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DANCING WITH THE WORD

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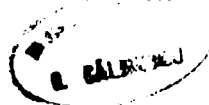
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DANCING WITH THE WORD. METHODOLOGICAL STEPS OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN PASTORAL SETTING*

EUGEN PENTIUC

There are two processions during the Divine Liturgy, the Little Entrance and the Great Entrance. At the time of the Little Entrance, the priest takes the Holy Gospel book and going out from the Altar stands at the customary place and recites the prayer of Entrance.

One cannot help comparing this liturgical moment and the procession (*i.e.*, the holy dance) with the Scroll of Torah three times around the synagogue during the Jewish festival "Simchat Torah" ("The Joy of Torah"). The Jewish ritual books call "Torah" the "bride", and its appointed readers for this particular festival, the "bridegrooms of the Torah". Book and reader make a couple.

The Little Entrance as a part of the Holy Liturgy symbolizes the beginning of Christ's public ministry when the Lord left the Nazareth of His childhood to spread the Good News that "the Kingdom of God is at hand" (Matt 4:17). At the same time, the procession with the Gospel book may be seen as an exuberant liturgical dance with the Gospel book by which we show our love and respect for the word of God. By lifting up the Holy Book, and saying "Wisdom!" the ordained minister points to the priceless treasure, the Word of God, found in the Book. Since the Word of the Scripture is not a simple drop of ink on a piece of paper, but rather a person, God Himself who has spoken through prophets and the righteous, and in the end through His beloved Son made man, our relationship with this amazing Word becomes a dialogue; but a dialogue as passionate as a dance, a liturgical dance that is, performed within the community of faith, and aiming at its spiritual growth.

If for a mundane dance one should learn certain rules, in the same way the priest as an interpreter and tradent of the Word should be accustomed to the rules of a proper exegesis. The following lines represent an abbreviated list of rules or methodological steps that are to be observed for a correct interpretation of the Word in a pastoral setting.

* Paper presented to the Annual Congress of the Romanian Archdiocese in America and Canada, Windsor, Canada, June 30, 2000.

From the beginning, we should correct a misconception spread among orthodox Christians that any phrase containing "critical" or "criticism" with respect to the study of Bible should be rejected as non-orthodox. Yet, these "taboo" terms will often appear throughout the present paper. Not in the sense they were used in 18th–19th century Protestant scholarship, but rather in the sense of a post-modern culture where "criticism" means objective analysis, as objective as any human endeavor might be. Roland Kenneth Harrison (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, 82) warns about the pitfalls facing the modern scholarship, "Only when criticism is properly established upon an assured basis of ancient Near Eastern life rather than upon occidental philosophical or methodological speculations that Old Testament scholarship can expect to reflect something of the vitality, dignity, and spiritual richness of the law, prophecy, and the sacred writings".

Some of these "criticisms" or methodological steps are as old as the ancient Christian interpretations. For instance, we find preoccupations of textual criticism in Origen writings in the third century A.D. By compiling "Hexapla", Origen had the same goal in mind as the modern scholars, to reconstruct the original text (autograph) with the help of different versions of the Scripture. Needless to say, how important is this step for exegesis. Just take a look at the great variety of translations and see how much can they differ among themselves!

I choose the story of "Cain and Abel" (Gen 4:1-16) as an illustration of the methodological steps. And I do this for two reasons. First, the story belongs to the Old Testament that is often left outside our list of sermons as an obsolete collection of books, a kind of Cinderella of the New Testament. Yet, as William Sanford LaSor (*Old Testament Survey*, 589) points out, "In study as in worship, humankind needs the entire revelation, the whole Bible. The Old Testament belongs not to the Jewish people alone but to all. It is the account of the ways in which God has worked; it is the summary of what he has demanded; it is the record of his preparation for Christ's coming; it is the best canvas on which to catch the picture of his dealings with the human family through the centuries. In short, it is the indispensable foundation on which the New Testament is built". The second reason for selecting Gen 4:1-16 is that at a preliminary reading this narrative looks problem-free and quite poor in theological ideas. By following the methodological steps, we are going to see how the hidden message of such a linear story becomes obvious for everybody.

First, let me read the chosen pericope.

Cain and Abel (Gen 4:1-16)

"(1) Then Adam *knew* his wife Eve, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain, saying, 'I have *acquired* a man with the help of the LORD.' (2) And again, she gave birth to his brother Abel. Now Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground. (3) *In the course of time*, Cain brought to the LORD an *offering*

of the fruit of the ground, (4) and Abel, for his part, brought of the *firstlings* of his flock and some of their fat. And the LORD looked with favor on Abel and his offering, (5) but he did not look with favor on Cain and his offering. So Cain was angry and his face fell. (6) The LORD said to Cain, 'Why you are so angry, and why is your face fallen? (7) Surely, if you do right, there is *uplift*. But if you do not do right, Sin is *crouching* at the door; its *desire* (lust) is toward you, yet you can *master* it.' (8) Cain said to Abel his brother, '*Let us go out to the field.*' And when they were in the *field*, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him. (9) Then the LORD said to Cain, 'Where is Abel your brother?' He said, 'I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?' (10) And the LORD said, 'What have you done? The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground. (11) And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand. (12) When you till the ground, it shall no longer yield to you its strength; you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth.' (13) Cain said to the LORD, 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. (14) Since you have banished me this day from the ground, and I shall be hidden from your face, and I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on earth – anyone who meets me will kill me!' (15) Then the LORD said to him, '*Not so* [=LXX; but MT: 'therefore']! If anyone kills Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold.' And the LORD put a mark [*'ôt* = sign] on Cain, lest any who came upon him should kill him. (16) Then Cain went away from the presence of the LORD, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, east of Eden."

1. OBSERVATION

The content of the story is quite clear. Having been evicted from the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve had two sons, Cain, a farmer, and Abel, a shepherd. Both sons brought sacrifices to God. But God received Abel's sacrifice with favor, while disregarding Cain's sacrifice. For this reason, jealous at Abel, Cain killed his brother. Thus Cain became the world's first murderer. In the end, God punished Cain by expelling him from the settled land. Cain became a fugitive and wanderer.

At this preliminary stage, the usual pastoral application is a sort of emphasis set on murder as one of the first consequences of the original sin. But, as we are going to see, following the methodological steps, the story of Cain and Abel is replete with more fundamental questions regarding God, man, and their covenantal relationship.

Observation is the first step of the dialogue with the Word. So, observe your partner. Listen to the Word as to your first love. Try to understand the whispers. Cast away any prejudice or routine interpretation which might sneak into your mind. Do not rush to commentaries, as good and useful as they appear to be. If you

are eager to know your partner do not ask the neighbors; rather talk and listen to your priceless partner. There will be a time when your personal observations should be verified in light of others' opinions. But until then, make use of common sense. You will be surprised how far you can go in exegesis just examining the text. Advancement in knowledge depends primarily on observation. Therefore, spend more, better time to know your partner. Read thoughtfully the Word and let the ear hear its sweet sound. Keep on reading several times until the reading turns into a litany. Let the Word speak to you. And the Word will speak to you confidently with the same freshness as on the day when it was for the first time heard by the holy writer. But if the Word wishes to remain silent, respect its mysterious silence. For the Word's silence is heavenly speech.

While reading Genesis 4:1-16, one may observe a number of odd details. For instance:

a) Eve does not call Cain "son" or "child", but rather "man" (v. 1: "I have acquired a man ..."). What is the theological significance of this lexical choice?

b) Another observation is that the narrative provides no reason for God's rather erratic behavior. Why has God regarded with favor Abel's sacrifice while unfavorably regarding Cain's?

c) Sin is portrayed as a beast crouching at the door. What is the point of such a terimorph metaphor of the evil one in a quite ancient story?

d) God tells Cain that he is able "to master" the sin. How does this promise fit in the post-Fall anthropology?

These observations and questions represent both a starting point and a challenging task for the diligent interpreter ready to deal with the next steps.

2. TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Dancing in a room full of mirrors. This would be a plastic definition of textual criticism. Each version is a mirror. Whether it is the Masoretic Text, entirely preserved in a 10th century A.D. manuscript from Petersburg, or the Septuagint, the oldest translation of the Old Testament into Greek, compiled in the 3rd century B.C., but extant in copies not earlier than 4th century A.D., or Peshitta (the Syriac version), Targums (Aramaic paraphrase-translations), etc., all these text witnesses or versions may reflect in part, but not in its entirety, the original text. The task of textual criticism is to reconstruct the original text by comparing the old versions. Needless to say, this is a very tedious job which requires philological knowledge and much experience. It takes the balanced mind of a judge and the courage of an acrobat to combine all the mirrors' reflections into a coherent image, the image of real person. So it would be unrealistic to ask most graduates of a seminary to do textual criticism. What anyone can do is to be aware and take

advantage of the results of textual criticism spread in various biblical studies, especially in two series of biblical commentaries, *i.e.*, *Anchor Bible* and *Old Testament Library*. As for the book of Genesis, Sperber's commentary published in *Anchor Bible* is very good from the point of view of textual criticism.

One may add that unlike other pericopes of Genesis, this narrative does not have serious problems with respect to the text. The versions agree with few, minor exceptions, which do not touch the meaning of the text. For instance, in v. 8 the original must have contained Cain's statement; the text is omitted in MT; the ancient versions supply the missing clause, "Let us go out to the field". There is no clear evidence whether this clause was part of the original text or was added later by the versions. I happen to side with Westermann (*Genesis*, ad loc.) who suggests that the MT by its abrupt style, which may represent the original, meant to reveal the immediacy of Cain's crime. In v. 15 MT reads "therefore"; we choose the LXX's reading, "not so", which fits better in the context and thus it might reflect the autograph. Other than that, Genesis 4:1-16 runs smoothly with no serious textual hindrance.

3. FORM CRITICISM

The author of a text or book and his addressees shares a pre-existing linguistic world. From that world, the author took available patterns in order to transmit his thoughts. The form criticism investigates the linguistic shape of a text on several levels. One important level is the philological analysis. At this level, Hebrew words and phrases are examined from a morpho-semantic point of view. Of great help in this endeavor are the studies in Hebrew grammar and lexicon, as well as in other Semitic languages related to Hebrew, such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician and Aramaic.

This is the step when the dance with the Word turns into a lengthy dialogue; when particular words originating from the Word are closely analyzed and first conclusions are drawn. (Once arrived at this step, the *Anchor Bible* series of biblical commentaries is an excellent tool.)

Let us analyze briefly some key-words found in our narrative.

The name of the older brother is "Cain" which means "spear" (2 Sam 21:16), and is also attested in early Arabic as a personal name. Thus v. 1 (Eve's correlation between "acquiring" and "Cain") is a good example of folk etymology based on the mere assonance between *qayin* (Cain) "spear" and *qānā* "to acquire". The use of verb *qānā* "to acquire" instead of "to give birth" is another lexical oddity. Perhaps, Eve's intention was to underscore the idea that God is the source of any being, either created (as Adam) or born (as Cain). The name of the younger brother, "Abel," could be related to the Hebrew word *hebel* "breath, nothingness, futility", as a dark anticipation of what follows, Abel's tragic end.

The word 'iš "man" describing Cain cannot mean the newly born child (Gen. 4:1). Probably Eve saw in her new-born son the future man. According to Claus Westermann (*Genesis*, 290), "She [*i.e.*, Eve] boasts therefore that she has brought forth a man in a way that corresponds to the creation of the man by the creator."

Another lexical difficulty concerns the preposition 'ēl "with" which never means "with the help of" (Gen 4"1); the latter sense is supported by the context and the old versions, including the Septuagint. We accept this last reading because it fits better in the wider context of Old Testament theology.

The word *minḥā* used for sacrifice has also a non-cultic connotation, meaning "gift" (Gen 4:3). By choosing this common word instead of a technical term for sacrifice, the author wanted to show that in the early times the sacrifice was understood as part of daily life and not restricted to the sphere of cult.

Sin is personified as (an animal?) which "crouches" at the door of Cain (Gen 4:7). As Gerhard von Rad (*Genesis*, 105) remarks, "The comparison of sin with a beast of prey lying before the door is strange, as is the purely decorative use of 'door' (door of the heart?) in such an ancient narrative. One suspects that the meaning of the passage was once quite different. Now it can be understood only in this inner meaning." But if we take the Hebrew word *rōbēš* as a substantivized participle rather than a verbal form "crouches", the connection with Akkadian *rābiš lemutti* "evil demon", appears obvious. So, the sin is an "evil demon" waiting at the door, as in the Mesopotamian mythology, in charge of the failures of life.

The term *tašūqā* "desire" (Gen 4:7) appears also in Gen 3:16b describing Eve as led by an irresistible desire toward her husband who eventually will dominate her. In our story, the personified sin, the "evil demon", longs after man.

4. TRANSMISSION (ORAL) CRITICISM

Most of the texts have their origin in the arena of living speech (*e.g.*, individual narratives, legal stipulations, prophetic sayings, and cultic songs, all these were first orally transmitted). The task of transmission criticism is to determine the form and development of the text during the oral transmission phase. One of the most important indicators of oral transmission is the doublet. By doublets we mean the story appears in outline at least more than once in the Old Testament.

In our case, Cain and Abel could have started as a story about two brothers, with the first-born brother depicted in dark colors. This oral stage of the story is indicated by a couple of doublets, namely, Jacob and Esau, and Joseph and his brothers. These narratives are built on the same motive: the younger brother finds God's sympathy whereas the older brother is rejected or simply ignored.

Determining the oral phase and the function played by the story at that time helps us pinpoint the historical meaning or the meaning of the narrative at the time of its transcription.

5. REDACTION CRITICISM

Redaction history deals with the area of written transmission. It presents the writing of a text as a historical, transformational process which includes together old and new materials. The time period covered by the redaction criticism stretches from the first written version until the last productive change of a text at the conclusion of Old Testament writings. As a result, the transmitted material is now understandable only within the framework of the writing as a whole. This methodological step is very difficult since its correct application requires a thorough understanding of the entire work, in our case, the book of Genesis.

A literally homogeneous text, as Genesis 4:1-16, may be considered a redactional formulation. Characteristics of a *redactional formulation*, the presence of literary seams, literary connection to its surroundings, framing formulations (introduction and conclusion), are found in this narrative. What we read today in Gen 4:1-16 is a work of a writer-editor who inserted an oral story about two brothers, Cain and Abel, into the framework of the primeval history (Gen 1-11).

6. DETERMINING THE HISTORICAL MEANING

From the onset, we should distinguish between *exegesis* and *eisegesis*. Both terms come from Greek and consist of the same verb *ago* "to think, lead," and a different preposition, *i.e.*, *ex* "from", or *eis* "in, into". Thus, *exegesis* aims at bringing out the historical meaning of the text, whereas *eisegesis* intends to bring into the text the interpreter's own theological ideas. The difference between *exegesis* and *eisegesis* is to be led by or to lead the Word during this spiritual dance.

What is the historical meaning of this story?

Many scholars see a connection between Cain and the tribe of the Kenites often mentioned in the Old Testament. The writer, designated the Yahwist, lived while the Kenites still existed (around 10th–9th centuries B.C.). But what is the relevance of the Kenites to Cain who lived at the dawn of history. Like the Israelites, the Kenites believed in the same God, Yahweh. For any Israelite the Kenites, associated with the Rechabites for their zeal for Yahweh (2 Kings 10:15ff.; Jer 35; 1 Chron 2:55), represented an unsolved puzzle. In spite of their zeal to Yahweh, the Kenites were not members of the Sinaitic covenant nor did they inherit the Promised land; in fact, they always lived as bedouins in south of Israel. Von Rad (*Genesis*, 108) points to the Kenite paradox, "Completely outside the covenants and still in a relationship to Yahweh (apparently the Kenites indicated this relationship to Yahweh by a tribal sign, a kind of tattoo, externally recognizable, cf. 1 Kings 20:41; Zech 13:6; Ezek 9:4)!" But the Yahwist enlarged the framework from a tribal story to a primeval history of humanity. Hence the position of this story next to the story of the Fall. After the man was expelled from

Paradise, sin grew and took possession of man. This in a nutshell is the historical meaning of Genesis 4:1-16.

7. THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

Theological reflection has less to do not with the historical meaning and the theological significance of the text as in the mind of the writer/editor. It is rather a search for the story's significance in the larger context of the Old and New Testaments. This definition of the theological reflection may be listed under the rubric *canonical approach*, a phrase-concept coined by Brevard Childs of Yale University. For the proponents of this exegetical approach all the other methodological steps which try to reconstruct the history of the text from the oral phase to the last editorial level, are secondary. The emphasis falls on the text as it is found in the Canon and shared by a community of faith (*i.e.*, Jewish synagogue or Christian Church).

Having acknowledged the value of this approach, we, as Orthodox, believe that the Old and New Testaments contain the Word of God. And since the Word is eternal one may expect that the text should have more than one meaning. God's Word addresses the human person throughout the centuries. Thus, every interpretation should end with a theological reflection; but a theological reflection based on the living faith of the Patristic period. How is the Old Testament text to be read in light of the New Testament revelation? How did the Church Fathers read this text? How should the text be read today?

At this level we try to answer the questions raised during the former steps, especially at the preliminary step of observation. (Note that *Interpretation* is a good series of commentaries on all the books of the Bible, addressed primarily to teachers and preachers; another good book compiling Jewish and Christian ancient interpretations on the most controversial texts of the Old Testament is James Kugel's, *The Bible as It Was*, Harvard University Press, 1997.)

Here are a few questions and the answers offered by the ancient interpreters (Jewish and Christian writers).

Why had Abel's sacrifice been favored by God and not Cain's?

(a) One line of interpretation depicts Cain as evil from birth, an offspring of the devil. This statement is based on the ambiguity of Hebrew verb *yāda'* "to know about" or "to know" in the biblical sense (to have intercourse). Thus, "And Adam knew his wife Eve" may also be understood as Adam "knew something about" Eve. If Cain's father was the devil, this would explain Eve's cryptic words, "I have acquired a man with the LORD", where the LORD stands for the whole phrase "with an angel [evil!] of the LORD". If Cain was evil from birth here is good reason why God did not favor his sacrifice.

“And Adam knew about his wife Eve that she conceived by Sammael the [wicked] angel of the Lord, and she became pregnant and gave birth to Cain” (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* [Aramaic translation] on Gen 4:10).

“That we should love one another and not be like Cain, who was of the Evil One [that is, the devil] and murdered his brother” (1 Jn 3:12).

“Having been made pregnant by the seed of the devil ... she brought forth a son” (Tertullian, *On Patience* 5:15).

(b) Another line of interpretation held that Cain’s sacrifice was probably defective. The biblical text says that Abel offered the “firstlings” of his flock, while Cain did not offer the first fruits of his harvest. Moreover, Cain brought his sacrifice “in the course of time”, namely, with a certain delay (Gen 4:3). Both details would point to the defective character of Cain’s sacrifice. This would explain why God did not favor Cain’s offering.

“And Cain brought to the Lord an offering of the fruit of the ground” (Gen 4:3) – “from the leftovers” (*Genesis rabba* 22:5).

“For Cain had bulls and calves, nor did he lack other animals and fowl that he might sacrifice. But these he did not bring on the day of the first fruit offering, but brought the fruit of his land” (Ephraem the Syrian, *Commentary on Genesis* 3:2).

What kind of person was Abel if Cain was a murderer?

Thanks to the interpretations mentioned above, Abel came to be seen as the good brother, the righteous one crowned with the crown of martyrdom. One may note that in Genesis Abel is neither good nor bad.

“Even though the righteous man [Abel] was younger in time than the wicked one ...” (Philo, *Questions in Genesis* 1:59).

“... so that upon you may come all the righteous blood on earth, from the blood of innocent Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Berachiah” (Matt 23:35).

“By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, through which he received approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts; he died, but through his faith is still speaking” (Heb 11:4).

“... because the works of the one [brother] were bad, while those of his brother [Abel] were good” (Augustine, *City of God* 15.7).

8. PASTORAL APPLICATION

We structure this final section under three rubrics.

(a) *Sin*. The sin is presented as an objective reality rather than an inner feeling. Gerhard von Rad (*Exegesis*, 105) explains, “The statement [in v. 7] does not actually speak of an inner emotion, but it shows sin as an objective power which, as it were, is outside the man and over him, waiting eagerly to take

possession of him." A similar comparison between the evil one and an animal is found 1 Pt 5:8, "Keep sober and alert, because your enemy the evil is on the prowl like a roaring lion, looking for someone to devour."

Verse 7 reads: "Surely, if you *do right*, there is uplift. But if you *do not right*, Sin is crouching at the door; its desire (lust) is toward you, yet you can master it." So, the devil begins "longing" for man as soon as he stops "doing good". The text does not say that the evil demon is active when man begins doing evil things. Thus, the mere absence of good is enough to make a human person vulnerable to a whole host of temptations. Similarly, St. Paul warns his readers, "Therefore let any one who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor 10:12).

(b) *Man*. The "image of God" in man (cf. Gen 1:26ff.), though weakened by the original sin, was not yet fully destroyed. Man is given the opportunity to stand against the devil's temptations. Gerhard von Rad remarks, "The man, however, ought to master it [*i.e.*, the sin] and curb it. Man's responsibility with regard to sin is not in the least annulled; on the contrary, this final imperative imposes on him the whole responsibility?"

The question "Where is your brother?" points to man's responsibility for his brother. The story underscores the social dimension of salvation.

(c) *God*. But what puzzles most in this story is the image of God who chooses between the two brothers with no apparent reason. Walter Brueggemann (*Genesis*, 56-57) is right on point noticing, "Life is unfair. God is free. There is ample ground here for deathly urgings that move among us. Life is not a garden party (cf. 2:16) but a harsh fellowship among watchful siblings, made harsher by the heavy ways of God. The family would perhaps have gotten along better without this God. But he is there. All through the Genesis narratives, Yahweh is there to disrupt, to create tensions, and to evoke the shadowy side of reality."

The idea that God's intervention in this world's affairs is often disruptive surfaces also in the New Testament, in Simeon's prophecy to Mary, "and a sword will pierce through your own soul also, that the thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed" (Lk 2:35), or in Jesus' warning, "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes will those of his own household" (Matt 10:34-36).

Cain and Abel is a story about God's mysterious way of communication with humans. Far from being fully understood, God's attitude can be explained in part with the help of Simeon's quoted words. God wields his sword in order to reveal characters, to test his stewards, to turn wretched into good, while making those stubborn in evil to take a firmer stand. Furthermore, as Gerhard von Rad (*Genesis*, 105) puts it, "God warns him [*i.e.*, Cain] about this change of his being and the danger of this sin seething in his heart. It is a fatherly address that wants to show

the threatened man a way out before it is too late. (One sees that Cain was not completely rejected even though his sacrifice was not accepted.)” So, even in rejection God behaves like a father instructing his son.

From the unspoken question hovering over this old story to the roaring cry of Jesus on the Cross (“My God, my God why have you forsaken me?”) and up to that endless day to come, myriads of questions are doomed to remain with no answer. God is God and we are only humans. Human answers are often incomplete and unsatisfying because we try to find an answer where there is no answer at all. Yahweh, God’s personal name revealed to Moses at Horeb, says it all, “He Is Who Is” (Ex 3:14f.), the God of absolute free will who cannot be conditioned or constrained. For this reason, God declares, “I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy” (Ex 33:19). Or as St. Paul puts it, “But who are you, a man, to answer back to God? Will what is molded say to its molder, ‘Why have you made me thus?’ Has the potter no right over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel for beauty and another for menial use?” (Rom 9:20-21)

We may conclude that Cain and Abel is a controversial story similar to those heavy passages of Job; a story which raises many questions yet remains stingy in answers; a story of God both speaking and being silent; a story about man’s struggles to discern God’s plan while coping with his more fortunate “brother”; a story about the wild beast, called Sin, so powerful, so terrible, yet to be “mastered” by man. This is the story we found inside the story as were dancing with the ineffable Word of God.

ORGANISATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND ENCYCLOPAEDIC *ORDO*: FUNCTIONS AND PURPOSES OF A UNIVERSAL LITERARY GENRE*

CHRISTEL MEIER

I. THE CONCEPT OF TOTALITY

The work of the encyclopaedist is the order of things, an order he does not find but must create. A quick glance at a "certain Chinese encyclopaedia" quoted by Jorge Luis Borges proves this observation. In this encyclopaedia all animals are classified and arranged in the following way: "(a) those that belong to the Emperor, (b) embalmed ones, (c) those that are trained, (d) suckling pigs, (e) mermaids, (f) fabulous ones, (g) stray dogs, (h) those that are included in this classification, (i) those that tremble as if they were mad, (j) innumerable ones, (k) those drawn with a very fine camel's hair brush, (l) others, (m) those that have just broken a flower vase, (n) those that resemble flies from a distance."¹

In his reflections on this surprising, exhilarating, even frightening taxonomy, Michel Foucault writes: „The fundamental codes of a culture – those governing its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices – establish for every man, from the very first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing and within which he will be at home. At the other extremity of thought, there are the scientific theories or the philosophical interpretations which explain why order exists in general, what universal law it obeys, ... and why this particular order has been established and not some other.”² The practical encyclopaedia can be situated between these opposing poles of fundamental codes and scientific theories. In their various classifications and arrangements of knowledge encyclopaedists always try to reach a compromise between these binary opposites, and this intermediacy is a characteristic and significant feature of this literary genre. In the introduction to his encyclopaedia in 1630 Alsted drew attention to the tension between these poles, which

* See: Peter Binkley (ed.), *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997) 103–126.

¹ Jorge Luis Borges, *Other Inquisitions 1937–1952*, tr. Ruth L.C. Simms (Austin, 1964) 103.

² Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1973).

encyclopaedists have to face as they combine the order of individual things and the overall classification of the world: "Encyclopaedia is the methodical collection of all things in this life that can be learned by man."³

In the Middle Ages encyclopaedists made use of two general systems of classification to arrange information and to illustrate the interdependence of the different arts and sciences (later on they proceeded to alphabetical order).⁴ These systems were based either on traditional conceptions of the order of the world or on rational and scientific approaches to knowledge, *i.e.* on disciplines or on a system of sciences. Each of these general systems can be further subdivided into two different concepts that often coexisted in the Middle Ages. The following systems and subdivisions can be distinguished.

1. ORDO RERUM

In order to give a comprehensive and coherent representation of the world, medieval encyclopaedists either re-arranged and combined traditional and well-known depictions or resorted to philosophical concepts that served to explain all known phenomena and assigned them a specific place in the order of the world. Two examples may illustrate this: it was Isidore of Seville, the founder of medieval encyclopaedias, who combined different classical concepts in the systematic arrangement of knowledge in his *Etymologiae*: the arts, theology, cosmology, geography, as well as social sciences and cultural studies.⁵ In those parts dealing with the arts, he adapted the ancient encyclopaedic tradition of Cato, Celsus and Varro; in those sections dealing with cosmology, geography, zoology, botany and mineralogy, he adopted the stoic concept employed by Pliny in his *Naturalis historia*.⁶ The same goes for Hrabanus Maurus.⁷ Although he changed the Isidorian model by reorganising knowledge into a hierarchy moving downward from God to inanimate things, completely omitting scientific knowledge and introducing an allegorical interpretation, the overall character of his work is an agglomeration of

³ *Encyclopaedia est methodica comprehensio rerum omnium in hac vita homini discendarum*. Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta* (Herborn 1630; Facs.-reprint, ed. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt, 1989) I 49.

⁴ Cf. Heinz Meyer, "Ordo rerum und Registerhilfen in mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädiehandschriften", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991) 315–339.

⁵ Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford 1911 ff.). See Christel Meier, "Der Wandel der Enzyklopädie des Mittelalters vom Weltbuch zum Thesaurus sozial gebundenen Kulturwissens: am Beispiel der *Artes mechanicae*", *Enzyklopädien der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Franz M. Eybl, Wolfgang Harms, Hans-Henrik Krummacher and Werner Welzig (Tübingen, 1995) 19–42, here citing 27–29.

⁶ Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, ed. Ludwig Jan and Carl Mayhoff (Leipzig, 1875–1906; Stuttgart 1967); Meier, "Der Wandel der Enzyklopädie" (as in n. 5) 25–27.

⁷ Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis (De universo)* (PL 111, 9–614).

traditional concepts.⁸ In both cases the compilatory method leads to various inconsistencies in the systematic classification and arrangement of knowledge.

The second type of encyclopaedia, based on philosophical concepts, first appears in a rather incomplete form in the twelfth century. Honorius Augustodunensis expounded the *dispositio mundi* in his encyclopaedia *Imago mundi*.⁹ Beginning with the *archetypus mundus*, he investigated its appearance by describing the elements and their different mixtures in the various phenomena and classes. All things and phenomena can be assigned to the four elements: not only geography to earth, weather to air, and stars to fire, but all living beings as well: "Things that walk are assigned to earth, things that swim to water, things that fly to air, things that shine to fire."¹⁰ The first book on "space" is followed by a book on "time" and the division of time, and the third book deals with time in the sense of "history". Honorius' conception of the classification of knowledge had a formative influence on the compilation and arrangement of knowledge in later encyclopaedias. Bernardus Silvestris made use of it in his *Cosmographia*, as did Alain de Lille in his *De planctu naturae*.¹¹ With regard to medieval encyclopaedias Bartholomaeus Anglicus deserves special attention, as he applied this philosophical approach in the arrangement of *De rerum proprietatibus*.¹² In his preface he refers by name only to Pseudo-Dionysius, as a philosopher who pointed out the interdependence of the intelligible and the invisible world and tried to explain it.¹³ In order to present a systematic and unified order, Bartholomaeus mainly confined himself to nature and the natural sciences, paying less attention to cultural phenomena. One sequence proceeds from the invisible world (God, the angels, the soul) to the rational human being, a second one from the macrocosm through a description of the elements – the

⁸ Christel Meier, "Vom *homo coelestis* zum *homo faber*. Die Reorganisation der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie für neue Gebrauchsfunktionen bei Vinzenz von Beauvais und Brunetto Latini", in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller und Nikolaus Staubach (München 1992) 157–175, here citing 158–160; Heinz Meyer, "Zum Verhältnis von Enzyklopädie und Allegorese im Mittelalter", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990) 290–313, here citing 294–297.

⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, "Imago mundi", ed. Valerie I. J. Flint, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 57 (1983) 7–153, here citing 49.

¹⁰ *Deputantur vero terre gradientia, aque natantia, aeri volantia, igni radiantia*. Honorius Augustodunensis, "Imago mundi" (as in n. 9) 50.

¹¹ Meier, "Vom *homo coelestis* zum *homo faber*" (as in n. 8) 164–166.

¹² Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (Frankfurt 1601; reprint 1964); cf. Heinz Meyer, "Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*. Selbstverständnis und Rezeption", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 117 (1988) 237–274, here citing 241f.

¹³ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (as in n. 12) 1: *Utile mihi et forsitan aliis, qui naturas rerum et proprietates per sanctorum libros nec non et philosophorum dispersas non cognouerunt, ad intelligenda aenigmata scripturarum, quae sub symbolis et figuris proprietatum rerum naturalium et artificialium a Spiritu sancio sunt traditae et velatae, quemadmodum ostendit Beatus Dionysius in Hierarchia Angelica, circa principium dicens: Non est aliter nobis possibile lucere divinum radium, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum anagogice circumuelatum, etc.*

basis of his taxonomy – to the various phenomena. This section is followed by a reflection on time: “After the treatise on the properties of time and its parts, we must deal with inferior things and material creatures: *i.e.* the elements and those things that are materially composed of the elements. Matter and form are the beginnings of every physical thing ... Matter is the cause of the individuation of things,” etc.¹⁴ His authorities at this point are Aristotle as well as Arabic and Occidental sources, among them Pseudo-Dionysius. He finishes his encyclopaedia with a book on the accidentals (colours, scents, flavours, weights, measures, numbers).¹⁵ This mainly Platonic conception of the world, which posits the universe as a series of causes and effects, is appropriate to assign time, space, the elements and all phenomena their proper place in the system of the world.

The concept of the six days of creation had a formative influence on a third system of compilation which became very popular with famous medieval encyclopaedists, as it was legitimised by Scripture and had been the subject of theological and exegetical writings by Basil and other patristic authors.¹⁶ The so-called school of Chartres used it with new force in the twelfth century.¹⁷ This concept conjoins a theology of creation and encyclopaedic knowledge in a *philosophia perennis*, *i.e.* it depicts a temporal sequence from the creation of the world to the history of mankind, a progression from cosmological to historical time.¹⁸ Thus it connects two fields of knowledge that had been dealt with separately in previous encyclopaedias and in the work of Honorius. The correspondence between the six days and the six ages – which had been pointed out by Augustine¹⁹ – made it possible to relate cosmology to history. Isidore had thought of using this concept in his *De natura rerum* as he described the origin of all things and knowledge in God: “therefore beginning with ‘day’, whose creation was nearly the first in the order of visible things.”²⁰ It was, however, Alexander Neckam who made a first attempt to

¹⁴ *Completo tractatu de proprietatibus temporis et partium eius, agendum est de inferioribus rebus et materialibus creaturis. De elementis scilicet et eorum quae ex elementis materialiter componuntur. Sunt autem materia et forma omnis rei corporalis principia ... Materia enim est causa individuationis rerum etc.* Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (as in n. 12) 468.

¹⁵ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (as in n. 12) 1133: *Nunc postremo de quibusdam accidentibus corporalium rerum substantias concomitantibus ... est hic attendendum. Primo de colore, secundo de odore, tertio de sapore, ultimo de liquore.*

¹⁶ Cf. the commentaries on the hexaemeron.

¹⁷ See for instance Nikolaus M. Häring, “The Creation and Creator of the World According to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 30 (1955) 137–216.

¹⁸ Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, “Enzyklopädie und *Philosophia perennis*”, in: *Enzyklopädien der Frühen Neuzeit* (as in n. 5) 1–18 (with bibliography), here citing 9ff.; *id.*, *Topica universalis. Eine Modellgeschichte humanistischer und barocker Wissenschaft* (Hamburg, 1983).

¹⁹ Cf. Heinz Meyer, Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (München, 1987) 442ff.

²⁰ [Q]uapropter incipientes a die, cuius paene prima procreatio in ordine rerum visibilibus exstat. Isidore de Séville, *Traité de la nature*, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Bordeaux, 1960) 169, cf. Sap. 1, 17ff.

apply this concept,²¹ and Gregory of Monte Sacro²² and Vincent of Beauvais used it as the basis for the arrangement of knowledge. In his *Speculum naturale* Vincent first writes about God the creator and the angels: “after these, about formless matter and of the fabric of the world, and, in the order of the works of the six days, about the nature and properties of individual things in order; then about the condition of the first man ...”²³ He then deals with the *series omnium temporum*.²⁴ Gregory of Monte Sacro, in his still unedited encyclopaedia *De hominum deificatione (Peri ton anthropon theopiisis, c. 1230)* comprising seven books with about 13,000 hexametres, describes all known phenomena of the world and relates them to the six days of creation and a day of rest. He adds a christological interpretation of the significance of the days of creation by establishing a typological relation between the old age, the new age and the final *renovatio*.²⁵ Vincent continues the six days of creation of all things (*Speculum naturale*) with the fall of man and his restitution by knowledge (*Speculum doctrinale*) and with the history of salvation (*Speculum historiale*).²⁶

2. ORDO ARTIUM

So far the representation of the world in medieval encyclopaedias has been explained as the creation of an *ordo rerum* based on prephilosophical, traditional and sometimes empirical classification of knowledge, on a philosophical concept,

²¹ Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum libri duo*, ed. Thomas Wright (London 1863; reprint Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967) 2ff., 12ff., 55ff., 127ff., 158ff.; cf. Christel Meier, “Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädik”, in: *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart, 1984) 467–500, here citing 474f.

²² Cf. Udo Kindermann, *Der Dichter vom Heiligen Berge. Einführung in das Werk des mittellateinischen Autors Gregor von Montesacro, mit Ersteditionen und Untersuchungen* (Darmstadt 1989) 9ff.: “Das Lehrgedicht”, 194ff.: “Anhang 3: Lateinischer Text des Prologes zur Deificatio”, 200f.: the contents of the seven books corresponding to the seven days of the creation of the world (Gen. 1f.); Eyvind Carl Ronquist, *Gregorius de Monte Sacro, Peri ton anthropon theopiiseos. A Study and Partial Edition*, 2 vols. (Diss. Chicago 1975) II 324ff. A full edition of the encyclopaedia is in preparation by Bernhard Pabst/Erlangen.

²³ ... *post haec de materia informi et de fabrica mundi ac iuxta seriem operum VI dierum de natura et proprietatibus singularium per ordinem rerum; deinde vero de conditione hominis primi...* Cf. Meier, “Grundzüge” (as in n. 21) 475 and n. 56; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum quadruplex sive Speculum maius*, 4 vols. (Douai 1624; reprint Graz 1964).

²⁴ Cf. Meier, “Vom homo coelestis zum homo faber” (as in n. 8) 169 and n. 73.

²⁵ See Kindermann, *Der Dichter vom Heiligen Berge* (as in n. 22) 200ff. each day of the creation is related to a certain period of Christ's life on earth.

²⁶ Cf. Meier, “Vom homo coelestis zum homo faber” (as in n. 8) 166ff. See also Monique Paulmier-Foucart, “Ordre encyclopédique et organisation de la matière dans le *Speculum maius* de Vincent de Beauvais”, in: *L'encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen 1987*, ed. Annie Becq (Paris 1991) 201–215; id. and Serge Lusignan, “Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum maius*”, *Journal des Savants* 1 (1990) 97–124.

or on the interpretation of the biblical story of creation. There is, however, a different system for the arrangement and representation of knowledge based on the *ordo artium*. This system led to a strikingly different view of the world as it shifted from a mainly cosmological to a more anthropocentric perspective. In the Middle Ages there are two principal systems of sciences that influenced the compilation of knowledge in encyclopaedias: the seven liberal arts and the Aristotelian classification of sciences. Although numerous ancient and medieval authors wrote extensively about the seven liberal arts – from Varro to Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, Remigius and Alain de Lille – and characterised them as an ideal way to knowledge,²⁷ none of them – not even Isidore – made use of this concept as a coherent overall principle for the arrangement of knowledge.²⁸ In the thirteenth century encyclopaedists began to arrange information in accordance with scientific principles, following Aristotle's conception as it had been adapted by Hugh of St. Victor in his *Didascalicon*.²⁹ Hugh distinguished four fields of knowledge adding mechanical knowledge to Aristotle's distinction of theoretical, practical and logical. He assigned the *trivium* to the field of logic and the *quadrivium* to theory.³⁰ Retaining this division, Vincent of Beauvais depicted the various arts and sciences in a separate section of his *Speculum maius*, the *Speculum doctrinale*, and in doing so he led the way to a change in the organisation of knowledge from the *ordo rerum* to the *ordo artium*.³¹ Vincent looked to Isidore, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor for guidance: "the first of whom in the book of *Etymologies*, among the other things he deals with, touches briefly on a few points concerning every science; the second, in his book *Didascalicon*, divides and subdivides all of knowledge and briefly describes the matter of the individual sciences."³² He relied on the *libri philosophorum* to give substance to his classification and divided the seventeen books of his *Speculum doctrinale* into four sections, proceeding from logic with grammar, dialectic, rhetoric and poetics,

²⁷ L. Hödl, "Artes liberales", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters 1* (1980) 1057–1062 (lit.); Paul Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (New York 1965); cf. Harald Fuchs, "Enkyklios Paideia", *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum V* (1962) 365–398; Jutta Tezmen-Siegel, *Die Darstellungen der septem artes liberales in der Bildenden Kunst als Rezeption der Lehrplangeschichte* (München, 1985) 9ff., 70ff.

²⁸ Isidorus Hispalensis, *Erymologiae* (as in n. 5) confining the arts to Book 1–3.

²⁹ Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon. De studio legendi*, ed. Charles H. Buttmer (Diss. Washington, 1939).

³⁰ Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon* (as in n. 29).

³¹ See Meier, "Der Wandel der Enzyklopädie" (as in n. 5) and below, n. 39; cf. also Meier: as in n. 26.

³² ... *quorum primus in libro Ethimologiarum inter cetera de quibus agit etiam de unaquaque scientia pauca breuiter tangit; secundus in libro Didascalicon scientiam uniuersaliter diuidit ac subdividit singularumque materiam breuiter describit*. Vincent of Beauvais, "Libellus apologeticus": ed. Serge Lusignan, *Préface au 'speculum maius' de Vincent de Beauvais: réfraction et diffraction* (Montréal/Paris, 1979) 122.

through practical philosophy with ethics, economics, politics and law, and mechanical knowledge including theoretical and applied medicine, to theoretical philosophy with physics, arithmetic (*quadrivium*) and theology.

In his *Trésor* Brunetto Latini changes the order of this sequence. He begins with an outline of theoretical knowledge and finishes with practical knowledge. Moreover, he subsumes rhetoric and the mechanical arts under practical knowledge.³³ This change can be explained by the main purpose of the encyclopaedia, which I shall deal with later on. Brunetto thus avoids a problem Vincent still had to face: in order to connect the three main parts of his encyclopaedia, Vincent had to rely on a cosmological and spiritual perspective. He related the various fields of knowledge directly to the rational understanding of man who, being created in the image of God, reflected God's knowledge which is *causa omnium naturarum, lumen omnium rationum, finis omnium actionum*. By means of this perspective Vincent achieved a coherence between rational understanding and prolific information that was fully developed later on.³⁴ The arrangement of knowledge in the eighteenth-century French *Encyclopédie* can be traced back to this concept.³⁵

On the threshold of the Renaissance, Gregor Reisch once more adapted the system of the seven liberal arts to arrange information – by then a seemingly old-fashioned way of organising knowledge. On close inspection, Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*³⁶ offers a very idiosyncratic mixture of the two medieval *divisiones* (*philosophiae*) *disciplinarum*. There is a conspicuous discrepancy between the overall structure of the book and the developments of ideas. With regard to structure there is a striking predominance of the seven liberal arts, as their description comprises two thirds of the whole book. The remaining third only offers additional material: sections on the *philosophia naturalis*, on the human soul, and *philosophia moralis*. With regard to the development of ideas there is, however, a predominance of the Aristotelian *divisio* and its specific intentions. The seven liberal arts do not simply serve as a preparatory course, they are treated as theoretical and scientific disciplines, even as a whole university course, and there are reflections on each of them, their specific theories and practices. Reisch emphasised the natural sciences and thus set an example to later encyclopaedists.³⁷

³³ Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1948; reprint Genève 1975) 17–22. Cf. Christel Meier, "Cosmos politicus. Der Funktionswandel der Enzyklopädie bei Brunetto Latini", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988) 315–356; id., "Vom homo coelestis zum homo faber" (as in n. 8) 173–175, here citing 342ff.

³⁴ Meier, "Vom homo coelestis zum homo faber" (as in n. 8) 169–171.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. also Ulrich Dierse, *Enzyklopädie. Zur Geschichte eines philosophischen und wissenschaftstheoretischen Begriffs* (Bonn, 1977) 52ff.

³⁶ Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (Basel 1517; reprint Düsseldorf, 1973, ed. Lutz Geldsetzer).

³⁷ Dierse, *Enzyklopädie* (as in n. 35) 11–13; cf. Robert Ritter von Srbik, "Die *Margarita philosophica* des Gregor Reisch (†1525)", in: *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Mathematisch-naturwiss. Klasse 104* (Wien, 1941) 85–205, here citing 92–108.

The tension, even rivalry, between these two concepts in the *Margarita* can be resolved, as will be shown later.

II. THE CONCEPT OF UTILITY

By definition an encyclopaedia is a book of universal knowledge and has to fulfill two conditions: the systematic arrangement of information, and usefulness. It is written to be used and must serve certain purposes in a specific social and cultural context. Both principles had a decisive influence on the writing of encyclopaedias and the arrangement of knowledge. In research the misinterpretation of, indifference to, or even ignorance of this dual determination of encyclopaedias and the ensuing consequences have not only led to a controversial discussion about the definition of this genre, but some years ago it was even suggested that the term "encyclopaedia" should no longer be used when talking about medieval book culture.³⁸ These difficulties can be avoided by focussing on the following questions:

- a) For whom did encyclopaedists write?
- b) What purpose was the encyclopaedia meant to fulfill for its intended audience?
- c) What is the specific socio-cultural context of the encyclopaedia?

The answers to these questions may lead to a better understanding of the classification and arrangement of knowledge in medieval encyclopaedias and their functions. Set against their social and cultural background, the modifications of medieval universal concepts no longer appear to be distortions but can be analysed and explained as an indication of the variety of encyclopaedias and an expression of the functions they had to fulfill. Variations and modifications of general rules and principles result from specialising, from the diverse interests of groups, and from individual needs and demands in specific situations. Prologues, dedications and the other forms of introductory framework indicate the *utilitas* of an encyclopaedia. By means of accentuation and selection as well as addition, the overall structure of each work is adapted to the specific purposes of its readership.

In the following I shall distinguish several types of occidental encyclopaedias from the ninth to the sixteenth century according to their function. These types are influenced by social class, by institutions and by professions. Without laying claim to completeness I shall distinguish:

1. political encyclopaedias
2. school encyclopaedias
3. monastic encyclopaedias

³⁸ See for instance Dierse, *Enzyklopädie* (as in n. 35) 1ff.; Traude-Marie Nischik, *Das volkssprachliche Naturbuch im späten Mittelalter. Sachkunde und Dinginterpretation bei Jacob von Maerlant und Konrad von Meigenberg* (Tübingen, 1986) 22ff.

4. preachers' encyclopaedias
5. medical encyclopaedias
6. economic encyclopaedias
7. university encyclopaedias
8. domestic encyclopaedias

This distinction avoids the impression of a simple linear development from a natural encyclopaedia to a thesaurus of cultural knowledge.³⁹

1. POLITICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

The most important political encyclopaedia in Western Europe during the Middle Ages is Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*. Brunetto applies the Aristotelian concept to the arrangement of information, yet there are important modifications. He begins with an outline of theory as a kind of preparatory course which until then had been considered to be the most dignified of all sciences. Moreover, in his first book he gives *in nuce* all information presented in previous encyclopaedias, including history. His main interest, however, is in practical philosophy, and he distinguishes between ethics and economics as private practice (2nd book) and politics as public practice, which he regards as the most dignified of all sciences (3rd book). Brunetto transfers rhetoric from the domain of logical knowledge to that of politics and treats rhetoric and politics as theoretical politics, *i.e.* politics performed by words, which is complemented by mechanics as practical politics, *i.e.* politics performed by doing. The purpose of this encyclopaedia is obvious: it is a handbook for a politician – to be more precise, a guide for the specific use of the *Podestà*, the governor of a town in Northern Italy. Brunetto Latini refers to his intended audience explicitly as a governor, as distinct from the contemporary French kings whom he knew in exile. Furthermore, Brunetto gives explicit justification for his main emphasis on politics and rhetoric.⁴⁰

2. SCHOOL ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

About ten years after Brunetto Latini, Konrad of Mure, for decades choirmaster and *scholasticus* at the Zurich Großmünster and leader of its *schola Carolina*, wrote an encyclopaedia for use in schools, the *Fabularius* (1273),⁴¹

³⁹ Meier, "Der Wandel der Enzyklopädie" (as in n. 5) 30ff.; cf. Stefan Rhein, "Die *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana* und ihr Herausgeber Samuel Siderocrates: Enzyklopädie als anti-humanistische Kampfschrift", in: *Enzyklopädien der Frühen Neuzeit* (as in n. 5) 81–97, here citing 91f.

⁴⁰ Brunetto Latini, *Tresor* (as in n. 33) 17, 20f.; Meier, "Cosmos politicus" (as in n. 33) 350ff.

⁴¹ An edition of the *Fabularius* is in preparation at Bonn University; an early printed edition from Basel (about 1470) has a shortened version of the text; cf. Erich Kleinschmidt, "Konrad von Mure", in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 5 (1985) 236–244 (lit.).

which became very popular during the following centuries. This work is a rather unconventional thirteenth-century model of a school encyclopaedia. It fulfills all the requirements of literary teaching and was particularly designed as a complete guide to the reading of the *auctores*, especially the poets. Above all, it is an alphabetically ordered encyclopaedic dictionary with many entries on historical and mythological figures from antiquity, on writers, as well as on political, historical and doctrinal expressions; only a few entries deal with biblical figures or medieval historical persons. Moreover, in about 500 hexametres Konrad provides a complete compendium of the ancient Gods, which he copied from his own *Novus Graecismus*.⁴² A kind of concordance to biblical and ancient pagan history serves as an introduction to the dictionary and he adds a list of stones, plants and trees (*De lapidibus, De plantis, De arboribus*) in an appendix. He does not write about animals and geography but refers the reader to his works *De naturis animalium* and *De propriis nominibus fluviorum et montium*. As in Isidore's *Etymologiae* there are long remarks on philology: grammar and rhetoric are the most important arts Konrad deals with in the *praefatio* and the *epilogue*, and he refers to them time and again throughout the whole text. In these passages he sketches his literary theory. Taking into account the additional material, it is possible to regard this dictionary as a kind of encyclopaedic *summa*. It is, however, a rather economical work without high claims, which completely suits the author's intentions: "wishing to serve the common utility of the young".⁴³ The impression of completeness does not result from a systematic and coherent conception; instead Konrad achieves it by collecting available information and joining together ideas and materials. Inconsistencies and discrepancies in the arrangement of information are therefore not due to the author's negligence but show his preference for the most easily-consulted, searchable and memorable parts. This again illustrates the specific function of the encyclopaedia and its use. The alphabetical arrangement, which had an immediate appeal to contemporary scholars, serves a very specific purpose: "When he has mastered this order, the reader will be able to find what he wants more easily with its help."⁴⁴ Let me only refer in passing to the research done by Richard and Mary Rouse and the programmatic title of their work: *Statim invenire*.⁴⁵

⁴² The *Novus Graecismus* of Konrad of Mure has not yet been edited; an edition is being prepared by Alexandru Cizek/Münster. See here S. 63.

⁴³ ... *communi parvulorum utilitati cupiens deservire*. Konrad of Mure, *Fabularius*, Prologue, in: Franz F. Bendel, "Konrad von Mure", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 30 (1909) 51–101, here citing 77. As for the animals cf. Konrad von Mure, *De naturis animalium*, ed. Árpád Peter Orbán (Heidelberg, 1989). The geographical dictionary seems to be lost.

⁴⁴ *Hoc enim ordine habito et cognito lector id, quod desiderat, eo facilius poterit invenire*. Konrad of Mure, *Fabularius*, Prologue: see Bendel (as in n. 43) 77.

⁴⁵ Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, "Statim invenire. Schools, Preachers, and new Attitudes to the Page", in: *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford, 1982) 201–225.

3. MONASTIC ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

The tension between universal and particular knowledge is especially high in monastic encyclopaedias. Their authors at the same time want to provide a comprehensive representation of the world and serve the specific needs and demands of their monasteries. Two works of the twelfth century may illustrate this type of encyclopaedia, the *Liber floridus* by Lambert of St. Omer and the *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad of Hohenburg. Lambert's book has to be regarded as a "work in progress", as the subjects seems to follow one another without any clear reason as to their progression and it is difficult to get a clear and coherent conception of the work as a whole.⁴⁶ Therefore I shall focus on Herrad's work, even though the original manuscript is lost and the only available edition is a reconstruction of 1979.⁴⁷ Both writers give a framework to their compilations in which they explicitly refer to their own monasteries and both provide superb and expensive manuscripts that certainly did not serve everyday use. Whereas Herrad's manuscript is unique, Lambert's book was copied several times – an astonishing fact considering the condition of the work.

The close connection between Herrad's book and her monastery finds its expression in one of the illustrations: all of the sixty nuns and their abbess are depicted and named in a kind of final tableau.⁴⁸ Figuratively speaking the codex thus takes its place in the monastery where it is intended to be used. The first poem of 25 stanzas is a salutation to the whole convent and Herrad here gives an initial characterisation of the intended audience:⁴⁹

*Salve cohors virginum
Hohenburgensium
Albans quasi lilium
Amans Dei Filium.*

*Herrad devotissima
Tua fidelissima
Mater et ancillula
Cantat tibi cantica.*

⁴⁶ Lambert of St. Omer, *Liber Floridus*. Autograph-Facs., ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent 1968); *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent 1973); Albert Derolez, *Lambertus qui librum fecit. Een codicologische studie van de Liber Floridus-Autograaf (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, handschrift 92)* (Brüssel, 1978).

⁴⁷ Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, 2 vols. (London/Leiden 1979), vol. 1: Reconstruction, vol. 2: Commentary.

⁴⁸ Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum* (as in n. 47) vol. 1, 345–346 (fol. 322v–323r).

⁴⁹ Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum* (as in n. 47) vol. 1, 2 (fol. 1v).

“Hail, company of virgins of Hohenburg, white as a lily, loving the Son of God. Devout Herrad, your faithful mother and serving girl, sings you these songs.”

There are indications of Herrad's intentions, of the *intentio auctoris*, when she reminds the nuns as Christ's brides and wise virgins to dress themselves in the vestment of knowledge as a preparation for the coming of the bridegroom: *Et exornet faciem / mentis purgans aciem*. The book serves this purpose as it rescues knowledge from oblivion:

*Sit hic liber utilis
Tibi delectabilis
Et non cessesolvere
Hunc in tuo pectore,

Nec more strucineo
Surrepat oblivio
Et ne viam deseras
Antequam pervenias.*

“May this book be useful and delightful to you, and may you never cease contemplating it in your heart; may forgetfulness not creep up on you ostrich-like, and may you not leave the path before you have reached your destination.”

The encyclopaedia itself describes the history of salvation from creation to the apocalypse, centering on Christ's life on earth and the works of the apostles. All encyclopaedic knowledge is integrated into this history: cosmology, meteorology, microcosm, the sciences, the arts, the muses, the church, religious worship, institutions, social classes and ethics. Herrad herself refers to the wide range of her sources when she compares her work of compilation from spiritual and scientific sources to bee's collection of honey for a new honeycomb. Like honey, all information serves as nourishment on the way to eternity: “I have assembled ... this book entitled ‘The Garden of Delights’ from the flowers of sacred and philosophical writings, and ... I have combined them into one bountiful honeycomb. Therefore in this book you should eagerly seek good food to refresh the tired spirit with dripping honey, so that ... you may safely heal the transitory and possess the eternal.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ ... hunc librum qui intitulatur Hortus deliciarum ex diversis sacre et philosophice scripture floribus ... comportavi et ... quasi in unum mellifluum favum compaginavi. Quapropter in ipso libro oportet vos sedulo gratum querere pastum et mellis stillicidiis animum reficere lassum, ut ... transitoria secure percuratis et eterna ... possideatis. Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum* (as in n. 47) vol. 1, 4 (fol. 1v).

The arrangement, contents and purpose of this encyclopaedia indicate an elaborate monastic concept of knowledge with special emphasis on the history of salvation, on cosmology and the sciences. Moreover it includes an account of ancient philosophy and – in a critical manner – of the poets. Above all, however, Herrad depicts an ideal image of nuns as Christ's brides when she characterises her work "to the praise and honour of Christ and the church, and for the sake of your delight", and she confidently considers her encyclopaedia an important book not only for her own *congregatio religiosa* but for the whole church as well.⁵¹

4. PREACHERS' ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

A type of encyclopaedias which can easily be distinguished from other types is the so-called moralising encyclopaedias, or to use a term that better expresses their main function, preachers' encyclopaedias. These works became very popular in the late Middle Ages, as hundreds of manuscripts show. It is therefore surprising that only a few studies have so far focussed on these books and I can only sketch preliminary ideas.⁵²

This type of encyclopaedia again mirrors the tension between the writers' claim to present universal knowledge, and their specific intentions. Taking their origin from the natural encyclopaedias of the thirteenth century – among them Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Thomas of Cantimpré – these works are characterised by various correlations between things (*significancia*) and their meanings (*significata*) in the arrangement of knowledge. Different combinations of a systematic and an alphabetical order are notable features and seem to be useful for quickly finding the desired entries. Let me only mention the works of Mark of Orvieto, Henry of Schüttenhofen, John of San Gimignano and the *Reductorium morale* by Petrus Berchorius. John of San Gimignano makes use of two conceptions of the classification of knowledge. While he arranges the different books of his encyclopaedia according to a systematic order of things (*significancia*), he makes use of an alphabetical order of meaning (*significata*) in each of these books. There are other encyclopaedists who use the alphabet as the main structural principle for the *significata*, e. g. Jacobus of Lausanne in his *Tabula exemplorum*, John Bromyard, and also Berchorius in his *Repertorium morale*. In the thirteenth century *Liber septiformis de moralitatibus*, written by an unknown author, the alphabet serves for the overall classification of things; the meanings however are described in the articles, each *significatum* accompanying one property of the *significans* just treated.⁵³

⁵¹ ... *ad laudem et honorem Christi et Ecclesie, causaque dilectionis vestre*. Ibid.

⁵² Books on this subject are in preparation: Peter Binkley, Groningen/London (Canada); Baudouin van den Abeele, Louvain-la-Neuve; Heinz Meyer, Münster.

⁵³ For the moralised encyclopaedia, especially the *Liber septiformis de moralitatibus* I paraphrase Heinz Meyer, "Organisationformen und Kompilationstechnik in der moralisierten Enzyklopädik" (paper read at Münster, January 1996).

The most significant and striking feature of these preachers' encyclopaedias is the large collection of biblical and religious *topoi*. They are thesauri of *copia rerum et allegoariarum* or *moralitatum* and were primarily used for the preparation of sermons, which may explain a strong tendency towards an alphabetical arrangement of knowledge. These works do not, however, serve only as source-books for preachers. The authors also write about social life in general as they expound morality and describe the different social classes and their way of life. Petrus Berchorius refers to both aspects – biblical *topoi* and social life – in the introduction to his *Reductorium morale*, where he characterises his encyclopaedia as a quarry of information or a well of knowledge for various purposes.⁵⁴

5. MEDICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

Several times Latin encyclopaedias were adapted for medical purposes. Although there are indications of professionalisation, there are no medieval medical encyclopaedias in a strict sense. Two encyclopaedias illustrate this: the mid-twelfth-century *Physica* by Hildegard of Bingen and the late-fifteenth-century *Hortus sanitatis*. The reorganisation of medical knowledge was deeply influenced by the inclusion of Arabic encyclopaedias on natural sciences. These literary sources specifically focussed on the teaching of the elements and the different temperaments. Their influence is evident in twelfth- and thirteenth-century encyclopaedias that are not primarily medical ones, e.g. in the *Apex physicae* or in the works of Arnoldus Saxo,⁵⁵ Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Vincent of Beauvais. The reception history of Bartholomaeus' encyclopaedia shows on the one hand that physicians highly esteemed the outlines of medical knowledge that Bartholomaeus included in his descriptions of natural phenomena.⁵⁶ On the other hand Petrus Berchorius, who used Bartholomaeus' work for the compilation of his preachers' encyclopaedia, criticised these passages. Explaining his deletions and additions he wrote: "Note that this book, which I call *Morale Reductorium*, follows the order of the *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* ... But there are some materials in the *Liber de proprietatibus* that I have presented very briefly, such as in the book on illnesses and the book on trees, from which I have extracted the more note-worthy things

⁵⁴ ... sic primum opus (sc. *Reductorium morale*) sit sicut lapidina vel puteus ad materiam hauriendum. Petrus Berchorius, *Reductorium morale* (Köln, 1731) 1b (Prologus).

⁵⁵ Cf. Marie-Odile Garrigues, "L'Apex physicae, une encyclopédie du XII^e siècle", in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 87, 1 (1975) 303–337; Arnoldus Saxo, "Die Enzyklopädie", ed. Emil Stange, in: *Beilagen zum Jahresbericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Erfurt* (Erfurt 1905ff.); Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Arnoldus Saxo", in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978) 485–488; a new edition is in preparation by Isabelle Draelants/ Louvain-la-Neuve.

⁵⁶ Heinz Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von ‚De proprietatibus rerum‘* (München, 2000) 266ff.

and left out what was more commonplace. There is much there that seemed to me to pertain more to the recipes of physicians than to the sayings of philosophers; therefore I have passed over them quickly.”⁵⁷

It is possible to see the influence of Arabic encyclopaedias and their reception in Hildegard’s mid-twelfth-century cosmological and pharmacological *summa*, the *Physica*, or, as her own booklist and the most reliable copies have it, the *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum*.⁵⁸ Like an encyclopaedia, this work presents an outline of the elements and the classifications of the natural world: there are separate books on plants, trees, stones, metals, fishes, birds, animals and reptiles. In the prefaces to each of these books Hildegard explains the theological and cosmological basis of her medical and natural science: all species of organic and inorganic life take their origin from God and his work of creation, and it is this work of creation that assigns them their place and purpose in the world. The encyclopaedia thus provides a comprehensive and coherent overview of the system of the world and it illustrates the interdependence of macrocosm and microcosm by tracing their origin to the act of creation.

The *Hortus sanitatis* (1491) of Jacob of Meydenbach, a printer in Mainz, is unique in that it illustrates the change and development of an originally medical treatise into an encyclopaedia that still deals with medicine but takes into account other fields of knowledge as well. The conception and structure of this book are very different from the earlier works, the *Gart der Gesundheit* and the *Herbarius Moguntinus*, as it reverts to the common knowledge and structural principles typical of high-medieval encyclopaedias. The author does not arrange the *simplicia* according to medical aspects or illnesses. Instead, he divides his work into five *tractatus* according to the four elements and relates all inanimate things and animate beings as well as the mixture of temperaments to them: “The first [treatise] deals with plants and other things that go with the practice of medicine. There you will find accurate pictures of plants. The second concerns the natures and complexions of many animals that live on land. The third deals with birds and their natures. The fourth concerns fish and their properties and natures. The fifth concerns precious stones and their virtues.” This transformation is not accidental:

⁵⁷ ... *notandum est, quod istud ... volumen, quod Morale Reductorium appello, ordinem libri de proprietatibus rerum sequitur ... Aliquae etiam sunt in libro de proprietatibus materiae, quas valde succincte posui, sicut est liber de infirmitatibus, et liber de arboribus, de quibus notabiliora extraxi, magis vero communia dereliqui. Multa enim sunt ibi, quae magis visa sunt mihi pertinere ad recepta medicorum, quam ad dicta Philosophorum; quapropter de istis me breviter expedivi. Petrus Berchorius, Reductorium morale (as in n. 54) 2a.*

⁵⁸ Hildegardis Bingensis, *Physica* (PL 197, 1117–1352); further research has to be done in this field after the recent discovery of previously unknown manuscripts; cf. Irmgard Müller, “Zur Verfasserfrage der medizinisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften Hildegards von Bingen”, in: *Tiefe des Gotteswissens – Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen*, ed. Margot Schmidt (Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt, 1995) 1–17.

throughout the prologue and in the introductions to the separate books the writer repeatedly refers to the origin in God and his work of creation.⁵⁹

6. AN ECONOMIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA VS. 7. A UNIVERSITY ENCYCLOPAEDIA

It is only in the late sixteenth century that encyclopaedists began to deal mainly with trade and economics. A German vernacular encyclopaedia, the *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana* (1585) by Samuel Siderocrates, illustrates a significant transformation of the medieval systems of *ordo rerum* and *ordo artium*, even though there are still many references to these systems. With regard to the author's intention this encyclopaedia has recently been characterised as an "anti-humanist pamphlet."⁶⁰

Siderocrates' intention to serve the middle classes' need for practical knowledge finds its expression in an explicit didactic approach and the use of the vernacular instead of Latin. Combining the Aristotelian system with the *artes liberales*, the three books describe in a seemingly old-fashioned way the arts, physics and metaphysics (theory). Their purpose, however, is just the opposite: the three books can be regarded as a polemical attack on traditional systems of the classification and arrangement of knowledge. The first book deals with the *trivium* in chapters on "letters", "writing", "books", "rhetoric" and "tongues and languages" and with the mathematical *quadrivium* in chapters on "numbers", "measures", and "stars". In contrast to the ideal of humanist Latin teaching, Siderocrates draws up a didactic curriculum for traders and merchants and depicts an „image of the German merchant" ("Ebenbild von den Teutschenkauffleuten")⁶¹. He therefore no longer regards the *artes* model as an irrefutable norm but takes a very pragmatic approach to knowledge, which in the end destroys the traditional

⁵⁹ *Primus [tractatus] itaque tractat de herbis ceterisque que ad usum medicine concurrunt. In quo etiam herbarum aptas figuras comperies. Secundus de natura complexionisque multorum animalium vitam in terris ducentium. Tertius de avibus earumque naturis. Quartus de piscibus earumque proprietatibus et naturis. Quintus de lapidibus preciosis eorumque virtutibus.* Christel Meier, "Der Hortus sanitatis als enzyklopädisches Buch. Zur Pragmatisierung traditionellen Wissens und ihrer Realisierung in der Illustration", in: *Alles was Recht war. Rechtsliteratur und literarisches Recht. Festschrift für Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand* (Düsseldorf, 1996) 191–200, here citing 192f. Gundolf Keil, "Hortus sanitatis", in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 4 (1983) 154–164. For the quotation see: *Ortus sanitatis*, ed. Bernardinus Benalius and Johannes Tacuinus, 2 vols. (Venice, 1511; reprint Würzburg, 1978) I "Prohemium".

⁶⁰ Samuel Siderocrates (Eisenmenger), *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana. Drey Bücher von dem waren ursprung und herkommen der freyen Künsten, auch der Physiognomia, obern Wunderwercken unn Witterungen* (Straßburg 1585); see Rhein, "Die Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana" (as in n. 39).

⁶¹ Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia* (as in n. 60) I 14ff. ("Zungen und Sprachen"); Rhein, "Die Cyclopaedia" (as in n. 39) 87f.

system. The first book, for example, contains advice on the teaching of languages for foreign trade and the international financial market “ohn alle Grammatica, Dialectica und Poeterey”, *i.e.* without any grammar, dialectics or poetry. The same pragmatic approach characterises the second book on natural sciences and medicine, which takes the Bible and Paracelsus as its main authorities. This book was written primarily for physicians and apothecaries, and the author develops a rather pragmatic idea of their professions when he emphasises the necessity of practical knowledge instead of special medical studies.

Taking into account the numerous explicit addresses to specific groups of readers, it is possible to characterise Siderocrates' main audience. The passage on the necessity of teaching vernacular languages addresses “fathers, guardians and fosterfathers”; the advice to deal honestly with money explicitly refers to “priests, trustees, teachers, lawyers, magistrates, fathers, preachers ...”; and in his advice on honest measures Siderocrates addresses various professions: “You teachers”, “You merchants”, “You tailors”, “You bricklayers.”⁶² Stefan Rhein concludes that the intended audience of this encyclopaedia does not belong to humanist and academic circles at university but is part of an educated working middle class. They are people who entered into a tough competition with the academic professions, as they considered academic barriers to special professions in the arts, medicine or religion to be restrictive and demanded their abolition. “[Greuliche Gotteslästerung ist,] daß derselbe zu solcher Meysterschafft keineswegs zugelassen würdet, Er könne dann seine Kunst und H. Schrift auß dem narrechten Aristotele verthädigen, die Artzney auß des unberündten Galeni bescheisserey verfechten unn die freye Künst mit heydnischer Sophistery verblümlen.”⁶³ To be even more precise, the readership may be characterised as comprising the skilled craftsmen, scribes, mathematicians, apothecaries and those in the non-academic medical professions such as barbers, village quacks and surgeons: in sum, professions situated between the illiterate manual workers and the humanist academics.⁶⁴

By means of re-interpretations, reductions and substitutions of traditional university teachings and an adaptation of the concept of the six days of creation, Siderocrates changes the traditional conception of the arrangement of knowledge in such a way that his encyclopaedia serves the particular needs and demands of his reading public. Comparing the *Cyclopaedia* to the *Margarita philosophica* written about 1490 by Gregor Reisch⁶⁵ it is obvious that Siderocrates vehemently opposes the traditional academic encyclopaedia. Reisch, who taught as a Magister Artium at

⁶² Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia* (as in n. 60) I 15ff., 57f.; cf. Rhein, “Die *Cyclopaedia*” (as in n. 39) 95f.

⁶³ Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia* (as in n. 60) I Bl. A3r/v, cf. Rhein, “Die *Cyclopaedia*” (as in n. 39) 96f.

⁶⁴ Rhein, “Die *Cyclopaedia*” (as in n. 39) 96f.

⁶⁵ Cf. n. 36.

Freiburg university, also deals with the seven liberal arts, the *philosophia naturalis*, medicine and theology – yet he writes in Latin and for academic purposes. His book was an instant success and was widely used in sixteenth-century university teaching. The organising principle is the Aristotelian concept of scientific and natural knowledge,⁶⁶ a concept that Siderocrates not only opposes but ridicules in trenchant phrases such as “wider ihren abgott Narristotelem.”⁶⁷

8. DOMESTIC ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

There are also encyclopaedias written for the demands and needs of the private household which played a prominent part in medieval social and cultural life. The prolific information provided in these books is not systematically arranged. The encyclopaedias focus on the special needs of the *oikos* and deal with topics such as the hierarchical order of the household, the rights and duties of its members, as well as horticulture, the keeping of animals, insect control, cooking, hunting, medicine, ethics, religious worship, the arts, poetry, history, cosmology, meteorology etc.⁶⁸ A good example is the early-sixteenth-century *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*.⁶⁹

In its restriction to the needs and demands of the household, this type of encyclopaedia resembles the monastic encyclopaedia; the arrangement of knowledge, however, shows a similarity to the economic encyclopaedia. Whereas writers of household treatise (*oeconomica*) – due to their origin in classical Greek and Latin literature – stick to strict rules as regards contents, methods and theory, the authors of domestic encyclopaedias take a more liberal attitude toward the selection and arrangement of knowledge. It is the inclusion of cosmology, history and general knowledge that turns the simple private household book into an encyclopaedia. Like Lambert's monastic encyclopaedia the *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie* is a “work in progress”, as there are several later additions to the rubricated codex.⁷⁰ There is still much research to be done on this type of encyclopaedia.

⁶⁶ Cf. n. 37; see also Gustav Münzel, “Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und die Margarita philosophica”, *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtsvereins* 48 (1938) 1–87, here citing 48ff.

⁶⁷ Siderocrates, *Cyclopaedia* (as in n. 60) “Drittes Buch. Vorrede”, p. II.

⁶⁸ *Oeconomica*: see Otto Brunner, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen 1968) 103ff. C. VI “Das ganze Haus und die alteuropäische Ökonomik”; Margarete Zimmermann, *Vom Hausbuch zur Novelle. Didaktische und erzählende Prosa im Frankreich des späten Mittelalters* (Düsseldorf, 1989) 4ff.; Bernhard Schnell, “Das Hausbuch als Überlieferungsträger. Zu Michael de Leone und zum *latromathematischen Hausbuch*”, in: *Würzburger Fachprosa-Studien. Michael Holler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gundolf Keil (Würzburg, 1995) 118–133.

⁶⁹ Ewa Chojecka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie. Das Weltbild eines wissenschaftlich-magischen Hausbuchs aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden, 1982).

⁷⁰ Chojecka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie* (as in n. 69).

I have sketched the adaptation of universal encyclopaedic knowledge to the specific needs and demands of different audiences in the compilation of medieval encyclopaedias. One could go a step further and have a close look at the manuscripts themselves, since they often show traces of the use readers made of these works; I cannot, however, go into detail here⁷¹.

III. THE GENERAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Not all medieval encyclopaedias were written for particular needs and purposes and for a specific audience. There are works that do not indicate any intended audience, and some encyclopaedists give explicit reasons for this. I would count among such works the early encyclopaedias written by Isidore and Hrabanus as well as the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Vincent of Beauvais. Isidore wrote for the Christian population of Spain, and Hrabanus for the king and the clergy of the Carolingian Empire, as his dedications to Ludwig the German as *rex sapiens* and new Solomon and to the archbishop of Mainz indicate.⁷² Vincent programmatically explains the various functions of his encyclopaedia: not only does knowledge lead to a better understanding of God and his work of creation, there is practical advice on how to lead a good life, how to preach, how to read literary texts and how to behave in academic disputes; and there are explanations of all kinds of general phenomena. His work may be used "for preaching, for lecturing, for resolving questions, and generally for explaining almost any sort of matter from every art."⁷³

⁷¹ The use of a medieval encyclopaedia in its reception history has been explored by Heinz Meyer in the case of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (as in n. 56); see also Michael W. Twomey, "Towards a reception history of Western medieval encyclopaedias in England before 1500", in: *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997) 329-362.

⁷² Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* (as in n. 7) 9-14.

⁷³ ... *ad predicandum, ad legendum, ad solvendum, nec non et generaliter ad unumquodque fere materie genus artis cuiuslibet explicandum*. Vincent of Beauvais, "Libellus apologeticus" (as in n. 32) 118.

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ZUM VERHÄLTNISS VON ENZYKLOPÄDIK UND ALLEGORESE IM MITTELALTER*

HEINZ MEYER

I. Zur Abgrenzung von Enzyklopädien und Allegoriensammlungen; 1. Aussagen der Autoren zur Funktion der Werke; 2. Werkdisposition und *ordo rerum*; 3. Der Inhalt der Einzelartikel. – II. Mischformen von Naturbeschreibung und Allegorese. – III. Allegorisierung als Prozess der Bearbeitungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte.

I. ZUR ABGRENZUNG VON ENZYKLOPÄDIEN UND ALLEGORIENSAMMLUNGEN

Für die Einordnung von Naturenzyklopädien, die im Mittelalter unter den Titeln 'De naturis rerum' oder 'De proprietatibus rerum' überliefert wurden, und für das in diesen Werken realisierte Verhältnis von Naturbeschreibung und -deutung dominieren in der bisherigen Forschung vor allem zwei Untersuchungsansätze: Einerseits führt die Argumentation mit der Antithese von objektiv-wissenschaftlicher Weltforschung und geistlich-erbaulicher Weltdeutung dazu, dass zwei verschiedene Werkformen der Enzyklopädie scharf voneinander abgegrenzt werden. Dabei wird unter Reprojektion moderner Wissenschaftsvorstellungen der von theologischen Zielsetzungen und allegorischen Inhalten freie Werktypus höher eingestuft. Dieser Untersuchungsansatz bestimmt vor allem die Einführung in die enzyklopädische Literatur des Mittelalters durch M. de Bouard, der die volle Entfaltung der Enzyklopädie gerade durch die Emanzipation von geistlich-erbaulichen Zwecken verwirklicht sieht¹. Typisch mittelalterliche Werkformen, die sich auch als Allegoriensammlungen verstehen, können unter diesen Voraussetzungen nicht zu ihrem Recht kommen. Eine ganz andere Position der neueren Forschung, die vor allem in Arbeiten zum 'Liber de natura rerum' des Thomas von Cantimpré vertreten wird², lehnt für das mittelalterliche 'Naturbuch' die

* Erschienen in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster 24, 1990, S. 290–313.

¹ MICHEL DE BOUARD, *Encyclopédies médiévales. Sur la 'connaissance de la nature et du monde' au moyen âge*, in: *Revue des questions historiques* 112, 1930, S. 258–304; kritisch dazu CHRISTEL MEYER, *Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie. Zu Inhalten, Formen und Funktionen einer problematischen Gattung*, in: *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit. Symposium Wolfenbüttel 1981*, hg. von LUDGER GRENZMANN und KARL STACKMANN (*Germanistische Symposien, Berichtsbände* 5) Stuttgart 1984, S. 467–500, hier S. 470 f.

² HELMUT BOESE lehnt im Vorwort seiner Edition (*Thomas Cantimprænsis, Liber de natura rerum*, Berlin – New York 1973, S. V f.) die Einordnung des Werkes in die Gattung der Enzyklopädie entschieden

Gattungsbezeichnung 'Enzyklopädie' ab und betont die Nähe zu Werkformen der Physiologustradition und der Naturexempelsammlungen. Diese Untersuchungsrichtung ist für die Allegorisierung von Naturbeschreibungen aufgeschlossen; in ihrer Sicht verwischen sich die Grenzen von naturkundlich-beschreibenden und allegorisch-deutenden Texten.

Wie beide Forschungspositionen zeigen, ist das Verhältnis von Naturbeschreibung und -deutung, von Enzyklopädik und Allegorese ein zentrales Problem für die gattungsgeschichtliche Einordnung der enzyklopädischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Schwierigkeiten der Zuordnung einzelner Werke zu bestimmten Texttypen werden indirekt auch daran sichtbar, dass Mischformen von Naturbeschreibung und Allegorese in Werken 'De naturis rerum', wie sie z. B. Hrabanus Maurus³ oder Alexander Neckam⁴ bieten, die Forschung eher irritiert haben und aus der Darstellung der enzyklopädischen Literatur ausgeschlossen bleiben können.

Die folgenden Überlegungen gehen aus von den Werktypen der Enzyklopädie und des allegorischen Lexikons, in denen die Realienkunde des Mittelalters sich darstellt, wenn sie einzelne Gegenstandsbereiche wie die der Pflanzen-, Tier- und Steinbücher überschreitet. Diese Zweiteilung der Werkform soll mit dem Selbstverständnis der Autoren und Werke konfrontiert werden, und zwar (1.) anhand der in den Proömien formulierten Auffassung der Autoren vom Nutzen ihrer Werke, (2.) anhand des Gesamtkonzepts, das an der Gliederung und am Inhalt abgelesen werden kann, und (3.) anhand des Inhaltes der Einzelartikel, an dem sich das Verhältnis von Naturkunde und Allegorese für den Einzelfall bestimmen lässt.

ab und stellt es als Handbuch für Prediger vor. Differenzierter, aber hinsichtlich der Gesamteinordnung vergleichbar ist die Position von TRAUDE-MARIE NISCHIK, *Das volkssprachliche Naturbuch im späten Mittelalter. Sachkunde und Dinginterpretation bei Jacob van Maerlant und Konrad von Megenberg* (Hermaea, N.F. 48) Tübingen 1986, vgl. bes. das Kapitel „Zum Überlieferungshintergrund der systematischen Lehrbücher 'de naturis rerum' " (S. 22–28).

³ Als Titel für Hrabans Enzyklopädie hat sich nach den frühen Drucken und der Ausgabe bei MIGNE, PL 111, Sp. 9–614, 'De universo' durchgesetzt. Hraban gibt dem Werk in der Praefatio an König Ludwig (PL 111, Sp. 9B) den Titel 'De sermonum proprietate et mystica rerum significatione'; die Handschriften überliefern auch 'De originibus rerum' und 'De rerum naturis', vgl. ELISABETH HEYSE, *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie 'De rerum naturis'. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Methode der Kompilation* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 4) München 1969, S. 2f.; MARIANNE REUTER, *Text und Bild im Codex 132 der Bibliothek von Montecassino 'Liber Rabani de originibus rerum'. Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Illustrationspraxis* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 34) München 1984, S. 1.

⁴ *De naturis rerum*, hg. von THOMAS WRIGHT (*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series 34) London 1863, Nachdruck Nendeln 1967; zur Darbietungsform der Allegorese in diesem Werk s. unten bei Anm. 75.

1. AUSSAGEN DER AUTOREN ZUR FUNKTION DER WERKE

In der Einleitung zu allegorischen Wörterbüchern finden wir Hinweise zum Verstehen der Sprache Gottes durch die Dinge der Schöpfung und den Text der Bibel; häufig bieten sie Anweisungen zur Auslegung nach dem mehrfachen Schriftsinn und sind, wie F. Ohly gezeigt hat⁵, eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die Theorie des *sensus spiritualis*. Zwei Beispiele mögen dies veranschaulichen: In der systematisch nach Sachgruppen geordneten Allegoriensammlung der 'Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae' des Eucherius von Lyon aus dem fünften Jahrhundert beinhaltet der Prolog, der mit der Unterscheidung von *littera* und *spiritus* einsetzt, in seinem Zentrum die Erläuterung des dreifachen, nämlich historischen, tropologischen und anagogischen Schriftsinnes. In Anlehnung an Origenes sieht Eucherius die drei Deutungsstufen in Analogie zur Seinsordnung und zum Wesen des Menschen, indem der Ternar der Schriftsinne aus der ontologischen Trichotomie von Leib, Seele und Geist abgeleitet wird: *corpus ergo scripturae sacrae, sicut traditur, in littera est, anima in morali sensu, qui tropicus dicitur, spiritus in superiore intellectu, qui anagoge appellatur*⁶. Zu dem im 12. Jahrhundert ausgebildeten Werktyp des alphabetischen allegorischen Wörterbuchs⁷ gehören die 'Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam' des Ps.-Hrabanus Maurus⁸, deren dem Zisterzienser Garnerius von Rochefort zugeschriebener Prolog⁹ zu den ausführlichsten Texten über den vierfachen Schriftsinn zählt. Eine Kette von Definitionen endet hier im traditionellen Bild vom Gebäude des Schriftsinnes¹⁰: Auf dem Fundament des historisch-buchstäblichen Sinnes werden die Wände der heilsgeschichtlichen Allegorie errichtet, über denen das Dach des anagogischen Verstehens den Blick auf das Jenseits und die Ewigkeit lenkt, während die Tropologie die Wände des Gebäudes innen und aussen farbig gestaltet¹¹. Nach der spezifischen Ausgestaltung der Metapher dient das Gebäudemotiv hier nicht nur der Illustration des hermeneutischen Aspekts, sondern soll auch auf die *contemplatio* des Benutzers hinweisen, die als 'Erbauung' geschildert wird.

⁵ FRIEDRICH OHLY, Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter, in: FRIEDRICH OHLY, Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung, Darmstadt 1977, S. 1–31, hier bes. S. 21 f. mit Anm. 41.

⁶ Hg. von CARL WOTKE (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 31) Wien 1894, S. 4.

⁷ Dazu OHLY (wie Anm. 5) S. 22.

⁸ MIGNE, PL 112, Sp. 849–1088; dazu ANDRE WILMART, Les Allégories sur l'Écriture attribuées à Raban Maur, in: Revue bénédictine 32, 1920, S. 47–56; MARIE-DOMINIQUE CHENU, La théologie au douzième siècle (Études de philosophie médiévale 45) Paris 1966, S. 195 f., 199, 201.

⁹ WILMART (wie Anm. 8) S. 54 f.

¹⁰ OHLY (wie Anm. 5) S. 15 und S. 20 mit Anm. 34; HANS-JÖRG SPITZ, Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns. Ein Beitrag zur allegorischen Bibelauslegung des ersten christlichen Jahrtausends (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 12) München 1972, S. 213–215.

¹¹ MIGNE, PL 112, Sp. 849C–850A

Während sich die Allegoriensammlungen direkt oder indirekt als Hilfsmittel der spirituellen Bibelexegese präsentieren, äussern sich die Autoren mittelalterlicher Enzyklopädien nur sehr allgemein zu den Absichten und zur Gebrauchsfunktion ihrer Werke und bringen in den programmatischen Aussagen der Prologe vor allem die Aufgabe der Enzyklopädie zur Sprache, als „Abbild und Spiegel des Universums“¹² zu dienen und über das Studium von Natur und Welt einen Weg zur Erkenntnis Gottes zu öffnen. Im Unterschied zu anderen Büchern soll die Enzyklopädie geradezu eine ganze Bibliothek ersetzen; sie dient *ad instructionem itaque multorum quibus deest copia librorum*¹³; die *infinitas librorum* gibt den Anstoß zur Abfassung eines einzigen Buches¹⁴. Wenn das Selbstverständnis enzyklopädischer Werke von der eigenen Leistung über solche allgemeinen Bestimmungen hinaus präzisiert wird, dann geht es wie bei den Allegoriensammlungen wieder vor allem um die Hilfe für die Exegese und Predigt. Erläuterungen zur Allegorese sowie zur exegetischen oder homiletischen Funktion sind selbstverständliche Bestandteile der Werkprologe, wenn deren Autoren das Einrichten oder Hinzufügen von allegorischen Werkteilen bzw. die Allegorisierung von Vorlagen, die sich auf den Literalsinn beschränken, zum Programm erheben. Dies gilt¹⁵ u.a. für Hrabans ‘De universo’ und die dort vollzogene, von dem selbst gewählten Titel ‘De sermonum proprietate et mystica rerum significatione’ bereits angekündigte Ergänzung von Isidors ‘Etymologien’ durch die Allegorese¹⁶, für Richards von St. Viktor ‘Liber exceptionum’¹⁷, für Alexander Neckams ‘De naturis rerum’¹⁸ und für des Petrus Berchorius ‘Reductorium morale’¹⁹. Aber auch in den Vorreden von Werken, die sich auf die Beschreibung der *proprietates rerum*

¹² MEIER (wie Anm. 1) S. 472.

¹³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* (MIGNE, PL 172, Sp. 119/120D).

¹⁴ Bartholomäus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, Epilog, zitiert nach: Bartholomaei Anglici *de genuinis rerum coelestium, terrestrium et inferarum Proprietatibus, Libri XVIII. Opus incomparabile, Theologis, Iureconsultis, Medicis, omniumque disciplinarum et artium alumnis, utilissimum futurum. Cui accessit liber XIX. de variarum rerum accidentibus...* Procurante D. Georgio Bartholdo Pontano a Braitenberg, Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter 1601, Nachdruck Frankfurt a. M. 1964, S. 1261.

¹⁵ Nachweise bei MEIER (wie Anm. 1) S. 489 f.

¹⁶ MIGNE, PL 111, Sp. 12D–13A: *opusculum ... scriptum non solum de rerum naturis et verborum proprietatibus, sed etiam de mystica earundem rerum significatione* (vgl. auch Sp. 9B und 10A).

¹⁷ Hg. von JEAN CHATILLON (*Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 5*) Paris 1958. Richard begründet im Prolog (S. 7) die Zweiteilung seines Werkes: *In prima parte materiam habemus originem artium, sium terrarum, cursum historiarum ab initio usque ad nos decurrentium. In secunda parte materiam habemus sensus allegoriarum et tropologiarum secundum subjacentis lineam historie dispositarum.*

¹⁸ Vgl. Anm. 4.

¹⁹ Hier benutzt nach der Ausgabe Köln 1731; zu Autor und Werk vgl. CHARLES SAMARAN, Pierre Bersuire, in: *Histoire littéraire de la France 39*, Paris 1962, S. 259–450, zur Überlieferung des ‘Reductorium’ S. 434–441.

beschränken und eine eventuelle Deutung dem Benutzer überlassen, kann an exegetische oder homiletische Funktionen der Dingbeschreibung erinnert werden. So sieht Thomas von Cantimpré die *utilitas* seines Werkes in der Hilfeleistung für die *predicatio* und kündigt die gelegentliche Aufnahme von Deutungen (*moralitates et significantias rerum*) in die im Normalfall ohne Allegorese durchgeführte Naturbeschreibung an²⁰. Auch Vinzenz von Beauvais, der in der 'Apologia actoris' zum 'Speculum maius' an breit gestreute und verschiedenartige Benutzerinteressen denkt, setzt die *utilitas* des Werkes für den Prediger an die erste Stelle²¹. Unter den Autoren von Enzyklopädiën des 13. Jahrhunderts ist es vor allem Bartholomäus Anglicus, der die Aufgabe seines Werkes in der Vorbereitung von Allegorese, Bibelauslegung und Predigt sucht, so dass die Hinweise auf den Zeichencharakter und das biblische Vorkommen der Dinge unter seinen sonst sparsamen programmatischen Äußerungen auffällig in den Vordergrund treten. In der Praefatio betont Bartholomäus unter Berufung auf die 'Caelestis Hierarchia' des Ps.-Dionysios, dass alles Körperliche und Sichtbare (*carnalia et visibilia*) zum Geistigen und Unsichtbaren (*spiritualia et invisibilia*) führen solle und dass die *similitudines rerum visibilium* das allegorische Sprechen und das spirituelle Verstehen (*allegoricae locutiones et mystici intellectus transsumptiones*) ermöglichen²². Der Epilog beginnt mit der Erinnerung an den Zeichencharakter der Dinge in der Hl. Schrift, der die in den 19 Büchern des Werkes geleistete Eigenschaftsbeschreibung erforderlich macht: ... *quae de proprietatibus rerum naturalium in 19. particulas sunt digesta, sufficere debent ad aliquam inueniendi similitudinariam rationem, qua de causa diuina scriptura rerum naturalium et earum proprietatum tam exquisitis symbolis utitur et figuris.*²³ Die Funktion der Naturkunde als Basis der Allegorese und die Leistung der enzyklopädischen Weltbeschreibung für die Bibelauslegung wird auch in einzelnen Bucheingängen hervorgehoben, am deutlichsten zu Beginn des achten Buches über die Himmelskörper: *Et ideo aliquas mundi huius et contentorum ipsius proprietates huic opusculo, breui sub compendio interserere, proponimus, ut per similitudinem proprietatum corporalium, intellectum spiritualem et mysticum facilius in diuinis scripturis accipere valeamus.*²⁴ Die Stoffauswahl und -behandlung nach Kriterien der Biblexegese wird auch angesprochen in den Prologen des 12. Buches über die Vögel, des 14. Buches über die Landschaften der Erde, des 15. Buches über die Länder und Provinzen, des 17. Buches über die Pflanzen und des 18. Buches über die

²⁰ Liber de natura rerum (wie Anm. 2) S. 4.

²¹ Edition der Apologia Actoris bei ANNA-DOROTHEE VON DEN BRINCKEN, *Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vinzenz von Beauvais. Die Apologia Actoris zum Speculum Maius*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34, 1978, S. 410–499, hier S. 469.

²² Bartholomäus Anglicus (wie Anm. 14) S. 2.

²³ Edb. S. 1261.

²⁴ Ebd. S. 367.

Landtiere²⁵. Nach diesen programmatischen Grundsätzen²⁶ sollen nur Gegenstände behandelt werden, die in der Hl. Schrift vorkommen oder zu ihrer Erklärung beitragen, – eine Richtschnur, von der sich Bartholomäus selbst in Einzelfällen durchaus entfernt. Die Beschreibung der Dinge soll sich auf die für das Deutungsverfahren der Allegorese maßgeblichen *proprietates* konzentrieren. Bartholomäus beruft sich dabei indirekt auf Augustins Bibelhermeneutik, in der Kompendien der Naturkunde als Hilfsmittel für die Deutung der biblischen *locutio figurata* gefordert werden²⁷. Die den Allegoriensammlungen selbstverständlich eigene Funktion eines Hilfsmittels für die Bibelexegese und Predigt wird also auch den Enzyklopädiern zugewiesen. Ob und in welcher Weise sie diese Aufgabe de facto übernehmen, ist am Inhalt der Werke und ihrer Einzelartikel näher zu bestimmen.

2. WERKDISPOSITION UND ORDO RERUM

Gliederungskriterien für mittelalterliche Enzyklopädiern sind der Aufbau der Schöpfung, die Ordnung der Geschichte und Heilsgeschichte sowie die Rangfolge der Wissenschaften; zum Teil mischen sich diese Gesichtspunkte²⁸ und werden noch ergänzt durch einen eigenen Werkteil für die Ethik. Das volle vierteilige Programm²⁹ der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie (Kosmos, Wissenschaftssystem, Ethik, Geschichte) wird repräsentiert durch das 'Speculum maius' des Vinzenz von Beauvais mit den vier Büchern des 'Speculum naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale': *Prima (sc. pars) siquidem prosequitur naturam et proprietatem omnium rerum, secunda vero materiam et ordinem omnium artium, tertia vero proprietates et actus omnium virtutum ac vitiorum, et quarta seriem omnium temporum.*³⁰ Die Ausführlichkeit und Ausgewogenheit dieses Konzeptes bleiben freilich eine Ausnahme; im Regelfall entspricht die mittelalterliche Enzyklopädie ihrer Selbstdefinition als *speculum* oder *imago mundi*³¹ dadurch, dass die Darstellung der

²⁵ Ebd. S. 507, 588, 624, 771, 968; vgl. die Zusammenstellung von Auszügen aus den Bucheingängen bei ANTON E. SCHÖNBACH, Des Bartholomaeus Anglicus Beschreibung Deutschlands gegen 1240, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 17, 1906, S. 54–90, hier S. 59 f.

²⁶ Zum Selbstverständnis und Werkprogramm des Bartholomäus s. HEINZ MEYER, Bartholomäus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum. Selbstverständnis und Rezeption, in: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 117, 1988, S. 237–274, bes. S. 241–245.

²⁷ Vgl. Augustinus, De doctrina christiana II, 39, 59, hg. von JOSEPHUS MARTIN (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 32) Turnhout 1962, S. 73.

²⁸ Einen geschichtlichen Überblick über die mittelalterliche Enzyklopädie anhand der Aufbauprinzipien gibt ROBERT COLLISON, Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages. New York – London 1964, S. 44–81.

²⁹ Dazu MEYER (wie Anm. 1) S. 479 f.

³⁰ Apologia actoris, nach VON DEN BRINCKEN (wie Anm. 21) S. 490.

³¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, De imagine mundi (MIGNE, PL 172, Sp. 119/120): ... *nomenque ei (sc. libello) 'Imago mundi' indatur, eo quod dispositio totius orbis in eo, quasi in speculo*

Schöpfungswelt das Zentrum bildet, um das sich im Einzelfall je andere Werkteile gruppieren können.

Von Allegoriensammlungen, die an der Hilfsmittelfunktion für die Exegese und Predigt ausgerichtet sind, erwarten wir eine Anordnung nach Kriterien der Benutzerfreundlichkeit. Sie schließen sich, wie F. Ohly gezeigt hat, „entweder an die Folge des Vorkommens der Wörter“ in einem bestimmten Bibeltext an oder „behandeln den Wortschatz in alphabetischer Folge“; zu diesen beiden Werkgruppen gehören die Distinctionessammlungen, „die der fortlaufenden Exegese des Schriftkommentars nahestehen“, und die seit dem 12. Jahrhundert (Alan von Lille, Petrus Cantor, Ps.-Hraban u.a.) entstehenden alphabetischen allegorischen Wörterbücher³². Eine ältere, für die Wechselbeziehungen zur Enzyklopädie wichtigere Form der allegorischen Lexikographie ist jedoch „in der Anlage weniger praktisch als ideell bedingt“. Ihre Realisierung in den ‘*Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*’³³ des Eucherius von Lyon aus dem 5. Jahrhundert und in der davon abhängigen ‘*Clavis*’ des Ps.-Melito (um 800)³⁴ steht „den Versuchen einer geordneten Welterfassung und Weltdeutung“³⁵ in Hrabans ‘*De universo*’ nicht nur nahe, sondern hat Hrabans Werk und weitere Enzyklopädien des Mittelalters auch in Anlagekonzept und Inhalt beeinflusst.

conspiciatur; Vinzenz von Beauvais, *Apologia Actoris*. VON DEN BRINCKEN (wie Anm. 21) S. 469: *cuius titulus est Speculum vel Imago Mundi, in quo scilicet huius mundi sensibilis dispositio et ornatus ... describitur*; vgl. MEIER (wie Anm. 1) S. 472.

³² OHLY (wie Anm. 5) S. 22. – Weitere Literatur zu den ‘*Distinctiones*’ und alphabetisch geordneten Allegoriensammlungen: WILMART (wie Anm. 8) S. 47–56; DERS., *Un répertoire d’exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIII^e siècle*, in: *Mémorial M. J. Lagrange*, Paris 1940, S. 307–346; GEORGES LACOMBE, *Prepositini Cancellarii Parisiensis (1206–1210) Opera omnia I: La vie et les œuvres de Prévostin (Bibliothèque Thomiste 11) Le Saulchoir 1927*, bes. S. 104–130 (zur ‘*Summa super Psalterium*’ und zur Gattung ‘*Distinctiones*’); GERMAIN MORIN, *Le Cistercien Ralph de Coggeshall et l’auteur des ‘Distinctiones monasticae’*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 47, 1935, S. 348–355; RICHARD WILLIAM HUNT, *Notes on the Distinctiones Monasticae et Morales*, in: *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien*. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag, St. Ottilien 1950, S. 355–362; BERYL SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Oxford 1952, S. 242–263, bes. S. 246–249; CHENU (wie Anm. 8) S. 196–200 (Kapitel ‘*Allegoriae et Distinctiones*’); DIETRICH SCHMIDTKE, *Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Diss. Berlin 1968, S. 83–86 (‘*Die Gattung der exegetischen Wörterbücher*’); CHRISTEL MEIER, *Das Problem der Qualitätenallegorese*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8, 1974, S. 385–435, bes. S. 416–429; RICHARD H. ROUSE und MARY A. ROUSE, *Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 41, 1974, S. 27–37; DIES., ‘*Statim invenire*’. *Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page*, in: *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, hg. von ROBERT L. BENSON und GILES CONSTABLE, Oxford 1982, S. 201–225, bes. S. 212–218. – Eine Liste von Autoren und Titeln von Allegoriensammlungen aus der Zeit von der Spätantike bis ca. 1700 veröffentlichte bereits JEAN BAPTISTE PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, Paris 1855, Nachdruck Graz 1963, 3, S. LXXXI–LXXXVI.

³³ Wie Anm. 6.

³⁴ Hg. von JEAN BAPTISTE PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 2 und 3 (wie Anm. 32).

³⁵ OHLY (wie Anm. 5) S. 22f.

Die 'Clavis' des Ps.-Melito beginnt mit Kapiteln über Gott, Christus, die Engel und die Himmelskörper; es folgen Abschnitte über den Menschen und die Welt, dann Kapitel über die einzelnen Dinge und Lebewesen der Natur. Das letzte Drittel des Werkes handelt zunächst vom Menschen als sozialem Wesen, dann von der Stadt und Architektur, schließlich von den Zahlen sowie über historische und geographische Namen der Bibel:

- I. De deo;
- II. De filo Dei, secundum carnem;
- III. De supernis creaturis;
- IV. De mundo et partibus ejus;
- V. De variis hominum appellationibus;
- VI. De metallis et aliis rebus, sive his quae ex eis fiunt;
- VII. De lignis et floribus;
- VIII. De avibus;
- IX. De bestiis et ceteris animantibus;
- X. De hominibus;
- XI. De variis aedificationum vocabulis (De civitate);
- XII. De numeris;
- XIII. De nominibus hebraicis.

Diese Gliederung ist wie der Inhalt des Werkes abhängig von den 'Formulae' des Eucherius; der wichtigste Unterschied liegt darin, dass die 'Clavis' für die natürlichen Dinge und Lebewesen mehrere Abschnitte vorsieht (Bodenschätze, Pflanzen, Vögel, übrige Tiere)³⁶.

Harbanus Maurus, der in seine Enzyklopädie bekanntlich die Allegorien der 'Clavis' – weithin wörtlich zitierend – aufnimmt³⁷, ist auch hinsichtlich der Werkdisposition von dieser Quelle beeinflusst. Hraban orientiert die Gliederung primär an Isidors 'Etymologien', nimmt jedoch im Eingangsbereich eine entscheidende Änderung vor, die sich auf weitere vergleichbare Werke des Mittelalters auswirkt: Isidors Eingangsbücher über die sieben freien Künste und die Medizin verlieren ihre Position an der Spitze des Werkes; die Gegenstände des Quadriviums und die Medizin werden bei Hraban im 18. Buch behandelt. An den Werkbeginn tritt in der Tradition des Eucherius und des Ps.-Melito ein Buch 'De Deo'³⁸, dem sich die Bücher über Personen und Institutionen des Alten Bundes, des

³⁶ Eucherius stellt die Gliederung seines Werkes im Prolog selbst vor (wie Anm. 6, S. 6): *I. de his, quae appellantur membra domini uel quae de eo significantur, II. de supernis creaturis, III. de terrenis, IIII. de animantibus; V. de uariis hominum appellationibus, VI. de interiore homine, VII. de his, quae in usu atque in medio habentur, VIII. de uariis uerborum uel nominum significationibus, VIII. de Hierusalem uel aduersis eius, X. de numeris.*

³⁷ HEYSE (wie Anm. 3) bes. S. 36–39.

³⁸ Der Abschnitt 'De Deo' ist bei Isidor im VII. Buch untergebracht; die Buchnumerierung folgt hier der Ausgabe von WALLACE MARTIN LINDSAY, Oxford 1911, 1962.

Neuen Testamentes und der Kirche sowie über die Hl. Schrift und die Liturgie anschließen (Lib. II–V). Bei der vom Menschen ausgehenden Darstellung der Schöpfung im Mittelteil von 'De universo' folgt Hraban auch in der Reihe der Bücher wieder dem Fortgang der Etymologien (Hraban, Lib. VI–XVI nach Isidor, Lib. XI – XV). Vom. 15. Buch an verliert Hrabans Gliederung an Systematik, wechselt von Sachverhalten der Kultur zu solchen der Natur und bleibt dabei weithin von Isidor abhängig, ohne sich streng an dessen Buchfolge zu halten³⁹. Auch der Schlussteil, in dem es zum Teil noch um Sachgebiete der Natur wie die Pflanzen, zum Teil aber um Bereiche der Ökonomie, Zivilisation und Kultur geht, orientiert sich an der Isidor-Vorlage (Hraban, Lib. XIX–XXII nach Isidor, Lib. XVII–XX). Weitere Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der Werkkonzepte bedürften detaillierter Erörterungen, die hier nicht vorgenommen werden können.

Unter dem Einfluss des Werkaufbaus der 'Clavis' und der Veränderungen, die Hraban an der Gliederung von Isidors 'Etymologien', besonders hinsichtlich der Eingangsbücher, vornimmt, stehen verschiedene bedeutende enzyklopädische Werke aus den beiden Jahrhunderten von 1200 bis 1400: Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum*; Bartholomäus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*; Vinzenz von Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*; Petrus Berchorius, *Reductorium morale*; Konrad von Meigenberg mit der Zweitfassung seines 'Buchs der Natur' von 1360; Domenico Bandini, *Fons memorabilium universi*. Allen diesen Werken ist gemeinsam, dass sie mit dem Schöpfer beginnen, in ihrem Mittel- oder Hauptteil die Schöpfung behandeln und in sehr verschieden gearteten Schlussteilen in der Regel auch Perspektiven auf vom Menschen hergestellte Dinge und auf die geschichtlich-kulturelle Welt des Menschen eröffnen:

Alexander Neckam⁴⁰ beginnt sein Werk 'De naturis rerum' mit dem Genesisbericht und dem Anfang des Johannesevangeliums (Lib. I, 1–2). Es folgen Kapitel über die Engel, die Zeit, das Firmament und die Gestirne (I, 3–15). Die weitere Gliederung orientiert sich an einer Kombination aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Schöpfungstag mit der Elementenreihe Feuer – Luft – Wasser – Erde: Nach der Behandlung der Elemente im allgemeinen und des Feuers (I, 16–17) folgt die Luft mit den Vögeln (I, 18–80). Das zweite Buch beginnt mit dem Wasser (II, 1–47, mit Gewässern und Fischen); es folgt die Erde mit den Bodenschätzen, Pflanzen und Tieren (II, 48–151). Der Schlussteil des Werkes (II, 152–192) handelt vom Menschen und seiner Welt und geht dabei von der natürlichen Umwelt zu Bereichen der Zivilisation, Kultur und Gesellschaft über (Reihenfolge ab II, 152: Mensch, Haustiere, Ackerbau, Gebäude und Geräte, *artes liberales*, Stände, Laster).

Bartholomäus Anglicus⁴¹ beginnt sein Werk 'De proprietatibus rerum' mit Büchern über Gott, die Engel und das geistig-psychische Leben des Menschen. Nach dieser Darstellung der

³⁹ Hraban, Lib. XV (Philosophen, Dichter, Götter der Heiden) nach Isidor, Lib. VIII, 2. Teil; Hraban, Lib. XVI ('De linguis gentium') nach Isidor, Lib. IX; Hraban, Lib. XVII (Steine, Metalle etc.) nach Isidor, Lib. XVI; Hraban, Lib. XVIII (Quadrivium und Medizin) in Entsprechung zu Isidor, Lib. III und IV.

⁴⁰ Wie Anm. 4.

⁴¹ Wie Anm. 14. – Die Erläuterung der Gliederung durch den Autor selbst dort in der Praefatio, S. 3 f.

unkörperlichen Welt behandeln die Bücher 4–7 die naturhaft körperliche Dimension des Menschen (4: *qualitates corporis, humores*/Temperamente; 5: Körperteile; 6: Lebensalter, Geschlecht und Stand, Nahrung, Arbeit etc; 7: Medizinisches). Nachdem das achte Buch einen Neuanfang beim Makrokosmos sucht und das neunte die vom Lauf der Gestirne abhängige Zeit behandelt, orientiert sich die Gliederung vom zehnten bis zum 18. Buch an den Elementen, und zwar behandelt das zehnte Buch die Elemente allgemein sowie das Feuer, das elfte beschreibt die Phänomene der Luft und das Wetter, das zwölfte die der Luft zugeordneten Vögel, das 13. das Wasser und die Gewässer mit den Fischen. Die Bücher 14–18 beschreiben dann die Erde mit ihren Erscheinungsformen und Lebewesen (14: Landschaften; 15: Länder und Provinzen; 16: Mineralien, Metalle, Edelsteine; 17: Pflanzen; 18: Landtiere). Das 19. Buch, das deutlich als Appendix erkennbar ist, gilt den Akzidentien, zunächst im Ausgang von Farbe, Geruch und Geschmack, dann von den Gegenständen des Quadriviums.

Für Vinzenz von Beauvais ist das 'Speculum naturale', also das Kernstück des gesamten 'Speculum maius'⁴², zu vergleichen: Nach einem vorangestellten ersten Buch über Gott und die Engel (sowie Teufel) richtet sich die weitere Gliederung nach den Schöpfungstagen: Buch II/1. Tag: Licht und Finsternis, *mundus sensibilis*; Buch III–IV/2. Tag: Firmament, Luft und Feuer mit Erscheinungsweisen; Buch V–XIV/3. Tag: Wasser und Gewässer, Erde mit Ackerbau, Bodenschätzen (auch Edelsteinen) und Pflanzen (besonders ausführlich in den Büchern IX–XIV die Pflanzen); Buch XV/4. Tag: Gestirne; Buch XVI–XVII/5. Tag: Vögel und Fische; Buch XVIII–XXII/6. Tag: Tiere der Erde. Dem sechsten Schöpfungstag ist auch die Behandlung des Menschen in der Reihenfolge Seele – Leib zugeordnet (Buch XXIII–XXVIII). Buch XXIX geht vom siebten Tag, dem Ruhetag des Schöpfers, aus und befasst sich allgemein mit Gott als Schöpfer, während die Bücher XXX und XXXI sich wieder dem Menschen zuwenden (der Mensch als Mikrokosmos, die Lebensbedingungen des Menschen). Das letzte Buch behandelt schließlich die historische Welt und ist als Ausblick auf das 'Speculum historiale' zu lesen.

Petrus Berchorius orientiert sich mit der Buchfolge seines 'Reductorium morale' (um 1340) ganz an Bartholomäus Anglicus; er fasst lediglich mehrere Bücher seiner Vorlage zusammen, so z. B. die Bücher 1–4 zu einem Eingangsbuch, oder teilt einzelne Bücher, macht z. B. aus dem 13. Buch von 'De proprietatibus rerum' über das Wasser und seine Erscheinungsweisen zwei Bücher (8. Gewässer; 9. Fische). Zum Gesamtvorhaben des 'Reductorium' gehört freilich die Ausweitung durch die Traktate 'De naturae mirabilibus', 'De poetarum fabulis et aenigmatibus' (= 'Ovidius moralizatus') und 'De figuris Bibliae et earum expositionibus'.

Konrad von Megenberg⁴³ folgt mit seinem um 1350 vollendeten 'Puoch von den naturleichen dingen' der sogenannten Redaktion III des 'Liber de natura rerum' des Thomas von Cantimpré, d.h. einer 16-Bücher-Fassung eines anonymen Bearbeiters noch aus dem 13. Jahrhundert. Aufschlussreich für unsere Fragestellung ist eine Neubearbeitung, die Konrad selbst 1360 unter dem Einfluss von Bartholomäus Anglicus vornimmt und bei der er sein Werk mit einer Übersetzung aus dem 'Symbolum Athanasianum', mit einem Kapitel über die Engel und einer Übertragung der Kapitel 2–7 aus dem dritten Buch (De anima) von 'De proprietatibus rerum' neu einleitet. So erhält auch das 'Buch der Natur' eine Werkdisposition, die

⁴² Zum Verhältnis von Planung und Durchführung des Gesamtwerks s. VON DEN BRINCKEN (wie Anm. 21); CHRISTEL MEIER, Vom 'homo caelestis' zum 'homo faber'. Zur Reorganisation der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie für neue Gebrauchsfunktionen bei Vinzenz von Beauvais und Brunetto Latini, in: Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen, hg. von KLAUS GRUBMÜLLER und HAGEN KELLER (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 65) München 1992, S. 157–175.

⁴³ Konrad von Megenberg, Das Buch der Natur, Stuttgart, 1861, Nachdruck Hildesheim – New York 1962; dazu UWE RUBERG, Allegorisches im 'Buch der Natur' Konrads von Megenberg, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 12, 1978, S. 310–325; NISCHIK (wie Anm. 2).

nach dem „ordo-Gedanken die einzelnen Seinsbereiche hierarchisch nach ihrer Seinsfülle ordnet“⁴⁴, indem sie in der Reihenfolge Gott, Engel, Mensch, Himmel und Gestirne, Tierwelt, Pflanzenwelt, unbelebte Natur fortschreitet.

Aus dem letzten Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts stammt die unedierte Enzyklopädie 'Fons memorabilium universi' des Domenico Bandini⁴⁵, die in fünf Teilen mit insgesamt 34 Büchern⁴⁶ ein Werkkonzept vorlegt, das sehr an die Gliederung von 'De proprietatibus rerum' erinnert: Der erste Teil (vier Bücher) handelt von Gott, den Engeln, der Seele sowie den bösen Geistern; der zweite Teil (fünf Bücher) beschreibt die Erschaffung des Universums, die Gestirne und die von deren Lauf abhängige Zeit. Die Teile 3 und 4 folgen wie die Bücher 10–18 bei Bartholomäus Anglicus der Elementenreihe: der dritte Teil (acht Bücher) beschreibt zunächst die Elemente allgemein, dann das Feuer, die Luft (mit Wetter und Vögeln) und das Wasser (mit Gewässern und Fischen); der vierte Teil (zwölf Bücher) behandelt die Erde mit Landschaften, Ländern und Provinzen sowie mit Pflanzen, Tieren und Bodenschätzen. Der fünfte Teil (fünf Bücher) verlässt das Gliederungskonzept der Naturenzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus und wendet sich ganz dem Historischen, Kulturellen und Ethischen zu: Themen sind berühmte Persönlichkeiten, philosophische Schulen, Häresien und Sekten sowie das Tugendsystem.

Diese Übersicht dokumentiert die Ausbildung und Wirksamkeit eines relativ festen Ordnungsgefüges⁴⁷ für die verschiedensten Varianten eines Werktyps, der sich selbst als *imago mundi* definiert. Das mit der Formel *speculum/imago mundi* angekündigte Programm, dem eine Werkdisposition nach dem *ordo rerum* entspricht, lässt sich dabei nicht auf eine bestimmte Gattungsvariante einschränken, sondern gilt für Enzyklopädien ohne Allegorese ebenso wie für Allegoriensammlungen und für Mischformen aus Naturbeschreibung und Allegorese. Die skizzierten Gliederungsentwürfe von den 'Formulae' des Eucherius von Lyon aus dem fünften Jahrhundert bis zur 'Fons' des Domenico

⁴⁴ GEORG STEER, Konrad von Megenberg, in: Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, 2. Aufl., 5, Berlin 1985, Sp. 221–236, hier Sp. 233.

⁴⁵ Zu Person und Werk COLLISON (wie Anm. 28) S. 70–72; LORENZO MEHUS, *Historia litteraria Florentina ab anno MCXCII usque ad annum MCDXXXIX*, Florenz 1769, Nachdruck mit einer Einleitung, analytischer Inhaltsübersicht und Bibliographie von ECKHARD KESSLER (Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe II: Texte 2) München 1968, S. CXXIX–CXXXIX; LYNN THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 3, New York 1934, S. 560–567, 759–761; A. TERESA HANKEY, Domenico di Bandino of Arezzo, in: *Italian Studies* 12, 1957, S. 110–128; DIES., *The Library of Domenico di Bandino*, in: *Rinascimento* 8, 1957, S. 177–207; DIES., *The Successive Revisions and Surviving Codices of the 'Fons Memorabilium Universi' of Domenico di Bandino*, in: *Rinascimento* 11, 1960, S. 3–49.

⁴⁶ Die bei COLLISON (wie Anm. 28) S. 71, zusätzlich zu diesen 34 Büchern aufgelisteten Abschnitte IV, 10 und V, 4 sind vermutlich Zutaten, die nur vor einer Handschrift überliefert werden; vgl. die Erläuterung der Gliederung durch den Autor selbst bei MEHUS (wie Anm. 45) S. CXXXIV.

⁴⁷ Tendenzen, den damit vorgegebenen Rahmen zu sprengen, zeigen sich auch bei den hier besprochenen Autoren, und zwar bei Vinzenz von Beauvais im 13. Jahrhundert bereits stärker als im viel späteren Werk des Domenico Bandini. Solche Tendenzen dokumentieren ebenso wie ganz neue Inhalte und Anlagekonzepte (vor allem bei Brunetto Latini) eine Neuorientierung der Enzyklopädie an neuen Gebrauchsfunktionen; vgl. CHRISTEL MEIER, *Cosmos politicus. Der Funktionswandel der Enzyklopädie bei Brunetto Latini*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22, 1988, S. 315–356; DIES. (wie Anm. 42).

Bandini vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts zeigen, dass es nicht nur Vergleichspunkte, sondern auch Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse zwischen den Anlageprinzipien von Allegoriensammlungen und enzyklopädischen Werken gibt.

3. DER INHALT DER EINZELARTIKEL

Die Selbstaussagen der Werke zu ihrer Funktion und die Anlageprinzipien erlauben keine eindeutige und endgültige Abgrenzung von Allegoriensammlungen und Enzyklopädien, so dass Unterscheidungskriterien eher im Inhalt der Werke mit dem Vergleich einzelner Artikel zu suchen sind. Für einen solchen Vergleich können die folgenden Abschnitte über die Eule (*nycticorax*, *noctua*) als Materialbasis dienen, da sie nach Art und Umfang die Eigenarten der Texte, denen sie entnommen sind, gut repräsentieren:

(1) *Noctua dicitur pro eo quod nocte circumvolat et per diem non possit videre; nam exorto splendore solis, visus illius hebetatur. Hanc autem insula Cretensis non habet; et si veniat aliunde, statim moritur. Noctua autem non est bubo; nam bubo maior est. Nycticorax ipsa est noctua, quia noctem amat. Est enim avis lucifuga, et solem videre non patitur* (Isidor, Etymol. XII, 7, 40–41).

(2) *Nycticorax est noctis coruus sic dictus, eo quod noctem amat, quia de nocte volans cibum quaerit et quaerendo clamitat, cuius clamor est volucris odiosus, ut dicit Isidor. Est autem avis lucifuga et Solem videre non potest, sepulcra et loca mortuorum inhabitat et frequentat, in parietibus et in locis ruinosus nidificat, ova columbarum et monedularum frangit et deuorat, et cum eis pugnat. Haec dicitur noctua, quasi de nocte acute tuens, de nocte enim videt, exorto autem splendore Solis eius visus hebetatur. Hanc insula Cretensis non habet, et si venerit aliunde, statim moritur, ut dicit Isidor* (Bartholomäus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 27⁴⁸).

(3) *Nycticorax dicitur, ut Adelinus dicit, noctis coruus, avis utique, quam nos noctuam dicimus. Hec noctis tenebras amat. Philosophus: Euerso uolat et uociferat. De sordibus humanis uiuit et contra malum canit. Lucem odit. Hec avis animalibus sopori se dantibus magis incipit uigilare et escam querere. Que si de die uolaret, a ceteris auibus impeteretur. Caput ingens habet, nec formatum ut alie aues. Rostrum habet aduncum ut nisus, unguis pedum hamatos et asperos. Noctuarum contra aues sollers dimicatio. Plinius: Quando ab homine uel auibus impetitur, resupina iacens rostro ac pedum unguibus se defendit. Auxiliatur eam autem ipsam accipiter quodam collegio nature, bellumque partitur. In Cretam insulam si noctua inuehitur, statim moritur. Carnes eius paraliticos iuuant* (Thomas Cantimpratensis, De natura rerum, Redaktion III⁴⁹).

⁴⁸ Wie Anm. 14, S. 543.

⁴⁹ Der unedierte Text wird hier zitiert nach der Handschrift München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2655, f. 36ra.

(4) *Nycticorax Christus uel uir sanctus infidelibus despicabilis: in psalmo* (101, 7): ‚*Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio*‘ (Eucherius von Lyon, *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*⁵⁰).

(5) *Nycticorax, Christus, vel uir sanctus, infidelibus despicabilis. In psalmo* (101, 7): ‚*Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio*‘.

Noctua, homines veritatis lucem fugientes, et peccatorum tenebras diligentes. In Levitico (11, 16) haec avis vesci prohibetur (Ps.-Melito, *Clavis*⁵¹).

(6) *Nycticorax est Christus, ut in Psalmis (101, 7): ‚Factus sum sicut nycticorax in mundo‘, id est, mortuus positus sum in sepulcro* (Ps.-Hraban, *Allegoriae*⁵²).

Die ersten drei Texte aus den enzyklopädischen Werken beschränken sich auf die naturkundliche Beschreibung, ohne eine allegorische Auslegung anzuschließen. Die den Allegoriensammlungen entnommenen Abschnitte 4–6 hingegen verzichten ganz auf die Beschreibung der Eigenschaften des Vogels, die sich allenfalls zu einem geringen Teil aus den Deutungen indirekt erschließen lassen. Nach den Texten 1–3 ist die Eule⁵³ ein Nachtvogel, der die Dunkelheit liebt und im Licht der Sonne die Sehschärfe verliert. Sie unterscheidet sich von anderen Vögeln durch die Größe des Kopfes und den Flug mit aufgerichteter Brust. Sie ist bei anderen Vögeln unbeliebt wegen ihres Geschreis und lebt mit ihnen im Streit, weil sie über deren Nester und Eier herfällt. Sie selbst nistet in der Einöde, auf Gräbern und in Ruinen; auf der Insel Kreta gibt es sie nicht bzw. stirbt sie, wenn sie sich dorthin verirrt. – Nach diesen und weiteren negativen Eigenschaften erwarten wir von der Allegorese Deutungen ad malam partem, die sich auch bereits in der Frühzeit der Exegese nachweisen lassen, so in den Vogelkapiteln der Genesisdeutungen des vierten Jahrhunderts bei Basilius dem Grossen⁵⁴ und Ambrosius⁵⁵, wo die Vorliebe der Eule für die Dunkelheit und die Blindheit im Licht als Zeichen des Unglaubens und des Verharrens in der *sapientia mundi* gedeutet werden. Für die exegetische Tradition von der Spätantike zum Mittelalter ist jedoch ein Sonderfall bestimmend, der an die Metaphorik von Ps. 101 anknüpft: Der Psalmist vergleicht hier seine Situation mit der Einsamkeit eines Pelikans in der Wüste, einer Eule in Ruinen und eines einzelnen Spatzes auf dem Dach. Diese Metapher von der Einsamkeit des Vogels, die positiv als Zeichen der Einsamkeit Christi oder der Heiligen verstanden wird, beeinflusst über die

⁵⁰ Wie Anm. 6, S. 24.

⁵¹ JEAN BAPTISTE PITRA, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata*, 2, Paris, 1884, Nachdruck Farnborough, 1966, S. 88.

⁵² MIGNE, PL. 112, Sp. 1006 A.

⁵³ Vgl. den materialreichen Artikel 'Eule' von HEINRICH SCHWARTZ und VOLKER PLAGEMANN, in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 6, München 1973, Sp. 267–322.

⁵⁴ *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* (MIGNE, PG 29, Sp. 181 AB).

⁵⁵ *Exameron V*, 24, 86, hg. von CAROLUS SCHENKL (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 32/1*) Prag–Wien–Leipzig 1897, S. 200.

Psalmenkommentare⁵⁶ und das Eulenkapitel des Physiologus⁵⁷ die Mehrzahl der allegorischen Auslegungen, so auch die oben zitierten Textbeispiele 4–6. Lediglich beim Ps.-Melito werden unter 'noctua' auch die Eigenschaften der Scheu von dem Licht und der Liebe zur Dunkelheit auf den Sünder gedeutet und mit der biblischen Liste der unreinen Tiere in Verbindung gebracht.

Der Vergleich einzelner Artikel stellt also gewisse Kriterien für die Abgrenzung der Allegoriensammlungen von Naturbeschreibungen enzyklopädischer Werke zur Verfügung: Die den Enzyklopädien entnommenen Texte erläutern die Bezeichnung für die Eule, nehmen z. T. eine Einteilung verschiedener Eulen- bzw. Nachtvögel vor und beschreiben die vorwiegend negativ gezeichneten Eigenschaften dieses Vogels. Die Texte 4–6, die für die Darbietungsformen der allegorischen Lexika stehen sollen, nennen kurz den Bedeutungsträger und die Bedeutung und fügen ein bestätigendes Bibelzitat hinzu. Die für die Bedeutungsfindung maßgeblichen Eigenschaften kommen dabei häufig nicht zur Sprache oder lassen sich nur indirekt erschließen. So heißt es in den Texten 4 und 5 über Christus (bzw. den *vir sanctus*), er sei *infidelibus despicibilis*. Nur eine genaue Kontrolle der vorausgehenden Bibelkommentare könnte klären⁵⁸, ob hier über das vom Bibeltext vorgegebene Motiv der Einsamkeit hinaus auch auf den Streit der Eule mit den anderen Vögeln angespielt, d. h. der Vergleich gezogen wird: Christus und der *vir sanctus* finden ebensowenig die Achtung der Ungläubigen wie die Eule die Zuneigung der übrigen Vögel. Allegoriensammlungen wie die hier zitierten lassen jedenfalls Benutzer erwarten, die mit den Methoden, der Praxis und den Ergebnissen der Allegorese vertraut sind. Im Hinblick auf die Funktion der Werktypen als Hilfsmittel für die Bibelauslegung ist festzuhalten: Die naturkundlichen Beschreibungen der Enzyklopädien legen dem Exegeten eine Liste von deutungsfähigen Eigenschaften vor, ohne selbst in den Auslegungsprozess einzugreifen. Die Allegoriensammlungen bieten dagegen eine Art von 'Ergebnisprotokoll' für die in der Tradition der Bibelkommentare bereits vollzogene Allegorese, an deren Resultate sie in einer Kurzform erinnern. Die allegorischen Lexika sind mit ihrem weithin bereits von den Kirchenvätern

⁵⁶ Eusebius von Cäsarea, *Commentaria in Psalmos* (MIGNE, PG 23, Sp. 1256AB); Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, hg. von ELEGIUS DEKKER und JOHANNES FRAIPONT (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 38–40) Turnhout 1956, hier 40, S. 1432; Cassiodor, *Expositio Psalmorum*, hg. von MARCUS ADRIAEN (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 97–98) Turnhout 1958, hier 98, S. 902f.; Ps.-Beda, *In Psalmorum librum exegesis* (MIGNE, PL 93, Sp. 993D–994A); Ps.-Haymo von Halberstadt, *Explanatio in Psalmos* (MIGNE, PL 116, Sp. 534CD); Ps.-Remigius von Auxerre, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (MIGNE, PL 131, Sp. 661BC); Ps.-Bruno von Würzburg, *In Psalmos* (MIGNE, PL 142, Sp. 363CD); Ps.-Bruno von Köln, *Expositio in Psalmos* (MIGNE, PL 152, Sp. 1163D–1174A); Petrus Lombardus, *Commentarius in Psalmos* (MIGNE, PL 191, Sp. 909 B)

⁵⁷ Nachweise bei NIKOLAUS HENKEL, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter* (Hermaea, N.F. 38) Tübingen 1976, S. 196f.

⁵⁸ Mit den mir bekannten Belegen läßt sich keine endgültige Klärung herbeiführen.

festgelegten Bestand an Deutungen eher konservativ, während die Enzyklopädien auch für Innovationen sorgen können: In ihrem Gefolge entstehen, wie unten⁵⁹ noch zu zeigen sein wird, neue allegorische Sinnbezüge dadurch, dass Eigenschaften der Dinge und Lebewesen, die bisher in der Exegese keine Rolle spielten, nun zur Bedeutungsfindung herangezogen werden.

Die einzelnen Artikel der verschiedenen Gattungen lassen sich freilich nicht immer so eindeutig voneinander abgrenzen, wie es bei den vorgelegten Beispielen möglich war. Es gibt allegorische Wörterbücher, in denen die Auslegung ausführlicher begründet wird und die Eigenschaften der Dinge präziser benannt sind. Unter den Enzyklopädien sind Werke wie Alexander Neckams 'De naturis rerum', in denen Allegorese in einer geradezu schematisch festgelegten Form durchgeführt wird. Für die Wechselbeziehungen von Enzyklopädien und Allegoriensammlungen sind vor allem solche Werke von Interesse, deren Programm darin besteht, die Dingbeschreibungen einer Vorlage durch allegorische Auslegung zu ergänzen.

II. MISCHFORMEN VON NATURBESCHREIBUNG UND ALLEGORESE

Für den Bereich der Mischformen von naturkundlich-beschreibenden und allegorisch-deutenden Texten ist Hrabanus Maurus' 'De universo' das maßgebliche Werk, das der Autor selbst unter dem Titel 'De sermonum proprietate et mystica rerum significatione' vorstellt und in dem er „Profanwissenschaft und Theologisch-Exegetisches in bis dahin nicht gekannter Form“⁶⁰ miteinander verbinden will. In der Praefatio an Haymo von Halberstadt begründet Hrabans seine Stellung zur Tradition und seinen spezifischen Neuanatz: Wie seine Vorläufer unter den Autoren enzyklopädischer Werke (*juxta morem antiquorum qui de rerum naturis et nominum atque verborum etymologiis plura conscripsere*) möchte er die Eigenschaften der Dinge und die Etymologien der Namen und Wörter behandeln, darüber hinaus aber auch die *significatio mystica* der Wörter und Sachen darstellen⁶¹. Dieser selbst formulierten Absicht entsprechen die Zusammenstellung von Hrabans Quellen und die Komposition der einzelnen Artikel, wie sich an den Abschnitten über die Eulenvögel zeigen lässt. Der Artikel 'De noctua' zitiert Isidors Beschreibung dieses Vogels, um dann die kurze Allegorese des Ps.-Melito mit dem Hinweis auf die Unreinheit des Tiers nach den Gesetzesvorschriften des Alten Bundes hinzuzufügen:

(Isidor:) *Noctua dicitur pro eo quod nocte volat et per diem non possit videre, nam exorto splendore solis visus illius hebetatur. Hanc autem insula Cretensis non*

⁵⁹ Abschnitt III.

⁶⁰ MEIER (wie Anm. 32) S. 418.

⁶¹ MIGNE, PL 111, Sp. 12D.

*habet, et si veniat aliunde, statim moritur. Noctua a quibusdam dicitur corvus marinus. Noctua autem non est bubo. Nam bubo maior est. (Ps.-Melito:) Noctua homines, veritatis lucem fugientes, tenebris obligatos significat. Unde in Levitico (11, 16) haec avis vesci prohibetur.*⁶²

Nach Darstellungsart und Quellenwahl ist diese Kombination von Isidor-Vorlage für die Beschreibung und Ps.-Melito-Zitat für die Deutung die bei Hraban am häufigsten nachweisbare Zusammensetzung von Einzelartikeln⁶³. Ihr Nachteil besteht in der mangelnden Harmonie der beiden Textabschnitte, insofern die Beschreibung bei Isidor in der Regel Elemente enthält, denen in der Allegoriensammlung des Ps.-Melito keine Deutung entspricht (so hier das Fehlen bzw. Sterben der Eule auf Kreta). Die in diesem Fall unzureichende Feinabstimmung von *proprietas* und *significatio* ist eher gegeben, wenn als Vorlage ein exegetischer Text gewählt wird, der mit einer auf die Bedürfnisse der Allegorese zugeschnittenen Beschreibung beginnt, wie an Cassiodors Auslegung der von den Vögeln *pelicanus*, *nycticorax* und *passer* bestimmten Metaphorik von Ps. 101,7–8 veranschaulicht werden kann:

(Cassiodor⁶⁴.) ... *in Psalmo Propheta ita dicit: 'Similis factus sum pellicano in solitudine: factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio. Vigilavi et factus sum sicut passer unicus in aedificio'. Per haec nomina volucrum (ut arbitror) diversa nobis poenitentium genera declarantur. (...) Nycticorax Graeco vocabulo dicitur noctis corvus, quem quidam bubonem, quidam noctuam esse dixerunt: alii magis corvo magnitudine et colore consimilem, quem specialiter in Asiae partibus inveniri posse testantur. Istum sicut diei fulgor abscondit, ita adventus noctis producit: et contra consuetudines avium tunc magis vigilare et escas quaerere incipit, quando se in soporem animantia cuncta componunt. Ita et poenitens iste nocturno tempore escas animae sollicita curiositate perquirat, modo psalmodiae operam dando, modo eleemosynas faciendo, modo carceres occulte visitando solum Deum vult habere testem, cui caligo noctium non tollit aspectum. Et nota, quia sicut pellicanus designat eremitam atque solitarium, ita nycticorax illum declarat, qui se domicilio retinens a publica visione remotus est. (Ps.-Melito:) Potest etiam nycticorax Christum vel virum sanctum significare infidelibus despiciabilem.*⁶⁵

Nach den allgemeinen Angaben zur Gattung und Bezeichnung des Vogels folgen hier innerhalb des Cassiodor-Zitats jene Eigenschaften des Vogels, die mit der auszulegenden Bibelstelle und der Bedeutung in Einklang zu bringen sind, also

⁶² Ebd. Sp. 246D–247A. Hraban kombiniert hier die Texte 1 und 5b der oben vor Anm. 51 gegebenen Beispiele.

⁶³ Vgl. die einzelnen Nachweise bei HEYSE (wie Anm. 3) S. 66–155.

⁶⁴ *Expositio Psalmorum* (wie Anm. 56) S. 902 f.

⁶⁵ MIGNE, PL 111, Sp. 250D–251B.

die Einsamkeit und die außergewöhnliche Lebensführung betreffen. Die Deutung des Eucherius, die Hraban der 'Clavis' des Ps.-Melito entnimmt, ist hier schließlich als Variante bzw. Alternative noch angefügt.

Diese Beispiele charakterisieren das Verhältnis von Naturbeschreibung und Allegorese in den Einzelabschnitten von Hrabans 'De universo'; sie sind auch repräsentativ für die quantitativen Verhältnisse der Quellenauswertung durch Hraban: Am häufigsten herangezogen werden Isidors 'Etymologien', es folgt die Allegoriensammlung des Ps.-Melito; unter den häufiger zitierten exegetischen Quellen steht Cassiodors Psalmenkommentar an erster Stelle⁶⁶.

Hinsichtlich der Zuordnung zu bestimmten Werktypen und Gebrauchsfunktionen bereiten Mischformen von Enzyklopädien und Allegoriensammlungen der Forschung besonders große Schwierigkeiten. Mag ein Urteil über Hrabans Werk, das sich selbst mit wünschenswerter Deutlichkeit zu seinen Absichten äußert, noch relativ leicht sein, so fällt die Beurteilung vergleichbarer Werke des 13. Jahrhunderts und ihrer volkssprachigen Bearbeitungen durch die bisherige Forschung zum Teil widersprüchlich und missverständlich aus. Erläutert sei dies am 'Buch der Natur' des Regensburger Domherrn Konrad von Megenberg aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, einer deutschen Bearbeitung der sogenannten Redaktion III des 'Liber de natura rerum' des Thomas von Cantimpré. Die Vorlage wird von Konrad stofflich ergänzt und vor allem durch Hinzufügen von Auslegungen erweitert; auch beim Beispielfall der Eule besteht der Hauptunterschied im Hinzutreten einer kurzen Allegorese:

Nocticorax haizt ain äul und ist ze latain als vil gesprochen als ain nahtrab, sam Adelînus spricht, und haizt auch noctua ze latein. der vogel hât die vinstern naht liep und fleugt mit aufgerihter prust und schreit gar tüsterleichen. er lebt von mensleicher unsauberkeit und singet wider übel, aber daz singen hieze paz greinen und wainen. er hazzet daz lieht und hebt an ze wachen wenn andreu tier slâfen gênt, und suocht in der naht sein narung. wan flüg er des tages, sô schriren in all ander vogel an und liezen in kain ruow haben. er hât ain grôz haupt und daz ist niht geschickt sam ander vogel haupt, er hât auch ainen krummen snabel sam ain spârwaer und hât hâkot zehen gar scharpf an den fûezen. die äuln habent gar witzigen streit mit andern vogeln, wan sam Plinius spricht, wenn si der mensch oder ander vogel laidigen wellent, sô velt si an den ruck und wert sich mit dem snabel und mit den fûezen. aber der habich hilft ir oft und schaidet den streit von der eigenchait seiner nâtûr. wenn diu äul kûmt in ain insel, haizt Creta, sô stirbt si zehant. ir flaisch ist guot den kranken glidern, diu daz paralis geslagen hât. Pei der äuln verstê wir all poes übeltaetig lâut, sam diep, schâcher, êprecher, die hazzent daz lieht der wârhait, als unser berr spricht: wer übel wûrkt, der hazzet daz lieht.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ HEYSE (wie Anm. 3) S. 23 f.

⁶⁷ Konrad von Megenberg (wie Anm. 43) S. 208 f.

Eine durchgehende Allegorisierung wird so freilich nicht erreicht; von den Tierkapiteln (Landtiere, Vögel, Fische) sind etwa die Hälfte mit allegorischen, vorwiegend moralischen Deutungen ausgestattet⁶⁸. Die Bewertung dieses quantitativen Anteils hat nun zu widersprüchlichen Thesen über den qualitativen Stellenwert des Allegorischen bei Konrad geführt. Teils sieht man hier schon die Abkehr von der traditionellen allegorischen Deutungswelt und die Hinwendung zum „naturkundlichen Faktenwissen“ und zu „neuen Sachansprüchen“⁶⁹ vollzogen, teils versteht man Konrad noch als Vertreter einer Naturbetrachtung, die „primär den geistlichen Sinn der Naturdinge aufdecken“ will⁷⁰. Jedenfalls sind in der bisherigen Forschung, wie U. Ruberg gezeigt hat⁷¹, Aussagen zum Verhältnis von Naturkunde und Allegorese „widersprüchlich und damit desorientierend geraten“. Dieser Mangel ist begründet durch eine unzulässige Isolierung des Werkes, die dazu führt, dass Aussagen über den Stellenwert der Allegorese über subjektive Einschätzungen des quantitativen Anteils von Allegorien nicht hinauskommen. Sieht man dagegen Konrads 'Buch der Natur' nicht als isoliertes Einzelwerk, sondern als Phase in der Bearbeitungsgeschichte des 'Liber de natura rerum', und vergleicht es mit der lateinischen Vorlage und anderen deutschen Redaktionen, so lassen sich die Eigenarten des Werkes auch als Allegoriensammlungen präziser bestimmen: Die Neuaufnahme bzw. Bewahrung exegetischer Inhalte bei Konrad lässt erwarten, dass beim Publikum Kenntnisse des allegorischen Verfahrens vorausgesetzt werden. Auffällig sind moralitas-Auslegungen auf Kleriker; die exegetischen Teile lassen durch Inhalt und Darstellung bisweilen einen Zusammenhang mit der Predigtliteratur erwarten. Das 'Buch der Natur' wendet sich jedoch weniger an ein „Predigtauditorium“ als vielmehr an ein „Predigerpublikum“, vielleicht wurde es geschrieben als „Nachschlagewerk für angehende Kleriker“⁷².

Die hier vorgestellten Beispiele aus dem Bereich der Mischformen von naturkundlich-beschreibenden und allegorisch-deutenden Texten sind durch einen Zeitraum von mehr als 500 Jahren voneinander getrennt und zudem wegen unterschiedlicher Zielsetzungen nur begrenzt vergleichbar: Hrabans Enzyklopädie will im Rahmen der karolingischen Bildungsideale wissenschaftliche und biblische, antike und patristische Überlieferungen zu einer Einheit zusammenfassen⁷³. Konrad

⁶⁸ RUBERG (wie Anm. 43) S. 314f.

⁶⁹ HELGA UNGER, Vorreden deutscher Sachliteratur des Mittelalters als Ausdruck literarischen Bewusstseins, in: *Werk – Typ – Situation. Studien zu poetologischen Bedingungen in der älteren deutschen Literatur*, hg. von INGEBORG GLIER – GERHARD HAHN – WALTER HAUG – BURGHART WACHINGER, Stuttgart 1969, S. 217–251, hier S. 231.

⁷⁰ GEORG STEER, Zur Nachwirkung des 'Buchs der Natur' Konrads von Megenberg im 16. Jahrhundert, in: *Volkskultur und Geschichte. Festgabe J. Dünninger*, Berlin 1970, S. 570–584, hier S. 578.

⁷¹ RUBERG (wie Anm. 43) S. 311 f.

⁷² NISCHIK (wie Anm. 2) bes. S. 85 und 391; diese Einordnung des Werkes folgt weithin den Thesen RUBERGS (wie Anm. 43) bes. S. 322–325.

⁷³ Zum Bildungskonzept Hrabans vgl. MARIA RISSEL, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus. Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte (Lateinische*

von Megenbergs 'Buch der Natur' gehört wie das 'Reductorium morale' des Petrus Berchorius und verschiedene Bearbeitungen von 'De proprietatibus rerum' zu einer Gruppe von allegorisierenden Werken des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, deren *moralisatio* sich häufig gezielt auf den Stand, die Aufgaben und die Lebensführung der Kleriker, der *religiosi*, *claustrales* und *praelati*, richtet. Trotz der geringen Nähe in historischer und sachlicher Hinsicht gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten der Werkstruktur und der Entstehungsbedingungen: Hraban bearbeitet Isidors 'Etymologien' mit der programmatischen Absicht, die von der Vorlage gebotene Beschreibung der Welt durch allegorische Deutung zu ergänzen. Entsprechend werden zusätzliche Quellen exegetischer Herkunft benötigt, an deren Spitze die Allegoriensammlung des Ps.-Melito steht und zu denen auch Bibelkommentare wie die Psalterauslegung Cassiodors gehören. Die deutschen Versionen des 'Liber de natura rerum' sind nicht nur wörtliche Übersetzungen, sondern wie Konrads 'Buch der Natur' Neufassungen, die durch Zutaten, Auslassungen, Akzentverschiebungen und durch Hinzufügen allegorischer Deutungen Auskünfte über sich wandelnde Funktionen des Werkes geben. Die Gemeinsamkeit dieser Befunde zur Quellenfrage bei Hraban und zur Rezeption des Thomas von Cantimpré in den Volkssprachen liegt darin, dass wir nicht auf Werkkomplexe blicken, die als feste, starre Grössen beschrieben werden können, sondern dass wir es mit Bewegungen durch Überlieferungs- und Bearbeitungsphasen zu tun haben. Die Funktion der Werke für den geistlichen Bereich der Biblexegese und Predigt erschliesst sich erst durch die Analyse der Veränderungen in der Rezeptionsgeschichte.

III. ALLEGORISIERUNG ALS PROZESS DER BEARBEITUNGS- UND ÜBERLIEFERUNGSGESCHICHTE

Zu den mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädien, die als Mischform aus naturkundlicher Beschreibung und Allegoriensammlung konzipiert sind, gehört Alexander Neckams 'De naturis rerum' aus der Zeit um 1200. In den Artikeln dieses an den Schöpfungstagen und der Elementenreihe orientierten Werkes wird jede Eigenschaft der Dinge nach der Beschreibung sofort gedeutet; bei einem großen Teil der Artikel sind diese Auslegungen in den Handschriften durch Hinweise am Rand gekennzeichnet. In der Einleitung zu seiner Edition⁷⁴ hat Th. Wright bereits 1857 hervorgehoben, dass diese Marginalien nicht als Ausstattungsgut einzelner Handschriften, sondern als Werkteil zu verstehen sind. Da es bei Neckam keinen Artikel aus unserer Beispielreihe der Eulenvögel gibt, diene der

Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters. Beiträge zur mittellateinischen Philologie 7) Bern–Frankfurt/M. 1976; die zusammenfassende Darstellung von Hrabans „Einstellung zur antiken und parisischen Literatur“ dort S. 336–348. – Zur Rolle von Hrabans Umgestaltung der frühmittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie im karolingischen Bildungskonzept vgl. MEIER (wie Anm. 42).

⁷⁴ WRIGHT (wie Anm. 4) S. LXXVII: „... marginal notes, which are the same in the different copies where they occur, and which therefore belong to the book, not to any particular manuscript“.

nächstverwandte Abschnitt über den Raben zur Illustration des Verhältnisses von Kolummentext und Marginalien:

De corvo.

- De claustralibus nigro habitu decoratis.*
- Prima corvi proprietas.*
- Adaptatio. Secunda.*
- Adaptatio.*
- Tertia.*
- Adaptatio.*
- Contra libidinem*
- Nigredo tante excellentiae est inter alios colores, ut cum alii aliis se supervestiri coloribus permittant, niger color alium mutuari dedignentur. Hinc est quod viri religiosi quidam nigro utuntur habitu, ut per hoc designetur se ad secularem vitam reverti non posse, licet et nigredo poenitentiae sit designativa. Corvus ergo prae sui multa calliditate et propter quasdam alias sui proprietates, doctorem aliis praepositum in sancta ecclesia repraesentat. Pullos enim suos non sustentat alimentis antequam in colore patrissent. Sic nec sancti viri subditorum suorum delectantur conversatione, priusquam mores ipsorum subditi imitentur. Certissimus item nuntius est corvus mutationis aeris, et alia crocitationis modulatione prophetat auram salubrem fore, alia tempestatem futuram praedicit. Sic et doctor aliis utitur auctoritatibus, sed et alium assumit loquendi modum cum de gaudiis sermonem facit supracoelestibus quam cum de poenarum acerbitate gehennalium disputans horridum terrorem mentibus auditorum incutit. Turres item inhabitat, et ibidem nidificat corvus, docens ad superna erigendam esse cogitationum nostrarum intentionem. In turri item constantiae nidificant quicumque sobolem spiritualem, usus loquor virtutum, in propositi honesti stabilitate firmiter locat. In arce etiam contemplationis pias fovere debemus meditationes, ut terrenis despectis ad superna suspiremus.*
- Propter multas autem sui proprietates nomen corvi tetris Meretur scribi litteris. Cadavere enim allicitur et eo vescitur, repraesentans eos qui voluptatibus illicitis alliciuntur et pelliciuntur. Corvus autem emissus ab arca reverti noluit, significans eos qui a felici claustralium collegio exeuntes, ad inhonestos usus se transferunt.⁷⁵*

⁷⁵ Text und Randnoten nach WRIGHT (wie Anm. 4) S. 110f. – Die Marginalien wurden überprüft anhand folgender Handschriften: London, British Museum, Royal 12.F.XIV, f. 20vb–21ra,

Solche Hinweise am Rand kommen in dieser Regelmäßigkeit nicht bei allen Artikeln vor, das Beispiel zeigt aber die methodischen Möglichkeiten, und zwar einerseits durch die Numerierung der Eigenschaften mit dem nur formalen Hinweis auf die Allegorese mit Begriffen wie *adaptatio* oder *instructio moralis*, andererseits durch den inhaltlichen Hinweis auf bestimmte Bedeutungen, wie hier am Textbeginn durch die Erläuterungen zum schwarzen Gewand der *claustrales* und am Ende des Abschnitts durch die Formel *contra libidinem*, mit der Auslegung ad malam partem zusammengefasst wird.

Eine feste, gleichbleibend wiederkehrende Ausstattung mit Randhinweisen auf die allegorisch-moralische Bedeutung der Dinge finden wir auch in der Mehrzahl der Handschriften von Bartholomäus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, doch handelt es sich dabei um ein völlig anderes Verhältnis von Marginalien und Kolummentext als bei Alexander Neckam. Denn der Inhalt der einzelnen Artikel von 'De proprietatibus rerum' enthält zunächst keine Allegorese, obwohl Bartholomäus, wie oben⁷⁶ gezeigt wurde, die Funktion seines Werkes in der Hilfestellung für die Auslegung der Bibel sieht. Um nun die Frage nach der tatsächlichen oder nur theoretisch postulierten Funktion für die Exegese und Predigt beantworten zu können, muss man über den Text der heute im Nachdruck benutzten Ausgabe von 1601 hinausgehen und auf die handschriftliche Überlieferung zurückgreifen. Die Mehrzahl der Codices enthält über den Kolummentext hinaus Randnoten, die in einer Kurzform die Allegorese der im Haupttext nur nach den Eigenschaften beschriebenen Realien und Fakten festhalten. Am Rand des Abschnitts über die Eule⁷⁷ stehen fünf solcher Hinweise, bei Artikeln entsprechenden Umfangs kann die Anzahl auch über 50 steigen:

Nota qui male agit odit lucem.

Nota quorum corda inhabitat dyabolus.

Nicticorax est noctis coruus sic dictus eo quod noctem amat, quia de nocte uolans cibos querit et querendo clamitat. Cuius clamor est uolucris odiosus, ut dicit Ysidorus. Est autem auis lucifuga et solem uidere non potest. Sepulcra et loca mortuorum inhabitat et frequentat. In parietibus et in locis

vgl. GEORGE F. WARNER und JULIUS P. GILSON, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections*, 2, London 1921, S. 65; Cambridge, Trinity College R. 16.3 (951), f. 24ra–rb, vgl. MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 2, Cambridge 1901, S. 382 f., Nr. 951 (in dieser Handschrift fehlt die Wiederholung von *adaptatio* nach *secunda* und *tertia*).

⁷⁶ Bei Anm. 22–26.

⁷⁷ Zitiert nach der Handschrift Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Cod. 494 (Scaff. XXI), f. 145ra. Stichproben in folgenden Handschriften ergeben für die Randnoten einen festliegenden Text ohne Abweichungen: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. lat. 16098, f. 118v.; Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, Ms. H 46, f. 125va; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB XI 1 (= Weingarten K 5), f. 107 va.

*Nota contra
detractatores.*

*ruinosis nidificat. Qua columbarum et monedularum
frangit et deuorat et cum eis pugnat.*

*Nota contra
mundi sapientes.
Nota de religione que
non sustinet malos.*

*Hec dicitur noctua quasi de nocte acute tuens. De
nocte enim uidet, exorto autem splendore solis eius
uisus hebetatur. Hanc insula Cretensis non habet, et
si uenerit aliunde, statim moritur, ut dicit Ysidorus.*

Bei aller Kürze der Formulierung ist das sinnstiftende Element der Allegorese oft leicht zu erkennen und eine Zuordnung von Randnote und Kolummentext möglich. So bezeichnet nach der zweiten Anmerkung (*Nota quorum corda inhabitat dyabolus*) das Wohnen und Nisten des ad malam partem gedeuteten Vogels in Gräbern und Ruinen die *inhabitatio* des Teufels im Herzen des Menschen. Die letzte Marginalie sucht den Deutungsansatz ebenfalls beim Lebensraum des Tieres: Wie die Insel Kreta der Eule keinen Aufenthalt bietet, so dass ein zugeflogenes Tier hier den Tod findet, so ist in der Gemeinschaft der *religiosi* kein Platz für den Bösen. Derartige Auslegungen gehören im gesamten Werk mehr zum tropologisch-moralischen als zum allegorisch-heilsgeschichtlichen Sinnbezirk; häufig sind sie auf die Funktion und Situation der Kleriker bezogen.

Diese Randnoten müssen von Benutzerspuren in einzelnen Handschriften unterschieden werden: Wie der in den Kolumnen erfasste Text bilden sie einen festen Bestand, der von Handschrift zu Handschrift weitergegeben wird und in den Codices des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, also in der frühen Überlieferung, für mehr als zwei Drittel der Abschriften, welche die lateinische Fassung in einer unbearbeiteten Form bieten, nachgewiesen werden kann⁷⁸. Zum regelmäßigen Vorkommen der Randnoten gehören bestimmte Lücken, und zwar beginnt die Ergänzung des Kolummentextes durch allegorische Deutungen erst im fünften Kapitel (*De cibo et potu*) des vierten Buches. Das Fehlen in den ersten drei Büchern (*Gott, Engel, Seele des Menschen*) lässt sich damit begründen, dass der Inhalt dieses Werkteils nicht mit den Realien, sondern mit dem Ungegenständlichen und Geistigen befasst und daher für allegorische Deutung nicht geeignet ist. Schwerer fällt eine Erklärung für das Ausbleiben der Randnoten nach dem zweiten Kapitel (*De monte*) des 14. Buches sowie im 15. und in der Regel auch im 16. Buch, d.h. in den Abschnitten über die Erde (mit Landschaften, Mineralien, Metallen, Edelsteinen). Hier ist eher mit den Folgen der unvollständigen Abschrift einer ursprünglich intakten Überlieferung zu rechnen. Die Randnoten gehören zwar wie der Kolummentext zum Grundbestand des Werkes, dies schließt jedoch nicht aus, dass – vor allem in der jüngeren

⁷⁸ Ausführlichere Hinweise zum Bestand, zur Verbreitung und zu den Variationen der Randnoten bei MEYER (wie Anm. 26) S. 246–255.

Überlieferung – Variationen des Vorkommens, Sonderformen der Darbietung und Auflösungsphänomene verschiedener Art zu verzeichnen sind. Es gibt Handschriften, die den Normalbestand verringern und auf bestimmte Inhalte konzentrieren; ferner Codices, welche die Deutungen vom Rand entfernen und für eine reduzierte Anzahl besondere Felder in den Kolonnen des Normaltextes reservieren. Es sind auch Abschriften mit eigenen Registern für die in den Randnoten erschlossenen Bedeutungen überliefert.

Zu dem skizzierten Prozess der Allegorisierung des naturkundlich-beschreibenden Textes von 'De proprietatibus rerum' gehört auch ein unediertes Werk vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, das in den Handschriften den Titel 'Liber de moralitatibus corporum caelestium, elementorum, avium, piscium, animalium, arborum sive plantarum et lapidum pretiosorum' trägt, aber auch 'Liber moralitatum' oder 'Proprietates rerum moralizatae' genannt wird⁷⁹. Die einzelnen Artikel haben dort eine feste Form, indem sie die im Bartholomäus-Artikel vorgefundenen Eigenschaften durchnummerieren, fast immer wörtlich zitieren und durch eine mit *Significat* beginnende Deutung ergänzen. An diese Allegorese schließen sich Zitate aus der Bibel und den Kirchenvätern, manchmal auch Exempla und weiteres für die Predigt hilfreiche Material an. In des folgenden Übersicht ist der Text zur Eule⁸⁰ neben den mit Randnoten ausgestatteten Artikel aus 'De proprietatibus rerum' gestellt:

Bartholomäus
De proprietatibus rerum
XII, 27

Proprietates rerum moralizatae III,
29

*Niticorax, que et noctua a beato
Ambrosio dicitur in Exameron, has
proprietates siue condiciones inuenitur
habere:*

(1) *Niticorax est noctis
coruus sic dictus eo quod
noctem amat, quia de
nocte uolans cibos querit
et querendo clamitat.*

*Primo enim, ut ponit Ysidorus,
niticorax sic dicitur quasi noctis
coruus, eo quod noctem diligit. De
nocte enim uolans cibos querit et
querendo clamitat. Significat illos
qui in fictione ambulant et non in*

⁷⁹ Folgende Handschriften sind mir bekannt: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. lat. 3332; Rom, Biblioteca Statale Angelica, Cod. 750 (Q.5.26); Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Cod. 388 (Scaff. XVIII); Assisi, Biblioteca del S. Convento, Cod. Com. 243; Oxford, New College, Cod. 157; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8809; Aarau, Kantonsbibliothek, Ms. Muri fol. 14. Die Kenntnis der Handschriften aus Padua und Oxford verdanke ich freundlichen Hinweisen von Christian Hünemörder, Hamburg.

⁸⁰ Der Text hier nach der Handschrift Paris, Bibl. nat., Cod. lat. 3332, f. 36ra.

(2) *Cuius clamor est uolucris odiosus, ut dicit Ysidorus.*

(3) *Est autem auis lucifuga et solem uidere non potest.*

(4) *Sepulcra et loca mortuorum inhabitat et frequentat.*

(5) *In parietibus et in locis ruinosis nidificat.*

(6) *Oua columbarum et monedularum frangit et deuorat et cum eis pugnat.*

Nota qui male agit odit lucem

Nota quorum corda inhabitat dyabolus

Nota contra detractores

luce et tamen in pietatis spiritu siue uultu uitam suam mendicando requirunt. (...)

Secundo, ut dicit idem, eius clamor uolucris est odiosus. Significat predicationis uel orationis uocem esse odiosam demonibus. (...)

Tertio, ut dicit idem, est auis lucifuga et solem uidere non potest. Significat illos quorum sunt in tenebris opera lucem ueritatis fugiencia. Io. III: Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem ut non arguantur opera eius. Eph. V: Que enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis turpe est enim dicere. Dionysius de ecclesiastica Ierarchia: Modus recedendi a lumine est duplex scilicet aut per malitiam aut exeundo mensuram uel sequendo concupiscentiam.

Quarto, ut ponit idem, sepulchra et loca mortuorum inhabitat et frequentat. Significat dyabolum inhabitare animas Christo uita et caritate priuatas. (...)

Quinto, ut dicit idem, in parietibus et in locis ruinosis nidificat. Significat dyabolum maxime per hypocritas et hereticos ad multiplicationem membrorum siue filiorum suorum se iuuare. (...)

Sexto, ut dicit idem, oua columbarum frangit et deuorat et cum eis pugnat. Significat hereticos et corruptos homines corrumpentes simplices ecclesie in fide teneros et sancta uoluntate ad opera bona paratos. (...)

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (7) <i>Hec dicitur noctua quasi de nocte acute tuens. De nocte enim uidet, exorto autem splendore solis eius uisus hebetatur.</i> | <i>Nota contra mundi sapientes</i> | <i>Septimo, ut ponit idem, hec auis dicitur noctua quasi de nocte tuens quia de nocte acute uidet, exorto autem splendore solis uisus eius splendore hebetatur. Significat secundum beatum Ambrosium in Exameron, ubi agit de noctua, sapientes mundi et cecos ad diuina, aptos et acutos ad secularia. (...)</i> |
| (8) <i>Hanc insula Cretensis non habet, et si uenerit aliunde, statim moritur, ut dicit Ysidorus</i> | <i>Nota de religione que non sustinet malos</i> | <i>Octauo, ut dicit idem, hanc insula Cretensis non habet, et si uenerit aliunde, statim moritur. Significat religionem non sustinere malos, undecunque ei adueniant. (...)</i> |

Der Text aus dem ‘Liber moralitatum’ ist hier aus Raumgründen nur bei der dritten Eigenschaft vollständig abgedruckt, bei der mit dem Zitat der *proprietates*, also der Scheu vor dem Licht, begonnen wird, und zwar wörtlich nach Bartholomäus: *Est auis lucifuga et solem uidere non potest*. Dann folgt die Deutung: Die Eule bezeichnet jene Menschen, die mit ihren Werken der Dunkelheit das Licht der Wahrheit scheuen müssen. Der Anhang zu dieser Eigenschaft bringt drei Zitate zur Entfernung vom Licht: aus dem Johannesevangelium, dem Epheserbrief und aus der pseudodionysischen Schrift ‘De ecclesiastica hierarchia’. In dieser Weise werden alle acht *proprietates* dieses Vogels abgehandelt. Der unbekannte Autor legt auf diese Dreiteiligkeit der *proprietates*-Deutung grossen Wert und erläutert sie in der sonst sehr knappen ‘Praefatio’: Immer will er mit der *litterae veritas* beginnen, dann soll die *moralitas* folgen; den Abschluss bilden jeweils die *probationes*, und zwar entweder durch die *auctoritas Scripturae sacrae* oder *per sanctos sive glossas*, also durch die Kirchenschriftsteller und Bibelkommentare⁸¹.

Für das offenkundige Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Texte gibt es drei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten: Die einfachste Lösung wäre gegeben, wenn der Text mit den umfangreicheren Artikeln als Vorlage identifiziert werden könnte, also die ‘Moralitates’. Diese These hat es im Zusammenhang mit der Entdeckung des Werkes in einer römischen Handschrift vor etwa hundert Jahren auch in der Tat gegeben⁸², sie lässt sich aber nur kombiniert mit einer falschen Datierung vertreten,

⁸¹ Vgl. LEOPOLD DELISLE, *Traité divers sur les propriétés des choses*, in: *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 30, Paris 1888, Nachdruck Nendeln/Lichtenstein 1971, S. 336; PITRA (wie Anm. 32) 1, S. XXIX.

⁸² Vgl. ENRICO NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Biblioteca Angelica olim coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, 1, Rom 1893, S. 311-313, bes. S. 311.

ist also dadurch widerlegt, dass die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus vor der Jahrhundertmitte entstanden ist, während der 'Liber moralitatum' durch einen Hinweis der Praefatio auf Papst Bonifatius VIII. in seiner Zeit als Kardinaldiakon auf die Jahre 1281–1291 zu datieren ist⁸³. Die vielleicht schönste Lösung wäre mit folgendem Ablauf vorstellbar: Am Anfang steht der Kolumnentext des Bartholomäus, ihm folgt die Bearbeitung mit den Allegorien sowie den Zitaten aus der Bibel und den Kirchenvätern; aus dieser Erweiterung fließen die Allegorien in einer Kurzform wieder zurück in die Handschriften des ursprünglichen Textes, wo sie als Randnoten einen neuen Platz finden. Ein solcher Vorgang kann theoretisch als möglich gelten, solange keine mit Sicherheit auf die Zeit vor 1281 datierte und mit den Randnoten ausgestattete Bartholomäus-Handschrift nachgewiesen ist; dagegen sprechen aber zwei entscheidende Argumente: Einmal sind die Anmerkungen bereits in der Mehrzahl der ältesten Codices enthalten, und zwar in einer Weise, zu der übergreifende Lücken und Fehler der Überlieferung gehören. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, dass in so kurzer Zeit nach der Entstehung der Bearbeitung eine derartige Rückwirkung auf die breite Überlieferung der Vorlage erfolgen konnte. Zum anderen trifft die Bearbeitung eine Auswahl aus den Gegenständen der Vorlage und behandelt nur die Himmelskörper und Elemente, die Tier- und Pflanzenwelt und die Steine. Da jedoch auch hiermit nicht erfasste Teile von 'De proprietatibus rerum' die allegorischen Randnoten besitzen, kann dieser Marginalienbestand nicht einfach als Rückfluss aus dem 'Liber moralitatum' erklärt werden. Es bleibt daher nur die Lösung, dass Bartholomäus selbst oder ein Bearbeiter der frühesten Überlieferungsphase die Deutungen hinzugefügt hat und dem Verfasser der 'Moralitates' eine mit diesen allegorischen Beigaben ausgestattete Handschrift zur Überarbeitung vorlag.

Zu dem Prozess der Allegorisierung von 'De proprietatibus rerum' gehört auch das 'Reductorium morale' des Petrus Berchorius⁸⁴ aus der Zeit um 1340. In der Praefatio, in der die Anordnung und Herkunft des Materials ausführlich erläutert werden, kritisiert Berchorius die mangelnde Ausgewogenheit seiner Vorlage und erwähnt dabei vor allem das zu große Gewicht der Medizin und der Pflanzenkunde bei Bartholomäus⁸⁵. Dennoch bleibt er an dessen Gesamtkonzept gebunden und hält sich von wenigen Umstellungen abgesehen an die Gliederung der Vorlage. Der Inhalt der Einzelartikel zeigt zwar eine weit größere Unabhängigkeit von Bartholomäus, als nach den Aussagen der Praefatio zu vermuten wäre, wir können aber davon ausgehen, dass Petrus Berchorius eine mit den exegetischen Zusätzen ausgestattete Handschrift von 'De proprietatibus rerum' zur Verfügung hatte. Mit Sicherheit hat ihm ein Exemplar des 'Liber moralitatum' vorgelegen, das er selbst in der Praefatio erwähnt⁸⁶.

⁸³ DELISLE (wie Anm. 81) S. 334.

⁸⁴ Wie Anm. 19. – Zur Praefatio MEIER (wie Anm. 1) S. 482 f.

⁸⁵ Petrus Berchorius (wie Anm. 19) S. 2.

⁸⁶ Edb.: ... *quoddam volumen, quod intulabatur de moralizatione libri de proprietatibus rerum.*

Für die Verbreitung und das Weiterwirken von 'De proprietatibus rerum' lassen sich drei Phasen besonders hervorheben⁸⁷: In den ersten 100 bis 150 Jahren nach dem Entstehen sind die Geistlichen, die Klöster und die kirchlichen Studieneinrichtungen die Träger der Überlieferung; in diese Zeit gehören auch die allegorischen Bearbeitungen. Vor allem im letzten Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts veranlassen dann adlige Auftraggeber die Übersetzungen in die Volkssprachen, die sich an ein Laienpublikum wenden: Von 1372–1389 entstehen die Übertragungen ins Französische, Provenzalische, Englische und Spanische. Eine dritte Phase bildet der frühe Buchdruck: Von 1470 bis 1520 gibt es allein im deutschen Sprachraum elf Drucke des lateinischen Textes; von 1482 bis 1556 erscheinen 20 Ausgaben der französischen Version. Die Ausstattung mit allegorischen Randnoten ist weder in den Handschriften der Übersetzungen noch in den gedruckten Ausgaben bewahrt. Die Herausnahme der Allegorese aus dem Haupttext hat die weitere Überlieferung des Werkes insofern erleichtert, als die Enzyklopädie sich ohne Neubearbeitung des Haupttextes an ein Publikum wenden konnte, für das die Allegorese nicht von Interesse war.

Die Rezeptionsgeschichte von 'De proprietatibus rerum' von der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts bis um 1600 dokumentiert insgesamt ohne Zweifel einen Prozess der Emanzipation des Werkes aus theologisch-kirchlichen Überlieferungskontexten und Zweckbestimmungen. Dennoch zeigen bestimmte Phasen der Überlieferungs- und Bearbeitungsgeschichte aber auch, dass die mittelalterliche Enzyklopädie nicht generell als profane Gattung der wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen von der geistlichen Tradition getrennt werden kann. Die Relationen und Spannungsverhältnisse zwischen den verschiedenen Werktypen und ihren Varianten sind weitaus komplizierter. Der Hinweis mittelalterlicher Autoren auf den Nutzen ihrer Werke für die Bibelauslegung und Predigt ist zunächst durchaus ernst zu nehmen und nicht nur als Topos zu verstehen, mit dem eine tendenziell bereits selbstgenügsame Welterklärung sich zusätzlich noch gegenüber den Ansprüchen der christlichen Heilsbotschaft legitimieren will. Die Gemeinsamkeiten von Enzyklopädien und Allegoriensammlungen beschränken sich nicht darauf, dass ein Werktyp im Einzelfall auch inhaltliche Elemente des anderen aufnehmen kann, sondern bestehen auch in identischen Traditionslinien und Funktionen. Den Idealvorstellungen von der Funktion der Werke, die in den Prologen formuliert werden, entsprechen am meisten die Mischformen von Naturbeschreibung und Allegoriensammlung, obwohl gerade sie die ältere Forschung eher irritiert haben. An Bartholomäus Anglicus lassen sich Schwierigkeiten der Gattungsbestimmung veranschaulichen, die daraus resultieren, dass weder der Text noch das Werkverständnis als feste, unveränderliche Größen umrissen und isoliert werden können. Die Überlieferungs- und Bearbeitungsgeschichte von 'De proprietatibus

⁸⁷ MEYER (wie Anm. 26) S. 269 f.

rerum' besteht zu einem großen Teil aus Prozessen der Einbeziehung und des Ausscheidens von Allegorese. Diese Vorgänge zeigen beispielhaft, dass der Ort des Werkes im Spannungsfeld von Naturkunde und Allegorese, von Welterklärung und Bibelauslegung, von geistlicher und profan-wissenschaftlicher Ausrichtung nicht ein für allemal festgelegt ist. Für die Abgrenzung der Gattung ist deren Funktion maßgeblich. Auskunft darüber gibt vor allem die Geschichte des Gebrauchs, die sich an den Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsstufen ablesen lässt.

BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER EINE UNEDIERTE ENZYKLOPÄDIE IN VERSEN: DER 'NOVUS GRECISMUS' KONRADS VON MURE*

ALEXANDRU CIZEK

Der Verfasser des ‚Novus Grecismus‘, Konrad von Mure (1210–1281) wirkte jahrzehntelang als Kantor am Großmünsterstift von Zürich und als *magister* der dazugehörigen Schule. Er gehört wohl zu jenen wichtigen, jedoch unverdienterweise lange Zeit in Vergessenheit geratenen lateinischen Schriftstellern am Übergang zum Spätmittelalter, deren Oeuvre erst in den letzten Dezennien wieder Aufmerksamkeit und zunehmende Anerkennung seitens der Forschung gefunden hat, so daß seine wissenschaftlichen Werke seit eineinhalb Jahrzehnten zum Teil erschienen sind oder in kurzem herausgegeben werden. Diese Werke entstanden im Kontext der Lehrtätigkeit Konrads und weisen ein breites fachliches Spektrum auf. Nur zwei davon, und zwar der ‚Libellus de sacramentis‘ und der ‚Liber Ordinarius‘, der jahrhundertlang großes Ansehen in der Pastoralpraxis Zürichs genossen hat, beziehen sich auf seine seelsorgerische Tätigkeit¹.

Das 10550 Verse umfassende Lehrgedicht ‚Novus Grecismus‘, sein Erstlingswerk, ist zugleich seine am breitesten gefächerte Kompilationsschrift. Sie stellt die Grundlage sowie die stoffliche Fundgrube dar, aus der Konrad ständig für seine darauf folgenden wissenschaftlichen Schriften reichlich geschöpft hat. Dazu gehören die folgenden uns überlieferten Werke: der ‚Libellus de naturis animalium‘, ein naturwissenschaftliches Lehrgedicht allegorischer Prägung, das vor einigen Jahren erstmals herausgegeben worden ist²; der bisher lediglich als

* Verkürzte, überarbeitete Fassung der Studie *Die Schulenzyklopädie "Novus Grecismus" Konrads von Mure, Prolegomena zu einer künftigen Ausgabe des Lehrgedichts*, die in "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", Bd. 34 in Kürze erscheinen wird.

¹ Zu den bio-bibliographischen Daten vgl. hauptsächlich G. Morel, „Konrad von Mure, Cantor der Propstei Zürich, und dessen Schriften“, in: *Neues Schweizerisches Museum* 5, 1865, S. 29–59, und F. J. Bendel, „Konrad von Mure“, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Institutes für Geschichte* 30, 1909, S. 51–101; L. C. Mohlberg, „Rand- und andere Glossen zum ältesten Schriftwesen in Zürich bis etwa 1300“, in: *Scriptorium* 1, 1946–1947, S. 17–32, S. 17ff.; H. Rosenfeld, „Konrad von Mure“, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, hg. von K. Langosch, Bd. V, Berlin 1955, Sp. 561–563, Sp. 561; E. Kleinschmidt, „Konrad von Mure“, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, 2. Aufl., hg. von K. Ruh u. a., Bd. 5, Berlin–New York 1984, Sp. 236–244, Sp. 236ff.

² Konrad von Mure, ‚De naturis animalium‘, hg. von A. P. Orban, Heidelberg 1989.

Frühdruck veröffentlichte 'Fabularius', eine die antike Mythologie, Geographie und Geschichte umfassende Schulenzyklopädie in Prosa³ schließlich der Ende der sechziger Jahre edierte Dictamen-Traktat 'Summa de arte prosandi'⁴. Weitere Nachschlagewerke geographischen oder historischen Inhalts, wie der 'Libellus de propriis nominibus fluviorum et montium', das 'Cathedrale Romanum' und der 'Catalogus Romanorum paparum et imperatorum' sind verlorengegangen. Die Echtheit der früher Konrad zugeschriebenen Kompilation von Boethius' 'De musica' wird von der neuesten Forschung bestritten.

In der Prosa-Vorrede des 'Novus Grecismus' erklärt Konrad, er habe sein Kompilationswerk mit der Absicht verfaßt, den Studienanfängern eine für sie geeignete vereinfachende Überarbeitung und Verbesserung des 'Grecismus' Eberhards von Béthune zur Verfügung zu stellen (*ad rudium doctrinam...compilatam*), zumal jener sowohl metrische als auch inhaltliche Unzulänglichkeiten aufweise. Der 'Grecismus', ein grammatikalisches Lehrbuch in Versen, entstand Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts als Werk des Kanonikers und Schulmanns Eberhard von Béthune aus Nordfrankreich und erfuhr bereits um die Mitte desselben Jahrhunderts eine enorme und dauerhafte Rezeption in allen Teilen Europas, wobei es mit den altlateinischen Grammatiken von Donatus und Priscian erfolgreich konkurrierte.⁵

Obwohl Konrad von Mure vorwiegend kompilatorisch verfährt, schreibt er nur in wenigen Fällen sklavisch den Wortlaut seiner Vorlage ab; meistens paraphrasiert er diese und versucht, sie auf allerlei Weise zu ergänzen bzw. zu überbieten. Hierbei unternimmt er es, verschiedene andere Quellen heranzuziehen. Der 'Novus Grecismus' Konrads ist vor allem weit davon entfernt, eine bloß verbessernde Überarbeitung, geschweige denn eine Vereinfachung des alten 'Grecismus' Eberhards darzustellen. Vielmehr hat Konrad darin eine gewaltige konzeptuelle Umwandlung, zugleich eine beachtliche Erweiterung seines Modells um eine neue Dimension unternommen, so daß daraus letzten Endes eine *grosso modo* an das isidorische Projekt angelehnte neue Schulenzyklopädie geworden ist. Die Eigenart des 'Novus Grecismus' besteht darin, daß die ersten drei von seinen im Prolog angekündigten 10 Büchern einen grammatikalisch-lexikalischen Hauptteil von 6750 Versen bilden, dessen Stoff obwohl in großer Fülle aus dem

³ Zur Bestimmung der Untergattung der Schulenzyklopädie mit Bezug auf 'Fabularius' und 'Novus Grecismus' Chr. Meier, „Organisation of Knowledge and Encyclopedic *Ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre“, in: *Pre-Modern Encyclopedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress*, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996, hg. von P. Binkley, Leiden 1997, S. 103–126, S. 114; s. auch die ältere Studie von A. Mayer, *Die Quellen zu Fabularius des Konrad von Mure*. Diss. München 1916, S. 7ff. Die von Tom van de Loo erstellte kritische Edition dieses Textes ist m. W. schon druckfertig.

⁴ Konrad von Mure, 'Die Summa der arte prosandi', hg. von W. Kronbichler, Zürich 1968.⁴

⁵ Vgl. 'Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus', rec. Ioh. Wrobel, Vratislaviae 1887.

‘Grecismus’ Eberhards geschöpft, jedoch durch viele Angaben aus anderen Autoren ergänzt wird. Der ‚Grecismus’ Eberhards zählt nämlich nur 4550 Verse. Der zweite, kleinere Hauptteil vermittelt Realienkunde aller Art, deren Stoffe aus Isidor, aber auch aus anderen mittelalterlichen Quellen geschöpft werden, wobei zwangsläufig ganze Wissensgebiete selektiv übernommen und oft in knappem Umfang ausgeführt sind; in manchen Fällen werden ganze Gebiete ausgeklammert. Schließlich begegnen in diesem Werkteil Wissenszweige, die bei Isidor nicht zu finden sind.

Innerhalb des Grammatikteils ordnet aber Konrad den vom ‘Grecismus’ übernommenen Stoff völlig um. So hatte Eberhard die traditionelle, durch Donatus Maior und Priscian eingeführte Reihenfolge der *species* des grammatikalischen Lehrgebäudes, die von *vox* und *littera* über die acht *partes orationis* bis zur Barbarismus-, Solözismus-, Figuren- und Tropenlehre fortschreiten, auf den Kopf gestellt; so beginnt der alte ‚Grecismus’ mit der Behandlung der Figuren, dann der *vitia*, *prosodia*, *colores rhetorici* und Metrik an und führte anschließend bis zum Ende des Traktates die Formenlehre aus. Konrad bot aber – wie *grosso modo* Donatus Minor und auch sonstige Grammatiker – im ersten Buch die Reihenfolge der *octo partes orationis*, worauf er im Buch II eine lexikalische Partie und im Buch III die Metrik sowie die Figuren- und Tropenlehre folgen ließ. Anlehnungen an zeitgenössische Theoretisierungen der spekulativen Grammatik sind gelegentlich – so bei der Behandlung des Zeitworts – erkennbar⁶.

Die Formenlehre behandelt Konrad in engem Zusammenhang mit der Lexikographie. Dies geschieht vornehmlich bei der Ausführung der *Nomina* und der *Verba*, wobei er sich in Anlehnung an das übliche Verfahren in den *Lexika* bemüht, die *Derivata*, *Homonyme*, *Paronyme* und auch *Antonyme* vieler verzeichneter Vokabeln anzugeben.

Unter den hier angeführten *Nomina* fehlt es nicht an Gräzismen, die aber im wesentlichen den spezifischen Gegenstand eines voluminösen *alphabetum* bilden, mit dem das zweite Buch abgeschlossen wird. Für Konrad, wie für sein Modell Eberhard, bedeutet diese Partie offensichtlich das Prachtstück seines Lehrgebäudes überhaupt, das auch die Titel dieser Werke bestimmt. Die von den beiden Grammatikern aufgeführten griechischen Vokabeln sind durchaus typische Zeugnisse für das sogenannte Schul- oder Lexikographen-Griechisch, das nur teilweise aus biblischen und patristischen Quellen schöpft⁷. Zu dessen Entstehung

⁶ Vgl. die einführende Bestimmung des Zeitwortes: *V. pars est tam cum tempore quam sine casu/ Significativa vel agendi vel patendi...* (I 1528 ff).

⁷ Dazu einiges bei B. Bischoff, „Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters“, in: *Mittelalterliche Studien*, Bd. 1, Stuttgart 1966, S. 246–275; W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern - München 1980, S. 251ff.

hat eine in den 'Etymologien' Isidors wurzelnde, in unseren Augen manisch wirkende gräzisierung Wortdeutung viel beigetragen, der man vornehmlich in den für das Mittelalter maßgeblichen Lexika von Papias, Hugutio oder in manchen griechischen Vokabularien begegnet: zunächst in den 'Corrogationes Promethei' des Alexander Neckam, dann bei den Zeitgenossen Konrads, nämlich im sogenannten 'Brito metricus', dem griechisch-hebräischen Lexikon von Guillelmus Brito, und in ähnlichem Ausmaß im in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jhs. entstandenen 'Catholicon' des Johannes Balbi von Genua, das das wichtigste Lexikon des mittelalterlichen Lateins darstellt⁸.

Der Grundstock des Schulgriechischen wurde von vielen Gelehrtergenerationen bedenkenlos übernommen, allem Anschein nach sogar eifrig weiterentwickelt, mit neuen Stichworten bereichert⁹. Dies geschah in unvermindertem Ausmaß während des ganzen Spätmittelalters trotz gelegentlicher harter Kritik seitens einiger Grammatiker und Philosophen wie Roger Bacon und Robert Grosseteste und vor allem trotz der schon ab der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts massiv einsetzenden Übersetzungstätigkeit aus dem Griechischen.

Auch außerhalb seines griechischen *alphabetum* bietet Konrad in allen Werkteilen eine größere Auswahl solcher Gräzismen als jeder andere Lexikograph des Mittelalters, wobei er allerdings wie diese auch Hebraismen, gelegentlich auch lateinische Vokabeln dazuzählt.

In all seinen Grammatikbüchern schöpft Konrad auch aus den Werken seines mutmaßlichen Pariser *magister* Johannes von Garlandia, vornehmlich aus dessen 'Compendium gramaticae' und aus den 'Equivoca', weiterhin aus einem anderen äußerst verbreiteten Grammatiktraktat an der Schwelle des 13. Jhs., nämlich aus dem 'Doctrinale' Alexanders von Villa Dei¹⁰. Schließlich entnimmt er vieles aus den 'Institutiones' Priscians, die er möglicherweise durch die Vermittlung des Kommentars von Petrus Helie, eines Mitte des 12. Jhs. in Paris wirkenden Klerikers und Schulmanns, benutzt hat. Im letzten Buch des grammatikalischen Hauptteils, d. h. im Buch III des Werks, behandelt Konrad zunächst die

⁸ Vgl. Johannes Balbus Januensis, 'Catholicon', (Frühdruck) Mainz 1460 mit weiteren Editionen aus dem 16. und 17. Jh. Dieses Werk ist außerdem im Nachdruck von Meisenheim 1971 zu finden.

⁹ So befindet sich bei den beiden die bei den zwei Lexikographen und Brito belegte, möglicherweise dem Hebräischen entnommene Konsonante *quope*, der nicht nur das griechische *quianos*, sondern auch die lateinischen Vokabeln *inquino* und *quiris* mit den Ableitungen *Quirinus* und *Quirites* subsumiert werden: vgl. 'Grecismus' VIII 276f.: *Sit tibi muta quope, cum quis octava locatur...*; s. auch 'Novus Grecismus' V. 1986 ff. In Clm. 14254 desselben Werks aus der Mitte des 15. Jhs. wird beim am unteren Rand von fol. 158v verzeichneten Buchstaben des griechischen Alphabets auch die frei erfundene *quope* eingetragen, und zwar nach *pi*.

⁹ Dazu Tony Hunter, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth Century England*, vol. 1, London 1992, S. 295f.

¹⁰ Vgl. Johannes de Garlandia, 'Compendium Gramaticae', hg. von Th. Haye, Wien 1995; 'Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Die', Kritische Ausgabe ... von D. Reichling, Berlin 1893.

Rechtschreibung, dann die Metrik, schließlich auf ausführlichere Weise die Figuren- und Tropenlehre. Hierbei kombiniert er auf eine interessante Weise Stoffe, die er sowohl aus antiken als auch aus modernen Quellen geschöpft hatte.

Es gibt nun keine strenge Trennung zwischen dem Lehrgebäude der Grammatik und demjenigen der Realienkunde, sondern die Grenzen sind insofern fließend, als überall im ersten Werkteil vornehmlich im Buch III, d. h. im Rahmen der lexikalischen Partie, die verschiedensten Realien zusammengeführt werden: Abstrakta, Termini technici verschiedener Künste und Berufe, Tier- und Pflanzennamen, politische, rhetorische, religiöse, biblische wie auch mythologische Namen und Begriffe, Toponyme und geographische Begriffe. An viele solcher Nomina knüpfen sachliche Exkurse von einem bis drei und sogar mehr Versen an¹¹. Hier liegen also Keime der im zweiten Hauptteil des 'Novus Grecismus' systematisch vermittelten Realienkunde.

An sich begegnet dieses Verfahren sowohl im alten 'Grecismus', als auch in den großen hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Lexika, zunächst im 'Elementarium' von Papias, in den 'Panormia' des Osbern von Gloucester und vor allem in den 'Magne Derivationes' des Hugutio von Pisa und im 'Catholicon' des Johannes Balbi von Genua. Bei Konrad sind aber solche Exkurse viel häufiger und auch umfangreicher. Im zweiten Hauptteil des 'Novus Grecismus' begegnet dann das umgekehrte Verfahren, wenn hier technisch-grammatikalische, morphologische Elemente und vornehmlich etymologisierende Erklärungen häufig mitten in die Belehrung über die Realien inseriert sind. Der Ausgangspunkt hierfür ist offensichtlich in einer spezifisch isidorischen Verfahrensweise.

In den meisten Handschriften des 'Novus Grecismus' folgt auf das Ende des Buchs III ein zweiter Prolog, der damit dem ersten von den sechs die Realienkunde behandelnden Büchern des zweiten Hauptteils vorangestellt ist. Diese Vorrede signalisiert zwar eine Zäsur, sie unterrichtet uns aber keineswegs über das Vorhaben Konrads in den darauffolgenden Büchern, sondern sie bringt überwiegend persönliche Dinge zur Sprache. In diesem enzyklopädischen Hauptteil des Werks exzerpiert Konrad auf eine spezifische Weise ganze Gebiete der 'Etymologien' Isidors; dieser stellt bei weitem jedoch nicht die einzige Quelle dar. Offensichtlich wurden hier antike Quellen, vielleicht auf direkte Weise wie auch zeitgenössische Enzyklopädien herangezogen. Die Unterschiede in der Nomenklatur jeweils

¹¹ Bei der Ausführung der Adjektiva im Buch I wird s. v. *castratus* folgendes erklärt: *Castratos natura facit gladiusque spadones / Et Deus eunuchos.* (I 1020f). Im gleichen Buch, und zwar bei der Auflistung der Verba vierter Konjugation, schließt Konrad beim Stichwort *vagit* zunächst seine Bedeutung an, und unmittelbar darauf führt er als eigenen 32 Verse zählenden großen Exkurs – den traditionellen ihm durch die Lexikographen bekannten Katalog der Tierstimmen auf: *Infans, dum voces emittit inarticulatas, / Vagit; Et hic voces avium lege quadrupedumque... Alta petens aquila clangit, ciconia rostro / Clochtorat...* (V. 2810–2841). Darauf folgt unmittelbar die Sektion *De modis verborum*.

aufgeführter Wissensgebiete wie auch die Beschreibung gewisser Arbeitsvorgänge lassen gelegentlich auf spezielle Nebenquellen schließen. Das Ausmaß dieser Unterschiede variiert vom Fall zu Fall, wobei beträchtliche Abweichungen von der isidorischen Termonologie nicht selten begangen.

Die naturwissenschaftlichen Ausführungen beginnen im Buch IV mit einem Kapitel über Chronographie, dann über Kosmologie, die nur teilweise aus Isidor schöpfen. An einen Abschnitt, der allgemein dem Firmament und den Elementen des Kosmos gewidmet ist, schließt eine ausführliche, auf mythologischem Gut aus den 'Georgica' Vergils und 'De nuptiis Philologie' des Martianus Capella beruhende Planetenbeschreibung an. Das christliche kosmologische Pendant dazu, das von Gott, Christus und Engeln handelt, ist sehr knapp. Unmittelbar darauf erfolgt der 'Abstieg' zur unteren Welt in Form einer umfangreichen und diversifizierten erdkundlichen Abhandlung mit Abschnitten über Erde, Oberflächengestalt, Bezirke, Wege, Gewässer und Meteorologie. Das fünfte Buch bietet zuerst ein zoologisches Kapitel, wozu eine sehr ausführliche Beschreibung der Würmer anschließt, wobei vieles auf Isidor fußt. Dieses Kapitel schließt mit dem Hinweis auf eine künftige, viel ausführlichere Erörterung der Tierwelt, die tatsächlich im 'Libellus de naturis animalium' auch eingelöst wurde. Ein weiteres Kapitel über Botanik schließt ziemlich eng an Isidor an.

Das sechste Buch befaßt sich zunächst mit den physischen Teilen der Anthropologie. Den Anfang macht hier ein ausführliches und auch strikt sachlich abgefaßtes Kapitel über Anatomie, das auf Isidor zurückgeht. Daran schließt ein winziger Abschnitt über Philosophisches, 'De anima' und 'De forma et de substantia' an. Darauf folgen mehrere kleine physiologische Abschnitte, wo einige sexologische Bemerkungen angeführt sind: so 'De sompno', 'De osculis', 'De coitu', die sowohl aus Isidor als auch aus dichterischen Quellen schöpfen. Das Buch schließt mit einem umfangreichen, jedoch ohne Abschweifungen ausgeführten soziologischen Kapitel: 'De parentela et gradibus cognationum', dessen Stoff von Isidor stammt.

Im siebten Buch wird das anthropologische Thema mit einem ethischen Abschnitt fortgesetzt. In einem ersten Kapitel werden ohne Entsprechung bei Isidor die sieben Laster sehr knapp ausgeführt. An die Erörterung der *luxuria* knüpft aber ein weiteres Kapitel an, das unter dem Titel 'De nequitia et eius speciebus' vom Sachgebiet Geldwesen und -wirtschaft handelt und sich dabei eng an Isidor anlehnt. Hiermit beginnt eine lange Reihe von Ausführungen, die den Gegenständen fast aller mechanischen Künste gewidmet sind. Diesem *artes*-Gebiet, das seit der von Hugo von St. Viktor in seinem 'Didascalicon' aufgestellten Lehre von den sieben mechanischen Künsten¹² eine immer deutlichere Würdigung seitens der Enzyklopädisten genoß, räumt also Konrad einen regelrechten

¹² Vgl. 'Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de studio legendi'. A Critical Text by Brother Ch. H. Buttimer, Washington 1939, liber II, 20ff.

Ehrenplatz in seiner Systematik ein. Ein weiteres der mechanischen Kunst *theatrica* zugehöriges kurzes Kapitel hat als Thema die Spiele und Spektakel ebenfalls in Anlehnung an Isidor. Das Buch schließt mit der Behandlung des Kriegswesens: 'De bello et victoria' ebenfalls in Anlehnung an Isidor.

Das umfangreichste, fast 1200 Verse umfassende Buch VIII setzt die Behandlung des gleichen Gebietes fort, indem hier Stoffe, Instrumentarium und auch Arbeitsvorgänge der verschiedensten Zweige und Berufe der produktiven wie der konsumbezogenen Ökonomie- gelegentlich wortreich und fast immer unter minutiöser Anführung dazugehöriger Terminologie – angeführt werden. Zuerst begegnet hier die Landwirtschaft, dann die Nahrung in mehreren Abschnitten. Darauf folgt ein breites, der Kunst des *lanificium* zuzuordnendes Kapitel über allerlei Gewänder, die den beiden Geschlechtern, dann den verschiedensten Ständen und Berufen eigentümlich sind. Weitere Kapitel führen an: Schuhwerk, Schmuck der Männer und Frauen, Waffen, Schiffe mit ihrem Zubehör, Bauwesen mit allerlei Stichwörtern aus der Architektur und schließlich Möbel. Dies alles und auch die meisten unter den darauffolgenden Stoffen, die nur überwiegend aber nicht ausschließlich aus Isidor geschöpft werden, lassen sich der Kunst der *armatura* subsumieren. Weiterhin trifft dasselbe teilweise zu für die Abschnitte über Hippologie, Gewichte und Maße, Würfelspiele, Musikinstrumente, Feuerzeuge, Begräbnis- und Bestattungsrituale und dazugehöriges Instrumentarium. Die Abschnitte über Strafanstalten, Straffarten und deren Vollzug ('De penis legalibus') lassen sich teilweise der späterim Buch IX angeführten Jurisprudenz subsumieren, während die daran anschließende Abhandlung über Wunden, Krankheiten und Seuchen der Medizin angehört, die sonst in vielen kleinen Exkursen in verschiedensten Partien des Werks gut vertreten ist. Die darauf folgenden Ausführungen über Hölle, ihre Einrichtungen und Gestalten ('De inferno et quibusdam infernalibus') wirkten in diesem Kontext offensichtlich als Digression, die nur teilweise auf Isidor, sonst aber auf die poetisch-mythologische Vorlage Vergils zurückgeht. Danach kehrt Konrad zu den *artes mechanicae* zurück und bietet weitere Kapitel über: Werkzeuge und Geräte des Haushalts und der Landwirtschaft, Werkzeuge des Schreibers und des Schmieds, die großenteils aus Isidor schöpfen. Am Schluß werden Kirchenggeräte und andere materielle, dem Kultus eigene Einrichtungen beschrieben, die eigentlich ins letzte Buch gepaßt hätten und für die Isidor keine Vorlage bietet.

Im neunten Buch kehrt Konrad zum sozial-ethischen Gebiet zurück, wobei der Übergang von den mechanischen zu den freien Künsten, sozusagen vom *homo faber* zum *homo politicus* vollzogen wird. Zunächst werden hier verschiedene der antiken, aber auch der mittelalterlichen Welt eigentümliche Würden und Ämter präsentiert ('De quibusdam, que circa dignitates et officia concurrunt'). In einem ersten winzigen Abschnitt werden sozial-ethische Wertbegriffe wie *laus*, *gloria*, *honor*, *clementia* erörtert. Darauf folgt ein sehr umfangreiches Kapitel, in dem

nicht nur verschiedenste Ämter, Stände, Würden, Lebensweisen, sondern auch gesellschaftliche Mißstände aufgeführt werden. Hier schöpft Konrad nur wenig aus Isidor. Im darauf folgenden Kapitel geht es speziell um Jurisprudenz, wobei die dazugehörige Nomenklatur, die Ämter samt deren Attributen und Prozeduren in Anlehnung an Isidor ausgeführt werden. Ein weiteres, wiederum umfangreiches Kapitel ist der Literaturwissenschaft gewidmet ('De novem Musis et carminibus seu diversitate carminum'), wobei Konrad diesmal zum Teil den ‚Grecismus‘ Eberhards, zum Teil die Tradition der antiken Poetologie, etwa die Grammatik von Diomedes, wohl benutzt. Hier werden zunächst die Namen und Funktionen der Musen, dann viele grundlegende poetologische und rhetorische, auch buchwissenschaftliche Begriffe dargeboten. Dieses Kapitel antizipiert zugleich Teile des 'Fabularius' und der 'Summa de arte prosandi'. Übergangslos schließt an diese Abhandlung ein langer Abschnitt über die okkulten Wissenschaften an, wo einiges über Dämonologie, Astrologie, schwarze Magie, aber auch Mythologie ausgeführt wird, wobei nur wenige Sachen aus Isidor stammen. Daran schließt ein mythologisches Epyllion in 388 Versen an, eine Heroen- und Göttergenealogie, mit dem Incipit *Jane biceps*, die mit den Gründern Roms und den Vertretern der ersten kaiserlichen Dynastien endet. Es handelt sich um eine originale Leistung Konrads, deren Stoff er überwiegend den 'Metamorphosen' Ovids entnimmt. Dieses Gedicht hat Konrad in den 'Fabularius' integriert. Ein letzter, 'De subterraneo numero' betitelter Abschnitt in 16 Versen mutet wie eine zahlenmystische Übung an, denn hier werden zunächst einige mythologische, dann poetologische Dreiteilungen, schließlich die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit aufgeführt.

Das zehnte Buch handelt seinem Titel gemäß ('De quibusdam pertinentibus ad divina et ad missam') von verschiedenen Aspekten der Gotteswissenschaften und Liturgie. Zuerst begegnet hier ein kirchengeschichtlicher Abschnitt, in dem die Apostel und Evangelisten aufgeführt werden und auch die Märtyrer erwähnt sind. Daran schließen ein paar Verse über *synagoga* und *ecclesia* an, werden der Reihe nach religiöse Einrichtungen zuerst der Heiden, dann der Kirche, schließlich sakrale Begriffe, Akte und Symbole der Liturgie behandelt. Die Vorlage ist in all diesen Fällen vornehmlich bei Isidor zu suchen.

Der 'Novus Grecismus' folgt in seinen beiden Bestandteilen jeweils einer Hauptvorlage, der gegenüber Konrad sich unterschiedlich verhält. Mit dem Lehrgedicht 'Grecismus' tritt Konrad in Wettbewerb ein, indem er es unternimmt, diesen völlig umzustrukturieren und sowohl in qualitativer als auch quantitativer Hinsicht zu überbieten. Die Stoffe der Prosa-Schrift Isidors werden nicht nur exzerpiert, sondern dabei massiv gekürzt und auch poetisch-rythmisch umgeformt, wie es die Gesetze der Gattung Lehrgedicht verlangen¹³. Die didaktisch-ästhetische

¹³ Vgl. dazu die Ausführungen von Th. Hays, *Das Lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter. Analyse einer Gattung (Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte 22)*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997, S. 82ff.

Umformung des Stoffes wird im 'Novus Grecismus' auch durch weitere Mittel erreicht. So bringt Konrad relativ häufig Persönliches zum Ausdruck, indem er gegen seine Quellen polemisiert, sie berichtigt oder aber sie als Stütze der dargebotenen Lehre in den Zeugenstand ruft¹⁴. Ein anderes gattungsspezifisches Mittel, dessen Bedeutung im Falle Konrads nicht zu unterschätzen ist, besteht in der Aufführung von Merkversen, die Sachlich-Technisches in äußerst knapper aber prägnanter und veranschaulichender, Vergnügen bereitender Form zur Sprache bringen¹⁵. Konrad bietet in allen Teilen des Werks zahlreiche solcher Merkverse. Manche von ihnen entnimmt er entweder Eberhard und auch anderen Grammatikern (so den 'Aequivoca' Serlos von Wilton) oder aber der lebendigen Schulpraxis (so im Falle des berühmt-berüchtigten *Decane cane, cane; cane de cane, cane decane*, II 99). Die meisten von ihnen scheint aber Konrad selbst ad hoc und gerne geschaffen zu haben, um seinen Schüler eine angenehme, nach Möglichkeit erheiternde Stütze vornehmlich für die Memorierung herber Grammatikstoffe zu bieten¹⁶. Verszitate von *auctores* sind eine Seltenheit im 'Novus Grecismus'.

Es läßt sich – beim Ausbleiben jeder Andeutung darauf – nur mutmaßen, daß Konrad im Laufe der Überarbeitung des 'Grecismus' auf den Gedanken gekommen ist, von diesem ausgehend und in den Grenzen seiner Kompetenz durch Heranziehung der Stoffe Isidors, aber auch seines Sprachkonzepts ein für den Schulunterricht brauchbares Weltbuch zu kompilieren, in dem das vierteilige Programm der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie vertreten wäre: Kosmologie, Wissenschaftssystem, Ethik und Geschichte¹⁷. Beim Ausklammern wichtiger *artes liberales*, nämlich der Dialektik, teilweise der Rhetorik, der mathematischen Wissenschaften und größtenteils auch der Musik bilden jedoch die

¹⁴ Vgl. Buch V 89–95, wo Konrad hinsichtlich der Etymologie von *seclum* gegen Eberhard polemisiert: *Sompniat Ebrardus...* Dies gilt vor allem für das Gebiet der Grammatik, in der er sich offensichtlich stark fühlt. Gegen die wissenschaftliche *auctoritas* Isidors, den er nur ein paar Male namentlich zitiert, polemisiert Konrad niemals.

¹⁵ Dazu einiges bei K. Grubmüller, *Vocabularius ex quo. Untersuchungen zu lateinisch-deutschen Vokabularen des Spätmittelalters* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 17) München 1967, S. 54ff., der u. a. auch einen Merkvers Konrads aus der Münchener Hs. Clm. 12273 des 'Novus Grecismus' zitiert.

¹⁶ So wird im Buch III, im Zusammenhang mit *libido* und *cupido* folgender lustiger Merkvers angeboten: *Parce, Cupido, viro cupido, cui magna cupido* (V. 707). S. auch VII, 189: *Dura gerit bella pro bella Troia puella* oder VI, 195: *Feda comis comis, ut sis de pectune comis*.

¹⁷ Vgl. Chr. Meier, „Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädie. Zu Inhalten, Formen und Funktionen einer problematischen Gattung“, in: *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*. Symposium Wolfenbüttel 1981, hg. von L. Grenzmann-K. Stackmann, Stuttgart 1984, S. 467–501, S. 472f.; H. Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von ‚De Proprietatibus Rerum‘*, München 2000, S. 33f.

Grammatikbücher eine breite intellektuell-wissenschaftliche Grundlage des Weltbuchs Konrads. Darauf folgen die naturkundlichen Bücher IV und V, dann die eindeutig der Ethik zuzuordnenden Bücher VI und VII. Mit dem Buch VIII befinden wir uns auf dem Gebiet der materiellen, mit dem Buch IX auf demjenigen der geistigen Kulturgeschichte. Mit dem zehnten, der Gotteswissenschaft gewidmeten Buch schließt der zahlenbewußte Konrad vorläufig sein System. Das erste und das zehnte Buch dieser Schulenzyklopädie dürften also den Rahmen setzen, in dem die verschiedensten Gebiete der Natur und Kultur ihren Platz nach plausiblen Gliederungsprinzipien finden, deren Spezifität im Kontext jener methodologischen Neuerungen zu suchen ist, die mit der Entstehung der großen enzyklopädischen Werke vornehmlich von Thomas von Cantimpré, Bartholomäus Anglicus und Vinzenz von Beauvais in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts zusammenhängen. Im Vergleich zu den Gliederungskonzepten dieser Werke weist die Anlage des 'Novus Grecismus' insofern eine an sich originelle Mischsystematik auf, als Konrad von Isidor die Voranstellung der Grammatik übernimmt, das Lehrgebäude der Realien jedoch grosso modo nach dem alttestamentlichen Hexaemeron-Konzept umorganisiert. Bekanntlich ist das 'Speculum maius' des Vinzenz von Beauvais auch nach dem letzteren strukturiert¹⁸ so daß im Vergleich damit die Übereinstimmung und die Eigenart der Gliederung des 'Novus Grecismus' leicht ersichtlich werden.

Das Weltbuch des Vinzenz beginnt mit den Kapiteln über Gott, Christus und Engelhierarchie, die bei Konrad eine, wie oben gezeigt, völlig zurückgenommene Entsprechung haben. Außerdem stellt Konrad seiner Kosmologie einen Abschnitt über Chronographie voran und weiterhin 'entsakralisiert' er das Firmament durch massive Einbeziehung poetisch-mythologischer Elemente. Auf diese Weise erfolgt bei ihm ein fließender, sozusagen 'problemloser Abstieg' zu den erdkundlichen, botanischen und zoologischen Stoffen. Der Übergang zur Anthropologie ist in den beiden Werken grundsätzlich vergleichbar, während der bei Konrad darauf folgende 'Aufstieg' ins Sakrale, dessen Behandlung Gipfel und Ende des Werks zugleich darstellt, seinen Ordo unter den Enzyklopädisten seiner Zeit auszeichnet.

Die Überlieferung des 'Novus Grecismus' ist relativ reich und erstreckt sich auf den ganzen süddeutschen Sprachraum vom Elsaß bis nach Ostbayern und Thüringen: die meisten uns überlieferten Handschriften stammen interessanterweise von Klosterschulen aus Basel und Regensburg, deren Bibliotheken bis in die Renaissancezeit hinein blühten. In all diesen Gebieten vermochte dieses Werk mit dem 'Grecismus' Eberhards zu konkurrieren, und seine Benutzung im Schulbetrieb ging dort mit derjenigen der 'Poetria nova' Galfrids von Vinsauf, der

¹⁸Vgl. die Ausführungen von Chr. Meier, „Vom Homo Coelestis zum Homo Faber“, in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter*, hg. von H. Keller u.a., München 1992, S. 158–175; Meyer (wie Anm. 18), S. 33–40.

grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Schriften des Johannes von Garlandia und des Lexikons Hugutios bis in die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts einher. Wie der letztere schaffte aber auch der 'Novus Grecismus' nicht mehr den Sprung in die Ära Gutenbergs und geriet für Jahrhunderte in Vergessenheit. Wegen der Vielfalt, wohl auch wegen der Lebendigkeit und Anschaulichkeit des für den Schulunterricht vermittelten Wissens konnte sich dieses Werk bis spät in die zweite Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts hinein innerhalb des Schulbetriebs gut behaupten, indem es vielfach glossiert, kommentiert und mit Registern versehen wurde. Wie kaum ein anderes Schulbuch des Spätmittelalters gewährt diese Enzyklopädie eine gründliche Einsicht in die Praxis des Schulunterrichts und in den kulturellen Horizont des durchschnittlichen Schulmanns. Aus all diesen Besonderheiten ergibt sich der originelle Charakter des 'Novus Grecismus', der keinen eigentlichen Vorläufer hat; darin ist das ihm gebührende Interesse für die heutige Mittelalterforschung begründet.

ACTE ET INTENTION OU LA LIBERTÉ INTÉRIORISÉE. ÉCHOS ABÉLARDIENS DANS *LA MORT LE ROI ARTU*¹

MIHAELA VOICU

*«Elle prit de son fruit et mangea. Elle en donna aussi
à son mari, qui était avec elle, et il mangea»
(Gn 3, 6).*

Qu'Abélard ait posé au XII^e siècle la distinction entre acte objectif et intention subjective, distinction qui aura un fort impact sur les structures mentales et institutionnelles de l'époque, c'est une chose bien connue. Le présent article se propose de surprendre un possible écho de la «morale de l'intention» abélardienne dans le dernier roman du cycle en prose du *Lancelot-Graal* et d'essayer de dégager l'enjeu de ce dialogue entre théologie et littérature.

1. THEOLOGIE ... ABELARD ET LA MORALE DE L'INTENTION

La question de l'homme traverse le Moyen Âge d'un bout à l'autre. Mais jusqu'à la moitié du XII^e siècle, il s'agit surtout d'une vision hiérarchique du monde, de l'homme et des institutions auxquelles celui-ci se rapporte². Dans cet univers dominé par l'ordre et relevant de la symbolique de l'Un, le péché et le salut vont occuper une place centrale dans la réflexion théologique. Péché et salut qui concernent tout homme, ce qui veut dire l'homme en général: c'est pourquoi le péché est défini en fonction d'une loi objective et extérieure et le salut s'obtient par la médiation obligatoire de l'autorité, royale ou sacerdotale, et des comportements que celle-ci propose.

Or, dans ce contexte dominé par l'ordre, la hiérarchie et la loi objective, Abélard vient proposer une morale subjective, fondée sur la décision intérieure, sur

¹ Intervention présentée au X^e Congrès International de Littérature Courtoise, Tübingen, juillet-août 2001.

² Cf. Ghislain LAFONT, *Histoire théologique de l'Église Catholique*, Paris, Éditions du Cerf («Cogitatio fidei»), 1994, p. 104.

le jugement de la conscience, conception qui situe au premier plan l'individu. Selon cette «morale de l'intention», la valeur de nos actes devant Dieu n'est pas déterminée en fonction de leur objet – bon ou mauvais – mais selon l'intention qui les fonde, suivant le consentement intérieur par lequel nous adhérons au bien ou nous nous en détournons.

Le contenu objectif de l'acte possède, certes, sa propre consistance. Toutefois, c'est le consentement intérieur qui devient critère de qualification morale et non pas l'acte en lui-même (*opus*), son contenu objectif ou son résultat. Ainsi le chasseur qui, visant l'oiseau qu'il voit, descend un homme qu'il ne voit pas et le tue ne peut être jugé coupable: même si le résultat est mauvais, l'acte en soi ne l'est pas³. Ce qui nous amène à examiner trois notions-clé, susceptibles de préciser la pensée abélardienne en matière de morale, à savoir le consentement, l'intention et le jugement de la conscience.

Si l'essence du péché réside dans le consentement, c'est la disposition intérieure de l'âme qui est décisive. On comprend donc que pour Abélard la faute précède l'agir et le passage à l'acte n'ajoute rien ou presque rien au consentement intérieur donné à l'acte délictueux. «N'accroît donc en aucune façon le péché, quelle qu'elle soit, aucune exécution d'œuvres et rien ne pollue l'âme que ce qui vient d'elle-même, c'est-à-dire le consentement, lequel seul nous avons dit être péché, non le vouloir qui le précède ou l'acte subséquent de l'œuvre» (p. 220)⁴. Dieu ne pèse d'ailleurs pas en premier lieu nos actes, mais la valeur de notre âme, tout comme l'acte, indifférent en soi, n'ajoute ni n'enlève rien à notre mérite: «car non ce qui se fait, mais dans quel esprit cela se fait, voilà ce que pèse Dieu» (p. 223). L'intention, décision dynamique, est seule à qualifier l'acte, devenant de la sorte critère de moralité de l'agir: «l'œuvre n'est appelée bonne pour elle-même mais pour ce qu'elle procède d'une intention, laquelle est bonne» (p. 235)⁵.

Cette incapacité d'Abélard à combiner, quand il se prononce sur la valeur des actions humaines, la dimension intérieure et sa manifestation externe est, sans

³ Cf. *Connais-toi toi-même. Éthique*. Introduction, traduction et notes par M. de GANDILLAC, Paris, Éditions du Cerf («Sagesses chrétiennes»), 1993, p. 249. Toutes les citations de l'*Éthique* renvoient à cette édition avec, entre parenthèses, le numéro de la page.

⁴ Sont donc exclus du péché en tant que tel la concupiscence, car il est «naturel» que l'on désire une belle femme ou un fruit délectable, de même que l'accomplissement de l'acte effectif. Ainsi, celui surpris en train de commettre une mauvaise action n'est pas plus coupable que celui qui, ayant consenti dans son cœur au mal avec l'intention de passer à l'acte, a été empêché par les circonstances de l'accomplir. Le concile de Sens a condamné cette doctrine, selon laquelle «par son acte l'homme ne devient ni meilleur ni pire» comme mettant en question le rôle de la foi et de la grâce.

⁵ L'intention (*intentio*) ne s'identifie pourtant pas au consentement (*consensus*). Ce dernier désigne plutôt l'assentiment volontaire à un désir, alors que l'*intentio* apparaît là où il est question de mérite. Ou, pour reprendre la distinction proposée par R. BLOMME, «l'intention intervient dans la qualification morale de nos actes (surtout en référence au mérite), tandis que le consentement représente l'élément constitutif du péché» (*La doctrine du péché dans les écoles théologiques de la première moitié du XI^e siècle*, Gembloux, Duculot, 1958, p. 136).

doute, une limite et explique la tendance à assigner un caractère absolu à l'intention: ne possédant pas de consistance susceptible de déterminer la valeur de l'agir, la qualité même de l'acte disparaît.

Si maître Pierre peut distinguer aussi radicalement entre acte et intention, c'est, ainsi que le rappelle dom O. Lottin, qu'il ne voit dans l'acte que l'entité physique, «ne soupçonnant pas qu'entre un acte considéré objectivement dans son entité physique et ce même acte considéré dans son entité morale subjective (celle de l'intention), il faut discerner le même acte dans son entité morale objective»⁶. Si le péché est tout entier dans le consentement, l'acte ne fait que le sanctionner: il «accomplit» le péché déjà entièrement constitué par l'acquiescement intérieur, fondé sur la conviction de conscience. Car seul le jugement de notre conscience peut témoigner contre nous devant Dieu lorsque nous avons consenti à ce que nous croyons être vraiment contraire à sa volonté. Ou, pour donner la parole au maître lui-même, n'est proprement péché que «le mépris de Dieu et le consentement à ce dont croyons devoir, à cause de Dieu, nous abstenir» (p. 215). C'est cette opposition à Dieu en pleine connaissance de cause qui pose la faute. Et si le péché scandaleux est plus sévèrement puni, en raison justement de son caractère public et pour éviter de donner l'exemple du mal, le péché occulte n'est pas moins grave aux yeux de Dieu car il relève de la même attitude intérieure traduisant un détournement de Dieu (*aversio a Deo*), voire le mépris (*contemptus Dei*).

La définition du péché comme détournement volontaire de Dieu, comme mépris du Créateur par une âme qui choisit de s'opposer à la volonté de Dieu, soit en ne renonçant pas au mal qui lui déplaît, soit en n'accomplissant pas le bien qui est dans le pouvoir de l'homme, revient pour Abélard à affirmer, à l'encontre de toute la tradition médiévale, que le péché est un manque: «C'est pourquoi nous donnons du péché une définition négative, disant 'omettre de faire' ou 'ne pas omettre de faire' et 'ce qu'il faut faire' ou 'ce qu'il faut omettre de faire', montrant ainsi de façon évidente que le péché n'a aucune substance, car c'est en non-être qu'il consiste plutôt qu'en être»⁷ (pp. 209–210).

C'est ce qui lui permet de soutenir que le péché n'est pas «volontaire» car, changeant notre relation avec Dieu, il nous constitue coupables et dignes de damnation. Or, autant nous sommes portés par nature à ce qui nous agrée, autant nous répugnons à ce qui nous vaut peine et souffrance. Nous ne pouvons donc pas chercher le péché, qui aura pour résultat notre punition. Le péché n'est pas voulu non plus en tant que tel. L'homme qui convoite une femme mariée songe au plaisir

⁶ Dom Odon LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 5 volumes, Gembloux, Duculot, 1948, t. IV, p. 313.

⁷ En effet, à la suite de saint Augustin, la pensée chrétienne refuse toute substantialité au mal, réduit au non-être. La seule «réalité» du mal est à placer dans la faillibilité de la volonté humaine libre qui «choisit mal», en se détournant du suprême bien. Dieu se trouve ainsi déchargé de la responsabilité du mal, que l'homme assume en tant que faute (*culpa*), entraînant une juste souffrance (*poena*).

qu'il prendra avec elle et ne veut pas commettre l'adultère, lequel n'est que source d'inconvénients et, à la limite, de remords (Cf. p. 216).

Si le péché requiert le consentement intérieur, maître Pierre refusera d'y faire entrer tout ce qui s'accomplit contre notre gré ou indépendamment de nous, de même que ce que nous accomplissons par ignorance: «pécher par ignorance, ce n'est donc, ce faisant, se rendre coupable, mais c'est faire ce qu'il ne convient de faire» (p. 249). Le cas limite, qui suscitera les foudres de saint Bernard au concile de Sens, c'est l'exemple scandaleux des bourreaux du Christ: «ne sachant pas ce qu'ils font» et obéissant aux ordres, ne souhaitant donc point la souffrance et la mort du Fils de Dieu, ils n'ont péché qu'«en œuvre» (*operatio*). La crucifixion fut, certes, une *injuncta actio*, pourtant «ils eussent péché plus gravement s'ils avaient commis la faute de l'épargner en dépit de ce que leur imposait leur conscience» (*Ibid.*). C'est ce qui le détermine à ne pas considérer le péché originel comme un péché proprement dit parce que ne s'y retrouvent ni la volonté du mal, ni la détermination personnelle de l'accomplir⁸.

Il est compréhensible que la démarche d'Abélard dans le domaine de la morale ait été perçue comme subversive et ait entraîné – ajoutée à d'autres arguments – sa condamnation au Concile de Sens (1140), car elle s'opposait à la discipline morale et pénitentielle du temps, fondée sur la loi objective et sur les contraintes exercées par la coutume. Affirmer qu'il est plus grave de violer une femme que de commettre cette abomination dans une église parce qu'il est plus grave d'offenser le vrai temple de Dieu plutôt qu'un temple matériel et de «faire injure à une personne humaine qu'à un lieu» (p. 233), c'est non seulement reconnaître la dignité de la personne humaine, mais la placer à un niveau suréminent, ce qui ne pouvait qu'inquiéter à une époque où le spirituel se situait au-dessus du terrestre⁹. L'insistance sur l'intention, sur l'engagement de la responsabilité humaine, sur la délibération intérieure et sur l'autonomie du sujet, l'importance du jugement de la conscience, l'effort constant, enfin, d'intérioriser la morale secouent et contestent une série d'inerties.

Tout d'abord dans le domaine des pratiques pénitentielles lesquelles, en dépit des efforts de la réforme grégorienne, relèvent encore d'une morale objectiviste, qui situe le bien et le mal dans l'acte et se contente de punir l'infraction à la loi, sans se soucier des dispositions intérieures, ni de la responsabilité réelle du

⁸ Le péché originel doit être plutôt compris dans le sens de peine encourue par l'humanité, suite à la faute du premier homme.

⁹ Dans ce cas précis, on pourrait même soutenir que le «non-conformisme» du dialecticien va plus loin que l'enseignement de l'évangile. Car, en s'en prenant au formalisme et à l'hypocrisie des scribes et des Pharisiens, Jésus leur reproche de placer l'or ou l'offrande sur lesquels ils font prêter serment au-dessus du temple ou de l'autel alors que «jurer par l'autel, c'est jurer par lui et par tout ce qui est dessus; jurer par le sanctuaire, c'est jurer par lui et par Celui qui l'habite» (*Mt* 23, 20–21). C'est justement cette valeur spirituelle positive du temple «demeure du Très-Haut» que semble occulter l'exemple proposé par Abélard.

pécheur. En outre, on perçoit les œuvres propitiatoires – facteur ecclésiastique et objectif – comme plus importantes que le repentir (*contritio*), lequel relève d'un facteur subjectif. Or c'est justement cette «morale du cœur»¹⁰ fondée par Abélard qui fera incliner la balance en faveur du repentir, devenu, à partir de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, pivot de la discipline pénitentielle. Et, en dépit des efforts de saint Bernard qui, au même concile de Sens, dénonce comme «hérésie» l'importance excessive accordée par Abélard au repentir, devenu pour lui seule condition de l'absolution et risquant de réduire le rôle de l'autorité sacerdotale¹¹, la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle voit élaborer une «théologie de la contrition» (manifeste dans les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard ou dans le *Décret* de Gratien) laquelle, tout en dénonçant le subjectivisme excessif de maître Pierre, insiste sur l'idée que l'absolution ne dépend pas tant de la formule prononcée par le prêtre, que de la disposition intérieure de celui qui pleure son péché et se retourne vers Dieu dans une attitude de *conversio*¹².

Il est d'ailleurs facile d'apprécier le terrain gagné par le «subjectivisme» en observant le soin avec lequel la littérature pénitentielle essaie de s'adapter à la psychologie et à la personnalité de chaque pénitent. Les pénitentiels des X^e et XI^e siècles, constitués en listes de péchés, selon la conception de la pénitence tarifée, où à chaque délit correspond une peine exacte, en accord avec la gravité de l'acte et du scandale qu'il provoque¹³, sont remplacés par des «manuels de confession», attentifs à l'examen de conscience, ou par des «sommes des cas de conscience», relevant déjà de la casuistique par l'investigation des éléments qui tiennent de l'intention, des circonstances, du degré de responsabilité. Le fameux canon 21 *Utriusque sexus*, adopté au IV^e Concile de Lateran en 1215 et promulguant l'obligation de la confession annuelle, individuelle et auriculaire que les fidèles sont tenus de faire dans leur paroisse, marque l'aboutissement de la longue évolution du sacrement de la pénitence et sanctionne en même temps l'intériorisation de la morale, attentive à l'examen de conscience, à l'introspection.

Dans cette même direction d'attention nouvelle accordée au sujet et à ses droits, il convient d'inscrire l'évolution des procédures juridiques. À partir du XII^e siècle, on assiste à une condamnation de plus en plus fermée de l'ordalie ou des

¹⁰ R. BLOMME, *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹¹ En dehors de la dénonciation des pratiques de certains prêtres et prélats cupides qui dispensent de la satisfaction due aux péchés moyennant aumônes et dons, ce qui préfigure le trafic des indulgences, Abélard affirme qu'il y a des cas où beaucoup «pourraient, sans pécher, différer ou totalement omettre leur confession dans le cas où ils la jugeraient plus nuisible que profitable» (p. 272). Il va même plus loin lorsqu'il affirme que «si nous nous punissions nous-mêmes ou corrigions nous-mêmes nos péchés, d'aucune manière Dieu n'aurait à nous en punir plus gravement» (p. 276). C'est «personnaliser» la relation entre l'homme et Dieu à tel point que le rôle du prêtre se trouve quasiment réduit à néant, ce qui annonce l'esprit de la Réforme.

¹² Voir à ce sujet J. Ch. PAYEN, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)*, Genève, Droz, 1968.

¹³ Cf. Cyrille VOGEL, *Le pécheur et la pénitence au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Cerf, 1969 (1982).

duels judiciaires qui aliènent les consciences «par un transfert sur la divinité des discernements et preuves de l'innocence ou de la culpabilité»¹⁴.

C'est à cette même tendance, qui reconnaît sa place à l'intériorité, que se rattachent les mutations survenues dans la façon d'envisager l'autorité même, non seulement judiciaire, mais politique, obligée à son tour d'intégrer les valeurs de la personne, de sa conscience, de son autonomie¹⁵.

Certes, maître Pierre n'est pas le premier à favoriser l'introspection, l'investigation de la conscience. Les mystiques cisterciens, saint Bernard ou Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, l'avaient fait également. Mais alors que, pour les cisterciens, l'exigence socratique aboutit à une prise de conscience de la misère de notre condition après la chute, la connaissance de soi apparaît dans l'*Éthique* comme une analyse du libre consentement par lequel il appartient à l'homme et rien qu'à lui d'accepter ou de refuser le «mépris de Dieu» qui constitue le péché. Par l'importance accordée à la conscience, à la délibération intérieure, Abélard exalte l'homme, considéré comme sujet. «Sujet irréductiblement original, réalisant une forme d'être dont l'intervention échappe en quelque manière à la nature»¹⁶, l'homme est capable d'initiative et son intention est créatrice de valeur morale.

Autant d'arguments justifiant la formule de M. D. Chenu, qui voit dans Abélard «le premier homme moderne». Car, s'il y a modernité «lorsqu'un certain nombre de valeurs sont perçues comme relevant du jugement théorique et pratique de la raison ainsi que de la décision responsable de la liberté, sans qu'on fasse immédiatement référence aux valeurs et aux institutions d'une histoire de salut»¹⁷, par sa doctrine morale qui investit de consistance et de cohérence les valeurs et les options humaines, Abélard appartient, en dépit de certaines imprécisions terminologiques¹⁸, à ce que G. Lafont appelle «une modernité prématurée»¹⁹.

2. ... ET LITTÉRATURE.

ACTE ET INTENTION DANS LA MORT ARTU

La «révolution» opérée par la distinction entre acte et intention et par l'intériorisation de la morale se retrouve-t-elle aussi en littérature? La réponse doit s'entourer d'une grande prudence. Tout d'abord on ne peut parler d'«influence» en

¹⁴ Cf. M. D. CHENU, *L'Éveil de la conscience dans la civilisation médiévale*, Montréal-Paris, 1968, p. 26.

¹⁵ C'est cette nouvelle morale politique, matérialisée dans l'image du «roi très-chrétien», réunissant chevalerie et *prodromie* dans la *caritas* chrétienne, que propose Joinville dans son *Histoire de saint Louis* (vers 1309).

¹⁶ M. D. CHENU, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁷ G. LAFONT, *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁸ Celle touchant au sens de *voluntas* notamment, comprise tantôt comme impulsion spontanée, *desiderium*, tantôt comme volonté-décision. Lorsque maître Pierre affirme que le péché ne s'identifie pas à la mauvaise volonté, il emploie le terme dans le premier sens.

¹⁹ Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 143-211.

l'absence de preuves sûres (c'est-à-dire de textes) nous permettant d'affirmer avec certitude que l'auteur du cycle en prose – et de *La Mort Artu* notamment – aurait connu directement les œuvres de maître Pierre et s'en serait inspiré. Ensuite le discours théologique et le discours littéraire n'ont ni le même but ni, surtout, le même objet. Le théologien essaie d'interroger et d'interpréter les textes faisant autorité – l'Écriture en premier lieu – pour mieux éclairer et (faire) découvrir la Vérité que ceux-ci recèlent. L'auteur de textes de fiction, sachant que son œuvre se voit dénier toute prétention d'atteindre à la vérité, se propose en premier lieu d'émuouvoir et de plaire, même si un certain souci d'enseigner est toujours présent dans sa démarche. conformément à l'exigence de l'esthétique médiévale exprimée par la triade *movere – delectare – docere*. Le théologien sait que l'Écriture doit s'entendre selon quatre sens qui s'ordonnent hiérarchiquement depuis le sens littéral jusqu'au sens anagogique, en passant par le sens allégorique ou spirituel et le sens tropologique ou moral²⁰. L'auteur d'œuvres de fiction sait que la signification par les paroles ou par les images feintes ne va pas au-delà du sens littéral²¹. Mais il n'ignore pas non plus que, sans lire les poètes, les historiens, les orateurs, on ne peut pas s'appeler vraiment homme. Tout en acceptant que la grâce seule conduit à la sagesse, les clercs concèdent que la lecture des «auteurs» est utile, car ceux-ci ont la pratique de la vertu et offrent par leurs œuvres matière à réflexion²². Voilà pourquoi tout auteur, fût-il auteur de textes de fiction, de «contes vains et plaisants», sait qu'il doit proposer au-delà du sens littéral, de la *littera*, une signification, *sententia*, que le lecteur doit découvrir et qui l'instruit (*docere*) par le plaisir même qu'il prend à lire/écouter (*delectare*).

Plutôt donc que de parler d'influence directe de la pensée abélardienne sur la *Mort Artu*, je préfère parler d'échos, d'allusions, de références – non pas à un texte précis mais à un intertexte – qui viennent s'inscrire dans un «horizon d'attente» déjà modelé par les préoccupations nouvelles au sujet de l'homme, de ses voies vers le salut, de sa responsabilité et de sa liberté. L'analyse sera concentrée sur l'épisode du fruit empoisonné de *La Mort le Roi Artu*, qui semble de toute évidence faire écho à la pensée abélardienne.

a. LE TRIOMPHE DE L'INTENTION

Les prémisses sont bien connues: «un chevalier qui avoit non Avarlan et haoit monseigneur Gauvain de mort et avoit fruit envenimé, dont il cuidoit

²⁰ Voir Henri de LUBAC, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vol., Paris, Éditions Mouton-Aubier, 1964.

²¹ Saint Thomas d'Aquin ira jusqu'à affirmer qu'en toute science humaine on ne peut rien trouver au-delà du sens littéral. Cf. *Quodlibet*, in *Grande Antologia filosofica*, diretta da U. A. PADOVANI, coordinata da A. M. MOSCHETTI, vol. V, *Il pensiero cristiano*, Milano, Marzorati Editore, 1973, p. 282.

²² Voir à ce sujet l'éloge de la *lettreure* par Jean de Meun dans le *Roman de la Rose* (v. 18611–18680), garantie et condition d'acquérir la «vraie noblesse».

monseigneur Gauvain fere morir»²³ envoie le fruit à la reine, persuadé qu'elle l'offrirait d'abord à Gauvain, compte tenu de l'importance de son rang, provoquant ainsi sa mort immédiate. Pourtant la reine, «*qui de la trahison ne se gardoit*» (§ 62, p. 76), l'offre à un autre compagnon de la Table Ronde, Gaheris de Karaheu, qui en meurt aussitôt.

Le «crime», perpétré devant tant de témoins dignes de confiance, est patent et vaut à la reine la condamnation générale. «*Certes, fet aucuns de leanz, de ce fet a ele mort deservie, se ele sot veraiement que li fruiz fust envenimez*»²⁴ (§ 62, p. 77). En vain Guenièvre proclame-t-elle son innocence, jurant qu'elle ignorait que le fruit fut «*desloiaus*» et qu'elle l'avait offert à Gaheris «*par pure bonté*» («*par grant debonereté*»), la réponse du roi tombe impitoyable: «*Dame, comment que vos li donnissiez, l'ouvraine en est mauvese et vileinne*» (§ 62, p. 77). C'est pourquoi, lorsque Mador de la Porte, le frère du chevalier tué, se présente devant le roi pour lui demander «*justice à propos de la .reine.*», aucun des compagnons de la Table Ronde n'osera relever le défi et prouver par les armes l'innocence de Guenièvre puisqu'«*il se vent bien tuit certainement que ele ocist le chevalier dont ele est apelee*» (§ 67, p. 85) et feraient eux-mêmes preuve de déloyauté en s'engageant sciemment pour une cause injuste.

Pour comble de malheur, Lancelot est absent de la cour, éloigné par la jalousie de la reine et par une blessure malencontreuse. Il prendra connaissance par hasard de l'accusation dont la reine fait l'objet et volera à son secours. À Mador qui se dit «*prez de prouver qu'ele desloiaument et en traison a ocis [son] frere.*», Lancelot répondra qu'il est prêt, lui, «*del deffendre qu'ele n'i pensa onques desloiauté ne traison*» (§ 83, p. 104).

Les armes donnent raison à Lancelot: l'innocence de la reine est prouvée. La motivation intérieure l'a emporté sur la loi objective, l'intention a prévalu sur l'acte. D'ailleurs tout l'épisode semble construit sur l'opposition entre deux systèmes de valeurs. D'une part, les valeurs traditionnelles, celles de la loi objective, auxquelles adhèrent Mador, la cour, y compris le roi Arthur. Pour les tenants de cette loi, ce qui compte, c'est la réalité «objective» qui donne raison aux faits et les empêche de s'engager pour la reine car celui qui osera relever le défi, même «*se il veinquoit la bataille, si savroient bien tuit cil de la cort qu'il avroit erré encontre droit et a desloiauté*» (§ 74, p. 95), c'est la coutume dont le roi est gardien, ce «droit» qu'il doit respecter envers et contre tous: «*ge ne feroie tort ne por vos ne por autre*» (§ 68, p. 86)²⁵.

²³ *La Mort le Roi Artu*. Roman du XIII^e siècle, édité par Jean FRAPPIER, Genève, Droz – Paris, Minard, 1964, § 62, p. 76. Toutes les citations de *La Mort Artu* renvoient à cette édition avec, entre parenthèses, le numéro du paragraphe précédant celui de la page.

²⁴ Il est intéressant de remarquer toutefois qu'en dépit de la tournure hypothétique de la phrase, il ne vient à l'idée de personne que la reine pourrait être innocente, ignorant que le fruit était mortel.

²⁵ Le geste même d'Avarlan, si ignoble et réprobable qu'il soit selon les normes de la société courtoise, n'est pourtant pas étranger aux mentalités féodales. Son méfait correspond parfaitement à

D'autre part, il y a la reine qui, sans tenir compte des prescriptions rigides du code féodal, exigeant de traiter chacun en fonction de son rang, offre «*par grant debonereté*» le fruit, non à Gauvain, neveu du roi et le plus illustre des compagnons de la Table Ronde, mais à Gaheris, un simple chevalier. Il y a surtout Lancelot qui, sans prêter attention à la rumeur, refuse de suivre le courant et choisit de défendre la reine «*por la valeur que ge sai en lui*» (§ 82, p. 104). Et dans l'affrontement de ces deux mondes, la victoire de Lancelot a consacré, en dépit de l'acte, l'innocence de la reine, par la pureté de son intention²⁶.

b. LE POISON DU FRUIT

Guenièvre n'est donc pas coupable d'avoir tué Gaheris. Son geste rappelle pourtant de façon troublante celui d'«*Eve la pecheresse, qui la premiere fame fu, ot pris conseil au mortel anemi, ce fu au deable, qui des lors comença a engignier l'humain lignage par decevoir, et il tant l'ot enortee de pechié mortel, [...] il li fist son desloial talent mener a ce qu'il li fist coillir dou fruit mortel de l'arbre [...]. Et si tost come ele l'ot aporté a son espous Adam, a qui ele l'ot conseillé et enorté, [...] si le menja a nostre paine et a la soie et a son grant destruisement et au nostre*»²⁷. De même qu'en goûtant le fruit défendu et en en faisant goûter à Adam, Ève l'a entraîné et est tombée avec lui dans l'univers de la faute, ainsi Guenièvre, par le «magnifique amour» qu'elle a inspiré à Lancelot et dont elle a eu d'ailleurs l'initiative²⁸, amour devenu dans la *Mort Artu* le «*pechié de la reine*», a fait manquer au «meilleur chevalier du monde» son destin, exprimé par le nom de Galaad reçu au baptême, celui d'être le héros du Graal et d'en accomplir les aventures. Elle le sait d'ailleurs et s'en désole: «*si me poise moult, quant vos par eschaufement de char avez perdu a mener a chief ce por quoi toute terrienne prouesce sera travaillie: si poez or bien dire que chier avez achatee m'amor, quant vos par moi avez perdu ce que vos ne porrez recouvrer. Si sachiez que je n'an sui mie moins dolante que vos estes, mes plus par aventure, car c'est granz pechiez, quant vos avoit fait Diex le millor et le plus bel et le plus gracieux de touz et ancor vos avoit il donné tel eur que vos veissiez les merveilles del Saint Graal apertement: et or l'avez perdu par l'asamblee de nos .II.*»²⁹. Et

ce que le système juridique français du XIII^e siècle appelle trahison: «*traisons si est quant l'en ne monstre pas semblant de haine et l'en het mortelement si que, par la haine, l'en tue ou fet tuer*» (Philippe de BEAUMANOIR, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, éd. A. SALMON, Paris, 1899–1900, ch. 829).

²⁶ Il faut remarquer toutefois que la «modernité» n'a pas pénétré encore dans les pratiques judiciaires, le droit étant déterminé et la justice rendue à travers le duel des deux champions. Si les pratiques tiennent encore de la «tradition», l'esprit dans lequel l'affaire est réglée relève de façon évidente des nouvelles tendances.

²⁷ *La Queste del Saint Graal*. Roman du XIII^e siècle, édité par Albert PAUPHILET, Paris, Champion, 1980, pp. 210–211.

²⁸ Cf. *Lancelot*. Roman en prose du XIII^e siècle, édition critique par Alexandre MICHA, Librairie Droz, Paris–Genève, 1980, vol. VII, ch. XXIIa, § 22–24.

²⁹ *Lancelot*, éd. citée, vol. V, pp. 2–3.

malgré la magnifique réponse de Lancelot qui tente de rassurer la reine, lui rappelant qu'elle fut la source de sa valeur et de son incomparable prouesse³⁰, les allusions multipliées à la déchéance du héros, les humiliations qu'il subit depuis l'*Agravain* et qui vont culminer avec sa condamnation sans appel dans la *Queste* mettent en question son amour et le système de valeurs dont celui-ci relève.

N'oublions pas d'ailleurs que la victoire de Lancelot sur Mador marque le retour du héros à la cour et la réconciliation des amants. Après l'épisode du fruit empoisonné, les amoureux vont abandonner toute prudence et surtout toute discrétion (laquelle est une des exigences de la *fin'amors* selon le code courtois, la loi du *bien celar* dont parlent les troubadours) et tomberont facilement au piège du flagrant délit tendu par Agravain, dont le nom rappelle celui d'Avarlan, le traître. Désormais les événements vont se précipiter, en un enchaînement conduisant inéluctablement à la catastrophe finale: le flagrant délit presque patent³¹ vaudra à la reine la condamnation au bûcher, mort infamante «*car trop avoit fet grant desloiauté, quant ele en leu del roi qui tant estoit preudom avoit lessié gesir un autre chevalier*» (§ 93, p. 121). C'est en essayant de la sauver que Lancelot tuera – sans le reconnaître – Gaheriet, le frère préféré de Gauvain, qui ne portait pourtant pas de heaume, et dont le nom rappelle lui aussi de façon troublante celui de Gaheris, la victime du poison. Désormais Arthur et Gauvain voueront à Lancelot une haine inexpiable, en bonne partie responsable de la ruine du monde arthurien.

Serait-ce là le poison du fruit? Ce jeu savant des rappels et des symétries, qui ne pouvait pas échapper au lecteur averti, habitué à «gloser la lettre» pour en découvrir le *sen*, aurait-il pour but de mettre en question la capacité de l'intention de fonder la valeur morale – bonne ou mauvaise – de l'acte?

Avant de risquer une réponse, revenons une dernière fois à l'épisode du fruit empoisonné et, plus précisément, au serment prononcé par Lancelot lors du combat judiciaire. On se rappelle que, absent de la cour, le héros n'a pas été témoin de l'accident. Ce qui, à première vue, lui permet de se constituer plus facilement en champion de la reine puisqu'il n'a pas été présent à l'événement accusateur. La morale de l'intention, fondée sur l'intériorité, lui permettrait même de ne pas juger sur les apparences, en fonction d'une norme, mais en s'appuyant sur sa connaissance intime de la reine, qu'il sait incapable d'un pareil forfait. À regarder pourtant le texte de plus près, nous remarquons que Lancelot ne sait des événements que ce que des

³⁰ «*Dame, fait Lanceloz, vos dites mal. Sachiez que je ja ne fusse venuz a si grant hautesce com je sui, se vos ne fussiez, car je n'eusse mie cuer par moi au conmancement de ma chevalerie d'amprandre les choses que li autre laissoient par defaute de pooir. [...] Je cuit que ja ne fusse venuz a la grant prouesce ou je sui se par vos ne fust, car je estoie jones anfes et nices et fors de mon país...*» (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

³¹ «Presque» parce que Lancelot a fermé la porte de la chambre «par hasard», dans un geste réflexe qui rappelle celui de Tristan plaçant, dans la forêt du Morois, son épée nue entre son corps et celui d'Iseult, ce qui ne permet pas aux agresseurs de les surprendre «sur le fait», donnant, par contre, au héros la possibilité de s'armer et de se défendre.

témoins – un chevalier inconnu et son frère Hector – lui ont raconté: or, s'appuyant sur les faits, ils sont convaincus, le premier surtout, de la culpabilité de la reine et ils présentent les événements dans cette perspective. L'amour de Lancelot pour la reine – plus que la conviction intime de son innocence – le détermine à venir à son secours: *«si me metrai en aventure por li deffendre, non mie si hardiment come j'ai fet en autre bataille, car ge sei bien veraiement, a ce que g'en ai oi dire, que li torz en sera miens et li droiz Mador»* (§ 75, p. 97 – c'est moi qui souligne).

Autrement dit, l'amour de Lancelot pour la reine est tel qu'il la défendrait même s'il la savait coupable. Ou, comme il l'affirme à Arthur, *«por la valeur que ge sai en lui sui ge ceanz venuz, apareilliez por lui deffendre»* (§ 82, p. 104). C'est la valeur inégalable de la reine, et non son innocence, qui justifie sa démarche. D'ailleurs la forme même dans laquelle il prononce son serment: *«et ge sui prez del deffendre qu'ele n'i pensa onques desloiauté ne traïson»* (§ 83, p. 104) déplace tout l'accent sur l'intention – impossible à prouver – mettant hors de cause les faits mêmes. Certes, la stratégie habile du narrateur qui filtre différemment la quantité d'information qu'il réserve au personnage et aux lecteurs nous fait glisser rapidement sur la petite «ruse» de Lancelot. Car connaissant, avec le narrateur, l'innocence de Guenièvre, nous oublions que Lancelot, lui, l'ignore et nous ne prêtons pas attention à la forme dans laquelle le serment est prononcé.

Serment presque identique à celui que le héros prononce lorsque Arthur vient mettre le siège devant la Joyeuse Garde pour récupérer la reine. Lancelot dépêchera auprès du roi une jeune fille, porteuse du message suivant: *«Damoisele, vos iroiz au roi Artu et li diroiz de par moi que ge me merveill moult por quoi il a commenciee guerre encontre moi; car ge ne li cuidoie mie tant avoir forfet. Et s'il dit que ce est por madame la reine dont l'en li a fet entendant que ge li ai fet honte, si li dites que ge sui prez de deffendre encontre un des meilleurs chevaliers de sa cort que de ceste chose ne sui veraiement encorpez»* (§ 109, p. 140 – c'est moi qui souligne). Lancelot ne sait-il vraiment pas pourquoi Arthur lui fait la guerre? Il ne semble pas possible de lui accorder les circonstances atténuantes que maître Pierre concède au péché d'ignorance, commis «par inadvertance» et à défaut d'un consentement effectif. Comment en outre le héros peut-il se déclarer prêt à soutenir par les armes qu'il n'est pas coupable du «pechié de la reine»? Car, si dans le cas du premier serment, on pouvait «excuser» le maniement habile du langage qui fait dire ce que le héros veut faire entendre, le narrateur et le lecteur connaissant l'innocence de la reine, cette fois-ci Lancelot sait bien, et le narrateur et le lecteur le savent aussi, qu'il est bien l'amant de Guenièvre.

3. LES RISQUES DE LA LIBERTE

Ne serait-ce pas là le véritable «poison du fruit»? L'auteur de la *Mort Artu* ne voudrait-il pas avertir du danger d'assigner à l'intention une valeur absolue? Si

l'acte dicté par une bonne intention est toujours moralement bon, même si le résultat en est mauvais, peut-on absoudre totalement l'auteur d'un acte porteur de conséquences négatives, fût-il issu d'une bonne intention? L'auteur de la *Mort Artu* ne se proposait, certes, pas de «corriger» la morale de l'intention proposée par Abélard. Le problème théologique n'était pas son but et il avait d'ailleurs été résolu presque un siècle plus tôt au concile de Sens.

L'auteur du cycle en prose voudrait avertir peut-être d'un autre risque – et j'oserais affirmer que, dans cette voie, la littérature va plus loin que la théologie. Si tout se joue dans la conscience de chacun, si c'est l'intention seule qui compte, si ce sont les valeurs de l'intériorité qui l'emportent sur celles de l'ordre établi, de la norme, n'y a-t-il par risque que l'homme devienne à soi-même critère et norme de vrai et de faux, de justice et d'injustice, de bien et de mal? Dans l'absence de tout Ordre qui le transcende, fier de sa liberté nouvelle, n'arrive-t-il pas à créer en fonction des circonstances, des besoins du moment, de ses habiletés plus ou moins grandes, par le maniement adroit du langage, la vérité ou le mensonge?

Au fond, le «risque» que dévoile l'épisode du fruit empoisonné serait le risque même couru par l'*homo modernus*, cherchant en lui-même et «dans un rapport rationnel au réel les sources de la connaissance et de l'action»³² et se conduisant déjà d'après une sagesse autonome³³. C'est cette autonomie nouvelle, inconnue à l'*homo hierarchicus*, que nous présente la *Mort Artu*. Descendu en lui-même, se forgeant des normes auxquelles il se rapporte, l'homme semble livré à lui-même, en fait limité à lui-même et déjà prisonnier de sa subjectivité. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que tous les personnages de la *Mort Artu* agissent uniquement en fonction de leurs intérêts subjectifs, même si cela doit entraîner la ruine de leur monde.

Voulant excuser le péché commis sans «méchant vouloir» (p. 213), imputable donc à la seule faiblesse de notre condition «provisoirement nécessaire» (p. 210), Abélard n'allait-il pas jusqu'à soutenir qu'il vaut mieux «réfréner» la concupiscence sans complètement l'éliminer car ce méchant vouloir, «réfréné sans être éteint, procure récompense à ceux qui lui résistent, leur fournissant matière de combat et couronne de gloire» (p. 210)? Exalter la lutte contre la tentation presque en termes de combat chevaleresque n'est-ce pas faire valoir une forme d'orgueil, poser d'une certaine façon que l'homme pourrait se suffire à soi-même? C'est ce qui explique peut-être le pessimisme qui se dégage du dernier roman du cycle en prose: livré à lui-même, limité au niveau terrestre, privé de grâce, le monde arthurien est voué à disparaître.

³² G. LAFONT, *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

³³ Importance de la raison qu'Abélard n'aurait, certes, pas désavouée, lui qui affirmait que celui qui méconnaîtrait la pleine dignité de l'homme assumé par le Christ ne saurait être damné, car, dans ce cas précis, il ne peut être question de mépris à l'égard de Dieu, «surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de ce qui ne se peut explorer par la raison humaine et semble plutôt contraire à la raison» (p. 267).

Cette contestation de l'ordre accompagnée par l'affirmation de l'individu et de ses droits n'est, certes, pas nouvelle. Déjà, dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, la légende de *Tristan et Iseut*, en posant un amour absolu, au-dessus des lois sinon en dehors d'elles, affirmait les droits de l'individu, qui pouvaient être différents, voire opposés à ceux de la communauté. Mais la contestation reste singulière, limitée au niveau des protagonistes, et la fin tragique des amants peut signifier que la mort serait le prix à payer pour revendiquer le droit à transgresser la norme. L'ordre brise la révolte, même si celle-ci remporte une victoire morale. Or, dans la *Mort Artu*, la mise en question de l'ordre est généralisée et le roman se fonde sur l'affirmation des individualités³⁴.

Il ne faudrait surtout pas comprendre que le cycle en prose, la *Mort Artu* en particulier, condamne les valeurs nouvelles de la «modernité prématurée» dont parle Ghislain Lafont. Les droits de la conscience, la délibération intérieure, l'autonomie de l'homme y sont pleinement reconnus et en ce point le roman rencontre comme en écho la pensée d'Abélard. En effet, le «philosophe» n'avait-il pas précisé dans le *Commentaire de l'Épître aux Romains* que, en révélant le dessein de Dieu, sa Loi «ouvre à la liberté humaine le choix entre l'acceptation et le refus»³⁵, même si c'est la motivation du choix, bien plus que la signification de l'acte, qui détermine la qualité morale du sujet? L'auteur de la *Mort Artu* vient y introduire une nuance portant sur un point essentiel: cette «mystérieuse liberté» de l'homme ne doit pas forcément être indépendance totale par rapport à une transcendance, mais articulation harmonieuse et intelligente avec la révélation, liberté qui accepte en face de soi une autre Liberté et entre en relation avec elle.

³⁴ Tous les personnages, à l'exception peut-être du roi Arthur, sont d'ailleurs sauvés individuellement, pour le peu de bien qu'ils ont accompli en toute liberté dans leur vie. Le cas le plus évident est celui de Gauvain qui, réprouvé depuis la *Queste*, incapable de repentir et donc de conversion, durci dans son orgueil et son désir de vengeance, qui sont pour beaucoup dans la ruine finale du monde arthurien, est pourtant sauvé par la générosité prodiguée à l'égard des pauvres et qui lui vaut d'être admis dans «la maison de Dieu» (cf. § 176, p. 225).

³⁵ M. de GANDILLAC, *Introduction à l'Éthique*, éd. citée, p. 47.

FRAGEN UND ANTWORTEN

CĂTĂLINA VELCULESCU

Im Folgenden möchte ich auf einige ausgewählte Auszüge aus verschiedenen rumänischen Handschriften aus dem 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts eingehen, die alle die Tatsache verbindet, dass sie gewissermassen die Frage beantworten: was sind Blitz – Donner – Blitzschlag.

Solche Fragen und Antworten findet man in vier verschiedenen Schriftentypen.

Typ 1 – In den Kopien einiger Fragmente aus der sogenannten *Pravila*¹ und zwar aus der *Îndreptarea legii* [Deutung des Gesetzes], Târgoviște, 1652, bekannt auch unter dem Namen *Pravila des Fürsten Matei Basarab*. Am Ende der monumentalen Sammlung gibt es ein *Register (mit) vielen notwendigen Lehren ...; Fragen und Antworten des hl. [Pseudo-] Anastasius, Patriarch von Antiochia*. Kürzliche Studien² konnten nachweisen, dass die Quelle des Registers und der Fragen in der *Pravila* in Wirklichkeit ein Florilegium von Fragen und Antworten in griechischer Sprache ist. Wie auch andere griechische Florilegien, geht auch dieses von den Fragen des Pseudo-Anastasius von Sinai aus, wobei es jedoch auch andere Quellen mit einschliesst. Sowohl die Quellen (Hypokrates, Galen, Katon, die *Äsopica*, *Lapidarius* Epiphanius von Salamis u.a.) als auch die behandelten Themen (die vier "Elemente", die den menschlichen Körper bilden; die fünf Gefühle; die Altersstufen des Menschen; die Symbolik der Edelsteine; die Entwicklungsstadien des menschlichen Embryos; angeborener oder durch persönliche Verdienste erworbener Edelmut u.a.) sind die gleichen, die auch in den abendländischen *Enzyklopädien* des 13. Jahrhunderts zu finden sind, die in letzter Zeit gründlich erforscht werden³. Zum Unterschied von anderen Kapiteln des in der *Pravila* von Matei Basarab eingefassten Florilegiums, überrascht jenes über *Blitz und Donner* eben durch das Wegbleiben all dessen, was wir heute als "Elemente des Phantastischen" bezeichnen könnten.

¹ B.A.R., rum. Hs. 4378, f. 234 und 1604, f. 34–37v.

² Violeta Barbu, *Asupra izvoarelor "Îndreptării legii" (Târgoviște 1652)*, "Studii și Cercetări de Lingvistică", XLI, 1990, Nr. 2, S. 135–144; Nr. 3, S. 269–278; Nr. 5–6, S. 475–481.

³ Heinz Meier, *Enzyklopädie*, in: *Literatur Lexikon*, hrsg. Walther Killy, Bd. 13, München, 1992, S. 216–219; *idem*, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus*, München, 2000; Christel Meier, *Organisation of Knowledge and Encyclopaedic "ordo"*, siehe *supra* S. 15.

Typ 2 – In der Ciorănescu veröffentlichten zusammengefassten Form der *Fragen und Antworten*⁴.

2a. In den *Fragen Iazimirs* oder *des Kaisers Leon* klingt manchmal die Antwort betreffend *Blitz* und *Donner* der aus der *Pravila* ähnlich.

2b. Manche Manuskripte bringen auch weitere Antworten, die aus der erweiterten Fassung der *Fragen Iazimirs* stammen⁵.

Typ 3 – In der erweiterten Fassung der *Fragen Iazimirs mit dem Philosophen Panagiotis*⁶. Iazimir (oder Azimit, oder Azimin) ist ein Abendländer, ein Anhänger der Kommunion mit der heiligen Hostie – *Azyna*. Die Besucher "aus dem Papstlande", die nach Byzanz kamen, wurden von den byzantinischen Mönchen mit Feindseligkeit empfangen. In einem Duell von Fragen und Antworten weisen die dem griechischen "Philosophen" Panagiotis zugeschriebenen Antworten völkisches Niveau auf und verbleiben öfters an der Grenze zur Ketzerei⁷.

Typ 4 – In den *Fragen Epiphanos an Andreas Salos*. Es handelt sich um ein Fragment eines byzantinischen Schriftstücks, wahrscheinlich aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, *die Lebensgeschichte des heiligen Andreas, der Narr des Christus* (Stultus, Salos)⁸.

⁴ *Întrebări și răspunsuri*, hrsg. Al.Ciorănescu, "Cercetări literare", I, 1934, S.64, 80.

⁵ *Idem*, S.64, Fussnoten.

⁶ I.Bogdan, *Vechile cronici moldovenești până la Ureche*, București, 1891, S. 8–12; *idem*, *Cronici inedite*, București, 1895, S. 7–15; M.Gaster, *Literatura populară română*, București, 1883 (siehe *Index*); *idem*, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Bd.2, Strassburg, 1901, S. 417; N.Iorga, *Cărți și scriitori români din veacurile XVII–XIX*, "Analele Academiei Române", Mem. Sect. Lit., II, Bd.29, 1906–1907, S. 165–179; Demostene Russo, *Studii și critice*, București, 1910, S.89; Al.Ciorănescu (hrsg.), *op. cit.*, S. 47–59, 62–67.

Andrei Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnij obzor drevne-russkich polemičeskich sočinenij protiv latinjan (XI–XV v.)*, Moscow, 1875 (Reprint London 1972), S. III–VII, 238–286; A.Vasiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, Bd.1, Moscow, 1893, S. XL–XLII, 179–187; G.Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, 1909, S.244; M.-L.Concasty, *La fin d'un dialogue contre les latins azymites*, in: *Akten des XI internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses. München 1958*, hrsg. Franz Dölger und Hans-Georg Beck, München, 1960, S. 86–89.

⁷ B.A.R., rum. Hs. 63, f. 99v–123; 283, f. 2–17; 452, f. 15–38.

Siehe auch B.A.R., rum. Hs. 1207, f. 3–11, 32v; 3013, f. 49v–54v; 3391, f. 335–336v; 5791, f. 1–2v (M.Moraru, C.Velculescu, *Bibliografia cărților populare*, București, 1976–1978, *Index*).

Nur wenige rumänische Manuskripte sind bislang identifiziert worden (die stark bearbeitete Kurzfassung hat eine weit grössere Verbreitung gefunden). Ausgabe in Vorbereitung.

⁸ G. Da Costa-Louillet, *Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe–Xe siècles*, "Byzantion", XXIV, 1954, fasc.1, S. 179–214; Lennart Ryden, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation and Commentary*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 28, 1974, S. 199–261; *idem*, *The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov*, "Annalecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie", Bd. 94, 1976, S. 63–82; *idem*, *New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints*, in: *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers. August 3–8, 1986*, New York, 1987, S. 547–551; O.V.Tvorogov, *Žitie Andreja Jurodivogo*, in: *Slovarj knižnikov i knižnosti drevnej Rusi*, Bd.1, Leningrad, 1987, S. 131–132 (siehe auch: S. 283, 421–423); Jacqueline Leonhardt-Aumüller, "Narren um Christi

Nicht weniger als vier der Fragen, die Epiphanos Andreas Salos stellte, erhielten Antworten, die Aussagen über Blitz – Donner – Blitzschlag enthalten.

In zahlreichen rumänischen Manuskripten ist, des öfteren in Kurzform, die *Lebensgeschichte des Andreas Salos* eingefügt. Die *Fragen des Epiphanos* jedoch sind nur in zwei Handschriften aus dem 18. Jahrhundert und in weiteren zwei aus den ersten Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts identifiziert worden⁹.

VERMISCHTE FORMEN

A. Im Jahre 1808 kopiert der Ordenspriester (ehemaliger Dorfpriester) Joachim (Ion) Bărbătescu von Bistriz (Vâlcea), neben anderen Schriften, auch die *Fragen des Kaisers Leon*, die den **Typ 2a** des Textes über *Blitz – Donner* enthalten¹⁰. Der Kopist von Bistriz fügt jedoch eine Erklärung hinzu, die jener vom **Typ 4** ähnelt und die er folglich aus den *Fragen des Epiphanos* entnommen hatte (die er bis zu jener Zeit mindestens zweimal abgeschrieben hatte). Gleichzeitig fügt er auch einige Erklärungen zur Beziehung Schlange – Drachen hinzu, die jenen aus dem *Physiologus* von Damaskenos aus Studion¹¹ gleichen.

Joachim Bărbătescu fügt auch eine weitere Frage ein, die ich in keinem anderen rumänischen Manuskript mit den *Fragen des Kaisers Leon* gefunden habe: „Was sind die Sterne, die wir von einem Ort zum anderen springen und dann verschwinden sehen; manche *sagen* (unsere Unterstreichung) dass sie *zmei* (d.h.: Mehrzahl von rum. *zmeu*) seien“. Die Antwort ist eine kategorische Verneinung; die weiteren Erklärungen des *hieromonach* Joachim klingen fast modern.

B. In einem Manuskript um das Jahr 1777, das in Bukarest kopiert wurde, schloss der Hofpfeifenstopfer Andonachi Berhecianul (originär aus der Moldau) auch eine Kurzform der *Fragen lazimirs* mit ein, in der, mit nur geringen Variationen, die Form **2b** der Darstellungen über *Blitz* und *Donner* nacherzählt werden¹². In den *Fragen des Kaisers Leon* schloss der Kopist eine verkürzte

Willen“, München, 1993, S. 5–56; Lennart Ryden, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, 2. Bänden, Uppsala, 1995; Claudia Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

⁹ B.A.R., rum. Ms. 2430, f. 135–135v; 1197, f. 1–4v; 2430, f. 136–143v, fehlender Text, 144.

Bibliothek des heiligen Synod I 80 (40 bei D.Fecioru, *Manuscrise din Biblioteca Patriarhiei Române*, „Studii teologice“, nr. 5–6, 1961, S. 372), f. 10v–17.

B.A.R. rum. Hs. 2102, f. 76–92 (Jahr 1800–1802); 2786, f. 317–356 (Jahr 1807) – kopist: Joachim (Ion) Bărbătescu.

Ausgabe in Vorbereitung.

¹⁰ B.A.R., rum. Hs. 3590, f. 84–84v; f. 101–113v: *Physiologus* (Der Kopist Joachim Bărbătescu bemühte sich die Tiere in drei Gruppen auseinanderzuhalten: Tiere mit Flügeln – Vögel, aber auch Biene –, Vierfüßler, Kriechtiere).

¹¹ *Fiziolog. Bestiar*, hrsg. Cătălina Velculescu, Viorel Guruianu (Excurs: Manuela Anton), București, 2001.

¹² B.A.R., rum. Hs. 1151, f. 13v. Siehe auch *Fiziolog. Bestiar*, S. 8–10, 65–78.

Form 2a ein. Auf die Frage über *Schnee* und *Hagel* greift die Antwort auch auf das Thema der Lichter über, die manchmal am nächtlichen Himmel gleiten: sie wären Engel von denen, "die gefallen sind und in der Luft geblieben"! Andonachi Berhecianul fügt gleich danach noch eine andere Erklärung hinzu (die die erste praktisch ausschliesst), die jener auch von Joachim Bărbătescu benutzten über die sich bewegenden Lichter gleicht. Der Hofpfeifenstopfer nennt als Quelle eine *Pravila*. Bloss dass es uns nicht gelang, in der für den Typ 1 verwendeten *Pravila* von 1652, Târgoviște, den miteingefassten Absatz zu finden. Sowohl der Hofpfeifenstopfer Berhecianul – ein Stadtmensch – als auch der Ordenspriester Joachim Bărbătescu – ländlicher Herkunft – gehörten jener Kategorie von Kopisten an, die die Texte nicht mechanisch abschrieben, sondern auch direkt in deren Weiterleitung eingriffen. Ja noch mehr: sich verwendeten bei ihren Einfügungen außer geschriebenen Texten auch Berichte aus der mündlichen Kultur.

Jener *Physiologus*, den Andonachi Berhecianul in dem von uns erwähnten Miszellaneum einschloß, wurde vor gut einem Jahrhundert, nebst einer Übersetzung, in einer bekannten Fachzeitschrift internationaler Verbreitung abgedruckt. Demzufolge betrachteten ihn die ausländischen Forscher als "den rumänischen Physiologus" *par excellence*, und nicht als "einen rumänischen Physiologus". In Wirklichkeit steht die Variante aus dem Manuskript Berhecianus einzeln da; unter den rumänischen Manuskripten ist sie nur noch in einer einzigen, teilweise erhaltenen Kopie zu finden, mit Differenzen selbst in dem abgeschriebenem Textteil.

Die verbreitetste Form des rumänischen *Physiologus* ist eigentlich die von Joachim Bărbătescu kopierte, der Fortsetzer einer Tradition, die im Bistritz der Kleinwalachei schon seit den Anfangsjahren des 18. Jahrhunderts währte. Was den von Berhecianul kopierten Text anbetrifft, so ist er offensichtlich das Ergebnis einer Kombination zwischen unterschiedlichen Formen des *Physiologus*, ohne dass man zur Zeit genau feststellen könnte, in welchem Maße schon vor und in welchem erst *nach* der Textübersetzung ins Rumänische interveniert wurde.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER BETWEEN HAGIOGRAPHY AND POPULAR TRADITION*

SILVIA MARIN

Fascination for the teratological in the Medieval Europe laid the bases for a new trend of research¹, of imagery seen from the view of certain contexts and of the areas which led to the proliferation of fantastic universe.

Brought back out of the antique mythology by the Christian belief, the hybrid animal shapings were meant to sustain by their plastics the time's theological discourse. An endless row of monsters – centaurs, giants, chimeras, gorgones, harpies, mermaids, gryphones – dwelt the time's texts and images², having as their main goal to shock the viewer, but also to prepare him for the Doomsday.

Under these circumstances, regardless of the area of location, Western or Balkan-Oriental, the fantastic with all its forms of appearance deeply marked mentalities. The Western medieval symbolism is greatly indebted to the antiquity and to the Orient, while regarding the Romanian Principalities, the oriental mythologies have exerted an indirect influence by means of the Western agency. Although we must admit the abundance of motives borrowed by the Romanian spirituality from the Western Europe, we can neither speak of the same occurrence nor of the same "hierarchy" but, most likely, of a selection naturally operated by the local taste.

Within the paradigm of the medieval monster images, existing in the Romanian area, we focused on two of them, the cynocephal and the giant, blended together into a single character. This is our topic for the following lines.

The statements below are actually the first conclusions of a field research conducted in Oltenia and part of Muntenia. The churches frescoes during the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries (within the mentioned areas) preserved various representations of a saint "less common" bearing the name of Christopher, a saint whose cult is lost today but who distinguishes himself from the first visual contact, due to a significant detail: his dog head.

This study is the first of a series dedicated to Saint Christopher.

Drawings by Ileana Stănculescu.

¹ We refer mainly to the study of Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Evil Mediu fantastic*, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1975, trad. Valentina Grigorescu, pref. Dan Grigorescu.

² See Cătălina Velculescu's "Preface" to *Fiziolog. Bestiar*, edition by Cătălina Velculescu and V. Guriianu, București, Ed. Cavallioti, 2001, pp. 3–22.

Synthesis, XXVII–XXVIII, Bucarest, 2000–2001

The entire convoy of misshapen beings worked as a *captatio benevolentiae* for the receptacle which started to think of the soul's destination after death³. Shifting away from its initial condition, the dog-headed monster transgressed his regnum, became spiritualized and set himself among the Christian Martyrs.

It was Maria Golescu who first spoke about the existence of this odd character in an article entitled "The Dog-headed Saint", where the researcher specified the equivalence between the local Christopher and the ones painted in churches or icons in Greece, Bulgaria, and Russia⁴.

The appearance of a cynocephal among the saints can arouse many questions and stupor, phenomenon encountered in the rural communities where these representations could be found. This reaction is indebted to the confusion between this martyr and the Devil, being well known that, within the Romanian popular tradition, the Devil often takes the shape of impure animals: – he/she goat, cat, wolf, or hides himself in a reddish or black dog⁵.

As it is known, the dog, as a complex symbol of the bestiaries, has an ambivalent nature. His daily aspect, primordial in some cultures⁶, is being completed by a nocturnal side, present even in the *Old Testament*, where it denominated the pagan peoples, those who would not accept Mosaism as their religion. The *New Testament* keeps this significance in some of its texts. "Give not which is holy unto the dogs" ("nu dați cele sfinte cânilor") says the *Matt* 7:6, dogs being those beings controlled by bodily filthiness. The Evangelist Paul's teaching to the Philippians draws the same encouragement to avoid the canine beings: "beware of dogs" ("păziți-vă de câini") (3:2,) while in the *Revelation's* last chapter, Saint John the Divine, quotes Christ's words, excluding the Doomsday's condemned ones from the Kingdom of God: "For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie" – (*Rev* 22:15) ("afară câinii și vrăjitorii și desfrânații și ucigașii și închinătorii la idoli și toți cei ce lucrează și iubesc minciuna")⁷.

Our mythology holds a special status to the dog. Furthermore there is a fantastic species in the Romanian pantheon, a hybrid – the ogre, morphologically related to the iconographic representations mentioned before.

³ See chapter "Morphological categories", par. "Mythological and fantastic representations" from Victor Simion, *Imagini, legende, simboluri*, București, Ed. Fundației Culturale Române, 2000, p. 89–118.

⁴ See Maria Golescu, "Sfântul cu cap de câine", în *Convorbiri literare*, January–February, 1935.

⁵ Ivan Evseev, *Enciclopedia semnelor și simbolurilor culturale*, Timișoara, Ed. Amarcord, 1999, p. 86.

⁶ Within Celtic mythology, the dog is attributed with bravery and other significations of the same semantic sphere. Chinese, as well, "favour" the canine being as protector of the children and pregnant women. For more, see Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. I, București, Ed. Artemis, 1994, p. 326–333.

⁷ Pr. Dr. Ioan Mircea, *Dicționar al Noului Testament*, București, Ed. Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1995, p. 97.

With the body of a giant, the head of a dog, an eye on his forehead and one at the back of his head, this anthropophagic species defines itself as a symbol of decayed humanity, in other words illustrating a negative symbol⁸.

Not surprisingly at all, between the two shapes, that of Saint Christopher and that of the Ogre's (or the "căpcâne" as they call it in Banat⁹), have somehow blended in the popular imagery. Supplementary data we receive in those texts that have accompanied the iconography. It is not only about the Apocryphas (written in Romanian) which have circulated starting with the XVIIth century till the XIXth, but also about the canonical writings such as "The May Sermon"¹⁰, printed in 1780, and translated by Filaret, Bishop of Râmnic. We find the description of the Martyr within the pages of this book: "făcut la obraz ca câinii, din țara celor ce mănâncă pre oameni" (his face is like a dog's, coming from the land of the man eaters)¹¹. The anthropophagous character accentuates the primitive nature of the Martyr, especially that the Christian spirit of justice does not function as long as ogres are eating all kinds of people, not only those who have sinned. Actually, the term cynocephal has become a synonym to that of pagan, a referent to any enemy of Christianity¹². This is the exact state of Saint Christopher, in the first phase of his life; data upon his name previous to conversion we gathered from ms. rom. 339 B.A.R., copied at the end of the XVIIth century: "creștin sânt, *Reprev* (subl. ns.) mă chema întâiu, iar acuma den svântul botez mă chiamă Hristofor. Iar neamul meu să veade dupre obrazul meu și mă nevoesc pentru Hristos (I am Christian, *Reprev* [our underlining] was my name at first, but now I am baptised as Christopher. And you can see my descent from the features of my face, and I labour for Christ)"¹³.

The double nomination means double identity, and its reminiscences are evident in the iconography. In Christopher, we find a blend of two myths, one

⁸ Constantin Prut, *Fantasticul în arta populară românească*, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1972, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ See Mineiul pe luna mai carele s-au tipărit acum întâiu românește în zilele prealuminatului Domn Io Alexandru Ipsilant Voevod, cu blagoslovenia peasfîntitului Mitropolit al Ungrovlahiei Grigorie, prin nevoița și îalmăcirea preaiubitorului de Dumnezeu Kyr Filaret, Episcopul Râmnicului, în Sfânta Episcopie a Râmnicului, la anul de la Hristos 1780, de popa Costandin tipograful Râmnicului [The May Sermon, which was first printed in the times of our blessed and enlightened king, Alexandru Ipsilant, with the blessing of the Archbishop of Wallachia, Gregory, through the work and translation of God Loving Filaret, Bishop of Râmnic, in the year of 1780; it was printed by the priest Constandin].

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² See Claude Lecouteux, *Les Monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne*, Presse de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999, p. 203.

¹³ Fragment of the rom. mss. 339, from the Romanian Academy Library, f. 140v. The manuscript (not yet edited) is as old as the XVIIth century, it has 248 pages and contains the "Lifes of the saints on March–August".

specific to the Eastern topos, the other to the West; the former has the dog-headed giant as its "hero". Morphology indicates him as a descendant of Anubius, the Egyptian God of Death, owner of a similar structure. Coming to support our theory, we have the Romanian hagiographic texts which signal the pagan origins of the name of *Reprobatus* – The Cursed One, The Damned One¹⁴. Being converted by Bishop Vavila¹⁵, *Reprev* becomes Christopher, the one bearing Christ and, implicitly, a new faith, which he preaches in the kingdom of "Dechie" (Decius) around 250 A.D.¹⁶. Captured by soldiers, led before the emperor, the cynocephalic summons terror, scene which was brought to life by medieval artists in a Bulgarian icon from the XVth century, much older than the Romanian representations¹⁷. The shocking view horrifies Dechie at first, but does not stop the persecution of the martyr, who is asked to give up his faith. His denial will bring upon persecutions, so the Saint is being lured with the help of two "women of lust", who, impressed by the Christian discourse, are being converted themselves. A discourse inspired, no doubt, by the Holy Spirit, for, as an ogre, *Reprev* could not speak. The fascinating power of faith gives him, through a divine emissary, the angel¹⁸, not only the power of speech, but also that of eloquence.

The series of torments goes on with the sending of 200 soldiers, undertaken by the same experience, with a tragic ending. Thrown in a well, dressed up in clothes made of burnt brass, after many other "works", Christopher is beheaded in front of the crowd that had come to see him. The final vision, the one before death, underlines the superiority of his faith upon the pagan idols: "Zicea că si vedea un om foarte mare și frumos cu veșminte albe și împrejurând soarele cu strălucirea sa. Și în cap avea cunună și avea ostaș de foc împrejurul lui cu carii niște negri și grozavi bătându-să, fugiia înfrânți. Iar strașnicul acela boiarin cu mânie oborî și călcă toată puterea vrăjmașilor și luo izbânda (They say they could see a handsome and very big man with white clothes, glowing brighter than the sun. And a wreath he had on his head, and soldiers of fire surrounded him; an army of black soldiers of evil was running away from them in horror. And that mighty king came upon them with great anger and reigned in victory)."¹⁹

¹⁴ M. Bonaparte *apud* Gilbert Durand, *Structurile antropologice ale imaginarii. Introducere în arhetipologia generală*, București, Ed. Univers Enciclopedic, 1998, p. 205.

¹⁵ It is about the Saint Bishop Vavila, celebrated on the fourth of September.

¹⁶ It is believed that Christopher's martyrdom has taken place during the life of the Roman emperor Decius, who reigned between 249–251 A.D.

¹⁷ The Bulgarian icon from the XVth century can be found in the National History Museum in Sofia and presents itself as a cycle of images of the martyr.

¹⁸ "Și sculându-să s-au atins la budzele lui ingerul și i-au suflat în gură ..." ("And thus raising, the angel poured spirit into his mouth..."), frag. from Archbishop Dosoftei, *Viața și petrecerea svinților*, f. 438r.

¹⁹ Quote from *rom. mss.* 339, f. 144v.

These being the data, it is easy to understand the meaning of Saint Christopher being represented inside the liturgical area, though there were speculations²⁰ on his not being represented beyond the church's porch. But most of the frescoes do not confirm this theory. the cynocephal being present in the porch, pronaos, nave, as well as in the exterior paintings.

Analysing a series of images from Oltenia and Muntenia, we were able to sort out a variety of types. The first one would contain zoomorphical representations, where the dog-headed variates with the lamb-headed, though sometimes the drawing is not very conclusive regarding the species of the shape. The cynocephal is to be found at the Dobruşa Monastery and the Church in Urşani²¹, while the Monasteries in Polovragi, Brădetu, Râjleţu-Govora, Vlădeşti²², Urşi²³ or Dozeşti and Văleni²⁴ display the representations of a lamb-headed. The occurrence of those two types is, no doubt, the result of a contamination between more legends and superstitions belonging to the mental universe of those times. Those who had not been in contact with the texts, or the folk legend, had supposed that Saint Christopher could only have had a lamb's head, symbol which, in the *New Testament*, reflects the image of the Shepherd caring for his flock, "the sign of life being triumphant over death"²⁵. That is why they tampered with the representation, deciding not to allow a terrifying creature step into the church, for fear it might be taken for the Devil. The option for the Christian symbol proved to be fortunate.²⁶ Alongside with the mentioned superstitions, the oral popular tradition records a different legend. They say Christopher was such a handsome man that all the women would fall in love with him. But he had decided to dedicate his life to Christ, so that he asked this to be saved from his burdening beauty, the main cause of temptation. As reward for the shown unconditioned faith, his prayer was listened to, and Christopher became the bearer of a lambhead.

The research regarding the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries took into account the martyr's clothing also. Up to now we can assert that his most common appearance is that of a "military Saint". Spear in one hand, cross in the other (at Râjleţu-Govora, Băbeni-Olteţu, Lainici)²⁷, spear and shield (at Polovragi) or holding both spear and sword (at Răşinari), Christopher reveals himself to us as the fervent soldier of the Cross, standing next to the other Saints, as Mina, George, Procopie. Also, his garments include arrows, bow and last but not least a protective armour. Sometimes, this feature is absent, revealing the Saint dressed in simple peasant clothes, as in Râjleţu-Govora.

²⁰ In the quoted article, Maria Golescu discussed only the scenes found on the church porches, from the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, the other hypostasies not being mentioned.

²¹ Villages from the county of Vâlcea.

²² Villages from Argeş.

²³ Village from Olt.

²⁴ Villages from Vâlcea.

²⁵ Victor Simion, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁶ Ivan Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

²⁷ Monastery from Gorj.



Polovragi Monastery (Mănăstirea Polovragi).



Dobrușa Monastery (Mănăstirea Dobrușa)

The other manner of representation can be followed in the Dobrușa Monastery and the churches from Urșani and Dozești. Here, the artists chose a clerical garment. In Dobrușa, his resemblance to Anubius is striking – while on the fresco from Dozești, the artists Ilie Teișanu²⁸ contoured a peaceful saint, lamb headed, bearing a cross in his right hand and holding the left hand at his heart. Dinu from Gorj²⁹ depicted a mostly expressive Christopher. The cynocephalic greets his guests with a double meaning gesture: sign of protection over those who came in peace and on the other hand, a defensive gesture against seen or invisible enemies. We recognize here the artist capable of transposing the ideas of rejection and acceptance altogether. The Martyr's hand holds the holy bids, an object vital to the incantation. The Cross that he once held became now ornament of his clothing.

Of the existence of a canonical spot for representation in the church, we have no information. Dionisie of Furna³⁰ fugitively lists the prescriptions regarding the painting of the holy martyrs and of their features. Regarding Christopher, we find the following recommendation: he should be painted as “a beardless young man”³¹. As for Bishop Ghenadie's *Iconography*³², it offers us more data on the Saint's origins, his pagan name, and his features. No clerical painting manual refers to the exact spot where he should be painted within the church limits, thus giving many free options to the artists of the time. So, his shape can be found not only on the porch, but also in the nave (at Râjlețu, Dozești, Văleni, Băbeni-Oltețu, Urși, etc.), in the burial vault – unusual element for Wallachia (at Dobrușa) –, or in the exterior painting (at the Lainici Hermitage).

But Saint Christopher's legend goes on. As we asserted before, his character blends in two myths, one of them being purely Western. We are referring to the myth of the boatman-guide³³, bearing a ctonic-funeral purpose like the abominable giant Reprobatus, mentioned before. This guide-man is the Christian double of Caron, from the Greek mythology, and his legend had a wide circulation in the Western area. We could find legends about him, starting with the VIIIth century, in Greek and Latin, but they have been collected and completed, especially in the XIIIth century's Germany, giving birth to the so called *Golden Legend*³⁴. This is the main source for all the

²⁸ See Andrei Pănoiu, *Pictura votivă din nordul Olteniei (secolul al XIX-lea)*, București, Ed. Meridiane, 1968, p. 19.

²⁹ The church of Urșani was painted inside by Milcu zugravu and Preda from Gorj, who were helped by Gheorghe the apprentice. The exterior painting and that of the porch was made by Dinu zugravu from Gorj. Cf. Andrei Pănoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁰ Dionisie of Furna, *Erminia picturii bizantine*, București, Ed. Sophia, 2000, text completed by C. Săndulescu-Verna.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

³² We are referring at the *Iconography of Bishop Ghenadie* from 1903, edited texts from 1841.

³³ Gilbert Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁴ David Hugh Farmer, *Dicționar al Sfinților (varianta Oxford)*, București, Ed. Univers Enciclopedic, 1999, p. 142. It is about *Legenda Aurea* (1263), belonging to Jacques of Voragine, Archbishop of Genova.

mystical representations from the entire Europe, seen and admired by the painters of Romanian churches, who felt compelled to transpose them into local frescoes. We are dealing here with the influence of the image, not a bookish one.



Lainici Hermitage (Schitul Lainici).

Let us see what does the legend say. Christopher would be a giant with terrible features (this element is common to the Romanian texts and images) who decided to serve the most powerful force on Earth. He became the servant of a mighty king, but, finding that he was afraid of the Devil, he joined the legions of

the Unholy. He would not stay there either, for Satan is afraid of Christ, but our Giant would not know how to find the Lord. During his search, a hermit advises him to post himself near a river, in order to help the travellers cross³⁵. One day, a child would need his help, but would prove to be so heavy that Christopher barely can cross the river carrying him. Eventually they will find themselves on the other shore, and Christopher realises that the child is Jesus Christ³⁶. We also find here the exact explanation of his name, received after he was converted – the saint carries Christ on his shoulders, and, at the same time, the weight of the Universe. In the Romanian old texts, this “transportation” receives a figurative meaning, revealing the author’s appetite for abstractization: “derept te numiră Hristofor. Că întreg pre Hristos porți întru inima ta (They were right to name you Christopher. For in your heart you carry Christ).”³⁷

Analogy is to be found within the legend. Like the Cerberus from the Greek mythology, son of the monsters Typhon and Echidnas, defeated once by Herakles, through physical strength, and by Orpheus, through spiritual power, Christopher submits to Christ, the mightiest One. And, whether in the Greek culture the tricephalic dog, brother of the Hydra, of the Gorgones and so on, used to symbolise the terror of death, Christopher is the Christian symbol for “Good death”, the one coming after the holy Eucharist. Thus, following the medieval pattern, Christopher guards so that death does not intervene to stop the individual from being given communion.³⁸ A Western popular belief says that the one who looks upon a Saint’s image, cannot die that day.³⁹

Due to this kind of beliefs, his cult grew wider in the West, taking Christopher among the 14 Assistant Saints. In 1969, the Vatican decided that his celebrating would be restrained as a local cult, which created the discontent of many believers on the continent.⁴⁰

His popularity sustained the good preservation of many mural paintings, starting with the medieval Italy, France, Spain, spreading afterwards to England and Germany. Positioned on the northern wall, opposed to the entrance, the giant-saint is easily remarked as soon as we enter the holy area. Known as one of the most beloved saints, Christopher protects the travellers, the miners, the treasure hunters, the painters, the bookbinders, the carpenters, and many others who pray for him to be their shield against sudden death.⁴¹

³⁵ Before asking him to help the travellers cross the river, the hermit advised Christopher to fast. His stature of a giant’s makes it impossible.

³⁶ *Histoire des Saints et de la sainteté chrétienne*, Département Histoire Chrétienne, Hachette, 1987, tome II, La Semence des martyrs, sous la direction d’André Mandouze.

³⁷ *Fragm. of the rom. mss. 339*, f. 144v.

³⁸ On the Romanian medieval mentality concerning death, see Alexandru Ofrim, *Cheia și psaltirea. Imaginarul în cultura tradițională românească*, Ed. Paralela 45, 2001, pp. 109–125.

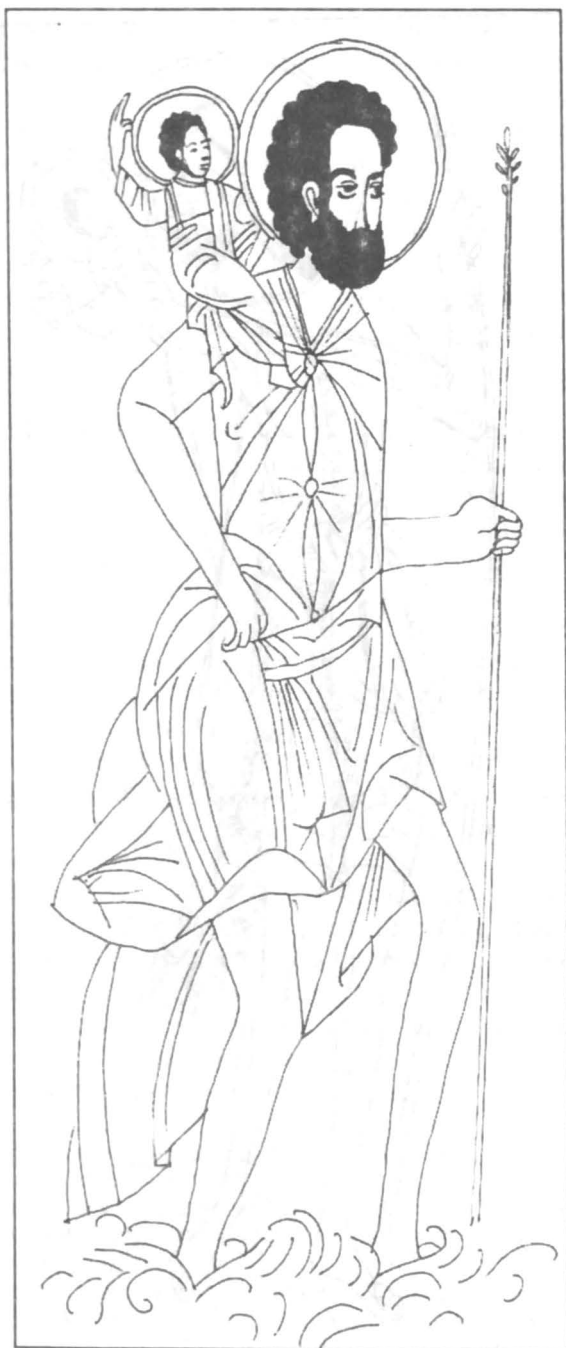
³⁹ See David Hugh Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 142 and also *Encyclopédie des symboles*. Édition française établie sous la direction de Michel Cazenave, “La Pochotèque”, 2000, pp. 138–139.

⁴⁰ David Hugh Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴¹ Von Erhard Gorys, “*Lexicon der Heiligen*”, München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998.



Hurezi Monastery (Mănăstirea Hurezi).



Polovragi Monastery (Mănăstirea Polovragi).

The scene where he carries Christ as a child decorates many western cathedrals. Crossing the river, the martyr hardly progresses through the whirling waters. In one hand he holds the famous staff, of which they say it came into leaf, as sign of the truthfulness⁴² of these details, present in paintings, engravings, sculptures and tapestries of famous artists (Titian, Bramante, Bellini, Dürer, Rubens), but in anonymous works as well.



Lainici Hermitage (Schitul Lainici).

⁴² David Hugh Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

In Wallachia, the giant and the cynocephal are often to be found on the walls of the same churches. The scenes which host the-western-Christopher, introduced in the iconography during the Austrian-Hungarian administration, we noticed elements similar to those described before: the river, the staff, the child on the saint's right or left shoulder. At Hurezi, the Greek artist Constantinos painted Christopher with a beard, as he had seen him in Venice, where he had lived for a while, and not as the local manuals advised him. Here, as well, Christopher holds the earth globe in his left hand, this also being a Western reminiscence (in the Western frescoes, Jesus is often represented either holding a small globe in his hand, or with a huge one in his back).

Even though the channel that the Western-Christopher came by does not allow us to speculate too much on the artist's innovations, we cannot surpass a detail significant for the Romanian contribution. At Polovragi (both representations⁴³), at the Lainici hermitage, at Urșani, the character is not overdimensioned, as in the Western tradition; the scene does not impress by size, probably for aesthetic reasons, as the unity of the ensemble had required it.

The painting of Saint Christopher in our churches stops at the end of the XIXth century, when the artistic manner goes through changes, announced since the first two decades by a new realism of representation. The existence of an icon from 1815–1860⁴⁴ at the Căldărușani Monastery (Saint Christopher, dog-headed, but painted realistically) is the expression of a new artistic vision, which demonstrates that, for a while, the two artistic styles have circulated simultaneously.

Saint Christopher would have eventually left the Romanian liturgical area for good, fact proven by the iconographic program⁴⁵ of the Romanian Orthodox Church from 1975, where he is not even mentioned.

⁴³ Meaning the big church of the Monastery (1703) and the one for (1731–1732; the painting from 1738).

⁴⁴ Icon which can be found in the museum belonging to the Căldărușani Monastery.

⁴⁵ Ene Braniște, *Programul iconografic al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, București, 1975.

LEKTÜREN DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS IM SÜDOSTEUROPÄISCHEN RAUM: VON THOMAS A KEMPIS BIS ANDREAS WISSOWATIUS

MANUELA ANTON

Schon in den ersten Anfängen des Christentums wurde das Leben nach dem Vorbild des irdischen Daseins Christi zum wesentlichen Ideal der neuen Religion. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wurde dann dieses uralte Ideal – Jesus als heiliges und zugleich menschliches, als universelles und dauerhaftes Vorbild – in einigen grundlegenden Werken zum Ausdruck gebracht, von denen jedes den Stempel der Zeit und des Ortes seiner Erscheinung trägt¹.

Als Erben eines aus der späten Antike kommenden Christentums haben auch die Rumänen, selbstverständlich, die Nachfolge Christi zu ihrem Ideal gemacht. Im 17. Jahrhundert wurden Meisterwerke der christlichen Literatur ins Rumänische oder ins Slavische – als die im Osten gebräuchliche Sprache – übersetzt:

(1) *Kniga o podražanii Hrista* [Buch über die Nachfolge Christi] des holländischen Mönchen Thomas a Kempis (1379–1471), Mitglied der augustiner Kongregation von Windesheim. Die Übersetzung dieses Buches aus dem Lateinischen ins Slavische wurde vom walachischen Bojaren Udriște Năsturel vorgenommen, der sie dann 1647 im Kloster Dealu auch drucken sollte.

(2) *Stimuli virtutum, fraena peccatorum* des litauischen Unitariers Andreas Wissowatius (1608–1678). Diese kleine Abhandlung über religiöse Moral wurde von Dimitrie Cantemir übersetzt und 1698 in Iași in Form eines Fragments (Drittes Buch) seines *Divans* vorgestellt.

Die beiden angeführten Bücher befassen sich mit dem Leben Christi als Mittelpunkt nicht nur des religiösen, sondern auch des persönlichen Lebens. Doch jedes einzelne dieser Bücher vermittelt nicht nur eine geistige Erfahrung, sondern zugleich auch eine literarische Meisterhaftigkeit, die einem gewissen Milieu und einer gewissen Zeit eigen waren.

¹ Über die Permanenz der Figur Jesu Christi in der europäischen Kultur siehe: Pelikan J.: *Jesus through centuries. His place in the history of culture*. New Haven 1985.

(1) DIE NACHFOLGE CHRISTI – EINE MODELLIERUNG DES LAIKALEN CHRISTEN

Imitatio Christi von Thomas a Kempis² ist das repräsentativste Buch der mystischen Schule von Windesheim im Besonderen und einer komplexen religiösen Bewegung innerhalb der katholischen Kirche im Allgemeinen. Diese zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts aktive Bewegung empfiehlt als Modell das meditative Leben – paradoxerweise eine aktive Meditation – und die Rückkehr zu sich selbst zwecks Erkenntnis der Glaubenswahrheit und der christlichen Erlösung, ein dazu bestimmtes Modell, die scholastische Geistlichkeit der vorhergehenden Jahrhunderte zu ersetzen.

Gleichzeitig stellen wir fest, dass *Imitatio Christi* nicht ein Buch der Mystagogie ist³. In ihm wird die klassische Linie der Herausbildung der Moral eines Individuums durch die Askese verfolgt, eine durch Rückkehr zu sich selbst, durch Beichten der Sünden, geistige Läuterung und Verbundenheit mit der Göttlichkeit zusätzlich geförderte Bemühung. Doch bei der Vorstellung dieses geistlichen Vorgehens verlegt Thomas a Kempis den Schwerpunkt von der persönlichen *unio mystica* auf die Vereinigung mit Christi im sakramentalen Ritual der Liturgie⁴.

Andererseits verzichteten die Forscher auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte und der Theologie darauf, *Imitatio Christi* als ein mystisches Buch zu behandeln (und gliedertes es vielmehr in die Kategorie der "Volksbücher" ein, so wie es Peter Dinzelsbacher in seinem Buch von der christlichen Mystik des Mittelalters tut)⁵, dies auch wegen der Einfachheit der übermittelten Botschaft, der praktischen und non-spekulativen mystischen Andacht.

Ich erwähnte vorhin die Tatsache, dass Thomas a Kempis die Strömung der geistigen Reform in der abendländischen Gesellschaft vertritt, eine unter dem Namen *devotio moderna* bekannte Strömung. Um die Umwandlungen zu verstehen, die im Abendland im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts sowohl auf geistiger als auch auf laikaler Ebene vollzogen wurden (wir beziehen uns hier auf den Prozess des Übergangs von der traditionellen zur modernen Gesellschaft), sind, galube ich, folgende Erwägungen von grundlegender Bedeutung.

² Thomas von Kempen (nach dem Namen der Kölner Diözese), mystischer Autor. Mönch in dem Bergkloster Heilige Agnesa in den Niederlanden. Befasste sich mit dem Kopieren von Manuskripten, der Redigierung von Kommentaren zu den Schriften der Heiligen Väter, von Predigten, verfasste eine Geschichte der augustiner Kongregation zu Windesheim. Eine angeblich vollständige Ausgabe seiner Werke ist die des Jesuiten Sommalius (1600, 1607, 1615).

³ Pelikan J.: *The Melody of Theology. A Philosophical Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass. 1988, S. 173.

⁴ Dinzelsbacher P.: *Christliche Mystik im Abendland. Ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*. Paderborn 1994, S. 385.

⁵ Ebenda, S. 386.

Die als Bekundungsmoment fast gleichzeitigen Alternativen der geistigen Erneuerung, die zum Beispiel im 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert in Nordeuropa (Windesheim) oder in Jan Huss Böhmen Gestalt annahmen, annullierten den Standpunkt der älteren Geschichtsschreibung, dergemäß das abendländische Christentum bis Luther in statischen Begriffen beschreiben werden könne und selbst Luthers Reform eine spontane Erscheinung gewesen sei (um nicht Zufallserscheinung zu sagen).

Die Emanzipation des theologischen Denkens von den scholastischen Formen (letztere waren in der Tat mechanizistisch, doch nicht notwendigerweise auch schädlich, wie bis vor nicht allzu langer Zeit angenommen) und, als Folge davon, der Verzicht auf die dogmatische Polemik und die Ausrichtung auf die Erkenntnis Gottes durch praktische Andacht (wobei auf dieser Weise als Modell die aktive, laikale Nachfolge Christi empfohlen wird) – all dies bedeutete meiner Ansicht nach zu jener Zeit eine Herausforderung der Obersten Instanz in Rom. Den die offizielle Kirche beharrte auf die Beibehaltung der traditionellen, das heißt scholastischen Formen für die Verkündung der Glaubenswahrheit. Und sie tut dies, paradoxerweise, vermittels der Universität (der Begriff hat hier einen verallgemeinernden Sinn).

Weshalb paradoxerweise?

Genau in dieser Zeitspanne, vielleicht aber auch ein bisschen früher, im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts, verwandeln sich die westlichen Unterrichtsstrukturen, das heißt es erscheinen die zur intellektuellen Ausbildung bestimmten Universitäten als institutionelle Realität. Für gewöhnlich wurde die Existenz einer solchen institutionellen Unterrichtsform von einer universalen Behörde bestätigt: der Päpstlichen Institution oder, in selteneren Fällen, der christlichen kaiserlichen Autorität⁶.

Das universitäre Ausbildungsprogramm (*studium generale*) war ausgerichtet auf die theologische Bildung (fundamentale Theologie und kanonisches Recht). Die Universitäten waren nicht nur konsekrierten Personen zugänglich (oder solchen, die sich auf die geistliche Karriere vorbereiteten), sondern auch Laien.

Worin dürfte somit das Paradoxon bestehen, auf das wir weiter oben hinwiesen? Eben darin, dass sich die Kirche zum einen vermittels der Hochschulstrukturen in die laikale Gemeinschaft impliziert und dabei – in

⁶ Die Geschichtsschreibung erklärt den ekklesiastischen Monopol auf den Unterricht des Abendlandes im Mittelalter durch das minimale Interesse der temporalen Autorität des gesellschaftlichen Lebens (siehe, z. B., bei É.Gilson, J. Le Goff, J.M.Hussey u.a.). Bei Vereinfachung der Dinge kann behauptet werden, dass die politischen Behörden der Zeit, vor allem mit Fragen der staatlichen Vereinigungen und den Kreuzzügen beschäftigt, die Umstände nicht erfasst haben, unter denen sich diese neuen Strukturen herausgebildet. Anscheinend hat sich die Kirche als viel aufnahmefähiger und im Grunde als der Bedeutung weit bewusster erwiesen, die einer Kontrolle über die Erkenntnisse und den Möglichkeiten zur Überwachung derselben in der Gesellschaft zukommt.

traditioneller Manier – die Lebensmodelle im Geiste Christi erläutert. Zum anderen aber erneuert sie, die Kirche, keineswegs ihre Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten des Glaubens, sondern bleibt den alten, scholastischen Mustern verhaftet. Wobei die Scholastik die Kommunikation mit Gott anhand des Studiums der Logik und zwar der aristotelischen Logik entwickelt. Damit beschränkt der Scholastizismus den Glauben auf die Theologiesierung der Wahrheiten über Gott, wobei er ihn zu einem Vorrecht der Kenner der Philosophie macht und von dem eigentlichen christlichen Erleben abbrückt.

Durch das *devotio moderna* findet eine Schwerpunktverlagerung im Verhältnis zur Bestimmung des persönlichen Kontakts zu Gott statt – “meine Person rückt in den Vordergrund vor”. Zugleich beschreitet das Individuum den Weg zur Erlösung nicht mehr als vereinzelte Person, sondern, wie in *Imitatio Christi* zu sehen, als Mitglied eines mystischen Trupps: der Kirche.

Ausgehend von der Einfachheit der Botschaft und dem Ausbleiben jeglicher dogmatischen Polemik im Buch von Thomas a Kempis, möchte ich nun versuchen, gewisse Aspekte des kontinuierlichen Kommunikationsprozesses zwischen dem südosteuropäischen und dem abendländischen Christentum hervor zu streichen oder, anders gesagt, zwischen den verschiedenen Varianten und Moduse des religiösen christlichen Lebens.

Imitatio Christi von Thomas a Kempis ist ein Buch, das das Verhalten der Christen innerhalb der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft behandelt. Es stellt praktische Lösung der Erlösungsdoktrin vor. Es ist dies jedoch ein allein für die Mönche bestimmtes Modell der geistigen Vervollkommnung (mit ungewöhnlicher Finalität, wie wir sehen konnten). Selbst der Titel des Buches über die Nachfolge Christi und über sämtliche Nichtigkeiten dieser Welt suggeriert die Idee, dass eine positive Antwort auf den Ruf Jesus Christus einem Abrücken vom Weltlichen gleichkäme.

Diese Botschaft scheint jedoch von den Menschen des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht als exklusivistisch gesehen worden zu sein. Sowohl Udriște Năsturel als Übersetzer und somit als Person, die diese Botschaft übermitteln, wie auch die gute Aufnahme des Buches von den breiten Massen – den laikalen und ekklesiastischen – lassen auf eine Auffassung der eigenen Existenz auf eben diesem Weg der Nachfolge Christi schließen, ungeachtet des Platzes, wo der einzelne sich befand: innerhalb der vier Wände seiner Klosterklausen, zwischen den Bücherregalen der Bibliothek von Fierăști oder eventuell irgendwo auf dem Feld, verschiedene Zaubersprüche vor sich himurmehnd, damit der Dorfpfarrer einen nicht höre.

Udriște Năsturel appelliert nicht an die Erkenntnis Gottes vermittelt der Logik, sondern identifiziert sehr genau ein anderes von einem Mönchen erarbeitetes Modell der Nachfolge Christi, jedoch von einem aktiven Mönchen, für den die Nachfolge eine Modellierung des aktiven Christentums bedeutet.

(2) DAS ASKETISCHE IDEAL – BRÜCKE ZWISCHEN DEN KONFESSIONEN

Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts ist Dimitrie Cantemir derjenige, der das Buch des litauischen Unitariers Andreas Wissowatius *Stimuli virtutum* übersetzte und drucken ließ. Die rumänische Literaturforschung, im wesentlichen orthodoxer Ausrichtung, hebt die Tatsache hervor, dass die Handlung Cantemirs (eine kuriose, jedoch von den Vertretern der orthodoxen Kirche nicht geahndete Handlung) dessen Interesse für die moralische Theologie unter Beweis stellt. In demselben Kontext beziehen die Forscher den Standpunkt, dass Wissowatius in seinem Buch *Stimuli virtutum* keine doktrinäre Problematik angeht. Aus diesem Grund soll die Wahl Cantemirs keine Gefahr doktrinärer Natur für die orthodoxen Leser des 18. Jahrhunderts dargestellt haben (die meisten Manuskripte des *Divans* wurden gerade in diesem Jahrhundert wieder und wieder kopiert).

So kamen denn die Forscher überein, ja noch mehr, sie argumentierten sogar ihren – im Sinne der Tradition – defensiven Standpunkt, und bezogen eine der modischsten, in den radikalen protestantischen Milieus beginnend mit dem 16. Jahrhundert geförderte Position ein, und zwar die irenistische – eine Demarche der Verstärkung der ethischen Bemühungen und der Reduzierung des doktrinären Tatsachenbestands auf einige wesentliche Punkte, auf "zur Erlösung notwendige Wahrheiten", die von allen christlichen Kirchen geteilt werden müssten. Auch *Stimuli virtutum* ist ein Produkt dieser religiösen Denkweise. Andererseits lehrt die patristische Tradition, dass die Erlösung unmöglich sei außerhalb der Dogmen, die der doktrinäre Ausdruck des von Gott offenbarten und in seinem Sohn Jesus Christus realisierten Erlösungsplan sind. Aus der Perspektive der moralischen Theologie kann man also behaupten, dass *Stimuli* sich auf eines der Themen des frühen Christentums bezieht, und zwar eben auf jenes der Nachfolge Christi.

Dieses Thema zog die Aufmerksamkeit des Milieus der theologischen, aber auch der laikalen Intelligenz des Abendlandes aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts auf sich. Zu jener Zeit wurde in einer neuartigen Manier eben über die Erlösung des Menschen debattiert, über die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, die Erlösung zu verstehen. Die Vielseitigkeit der Standpunkte rief eine akute Polemik um die traditionellen Dogmen hervor⁷.

Die Sozinianer (Vorläufer der zeitgenössischen unitarischen Kirche), die Wissowatius vertritt, engagierten sich in diese Debatte über das Problem der Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, in rationellen Begriffen, des Dogmas der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit, eine im 16. Jahrhundert von Michael Servetus aufgelöste Debatte⁸.

⁷ Pelikan J.: Challenges to Apostolic Continuity. In: The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. Bd. 4: Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700). Chicago 1984, S. 304–331.

⁸ Diese Demarche der Unitarier steht nicht als Einzelfall da. Über das Dogma der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit debattierte in derselben Zeitspanne mit ähnlicher Leidenschaft auch Sir Isaac Newton

Gemäß dem sozinianischen, irenistischen Prinzip ist der Glaube an Christus und die Erfüllung seiner Ansprüche für jeden Christen eine grundlegende Forderung. Daher: Die Hoffnung (ja noch mehr, sogar die Gewissheit) auf eine Erlösung, das heißt auf Unsterblichkeit, die dem Individuum nur dann zuteil werden kann, wenn er die evangelischen Gebote im tagtäglichen Leben befolgt⁹. In seiner Abhandlung legt Wissowatius mit aller Deutlichkeit die sozinianische Vision über die Notwendigkeit eines Verzichts auf die dogmatische Debatte dar, und betont dabei die praktischen Erlösungsbemühungen. Er verleiht der sozinianischen Auffassung Ausdruck, dergemäß der Mensch den Weg der Erlösung als rationelles Wesen beschreitet, wobei er seine Fähigkeiten einer rationellen Erkenntnis Gottes und die Freiheit an den Tag legt, den wahren Weg zu wählen:

Notandum vero est in Dei cognitione non tam eius naturae seu essentiae occultae, quam potius voluntatis ipsius, ab ipso revelatae notitiam, contineri, nempe ut homo sciat, tum quid Deus ab ipso fieri velit, quod in divinis praeceptis, praesertim per Iesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum traditis, exprimitur [...] ¹⁰.

Die Sozinianer akzeptieren den beispielhaften Wert vom Tod Christi, doch bestreiten sie dessen Auferstehung und desgleichen auch die Erlösung der Menschheit durch die göttliche *οίκονομία*. Die Sozinianer akzeptieren die Idee, dass die Verkörperung des Logos eine göttliche Offenbarung ist, behaupten jedoch, dass der Logos nicht *ὁμοούσιος* mit dem Vater ist, sondern ein perfekter Mensch, den Gott als König, als Priester, als höchsten Propheten investierte. Auf diese Weise umgehen sie eine der zentralen theologischen Fragen der Debatte über die Aktualität der Erlösung. Folglich besteht nach Ansicht der Sozinianer die Aufgabe Christi in der Weisung des Weges zur Erlösung. Nur denjenigen, die an Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn, glauben und ihm nachfolgen, nur jenen wird das ewige Leben zuteil.

selbst (1642–1726), der nicht nur die Schlussfolgerungen des Konzils von Nikäa in Frage stellte, sondern selbst die Notwendigkeit seiner Einberufung. In seiner Arbeit *Quarries Regarding the Word ὁμοούσιος* spricht sich Newton gegen die Erhebung des Dogmas auf philosophische Ebene, und stellt dabei die Frage "ob Christi seine Apostel ausgeschiedt hätte, den einfachen Menschen, deren Frauen und Kindern, die Metaphysik zu predigen?" Diese Unterscheidung zwischen dem philosophischen und dem theologischen Wortschatz ist Teil des Programms, das Francis Bacon in seiner Abhandlung *Of the Advancement of Learning* darstellte.

Was das Dogma der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit anbetrifft behauptet Newton, dass Athanasius und die römische Kirche es geschafft hätten, bei Verzerrung der wahren doktrinären Interpretation der frühzeitigen Väter der universellen Kirche die falsche Doktrin von der Trinität aufzuzwingen. Siehe die Studie von Pfizenmaier T.: Was Isaac Newton an Arian? In: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58, Nr.1 (Januar, 1997) 57–80.

⁹ Szczucki L.: Socinianism. In: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. Bd. 4. Editor in chief Hillerbrand H.J. New York/Oxford 1996, S. 85.

¹⁰ Wissowatius A.: *Stimuli virtutum, fraena peccatorum*. In: Cantemir D.: *Divanul*. Hrsg. von Cădea V. Bukarest 1969, S. 427.

Wie festgestellt werden konnte, empfiehlt Wissowatius das ethische Modell der Nachfolge Christi, eine im Neuen Testament formulierte Idee, die jedoch nach Ansicht des sozinianischen Autors nicht gleichzustellen ist mit der Transfiguration des Menschen¹¹.

Folglich: Für einen Orthodoxen ist, oberhalb der höchsten Stufe der Steige des moralischen Aufbauwerks, Jesus Christus derjenige, der ihm die Hand zur Vereinigung entgegenstreckt; dies dann, wenn, entsprechend der sozinianischen moralischen Ausrichtung, die Bemühungen des Individuums um die Erlangung und Einübung von Tugenden von einem neutralen Gott geschätzt werden.

Ausgehend vom bisher Dargelegten kann nun behauptet werden, dass die Sozinianer so lange über die Nachfolge Christi debattierten, bis sie letztendlich mehr an die Art, wie ihm nachfolgt werden könne zu denken begannen, als an Christi selbst. Sie sind sich der Tatsache bewusst, dass ihr dogmatisches System sich von dem der Kirche unterscheidet. Deshalb, eben um einer widersprüchlichen Debatte aus dem Wege zu gehen, proklamierten sie die sogenannte Nutzlosigkeit der theoretischen, philosophischen Behauptungen über das Göttliche Wesen:

Non tam notitia de Deo speculativa quam practica curanda, quia haec potius illa pleniorum eius cognitionem producit, et prodest ad id ut eum cognitum amemus, et ab eo amemur¹².

Indem sie – dem Anschein nach – auf die dogmatischen Spekulationen verzichten, ist der Blickpunkt der Unitarier vorrangig auf das gesellschaftliche Leben gerichtet. Demzufolge wird die unitaristische soziale Doktrin in der Interpretation der Beziehung Individuum – temporale Autorität (=temporale Macht) gründen. Die Sozinianer plädieren für die Befreiung – auf Grund des pazifistischen Prinzips – des Individuums von der Kontrolle des Staates. Und als Prinzip der gesellschaftlichen Organisation wird höchstens die freiwillige Kongregationalisierung der Individuen im Verhältnis zu ihren religiösen Überzeugungen empfohlen, dies nach dem Modell der ersten anabaptistischen Gemeinden im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Andererseits sind hier gewissen Präzisierungen zur sozinianischen Auslegung des Verhältnisses Individuum – Freiheit – Gott (göttliche Macht) vonnöten. Wie es scheint wird bei Wissowatius das Prinzip der totalen Freiheit in den theologischen Spekulationen (übrigens ein von den englischen Rationalisten der Zeit, wie zum

¹¹ Ebenda, S.442: "Sed excellentissimum ac perfectissimum omnium virtutum exemplar atque archetypus in terris fuit Iesus Christus dux fidei nostrae (Heb. XII, 2) cuius imitatio nobis mandatur et ab illo ipso (Mat. XI, 29; XVI, 24; Ioh. XIII, 15) et ab eius Apostolis, ut a Paulo (Philip. II, 5) qui et ipse Christum est imitatus (I Cor. XI, 1) et a Petro qui scripsit: *Christum quum pateretur pro nobis, reliquisse nobis exemplar, ut vestigia eius sequamur* (I Pet. II, 21) et a Iohanne, cuius haec sunt verba: *Qui dicat se in eo manere, debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse sic ambulare* (I Ioh. II, 6)."

¹² Ebenda, S. 427.

Beispiel Hobbes, Locke u.a.m. breit erörtertes Problem)¹³ viel weniger ausführlich dargestellt im Vergleich zur Formulierung der moralischen oder sozialen Doktrin.

Der sozinianische Autor behauptet, dass der Mensch mit sämtlicher "bona volendi facultate", einer "coeleste quiddam atque divinum", ausgestattet sei, um Gott erkennen zu können. Somit will Wissowatius beweisen, dass die Freiheit göttlicher Natur ist. Und der Mensch, ein höheres Wesen im Vergleich zu den anderen irdischen Geschöpfen, ist mit der Gabe der Freiheit ausgestattet um Gott erkennen zu können.

Das Paradoxon bei der Interpretation des Autors der *Stimuli virtutum* besteht also in Folgenden: Eingangs behauptete Wissowatius, dass die Freiheit göttlicher Natur sei und dass der Mensch von Gott dem Vater mit dieser Freiheit ausgestattet worden sei; indem er jedoch die Freiheit der theologischen Spekulationen fördert (also dem Menschen erlaubt, die Wahrheiten über Gott in Frage zu stellen), trennt Wissowatius die Freiheit von Gott selbst.

In diesem Fall erweist sich nun die Erläuterung der Einstellung gegenüber dem von der christlichen Tradition formulierten Begriff der Freiheit als notwendig.

Wir werden von folgenden Axiom ausgehen:

Die Existenz des Menschen als Schöpfung des Vaters wird der Macht Vaters untergeordnet.

Gott offenbart sich dem Menschen durch die Schöpfungsakte selbst, durch die Existenz sämtlicher anderer Wesen oder Dinge. Dadurch setzt sich beim Menschen die Existenz Gottes durch. Und die Freiheit des Menschen ist die, die Existenz Gottes durch die primäre Offenbarung an zu erkennen; dies bedeutet, dass der Mensch nicht mit der Freiheit geboren wurde, zwischen den Ereignissen zu wählen, die er erleben muß, nicht die Geschichte zu erwählen, in die er sich einzufügeln hat, sondern mit der Freiheit, sich seine eigenen Reaktionen auf die Ereignisse oder die Geschichte auszuwählen. Und der Mensch hat die Freiheit, die Existenz Gottes anzuzweifeln. Gott hat dem Menschen die Fähigkeit nicht entzogen, ihn zu leugnen.

Ich möchte jetzt auf die Bedeutung der Option Cantemirs für eine Abhandlung der moralischen Theologie zurück kommen, die nicht Teil der osteuropäischen Tradition ist. Anscheinend hatte Cantemir die Verlagerungen in dem für die Übermittlung der christlichen Botschaft bestimmten Wortschatz festgestellt und versuchte nun, diesen modernen, funktionellen Wortschatz auch auf die Orthodoxie zu übertragen. Dabei kannte jedoch der Fürst viel zu wenig fundamentale Theologie (wenigstens in seiner Jugend), als dass er sich Rechenschaft über die Auswirkungen eines Schriftwerks der moralischen Theologie, wie die von Wissowatius eine ist, auf die Doktrin hätte geben können.

¹³ Ogonowsky Z.: Der Sozinianismus aus der Sicht der großen philosophischen Doktrinen des 17. Jahrhunderts. In: Socinianism and Its Role in the Culture of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries. Warsaw/Lodz 1983, S. 115–128.

Dieser Standpunkt kann aus der folgenden Perspektive hervorgehoben werden. In der Geschichte der ekklesiastischen Institutionen des abendländischen Christentums kann eine fundamentale Entwicklung im Laufe des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts festgestellt werden. Und zwar macht sich in dieser Zeitspanne die Glaubenskrise und implizite eine Krise innerhalb der Kirche als der wichtigsten für die Glaubensfragen verantwortlichen Instanz bemerkbar. Um dieser Krise entgegen zu wirken – wobei sie gleichzeitig ihre Fähigkeit beweisen mussten, die entstandene Situation zu meistern – sahen sich die Kirchen in die Lage versetzt, ihre eigene Identität zu bestimmen: die neuen protestantischen Kirchen mussten ihr Verhältnis zu den traditionellen Kirchen, der orthodoxen oder der römischen Kirche, doch auch zu den bereits zu “klassischen” gewordenen protestantischen Kirchen, wie die lutheranische oder die reformierte, klären.

Heute, Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, können wir diese Entwicklung im christlichen Europa der frühen Moderne als einen Versuch sehen, die Einheit der historischen christlichen Kirche – bei all ihren Unterschieden – zu wahren, selbst wenn der Prozess von der blutigen Zersplitterung bereits begonnen hatte. Auf politischer Ebene erhält diese Zersplitterung eine international legalisierte Form (auf europäischen Niveau) durch den Westphalischen Friedensvertrag von 1648, der den Dreißigjährigen Krieg beschloss. Auf geistiger Ebene bestand unserer Meinung nach die Tendenz, die Grenzlinien zwischen den Glaubensbekenntnissen zu bestimmen, in der Bemühung, das Prinzip der Kriegsführung aus dem Dialog auszuschalten, dies um die Universelle Christliche Kirche zu erhalten.

Die orthodoxe Kirche (in ihren verschiedenen Varianten: die rumänische, griechische, serbische u.a.m.) griff erst sehr spät in diese ekklesiastisch-religiöse Auseinandersetzung ein. Einerseits war das Ausbleiben der doktrinären Polemik durch die Tatsache gerechtfertigt, dass in der Glaubensbotschaft der orthodoxen Kirchen der Schwerpunkt auf die Wahrung der Tradition lag, auf den unfehlbaren Charakter der von den Heiligen Vätern gestalteten dogmatischen Konstruktion. Andererseits kann das Fernbleiben der orthodoxen Kirche aus dem unfassenden Dialog der Epoche auch durch mangelnde Herausforderung seitens der orthodoxen Gemeinschaft erklärt werden. Und der Kirche lag es nur daran, die Tradition zu wahren, was im Grunde gleichbedeutend war mit der Sicherung ihrer Kontinuität.

Gegen Mitte der 17. Jahrhunderts jedoch wird die orthodoxe Kirche von den abendländischen christlichen Kirchen angehalten, ihre eigene Identität zu bestimmen, was soviel bedeutete wie eine Aktualisierung des Glaubensbekenntnisses. Auf diese Weise versuchten einige der kontinentalen christlichen Kirchen und die anglikanische Kirche, mögliche Bündnisse mit der orthodoxen Kirche einzugehen¹⁴.

¹⁴ Als interessantes Beispiel in diesem Sinne siehe auch die Studie von Trevor-Roper H.: *The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Times of Charles I.* In: *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution.* London 1993, S. 83–111.

Beginnend mit der 20er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts also formuliert die höchste Hierarchie der osteuropäischen Kirche "Glaubensbekenntnisse"¹⁵, manche von ihnen mehr oder weniger Affinität, wenn nicht sogar der direkten Sympathie für Theologien anderer christlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse verdächtig (so zum Beispiel eignet sich Kiril Lukaris die wichtigsten Doktrinen des Calvinismus an).

Von all diesen Formulierungen wurde das Orthodoxe Glaubensbekenntnis des Petru Movilă (ins Griechische übersetzt vom Theologen Meletius Syrigos) von der gesamten östlichen Christenwelt, von Alexandrien bis Moskau, vorbehaltlos akzeptiert. In der Darstellung seines Glaubens unterzog sich Movilă allen modernen Regeln der theologischen Auseinandersetzung.

In dieselbe Kategorie von Texten, die dazu bestimmt waren, den Glauben zu erläutern, gliedert sich auch das patristische *Buch mit vielen Fragen, die sehr nützlich sind für zahlreiche Angelegenheiten unseres Glaubens ein*, das dem Heiligen Athanasius von Alexandrien (4. Jh. nach Chr.) zugeschrieben wird und vom laikalen Gelehrten Nicolae Milescu übersetzt wird.

Das *Buch mit den vielen Fragen* ist ein dogmatisches, auf Grund von Allegorien und theologischen Symbolismus aufgebautes Buch. Die Schrift des Pseudo-Athanasius wurde in katechetischer Form redigiert und scheint im 18. Jahrhundert didaktischen Wert gehabt zu haben, indem es als Lehrbuch in der Schule der Bojahnenfamilie Văcărescu verwendet wurde (jedoch nicht in der von Nicolae Milescu übersetzten Variante)¹⁶.

Das Buch des Pseudo-Athanasius ist jedoch "das Glaubensbekenntnis" der universalen christlichen Kirche. Indem sie sich unveränderte Form dieses "Bekenntnisses" aneignete, bewies die rumänische Orthodoxie, dass sie die wahre Erbin und der Verteidiger der Tradition ist.

Seinerseits schreitet Dimitrie Cantemir, jedoch vom Standpunkt des Laien und die Diskussion somit in den Begriffen der moralischen Theologie aufnehmend, in diesen Dialog zwischen den verschiedenen christlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen ein, so wie es gegen Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts Udriște Năsturel getan hatte.

Noch klarer ersichtlich wird die doktrinäre Standpunkt Dimitrie Cantemirs in seinen letzten Lebensjahren, als er die Polemik mit dem russischen Hierarchen

¹⁵ 1625 stellt der spätere Patriarch von Alexandrien, Mitrofan Kristopoulos, die Orthodoxie in einem "Glaubensbekenntnis" vor, das an die protestantischen Theologen von Helmstädt gerichtet ist; im Jahre 1629 veröffentlicht der Patriarch Kiril Lukaris von Alexandrien (der spätere Patriarch von Konstantinopel) in Genf ein "Glaubensbekenntnis"; 1643 billigt die Synode von Konstantinopel das "orthodoxe Glaubensbekenntnis" des Petru Movilă, Metropolit von Kiev; auf der Synode von Jerusalem (1672) wird das "Glaubensbekenntnis" des Patriarchen Dositheius gebilligt, in dem die kalvinistischen Ideen der Tübinger Theologen abgelehnt werden (auf die ein Jahrhundert davor bereits der Patriarch Jeremia II. durch einen "Kritischen Kommentar zum Protestantismus" geantwortet hatte). In: Bria I.: *Dicționar de teologie ortodoxă*. Bukarest 1994, S. 275.

¹⁶ Căndea V.: *Rățiunea dominantă. Contribuții la istoria umanismului românesc*. Cluj-Napoca 1979, S. 88.

Theophanus Prokopowitsch aufnimmt. Die Situation in Russland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts war in seiner Gesamtheit dramatisch. Die Umwälzungen, die in dieser von der Geschichtsschreibung als die Anfänge der Modernisierung Russlands beschriebenen Zeit stattfanden, haben implizite auch den Glauben und die Kirche schwer in Mitleidenschaft gezogen (die Kirche im Sinne der temporalen Institution).

Peter I. schaltet die Moskauer Hierarchie aus dem Wettlauf der Erneuerungen aus und erleichtert damit die Entwicklung der Kiewer Gelehrtenschule (die Nachfolger der Akademie von Petru Movilă). Der erste Prokurator der russischen Kirchensynode, der Berater und politische Apologet Zar Peters, der Erzbischof von Novgorod, Theophanus Prokopowitsch (der ehemalige Professor für *Zakon Božij* des Zaren), konnte das religiöse Erziehungsprogramm für ein "neues" Russland einleiten.

Somit ist Prokopowitsch der Autor des Katechismus *Pervoe učenie otrokom* (1716), eine gekürzte Form des religiösen Erziehungsprogramms des Zaren. Das von Theophanus eingeleitete Programm des religiösen Unterrichts auf der Ebene der damaligen Staatsschulen gliederte sich kaum in das traditionelle Argumentationssystem der christlichen Wahrheit ein. Wie der Historiker Nikolai Kostomarow im vergangenen Jahrhundert behauptete, "glich Theophanus Prokopowitsch sowohl durch sein Programm der religiösen Erziehung als auch durch die Mehrheit seiner Schriften vielmehr einem evangelischen Arzt als einem strenggläubigen Prälat."¹⁷

Prokopowitsch unterschied zwischen zwei Teilen der christlichen Lehre: der fundamentalen Theologie und der moralischen Theologie. Der protestantische Geist von Theophanus Theologie tritt vor allem in der Art und Weise zum Ausdruck, in der sich sein Diskurs gestaltet sobald er sich auf die Hauptargumente bezieht, die die orthodoxe von den anderen christlichen Kirchen trennt. Der Autor wird aber lakonisch wenn er Fragen der ekklesiastischen Geschichte, die Irrlehren und die Absonderungstendenzen der Kirche aus dem einheitlichen Korps, die Geschichte der universellen und lokalen Synode, die Schriften der Heiligen Väter angeht. Traditionell widmeten die orthodoxen Autoren solchen Themen bedeutend mehr Raum¹⁸.

Indem er die wesentlichen Meinungsunterschiede zwischen der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchen umgeht oder ihnen nur eine geringere Bedeutung bemisst, akzeptiert Prokopowitsch hingegen das Prinzip der protestantischen Theologie über die Möglichkeit der Vereinigung der christlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse auf Grund gemeinsamer Schwerpunkte des Glaubens.

Wenn Dimitrie Cantemir zum Zeitpunkt der Redigierung seines *Divans* unserer Meinung nach die Demarche des Protestantismus – klar zum Ausdruck

¹⁷ Kostomarow N.: *Samoderžavnyi otrok*. In: *Istoričeskie monografii i issledovania*. Moskau 1989, S. 178.

¹⁸ Ebenda.

gebracht von Andreas Wissowatius in jener kleinen, vom doktrinären Standpunkt dem Anschein nach arglosen Abhandlung über die Moral, *Stimuli virtutum*, die der moldauische Fürst in seinem ersten gedruckten Buch aufnahm – nicht erfasst hat und sich ihr also auch nicht widersetzte, so entgeht dem nun reifen Cantemir gegen Lebensende derselbe Irenismus, diesmal in rechtgläubiger, von Theophanus Prokopowitsch formulierter Variante keineswegs mehr.

Der orthodoxe Fürst antwortet auf das von Prokopowitsch eingeleitete Programm der religiösen Erziehung mit seiner kurzen Abhandlung *Loca obscura in catechisi*, in der er darauf hinweist, dass die Prinzipien, nach denen die *Pervoe učenje otrokom* zusammengestellt wurden, der osteuropäischen Tradition vollkommen fremd sind.

DE LA REPRÉSENTATION CHEZ DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ ET MICHEL FOUCAULT

ALEXANDRU ȘTEFAN

En 1656, Diego Velázquez réalise un des plus étranges tableaux de l'époque: *Las Meninas*. La tradition de l'interprétation du tableau concorde sur sa dimension auto référentielle, qui frise l'allure d'un inconscient manifeste de stratégie spéculaire. À l'observer attentivement on est frappé par la prééminence du regard par rapport à sa source. L'oeil-qui-regarde constitue le plus important personnage de la représentation plastique. On ne pense pas qu'on puisse considérer *Las Meninas* autrement qu'un tant qu'un complexe essai sur le regard. Cette prééminence peut être reconstituée en traitant le tableau comme un espace géométrique, délimité par les positions de ses protagonistes. Il existe dans cette représentation l'épistémologie d'un certain type de relation.

Il existe une ligne médiane qui, sur le trajet imaginaire qui réunit les deux candélabres, descend parmi les deux tableaux-copies, sépare le couple royal reflété dans le miroir et partage le portrait de l'infante Margarita en deux moitiés. Cette ligne médiane divise la peinture en deux espaces de la représentation. La réalité du tableau, doublée en moitiés dissemblables, contient son centre / ses centres sur cette ligne. L'infante et le miroir constituent deux centres-sujets du tableau. À première vue, l'infante semble le personnage principal de la toile, mais un regard plus attentif prouve que tout converge vers le couple royal. Les deux «portraits» représentent la souveraineté, à différents degrés. L'image du miroir appartient à la monarchie elle-même, tandis que l'infante est un double, inférieur, puisqu'elle n'est pas un premier successeur de la famille royale, tout en détenant les signes du pouvoir monarchique, par la centralité même de sa position, située, de manière significative, en dessous du spéculum des principaux dirigeants.

Le regard de l'infante, à laquelle s'ajoute les regards des autres habitants du tableau, restituée, au point de leur intersection imaginaire, la position du modèle de cette peinture et, en même temps, le centre du pouvoir autour duquel s'organise la représentation. La position est occupée, bien sûr, par le couple monarchique. Ce qui frappe et qui institue un régime ontologique à effet essentiel dans la constitution de l'espace plastique, c'est la non-inclusion du modèle dans sa représentation. Celui-ci appartient à un très proche extérieur, reflété dans le miroir du

tableau. On nous offre ce reflet, mais pas la présence «physique» des souverains. On peut re-sectionner la réalité par une nouvelle distinction, celle d'un intérieur constitué par le tableau et ses limites physiques et celle d'un extérieur qui se donne à imaginer et qui est, en fait, un autre point central, exigé et reconstitué par les regards de ceux qui se trouvent à l'intérieur. Bien qu'elle constitue le centre et le sujet de la représentation, la monarchie se caractérise par ce qu'on pourrait appeler une *extériorité centrale*.

On aurait tort de croire que l'espace pictural se surpose à celui du tableau. La toile définit sa représentation justement par la capacité de sortir du châssis, exposant ainsi sa réelle étendue. La distinction pourrait parfaitement définir la genèse du champ du pouvoir et la relation qui est en train de constituer. Les regards des personnages de l'intérieur convergent, pour la plupart, vers un point de l'extérieur et cette convergence légitime l'existence et l'importance de ce point. Une relation prend contour entre le souverain et ses sujets, le premier étant une centralité héliocentrique à côté de laquelle, fatalement, les autres ne peuvent pas pratiquer la juxtaposition. L'extériorité devient dans ce contexte un privilège normal et nécessaire pour la formation d'une relation hiérarchisée.

Le regard définit, de manière générique, les différents niveaux de l'interprétation. La relation que nous venons de signaler, s'établit entre deux «regards»: celui qui s'oriente de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur et celui qui parcourt le trajet inverse. Mais la géométrie plastique ne comprend pas la réalité physique du souverain, quel que soit le nombre des locataires de l'intérieur qui inscrivent leur travail oculaire afin de l'être inclus dans la communauté. L'échec restitue l'essence d'une relation. Les limites physiques du tableau constituent en même temps les limites du regard des personnages. Ils ne doivent pas accéder à la visibilité du souverain, sous peine d'introduire une anormale égalité entre le roi et ses sujets. Le privilège de l'extériorité acquiert une double signification, à titre de régime ontologique, par la condition, mais surtout par le privilège de la non-visibilité. Tous les autres savent que le souverain existe, ils essaient de le voir, personne n'y parvient et n'y parviendra qu'en détériorant la relation. Le double privilège est un parfait argument de l'inégalité spécifique des deux positions. La non-visibilité définit la supériorité du souverain. La représentation confirme structurellement une réalité et une relation spécifique à un champ de pouvoir autonome. À la communauté figée, assujettie, de l'intérieur, s'oppose l'unicité et la centralité du souverain extérieur et invisible.

L'incapacité de regarder le souverain-modèle est une restriction générale. Le seul lieu de l'intérieur qui puisse le rendre visible est le miroir. Cependant personne ne jouit du privilège de son regard, en raison de la position dans l'espace représenté. Aucun regard ne recoupe cet espace réfléchissant pour légitimer sa fonction principale: la réflexion. Par contre, le miroir, par ce qu'il reflète, dévoile symboliquement un autre privilège essentiel du pouvoir souverain: la présence

multiple. La réduplication spéculaire fait du monarque une marque de l'ubiquité, signe distinct de souveraineté.

Dans ce cas il reste la toile posée sur le chevalet, le dos tourné au spectateur, devant laquelle le peintre travaille. Cette toile devrait représenter le couple royal. À l'exception du peintre qui, paradoxalement, est présent dans le tableau, personne ne dirige son regard vers la toile qui est en train d'être peinte. José Nieto, le parent de Velázquez, pourrait avoir accès au tableau intérieur, mais la position dans laquelle il se situe, une sorte de prolongement du dernier plan de la toile, qui assure une considérable distance physique, supprime tout possible exercice oculaire.

Dans la triade importante signalée par Michel Foucault, modèle peintre spectateur, ce dernier répète, en amplifiant les lois déjà mentionnées, l'interdiction ou même l'absence du regard en ce qui concerne la représentation du souverain dans l'intérieur (de l'intérieur) de la toile. Il semble tout de même le détenteur d'un privilège d'un autre type d'extériorité, position qui lui rend visible le miroir. Regarder l'image reflétée du souverain n'est pour autant pas regarder le souverain même. C'est qu'il regarde, c'est un double qui s'averra peu fidèle à l'original. Le miroir ne restitue pas une image des monarques mais de la monarchie, en tant que manifestation de celle-ci, si bien que le recours à cette réflexion ne permet pas la reconstitution du modèle.

Le spectateur principal de cette mise en scène de la représentation est le peintre. Le travail du regard, se proposant l'inclusion du modèle dans le tableau et, par cela-même, l'accomplissement de la fonction classique du mimésis pictural, est mise en abîme en plein centre de la représentation. L'échec oculaire de ceux qui se trouvent sur la scène intérieure rejoint, en dernière instance, celui du spectateur, tandis que l'échec du spectateur extérieur se répète à l'intérieur de la scène par le peintre lui-même. L'échec n'est pour autant complet, le tout étant construit sur l'ambiguïté fondamentale établie en fonction de différents degrés de (non)-visibilité du modèle. Cette ambiguïté assure la vie de deux réalités inégales et de leur relation. Un jeu très sérieux se crée entre le (tableau) peint et le (tableau) non-peint, qui finit par l'acceptation d'une synthèse qui ne peut plus être équivoque et d'autant plus angoissante, celle d'une toile «peinte comme toile non-peinte»¹. Dans cette anxiété surgit la *subordination au non-représentable*. Le représentable et le non-représentable vivent leur simultanéité inégale et discriminatoire, en déterminant aussi le rapport de forces entre le regardeur et le regardé. Ce jeu est à la fois un jeu de la présence et de l'absence. La restriction de l'apparition se retrouve dans la coutume même de l'époque. Le roi apparaissait en public à jour fixe. La restriction témoigne la genèse du pouvoir: l'invisibilité. Le maximum d'économisation du corps renforce la souveraineté et la soumission. L'inquiétude

¹ Cornel Mihai Ionescu, *L'effet Velásquez*, Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires, Editura Univers, București, Nr.2/1981, p. 89.

programmatische provoquée par la possible apparition du souverain, parfaitement illustrée par le chevalet tourne, se répète sur une forte ligne imaginaire qui part du plan de la toile tournée, passe par le miroir et s'arrête devant José Nieto, en indiquant par cette voie spéculaire l'équivoque de l'acte. Dans le miroir on peut observer, en haut du côté droit, le rideau rouge levé pour cet incertain spéculum royal. C'est ce qui met en scène la stratégie de l'apparition royale. Le monarque ne sera quand même pas présent sur cette scène. Ce qu'on met en scène c'est en fait l'attente angoissante de cette apparition, attente qui transfère l'éventuelle apparition dans le psychisme invisible des personnages de la peinture.

Ce qui se constitue dans le champ des positions privilégiées ou non-privilégiées, c'est le pouvoir du regard souverain, qui détermine aussi la relation de subordination. Tout s'explique par un certain type de représentation. Cette première partie de notre analyse, bien que nourrie de l'étude de Michel Foucault, «Sui-vantes»², va plus loin. Nous citons la conclusion hypothèse de son étude: «peut-être qu'il existait, dans ce tableau de Velázquez, une sorte de représentation de représentation classique»³. Ce «peut-être» est déjà révélateur de l'incertitude de la thèse proposée. Nous allons poursuivre les traces de cette incertitude.

Le deuxième texte sur lequel s'appuie cette analyse est «Le Panoptisme»⁴. Le projet de prison du panoptique construit son architecture sur la figure centrale des modèles géométriques: le cercle. La ligne circulaire qui délimite les marges du cercle, une forme de périphérie, de première exclusion dans une intériorité de l'intérieur de la composition géométrique, cette ligne est occupée par les cellules, elles-mêmes des réduplications fidèles du modèle initial – la cellule étant conçue comme un cercle. Chaque cellule dispose de deux fenêtres. L'une d'elles communique avec l'extérieur de la prison, une autre est orientée vers l'intérieur. La première fenêtre détient le rôle de permettre à la lumière naturelle de pénétrer toute la cellule. Cet envahissement total de l'espace de cloisonnement par la lumière extérieure, élimine tout privilège, en annulant le possible contact avec le dehors. Dans la nouvelle géométrie elle devient un principe de surveillance: rendre visible le non-visible. L'organisation de l'espace implique une visibilité permanente. L'exposition est totale. L'élimination du dehors s'est produit subtilement par son inclusion à l'intérieur du mécanisme et, du même coup, au mécanisme de l'intérieur. La lumière devient une forme de cloisonnement. La seconde fenêtre constitue encore plus une forme de cloisonnement, ne permettant le contact visuel qu'avec l'intérieur de l'établissement. Elle est orientée vers le centre du cercle panoptique, en assurant une ligne invisible, mais fort solide, qui énonce l'unique et la plus importante relation instituée dans le cadre de cette géométrie, entre le

² Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, București, Editura Univers, 1996, p. 44.

³ Michel Foucault, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, București, Humanitas, 1997, p. 279.

détenu et l'œil qui le surveille. Cette fenêtre ne constitue qu'un prolongement symbolique de cet œil. En même temps, l'orientation de cette «position» a une valeur normative pour le détenu, de même qu'une fonction préventive. Le regard vers le dedans est une forme d'obéissance, en assurant le contrôle. Le prisonnier est maintenant seul. À la nécessité de la séparation s'ajoute aussi la prescription de la non-communication. Sur la toile de fond d'un total renversement de l'importance du contrôle au niveau macro et micro, au premier plan se situe l'individu. Sa solitude forcée s'avère une nouvelle forme de visibilité, en assurant le succès de la stratégie disciplinaire.

La force principale de la géométrie du dispositif panoptique surgit de la position du surveillant. Ce dernier occupe, dans le cercle imaginaire décrit par l'établissement disciplinaire, le centre. Position tout à fait privilégiée, dans une tour à grandes fenêtres, orientées vers l'intérieur de la prison-anneau, conformément au principe de la surveillance du cercle par son centre-même. Une intériorité qui contrôle et analyse sans cesse son intérieur. Le contre-jour réalise le plus spectaculaire privilège: l'invisibilité du surveillant. La force et l'ubiquité du regard se fondent précisément sur l'incapacité structurale engendrée par la géométrie du système. Le regard-pouvoir est unidirectionnel grâce à l'invisibilité du détenteur de ce regard, le rapport de forces s'établissant, dans une inégalité prescriptive, sur l'impossibilité d'une rencontre entre les deux regards. Bien que baignés par la lumière, les détenus vivent dans l'obscurité. Une obscurité de l'excès de la lumière.

C'est la géométrie qui assure les principes et les effets majeurs du panoptique. L'invisibilité du surveillant est déterminée par la perfection hallucinante de cette technologisation de l'espace carcéral. Il n'importe plus désormais de savoir *qui* regarde, mais *d'où* il regarde. L'acte acquiert autonomie. À l'intérieur de la tour il peut y avoir de l'absence, de la discontinuité, de la différence psychique ou physique. À l'extérieur de la tour cela n'existe pas, ce sont déficiences inaccessibles au regard du détenu. Ce qui existe, omnipotent et omniprésent, c'est le regard-pouvoir, l'œil –surveillant, en s'amplifiant à l'infini. La tour devient ainsi l'icône principale, vue comme image, mais aussi comme représentation et comme manifestation de la surveillance. Dans la nouvelle spatialisation, la visibilité extrême suppose le renoncement au groupe d'humains, comme dans le cas de la peste ou de la lèpre, et le traitement oculaire de chaque individu à part. Le télescopage infini situé dans la centralité privilégiée annule toute l'extériorité, toute la réalité du détenu se traduisant seulement par des formes de cloisonnement et d'intérieur. Dans ce cercle fermé, le détenu ne peut pratiquer qu'un seul type de regard: le regard du regard qui le regarde. Geste d'autoréférentialité, qui amplifie l'enfermement et le repli restrictif du soi. Son existence ne peut désormais être conçue qu'un tant que rapport de plus en plus substantiel à cette subordination oculaire. La fenêtre qui donne sur l'intérieur indique son orientation à caractère quasi-ontologique: le visage tourné vers la tour

de contrôle. Une fois la relation instituée, le détenu est non seulement lié au centre, mais parvient, par la dépendance graduelle de ce sujet-objet, à être supprimé ontologiquement par le pouvoir de l'œil central. L'incapacité de savoir, de voir et de contrôler la présence physique du surveillant provoque une angoisse qui assure elle-même le contrôle permanent de la surveillance. Cette incertitude se convertira, au bout du compte, dans un trauma identitaire.

Nous en sommes au plus important effet de ce mécanisme, qui légitime son efficacité: la répétition de la surveillance à l'intérieur même de l'individu. Soumis à un regard unique, le détenu devient, en passant par l'étape de transition de surveillance de sa propre surveillance, son propre surveillant. La perfection et la force du dispositif se trouvent dans sa capacité de se dupliquer dans l'habitant de cet espace. C'est cette reduplication qui assure et engendre, de plus en plus forte, le pouvoir du système redoublé. Sa force de structuration investit le dispositif des attributs d'une véritable «formule générative»⁵, dans une naturalisation fascinante de ce qui jadis paraissait artificiel et étranger: la surveillance.

Le mécanisme construit sur la géométrie du cercle offre la stratégie et le processus technologique de la production d'un type de pouvoir. D'un raffinement frissonnant, l'enjeu de cette spécialisation de la réalité extérieure et intérieure est celui d'activer le pouvoir en l'absence de son sujet, en se transformant ainsi d'un surveillant du dehors en surveillant du dedans. Cette stratégie pourrait être brièvement définie comme être-en-l'absence, où être signifie exister. L'œil – regardant, symbolisé par le regard-pouvoir, définit et institue le déséquilibre par rapport au détenu-regardé. Le déséquilibre situe le spectateur dans une position toujours supérieure, en lui conférant un surplus de pouvoir, édifié sur la capacité d'expérimenter le privilège de l'extériorité à l'intérieur de l'établissement. Être-dehors concomitant avec être-dedans. Cependant, un privilège singulier, car la relation entre le surveillant et le surveillé se définit en l'absence de la réciprocité oculaire. Ils représentent, à titre de condition, deux «visibilités incompatibles»⁶.

La naturalisation de l'acte de la surveillance par le transfert du regard-pouvoir à l'intérieur de l'individu est similaire, et simultanée, on pourrait dire, à la création d'un habitus de (auto-)discipline. Il ne s'agit pas d'une relation «réelle», entre deux individus, mais entre un individu et un espace géométrisé d'une manière stricte, une structure dont les effets sont d'autant plus difficiles à saisir. Le détenu devient dans ce contexte l'héritier, dans le sens de la sociologie de Pierre Bourdieu, des fonctions de cette géométrie générative et c'est précisément la capacité du système de transmettre ses legs qui prouve son efficacité. Le transfert du pouvoir au psychique de l'individu est fondamental dans la constitution de l'habitus, un habitus moderne par la bicephalité de son sujet: en égale mesure surveillant et

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de L'Art*, București, 1999, Editura Univers, p. 27.

⁶ Michel Foucault, *Les mois et les choses*, București, Editura Univers, 1996, p. 45.

surveillé. La radicalisation de cet enfermement du pouvoir dans l'ultime intérieur, celui de l'individu, une forme de non-visibilité privée, offre à ce pouvoir la capacité de se dispenser du réel, conçu comme extérieur physique. Donc, une ultime élimination de l'extériorité.

La vision du dispositif panoptique est essentielle, parce que c'est lui qui «autonomise et individualise le pouvoir»⁷ de ces agents, en déterminant leur paradoxale *décorporalisation*. La stratégie s'appuie sur le caractère non-corporel de la surveillance. À l'autre pôle, l'individu perd le corps de sa propre individualité, car l'enjeu de la spatialisation géométrique est la création de corps dociles, en fait de non-corps. Ce qui s'ensuit c'est une sorte de ré-homogénéisation de la réalité et de ses individus, dans le sens d'une création d'un groupe d'individus semblables et semblablement disciplinés.

On peut observer que toute la technologie disciplinaire de l'établissement panoptique part de la métaphore centrale de l'œil(-regard). Le modèle disciplinaire, applicable à toute la réalité sociale, à tous les niveaux, constitue un acte de naissance de la modernité, tout d'abord sociale – par la constitution de l'État moderne. Le passage du système majoritairement punitif à celui majoritairement surveillant rejoint le passage de l'épistème classique à l'épistème moderne, révélant deux types de représentation de la réalité. Le dispositif panoptique trouvera d'ailleurs de nombreuses répliques dans la contemporanéité. L'art de spatialisation de la réalité se constitue en une formule et surtout en une forme génératrice de forces, champs de pouvoir et, en dernière instance, d'une toute autre conscience de l'individu. À partir de ce moment, l'accent ne se posera plus sur le contenu de la réalité, mais sur sa forme, qui inclut et crée en quelque sorte le contenu. C'est ce qui engendre l'apparence des privilèges, dont la connaissance peut seule offrir l'espoir de réformation du réel. La vérité se révèle comme un effet géométrique d'une habile spatialisation du contenu, tandis que la réalité peut se poser comme une construction géométrique qui impose un traitement exclusivement formel. Tout travail de l'individu et jusqu'à la société sera désormais orienté vers la (ré)modification de cette forme. Toute la modernité se nourrit de cette captivité dans le *travail sur la forme*.

Dans cet événement même de l'établissement panoptique il existe des principes de la modernité artistique représentée par l'esthétique de l'«art pur». Tout comme le dispositif disciplinaire est un procédé de surveiller toute la réalité, le traitement formel, dans l'esthétique de la modernité s'applique d'une manière homogène, sans tenir compte de la réalité, la stratégie étant la même pour tous. Le concept de «formalisme réaliste»⁸, essence de la modernité littéraire, définit exemplairement l'ongle par lequel la réalité est soumise à la perspective formelle.

⁷ Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, București, 1997, Humanitas, p. 286.

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

La perfection du panoptique touche étrangement la pureté de l'esthétique moderne et il devient impossible de comprendre la genèse de la modernité sans faire recours à ce premier système disciplinaire. De même que le phénomène artistique, le travail sur la forme constitue une forme essentielle d'autoréférentialité et, en même temps, une forme subtile de surveillance et de mise en ordre du contenu de l'œuvre, qui va ainsi accéder à son autonomie.

En revenant à la peinture de Velázquez, essayons de nuancer la première partie de notre analyse. La souveraineté du regard exercée dans la représentation plastique semble «respecter» les principes d'un dispositif panoptique.

Tous les personnages de la représentation sont asservis, sous telle ou telle forme, au souverain invisible. Le travail oculaire de groupe reconstruit et affirme cet exclusif «droit du regard» du monarque. Droit qui caractérise et institue le pouvoir. Les regards des personnages de l'intérieur sont en fait des regards aveugles par leur inefficacité, des non-regards. L'unique et véritable regard, par sa performance, appartient à une perspective «inverse», qui, dans ce point extérieur à la représentation, envahit par sa position même l'intérieur, en se manifestant paradoxalement comme principe de la mise en ordre picturale.

Le praxis oculaire unidirectionnel et jouissant de maints privilèges se fonde sur la même stratégie de la surveillance panoptique, synthèse complexe entre savoir et pouvoir, dont la stratégie est le regard. La relation de pouvoir et le rapport des forces formées entre le surveillant et le surveillé révèlent le même double concept, celui-qui-regarde et celui-qu'on regarde. Le tableau de Velázquez offre non seulement les données panoptiques de la stratégie du regard, mais comprend aussi une série significative de ré duplications spéculaires de la relation établie.

À remarquer tout d'abord que les personnages appartiennent, par le cadre même du tableau, à un espace clos: une chambre. Tout comme dans la représentation de la cellule de panoptique, l'intérieur dispose de deux «fenêtres». L'une d'elles est réelle et représente ainsi un seuil vers l'extérieur, tout en manquant de lieu avec le dehors. Elle détient une fonction précise d'éclairer complètement l'intérieur, de le rendre parfaitement visible. De fort éclairé. La représentation n'en retient que sa fonction. Dans l'établissement panoptique la deuxième fenêtre a été orientée vers la tour centrale de l'intérieur où et d'où s'exerce la permanente et omniprésente surveillance. Son équivalent dans l'espace de la peinture est plus subtil, parce que la représentation de Velázquez nous offre exclusivement le point de vue du sujet, en fait, de celui qui est enfermé dans cette relation de subordination. On la retrouve et reconstitue à cette frontière entre l'intérieur du tableau et ses limites physiques d'un côté et l'extérieur habité centralement par une souveraineté vers laquelle se dirigent tous les regards de l'autre côté. Ces regards parviennent à localiser la centralité, mais l'essence corporelle de cette dernière leur échappe. Ainsi que le détenu dont toute l'existence se déroule face à face avec la tour de contrôle, la plupart des personnages de la

représentation plastique dirigent leur regard vers ce point extérieur qui ordonne leur existence et qui les repartit dans l'intérieur.

Il existe aussi une porte ouverte dans l'arrière-plan de la chambre, qui pourrait être interprétée comme une autre fenêtre, à cette différence que la fenêtre est un seuil fondamental entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur, toujours réaffirmé. Dans le premier cas, la fenêtre était le seuil entre le dedans et le dehors de cet intérieur. Dans le deuxième cas, la position du souverain appartient au même intérieur de la représentation, mais un intérieur prolongé par la géométrie même du regard, tandis que le privilège de la non-visibilité lui offre une forme d'extériorité, en reconstituant ainsi la distinction initiale. Quant à la porte ouverte, elle n'est qu'un prolongement ou même une répétition de l'intérieur, un espace clos, habité par un esclave du regard extérieur. Ce qui a remarqué c'est qu'en dernière instance, la fenêtre principale, par la façon dont la lumière tombe sur le visage des personnages, crée le même effet essentiel de contre-jour, en privant leur regard du regard et amplifiant par cela l'enfermement. La relation de ceux du dedans avec la fenêtre constitue une réplique de la relation sujet-souverain. Personne ne regarde vers cet extérieur possible, parce que le soleil, en tant que métaphore centrale du pouvoir royal, ne pourra jamais être regardé, mais il peut répandre suffisamment de lumière pour capter dans sa visibilité ses sujets.

Ces seuils restituent deux espaces à deux ontologies fondamentalement différentes. Tout est centré sur la métaphore œil-regard qui détermine le contour à ce que nous appelons le regard-pouvoir. La relation sujet-souverain se définit en termes de radicale différence et opposition. La technologie de la représentation conçoit un espace intérieur, fixé par ce regard et figé dans l'excès de visibilité. Les regards des personnages manifestent tout autant une fixité inquiétante, continue, qui rappelle la non-expressivité oculaire des aveugles. Par leur position statique ils énoncent leur immobilité, leur non-fonctionnalité, leur suspension ordonnée par un corps invisible. À l'autre pôle, l'ambiguïté présence-absence du monarque de la représentation proprement-dite fait que le regard-pouvoir, spécifique à sa position, soit caractérisé en termes de permanence, mobilité, ubiquité. Tout l'espace intérieur de la peinture réitère dans le spéculum ce regard, son puissant qui, fondé sur le privilège essentiel de la non-corporalité, ne cesse de hanter et d'excéder la réalité par sa présence totale, bien que toujours impossible à localiser.

Le spéculum le plus spectaculaire qui définit le tableau comme exemplaire mise en abîme, est, sans doute, le miroir. À l'immobilité de la lumière qui vient de l'extérieur s'oppose maintenant la lumière diffuse du cristal du miroir. Dans l'espace du dedans, espace qui est, à première vue, égal à soi-même dans la façon de représentation – un type de mimésis unificateur – apparaît ce cristal réfléchissant, qui impose un autre type de représentation soumis plutôt à une poiesis inaugurale, une image fluctuante, inégale, capable à tout moment de phagocyter infidèlement la réalité environnante.

L'image révèle, d'une manière exclusive et dans une discrimination à valeur d'une prescription, le reflet du monarque, ici dans l'hypostase du double royal, constitué par Philip IV et sa femme Marianne. L'espace exclusif qu'ils occupent dans le miroir, défiant les lois de la fidélité optique, réinstitue l'incompatibilité foncière de deux visibilitées, en soulignant à la fois l'orientation unidirectionnelle du pouvoir. On peut déceler dans le spéculum les importants principes de la stratégie de subordination. Une fois posée, cette dérobade devant un reflet normal, le miroir constitue dans ce contexte une icône, l'icône vue dans le sens d'hébreu «celem», c'est-à-dire un substitut, mais un substitut qui est représentation de quelque chose, que ce soit ou non une absence. L'apparition du miroir devient manifestation de la souveraineté et de son pouvoir d'omniprésence.

Le miroir a aussi sa valeur de seuil entre deux réalités différentes, s'inscrivant ainsi dans la vision d'un autre type de «fenêtre». Cependant, elle offre pour la première fois, grâce à sa capacité spéculaire, des informations essentielles, en ce qui concerne le dehors, en légitimant complètement la relation entre ce-qui-est-regardé et celui-qui-regarde, expliquée partiellement, de même que la stratégie fondamentale de cette relation. Cet espace de réflexion restitue la non-visibilité de ce qui restera éternellement au dehors du regard. Une analyse de la stratégie de la répartition prouve que le miroir est situé sur la ligne médiane du tableau, en devenant peu à peu le plus important centre de la représentation. Elle reconstitue et présente la vérité d'une géométrie. L'œil souverain existe, comme dans le dispositif panoptique, au centre de cet intérieur parfaitement clos, même si le monarque ne peut être visualisé. Cette centralité coïncide aussi à une perspective de profondeur. Elle est située au-delà des personnages, se refusant à l'accès et à la possibilité d'actualisation de son «contenu». Incapacité reflète la hiérarchie stricte de l'intérieur, le miroir offrant un privilège inconcevable pour les locataires de cet espace, celui de la visibilité. Le miroir «reflète» des spectres de la souveraineté. Le positionnement dans un centre de profondeur de l'intérieur plastique nous autorise à croire que le miroir reflète l'intériorité même des personnages. Intérieur d'un maximum de profondeur et d'un extrême cloisonnement qui commence à être occupé et envahit par ces spectres de pouvoir. Dans cette ultime intériorité commence à se répéter le souverain lui-même en instaurant l'universalité du pouvoir et de son regard. La dé-concrétisation du détenteur de la position privilégiée trouve son équivalent renversé dans une graduelle, mais de plus en plus forte dé-concrétisation de ceux qui sont enfermés dans la visibilité. Cette absence de la dimension corporelle acquiert la fonction de rendre l'individu transparent. La stratégie engendre le double psychisme, surveillé-surveillant, dans chaque participant de la représentation.

L'invasion des personnages de l'espace pictural se fonde sur une privation du miroir, à laquelle ils sont condamnés par leur répartition dans ce champ de pouvoir. Une expérience unique échappe ainsi à ceux qui sont regardés: *Le stade du miroir*

comme formateur de la fonction du Je⁹. L'expérience de la réflexion est de toute façon traumatisante, elle impose la constitution d'une identité par l'expérimentation d'une altérité, qui mène à l'identification de son propre visage. Dans ce cas-là, le trauma est double, l'ambiguïté identitaire initiale devenant un véritable vide identitaire, qui sera occupé par un visage étranger. La possibilité de l'identification, par l'absence de la fonction mimétique du miroir, ne permet pas la constitution d'un je normal. Le nouveau je sera un double identitaire dont les composants ne se ressemblent pas. Le phénomène de réflexion reste intact. Le visage est reflété par un autre visage. Comme la similitude existe, on peut affirmer le caractère de la fausse réflexion. «C'est que la forme totale du corps, par quoi le sujet devance dans un mirage de la maturation de sa puissance, ne lui est donnée que comme Gestalt, c'est-à-dire, dans une extériorité où certes cette forme est-elle plus constituante que constituée»¹⁰. Le trauma s'explique et tient comme principal effet l'hétérogénéité identitaire provoquée par cette situation. Peu à peu se constitue un «corps morcelé»¹¹, parce qu'il rassemble en soi-même les spectres d'une double réalité.

La géométrie de l'espace pictural présente un art de la répartition similaire au dispositif panoptique, moins par les principes des fonctionnements que par son effet majeur: la répétition spéculaire du dispositif et de la stratégie à l'intérieur même de la représentation et des personnages. Les personnages se conformant au système deviennent acteurs doubles: surveillant-surveillé.

On peut dire le côté droit du tableau est une objectivation de la soumission. Tout est figé, immobile, parfaitement ordonné. La proximité de la fenêtre, qui les lie à la lumière solaire est doublée par la qualité de suivants-sujets de l'infante. Chacune correspond à un degré différent d'asservissement. Nous allons commencer par une exception, la demoiselle d'honneur à droite de l'infante Margarita, Marina Augustina Sarmiento, exception par son positionnement dans cet espace alternatif. Elle ne constitue pour autant qu'une confirmation de la règle par ce qu'elle se situe à la fois dans un point obligatoire de symétrie géométrique, de double, par rapport à l'autre menine. Sa position agenouillée signale sa relation de subordination, tandis que le regard dirigé vers l'infante reprend la relation unidirectionnelle, en ce qui concerne la performance oculaire, entre ceux de l'intérieur avec une monarchie qui ne se montre pas, mais qui les domine. Le fait qu'elle tourne le dos au peintre et à la toile, la rend solidaire du sort des autres personnages, qui, eux non plus n'ont pas accès au miroir et à sa vérité. À droite de l'infante se trouve l'autre demoiselle d'honneur, Isabelle de Velasco. Par la position symétrique, par rapport à la ligne médiane du tableau, par ses vêtements, sa coiffure, son physique et son rôle de suivante fidèle, elle se constitue dans une sorte de double reflété de la première demoiselle d'honneur. Son regard est asservi,

⁹ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits*, Paris, Seuil, 1966, p. 87.

¹⁰ Jacques Lacan, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

cette fois-ci au point extérieur, à la recherche de la visibilité du centre de pouvoir monarchique. Au plan d'extrême profondeur se situe José Nieto, entouré par une lumière thématique, captif lui aussi, par le regard du modèle invisible. Mais, par sa position spéciale, il a l'endroit le plus privilégié de la toile. Le regard de la suivante se trouvant derrière Isabelle de Velasco semble plutôt vide, privé de tout pouvoir, tandis que les habits religieux s'avèrent tant un signe de la soumission que de la loyauté. Celui qui la seconde est orienté à son tour vers le non-visible structurant. Les deux monstres ne changent en rien la situation, le chien étant tout de même exemplaire pour notre analyse. Assis sur le plancher, limite de tableau, appartenant à une sorte de sous premier plan, il symbolise la fidélité et la soumission parfaite. Se trouvant, en tant qu'animal, dans une infériorité constitutive, il supporte plus naturellement le pied humain – il n'a plus besoin d'une réduplication à l'intérieur de la peinture et ne peut non plus détenir de regard. Il est le non-regard par excellence. À gauche se trouve le peintre lui-même qui, par juxtaposition et inclusion dans le tableau, avoue indirectement son asservissement.

Le double surveillant-surveillé est répété de telle ou telle manière, par tous les personnages. À l'exception du peintre, ils sont tous «surveillants» de l'infante. À leur tour ils sont surveillés par le couple monarchique. Le chien, par exemple, représente la synthèse idéale entre la soumission et la surveillance. Le peintre accomplit une «surveillance esthétique». Pour surveiller le processus de la représentation, de manière aussi efficace que le système panoptique, il s'inclut dans le tableau, en se surveillant soi-même.

Las Meninas révèle tant le mécanisme et le type de pouvoir construit par une telle géométrie, que ses effets majeurs. Celui qui se soumit au pouvoir exerce à son tour le pouvoir. À l'instar des auteurs de la modernité qui, de Flaubert jusqu'aux représentants du «Nouveau Roman», sont aussi théoriciens de leur stratégie narrative – les textes illustrant eux-mêmes le texte en soi, aussi bien que le processus de sa création –, Velázquez dévoile son procédé dans son propre espace pictural. Le dispositif panoptique aussi offre non seulement la représentation du futur État moderne, mais aussi la manière de production de cette réalité. Car l'enfermement de la réalité dans une structure structurante énonce un détachement de la réalité et le principe de l'obtention d'effets de réalité.

Bénéficiaire de toute l'esthétique classique de la représentation, Velázquez représente une position privilégiée dans l'histoire de la peinture. Comme à Flaubert, l'assimilation parfaite de l'idéologie artistique de l'époque lui permet le dépassement de celle-ci. Sa position, au croisement si rare de deux épistèmes, lui offre la disposition pour une révolution du champ artistique. Le parallèle avec Flaubert reste significatif. Son œuvre était découpé en fragments qui s'attachaient à une esthétique déjà existante, erreur commise par Foucault aussi – en confondant les fragments avec le tout –, lorsqu'il utilise la qualification de «représentation classique», pour *Las Meninas*. Dans le cas de Velázquez, les «fragments» de ce

tableau sont classiques, mais leur disposition et structuration marquent une rupture nette claire par rapport au modèle sous-entendu. La singularité de cette peinture et de cet artiste ne peut être saisie que par un rapport complémentaires au champ artistique qui surgira beaucoup plus tard, mais pour lequel il représente une véritable source, ce qui fait qu'on puisse parler à juste titre d'un effet Velázquez, comme d'un effet Flaubert.

Nous voyons dans *Las Meninas* non pas une «représentation de la représentation classique», mais, en essence, une *représentation moderne*, qui peut constituer un exemplaire manifeste antimimétique. L'autoréférentialité déclarée, l'absence du modèle dans l'espace de la représentation, au détriment du représenté, la mise en scène de la représentation qui transfère l'accent sur la forme, l'exclusivité du regard convergent leur coexistence vers la possibilité d'une telle thèse. Dans cette toile on coupe exprès la relation entre l'intérieur représenté et la réalité extérieure. En l'absence du modèle la représentation se dirige vers elle-même, en éliminant la classique fonction du miroir: refléter fidèlement celui qui est en face. Bien que fondé sur de nombreuses réduplications spéculaires, ce manifeste pictural répète justement par le reflet de son propre intérieur sa nouvelle esthétique. Une esthétique de type moderne.

En s'opposant à l'épistème classique, l'épistème moderne offre tout au plus, pour atténuer la rupture, l'illusion de la similarité, en créant à la fois l'effet de réalité. Dans la modernité, «le double n'imité plus, il inaugure»¹². Ce qui peint Velázquez est plutôt une représentation de la non-représentation ou même du non-représentable. Il institue radicalement un manifeste esthétique qui annonce un détachement du représentable.

¹² Jacques Derrida, *La Dissémination*, București, 1997, Univers Enciclopedic, p. 209.

ANNE RANASINGHE: THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF A GERMAN-BORN, ENGLISH-EDUCATED, SRI LANKAN, JEWISH POET*

LEONARD MARS

Jews, like many non-Jews in the modern world, have had multiple identities; spoken more than one language; migrated in large numbers and thus uprooted¹ or transplanted themselves.

Jews have embraced diverse ideologies, indeed the same person in his or her life, may have switched from one to another (e.g. Arthur Koestler, from Hungarian patriot to Zionist, to Communist, to anti-Communist, to rationalist and finally to a preoccupation with the paranormal; his friend, and fellow émigré, George Mikes, converted to Christianity from Judaism and back again). Persistence and flexibility² have characterised the modern Jewish experience and the paradoxes of the modern world have been manifest in the writing, both fiction and non-fiction, of Jewish authors.

In this paper, which was originally based on my reading of two volumes of her poetry, I focus on the work of a writer who was born in Germany in 1925. Anneliese Katz came on her own, aged thirteen, to England in 1939. The rest of her family perished in the *Shoah*. She married a Sri Lankan academic and settled in Colombo where she still lives and where she has raised her family. In the late 1960s she began to write poetry under her married name, Anne Ranasinghe.³ Most of her work has been published in Sri Lanka, and much of it is now out of print. Individual poems have appeared in western journals⁴ and in anthologies.⁵ She is

* The following abbreviations are used in this study:

AEAD – Against Eternity and Darkness

NES – Not Even Shadows

¹ Cf. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (1951). Handlin was born in the U.S.A. to immigrant parents of Russian-Jewish origin. His book was about the trauma, as he saw it, of the mass migration of Europeans to America in the 19th and early 20th centuries. See also John Bodnar's *The Transplanted* (1985) for a different perspective on the immigrant experience.

² Cf. book title of that name edited by Walter P. Zenner subtitled *Anthropological perspectives on American Jewish experience* (1988).

³ She had written a play in verse in German as a ten year old. In England a poem of hers was published in *Woman's Own Journal* circa 1940 (personal communication, 28 September 2000).

⁴ e.g. *The Jewish Quarterly*.

⁵ *Holocaust Poetry*, Hilda Schiff (ed.) (1995).

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renowned on the Indian sub-continent and in Jewish literary circles and has gained fame on a broader literary stage, for example, she has been the subject of a TV documentary film, *Heimsuchung*, in her native Germany. In addition a bilingual, English-German volume of her poetry was published in Germany in 1994.⁶ She addresses, as a person who has been uprooted and transplanted, issues of personal and collective identity that migrants and exiles face in their daily life. I would argue that she has a fragmented rather than a split personality. She attempts to rebuild her life after the horrors of the *Shoah*. Such reconstruction involves the piecing together of the past and the present. She is engaged in *bricolage*. This re-assembly of her self and of her identity is achieved by the constructive act of writing poetry. Being a writer is a major part of her identity but she is also a Jewish writer who is very conscious of her cultural heritage since it is this which constitutes the core of her being. Her other identities are accretions to that core.

Anne Ranasinghe's dual identity is manifest in her name. Her forename derives from her European roots and her surname from her adopted homeland. Her poems are about her life in both places; the climate and the plants; the political violence in Europe and in Sri Lanka; the lives of her children and of her own childhood; her family of origin and her family of procreation; she writes mainly in English but occasionally in German; sometimes the same poem is bilingual; now and then she cites French writers in the original; quotes the odd line from Hebrew liturgy and the teachings of Buddha. Thus Ranasinghe demonstrates Steiner's observation,

"the Jew – or some Jews, at least – may have an exemplary role. To show that whereas trees have roots, men have legs and are each other's guests" (1969:133) [emphasis in the original].

As a person who was twice displaced, first by compulsion second by choice, Ranasinghe rebuilt her life on the Indian sub-continent far removed from her childhood home and culture. Though she had left Europe, Europe had not left her, so that about the age of forty she began to write about her parents and her friends who had been murdered on that continent. The subject matter of her poems concerns family and social relationships, the experience of Nazism in Germany, and her life in Sri Lanka. These three areas, however, are not discrete since they encompass her experience of life and because she consciously chooses to connect them. With a sharp eye for irony and paradox she frequently juxtaposes distinct objects and events. For purposes of presentation however I shall examine her poetry under the rubrics of family and friends, place, religion and identity.

FAMILY AND FRIENDS

One of her earliest poems is entitled "Holocaust 1944: To my mother", written in 1968, it begins with a plaintive cry:

⁶ Du Fragst Mich, Warum Ich Gedichte Schreibe/You Ask Me Why I write Poems (1994).

*I do not know
In what strange far off earth
They buried you*

The poet tries to imagine her mother's last steps and final thoughts

*As you walked naked and shivering
Under the leaden sky,
In that last moment
When you knew it was the end,
The end of nothing
And the beginning of nothing,
Did you think of me?*

*Oh I remember you my dearest,
Your pale hands spread
In the ancient blessing
Your eyes bright and shining
Above the candles
Intoning the blessing
Blessed be the Lord ...*

*And therein lies the agony,
The agony and horror
That after all there was no martyrdom
But only futility -
The futility of dying
The end of nothing
And the beginning of nothing,
I weep red tears of blood.
Your blood. (AEAD:40)*

The pain and the grief are palpable. The suffering of parent and child and their ultimate, brutal separation contrasts with the idyllic family celebration of the Sabbath eve. The absence of God, faithfully invoked in weekly prayer, makes the *Shoah* inexplicable and faith futile.

In the same year, 1968, she wrote a poem entitled "Images: Germany 1933–39". It opens with memories of a tough winter march in a forest and continues with a summer excursion on the river Rhine but ends with the final parting from her mother:

*And then again a bitter winter morning.
An ageing woman in a quilted dressing gown,
Her face lined with the terror of her days,*

*Stands at the door. We kiss farewell
 But shed no tears -
 I because it is a point of honour,
 And she to save my fortitude.
 She stands and watches as I turn and walk
 The empty stone-flagged street.
 And shuts the door.
 It's childhood's end for me – I am thirteen;
 We never meet again. She dies alone.*
 (AEAD:40–41)

In 1985 Ranasinghe composed “You, Father” sub-captioned “From an old photograph”. This poem was written in Germany when the film, directed by Michael Lentz, was made about her life. It analyses a photograph, “a last sad record, though I could not have known”, that she took of her father in Germany. She stands with the sun behind her so that her shadow falls between her and her father. The final two lines observe:

*You do not smile – is the sun in your eyes?
 Or – now I wonder – could you have known?*
 (AEAD:65)

Anne, the survivor, now an adult and a parent herself, poignantly tries to enter her father’s mind as he envisages parting from her, she to live and he to die. Was his failure to smile due to the bright sunshine or to his prophetic vision of a future catastrophe? Ranasinghe replied to my question and doubted whether her father would have “had an inkling about the horrors to come.” Her down to earth explanation was that “times were so bad and so there was no reason to smile” (letter of 28/9/2000).

The poem that opens her collection *Not Even Shadows* is entitled “On finding the grave of my grandparents in Germany” and is dated 1985–1988. Her feeling of reunification with her family after a long quest and absence emerges strongly in this remote location:

*And on this far and lonely hillside
 Beside the grave of those whose name I bear,
 Whose blood and bones are mine, and memory,
 Who without knowing shaped my destiny –
 I am filled with sorrow, with rapture and with love.*

Indeed the feeling is more than one of reunification, it is also of identification with her grandparents as she makes explicit in the final verse:

*A buzzard circles in the blue above my abandoned Jewish grave.
It is the end of an odyssey, the never again falls over me
The shadow of God falls over me
As I stand at the gate of eternity.*

(NES:1)

Here she affirms her Jewish identity; it is not only her grandparents' grave but also her own. In addition, she has returned home after a circuitous journey and after what she calls elsewhere "the dispersal and my wanderings." This is clear from the phrase "the end of the odyssey," which is, of course, home, even so she feels her own death is imminent since the buzzard is hovering overhead. The phrase "never again" is multivalent. It refers not only to the end of her enforced isolation from her family, but perhaps to some re-discovery of religious feeling, if not faith. In addition "never again" resounds with the notion of Jewish resistance and a call to Jews to counter actively their persecution by anti-Semitic forces.

Ranasinghe invokes her Jewish roots and her knowledge of Judaism in her poem, "Ne'ilah," [the closing prayer on the most solemn day, the Day of Atonement, in the Jewish religious calendar] which is dedicated to her friend, Margot Kahn, "who did not survive." The poem is dated 1983 and was inspired by an old photograph. She clearly states that she, Ranasinghe, is the only person to bear witness to the fact that Margot ever existed and that her friend represents all Jews who perished in the *Shoah*. To bear witness is to testify. In this case to testify to a vanished world of family, friends and places. All have disappeared but by writing she has the power to reconstruct that lost world. Hers is an act of creation or of re-creation. She has the power to revive the dead.

*And now her face
Lives only in my memory, her name synonymous with that
Of our six million murdered dead. I am bereft,
What suffering destroyed her. Lord,
Where were you? Open the gate
For the day is about to set, and when the sun goes down
There will be no memory except my own, and then
No memory will be left.*

(AEAD:51)

This poem embraces several Jewish themes. First the need to perpetuate the name of a dead person. This may be achieved by naming a child after the deceased; or by the recitation of *kaddish*, the prayer for the dead. Significantly on the Day of Atonement, prayers for dead parents and deceased members of the congregation are recited in commemoration. Devoid of family or of anyone else to perpetuate her

name, the duty, or the *mitzvah*, falls on Ranasinghe. When she dies there will be no trace of Margot Kahn, though now there will be a memorial in the form of this poem. Second, the poem invokes the liturgy of *Ne'ilah* to insist that the Lord open his gates to admit her friend and so atone for his failure to save her in the first place. It is urgent that he open the gate as Ranasinghe herself is ageing and when she dies her memory will be annihilated together with her friend. This dialogue, indeed argument, with the Lord is also part of the Jewish tradition in which Jews argue with God and call on him to account for his actions.

Ranasinghe though remote geographically from the Jewish world, is close in terms of her memory and her experience. She identifies as a Jew with "our six million murdered dead". Although she identifies herself with the victims of the *Shoah* she simultaneously indicates her distance from them, since she did not share their fate, by the stylistic device of the large gap between the word "dead" and the phrase "I am bereft." (In a later poem⁷ she acknowledges their different fates when she pleads, "Forgive me for living, you who are dead"). Likewise the gulf between God and Margot is represented by the same technique in the next verse where Ranasinghe castigates God for his absence when she was murdered. Though Margot died and Anne lived there is an equivalence between them, since they had each been deserted by the Lord. On the third occasion when she employs the gap technique Ranasinghe tries to bridge the distance between herself and her indifferent God by her peremptory call that he "open the gate".

Anne Ranasinghe's identification with family and friends from her childhood in Germany repeats itself in the poems about her own children born in Sri Lanka. There are at least four poems involving her daughter, Renuka, of which I shall discuss two. The first is entitled "Plead Mercy" and bears a quotation in Sinhalese from a Buddhist prayer which translates as "May all beings be happy". It describes how a bullock yoked to a cart is treated brutally as it struggles to transport its load. Her daughter asks her whether the animal thinks "life is worth living" to which the poet replies:

*I tell her what I know
Is not true, that life
Is always better than death.*

The white lie is told to conceal her feelings from her daughter just as her own mother refused to weep on their final parting. The deceit is linked to the guilt of the survivor. The identification of Anne and her daughter is confirmed in the final line:

My daughter is just thirteen. (AEAD:34)

⁷ "The Song Has Died From the Lips of The King". (NES:31)

This was the same age when Anne's own childhood ended as she set off on her odyssey.

The poem too satirises normative religion, this time Buddhism with its discrepancy between religious ideals and religious practice. Neither Christianity nor Judaism escape her strictures based on her keen ability to detect hypocrisy and cant.⁸

The second poem about her daughter, "On Taking Renuka To Her First Concert" is in fact about Anne's first concert as the poet informs us in a footnote. The identification of mother and daughter could not be clearer. Ranasinghe recalls that she attended her first concert in Essen's synagogue because Jews had been prohibited by the Nazis from attending public places of entertainment. Significantly she remembers that "They played Mendelssohn" whose music had been banned as "Jewish." She alludes to the Nazi tide that swept away the synagogue and its religious fittings leaving nothing in its wake. Pondering in the last two lines on Renuka she addresses her:

*You little daughter
Are the driftwood.*

(AEAD:59)

The use of the pronoun "I", which stands on its own in the fourth line of the poem is linked poignantly with the tender invocation of "You" in the penultimate line. Her daughter, born of a Sri Lankan father in Colombo is grafted on to her German Jewish roots almost incidentally, a product, even a by-product, of Europe's turbulent history.

The last poem on family relationships that I examine is quite different in style and content from the others. Entitled, "A Kind of Love Poem" it is a tender, ten-line verse without any political, religious or historical allusions or references. It is strictly personal, warm and affectionate. Various members of her family, her son, her daughter and her son-in-law say diverse critical things about her and note her defects. In contrast,

*My husband says
Nothing ---- smiles*

*And holds my hand
As he sleeps.*

(AEAD:90)

We should note that this is a positive silence, one of reassurance, fortified by tender, physical contact, a truly touching love.

⁸ "News Item" (AEAD:32) concerns the shooting of a sparrow in an English church. "The song has died from the lips of the King" (AEAD:31-34) describes the relic of Essen's synagogue in terms of major Jewish festivals which sing the praises of the Lord.

PLACE

We have seen in the previous section that it is impossible to disassociate place and religion from family and friends since these aspects of Ranasinghe's life and experience are inter-connected as with most persons. However some poems about place are just that, without any reference to her past, to her relationships or to her identity. For example, "Colombo" (AEAD:8) presents twenty four hours in the life of the city. She describes vividly the heat and the light, the sea and the land, and the shifting colours of night into day and back again. This is a poem about nature rather than about culture and its horrors. On the other hand a poem, "Hot Season", about the intense summer heat of the tropics and their trees and flowers, the palm tree and the mango tree, compels her in the next and final verse to recall the European winter with frost, snow and ice outside but in the home

*And in the attic ---
Warm, sensuous, both sweet and pungent
The deep autumn smell of over-ripe apples.*

The idyllic, cosy collocation of Europe and Asia contrasts sharply with the unlikely juxtaposition of two widely separated places in "Auschwitz From Colombo" (AEAD:64). The heat and dust of Colombo in summer is again contrasted both in place and in time with her native, but anonymous, city of Essen, in the depth of a desolate, dead winter:

*Once there was another city, but there
It was cold ---* (AEAD:4)

The contrast this time, however, is not at all innocent since there is a transition from the city whose name she chooses not to mention to Auschwitz which contains a graphic description of the latter's torture and death chamber. She concludes by welcoming the intense tropical heat with its capacity after so many years to numb her mind and give her some intermittent respite from dwelling on the horrors of the *Shoah*.

The binary oppositions of Asia and Europe, of summer and winter, of Auschwitz and Colombo are also manifest in the poet's psyche in "I took the knife". This four verse poem is bilingual, three quarters in English and one quarter in German. It begins in the first person and describes metaphorically the preparation of a beautiful, idyllic garden in Colombo which will serve as a haven for a second person who proceeds to address the first person gardener in German and to say "No! her world is forever 'conditioned' as one which excludes the first person as the 'other' of the German speaker's life." The two voices, the "I" and the "You" are that of one person, the poet. The German part and past of the author's

identity will not tolerate the creation of an emotional sanctuary, or the insulation of her two selves. The striving of Ranasinghe to rebuild her life in Sri Lanka to segregate, or repress, her European, particularly her German identity, will be permanently thwarted by the latter's tenacious grip which will perpetually nag and torment her.

*But you said nein, dass meine Welt
Ist ein für allemal konditioniert
Als das Dich ausschliesende Andere meines Lebens.*⁹

Frustrated in her efforts Ranasinghe rejects her attempt to contain or quarantine her past in some beautiful, enclosed garden and defiantly proclaims in her final stanza:

*I shall uproot every tree, every bush in my garden
And plant stones instead.* (NES:23)

Unlike flowers stones are inert and barren and also indestructible. They constitute a permanent memorial as with a tombstone. Coming to terms with the past and accepting its immutable impact on her identity, Ranasinghe determines not to prettify, nor to suppress the past, but to commemorate it, even if it is bleak and is contrary to her desire to keep it at bay. The force of the past is recognised by the use of the technical word, "konditioniert," which suggests her powerlessness, and which contrasts with her active endeavours to beautify that past. Planting stones constitutes an act of destruction. The past proves irresistible and haunting especially as one grows old¹⁰ and when one's children have grown up so that one has more time to reflect on it.

The permanence of stone, its capacity to survive natural disasters and human catastrophes, and its ability to act as a memorial is a major theme of Ranasinghe's longest poem, "The song has died from the lips of the King"). Written in 1985 after a visit to Essen, it deals with the importance of memory in bearing witness to the atrocities of the Nazi past and the mass murder of European Jews. It is the most Jewish of her poems in terms of recalling the teachings of the rabbis, the references to the Sabbath and religious festivals, and the citation of some of the Hebrew liturgy. The building is a ruin. Its stone shell survives but its interior was completely destroyed by fire on what the Nazis euphemistically called

⁹ Translated by Ranasinghe as,

*That my world here, once and for all
Is so conditioned*

That it is the you excluding "other" of my life.

¹⁰ The poem was written in August 1987 when Ranasinghe was 61 years of age.

Kristallnacht in November 1938. From the outside, and after a gap of almost fifty years, it seems intact. Ranasinghe reveals this vision as an illusion. In an act of piety she graphically and comprehensively reconstructs the interior décor of the synagogue and restores it to its former glory. In minute detail she describes each stained glass window which depict the major festivals and what they symbolise; the bronze plaques that represent the twelve tribes of Israel; the ark of the law over which hangs the eternal light. She approaches the ruin after years of exile. The impact of the place is profound and moving after such a long absence:

*After the dispersal and my wanderings
It was the return that caused the confrontation:
Memory
With the reality of stone ---
The stone that did not burn but had endured
The scourging fire – endured so well
That on approaching it appeared unchanged ... (NES:31–34)*

Almost all of Ranasinghe's poems are set in Germany or Sri Lanka and many concern her alienation and suffering. However there is one inspired by her residence in England which reveals her sense of integration into a community, even if that feeling was ephemeral and confined to the celebration of V.E. Day in a Dorset village close to where she found refuge during the war. Although inspired by the joyous ceremonies to mark the end of the war, this poem, "*Singing on the hills*", was written over a period of forty years and is dated 1945–85.

She describes what the anthropologist, Victor Turner, defines as a state of "communitas" (1969). This occurs during rituals and ceremonies when distinctions of status, which characterise normal daily life, are set aside or even inverted, to demonstrate social equality, solidarity and harmony. The euphoric village celebrations involve the drinking of beer, supplied freely by the inn-keeper, and home-brewed cider; singing and dancing throughout the night when "old men with snowy beards" danced with young maidens while their wives:

*buxom farm-wenches with solid legs and no-nonsense faces –
were puffing and blowing at the polka with the village blades.*

Reflecting years later on her participation in the celebrations she writes in the poem:

*There was a feeling of complete harmony which embraced even us
Who were strangers
Caught in the village by chance, on that night,
At that particular point of time.*

Years of detachment, having been rejected by German society and of not feeling totally at home in Sri Lanka, are for once, and only once, set aside in the liminality of an English village when, after the carousing, she joins the villagers to climb the hill and to sing in the “jubilant chorus” as they waited for the sun to come up:

*I knew that for me this was a unique moment,
never to be repeated nor forgotten:
singing on the hills in the first dawn of peace
while waiting for the sun to rise out of the water. (NES:14–15)*

RELIGION

Several of Ranasinghe's poems contain quotations from the Hebrew liturgy, and it is clear from the one about Essen's synagogue that she was raised with a knowledge of Judaism. She had been educated at a Jewish school. Yavne, in Cologne, to which she used to commute daily from Essen, a distance of 65 kilometres. Like many survivors of the *Shoah* she struggles to understand it and to reconcile the destruction of Europe's Jews with her religious faith. This struggle constitutes a constant agony and a source of unrelenting torment and despair which allow her little respite. Even innocent events such as the first parting from her daughter, Renuka, when she was nine years old, to participate an overseas swimming competition, trigger off memories of her own final parting from her mother. (AEAD:76). As we have seen (page 5), when she took Renuka to her first concert, her thoughts turned to the time when she attended her own first concert in Germany. Everyday life as a mother and as a citizen of Sri Lanka remind her of her family and of her religion, and challenge her religious faith. Though her faith is challenged she pleads for the God who had abandoned her to return. This plea, in the form of a prayer is entitled “My life runs through my hands like water” and was written in 1987. I cite it in its entirety:

*Lord, tolerate those of us who dispersed
In their wanderings have lost their direction.
Help us in our search, lead us back
To our beginnings. Grant us peace.*

*We who still uphold the traditions and inheritance
Twenty five centuries of not only the love
But understanding of you, and an indomitable will
Not to deny you during the ages of our persecution.
I am trying Lord to find your spirit, to solicit your blessing*

*But you have turned from me, and the way is all darkness.
I crave water for my thirst but find only arid desert.
Fortunate is he who believes. My life runs through my hands like water.*
(NES:5)

A much earlier poem, "The Face Of God" written in 1970, was inspired by the sight of a lizard patiently stalking, swiftly catching, and efficiently devouring a moth. She observes the scene in a detached manner just like the dispassionate way in which the lizard operates. She likens the lizard's behaviour and modus operandi to that of God and in the final verse reflects on the analogy:

*Thus for the moth the lizard's act
Is God and irreversible –
A final and accomplished fact.
I ponder his reptilian grace
Detachment and repulsiveness
And wonder of what God the face
That I shall see upon my death.*

(AEAD:26)

Unlike the prayer poem this piece is bleaker. It acknowledges that there is some kind of God but one that is arbitrary, brutal, remote and unthinking. Here there is no relationship between man and God, no dialogue, just wanton, proficient and graceful destruction by the divine of the human.

Under the rubric of place I referred to Ranasinghe's visit to the synagogue in Essen and her ability after more than forty years to recall comprehensively its décor and religious artefacts. This poem continues her dialogue with God and with the teaching of the rabbis. It is poignant and painful, bitter and ironic in contrasting those idealistic teachings with the reality of Nazi power. In the second verse she declares her loss of faith:

*I climb the curving stairs that flow like waves
Towards the sacred portals. God
Dwelled here for me until the flames consumed
Juda and Ruben, Simon and Isachar
Sebulon, Levy, Naphtali and Assar,
Joseph and Gad, Benjamin, Dan,
Twelve tribes of Israel. Twelve plaques
In bronze and topaz, sapphire, amethyst
Only the stone remains. It did not burn.*

(NES:31–34)

Whereas vast numbers of the Jewish people, depicted by the twelve tribes, and represented by the precious metal and stones, perished, going up in flames and smoke, the shell of the sacred building survived. The disjunction or divorce between the people and the empty shell of the building are represented stylistically by the one line verse which concludes the sentence which began in the previous stanza. A synagogue without people, without ornaments and decoration, is a God forsaken place.

Each religious decoration is replete with symbolism. She recalls the three crowns that adorned the entrance and cites the rabbi's interpretation:

*"There are three crowns", the Rabbi taught,
 "That of the kingdom, of priesthood and of
 Knowledge. And knowledge
 Is the crown of attainment, for the strong of the world must yield
 A crown to the wise" no longer*

The evocative and plaintive "no longer" indicates the impotence of wisdom and learning in the face of brute force and ignorance. The world of the gentle scholar was swept away in the Nazi maelstrom.

The phrase "no longer" is repeated a few lines later after Ranasinghe quotes the inscription, also consumed in the flames, that dedicates the building,

*"We the Jews of this City
 Place a sanctuary in the midst of this busy Town
 As a towering sign of reverence, and eternal proof
 That Man does not live by bread alone, but from all
 That springs from God's creative genius ..."
 No longer.*

The futility of religious observance, represented by the physical structure of the synagogue, to serve as a refuge from the hustle and bustle of everyday life is noted with despair and with resignation. Divine "creative genius" is overwhelmed by destructive human brutality. The reality of life under Nazi rule is contrasted with the idealism embodied in the symbolic representations of Judaism. Thus the window that represents New Year depicts the ram's horn (*shofar*) and the scales of divine justice. The poet notes that the *shofar*

*Announced advance of the enemy,
 Was a dreaded symbol of danger and terror.*

Continuing, she interprets the scales

*The scale of God is the sign of justice and duty,
 And a balanced world rests on three rules:*

*Justice, Truth and Peace-Brotherhood of Man
In closely entwined hands ...*

The juxtaposition of danger and terror with the universal brotherhood of man indicates the precarious and ambivalent nature of human existence. The equilibrium of the world is destroyed by the Nazi negation of the three rules. Terror triumphs over idealism. That is the bleak conclusion that Ranasinghe draws from her experience of life.

Window by window Ranasinghe describes, analyses and interprets their symbolism. I shall not discuss all of them here but I shall consider the vitrine devoted to Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement).¹¹ She quotes extensively in English from the liturgy which includes a comprehensive list of the various ways in which those, who are not inscribed in the Book of Life for the following year, will die. It is a gory catalogue, which covers most forms of death and embraces almost all the Nazi methods of killing, except for gassing. The decision to terminate a person's life is decreed by God. It is possible that a person may commute the divine death sentence by the performance of various pious acts, which she cites in Hebrew and in English.

*Uteshuva utefila uzedaka ma'avirim et roa hagezera
Only penitence, prayer and charity
Can avert the severity of the decree....*

Again it is clear, without Ranasinghe spelling it out, that religious devotion is ineffectual where the righteous and innocent are destroyed together with the wicked.¹² On the contrary, it is the wicked, devoid of religion, who destroy both the pious and the impious alike. Prayer is useless since God is impotent, or chooses not to intervene, to protect his people. The series of full stops or dots after the word "decree" suggest scepticism, disbelief and disagreement. What is the force of the sentence in Hebrew? To whom is it addressed since she translates it into English? This is not the only time in the poem that she cites a Hebrew phrase. Earlier in the poem when she is describing the Ark of the Law, the repository of the word of God, the *Torah*, she writes, "Da liwne mi ata omed": know before whom you are standing.¹³ The Hebrew means nothing to the non-Jewish reader, and even to many Jews, whether religious or not, hence the translation. Perhaps she is asserting

¹¹ Ranasinghe uses the Hebrew term which she translates.

¹² See her account of "A Woman and Her God" in *Desire and other Stories* where she compares the identical fates of her father, observant to the end, with that of her mother who ceased to practise Judaism after the Nazis gained power. They both perished.

¹³ This transcription "was painted in huge Hebrew letters" above the ark of the law in the Essen synagogue (personal communication).

her Jewish identity to herself and to her readers in a foreign land devoid of Jews, just as she emphasises her German origins in those poems composed in both English and in German. Possibly the use of Hebrew is intended as a direct address to the God of the Jews who has alienated himself from his people.

The title of the poem derives from the author's discussion of a window that refers to the author of the Book of Psalms, King David, himself a poet, who would sing his songs when he rose in the morning to greet the new day. The phrase in the poem differs in one significant respect from its title. As she approaches the conclusion of her composition she writes:

*The song faded from the lips of the King
When the window cracked in the heat of the flames.*

Here she is referring to the very moment when the so-called *Kristallnacht* was taking place, when the flames were at their height. The title continues the process of destruction to its stark conclusion, from fading to death. Reflecting on the synagogue and its people almost fifty years later, Ranasinghe concludes that "The song has died from the lips of the King." The despair engendered by this conclusion immediately prompts her to beg forgiveness from those who, unlike her, did not survive the *Shoah*:

Forgive me for living, you who are dead.

The poem does not quite end there with that despairing plea. Three more lines indicate what she feels she can do to atone [my term] for her continued survival namely, to bear witness to the *Shoah*:

*There is only silence. Time has consumed all
And soon when I too will be lost beyond memory
Then death will accomplish the evil dream*

Having survived, Ranasinghe sees it as her mission to bear witness to the *Shoah*. By writing and commemorating her beloved family, friends and people she shatters the silence by the force of her writing. She defies the process of collective amnesia. She is a still living witness to the *Shoah*, and therefore it is incumbent on her to keep its memory alive. Her life incorporates memory. Her fear is that when she dies, along with the other ageing survivors, then the Nazi plan to destroy the Jews will have been achieved. Perpetuating the memory of the dead becomes an obligation. Commemoration is one form of preventing total annihilation and is a religious obligation for Jews.¹⁴ Ranasinghe emphasises this obligation over and

¹⁴ The institution of the levirate (Deuteronomy 25:6) compels a man to produce a child for his dead brother if the latter dies childless and hence has nobody to perpetuate his name. See Mars (1984).

over again. For example in her poems "Who Remembers Treblinka" which contains two lines in Hebrew from the *kaddish*,¹⁵ and in "Memory Is Our Shield, Our Only Shield" which latter contains quotations from "The Song Has Died ..."

IDENTITY

Ranasinghe's poems examine many different identities that constitute a person's life. Thus she writes of her role as daughter, mother, wife, gardener, shopper. More specific to her own self she considers herself as a Jew, a German, a Sri Lankan, a refugee, a poet a migrant and as a survivor.

In response to what is a probably a frequent question, Ranasinghe entitles one of her verses, "You ask me why I write poems." She answers her interlocutors in a confessional manner as follows:

*Writing a poem is an act of losing myself,
A flight into the caverns of the mind
To search among those memories or dreams
And sometimes fears
Which have been or are central to my life.*

(NES:25)

What is it that is central to her life? Alienation, suffering, uprooting and transplanting, predominate in her work but moments of joy, though less frequent and abiding are also acknowledged:

*When emotion is too great to be tolerable – grief, desperation
Or joy – then working on a poem creates a new view,
A fresh dimension
Which either increases the pleasure
Or at least diminishes the pain.*

(NES:25)

One of her major concerns is the sense of existing between two worlds, not rooted in either but suspended between them.¹⁶ The feeling of being caught

¹⁵ The prayer recited by sons among orthodox Jews to commemorate their dead parents, or by husbands to honour the memory of their wives. In Reform Judaism both males and females may recite *kaddish*.

¹⁶ See George Szirtes's *The Budapest File*. Szirtes came to England from Hungary at the age of eight and describes what he calls his "inbetweenness" (2000:15). Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1991:163) also addresses the problem and the pain of living in two worlds in her discussion of Mary Antin's autobiography.

between past and present, between Europe and Asia which Ranasinghe sensitively discussed in her bilingual, though predominantly English, poem, "I took the knife," is movingly, hauntingly and mysteriously described in the poem "Welcher" written entirely in German in the same year, 1987, which she translates into English as "Which one" (NES:22). The question she poses is, "Which one is the foreign sky?" Ambiguity and ambivalence mark this short piece. No answer is supplied to solve the puzzle which invites a choice to be made. Uncertainty about the location of the writer and the poem give it an enigmatic, even Kafkaesque, quality.

The sense of attachment to Sri Lanka is expressed explicitly in the poem "July 1983" which examines the ethnic violence between Sinhalese and Tamils in Colombo in that month. She links the ethnic killing to the Nazi murders especially to those who stood by and did nothing but watch at that time. She finds herself in a similar passive role in Colombo:

*Forty years later
Once more there is burning
The night sky bloodied, violent and abused
And I – though related
Only by marriage –
Feel myself both victim and accused.*

(AEAD:46)

Neither Sinhalese nor Tamil, but a Sri Lankan by choice, who remained after the death of her husband in 1981 and after the emigration of her children, she identifies with each group both as a victim and almost as a perpetrator. She is an outsider, married into Sri Lankan society, who finds herself as a horrified bystander, a role which engenders both guilt and helplessness. Despite so many years of residence in Colombo, she is not fully at home in a country where she has given birth and raised a family. Her sense of alienation and marginality in Sri Lanka emerges in one of her earliest poems, "Arrival and Departure". Here, she reflects on the arrival and departure of a guest and links them to her own experience of departing from Europe and coming to Asia. She begins with a yearning "for November in a cold climate" and contrasts that physical sensation with her current location, "Here, under this alien sun". She observes that try as she might to grasp and to comprehend the country's culture, which is possible, such an understanding is based on detachment rather than attachment:

*In vain, of course,
For knowledge being only knowledge
Is neither involvement
Nor belonging.*

(AEAD:54–55)

Not only can she not be grafted onto the country, into which she has settled on marriage, so too she cannot incorporate others around her into her unique cultural inheritance:

*We are
What our heritage has made us.
Our unextinguished past
Burns in blood and flesh and bones.
And just as it is not possible to learn a people's history
And thereby become part of it
So also
I cannot share my heritage.*

This verse confirms her point about her “conditioning”, so firmly and even brutally expressed in “I took the knife” (page 7 above). She uses the first person plural to refer to a universal experience but also to the specific situation of *Shoah* survivors, clearly indicated in the words that emphasize the burning of corpses in the death camps of Europe, a process that penetrates the very bodies of the survivors, an experience impossible to share with those who have not suffered that fate. Ranasinghe, here, clearly identifies herself with the victims of the death camps. Although she has been burnt, along with millions of others, yet she and other survivors have not been extinguished since that fiery past has, literally, been embodied. That process of incorporation cannot be shared and generates the loneliness, emptiness and isolation so honestly expressed and reinforced by the arrival and departure of her visitor. For a brief moment the visitor held out the possibility of reconnecting to her European past. Alas, in vain, for the visitor's departure exacerbates her yearning and her bereft condition:

*Your arrival confirmed this,
Rekindled the flame
And so in your going
A new diaspora.*

(AEAD:55)

After I had written my paper, which was based entirely on reading two volumes of her poetry, I sent a copy to Anne Ranasinghe, who in turn replied with her own commentary and who supplied me with further volumes of her work. She remarked that “Arrival and Departure” was a ‘political poem’, written after the Sri Lankan government had severed diplomatic ties with Israel. Ranasinghe had been friendly with the Israeli Chargé d’Affaires. She writes about his expulsion, “For me it was a terrible loss, a new diaspora.” One of the publications that she sent was an

anthology of prose and poetry entitled At What Dark Point which contained a critical article by the New Zealand-based, American, scholar, Norman Simms, who covers some of the material that I have examined, including this poem.

CONCLUSION

Anne Ranasinghe's voice is distinctively personal, in her case we might say, "I speak therefore I am", but it is not simply individual since she articulates the voices of those silenced by the *Shoah*. She is the spokesperson for the vanished world of her family, her friends and her people, as such it would be equally apt to say, "We speak therefore we are". She writes to enable us to enter her lost world and to share her experience of being stranded. Like her daughter, Renuka, with whom she identifies herself, she too is a piece of "driftwood".

However it is as important to appreciate what she does not say as well as what she does, since she articulates both speech and silence. This silence is expressed on the page by the gap between words and lines. She invites us to share both her thoughts and her silences. In the lyrical poem about her family's critical remarks, her husband's silence is most eloquent. His touch is both reassuring and healing [in fact he was a medical doctor]. Touch too is a form of communication and his supportive silence acts as a balm against the teasing or even painful remarks that other members of the family express.

Ranasinghe's poetry is both unique and universal, the former because of her own specific experiences and identity, the latter because most of her work is characteristic of a particular genre, the poetry of exile. This genre forms a venerable part of the Jewish tradition, exemplified in one of the classic, and most moving songs of exile, Psalm 137:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

This psalm invokes themes that Ransinghe addresses; the obligation to remember the past, and to maintain an attachment to the Jewish heritage in an alien civilization, all the more significant in her case as there is no Jewish community in Sri Lanka, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning"; the crisis of faith which is connected to the problem of writing poetry in exile, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"

As a refugee, Ranasinghe, exemplifies Steiner's conclusion about the place of the Jew in the world, whether ancient or modern, "The Jew has his anchorage not in place but in time, in his highly developed sense of history as personal context. Six thousand years of self-awareness are a homeland" (1969:131).

Home is an elusive concept for the refugee, a point made by the poet, Karen Gershon, like Ranasinghe, a German-born Jew who came to England on the *kindertransport*, but unlike her chose to settle in Britain, "Being a refugee means or has meant for me that nowhere is home and that I can never really fit in anywhere" (1989:154). Ranasinghe fashions her home in the "personal context" of her experiences in Germany, England and Sri Lanka. She is not at home in any of these geographical places nor does she fully belong to them. She floats above them, in a state of suspension, not anchored in the ground.¹⁷ The final stanza of "Arrival and Departure" contrasts the shifting sand on which she stands with the firm footing of her departing visitor:

*Standing here on this far shore
My naked feet sunk deep into the sand
I watch your ship depart –
Proud wind unfurling sails
And taking you beyond my last horizon
Towards your certain destination.*

(AEAD:55)

NOTE

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¹⁷ I owe this expression to my wife, Agi.

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**THE ODYSSEY OF IDENTITY.
A LÉVINASIAN PERSPECTIVE ON *THE COLLECTOR*
BY JOHN FOWELS**

CORINA TIRON

Once the Sign entered the foreground of the theoretical discourse, it broke off with its authorities and adopted a subversive perspective on the mechanisms of producing and receiving the meaning. Its self-authorizing *modus operandi* can be labeled semiotic cloning, since all its particular scenarios (intertextuality, *mise en abîme*, the specular discourse, etc.) bear the relational structure of binary oppositions. In other words, this dissemination can be translated in mathematical terms as an exponential equation for which the only “positive” solution is the difference. It is the assertive difference that brings the “opponents” in a face-to-face relation. Paraphrasing the biblical text we could say “At the beginning there was the relation.” The relation of I and You, of I and the Other – the tournament at the end of which the I gains possession of an identity.

If we are to catch a glimpse in the story of the I, we have to start with the zero level of experience and with what is most irreducible in it: the irreversible encounter¹ of the Other, the questioning of what proves the evidence of an “I” behind the face of the Other. We look at him, touch him, speak of him, but the representation we arrest of him turns back on us and projects us miles away from the Other. Because in any of the three hypostases all we do is to reduce its absolute difference to thematization as an object. To look, to touch, to speak means to isolate and therefore to void the space between the subject and the object. But my intentions concretized in the triad of representations (images, sensations and discourse) grope around the alleged object of knowledge and cannot reach their target: the virgin place to let their trace on. The object instead masters our intentions, calls for them, refuses them. It establishes a relation of complementarity, and at the same time of absent communion. When the I attempts to comprehend/appropriate the Other, the Other is obliterated; where the I reads the

¹ In *Violence et métaphysique. Essai sur la pensée d’Emmanuel Lévinas* from *L’écriture et la différence* (Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1967) Jacques Derrida argues, when commenting the work of Emmanuel Lévinas, for a thinking of hospitality.

sensor sign “No passing!”, the Other becomes fully significant. What is negotiated here is not the truth (attribute of neutral light, in Derrida’s words), but the existence of the Other in the light that affirms its total otherness:

Sans intermédiaire et sans communion, ni médiateté, ni immédiateté, telle est la vérité à laquelle le logos traditionnel est à jamais inhospitalier. (...) Communauté de la non-présence, donc de la non-phénoménalité. Non pas communauté sans lumière, non pas synagogue aux yeux bandés, mais communauté antérieure à la lumière platonicienne. Lumière avant la lumière neutre, avant la vérité en tiers, «vers laquelle on regarde ensemble», vérité de jugement et d’arbitre. Seul, l’autre, le tout-autre, peut se manifester comme ce qu’il est, avant la vérité commune, dans une certaine non-manifestation et dans une certaine absence².

The interplay between absence and presence projects the I in the sphere of the specular discourse, where the I plays the role of the cratylist³ *connaisseur*. We cannot approach the I in the absence of behind-the-I. If the I re-traces the Odyssey of identity, what are the critical crossings in his voyage?

The mirage

I look all over my face, at my eyes. I try to see what my eyes say. What I am. (...) You become very real to yourself in a strange way. As you never were before. (...) I watch my face and I watch it move as if it is someone else’s. (...) I sit with myself (...) I sit down here in the absolute silence with my reflection, in a sort of state of mystery. In a trance⁴.

Miranda, the main feminine character in *The Collector*, betrays in her words the unspoken desire for the Other, the veiled reference to the dual structure of her consciousness. She is the latest ring added to the long chain of her descent: she comes after the Shakespearean ancestor, in response to the call of the immediate ancestor – the Other. And to bridge the gap between them is to find the proper name: “His face has a sort of natural «hurt» set. Sheepish. No, giraffish. Like a lanky gawky giraffe”⁵, and when the words fail to capture the peculiarity of the Other she employs the shadow-light description through images, the suggestiveness of the nuances: “I can draw it. I can draw his face and his expressions, but words are all so used, they’ve been used about so many other things and people”⁶. This is the violence of the already exercised words, and in reply the violence of the Other

² Ibid., pp. 134–35.

³ See Monica Spiridon, *Melancolia descendenței. O perspectivă fenomenologică asupra memoriei generice a literaturii*, Polirom, Iași, 2000. The cratylist formula confesses a certain appetite for self-reflexivity; it translates the verticality imposed by the exile in the exterior in the horizontal terms implied by the taxonomy of identity.

⁴ John Fowles, *The Collector*, Picador, London, p. 225.

⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

⁶ Ibid., p. 149.

that summons me and thus keeps himself at a distance. Giving name is then not only an appropriation, but also making sense of the disparities the I experiments when trespassing his/her interiority on the exteriority of the Other. "I have to give him a name. I'm going to call him Caliban."⁷ Who is Caliban?

Caliban is the face, the face as epiphany of the Other, the outer limit where the mirage invokes the exile of the I in the nudity that insinuates behind the face. There are no proper names or concepts for this nudity. All that is left is muteness, the deference for the otherness. Having no expression, the face does point back to the I because he returns me his own look and alters the comfortable safety I used to have when I was the only master of the discourse. Now I am dismissed from the "strong" position of observer – the nominative I as author of the discourse: threatened by the Other's look and his conspiracy for reversing the power relation (from "I say" to "I am said", where the last I is the "weak" accusative I). At the core of the consciousness is not the monologue of the reflection that reigns, but the dialogic relation with the Other. I try to repay and reply: intrigues call forth other intrigues! The Other's look is the obstacle the I cannot surmount. Once exiled, under the incidence of the Other, even the self-consciousness of the I is altered. I cannot "go at home", because *at home* is already another home. From now on the I addresses to an You – near to me and simultaneously different from me. The vocative is the reverse of the nominative. I am constrained by the Other's look to recognize and accept his existence. Endowed with its own thinking, the Other says and says himself. And when he is saying, he contemplates his own words:

Le visage s'y donne simultanément comme expression et parole. Non seulement regard, mais unité originelle du regard et de la parole, des yeux et de la bouche – qui parle, mais dit aussi sa faim. (...) D'ailleurs le visage ne *signifie* pas. Il n'incarne pas, il ne revêt pas, il ne signale pas autre chose que soi, âme, subjectivité, etc. La pensée est parole, elle est donc immédiatement visage⁸.

The mirage of the face revealed the dual structure of the I – there is an original I-You relation deeply inscribed in the I which, first of all, stimulated the reaction to an You outside me. This one has also a dual structure – the relation You-the Other. In the moment I "equals" them, I will reach one temporary end (*at home*) in my exile.

Miranda is held hostage by Frederick-Ferdinand-Caliban, isolated in the limited space of the basement, and dangerously exposed to the Other's look. She creates for herself an identity at the end of a double exile: the intertextuality and the diary. Looking at her Shakespearean ancestor and capturing in writing the signifying interplay between the nominative You and the accusative You, she successfully passes all the stages of the Odyssey of identity.

⁷ Ibid., p. 130.

⁸ J. Derrida, *L'écriture et la différence*, p. 147.

Unlike Miranda, Caliban (the otherness *par excellence*) ends in the realm of mute and blind thematization. Frederick (under this name we gain access at the neutral Other, the public individual) as Caliban is a collector and like all his lifeless butterflies he remains cemented in the sphere of the increate, of the virtuality. He ends in collecting his own masks. Although he constantly projects in the past as in a refuge, his questions never reach their target: what am I guilty for? His exile has forgotten its *home*. If Miranda still represents his mirror, Caliban does not pass "through the looking glass". The other is embezzled, cast in a frozen image.

I am one in a row of specimens. It's when I try to flutter out of line that he hates me. I'm meant to be dead, pinned, always the same, always beautiful. He knows that part of my beauty is being alive, but it's the dead me he wants. He wants living-but-dead⁹.

But Miranda is an energetic and an enthusiast person, and she is happy for what she is. Her double exile carries her away from the closed space offered by the Other's fears. And on her way she discovers a new Miranda – though she is still virtuality. At first a simple onomastic coincidence, by the end of the novel Fowles's Miranda probes even further in the thickets of creating an identity. Unlike her Shakespearean replica she is the master of Prospero's island. Because reference to the past is self-description, is concretizing the need to concord with her own determinations and contingencies; thus creating an I and identifying with it (becoming the Same) through self-rereading. "Prospero's island is both subjective and objective, a state of mind as well as a location. (...) Within the dream work of the play itself he stands apart, as the stage direction fittingly says «at a distance, unseen», the final and greatest of Shakespeare's poet and state-manager figures, whose world is the creative world of imagination."¹⁰

The exile

...l'interpersonnel n'est pas la relation en soi indifférente et réciproque de deux termes interchangeables. Autrui, en tant qu'autrui n'est pas seulement un alter ego. Il est ce que moi je ne suis pas... L'espace intersubjectif est initialement asymétrique¹¹.

Mirage, exile, home are but different words for the same concept: the Odyssey of identity, the metaphor of the otherness. Though analyzed separately they refer to the same gesture of the I: to define and to preserve the asymmetry in relation to the other, to translate the externality into internality.

⁹ J. Fowles, *The Collector*, p. 203.

¹⁰ Marjorie B. Garber, *Dream in Shakespeare. From Metaphor to Metamorphosis*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974, pp. 187–88.

¹¹ Emmanuel Lévinas, *De l'existence à l'existant*, Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, pp. 162–63. The otherness and its conceptual metamorphoses (*le désir, le face à face, le regard, la thématization, la vision*, etc.) represent the main axes of Lévinasian discourse. See also *Difficile liberté* (Éditions Albin Michel, Paris, 1976), *Liberté et commandement* (Fata Morgana, Montpellier, 1994), *Totalité et Infini. Essai sur l'extériorité* (Martinus Nijhoff, La Haye, 1961).

The relation the I-the Other is a two beat relation. When the I is coerced to respond the other's look, when its face betrays its difference, the I lets the You within himself/herself speak. If there were no original knowledge of the otherness, the I would just stand mute in front of an objectified world. This interior relation is re-traced at a larger scale, slightly deviant, in the confrontation with the Other perceived in its immediacy as You. The deviance is induced by the irreducibility of the face as epiphany of the Other. In the light of thinking of and saying of (with the variant of writing as I have argued above in my analysis on *The Collector*) the externalization that offers to his/her look as a predicament and a predicate cannot be restricted to an object, an attribute. Because the light cannot dissolve the evidence of its existence in the infinite-other, cannot surpass what Lévinas calls *il y a*¹². The inter-space between I and Other is not a vacuous space. On the interval between my eyes and my hand and the object (not the theme¹³), the primal intentions of the I ("I am the one who sees and touches") melt in the intentions of the object. The I cannot transcend this vacuum but can only experiment its plenitude through language that finally will make significant what in the first place was only a negative.

L'espace éclairé est tout entier ramassé autour d'un esprit qui le possède. Dans ce sens, il est déjà comme le produit d'une synthèse. (...) Il se prête déjà au mouvement qui l'absorbe, au mouvement que la vision accomplit instantanément (...) C'est en cela que la vision est le sens par excellence. Elle appréhende et situe. La relation de l'objet au sujet est donnée en même temps que l'objet lui-même. Déjà un horizon est ouvert. (...) La lumière rend donc possible cet enveloppement de l'extérieur par l'intérieur, qui est la structure même du *cogito* et du sens.

I was searching a look behind the face in front of me, striving to go through the looking glass. And as I was in return looking at it I tried to void the distance for acquiring the liberating contemplation. But to contemplate means to establish an identity between various images of the same object: so it occurs in time, in an iterative time that superimposes, makes equivalent. This time is delay, rest on an object that maintains the consonance with itself in each moment of its existence. If look and face do not assimilate each other, if face is not only looking but also saying, than it is continuously altering and changing. To contemplate the face from the sphere of the nominative means to besiege it, to attempt at collecting it in a closed space. Looking and seeing at the same time, the face eclipses any conceptualization.

¹² E. Lévinas, *Totalité et Infini, passim*.

¹³ When I add no further explanatory details, the object signifies only what an individual perceives in various ways as being different from he/she. The theme is the object of knowledge, meaning the object the individual appropriates and masterfully utilizes for his/her own interests. There is also a difference between the expression "to utilize" and the expression "to make significant" although the common denominator in both cases is "through the agency of knowledge".

This is the trajectory the I follows when meeting the face. It is the correspondence of the nominative You with the vocative You. When the I does not establish such an equation, the identity he presumably gains is only a fraud. The two possible perspectives I find in *The Collector*. On the one hand, Miranda and Ferdinand-Caliban are but two contingent expressions of the “true” I as opposed to the “fraudulent” I. Her diary and her self-assertive references to the Shakespearean text divulge the counterfeit representation of his story. On the other hand, the relation above splits in the relation I called the mirage (the first encounter of Caliban-the Other, the coercive power that urges and, in recoil, impede the I from formulating an identity) – Miranda in report for Caliban; and the relation I called *at home* (the awareness of who-you-are-what-for-whom) – Miranda accepting Ferdinand echoing the Shakespearean gesture. And in this moment her exile ends in the realm of *at home*, of the I revisited.

Revisiting

The two sections above focused on the departure of the I at the imperative signal of the Other. But when the “pilgrim” surveys the horizon, he is looking for his so much craved home where he can produce maximum of sense – there he liquefies/combines impressions, data, knowledge, anything that can be designated as, in a generic expression, the experience of the exile as mirage. It is just that in this case revisiting is not a final stage, a finitude; there is no absolute muteness, soleness and thus total insularity. I have already argued for the impossibility to split the exile from its home; there is no cleavage here. If home means the starting point¹⁴ (the I before departure) or any other point somebody decides to call it as such, it is not significant here. What matters is its existence, that I make reference to it. In other words home is one possible mode to-be-in-the-world. This is the equation that bridges the gap between here and there, I and You/the Other,

¹⁴ The I proceeded on his/her long way from home. Home isolates itself from he/she, becomes more and more indistinct from what it used to be. The I is looking for another *at home*. In contrast with the latter, home signifies the innocent stage, the purely nominative identity when the I simply designates himself/herself. We imagine it as an instance of an absolute perfectness, the Edenic stage. The I, though, can only say “I am”, a predication that lets unfinished the uttering, that signals in subsidiary that I am something. Because behind “I am” hides the exile. “I am” is the mirage, the tension of that *something* that asks for its name. E. H. Gombrich affirms that there is no “innocent eye”, but only a mental set: “All culture and all communication depend on the interplay between expectation and observation, the waves of fulfillment, disappointment, right guesses, and wrong moves that make up our daily life. Psychologists call such levels of expectation «mental set»” (*Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. Phaidon Press, London, 1975, p. 53). And Pierre Bourdieu talks about *habitus* (see *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1994). These are but two examples from the multitude of possibilities by the agency of which we indicate that the innocent stage, the absolute I are now inaccessible for us. But does this mean that we are expelled, is self-knowledge a fall?

signified and reference etc. From this perspective home and language play the same role, because communication illustrates the interaction between the first person – the I, the author that manipulates the discourse from behind – and the second person – an You, the active receiver ready to reply nevertheless he/she still occupy the second position, always waiting and lying in wait. The language posits the contingent I, the I that designates himself/herself in a certain concrete situation, in a *now* and *here*. But to-be-in-the-world also points to the inter-relation between the I and beyond the I, the I's projection toward the Other. To-be-in-the-world is becoming, entering the reign of future, a future built from memories. Memory is a means of enriching the experience, not of delaying the action. On that account I take *now* and *here* as a temporary halt of the *praeteritum*, which is about to become *futurus*, of the *praeteritum*, which is already *futurus*, which is only *futurus*. It is an interplay of *not yet*, *now* and *not only*.

What is then the essence of *to-be*? To be present now and here hints at future (*futurus*), and future drains the surplus of memories and experience into a possibility. In other words, to-be ultimately hints at to be the Same.

This is the main focus in this section: the identification of I in the Same made possible by the Other – the relation I-the Other-the Same. In my analysis above, the right arm of the relation (I-the Other) is interpreted from the viewpoint of one single instance: the I. The relational structure of the I (I-nominative You as inherent to the I-being-in-the-world) finds a replica in the relational structure of the Other (vocative You-Other). But in both cases it is the I that insures the coherency of this trajectory I have metaphorically named the exile of the I at the call of the mirage. Though part of Lévinasian discourse has been of much help for my argumentation (the irreducibility of the Other expressed in concepts like *visage*, *il y a*, *le regard*, *la présence d'Autrui*) I depart from the semantic definition of his concept *le Même*. For Lévinas, *le Même* still maintains the connotative meaning of violence, since he asserts the absolute disparity between the Other (*Autrui*) and the I. *Le Même* has much to do with thematization¹⁵, with the violent gesture the I makes in order to melt the difference of the infinite-Other. Unlike the French philosopher, I focused here only on the role the I plays in configuring for himself/herself an identity. The Same, I argue, represents the crucible where the nominative You meets and recognizes the vocative You, where the former is tamed by the latter. The Same, here, plays a double role: on the one hand, it conserves the entire semantic baggage carried by the face-to-face relation ("*face à face sans intermédiaire*"); on the other hand, it closes the circle around the I, the single character of the Odyssey of identity. Thus, the Same simultaneously asserts and explodes the formal dissociation nominative vs. vocative You; it is, at the same time, the cause and the effect of the I's departure (at home-mirage-exile-home): defining it and re-defining it. Because home is but an altered image of at home:

¹⁵ E. Lévinas, *Totalité et Infini, passim*.

“Le moi est le même. L’altérité ou la négativité intérieure au moi, la différence n’est qu’une apparence: une *illusion*, un «jeu du Même», le «mode d’identification» (...) Mais ce jeu du même n’est pas monotone, il ne se répète pas dans le monologue et la tautologie formelle. Travail d’identification et production concrète de l’égoïsme, il comporte une *certaine* négativité. Négativité finie, modification interne et relative par laquelle le moi s’affecte lui-même dans son mouvement d’identification. Il s’altère ainsi vers soi en soi.”¹⁶

The three stages “pilgrimage” does not represent a frozen formula of start-finish, but an infinite pendulum-like movement, an iterative succession of “homes”. In Fowles’s *The Collector*, this movement is expressed best in the specular discourse implicit in the diary, in the intertextuality of the book.

Miranda is writing. Why? What? For what purpose? She is writing at the sunset, when she is alone, not hostage of the Other’s eyes. And what she writes are impressions of the past day, memories concerning her former “at home”, her other world – a world of past she tries to make sense of and a world of future where this sense will become concrete (“... I’m not writing to you. I’m talking to myself”¹⁷). Because the present is significant only when establishing connections between *already* and *not yet*. The diary is, for Miranda, a means for draining the surplus of memories. The diary, writing in general, “échappant mieux que la parole à l’urgence empirique” because “elle a le temps et la liberté”¹⁸, because it “lubricates” the succession of anteriority and posteriority. The mirror of diary is the universe of a re(-)covered home, of the I identified with the Same. In turn, it reflects another mirror, the mirror of intertextuality. It is only in her diary that the Shakespearean model is reinvigorated and revisited and Miranda is the only character that seeks to create for herself an identity. Here the reader can re-trace her zigzag course from amazement/embarrassment through curiosity/sympathy to recognition/love. The same three stages (mirage-exile-home) find replicas on various levels of analysis: she engages in three different relations with the Other. Miranda-Frederick is an instance of the mirage, a stage where the Other has a face but no look, where the I thinks of himself/herself in terms of absolute master of the discourse. She has met the Other but did not stand face-to-face to him. Miranda-Caliban is the exile not into something exterior to her, but for her. This is the moment she initiates the dialogue with herself; it is an instance of the deflation of the memory for the intuitive and redemptive future. The diary plays a purgative role announcing the relief the intertextual interplay will bring to her. Because only Miranda-Ferdinand is the appropriate *modus operandi* to deal with when creating and assuming an identity. She started looking through the spyglass at her

¹⁶ J. Derrida, *L’écriture et la différence*, p. 139.

¹⁷ J. Fowles, *The Collector*, p. 126.

¹⁸ J. Derrida, *L’écriture et la différence*, p. 150.

Shakespearean replica and ended looking at her: at the end of the telescope she sees another Miranda peeping through her spyglass at her. On that account the reversed spyglass is another name for the Odyssey of identity.

When the I engages in the contest for identity and lets himself/herself fascinated by the openness and semantic fecundity employed by the *modus ludicus* (the play of multiple references, the easiness in switching from one hypostasis to another, etc.), the identity and the otherness become two inter-related concepts. "Comment pourrait-il y avoir un «jeu du Même» si l'altérité elle-même n'était pas déjà *dans* le Même, en un sens de l'inclusion que le mot *dans* trahit sans doute?"¹⁹ asks Derrida. This is the question I tried to answer in the present essay and which, remaking in subsidiary "le jeu du Même", constantly solicits me and any reader to a repeated (re)visiting of iterative *homes*.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 186.

MIKHAIL SINELNIKOV – THE PORTRAIT OF AN ARTIST

CARMEN BRĂGARU

A special event took place at the Romanian Literature Museum in Bucharest on May 22nd last year. “Paul Polidor” Foundation in Bucharest offered a true feast to the Romanian public: a whole afternoon of Russian poetry, whose protagonist was a very important contemporary Russian poet named Mikhail Sinelnikov. His name is not unknown to the specialists. During each of his four visits to Romania (first dated 1976), he met the students and the professors of Russian language and literature; he visited many towns and areas of our country (Maramuresh, Moldavia, Bucovina, the Old Believers in Lipova, Brashov, etc.), being willing to know better – inside and outside – the Romanians and their country, whom he has always been irresistibly lured: “I loved history when I was a child, Rome’s history, especially. Thus I first read about how Dacia was conquered by Traian. Afterwards I discovered and fell in love with the Romanian ‘doina’-songs and fairy-tales. The first writer I read when I was about eleven was Slavici. I enjoyed a lot his novel *The Lucky Mill*. I grew fond of many other Romanian books later on. I have a special sympathy for Topârceanu, not only as a poet but also as a man. That was much later though. And Lord, I couldn’t have imagined then that Romania would become a part of my destiny! But it was so ...” (From the letter to Carmen Brăgaru, dated June 12th, 2001).

His voyages to Romania did have an echo. On one hand, they materialized into many poems dedicated to the places he visited, on the other hand, a series of his poems were translated into Romanian by his friend Dumitru Balan, a professor of Russian literature at the University of Bucharest. Later on, the public fond of Russian poetry could find details about Mikhail Sinelnikov’s life and work in the volume entitled *The Russian Poetry of the 20th Century* signed by the same professor Balan, who imagined it as a handbook for students (printed by The University Publishing House in 1997).

Willing to find out more material for this article, I asked Mr. Sinelnikov to send me a curriculum vitae so fashionable nowadays. Instead of it I received a very long and poetical letter, which outlined the profile of the poet, translator and essayist in a manner that no CV could have succeeded. I shall therefore quote it whenever I should point out some important life aspects of this interesting author.

“As regards the biography – Mr. Sinelnikov writes – this one may be internal and external. I do not value much the external one. It is represented by certain signs of the time, honorable somehow. A great Old Persian poet once wrote: ‘Young man! As you are still soft and flexible clay, accept the world’s seal!’ As for me, I accepted it. If you want details about the prizes and honors of this world, see annex.” The annex mentioned does enclose a list of prizes and distinctions the poet has received during the years, but it is incomplete, because of the writer’s modesty. In order to entirely reconstruct the professional or so-called external biography, we have resorted to professor Balan’s book, above mentioned.

Accordingly, Mikhail Sinelnikov is the author of nine books of poems; among them we may mention the most important ones as *Kholodnyi kliuch* [The Cold Spring], 1986, *Son shelkopriada* [The Dream of the Silkworm], 1990, *Oblomok* [The Splinter], 1997, *Neznakomyi golos* [The Unknown Voice], 1999. He also translated much from the classical and contemporary Georgian poetry, from Persian classics as Hakani, Saadi, Hafiz, from Indian classics, etc. His original poems as well as his translations are constantly published in the main literary reviews in Russia as “Novyi Mir”, “Znamia”, “Arion”, etc., as well as in many almanacs and anthologies.

His poems have been translated in various languages as English, German, Romanian, Polish, Turkish, Mongolian, Hindi, Georgian, Armenian and so on. He worked for a while as a journalist for different magazines and newspapers; he gave lectures about the Russian poetry in the 20th century in a Christian high school, as well as lectures about the influence of Asia and Africa in Russian poetry. He regularly publishes articles and essays about poetry, memories about writers and men of culture he met in his childhood and adolescence.

At present he is a literary observer for the newspaper “Moskovskie novosti” and, as an editor in chief of the “Limbus Press” Publishing House in Sankt-Petersburg, he edits books belonging to Russian and world’s literature and also signs prefaces to books of poetry.

He has been a member of the Russian Writers Union since 1976, he is a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, and he has received plenty of prizes for poetry and poetry translation during the years.

Shortly, these would be the coordinates of Mikhail Sinelnikov’s career, and only half of them would have been more than enough for anyone else in order to consider the specialists’ interest natural. On the contrary, he feels embarrassed when he is paid too much attention: “I am very flattered by your intention of writing something about me, about my humble person. I am delighted even by your intention. I may assure you I completely lack the grandeur mania and (using some unknown antibiotics) I healed myself from the wish of glory proper for my youth. Moreover, I should willingly give the world’s fame (which, as a matter of fact, no one grants me) in exchange for a white ship on the blue sea (...). The whole rest is

dust. Except certain beloved sounds, words or colours, which may give one the impression of happiness.”

Let us come back to the internal biography now. Mikhail Sinelnikov was born in Leningrad, on 19th of November 1946, in a family of intellectuals escaped by miracle from the blockade. His parents were already old. His father, Nikolai Alekseevici was a journalist, a man of letters who knew very many literary personalities of that time, among whom were Zabolotskyi and Mandelshtam. His mother, Evdokia Timofeevna, born Fedina, was a teacher of Russian language and literature and had been during the war the headmistress of a home for children whose parents had died of hunger.

“I spent my first years of life in Central Asia, where, in its multicolored mist, my father, a very cautious man, had moved our entire family, thus saving us from the inevitable repression. I am truly grateful to the destiny for these circumstances, as in my childhood I experienced certain impressions that none of my Leningrad fellows did. Thus I had something of my own. I started writing poems early, regularly at the age of thirteen or fourteen, but without very many hopes and badly (I even wonder myself how come I didn't give it up!). Only at the age of twenty one or twenty two I felt satisfied with what was coming out of my pen. I could say that in my formation years I thoroughly read Russian poetry. During my life, my tastes have changed and so have I; onto the ground! I have burnt out the things I had worshipped and I started worshipping the ones I had overthrown. Few of them remained unchanged and this is why they are so dear to me”.

In spite of these obvious inclinations, Mikhail Sinelnikov attended the courses of the History Faculty of the Pedagogical Institute of Kirghizia (a Soviet Republic in Central Asia). Later on, attracted irresistibly to literature he also attended literature courses at the Gorki Institute in Moscow.

He made his debut early with some verses published in the journal called “Moskovskiyi komsomolets”; where he was remarked by Leonid Martynov, who predicted him a future in poetry.

Not only because these have been the stages of his life and career – a poet first, then a translator and only eventually an essayist – Mikhail Sinelnikov considers himself to be above all a poet and he certainly has the property of words: “I have reached too far with my work, so that I may still doubt the fact I was born a verse-maker. I decided to call myself a poet very late, as it is a rare name one should use. If I had thought differently, I would certainly have ceased to write. I am aware I am not a very great poet, I am not a genius and yet, I am a true poet of that epoch when poetry was so weak and humiliated. I daresay that among my poems there are a few qualitatively well done, through which my rather doubtful biography may justify itself. Something has always stopped me from achieving what was meant for me from above. And yet, there's no wonder: all the Russian poets in the 20th century – and not only – all, except Hodasevich, are the victims of

monstrous deformations. That meant, on one hand, the malevolent pressure of these putrefying times, but on the other hand, we should also take into account a certain dose of spiritual laziness..."

Poetry means form and content. Taking into account the form first, Mikhail Sinelnikov agrees with Mandelshtam's saying according to which "the form is the squeezing of the content", *i.e.* the essence: "In my case, the form came long before my content had cleared up. My verse elaborated itself very early, although its pitch has widened by the years, and that is why many things slipped through my fingers. I have always been a self-educated man, I have managed all by myself and I passed through school reading only old poets. For the verse can be worked by a poet the same way the voice can be worked by a singer".

With the technique thus assimilated from his predecessors, Mikhail Sinelnikov – although very young – has imposed himself from the very beginning as a faithful preserver of the traditional Russian verse.

As regards the contents of his poetry – a fairly homogenous one – it completes the surrounding world by deep philosophical meditation, by a thematic turn back to history, especially to that of antiquity, also by a historical approach of the contemporary world, by a piercing look that transcends things and feels their essence, by overthrowing the common perception of daily objects or phenomena. This is why the poetic universe imagined by Mikhail Sinelnikov may bear as an inscription two lines extracted from the poem *The Nomad*:

*I see in front of me clouds made of stone,
And above my head ethereal mountains are rising.*

As a bookish poet, attracted by a metaphysical lyricism which "makes him kin brother with poets like Hölderlin or Rilke", in Balan's course of poetry, Mikhail Sinelnikov joins the group of authors who write an intellectual or erudite poetry, not simply philosophical – a term improper used in the specialized critique nowadays – as, according to D. Balan's opinion, "the lines of each true poet contain philosophical ideas, leading to a system of thinking."

And thus, by bookish erudition, analytic meditation and metaphorical expressiveness, the disciple becomes eventually compared to his masters: Nikolai Zabolotskyi, Arsenyi Tarkovskyi, Aleksandr Mejirov, Evgheni Rein.

The main themes of his poetry are the nostalgic look towards the childhood ("I suffer from my childhood secretly"), the admiration for the ancient past, the history of civilizations, the attraction for the biblical characters, the description of the exotic places he has visited, especially those of India, whom he was impressed most, the temptation of the road, etc. Stirred by a reflection belonging to Paul Valéry, according to which the French poet "spent his life thinking over some thoughts that had crossed his mind during a summer storm in Italy," Mikhail Sinelnikov defines himself as a man rather tempted by travelling, *i.e.* by external

events which trigger deep inner experience, than a poet inclined to write verses without leaving the room.

Thus the fascination he has for gypsies may probably be explained, as he perceives them as nomads who do not know what rest is, but therefore deeper in thoughts and spiritually free. The pathway may be seen by turns initiating, perfecting the man or luring, pushing you towards ceaseless walking, never having time to reflect about life:

*Where are you hurrying, pathway?
Where are you hurrying right away?
When I would give anything to stay
One minute more near this hidden porch
Behind the age that memory
Knows better and wider?*

*Where are you hurrying, whom for
When all I want is to remain near myself...*

(Steppe pathway)

We must assert that Mikhail Sinelnikov's poetical trajectory followed the same route many others traced. Although a gifted poet, he could not achieve his personality as an original creator without sharing the fate of the translators. As many other important Russian poets (as Boris Pasternak, Arsenyi Tarkovskiy, Maria Petrovyh, Nikolai Zabolotskiy and others, most of them at least a generation older than he was), Mikhail Sinelnikov worked a long while as a translator of poetry from the languages of the nations in the Soviet Republics into Russian. He translated a lot, helped by his natural gift, happy that he could evade from the confused reality of those times. Nowadays, he confesses that he has surpassed that period of his life, although he talks about this with nostalgia in his voice: "I dealt a lot with poetry translation. It is again the time I reminded you my opinion: poetry is untranslatable. It is a completely different thing if, during these heroic strains, poetry of a certain quality may show up, but totally different. What I mean is very well expressed by the Ukrainian word used for <perevodchik>(translator), which is <perekladchik>, i.e. <the one who changes the whole initial construction or brickwork>. I could have printed a book of selected translations, in which the breath of poetry might have occurred, but, after all, I do not value much this part of my work. It was a trade, which provided me nice money at that time, as there was a certain imperial politics behind all these. Such bribe (...) was received from the Government by Pasternak also, Akhmatova, Zabolotskiy or Tarkovskiy... I was the last – considering the age – that arrived at Tbilisi. It was this strange attraction of the Russian poets for Georgia, where there was a century cult for poetry, plenty of good wine and kind hosts. Now I am content that the age of translation as a trade occupation has gone. And yet punishment has caught up with us. It is obvious that,

as I would often translate, by a glass of wine, second rank authors, now I've got punished: my largest and most successful work of this kind hasn't been published so far. I am talking about my translation of Hakani's poems, the great Persian poet of the 12th century. I still hope it will be published some day. Translation is now an episodic occupation for me, and Thanks God it is so. However it seems to me that I should try my hand – helped along by an expert in Romanian poetry, of course – in translating something by Eminescu (a poem that should lend itself to translation, if there is something like this in Eminescu's work...). It always happens like this: some second rank verses sometimes sound exceptionally in translation, while the real exceptional ones revenge themselves by the impossibility of being translated. I have translated from Romanian so far a cycle of poems by Arghezi (at the time they were published in the "Novyi mir" magazine and offered the occasion of my first travel to Romania, a documentary travel to Mărtișor). I have also translated isolated poems by Topârceanu and Șt. Aug. Doinaș."

Although he translated much and very inspired sometimes, M. Sinelnikov is convinced that "poetry is first of all untranslatable. And this is not a secondary feature; no, it is the very essence of poetry. It opposes translation, fights fiercely against it and ceases to be poetry when it is defeated. Besides, the most important thing is that poetry is untranslatable even into the language it was written. That means it cannot be retold or conveyed into other words. Only a commentary is possible, an interpretation, but one can never exhaust the subject."

His each visit to Romania was followed by poems describing the places his poetical sensitivity perceived. His most recent visit has brought forth an entire cycle of poems dedicated to Bucharest, Bucovina, the monasteries in Northern Moldavia, the Carpathians. As the most poems inspired by the various places and countries he had the chance to visit, the Romanian ones follow the same pattern: beyond the diversity of shapes and colors of the modernity, beyond the seemingly unspectacular features of common people or everyday life, the poet's penetrating look X-rays everything it sets upon and, getting rid of the cover, it goes right to the essence and makes the defining characteristics of a nation emerge from underneath. Thus, beyond the common figures of some swarthy gypsy girls ("implacable oracles") dressed with motley swelled skirts and wearing necklaces on their chest, beyond the faces of ordinary passers-by or gendarmes the poet sees "hidden patricians" and "picturesque plebeians", while

*The rhetoric and the mimicry
Reveal, beyond the shadows,
As in an alchemic retort
The features of the faded Rome.*

Although the ancient inscriptions on the ruins have faded away, although today "the palatine profile has long grown dim" and the roaring of the wars have

died out, the poet can see how all the elements existent in those times are still around us just otherwise arranged and with the mind's eyes one can remix them and resurrect "the outlaws' hubbub" about the woods and "the 'doina' songs breathing out spiritual depths".

Mikhail Sinelnikov willingly admits that except the gift he was endowed from the Heavens, except the shape his early readings gave him, a powerful influence had upon him the outstanding persons he had the chance to meet:

"All the wonderful poets I have met in my life have left their mark on me. I remember with infinite pleasure the meeting with Nikolai Tikhonov, Boris Slutskiy, Vladimir Sokolov, the correspondence I had with Serghei Markov, the support Leonid Martynov offered me, by being the first who noticed my humble poems written at the age of sixteen and predicted me a future in poetry (...) Just the same, with extreme kindness the well-known writer Veniamin Kaverin helped and advised me during my first steps in literature. The most important part of my life is represented by my friendship with the late Arsenyi Tarkovskiy and Aleksandr Mejirov, the latter fortunately still alive, but living in America. Yet, I believe that one author particularly influenced me directly and mainly: the last akmeist, Mikhail Zenkievich. The influence exercised by all the others had a carving and polishing effect on me, but his was an influence that changed my configuration completely. I am happy that I personally knew the old Zenkievich and that he wished me good luck. It was very important to me to touch his hand – it makes me feel as if I had taken over a relay race..."

For this particular reason, *i.e.* having met remarkable authors whose work he most often knew by heart, and also as he does not consider himself to be a specialist in literature, Mikhail Sinelnikov had the courage to draw near the 'idols' worshipped by the public and talk about them as human beings and creators. His categorical and sharp notes he wrote about them, lacking conventionalism, aroused stormy arguments not only once in the past few years. We refer especially to his review concerning a Russian anthology, as well as to an article about Marina Tsvetaeva, "since when even to these very days the specialists in Tsvetaeva's poetry have been in a state of shock...", as Mr. Sinelnikov himself asserts.

Consequently he has few friends and many enemies, but he comforts himself either by repeating a Japanese proverb ("When a samurai gets out of his house, the first seven persons he meets on the road are his enemies"), or by thinking about his public: "If I knew that over 50 years after my death, I would have 3,000 readers, that would mean I fulfilled at least a small part of the mission I was given by the muse. That's all."

SYMBOLIC EXCHANGE IN POSTMODERN DISCOURSE

ELENA LUCHINSKAYA

The given article represents the try of studying the main components of the system of signs in postmodern discourse.

Discourse is considered to be “the real speech event, current speech activity in the certain sphere, acting in speech coherent text” (Sheygal 2001:80). Such semiotic space is meant to serve the certain communicative sphere. This is confirmed by existing the relative discourses: political discourse, feminist’s discourse, and so on.

The investigation of the postmodern discourse is necessary today. The question of the complex analysis of postmodern discourse – its ontological essence, the tendencies of its development, the main linguistic and extra-linguistic features, and the methods of translation of the postmodern texts – is rather acute in the modern linguistic science.

Underlying the fact that any discourse is formed by the social and historical situation, we can claim postmodern discourse as the characteristic feature of the passed and current age. Maybe that is why some Russian scientists (Pokrovskaya 2001; Kalugina 1996) called postmodernism “the cultural aura of the age” and “the culture constant”.

The subject of postmodern discourse is mainly the texts, which suppose “the position in discourse field” (Seriot 1999:28). Actually the 20th century is featured of the great number of the fiction works, which one cannot accept at once, but only through involving in the game, offered by their authors. These are the novels and stories by D. Barthelme, E. Ionescu, S. Beckett, I. Reed, J. Barthes, M. Pavich, V. Pelevin, B. Akunin and so on. These authors deny all traditional concepts of the plot, characters and chronology, syntax and metaphorical system. Making a parody of clichés of the mass and of the elite culture, postmodern texts balance on the shifting edge of reality and illusion.

Postmodern texts have been analyzed from the different sides in modern linguistic science (F. Jameson, U. Eco, I. Hassan, W. Welsch, R. Alter, B. Stonehill, P. Waugh, I. Ilyin, S. Isayev, E. Pokrovskaya, A. Luxemburg), but not enough yet. Now in the 21st century it is more fruitful to study the postmodern discourse in its complexity from the positions of linguistics, hermeneutics, cultural studies, anthropology, philosophy. We consider postmodern texts as a unity of specific verbal and cultural signs, somewhat as codes are realizing during intercultural, global communication.

The modern generation of the linguists wishes to regard the discourse as a semiotic space with as verbal so non-verbal signs (Sheygal 2001:80). The semiotic aspects of the studying text are believed to be "classical", fundamental questions of linguistic science (C.S. Peirce, U. Eco, R. Barthes). The fact is that the problem of the perception/interpretation of the text at late 20th century touches the circle of the aspects connected with the presentation of the text as a sign. As we know, the sign representation is the specific (only for a man) form of objectivity of the real world and it is the powerful mean of his reflective communicative activity. The understanding of the nature of the sign representation, its modelling, the defining of the sign and its meaning depend on how the sign system of the language is interpreted and what aspect of the language – dynamic or static, functional or structural – is laid in the base.

In case the language is regarded as a certain thing, the defining of the subjects and phenomena of the real world is presented in the form of substantial signs system. Perhaps that is why in linguistics there are some interpretations of sign, which imply its free nature. Thus, according to Lacan's definition, sign is considered to be the integrated phenomenon, the whole structure, in which signifier attached to the significant. So sign is "the existence made of the absence" (Lacan 1977:65).

It may be said that there is a tendency to overlook the nature of the sign in modern linguistics. One of the new approaches in modern science is theoretical reflection. According to this trend all the phenomena of language realization are concerned as text, discourse and narration. From that point of view all human culture is represented in the form of the sum of the texts, i.e. *inter-text*. Mind is also imagined as a text, which can be read according to grammar rules (Ilyin 2000:93) or with the help of the signs (symbols and codes) decoding. European linguists are working out the new trend in science, which is closer to Peirce's one. The stress is put on the specific procedure of interpretation, on the importance of understanding of both cognitive and communicative signs. Any scheme of reality is significant. The definition of the concept of realization style is also based on the representative function of linguistic sign. This linguistic sign, being the real component of narrative system, has many variants and each variant has its own field of materialization and its functional indexes.

Like the outer world, the linguistic signs constantly correlate with the human experience through the objects of the surrounding world, through the images of certain objects and verbal units, which describe them. It is fruitful to use both verbal and non-verbal signs for understanding, so to operate with the different sign systems. Thus, the interpretation is "the work of the mind, which implies the decoding of the sense, hidden behind the explicated sense, and discovering of meaning, concluded in the literal meaning" (Ricoeur 1985:18).

C. S. Peirce noted that people were not able to think without signs. His idea is that each thought is a sign: "When we think, then, we ourselves, as we are at that moment, appear as a sign" (Peirce 1958:51). On the question of understanding he noticed that "thought which cannot be cognized does not exist" (Peirce 1958:34). Thus, any thought is only a sign and the content and meaning of it have to be cleared up with a help of other thoughts. So, thinking presents the non-stop process in which every thought has to be interpreted by another thought. The thought is the link in the chain of interpretation and it has its meaning only there. The essence of the sign concludes in its ability to interpret the thought. In its turn the *interpretanta* becomes a sign.

The analysis of the postmodern texts allows supposing that the thought can be not only interpretanta, but also dis-interpretanta in postmodern discourse. In such texts the concept of the sign gains more broaden sense than the linguistic sign. One of the most important questions of semiotic analysis is the revealing of the codes, which can decode any possible signs.

In modern linguistic science the interest to studying postmodern discourse grows. One cannot agree with the idea of that principle of presentation, which had been the basic one before, loses its importance in postmodernism. Although J. Baudrillard and others professed the crisis of representation, the shifting of the borders between the previous reality and the text just accentuates the contradiction of the sign and the surrounding world. The presentation of unrepresented – such definition was given by J. Lyotard. According to his idea, postmodernism implies not the moving of repeat, but "the process of analysis, anamnesis, analogy and anamorphous, which converses something forgotten" (Lyotard 1994:56–57). So postmodernism presents the *synthesis* of the old and new, past and future, *i.e.* certain sign construction-discourse, which is to be understood. That is why we can imagine the postmodern discourse as the process of construction of signs. Each of the signs gains new filling during the mutual sign work of the author and reader. According to J. Baudrillard, postmodern discourse becomes the material for symbolic, or *sign exchange* between the language persons: author/reader, author/interpreter/reader, playwright/spectator and so on.

For clarification of the complicated hidden senses contained in modern fiction it is necessary for the language person to enter into the metasystem of the text, created by another language person. Such act is the so-called the lingua-interpretation and during this creative process the multi-level paradigm "text-intertext-metatext" appears. Such triad presents the specific feature of the post-modern discourse.

The semiotic essence of the postmodern discourse includes the lingua-cultural codes, implies the specific sense and requires the decoding. Among the main principles of postmodernism there are double codes, proposing different ways of understanding of different recipients, the removal of the author's "ego", intertextuality, styles mixture and so on. The distinctive feature of postmodernism is the

plurality of the styles and languages of culture. Pastiche is the specific form of self-parody, which is used by the author in his ironical play of quotations and allusions. "Both pastiche and parody involve the imitation or, better still, the mimicry of other styles and particularly of the mannerisms and stylistic twitches of other styles" (Jameson 1983:113).

Numerous artistic mannerisms are used in postmodern discourse: play upon words, author's improvisation with the well-known plots and images of "ready" culture of the world. As the example of such manner we can mention the fiction-film "The Shadow of Vampire", devoted to the shooting of "Nosferatu" by the director F. Murnau. The reality and fiction are so mixed that we cannot tell one from another. In such case there is a conflict between two texts for possessing of the truth. We can imagine "Nosferatu" as "internal" text and "The Shadow of Vampire" by J.K. Schlim as "external", which in 2000 is set to recapture all the atmosphere and stylistic peculiarities of the 1922.

Textual plurality is presented in "Chaika" by B. Akunin, the potential sequel of "Chaika" by Anton Chekhov. In modern version of "Chaika" by B. Akunin there are a lot of interpretations, *i.e.* one scene is played eight times in different variants. Such mannerism is considered to be the feature of postmodern discourse. Being the spectator of this play, one can choose any variant he likes.

Departure from the existing norms is also the main principle of the postmodern discourse. In this context I. Hassan noted: "Postmodernism, on the other hand, is essentially subversive in form and anarchic in its cultural spirit" (Hassan 1975:193). There is something positive in it, because "do-it-yourself hypertextualist will get a chance to browse and recombine, often with striking results" (T. Pinchon).

So, the concerning postmodern discourse as the process of construction of the signs allow to consider postmodern text as the totality of the codes. The main of them are lingua-cultural ones, which consist of the following: linguistic, cultural, semiologic, dialogic (plus interactive), metatextual and so on. Lingua-cultural codes are realized in specific systems of semantic and stylistic means of language and signs of culture, *i.e.* concepts and symbols. Among the linguistic means of postmodern texts the puns, or play of words are often used.

There are a lot of puns in the texts of plays by E. Ionesco and S. Beckett, great postmodern writers. But these authors do not try to destroy the system of language. Play of words is not their only purpose; it is the way of parody. The authors want their spectators to have multi-choice interpretations during the perception of the play.

Let us analyze the language of plays of absurd *La Cantatrice Chauve* by E. Ionesco (translated from the Russian language by E. Luchinskaya): 'Yoghurt is good for the stomach, kidneys, appendix and *apotheosis*' ('*La Cantatrice Chauve*'). And some other examples: 'Brand major: I have no right to put out a fire

at clergymen's. The bishop won't let this. Their fire they put out by themselves or with the help of *Vestals*.' (*La Cantatrice Chauve*). Or: 'The Englishman's house is his *palace*' (Ibid.).

We can compare the puns, taken from the texts by D. Barthelme: 'From that height it drops cats and dogs'; 'a small dog is the cock till old' (*Falling dog*).

'Charles in the Indies. He sold:

Chinese Negroes

swallows' nests

children

artists' (*Eugenie Grandet*).

'The beautiful breasts of the torero's mistress are appreciated by the aficionado, who is also an aficionado of breasts' (*The Wound*).

There are a lot of foreign words in the texts of E. Ionesco, S. Beckett and D. Barthelme, for example: span. *aficionado*, *torero*, *estoque*, lat. *sursum corda*; deutsch. *Aschenputtel*, fr. *Au plaisir*, old fr. *Ouayseau bleheu*, *couleur du temps*, ital. *mezzo forte*. These words are not explained in the text and require reference books, for example:

'- *Limae labor*' said Chas 'et mora.'

'- Well' said Belacqua, casting off with clean hands, 'see you again.' (S. Beckett, *A Wet Night*).

The author's new words are very effectively used in postmodern texts:

'He developed *Beltschmerz** of such intensity that he was obliged to leave the room' (S. Beckett, *What a Misfortune*).

[**Weltschmerz* (world sadness) ← *Belt* + *schmerz* (grief)].

Various phonetic play of words, alliterations are used in analyzed texts, for example:

'Egg-sactly' said the S.J.' (S. Beckett, *A Wet Night*).

'She will do this thing, she will, she will be bell of the ball, gladly, gravely and carefully, humiliter, fideliter, simpliciter' (S. Beckett, *A Wet Night*).

The symbols of the French Revolution – Egalite, Liberte, and Fraternite are used in such place.

Graphic mannerisms are often used in analyzed category of the texts:

'Nisscht mööööööööglich' moaned Grock, and was gone.' (S. Beckett, *A Wet Night*).

Or:

'- Himmisacrakrüzirkenjesusmariaundjosefundblütigeskreuz!« (S. Beckett, *A Wet Night*).

Intentional use of departure of spelling norms and punctuation are the usual ways of style, for example:

'I met a new girl, very beautiful, pitch black hairs and very pale, she *onely* talks *Egyptian*. She told me about the man she loves, at present he is in *Amerika* far

away in some lonely place and *wont* be back for the next three years and *cant writ* to her because there is no *post office* where he is staying and she *onely* gets a letter every 4 months, imagine if we only got a letter from *eachother* every 4 months what sort of state we would be in by now, the poor girl I am very sorry for her' (S. Beckett, *The Smeraldina's Billet Doux*).

The allusions are the most interesting mannerisms in such texts, for example: 'Let's give a slap to *Ulysses*.' (E. Ionescu, *La Cantatrice Chauve*). And: 'Mrs. Tough might have been waiving to *Lot* for all the response she received. (S. Beckett, *Love and Lethe*).

Or:

'What have you got' she said 'in maternity-bag?

'*Socrates*' replied Belacqua 'the son of his mother, and the hemlocks.' (S. Beckett, *Love and Lethe*).

Although the codes cannot be finally decoded, because the text can be possessed by any senses (Barthes 1994), the infinity of language allows finding the answer or solving the puzzle given by the author. So, for the best results we have to take into account the plurality of the codes of postmodern texts. The modern fiction realizes within the sign exchange in postmodern discourse. That is why such complicated texts present the synthesis of language and cultural signs, that is the specific codes, which realize in the process of intercultural, global communication.

The linguistic code is one of the basic codes of postmodern texts. It concludes certain means of language. The results of the analysis of postmodern texts are also fruitful for the theory of translation.

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DADAISM: A PREDECESSOR OF SURREALISM OR MORE THAN THAT?

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Despite the fact that Tristan Tzara has entered history as the founder and leader of the dada movement which is, in its turn, more or less universally acknowledged as a moment of total nihilism in art, leading to the more productive, and thus more long-lasting movement of surrealism, the impact of dada on the further development of art in the 20th century is greatly underestimated by this approach. The revelations of the dada philosophy were too radical, the dadaist artistic techniques were too revolutionary to be limited to the role of surrealist predecessors only. Having made language and the logic it reflects the main objects of constant attack, dada could be now viewed as the starting point of linguistic experiments throughout the 20th century.

Tzara's nihilist theory and total revolt against all traditional life and art values owe much to the situation in which the dada movement was born. It reflected "la crise de conscience" in Europe where values had been dissolving gradually, finally resulting in a cruel, inhumane and illogical war. Thus, in dadaist opinion, the world where such a crisis became possible could not contain any logic in itself. All logic and all history were false. Following the idea of Emil Szittya, who claims to have known Tzara better than anyone else knew him while in Zürich: "Dada fut une déclaration de guerre à la guerre. [...] Les cinq dada avaient l'audace de fourrer leur nez partout: en politique, en stratégie, en littérature, en peinture, en musique, et leur stupidité était voulue. Elle avait pour but de déranger la guerre. Pour eux, tout était usé, fini, bon à mettre aux ordures" [5; 96]. Dada artistic techniques were born as a result of revolt: the spontaneity and absurd nature of any dada creation are opposed to the traditional system of values and meaning; history is rejected in favour of the individual moment when many things reveal themselves simultaneously and independently of one another.

It is not by chance that Henri Béhar suggests Tzara might have read Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* published in 1916, though there are no documents to prove it. For what Tzara is often doing in his writings is destroying the relations between the signifier and the signified of the word. Playing with words, putting one word instead of another, dadaists explode the logical system of

language and let it create an absurd space dominated by “dictature de l’esprit”. In *Dada manifeste sur l’amour faible et l’amour amer* (1920), Tzara reveals his great secret in a phrase that has become a motto for many generations of avant-garde: “La pensée se fait dans la bouche” [6; 226]. In a situation where the whole history of civilization based on a rational approach to the world is claimed to be false and language as the basis of communication between people is being destroyed, existence can be perceived only fragmentarily, there can not be anything preceding the moment or following it, there is no connection between the fragments of life. Moreover, existence is absolutely chaotic within each single moment as well. In “la cacophonie verbale” that characterizes dadaist plays and poems, everyone is free to find what he or she only can feel or understand.

Simultaneousness of actions reveals itself on different levels. One of them is “le collage verbal” made up of long innumerations of unrelated objects, which is not a purely dadaist invention as it was much used by Apollinaire, for example. The juxtaposition of unrelated fragments of different conversations, many examples of which can be found in *La première aventure céleste de Monsieur Antipyrine*, is also very characteristic of dadaist writings. These techniques clearly reflect Tzara’s idea of creating poetry expressed in *Dada manifeste sur l’amour faible et l’amour amer*.

Pour faire un poème dadaïste
Prenez un journal.
Prenez des ciseaux.
Choisissez dans ce journal un article ayant la longueur
que vous comptez donner à votre poème.
Découpez l'article.
Découpez ensuite avec soin chacun des mots qui forment cet article
et mettez-les dans un sac.
Agitez doucement.
Sortez ensuite chaque coupure l'une après l'autre.
Copiez consciencieusement
dans l'ordre où elles ont quitté le sac.
Le poème vous ressemblera.
Et vous voilà un écrivain infiniment original et
d'une sensibilité charmante, encore qu'incomprise
du vulgaire.

[6; 228]

The above cited recipe for writing poetry shows the process of dadaist destruction of language on the level of syntagmatic relations between the words, leading, in its turn, to the dissolution of logical connection between the signifier and the signified of every single word in the text. The communicative function of

language is abolished, the fact that “dada ne signifie rien” [6; 204] is constantly underlined in every dadaist creation. The emotional, metalinguistical function of language, on the contrary, dominates the works of dada, the phonetical level becoming another object for destruction. The innumerable repetitions of provocative constations (like “Je me trouve très sympathique” in *Dada manifeste sur l'amour faible et l'amour amer*, for example), duplications of words and syllables (starting from the very name of movement “dada” and proceeding to the names of characters in *La première aventure céleste de Monsieur Antipyrine – Bleubleu, Cricri, Pipi*), all these phenomena make the reader feel the emptiness of the words, the impossibility of getting any message from the text. But, at the same time, they create a kind of rhythm that represents the primitive forces of nature as a revolt against civilization. Primitivism also enters Tzara's texts in the form of African languages, which perform the additional function of annoying European audiences by their unknown and incomprehensible sounding.

Thus, the whole range of dadaist techniques lead to the total absence of meaning, absurdity being the aim of dada art as “dada travaille avec toutes ses forces a l'instauration de l'idiote partout” [6; 231]. Naturally, being a moment of total revolt and nihilism, dada managed to stay alive for a short period of time only. The destruction of the old always leads to the construction of something new. Tzara's idea was profoundly revolutionary in itself, as by changing the language he aimed at changing society. It is very significant that after a short period of belonging to the surrealist group, Tzara, admiring Marxism, joined the communist party. Marxism, to a certain extent, personifies the idea of revolution leading to a society rather primitive in its structure and that could be the reason for Tzara's idealistic attitude to communism.

The desire to change life, not just stay within the frame of a work of art, is the main point of contradiction between dada and surrealism. Surrealism started from the dadaist idea of spontaneity which is the basis of “l'écriture automatique”. But, unlike dada with its rejection of history and civilization as they are, surrealism accepts Freud's theory of the subconscious as a scientific basis for art and starts looking for predecessors in history. Following the idea of Elmer Peterson: “Surrealism is in part a semi-scientific attempt to explore and ‘chart’ the unknown realms of the subconscious” [4; 79].

Relations between dada and surrealism to a large extent reflected personal contradictions between their leaders. In fact, the dada movement was gradually oppressed by Breton who was no longer satisfied with dadaist philosophy of nihilism and destruction and the lack of direction of Tzara's proclamations. Thus, in 1922, when Breton established *Congrès de Paris* aiming at giving a more positive orientation to avant-garde art, Tzara, who could not bear the very idea of order and direction, refused to participate in it. That led to the sabotage by the infuriated Breton and his supporters of Tzara's play *Le coeur à gaz*, first performed in Paris in 1923. That event marked the end of the dada movement and

gave "official" birth to surrealism. But Breton's activities in diminishing Tzara's role in developing the artistic thought of the time went as far as to claim that "M. Tristan Tzara had no hand in the invention of dada" [1; 123]. Moreover, the review *Littérature*, of which Breton was an editor, made it clear to the French public that it was André Breton who must be associated with all the achievements of dada. Such an attitude, consequently, kept the offended Tzara on the marge of the surrealist movement until 1929 when Breton in *Le deuxième manifeste surréaliste* apologized to Tzara and praised his work. Tzara, who was sticking to dadaist philosophy up to that time, started to find some features in the surrealist vision of the world that allowed him to join the movement and produce several significant works (*Essai sur la situation de la poésie*, *Grains et Issues*, etc.) corresponding to the philosophy of surrealism. But the beginning of the 30's also revealed the existence of two different tendencies within the movement that, finally, led to the abandoning of the group by many members, including Tzara. There were surrealists interested in art mainly as an adjunct to revolutionary politics and those who viewed surrealism primarily as an attack on aesthetic conventions. Tzara, belonging to the politically minded, and dissatisfied by Breton's mysticism, left the surrealists in 1936 and made an effort to organize a group of "surrationalists" that tended to include not only poets and painters but also scientists and philosophers. The *Inquisitions* review directed by Tzara, Aragon and several others that appeared the same year reveals the main points of contradiction between Tzara and surrealism. According to the former chief of dadaism, the surrealist dream about human liberty did not lead to any real action. Poetry, in Tzara's opinion, had to be lived to have validity but that was not the case of surrealists. Ten years later, in his speech made in la Sorbonne in 1947, Tzara would repeat his accusations, taking as a point of support the fact that the surrealists were very passive during the time of great disturbance, most of them having spent the Second World War out of Europe and, practically, ignored it in their art. Thus, Tzara, while praising the original goal of surrealism, which he describes as the eventual liberation of man and the reconciliation of dream and action, states that the surrealists lost their direction having produced more in the realm of dream. By separating himself from the group in 1935 and joining the communist party Tzara makes a transition from the psychological to the sociological, from aesthetics to positive action.

The dadaist strong desire for action is also illustrated by a large number of performances while one can hardly find many examples of surrealist theatre in a proper sense of the word. The playwrights Vitrac and Artaud were excluded from the group at the early stages of its existence, and their plays are often argued to be more dadaist than surrealist. Aragon and Breton sometimes included plays in the texts of their novels so that they were, consequently, supposed to be read, not performed. The theatrical dimension of dada, not having found a way large enough in surrealism, gave rise to another artistic movement in 20th century France,

namely the theatre of the absurd. The helplessness of the communicative function of language and the impossibility of communication revealing themselves in the poetics of the theatre of the absurd plays owe a lot to dadaist performances. Thus, for example, Henri Béhar notices that the style of Eugène Ionesco's *La cantatrice chauve* is presupposed, to a certain extent, by the characters of Tzara's play *Le coeur à gaz* who repeat constantly: "La conversation devient ennuyeuse". And the names of characters of Beckett's *En attendant Godot* (Gogo, Didi) make us think about the same kind of primitive, childish names in Tzara's *La première aventure céleste de Monsieur Antipyrine*.

Thus, the linguistic achievements of dada were also given their second life in post-war French literature. The leader of lettrism, Isidore Isou, agrees with Tzara who in 1947 was blaming surrealism for having lost its initial goal, but at the same time, Isou turns against Tzara accusing him of letting surrealism erode away the solid achievement of dada, which was a blow against linguistic liberty: "Avec le surréalisme meurt le mythe des mots en liberté. La phrase renaît. Elle devient l'unité du délire. Avec ses traditions, ses ressources. On réhabilite la période, le balancement des propositions" [2; 547]. One can suggest that lettrism's greatest significance is in its insistence on the word as a thing not as a sign. Marcel Duchamp's "ready-mades" must, certainly, have something to do with the "ready-made" sounds used by lettrists. "Je la [poésie] définirais comme re-création perverse du monde. Son matériel, le mot, est élevé par elle de sa situation basement utilitaire à un palier supérieur où, d'un certain point de vue, il se suffit à lui-même. De moyen, d'instrument, de trait d'union entre l'homme et les choses – de substitut des choses – le mot devient lui-même, presque la chose..." [3; 552]. It seems possible that Tzara's efforts contributed to the artistic climate of the middle of the century encouraging a vivid interest in *la chose*. The insistence on the thing itself by the authors of "le nouveau roman" (Michel Butor, Alain Robbe-Grillet, Nathalie Sarraute, etc.) seems to be, in a certain sense, another reflection of dadaism. Treating words as things existing in the text and beyond it independently of one another, escaping literary norms, creating a narration reflecting human emotions before they are converted by clear conscience into literary language is characteristic of the experimental novel starting from the middle of the 20th century. This is also the case of l'OU.LI.PO. and its leader, Raymond Queneau, who at the early stage of his artistic career belonged to the surrealist group and participated in surrealist language games. Having noticed the enormous difference between literary and spoken languages, Queneau tried to create in his writings a language in between music and mathematics, poetic and as if thoroughly calculated at the same time. Queneau's works often suggest a mixture of words belonging to different styles combined at random, phonetical transcriptions and syntactical forms of spoken language. Moreover, his earlier writings present in themselves the so called "potential literature", when a great quantity of variants of the same text can appear letting the reader create his own, unexpected and non-

predictable poetics every time. And that returns us once again to Tristan Tzara's plays, simultaneous poems and "collages verbals".

Thus, it can be suggested that dada, a movement reflecting the feeling of terrible loss of values and complete nihilism caused by the First World War, was not, as seen by many, just a short-lasting moment in the history of art, a preliminary stage of surrealism not having very much importance of its own. On the contrary, dadaist artistic achievements can be considered the starting point of various experiments through the whole history of 20th century French art, especially vivid in the post-war period when there appeared a large number of new artistic visions owing much to the philosophy of dada.

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ДАДАИЗМ: ПРЕДТЕЧА СЮРРЕАЛИЗМА ИЛИ НЕЧТО БОЛЬШЕЕ?

Несмотря на то, что дадаизм практически повсеместно считается кратким периодом полного нигилизма в искусстве, перешедшим в более продуктивное, а потому – более жизнеспособное, движение сюрреализма, подобный подход существенно преуменьшает роль эстетики дада в контексте французского и мирового искусства 20 века. Ярко выраженный театральный аспект, не получив достойного продолжения в искусстве сюрреализма, лег в основу еще одного художественного направления в искусстве 20 века, а именно – театра абсурда. Лингвистические достижения дада также получили второе дыхание в творчестве леттристов, группы УЛИПО и их лидера Реймона Кено, в эстетике экспериментального романа (Мишель Бютор, Ален Робб-Грийе, Натали Саррот и т.д.). Таким образом, художественные наработки дадаизма могут быть интерпретированы как точка отсчета различных экспериментов на протяжении всей истории французского и мирового искусства 20 века.

THE MANY FACES OF ROMANIAN PARIS: REAL CITY, CULTURAL REFUGE, IMAGINARY PROJECTION

MONICA SPIRIDON

Throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries, the interminable debates concerning national identity focused repeatedly on the cultural heritage of the Roman Empire and the Romance origins of the Romanian language. Membership of the national idiom in the club of Romance languages was viewed as an irrefutable proof of a Western European connection and allegiance. Eventually, for the majority of Romanians, Romance meant *French*. Modern France came to be regarded in Romania as the most dignified heir of the late Roman Empire, not only economically and politically, but also culturally. As a consequence, France and its capital city became a Mecca for the young Romanian intellectuals seeking Western European education. The fascination with Paris and French models, as well as the effort to transplant French culture in Bucharest and Romanian culture in Paris, took many different forms over the two last centuries. My article will explore the various “Parises” that Romanians discovered or reinvented in the course of their modernization.

1. A “REAL” PARIS: THE 1848 MODEL

To begin with, there was *the real* Paris where the Romanian intellectuals traveled on the eve of the 1848 revolutions, seeking higher education and professional training. Due to several reasons that I will review below, the early Romanian Francophilia was an elitist, anti-Russian, and political option.

First and the foremost, Paris was an *elitist* option, insofar as only the social and economic elites could afford initiatic journeys and studies in Paris at that time (Roman 76). The Romanian youth enrolled in universities, kept abreast of the political life, were regularly seen in literary salons and even built family alliances (Edgar Quinet’s second wife was Romanian). French-Romanian relations often took an unmediated, personalized, and even affectionate form. Thus C.A. Rosetti (1816–1885) and Ion C.

Brătianu (1821–1891) urged Edgar Quinet in a letter published by the *Courrier Français*: “Help France remember that we are her sons and that we have fought for her in the streets. Add to this that everything we did, we did following her example” (Anghelescu 49).

The French orientation had to be essentially *anti-Russian* since, after the treaty of Andrianople, Romania had been placed under the double control of Turkey and Russia. The control of Russia at the time was more aggressive, its power on the rise. About the same time, France experienced Marquis de Custine’s revelations about Russia, passing through an anti-Russian romanticism that opposed the religiousness and communitarian spirit of Russia. Consequently for the Romanians France was an alternative to the encroaching political and cultural power of Russia.

On a political level, the French Revolution of 1848 was perceived in Bucharest as the starting point of a mythical process which claimed to build an imaginary France, a Jerusalem of liberty and eternal revolution. While lecturing at College de France, Jules Michelet (1798–1874) himself chose “revolution” as the defining feature of French identity, the very name of France (Roman 76–79). Paris, the capital city of this mythical realm, also seemed to be “such stuff as dreams are made of.” Paris emerged as an atemporal icon of Western culture and mentality. From all points of view, France and Paris were overrated as ideal models.

Culturally wise, the Romanian travelers of the period tried to assimilate and adjust the romantic Herderian ideas, fashionable in Paris: the revival of the vernacular and of the oral culture, the focus on national history, local exoticism, and the rural tradition. Later writers like Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889) viewed this period somewhat more critically, detecting a certain naiveté in the ideological discourse of the 1848 generation that placed the French radical revolutionary rhetoric in inappropriate contexts.

2. THE POST-1848 MODEL

After the defeat of the 1848 Revolutions in the Romanian Principalities, a lot of liberal “westernizers” were forced into exile, the majority to Paris. Among the exiles were important writers and political leaders like C.A. Rosetti, Ion C. Brătianu, Vasile Alecsandri (1818–1890), A. Russo (1918–1859), Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891), Cezar Bolliac (1813–1881), Ion Ghica (1816–1897), and Ioan Heliade Rădulescu (1802–1871). The latter, whose exile lasted the longest – nine whole years – had a very significant evolution, revelatory for the Messianic rhetoric of the 1848 Romanian intellectuals and for their fascination with the Christian-socialist political models

offered by Felicité Robert de Lamennais, Pierre Leroux, François Marie Charles Fourier, and others (see Zamfir 84–5, 110–111).

The abundant production of Romanian literature in the French language should also be taken into consideration. The 1848 generation were pioneers in this respect, especially in the epistolary genre. During his exile in Paris, Heliade wrote *Souvenirs et impressions d'un proscrit* (1850; Recollections and Impressions of an Outcast) and *Memoires sur l'histoire de la régénération roumaine* (1851; Memoirs on the History of Romanian Regeneration). Simultaneously, Alecu Russo wrote in French the first version of his poem in prose *Cântarea României* (Song of Romania), although what this work described was a mythic rather than real homeland.

French language was important also in certain circles back in Bucharest, playing the role of a cultural *koine* (common language). After his educational journey to Paris, Alexandru Macedonski (1854–1920), founder of the Romanian symbolist movement, published poetic prose in Paris, and poetry in Romanian and French in Bucharest. His poetic production in French was occasionally reviewed in French literary journals. In early 20th century, Romanian symbolist poets were quite familiar with the Parisian artistic bohemia. Overall, this stimulated the modernization of poetic expression and enhanced the Romanian national self-awareness.

3. THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY: "BUCHAREST ON THE SEINE"

There are two distinct faces of the Romanian Paris – let us call it "Bucharest on the Seine" – in the 20th century: an *aulic* (princely) and an *insurgent* one.

Several Romanian aristocratic families had settled on the Seine and entered mixed marriages. Among them, the princely families Brancovan-Bibesco deserve special attention. Anna-Elisabeta Brâncoveanu, married as Countess de Noailles (1876–1933), ended up totally assimilated into French literature. A fascinating figure was also the princess Martha Bibescu (Marthe Bibesco, 1889–1973), wife of Anna de Noailles' cousin. By the end of her life, she had published, both in Paris and in Bucharest, more than 30 volumes, some of them prize-winners of the French Academy.

In an insightful essay, published in Paris, Mircea Eliade made some important points concerning Marthe Bibesco's cultural position, insisting on her role as a cultural mediator: "Just before her death, the princess Martha Bibesco was being perceived as the last witness of an earlier Europe. The fact of the matter was that she had been an acquaintance of the last Tzar and of all the European sovereigns; among her closest friends she could count King Ferdinand and Queen Maria of Romania, as well as Marcel

Proust, Paul Claudel and Father Mugnier; she frequented not only the Parisian literary salons and writers, but also politicians, military leaders, artists, scientists, and priests, from all over Europe" (Eliade, "Marthe Bibesco et la *Nymphe Europe*" 67; *my trans.*)

As a written testimony of her distinguished Parisian friendships, we could mention her epistolary exchange with Paul Claudel, published in a volume, and her well-known book *Au bal avec Marcel Proust* (In the Ballroom with Marcel Proust). Another family member, Antoine Bibesco, wrote a play performed in Paris, "Le Jaloux" (The Jealous Man) and Proust himself reviewed it in *Le Figaro*.

For these Romanian aristocrats, who had integrated themselves easily and without traumas into the French culture, Paris was somehow a second Bucharest: "Rien ne pourra faire de moi une exilée en France!..." (Nothing could make me feel exiled in France), the writer used to say (qtd. in Eliade, "Marthe Bibesco et la *Nymphe Europe*" 76) The continuity between the Romanian "Little Paris" (Bucharest) and the French capital-city was almost seamless. Regarding the double identity of Marthe Bibesco, Eliade reports that her close friends saw her as another goddess Proserpine, living six months of the year above the earth and the other six underground, which meant that she usually spent half of her life in Paris and the other, mysterious half, on her properties in Romania (Eliade, "Marthe Bibesco et la *Nymphe Europe*" 72). All of these princely Romanian intellectuals were bi-lingual and bi-cultural, perceiving their mother culture as a dialect and continuation of their adopted one.

The other, rebellious facet of the "Romanian Paris" was associated with the historical avant-gardes. Avant-garde Romanian writers saw Paris as a stage upon which they could present their programs regardless of whether they settled there or continued to commute between Paris and Bucharest. According to Marcel Cornis-Pope (97), the Romanian avant-garde tried to engage dialogically the Western art scene, combating thereby a Romanian *time lag* complex and perpetual sense of *cultural marginality*. Gherasim Luca (1913–1994), the founder of the Romanian surrealist group, sent the French surrealists an uplifting manifesto (see Luca, 1945), trying to revitalize a movement on the wane. In 1952, after the communist takeover, Gherasim Luca went into exile to Paris, becoming part of a later wave of the post-war, anti-communist Romanian diaspora.

Some Romanian writers managed not only to enroll in but also to anticipate some of the West European avant-garde moments. Tristan Tzara (Samuel Rosenstock, 1896–1963), for example, left Romania in 1915, after publishing ironic poems that mocked both traditional and symbolistic poetry (see Tzara, 1976). His presence in Zürich and later Paris managed to stir up Western poetry as well, launching the Dadaist and Surrealist experiments. Ilarie Voronca (1903–1946) had a similarly interesting

evolution. After contributing in the 1920s to the modernist circles in Bucharest, he left for Paris to study for a doctoral degree in law. Contaminated with the experimental virus he picked up in the artistic quarters of Paris, he made frequent trips back to Bucharest to act as a catalyst for a new wave of experimentation. Together with painter Victor Brauner (1903–1966) he founded *75HP*, a dadaist-constructivist literary magazine (1926). After migrating from one editorial board to another, either as editor or as a contributor, he finally settled down in Paris, in 1993, producing more than a dozen volumes and some short stories introduced to the public by Eugene Ionesco.

The most interesting and at the same time dramatic career was that of Benjamin Fundoianu (1898–1944). The Introduction to his controversial volume, *Imagini și cărți din Franța* (Images and Books from France), described Romanian literature as a poor imitation of French literature and Romania as a mere cultural colony of France (Fundoianu, 1911). Later the author settled down in Paris being naturalized under the name Benjamin Fondane. He became a fine critical interpreter of Rimbaud and of Baudelaire, a collaborator of *Les Cahiers du Sud* and *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, a friend of Leon Shestov and author of philosophical essays. Like in the case of Ilarie Voronca, Martha Bibescu, Anna de Noailles, Eugène Ionesco, or Emil Cioran, his accomplishments in Paris testified to the fact that a Romanian author could get integrated in the European circuit, not in spite of but because of his national origins that provided him with a familiar and at the same time unique voice. It is true, however, that Fundoianu paid with his life for his dream of European integration, being denounced by his new French neighbors as a Jew and deported to Auschwitz.

Simultaneously with the writers, a lot of painters and sculptors emigrated to Paris and other Western European cities. Chief among them was Constantin Brâncuși (1876–1957). His position within the Western avant-garde is a matter of debate. While some interpreters have emphasized the dependence of Brâncuși's production upon French modernist models, in his last collection of essays published in France Mircea Eliade argued that, in pursuing African models, Brâncuși actually recuperated his own archaic Romanian roots (see Eliade, "Brancusi et les mythologies").

In a nutshell, the most impressive characteristic of this early 20th century "Bucharest on the Seine" was the two ways traffic of values and the reciprocal exchange of cultural artifacts. Some Romanians started by writing in French while still in Romania. Others left for Paris to produce literature in an adopted language. On their return to Romania they did or did not keep up the French writing. Some of them inhabited simultaneously the two cities, like Ilarie Voronca and Martha Bibescu. All of them mediated the cultural dialogue between French models and the local forms of modernism.

Paris between the two world wars also encouraged interartistic cross-fertilizations. The experiments of writers were followed or inspired by representatives of the visual arts such as Brâncuși, Victor Brauner, Marcel Iancu (1895–1979), Natalia Dumitrescu, Horia Damian (b. 1922), and George Apostu (1934–1980). They were all members of the Romanian community on the banks of the Seine. Benjamin Fondane, for example, worked for the Paramount movie studios and published a volume of scripts, called *Trois scénarios. Ciné-Poèmes* (Three Scripts: Cine-Poems).

This Paris had stopped being the model of civic consciousness and of democracy. It had become a cosmopolis and a cultural interface.

4. THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: THE ANTI-COMMUNIST DIASPORA

In the second half of the 20th century, during the Soviet takeover of Romania, the communist ideology and the ruling power imposed by the tanks pushed many Romanian intellectuals into exile. Paris became the center of the Romanian diaspora, organized around a nucleus of distinguished writers like Eugène Ionescu (1909–1994), Emil Cioran (1911–1995), and Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), who became its symbolic figureheads. The Parisian diaspora included also Horia Stamatu (1912–1989), Gherasim Luca (1913–1994), Virgil Gheorghiu (b. 1905), and several other writers who founded publishing houses, literary magazines, and cultural societies such as the “Leonard Arcade Mamaliga” circle. This article proposes not an inventory of names, but rather a brief analysis of the ways in which Paris functioned for the Romanian émigrés, has been perceived and imagined by them.

Although the three doyens of the Romanian diaspora in Paris – Ionescu, Eliade, and Cioran – have often been perceived as a team, in reality they followed rather divergent paths. Ionescu integrated himself completely in his adopted culture, becoming a member of the French Academy and a unanimously recognized founder of Absurdist Theater. In one of his diary entries he ironically states that, since culture is a matter of self-estrangement – “if we, the Romanians want to do literary criticism we must become French” (Ionescu 150).

Cioran was also totally assimilated as a French philosopher and essay-writer, and acclaimed as one of the most accomplished postwar stylists in the French language. This kind of “over-integration” can be viewed as a response to the perceived marginality of his native culture. His essays raise obsessively the question: “Comment peut-on être Roumain” (How can one be a Romanian?). The answer suggested by his career is that one can be a Romanian by choosing self-exile in Paris.

Mircea Eliade chose a peculiar type of exile. After crossing the Atlantic to found in Chicago a School in the History of Religions, he regularly returned to Paris, lived in *Place Charles Dulin*, published his *Diary* and his essays in French, shared the life of the Romanian diaspora, and frequented the fashionable intellectual circles in Paris. All this time, he kept writing literature in Romanian: novels and short stories published in his homeland only during the nineties.

The political diaspora in Paris clustered around the Romanian department of Radio Free Europe. This is where, for more than 40 years, Monica Lovinescu (b. 1923) and Virgil Ierunca (b. 1920) spread the principles of intellectual and spiritual liberty. Since the early 1950s, their radio essays presented under the title *Teze și antiteze la Paris* (Theses and Antitheses in Paris) engaged both Romanian and French cultural phenomena, validating nondogmatic aesthetic standards. Their talk shows managed to radicalize politically and coagulate the Romanian community; they also integrated it into the French cultural life. Paris represented for them a political and cultural alternative to totalitarianism, an option for intellectual survival.

During the last and most oppressive years of Ceaușescu's dictatorship, a different sort of exiles started arriving in Paris. They were "undesirables" expelled by Ceaușescu's regime, such as dissident novelist Paul Goma (b. 1935), a signatory of the Czech Charta 77, and Dumitru Țepeneag (b. 1937), director for a while of the publication *Cahiers de L'Est*. They were followed by a wave of intellectual and political refugees, among which there were a number of writers (Al. Papillian [b. 1947], Ilie Constantin [b. 1939], Bujor Nedelcovici [b. 1936]) who wrote both in Romanian and in French, contributed to literary periodicals, or studied for Ph.D.s. Their Paris was one of political refuge and resistance.

PARIS AS AN IMAGINARY PROJECTION

Imaginary cities are built using the most sophisticated symbolic means. In certain contexts, the mental resonances associated by individuals and groups with real as well as imaginary cities can be regarded as relatively stable. The verisimilitude of these symbolical models has been rhetorically validated by education and by travel writings. Nowadays, mass media play an important part in it as well. The equation *Bucharest / Little Paris*, and the representations of Paris subsequently generated by it, were started by French travelers like Raymond Poincaré, Jules Michelet, Lucien Romier, and Paul Morand. This equivalence produced a fascinating mixture of ideological clichés and stereotypes, as well as a number of purely fictitious projections.

In Romania, the intertwining of the two cities was purely literary. The imaginary Paris was built out of the bricks of French prose and poetry. In semiotic terms, the cultural *signified* of *Le Petit Paris*, is a mere construct, bearing the stamp of Baudelaire and the tradition of symbolist flâneurs, of Nerval, of Barbey d'Aurevilly, and even more so, of Balzac, Proust and Gide.

In the fashionable circles of Bucharest, French literature and culture were approached in their original forms and transplanted directly into the street, leaving an unmistakable trace in the rhymes of the coffee shops, in the cuisine, and in the haute couture but also in the casual fashion and style of frivolous chat. The lower middle-class living on the outskirts, but aspiring to a better social condition, read *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Les Mystères de Paris*, featured in Romanian translation in ladies' magazines. In both cases, the impact of westernization *à la parisienne* on culture, daily life, and literary imaginary was very strong, unparalleled by any other influence.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of this chapter can only be placed under a double question mark: How real was to the Romanians the so-called "*real Paris*"? Was there a significant difference between this version of Paris and any fictitious topography?

Even the Paris of the 1848 generation, the Paris of the *bonjouristes* (named so after their habit of greeting people in French) was to a great extent a political and cultural fiction, dominated by the myth of the Great Revolution and built out of biblical and messianic materials. This was only the starting point of a long process of imaginative construction.

After our brief review of this trajectory, the answer to the two questions raised above may seem less paradoxical: In practical terms, there was no noticeable difference; roughly speaking, the same Paris as an-imaginary-East-European-City has been constantly built and re-built, in slightly different versions, in almost all areas of East-Central Europe.

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B. FUNDOIANU: LANDSCAPES' LIMELIGHT

EMIL MOANGĂ

B. Fundoianu had left to Paris for a few years when Paul Păun, D. Trost and Sesto Pals were beginning their literary career contributing to vanguardist magazines with texts which more or less obviously announced a notional imagery inspired from the cabalistic speculation, texts about which one could hardly say they are mere attempts to renew a tumultuous modernism's themes. The moments are coincidental: it was approximately the year when Fundoianu published his poetry volume *Priveliști* [Landscapes] (1930*), in which the poet gathered a part of his poems written between 1917 and 1923, and also the time of his continuing relationships with the vanguardist publications.

B. Fundoianu is a symbolist with the temperament of an expressionist. Self-entitled as a symbolist, the poet Fundoianu decides the genesis of his own poetry in order to follow a mode of obscure suggestion and association with the dissimilitude. The poetry of the volume *Priveliști*, liable to traditionalist descriptivism, sends – through Kierkegaard's way¹ – to the instant of eternity of a pure recomposition of inner realities to substitute and abolish a demoralizing time, mode of contemplation and imaginary "invention"² of a soul state. The poet confesses, with a nietzschean expression, that he strives for Baudelaire's "will of mystical power"³, in order to recollect – within a poetry seen as method of cognition and described heideggerian-like as unique "reason of the being to persevere into being"⁴ – the lost paradise.

And when he asserts then that "the earthly paradise was in idea", Fundoianu displaces the movement of his own existence into art's privileged space, where the ecstatic living of time (the instant of eternity), which is the simultaneity – in his mind – of his grandfather's prayer in the synagogue with earth's rumble, this

* All the following quotations from the authors mentioned in the text are translated by me, E.M.

¹ See I. Negoitescu, *Istoria literaturii române*, Minerva, București, 1991, p. 297.

² B. Fundoianu, *Poezii*, edition, notes and variants by Paul Daniel and G. Zarafu, introductory study by Mircea Martin, postface by Paul Daniel (edition of Romanian poems and Romanian translations from French), Minerva, București, 1978, p. 5.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

means time-abolishment, perception of time as void place, innermost space in which the possibilities order themselves originally, like in the outset: “omul e un animal pe care poezia îl cioplește din lut”⁵ [man is an animal that poetry carves in clay]. In this ecstatic time of the poet, everything becomes image. Image more coagulated and more impenetrable than the thinking itself, meaningless and mean grasping instead. In *Biblia Nouă* [The New Bible] according to Fundoianu, which is situated as a motto to a poem from his manuscripts, *Colchida Nouă*⁶ [The new Colchida], truth is the psychological fact of the investment of being to the thing: “tu îmbraci lucrului ființa pe care i-o bănuiești” [you are dressing to the thing the being you suppose].

Fundoianu's poetry is the expression of the sleepy and inert matter's consubstantiality with the void: “boii pe dealuri duc arătura-n vid” [bulls on the hill lead the ploughing into the void] (*Ce simplu*)⁷ [How simple...]. But from this very void-splinter, “figura nevăzută, teribilă, a forții” [the unseen figure, terrible, of the force] (*Herța VII*)⁸ gleams. At Goethe⁹, in the *Artist's Twilight Song*, the nature “from thousands of mouths playing spring out, jocund Fountain”, like Earth Spirit (with whom Faust confronts) in front of whom the man – at Hölderlin, following Goethe – is but appearance. Fundoianu says: “dacă poți, privește ... figura nevăzută” [if you are able, look at ... the unseen figure] and like Goethe (in the sonnet *Nature and Art*) for whom art and nature do not fall apart anymore after you wore “the tight garments” of the art, and thus you had the foreboding of the nature “alighted in you”, since from “the chasm the form arises” – the thinking will not be able to coagulate “the pure consummation”, the master showing himself but “within limits and in the finding out the liberty in law”¹⁰. It is this “the return to nature” Nietzsche¹¹ referred to – not a proper coming back, but an amount to (“to climb up”, says he) “the nature and superior simplicity, free, even terrible, that raises the great obligations, being allowed to do it” ... to that one who perceives nature – Nietzsche writes – as it has to be perceived, with *disgust*, and so it is, by Goethe.

Și oamenii se culcă cu sufletu-n noroi,
Îl scuipe, îl sărută, îl blastă, îl iartă.

[And the people lie down with their souls on the mud./ They spit on it, kiss it, curse it, forgive it.] Fundoianu ends his elegy *Ce simplu*

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 278.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

⁹ Goethe, *Poezii*, Editura Tineretului, București, 1961.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

¹¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Amurgul Idolilor*, translated into Romanian by Alexandru Al. Șahighian, second edition, Humanitas, București, p. 144.

Fundoianu's *Priveleşti* are a great hymn of the earth, of the communion with nature and its light sometimes demonical, like Goethe's, other times, most often, presented as sparkling vestiges of God's trace: sprung light from the chasms in which life twins death. Not the sun's sensed light is exalted: this is only seen as "fallen with its lips in the clay" ("căzută cu buzele în lut" – *Sinaia I*¹²), caved in from the air. Fundoianu sings "White ... the light of your black earth" ("albă... lumina pământului tău negru" – *Rugă simplă*¹³ [Simple Prayer]) sprung from the earth,

*matrice din ziua cea dintâi,
în care mă aşteaptă, ca-ntr-o oglindă, chipul.
(Femeie luminoasă¹⁴)*

["matrix of the first day,/ in which my image, like in a mirror, is waiting for me" – Bright Woman]. To the originary moment, that of the begetting of a man out of clay, the originary light of Creation naturally is sought together to, for the poet's "return" to the earth of the begetting means also perception of Creation's vestiges of light. There is here expressed the understanding of God's emerging from his self: once towards the world, as a momentary and bright time of creation; and once towards the human being, as a moment of Revelation. By Revelation we understand the experience of prayer, ritual, and God's presence-absence.

Fundoianu's language, when he suggests that light is God's image, is apophatic:

*e-o lumină de care nu mă rup;
lumină din lumină şi spume între spume –
şi nu e decât umbra cuiva fără trup.
(Lui Ion Călugăru)¹⁵*

["there is a light I do not part myself from;/ light out of light and foams among foams-/ and there is but the shadow of someone without a body" – To Ion Călugăru]. The poet does not share the same bright essence with his soul. "Îmi țin în mână sufletul de soare" [I hold my sun-soul] or "sufletul meu e ud de-atâta soare" [my soul is wet of so much sun], he says ecstatically, but this is not the ecstasy of his overtaking the epiphany – associated with silence – of the primordial light: "ca un ulcior gros sparge lumina" (*După Diluviu*)¹⁶ [like a thick jug the light breaks – After the Flood] the earth. In an unpublished poem-manifesto, written in 1917, Fundoianu claims "Eu n-am iubit nimic decât viața!" [I loved nothing but life!] and continues:

¹² Fundoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

*Și dacă v-am iubit, o, simpli boi,
pământ îmbătrânit în bun ...
n-am iubit în voi
decât lumina ce venea dintr-însa.*

[And if I loved you, o, simple oxen/in good-grown old earth .../I didn't love in you/but the light that was coming out of life]; light of pure life in a definitive contrast with the middling life which, according to Fundoianu, is God after Creation. One guesses the deep melancholy of the poet who ends the poem thus: "Îndestulați de lut, să încercăm cu aripi a tainelor știință" [satiated by the clay, let us with wings try of the mysteries' science] – who approached to the humble and wise Job: "Or talk to the earth, and it will give you knowledge"(Job 12:8).

Man is earthly and earthling, nostalgic of the lost paradise as home to the first man, Gan Eden which is divine domain, part of the divinity and vestige of the creational force. "In the haggadic affirmation concerning the fact that *Torah* originally would have been written with black fire on white fire (see Fundoianu's verse "white ... your black earth's light" – my note, E.M.) we have a confirmation of our opinion that continuous writing, without parting the words, was used, which permitted to be used either as a succession of esoteric rimes, or traditionally as history and commandments, namely", Gershom Scholem writes¹⁷. In the traditional Judaism, the fact that law means light relies on Ps. 118:115 and Ba 4:2; the knowledge of wisdom is named light and the one who spreads it is also named light in Is 42:6 and in 12:3. According to Hasidic belief, the original light got into the *tzadikim*'s souls (the souls of the righteous ones), thence it gets into their works and facts¹⁸ (for in Hasidism the hiatus between believing and doing are abolished, and differences between word and fact do not seem to exist), and thence into the words of the hasids who speak them. The light is constituted by sparks, says the story of rabbi Baruh of Mesbiz: "The sparks that, when the universe was created, fell on the worldly cover of the things and pervaded the composition of the stones, plants and animals, rise helped by the benediction of the believer exerting himself with the things of this world, using and consuming them in the spirit of holiness, thus rise then to the source they came from"¹⁹. In a late Cabalistic interpretation – taken and ethically applied by the hasids – *scintillae* of the divine light, in a catastrophe of the Creation, would have fallen into the world, flooding the "crust" of the objects and beings.

From the Talmudic learning about *Shekhina* ("the presence of God living in the world"), the Cabalistic commentary directs the mystical experience towards a

¹⁷ Gershom Scholem, *Cabala si simbolistica ei*, translated from German into Romanian by Nora Iuga, Humanitas, București, 1996, p. 28.

¹⁸ See Martin Buber, *Povestiri hasidice*, translated into Romanian, notes and foreword by Amelia Pavel, Univers, București, 1998.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

personalized content: dedicating entirely your passion to "God's worldly destiny"²⁰ with a holy intention, in "the state of prayer's concentration", *kawana*, you "unify God with *Shekhina*, unify the eternity with time". You only have to be in concord with yourself, "indissolubly directed towards the divine purpose of the soul". Discover the sense of each contradiction in the world that brings you to spiritual deadlock and in passionate joy say the word to abolish the opposition, thus gladdening God. At Fundoianu, instead, the light erupting under the cover of the "things" – light which makes the being iridescent – is perceived **only** in the mental invention of the imagined *landscape* (intuition).

The all-humble Rabbi Ahron of Karlin²¹ answers to the question what did he specifically learn from his teacher: Nothing. And at the insistences of his companions, he adds: the Nothing. The sense of the nothing I have learned. I learned that I was nothing and yet existed. The truth uttered by the Wiseman does not mean that in his ego there is an opponent to deny existence. Rabbi Ahron is the right one, the one who touches the supreme joy of self – the supreme homage brought to God's joy – after the removed any illusion of being's appearances. When the *tzadik* mentions the Nothing from behind the being, he does not equalize the void to the being, but he refers to the absolute Nothingness (the one before the Creational act) whence the Being rose (see the void at the end of the ploughing, in Fundoianu's verse, the abysmal splinter in which thing's being hides and spring out of). For the cabalists, the Nothingness – in its passing to Being, on **that** bright and instantaneous moment – is the Divine space itself: the Nothingness is not a succedaneum of God, but the place of support and articulation of Divinity into Being.

The poet Fundoianu, otherwise, has the intuition of finding the supernature in nature, of finding what transcends substance in substance, but his melancholy comes from the fact that this thruth's fancy is poetical subterfuge. Probably from his grandfather Fundoianu knew that man, in his moment and his space – in "the instant of eternity" – is in debt to seek the light, the bright vestiges of God's traces into being. When Fundoianu puts the sign of equivalence between the concept of truth and nothingness²², after the poetical experience of being-like light's inner perception and of the mental reality's representation of existence, he speaks about two irreducibly antagonistic thinkings, as they are congruent in the human being's constitution: "one makes, certainly, the existential affirmation, and the other, with less certainty, denies existence and substitutes a world of ideal structures to it."²³

Or, in his poem, Fundoianu says "a light from me got hidden". There is here expressed the suggestion of an ecstatic melancholy of feeling the consubstantiality

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

²² See B. Fundoianu, *Conștiința nefericită (La conscience malheureuse, 1926)*, translated into Romanian by Andreea Vlădescu, Humanitas, București, 1993.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

shared by nothingness and the innermost light of matter. And also the feeling of death before death: “for his will *to do* and his will *to be* took each other in the grim fight”. The mental accord of (his grandfather’s) prayer with earth’s rumble weakens to the profound rending from the “unhappy consciousness’s” variance.

*Poate-am greșit, Părinte, când ți-am cântat natura ...
Închis în amintire ca-ntr-o obscură strofă
În vidul unde steaguri de ideale-mpung
te-aștept să vii, trompetă de spaimă, Catastrofă –
sărut urcând în ochii oceanelor, prelung.*

[Maybe I was Wrong, Father, when I sang your nature.../ Closed in remembrance like in an obscure stanza/ in the void where flags of ideals prick/ I wait for you to come, trumpet of fright, Catastrophy-kiss climbing in oceans’ eyes, long] are lines of the poem *Paradă*²⁴ [Parade], with which the volume *Privești* begins and announces the great theme of the essays from *La conscience malheureuse* (1936): the great fear, the feeling of the ultimate emptiness from existence.

²⁴ B. Fundoianu, *Poezii*, p. 11.

POSTMODERN SIMULACRA: A ROMANIAN VERSION OF THE POSTMODERN NON-HEROIC HERO

RALUCA DUNĂ

As regards cultural or social phenomena “still alive”, one can not classify or give unique definitions. By its nature, postmodernism may be subject to many different and even contradictory comments¹. Literary postmodernism embraces a multitude of styles and literary attitudes, some rising from the reaction to high Modernism, others coming out as a consequence of post-industrial mass-culture. In his well-known essay, Matei Călinescu considered postmodernism “a new face of modernity”, a modernity which is built on a double principle, “dual, ambiguous, duplicative”².

Postmodernism has as philosophical basis the critics of the Enlightenment and humanist principles, the pretensions of absolute knowledge and truth. Postmodernism rejects unity, uniqueness, transcendence, order, metaphysics. He brings out the eclectic, the heterogeneous, the ambiguity of multiplicity, the immanence, the decentralization. Gianni Vattimo claimed that post-modernity, which is “the end of modernity”, provides a kind of “soft thought”, opposite to the universal, aggressively dominating metaphysical thought³. On the contrary, postmodernism accepts and imposes plurality, marginality, minorities. It deconstructs the canon, destroying any “authorities”. Everything is an ideological construct: any artistic representation is filled up with a certain ideology, human identity itself is the product of an ideology, a mere construct. Language, a system of signs, turns into an imperfect and inadequate vehicle for rendering reality, being saturated with ideology. Contemporary epoch could be defined as a new theoretical

¹ For example, Dan Grigorescu, in *Jocul cu oglinzile. Însemnări despre literatura și arta postmodernă* (Universal Dalsi, Bucharest, 2000), talks about the “fluidity” and the uncertainty of the “postmodern”, the most current opinion, while Sven Spieker, in *Comparative Literature Studies* (Penn State Press, 4, 1995, p. 479) claims: “Western postmodernism appears by now to have arrived at a ‘late’ stage where its basic poetological and epistemological assumptions have become accessible to classification and systematization.”

² Matei Călinescu, *Cinci fețe ale modernității*, Univers, Bucharest, 1995, p. 222.

³ Gianni Vattimo, *Sfârșitul modernității*, Pontica, Constanța, 1993, p. 15, about post-modernity and post-metaphysics.

age, dominated by language: "The limits of my world are the limits of my language", Wittgenstein once said. The idea that "language rather *constitutes* than *reflects* world"⁴, stated by poststructuralism, has been taken over by a postmodernism which focuses on the linguistic discourse as a means of undermining and repressing, as the most appropriate form of gaining power.

Nor truth or knowledge, but simulacrum and the thirst for power are emblematic. Simulacrum, in its various aspects (television, in Baudrillard's theories or photography for Linda Hutcheon) has become the paradigmatic form of postmodern significance. Postmodernism "admits its complicity with those values it tries to destroy"⁵. The limits between reality and fiction disappear, as both prove to be ideological constructs, simulacra.

The strategy of the postmodern writer relies both on the critical attitude and the recycling of literary traditions, through citation, self-citation and pastiche. Postmodernist criticism refuses heroism, fighting with the past, as it inserts postmodernism in the literary tradition, but in a duplicative manner, self-conscious, playful, softly contesting. Nothing has remained innocent: nor language, literature, reader, writer or character. The postmodern self-conscience seeks for the narcissist pleasures of duplicity. Postmodern literature, a "literature of exhaustion" as John Barth named it, "dismembered"⁶, submits to the principle of pleasure, the sole valid principle for literary works. Hedonism and consumerism seem to be the main characteristics of contemporary literature: what is pleasant, easily likeable, destined to the reader's guaranteed satisfaction⁷. Works of art come to be treated as any other goods for sale, a sort of special merchandise, turning into fake art objects. Kitsch, an effect of cultural industrialization, created for a certain type of receiver, which is the consumer of fake art, provides false esthetic conscience, an esthetic lie. The world of kitsch is the world of "illusion and esthetic self-deception"⁸, the typically postmodern world of simulacra.

The pleasure postmodern literature furnishes may often take the form of parody. Deconstructing conventions, displaying literary techniques offer new pleasures to postmodern readers, true "counter-heroes", looking for the "pleasures of the text"⁹. The hypothetical, the incertitude, the provisory do not stir anguish, but the pleasures of a game of infinite possibilities. Within this game of

⁴ Dan Grigorescu, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

⁵ Linda Hutcheon, *Politica postmodernismului*, Univers, Bucharest, 1997, p. 15.

⁶ We have paraphrased the title of Ihab Hassan's well-known article on postmodernism, *The Dismemberment of Orpheus* (1963).

⁷ Matei Călinescu, in the forementioned book, gave as examples postmodern writers like Umberto Eco and John Barth.

⁸ Matei Călinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁹ Roland Barthes (*Plăcerea textului*, Echinox, Cluj, 1994) talks about a "hedonism of the language", about the "erotic" qualities of the text.

imprecision, author and reader become characters, the original may be taken as imitation and reality melts into a self-referential fiction. The postmodern literary experiments try to destroy any limits, rules or established canon. The autonomous literary work, the literary genre, mimesis, author and character are, if not out of fashion, at least questionable concepts¹⁰.

The postmodern literary character, which we are going to focus from now on, referring mainly to American literature – as it seems the most representative of postmodernist literary phenomenon – has lost his coherence, turning into an ambiguous strange entity.

The postmodern hero has been foreseen by the man of the underground, Joseph, the hero of *The Dangling Man* (1944) by Saul Bellow or *The Man Who Lived Underground* (1944) of Richard Wright, descendant of Kafkian and Dostoievskian heroes. It is a narcissist character, sexually and literary ambiguous, as it appears in the novels of Philip Roth (*The Breast*, 1972, *The Professor of Desire*, 1977, *Zuckerman bound*, 1985, *The counterlife*, 1987 etc.), the invisible nameless man of Ralph Ellison (*Invisible Man*, 1952), a human failure, like in the literature of Bernard Malamud. Ambiguity and duality are essential to the postmodern literary character. Is Humbert-Humbert, the hero of the famous *Lolita* (1955) a sexual maniac or “The Last Lover”, as Lionel Trilling called him?¹¹ The name itself is suggestive of this duplicity. The character breaks into pieces – many inconsistent egos – and feels alienated: voyeur, a sick person or a madman, like the characters in Kurt Vonnegut’s *Slaughterhouse 5* (1969). Ego, identity are pure fictions¹² which continually deconstruct themselves. The serious, heroic nature of modern literature and character dissolves in irony, absurdity and satire, in the arbitrary of a game. The dissolution of the hero turns him into a multiform entity, which lacks a clear contour. The protean hero is polymorphous, out of any ordered system, with a profound sense of the absurd. The hero is a dilettante, an adventurer, an unauthentic person, with no history and destiny.

Postmodern literary hero is an anti-heroic or, better, a non-heroic hero, and the way of narrating his story defines also a kind of “anti-form”¹³, made up of fragments, different narrative voices and styles. Sometimes, the character knows he’s a character in a fiction. Other times, fiction itself becomes a character who announces his own crisis of identity, like in John Barth’s *Autobiography: A Self-Recorded Fiction* :

¹⁰ Roland Barthes wrote in 1968 an essay entitled *The death of the author*, the American writer Ronald Sukenick wrote a short-story called *The Death of the Novel*, in 1969. Truman Capote called his novel *In cold blood*, 1965, a “nonfiction novel”.

¹¹ Lionel Trilling, *The Last Lover*, in *Encounter*, 1958, apud Monica Bottez, *Motley Landscapes: Studies in post-war American Fiction*, T.U.B., Bucharest, 1997.

¹² Manfred Putz, in *Fabula Identității*, The European Institute, Iasi, 1995, develops this idea referring to characters in the American postmodern literature.

¹³ J. K. Hassan, in *The Dismemberment of Orpheus*, apud Monica Bottez, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

"I hope I'm a fiction without real hope. (...) Surrogate; countless form (...) Who am I? A little *crise d'identité* for you. I must compose myself."¹⁴

Postmodern hero seems to be the inversion and the parody of the mythical hero. "The weak subject of postmodernism manifests itself in the rhetorical figure 'I – Someone Else'. Typologically, that figure unfolds as two different types of postmodern subject, schizoid and narcissistic."¹⁵ The hero of Barth *Giles Goat-Boy* (1966), son of a virgin and a powerful computer, living between goats, becomes half-goat and starts on a journey in order to initiate himself, but there's only a parody. Oedipa, the female hero of Thomas Pynchon's novel *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) proves the same profane structure. The oedipal drama of destiny turns into a story of continuous simulacra, the tragic hero becomes an inconsistent paranoid hero, gradually lost in the indeterminacy of his destiny. The postmodern world lives under the sign of a tragically ambiguous farce: the acronym W.A.S.T.E., all-pervading, symbols this degrading of significance.

We are going to follow now the destiny of this postmodern "non-heroic" hero, as we called him, taking a Romanian version into account, namely the play of Vlad Zografi *Oedipus at Delphi* (1997). Our choice is undoubtedly symbolical. We are interested not only in a postmodern paradigm of the literary hero, but also in the relation to its model: the profaned or inverted myths seem the source of postmodern pleasures and simulacra.

The Romanian playwright takes the dramatic theme over from Hugo von Hofmannstahl, who wrote, at the beginning of the 20th century, an *Oedipus and the Sphinx*¹⁶. Here, an incestuous love-story of Oedipus and Iocasta takes place in the dream Oedipus has at the Oracle of Delphi. The modern ambiguous dream replaces the clarity of the ancient tragic action. Nor does Oedipus assume his destiny or reach the truth, he is just unconsciously following his erotic impulse. The idea of destiny, the core meaning of the ancient tragedy, lost its primeval significance. Oedipus' dream – a kind of *mise-en-abyme* of his future destiny – is independent of the prophecy and of his unveiling the Sphinx' enigma. Here, the modern hero does not confront his destiny, as there is no destiny anymore.

The postmodern play of Vlad Zografi substitutes the dream with the "nightmare of history" (Joyce) and of existence, which crashes the individual and annuls his power of awakening. The modern dreamer becomes postmodern voyeur, truth turns into a lucrative "business". Simulacrum is all-pervading: life, truth and lie, destiny, power, happiness, history – everything is simulacrum. Everything wears a mask, which hides the void significance. Within the kitsch-world of

¹⁴ John Barth, *Autobiography: A Self-Recorded Fiction*, apud Monica Bottez, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁵ Sven Spieker, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

¹⁶ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Oedipus und die Sphinx*, Fisher Verlag, Berlin, 1906.

consumerist welfare, Oedipus becomes the kitsch-man¹⁷ Matei Călinescu talked of. He aims at gaining power, pleasure, illusion. There's nothing else for it but to resign oneself to being content with the absurd comedy of voyeurism. Human simulacrum may appear as a consequence of the divine simulacrum: gods are not dead, but irremovable illusions. In order to escape from this "infernal machine"¹⁸, Oedipus imposes himself immobility. He can not move or act, as he is afraid of his destiny. He locks himself in the temple of Apollo, refusing any movement; he is just an image, a fake character, who lacks any consistence. The oracular voice of Pythia gives birth to images, projected on a huge screen where Oedipus can see all that happens in the outer world. This screen, a sort of ideal and universal television symbolizes the postmodern mass-media simulacrum. Oedipus sits in a red armchair – a dominant, powerful position – and he keeps on crunching peanuts and drinking orange juice. The consumerist, superficial, "soft" existence he chooses to live defines the postmodern literary hero. The new literary paradigm builds on image/simulacrum, power/ideology, hedonism/consumerism. Oedipus, the non-heroic hero, tries to survive the simulacrum of his foresettled destiny by means of another existential simulacrum.

The composition of the play is based on a "simulacrum within simulacrum" technique. In the first scene there comes a theatrical troupe improvising in an "ensemble theatre" manner, replacing the traditional tragic chorus. The discourse is double: the voice of the chorus and the voice of its leader, the coryphée. The chorus – the official, ideological discourse – asserts the harmony, the order of the world, while the voice of the individual destroys the dominant language, introducing doubt, inquietude, the absurd laughter:

"Coryphée (joyful): My friends, we are all the result of an incest. (He laughs triumphantly. The unity of the chorus breaks. The members of the chorus walk chaotically on the stage.)

Chorus (agitated): We are the result of an incest."¹⁹

The coryphée declares the absurd human condition, the grotesque happiness of an absurd existence:

"When I get up I start laughing so hard that my house begins to shake, then I look in the mirror and I feel content, I could say, I feel even happy."

While the chorus explodes, throwing trivial imprecations, another character – Spyros – shows up on the stage and reveals the prior simulacrum, creating a new

¹⁷ About the kitsch-man, from an anthropological point of view, see also the article of Cătălin Berescu, *The kitsch man and/or the traditional man or the pervert effects of the transition from tradition to post-modernity*, in *Ianus*, 1/2000, pp. 148–156.

¹⁸ *The infernal machine* (1934) is the title of a play by Jean Cocteau, where the tragedy of Oedipus turns into a mechanical, before-settled tragic farce of destiny. *The Soft-Machine* (1961) is the name of a postmodern novel by William S. Burroughs.

¹⁹ Vlad Zograf, *Oedipus at Delphi*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1997, p. 8.

illusory space. Spyros applauds the members of the chorus, who prove to be simple actors, and, addressing the public, starts his own monologue: "We have a wonderful theatre..." Spyros, who is a guide in Delphi, talks about the prosperity of the city and about his pragmatic mentality: "future is the most safe business", "death is a profitable affair", as people come to Delphi to find out their future. If people would become immortal, "we'd surely go bankrupt". This "we" refers to actors and tour guides, those who get rich because of the "miserable people" coming to the oracle of Delphi. People going to the theatre receive also a simulacrum of "truth": Spyros, the actor-character, postmodern clown and businessman, offers the public a vulgar simulacrum, pointing out the idea that any performance and art are mere illusions.

The oracle of Delphi is another simulacrum. Pythia, a "beautiful girl" with a piercing voice, is drugged by her servant Marcos, in order to put her into a trance. This character introduced by Vlad Zografu is a "tired man" who dreams of restoring order, of preserving the world fragile equilibrium. The postmodern Pythia, tired, bored, pragmatic, looks fed up with "politics and business": "each of us has his own crime", she imperturbably says to Oedipus. A drug addict, she offers to the "clients" – those who come to consult the oracle – another drug, the drug of knowledge. Oedipus finds out about the future crimes of his destiny: is it a simulacrum or not? We know the myth, we know what happens at the new Delphi, and yet we do not know what is destined to the postmodern Oedipus. He is determined to suppress all movement, turning into a neutral human being:

"If one doesn't act, the destiny has to disappear.(...) If we suppress all act, plan or intention, if we stop... They have no power anymore."

The character destroys himself in order to destroy the divine power over his fate. Oedipus refuses to get out of the temple, he becomes immobile. He does not believe in gods, "everything is invention", and yet he can not leave the temple. Indeterminacy, lack of identity ("I know nothing for sure") keep him inside the protecting and neutral space of the temple. But, as a part of the postmodern universe, this space is also ambiguous: "We are sentenced to stay here all our lives", prophesied Pythia. They gradually transform into mechanisms, a sort of marionettes, overwhelmed with the sense of their weakness, of their impossible escape. The ambiguously clear-sighted Pythia takes to drink, obsessed with the idea of growing old, turning into a domestic useless help of Oedipus. He is continuously watching the screen, drinking juice and crunching nuts, living an alienated life. Their domestic existence plunges into absurdity, but they take a perverted pleasure into this dissolution. On the screen, Oedipus can see and enjoy the great panorama of human wickedness. Oedipus becomes "the most powerful person in the most powerful city", since he knows everything on earth. He is the new ruler and god of Delphi and of the whole world, even if he is disgusted with people and with his voyeuristic knowledge. He substitutes the god's image with his

own image, human simulacrum usurps divine simulacrum. "I'm sick of everything" is the postmodern "tragic" cry. "The nausea" comes of the chaotic visual information which overwhelms the individual. Oedipus is imprisoned in his image and illusion, within Apollo's temple. The decomposing of the postmodern self is rendered in trivial words: "I'm rotten, I feel like disintegrating, I smell like a dead body. (...) I feel empty, I don't even know who the hell I am." Tragedy descends into derisory, since truth is, as Pythia asserts, "neutral". The sole chance of the hero to recompose himself proves to be self-destruction: "I must go and look for the unknown man", says Oedipus at the end of the drama. The faceless man, the last image on the screen is his own image, hideously magnified. The discover of the self – a schizoid, narcissistic one – reduces to another simulacrum: the simulacrum of the self, the false escape. Oedipus rushes into the most real trap, as the destiny finally proves to have ironically put the cards on the table from the very beginning of the game. Therefore, Oedipus will not get rid of the destiny. What happened in the temple was nothing but a simulacrum of his future: taking Pythia for his mother, Marcos for his father. *Oedipus at Delphi* is the *avant-scene* simulacrum of the original tragedy, Oedipus the simulacrum of the tragic hero, a mere image woven and manipulated by others, an inconsistent non-heroic hero.

The end of the postmodern play seems to go back to the ancient tragedy, but, annulling its meaning, does not produce catharsis. "The road is narrow", last sentence of the drama, endlessly repeating, shows the irremediable loss: no escape, no serenity, no sense of salvation regained in the end. A new infernal machine – the postmodern simulacrum – destroys human and literary identity, with the very "narrow" hope of a rebirth.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

DAN GRIGORESCU, *Jocul cu oglinzile*. București, Editura Universal Dalsi, 2000, 363 p.

Les discussions sur le *postmodernisme* et la *postmodernité* ont monopolisé, dans les années '80 et spécialement après 1989, tout le territoire culturel autochtone. L'intention des historiens et des critiques d'art (y compris les critiques littéraires) était probablement celle d'annuler le décalage culturel, effet de l'isolement politico-économique et d'introduire la littérature roumaine dans le paradigme de l'art universel. Par conséquent, les années '90 ont essayé de satisfaire l'horizon d'attente du public avide de connaître les théories contemporaines de la culture.

Sous de tels auspices se place aussi le livre du comparatiste Dan Grigorescu, dont le sous-titre – *Notes sur la littérature et l'art postmoderne* oriente dès le commencement la lecture. Les préoccupations de l'auteur pour toutes les formes d'expression artistique que nous nous sommes habitués à nommer, par un mot générique, *postmodernisme* ne sont tout à fait récentes. En 1994, Dan Grigorescu «transcrivait» dans son œuvre intitulée *De la cucută la Coca-Cola*¹, quelques «notes sur le crépuscule» du phénomène, en essayant d'établir les limites existantes entre la «culture élevée» et la «culture de masse», les coordonnées de l'art pop, le rapport tradition-antitradition, le rôle de la télévision comme forme représentative du visuel, etc.

Le volume *Le jeu aux miroirs* comprend vingt-deux chapitres qui traitent les multiples facettes de la postmodernité. En tenant compte de la manière d'organiser le contenu scientifique, on peut déceler deux parties. La première débute par la présentation de «l'aventure» du mot postmodernisme et des difficultés de décrire les particularités de l'esthétique postmoderne. Bien qu'entre les deux œuvres de l'auteur se soient écoulées quelques années, pendant lesquelles la bibliographie de spécialité, roumaine et étrangère, s'est enrichie par de nouveaux titres (beaucoup d'eux présentés dans ce livre), la définition des concepts *postmoderne*, *postmodernisme*, *postmodernité* reste également difficile parce que «rien ne semble achevé, classé et consacré»². Cela est dû, en bonne partie, au fait que sous «le parapluie» d'un seul courant artistique, on enregistre une trop grande variété de manifestations. Pendant les années '60–'70, la plupart d'entre eux s'oppose fervemment au modernisme, phénomène explicable pour les périodes initiales, radicales par excellence. Même la dénomination réalisée à l'aide du préfixe *post* souligne la rupture par rapport à l'époque artistique précédente (stratégie adoptée depuis le temps du postimpressionisme). Malgré la diversité, il y a, selon l'opinion de Dan Grigorescu, un trait qui unifie tous ces mouvements, c'est-à-dire la conscience d'une crise de la représentation. Dans de telles conditions, la réalité semble plutôt inventée que réfléchie, et l'interprétation substitue le souhait à l'objectivité.

¹ Dan Grigorescu, *De la cucută la Coca-Cola. Note despre amurgul postmodernismului*. (De la ciguë à Coca-Cola. Notes sur le crépuscule du postmodernisme), Bucarest, Éditions Minerva, 1994.

² Dan Grigorescu, *Jocul cu oglinzile. Însemnări despre literatura și arta postmodernă* (Le jeu aux miroirs. Notes sur la littérature et l'art postmoderne), l'édit. citée.

Le chapitre consacré aux prédécesseurs du postmodernisme met en premier plan les orientations significatives qui vont naître entre les années '50 –'70 et vont marquer la mentalité de l'époque, implicitement, ses produits culturels. L'antimodernisme de la poésie des années '50, ayant comme représentant Charles Olson, la théorie d'Irving Howe selon laquelle le postmodernisme est la conséquence de la disparition des schémas de la représentation, l'esthétique anti-humaniste de Leonard B. Meyer ou l'ainsi nommée «l'esthétique du silence» promue par Susan Sontag constituent pour ceux temps-là d'autant signaux que la modernité ait commencé à aller à la dérive.

Cependant, il y a eu de nombreuses controverses concernant les relations d'opposition ou de continuité entre le modernisme et le postmodernisme. Certains historiens du phénomène ont comparé les traits définitoires de chacun, en remarquant le fait que leur relation est gouvernée par l'antithèse. Plus tard, surtout dans les années '90, lorsque les choses s'étaient apaisées, les chercheurs ont renoncé à condamner la modernité, en essayant de la récupérer d'une manière ou d'une autre. D'ailleurs, dans un livre célèbre publié en 1987, Matei Călinescu affirmait que le postmodernisme représentait l'une des faces de la modernité, «une perspective à l'aide de laquelle on peut poser certaines questions sur la modernité dans ses quelques matérialisations»³. Les mêmes chercheurs cidessus mentionnés sont arrivés à la conclusion qu'on ne peut pas parler de la *postmodernité* au singulier, mais des *postmodernités*, parce que la tentative de réduire au même dénominateur toutes les manifestations culturelles de cette période a été et reste vouée à l'échec. Plus encore, en observant la distance culturelle entre les écoles de pensée anglo-américaines et européennes, Dan Grigorescu commente la distinction, établie par Steven Conner, entre postmodernisme et postmodernité, le premier terme désignant les créations littéraires (apparues surtout dans l'espace anglo-américain) et le deuxième les discours philosophiques et politiques (dans la plupart européens).

Toujours dans la première partie, le comparatiste roumain entreprend une analyse extrêmement documentée en se référant à la naissance du phénomène, à ses fondements théoriques, ses connexions avec certains courants artistiques qui le précèdent. L'investigation de la réalité postmoderne vise aussi la culture populaire, ses rapports à l'accessibilité et au kitsch, la manière dont on définit son altérité et son réfléchissement dans l'art, etc. Les bien connus syntagmes comme «*l'éternel retour*», réplique donnée par la narration contemporaine aux textes littéraires plus anciens et «*la mort de l'art*», expression de la lutte contre l'autonomie du sens artistique réitérent, à distance de décennies, la célèbre querelle concernant l'antithèse ou la continuité de la réalité moderne.

La deuxième partie illustre la manière par laquelle la théorie postmoderne a généré des formes d'expression dans l'art et la littérature universelle. De l'espace européen (français, britannique, italien et espagnol) jusqu'à l'Amérique du Nord et à l'Amérique Latine, le professeur Dan Grigorescu examine des thèmes, motifs, personnages et symboles dans une minutieuse démonstration qui se trouve sous le signe du protéisme. Presque toujours la conclusion met en évidence l'étonnante capacité des œuvres significatives de personnaliser toute théorie ou de faire exception à celle-ci. Du labyrinthe de miroirs où nous introduisent les théories postmodernes dans leur essai de se réfléchir réciproquement ne nous sauve que la création proprement-dite. Car uniquement en abandonnant les «*complicés jeux aux miroirs*» et en se concentrant sur l'œuvre de création, la théorie a la chance d'un élargissement du propre horizon⁴.

Silvia Marin

³ Voir Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Duke U.P., 1987; en édition roumaine: *Cinci fețe ale modernității. Modernism, avangardă, decadență, kitsch, postmodernism* (Cinq faces de la modernité. Modernisme, avant-garde, décadence, kitsch, postmodernisme), Bucarest, Éditions Univers, 1995, trad. Tatiana Pătrulescu et Radu Turcanu.

⁴ Dan Grigorescu, *Jocul cu oglinzile (Le Jeu aux miroirs)*, éd. cit., p. 333.

ANA-MARIA BREZULEANU, ILEANA MIHĂILĂ, VIORICA NIȘCOV, MIHAELA ȘCHIOPU, CORNELIA ȘTEFĂNESCU, *Bibliografia relațiilor literaturii române cu literaturile străine în periodice. 1919–1944*. București, Editura Saeculum I.O., vol. I – 1997, vol. II – 1999, vol. III – 2000.

I tre volumi apparsi di recente col titolo impegnativo *Bibliografia delle relazioni della letteratura romena con le letterature stranieri nei periodici*, intesi all'indagine tematica del periodo compreso tra 1919–1944, sono il vero e necessario seguito dei primi tre, che hanno già esplorato i periodici del secolo scorso fino alla prima guerra (1859–1918). All'epoca di quelle prime apparizioni, che risalgono agli anni 1980–1985, si è sottolineato il primato di questo genere di lavoro, iniziato da un collettivo ristretto di studiosi dell'Istituto „G. Călinescu” presso l'Academia Romena, il quale si sta realizzando nel nostro paese. Si tratta appunto di uno strumento di lavoro fondamentale di notevoli dimensioni e imponente prospettiva, e che rispetta i criteri ben precisi della classifica decimale internazionale.

Il nuovo periodo storico studiato, cioè quello steso tra le due guerre, viene caratterizzato da un più ampio respiro, da un grande estro creativo affermatosi nella letteratura romena e quindi di una più vasta apertura verso i valori universali. L'elenco dei periodici consultati annoverano anche quelli fioriti nella Bessarabia liberata, nella Bucovina di Nord e nella Dobrugia meridionale. La domanda che spunta subito è seguente: perchè i periodici? Forse i semplici cataloghi dei libri stampati non sarebbero stati capaci a rispecchiare con obiettività e correttezza quali furono le modalità (quantitative e qualitative) in cui la cultura romena assorbì e commentò le altre letterature del mondo? Senza minimizzare l'editoria dei libri come fenomeno importante della cultura, il fatto sta che specie in quell'epoca erano proprio le discussioni e i dibattiti svolti sulle riviste e sui giornali a cogliere con massimo impegno e in modo sincrono le vicende della letterature moderne straniere, e nello stesso tempo a favorire la diffusione dei classici, poco o mal tradotti da noi.

Come struttura, la presente *Bibliografia* sorpassa decisamente il ruolo e il significato di un semplice elenco di opere e autori, tanto che l'erudizione bibliografica diventa un atto di cultura con felici conseguenze per l'indagine scientifica rigorosa, basata sui documenti, del fenomeno letterario complesso moderno e revoluto. Il materiale bibliografico viene esposto e diviso in capitoli e sottocapitoli ben delimitati, abbracciando tanto la ricezione critica, dagli studi più ampi alle notizie più ristrette, quanto le traduzioni, registrando ne la quantità e la qualità dell'atto culturale. Ciascuna delle schede contiene una sua parte inferiore dove vengono notate le spiegazioni necessarie in quanto al contenuto (recensioni di libri, cronache drammatiche, ritratti letterari ecc.) o rispettivamente sopra il brano tradotto (racconto, passo di un romanzo, poesie, teatro).

Le differenze fra i primi tre volumi apparsi venti anni or sono e questi recentemente pubblicati sono notevoli. In ciò che riguarda il periodo fra 1859–1918, i periodici pubblicavano, nelle maggior parte, delle traduzioni (di moda sono i romanzi a puntate, spesse volte subito tradotti. Così ci si presenta la traduzione dell'*Innocenzo* dannunziano aparso da noi nel 1883, un anno dopo la sua pubblicazione in Italia), talvolta scoprendo e diffondendo autori e titoli che difficilmente avremmo potuto immaginare che fossero presenti nella nostra cultura. I commenti critici erano ovviamente più scarsi, dato ambito culturale romeno privo di una scuola critica e di estetica, capace di abbordare le questioni di teoria letteraria, oppure di professori specializzati nello studio delle letterature straniere. In cambio, tra le due guerre fiorisce un numero importante di critici, che si affermano brillantemente come comentatori delle letterature universali e dei problemi di estetica e di teoria letteraria.

E' per questo che un intiero primo volume della nuova serie è stato dedicato necessariamente e esclusivamente ai problemi di teoria e critica letteraria, ai problemi di comparativismo e delle influenze letterarie. Acceniamo solo alle discussioni accese intorno al concetto di „poesia pura” e alle teorie formulate da Paul Valéry, in cui intervengono vari critici, manifestando però delle idee contraddittori, come P. Zarifopol, E. Lovinescu, D. Botta, T. Vianu e tanti altri (sarà Ghiță Ionescu ad accusare Valéry

di „fascismo letterario“). Per la prima volta nella nostra cultura, Ion Sân-Giorgiu ci spiegherà la nozione di letteratura comparata, seguendo l'articolo programma che F. Baldensperger lanciò nel primo numero della „Rivista di letterature comparate“, apparsa a Parigi nello stesso anno, 1921.

La disposizione delle schede tra grandi capitole, come *Estetica letteraria*, *Storia della letteratura universale*, *Letterature comparate* permette al lettore di seguire il dibattito delle idee, o il percorso della fortuna di un libro (come per esempio l'importante lavoro di Vianu *Estetica*), tanto che si può ricreare un quadro vivo e dinamico del pensiero culturale dell'epoca. E c'è da osservare che l'assimilazione della letteratura universale moderne e dell'estetica moderna non avviene in modo servile ma in piena coscienza critica.

Conformemente all'ordine della classifica decimale, il secondo volume della recente *Bibliografia* include l'aria delle letterature inglesi e americane e la loro diffusione nel nostro paese. Nel terzo volume si rispecchiano le letterature germaniche, ma anche quelle nordiche, sottinteso la olandese, la danese e così via. Ovviamente queste sono delle letterature difficilmente accessibili al pubblico largo dei lettori, abituati più tosto alla lingua e alla letteratura francese. Tanto più importante e meritevole sarà il lavoro di traduzione e commento riguardante queste letterature che fu compiuto da critici di notorietà come P. Comarnescu, I. Sân-Giorgiu, Dr. Protopopescu, P. Grimm. Veniamo a sapere, per esempio, che di Huxley scrissero M. Eliade, A. Holban, A. Acterian, e anche lo stesso E. Ionescu (per questo ultimo *Contrappunto* sarà un libro mediocre, stupido, con delle tesi moderne, mentre Eliade sostiene che Huxley ci ha offerto „una delle più vive e originali (gallerie) del romanzo inglese moderno“). Cezar Petrescu analizza l'opera di Joyse sin dal 1922, e *Ulysse* viene caratterizzato come un romanzo „del più assoluto realismo“. Come c'era da aspettarsi, Joyse sarà conosciuto in generale per via delle traduzioni francesi, e ancora grazie all'articolo che Valery Larbaudne fece pubblicare sulla „Nouvelle Revue Française“. Mentre alla rubrica dei commenti Joyse registra non meno di trenta sette posizioni, al capitolo delle traduzioni ritroviamo solo tre posizioni (fra cui due brani dal *Ulysse*).

Nel terzo volume le letterature germaniche includono varie arie di diffusione, tra cui c'è da osservare la letteratura tedesca fiorita in Transilvania, su cui scrivono E. Bucuța, E. Jebeleanu, V. Tempeanu ecc. Una vera e propria monografia di Th. Mann si potrebbe edificare solo grazie alle informazioni colte dai periodici romeni del tempo. Dai primi romanzi all'assegnazione del premio Nobel nel 1929, fino alle grandi opere e la sue convinzioni politiche e sociali sopra l'evoluzione della civiltà umana, tutto viene descritto, analizzato e commentato.

I classici della letteratura inglese e tedesca sono presenti in gran numero, specie all'occasione delle rappresentazioni drammatiche (Shakespeare), della varie traduzioni che hanno conosciuto i principali capolavori (Goethe con *Faust*), o i lavori critici dedicati ad essi. Però si fa vivo anche l'interesse per i moderni, Rilke (non meno di cento dieci posizioni per le traduzioni di poesie), D. H. Lawrence, G. B. Shaw e tanti altri.

I tre volumi della nuova serie già apparsi illustrano soltanto una piccola parte del ricchissimo materiale che gli studiosi dell'„G. Călinescu“ hanno raccolto lungo gli anni, spesso con la sagacità di veri monaci benedettini, nella Biblioteca dell'Academia, privi di ogni mezzo moderno d'informazione. La maggior parte dei periodici ivi esistenti si sfogliano ora con difficoltà, per lo stato precario in cui sono conservati.

Però il vero premio di un tale lavoro sarà non una ricompensa di ordine materiale ma, senza dubbio, la possibilità di infrangere le difficoltà materiali per poter continuare la pubblicazione dei volumi che aspettano il loro turno, contenente in una prospettiva immediata la letteratura francese, e in quelle più lontana l'eco e la diffusione della letteratura romena sul piano universale.

ILEANA STĂNCULESCU, *Il Giudizio Universale nella pittura murale esterna del nord della Moldavia*. Bologna, Ed. Aspasia, 2001, 152 p.

The subject of the book is the scene of *The Last Judgment* in Romanian medieval painting. It is taken into consideration by the author from a very innovative perspective.

This volume was published at the end of the 2001 year, at the Aspasia publishing house, under the patronage of the *Centrul de Excelență în Studiul Imaginii al Universității din București* (*The Center of Excellence in the Image Study of the University of Bucharest*). The graphic presentation is exceptional and belongs to the painter Henry Mavrodin. The book has 152 pages, 148 colour reproductions and a multi-media CD. Due to the fact that it is destined for the Italian market, the volume was written in Italian and also in English.

The Preface of the volume is signed by Cătălina Velculescu, PhD (First Degree Principal Researcher at the "George Călinescu" Institute, in Bucharest) and also by Professor Henry Mavrodin, PhD (the former Dean of the Faculty of Art History and Theory and now Professor at the University of Bucharest.)

The two Prefaces of the book give a brief outline of the author's proposals:

"The image is taken into account from a privileged point of view – privileged both for the image itself and for the author – due to the fact that the author is an artist and in this respect she can tell a lot more from an image than an ordinary person. She is able to support easily a particular proof. She does that with impartial aesthetic judgment, avoiding that type of touristic patriotism, that often accompanies our culture" (Henry Mavrodin).

Cătălina Velculescu emphasizes in her Preface that "where the art historians seek for the iconographic sources, the philologists for the written sources and the theologians the correspondence of image with the church's teachings, *the artistic image* was never taken into consideration as a specific modality of expressing a particular kind of mentality" (my italics).

In the introductory chapter of the book, dedicated to the scene of the *Last Judgement* in the mural painting in Moldavia of the sixteenth century, Ileana Stănculescu motivates her choice, giving two reasons:

- from a theological point of view, the scene of the Last Judgment is the essence and the final end of the entire Christian liturgical discourse;
- and from an artistic point, the same scene represents one of the most complex images of the outer mural orthodox painting, being the subject of a multitude of interpretations.

Based on a comparative study of the image and the sacred texts that are relevant for her argument, Ileana Stănculescu's book outlines and also tries to overcome certain shortcomings which are common places in this discipline:

The sacred texts of the art history do nothing more than to translate the image into words. The references for the Byzantine art are made up of a series of stories about what has already been painted.

The goal of Ileana Stănculescu's book (which is totally innovating) is that of emphasizing a fact, which was neglected until this point, that the image has its own dignity, it is not the simple illustration of a text. The book consists of three parts:

1. a presentation of the Moldavian churches of the sixteenth century, which still keep unaltered the composition of the scene of the Last Judgment, taking into account the chronological order of the mural painting;
2. a presentation of the individual parts into which the large composition is divided and the analysis of each of these individual parts (*The Zodiac, Deisis, the River of Fire*, etc.);
3. the study of the relation between text and image, when analyzing the individual parts of the scene of the *Last Judgment*, with the intention of emphasizing the expressive autonomy of both the text and the image.

The author considers that "the image and the text do not explain one another, but rather one is the complement of the other, and the theological message is constructed out of the autonomous expression of literary text and of image itself."

Naturally, due to the fact that the author is an artist, the commentaries of the images, which are really necessary, but almost always neglected in art history, occupy a central place in this book. The study of the author contradicts the almost generalized opinion of the researchers – that the Byzantine canon diminishes or even excludes the possibility of manifestation of creativity and imagination. The author demonstrates that, paradoxically, the canon contributes to the stimulation of the medieval painters' creativity. I consider that when Ileana Stănculescu will expand her research over the churches in Wallachia and in Transylvania she will find out more proofs to sustain this thesis.

Starting from the first volume of this work, the young author proposes a reunion of the efforts of the humanistic researcher and of the artists towards a more profound study of Byzantine iconography.

At the end of her book, Ileana Stănculescu proposes that the concept of Moldavian painting school should be reconsidered, because the aesthetics of the outer paintings of the Moldavian churches represent an heterogeneous reality, which does not sustain the idea of the integration of the Moldavian exterior paintings in a coherent stylistic unity.

Ileana Stănculescu's effort of creating a new path in the study of Romanian medieval art and literature would be entirely successful if there were a possibility to publish this book in Romanian, too.

Luiza Barcan

ELEONORA HOTINEANU, *Lirica interbelică din Basarabia și poezia franceză modernă*. București, Editura Atos, București, 2001, 191 p.

Les accents compris dans les *Arguments* qui marquent le début du livre, notamment: «l'appartenance de la jeune littérature bessarabienne à la vie culturelle de la Roumanie tout entière de l'entre-deux-guerres», les «origines communes» de la vie culturelle de Bessarabie et de Roumanie, en disent l'essentiel quand à la nécessité, sinon au devoir, d'attacher au sujet la plus grande importance. Quelle que soit l'importance dont il eut bénéficié, sous l'aspect de l'investigation scientifique dans des époques différentes, le sujet reste toujours, jamais détaché de l'expérience historique et des idées propres à l'époque traversée. En choisissant à cette fin la voie de la culture, de la littérature implicitement, l'auteur réalise un inventaire et une réévaluation des revues littéraires *Viața Basarabiei*, *Cuvântul Moldovenesc*, *Buceagul*, *Itinerar*, *Moldavia*. Elle surprend les plans multiples de la perspective offerte par cette incursion ayant le but bien défini de l'identification, à partir des données exactes, du profil de la poésie et, il va de soi, des traits spécifiques des écrivains participants à la vie littéraire de Bessarabie, qu'ils y soient ou non liés par naissance. L'auteur nous offre une sélection des écrivains dont l'œuvre exprime des tendances modernistes sans tenir compte du degré de leur implication dans cette direction. Elle filtre avec acribie ce qui représente une valeur réelle dans leurs actions de synchronisation avec l'évolution de la littérature roumaine, en général, et de la littérature française, en particulier, assimilée par des lectures, des traductions, des commentaires critiques et, surtout, par le même rythme adapté à celui de l'évolution de la littérature roumaine. Elle a le sens de la mesure, elle ne surenchérit pas une réalité incontestable, ce qui la conduit à un équilibre des jugements de valeur, à des observations d'un profond réalisme quant aux faits vécus directement, sans s'égarer dans des critiques subjectives qui auraient changé le sens même du livre.

Le domaine abordé est vaste et complexe. C'est pourquoi Eleonora Hotineanu, consciente que sa démarche traite d'un sujet dont l'interprétation n'est que trop sensible, met sous le signe du

«problème» un bon nombre des incursions dans la sphère du «traditionalisme», du «spécifique local», de la «réception du modernisme», des «réceptions de la littérature française entre traditionalisme et modernisme», le tout portant sur l'évolution de la poésie de Bessarabie pendant l'entre-deux-guerres. En dépit de l'amplitude des «problèmes», l'auteur se fait remarquer dans son ouvrage non seulement par le sens et l'expérience de la continuité, de la perpétuation du passé dans le présent de la création autochtone, mais aussi par le sens de l'universalité, par la volonté de franchir, par l'esprit, les frontières territoriales.

Familiarisée avec l'horizon de la poésie française, elle s'appuie sur la logique stimulatrice de l'expérience; les quatre chapitres théoriques qu'elle utilise en exemple: *Les possibilités du voyage imaginaire*, *Le voyage et la mort*, *L'Antiquité et l'exotisme*, *L'image de la ville symboliste* portent sur le caractère spécifique du patrimoine transmis par les poètes bessarabiens George Meniuc, Magda Isanos, Nicolae Costenco, Petru Stati, Nicolae Coba, Bogdan Istru, Vladimir Cavarnali, Tacob Slavov, Vasile Luțcan, Octav Sargețiu, Olga Vrabie, Alfred Basarab Tiberianu, Boris Baidan, Chiril Aldea-Cuțarov. Pour rendre accessible une littérature insuffisamment connue, Eleonora Hotineanu a conçu une anthologie sélective accompagnée de micromonographies. Ce qui ne signifie pas qu'elle résiste à la tentation de citer tout ce qui s'y prête du dialogue, si l'on peut dire, des poètes bessarabiens avec la poésie, tant sous l'aspect du vers que sous celui de la méditation sur le vers; en ce sens les commentaires de George Meniuc tirés des revues littéraires en disent beaucoup. La qualité révélatrice des citations est d'autant plus méritoire que les revues littéraires sont en voie de disparition.

Le recours au comparatisme littéraire est plus que nécessaire. Des travaux de notoriété dans le monde de la critique et de la théorie littéraire, tels *La littérature générale et comparée: le cadre spatio-temporel* de Danie-Henrie Pageaux, *Mythocritique. Théorie et parcours* de Pierre Brunel, se constituent dans une vaste bibliographie. L'orientation dans le domaine des études comparées est remarquable. Par la bibliographie utilisée, par ses propres travaux de spécialité, par son savoir et l'allégresse moderne de son interprétation, Eleonora Hotineanu franchit le pas décisif vers ce qu'elle maîtrise, mais qu'elle nomme, par trop de modestie, *Quelques repères théoriques*. La contribution de Pierre Brunel, avec ses lois de l'«émergence», de la «flexibilité» et du «rayonnement», trouve un écho et une mise en pratique dans la démarche proposée par l'auteur.

Le livre d'Eleonora Hotineanu est saturé d'informations, d'atmosphère et d'une remarquable capacité de saisir l'essence même d'une page de poésie, la personnalité du langage, la flexibilité de l'application de la théorie, afin que la science vienne à l'encontre de la poésie. Voici un livre d'une grande sensibilité interprétative.

Cornelia Ștefănescu

SERGIU PAVLICENCU, *Tentația Spaniei*. Chișinău, Întreprinderea Editorial-Poligrafică „Știința”, 1999, 289 p.

Hispaniste de formation (la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université «M.V. Lomonosov» de Moscou), Sergiu Pavlicencu est actuellement l'un des plus connus savants et pédagogues de la République de Moldavie (Docteur ès lettres, Maître de conférences, Directeur de la Chaire de Littérature Universelle de l'Université d'Etat de Moldavie). Auteur de nombreux ouvrages, articles, chroniques sur la littérature universelle et, en particulier, sur les littératures espagnole et latino-américaine (dans ce contexte on doit mentionner, par exemple, le volume *Romancieri spanioli din secolul al XIX-lea* (Chișinău, 1990), S. Pavlicencu est également un comparatiste réputé. Ainsi, *Tentația Spaniei* (*La tentation de l'Espagne*) arrive à la suite des deux autres ouvrages importants de littérature comparée – *Ca două gemene surori* (Chișinău, 1990) et *Receptare și confluențe* (Chișinău, 1990).

En continuant ses recherches dans le domaine théorique de la littérature comparée, l'auteur est soucieux en même temps de la validation de celles-ci par le côté pratique et, notamment, exemplifiées par les relations littéraires roumaines-espagnoles. Exhaustif et concis, groupant des données théoriques diverses dans un système bien proportionné, élégant et accessible, l'ouvrage se profile en tant qu'une recherche originale, aussi bien qu'un manuel, un «cursus», tellement nécessaire pour l'étudiant, avec des commentaires détaillés et une succession logique des faits.

Le livre de S. Pavlicencu, pour la première fois dans l'histoire du comparatisme roumain, présente le tableau synthétique et analytique de la réception de la littérature espagnole dans l'espace culturel roumain. Muni d'une riche bibliographie critique, rigoureusement sélectionnée, la monographie est le résultat d'une recherche bien menée, avec l'utilisation des sources critiques roumaines, françaises, espagnoles, russes, américaines, etc. La partie théorique de l'ouvrage est déployée surtout dans le premier chapitre: «Le problème de la réception dans le comparatisme moderne». Sans être un adepte déclaré d'une école comparatiste, l'auteur, néanmoins, a établi une «typologie des études» sur «l'esthétique de la réception». Les chapitres du livre se suivent conformément à cette typologie: 1) «La réception de la littérature espagnole au niveau des traductions»; 2) «La réception de la littérature espagnole au niveau de l'interprétation critique»; 3) «La réception de la littérature espagnole au niveau de la création originale». Le tableau de la réception est assez complet historiquement et géographiquement, y compris la période d'après-guerre sur le territoire de la République de la Moldavie. Ainsi, l'écriture littéraire de cette zone avec toutes ces «inflexions» espagnoles est incluse tout à fait naturellement dans le contexte de la littérature roumaine dans son ensemble.

Une attention spéciale est accordée à la «réception dans la poésie». L'auteur n'a pas pu s'empêcher de nous offrir ses propres interprétations des passages poétiques d'Eminescu ou des auteurs contemporains moldaves, inspirés des motifs espagnols. Particulièrement touchantes sont les pages, «voisinant» avec le reportage et reproduisant les moments du succès théâtral en Moldavie de certains spectacles de la dramaturgie espagnole.

Tout en gardant le style académique de l'exposition, S. Pavlicencu a réussi cependant à rendre la lecture de son livre vive et captivante en s'adressant, pratiquement, à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la culture et à la littérature en général, ainsi qu'à la pratique comparatiste, en particulier. La monographie est accompagnée d'un résumé écrit en espagnol.

Eleonora Hotineanu

SABINE MELCHIOR-BONNET, *Istoria oglinzii*, Bucarest, Univers, 2000, 348 p.

Le thème du miroir et, implicitement, l'idée de la spécularité, vus comme objets d'étude pour une recherche interdisciplinaire du type mentaliste, sont des repères culturels qui devraient déterminer une grande responsabilité de la part de l'auteur, en ce qui concerne la conception de l'ensemble et la qualité des interprétations et des arguments utilisés. Nous avons fait cette remarque parce que la fascination éveillée au long des siècles par cet objet en soi, de même que la multitude de représentations visuelles et textuelles, d'analyses faites, en partant des perspectives différentes, par des scientifiques, philosophes, hommes de lettres renommés ont abouti à la création d'un horizon d'attente très élargi, capable de sanctionner toute sorte d'abordation.

Comme auteur, Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, qui travaille au Collège de France, réussit à donner une structure cohérente à l'exhaustivité de ses recherches dans le domaine du miroir. Le livre conçu en trois parties distinctes («Le miroir et sa propagation», «La magie de la ressemblance», «L'inquiétante étrangeté») articule les deux directions d'étude fournies par l'histoire des idées et des

mentalités: il s'agit de l'évolution technologique du miroir-objet physique et bien économique à la fois, et des changements de perception que l'objet culturel a eus pendant les siècles, de l'Antiquité jusqu'au présent. En se servant des données extraites des sources très variées (fiches d'inventaire, feuilles d'héritage, documents d'archive, notations sur le processus technologique), l'auteur trace les étapes du développement de la technique spéculaire, du miroir en métal jusqu'aux miroirs sortis de la manufacture de Saint-Gobain et de l'objet autonome jusqu'à l'objet inclus dans des pièces de mobilier. En parallèle, toute mutation d'ordre technique se reflète au niveau du mental: le miroir, produit étroitement lié, au début, aux idées de luxure et de divination se transforme pendant la Renaissance dans un instrument de la perspective, à l'époque baroque dans un espace de l'illusion et de la romperie visuelle, pour être perçu, à la fin du XVII^e siècle, comme un objet de décor, un ornement de l'intérieur à fonction soit esthétique, soit utilitaire, et devenir dans la contemporanéité un objet utilitaire tout à fait banal.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage apporte des informations supplémentaires, offertes par la littérature, la peinture, la psychologie et la psychanalyse, qui multiplient les points de vue et enrichissent le réseau de la perspective de recherche. Objet ambivalent par son essence, matérielle et spirituelle en même temps, le miroir nous apparaît toujours associé à l'idée d'image dont le statut il met en discussion. Quelle est la nature de l'image spéculaire? Est-elle divine ou démoniaque? Reflète-t-elle la réalité physique en établissant un rapport mimétique objet-représentation ou falsifie le modèle en le déformant? Quel est le rapport entre l'être proprement dit et son double? Comment se produit la naissance du Moi symbolique et s'éveille la conscience du soi?

Loin de faire la problématisation de tous ces aspects, Sabine Melchior-Bonnet plonge dans la bibliographie généreuse et se contente malheureusement à décrire des faits. L'étude de J. Baltrušaitis consacrée au thème du miroir, celle de Michel Foucault sur les «Ménines» de Velázquez, les Séminaires de Jacques Lacan, pour en citer les plus évidents, font leur apparition derrière l'écriture «artistique» de l'auteur. Rien de nouveau, aucune interprétation originelle des faits! Au contraire, le lecteur trouve un texte trompeur comme un miroir, qui, sous une apparence scientifique, cache une juxtaposition structurée, mais purement informative des sources attendant une analyse ultérieure.

Cristina Balinte

STEVEN CONNOR, *The English novel in History, 1950–1955*, London and New York, Routledge, 1996, reprinted 2001, 260 p.

The series *The novel in History*, edited by Gillian Beer from Girton College, Cambridge, ambitiously challenges "the development model of English literature", providing interdisciplinary accounts of the English novel "in context". The exciting premise the series is based on appears firmly stated in the editorial notice: "fiction not only reflects, but also helps shape contemporary fiction". A most postmodern idea which Steven Connor, professor at Birkbeck College, London, the author of *Postmodernist Culture*, took over exploring the complex phenomenon of contemporary prose fiction.

The book proposes a new perspective on the history of postwar English novel: novel is not only simply infused with history, but also a way in which history is made and remade, a kind of constructing the historical and cultural world and identity. In other words, only by narrating history we manage to "make" history. Borrowing Michel Foucault's suggestion that recent human history has had as its aim the creation of a "subject of history", Steven Connor says: "Britain came progressively to lose its confident belief that it was the subject of its own history." The idea of "Englishness" continually eroded until the questioning of identity, since the splintering of the Empire and the reshaping of world powers after the Second World War.

The definition of narrative as a “distinctive form of action” stands for a new perspective on novel and its functions. What a novel *does* in history is the main question of the book, while narrative is not only *about* events in time, but also installs the narrator and the narratee as subjects of events. There are many striking examples in the history of the novel which Steven Connor discussed alongside his book. Let us mention just a few: the narrative about travel rose as a form of consolidating travel as such, as a means of constructing a new national identity or another perception of the world. In fact, the rise of the novel as a genre seems related to the idea of nation itself. For instance, Chapter two *Conditions of England* studies how the social-realist novels of Dickens and Eliot depicted and also “imagined” the XIXth century England. Narrative may project and consolidate the sense of individual and collective identity, but also may transform identities.

What happens in the case of contemporary narrative? The “organizing power” of the postmodern narrative has greatly diminished, but we are facing a return of the narrative and an increasing “demand for narrative explanation” in various forms of cultural and social life: media, advertising, politics, etc. Postmodern narrative created new readers, new kinds of reading and readerships. Even if so many voices claim the death of the novel, Steven Connor argues the still centrality of the novel, which probably resulted of its inner structural changes. The postwar history of the British novel is the object of an accurate and complex analysis, which highlights phenomena as readership, publishing and culture industry, the intimate relations between literary and media, respectively between literary and commercial. The rise in the readership of fiction (a survey of 1982 revealed a 45% of active readers, among which one-third were reading fiction), the “paperback revolution” (a key role played the *Penguin Books*, founded by Allen Lane in 1935) bringing out the availability of literature, the centrality of English literature in university curricula all over the world, the changes in the educational system (growth of higher education after the war), the permeability of British and American markets and the pressure of large American corporations on British publishers (since the '70s), the popularity of contemporary “international fiction” (the Latin American novel), the need for market purchasing and promoting activities are just a few intermingling elements contributing to the history of the British novel. “Formula” or “category” literature, mass fiction versus “literary fiction” or “quality” novel, academic fiction and campus novel, the mediated discourse within the novel, the novel-sequence constitute peculiar forms of contemporary fiction which Connor discusses, using varied British authors as Angus Wilson, Margaret Drabble, Salman Rushdie, David Lodge, Angela Carter, Hanif Kureishi, etc.

The last two chapters of the book deal with the rewriting of canonical texts (*Origins and Reversions*) and with the apocalyptic narratives (*Endings and Living on*), so to say with the relation of contemporary narrative to past and future. Novels represent and imagine the origins and the endings, the two crucial points in any act of narrating, by reverting in the case of the origins and paradoxically narrating an absolute ending in different stories of survival.

Frankenstein Unbound (1973) by Brian Aldiss, a male narrative retelling Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), *Two Women of London: The Strange Case of Ms Jekyll and Mrs. Hyde* (1989) by Emma Tennant, a female duplicate of the famous *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), *Foe* (1987) by J.M.Coetzee, rewriting Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Marina Warner's *Indigo: Or, Mapping the Waters* (1992), reinventing the Shakespearean *Tempest* attempt to “break into history”. Aiming to go back in the history at the point of a mythical origin – as we deal with referential texts to the West cultural identity – these “rewritings” interrupt history and try to restore other stories – which may seem nowadays more complete, more true or just only feminist. They show the narrowness and even the violence of historical mythical stories (the myth of self-originating, the male split self, etc.), but their post-historical fictional revision implies also violence against history and origins. Contemporary novel affords certain powers and rights over world history and its own which could not have been imagined before.

The apocalypse narrative, a very fashionable literary species of contemporary fiction, probably still in vogue for the next years due to the recent political events, has to tell a story of absolute ending and so, to reinforce the idea of survival, the possibility of a post-nuclear human civilization. Such narratives usually represent the apocalypse by means of parable and fable. Steven Connor considers a few novels like *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by Orwell, *The End of the World News* (1982) by Anthony Burgess, Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker* (1980), Vonnegut's *Galapagos*, Doris Lessing's *The Memoirs of a Survivor* and *The Burning Book* of Maggie Gee (1989), the most challenging of all in his opinion. He distinguishes some differences in their representing of apocalypse as there are different manners of representing the uncertain relation of narrative and human survival. "Terminal narratives" paradoxically are "against ending": they tell a story which could not be told unless world survives its annihilation, unless there is still a kind of history within the post-apocalyptic era. Thus, postwar novel shows an ambiguous "resourcefulness", turning "the condition of its very death into the various possibilities of its renewal and survival."

Raluca Dună

MONICA SPIRIDON, *Melancholia descendenței. O perspectivă fenomenologică asupra memoriei generice a literaturii*, 2nd edition, Iași, Polirom, 2000, 261p.

Under the sign of *post-*, when we can no longer believe in the Great Narratives and in unique recipes for healing our anxieties, and when "the" austere *modus operandi* leaves the scene to make room for "a" creative *modus ludicus*, the discourse (of writers, critics, etc.) enters the realm of two. The discourse borrows the masque of the alleged hesitating hermeneutist who positions himself in a deferential, but at the same time undermining equation with the text. "To read is, essentially, to recognize in virtue of a 'such as' or a 'like'." (p. 208) This phrase seems to concentrate the keynote of Monica Spiridon's book, *The Melancholy of Descent. A Phenomenological Perspective on the Generic Memory of Literature*, because it foregrounds the multi-layered composition of the writing, it catches a glimpse of the contemporary fervent debates.

The three sections of the book – "The Nostalgia of Origins", "The Eternal Return", and "The Library of Babel" – attempt to stage three corresponding scenarios of writing as re-reading, re-weaving the fabric of fiction. Focusing on contemporary writers (such as Ștefan Bănuțescu, Henri de Montherlant, Marin Sorescu, Jorge Luis Borges, Michel de Ghelderode, Thomas Mann, Mikhail Bulgakov, Paul Valéry, Graham Greene, etc.), the Romanian critic anatomizes the type of literature she calls "Cratylist" as a species of specular discourse. Spiridon contends that a contemporary writer is inescapably creating with the consciousness of being a successor, experimenting formulae already patented in the works of the ancestors. But this nostalgia of the original prototypes and paradigms, of the archetypes mobilizes a whole apparatus of manoeuvres in order to reinforce and to re-affirm its supreme referent: Literature. The Sign takes precedence over the world and masterfully re-molds the relation of dependency between the Father-text and its offspring, between text and critic/reader. Descent becomes a chain of reduplications by means of subversive tools prescribed by the semantic code: repetition, with its metamorphoses such as similitude, regressive affiliation; the reflexive folding as in a fan; the *mise en abîme*, etc. The self-reflexive literary and, correspondingly, critical discourse softens the conflicting series of antinomies – over here/over there, interior/exterior, up/down –, and functions as a reverse gear in the whole mechanism of reading. It bridges the gap between fiction and metafiction, reader-critic and text and, more than this, reverses the traditional agonistic relation between them.

Instead of submitting to the primordially of the first, the nostalgic text translates it in terms of the dual. What is at stake here is, ultimately, the act of reading. All the texts Spiridon analyzes in her book are constructed in such a manner that they reflect themselves, while subsidiarily self-

commenting. This is equal to saying that they dethrone the ancestor from the powerful position of the primordial and label it as simple anterior, while regarding themselves as mere temporary posterior until another text (another posterior) appears. The characters are called Iona or Faust or Don Quixote or Don Juan because the "Cratylist" literature is an elitist one: not any prototype is worthy of revising, re-interpreting. They should have given rise to a prominent paradigm, to a mature semantic behavior. Symbolically homologated, all these illustrious inventories prove an "appetence for metaphor", for distant contemplation and for appropriation. Engaged in an antagonist competition with their replicas, all of them experiment various formulas in the attempt of self-legitimizing: if in Michel de Ghelderode's or Paul Valéry's texts the replica insinuates over the original, "retroactively reshaping it" and eventually "changing it into a mere metaphorical hypothesis", a text like that of Bulgakov goes further and questions the "prestige of the Great Code" (p. 189). This up-down movement projects the topic at the level of the metaphorical. The characters, the action, but also the authors themselves act "as if" they are players in an already initiated game of hide-and-go-seek, continuously interchanging their roles with those of their precedents. Monica Spiridon's critical discourse also submits to the rules of the game. *Pace* Bakhtin, Frye, and Genette, she constantly avoids masterful taxonomy; her discourse converges towards the literary archetypology understood as "a mere epiphenomenon of a creative attitude" (p. 118). Beyond it, we can decipher "an essential hypothesis about imagination and understanding, about the production and interpretation of literature" (*ibid.*). From this perspective the title of the book unveils a hermeneutic habitus.

The kind of contract that Monica Spiridon signs with the reader has much to do with Rorty's notions of "irony" and "ironic vocabulary". Conscious of the inevitable limitations of any classification, she proposes the reader a possible interpretative grid for literature, that invites the readers to work for themselves other reading keys, to participate actively in this opulence of the Sign. She identifies in the corpus of texts she approaches a tendency toward the paradigmatic, a temptation for allusion, parody, metaphor. This means that she engages in a *modus vivendi*, in a fertile co-operation with the past, which we either translate as the magisterial silence of the predecessor or as the mute black sign on the paper. She does not envision the past as placed at one end of the escalator while she herself stays at the other. Rather they are both on a level moving walkway, where enough room is also made for the reader. This is a crucial crossing where her criticism departs from that of Harold Bloom, at least from the early Bloom, in that the concept of "melancholy of descent" emphasizes the creative side of redeeming and integration. The Bloomian author constantly engaged acts of repression against his predecessors and thus secured for himself a strong "stance" in relation to the other authors, a vertical configuration of the literary field. Spiridon's author joins the critic and reader in their converging efforts to recover the models, to reinvigorate the paradigms. The verticality is replaced by a multi-layered configuration that brings the "opponents" (author and critic, world of fiction and real world, texts and the Canon) in a face-to-face confrontation.

In this series of provocative essays, Monica Spiridon proves a maturity of style and a keen and inventive imagination that plead for the modernity of her critical spirit. Her book demonstrates that marginality can open the boundaries of imagination in the moment when, as she confesses in the *Preface at the Second Edition*, the marginal critic can say "*the main task of criticism is to stimulate re-reading*".

Corina Tiron

ADRIAN MARINO, *Cenzura în România. Schiță istorică introductivă*. Craiova, Aius, 2000, 96p.

Upon meeting his father's ghost, Hamlet comes to act on what he is in the process of understanding then and there: that, in order to be heard, he has to keep silent, and thus pay homage to the other's ghostly injunction. From the play's very beginning, Hamlet's undoing instead of doing, he

is *de-nominating*, reversing what humans call the natural order of things, and thus glimpsing at their hidden truth. This is the story of setting things right when “time is out of joynt”. This is – also and much later – the story Adrian Marino tells us in *Censorship in Romania. An introductory historical sketch*. Studying the phenomenon of censorship is, at the same time, writing in defense of free-thinking, and of the transgressing of social, cultural, and political borders: “We are convinced that (...) the idea of ‘censorship’ is inseparable of the idea of ‘freedom of thought and expression’ ... and that such a ‘history’ can be written only within a European, ideological, and comparative frame” (p. 12). This *petitio* represents the keystone of his draft on a country split by the geo-political border between Central and Eastern Europe. His line of argumentation follows two trajectories according to the historical specificity of the three Romanian provinces: the Catholic Transylvania – part of the Central Europe, according to a large group of historians recently joined by Samuel Huntington – and the Orthodox Eastern-European Moldavia and Wallachia.

In this short essay, Marino attempts to provide the reader with a methodical instrument for approaching, from a historical perspective, a concept key to the understanding of the dramas of twentieth-century totalitarianism. But censorship has deeper roots: it started off many times, more significantly in the religious climate of the sixteenth century. Libraries had a special room for what was deemed *banned books* and a *secret store* with limited access. Over the following two centuries, censorship successfully adapted to the more and more rampant secularization processes, and became the bureaucratic offspring which tried to secure the monopoly once claimed only by its religious ancestor. This is the period when, in the Romanian lands, a *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum* (1754–1780) is published and when the first authorized commission is granted the right and duty to supervise the circulation of books. Not atypical for the Enlightenment, as one was getting further away from the centre (Vienna, in this case), the secular hand was allowed to get a stronger grip: thus, censorship can be said to have been harsher in Budapest, and even more so in the Transylvanian city of Sibiu (Hermannstadt). On the other side of the Carpathians, clerical censorship was, for the first time, subordinated to the civil authorities. The nineteenth century is centaur-like: while censorship was highly valued during the Russian occupation, it took a turn for the diminutive after the Revolution in 1848.

“In the twentieth century, the status of censorship follows all the historical and political events. It is the direct consequence of the rebellions, wars, dictatorships, and foreign occupancies” writes Marino (51). And who would ever deny that censorship reached its long-lasting climax during the communist period? Volumes galore and entire *œuvres* were dis-shelved, the mass-media came to obey severe control, writers went to prison, some came back, ghoulsily.

Tackling the double question: “who and what were the main target of communist censorship?” a large body of literature on the ex-Soviet countries attempted to provide various answers, whose outcome, however, did not amount to more than overt references to singular protagonists and their “great stories,” most often idiosyncratic meta-stories. Marino, on the contrary, uses all the data he was able to dig out, and arrange them in a neutral overlay. The result is a subtle, sketchy drawing of pendulum-like careers of writers who, after being published and admired, were destined to imposed oblivion, then rescued again for the sake of a new spotlight, then forgotten again or denigrated for the sake of the moment’s whim. The censor’s criteria functioned like, and according to a political barometer. Considering that an “all-or-nothing” answer to the big question would be both heated up and biased, Marino offers a more modest proposal: he tries to deconstruct the spectacularly compelling stories of censorship’s victims and tricksters, and arrive at an acceptable ground of reconstructed facts. At least here, “to *de-story*” is not synonymous with “to destroy”, but rather with a promise of a more objective understanding.

The (quite real) witch hunt that marred the 90’s, the finger-pointing to, and arm-twisting of the former censors and the institution they served represented no more than a deceitful antidote for the lessness of democratic thinking. Marino, on the other hand, champions a well-balanced attitude: “The positive and long-run aspect of the epoch of censorship (with its entire mentality and apparatus of

coercive institutions) is, paradoxically as it might appear, a theoretical and analytical one: a beginning of reflection and an original Romanian typology of the phenomenon of censorship" (81).

Written "in a plain, informative, summary and introductory style" (11), Marino's book opens a field of questioning not lacking in paradoxes. Stepping in it, this reviewer may add that censorship finds its *raison d'être* in the open manifestation of thoughts inconvenient for the censors – after all, can't imagine a scenario in which censorship ends up by committing suicide? The more can censorship mount a militia apparatus capable of "neutralizing" any attempt at expressing counter-opinion, the more it is pressured by meaninglessness and paranoia as the opponents' resistance is fading away.

In *Spectres de Marx* (Paris, Galilée, 1993), Jacques Derrida analyzes, exquisitely one may say, Hamlet's double status in relation with his father's ghost: on the one hand, his is the silent role of the anonymous judging tool; on the other, his too, is the confrontation with his father's ghostly silence. Derrida synthesizes the two in what he calls *hantologie*, that discipline of facing the ghost's essence: its return. There was a certain stage in the history of Communist censorship when keeping silent amounted not to wisdom but to outrageous misbehavior. In those times, when censorship converted from a diabolic tool into an aimless, yet present threat, writers became "light weapons" – and this would help explain the ineffectiveness (or absence, as it was argued by others) of the Romanian anticommunist resistance movement. Yet, that was the period when the same writers could publish works whose appearance make us doubt the vigilance of the system. There is still much to be said about this moment in Romanian history if we are to allow an ambiance for investigation, one free of its object's paralyzing aura. As Derrida argued in *L'écriture et la différence* (Paris, Seuil, 1967, 253): "[il faut] qu'un dialogue fût ouvert en vérité entre... le discours critique et le discours clinique. Et qui portât au-delà de leurs deux trajets, vers le commun de leur origine et de leur horizon." Censoring the censors would be mere clowning, cloning *tout court*.

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