1969, Tip. 5225, *Dormi prietene?*

¹⁷ Cf. T. Herseni, *Forme străvechi de cultură populară românească*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1977, p. 241.

¹⁸ A se vedea exemple la M. Elia de, *Traité d'histoire de religions*, Paris, 1970, p. 52 și urm.

¹⁹ Culeasă din sat. Românaș, jud. Cluj, de prof. Buda Florica, 1980.

nul lui etc., se înscriu în perimetrul a ceea ce denumea Lucian Blaga prin „absenteismul divin”²⁰ sau Mircea Eliade prin „deus otiosus”²¹ și constituie o interesantă problemă de istorie a religiilor. Nu voi încerca în cele ce urmează să intru în analiza propriu-zisă a complexului de mentalitate primitivă din care au răsărit manifestările cuprinse sub cei doi termeni. Voi preciza numai că distanțarea dintre om și zeul Suprem, Creatorul lumii, a putut apărea în mintea omului atunci când rugămintele ce i le adresa acesta rămâneau fără ecou și când, drept urmare, el — omul — a început să se îndoiască, dacă nu neapărat de atotputernicia lui, cel puțin de vigoarea și de disponibilitățile sale vis-à-vis de oameni. Imaginea unui Dumnezeu bătrîn este de altfel foarte frecventă în reprezentările religioase creștine și s-ar putea ca ea să nu fie cu totul lipsită și de înțelesul la care ne referim. Și era normal ca în asemenea momente, recunoscîndu-i în continuare calitatea de Zeu Suprem, omul să-și caute alte puncte de sprijin, să se adreseze altor zei, inferiori Demiurgului, dar mai aproape de nevoile sale diurne. Marele Zeu, care, obosit, s-a retras, lăsînd în seama altora, și anume a zeilor săi „subalterni”, mulțimea grijilor ce le avea mai înainte, pe cînd era în putere, a fost păstrat totuși ca o ultimă rezervă, la care omul putea apela în situații cu totul excepționale, direct sau prin intermediul celorlalți zei, mai la îndemînă.

Faptele menționate se înscriu, cum spuneam, într-o interesantă problemă de istorie a religiilor, și ele au fost cercetate ca atare. Pe noi ne interesează acum în măsura în care sînt implicate în creația noastră folclorică, dacă prin urinare au dat naștere unor expresii folclorice. Ideea invocării Zeului Suprem în situații excepționale, atunci cînd celelalte resurse au fost epuizate, idee foarte răspîndită în religiile precreștine, se regăsește uneori, în situații similare și în folclorul românesc. „Tatăl Soarelui” și „Mama Ploii” nu pot fi la origine decît asemenea zei „demiurghi”, stăpîni supremi ai luminii și căldurii solare, respectiv ai ploii fertilizatoare, zei patroni ai celor două elemente primordiale care stau la baza vieții însăși. S-au păstrat în folclorul românesc urmele unui imn, a unei incantații adresate Soarelui: „Ieși soare din'chisoare. . .”, iar cîntecul ritual din obiceiul cununii la secerat intitulat „Dealul Mohului” vine să sublinieze și el și să facă elogiul forțelor elementare ale naturii, clogii Soarelui și al Vîntului. Caloianul, la rîndul său, se numără printre zeitățile responsabile de regimul ploilor și deci ale fertilității cîmpurilor; tocmai de aceea, uneori el era cunoscut în folclor sub denumirea de „Dumnezeul ploii”; alteleori ne apare doar ca un zeu subaltern, „un sfînt cu mare hatîr pe lîngă Dumnezeu” — cum se precizează într-o informație folclorică notată cu un secol în urmă²².

Noțiunile acestea ne transpun fără voia noastră într-o epocă arhaică, situată dincolo de creștinism, într-o lume populată cu zei, străini de Dumnezeu creștin și de sfinții calendarului religios al erei noastre. Și cu toate acestea, lumea pe care o evocă termenii și noțiunile amintite pulsează pînă

²⁰ *Trilogia culturii*, București, Ed. pentru Literatură Universală, 1969, p. 172.

²¹ *Traité d'histoire des religions*, p. 52—55.

²² Cf. A. Fochi, *Datini și eresuri populare de la sfîrșitul secolului al XIX-lea*, București, Ed. Minerva, 1976, p. 270.

astăzi în noi, în existența noastră contemporană și chiar în credințele și rînduilele bisericii creștine, care a avut de luptat, zadarnic, vreme de aproape două milenii împotriva lor.

Folclorul românesc păstrează încă vii riturile de invocare a ploii și a soarelui, incantația fiind adresată fie Paparudei (în care am putea vedea o descendentă din Mama Ploii), fie Caloianului, care ne apare uneori drept Dumnezeu al ploii, alteori numai ca zeu intermediar al omului pe lângă Dumnezeu, adevăratul stăpîn al ploilor.

Cum însă uneori Zeul Suprem sau chiar și cel subaltern se arată a fi surd la necazurile oamenilor, refuzîndu-le ruga, erau tratați de aceștia ca atare; țăranii români se comportă și astăzi asemenea strămoșilor lor de acum cîteva milenii: îi ceartă pe zeii neascultători sau indiferenți, îi batjocoresc și îi înjură (chiar și pe Dumnezeu), mergînd uneori pînă la pedepsirea lor cu pedeapsa capitală. Caloianul, spre exemplu, este rugat la început „să deschidă ploile”; alteori este rugat să se ducă la Dumnezeu și să se roage de el „să dea drumul cerului ca să curgă ploile”²³. Dacă, însă, ploaia întîrzie să vină, după trei zile Caloianul este dezgropat, așa ca morții bănuți a fi fost strigoi în viață, este rupt în bucăți și este aruncat astfel prin bălți sau mlaștini; este profanat prin urmare. Tot așa de drastic este pedepsit și Tatăl Soarelui, așadar însuși Demiurgul, creatorul Universului, cînd în vreme de secetă păpușa de lut ce-l închipuia era zdrobită și aruncată în cele patru vînturi; sau Mama Ploii, atunci cînd ploile se prelungeau, devenind dăunătoare naturii și oamenilor.

Atitudinea aceasta față de zei, față de divinitate, a fost, cum spuneam, foarte răspîndită odinioară. La japonezi, spre exemplu, dacă zeul nu asculta ruga oamenilor și nu le dădea ploaie, era ocărit și aruncat, asemenea Caloianului nostru, într-o băltoacă „împuțită”. „Rămii acolo, îi strigă și ai să vezi ce bine ai să miroși după ce ai să stai cîteva zile acolo și ai să te coci și tu de soarele care ne usucă pămîntul!”²⁴.

Ceea ce este interesant de semnalat însă e faptul că practici similare, venite din adîncul vremurilor și menținute vii la nivelul creației folclorice, au pătruns și în manifestările folclorice cu caracter creștin. Ele constituie dovezi peremptorii în sprijinul ideii că arhaica atitudine a poporului față de divinitățile păgîne s-a menținut și față de religia, de divinitatea și de sfinții creștini. Dacă, de pildă, la italieni, în vreme de secetă, lumea, inclusiv cea de la oraș, se adresa sfîntului protector al bisericii și al localității, rugîndu-l să intervină pe lângă Dumnezeu ca să dea ploaie, și dacă sfîntul, acest ambasador al oamenilor pe lângă marele Zeu creștin nu-și făcea datoria, dacă nu pleda, cu alte cuvinte, destul de convingător cauza celor pe care-i patrona, el era insultat și amenințat; statuia lui era aruncată în apă sau chiar zdrobită. La noi, în situații similare, se fura din biserică icoana sfîntului patron, mai ales icoana Fecioarei Maria (care era asimilată uneori cu Mama Ploii) și se arunca în gîrlă. Avem de-a face, cum vedem, în aceste manifestări cu o atitudine de esență democratică în relațiile dintre Cer și Pămînt, fiecare dintre părți, fie că este simplu muritor, fie că este zeu, trebuie să-și îndeplinească misiunile ce i-au fost încredin-

²³ G. Dem. Teodorescu, *Poezii populare române*, București, 1885, p. 211.

²⁴ Apud I. A. Candrea, *Folclorul român medical comparat*, 1944, p. 127.

țate, trebuie să-și facă datoria. În ceea ce-i privește pe zei, oamenii i-au creat ca să le fie de ajutor și ei le pretind acest lucru.

Ritul de pedepsire a zeului, ajuns pe aripele tradiției folclorice până la noi și pătruns totodată în practicile ce implică protagoniști, personaje și concepte creștine, ritul acesta, zic, constituie una din cele mai semnificative expresii folclorice ale atitudinii țăranului român față de divinitate și anume o strălucită expresie a acelui creștinism popular pe care l-am evocat mereu în aceste pagini. Într-o formă sau alta, ritul este prezent, cum spuneam, la mai toate popoarele, dar românii i-au conferit unele note particulare, asupra cărora nu ne vom opri aici.

Desigur, tema pe care mi-am propus să o prezint este cu mult mai vastă decât am izbutit să sugerez în cele de mai sus. Ar fi suficient să explorăm mai pe îndelete sfera cuprinzătoare a colindelor noastre, chiar și a celor religioase propriu-zise și cu atât mai mult a celor apocrife sau a unor obiceiuri (cum este „împărtașania la brad” sau „muguri în loc de paști”) inclusiv obiceiurile de nuntă și de înmormântare, ca să ne dăm seama de adevărul celor spuse cândva de Nichifor Crainic cu privire la creștinismul ortodox românesc: „prin creștinismul nostru — spunea Crainic — cutreieră strigoii păgânismului”²⁵. Fenomenul acesta își are, evident, începutul în începuturile creștinismului, în plin păgânism, așadar înainte de a-și fi făurit armele și întreg arsenalul cu care a cucerit în cele din urmă cea mai mare parte a lumii. Creștinismul nostru popular își are începutul într-o epocă în care substratul său mitic și folcloric a favorizat din plin asimilarea în continuare a fondului mitic și folcloric. În plus, chiar după organizarea ierarhiei noastre bisericești, aceasta a vegheat mai puțin la puritatea lui.

Religia creștină ortodoxă în varianta ei românească ne apare astfel mai puțin dogmatică și, datorită caracterului mai tolerant al slujitorilor ei față de manifestările laice, profane, a dobândit un caracter mai apropiat de sufletul și de puterea de înțelegere a maselor. Cu un cuvânt, creștinismul țăranului român e mai omenesc, după cum mai omenească este și atitudinea acestuia, nu numai față de divinitate, ci și față de semenii săi, ceea ce se vedește la tot pasul și în cultura sa tradițională, folclorică.

²⁵ Apud. H. H. Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

CU PRIVIRE LA ORIGINEA NUMELUI ABRUD

ONUFRIE VINTELER

ABSTRACT. — Regarding the Origin of the Name *ABRUD*. On the basis of ample analysis the author reaches the conclusion that the name *ABRUD* has as its root in the Indoeuropean *-rud-* meaning "ore", "metal"; "yellowish", "red", "bright-red", "Blood-red", "russet", "brown" and the prefix *AB-*, at its origin a noun meaning also "water". As a conclusion *ABRUD* "red water" was inherited by the Dacian language and transmitted to us.

În majoritatea cazurilor, cînd avem a face cu cuvinte sau denumiri vechi, apar discuții aprinse și îndelungate în vederea stabilirii originii lor. La fel se petrece și cu denumirea orașului și râului *Abrud*, asupra semnificației căreia și-au îndreptat atenția numeroși lingviști și istorici. Deși s-au înregistrat unele soluții interesante în această privință, nici una dintre încercările stabilirii etimologiei numelui *Abrud* nu poate fi pe deplin satisfăcătoare. Însă depășirea sau nedepășirea unor dificultăți (indiferent de natura lor) în stabilirea unor etimologii nu poate fi, după părerea noastră, un indiciu privitor la determinarea vechimii unui nume sau cuvînt în general¹.

Denumirea în discuție apare atestată destul de tîrziu, abia la 1271: *terra Obruth*, *Abruth*, apoi *Obrudbania* — 1320, *Obrugh* — 1366, *Abrud-banya* — 1425, *Abrughbanya*, *Abrughbanya* — 1490 și după această dată tot mai des apar formele: *Abrogh*, *Abrug*, *Abrugh*, *Awrud*, *Avrud*, *Abrud* etc.² Forme derivate, compuse sau străine ca *Abrud-Sat*, *Abruzel*, *Abrud-fulva*, *Abruden*, *Abrud-Săliște* și altele nu aduc nimic nou pentru stabilirea originii acestei vechi denumiri³.

Bibliografia cu privire la originea toponimului *Abrud* este foarte vastă, atît în limba română, cît și în alte limbi, fapt care ne impune să ne oprim doar la unele lucrări pe care le considerăm mai importante. De altfel, după N. Drăganu⁴ (care a întreprins o analiză critică a principalelor lucrări ce i-au fost accesibile) s-a scris relativ puțin despre *Abrud*⁵.

¹ D. Moldovan, *Stratificarea generală a toponimiei românești*, în „Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară”, tomul XXIX, 1983—1984 A, Iași, p. 386, afirmă categoric: „Nici *Abrudul* nu poate fi vechi, pentru că etimologiile propuse n-au reușit să depășească dificultățile fonetice legate de trecerea de la presupusele forme vechi la cele atestate în vremea noastră”.

² N. Drăganu, *Românii în veacurile IX—XIV pe baza toponimiei și a onomasticeii*, București, 1933, p. 485—489; C. Suci, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania*, Ed. Academiei, 1976, vol. I, p. 23—24.

³ C. Suci, *op. cit.*

⁴ N. Drăganu, *op. cit.*

⁵ M. Homorodeanu, *Alburnus*, în „Annales publiées trimestriellement par l'Université de Toulouse” — Le mirail, Nouvelle série, tome VII, 1971, Fascicule 5, V I A. DOMITIA, Linguistique, Dialectologie, Onomastique, Ethnographie. Correspondances onomastiques Franco-roumaines, p. 35; I d e m, *Raporturi toponomastice franco-române*, SUBB (Philologia), XVII, 1972, nr. 2, p. 23; D. Moldovan, *op. cit.*, punctează principalele direcții ale cercetării din acest domeniu.

Tezele exprimate de B. P. Haşdeu⁶ nu au rezistat criticii, ele au fost respinse de N. Drăganu⁷, V. Pîrvan⁸ şi de alţii. Este însă interesantă aprecierea sau analogia dintre *Abrud* şi *Abrutum*⁹ din Moesia, precum şi *Abrud* şi *Abruttus* sau *Abrittus* din Dobrogea¹⁰. J. Melich¹¹ admitea originea dacă a numelui *Abrud*, însă moştenit de români prin filieră maghiară. Două decenii mai târziu, István Kniezsa¹², fără dovezi cât de cât plauzibile, considera acest nume de origine maghiară. Ovid Densuşianu¹³, în explicarea originii lui *Abrud*, pleacă de la iranicul *ab* „strălucitor” şi *urud*, *rod* „pat de (riu)”, adică albă. În aceeaşi perioadă, Gustav Kisch¹⁴ reconstituie o formă dacică **obrudson* „aur curat”. În anii din urmă, aceeaşi teză este susţinută de Gottfried Schramm¹⁵, care admite păstrarea populaţiei dacice în Transilvania pînă în secolul al XI-lea. Ernst Gamillscheg¹⁶ considera *Abrud* un nume care derivă din latinescul *Abrutum*, *Abritum*, cunoscut din documente şi care va fi însemnat la origine „aur”, ca şi numele Zlatnei. Printre ultimele ipoteze se numără cea exprimată de Dragoş Moldovan¹⁷, conform căreia *Abrud* este o creaţie a limbii române avînd la origine cuvîntul *brod* „vad” de origine slavă. Argumentele aduse de domnia sa nu ni se par convingătoare. În legătură cu cele menţionate mai sus dorim să reproducem o concluzie a lui G. Giuglea şi anume: „Explicarea care i s-a dat pînă acum nu stă în picioare, dar rămîne cîştigată concluzia că *Abrud* nu poate fi originar din nici o limbă vorbită în Dacia de la colonizare înapoi. Nici în v. germană, nici în slavă, nici în alt idiom ulterior nu se găseşte vreun punct de sprijin pentru atare ipoteză”¹⁸.

Analizînd tezele şi ipotezele care ne-au fost accesibile, înclinăm să credem, totuşi, că la originea numelui *Abrud* stă radicalul i.e. **rud-*, care

⁶ B. P. Haşdeu, *Etymologicum magnun romaniae. Dicţionarul limbei istorice şi poporane a românilor*, Ed. Minerva, Bucureşti, 1972, vol. I, p. 99.

⁷ N. Drăganu, *Din vechea noastră toponimie*, Extras din „Dacoromania”, an. I (1920), p. 21—22.

⁸ V. Pîrvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, Bucureşti, 1982, p. 169.

⁹ B. P. Haşdeu, *op. cit.*.

¹⁰ V. Pîrvan, *op. cit.*; M. Macrea, *De la Burebista la Dacia postromană*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1978, p. 175. Cf. şi A. Sacerdoţeanu, *Problemele principale studiate de D. Onciul*, în *Postfaţa*, la D. Onciul, *Scrieri istorice*, Ed. Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti, 1968, p. 440.

¹¹ J. Melich, *Magyar Etimologiai Szótár*, Budapesta, 1916. Cf. şi Fr. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*, Viena, 1866, p. 219, 284.

¹² I. Kniezsa, *Erdély viznevei*, Cluj, 1942, p. 23.

¹³ O. Densuşianu, *Noms de lieux roumains d'origine iranienne*, în *Donum natalicium Schrijen*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929, p. 423—429.

¹⁴ G. Kisch, *Siebenburgen im Lichte der Sprache*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 50.

¹⁵ G. Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnnamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im ersten Jahrtausend n. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 187.

¹⁶ E. Gamillscheg, *Despre originea românilor*, „Revista Fundaţiilor Regale”, anul VII, nr. 8, aug. 1949, p. 265—266. Cu ocazia expunerii lui E. Gamillscheg, G. Giuglea sublinia: „am arătat greutăţile derivării numelui *Abrud* din *Abrittus*. Această formă ar fi ajuns în româneşte la faza *A(n)ret*, după căderea normală a lui *b* ca în *faber — fabru — faur, cribtum — cibrum — ciur* etc.” G. Giuglea, *Cheie pentru înţelegerea continuităţii noastre în Dacia, prin limbă şi toponimie*, în *Cuvinte româneşti şi romanice*, E.I. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 317.

¹⁷ D. Moldovan, *op. cit.*, p. 387—388.

¹⁸ G. Giuglea, *op. cit.*

este precedat de prefixul i.e. *ap-/ab-. Radicalul menționat are corespondenți într-o serie de limbi cu sensuri foarte apropiate, adică făcând parte din același câmp semantic. Astfel, în finlandeză există *rauta* „fier”, iar în Karelia se întâlnesc denumiri topice cu acest radical (*Rautalahti*, *Rautalampi*, *Rautasaari* etc.)¹⁹; v. isl. *raudi* „fier”, bălțarie ce conține fier” „minereu”, „culoare roșie”; germ. *rot* „roșu”; engl. *red* „roșu” etc.²⁰. În rusă „*ruda*” materia primă minerală ce conține metale”, „minereu”²¹; slav. **ruda*, v. sl. **ruda zemja* „pământ roșu, brun”, „metal”; **ruda voda* „apă roșie”²². În bg., scr., slovenă, slovacă, cehă, poloneză, *ruda* „minereu”, lujiciană *ruda* „magnetită”, „pământ galben”; lit. *raudas* „culoare șargă”; *rudas* „brun”; let. *rauds* „roșu, roșcovan, maro”²³; in i.e. **roudh* „roșu”²⁴. O. N. Trubacëv este de părere că apropierea dintre rus. *ruda*, protosl. **ruda* și împrumutul *urudu* „aramă” din sumeriană este întâmplătoare și este deci o greșeală să deduci pe *rudy* „roșcovan” din șum. *urudu* „aramă”; vocalele acestui radical (*rud-*, *reud-*, *roud-*) dovedesc apartenența lor la comunitatea ariană, iar șum. *urudu* sună asemănător cu totul întâmplător²⁵.

În limba rusă veche și în anumite Țări exista și cuvântul *ruda* cu sensul de „sînge”, „funingine”²⁶, *rudnyj* „sîngeros”, „însingerat”, „sîngeriu”²⁷. În legătură cu sensul „sînge” al lui *ruda* se naște întrebarea: oare proverbul reținut de B. P. Hașdeu „sănătate de la Abrud = moarte” nu cumva este o relicvă mai veche, apărută fie ca rezultat al luptei pentru obținerea aurului, fie datorită greutateților întâmpinate de mineri în exploatarea minelor? O cercetare mai atentă a „vilvelor” credem că poate da unele răspunsuri la aceste întrebări.

Denumiri cu radicalul *rud-* sînt numeroase: *Ruda* (*Rwda*), *Ruda Baia*, *Ruda-Brad*, *Rudana*, *Rudaria*, *Rudăria*, *Ruderia* etc. Chiar și *Rodna* este menționată și cu forma *Rudna* la 1268²⁸, *Rudari*, iar în țările slave *Rudnik*²⁹, cf. în pol. *rudawa* „baltă, loc bogat în mine”³⁰.

¹⁹ E. A. Levašov, *Valaam — ostrov zagadok*, „Russkaja reč”, 1980, nr. 3, p. 14 — 147.

²⁰ O. N. Trubacëv, *Jazykoznanie i etnogenezes slavjan*, VI, în „Voprosy jazykoznanija”, 1985, nr. 5, p. 3.

²¹ *Slovar' russkogo jazyka*, Moscova, 1959, vol. III, p. 974.

²² O. N. Trubacëv, *op. cit.*

²³ M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1950—1958, varianta rusească, Moscova, 1971, vol. III, p. 513.

²⁴ O. N. Trubacëv, *op. cit.*: Cf. și Veac. Vs. Ivanov, *Istorija slavjanskich i balkanskich nazvanij metallov*, Moscova, 1983.

²⁵ O. N. Trubacëv, *op. cit.*, p. 4; cf. și A. Brückner, *Stownik etymologiczny jazyka polskiego*, Cracovia, 1957, p. 272—273.

²⁶ V. I. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar'*, Moscova, 1954, vol. IV, p. 108.

²⁷ V. I. Dal', *op. cit.*; V. D. Zambrzickij, *Iz istorii slov (rudskrov')* în „Russkij jazyk vškole”, 1960, nr. 3, p. 118—119.

²⁸ C. Suciu, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 86—87; Șt. Pascu, *Voivodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. II, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, p. 28.

²⁹ Șt. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³⁰ L. V. Kurkina, *Nazvanija bolot v slavjanskich jazykach* „Etimologija 1967”, Moscova, 1969, p. 129.

Din cele menționate se poate conchide că radicalul *rud-* din *Abrud* nu provine nici din maghiară, nici din slavă, ci este un radical indo-european ce nu putea fi păstrat și transmis nouă decît prin substrat. Prin urmare, *Abrud*, în limba română, poate fi considerat de origine autohtonă. Sensurile din toate limbile, în care este atestat radicalul menționat, converg către unul singur, acela de minereu, de metal. Or, metalul, minereul, pământul care conține minereu, apa cu minereu sînt de diferite culori: gălbuie, roșie, roșu-aprins, roșu-sîngeriu, roșcat, maro, brun etc., după felul minereului și după procentul de concentrație. Iar dacă este vorba de aur sau de aramă, culoarea lor intră tot în acest spectru, toate sensurile intră în același cîmp semantic dintr-un anumit punct de vedere³¹.

Problema rămasă în suspensie este cea a prefixului *ab-*. Încă V. Pîrvan³² sublinia că *ab-* însemna în iraniană „apă”, numai că în iraniană era *āp-* „apă”, i.e. **ap-* „apă”, v. ind. *ap-* „apă”, it *happa* „apă”, prus. *ape* „pîrflu, rîuleț”³³; J. Pokorný³⁴ reconstituie pe **ab-* „apă”. Astfel, se presupune că din **apa ruda*, „agua rubra” a rezultat *Abrud*³⁵.

Tot pentru *Abrud*, Vasile Bogrea³⁶ propunea să se ia în seamă și turc.-pers. (deci cuman?) *abroud*, *ebroud* „hyacinthe (fleur)”. Această ipoteză, combătută la timpul său de G. Weigand³⁷ și neacceptată nici de N. Drăganu³⁸, nu este chiar atît de greșită. Greșeala constă doar în faptul că presupune originea cumană (adevărat, cu semnul întrebării), în realitate apelativul *abroud* este de origine persană și doar una din semnificații (rar utilizată) este cea de „nufăr”³⁹. Importante sînt două chestiuni în această ipoteză și anume: întii, că *abroud* (abrud), în persană, denumește o plantă de apă (ăcvatică), în al doilea rînd, floarea acestei plante este de culoare albă (*Nymphaea alba*), dar și de culoare galbenă (*Nuphar lupeum*) (cf. DI, RM, p. 548, DEX, p. 610). Fiind în domeniul florei, menționăm că în rusă este atestat și *rudovyj les* „pin roșu, cel mai bun, cel mai tare”⁴⁰.

³¹ Credem că tot de la acest radical provine și cuvîntul *rugină*, ciubul *ruz*, *ruzina* „coaia verde de pe nucă”. Cf. J. J. Varbot, *K rekonstrukcii i etimologii. nekotorych praslavjanskich glagol'nych osnov i otglagol'nych imen*, V, „Etimologija 1967”, Moscova, 1969, p. 34, 35.

³² V. Pîrvan, *Considerații asupra unor nume de rîuri dacoscitice*, Academia Română, *Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, tome I, mem. I, București, 1923.

³³ V. N. Toporov, O. N. Trubačev, *Lingvističeskij analiz gidronimov Vezhnego Podneprovja*, Moscova, 1962, p. 222; J. J. Varbot, *Slavjanskije etimologii*, „Etimologija 1969”, Moscova, 1981, p. 29.

³⁴ J. Pokorný, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. I, Bern, 1959, p. 1.

³⁵ O. N. Trubačev, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁶ V. Bogrea, *Din toponimia românească*, în *Pagini istorico-filologice*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj, 1971, p. 314.

³⁷ G. Weigand, *Ortsnamen im Omlay — un Aranyos-Gebiet*, „Balkan-Archiv”, I, Band, Leipzig, 1925, p. 26.

³⁸ N. Drăganu, *Români în veacurile...*, p. 486.

³⁹ *Persidsko-russkij slovar*, Moscova, 1970, vol. I, p. 782.

⁴⁰ V. I. Dal', *op. cit.*, p. 108.

O etimologie apropiată a fost propusă încă de W. Tomaschek⁴¹ pentru hidronimul *Rudapa* — un afluent al râului Mesta din Bulgaria. Această ipoteză a fost însă respinsă acum câțiva ani de K. Vlahov⁴², argumentînd că râul se numea *Ratapa* și nu *Rudapa*. În continuare, el acceptă că de la radicalul i.e. **upo* au derivat prepozițiile: v. ind. *upa*, avest. *upa*, gotă *uf* etc. În tracă **up* a dat **upes* < **upos* < **upă*, la singular, iar la plural *upa*, *opa* „dealuri”. Astfel, rezultatul compoziției din *Rod* și *opă* din ροδοπα, ροδοπη < **rud-upă* < **r-dh-up-a* înseamnă „a sta culcat unul lângă altul”, „dealuri unite”⁴³.

Aceste supoziții pot oferi noi sugestii pentru elucidarea originii numelui *Abrud*, cu atît mai mult cu cît avem a face cu două denumiri foarte vechi, iar comportamentele lor sînt asemănătoare, este vorba de un radical și o prepoziție (postpoziție). În cazul nostru prepoziția și cu radicalul menționat ar putea însemna „deal” („munte, „ridicătură cu minereu”, „deal roșu, brun, sîngeriu” etc.

Mergînd pe linia ipotezelor, propunem atenției încă un nume: este vorba de *Abruzzi*, nume de localitate⁴⁴ și de munți din Italia.

⁴¹ W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, „Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften”, Phil.-hist. Classe (I. Übersicht der Stämme, 128, IV, 1893, p. 1—130; II, *Die Sprachreste*, 1. *Glossen aller art und Götternamen*, 130, II, 1893, p. 1—70; *Persönen — und Ortsnamen*, 131, I, 1881, p. 1—103.)

⁴² K. Vlahov, *Урце — Радопи — Меропи*, „Etimologija 1976”, Moscova, 1978, p. 67—72.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁴⁴ N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria* (Pînă la mișcarea lui Horea) (1784), vol. I, București, 1915, p. 17.

LIBRI

Szabó Zoltán, *Szövegnyelvészet és stílusztika* [Text linguistics and stylistics], Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1988, 342 p.

The basis of the relation of text linguistics and stylistics is the common research object: the text. The history of the two sciences shows a close relation, too: one of the antecedents or even one of the sources of text linguistics is (besides rhetoric) stylistics. Nowadays it is, however, mainly text linguistics that exercises an influence on stylistics and rhetoric.

As implied by the title, the book presents one of the aspects resulting from the many-sided relations of text linguistics and stylistics: what can profit stylistics by text linguistics? Accordingly, throughout the whole book an interdisciplinary issue is discussed. In the view of the author the help of text linguistics for stylistics can be grasped in two domains: in improving the theoretical bases of stylistics and in the actual stylistic researches (p. 3).

The aim of the volume is to deepen our understanding of the substance and nature of stylistics and its main category, the style, by considering several possibilities offered by text linguistics. Thus it is an exploratory study of various problems that have arisen in the course of work on text linguistics. The emphasis in this inquiry is stylistics. Theoretical questions of text linguistics are discussed only insofar as they bear on the propounded issue. The concern with these problems on the borders of present research is made favourable by three facts: (1) text linguistics is an expanding, an inter- and multidisciplinary science, (2) connexions between stylistics and certain disciplines for example semantics and grammar which have been embedded in text linguistics can be considered from the very beginning, long before the coming into existence of text linguistics, (3) certain special, literary subdivisions of the same disciplines (e.g. literary semantics, narrative semantics, narrative grammar, story grammar, etc.) have been created which have more or less bearings on stylistics.

The book under review has been preceded by several significant papers of the author referring to the domain in question:

Stylistics within the interdisciplinary framework of text linguistics (in: J. S. Petőfi, ed., *Text vs sentence: Basic questions of text linguistics*, Hamburg, 1979), *Linguistic theories and the present state of Hungarian stylistics* (in: John Odmark, ed., *Language, literature and meaning II: Current trends in literary research*, Amsterdam, 1980), *Text levels and their historical dimensions: Viewed from a stylistic point of view* (RRL, 1981, no. 5), *A szövegnyelvészet stílusztikai jelentősége* [The importance of text linguistics for stylistics] (in: Sz. Z., ed., *A szövegvizsgálat új útjai* [New ways of text processing], Bucarest, 1982), *The importance of text coherence for the global stylistic analysis* (in: E. Sözer, ed., *Text connexity, text coherence: Aspects, methods, results*, Hamburg, 1985).

The volume is made up of three sections: an introduction to text linguistics, discussion of the relation of text linguistics and stylistics and stylistic analysis of several literary works.

Since a thorough discussion of the problems involved in Szabó's book would far exceed the limits of my review I shall concentrate on some problems I found particularly important and interesting.

I think the inclusion of an introduction to text linguistics was anyway necessary. It can be considered useful for two reasons. First, it is designed to help the reader to become acquainted with the main aspects of text linguistics and its basic concepts (field, branches, interdisciplinarity, development, varieties, the concepts of text and text coherence, structuration of texts) on a largely informal basis. Second, the field of text linguistics is so diversified that a specialist active in some of its branches or in one of its varieties, theories can rarely marshal competence sufficient to be able to apply the so far results of text linguistics to one or the other text science. In many cases the author succeeds in adducing arguments for agreeing with one of the standpoints necessary for establishing a proper starting-point for the stylistic inquiries at issue. At the same time, this introduction can be considered as one of the most complete and comprehensive surveys of the basic questions of text linguistics in Hungarian language. In this respect I take for especially instructive

the discussion of the interdisciplinarity of text linguistics which, as a matter of fact, represents the actual framework prerequisite for the treatment of the propounded subject.

The second, the central section falls into two parts dealing with the theoretical bases of stylistics and with the actual stylistic researches.

In the first part the author is concerned with the new theoretical principles offered by text linguistics for improving the theoretical bases of stylistics which, indeed, cannot meet the exacting requirements of the general science theory. He is of the opinion — with which we can agree — that stylistics as a backward discipline is scanty of theories (since many of the students of style have an anti-theoretical attitude), thus it cannot by itself create sound and renewing criteria. That is why stylistics is in need of the help of text linguistics which is — as compared to stylistics — a strikingly theory-oriented science and as such may face opportunities long unavailable for integrating stylistics into its legitimate interests. In addition, text linguistics may facilitate the formation of several stylistic theories. In this respect we have to maintain that the author represents a rational idea admitting in the present state only the possibility of a partial textual style theory which in his work implies a theory of stylistic analysis.

In the second part there is a discussion of the actual stylistic researches involving a lot of problems that earlier formulations of stylistic inquiries were incapable of dealing with in an appropriate way. Centering on these issues the author offers an actually new point of view referring to an adequate framework necessary for presenting the possible criteria offered by text linguistics and within which the discussion proceeds. This framework is constituted of text levels which are identified with objects and branches of stylistics, that is: (1) text constituents, stylistic devices, stylistic evaluation, (2) text, style of a text, stylistic analysis, (3) supertext, style types, stylistic typology. In every case the author's starting-point is the fact that text linguistics as a much advanced discipline in descriptive techniques can provide stylistics with productive criteria for description which enlarge, improve and renew researches involved by its three branches. In this way text linguistics may contribute to the rejuvenation of stylistics in its methodology and enable the students of style to be able to break out of the old and self-imposed restrictions on the methodology of

their science. Practitioners of style can realize that only an approach integrated with text linguistics can succeed where traditional stylistics failed (e.g. in the case of the first branch mainly because of not being able to go beyond sentence).

The third section of the book includes stylistic analysis of eight literary works (five poems, two short stories and one novel) which would justify the theoretical aspects dissected in the chapter on stylistic analysis, criteria of a partial textual stylistic theory developed by the author.

In summary, Szabó's book represents an ambitious and impressive attempt to develop a text linguistic based stylistics. It outlines an integrative framework for stylistics within which the author succeeds in raising a number of important issues. At the same time, he calls our attention to the fact that many details and several major problems remain to be worked out. The book will be of interest not only to students of text and style, but also to literary scholars. Finally, I should like to remark that it would deserve to be translated into a world-wide language.

KABÁN ANNAMÁRIA

Wolfgang Heise, *Schönheit und Geschichte* Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin und Weimar 1988, 592 Seiten.

Im Nachwort sind die Hölderlin-Studien als „work in progress“ (S. 585) charakterisiert, nicht nur ein Hinweis auf den schwierigen Erkenntnis- und Auseinandersetzungsprozess, in dem sich Heise souverän engagiert und originell dem Phänomen Hölderlin zuwendet. War ihm dieser doch eine permanente Herausforderung gewesen, hatte er stets im Ensemble der deutschen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Hölderlin mitgedacht, wenn er von den normativen Größen redete und schrieb. Eine „lebenslange Faszination durch Hölderlin“ (S. 576) merkt man diesem postum veröffentlichten Werk durchgehend an. Es dokumentiert ein außerordentliches Verständnis für das poetische Detail, für den knappen ästhetischen Entwurf und für die übergreifenden, sehr komplexen Zusammenhänge, die gründlich erschlossen werden. Heise greift in diesen Studien aus der Blütezeit der deutschen Literatur und Ästhetik paradigmatisch neuartige, im Sinne bürgerlicher Emanzipation prototypische Prozesse und Tendenzen heraus, befragt sie auf wesentliche Knoten- und Wendepunkte, um

so eine präzisere, differenziertere Sicht auf ein schwerwiegendes Desiderat deutscher Ästhetik-, Literatur- und Philosophiegeschichte zu erlangen. Hölderlins große schöpferische Phasen, der tiefgreifende künstlerische und philosophisch-ästhetische Entwicklungsprozeß sind der eigentliche Gegenstand dieses Buches. Heise kommt m.E. dabei zu ideologie-, wissenschafts- und sozialgeschichtlich relevanten Befunden, die in künftiger Forschungsarbeit wesentlich dazu beitragen werden (und müssen), ideengeschichtliche, pseudodialektische, phänomenologische u.a. Vorstellungen über Hölderlins Lebenswerk im Ensemble philosophischer und literarischer Klassik kräftig außer Kurs zu setzen. Erstaunlich war ohnehin, daß Ästhetik und Philosophiegeschichte bei Hölderlin oft so eklatant versagten, sich seiner noch nicht bemächtigt haben; Heise leistet, bei allem Strittigen, hier eine Pionierarbeit. Die gesamte, weit und diffizil sich auffächernde, schwer im Ganzen zu überschauende Einheit aller Kunst- und Denksituationen Hölderlins läßt Heise einheitlich vor allem darin erscheinen, daß sie mit allen ihren Ausdrucksformen den Zeitgeist einer großen geschichtlichen Epoche, eines „zerrissenen Bewußtseins“ (Hegel), bezeugt. Aus den nach rechts und links ausbrechenden philosophischen Systemen seiner Tübinger Stiftskollegen Hegel und Schelling bzw. aus den Grabkammern der philologischen Wissenschaften, kurz aus dem Beinhaus der Denkgeschichte, wertet Hölderlins Gesang und Gedanken für uns Heutige souverän und anregend „gehoben“. Jene Schönheit wird erfahrbar, die Hölderlin in der Nähe Susette Gontards nicht dunkel, wie in einem Spiegel, sondern von Angesicht zu Angesicht erschienen war; behutsam geht Heise dieser gewichtigen, persönlichsten Nuance Hölderlinschen Lebenslebens als eines Aufnehmens und Verarbeitens, gesellschaftlicher Erfahrungen nach, eruiert Kristallisationspunkte und legt aus der Dynamik der Sache das Fortwirkende des Problemkerns frei. Tyrannisches Überwissen, vergottete Vernunft, Positivität des Realen, schöne Individualität u.a.m. spürt Heise in seiner geschichtlichen Dialektik auf, um am Paradigma Hölderlin nach den genuinen poetisch-ideellen und praktisch-realen, Auflösungen und Vermittlungen zu suchen. Die Gegensätze und Trennungen, in denen Hölderlin dachte und lebte, werden aufgebrochen und hinsichtlich ihrer Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten analysiert. Eindrucksvoll kann Heise nachweisen, wie das kategorisch Neue, die voraussetzende Reflexion zum Teil bis heute nicht eingeholt und wahrgenommen, folgenlos geliebt ist, was über dessen Bedeutung täuscht: In Wahrheit liegt hier bei Hölderlin der verschüttete Entwurf einer neuen Dialektik vor, von dessen ursprünglicher Intention Hegels und Schellings Systeme (und sie waren doch alle die Kinder Kants) an die Peripherie und in die Totalität unversöhnlicher Entgegensetzung abzuweichen. Hölderlin profiliert vor, mit und ohne Hegel (der jeweils konkrete Bezug ergibt sich aus der Sache) entschieden, entscheidend und originär idealistische Dialektik, ohne ungeheure Systemgebäude zu errichten, dabei den geschichtlich-perspektivischen Anspruch des Schönen niemals preisgebend, dessen emanzipatorischen Impetus niemals unterschätzend, wengleich er letztendlich (über seine Kant-Fichte-Kritik) zur Hypertröphierung von Inhalt und Struktur der ästhetisch-poetischen Realitätsbeziehungen gelangt. Ist uns aber nicht der kluge Idealist genehmer, zumal wir bis heute kaum über einige Kommentare zu diesem Problem hinausgekommen sind? Heise gelingt es so, die systematisch-innerwissenschaftlichen und die extern-gesellschaftlichen Konstitutionszusammenhänge des Deutschen Idealismus in ihrer inneren Komplexität und Widersprüchlichkeit freizulegen, am Modellfall Hölderlin ein Panorama der Denksätze, Zeiterfahrungen und Zukunftsvorstellungen zu zeichnen, eine Epochenansicht zu konturieren, die den „Ganzheitszusammenhang“ (S. 352) konzentrisch bedenkt. Die Fülle des Materials und die in ihm akkumulierten Denkangebote ermöglichen nur eine Würdigung: aufs Ganze gesehen. Trotzdem sei versucht, aus wesentlichen Problemkomplexen heraus die originäre Leistung der Hölderlin-Studien zu kennzeichnen. Es wird die substantielle Verbundenheit der klassischen deutschen Literatur mit dem Problemvorrat, den Lösungsvorschlägen und den Hauptentwicklungslinien der klassischen deutschen Philosophie stringent nachgewiesen; es zeigt sich, daß Hölderlin an der Einheit von politischer und menschlicher Emanzipation des bürgerlichen Individuums sowie dessen Anspruch auf volle Individualitätssentfaltung kompromißlos und konsequent wie kein anderer festhält; sein Individualitätsbegriff ist zutiefst eingebettet in das Wechselverhältnis des Individuums zur Gesellschaft und zur Geschichte, so ist der Versuch erkennbar, das Individuum tenden-

ziell bereits als gesellschaftliches Wesen aufzufassen, aus der Argumentationsergänzung bei der Kritik der Reflexionsphilosophie (gegen die spekulative Überhöhung der Reflexion und gegen den Absolutheitsanspruch des Ichs) leitet sich eine interessante Umfeldbestimmung ab: die Prägung einer ideologischen Grundform bürgerlicher Subjektivität, deren Kernpunkt die Hypertrophierung des privaten intellektuellen Ichs bzw. der Individualität als spezialisierter Intellektualität in bürgerlicher Existenz ist; entschieden wird die sehr kontroverse Diskussion zum Ältesten Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus" befördert (für mich eines der besten Kapitel, obwohl Heise leider nicht am Original arbeiten kann), wesentlich durch die dezidierte Begründung seines Übergangscharakters zum Religiösen und Irrationalen sowie der Affinitäten zur romantischen Weltauffassung. U.a. verdeutlicht Heise den springenden Punkt der diffizilen Gesamtproblematik dieses singulären Dokuments deutscher philosophischer Kultur dahingehend, daß es sich in seiner Grundstruktur als Einheit von scharfer Gesellschaftskritik und markantem Gesellschaftsentwurf darstellt, dem ein kräftiges emanzipatorisches Moment innewohnt, das immer dann prägnant zur Erscheinung kommt, wenn Perspektivverkundungen nach dem Verhältnis von Gesellschaft und Individuum eingeholt werden. Weist doch der Text auf die feudale und die bürgerliche Gesellschaft zurück und diskutiert die Möglichkeiten einer ungehemmt reichen Entfaltung menschlicher Individualität: So tritt die allgemein-geschichtliche Freisetzung des Menschen unter der besonderen Form einer ästhetisch-philosophischen Emanzipation und in Gestalt des Totalitätsanspruchs in Erscheinung; die ästhetische Mystifikation ergänzt derart die vorausgehende philosophische (Descartes). Diese und andere beeindruckende Passagen geben Auskunft weit über Hölderlin und die Epoche hinaus, in ihnen konzentriert sich m.E. Wolfgang Heises Denken und Umgehen mit Ästhetischem als leidenschaftliches Plädoyer für konkret-dialektisches Kunstverständnis, das der Anstrengung begrifflicher Reflexion nie entbehren darf. So zeichnet Heise ein Hölderlin-Bild, das den überkommenen Lesarten (Adorno, Beck, Beissner, Bertaux, Sattler, Mieth) würdig zur Seite steht, fügt den Varianten über Hölderlin seine unverwechselbare Variante zu, eine Lebensbilanz, von der künftige Hölderlin-Forschung ausgehen muß, gerade im Namen Hölderlins.

FRANK-BERNHARD MÜLLER

Michel Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire*, Paris, PUF, Coll. "Peritère", 1985, 267 p.

Ce livre de Michel Zink n'est pas tout simplement un autre livre sur la littérature médiévale du siècle de Saint Louis (sous-titre: *Autour du siècle de Saint Louis*), parmi tant d'autres qui cherchent des affinités avec le Moyen Âge parce que ce Moyen Âge représente les origines de la littérature française et que cette rencontre est une justification des choix ultérieurs dans la voie critique; il n'est pas, non plus, une provocation voulue (même si cela peut paraître ainsi) à cause du choix de l'expression de subjectivité littéraire en quelque rapport que ce soit avec la genèse de la littérature française au Moyen Âge.

En faisant siens le choix et la prudence de Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (*L'Énonciation de la subjectivité dans le langage*, Paris, Colin, 1980) qui poursuit l'inscription du sujet parlant dans l'énoncé, M. Zink s'ingénie à rechercher cette subjectivité dans la littérature, et surtout au XIII^e siècle, dont les textes ne sont peut-être pas aussi beaux que ceux du XII^e siècle, mais qui est le moment de la genèse de la "littérature".

Que doit-on comprendre par subjectivité littéraire? „Non pas, bien évidemment, l'effusion spontanée ou l'expression véritable dans un texte de la personnalité, des opinions ou des sentiments de son auteur. Mais ce qui marque le texte comme le point de vue d'une conscience. En ce sens, la subjectivité littéraire définit la littérature. Celle-ci n'existe vraiment qu'à partir du moment où le texte ne se donne ni pour une information sur le monde prétendant à une vérité générale et objective, ni pour l'expression d'une vérité métaphysique ou sacrée, mais quand il se désigne comme le produit d'une conscience particulière, partagé entre l'arbitraire de la subjectivité individuelle et la nécessité contraignante des formes du langage" (p. 8).

En éclairant de la sorte la littérature française du XIII^e s., l'auteur est convaincu — et à juste titre — d'éclairer l'ensemble de la littérature française et de son développement, dans une perspective qui s'attache à la théorie de la réception. La littérature se définit désormais par la prise de conscience de sa vérité qui ne peut exister que par la subjectivité qui s'incarne en elle. D'autre part, montrer „que l'absolu de la subjectivité cherche à s'incarner dans une forme revient inversement à dire que les textes

littéraires du Moyen Âge peuvent être lus comme des essais pour fixer dans le langage — et éventuellement, il faut le reconnaître, sur le langage — le désir d'une subjectivité et ses représentations" (p. 17).

Pour mieux faire ressortir cette caractéristique de la littérature française du XIII^e siècle — l'expression critique de la subjectivité — l'auteur imagine trois sections: *Subjectivité et narrativité* (faisant voir comment le roman tourne „au discours du sujet" et la poésie lyrique à „la narration fictive du moi"), *La Subjectivité et le Temps* (montrant les formes littéraires atteintes par le sentiment subjectif du temps, de la vie et de la conscience) et *Écritures monodiques* (confession et effusion, histoire, mémoires et passions — marquant l'émergence de l'idée même de littérature).

Dans la première section, M. Zink marque le moment de „la mutation de la conscience littéraire", déterminé par l'attitude de la littérature vis-à-vis du passé (refusant le mythe — parce que société chrétienne, conservant la mémoire — rapports avec l'historiographie) et la prise de conscience de la fiction comme matière et de l'irruption de l'auteur „qui a seul autorité pour définir sa nature et qui en porte la responsabilité" (p. 27—30); ce moment est celui du roman, tard venu et greffé sur d'autres pratiques littéraires et a pour conséquence une réception intellectualisée, l'établissement d'un rapport auteur-lecteur, et, par la délimitation stricte de sa contribution par rapport aux sources, ouvre la voie à la création personnelle, tout en la faisant bénéficier de l'autorité de son modèle.

La poésie lyrique s'achemine à son tour vers la poésie personnelle; ce jeu de société (qui est jeu de mots) attire l'attention sur sa propre élaboration „explicitement parfois dans les strophes initiale et finale, implicitement toujours en tirant ses effets de la soumission du discours à une norme traditionnelle et de ses variations par rapport à elle." (p. 51). Le moi pénètre aussi, dans la poésie lyrique, par le truchement de l'anecdote, et l'abstraction du je lyrique est obliérée; les *Congés d'Arras* (congé que prend le poète lépreux de ses amis, déchirement de l'adieu, la honte d'être devenu objet de répulsion) introduisent dans le lyrisme la note personnelle et ce ne sera plus le chant (le „grand chant courtois") mais le *dit*, illustré surtout par Rutebeuf, Bodel et A. de la Halle.

La seconde section vise et réussit pleinement à révéler, après la présence de l'auteur, le présent de l'oeuvre. Aux couples de

termes antithétiques „l'auteur ou ce faire (vérité — fiction, source — auteur) vient s'ajouter un troisième — général-particulier: „Au premier abord, l'évolution du roman et de la poésie lyrique semble, de ce point de vue, inverse. Le roman se cherche de plus en plus un sens général ou une leçon, dans la mesure même où il ne trouve plus sa justification dans la relation de faits vrais. Le lyrisme, parti de la formalisation générale du grand chant courtois, évolue vers l'anecdote particulière. Mais à la source de cette double évolution se trouve une réflexion analogue sur les deux points définis plus haut, la vérité de l'oeuvre et l'autorité du poète." (p. 77).

Michel Zink analyse les époques et les dates dans l'oeuvre littéraire, le Moyen Âge n'étant pas indifférent à la précision chronologique, et fait voir que le cheminement vers le présent est au fond un cheminement vers le je (le fabliau) et que le poète est défini, dans la poésie personnelle, par les dates et autres notations personnelles (Rutebeuf, Le Clerc de Vaudoye, Guillaume Le Clerc de Normandie). Ce présent et cette subjectivité se retrouvent dans le poème allégorique (le *Roman de la Rose*) où le rêve assure la rencontre de l'allégorie et du réel (Watriquet de Couvin) et qui peut devenir reflet d'une vérité dans une conscience.

Les *Écritures monodiques* s'interrogent sur les aspects médiévaux de l'autobiographie, en partant du sens que donne Guibert de Nogent, dans *De Vita sua*, aux *monodiae* („in libris monodiarum mearum"), définissant le mode d'expression et non le contenu de son ouvrage. Ces mémoires deviennent une sorte d'envers de l'autobiographie: „la même réalité vue dans une perspective différente, un autre regard sur le même sujet défini, non à travers les événements de sa propre vie, mais à travers la passion de son écriture et à travers ses *commentaires*, pour reprendre le titre donné par César à ses mémoires, de ce qui, sans être lui-même, le touche et le livre." (p. 193).

L'absence au XIII^e siècle de l'autobiographie au sens moderne du mot ne signifie pas l'absence de cette „narration monodique" mais justifie sa recherche dans le camp des mémoires et de la confession (Ph. de Novare, Robert de Clari, Joinville, Abélard et Héloïse, Raymond Lulle).

Michel Zink a voulu faire apparaître „que la mutation dans la conception du moi littéraire n'est pas un trait du Moyen Âge finissant, mais qu'elle est contemporaine de la diffusion des oeuvres les plus anciennes de

la littérature française", qu'elle est aussi l'époque où „une idée nouvelle de la littérature — ou peut-être même l'idée nouvelle de littérature — se manifeste dans la lecture biographique et l'écriture autobiographique. L'époque où toute chose, en littérature, se mesure au temps de la vie" (p. 263–264).

VOICHIȚA SASU

Redmond O'Hanlon, *Joseph Conrad and Charles Darwin: The Influence of Scientific Thought on Conrad's Fiction*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, Humanities Press, 1984, p. 189.

Published four years ago, this classic study of ways in which a major work of literature reflects the scientific speculations of its age deserves a wide readership among those interested in relations between science and literature. O'Hanlon's work carefully demonstrates that Joseph Conrad's understanding of reality was taken from his knowledge of Newtonian physics and ideas about evolution drawn from Lamarck and Charles Darwin. Victorian science was still accessible to all intelligent men and Conrad had been interested throughout his life in emerging ideas from the exact sciences. O'Hanlon demonstrates that Conrad's world view rests on an elegant union of the permanence and immutability of the physical order of nature with the changeable and seemingly progressive biological order of nature. Laws of entropy and dissolution govern the physical order of nature while the biological order seems to rise to higher levels of complexity. But to Conrad, biological orders finally are illusions, masks for the deeper reality and truth of the fundamental changelessness of a universe which runs like a great machine on unalterable law.

O'Hanlon has selected Conrad's masterpiece *Lord Jim* (1901) to explore the ways by which an author's understanding of the science common to his time can work its way into fiction. The rest of his study focuses on ways this one novel reveals Conrad's attitudes toward time, sexuality, cosmology, chance, nature, psychology, anthropology, and other ideas drawn from the Victorian sciences. O'Hanlon's purpose is to re-order our approach to Conrad, enlarging our respect for the ways in which he has woven fictional experiment with intricate potential truths of late nineteenth century science, itself now superseded and

lost to us unless reclaimed through literary study of exactly this kind. His book gives us a portrait of „the inner nightmares endured by a massively thinking man trying to make sense of the new outer nature and to protect his old emotional life inside it, in the post-Darwin, post-Kelvin but pre-Mendel and pre-Einstein world of the 1890 s." (29). O'Hanlon believes one must look to the concrete literary forms of an era if s/he would discover the inward thoughts of a generation. Therefore, his study is of value not only to those interested in learning how to explore ways through which science can make its way into literary expression, but also to those historians of science who want to learn more about how a particular scientific conception was considered in its time.

For O'Hanlon, *Lord Jim* is Conrad's search for a basis for moral conduct in a universe governed by impersonal natural law. He begins by unraveling Conrad's notion of the evolution of moral sense, itself an application of the author's understanding of the theory of evolution to moral questions. Conrad believed the unconscious mind was a repository of the mind of prehistoric man. Moral complexity evolved along with man's changing physical and cultural nature. The "blush", a physical response to a moral challenge, was for Conrad an evidence of this co-evolution. But as the fate of the sun according to the second law of thermodynamics is overcomplexity and a return to its origins, so it is the fate of the morally complex man to regress under the pressures of egotistical desires for self preservation and a weakening of time-tested moral habits accumulated from society and its religion. Jim and the character Kurtz in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* are characters of this type, complex products of morally evolved societies entropically reverting back to the primitive from which they came. Each searches out a primitive place to fit his reversion. Jim's anglican inheritance gradually gives way to the new environment of Patusan through a web of interrelations between organism, habits, and habitat. Like the prehistoric earth of Africa, Java and Borneo were for Conrad a probable home of early mankind. Like physical nature, they represented a permanent truth of human nature stripped of illusions of progress and change. In such places a man must resist the onslaught of the truths of instinct with his own true stuff, his own inborn strength. O'Hanlon traces references to beasts in the language

of the novel as an index to Jim's internal and unconscious degeneration."

Jim, however, is not alone in his rever- sion to the primitive. Other characters — Big Montague Brierly, the Russian Harlequin and Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*, Robinson, the French lieutenant, Bob Stanton, Decoud in *Nostromo* — are imprisoned in different degrees in moral orders time has passed by. These and their kind are hopelessly displaced in the Darwinian nature of the far east. H. G. Wells' time traveller into the future discovered that a whole class within the human race had degenerated to cannibalism. Conrad admired Wells' „scientific romances" and in *Lord Jim* he constructed his own study of the diverse stages of moral evolution amongst „the old mankind." O'Hanlon demonstrates that two characters in the novel generally thought to be "wise men" — the French lieutenant and Stein — are actually deceivers. Stein, modeled on a composite of Conrad's father Appolo Korzeniowski, his uncle Thaddeus Bobrowski, and adventurer Alfred Russel Wallace, is a dangerous zealot, a maker of myths and dreams, not a quiet Conrad hero unafraid of the empty cosmos or of his own restricted biological nature who "knows how to be."

Within Conrad's vertically imagined world of the open sky, the open sea and the depths, (heroes) command the symbolic ships of society, guide their vessels safely through the worst that nature blindly can do either from within or from without, the brute or the storm, and they carry out their life's work upon the open surface of the sea, and sail home, as Marlow says, to "touch their reward with clean hands." (121)

"Heart of Twilight," the final chapter of O'Hanlon's study, explores one of the novel's most interesting characters, Gentleman Brown, a surviving vestige from desperate and heroic times who finds in Patusan an environment suited to his nature. Jim's friend Dain Waris, biologically whole amongst his people and the nature of his own race, would have matched such an adversary in a Darwinian battle of survivalist fighting skills. So would Jim's lover, the woman Jewel, for in Conrad's mind woman is more primitive than man, "inscrutable to his advanced reason but... powerful (in her) Darwinian attraction upon his lowest conscious faculties and his unconscious instincts. (She is) set apart upon a different evolutionary level in nature..." (148). But Lord Jim,

the "counterfeit aristocrat bearing the plague spot of his degeneration", is no longer of the evolutionary line that drove the Gentleman Browns in British society into the backwaters of biological niches like Patusan. In Jim's suicide Conrad finds the extinction of an individual rendered unfit to survive in the "struggle for life" by the disadvantages of his accumulated inheritance.

O'Hanlon's study demonstrates the depth of Conrad's debt to Victorian science for his world view. Ideas drawn from the exact sciences in *Lord Jim* have their parallels and extensions in all of Conrad's novels. However, by focussing on how these ideas are revealed in one novel, O'Hanlon manages to teach us something about how relationships between literature and science are to be studied in general as well as how they are revealed in the work of a master novelist.

ELAINE L. KLINER

Vasile Adăscăliței, *Istoria unui obicei. Plugușorul* [The History of a Custom. "Plugușorul"], Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1987, 154/-156/p.

Ethnographers and folklorists are, of late, more and more interested in the research of the folk customs as multivalent cultural phenomena, relevant as far as the forming, the mode of functioning, and the evolution of the folk mentality and spirituality are concerned. The agrarian customs seem to enjoy, for the time being, at least, a privileged regime, if we are to judge by the frequency of the editorial issues as well as by the erudition of the specialists who have made it their major scientific purpose to keenly examine these very customs.

Istoria unui obicei. Plugușorul is parte of just such a direction in research, for Vasile Adăscăliței sets forth to deal with the "contents" and "the modalities of formal accomplishment" of a custom having as a "subject" "the agrarian work carried out in order to obtain the bread" (p. 8). It is, according to the author, an "agrarian carol" which, in order to be able to integrally retain its dimensions (age, origin, significance, functions, structure), he constantly relates to other domains of oral creation, such as caroling, the beliefs, the agrarian rites, etc. The fact allows Vasile Adăscăliței to draw a first conclusion: that "Plugușorul" is an agrarian custom having its deep roots in the history of the spiritual practices characteristic of the

inhabitants of the Romanian soil, custom whose outlining appears to have been accomplished in time; its importance lies in that it can reveal aspects of our spirituality and the personality thereof" (p. 11).

Based upon wide readings, upon an imposing corpus of variants (witness-texts) and field documents, Vasile Adăscăliței's endeavour in research is outlined gradually, managing, in the end, to render, in a monographic attempt, the complex image of a custom which, if carefully "read", can reveal essential particularities about our more or less specific mode of receiving the reality, of understanding the ways of this world.

Vasile Adăscăliței deals, successively, with the more general coordinates of this "agrarian custom", fundamental with the Romanians; with "the folkloric facts" related to those to be found with other peoples; with its outspread and denominations; with its actants, the show and the props used; and, eventually, with the verbalized text. An ample section of the book focuses upon the relation between "Plugușorul" and other folkloric genres, after which the final chapter points out as a conclusion "the identity of the custom with the plough". Having enumerated the above elements (which, generally speaking, coincide with the contents of the book), we have but approximately rendered the problems of the volume. Moreover, we've yet said almost nothing about the manner in which the folklorist understands to resolve the questions taken into consideration. We notice, for the time being, that Vasile Adăscăliței prepares his discourse with much care; that his work hypotheses and his interpretative sentences are brought forth only after the bibliographic suggestions have been confronted with the ethnological documents and field realities.

Starting hence, what does Vasile Adăscăliței assert? That "Plugușorul" is a custom that has to be put in relation with other ancient agrarian customs, such as the comradeship at the plough, the "forms of the ploughing ceremonial", "trasul în vale", "udătorul" or "tînjava", "cununa" ("the wreath"), etc.

The not very numerous elements of the scenario one can encounter with other peoples, too (the cult of the sacred plough, etc.), fact which makes the thesis "Plugușorul" = a folkloric manifestation specific exclusively of the Romanian people" (p. 15), in Vasile Adăscăliței's opinion, hard to support. As to the age of the custom, the folklo-

rist believes that „Plugușorul” combining elements of the native spirituality (Illyrian-Thracian) with elements taken over from our Roman cultural heritage, as well as with some Slavic ones, must be situated, as far as age is concerned, around the 10th—11th centuries A. D., the custom being thus of a more recent date than the carols proper.

The scenario comprises "numerous elements of the agrarian beliefs and practices existing in the use of the local populace (Moldavia, our note), this process being connected with the beginning of our millenium" (p. 151). Being of a more recent date, "Plugușorul" has embodied into its structures scenarios, or segments of agrarian ritual scenarios (the carol, the reaping wreath, etc.), subordinating these to its characteristic functions and messages. Having views different from those of other researchers, Vasile Adăscăliței considers Moldavia (including Bessarabia) to be the source of the developed version of "Plugușorul", whence, through a process of "irradiation", it spread to the rest of the Romanian provinces. We are not discussing here whether Vasile Adăscăliței is right or not in his assertions. What is important is the fact that the author strives to argue his position and to make it plausible.

Even when focusing upon "denominations", "actants", "show" and props, the University of Iași professor has in view things that belong to the very essence of the examined phenomenon. Such are the "vitality", the origin, the age, and the initial or subsequent functions, the ritualistic or only ceremonial roles of the actants, the customary and poetic structures, the contaminations and the levels of significance, etc. The custom, as well as its afferent text, Vasile Adăscăliței persuades the reader, reflect in their present structure the overlapping of certain successive cultural ages, each of which marks the steps of an evolution of the genre from the status of "ritual folkloric drama" to that of a show in the immediate contemporaneity. It is an otherwise natural process which not only "Plugușorul" witnesses, but the rest of the customs as well. These very customs, being desecrated, forsake their initial functions and adopt new ones instead, the latter being caused and determined by the shifts that have occurred within the mentality of the traditional folkloric collectivities. The state of affairs described is validated not so much by the entire corpus of variants, as it is by those performances of the custom that accept "non-agrarian" texts, in which

the "loss of meaning" and the replacing of the functions have had as an effect the almost definitive dwindling of the initial magical-ritual dimension. In these conditions, the reason of the practicing of the custom has remained the observing of the ancient custom (which sometimes has the status of a social convention) imposed through the force of tradition, while the dominant note of the text has remained the humour, estranged though from its apotropaic function of former times. Through its recent functions which inevitably take into consideration the structure of the receiving group, "Pluguşorul" becomes a cultural good of some ever-increasing "professional" categories, and not only of the masses of countryfolk.

We skip the relations existing between "Pluguşorul" and other folkloric genres, relations resolved, generally speaking, reasonably, but not before repeating the fact that in the final chapter, Vasile Adăscăliţei insists on the identity of the plough custom in Romanian folklore. The author resets into order the ideas that served as a basis to his approach, stating that, "Being a

complex accomplishment, the ploughing carol custom with the Romanians consists of a sum of facts, unequal in age, which, as a whole, are part of the most valuable traditional manifestations of the Romanian folklore, hinting at characteristic features of the process of ethnogenesis, towards whose reconstitution I have (partially) striven on the occasion of dealing with these problems. (p. 152)

Read alongside Dumitru Pop's research entitled *Pluguşorul — sinteză folclorică românească* („Pluguşorul, — a Romanian Folkloric Synthesis („Studii şi cercetări”, vol. IV, Sibiu, 1982, p. 145—172, resumed in *Obiceiuri agrare în tradiţia populară românească* (*Agrarian Customs in Romanian Folk Tradition*), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1989, p. 25—131), Vasile Adăscăliţei's book brings a substantial contribution to the better understanding of this agrarian custom to the pointing out of its position and importance in the framework of our folk culture.

ION ŞEULEANU

MISCELLANEA

La Révolution française au Mercure de France et chez Galliard

Abbé Morellet, *Mémoires sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la Révolution*. Introduction et notes de J.-P. Guicciardi, Paris, Mercure de France, 597 pages.

Cinquante-deuxième titre publié dans la très intéressante collection de mémoires créée par Jacques Brosse au Mercure de France („Le Temps retrouvé“: „L'histoire racontée par ses acteurs et ses témoins“), *Les mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet (1727—1919)* nous semblent être l'un des textes les plus passionnants et les plus utiles pour comprendre et revivre ce qu'était la vie mondaine, intellectuelle et idéologique à l'époque des Lumières et pendant la Révolution. Aussi saluons-nous cette édition comme une heureuse initiative, et ceci à double titre: non seulement pour l'intérêt du texte, mais encore parce qu'il était certainement nécessaire de réparer un trop injuste oubli, plus d'un siècle et demi s'étant écoulé depuis les parutions antérieures des *Mémoires* en 1821 et 1822. On parcourt ce livre comme un document sociologique et historique exceptionnel et, en même temps, comme un récit vivant, au rythme alerte, riche de portraits et d'anecdotes. C'est le témoignage d'un intellectuel, homme de lettres de souche modeste, qui connut une réussite hors du commun et dont l'existence fut intimement mêlée aux luttes idéologiques, à la vie littéraire et artistique des règnes de Louis XV et de Louis XVI ainsi qu'à toute cette période extrêmement mouvementée que fut la Révolution française.

Dans le monde fortement hiérarchisé de l'Ancien Régime, où s'élever aux couches supérieures de la société était difficile sinon impossible, et signifiait en tout cas franchir nombre d'obstacles, Morellet parvient (grâce à ses qualités intellectuelles, à sa ténacité et à son ardeur à l'étude) à une situation haute et stable. Néanmoins, il faut dire que son ascension exceptionnelle est favorisée par des phénomènes sociologiques plus amples qui, dans la deuxième partie du XVIII-ème siècle, permettent à tout un „prolétariat intel-

lectuel“ de conquérir des places dans la société, d'acquérir richesse, notoriété, protection et amitiés illustres. C'est ainsi que notre auteur, aîné des quatorze enfants d'une famille provinciale et peu aisée (toute petite bourgeoisie), devenu docteur en Sorbonne, un de ces „prêtres philosophes“ qui excellaient dans l'art de la polémique, pénètre dans le groupe de l'Encyclopédie et dans les salons parisiens, est élu à l'Académie française (pour ses oeuvres théoriques de politique et d'économie), devient familier de philosophes, de ministres et de cardinaux et, à travers eux, d'autres personnes du tout-Paris.

Une suite de tableaux colorés fait revivre devant nous tout ce microcosme parisien (chap. I—XVIII): l'atmosphère dans le salon de Mme Geoffrin, les soirées chez Mlle de Lospinasse, la conversation de Buffon, d'Helvétius, leurs disputes, la compagnie qui se réunissait deux fois par semaine chez le baron d'Holbach, le „complot“ contre J.-J. Rousseau, Diderot recevant en robe de chambre deux prêtres (dont l'auteur) qui disputent chez lui d'athéisme, les gesticulations de l'abbé Galiani etc, etc... C'est la description des „années heureuses“ (1750—1789) décrites par la Révolution, des hommes des Lumières, de leur mode de vie, de leurs relations, de leur philosophie, toutes ces personnes se rejoignant, quel que fût le groupe auquel elles appartenaient, par leurs idées: „la liberté, la tolérance, l'horreur du despotisme et de la superstition, le désir de voir réformer les abus.“ (chap. XIX). Cette société intellectuelle est recherchée aussi par „tous ces étrangers de quelque mérite et de quelque talent qui venaient à Paris; à Paris qui était alors, comme l'appelait Galiani, *le café de l'Europe*.“ (chap. VI)

Tout ce beau monde s'écroula brutalement à partir de juillet 1789. Les souvenirs que l'abbé conserve de l'époque révolutionnaire (chap. XIX à XXVII) se rassemblent dans une description apocalyptique. Bien que partisan au début de certains changements (vote par tête, élaboration d'une constitution,

par exemple), Morellet est vite dépassé par les événements; il voit avec effroi „l'horrible agitation du peuple”, la populace avide de sang, la radicalisation du mouvement révolutionnaire, le bouleversement total de l'ordre social et des valeurs, les meurtres, les „scélérats” devenir maîtres de la France: „... la royauté insultée et avilie; l'habitation du souverain souillée de meurtres, sa déchéance, sa captivité; le trône, enfin, renversé, et la France devenue républicque; le jugement et la mort du roi sur un échafaud, suivie de celle de son auguste et malheureuse compagne et de sa vertueuse soeur; les nobles, les prêtres, emprisonnés, massacrés par milliers; les propriétés partout envahies, les autels profanés, la religion foulée aux pieds: tels sont les faits que rassemble cette époque, où les événements on été d'un tel poids et se sont passés en si grand nombre, que l'on croit avoir vécu des années en un mois et des mois en un jour, comme un quart d'heure d'un rêve pénible semble, au réveil, avoir rempli toute la durée d'une longue nuit.” (chap. XIX). L'abbé reste royaliste et va haïr de tout son coeur les nouveaux maîtres de la France.

Après la Révolution (chap. XXVII au XXXIII et dernier), l'abbé, âgé de soixante-dix ans, se sentant encore de l'énergie, reprend la plume. Il lui fallait vivre aussi, „la grande et généreuse nation” l'ayant dépouillé de ses pensions et bénéfices. On sent cependant dans son écriture que les temps ont changé; le monde de ses amis s'est notablement réduit; une autre génération monte... et l'abbé se retire dans le souvenir...

Il ne faut pas penser que ces mémoires sont écrits comme des confessions, des épanchements du moi. Morellet n'est pas Rousseau. Le lecteur moderne se demandera où est l'homme Morellet dans cet écrit; il ne l'y trouvera pas explicitement. Malgré le *Je* de l'énonciation (*Les Mémoires* sont écrits à la première personne), l'impression est, tout au moins à première vue, que l'auteur lui-même, dans sa personnalité intime, n'apparaît pas. Cela est-il dû à une réserve naturelle? À sa pudeur? À son éducation, au respect des convenances? À la tradition littéraire? Peut-être bien à tout cela à la fois. Néanmoins, les marques de l'auteur, même inconscientes, y sont, ce qu'une étude attentive du texte ne manquera pas de déceler. Morellet est, certes, un homme sensible, mais il est surtout rationnel et rationaliste. Il sait peindre et polémiquer; émouvoir n'est pas son fort.

On doit remarquer les qualités de l'introduction, qui éclaire certains aspects du texte; intéressante et fort utile, elle est faite avec compétence et rédigée avec talent, ainsi que les notes qui complètent le texte de la façon la plus heureuse. À la fin de l'ouvrage, un index permet de retrouver les noms propres dans le corps de l'ouvrage. La réalisation graphique réussie rend agréable l'aspect de ce livre dont la lecture est indispensable au spécialiste du XVIII-ème siècle et vivement recommandable à tout lecteur cultivé.

ROMANA TIMOC BARDY

Mona Ozouf, *L'Homme régénéré. Essais sur la Révolution française*, Paris, Gallimard, NRF, Bibliothèque des Histories, 1989, 239 p.

Le nouveau livre de Mona Ozouf, fruit d'une recherche approfondie sur des textes de l'époque révolutionnaire assez peu étudiés est, avant tout, une réflexion sur le projet pédagogique — au sens le plus large — de la Révolution française. Qu'il soit destiné à assurer l'unité du peuple par le biais de la suppression des inégalités entre les individus (p. 11), à mettre en place une nouvelle conception du temps (l'interrogation sur le temps comme progression linéaire ou comme succession régulière d'événements doit céder la place, selon l'auteur du livre, à une réflexion sur le „tempo” révolutionnaire, p. 13, qui est une alternance de mouvements ou d'événements précipités, s'accéléralant parfois vertigineusement, et de périodes où la cadence des mouvements se ralentit, touchant presque à l'inertie), à redéfinir le rôle de l'éducateur comme agent *politique* — et non pas uniquement social — qui rejoint, par la dignité de sa tâche, le prestige du législateur (ce qui fait que l'éducation ait pour objet le citoyen — et non pas l'individu —, contribuant ainsi à la formation de l'*esprit public* — et, plus tard, de la *conscience publique* — qu'on aura à opposer à l'*opinion publique*) ou enfin à plaider la cause du roi constitutionnel (dans lequel l'exigence d'*éducation* l'emporte sur la *fonction canonique* du personnage, p. 114; voir l'échange épistolaire entre Marie-Antoinette et Barnave), le rêve pédagogique du siècle de la Révolution est une présence discrète mais sensible, qui sous-tend les grandes articulations de la pensée révolutionnaire.

Le désir pédagogique est bien, dans les études qui composent le livre de Mona

Ozouf, une des hantises qui a permis la réinsertion de l'expérience révolutionnaire dans l'histoire et l'inscription de la Révolution dans le temps. Si la volonté révolutionnaire est, originellement, ambition de sortir du temps, (voir l'innage mythique de l'homme nouveau, du bon sauvage ingénu dont l'innocence est plutôt une „innocence-fiction" p. 117, et aussi celle de la régénération, lestée de connotations symboliques), elle révèle néanmoins, à une lecture attentive des faits, des aspects inattendus, troublants, imprévisibles: née comme une création, une grâce inaugurale ou une „commotion" dans le temps „disruptif" des commencements absolus (p. 132: voir, à ce sujet, les analyses consacrées à l'étrangeté du roi, dont l'inviolabilité sera rejetée après sa fuite; le roi constitutionnel sera, nécessairement, un roi déchu, p. 85 et suiv.), la Révolution, s'avèrera bientôt double. Dans les lettres de Barnave par exemple, la Révolution est d'abord une lente montée du passé vers le présent, fruit du besoin d'adaptation des institutions politiques à une société „travaillée par les progrès de la population, du commerce et des arts" (p. 114); mais elle est aussi une sollicitation du présent et un appel angoissé de l'événement: révolution qui achève le passé, et révolution qui le suspend à un avenir de chances et de risques, en même temps. La conscience d'un passé qui n'a pas été introduit, par là, l'idée paradoxale d'une régénération qui est à venir: non plus „désinvolté et spontanée, mais bien méticuleuse et dirigiste, attachée à la figure d'un législateur invisible ou à la main

cachée d'un pédagogue" (p. 145). Le triple réseau de l'éducation révolutionnaire (réseau d'écoles, d'institutions républicaines et d'instituteurs) consacre ainsi, dans un temps de la conscience républicaine (il faut qu'on fasse à l'enfant „une sorte de violence pour apprendre", dit un pédagogue de l'époque; il faut également, dit Chénier, „presser l'âme des enfants et l'environner d'un triple rempart de patriotisme", p. 145). À travers ses tâches répétitives, ouvrant sur un avenir indéfini, voué à la contingence, le projet pédagogique révolutionnaire redevient historique. Écartelé entre „la volonté de terminer l'entreprise et la peur sourde qu'elle soit interminable" (*Ibid.*), il désigne la régénération comme un vide initial, ou comme une origine en creux d'actes ou de gestes dirigés vers l'avenir. C'est que „l'idée d'une possible dégénérescence de l'homme régénéré est ici constamment présente" (p. 143); c'est aussi ce qui fait que la pédagogie de la Révolution française dessine, comme le dit si bien l'auteur du livre, un espace des idées incarnées, et non point d'abstractions de langage: „Actions plongées dans un milieu verbal, paroles plongées dans un milieu d'action; toujours référées à un contexte dense, et pourtant ne s'y réduisant jamais complètement" (p. 18). C'est le parti pris de régénération concrète, toujours à venir, qui rend le projet pédagogique révolutionnaire si proche de nous, et qui fait qu'il nous concerne comme un objet qui peut-être, un jour, sera nôtre, dans son étrangeté même.

HORIA LAZĂR

Cahiers Internationaux de symbolisme. Numéros 59-60-61/1988

Dédié à la mémoire du Docteur Moïse Engelson, co-fondateur, avec Claire Lejeune, des *Cahiers Internationaux de Symbolisme*, le présent volume réunit des Actes du Colloque sur „L'Écriture, lieu théorique et pratique du changement?", organisé à Charleroi en nov. 1986, ainsi que d'autres contributions (études, comptes rendus) ayant trait au même thème.

Les communications abordent dans des perspectives différentes (poétique, sociologique, philosophique, pataphysique) un problème complexe, d'une grande actualité dans la réflexion critique, à savoir, la crise des genres, l'effacement que ce phénomène entraîne dans le rapport de l'imaginaire et du réel. Dans ces conditions, on ne parle plus de genre, notion déjà périmée, mais du

concept d'écriture, qui est devenu le „dénominateur commun de tous les actes graphiques".

Louise Cotnoir (*Sous l'angle de la provocation ou quand la théorie imagine*) retrace les jalons qui ont marqué, au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, l'écriture au féminin québécoise. Métamorphoses, transgression des genres, subversion des codes, défi contre l'orthodoxie littéraire, féminisation de la langue, tous ces changements enregistrés dans la pratique et la théorie de l'écriture sont envisagés en étroite relation avec les bouleversements qui se sont produits dans l'ensemble de la société.

Dans son article de synthèse, *La littérature et ses genres*, Thierry Haumont, romancier belge déjà consacré par le prix Rossel (1985)

se propose d'examiner dans quelle mesure „la dissolution des genres, par métissage, entraînerait une sorte de libération de la pensée, un accord plus grand avec l'époque et un progrès". (p. 14).

Poète et essayiste, Claire Lejeune (*Du poétique au politique*) défend, au nom de sa propre expérience poétique, la réhabilitation de la condition poétique, „résurgence de la citoyenneté poétique" (p. 36), si longtemps bannie de la Cité patriarcale. Acte de connaissance, de „réactivation des sources" au sens rimbaldien, l'écriture poétique est envisagée comme une écriture virtuellement politique, la fonction du poète étant d'„incarner le droit naturel dans une société structurée par l'ordre du savoir" (p. 37). L'essai embrasse un large spectre de problèmes concernant l'écriture poétique: les rapports conflictuels entre le poétique et le politique, la situation de l'écriture féminine, „lieu théorique et pratique du changement dans les mœurs" (p. 38), les mouvements contradictoires de l'écriture poétique (centripète/centrifuge, involutif/évolutif), le rapport de l'écriture au changement, l'incompatibilité de la *poéticité* et de la *scientificité*. La conclusion du texte apporte une réponse prospective au thème-question du colloque: „l'écriture est le lieu théorique et pratique du changement en tant qu'elle est le lieu de conception et de gestation de la mentalité solidaire, la matrice d'un projet de société où poéticité et scientificité ne craindront plus de se métisser..." (p. 46).

Jean Louvet, connu comme dramaturge et créateur du Théâtre prolétarien de al

Louvière, consacre son article *Changements dans l'écriture dramatique d'aujourd'hui* à une synthèse des conditions de production qui ont favorisé certains changements dans l'écriture et la pratique théâtrales, surtout à partir de la fin du XIX siècle: le rôle hégémonique exercé par le metteur en scène, l'apport des sciences humaines (la linguistique, la sémiologie), „le choc de ce qu'on appelle la fin des idéologies" particulièrement dans le théâtre politique, „les effets de la question nationale" (régionale). L'auteur s'arrête ensuite sur un aspect particulier de l'écriture dramatique, le théâtre politique, ses rapports avec l'idéologie de la lutte des classes.

D'autres contributions non moins importantes, que par manque d'espace nous nous contentons de mentionner, Line Mc Murray (*Le corps extrême de l'esprit machine*), Jacques Sojcher (*Introduction au désir de vouloir changer*), France Théoret (*Fiction et métissage ou écrire l'imaginaire du réel*), France Borel (*L'imaginaire à fleur de peau*), Alin Bourgeois (*Au-delà... de la théorie et de la fiction: la mort du genre*), Hugues Coriveau (*Les métamorphoses de la pensée*), Pascal Nottet (*Le narcissisme de la transgression, la transgression du narcissisme: questions pour l'art*) complètent ce volume extrêmement intéressant par le thème du débat, par la variété et l'originalité des perspectives d'approche.

RODICA LASCU-POP

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