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Zgodovina in njeni literarni žanri
History and its literary genres

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O AVTORJIH ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Zgodovina in njeni literarni žanri

Uredili: Vanesa Matajč, Gašper Troha



Zgodovina in njeni literarni žanri: tematski številki revije na pot

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Zlom *rankejevsk*e vere v dosegljivo znanstveno objektivnost – »wie es eigentlich gewesen war« – zgodovinopisja je reprezentacija »nove«, modernistične paradigme: Brian McHale (1987) modernizmu pripiše epistemološko dominantno. Epistemološka negotovost tudi v zgodovinopisju si s priznavanjem subjektivnih resničnosti v senci odsotne Resnice prilasti – z romantično, idealistično Geistesgeschichte koncipirani – subjektivizem in zgodovinarju omogoči, da v polju svoje znanstvene discipline, nefikcijske historiografije, legitimizira – uzavesti – neogibno navzočnost – svojih lastnih, z Nietzschejevim »kritičnim zgodovinarstvom rečeno, »času primernih« vrednot in stališč ter subjektivne (kreativne) domišljije. Dvom o metafizičnih sistemih resnic je sočasno pripisal globlji spoznavni domet polliterarnim in čisto fikcijskim formam: kulminacijo občutja modernosti – zenit in obrat – izrazito ustvarja in izraža Nietzschejeva esejistično oblikovana filozofija. V prvi polovici 20. stoletja »geografija« zahodne metazgodovine izraža sorodna si prepričanja: v Nemčiji npr. Egon Friedell v svoji duhovnozgodovinski *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit* (1927–31) prepoznava narativno naravo zgodovinopisja, s tem pa tudi njegovo sorodnost z literarno fikcijo: zgodovina se mu razkriva v podobah sage, legende, mita (Friedell 13). V Franciji annalesovski zgodovinar Lucien Febvre v približno istem času (revija *Annales* ustanovi skupaj z Marcom Blochom leta 1929) uzavešča, da človeške percepcije pojavov oblikujejo ideje, emocije, tendence in odzivi; tudi občutja, strasti in sovraštva ljudi – množice nekanoniziranih stališč, ne le uradnih stališč izbranih posameznikov ali institucij, kar Febvre predstavlja z razpravo *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle: la Religion de Rabelais* leta 1942. Razprava še danes velja za nekoliko »kontroverzno«: zgodovino napravi »podobno živi konverzaciji« (Hughes-Warrington 89, 90). Kompleksnost stališč in občutij, ki ji ustreza odprtejša »konverzacijska« zgodovinopisna forma, je – nenaključno – vzbudila obnovljeno zanimanje npr. pri Carlu Ginzburgu (*Il formaggio e I vermi*, 1976) v metodi »mikro zgodovine« znotraj nove kulturne zgodovine¹ (prim. Burke 50–51), ki se v duhu postmoderne metazgodovine dobro zaveda, da se posredovanje preteklosti ne more izogniti retoriki in s tem subjektivni se-

lekciji in – stilizaciji pripovedovanega. V Veliki Britaniji stališče, da zgodovinar pri (re)konstrukciji zgodovinskih dogodkov uporablja svojo subjektivnost, med drugimi izrazi leta 1935 tudi R. G. Collingwood² – poglavje iz njegove knjige *The Idea of History* (1946) je izhodišče, s katerega **Lucia Boldrini** v pričujoči reviji prepoznava naravo in izraze »kopernikanskega« (Collingwood) oziroma »paradigmatskega« (Thomas Kuhn) obrata. S tem **Boldrini** pravzaprav udejanja sodobno izpeljavo metode, ki jo je v modernem zgodovinopisju poudarjal annalesovski zgodovinar Marc Bloch: metoda njegove primerjalne zgodovine, ki zagovarja primerjanje sočasnih ali sosednjih si kultur/družb (prim. Hughes-Warrington 12),³ se lahko v sodobni metazgodovini razširja na primerjanje prostorsko-časovno bližnjih si tekstnih dokumentov; v postmoderni kulturi so zlasti izpostavljeni objekti primerjanja teksti historiografske (meta)fikcije in historiografske teorije (metazgodovine). V območju te primerjave je bližina z duhovno-zgodovinsko metodo najbrž še posebej razvidna (prim. npr. Virkovo razpravo *Strah pred naivnostjo*).

V obdobju postmodernizma, ki pa ga po McHaleu opredeljuje ontološka dominantna, se ontološka negotovost izraža kot množstvo resnic, med katerimi ni jasno določljivih mej; s tem se producira in izraža kot uzaveščena intertekstualnost, stapljanje in pluralizem diskurzov: tudi kot izmenjavanje znanstvenega in fikcionalnega diskurza. Teren za tovrstno intertekstualnost in razmah metadisciplin je, najočitneje na področju zgodovinopisja, začrtal, kot rečeno, že modernizem v zahodni kulturi. Zbliževanje literarne fikcije in zgodovinarske znanosti pa se je v obdobju ontološke negotovosti stopnjevalo v dve značilni reprezentaciji postmoderne obrata k zgodovinskosti (obrata k zgodovini; historical turn), ki se prepleta z obratom h kulturnosti (cultural turn) in obratom k jezikovnosti (linguistic turn)⁴ v historiografsko metafikcijo in znanstveno-zgodovinopisno metazgodovino (metahistory).

Obe reprezentaciji seveda razkrivata svojo povezanost na različnih ravneh; na primer, zgodnje-Lukácseva duhovnozgodovinska perspektiva (*Theorie des Romans*, 1920) opredeljuje moderni žanr, roman, kot estetski poskus rekonstrukcije epske tradicije/zgodovine, lahko bi rekli: kot citat izgubljene totalitete epskega sveta – na citatnost modernega romana v pričujoči reviji opozarja **Bart Keunen**. Izvor modernega koncepta totalitete, ki nastopi kot kriterij za literarne in historiografske žanre od romantike naprej, pa, obrnjen v metahistoristično reprezentacijo, raziskuje **John Neubauer** v razpravi *Zgodovinopisje literarne zgodovine* in ga v duhu whiteovske metahistory razširja v izvor modernega literarnozgodovinskega diskurza; slednji se z vidika sodobnega, postmoderne zgodovinopisja – skladno z logiko napredujoče modernosti (!) – seveda razkriva kot tradicionalen. Izvorno polje organske totalitete, ki jo je skušal doseči moderni literarno-

zgodovinski diskurz, Neubauer prepoznava v znanosti, ki jo je vzpostavila druga polovica 18. stoletja: v biologiji kot zgodovini živih organizmov.

Plodoviti razrast koncepta organicizma v romantični literarni zgodovini, teoriji in idealistični filozofiji oziroma v njenem dojemanju kreativnega subjekta in kreacije je zahodna epistemologija dodobra proučila, duhovna zgodovina pa preinterpretirala v oznako imanentna transcendenca. Neubauer v svojem prispevku ugotavlja konkretna razmerja med novovzpostavljenimi biologističnimi koncepti in literarno zgodovino konec 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja (prenos koncepta epigeneze, ki je prevladal nad starejšo, predhodno metafiziko izražajočo preformacijo, v »biološko- metaforično« predstavo o literaturi). S konkretnimi primeri besedil Augusta Wilhelma ter Friedricha Schlegla prikazuje zmagoviti pohod izvorno biologističnega koncepta skozi romantične »temelje« moderne literarne zgodovine, nato pa s konkretnimi primeri vzhodno- in srednjeevropskih nacionalnih literarnih zgodovin iz zgodnjega 20. stoletja – romunske (N. Iorga, N. Ilinescu) in hrvaške (B. Vodnik) – manifestira tudi ideološki preobrat iz izvorno liberalnega (avtonomističnega, emancipatoričnega) v posledično nacionalistični, konservativni kontekst. Ta sklep, v katerem se literatura – in literarna zgodovina – razkriva kot politična sila, upravičuje postmoderni premik literarne zgodovine v koncept heterogenosti, ki ukinja veliko zgodbo. Ta premik prakticira tudi siceršnja Neubauerjeva literarna zgodovina Vzhodne in Srednje Evrope. To prakso udejanja beleženje neuzgodbenih dogodkov, ki se torej izmika narativnosti in recipientu ponuja tudi možnost, da historično kronologijo dogodkov razpršuje v simultane montažne sestave.

Drugo možnost ponuja oživiljena zgodovina dogodkov, ki se uzgodbi (whiteovski emplotment) oziroma izgrajuje v narativno formo. Dosledno izpeljevanje obeh zgodovinopisnih konceptov tako privede do dveh tendenc, ki ju oblikuje postmoderna zavest zgodovinskosti v območju metazgodovine: v revizionizmu zgodovinskih/preteklih dojemanj zgodovine, ki lahko vodi v opozicijo čistega, trenutkovnega posedanja realnosti; ter v revizionizmu, ki skozi razbiranje simbolnih redov kulture slednjo zavestno historizira, zavestno povezuje preteklost in sedanost – zavestno uzgodbi izbrane dogodke. Postmoderni potres, skratka, Arhimedu spodmika »točko«, epistemološka izkušnja nestabilnosti pa vodi v dve »citatni« paradigmi: v herodotovski princip zgodovine kot niza zabeleženj posameznih konkretnih dogodkov, h kroniki, in v aristotelovski princip poezije kot mitosa, k mimesis. A obe »citatni« paradigmi se v sodobni metazgodovini udejanjata z zavestjo spodmahnjene zrenjske točke: z relativizirane meje med fikcijo in (zgodovinsko) resnico/resničnostjo.

Sodobni zgodovinopisni tendenci k heterogenosti in homogenosti opisuje Igor Škamperle v razpravi *Družba, zgodovina in literarni pogled*.

Škamperle, ki je sicer avtor filozofsko-zgodovinskega romana (Starikova 30, 31 in Matajc, *Sodobni* 206, 207) *Kraljeva hči* (1997), tako kot v romanu tudi v razpravi – z oddaljenim pogledom in hkrati neposredno vpleten, z zgodovinarsko distanco in osebno izkušnjo – zasleduje raznoliko človeško reprezentiranje časa v 20. stoletju.

S tem se **Škamperle** vključuje v metazgodovinarsko tradicijo, ki jo je (gl. zgoraj) odpirala Geistesgeschichte, ki se je nato (in sočasno) oprijela kulturna zgodovina – v svojih začetkih še zapostavljana pastorka politične in ekonomske plain history – tradicijo metazgodovinopisja je nato najodločneje uveljavljala francoska šola zgodovinarjev okrog revije *Annales*, v drugi polovici 20. stoletja pa je zgodnejšim duhovno- in kulturnozgodovinarskim refleksijam odgovorila Foucaulteva poststrukturalistična epistemologija in najbrž ključno prispevala k postmodernemu obratu v zgodovinskost, k trendu metazgodovinopisja in vplivu Haydena Whitea ter k (literarno)zgodovinski metodi novega historicizma. Ni naključje, da vse našete metode in trende vase povzema disciplina, ki od srede sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja beleži svojo prenovitev in razcvet, to je kulturna zgodovina, najbrž prav že zaradi omenjenega spajanja treh obratov (k zgodovinskosti, jezikovnosti in kulturnosti), ki implicira metodološki pluralizem ali Blochovo množstvo dostopov k preteklosti. Metazgodovinarsko spajanje teh treh obratov pa najbrž temeljno omogoča forma, ki je po **Škamperletovem** mnenju

za obe področji, literarno in historiografsko, pomembna ali celo bistvena oblika zapopadanja realnosti in tudi spoznavanja resnice, ne glede, ali je ta resnica fiktivna ali dogodkovno empirična: to je forma naracije. [...] V tem kontekstu pa se tako ali drugače vedno znova vračamo k, zdi se temeljnemu, vozlu, to pa je narativna dogodkovnost ali tudi navzkrižna referenca, kot jo je imenoval Paul Ricoeur, med željo po resničnosti v zgodovini in fikciji, to je literarizirani naraciji.

Škamperle se kot metazgodovinar in pisatelj zaveda stičišča zgodovinopisja in literarne fikcije, torej narativnosti, in njene reference časa, vendar njuno časovnost tudi razlikuje. Med dvema vidikoma časa, ki ju izpostavi **Škamperle**, lahko prvi vidik še vedno gledamo kot skupno prakso zgodovinopisja in literarne fikcije, to je »forma časa, ki jo ustvari literarni tekst, bodisi kot diahrono dogodkovno naracijo in hkrati njeno transcendiranje z vstopi v sinhroni »zdaj«, tako trenutni zdaj bralčeve recepcije kot v integrirani zgodovinski trenutek opisanega dogodka ali predmeta.«

Kot je prikazal Peter Burke⁵ s primerjavo konkretnih pisateljskih in zgodovinarskih, realistično in modernistično orientiranih pripovednih strategij, historiografija in literarna fikcija vzpostavljata mnoge analogne narativne strategije, ki artikulirajo časovno izkušnjo realnosti. Drugi vidik

ali dojemanje časa pa, s tem ko neskrto zviša delež subjektivnosti čez dokumentarno gradivo, (zgodovinski) literarni fikciji omogoča estetsko-doživljajski učinek ter s tem posedanjenje in oživetje preteklosti, pri čemer prav estetska oblikovanost ohranja časovno dvojnost preteklega in sedanjega, znanega in drugega, v predstavljeni realnosti.

Ta drugi vidik dojemanja časa **Škamperle** zaznava v literarni praksi:

[Gre za] priklic glasu junaka ali več junakov, ki nastopajo v pripovedi. [...] V tem je tudi prednost literature pred zgodovinopisjem. Literarno besedilo nam posreduje glas zgodovinskega junaka, ki s tem v naši zavesti postane živ. Miselno ustvari prostore, ki kavzalno povezujejo dogodke in jih sama zgodovina nima oz. niso bili zabeleženi. Pomislimo, koliko takšnih glasov poznamo in kakšno težo imajo v kolektivni, denimo nacionalni identifikaciji.

Estetsko posedanjanje preteklosti – drugi obraz historizacije sedanjosti skozi simbolne forme – spominja na učinek vživetja, ki ga je Wilhelm Dilthey (*Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften*, 1910) izpostavil kot najzanesljivejši način doumetja preteklosti v duhovnozgodovinskih znanostih. **Škamperle** pa s sodobnih zrenjskih točk kulturne antropologije, sociologije kulture, epistemologije premišljuje produkcijo, narativne strategije ustvarjanja takšnega doživljajskega učinka, saj ugotavlja, da se sodobno zgodovinopisje vsaj deloma – tokrat uzaveščeno – vrača k narativni dogodkovnosti. To vračanje **Škamperle** prepoznava kot protipol dveh sodobnih tendenc: fraktalizacije izkušanja realnosti (izražane v formi naključnega bloga) ter »zdrs simbolne govorice v signaletiko, s katero se zgublja oddvajajoči in reprezentativni moment, pa tudi bogata ambivalenca pomenov in semantična odprtost simbola. Virtualni svet znakov ali signaletike ni reprezentativen.«

Kot se zdi, je učinek teh dveh tendenc, ki ju opisuje **Škamperle**, razberljiv v vsakdanjih življenjskih praksah. Če znano Hobsbawmovo sintagmo prenesemo s politično- in ideološkozgodovinske ravni na epistemološko raven, lahko sodobno tenzijo »absolutnega« historiziranja in »absolutnega« posedanjanja mirno imenujemo čas skrajnosti.

V okviru »absolutnega« historiziranja literarno reprezentacijo obrata k zgodovinskosti, historiografsko metafikcijo, raziskuje **Lucia Boldrini** v razpravi *Pomanjkanje poguma. Znanstvene in zgodovinske paradigme* v Doctor Copernicus [...]; vendar tako, da številne metafikcijske nivoje, od žanrskega sinkretizma do narativnega postopka anahronizmov v Banville ovovem romanu (1976), sooča z vidikom teoretske reprezentacije in oba historistična vidika povezuje v izraz paradigmatkega obrata: Banvilleov roman, historiografska metafikcija, strukturno entiteto kuhnovske znanstvene revolucije reprezentira z likom Kopernika in njegovega intelektualnega konteksta, kot

krizo prehoda med srednjim in novim vekom, vendar tako, da »Banville s hibridizacijo in povezovanjem diskurzov razširi Kuhnovo analizo zgodovine znanosti v bolj zaokroženo podobo, ki bi jo lahko s Foucaultevim pojmom imenovali episteme obdobja.« Po mnenju L. Boldrini kopernikanski obrat in postmodernizem predstavljata uvod in epilog moderne paradigme, s svojo epiloško gesto pa Banville izraža »mejo novega izma, nove sinteze«.

Kakšna bo artikulacija prihodnjega izkustva časa, je odprto vprašanje. Zaenkrat se, sodeč tudi po pričujočih razpravah, gibljemo v domeni znanstveno-zgodovinske metazgodovine in historiografske metafikcije. Z metazgodovino (ki je lahko tudi krovni pojem obeh zgodovinske diskurzov) je neločljivo povezana retrovizija »velikih zgodb« ali »organskih totalitet«, ki vzvratno razkrivajo svojo naravo foucaultevskega diskurza moči in artikulacijo političnih ali nacionalnih ideologij.

Nacionalne ideologije seveda ne opredeljujejo le tradicionalne, torej dejansko – moderne paradigme literarne zgodovine v Vzhodni, Južni in tudi Srednji Evropi, kakor ugotavlja Neubauerjeva razprava, marveč izrazito oblikujejo tudi literaturo, ki nastaja v teh kulturnih conah. Ker njihova geografija predstavlja tudi prostor srečevanj in prilastitev različnih političnih ideologij 20. stoletja, je ideološka referenca tu producirane in recipirane literarne fikcije temu primerno intenzivirana. Z vidika moderne historiografije, ki v tem primeru prepleta zgodovino ideologij, literarno zgodovino, z registracijo ideoloških strategij in taktik v literarni praksi pa tudi kulturno zgodovino, opazuje različne ideološke razsežnosti v žanru zgodovinskega romana Egon Pelikan v razpravi *Zgodovinski roman med nacionalno identiteto, ideologijami in »zgodovinskimi žanri«*.

Ideološke razsežnosti postanejo zlasti razvidne v soočanju dveh tematsko zelo podobnih slovenskih romanov (Borisa Pahorja *Zatemnitev*, 1976, ter Alojza Rebule *Nokturno za Primorsko*, 2004): oba z referenco osebne izkušnje (skupnega kulturnega, zamejskega prostora) oblikujeta isto zgodovinsko snov:

univerzalne kontekste evropske in svetovne zgodovine [...]; nacionalni zgodovinski kontekst (nasilje nad slovensko manjšino v Julijski krajini v času med obema vojnama); upor v Julijski krajini po prvi vojni (katoliški na eni strani in komunistični na drugi); [...] oba avtorja (hote ali nehote) stojita tudi v literariziranem ideološkem kontekstu interpretacije novejšje slovenske zgodovine; oba se zato (hote ali nehote) takoj znajdetata v politični rabi zgodovinske snovi v obliki literariziranih parcialnih zgodb; [...] poseben kontekst., ki družita oba avtorja je [...] pogled na zgodovino skupnega slovenskega etničnega prostora iz zornega kota dogajanja zgodovine v njegovem zahodnem delu pod fašistično Italijo.

Četudi sta oba romana umetniško močni kreaciji, Pelikanova razprava dokazuje, k branje obeh romanov pokaže zgodovinski roman kot emi-

ntenen žanr, v katerem se lahko udejanja ideološka semantizacija literarne fikcije: v tem primeru reprezentira nacionalno ideologijo in nato moderno, progresivistično zamisel politično-ideoloških perspektiv naroda (politični katolicizem, komunizem).

S tem pa opisani, tradicionalno-moderni zgodovinski roman kot historiografska fikcija postane tudi objekt analize, ki reprezentira postmoderno historiografsko interdisciplinarnost: analitične metode, ki jih motivira, obsegajo analizo nacionalnih ideologij, totalitarnih ideologij, kronologije politične zgodovine, zgodovino vsakdana, analizo spominskih virov itn., skratka, sinkretični spoj literarne zgodovine, obče historiografije (plain history) in kulturne zgodovine. Z vidika diskurza moči, prepoznavanega v literarnih ideoloških reprezentacijah, se realnost razkriva kot konstrukcija.

Vendar se zaradi svoje konstruiranosti nikoli ne more predstaviti kot absolutno koherentna. Ta poststrukturalistični uvid v pričujoči reviji obravnava **Beata Thomka** v razpravi *Dekonstrukcija zgodovine in narativna identiteta*. Poststrukturalistični uvid pa tudi najmočneje izraža zavest o historičnem relativizmu, ki je sicer latentno navzoča v vseh postmodernih metazgodovinopisjih. V epistemološkem loku od F. Nietzscheja do J. Derridaja, od interpretacije, ki jo Nietzsche poudari v *Volji do moči*, do sledi, ki jih izpostavlja Derrida, se zgodovinar razkrije kot interpret, ki ne more govoriti o preteklosti an sich, marveč le preko tekstnih virov, dokumentov preteklosti; ta se torej daje le kot tekstualizirana preteklost, kot tekst. Diskurzivna (de)konstrukcija realnosti se nanaša na sodobnost in preteklost v njuni hkratni – in samo na ta, hkratni način, mogoči reprezentaciji. Opisano metazgodovinarsko držo, ki najeksplicitneje poudarja »intencionalnost in literarno naravo zgodovine«, **Thomka** prepoznava v novohistoricističnih tendencah oziroma v sodobni poetiki kulture, kakršno je v tekstualni navezavi na poznega Jurija M. Lotmana (*Vnutri misljaščih mirov*) vzpostavil osrednji lik novega historicizma, Stephen Greenblatt.

Ta »intertekstualni teren« reprezentirajo nekateri že klasični sodobni evropski romani – postmodernističnih avtorjev ali tistih, ki vsaj nekoliko razbijajo postmodernistični relativizem z eksistencialistično dediščino (prim. Kos), avtorjev, kot so Umberto Eco, Lawrence Norfolk, Danilo Kiš, Péter Esterházy ali László Márton. S tem izvajajo opisani akt postmoderne zgodovinopisja kot metazgodovine v najširšem smislu, zabisovanje meje med zgodovinopisjem in literarno fikcijo, spoznavnoteoretični obrat od odraza k reprezentaciji in metaforičnim strukturam. Udejanitev tega obrata **Thomka** opaža v Esterházyjevem romanopisju, ki z metanarativnimi strategijami eksplicitno predstavlja zgodovino svoje družine, države in regije, kakor tudi svojo lastno preteklost, kot interpretativni konstrukt, ki pripovedovalca ali zgodovinarja vzpostavlja kot »narativno identiteto«.

»Interpretacija tekstnih sledi« v paradigmi sodobnega metazgodovinpisja v historično perspektivo postavlja – historizira – vse znanstvene discipline, vključno z literarno teorijo. Tudi ta prepričljivo postavlja narativne strukture, ki so se ob svoji prepoznavi zdele ahistorične, v historične mentalitetne paradigme predmodernosti in modernosti. V pričujoči reviji takšno literarnoteoretsko držo udejanja **Bart Keunen** z razpravo *Pojav metažanra: zgodovinski roman in modernizacija romana*.

V duhovnozgodovinski dediščini romantične Geistesgeschichte, zlasti z zgodnjim Georgom Lukácsem, je roman veljal za eminenten literarni žanr modernosti: razume se kot novoveška reprezentacija ideje modernosti. Z opredelitvijo protejskosti romana je to razumevanje romana relativiral Mihail Bahtin. Vendar se protejskost tudi sodobni naratologiji razkriva torej v svojih historičnih – historično različnih – oblikah pojavitve. Tudi če romana ne izvajamo iz nastopa modernosti (če torej sprejemamo Bahtinovo razumevanje romana), lahko opazujemo njegove moderne različice, ki jih Keunen datira v 17. in 18. stoletje, njihov vrh pa v 19. stoletje. To razlikovanje omogočajo učinki dveh tekstnih strategij: obsega semantičnega univerzuma v romanu in tipa zapleta. Metažanrska struktura modernega romana po Keunenovem mnenju postane razvidna z vidika prehoda od predmoderne, finalnostne, »eshatološke« dinamike obdelave k moderni, odprti, »dialoški« plot: božjo previdnost ali vsaj vnaprej zamišljeno osmislitev dogodkov v predmodernem romanu v modernih različicah nadomešča naključje in tenzija med karakterji. Slednja – oziroma dialoški zaplet – po Keunenovem mnenju utemeljuje moderni roman kot metažanr, saj lahko v tej svoji tekstni strategiji povzema vase vse znane žanre in tekstne strategije. To »citatno« naravo žanra reprezentira zgodovinski roman – podvrsta modernega romana – ki (vsaj) v svojih scottovskih začetkih »citira« predmoderno, eshatološko dinamiko obdelave, vendar jo osmisli na modernejši način: kot možnost udejanitve dialoškega razmerja med junaki oziroma med junakom in njegovim prostorsko-časovnim kontekstom.

Dialoška dinamika zapleta narativno-strukturno reprezentira bahtinovsko polifoni značaj modernega romana. Pomeni premik od srednjeveške metafizične vertikale Resnica-človek k moderni, novoveški horizontali človek-človek, »Mit-mensch« (Peter Szondi: *Theorie des modernen Dramas*, 1956), v lukácsevski romaneskni svet, ki so ga bogovi zapustili. S tega vidika roman nastopa kot metažanr ali »citat« izgubljene totalitete.

Tovrstno »citatnost« odkriva pod vtisom foucaultevskega diskurza moči/oblasti postmoderna metazgodovina – tudi meta(literarna) zgodovina – zlasti v ideoloških konstruktih preteklosti, ki ustrezajo sedanjosti. V pričujoči reviji s tega vidika izvajata retrovizijo literarne produkcije, recepcije, literarne zgodovine in zgodovine kulture razpravi **Marijana Doviča** in **Gašperja Trohe**.

Razprava **Marijana Dovića** *Zgodnje literarne artikulacije slovenske nacionalne zgodovine in »slovenski kulturni sindrom«* ob izbranih zgodovinopisnih, pol-literarnih in literarnih žanrih obravnavanih besedil ugotavlja, kako se je od protestantizma naprej do vključno romantičnega obdobja konstruirala nacionalna zgodovina (zgodovinopisje) in s tem nacionalna identiteta skozi reprezentiranje dveh slovenskih mitov, »ilirskega« in »karantanskega«. Oba sta ustvarjala in izražala emancipacijsko nacionalno zavest: motivacijo nacionalne avtonomije.

Romantično obdobje, ki je z opiranjem na Kantovo utemeljitev estetskega doživljaja uveljavljalo legitimnost različnih diskurzov in s tem legitimiralo – tudi ali zlasti – avtonomijo umetniškega oz. literarnega diskurza – je, kakor prikazuje že **Neubauerjeva** razprava, avtonomijo estetskih artefaktov hkrati tudi zanikovalo. Teza, ki je zaslovela s Herderjem – teza, da se bistvo naroda najčisteje izraža v kulturi in znotraj nje jezikovni umetnosti, literaturi, je emancipacijo in avtonomnost literarnega diskurza podredila »višjemu« namenu, tj. emancipaciji in avtonomiji naroda, s kulminacijo v pomladi narodov 1848.

V narodu, ki je (do leta 1991) ostajal brez države, naj bi literatura prevzela vlogo reprezentanta nacionalne kulture in s tem identitete par excellence, s tem pa državotvorno institucionalno funkcijo, v kateri si jo prilašča nacionalna ideologija. To tezo, ki so jo postopno oblikovali slovenski literarni zgodovinar **Dušan Pirjevec**, sociolog (in poznejši zunanji minister!) **Dimitrij Rupel** ter sociolog **Rastko Močnik** – tezo o »slovenskem kulturnem sindromu« – **Dovič** dopolnjuje z vidiki sodobne meta(literarne)zgodovine.

V gledališki recepciji dramskega žanra pa ideološko funkcijo zgodovinopisja dokazuje razprava **Gašperja Trohe** *Zgodovinska drama in njena družbena vloga na Slovenskem pod komunizmom* z analizo razmerij med tremi družbenimi dejavniki: gledališčem, oblastjo in publiko. **Troha** predstavi njihova ideološka vozlišča ob dramah *Afera Primoža Kozaka* (uprizorjena leta 1961) in *Topla greda* **Marjana Rožanca** (premiera načrtno nasilno prekinjena leta 1964). Obe drami sta si tematsko podobni: politično-ideološko- in družbenokritični; tako ju je dojemala tudi publika. Na vprašanje, zakaj ju je oblast recipirala diametralno nasprotno, **Troha** odgovarja z adaptacijo teorije ideologije, kakršno je izdelal slovenski filozof **Slavoj Žižek** v razpravi *Logika antisemitizma* (1987): »Oblast je namreč razdelila družbo na t.i. produktivne in neproduktivne sfere, potem pa je slednjim pripisala naravo skupnega sovražnika.« Funkcijo »skupnega sovražnika« je po **Trohovem** mnenju prevzela Rožančeva drama, ki družbenokritične teme ni premestila v zgodovinsko snov oziroma je ni predelala – prikrla – v zgodovinski literarni žanr, kakor je storila Kozakova drama oziroma druge slovenske drame z zgodovinsko snovjo v tretji četrtini 20. stoletja: te so torej izražale »radikalno kritiko« družbenega sistema, hkrati pa – njegovo potrditev.

Trohova razprava pravzaprav reprezentira delovanje strategij in taktik pri vzpostavljanju in potrjevanju, izražanju simbolnega reda zgodovine-kulture-literature. Značilni učinek simbolnega reda je, kot ugotavlja tudi Škamperletova razprava, ambivalenca. Prilastitve zgodovine (zgodovinske snovi) v literarnih žanrih so ambivalentne: po eni strani reprezentirajo strategijo foucaultevske oblasti/moči, s katero se le-ta vzpostavlja in ohranja; po drugi strani reprezentirajo individualnejše taktike, ki si moč oblasti prilagajajo in oblast s tem deloma subvertirajo, tako da jo z izrabo ambivalentnega simbolnega potenciala zgodovinskih znakov v literaturi potrjujejo; hkrati le na videz in hkrati zares.

Razprava Gregorja Pompeta *Zgodovina opere in zgodovinska opera* prevaja opisane retrovizije zgodovine, zgodovinopisja in zgodovinskih umetniških žanrov na interdisciplinarno raven: v primerjanju z zgodovinskimi literarnimi (fikcijskimi) žanri zarisuje poteze žanra zgodovinske opere, ki se je, enako kot scottovska literarna moda, razmahnila v obdobju romantike, v času vzpostavitve »zavesti zgodovinskosti« (G. Lukács).

Čeprav je s svojim integralnim elementom libreta opera deloma tudi literarna reprezentacija, zgodovinska snov, ki jo morda izraža libreto, še ne zadošča za umestitev v žanr zgodovinske opere; prav tako ne, kot ugotavlja Pompe, »glasbena materialnost«. Žanrsko karakteristiko zgodovinske opere, ki jo Pompe prepoznava npr. v opusih Giacoma Meyerbeerja in Modesta Musorgskega, zagotavlja dramaturgija, kadar ustrezno funkcionalizira zgodovinsko snov:

v središču so množične scene, ki preraščajo v velike statične slike, v katerih je močno povečan pomen vizualnega in pantomimičnega, bistveno se skrči delež intimnega dogajanja in s tem tudi število solističnih točk. [...] V teh operah zgodovinska snov pridobi idejno potenco in je njena vloga tako povzdignjena iz gole dekorativnosti.

Idejna potenca se lahko modificira v ideološko, točneje, nacionalno-ideološko, saj se razcvet zgodovinske opere dogaja v obdobju pomladi narodov.

Če Neubauerjeva razprava argumentira »nacionalistično« dezavtonimizacijo nacionalne umetniške produkcije v literaturi/literarni zgodovini, Pompeta razprava v pričujoči reviji razširi historiografsko polje interdisciplinarnost: med drugim prikazuje, kako mitozgodovina (mythistory) deluje tudi v operni produkciji in recepciji, le da s sebi lastno izrazno, materialnejšo prakso. S svojo interdisciplinarno metodo se Pompeta razprava torej širi v kulturnozgodovinarsko raziskovanje materialnejše kulture.

OPOMBE

¹ »Izraz 'nova kulturna zgodovina' se je začel uporabljati na koncu 80-ih let 20. stoletja. [...] To je nova 'paradigma' v pomenu, v katerem je ta pojem uporabljen v delu Thomasa Kuhna o strukturi znanstvenih 'revolucij' [...], ko iz modela 'normalne prakse' izstopi neka raziskovalna tradicija« (Burke 57).

² Collingwood se upira »scissors-and-paste« razumevanju zgodovinopisne prakse, zgodovinarjevemu slepemu zaupanju v kako »avtoritet«, katere besede brez premisleka prilepi v svoje zaključke. A v uzaveščenju, da je opisana historiografska praksa problematična, se zgodovinar vzpostavi kot svoja lastna avtoriteta, ki se sam preverja in overovlja: »zgodovinarji ne motrijo dokazov in preprosto opišejo, kar vidijo: 'berejo' jih. Dokaz nastaja iz tega, »kar rečejo«: iz zgodovinarjevih lastnih zornih kotov. Zgodovinar deluje s svojimi lastnimi močmi: izvaja »vestetsko dejanje branja določenega teksta v jeziku, ki ga pozna, in ki mu pripiše določen smisel.« (Hughes-Warrington 43).

³ Marc Bloch je opisal svoj koncept primerjalne zgodovine v članku »Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes.

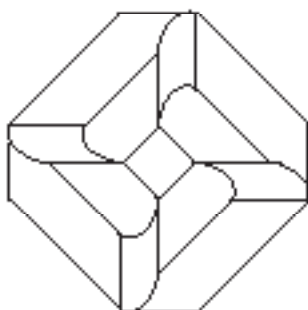
⁴ Standardni slovenski prevodi teh obratov so: obrat k zgodovini, obrat h kulturi in obrat k jeziku. V tem prispevku navedene sintagme za razliko od standardnega prevoda bolj upoštevajo »temeljne lastnosti« oz. »vidike« dojemane/raziskovane realnosti, torej vpetost v pozgodovinanje – zgodovinskost, vpetost v simbolne rede kulture – kulturnost; in artikulacijo, ki je v znanosti ali zgodbotvorju neogibno besedna, jezikovna, organizirana v jezikovni diskurz, s čimer – glede na foucaultevsko opredelitev diskurzivnih sistemov dobiva »lastnosti«, ki jo vpenjajo v prej omenjeni zgodovinskost in kulturnost episteme.

⁵ Burke, sklicujoč se med drugim na zgodovinarja filma S. Kracauerja, ilustrira strukturne podobnosti med zgodovinopisjem kot znanstveno disciplino in literaturo: od zgodbotvorne, sukcesivne pripovedi do moderne časovne fragmentacije in razkrajanja zgodbe (Burke, *Zgodovina*; in Mataj, *Risanje* 168).

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Razprave



Zgodovinopisje literarne zgodovine

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Literarne zgodovine predstavljajo vrsto modernega diskurza, ki se je pojavil v zgodnji romantiki ob koncu 18. stoletja kot nepogrešljiv element profesionalizacije literarne vede. Vzpon organskih teorij literature in kulture se pogosto povezuje z romantiko in še posebej s Samuelom Coleridgeem, vendar še vedno ne razumemo povsem, kako je romantično zgodovinopisje izkoristilo nesoglasja v bioloških teorijah druge polovice 18. stoletja. Nekatere nedavne raziskave so v odgovor na koncentrirane in dolgotrajne napade 20. stoletja na organicistične predpostavke literarne zgodovine skušale zapustiti tradicionalna načela.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / literarna zgodovina / zgodovinopisje / romantika / organicizem / nacionalna identiteta

UDK 82.0:930.85

Literarna zgodovina se je ugnezdila med zgodovino in zgodovinsko fikcijo. Čeprav literarna zgodovina po priljubljenosti in akademskem statusu ni mogla tekmovati z drugima dvema, je močno oblikovala identiteto nacionalnih skupin 19. stoletja s kanonizacijo nacionalnih piscev in njihovih del ter z dodeljevanjem statusa pristnosti starim legendam in mitom kot odsevom pretekle narodove slave. Literarne zgodovine, ki so jih v veliki meri uporabljali v šolah in na univerzah, so namreč postale pomemben dejavnik v oblikovanju narodove samopodobe.

Literarna zgodovina je metafore in pripovedne oblike na prehodu iz 18. v 19. stoletje prevzela z dveh različnih področij: 1.) epske in dramske pripovedi, ki so bile predmet literarne zgodovine, in 2.) zgodovine živih organizmov, ki jo je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja razvila nova biologija. Ta članek je predvsem študija biološke metafore, ki smo jo doslej dokaj ignorirali, če jo primerjamo s prvo kategorijo, ki jo danes ponavadi obravnavamo kot »veliko pripoved« (*grand récit*).

I

Če upoštevamo pisanje Haydena Whitea in drugih, ki trdijo, da vsako pisanje zgodovine uporablja metafore in pripovedne oblike, potem so si

literarne zgodovine, še posebej v Vzhodni Evropi, te izposojale pri zgodovini živih organizmov. Organicistično ideologijo, na kateri so osnovane tovrstne literarne in druge zgodovine, se pravično, a pogosto naključno kritizira. Organicizem, kot ga imenujem, ima več obrazov. Natančneje, biološke metafore so v literarnih zgodovinah odigrale na eni strani pozitivno in osvobajajočo vlogo, saj so legitimirale zgodovinske spremembe, na drugi strani pa so lahko temu tudi nasprotovale, ko so organsko formo in rast predstavljale kot kvazi naravna zakona literature, umetnosti, kulture in zgodovine človeštva. Ravno enačenje razvoja kulture in narave pa je bilo tarča sodobnih kritik.

Preden začnem obravnavati specifične literarnozgodovinske probleme, naj na kratko predstavim »organicizem«, ki se je uporabljal v obravnavah različnih vidikov umetnosti. Literarne (pa tudi muzikološke in umetnostnozgodovinske) študije so prevzele biološki ciklus rojstva, razvoja, upada in smrti ne le v zvezi z življenjem umetnikov, temveč tudi v zvezi z literarnimi obdobji in gibanji ter mnogimi drugimi začasnimi procesi v umetnosti. Še več, organicizem ima poleg diahrona razsežnosti tudi strukturni pomen; namiguje na to, da so deli celote med seboj »organsko« povezani in da vsi jasno izražajo, sicer v različnih oblikah, žarišče oz. bistvo celote. Vsi poznamo »organsko povezanost«, ki so jo literarni zgodovinarji do nedavnega pripisovali vsakemu uspešnemu umetniškemu delu, življenju in delu avtorjev, pa tudi periodičnim konceptom literarne zgodovine, kot so barok, romantika in realizem. Holistične pristope so ostro kritizirali dekonstrukcijski misleci in Michel Foucault, ki je organicizem duhovne zgodovine skušal zamenjati s svojim pojmovanjem *epistem*. Vendar se, kot sem že pisal drugje, Foucaulteva filozofija zgodovine in drugi napadi na organicizem niso mogli znebiti ostankov organicistične ideologije.

Bolj tehnični prispevek biologije k nastajajočemu žanru literarne zgodovine je bil posledica obrata od mehanskega modela *preformacije* k *epigenetskemu* modelu, ki je vsakemu organizmu pripisal njegovo lastno življenjsko silo. Teorija *preformacije* (*Einschachtelung* ali *emboïtement*) predpostavlja, da so vsi nasledniki prisotni že v najstarejšem predniku ali tvorcu. Na koncu 18. stoletja je preformacijo zamenjala teorija *epigenezе*, ki je predpostavljala, da razvoj ni že vnaprej določen, temveč je posledica notranje sile vsakega organskega bitja. Čeprav so tej novi teoriji nasprotovali pomembni fiziologi, npr. Lazzaro Spallanzani in Albrecht von Haller zaradi njenega materialističnega potenciala, so fiziologi in filozofi naslednje generacije izpopolnjevali razumevanje, po katerem imajo organska bitja v lasti nekakšno prirojeno silo. Charles Bonnet je na primer ločil dve različici in ju poimenoval s pojmomoma, ki sta se nedavno ponovno pojavila v humanistiki. Gre za vprašanje, ali je bil razvoj povsod (*dissémination*) ali pa smo vsi potomci Adama

in Eve (*mise-en-abîme*). Caspar Friedrich Wolff, vodilna osebnost v razvoju epigenetske teorije, je trdil, da vsa bitja vsebujejo *vis essentialis*. Friedrich Blumenbach je to silo preimenoval v *Bildungstrieb*, medtem ko je Herder, sklicujoč se na Blumenbacha, trdil, da življenje vseh živih bitij oblikuje več prirojenih sil (prim. Müller-Sievers).

Teorije o prirojenih življenjskih silah so več kot očitno vplivale na romantično in idealistično filozofijo. Nekateri kritiki so nedavno trdili, da epigeneza oblikuje osnovo ali izhodiščno točko za teorije samorazvoja. Še več, menili so, da je igrala ključno vlogo pri pojavu idealizma in romantike. Za zdaj bi rad na konkretnem primeru pokazal, kako je novi epigenetski model deloval na eno izmed prvih literarnih zgodovin, in sicer na predavanju Augusta Wilhelma Schlegla o evropski drami iz leta 1811. Schlegel je v enem izmed svojih znamenitih odlomkov nasprotoval doktrini Johanna Joachima Winckelmanna, da morajo moderne umetnosti posnemati klasične. Po Augustu Wilhelmu sta Shakespeare in Calderón enakovredna antičnim avtorjem, čeprav nista sledila njihovim dramaturškim pravilom. Omenjena avtorja sta uporabila oblike, ki so izhajale iz njune lastne snovi in obdobja, namesto da bi slednjima mehanično vsilila antične oblike (kar bi ustrezalo biološki preformaciji). Prav to »notranje določeno« obliko ima Schlegel za organsko. V tem smislu, organska oblika kaže znamenja avtonomije in samoorganizacije. Če prevedemo epigenetsko biološko načelo v načelo zgodovine gledališča, mora vsaka doba tako rekoč »od znotraj« razviti svoje dramske oblike:

[...] duh poezije je večer, vendar prehaja skozi različna telesa in vsakič, ko se človeško utelesi, mora ustvariti novo telo, si mora zgraditi telo, ki je zaradi obdobjnih sprememb oblikovano drugače. Oblike se spreminjajo s smerjo pesniške senzibilnosti; označevati nove poetične oblike s starimi žanrskimi oznakami in jim v skladu s tem soditi, to pomeni skrajno nedopustno zlorabo slovesa, ki se drži klasičnega starega veka. Nikomur ne bi smel soditi tisti, ki za to nima pristojnosti. Sprejemamo idejo, da večina dram angleških in španskih pesnikov niso niti tragedije niti komedije v klasičnem pomenu teh besed, toda predstavljajo romantično dramatiko. (*Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* 2 112) ¹

Čeprav zgornji odlomek ne omenja epigeneze eksplicitno, njegova biološka prisodobna izhaja iz epigenetskega prepričanja, da se vsak organizem razvije iz notranjega načela in ne iz načela, ki bi ga nasledil po svojih prednikih, kar so do konca 18. stoletja zagovarjali preformatisti. Kot je dejal Schlegel, angleške in španske dramatike ni pošteno soditi z merili, ki izhajajo iz antičnih tragedij in komedij; duh poezije oplodi vsako obdobje drugače, s čimer ustvari nove umetniške oblike. Metaforika je lahko romantična in sanjava, vendar je odvisna od biološkega diskurza: literatura se ohranja ob pomoči epigeneze (z vedno novimi generacijami modernih), in

ne z mehanično preformacijo, zato se lahko oba žanra in nacionalne literarne kulture svobodno razvijajo, ne da bi jih pri tem ovirale kanonizirane oblike tradicije. Biološka prisposoba ni omejevalna, temveč osvobajajoča, saj literaturi omogoča gibanje skozi stoletja in prek nacionalnih meja.

II

Liberalni in antidogmatski pristopi k literarni zgodovini so se spremenili v zgodnjem 19. stoletju, kakor jasno kaže naslov serije predavanj *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur* (*Zgodovina stare in nove literature*), ki jih je imel Friedrich Schlegel na Dunaju leta 1812. Odločilen zgodovinski dogodek, ki je vplival na njihov nastanek, je bila vojna proti Napoleonu, ki je leta 1812 dosegla svoj vrhunec. Kot je zapisal Hans Eichner, je do leta 1812 Schlegel iz »sodobnika Fichteja postal katolik, privrženec francoske revolucije ji je začel nasprotovati, evropski svetovljan je postal nemški rodoljub in občudovalec Svetega rimskega cesarstva nemškega naroda«. Presenetljivo je, da so ta predavanja, ki so močno podpirala državo in status quo, skorajda postala predmet cenzure. Univerza je namreč menila, da so nepotrebna, policija je zavrnila pritožbo in šele cesar je z osebnim posredovanjem Friedrichu zagotovil potrebno dovoljenje pod pogojem, da se predavanja izvedejo v navzočnosti policista. Na koncu so bila predavanja, ki jih je Friedrich izvedel med 27. februarjem in 30. aprilom 1812, pravi hit.

Schleglovo novo katoliško, konservativno in nacionalistično stališče je vidno v njegovem posvetilu Metternichu, v katerem pravi, da je želel premostiti globok prepad med literarnim in intelektualnim svetom na eni strani in »praktično realnostjo« na drugi. Njegov namen je bil pokazati, »da lahko narodova duhovna kultura (*Geistesbildung*) odigra odločilno vlogo celo v velikih globalnih zadevah in usodah narodov.« Literatura zanj ni bila le zabava ali kopija »dejanskega sveta«, temveč tudi politična sila.

Schlegel je v uvodu in prvem predavanju še podrobneje določil svojo nalogo. Politične voditelje je želel prepričati, da je literatura bistvo (*Inbegriff*) intelektualnega življenja naroda, čeprav je hkrati priznaval, da so bili akademiki in pisci tradicionalno izolirani od višjih razredov in drugih pripadnikov naroda. Delitve znotraj umetniškointelektualne kulture same in ločitev te od ljudi so najbolj ovirale razvoj splošne nacionalne kulture, vendar je, kot je trdil Schlegel, 18. stoletje Nemčiji in drugim evropskim narodom prineslo oživitev »nacionalnega duha«. Zanj je to v praksi pomenilo, da mora literatura služiti državi in povečevati narodovo preteklost:

Za narodov nadaljnji razvoj in celo njegov duhovni obstoj je z zgodovinske perspektive, ki ljudi sodi na podlagi njihove vrednosti, najbolj pomembno, da ljudstvo

ohrani tiste velike nacionalne spomine svojih daljnih začetkov, ki ponavadi izginejo. Poglavitna naloga poezije je, da te spomine ohrani in jih povečuje. Nacionalni spomini, ki sestavljajo najčudovitejši del ljudske dediščine, predstavljajo prednost, ki je ni mogoče nadomestiti. In če se narod 'oplemeniti', dvigne v svoji samozavesti zaradi velike preteklosti in svojih spominov na predzgodovinski čas, če torej razvije poezijo, se bo dvignil na višjo raven tudi v naših očeh in sodbi.« (*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* 6 15 f)

III

Na drugih mestih sem pokazal, kako je Schleglova konservativna in nacionalistična koncepcija literarne zgodovine v 19. stoletju postala dominantna. Tukaj naj na podlagi nekaterih primerov le pokažem, da se je organicistična nacionalna literarna zgodovina nadaljevala tudi v 20. stoletju. Kot primere sem izbral tekste velikega romunskega polihistorja in politika Nicolaeja Iorga, njegovega mlajšega kolega Naeja Ionescuja in hrvaškega literarnega zgodovinarja Branka Vodnika.

Iorga je v svoji *Zgodovini romunske literature 18. stoletja* (1901) in pozneje trdil, da se je romunska literatura razvila *organsko* in *spontano*, in sicer iz lokalnih tradicij in narodopisja, pa tudi iz daških, starorimskih in bizantinskih virov. V *Bizancu po Bizancu* (1935) je tako skušal pokazati, kako so romunski kmetje ohranili daško kulturo in starorimske običaje. Menil je celo, da so kmetje, ki jih je našel v pokrajini Hunedoara, Dačani:

tukaj živijo pravi Dačani, novi Dačani, stari 2000 let, ki s seboj nosijo znamenje svoje zmage, medtem ko se je jezik antičnih Rimljanov že davno sesul v prah. Tukajšnji kmetje so res Dačani, trdi in zadržani ljudje s svojo starodavno navado, da dajo vsakomur, kar mu gre, z občutkom svoje lastne pravičnosti. (*Válogatott írások* 167–69)

Medtem ko je Iorgajev organicistični nacionalizem vključujoč in ekspanziven (ker vključuje celotno nerimsko tradicijo), je nacionalizem njegovega mlajšega rojaka Naeja Ionescuja izključujoč. Ionescu je tako kot mnogi populist v drugih državah nasprotoval kozmopolitskemu duhu velikih mest, še posebej Bukarešte. Ta se je po njegovem mnenju od drugih razlikovala po »pomanjkanju narodnih korenin« (bodite pozorni na biološko metaforo!) in »izgubi stika« z vsem tradicionalnim, z vzhodno pravoslavno cerkvijo in ljudsko tradicijo na podeželju (Ionescu 146–48). Predlagal je celo, da bi zaprli romunske meje ter tako izključili Romunijo iz svetovne politike in jo obvarovali pred tujimi vplivi (287).

Na podlagi teh primerov bi lahko sklepali, da je organicizem vedno povečeval kmete in tradicionalne vrednote podeželja. To je v večini pri-

merov res, vendar bo moj zadnji primer pokazal, da je organicizem lahko služil različnim ideologijam. V hrvaški literarni zgodovini Branka Vodnika središče ni več podeželje, ampak mesto, natančneje, dalmatinska mestna državnica. Vodnikov organicizem je izključujoč tako kot Ionescujev, vendar je Vodnik izključil tisto, kar je Ionescu imel za srce organizma. Nenad Ivić je poudaril, da je Vodnik v svoji *Zgodovini hrvaške literature (Povijest hrvatske književnosti)* (1913) želel orisati »organski razvoj naše stare književnosti« (4). Pod »organskim razvojem« je razumel izključitev vsega, kar je dajalo videz heterogenosti, kot na primer glagolitska književnost, ki ni bila specifično hrvaška. Vodnik zato začetek prave hrvaške književnosti umešča v obdobje razcveta humanizma in renesanse v svobodnih dalmatinskih mestnih državnicah. Hrvaški nacionalni prostor razume kot organsko povezan in mu pripisuje enak obseg, kot ga je imel v začetku 20. stoletja. Vodnik je po Ivićevem mnenju ignoriral morebitne razdore in razlike med mesti in njihovimi okolji, med Dalmacijo, ožjo Hrvaško in Slavonijo, med Dubrovnikom in preostalimi dalmatinskimi mesti, med jeziki in dialekti ali med vrstami pismenosti in književnosti. Junak Vodnikove zgodovinske pripovedi je nespremenljiv subjekt brez notranjih razpok ali protislovij, tj. hrvaški narod, skrčen na svojo prvobitno obliko mestne državnice.²

IV

Vodnik je svojo *Zgodovino hrvaške književnosti* objavil leta 1913, pred začetkom prve svetovne vojne in dolgim obdobjem, v katerem so postale organicistične literarne zgodovine – in literarne zgodovine nasploh – sumljive. Spomnimo se samo vzpona ruskega formalizma med vojno in po njej, dominacije nove kritike med obema vojnoma in pozneje ter prihoda strukturalizma in poststrukturalizma v desetletjih po letu 1950. Iz te že znane zgodbe naj izpostavim delo Rolanda Barthesa *Zgodovina ali literatura? (Histoire ou littérature?)*, napisano leta 1950, ki je bilo kasneje vključeno v njegovo knjigo o Racinu (1963), *Arheologijo vednosti (Archéologie du savoir)*, 1972) Michela Foucaulta in njegov polemični komentar lastne zgodovinske konstrukcije v *Besedah in rečeh (Les mots et les choses)*, 1966), ki predstavlja najostrejši napad na predpostavke organicističnega zgodovinopisja.³

Zaradi poststrukturalističnih, foucaultevskih in dekonstruktivističnih napadov na predpostavke organicističnih tradicij so v zadnjem času nastali novi poskusi literarnih zgodovin, ki prestopajo meje pripovedi, znanstvenih disciplin in nacionalnih/kulturnih prostorov ter tako eksplicitno ali implicitno ukinjajo načela organske enotnosti. Od teh novih zgodovin jih tukaj lahko omenim le nekaj. Francoske literarne zgodovine, ki jih skupaj s

skupino akademikov piše Denis Hollier, se izogibajo uporabi pripovednih konvencij. Veliko pripoved (*grand récit*) v teh delih nadomešča veliko število esejev, pri čemer je vsak od njih vezan na določen datum, ki označuje literarni ali politični dogodek. Meje znanstvenih disciplin najdosledneje brišejo raziskave, ki sledijo načelom novega historicizma, medtem ko nacionalne in kulturne meje brišejo regionalne študije, kakršna je *Zgodovina literarnih kultur v Vzhodni in Srednji Evropi* (*History of the Literary Cultures in East-Central Europe*), ki sva jo uredila skupaj z Marcelom Cornis-Popeom, ter novi poskusi pisanja transkulturnih in globalnih literarnih zgodovin, ki jih ureja Gunilla Lindberg-Wada. Koliko so uspešni v svojih prizadevanjih po formiranju radikalno novih načinov pisanja literarne zgodovine, bo pokazal čas, temeljita razprava o teh vprašanjih pa bo morala počakati na kakšno drugo priložnost.

Prevedel Nenad Senić

OPOMBE

¹ [Hieraus leuchtet ein, daß] der unvergängliche, aber gleichsam durch verschiedene Körper wandernde Geist der Poesie, so oft er sich im Menschengeschlechte neu gebiert, aus den Nahrungsstoffen eines veränderten Zeitalters sich auch einen anders gestalteten Leib zubilden muß. Mit der Richtung des dichterischen Sinnes wechseln die Formen, und wenn man die neuen Dichtarten mit den alten Gattungsnamen belegt, und sie nach deren Begriffe beurtheilt, so ist dieß eine ganz unbefugte Anwendung von dem Ansehen des classischen Alterthums. Niemand soll vor einer Gerichtsbarkeit belangt werden, unter die er nicht gehört. Wir können gern zugeben, die meisten dramatischen Werke der englischen und spanischen Dichter seyen im Sinne der Alten weder Tragödien noch Komödien: es sind eben romantische Schauspiele. (*Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* 2: 112)

² Tukaj naj omenim le povojno ukrajinsko razpravo o tem, kaj naj sestavlja veliko nacionalno literaturo, tj. literaturo »ljudi za ljudi«. Jurij Šerek je kot kriterij predlagal »nacionalni« ali »nacionalnoorganski« stil, ki naj bi izražal specifično ukrajinsko izkušnjo in duha. (prim. Grabowicz).

³ O Foucaultevih pogledih na literarno zgodovino glej *Foucault and Literature* Simona Duringa in moja dva članka: "Foucault's Voices" in "Can Foucault save Literary History?" V slednjem razvrščam njegove razprave o literaturi v tri kategorije: 1.) Foucaulteva natančna branja določenih literarnih besedil, 2.) prostor in funkcija literarnih besedil v Foucaultevih analizah zgodovine, in 3.) Foucaulteva (meta)kritika zgodovinopisja. Seveda je ironično, da je njegova epistemska zgodovinska struktura v *Besedah in rečeh* nekoliko podobna organicističnim zgodovinam, čeprav naj bi izpostavila prelome namesto neprekinjenega razvoja epistem.

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Družba, zgodovina in literarni pogled

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Članek obravnava nekaj aspektov historiografske transformacije v zadnjem stoletju in se osredotoča na pomen in vlogo, ki ga v zgodovinskem pisanju opravljata literarna in pripovedna forma. Po kritični zavrnitvi dogodkovne zgodovine in poskusih sinhrono strukturalne analize, smo danes priče dvojni tenziji, po eni strani vračanju pripovedne forme v zgodovinopisje, pogosto posredno, preko ovrednotenja stranskih virov, po drugi strani pa se pojavljajo oblike samoizpovedi, ki so učinek ahistorične fraktalizacije sodobne percepcije realnosti.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / zgodovinopisje / literarna fikcija / narativnost / metazgodovina / kulturna zgodovina / čas

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Muza Klio je navdihovalka pisanja zgodovine, ki ga v zahodni civilizaciji od njenega začetka pri Herodotu spremlja forma, ki je sorodna literarnemu izražanju in se zdi za obe področji, literarno in historiografsko, pomembna ali celo bistvena oblika zapopadanja realnosti in tudi spoznavanja resnice, ne glede na to, ali je ta resnica fiktivna ali dogodkovno empirična: to je forma naracije. Pustimo zaenkrat, ali je forma naracije konstitutivna ali pa je derivatna oblika, kot se je v svojem monumentalnem delu *Čas in pripoved (Temps et récit)* izrazil Paul Ricoeur, in danes sama po sebi predstavlja problem (prim. Ricoeur). Vprašanje historiografske naracije in nasploh pojem ali koncept dogodka (*histoire événementielle*) sta v zadnjih desetletjih postala predmet kritike in resnih analiz, kar se je najmočneje pokazalo v novejšem francoskem zgodovinopisju, ki je od prvih mojstrov zgodovine pri reviji *Annales*, predvsem Marca Blocha in Luciena Febvrea, pa do sodobnih avtorjev, kot so Le Goff, Duby in Le Roy Ladurie, temeljito prenovilo pisanje zgodovine in nasploh vzpostavilo novo epistemološko polje razumevanja njene realnosti in resnice (prim. Burke). V tem kontekstu pa se tako ali drugače vedno znova vračamo k, zdi se temeljnemu, vozlu, to pa je narativna dogodkovnost ali tudi navzkrižna referenca, kot jo je imenoval Paul Ricoeur, med željo po resničnosti v zgodovini in fikciji, to je literarizirani naraciji.

T. i. navzkrižna referenca, ki jo vzdržuje pripovedna forma, se je najbrž najizraziteje manifestirala v 19. st., ko je zgodovinopisje odigralo pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju modernih nacij v Evropi. Pri oblikovanju nacionalne identitete ima velik pomen izročilo in z njim povezana narodna preteklost, zato sta bili historiografija in književnost področji, deležni najširšega družbenega, kulturnega in tudi znanstvenega konsenza. Poleg tega zgodovinopisje še ni bilo ločeno od literature, ne le v smislu zgodovinskega žanra, s katerim so izbrane teme iz preteklosti, relevantne za določeno kulturo, nastopale v literarnem opusu, ampak tudi zato, ker je bilo splošno sprejeto, da je zgodovinar nekdo, ki ima občutek za estetsko raven in zna lepo pisati. Analogno je veljalo, do neke mere nemara še vedno velja, da je tudi književnik nekdo, ki ima izbran občutek za zgodovino in s pomočjo svoje pripovedi dejansko interpretira zgodovinsko izročilo, ga poustvarja, dogodke in spoznanja človeške eksistence postavlja v čas in na ta način deluje kot nenadomestljiv vir kulturnega izročila, ki je pomembno za osebno in kolektivno identiteto.

Konec 19. st. je takšna historiografija zašla v krizo. Čeprav so od antike naprej na Zahodu zgodovino pisali v različnih žanrskih oblikah, od analov in kronik do memoarov, poročil, monografij in prilik, je bila prevladujoča forma pripoved o pomembnih vojaških ali političnih dogodkih in dejanjih velikih mož. V težnji, da bi svojo naracijo približala znanosti, je historiografija zaostila selektivne kriterije in se začela omejevat na preverljive arhivske vire in politično zgodovino. S tem je zgodovinopisje rankejevskega kova dodatno zožilo svoje polje in posredno prispevalo, da sta se okrepila pomen in vloga zgodovinskega žanra v čisti literaturi. Seveda srečamo tudi svetle izjeme, ki so v drugi polovici 19. st. pisale drugačno zgodovino, bližjo polifoni pluralnosti človeške kulture in občutenja; to sta bila npr. Jules Michelet in Jakob Burckhardt. Na tej sledi, ki je dolgo ostajala disidentska glede na osnovno akademsko usmeritev, a za formo naracije, navzkrižnih referenc in komplementarnosti s čisto literaturo pomembnejša, srečamo na začetku 20. st. Johana Huizingo, ki je v delih *Homo ludens* in *Jesen srednjega veka* izpostavil teze, drugačne od tradicionalne historiografije. Zavrnil je shematične ločnice in politično kronologijo. Namesto tega v ospredje stopata družba in kultura, katerih narava je predvsem estetska in ludična, igriva. Človeški svet je v prvi vrsti svet domišljije, verovanja, obredov časti, ljubezni in neizmeren preplet simbolov in doživetih podob.

Zdi se mi zanimivo, da je historiografijo arhivskega tipa, ki stremi po eksaktnosti in znanstveni relevanci, kritično zavrnil tudi utemeljitelj pozitivizma in oče sociologije Comte, ki je male natančnosti imenoval »otročje, malenkostne podrobnosti« (Burke). V poznejšem razvoju sta tako zgodovinopisje kot literatura ubirala vzporedni in avtonomni poti. Zgodovina, ki

je kot preteklost ostajala eden od priljubljenih predmetov čiste literature, se je na svojem polju osvobajala od narativne forme. Namesto pripovedi je v ospredje stopil problemski pristop. Ob njem so študijsko relevantnost pridobile mnogovrstne človeške dejavnosti, kolektivna psihologija, oblike verovanja in načini občutenja tudi tistih stvari, ki niso objektivno snovne, kot npr. sanje, strah, percepcija časa, zaznavanje lepote, religiozna občutenja ipd. Namesto shematične kronologije si je utrla pot globinska forma dolgega trajanja, pa ugotovitev, da se v slehernem zgodovinskem trenutku čas dejansko giblje z različnimi hitrostmi – pri tem se rad spomnim stare mame, ki je včasih, ko je bila pri nas na obisku, potožila, kako čas v mestu hitreje mineva kot pri njej na vasil! – s čimer se približamo tudi dvema segmentoma, ki imata veliko težo v literarnem zgodovinskem žanru: to pa sta forma časa, ki jo ustvari literarni tekst, bodisi kot diahrono dogodkovno naracijo in hkrati njeno transcendiranje z vstopi v sinhroni »zdaj«, tako v trenutni zdaj bralčeve recepcije kot v integrirani zgodovinski trenutek opisanega dogodka ali predmeta. In drugo – obrtno ali pisateljsko morda najtežji podvig – priklic glasu junaka ali več junakov, ki nastopajo v pripovedi. Ko gre za zgodovinski žanr in pisanje o neki zgodovinski situaciji iz oddaljene preteklosti, je to zelo občutljiv problem, pisateljsko zahteven, hkrati pa literarno izjemno izzivalen, ustvarjalen, in upal bi si reči, za bralno publiko in kolektivno identifikacijo dolgoročno pertinenten. V tem je tudi prednost literature pred zgodovinopisjem. Literarno besedilo nam posreduje glas zgodovinskega junaka, ki s tem v naši zavesti postane živ. Miselno ustvari prostore, ki kavzalno povezujejo dogodke in jih sama zgodovina nima oz. niso bili zabeleženi. Pomislimo, koliko takšnih glasov poznamo in kakšno težo imajo v kolektivni, denimo nacionalni identifikaciji. Glas Črtomira in Bogomile lahko slišimo, če je treba, sredi noči. Tudi Odiseja, Antigono in Hamleta slišimo v svojem jeziku. Prav tako Marka Avrelija, s pomočjo Rebulovega romana *V sibilinem vetru*, ali Hadrijana Marguerite Yourcenar. Zmoremo podobno slišati Primoža Trubarja?

V prvih desetletjih 20. st. sta tako čista literatura, ob njej pa vsa umetnost, kot tudi zgodovinopisje subvertirala narativno formo, z željo, da bi zajeli ali ustvarili tiste globlje strukture, ki latentno, a temeljno zaznamujejo ali celo usmerjajo človeško individualno in kolektivno eksistenco. Tu nam ni treba obnavljati prigod in formativnih prijemov, ki jih poznamo. Zadostujejo imena, za katera vemo, kaj vse implicirajo: Proust, Joyce, Kafka. V likovni umetnosti Picasso, Malevič, Kandinsky. Ambicija psihoanalize pa tudi strukturalne lingvistike Saussurea in Jakobsona je težila k zajetju latentnih in nezavednih struktur, ki so osnovna matrica tako antropološke realnosti kot naših form ustvarjanja in komunikacije. Z medklicem, da se stari Freud vseeno ni mogel izogniti domnevno »izvirnemu«

dogodku, t. i. *Urszene*, ki naj bi pogojeval vse naslednje obnašanje. Tudi durkheimovska sociologija je težila k evidentiranju globinskih struktur družbe in je zato zavračala dogodkovno zgodovino. Prav te teoretske in umetniške forme, ki pomenijo jedro 20. st., naj bi razsrediščile mesto subjekta in ustvarile polifonijo diskurzov, med katerimi je prevladujoča naracija, naj gre za fiktivni svet ali za družbeno resnico, vedno arbitrarna. Na implicitno povezanost naracije s koncepti moči je v svojih delih vztrajno opozarjal Michel Foucault (prim. Foucault, *Arheologija in Scritti letterari*).

Toda v zadnjem času smo priče svojevrstnemu obratu, ki ga lahko razumemo tudi kot refleksijo opravljene poti. Po eni strani se čista literatura še naprej ozira k preteklosti, da bi jo s svojo formo zajela, poustvarila in preko njenih segmentov govorila o človeku, njegovi izkušnji, resnici in možnih svetovih. Po drugi strani se novi zgodovinarji poudarjeno obračajo k t. i. simbolnemu kapitalu, kot ga je imenoval Bourdieu (prim. *Praktični čul*), pa h kulturni antropologiji, simbolni realnosti in zarisovanju zgodovinskih in družbenih habitusov, ki so prostorski in časovni. In, kar je najbolj zanimivo, po iztrošenih strukturalnih pristopih, opustitvi lingvističnih ambicij, izpeti psihoanalizi, ki se je spremenila v igrivo retoriko, včasih nekoliko smešno, po velikem razočaranju nad ekonomskimi determinizmi historičnega materializma, ki jih je vztrajno gradil marksizem, se del sodobnega zgodovinopisja vrača k naraciji. Historična pripoved ali celo historična biografija imata seveda drugačno obliko in namen, kot sta ga imeli pred sto leti. V ospredju danes ni suhoparna kronologija, ampak poskus zarisovanja že imenovanih habitusov, evidentiranje mentalitetne realnosti, polifonija časov in identitet. Ob tem se z oživitvijo naracije vrača tudi dobra stara dogodkovnost, naj gre za osebno eksistenco ali za realnost kolektiva, civilizacije ali celo vesolja. Skratka, čeprav nam gre za odkritje, ali za estetsko podoživetje realnosti in resnice, smo ju vsaj do neke mere še vedno, ali pa spet, pripravljeni razumeti v formi pripovedi in zgodbe.

»Je suis ce que je me raconte«, pravi Paul Ricoeur. Sem to, kar in kakor se pripovedujem. Eden od temeljnih aspektov, ki spremlja tako literaturo kot pisanje zgodovine, je namreč dejanje ponovitve. Narativna ponovitev ali rekonstrukcija nekaterih dogodkov in dejstev, ki so z refleksijo integrirani v celovit linearni kronotop, je v resnici ustvarjalno dejanje, saj se pogosto šele z njim porodi zavestno spoznanje, s katerim stvari, realne ali fiktivne, pridobijo smisel. Izvirni primer te forme nam ponuja *Odiseja*, posebno na dveh krajih, na otoku Sheria, kjer Odisej ljudstvu Faiakov retrospektivno rekonstruira svoje avanture po padcu Troje in vso pot, ki ga je pripeljala do njih, pri čemer se tudi sam šele zdaj ozave vsega pomena prigod. In v Eumaievi koči, ko po vrnitvi na Itako s pastirjem, malo zares, večinoma pa izmišljeno, govorita o pretekli zgodovini. Nevidni otok

Faiakov ali deveta dežela in pastirjeva koča, to sta rojstna kraja zahodnega pripovedništva (prim. Citati).

Danes pa smo priča dvema nasprotnima tenzijama. Po eni strani se kot učinek postmodernizma in konsekvence tekstne in splošne ideološke dekonstrukcije kakor tudi virtualne globalizacije, udejanja t. i. fraktalizacija realnosti. Namesto sintetične in narativne integracije sodobni človek, ki postaja pravi *homo fractalis*, doživlja disperzijo elementov realnosti, ki jo v svoji adekvatni formi izpoveduje umetnost.

Drugi aspekt sodobnosti je ukinjanje historične perspektive, saj ta postaja irelevantna ali celo fiktivna. Spremlja ga deteritorializacija ali izključitev subjekta in diskurza iz fizičnega prostora. To pa je mogoče, ker prihaja do ukinitve razdalje, tako v prostoru kot v času. Danes govorimo o pojmu *ukronia*, to je o izključenosti iz sukcesivne ali zgodovinske kronologije. Do ukinitve razlik prihaja tudi na ravni entitet, naj bodo kulturne, nacionalne, regionalne, spolne, itd. Posledica tega je določen zdrs simbolne govorice v signaletiko, s katero se zgublja oddvajajoči in reprezentativni moment, pa tudi bogata ambivalenca pomenov in semantična odprtost simbola. Virtualni svet znakov ali signaletike ni reprezentativen, ne odvaja, ukinja drugost in zapira ambivalenco pomena. Gre za podobo brez negativnosti. Signaletika se namreč mora podrežati kvantifikacijski logiki, ki jo diktira forma števil in računa, ki briše vsakršno pomensko dvoumnost. Posledica tega je potopitev v vizualni signaletični trenutek »zdaja«, v dehistorizirani prisotni trenutek. Z ali tudi brez fizične prisotnosti. Lepa in tradicionalna umetnost spomina (*Art of Memory*) postaja obrt komunikacije in konzumacije, vendar brez možnosti večje refleksije in estetskega užitka, ki ga omogoča statičnost in oddvajajoči pomen, ki ustvarja domišljijo.

Po drugi strani pa imamo v sodobnih transformacijah intimnosti, kot je to analiziral A. Giddens, opraviti z refleksivnim projektom jaza, ki ga spremlja čustvena samopripoved (prim. Giddens). T. i. *blogi* so zadnja oblika tradicionalne forme izpovedi. Zdi se, da sodobni človek poudarjeno teži h konstrukciji samoidentitetne zgodbe, v okviru katere, pri svoji odraščajoči formaciji, moški razvija instrumentalni odnos do sveta, medtem ko je za dekle in žensko značilnejša erotizacija lastnega telesa, v želji, biti ljubljena. Fraktalno realnost spremljajo epizodična srečanja, cilj pa je sotočna ljubezen dveh avtonomnih oseb.

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Pomanjkanje poguma: znanstvene in zgodovinske paradigme v *Doctor Copernicus* (Doktor Kopernik) Johna Banvillea

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Namen članka je na podlagi del Collingwooda in Kuhna pokazati, kako je Banvillov roman Doctor Copernicus iz leta 1976 oblikoval znanstveno/zgodovinsko »paradigmo«. Banville v njem povezuje »revolucije« zgodnjega novega veka s krizami vedenja v zadnjih desetletjih 20. stoletja, s čimer izpostavi potrebo po zgodovinski zavesti.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / zgodovinoписje / zgodovinski roman / znanost / znanstvena paradigma / kopernikanski obrat / Banville, John

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R. G. Collingwood je v svojem zdaj že klasičnem delu *Ideja zgodovine* (*The Idea of History*)¹, v poglavju »Zgodovinska domišljija«, identificiral zgodovinsko misel kot prevladujoči interes novega veka. Zgodovina je po njegovem od začetka novega veka razvijala tehniko, ki ni nič manj strukturirana in gotova od tiste, ki jo je razvila njena »starejša sestra«, naravoslovje, ki je prevladovalo v miselnosti 17. stoletja (Collingwood 232). Kljub temu pa je Collingwood v okviru zgodovine zavrnil tako imenovano »zdravorazumsko teorijo«, po kateri je zgodovinarjevo objektivno delo odvisno od dokumentarnih virov. Šele ko spoznamo, da za zgodovinarja domišljija v (re)konstrukciji zgodovinskega dogajanja »ni okrasna, temveč sestavna« in »apriorna« (241) in da je zgodovinar (prej kot (domnevno) objektivna dejstva) sam svoja končna avtoriteta, »je moč uveljaviti tako imenovano Kopernikovo revolucijo v teoriji zgodovine« (236).

Nam, ki smo trdno zasidrani v (post)strukturalistične in postmoderne razprave druge polovice minulega stoletja, ta umik avtoritativnega statusa iz zgodovinskega dejstva morda ne zveni tako drzno. Še v času

Collingwooda so različne stroke prevpraševale objektivni status realnosti – tu mislimo na koncept subjektivnega dojetja in moč jezika, da različno oblikuje realnost, ali na izzivanje ideoloških premis domnevnih objektivnih žanrov, kar najdemo v tako različnih delih, kot so fikcija Joycea in Woolfove, Saussureovo in Sapir-Whorfovo jezikoslovje, ali »nova biografija« Stracheya in drugih članov Bloomsburyjevega kroga. Toda v 30. letih minulega stoletja je še vedno prevladoval pozitivistični model zgodovinopisja, zato je bil omenjeni zgodovinarjev preobrat radikalen korak, ki ga lahko razumemo kot izjemno pomemben trenutek razvijajočega se premišljevanja o naravi »referenčnega« diskurza.

Collingwoodov termin »Kopernikova revolucija v teoriji zgodovine«, ki zaznamuje obrat perspektive, neizogibno spominja na enako impresiven model zgodovine znanosti Thomasa Kuhna. Kar je Collingwood s svojim radikalnim preobratom uvedel v naše razumevanje zgodovinopisja in v naravo zgodovinske resnice, bi lahko v skladu s Kuhnovim delom *Struktura znanstvenih revolucij* (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*) definirali kot »paradigmatični premik«.

Način, na katerega »normalna znanost« (znanstveno raziskovanje, ki je trdno zasidrano v temeljih prejšnjih raziskovalnih dosežkov in sprejetih teorij) deluje v okviru stabilne znanstvene paradigme (na kratko, gre za skupek teorij in prepričanj, ki v nekem trenutku vplivajo na organizacijo znanja in iskanje novih informacij), lahko primerjamo z »zdravorazumsko teorijo zgodovine«, v kolikor oba načina delovanja predpostavljata, da so metode in načela, ki vladajo raziskovanju, usklajeni s strukturo realnosti in nam najboljše omogočajo njen opis. Te metode so torej »naravne«, medtem ko so druge v najboljšem primeru nepomembne, v najhujšem pa nevarne. Ko »normalno« znanstveno dejanje proizvede dejstva, ki niso prilagojena že obstoječim znanstvenim teorijam, se paradigma znajde pod pritiskom in pojavijo se trenutki krize, ki povzročijo zmedo, izgubo referenčnih točk in gotovosti (posledice se lahko čutijo daleč zunaj skupine strokovnjakov, spomnimo se le širših družbenih učinkov, ki sta jih povzročila heliocentrična teorija in Darwinova teorija evolucije). Zaradi nasprotnih teorij se sproži boj znotraj znanstvene skupnosti, ki lahko v končni fazi pomeni sprejetje nove paradigme – Kuhn je to imenoval »paradigmatični premik«. Collingwoodovo pisanje o načelih zgodovine je podobno potekalo v času, ko prevladujoči model ni mogel zadovoljivo odgovoriti na postavljena vprašanja. Njegovo ločevanje pripovedne oblike od objektivne resnice lahko pojmuje kot napovedovanje nove »paradigme« (pojem postavljam med navednice, da bi poudarila razlike med Kuhnovimi in Collingwoodovimi sistemi), ki daje prednost zgodovinarjevi izbiri in se osredotoči na sestave jezikovnih in narativnih pripovedovanj, kar je pozneje prišlo v ospredje v postmodernem in novozgodovinskem zgodovinopisju.

Kuhnovo delo je v 60. in 70. letih 20. stoletja, v kontekstu razprave o »dveh kulturah«, ki jo je sprožila polemika Snow-Leavisa, Foucaultevega vpliva na zahodno mišljenje in t. i. lingvističnega obrata v teoriji zgodovine, pomagalo zabrisati meje med diskurzivnimi znanstvenimi disciplinami in tistimi, ki so tradicionalno temeljile na zunanjih dejstvih. Čeprav je Kuhn sam poudaril osnovno podobnost med obema, je tudi previdno opozoril, naj se ne prenačimo in postavljamo na isti kup znanstvene in umetniške modele. Kuhn je v *Pripisu k Strukturi znanstvenih revolucij* iz leta 1969 namignil, da je svoj vzorec »znanstvenega razvoja kot niza obdobij, zavezanega tradiciji in zaznamovanega s prelomi«, prevzel od zgodovinarjev »književnosti, glasbe, umetnosti in političnega razvoja«, za katere »je bila periodizacija v smislu revolucionarnih odkritij v stilu, okusu in inštitucionalni sestavi [...] standardno orodje« (208). V poznejših esejih je poudaril, da »se tudi umetnik, tako kot znanstvenik, sooča s stalnimi tehničnimi problemi, ki se morajo razrešiti v skladu z zahtevami obrti«, medtem ko »znanstvenika, tako kot umetnika, vodijo estetski premisleki in že ustaljeni načini percepcije« (*Komentar* 343). Hkrati pa je vztrajal pri tem, da »mora podrobna analiza vnovič omogočiti prikaz očitnega, tj., da sta znanost in umetnost različna podviga oz. sta taka postala v zadnjem stoletju in pol« (*Komentar* 341), predvsem v zvezi z njunim odnosom do estetike, svoje publike in minulih dosežkov (k temu se bom vrnila pozneje).² Collingwood je bil previden pri razlikovanju med področjema zgodovinskega raziskovanja in fiktivne naracije kljub številnim podobnostim med njima. Medtem ko pisatelja omejujejo samo notranji zakoni umetniške produkcije, zgodovinar izbere, kombinira in uporablja svojo domišljijo v pripovedi o dogodkih, vendar pa si ne sme izmišljati podatkov, da bi podprl svojo tezo, ali ignorirati tistih, ki bi lahko njegovo tezo oslabili.

S temi težavami Colingwooda in Kuhna se ukvarjam ravno zaradi njegovega poziva k ponovnemu premisleku osnovnih premis znanstvenih disciplin, ki je imel velik vpliv v 60. in 70. letih. Ravno ta obdobja zgodovinske, znanstvene in kulturne krize s spremljajočim občutkom strahu, zmede in negotovosti ob izgubi vrednot pa raziskuje John Banville v svojem romanu *Doctor Copernicus*.³ Ta postmoderni roman, objavljen leta 1976, združuje zgodovinsko rekonstrukcijo, kulturno analizo in pregled mehanizmov zgodovinskega in znanstvenega razvoja, da bi razmislil o trenutnih razmerah. Z uporabo diskurzov znanosti, biografije, fikcije, zgodovinopisja in ekonomije pokaže njihovo soodvisnost v »zgodovinski paradigmi«. S postavitvijo lika Kopernika v središče znanstvene revolucije (ali »paradigmatičnega premika«), širših zgodovinskih in kulturnih prevratov zgodnjega novega veka in občutka kriz vedenja in vrednot v zadnjih desetletjih 20. stoletja pa se Kuhnova analiza zgodovine implicitno razširi v bolj zaokro-

ženo pojmovanje, ki je blizu foucaultevskemu *epistème* obdobja. Večina teh občutkov premika temelji na neskladju med našim dojemanjem realnosti in strukturami, prek katerih si razlagamo in razumemo realnost. Zato se roman na obeh koncih zgodovinskega spektra osredotoča na nepomirljivi konflikt med našim prizadevanjem za objektivno spoznanje realnosti in dejstvom, da se slednjemu lahko le bolj ali manj približamo. Poglejmo si sedaj ta konflikt, kot se kaže v našem romanu.

Junak *Doctor Copernicusa* je zgodovinska osebnost in avtor v njem dosledno upošteva zgodovinske in biografske »podatke«:

Ljudje se še vedno obračajo name in mi o Koperniku pravijo: »Ali je bilo njegovo življenje res tako? Ali je storil vse te stvari?« Odgovorim jim: »Da,« in me pogledajo in ne verjamejo. Če dobro razmislite, imajo kar prav. Romanopisec ne bi smel uporabljati dejanskih zgodovinskih podatkov. (Sheehan 83)

Žanr, ki je prisoten od vsega začetka, je Joyceov razvojni roman, za katerega je značilna tretjeosebna pripoved in opisuje junakov čutni, čustveni in intelektualni svet. Slednji se postopoma razvija od otrokovega, do sveta mladega fanta in odraslega moškega. Za razliko od *Umetnikovega mladostnega portreta* je glas v *Doctor Copernicus* že od začetka romana glas pripovedovalca, ki otrokova dojetanja tako prevaja v jezik, ki je bogat z literarnimi in filozofskimi referencami. Roman posnema pravila biografske pripovedi, nato pa preide na tradicionalno vsevednega in nekoliko pokroviteljskega pripovedovalca. V knjigi zasledimo tudi strani, napisane v obliki pisem, drugi del pa je uokvirjen v alegorični, skoraj vizionarski gotski stil, ki se ponavlja skozi ves roman. Povsem drugačna slika Kopernika se pojavi v tretjem delu, prek (avto)biografije njegovega učenca Rheticusa, povsem nezanesljivega pripovedovalca, ki si izmišljuje ali izkrivlja dejstva, polna zamer in maščevalnosti nad zvezdoslovcem. Kopernik tudi izreka misli, ki jih končne opombe pripisujejo drugim osebnostim, kot so Einstein, Planck in Kierkegaard. V četrtem delu pa kakršno koli podobnost psihološkemu realizmu zmoti namišljena, alegorična debata, polna anahronističnih citatov, med starim znanstvenikom, žrtvijo srčnega napada, in njegovim pokojnim bratom Andreasom.

Knjiga daje vtis, da je avtor preizkušal različne vidike in glasove, različne pripovedne modele, da bi junaka predstavil zanesljivo in prepričljivo. To je v skladu s karakterjevo lastno naravo in z iskanjem znanstvenega modela, prek katerega bi lahko izrazil in razkril resnico vesolja in naravnega sveta.

Thomas Kuhn je v *Kopernikovi revoluciji* (*The Copernican Revolution*) (1957), ki jo kot vir navaja tudi Banville, Kopernika označil kot človeka med srednjim vekom in renesanso, njegov *De Revolutionibus* pa kot »predrevoluci-

onaren, in ne revolucinaren tekst«, kot »star in sodoben ter konservativen in radikalen hkrati« (134-35). Uporaba ustreznega imena postane središče te »napetosti« med dvema svetovoma, dvema obdobjema, različnimi umetniškimi in znanstvenimi silami ter določa način, na katerega posameznik pripada zgodovini in različnim »zgodovinskim paradigmam«. Ustrezno ime naj bi bilo stalen, neprenosljiv znak identitete posameznika in družine, a glede na izvor imena Koppernigk se zdi, da je ravno tu prvi in najbolj pereč problem njegovih biografij – kot bi ga s tem privezali nazaj k svetu, ki ga je poslal v vesolje. Kopernikovemu imenu lahko pripišemo različne izvore, odvisno pač od namere govorca:

Zloščene plasti bakra so žarele [...] in veselje je žarelo v isti barvi. Iz te kovine izvira družinsko ime, je povedal njegov oče, in ne iz poljske besede *copet*, ki pomeni hren, kot so nekateri namigovali v svoji hudobiji. Hren, lepo vas prosim! (8)

Da bi bilo vse skupaj še bolj zapleteno, je Kopernik sam različno črkoval svoje ime, odvisno od konteksta in narave dokumenta: Copernic v uradnih dokumentih, Coppernic na nemško-govorečih območjih, Copernicus v uradni korespondenci ter literarnih in znanstvenih rokopisih. Obstaja še več različic njegovega podpisa (Koppernieck, Kopperlingk, Kupernik itd.). Zgodovinsko »sprejeto« črkovanje je Koppernigk, ki se največkrat uporablja, tudi v biografiji Arthurja Koestlerja, na katero se Banville pogosto sklicuje (244), in v še vedno ugledni biografiji, ki jo je v 19. stoletju napisal Leopold Prowe (Koestler 1 569). Različna črkovanja pa za nas niso tako pomembna, pomembneje je, kako si Banville razlaga to etimološko in grafično spremenljivost. Njegova pripovedna tehnika prehaja od Joyceovega razvojnega romana k tradicionalni biografski pripovedi, ko se avtor sklicuje na korenine imena skupaj z zgodbo o začetkih družine:

Koppernigkovi izvirajo iz Gornje Šlezije, ko se je leta 1396 neki Niklas Koppernigk, klesar po poklicu, preselil v Krakov in prevzel poljsko državljanstvo. Njegov sin Johannes je ustanovil trgovsko hišo, ki jo je potem leta 1450 Nikolajev oče preselil v Torunj v kraljevski Prusiji. (8)

Z imenom dobi junak romana mesto v zgodovini in družbeno identiteto, saj avtor njegovi družini pripiše dober nos za posel. V Krakov so se namreč preselili, ko je mesto postalo sedež kraljeve družine in ko je bilo tam veliko povpraševanje po klesarjih in zidarjih. Družina se je kasneje preselila v Torunj, ko je relativno mirno in cvetoče 15. stoletje spremenilo Vislo v eno izmed najbolj živahnih trgovskih poti v vzhodni Evropi. Nikolaj mora, da bi se osvobodil iz te mreže vnaprej določene identitete, opraviti simbolično dejanje kljubovanja in preloma, s čimer lahko uveljavi

svojo lastno individualnost in najde novo, neodvisno ime zase, ime, ki bo predstavljalo njegovo pravo, bistveno in avtonomno identiteto in ki lahko postane njegov osebni pečat novega sveta, skovanega z njegovo revolucionarno znanstveno teorijo:

Lahko poskusijo, a mu ne morejo vzeti vsega, ne, ne morejo. Če bi ga straža zdaj ustavila, bi se naznanil strastno, bi zarjovel svoje ime in ga vtisnil kot pečat na voščeno temo, tako da lahko ves Lidzbarg sliši: *Doctor Copernicus!* (109)

To ime, ki ga je sprejela tudi zgodovina, je izpodrinilo do tedaj sprejeto ime »Koppernigk«. Protagonist Doktor Kopernik (Copernicus) lahko prav z novim imenom vtisne (grško *kharássein*) svojo edinstvenost na zgodovino – enako kot voščen pečat, ki morda spominja na drugo Descartesovo meditacijo o obstoju subjekta (Descartes 89-95). Gre za neke vrste avtorsko zaščito nove strukture sodobne misli. Ta rodoslovni prelom sovpada z znanstvenim in filozofskim prelomom v tradicionalni kozmologiji, medtem ko premik od vnaprej določene k individualni identiteti sovpada s premestitvijo središča vesolja z Zemlje na Sonce.

Ob tem velja poudariti, da straža pred vrati mesta ni opazila Kopernikovega uporniškega krika, ki naj bi vtisnil pečat temni noči: »Toda straža je spala,« (109) saj Kopernik svojega krika nikoli ne izgovori. Če se še malo ustavim pri tem ironičnem kontrapunktu in usmerim svoj fokus na osrednji »karakter« v romanu, potem lahko omenim še eno Banvilleovo trditev: »Karakterizacija me ne zanima. Pred *Kopernikom*, v katerem so karakterji, kot da bi bili ustvarjeni prav zame, sem zavestno izbiral popolne stereotipe« (Sheehan 83).

Kharaktér pomeni tako orodje, ki omogoča vtisnjenje odtisa, pečata in znamke, npr. na kovance, da bi jim s tem dali vrednost, kot tudi sam odtis, ki določi vrednost kovanca. Zato je razumljivo, da je Banville izbral »stereotipne« karakterje (karakterje, katerih pomen in vrednost sta določena vnaprej – tako kot to velja za zgodovinske osebe, ki avtorjevi domišljiji dovolijo le omejeno posredovanje). Zato je še bolj pomenljivo, da si Kopernik sam izbere svojo vrednost, svoj karakter. Vprašanje sestave karakterja, bržkone osrednje vprašanje biografskega pisanja, ki je povezano z vprašanjem vrednosti, denarja, kovancev, je v našem romanu vendarle podtekst, ki deluje kot kontrast znanstvenemu in domišljijškemu – slednje naj bi spadalo v domeno absolutnega – a dejansko zadeva vprašanja denarja, ekonomije pomenov in vrednosti znanosti. Kopernik je leta 1522 na zahtevo pruskega cerkvenega zbora napisal razpravo o implementaciji reforme denarnega sistema, ki je določila količino kovine, ki se lahko uporabi v kovancih, vpeljala državni monopol na izdajanje denarja ter regulirala valuto, ki lahko kroži v danem trenutku (Koestler 145, 571). Tako je Kopernik dobil mesto

znotraj nastajajoče ekonomske strukture in jo povezal z novo kozmologijo. Ta zgodnji kapitalistični razvoj je seveda le predviden; še vedno je prevladoval hierarhičen fevdalni sistem, ki je temeljil na nadzorovanju zemljišča prek cerkvenih desetin. Ena izmed Kopernikovih nalog med vojno med Poljsko in nemškimi vitezi iz Prusije je bila pravzaprav zagotoviti, da se zemlja še naprej obdeluje in da kmetje ne zapustijo kmetij. Roman večkrat omeni razmere, v katerih živijo kmetje, katerih status tlačanov je »vezan« na zemljo, a med vojno kljub temu bežijo v mesta. Zveza med denarjem in kozmologijo v (samo)stvaritvi Kopernikovega *karakterja* nas spodbudi k temu, da nasprotje med dvema nasprotnima vidikoma vesolja in človeka (srednjeveški in moderni; pred in po Kopernikovi revoluciji) beremo na ravni spreminjajoče se gospodarske strukture, ki se je razvila iz povezanosti z zemljo in »naravne« vrednosti stvari v strukturo, ki spodbuja svobodo gibanja, različnosti in produkcije. Slednje s konvencionalnimi in arbitrarnimi zakoni, ki se vse bolj oddaljujejo od ritma očitnega, a rednega in naravnega gibanja sonca, nadzira in uravnava človek sam.

To zadeva tudi verbalne in znanstvene *zgodbe*, ki s svojo naravo nosilcev komunikacijske izmenjave postanejo nadomestek svojega referenta. Nikolajev oče, trgovec iz Torunja, je tisti, ki Nikolaju razloži »pomen denarja« (6) in ga poveže z vrednostjo besed in predstavitev:

Drobiž je, veš, samo za reveže, preproste ljudi in majhne fantke. Je le nekakšna slika prave stvari, ki je ne moreš videti ali dati v žep, pa tudi žvenketa ne. Ko poslujem z drugimi trgovci, ne potrebujem teh koščkov kovine. Moj mošnjiček je lahko poln ali prazen, vseeno je. Obljuba je dovolj, ker je denar moja beseda. Razumeš? (6)

Nikolaj »ni razumel« (6), toda vzporednica med denarnim in verbalnim sistemom nadomestil je bila vzpostavljena. Pozneje jo bo razširil v znanstveni sistem predstavitve, ko kot astronom skuša razložiti vesolje z abstraktnim modelom, za katerega bi želel, da je resnica (»Verjel je, da lahko pove resnico.«), a mora prepoznati njegovo neizogibno in jalovo konvencionalnost, fiktivnost in pomanjkljivost. »Sedaj je spoznal, da je vse, kar je lahko izrazil, le govorjenje. Njegova knjiga ni govorila o svetu, temveč o sebi sami« (116).

Pesnik ve, da mora človek »spet postati neveden« in se izogniti kakršnikoli formalizaciji ali vstavljanju kulturnih, zgodovinskih in družbenih filtrov. Avtor je moto romana vzel iz *Zapiskov za dovršeno fikcijo* (*Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction*) Wallacea Stevensa:

You must become an ignorant man again
And see the sun again with an ignorant eye
And see it clearly in the idea of it.⁴

Otrok ima enako kot pesnik dostop do vizije, zahvaljujoč svojim *infantilnim* (neverbalnim ali predverbalnim) zaznavam. V začetku romana mali, še neimenovani Nikolaj tako zaznava lipo, ki tudi še ni poimenovana oz. identificirana: »Najprej je bila brez imena. Bila je le stvar, živa stvar. Bila je njegov prijatelj. V vetrovnih dneh je poplesavala in noro vila svoje divje roke« (3). Nikolajevo infantilno dojetje drevesa je intuitivno, ima neposredni dostop do objekta in zveze z njim. Šele ko je drevo poimenovano, se ga Nikolaj (čigar ime tedaj prvič izvemo) nauči prepoznati in ga tako razlikovati od sebe, s čimer prepozna tudi odnos med besedami in svetom stvari:

Glej, Nikolaj, glej! Pogledaj to veliko drevo!

Drevo. Tako mu je bilo ime. Tudi lipa. To so bile lepe besede. Poznal jih je, še preden je vedel, kaj pomenijo. Same po sebi niso imele pomena, bile so nič, ki je označeval tisto plešočo, pojočo stvar zunaj. (3)

»Umetnik se mora tako kot otrok naučiti govora, da bi lahko prilagodil svet,« je dejal Banville v govoru iz leta 1981, pet let po objavi romana (*Govor* 15). Bistveno resnico, »stvar na sebi« (frazo, ki se v romanu večkrat ponovi, ponavadi z ironičnim prizvokom Kantove *Ding an sich*) je moč intuitivno spoznati le s kreativnim oz. pesniškim dejanjem duha, kar nakazuje zvezo med poezijo in filozofijo, tako kot v Goethejevi *Poeziji in resničnem* (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*) ali Heideggerjevem *Dichten und Denken*. Paradoks je seveda v tem, da jezik »posreduje«, se vrine med sebstvo in svet, besedo in stvar, in zato pogosto sploh ne more posredovati: »Svet plešočin planetov je bil tam zunaj, on pa je bil tu, in med obema sferama so bile gole besede in številke na papirju, ki niso mogle posredovati« (*Doctor Copernicus* 93). Gre za problem, ki je težil znanstvenika vse življenje: na eni strani želja po tem, da bi ujel resnico sveta, celo možnost, da bi jo intuitivno spoznal v trenutku vizije, na drugi strani njena neizogibna redukcija na arbitrarni, konvencionalni model, ki ga lahko vedno izpodrine novi.

Kopernik šele na smrtni postelji le za trenutek najde izgubljeno zvezo s »stvarmi« in lipo iz svojega otroštva, s čimer spet poveže svoj razklani jaz. Tako v vsakdanjih zvokih življenja končno sliši »glasbo sfer«, po kateri so njegova ušesa hrepenela vse življenje. Drobiž žvenketa, stvar sama pa ne, ga je učil njegov oče. Drobiž je le za male fantke, odrasel znanstvenik pa hrepeni po pravi stvari, a kljub temu želi slišati njeno glasbo. Šele ko je spet kot »majhen fant«, otrok v svoji senilnosti, ko halucinira, ko se mu blede zaradi srčnega napada, lahko sliši glasbo, žvenket prave stvari. To ni glasba hladnih in tihih sfer, temveč gre za glasove navadnih ljudi in njihovega vsakdana. Zgodovinski krog biografije, orbita življenja se tako zapre, kroženje pomenov, imen, vrednot, besed in stvari se zaključi in ti žvenketajo ter ga kličejo k sebi:

in Nikolaj je, napenjajoč se, da bi slišal to melodijo, slišal zvoke vzhajajočega večera, ki mu je prihajal naproti: pastirjev klic, jok otrok med igro, ropotanje kočij, ki se vračajo s tržnice, pa tudi drugi zvoki, resno zvonjenje cerkvenih zvonov, lajanje psov iz daljave, zvoki morja, zemlje same, ki se obrača na svoji poti, in vetra, ki iz ogromnega modrega zraka vzdihuje v listih lipe. Vsi so ga klicali in klicali, klicali stran. (242)

Napetost med željo po znanstveni »resnici«, ki je več kot le »model«, in našimi opisi le te – ti so lahko le modeli – se pojavi že med Nikolajevim študijem, ko je verjel, da lahko zazna sled dvoma v pisanih svojih profesorjev astronomije. Tedaj prvič zazna krizo sistema, ki napoveduje novo paradigmo:

Nikolaj je prebral vse, kar je Profesor napisal o Ptolemajevi teoriji. Med vsemi utrujajočimi urami, ko se je s težavo prebijal skozi suhi pesek hermetično zaprtega uma, je bilo moč opaziti eno drobceno, dragoceno kapljo bisernega dvoma. Ni se mogel več spomniti, kje ali kdaj je odkril napako, na kateri zvezdni poti in kje je začel račun, vendar je s tem sprožil počasen in neizbežen propad nekega življenjskega dela. *Profesor Brudzewski je vedel, da se je Ptolemaj motil*, vendar si tega ni mogel priznati; njegov vložek je bil prevelik. To pomanjkanje poguma je pomagalo Nikolaju razumeti, kako lahko matematik prvega razreda potlači prevaro, da bi, povedano z Aristotelovimi besedami, *rešil pojav*, da bi ustvaril teorijo, ki bi trdno temeljila na starih reakcionarnih dogmah in razložila opazovano gibanje planetov. (29)

Profesor seveda zanika, da bi se taka herezija lahko razbrala iz njegovega pisanja:

Od naše znanosti zahtevate, da opravlja naloge, ki jih ni zmožna opravljati. Astronomija ne opisuje vesolja takega, kot je, temveč takšnega, kot ga opazujemo. Teorija je torej pravilna, saj razloži naša opažanja. (35)

Brudzewski s temi besedami formulira spoznanje, ki je celo bolj sodobno, bolj »kuhnovsko« od Kopernikovega. Slednji namreč želi odkriti »živo resnico« vesolja. Po njegovem mu to tudi uspe. *Theoria* se etimološko prevede kot »prizor«, »opazovanje« (iz *theorein*, »videti« ali »gledati« v abstraktnem pomenu; izhaja iz korena *theāsthai*, iz katerega izhaja tudi »gledališče« kot »prostor, v katerem nekdo vidi ali gleda« (Klein pod geslom »teorija«)). Na kratko, Kopernikova teorija je njegova intuitivna vizija. Kopernik je gledalec mentalne predstavitve vesolja, ki ga zamenja za njegovo realnost. Toda jezikovna ubeseditev vizije, »namesto približevanja besedi odločilna Beseda«, se lahko prikaže le v »zgovorni tišini« (116). Teorija, tako preprosta v svoji čistosti in obenem tako varljiva, je obenem izvirna stvaritev in radikalen prelom s tradicijo in prevladujočo kulturo tedanjega časa. Med seboj se ne bojujeta le dve različni znanstveni paradigmi, ampak tudi dva koncepta resnice. Paradigmatična sprememba je kuhnovska, jezik pa vizionarski:

Nič manj kot novo in radikalno obnovev bi povzročilo, če bi astronomija pomenila več, kot pomeni. [...] Zaprt sistem znanosti je treba zlomiti [...] rojstvo nove znanosti mora slediti radikalnemu dejanju stvaritve. [...] Rešitev je potem prišla mirno, kot veličasten, počasen zlat ptič, ki je pristal v njegovi glavi udarjajoč s širokimi krili. Bila je tako preprosta, tako očarljivo preprosta, da je najprej ni prepoznal. [...] Kar je štelo, niso bili teoremi, marveč njihovo kombiniranje, tj. *dejanje stvaritve*. Z občudovanjem si jo je ogledoval, kot da bi med prsti obračal brezgrajen, očarljiv dragulj. Bila je stvar sama, živa stvar. (83-85)

Tudi Kopernik podvomi za trenutek in izkusi občutek izgube, strahu in zmedenosti v zvezi s koncem paradigme, kot je to opisal Kuhn:

Kmalu zatem ko je spoznal absolutno potrebo po kreativnem prestopu, so se njegovi instinkti povsem spontano uprli takšni škandalozni ideji in ga tako potisnili nazaj v zaprt sistem popolnoma izčrpanih pravovernosti. (85)

Astronom v svojem revolucionarnem odkritju, pomešanem z dvomom o lastni teoriji, vidi smrtno tveganje, tj. smrt vere, človekovega zaupanja v lastno moč in osrediščenost, v strukturo, ki so družbo stoletja držale skupaj:

Brajočega in tulečega bi ga vlekli po trgu [...] in spraševal se je, ali mu ne bi svetovali, naj uniči svoje delo. Z grozljivo gorečnostjo bi se polastili njegovega dela ali verjetneje njegove raztrgane verzije, z željo verjeti, da je to, kar jim je ponujal, razlaga sveta in njihovega življenja v njem. In ko bi slej ali prej ugotovili, da so bili spet izdani, da preprosta vseobsegajoča slika realnosti ne obstaja, bi se obrnili zoper njega. [...] Mora jih prepričati, da s tem ko je s središča vesolja pregnal Zemljo in z njo tudi človeka, ni niti presojal niti tolmačil filozofije, temveč je le povedal, kar je res. (119-20)

(Vendar ni nobenega takega ogorčenja, vsaj za zdaj še ne, saj se paradigme spreminjajo počasi.) Prav to se je zgodilo Brudzewskemu, ki je izgubil pogum in se potopil nazaj v pravoverje, kar se bo zgodilo tudi Koperniku, ki ne bo zbral dovolj poguma, da bi objavil svojo revolucionarno knjigo.

Potreba po »radikalnem dejanju stvaritve« izvira iz močnega občutka odtujitve in drugosti: od sveta, sveta in s svetom. Ta občutek drugosti omogoča oboje, znanstveno vizijo in pesniško dejanje stvaritve. Banville zopet citira Wallacea Stevensa:

Iz tega poganja pesem: da živimo v prostoru,
ki ni naš in ki, še več, nismo mi sami (Banville, *Govor* 15).

Irski avtor to neogibno poveže z družbenim, političnim in kulturnim kontekstom, kar ga vodi k besedam Stephena Dedalusa v *Umetnikovem mla-*

dostnem portretu, kjer Stephen, Umetnik, občutku drugosti prav tako pripiše proizvodno funkcijo. Med pogovorom z dekanom, Angležem, si misli:

Njegov jezik, tako znan in hkrati tako tuj, bo zame vedno poseben govor. Nisem še razumel in sprejel njegovih besed. Moja duša besni v senci njegovega jezika. (189)

Stephen prav zaradi besnenja svoje duše postane umetnik, to pa v našem kontekstu postavlja tudi veliko bolj specifična in specifično zgodovinska vprašanja o nacionalni identiteti. Slednja so relevantna tudi za Kopernikovo zgodovinsko pozicijo in njegove prilagoditve – je Nемец, Prus, Poljak ali Ermij? Vprašanje je bilo še posebej pereče v 70. letih minulega stoletja v kontekstu Severne Irske, njene irskosti in neodvisnosti ter ob vprašanju neodvisnega mišljenja in njegovega odnosa do nacionalne in individualne identitete. Če parafraziramo Joycea, gre za vprašanje načina, s katerim lahko nacionalizem postane ena tistih »mrež«, ki jih mora posameznik »preleteti« (Joyce, *Portrait* 203), da bi dosegel stanje avtonomije:

Nanj so pritiskali z vseh strani. Njegov svak Bartholomew Gertner, ta goreči rodoljub, je prenehal govoriti z njim, potem ko se Kanonik nekega dne med postankom v Torunju ni hotel razglasiti za Nemca, vsaj po nagnjenju, če že ne po rojstvu. Nenadoma je moral dvomiti o svoji lastni nacionalnosti! In odkril je, da ne ve, kaj je. Škof Lucas je to težavo rešil takoj. 'Moj nečak, nisi ne Nемец ne Poljak, tudi Prus ne. Preposto povedano, Ermij si. Zapomni si to.' In tako je ponižno postal to, kar so povedali, da je. Vendar je šlo le še za eno masko. Za masko pa je bilo to, kar ni imelo ne imena ne naroda. Bil je doktor Kopernik (Copernicus). (94)

Tako kot je identiteta znanstvenika spremenila njegovo družbeno identiteto, je znanost postala izhod iz »nočne more zgodovine« (Joyce, *Ulysses* 34). Vendar se zgodovine in znanosti ne da omajati: Kopernik za naciste ni mogel biti Poljak, ker je bil genij, za Poljake pa ostaja narodni heroj. Zgodovina si vnovič prisvoji znanstvenika, ga zopet spremeni v bojno polje nacij ter rasne, nacionalne in kulturne superiornosti.

Torej, če zaključim, *Doctor Copernicus* črpa iz široke palete žanrov. Roman obnavlja dobro znane zgodovinske dogodke (vojne v Srednji Evropi na prehodu iz 15. v 16. stoletje, spletkarstvo v renesančni Italiji, prehod iz fevdalnega v zgodnji novi vek, Kolumbova potovanja in odkritja tedanje dobe), zato ga lahko označimo za zgodovinski roman (glede na to, da meša zgodovinske reference in alegorične odlomke, se lahko vprašamo, ali gre za romantični ali realistični tip). Ali ne gre mogoče za biografsko fikcijo? Žanrov biografskega pisanja je več, in kot smo lahko videli, so v romanu avtobiografski deli, pisemski odlomki, biografija »dejev« in deli, ki pripadajo tradiciji *razvojnega romana* (ki je, lahko bi rekli, za biografijo to, kar je zgodovinski roman za

zgodovino). Seveda je naš roman tudi knjiga o znanstvenem odkritju neverjetne teorije in začetek njenega sprejemanja, ki z anahronističnimi navajanja in citati poznejših fizikov in filozofov (od Kierkegaarda do Einsteina) sugerira njene poznejše učinke na razvoj znanosti vse do današnjih dni. Gre torej za knjigo o posameznem znanstvenem vprašanju in dobi, o začetku novega veka, o poznem novem veku – morda *koncu* novega veka – torej o nas in naši sodobni zgodovinski in kulturni krizi.

Doctor Copernicus je s preverjanjem meja med zgodovinskimi dejstvi in poetičnim ustvarjanjem, z mešanjem preteklosti in sedanjosti ter z anahronističnim prikazovanjem Kopernika postmoderno delo, je tisto, kar bi Linda Hutcheon definirala kot »historiografsko metafikcijo«. Poleg tega s svojim nostalgичnim hrepenenjem po redu in namigovanji na Joyceov razvojni roman kaže na zveze z modernizmom, obenem pa ohranja načelo 19. stoletja, da je zgodovina le biografija velikih mož. Začetke zgodovinskega romana najdemo v romantiki. Zveza med »zgodovinsko zavestjo in kulturnopolitičnimi koncepti obdobja emancipacije narodov« je omogočila razvoj »novega pojmovanja umetnosti kot estetske izkušnje«. ⁵ Tudi *Doctor Copernicus* je dedič teh romantičnih začetkov žanra, saj predstavlja povezavo med narodnostjo, zgodovino in mitologijo, vključno s konstrukcijo (pa tudi nestrpnostjo do) mitologije nacionalne identitete okoli osebnosti, kot je Kopernik.

Postmoderni, moderni roman, roman 19. stoletja, romantike, zgodnjemoderni roman; Kopernik, Galileo, Kepler, Kierkegaard, Einstein: roman z vsebino o Koperniku na eni strani in o poznem 20. stoletju na drugi kaže oz. ustvarja odnos med zgodovino znanosti, pisanjem zgodovine, biografskim pisanjem in formo romana. Vse to so načini, na katere smo v preteklosti skušali čim bolj (in, kot ugotavljamo danes, vse bolj nezadostno) opisati realnost. Kot sem že omenila, lahko raznolikost žanrov, ki jih je moč najti v romanu *Doctor Copernicus*, razumemo kot preizkušanje različnih oblik upodabljanja junaka, subjektivnosti in razumevanja našega odnosa do sveta. Kopernik namreč deluje kot središče, okrog katerega nastajajo različni žanrski vzorci, ki ga opisujejo, a ga ne uspejo do konca zamejiti. Center jih sicer privlači, a ne morejo nikoli do konca razkriti bistva protagonista. (Heliocentrični model predpostavlja, da je žarišče sončnega sistema v matematični točki, ki je blizu Sonca, vendar s slednjim ne sovпада: vrtimo se torej okoli praznine. Podobno deluje lik Kopernika, pa tudi naši različni poskusi znanstveno ali umetniško predstaviti identiteto ali realnost.) To dejstvo ponuja nov možni odgovor na vprašanje, zakaj roman uporablja toliko različnih žanrskih vzorcev. Vsi so očitno že izrabljeni in jih je treba na novo premisliti, enako kot naše pojmovanje sveta, vesolja in našega prostora v njem. Stare resnice niso več uporabne, vendar jih ne mo-

remo kar zavreči, vsaj dokler nimamo novih. Kakorkoli že, gre za književnost, zato se jim ne bomo mogli povsem izogniti in bodo ostale del naše konstrukcije in razumevanja realnosti. Po Kuhnu književnost ne zavrže starih modelov, temveč jih vključi v svoj razvoj, se k njim vrača, jih popravlja, na novo zapiše in obrazloži. Za razliko od znanosti, ki stare modele zamenja z novimi, izbriše prejšnje znanstvene razlage in jih preda zgodovini ali muzeju. »Znanost, drugače od umetnosti, uničuje svojo preteklost.« »Umetnost lahko veliko bolje kot znanost uskladi več nasprotujočih si tradicij in šok« (Kuhn, *Komentar* 345, 348). John Barth je leta 1967 dejal, da izčrpanost starih oblik ne zahteva njihovega brisanja, ampak vnovično osmišljanje.

V tem kontekstu sta še posebej pomembni dve podobnosti med Collingwoodovo zasnovo zgodovine in Kuhnovo zgodovino znanosti. Ne zavračata sicer resnice dejstev in dogodkov, a je ne vidita več kot temelj zgodovinskega in znanstvenega diskurza. Po Collingwoodu avtoriteta biva v zgodovinarju, po Kuhnu pa v skupnosti znanstvenikov. Oba se strinjata z nujnostjo uporabe narativnih struktur, ki so analogne tistim iz književnosti. Romanopisec Banville gre še dlje, saj nas njegov roman prepričuje, da so vsa naša spoznanja le veličastne in nujne fikcije, ki jih produciramo z domišljijo, racionalizacijo in izražanjem.

Kot smo videli, je mladi Kopernik med študijem v Krakovu razpravljal z enim izmed svojih učiteljev. Profesorjevo obrambo Ptolemaja je označil za »pomanjkanje poguma« (v angleščini gre za besedno igro, saj nas Banville v nadaljevanju opozarja naj »keep our nerve« (ohranimo pogum), medtem ko Kopernik zazna »failure of nerve« (pomanjkanje poguma); fraza je izposojena pri Koestlerju (53-65)), zaradi česar profesor vztraja na »starih reakcionarnih dogmah« (29), čeprav se zaveda, da ne funkcionirajo več. V prisposodbi bisera (»Po vseh tistih utrujajočih urah, ko je gazil po suhem pesku zaprtega uma, je naletel na eno samo, a dragoceno kapljo bisernega dvoma.« (29)) drobec poguma, ki postane dragulj (»Z občudovanjem si jo je ogledoval, kot da bi med prsti obračal brezhiben očarljiv dragulj.« (85)), aludira na način, na katerega obrobna dejstva, ki jih aktualna znanstvena paradigma ne more pojasniti, na koncu pripeljejo do tega, kar bi Kuhn imenoval znanstvena revolucija ali paradigmatični premik ali kar Banville v *Doctor Copernicus* bolj poetično poimenuje »nova in radikalna obnovitev« (83), ki sledi neizogibnemu »propadu« stare inštitucije (29).

Potrebo po »pogumu« je Banville izpostavil v svojem govoru iz leta 1981, ko je zatrdil, da smo na »pragu novega *izma*«:

Neprestano nas prepričujejo, da roman izumira, a dejstvo je, če si to upamo priznati, da je roman komaj začel odkrivati svoje možnosti. Lahko postane dovršena fikcija, kot je o poeziji sanjal Stevens, če smo le dovolj pogumni.

Modernizem se je izpel. Enako velja tudi za postmodernizem. Verjamem, vsaj upam, da smo na pragu novega *izma*, nove sinteze. Kaj bo to? Ne vem. Vendar upam, da bo to umetnost, ki bo dovolj poštena, da se bo soočila z izgubo upanja, a bo kljub temu živela naprej; umetnost, ki bo neizprosna in nadzorovana, hladna, vendar strastna, brez prevar; ki se bo zavedala svojih možnosti in omejitev, tj. umetnost, ki ve, da je resnica poljubna, da je realnost mnogovrstna, in da jezik ne omogoča jasnega vpogleda.

Sem rekel *nova*? Kar sem pravkar definiral, je staro kot Homer. (16-17)

Po koncu srednjeveškega, predkopernikanskega sveta se je razvila, kot to danes imenujemo, renesansa, »ponovno rojstvo«, pričakujoče »rojstvo novega človeka«, kar je v *Les mots et les choses* (Besede in reči) opisal Michel Foucault. Človek je izgubil mesto središča vesolja, a je v sebi našel novo središče, na katerem je lahko znova zgradil vse znanje in vero: *Cogito, ergo sum*. Če se sodobni subjekt v postmodernem, posthumanističnem kontekstu sooči s »smrtjo«, tako da razpusti nadsvetnost, ki jo na novo interpretira kot učinek jezika in želje, objektivnost zunanje realnosti (tj. znanstveno in zgodovinsko objektivnost) pa vsaj deloma kot pripoved, potem moramo zopet »ohraniti pogum«, saj nas bodo te smrti pripeljale do novih rojstev, čeprav morda ne bomo vedeli, kaj bo iz njih nastalo. Banville tu govori predvsem o umetniških oblikah, vendar njegovo upanje lahko razširimo tudi na intelektualne in kulturne (pa tudi politične in gospodarske) družbene strukture. Glede na današnji obseg zgodovinskih, političnih, kulturnih in verskih prevratov, se moramo tri desetletja po objavi Banvillevega romana strinjati s tem, da moramo »ohraniti pogum« ob tej najnovejši »kopernikanski revoluciji«. Poleg tega se moramo strinjati s tem, da je odkrivanje oblik, ki jih uporabljajo revolucije, njihovih korenin ter možnih posledic, več kot le literarna igra. Je veliko več kot zabavna, a površna igra z oblikami, ki so jo postmodernizmu tako pogosto očitali. Prav nasprotno, to odkrivanje oblik je nujno potrebno naši zgodovinski zavesti – zavesti, ki se mora obračati tako k preteklosti kot v prihodnost, ki se mora zavedati cikličnega pojavljanja kriz in dejstva, da nima v posesti *resnice* in da bomo zato še naprej nenehno iskali nove načine, na katere bomo skušali opisati in razložiti realnost ter naše mesto v svetu. Svojo individualno in kolektivno odgovornost do zgodovine namreč lahko izpolnimo le tako, da sprejmemo začasno in pogojno veljavnost lastnih resnic.

Prevedel Nenad Senić

OPOMBE

¹ Ta knjiga je bila objavljena posthumno leta 1946, omenjeno poglavje pa je nastalo leta 1935.

² Glede napačnih interpretacij Kuhna in razlik, ki jih našteje med dvema modeloma, prim. članek Johna Neubauerja »Reflections on the »Convergence« between Literature and Science«.

³ To je prvi roman trilogije revolucij, ki obsega še romana *Kepler* (1981) in *The Newton Letter* (Newtonovo pismo) (1982).

⁴ Spet moraš postati neveden
in Sonce zopet videti z nevednim očesom
in ga jasno videti v ideji o njem.

⁵ S kolokvija *Zgodovina in njeni literarni žanri* (Lipica, 7.–8. september 2006), na katerem sem predstavila pričujoči članek.

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Zgodovinski roman med nacionalno identiteto, ideologijami in »zgodovinskimi žanri«

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Članek analitično primerja dve literarizaciji novejših slovenskih zgodovine, to sta odporniška zgodovinska romana Nokturno za Primorsko Alojza Rebule in Zatemnitev Borisa Pahorja. Oba obravnavata ključne relacije med literaturo in zgodovino: univerzalne kontekste evropske in svetovne zgodovine, nacionalni zgodovinski kontekst, vlogo odporništv, autobiografskost, ideološke interpretacije slovenske zgodovine, a tudi aktualno-politični pogled. Oba romana razkrivata, kako miti, spekulacije, navidezno nelogične povezave, ki v zgodovinopisju »nimajo pravice do obstoja«, omogočajo velike presežke v dojemanju večplastnega zgodovinskega dogajanja v literarizaciji zgodovine, velike primanjkljaje pa v znanstvenem zgodovinopisju.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / slovenska književnost / zgodovinski roman / Srednja Evropa / nacionalna identiteta / Pahor, Boris / Rebula, Alojz

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Uvod

Za primerjalno analizo literarizacije novejših slovenskih zgodovine sem izbral dva zgodovinska romana, ki razvijata temo odporništv iz perspektive primorskega slovenstva v času, ko je skoraj tretjina Slovencev živela pod Italijo. To sta romana Alojza Rebule *Nokturno za Primorsko* (Mohorjeva družba, 2004) ter roman Borisa Pahorja *Zatemnitev* (Slovenska Matica, prvi izid leta 1975, drugi 1987).

V obeh delih izstopa vrsta skupnih vsebinskih sklopov, zajetih iz iste / skupne zgodovinske snovi, ki jo avtorja oblikujeta tudi v istih motivih (upornik, duhovnik, revolucionar, aktivistka, eksekutor, itd.), a v idejno različni interpretaciji tem. Te se nanašajo na ključna vprašanja slovenske novejših zgodovine, po katerih se oba avtorja v koncentričnih krogih, na

različnih ravneh večplastne zgodovinske spirale, postopoma spuščata v zgodbo: od širokih, najuniverzalnejših vprašanj, vse do ravni političnih in nazadnje osebno izkustvenih tem, ki nato povratno (in spet nazaj do najvišje ravni) ponovno legitimirajo in opravičujejo subjektivne sodbe, razmišljanja ali delovanje njihovih literarnih oseb – spet v imenu najvišjega, univerzalnega idejnega izhodišča. Te spirale, po katerih avtorja pomikata akterje svojih zgodb, so idejno ogrodje za večplastnost obeh zgodb. Tak pristop je povsem v skladu z metodo tradicionalnega zgodovinopisja od romantike vsaj do teorije francoske »totalne zgodovine« oziroma t. i. pluralizma diskurzov (prim. Veyne 24).

Tako kakor v omenjenem tradicionalnem zgodovinopisju tudi v obeh zgodovinskih romanih pridemo do sklenjenega hermenevitičnega kroga in imamo v obeh primerih na enem mestu dolg izbor vsebin, ki pogojujejo tovrstno relacijo med historiografijo in zgodovinskim romanom:

1. Univerzalne kontekste evropske zgodovine (univerzalizem evropskega razsvetljenstva na eni in univerzalizem katolicizma na drugi strani);

2. Nacionalni zgodovinski kontekst (tj. položaj slovenske manjšine v Julijski krajini pod fašizmom v času med obema vojnama na eni ter na drugi strani neuresničeno idejo Zedinjene Slovenije);

3. Oba avtorja že od zavestne izbire zgodovinske snovi hote ali nehote stojita (do določene mere) tudi v ideološkem kontekstu interpretacije novejših slovenskih zgodovine;

4. Oba se zato (spet hote ali nehote) znajdetata do določene mere tudi v politični rabi zgodovinske snovi, ki je v 20. stoletju malokdaj povsem ločljiva od interpretacije zgodovinskih dogodkov;

5. Oba predstavljata upor v Julijski krajini po prvi svetovni vojni (pri čemer oba prikazujeta različne idejne usmeritve upora, od katoliškega, prek liberalno-narodnjaškega, do komunističnega);

6. Idejne dileme in nasprotja pa avtorja nazadnje zaostrija ob vprašanju odpornišva in kolaboracije med drugo svetovno vojno ter odnosa Slovencev do vseh treh evropskih totalitarizmov, s katerimi se srečajo v času druge svetovne vojne in takoj po njej);

7. Poseben kontekst, ki družita oba avtorja, je tudi »zgodovinski kontekst zamejskosti« (tj. pogled na zgodovino skupnega slovenskega etničnega prostora iz zornega kota dogajanja zgodovine v njegovem najzahodnejšem delu, na Primorskem pod Italijo);

8. Za oba avtorja je ob tem značilen tudi »aktualni kontekst zamejskosti« (tj. današnji pogled, oziroma kolektivni nacionalni spomin, ki nastaja na omenjenem »robu« etničnega prostora).

9. Podobna pa sta si tudi v literarnih postopkih. Boris Pahor nastopa z biografskim romanom, pri katerem se dogodki do določene mere preple-

tajo z avtorjevo biografijo, Alojz Rebula pa oblikuje duhovniški zgodovinski roman, ki z dogajanjem sega v čas, ki ga je osebno izkusil tudi sam.

10. Ob vsem naštetem, kar sicer zblizuje avtorja, pa kot osnovno sredstvo argumentacije idejnih izhodišč tudi oba najpogosteje uporabljata fiktivne dialoge.

Izbor omenjenih nivojev in problematik, ki ju obravnavata oba romana, tako spominja na učni program študija zgodovine na kateri od univerz v Srednji Evropi, saj na enem mestu (v vsakem od romanov) srečamo celoten »predmetnik«: od obče evropske zgodovine (tj. razsvetljenstvo, socialne revolucije, totalitarne ideologije, odporništvo, kolaboracijo, komunizem, politični katolicizem, holokavst, itd.), prek evropskih nacionalnih ideologij in »rojstva narodov«, kronologij politične zgodovine, zgodovine evropskih narodnostnih manjšin, vse do zgodovine vsakdana, individualnih spominskih virov, in še bi lahko našteli.

Te obširne teme avtorja soočata z osebnimi izkušnjami in usodami primorskih upornikov (katoličanov, liberalcev, komunistov ali npr. tudi politično in ideološko povsem neangažiranih posameznikov) ter s premišljenim potekom posameznih dialogov med akterji v velikem miselnem naporu argumentirata njihove odločitve, dejanja in (posledično) tudi njihove osebne usode.

V teh argumentativnih oziroma interpretativnih »presežkih«, ki so v moderni zgodovinski stroki bolj ali manj nezaželeni (spekulacija, domneva, sum, intuicija, predpostavka, itd.), avtorja, ki izhajata iz zgodovinske snovi, tako zapuščata področje zgodovinopisja in ustvarjata na področju literarnega – na področju historiografske fikcije.

Univerzalni konteksti evropske in svetovne zgodovine

V literarnem soočanju z omenjeno večplastnostjo zgodovinske tematike se oba avtorja najprej navezujeta na najširši evropski idejni zgodovinski kontekst, iz katerega pri pisanju izhajata: na eni strani na začetke sekularizacije evropske misli v renesansi in razsvetljenstvu ter na drugi na idejno tradicijo evropskega katolicizma.

V delu Alojza Rebule naletimo na pozitivno poudarjena idejna stališča likov realnih zgodovinskih oseb, kot so bile npr. bavarski časnikar Fritz Gerlich, urednik katoliškega časopisa *Der gerade Weg*, nato na povzemanja misli ali kratkih citatov, npr. iz Nikolaja Berdjajeva, vse do papeških avtoritet od Leona XIII. do Pija XI. (prim. Rebula, npr. 116, 123–125). Ti liki, ki so pomemben sestavni del tradicije evropskega katolicizma, v romanu očitno predstavljajo idejne avtoritete.¹

Boris Pahor na drugi strani nemalokrat izpostavlja posameznike iz tradicije, ki začenja z osebnostmi, kot je Francis Bacon, izpostavi npr. Giuseppa Mazzinija, svobodomiselne ideje Alessandra Manzonia, Giacomina Leopardija (prim. 55, 66 ali 274) in drugih, ki predstavljajo rdečo nit evropske (bolj ali manj sekularizirane) razsvetljenske idejne paradigme.

Nacionalni zgodovinski kontekst

Na zgornjo izhodiščno shemo idejne bipolaritete avtorja navezujeta ključne zgodovinske prelomnice slovenske novejšje zgodovine. Izpeljujeta jih v stališča svojih likov in jih razvijata znotraj vsakokratnega konteksta, kot rečeno – znotraj univerzalnega, nacionalnega, ideološkega, političnega in naposled tudi njune subjektivne izkušnje s primorsko zgodovino.

Nacionalni zgodovinski kontekst, ki je bil pri Slovencih skoraj praviloma narodno-obramben, je pri avtorjih v zamejstvu tako rekoč dosledno narodno-obramben. Ta kontekst je pri obeh avtorjih tako močan, da pogosto (hote ali nehote) tudi radikalna ideološka izhodišča svojih likov nenehno prilagajata narodno-obrambni držji (slovenstvo mora preživeti in zmagati, cilj je Zedinjena Slovenija, ki se mora uresničiti, itd.).

Literarni junaki obeh romanov se v argumentacijah in obrambi ene ali druge ideološke in politične pozicije pogosto znajdejo v vlogi razlagalcev stališč in dogodkov, ki jih je v resnici zelo težko zgodovinsko celovito osvetliti in utemeljiti, junaki pa se z njimi lahko identificirajo, jih zagovarjajo ali z njimi zgolj simpatizirajo (prim. tematiziranje primata komunistične partije v osvobodilni borbi v romanu Borisa Pahorja (181) ali, po drugi strani, argumentiranje »funkcionalne kolaboracije« v romanu Alojza Rebule (110)). V opisanem predstavljanju ideoloških stališč smo zagotovo najdlje na točkah, kjer avtorja iz konteksta zgodovinopisja ustvarjata zgodovinski roman.

Ideološki kontekst interpretacije medvojne slovenske zgodovine

Znotraj ideoloških dilem narodno-obrambnega konteksta se tako nujno soočamo tudi z opredeljevanjem do že omenjene katoliške idejne paradigme. Osnovna idejna delitev na Slovenskem, od vzpostavitve idejnega in političnega pluralizma naprej (in tako tudi v obeh obravnavanih romanih), sega od liberalno-katoliškega prek socialistično-katoliškega do komunistično-katoliškega idejnega spopada in se (v skladu z znanimi tezami npr. Dušana Pirjevca ali Dimitrija Rupla in drugih) odvija »najprej« v literaturi,

se nato seli v politiko in spreminja v radikalen politični (in v času druge svetovne vojne nazadnje še vojaški) spopad, ter se nazadnje danes – paradokсно – pri obeh obravnavanih avtorjih »že spet« dogaja v literaturi (prim. Hladnik 211). Zgodovinska literatura (roman) se v tem primeru obnaša enako (»nacionalno-funkcionalno«) kakor literarno zgodovinopisje.²

Zdi se, kot bi se ritem siceršnje idejne, ideološke in politične delitve znotraj naroda stopnjeval v nekontrolirano dinamiko, potem ko se politični dogodki strnejo v prehitro zaporedje in si sledijo s preintenzivno sosednostjo. Idejne delitve se tedaj spremenijo v nacionalno katastrofo, kakršna je bila državljanska vojna na Slovenskem, ki jo v vsej kompleksnosti tematizirata tudi oba romana. To, da oba avtorja ustvarjata izven današnjega slovenskega državnega prostora, tega dejstva v ničemer ne spreminja – temveč ga potrjuje (prim. J. Kos 193–194 in 218–219), saj idejni spopad znova vrača na literarno polje.³

Tudi v opredelitvi slovenske literarne tradicije Boris Pahor npr. izrecno izpostavlja idejno dvotirnost, ko se v svojih političnih argumentacijah eden od junakov iz katoliškega idejnega kroga sklicuje na Frana Saleškega Finžgarja in Ivana Preglja, v svobodomiselnem krogu pa spet drugi na Otona Župančiča in Ferda Kozaka (20), na Srečka Kosovela, Franceta Bevka in Ivana Cankarja (77, 274).⁴

»Idejni razkol« na teoretski ravni kulminira v retrogradnem eshatološkem tematiziranju vprašanja primata »vere ali narodnosti«, ob katerem se avtorja soočata (gl. Rebula 33 in 34; Pahor 79) z enim od temeljnih vprašanj slovenske zgodovine prve polovice 20. stoletja, z vprašanjem t. i. ideološkega »reda vrednot« (kot je to vprašanje primata označeval vodilni medvojni ideolog slovenskega političnega katolicizma Aleš Ušeničnik (prim. Grdina 60)).

Političnost zgodovinske snovi

Če avtorja hočeta ali nočeta (kar lahko ostane odprto vprašanje), se njuna romana (zaradi doslej povedanega) nujno interpretirata tudi v aktualnem političnem kontekstu, ki sega vse do današnjih aktualnih političnih vprašanj (sprave, poprave krivic, vse do določanja državnih praznikov, državnih proslav, itd.). Sočasno branje obeh romanov nam nehote ponuja tudi pritažen odgovor na vprašanje, zakaj je bila v tridesetih letih in v času druge svetovne vojne katoliška bitka izgubljena vnaprej, izgubljena kakor npr. bitka katoličanov v Nemčiji z nacionalsocializmom. »Zakrament jagnjeta« (če parafraziramo Heinricha Bölla) v spopadu s komunizmom na Slovenskem ni imel pravih možnosti, »onstran dobrega in zlega« pa je bila za katoliške upornike fraza, ki je nikoli niso prav razumeli.

Tako nam avtorja v literarnem dialogu s preteklostjo pomagata ozaveščati tisto, čemur Hannah Arendt (30-43) pravi tudi »nenehno soočanje s totalitarizmom«.

Upor v Julijski krajini med obema vojnama

Že odmevnost obeh romanov v vseslovenskem prostoru dokazuje, da se v slovenski zgodovinski literaturi soočamo s podobnim pomanjkanjem vedenja o zgodovini Slovencev na Primorskem (v odnosu do vseslovenskega nacionalnega konteksta) kakor v historiografiji. Tu gre za znano vprašanje, ali je zgodovino slovenskega naroda sploh mogoče pisati »pod skupnim imenovalcem« glede na to, kako zelo različen je razvoj po pokrajinah (nenazadnje v vsem 19. in 20. stoletju) (gl. tudi Rožac Darovec). V času, ki ga tematizirata oba romana (času med obema vojnama), prevladujejo na Primorskem pod Italijo povsem drugačna vprašanja in problemi kot v osrednji Sloveniji, kjer so Slovenci soočeni s povsem drugačnimi političnimi problemi (s centralizmom, s problemi hitrega gospodarskega razvoja in z do skrajnosti zaostreno ideološko bipolariteto (prim. Vodopivec 7)).

Upor proti fašizmu v Julijski krajini (ta je po vzpostavitvi rapalske meje obsegala skoraj tretjino slovenskega državnega ozemlja), je nazadnje točka kjer se oba avtorja v interpretaciji in literarizaciji zgodovinskih dogodkov tudi najbolj »ujameta«. V tematizaciji tega časa in prostora ideološke bipolaritete, značilne za vseslovenski kontekst 20. stoletja, nenadoma ne igrajo več bistvene vloge. Skupni nasprotnik in očitne krivice, ki jih povzročata poskus sistematičnega etnocida v Julijski krajini, ne le zabrišejo idejni, politični, ideološki, itd. razkol, temveč nenadoma, in kot narodno povsem sprejemljive, sobivajo vse oblike upora, ne glede na ideološke razlike – nacionalni upor liberalnega podmladka v organizaciji TIGR, komunistični upor Pina Tomažiča (četudi še vedno z mislijo na slovensko sovjetsko republiko) ter organiziran iredentistični upor »politiki obeh Rimov« v katoliškem taboru (prim. Rebula 39; Pahor 43).

Vprašanja odpornišva in kolaboracije v času druge svetovne vojne

Pri interpretaciji tega vprašanja se avtorja spet povsem razideta. Izpostavljata ključna in vedno znova aktualna vprašanja slovenske zgodovine 20. stoletja, kot so bila obravnavana znotraj tradicionalnih ideoloških in političnih taborov po drugi svetovni vojni. Upor in revolucija na eni

strani ter antikomunizem in kolaboracija na drugi, se skozi obe literarni deli sicer motivno in tematsko prepletata, vendar se avtorja ob obravnavi teh vprašanj (o katerih razmišljajo njihuni junaki) spet znajdeta na nepremostljivih bregovih. Seveda oba spet prikazujeta položaj iz zornega kota primorskega partizanstva na eni in vloge primorske duhovščine na drugi strani in tako primorska situacija spet izstopa iz vseslovenskega konteksta, a hkrati problematizira zgodovinsko dogajanje v njem.

Pahorjevi junaki se v opisanem ideološkem kontekstu npr. bolj nagibajo k sodelovanju v upor, četudi pod vodstvom komunistov, in zagovarjajo upor, »tudi če o komunistih res vse drži«, s stališča: »nikoli na stran okupatorja« (Pahor 79–80). Na drugi strani pa nam junaki Alojza Rebule v svojem ideološkem kontekstu predočajo položaj na strani kontrarevolucije in posledično kolaboracije ter tragedijo, ki se je na Slovenskem zgodila katoliškemu taboru, potem ko se je znašel na kolaborantskih pozicijah (Rebula 109, 110). V končni posledici si različno zamišljajo tudi narodno-obrambno akcijo, npr. kot čakanje na aktualni trenutek (Rebula 109–111) ali takojšen oboroženi upor (Pahor 290).

Zgodovinski kontekst »zamejskosti«

Vprašanja obravnave primorskega zgodovinskega konteksta, ki se pojavljajo tako v literarni kakor v historiografski obravnavi, se v slovenskem zamejstvu do danes (nedvomno in razumljivo) zgoščajo ob vprašanju pripadnosti Trsta ob koncu druge svetovne vojne. »Izguba Trsta« predstavlja prav poseben slovenski nacionalni mit. Pri tem eden od likov Alojza Rebule npr. namiguje na izgubo Trsta zaradi zasedbene politike v Trstu, zaradi samovlade jugoslovanskih oblasti v t. i. »štiridesetih dneh« (Rebula 171), na drugi strani pa junak Borisa Pahorja doživlja izgubo Trsta kot posledico spopada velikih sil (Pahor 317), ki se je dejansko odvijal prav ob vprašanju politične usode mesta.

Aktualni kontekst zamejskosti

Nazadnje oba romana skozi dialoge in usode junakov v svoji zgodovinsko-spoznavni razsežnosti pripeljeta bralca nehote do sklepa, da ne katoliška ideja upora v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih ne revolucionarna v času druge vojne nazadnje nista povsem zmagoviti – ne dejansko (zaradi česar sta oba avtorja še danes zamejska Slovenca, saj se že omenjena Zedinjena Slovenija ne uresniči) niti ne vsebinsko (ker osvoboditev ne prinaša zma-

ge demokracije in resnične družbene osvoboditve znotraj vseslovenskega nacionalnega konteksta).

Oba avtorja tukaj spet združi opazovanje slovenskega prostora z zahodnega roba, »iz zamejstva«, a kljub temu se zdi, da pogled ni bistveno bolj jasen – morda ga preveč določa kontekst, ki je (ker je nacionalen) tudi ideološki in s tem spet in takoj »klasično slovenski«, tj. zaznamovan z izkušnjo spopada dveh ideologij s precej jasnimi robovi, ki ju ločujeta (prim. Zalta).

Literarni postopki idejnega soočanja

Argumentacije v obeh romanih največkrat potekajo v obliki fiktivnih dialogov ali samorefleksij posameznih junakov. Oba avtorja pri tem ustvarjata dialoge, v katerih en ali drugi sogovornik (v skladu z njemu določeno ideološko opcijo) praviloma zmaga ali sogovornika vsaj pripelje v situacijo brez racionalnega proti-argumenta, v dilemo brez odgovora (Rebula 111; Pahor 182). Dialogi pri tem potekajo po vzorcu »sokratičnega dialoga« kot klasičnega literarnega prijema. Ideološke koordinate obeh besedil se pri tem izražajo v dialogih »nevtralnih opazovalcev«, ki pa so pogosto subtilno prizanesljivi do odločitev in še bolj do nosilnih idejnih premis enega ali drugega idejnega tabora.

V specifičnem narativnem postopku takega dialoga se nam pogosto kaže tudi očitna razlika med znanstvenim zgodovinopisjem in zgodovinskim romanom. Sodobna historiografija problem predstavi in razlaga na podlagi virov, na podlagi zgodovinskih šol, na podlagi metodoloških pristopov in nenazadnje že na podlagi izbire množice različnih zgodovinskih virov. Literatura, ki ustvarja zgodbo, jo zaokroža, zaključuje in s tem pogosto tudi nujno simplificira odgovore na vprašanja, ki zgodbo obdajajo kot njen zgodovinski kontekst – kot rečeno – v imenu naroda, manjšine, ideologije ali politike in dokler se to dogaja znotraj literature, katere cilji so v prvi vrsti estetski, s tem tudi ni nič narobe. V tem smislu s stališča sodobne historiografije oba avtorja ravnata podobno kot tradicionalni zgodovinar ali kot velja za zgodovinski roman, ki se naslanja na tradicionalno zgodovinopisje.⁵ Sodobna historiografija (za razliko od tradicionalnega zgodovinopisja) se zgodbi izmika in je praviloma tudi ne določa vnaprejšnja ideja celote.⁶

Sklep: med historiografijo in literaturo

Oba avtorja za literarizacijo zgodovinske snovi, podobno kakor za argumentacijo stališč, ki jih zastopajo njune literarne osebe, v izhodišču

uporabljata produkcijo historiografije. V zgodbi o »kuri in jajcu«, literaturi in historiografiji, vsaj v našem primeru zgodovinopisje dokaj jasno predhaja literaturi. Brez zgodovinskih predlog bi namreč obe besedili ne bili mogoči.

Miti, spekulacije, ugibanja, navidezno nelogične povezave, ki v zgodovinopisju, kot rečeno, »nimajo pravice do obstoja«, omogočajo v literarizaciji zgodovine na eni strani velike presežke v dojetanju kompleksnega zgodovinskega dogajanja (odpiranje moralnopolitičnih dilem, ki jih literarni junak npr. lahko razreši, zgodovinska dejstva pa tega ne morejo ne potrditi ne zanikati), na drugi strani pa tudi velike primanjkljaje.

Literatura si hitre zaključke, moralne sklepe in sodbe o zgodovinskem dogajanju lahko privoščiti, ker so ti sklepi literarni in zato fiktivni, historiografija pa zgodovinsko dogajanje lahko samo predstavi, artikulira in opremlja z refleksijo. Pri zgodovinskem tekstu namreč velja »pravica veta« s strani zgodovinskih virov in četudi bi npr. o medvojni kolaboraciji slovenskih domobrancev ali njihovi tragični povojni usodi oziroma komunističnih likvidacijah obstajalo nešteto možnih interpretacij ali diskurzov, nam nazadnje ostane nekaj, kar se ne da reducirati in tudi ne preinterpretirati: nekaj, čemur lahko rečemo samo »zgodovinska resnica«. Zgodovinar stoji – če uporabim definicijo Jerzyja Topolskega – v permanentnem dialogu s preteklostjo prek zgodovinskih virov, s samim seboj prek racionalne argumentacije, in s publiko (tj. ožje definirano skupino znanstvenikov specialistov), pri čemer je ujetnik pozitivistično uporabljanih virov (prim. Hanisch 221). Z avtorjem zgodovinskega romana ga neogibna subjektivnost interpretacije družiti zgolj do te meje.⁷

Zato pa si iz »historiografske izložbe« literatura lahko izbira argumente za »logičnost zgodbe«, vsaka glede na lastno prepričanje in celo vsaka glede na morebitno pripadnost idejni opciji (prim. Matajc).

Tako je sploh možno, da tudi oba naša avtorja soobstajata v nacionalno-obrambnem (zamejskem) kontekstu, pogosto sicer na idejno nasprotnih pozicijah, kjer vsak zase ustvarjata prepričljivo literaturo, ki kot taka prinaša vsaka »svoj prav«, kot literatura pa teh »dejstev«, ki jih predstavlja, seveda nikakor dokončno ne dokazuje – niti ji kaj takega ni potrebno. Pogosto se razhajata ob bistvenih vprašanjih, a se ujemata v tem, da jih (oba iste) prepoznavata kot bistvene. To so točke, kjer sta knjigi motivno povsem kompatibilni, paradokсно, a razumljivo pa se na teh mestih najbolj razhajata v argumentaciji. Roman Alojza Rebule je, kot je videti (hote ali nehote), pravzaprav napisan kot odgovor na Pahorjevo knjigo izpred tridesetih let. Zato je najbolje oba romana brati v neposrednem zaporedju, saj ob estetskem užitku lahko primerjamo tudi argumentacijski napor obeh avtorjev.

Ob vsem povedanem oba avtorja ustvarjata vrhunsko literaturo, o čemer nedvomno priča tudi njun mednarodni in nacionalni ugled, ki ju uvršča med največja imena slovenske literarne produkcije.

Literatura torej ne more dokazati zgodovinskih dejstev, a ker gre za literaturo, za fikcijo, ji to niti ni potrebno, česar naj bi se bralci tudi zavedali. Tu smo namreč na točki, kjer zgodovinopisje lahko prek literature prehaja v (nacionalno) mitologijo, ki je konstitutivni dejavnik naroda.

Miti, ki so v zgodovinopisju škodljivi, so nasprotno, za literaturo lahko koristni. Sicer ne nujno vedno in vsi, a praviloma so sproducirani prav na relaciji zgodovina – literatura, z estetizacijo prve.

OPOMBE

¹ Po mnenju literarnega zgodovinarja Janka Kosa se je Alojz Rebula »iz razmeroma svobodomiselnih zasnov prvih pripovedi, zlasti romana *Senčni ples*, polagoma izoblikoval v izrazito katoliškega literarnega pričevalca, esejista in polemika« (Kos 208).

² Tako je razumljivo, da se je historizem že v zametkih, pri Herderju, ideološko napajal še iz ene podlage, plodne za nastanek in razvoj (literarnega) zgodovinopisja: iz težnje po političnem oblikovanju imaginarne skupnosti – naroda. Pri t. i. kulturnih narodih, tistih, ki so bili v primerjavi s t. i. zgodovinskimi nacijami prikrajšani za enotno in državno individualnost [...], je ravno literarno zgodovinopisje skočilo na prizorišče kot odrešilni zaveznik« (Juvan 21-22).

³ »Javni precep, v katerem deluje zgodovinopisje, ilustrira izkušnja tranzicije, ko oživljeni interes za javno preteklost rabi redefiniranju kolektivnih identitet [...], zlasti nacionalne. Politika sili zgodovinarje v razsojanje o vsem, kar je v bližnji preteklosti spornega, z druge strani pa jim očitajo, da je »uradna« zgodovina – četudi se ukvarja z davno etnogenezo – sredstvo indoktrinacije« (Juvan 27).

⁴ Primerjaj analizo nazorskih opredelitev npr. v razpravi Janka Kosa *Dubovna zgodovina Slovenen*.

⁵ »[Literarni] zgodovinar, ki je sledil metafizičnim, filološkim in nacionalno-političnim nagibom historizma 19. stoletja, je postal vsevedni in vse-vidni pripovedovalec, ki občinstvu razodeva »idejo celote«. Uzrl jo je v podobi globinskega gibala, ki nekdanj razdrobljene »naključne« podatke povezuje v enovitno in smotrno zgodbo, jih osmišlja, razlagalno prežarja od znotraj; »ideja celote« je oblikovala način komentiranja dejstev, besedilo tematsko povezovala in igrala vlogo nadosebnega junaka, denimo »lepotec«, »napredka«, »duha časa« ali »naroda«, ki je skriti vzrok ali cilj posameznih zgodovinskih dogodkov, dosežkov« (prim. Juvan 19-20).

⁶ »Bloch je razgalil novega malika, ki ga je treba pregnati iz zgodovinarskih razmišljanj: zaverovanost v en sam vzrok. Obsodba je brez priziva: monizem vzroka, predsodek zdrave pameti, postulat logike, obsedenost preiskovalnega sodnika [...] V zgodovini se vzroki ne postulirajo. Ampak se iščejo,« ugotavlja Jacques Le Goff (Bloch 34).

⁷ »Zgodovina naj torej [...] ne ugotavlja lažnih zakonitosti, saj so zaradi nenehnega vdiranja naključij pač nemogoče. Veljavna je samo tedaj, če je prežeta z razumskostjo in razumljivostjo: njena znanstvenost potemtakem ni v naravi, v njenem predmetu, ampak v početju in metodi zgodovinarja,« ugotavlja Jacques Le Goff (Bloch 17) v predgovoru h knjigi Marca Blocha *Apologija zgodovine ali zgodovinarjev poklic*.

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Dekonstrukcija zgodovine in narativna identiteta

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Naracija, pojmovana kot jezikovno sporočilo, pelje k utemeljitvi novih oblik identitete. Biografski in historični momenti so lahko sestavni deli zapletene narativne strategije. Fiktivna pripoved ne prinaša realne preteklosti, temveč kvazi-preteklost. Zgodovinopisje se je oddaljilo od rakonstruirabilnosti zgodovinskih dogodkov. Dekonstrukcija zgodovine in avtobiografske imaginacije je temeljno preoblikovala odnos med avtobiografijo in romanom. Sprejemanje lastne identitete kot narativne identitete modificira dosedanje izkušnje z odnosom med faktično in fiktivno pripovedjo.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / zgodovinopisje / narativnost / literarna fikcija / metazgodovina / novi historicizem

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V programu kolokvija omenjen *historični relativizem* srečamo tako v modernih teorijah filozofije kot tudi literature. Lubomir Doležel je v svojem referatu to leto v Parizu postavil vprašanje, v kolikšni meri je le-ta vplival na zgodovinopisje (npr. na Simona Schama *Postmodern Narratives of the Past*). Najprej se bom osredotočila na nekatera *skupna* teoretska vprašanja historične in literarne naracije, v nadaljevanju pa se bom posvetila vprašanju, kako se historični relativizem odraža v posameznih modernih romanih.

Narativizem. Narativna filozofija zgodovine in dekonstrukcija postavi tradicionalni hierarhični model in linearno pojmovanje zgodovine pod vprašaj. Postmodernizem je to izrazil tudi v pripovedni prozi. Zdi se, da vse to potrди Paul Ricoeur, ki zastopa mnenje, da *zgodovina in fikcija* prehajata druga v drugo. To zadeva oba *narativna programa*: tako zgodovino kot literaturo. S križanjem zgodovine in fikcije razume ontološko in epistemološko strukturo, v kateri obe obliki diskurza vzajemno prevzemata intenco druge. Zgodovina izrablja fikcijo, da na novo iznajde čas, da ga refigurira; in fikcija izrablja zgodovino v iste namene (Ricoeur 264–75). Zgodovina je kot organizacijska oblika védenja v nekaterih relacijah sama odvisna od postopkov, ki gradijo fikcijo. Njen diskurz je prilagojen literarnim vzorcem

in poetični tradiciji, kar se je od antike pa vse do romantike zdelo nekaj povsem naravnega.

Poetika in naratologija sta se v zadnjem času zelo plodno dotaknili nekaterih filozofskih, antropoloških, kulturnoteoretskih in zgodovinopisnih aspektov. Za reševanje temeljnih vprašanj našega srečanja se s tem povsem spontano ponuja tudi interdisciplinarni nastavek. Humaniore predstavljajo sistem, to pomeni, če se premakne ena od disciplin, se druge premikajo z njo – meni Georges Duby (prim. Duby). V terminologiji zgodovinskih in družboslovnih znanosti prednjačijo štirje poetski, retorični pojmi: *interpretacija*, *naracija*, *metafora in fikcija*. Poseben pomen so dobili pojmi narativizacija, zgodba kot interpretacija, naracija kot fingiranje in fingiranje kot interpretacija.

Predstavniki narativne teorije zgodovine ne govorijo o rekonstrukciji zgodovinske preteklosti, temveč o *ustvarjanju sedanjosti*. Pri tem se je potrebno vprašati, kaj naj bi pomenilo določanje historičnosti v dobi fikcij realnosti (prim. Partner), ali ima zgodovina svoj predmet, oz. kaj zgodovina sploh obravnava (Gábor Gyáni). V nasprotju s tradicionalnim pojmovanjem zgodovine so se vzpostavila naslednja osnovna načela: na mesto sledi preteklosti stopijo tekstualni elementi; pretekli dogodek *zamenjajo* jezikovne figure in besedilo zgodovinarja postane virtualno. Teoretski proces, zgrajen na delu Northropa Fryea, kot ga je uvedel Hayden White, je vplival na samorefleksijo literature in zgodovinopisja. Po mojem mnenju zavzemata poetika in retorika v teoriji sodobne zgodovine vlogo *metodološke samorefleksije*. Nasprotniki te teorije pa menijo, da je narativizem nastal iz napačno pojmovane vzporenice med zgodovino in literaturo.

Fiktivne preteklosti. Paul Ricoeur opazuje pripoved v njenem odnosu do fiktivne preteklosti. Preteklost pripovedi je *časovna psevdopreteklost*. Časovno-filozofska koncepcija njegovega dela *Temps et récit* (Čas in pripoved, 1983–1985) je vplivala tudi na narativno teorijo, poetiko in zgodovinopisje. Ricoeur govori o naraciji kot o posredniku. Naracija je skupni jezikovni medij tako *spomina* kot tudi *zgodovine*; zgodovinska poročila o človekovih dejanjih in izkušnjah se združujejo v narativno strukturo. Na podlagi izkušenj literarnega in avtobiografskega pripovednega načina pride Ricoeur do *narativne identitete*, ki nosi v obeh diskurzih poseben pomen.

Če sledimo temu razmišljanju, ne moremo mimo spoznanja v *Les mots et les choses* (1966) Michela Foucaulta: zgodovinar se med svojim delom ne sreča s predmetom svojega raziskovanja, ampak z njegovimi dokumenti. Njegov tekst je obnova in interpretacija drugih tekstov. V naši kulturi je zgodovinar komentator znakov, spisov in dokumentov. Ustvarja besedila in arhive oz. *posreduje* med diskurzom o predmetih in med nami. Zgodovinar je odvisen od knjižnic, katalogov, inventarjev in arhivov: ne more govoriti

neposredno o stvareh samih, ampak le o drugih besedah. V kulturi, kot je naša, vsak diskurz stopi v ospredje takrat, ko dogodki izginejo. V to špranjo, to vrzel, to časovno distanco v zahodnih kulturah vdirajo besedila, dokumenti in zapiski. Tukaj nastaja intertekstualni teren, ki je predmet diskurza poetologov novega historicizma in kulture. Historično védenje je tako pri Nietzscheju kot tudi pri Derridaju izpeljano iz besedil, ne iz zgodovinskih dejstev. Na podlagi nekaterih sodobnih evropskih romanov – tukaj lahko pomislimo na Umberta Eca, Lawrencea Norfolka, Danila Kiša, Pétra Esterházyja ali Lászla Mártona – pridemo do podobnih zaključkov. Vsi so raziskovalci, arheologi in interpreti besedilnih sledi tistega zgodovinskega obdobja, iz katerega gradijo svojo romaneskno fikcijo – ne glede na to, ali gre za srednji vek, novi vek ali sedanjost.

Fantazija, reprezentacija, intenca. Ricoeur reprezentacijo enači z zgodovinsko zavestjo, ki stopi na mesto preteklosti. Mi oblikujemo preteklost oz. zgodovino z ustvarjalno močjo *imaginacije* in jo na ta način ponotranjimo kot lastno izkušnjo. Pri oblikovanju bralčevega odnosa do zgodovine se torej sproži enaka imaginativna dejavnost kot v literaturi. Tudi narativna filozofija zgodovine argumentira v prid intencioniranja in literarne narave zgodovine. Richard T. Vann opozori na *Klio*, ki je hkrati muza zgodovine in epske umetnosti. Tako zgodovina kot tudi fiktivna proza terjata narativni način razumevanja in interpretacije. A. C. Danto, H. White in njuni nasledniki zavračajo prepoznavnost zgodovinske realnosti, zgodovinopisju se približujejo z globoko spoznavnoteoretsko skepsjo. Besedilo zgodovinarja ni le pasivni posrednik neke resnice, ker je zaznamovano z *nepreglednostjo*, *neprosojnostjo* (*opacity*). Naloga zgodovinarja ni nov način opisovanja preteklosti, ampak ustvarjanje novih interpretacij le-te, torej to, da iz besedila preteklosti napravi pripovedno besedilo zgodovinarja. V zgodovinopisju je torej odnos med jezikom in resničnostjo negotov, ker daje tekst – tako kot metafora – zmeraj nov pomen. Le kako ne bi bila roman z zgodovinskimi dejstvi in njegova interpretacija potemtakem zapletena?

Referenčne iluzije. Na podlagi sodobne romaneskne literature nam naš čas vsekakor ponuja izkušnje, ki spodbujajo k razmišljanju. Zgodovinska in avtobiografska fikcija ne dosežeta svoje oblikovne funkcije preko dejstev, dokumentov in fragmentov resničnosti. Dejstva, zgodovinski podatki in imena, ki se pojavljajo v romanu, so namreč *referenčne iluzije* (M. Riffaterre). Empirični in historični elementi se zdijo že vnaprej interpretirani, to pomeni, da že vsebujejo nek aspekt, nek vrednostni moment.

Družinski roman? Péter Esterházy se na nekem mestu v svojem delu *Harmonia caelestis* (2000) loti stare dileme o zvestobi resnici. Ker je spomin končen in nezanesljiv, je lahko omenjeni roman le delno tista knjiga, ki si jo je avtor zamislil. Knjige – nadaljuje Esterházy –, ki nastajajo iz resničnosti,

lahko povečini podajo le zelo bled odblesk ali le fragmente doživetega. Še pomembnejša od elegantne zavrnitve mimetičnih tradicij je misel, da so empirija, spomini in doživete izkušnje omejene. V nasprotju s tem se imaginacija in konstruiranje fikcije ne podrejata nobenim omejitvam. Stvari v osnovi ni mogoče pripovedovati. Avtor romana na podlagi svojih lastnih inštrumentov izrazi relativizmu in gnoseološki skepsi teoretikov sorodno stališče. Ne ustvari epske, temveč fragmentarno romaneskno strukturo. Z diskontinuirano zgodovino zavrne klasični model *grand récit*, s tem pa tudi kanon in sistem pričakovanj, s katerimi literarna zgodovina povezuje žanra, kot sta npr. historični roman ali družinski roman. V tradiciji 19. stoletja je prikazovanje preteklosti veljalo za opis zgodovinske realnosti in dejstev. Interpreti postmoderne pa so se v nasprotju s tem posvetili reprezentaciji in metaforični strukturi.

Esterházyjevi romani na to vprašanje odgovorijo na metanarativni način in z ironijo. Potomec zgodovinsko znane plemiške družine lahko dogodke sodobne zgodovine v drugi polovici 20. stoletja doživi kot priča, soudeleženec oz. sodobnik. Zgodovinsko preteklost družine, dežele in regije lahko skozi imaginacijo predela v svojo lastno izkušnjo. Nedostopno oddaljeno dogajanje iz preteklosti postane preko interpretacije dejstev in znakov – torej posredno – element njegove fikcije, podobno kot v primeru zgodovinarja. Družinska zgodovina in celo lastna preteklost sta le navidezno rekonstrukciji. V bistvu pa sta stvaritvi, konstrukciji interpretacij in zgodb z menjajočim se zornim kotom. Moderna interpretacija preteklosti in samointerpretacija romana konstruirata narativno identiteto pripovedovalca.

Zgodovina dinastije bi bila lahko v obliki referencialnih mikrostruktur integrirana v epsko sintezo. Historična imaginacija in kritična samorefleksija pa zavračata epsko tradicijo. Spodbijata možnosti historične tradicije romana v sedanjosti. Niti žanr niti konkretna pripoved niti narativna identiteta ne prinesejo enotnosti, na katerih gradi tradicija teh kategorij. Na trenutke prevzame pisec *Harmonie caelestis* vlogo zgodovinarja, ki jo mora kot pripovedovalec drugega romana z naslovom *Javitott kiadás (Popravljená izdaja, 2002)* še bolje zaigrati. Tukaj pa se ni osredinil na družinsko zgodovinsko tradicijo, na ustno in pisno izročilo, temveč svoj pogled osupljivo usmeri na nek drugi dokument, na policijski akt. Delovno okolje tokrat ni neka virtualna družinska kronika, ampak zgodovinski arhiv v Budimpešti. Povezava med zgodovino, izkušnjo in romaneskno retoriko postavlja nova vprašanja. Ali beremo torej uležano fikcijo ali uležano zgodovino, če avtor z montažno tehniko vpleta v arhivu najdena vohunska poročila in ovadbe iz socialistične ere na Madžarskem? Ali gre za avtobiografsko besedilo ali za fikcijo – posebno še, ker vohun ni nihče drug kot pripovedovalčev oče?

Založnik romana *Javitott kiadás* je pripovedovalčeva besedila označil s črno, očetove dokumente pa z rjavo tipografijo in jih s tem ločil med sabo. Tovrstno ravnanje potrdi, da besedilo dopušča dvojno branje: *literarno* in *historično*. Dosedanji Esterházyjev opus, kakor tudi narativna, retorična in poetična zgradba besedila, usmerijo bralca k žanru alternativnega romana in ne k dokumentarni literaturi. Na biografijo, zgodovino in fikcijo naslonjena proza tudi v tem delu temelji na *vzpostavljanju preteklosti kot fikcije* – čeprav se opira na *besedilno zveste* dokumente oz. avtentične izjave. *Javitott kiadás* je kljub posebnemu pomenu, ki mu ga dajeta prav zgodovinski fakt in dokument, delo, ki ustvarja fikcijo. Na ta način pripovedovalec sproži dialog z očetovo zgodovino, s preteklostjo komunistične družbe in s samim seboj. V samointerpretaciji sodobne evropske kulture se historična samorefleksija okrepi in postane neizogibna. Predpostavka za to niso le zavestno raziskovane, temveč tudi naključno odkrite *diskontinuirane* sledi, ki peljejo k lastnemu Jazu. Arhiv, inštalacija, knjižnica, enciklopedija, fikcija in dokument so podrejeni šoku *ars memorativa*. Prav zato se ne moremo identificirati s skepso *Javitott kiadás* ali z zamisljivo izostale katarze. Pri branju sledimo in na novo doživljamo pretrese v samorazumevanju pisca, pripovedovalca in zapisovalca dnevnika, ki objavlja dokumente. Ricoeur meni:

Preostanek preteklosti je raztresen, prav tako kot so razdrobljeni dokazi preteklosti: preko 'selektivne destrukcije' znanosti o obdelavi podatkov se bo na široko popredalčkan proces izgube informacij še celo okrepil, kar bo oviralo t. i. 'zgodovinsko evidenco'. Retorika torej ne prispeva k dokumentarnosti, ampak prodira skozi jo v izvoru. Sami namreč želimo, da zgodba lajša zbežanost, ki pronica skozi vrzeli podatkovnih dokazov. Toda zgodba z drugimi diskontinuitetami povzroča nova vznemirjanja (*Histoire* 21, 22).

Péter Esterházy v romanu *Javitott kiadás* sooča sebe in tudi bralca s prazninami in prelomi pisanja, branja, izkušnje in spomina. Delo je del kritičnega in samointerpretativnega kataloga ukrepov, ki ga je zoper amnezijo sestavila evropska kultura iztekajočega se drugega tisočletja. Je soustvarjalec in sopotnik procesa, ki je dekonstruiral zgodovino, fikcijo in roman, da bi ustvaril novo narativno identiteto.

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LITERATURA

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Pojav metažanra: zgodovinski roman in modernizacija romana

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Namen mojega članka je umestiti zgodovinski roman v zgodovino romana in pokazati, da so bili začetniki zgodovinskega romana v 19. stoletju tudi ključni avtorji t. i. »modernizacije romana«. Zgodovinski romani 19. stoletja namreč kažejo modernizacijske tendence tako na semantični kot na strukturni ravni. Opisujejo naključno naravo vsakdanjosti in temeljijo na odprti, dialoški strukturi fiktivnega sveta.

Ključne besede: literatura in zgodovina / zgodovinski roman / 19. stol. / moderni roman / literarna fikcija / Bahtin, Mihail

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Oprelitev problema: dve tendenci v zgodovini romana

Pri modernizaciji epskih žanrov je šlo za postopen proces, ki se je začel z italijansko renesanso in je bil zelo kompleksen, tako da v njegovem okviru lahko ločimo več faz. Menim, da se je moderni roman 18. in 19. stoletja oddaljil od srednjeveških in klasicističnih načinov pisanja z uvedbo dveh besedilnih strategij. Moderni roman je po eni strani težil k širjenju svojega semantičnega univerzuma in skušal povezati naključne dogodke iz neliterarnega sveta. Povedano drugače, šlo je za spremembo na semantični ravni, tj. na ravni svetovnega nazora. Po drugi strani je bila tudi celota naključnih dogodkov v fiktivnem svetu predstavljena drugače; šlo je za spremembo na makrosintaktični oz. strukturni ravni, tj. na ravni konstrukcije fiktivnega sveta. Obe besedilni strategiji lahko razumemo kot metažanrski intervenciji. Moderni roman se rad igra z govornimi žanri iz vsakdanjega sveta (pisma, anekdote, vsakdanji pogovori in celo šale) in s to širitvijo svojega semantičnega univerzuma dobiva svoj današnji moderni značaj. Na strukturni ravni lahko metažanrsko tendenco opišemo tako, da si moderni roman predstavljamo kot parazit, ki se hrani s starimi pripovednimi modeli. Na koncu članka bom pokazal, da sta obe metažanrski tendenci bistveni za zgodovinski roman 19. stoletja. Sir Walter Scott in Alexandre

Dumas (oče) s svojimi romani nista ustvarila novega žanra, ki bi ostal v senci velikih romanov njune dobe. Nasprotno, kot je pokazal že Georg Lukács v svojem znamenitem eseju o zgodovinskem romanu, so bili ti pisci ključnega pomena za modernizacijo romana. Besedilne strategije, ki so jih razvili, so med drugim vplivale na Balzaca in Zolaja ter na to, da so metažanrski teksti postali modni v tako imenovanih *belles lettres*.

Historiografija modernega romana (osrednja teza tega članka) mora upoštevati obe zgoraj omenjeni revolucionarni tendenci; semantično preusmeritev in nove koncepte, povezane s strukturo romana. Če se izrazim bolj tehnično, naši besedilni strategiji bi lahko razumeli kot razvoj na področju »motivacije« romana. Boris Tomaševski je s tem pojmom želel pokazati, da je roman le estetski objekt, če poljubno izbrana besedila zgolj poveže v umetniško celoto. Vsako uvajanje motiva mora biti zato utemeljeno, tj. treba ga je podpreti z vzročno razlago: »Če posamezni motivi ali motivni sklopi niso dovolj prilagojeni delu, če ima bralec občutek, da je odnos med posameznimi skupinami motivov in celoto nejasen, potem je ta skupina motivov odvečna. Če so vsi deli besedila med seboj slabo povezani, potem je slednje nedosledno. Zato je treba uvedbo vsakega posameznega motiva ali motivnega sklopa utemeljiti!« (Tomaševski 171). Omenjeni tendenci sta povezani z dvema od treh vrst motivov, ki jih je opredelil Tomaševski. Po eni strani je zveza na semantični ravni sledila novemu vzorcu, po drugi strani pa se je roman postopno razvil v drugačno strukturno povezanost. V tem članku bom pokazal, kako lahko obe tendenci pomagata definirati pridevnik »moderen« v pojmu »moderni roman«, kako lahko pojasnita, zakaj se je zgodil revolucionarni preobrat v romanu 17. in 18. stoletja, in kako je roman v 19. stoletju razvil svojo moderno obliko.

Prva tendenca: vzpon naključnega vsakdana v semantičnem univerzumu romana

Semantični preobrat v modernem romanu lahko najbolje opišemo, če primerjamo *motivacijo* v realistični poetiki s klasicističnim vzorom verjetnosti. Vsebina romana se je še posebej razvila na prehodu od klasičnih stilnih usmeritev (renesansa, manirizem, barok in klasicizem), k stilom modernega romana: vzvišene teme je postopno zamenjalo nagnjenje k vsakdanjosti. Tako kot Lukács lahko trdimo, da se moderni roman osredotoča na problematični svet; opis problematičnega posameznika v zapuščenem svetu je zanj namreč bistvo pisanja romana. Ta tendenca pogosto poudarja vlogo naključja. Naključje je izum modernega posameznika, ki so ga njemu nerazumljivi procesi vsakdanjega življenja prevzeli do te mere, da se je oddaljil

od teoloških in metafizičnih razlag naključij, ki so prevladovale od srednjega veka naprej. Nasprotje tej fascinaciji z vsakdanjim je moč najti v veličastnosti, ki je značilna za oblike klasicistične umetnosti in je zaznamovala starejšo epsko literaturo. Vzvišenost lahko brez težav povežemo z nasprotjem naključja, na primer z božjo voljo, tj. božjim mesijanskim načrtom in naravnim redom, ki ga je On določil v naravi in družbenem svetu.

Prehod od načina razmišljanja, v katerem prevladuje božja volja, k načinu, v katerem prevladuje naključje, ima pomembno vlogo v Köhlerjevi študiji *Literarno naključje* (*Der Literarische Zufall*, 1973). V njej avtor piše, da so osebe v starejših žanrih vedno delovale v okviru klasičnega vzora verjetnosti. Naključje je prikrival vzročni pritisk eshatološkega svetovnega nazora; za sira Lancelota, na primer, ni nič naključno, marveč se sklicuje na velike metafizične sile. Köhler pravilno poudari, da je bila v viteškem romanu za navidezno naključnostjo skrita močna aristokratska ideologija: »S tem se tudi resnično zgodi, kot je zanj značilno, da je protagonist romanov o kralju Arturju poslan na lov za pustolovščinami. [...] Vitezovo iskanje, ki je skupek naključnih pustolovščin v univerzalnozgodovinskem kontekstu, se v romanih o gralu stopnjuje v viteško eshatologijo« (29). Za vzvišeno sporočilo viteškega romana je bilo značilno, da se je naključje umeščalo v metafizični in dogmatško-družbeni kontekst. Nadosebna družbena usoda in nadosebna usoda bivanja sta bili cilj, ki je onemogočal kakršnokoli samovoljnost. Za viteza, ki se odpravi na pustolovščino, ima vse določen pomen in nobena nasprotna sila se ne pojavi po naključju; zlo je nujen element sveta, ki potrebuje naključje in brezciljnost, da bi se lahko materializiralo. Obenem se naključna avantura nenehno spreminja v svetovni red, ki je onstran naključja; gre za svetovni red, predan transcendenci. Tako kot se lahko *Dub* pri Heglu uresniči le zaradi navidezno Drugega, tako se nujnost v viteškem romanu uresniči le zaradi navideznega naključja. Po Köhlerju je moč tovrstno eshatološko logiko opaziti v Don Kihotu, vendar je Cervantesov junak moderen, saj na koncu ne more več zanikati »boleče sekularizacije naključja«.

Bahtin je v svoji tezi o »nepopolnosti romana«, ki jo je zagovarjal v *Epici in romanu* (*Epic and Novel*), detektiral prehod med obema semantičnima univerzumoma. Po njegovem so predmoderni žanri, kot sta ep in viteški roman, »popolni«, medtem ko je roman v osnovi »nepopoln«. Dovršenost navsezadnje pomeni semantično enovitost, tj. fiktivno strategijo, uporabljeno za prikaz semantičnega univerzuma romana kot zaprte entitete, ki se mehanično ohranja na strogo strukturiran način. Viteški roman in ep sta zelo dobra primera tega; izhajata iz kulture, v kateri so bila moralna pravila relativno stabilna in v kateri so dogodkom vedno pripisovali globlji, simbolični pomen. Ustvarjalci zaprtih fiktivnih svetov gledajo na pripovedne dogodke od daleč in jih predstavljajo ter interpretirajo z neke Arhimedove

točke. Bahtin nadaljuje: »Epski svet je, zahvaljujoč distanci, ki izključuje vsako možnost aktivnosti in spremembe, dosegel temeljno stopnjo dovršenosti, in to ne le glede na svojo vsebino, temveč tudi glede na svoj pomen in vrednote. Epski svet je oblikovan v območju neomejeno distancirane podobe« (*Epic* 17). Bahtin svojo tezo dodatno pojasni v nekem drugem eseju. V svoji primerjalni študiji o pripovednih kronotopih je zapisal, da je epski svet helenističnih romanov »tuj svet, vse v njem je neskončno, neznano in tuje« (*Forms* 101). Ta študija tudi natančneje definira nasprotje med romanom in epom. Na podlagi svoje analize pikaresknega romana zagovarja tezo, da se je semantično stanje fiktivnega sveta v moderni dobi zelo spremenilo. Bahtin je to orisal s sklicevanjem na kronotop poti, tj. semantični element, ki ga lahko razumemo kot obliko svetovnega nazora modernega romana. S kronotopom poti se vsakdanji in fiktivni dogodki v romanu zgodijo v nam znanem spreminjajočem se svetu. »Pot vedno pelje mimo znanega ozemlja in ne skozi neki eksotičen, tuj svet [...] gre za upodobitev družbenozgodovinske raznovrstnosti lastne države« (*Forms* 245). Pomembnost Bahtinovega spoznanja je v tem, da uspe povezati literaturo vsakdanjosti z novim semantičnim univerzumom, ki pomen naključnih dogodkov razume drugače. Moderni semantični univerzum je namreč odprt sistem, katerega središče so heterogeni dogodki v naključnem svetu in ne več homogeni dogodki, ki bi jih določal nek enoten moralni kod. »Pot je posebej (ne pa tudi izključno) primerna za opisovanje dogodkov, ki jih uravnava naključje. To pojasnjuje pomembno vlogo, ki jo ima element poti v zgodovini romana« (*Forms* 243, 44). Svet romana je v modernosti postal domena, v kateri se vse zgodi, kot da bi bili na poti skozi vsakdanje življenje. Vsakdanja vzročnost je tista, v kateri so razlogi dogajanja naključja. Razlog za dogodek postane naključje oz. dejstvo, da se na svetu križajo različne poti. Sodobni človek si ne postavlja metafizičnih vprašanj preprosto zato, ker domneva, da materialni svet sledi drugačnim zakonom kot duhovni in da družbeni red posameznim skupinam ne pripisuje privilegiranih funkcij, pač pa zato, ker božja družbena ureditev in božja volja nista več verjetni. Umetno zaprti svet z natančno določenimi moralnimi in družbenimi pravili zato karakterjev ne definira več vnaprej.

Po Bahtinu gre pri uvedbi vsakdanjega predvsem za posledico novega fiktivnega sveta, ki ima značaj »odprtosti«. Moderni roman pogosto uporablja tudi starejše epske motive, vendar jih uporablja v skladu z novim semantičnim univerzumom: na primer, iskanje obravnavajo mnoge pikareskne zgodbe, vendar nima več metafizične podlage, ki je določala motiv v predmodernih romanih ali epu. Bahtin trdi, da gre pri tem za tendenco, ki jo lahko posplošimo in je bistvena za definicijo »modernega romana«. »Roman v druge žanre uvaja nedoločenost, nekakšno semantično neome-

jenost, živ stik z nedokončano in še vedno razvijajočo se sodobno realnostjo (neomejena sedanost)« (Bahtin, *Epic* 7).

Druga tendenca: od eshatoloških k dialoškim modelom obdelave

Da bi lahko oblikovali uporabno definicijo »moderne romana«, moramo vzročno logiko na semantični ravni najverjetneje razumeti kot nujni, ne pa tudi kot zadostni pogoj. Moderni roman potrebuje še drugo obliko vzročnosti, in sicer dialoško strukturo. S primerjavo med strogo teleološkimi strukturnimi vzorci (ki jih bom imenoval eshatološke strukture obdelave) in odprto strukturo dialoške obdelave lahko pokažemo, da so vzročna načela romana predmet modernizacije tudi na njegovi strukturni ravni.

Če uporabimo Tomaševskijev termin, potem lahko vzročnost na makrostrukturni ravni poimenujemo »strukturna motivacija«. V motive lahko verjamemo le, če so nam predstavljeni v verjetni in povezani ureditvi v okviru celotne strukture zapleta. Motivacija je v tipih predmoderne zgodbe sestavljena precej strogo. Na primer, klasična tragedija je skupek strogo določenih nizov dejanj, ki morajo po Aristotelu demonstrirati stopnjo nujnosti. Čeprav to ne velja za vse zgodbe, večina del iz naše narativne kulture vendarle razkriva to težnjo. Kot piše Gerald Prince: »Veliko pripovedi je teleološko določenih. Pripoved je pogosto napisana kot konec, ki deluje kot (delni) pogoj, kot njena magnetna sila in organizirajoče vodilo« (157). Univerzalen pripovedni lok, vsiljen obdelavi, je v takšnih teleoloških kompozicijah pomemben. Zgodba se tako razvije od stanja neuravnoveženosti v bolj uravnoveženo končno situacijo. Francoska strukturalistična naratologija, še posebej Todorov in Greimas, je to vrsto kompozicije pogosto uporabljala kot izhodišče za formalistične opise strukture obdelave. Treba je poudariti, da ta teleološka logika deluje skladno z osnutkom eshatološke zgodbe. Strogo začrtane zgodbe izhajajo iz vrednostnega sistema, katereму sledijo naključna dejanja v zgodbi. Omenjeni vrednostni sistem je lahko sistem mitičnih, verskih prepričanj ali meščanskih resnic, kot sta vrlina in individualna sreča. Kakršenkoli že je vrednostni sistem, bo v zgodbi sprejet kot vnaprej določeno dejstvo in bo ključen za strukturo fiktivnega sveta. Vrednostni sistem namreč pojasni dejanja protagonista in smer razvoja zgodbe. V slednji se te vrednote uresničijo s težavo: protagonisti se tako kot Mesija v krščanski eshatološki zgodbi bojujejo z negativnimi silami, navzočimi v naključnem svetu, vendar jim na koncu v tem propadajočem svetu le uspe uveljaviti nenaključne, univerzalne vrednote. Takšne zgodbe so eshatološke, ker konec zgodbe predstavlja dokončno zmago temeljnega vrednostnega sistema. Eshatološka struktura obdelave vsekakor doseže

vrhunec v razodetju; v *eshaton* (grški pojem za »poslednji trenutek« ali »temeljni primer«) zgodba prikaže dvojni pomen besede *apokalypsein* ali »razodetje«: naključni svet izgine, medtem ko se razkrije resnica vrednostnega sistema, saj je konec zgodbe vendarle temelj sestave predmodernih zgodb. Takšne zgodbe so zelo odvisne od dejanj s točno določenim namenom in ta dejanja je treba stlačiti v tesno »zaprto« strukturo.

Plot takih teleoloških zgodb lahko poimenujemo »obdelava dejanja«. Ta termin smo si sposodili pri neoaristotelskem naratologu Ronaldu Craneu. Crane je trdil, da *Tom Jones* velja za značilni plot dejanja, obdelavo, v kateri mora glavni junak premagati več mesenih in moralnih slabosti ter številne preobrate usode, da bi se na koncu spremenil v moralno krepostnega in zadovoljnega posameznika. Obdelavo v tem smislu – v katerem se sodobni romanopisci ponašajo s tem, da so se znebili plot – lahko vrednotimo glede na raznolikost opisanih pripetljajev, na količino vzbujenih negotovosti in presenečenj ter na premetenost, s katero dogajanje na začetku in v sredini vodi v končno razrešitev« (Crane 95). Craneova trditev, da so se moderni romanopisci odpovedali tovrstnim konceptom obdelave, je presenetljiva. Glede *Toma Jonesa* je namignil, da ta še ni dosegel svoje temeljne »moderne« oblike. Čeprav je *Tom Jones* eden izmed prvih vrhuncev moderne romana na ravni semantičnih strategij in težnje k vsakdanjosti, bi njegovo zaprto strukturo obdelave veliko romanopiscev 19. in 20. stoletja vsekakor označilo za predmoderno. Kar zadeva strukturo, ima *Tom Jones* več skupnega z viteškim romanom in epom kot z odprtimi strukturami Balzacovih ali Jamesovih del.

Potemtakem si moramo zastaviti naslednje vprašanje: kako se struktura obdelave modernega romana razlikuje od njegovih predmodernih predhodnikov? Še več, ali obstaja posebna oblika vzročnosti, ki je povzročila oddaljitev modernega romana od tradicije? Torej, vprašanje je, ali drugačna oblika vzročnosti igra glavno vlogo v procesu modernizacije romana. Moja hipoteza je, da se je logika vzročnosti v resnici spremenila in da je, ko govorimo o modernem romanu, šlo za postopno zamenjavo starih eshatoloških struktur obdelave z novo strukturo, poimenovano dialoška. Ta pojem uporabljam predvsem zato, ker imajo dramatična načela prednost pred strogo logiko dejanja starejših struktur. Čeprav romanopisec na semantični ravni ne more več opazovati oblike nadnaravne neizbežnosti v realnosti, lahko razvije drugačen pogled na vzročnost na strukturni ravni, in sicer v strukturi razvoja same pripovedi. Zgodbam ni treba več predstavljati dejanj v vlogi razpleta zgodbe ali »zaključka«, kot ga je poimenoval Rabinowitz, morajo pa raziskati ta dejanja in jih tudi primerno pojasniti. Skratka, ni veliko prostora za razpravo o eshatološkem strukturnem načelu, temveč je treba dogodke zarisati v okviru njihove dialektične kompleksnosti. Naratologi čikaške šole

(Crane, Booth in Rabinowitz) zagovarjajo idejo, da mora moderni roman pozornost nameniti tudi drugi obliki vzročnosti, in ne le kronološki povezanosti dejanj. V skladu z aristotelško šolo menijo, da je ne glede na stil (govor ali »dikcijo«) treba na zgodbe gledati kot na skupek vzorcev dejanja (plot), karakterjev in idej. Pravzaprav je vzročnost junakovega sistema eden od revolucionarnih prispevkov modernega romana k literarni zgodovini. Po Ronaldu Craneu je treba na vsak roman gledati kot na združeno dejanje treh sil ali pogojev: »Nemogoče je [...] natančno opredeliti, kaj je obdelava, dokler v formulo ne vključimo vseh treh elementov oz. pogojev, katerih sintezo predstavlja. Poleg tega se obdelave med seboj razlikujejo glede na vlogo teh treh elementov v njihovi strukturi. Tako lahko ločimo obdelave dejanja, obdelave karakterjev in obdelave idej« (Crane 97).

Na podlagi te teorije obdelave lahko trdimo, da je *Tom Jones* veliko pozornosti namenjal svojim junakom – navsezadnje je bil roman večkrat označen za roman nravi – vendar lahko besedilno povezanost najdemo predvsem v logiki dejanja, ki je skrita za dogodki. Pri strukturalni motivaciji, odgovorni za to povezanost, gre predvsem za eshatološki plot dejanja.

Roman, ki si glede na strukturo zasluži pridevek »moderen«, lahko doseže povezanost, ki temelji na plot karakterjev, tj. obdelavi, ki se osredotoči na dialog med moralnimi stališči protagonistov. Tovrstna povezanost je zagotovo eden izmed najbolj inovativnih elementov romana. Trditev Joséja Ortege y Gasseta v *Notes on the Novel (Zapiski o romanu)* (1927) o »izginotju obdelave« verjetno vsebuje tudi najjasnejše sklicevanje na konceptualno nasprotje: »Zdi se, da je bil plot na začetku [začetku romana, op. p.] njegov najpomembnejši del, pozneje pa se je izkazalo, da je pomembno le, da je zgodba, kakršnakoli že je, povedana dobro« (Ortega 63). Ortega v skladu z zapiski Henryja Jamesa o »povedati« in »pokazati« vidi v »dobro povedanem« skupino tehnik, ki si jih je roman sposodil iz dramatike: »Roman se je tako preobrazil iz pripovednega in posrednega v neposrednega in opisnega« (62). Ortega naprej eksplicitno trdi, da obstaja nasprotje med modernim romanom in predmodernimi vrstami proze ali njenimi nasledniki – epi, viteškimi in pustolovskimi romani, cenenimi in feljtonskimi romani (80, 81). Medtem ko slednji temeljijo na konkretni akciji, »ki se, kolikor je le mogoče, hitro giblje proti zaključku« (Ortega 80, 81), moderni roman izhaja iz drugačnih načel: »[...] ureditev je treba obrniti; dejanja ali plot niso jedro romana, temveč njegova postavitev, njegova mehanična podpora. Bistvo romana, tj. modernega romana, ki me tu posebej zanima, ni v tem, kaj se zgodi, temveč v nasprotnem: v neomadeževanem življenju karakterjev, v njihovem bivanju, predvsem v njihovem miljeju« (87).

Modernost v strukturi romana je najverjetneje umeščena na raven »plot karakterjev«. V središču so osebe in njihov dialog z okolico (družbenimi

silami, a tudi psihološkimi silami, s katerimi so neločljivo povezane). Zaradi tega je »zaključek«, tj. teleološko osredotočenje na končno razrešitev zgodbe, razvrednoten. Prisotnost teleologije je še vedno možna, vendar ta ni prevladujoče načelo v strukturi. Rabinowitz je zapisal, da »je bil primarni cilj za mnoge romanopisce 19. in 20. stoletja zaključek. [...] Upal bi si trditi, da imajo mnogi realisti raje konec, v katerem posledice orisanih dogodkov [...] niso niti razrešene niti jasno namignjene« (307). To je po njegovem značilno za deli, kot sta *Zločin in kazen* ter *Peleas in Melisanda*, vendar Balzacove in Jamesove romane prav tako odlikujejo »nerazrešeni konci«, pri čemer se sklicujem na *The Melodramatic Imagination* (Melodramatično domišljijo) Petra Brooksa. Junak je v vseh teh romanih v ospredju in obdelavo oskrbi z notranjo napetostjo. Tako gre na koncu romana bolj za pomiritev stališč ali opis trajne »dramatične« napetosti med junaki. Bahtin opaža nekaj podobnega. Zanj so predmoderni žanri, kot sta ep in viteški roman, »popolni«, medtem ko je roman v osnovi »nepopoln«. Po eni strani v romanu ni več najti epske gotovosti v smislu, da imajo opisani dogodki vnaprej določen pomen, po drugi strani pa »nepopolnost« pomeni, da roman nima več točno določene oblike in da mora zaradi tega vedno znova oblikovati svoje formalne značilnosti. Zaradi tega je vsaka nova struktura naključna. Izstopa po oblikovanju spreminjajočih se novih kombinacij starejših žanrskih modelov. »Roman se slabo razume z drugimi žanri. Pravzaprav je roman parodija drugih žanrov (prav v njihovi žanrski vlogi); roman razkriva konvencionalnost njihovih oblik in jezika. Poleg tega izrinja nekatere žanre, druge pa vključi v svojo posebno strukturo tako, da jih preoblikuje in na novo poudari« (Bahtin, *Epik* 5). Roman se sklicuje na starejše literarne oblike, a jih obenem komentira. Moderni roman redno uporablja plot dejanja za upodobitev karakterjev. Na primer, Balzac uporablja ljubezenske zgodbe in avanture, da bi karakteriziral psihologijo in etične odločitve svojih junakov. Tako lahko na celotno strukturo obdelave gledamo kot na spor med karakterji, vendar lahko na globlji ravni zaznamo, da je tudi napetost med junaki povezana z različnimi vrstami obdelave dejanja, ki jih junaki nosijo s seboj. Moderni roman s svojimi psihološkimi upodobitvami, čustvenimi konflikti in etičnimi problemi je v tem smislu metažanr, ki uporablja žanrske inštrumente zahodne pripovedne tradicije. Roman je postal metažanr, v katerega je moč vključiti vse že obstoječe strukture.

Primer zgodovinskega romana

Prvi aspekt modernizacije romana je moč z lahkoto najti v pionirskih delih 19. stoletja. Scott in Dumas sta veliko pozornosti namenila podrobnostim in naključjem vsakdanjega življenja. Ni pomembno, da svet, ki ga

opisujeta, ni v kontekstu sodobnega vsakdana, saj njuni junaki živijo v svetu, kateremu vladajo naključje in minljiva hrepenenja človeške psihe.

Kljub povedanemu se zdi, da druge tendence ni v zgodovinskem romanu. Ali se Scottova dela ne končajo na zelo harmoničen način z dosego enega ali drugega nadnaravnega cilja ali vzora? Tako bi jih lahko poimenovali teleološka besedila z eshatološko obdelavo. S tem lahko pojasnimo, zakaj akademski svet tega žanra ni jemal resno. Zgodovinski roman je namreč storil nekaj, čemur se je moderni roman skušal izogniti – uporabil je eshatološke obdelave. Zgodovinski romani 19. stoletja vendarle potrjujejo modernizacijsko tendenco tudi na strukturni ravni. Louis Maigron je v svoji študiji o Walterju Scottu zatrjeval, da je zgodovinski roman želel predvsem »prikazati« in ne več izražati teleološko pravilno zgodovino: »v dobrem zgodovinskem romanu [...] plot ni pomemben in ne bo pomemben« (365). Georg Lukács podobno zatrjuje, da se Scottovi romani niso preveč oddaljili od realističnih romanov njegovih sodobnikov: »oboji nazorno pokažejo, kako so misli in dejanja fiktivnih junakov določena z družbeno, politično in gospodarsko strukturo družbe, v kateri protagonisti živijo« (Heirbrant 10). Soglašal bi z obema avtorjema, saj mnogi elementi v zgodovinskem romanu kažejo na to, da ta vrsta besedil, še bolj kot realistični romani 18. stoletja, poudarja dialoškost kot osnovno strukturo obdelave. V tem kontekstu bi rad poudaril dvoje. Prvič, Scott je bil skupaj z Dumasom mojster v pisanju dialogov in ustvarjanju napetosti. Ta dva romanopisca se zagotovo nista opirala na razburljivo vsebino, zaradi česar je plot postal odvisen od samega karakterja in se oddaljil od zgodnje eshatološke obdelave. Drugič, zgodovinski roman je vsekakor povezan z »odprtim besedilom«, ki ga je Bahtin označil za modernega. Zgodovinski roman je moderen zato, ker se karakter v njem spreminja skupaj z okoljem. To se dogaja v taki meri, da je Lukács v Scottu videl predhodnika Balzaca. Fiktivni svet v eshatoloških zgodbah za razliko od Scottovega ostaja abstrakten. Pustolovski svet je v starejših epih poln ovir, ki služijo le enemu cilju – ustvarjanju konfliktnega materiala. Povedano drugače, okolje karakterjev se razlikuje od sveta, kakršnega dojema moderni človek. Sprememb ni, vse vrednote so stalne, usoda je povsod navzoča in je strogo versko ali naravno-filozofsko neizogibna. Temu primerno mora biti tudi protagonist nespremenljiv in mirujoč. V zgodovinskem romanu, kot tudi v drugih vrstah modernega romana sta oba, svet in protagonist »moderna« nista mirujoča in se lahko prilagajata. To postane še posebej očitno v dialogu med protagonistom in svetom. Protagonist se odziva na okolje, skuša v njem delovati in ga spreminjati, pri čemer pa tudi okolje odločilno vpliva nanj. Bahtin je lepo povzel bistvo modernega romana: »Spremembe v protagonistu samem zahtevajo specifično obliko obdelave, tako da se

celoten plot romana reinterpretira in rekonstruira« (*Bildungsroman* 21). To prav gotovo velja za dela Walterja Scotta. Maigron pravilno trdi, da je za Scotta eshatološka obdelava manjšega pomena. Maigron je najverjetneje hotel povedati, da si je Scott roman zamislil kot metažanr, da je torej njegov roman citat starejših žanrskih vzorcev v funkciji obdelave karakterjev« oz. opisa zgodovinske usode Ivanhoea, Roba Roya in Waverleyja.

Prevedel Nenad Senić

OPOMBA

¹ Vsi prevodi so delo prevajalca Nenada Senića.

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Zgodnje literarne reprezentacije nacionalne zgodovine in »slovenski kulturni sindrom«

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Razprava se ukvarja z zgodnjimi reprezentacijami nacionalne zgodovine v slovenski literaturi. V njih se kot najznačilnejši izkažeta dve kohezivni zgodbi, »ilirska« in »karantanska«; obe v literaturi dobivata mitske poteze. Zgodovinske drobce v (pesniških) delih do leta 1848 je vsekakor treba opazovati v perspektivi poznejše teze o »slovenskem kulturnem sindromu«, ki je bila pogosto rabljena za opisovanje odnosov med slovensko literaturo in politiko oziroma projektom nacionalne emancipacije. Razprava skuša ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri in kako je literatura dejansko »nadomeščala« politiko, na koncu pa predlaga revizijo nekaterih elementov te priljubljene teze.

Ključne besede: literatura in ideologija / zgodovinopisje / literarna sociologija / slovenska književnost / zgodovinske teme / nacionalna identiteta / kulturna identiteta

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V slovenski umetniško stremeljivi literaturi so se že od njenih začetkov bolj ali manj izrazito pojavljale podobe *preteklosti*. V tem smislu je posebej zanimiva fragmentarna prisotnost tega, kar bi lahko imenovali »slovenska nacionalna zgodovina« v delih prvih slovenskih pesnikov s konca 18. stoletja in s prve polovice 19. stoletja: Deva, Vodnika, Zupana, Prešerna in Koseskega. Mnogo preveč ambiciozno bi bilo seveda trditi, da je zamisel o slovenski nacionalni zgodovini dejansko *proizvedla* literatura (oz. literarni avtorji).¹ Njene zametke lahko zasledimo že v obdobju reformacije v 16. stoletju, dozorela pa je šele proti koncu 18. stoletja v času razsvetljenstva, ko jo je sprejela in razvila skupina ljubljanskih intelektualcev, ki so se zbirali v t. i. Zoisovem krogu. V vsakem primeru pa je slovenska literatura od trenutka svoje pojavitve predstavljala *privilegirani prostor*, kjer je zamisel skupaj z njenimi političnimi implikacijami doživljala kontinuirano obnavljanje, seveda v različnih variacijah. To je brez dvoma zadosten razlog, da zelo natančno preučimo njene najzgodnejše reprezentacije v literarnih

besedilih; še posebej zato, ker so te imele pomemben vpliv na bodoče literarne, pa tudi neliterarne poglede na predmet.²

Ena od prvih stvari, ki se razkrijejo natančnemu opazovalcu, zadeva *socialni pomen* tega, kar smo poimenovali »zgodnje literarne reprezentacije (slovenske) nacionalne zgodovine«. Ta pomen gotovo presega literarno raven; vendar ne nujno takoj od začetka. Ne smemo spregledati, da so se zgodnji slovenski estetiški produkti v času prvih objav – to bi nedvomno razkrila pozitivistična sociološka analiza – znašli v pomanjkljivo razvitem literarnem sistemu: predvsem število potencialnih sprejemnikov (izobražencev) je bilo nadvse omejeno, zato ne preseneča, da so bile naklade komaj omembe vredne, v nobenem primeru ne moremo govoriti o več kot nekaj sto kopijah v obtoku. Sčasoma so se stvari spremenile: notranja struktura literarnega sistema – s kritiko, založništvom, medijskim obratom in zainteresirano publiko – se je naglo razvila. Šele v takšnem okolju so nekatera besedila postala *temeljna*, z drugimi besedami, postala so predmet kanoničnega prisvajanja, recikliranja, interpretiranja in obnavljanja v različnih ideoloških kontekstih. To je gotovo signal, da imamo opravka s kompleksnimi entitetami: »vrednosti« ali »pomena« določene zgodovinske reprezentacije nikakor ne smemo meriti le z vidika literarnega sistema. »Dodano« vrednost, ki jo proizvajajo reproduktivni diskurzi in kanonizacijski procesi, je treba preučiti nadvse resno. Če nekdo izjavi, da je Prešernov *Krst pri Savici* temeljni tekst za Slovence, ta izjava nikakor ni dovolj natančna, temveč je prej zavajajoča: temeljni tekst lahko postane šele, ko mu dodamo zgodovino njegovih reprodukcij, kontradiktornih interpretacij, kulturnih in političnih konfliktov, ki jih je proizvajal, in njegovega medbesedilnega vpliva; na kratko, zgodovino njegovega kanoniziranja. Poleg tega je treba upoštevati tudi zgodovino njegovih različnih uporab, ali tudi – nekoliko patetično rečeno – »zlorab« v drugih kontekstih vse do današnjih dni.

Prisotnost zgodovine v literaturi nedvomno usmerja pozornost k socialnim razsežnostim pojava. V slovenskem primeru to posledično vodi k odpiranju zanimive teze o »slovenskem kulturnem sindromu«. Kot sta upravičeno zapisala avtorja koncepta komparativističnega kolokvija o zgodovini in njenih literarnih žanrih, so literarni opisi preteklih dogodkov v času kulturne in politične emancipacije narodov že od začetka krepili zavest o posebni nacionalni identiteti med naraščajočo bralsko publiko; poleg tega so bili mnogi avtorji v tem času osebno angažirani v projekt nacionalne emancipacije. V slovenskem prostoru (ali raje, v prostoru, ki je postajal *vse bolj slovenski*) je odločilna faza tega projekta potekala v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, ko je kulturna opozicija slovensko / nemško postala najpomembnejše, tako rekoč z dramatičnimi čustvi nabito *kulturno ožadjem*, ki je bilo vsaj v prvih desetletjih po marčni revoluciji odločilnejše od

politične pripadnosti (konservativna, liberalna, socialno-demokratska). Izid tega kulturnega »spopada« je bila dominacija slovenske frakcije proti koncu stoletja. Kar je tu posebej zanimivo, je odločilna vloga, ki je bila v procesu nacionalne emancipacije pripisana literaturi. Eden od razlogov (červavno nikakor ne edini) za to je bila tudi posebna zmožnost, »moč« fikcijskih besedil, da obravnavajo preteklost na način, ki je ustrezal potrebam narodnega gibanja.

Da bi ustrezno razumeli in ovrednotili pomen in vlogo zgodnjih literarnih reprezentacij nacionalne zgodovine, jih moramo potemtakem opazovati predvsem v luči tega, kar se je dogajalo *pozneje*, predvsem v drugi polovici devetnajstega stoletja, ko se je nastajajoči literarni sistem s svojo notranjo strukturo znašel v navzkrižnem primežu zahtev po estetski avtonomiji na eni in nacionalno-političnih imperativov na drugi strani – takšna situacija pa je še globoko v dvajsetem stoletju le počasi popuščala. Zato je treba najprej nekaj pozornosti nameniti tezi o t. i. slovenskem kulturnem sindromu.

»Slovenski kulturni sindrom«

Znano je, da je bilo »ustanavljanje« nacionalnih literatur po vsej Evropi v veliki meri povezano s procesom oblikovanja narodnih identitet. Toliko bolj je bila ta povezava odločilna v majhnih kulturnih skupnostih, ki so se nahajale v politično podrejenem položaju: tu bi bilo resnično mogoče govoriti o »oblikovanju nacionalne identitete skozi literarna besedila«. Nadvse dobro so nam znane »epohalne« besede iz Stritarjevega eseja o Prešernu iz leta 1866, s katerim se začenja zmagoslavni pohod Prešerna in njegove poezije na nesporno mesto »nacionalnega pesnika«:

Ko bi se sklicali narodi pred sodnji stol, naj se izkažejo, kako so gospodarili z izročeniimi talenti; kako se je vsak po svoje vdeležil vesoljne, človeške omike: smel bi se mali slovenski narod brez strahu pokazati med drugimi z drobnimi bukvicami, katerim se pravi: Preširnovе poezije (48).

Odlomek je bil pozneje citiran in parafraziran do onemoglosti: tudi sam je postal tako rekoč kanoniziran, skupaj z estetskim predmetom, ki ga v spretni mitografski operaciji skuša kanonizirati.³ Intenca odlomka je očitna: pokazati, da sta slovenska literatura in kultura, četudi majhni, estetsko enakovredni tistim pri večjih narodih, in torej zaslužita pripadati skupini pomembnih evropskih kultur. Ni mogoče spregledati tega, kar je bistveno: to pa je predpostavljen enačaj med literaturo in narodom (za katerega vemo, da je zgodovinsko specifičen, značilen za čas predromantike in romantike). Stritarjeva argumentacija nam *podtika* schleglovsko zamisel,

da se narod legitimira s svojimi estetskimi produkti, predvsem s poezijo. Ta zamisel je vsekakor padla na plodna tla, v neskončnih krogih recikliranja – od konca 19. stoletja pa vse do danes, ko se je uresničil »davní sen« (Slovenci v neodvisni, suvereni in demokratični državi) – je postala tako rekoč normaliziran del pogleda na slovensko zgodovino. Stritarjeva izjava stoji na samem začetku tega procesa in uvaja poznejšo sociološko tezo o »slovenskem kulturnem sindromu«.

Ta teza je doživela eno najjasnejših artikulacij v knjigi Dimitrija Rupla *Svobodne besede* iz leta 1976.⁴ Povzamemo jo lahko nekako takole: v pomanjkanju drugih vzvodov (politika, država) naj bi slovenska literatura prevzela nase funkcijo nacionalne emancipacije – zato se ni mogla v polni meri osvoboditi, oziroma če to prevedemo v sistemskoteoretično izrazje, razviti v avtonomen družbeni sistem z lastnimi konvencijami, procesi in vlogami.⁵ Slovenski kulturni sindrom torej pomeni, da je literatura stopila »na-mesto politike in pravzaprav namesto celotne nadstavbel« (12). Slovenska literatura v tem času »ni le preprost sektor družbene produkcije ali npr. družbene vrhnje stavbe, ampak skuša nadomeščati vse funkcije, ki jih v razvitih družbah vršijo še (oz. predvsem) drugi sektorji vrhnje stavbe (pravno-politični, izobraževalni, znanstveni ... sektor)« (424). Drugi »sektorji« so sicer obstajali, le da niso izhajali iz slovenskih korenin, temveč so bili privzeti iz nemške kulture. Prvi sistem, ki se je uspel razviti (literarno-umetniški), je zato prevzemal funkcije drugih podsistemov. Slovenska literarna inteligenca je zaradi tega, ker je literatura opravljala politične funkcije, »pridobila tudi določeno politično in socialno moč, ki ni v sorazmerju z močjo, ki so jo imele literarne inteligence pri drugih, razvitih narodih« (427); pogosto so se iz njenih vrst rekrutirali politiki (npr. Kersnik in Tavčar). Hkrati je dejstvo, da se je slovenska inteligenca primarno usmerila v literaturo, za Rupla znak neke cenzure. Literarna besedila so zaradi te naveze usmerjena k romantiziranju, epiziranju in mitologizaciji. Ker njihov namen ni družbena kritika, ampak konstituiranje naroda, so po estetski plati impotentna; ne gre jim namreč za umetnost kot tako, temveč za osamosvojitvev (naroda), ki naj bi se zgodila v območju duševnosti.

Več kot očitno je, da se je Rupel pri izpeljavi svoje teze naslonil na neko malodane *obče mesto*, nekaj, kar je bilo ves čas »v zraku«, za kar se zdi, da so tako rekoč »vedeli« že slovenski pesniki, literarni in kulturni zgodovinarji pa tudi politiki – vsaj od sredine 19. stoletja dalje. Njegova zamisel v veliki meri izhaja iz vplivne razprave Dušana Pirjevca *Vprašanje o poeziji*, ki je prvič izšla po delih v *Naših razgledih* leta 1969. V njej je Pirjevec predpostavil posebno mesto literature v slovenski nacionalni zgodovini, saj »ni naroda, ki bi v določenem trenutku svoje zgodovine posvetil toliko in tako intenzivne pozornosti ravno poeziji« (54). Pirjevec takšno obču-

tljivost za poezijo razlaga kot odraz splošne strukture, pomena, ki ga ima poezija v okviru slovenskega narodnega bivanja, saj je »v vseh nas tako ali drugače prisotna misel, da bi se z nami kot narodom brez Prešerna in njegove poezije godilo bistveno drugače in da bi bili kot narod mnogo slabše utemeljeni ali pa da bi nas kratko in malo sploh ne bilo« (55).⁶ Temeljna struktura slovenskega bivanja naj bi se po Pirjevčevem mnenju zasnovovala ravno v Prešernovem času in ga v temelju določila: »poezija je potemtakem edina samozavest slovenskega naroda«, postala je »osebnost, ki nas je ustvarila in ki nas nenehoma nadzoruje«, »naš super-ego«, »naša najvišja vrednota, in če je tako, je seveda tudi 'cilj' naše narodne eksistence in njeno glavno potrdilo« (56, 57). Vse to pa implicira že omenjena Stritarjeva apologija Prešerna: njegova poezija služi kot argument za upravičenje obstoja Slovencev. Poezija torej že sredi 19. stoletja postane sredstvo legitimacije *slovenstva* kot realnega zgodovinskega dejstva.

Hkrati se je v tem duhu razumevala tudi sama slovenska poezija, začeniši z Devovimi sramežljivimi vabili muzam ali s Prešernovo vizijo Orfeja, ki bo s pesmimi prebudil »rod Slovenš'ne celek«. Pirjevec pravilno ugotavlja, da je tovrstna legitimacija postala neko *znotrajtekstualno* dejstvo, – v slovenski zgodovini se je poezija sama (samoreferenčno) utemeljevala kot utemeljevanje naroda. To vsekakor drži. Vendar Pirjevec nadaljuje: »To samoutemeljevanje pa ni bilo nič izmišljenega, ko pa je le res, da je bila literatura vse do začetka dvajsetega stoletja središče naše kulture, se pravi edini organ naše zavesti, našega samoutemeljevanja in legitimiranja« (58). Zdi se, da je ravno to točka, s katere lahko Rupel pozneje postavi tezo o slovenskem kulturnem sindromu. Tudi Pirjevec se namreč obregne ob dejstvo, »da smo bili Slovenci narod brez države in hkrati upravno teritorialno razcepljeni na več enot« (63).⁷ Kaj je torej narod, če ni država? Pirjevec ga opredeli kot (sociološko) velegrupo, ki hoče postati država ter se za ta svoj cilj tudi dejavno in z vsemi močmi bori; je torej bojujoča se grupa oziroma *gibanje*. Toda v našem primeru ne gre za pravo gibanje – takšno ni moglo biti, ker bi sicer trčilo na silovito tujo premoč, zato gre za blokirano ali *zavrto gibanje*. Slovensko nacionalno bivanje je bilo torej dvakrat reducirano – od države na gibanje in od gibanja na zavrto gibanje, in kot narod smo se porajali pod pritiskom obeh omejitev. V odsotnosti nacionalne države in njenih temeljnih institucij je bilo nacionalno načelo pomaknjeno v negotovo prihodnost in ni urejalo vsakdanjih medčloveških odnosov. Realna eksistenca naroda se je lahko dogajala le prek dejavnosti, ki rabijo najmanj institucionalne podlage – predvsem duhovnih dejavnosti, znanosti in še bolj umetnosti, seveda predvsem literarne, ki izrablja temeljni medij nacionalne eksistence – nacionalni jezik. Pri tem ima še največjo prednost lirika, ki je hkrati tudi »beseda stiske«, stiske zavrtega gibanja, v katerem poeziji

avtomatsko pripade privilegiran položaj. S tem pa se po Pirjevčevem mnenju poezija tudi instrumentalizira, če to hoče ali ne: nastane konflikt med poezijo kot »samoutemeljitvijo naroda« in »poezijo kot tako«. Literatura kot instrument boja – v tem primeru boja za sprostitev »dvojnega zavrtosti« in nastanek države – hkrati škoduje lastnemu bistvu in povzroča tragično uničenje. Šele ko je zgodovinski cilj dosežen, ko se v imenu naroda nikomur ni treba več »žrtvovati v totalnem spopadu, da bi lahko nastajala primerna nacionalna mitologija« (84), poezija izgubi svoj nekdanji pomen za zgodovinsko akcijo. Lahko se odvrne od »prešernovske strukture« in se vrne k sami sebi, saj ni več potrebna kot mitologija.⁸

Pirjevčevo *Vprašanje o poeziji* je vsekakor zanimiva razlaga specifične evolucije slovenske literature. Njegova intervencija je popolnoma v skladu s tezo o slovenskem kulturnem sindromu. Ta teza je v resnici tako trdoživa, da zbujata sumničavost. Rastko Močnik opozarja, da gre za nekakšno »ideološko okamnino«, ki so jo na veliko razglašali že slovenski politiki in kulturniki v 19. stoletju. Tezo o konstitutivnosti literature pri zgodovinskem oblikovanju naroda razglasi za naivno, saj je že v času svojega nastanka dominirala med tedanja nacionalistično izobražensko elito. Misel, da čas za politiko ni zrel in da je pravo področje narodno-emancipacijskega delovanja literatura, je bila formulirana že sredi 19. stoletja in njena veljavnost je le počasi upadala. Ta slovstvena ideologija je v izhodiščih protislovna – literatura je zanjo hkrati najvišja sfera narodove duhovnosti in »azil, ki se vanj zateka preganjana ali preplašena politika; je posoda imenitnega izročila in lonec, kjer se varijo nadomestne mitologije« (*Raziskave* 15). Zato je po Močnikovem mnenju sorazmerna mlačnost tedanjih premikov učinek uspešnosti meščanske ideologije, ki je iz literarnih proizvajalcev naredila svoje »organske intelektualce«. Literatura priskrbi »velike može«, skozi slavljenje narodnih veličin pa se vzpostavlja nacionalnost, ki je že razredno posredovana. Literatura se lahko kot »umetnostna ideološka forma slovenski meščanski ideologiji vsili za samoniklo žarišče« zato, ker če sklicevanje na jezik ne zadošča za osnovanje skupnosti, jo lahko »osnuje ideologija, ki 'trdi', da je jezik temelj narodne skupnosti« (87), ki mora seveda prikazati, kako jezik povezovalno deluje. Ideološka zapletenost je razlog, da je literatura v tem času slovenski nacionalistični ideologiji nujno potrebna, a da ta literaturo kot umetnost kontinuirano onemogoča. Meščanska ideologija si je literaturo prisvojila in iz literarnih proizvajalcev naredila svoje intelektualce, hkrati pa jo je s tem okrnila, jo onemogočila v njeni umetniški razsežnosti.

Močnikov prispevek k razumevanju teze je zelo dragocen, saj s pozorno analizo ideoloških in retoričnih mehanizmov pokaže, *kako* je politika »uzurpirala« literarne strategije za konstituiranje nacije ter hkrati prikri-la, potlačila dvoje: razredno dimenzijo lastnega projekta, pa tudi njego-

vo münchhausenovsko, avtopoetično razsežnost (v smislu proizvajanja osnovnih pogojev lastne možnosti). Vseeno pa je Močnikovo kritiko Rupla kljub temu bolj kot kritiko treba razumeti kot korekcijo, saj njuni pogledi niso toliko vsaksebi, kot se zdi na prvi pogled.⁹ Ogrodje *teze* je pravzaprav težko spodbijati: slovenska literatura je nedvomno nastajala pod močnim pritiskom nacionalne ideje in v razmerah, ko prave in diferencirane nacionalne politike še ni bilo. Čeprav je literatura proizvajala kohezivne učinke že s tematiko, je literaturo kot najizrazitejšo kulturno formacijo izrabila nastajajoča (nacionalna) politika kot argument za lastno afirmacijo – kot argument zastopnikov naroda, ki ga je formirala in legitimirala literatura.¹⁰ Da je ta naveza imela določene posledice za besedilno produkcijo, je nemogoče zanikati: od Prešerna prek nenavadnega Trdine, pa vse do Cankarjevih načeloma avtonomističnih zamisli je emancipacija naroda ostajala pomembna motivacija literature. Legitimno vprašanje je tu morebiti kvečjemu, v kakšni meri je literatura zares *porajala* politiko, v kakšni pa je nastajajoča politika instrumentalizirala literaturo in njene »slavne možove«? Ali drugače: koliko so literarni »slavni možovi« dejansko »sloveli«, preden jih je za slavne proglasil nacionalistični diskurz?

Ob bok pronicljivim Močnikovim opažanjem je mogoče navreči nekaj ugotovitev, ki utegnejo dopolniti in revidirati podobo »slovenskega kulturnega sindroma«.¹¹ Silovita samozavest literature, da lahko tako rekoč »spreminja svet«, da lahko utemlji narodno gibanje, ki je kulminiralo v globoko ukoreninjenem prepričanju (tako globoko ukoreninjenem, da vanj zares ne posumi niti Pirjevec!), da nas brez poezije »sploh ne bi bilo« ali pa bi bili »slabše utemeljeni«, sloni v resnici na trhljih temeljih ali je vsaj močno pretirana. Če upoštevamo širši kulturni, politični in gospodarski kontekst (v Prešernovem času sploh, pa tudi pozneje), postane jasno, da sama poezija nikakor ni imela moči, da bi nacionalne in politične težnje v zadostni meri distribuirala v svojo kulturno okolico in jih uveljavila. Razlog za to je seveda po eni strani gotovo institucionalna »zavrtost« nacionalnega razvoja, po drugi pa tudi nerazvitost medijskega in umetnostnega sistema, npr. časopisov, založb, knjigotrštva. V tej situaciji torej literatura, kjer se nacionalna ideja resda artikulira in tematizira, s svojimi zamislimi ne more narediti preboja.¹²

Dejanski preboj je možen šele tedaj, ko si literaturo s pomočjo prefinjenih ideoloških operacij prisvoji vse močnejši družbeni sloj, tj. nastajajoče slovensko nacionalistično meščanstvo v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Za ta čas je odločilen silovit vzpon medijskega sistema, ki ga je med drugim omogočil padec strogega predmarčnega cenzurnega reda (Dovič, *Literatura in mediji* 545, 55). Obenem se naglo krepi samozavestna slovenska politična formacija; izoblikuje se vse bolj diferencirana gospodarska in politična elita z močno potrebo po legitimaciji. Ravno ta sloj prevzame nacionalno

emancipacijo na lastna ramena, pri čemer se opre na poezijo – obstoj kakovostne poezije v nacionalnem jeziku privzame kot ustrezno kulturno »izkaznico«, hkrati pa ta poezija tudi sama artikulira temeljno zamisel nacionalne emancipacije. Tako nastane svojevrsten »kulturni sindrom«: vzpon naroda ni mogoč zgolj kot vzpon poezije, ampak predvsem kot vzpon poezije, kot si jo je za svoje potrebe prisvojil in tudi prikrojil vladajoči nacionalistični sloj, ki je prek medijev obvladoval tudi nastajajoči slovenski javni diskurz (ta diskurz je od Bleiweisovih *Novic* dalje svojo legitimnost dobival od nacionalni kulturi zasnovanega medijskega prostora). Teza o slovenskem kulturnem sindromu, kolikor se zdi mikavna in samoumevna, je torej neka-kšna dvoživka: hkrati drži in tudi ne drži (Dovič, *Slovenski pisatelj*).

Naslednje vprašanje pa je seveda, ali je tovrstni »kulturni sindrom« res mogoče imenovati »slovenski« in v kakšni meri bi ga bilo mogoče zaslediti v literaturah, ki so se znašle v podobnih okoliščinah. Poudarjanje specifične slovenskosti »sindroma« pri Pirjevcu in še očitneje pri Ruplu zbuja – ob hkratni odsotnosti dokazov za to – določeno mero skepticizma. Da »kulturni sindrom« ni nekaj, kar bi bilo ravno izključno slovensko, se namreč prav zlahka poučimo iz novejšega komparativnega pregleda literarnih kultur Vzhodne in Srednje Evrope (East-Central Europe).¹³ Na splošno se je namreč mogoče strinjati z Neubauerjem in Cornis-Popeom glede tega, da v celotnem območju obstajajo naravnost »presenetljive podobnosti, pravzaprav strukturni soodnosi, med pojavom nacionalizmov 19. stoletja in rojstvom nacionalnih literatur in literarnih ved« (*History* 7, prevod MD). Kot nas je poučil že Ernest Gellner, so nacionalizmi v 19. stoletju izumljali narode celo tam, kjer niso obstajali. Ta proces je bil na splošno intenzivnejši v skupnostih, ki niso imele »robustne samopodobe«, ki bi temeljila na tradiciji politične ali ekonomske dominacije (kot na primer v Franciji ali Angliji), in so zato močno želele »poglobiti lastno nacionalno identiteto« (8). »Invencija nacionalnosti« se je povsod dogajala večinoma *tekstualno*, pri čemer je eno najpomembnejših vlog prevzela literatura. Poleg pisanja slovarjev, slovnice in nacionalnih literarnih zgodovin, oživljanja ustne kulture ter srednjeveške in baročne slovstvene tradicije v lokalnih narečjih, je bila v jedru vseh nacionalnih projektov v regiji tudi *proizvodnja* nacionalne literature, znotraj te pa je prav posebno mesto pripadlo pisanju zgodovinske fikcije.¹⁴

Reprezentacije nacionalne zgodovine v zgodnji slovenski literaturi

Ne glede na korekcije in vsaj delno relativiziranje teze o slovenskem kulturnem sindromu, ki je tu predlagana, nam ravno ta točka ponuja opazovališče, s katerega lahko legitimiramo specifično branje zgodovinskih

fragmentov v delih iz pionirskih časov slovenske literature. Preden se lotimo tega branja, si oglejmo shemo, ob kateri bomo lažje razmišljali o različnih oblikah spojev nacionalne politike in literature. Ti se lahko dogajajo v samih literarnih besedilih (od opisa ali promocije političnih idej do fascinantnih samoreferenčnih tematiziranj lastne politične pomembnosti) ali pa *zunaj* njih (uporaba literature, posameznih del, motivov ali avtorjev v nacionalno politične namene).

Znotraj literarnih besedil bi lahko v grobem ločili dva vzorca:

– tematizacija *nacionalističnih elementov* (tem, idej, motivov) v razponu od dnevnih aktualističnih polemik, satir ipd. do »kovanja nadomestnih mitologij« in zgodovinskih konstrukcij, s katerimi se legitimira slovenska kulturna in nacionalna specifika;

– (samoreferenčna) tematizacija *literature kot samoutemeljitve naroda*, kot elementa, ki proizvaja kohezijo; miselni obrazec se nakazuje že pri Vodniku in dobi svojo značilno podobo s Prešernom, odtlej pa (vsaj do avantgarde) ostaja v horizontu samorazumevanja slovenske literature.

Hkrati se to, o čemer govorijo teoretiki »kulturnega sindroma«, odraža tudi *zunaj* literature, natančneje, v politični uporabi literature, in sicer predvsem kot:

– argumentacijski sklop, ki poudarja, da je *razvita in estetsko uspešna literatura ustrežna legitimacija naroda*, »vstopnica« med razvite jezike, literature in kulture; zamisel se običajno pojavlja v programskih tekstih, korespondencah, kritikah in razpravah avtorjev in (literarnih) zgodovinarjev – estetski dosežek je eksploatiran po formuli: razvit nacionalni jezik z umetniško uspešno literaturo = kultura = narod = politična samostojnost;

– *uporaba literarnih mitov kot argumentov v političnem boju*; pri tem so mišljene denimo reference na (zgodovinske) literarne tematizacije slavne preteklosti, nekdanje suverenosti kot argument v podporo sodobnim političnim zamislim, kot so enotnost južnih Slovanov, trializem v monarhiji ali prizadevanja za uveljavitev slovenščine kot uradnega jezika v administraciji in šolstvu.

Vse to je mogoče in potrebno preveriti ob literarnih besedilih iz prvega obdobja slovenske literature. Kot vemo, je pred obdobjem razsvetljenstva težko govoriti o slovenskih besedilih kot literarnih. Toda etnična ideja, pogosto s še ne docela jasno diferenciacijo med kranjskim (deželnim), slovenskim in (južno)slovanskim, se je že pojavljala v drugih besedilnih žanrih, na primer v spremnih besedilih k slovenskim protestantskim knjigam v 16. stoletju. V uvodu v Bohoričevo slovnico *Arcticae horulae succisivae* iz leta 1584 je prvič ohranjen zapis zamisli o veliki in slavni preteklosti slovenskih ljudstev. Kolikor je v tem besedilu zgodovina prisotna, je pogosto deformirana v skladu s temeljno intenco pisanja: to je, dati jezikovni sku-

pnosti, ki je sicer še toliko nebogljena, da ne prenese slovnice v domačem jeziku – (Bohoričevo delo je namreč latinsko) samozavest, da pripada pomembni skupini slovanskih (to je, *ne germanski*) kultur. Podobna misel je značilna tudi za uvod v Pohlinovo *Kraynsko grammatiko*, ki je izšla leta 1768, torej skoraj dve stoletji pozneje (četudi je bila njena tendenca pravzaprav protigermanska, jo je avtor spisal v nemščini). V kratkem besedilu se kar vrstijo etimološke in zgodovinske neslanosti, med katerimi je izpostavljena implicitna povezava med sodobno slovensko populacijo in prebivalci antične Ilirije.

Kmalu po Pohlinovi slovnici se je pojavil kredibilnejši pogled na kranjsko (slovensko) zgodovino izpod peresa nadarjenega Antona Tomaža Linharta, sicer člana Zoisovega omizja. Tudi v njegovem delu *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Österreichs* (ostalo je nedokončano, zvezka sta izšla v letih 1788 in 1791), je poudarjena zamisel o velikem slovanskem narodu in o pomembnosti Slovanov. Kot se je izkazalo v zadnjem času, cilji Zoisa, Linharta in njunih kolegov še zdaleč niso bili le kulturni in umetniški (tudi umetniškost je treba v tem času opazovati v kontekstu celovitega prerodnega projekta, ki razume pisanje umetniških besedil v smislu »delegacije«). Bili so tudi politični: predvsem v smislu prizadevanja za večje priznanje, pa tudi kulturno in politično težo južnoslovanskih narodov znotraj monarhije.¹⁵ Slovenska preteklost je očitno postala pomembna tema slovenskega razsvetljenstva proti koncu 18. stoletja. To vprašanje je bilo v literarnih besedilih obravnavano bolj eksplicitno kot v drugih diskurzih. Najverjetneje tu ni šlo le za posledico rigidne institucije predhodne cenzure, ki je bila v monarhiji veljavna vse do revolucionarnega leta 1848. Dodaten razlog je bil bržkone tudi, da so mogla nacionalna vprašanja v literaturo vstopati na načine, ki niso bili več dopustni v okviru zgodovinopisja, ki se je želelo razviti v skladu z znanstveno paradigmo. Diferenciacija obeh družbenih podsistemov, znanosti in literature, je čedalje bolj onemogočala nenavadne konstrukcije, kakršne smo lahko opazovali v Pohlinovem besedilu le nekaj desetletij poprej.

Prvo ime, ki ga upravičeno omenjamo v zvezi z začetki slovenske literature, je Janez Damascen Dev, menih iz ljubljanskega diskalceatskega samostana, urednik in najplodovitejši pesnik prvega slovenskega pesniškega almanaha *Pisanice*, ki je izhajal v letih 1779, 1780 in 1781. Tema nacionalne zgodovine vsaj na prvi pogled ne vstopa v njegove pesmi; pač pa te s *politične* plati kažejo predvsem popolno zvestobo Habsburžanom. Cesar se pojavi kot lik v pesmi *Lubezn Jožefa II rimskega cesarja pruti svojemu bližnjemu*, ki začinja zvezek *Pisanic* iz leta 1779. V tem pamfletu proti moškim, ki se izogibajo služenju vojske, cesar osebno preveže vojakovo rano.¹⁶ A po drugi strani se pri Devu vendarle pojavlja tudi zagovor slovenske (natančneje: kranjske)

kulturne avtonomije: v nekaterih pesmih tematizira probleme domačega jezika, kliče po kranjskem slovarju in vabi muze, naj dvignejo domačo literarno in umetniško produkcijo na višjo raven. Takšna samoreferenčnost, ki nikakor ni nenavadna za zgodnje slovenske poetične proizvode, je vsekakor odigrala pomembno vlogo v procesu formiranja literarnega kanona, kot je poudaril že Marko Juvan (*Literary self-referentiality*, 119–23).

Če je torej za Deva že značilna posebna nacionalna ali vsaj deželna zavest, ki nastopa vzporedno z lojalnostjo monarhu, je – izvzemši lamentacije o borni domači kulturni tradiciji – zamisel o nacionalni zgodovini v njegovem delu večinoma odsotna. Drugače pa je z nekaterimi pesmimi Devovega mlajšega pesniškega kolega Valentina Vodnika, ki je bil za razliko od prvega aktiven član Zoisove združbe. Posebej zanimivi sta njegovi dobro znani “ilirski” odi. Njuna temeljna zamisel je glorifikacija nekdanje zgodovinske ozemeljske enovitosti rimske province Ilirije, ki je izrabljena kot legitimacija zamisli o teritorialni enovitosti južnoslovanskih narodov (seveda še v okviru večje državne tvorbe). V obeh odah Vodnik retorično sicer *legitimira* vsakokratno politično oblast (enkrat Francoze, drugič Habsburžane), a ne kar tako, temveč z razlogom: vidi jo kot zagovornika lastne *ilirske* zamisli. Odo *Ilirija oživiljena* je Vodnik napisal leta 1811, v času, ko so osrednje slovenske dežele za nekaj let prešle pod francosko nadvlado in je upravna enota z imenom Ilirske province dejansko zaživela. Vodnik v pesmi obuja slavno prihodnost Ilirije in izenačuje njene prebivalce s populacijo tedanjih slovenskih dežel, ki jim prerokuje veliko prihodnost. Seveda so bili Iliri po Vodniku superiorna civilizacija:

Že močen na morju
Ilirjan je bil,
K' se ladie tesat
je Rimic učil (111)

Na koncu ode je Korint, ki stoji na “Grecije čelu”, primerjan z Ilirijo, položeno v samo osrčje Evrope:

Korintu so rekli
helensko oko,
Ilirija prstan
Evrópinu bo (111)

Na specifičen način se je kmalu za Vodnikom zgodovinskih tem lotil Jakob Zupan, eden vidnejših avtorjev prvih treh *Krajnskih čbelic*.¹⁸ Zanimiva sta predvsem dva para verzificiranih »desetek«: *Krajnski Plutarčik* in *Krajnski Nestorčik*.¹⁹ V »Plutarčiku« Zupan najprej upesni deseterico plemiških velja-

kov: od Trubarjevega podpornika Hansa Ungnada, Žige Herbertsteina in Andreja Turjaškega do Jurija Vege in Žige Zoisa. »Baronske« verzifikacije so zelo kratke, po dolžini nekoliko izstopata tista o Valvasorju (6 štirivrstičnic) in Zoisu (7 štirivrstičnic). *Plutarčik* se bere kot ne pretirano ambiciozen poskus verzne biografije slavnih *Kranjcev*; Kranjec je Valvasor: »Čast Krajna on trobi / po svetu naokrog« (*KČ* 1, 72); enako Zois: »Mat Krajna imela / Snu ljubšiga ni« (*KČ* 1, 76).²⁰ Vsekakor tu lahko opazujemo nedokončano diferenciacijo med »deželnim« in »narodnim«: le v prvi pesmi o Ungnadu se Zupanu namesto Kranjca zapiše »Slovenec« – in sicer kot sprejemnik protestantske literature: »Trubara podpiral / Ungnade bogat / Slovenic prebiral, / Kar dala tiskat«. Krajnci so tudi škofje iz druge »Plutarčikove« desetke; a v štirivrstičnici o Hrenu se ob tem pojavi še izraz »slovenstvo«:

Iblana rodila;
Tibinstvo krotil:
Mat' Krajna ljubila:
Slovenstvo častil (*KČ* 1 70).

Še zanimivejši je *Kranjski Nestorčik*. Zupan se v verzificiranem »Predgovorčiku« sklicuje na srednjeveškega kijevskega meniha Nestorja (kot slovanskega kronista) in »operoza« Janeza Gregorja Dolničarja (kot ljubljanskega kronista), zatem pa v lapidarni maniri upesni izbrane zgodovinske dogodke na Kranjskem in drugje. Prva desetka se začne z zgodbo o junaškem upiranju (ilirskega) Metuluma vojski cesarja Avgusta (*August od Metljanov ranjen 32 let pred Kristusam*), nam v četrti pesmici postreže z domnevno slovanskim rododom rimskega cesarja Konstantina I., sklene pa se s posrečeno štirivrstičnico *Samo, slovenski vajvod, umrel 662*:

Bil Samo slovinski
Je vajvod močan,
Strah Franski, Turinski,
Široko slavan (*KČ* 2, 62).

Druga »Nestorčikova« desetka zajame čas od leta 868, ko sta Ciril in Metod učila »Slovence« in »nam biblijo dala«; začuda sta torej »slovenšino znala«, a »ne vémo od kod« (*KČ* 3, 55); sledijo srednjeveški boji z Ogrji in Turki, sklene pa jo zapis o bojih za dediščino celjskih knezov sredi 15. stoletja.

Zupanovi posegi v zgodovino so vsekakor zanimivi, in nekoliko na silo jih lahko beremo (tudi) kot adaptacijo ilirske zamisli (junaški boj »Metljanov«) in (slovanskega) Samovega kraljestva. Bržkone pa jih je ustrezneje razumeti v kontekstu oblikovanja in krepitve deželne, »kranjske«

identitete.²¹ Drugače je mogoče brati danes edinega kanoniziranega pesnika *Krajnske čbelice*, Franceta Prešerna. Ta je sicer že v drugem letniku almanaha leta 1831 (torej sočasno s prvim nizom Zupanovih »nestorij«) objavil sonet, v katerem se je – ne brez ironije – distanciral od opevanja epske preteklosti, tj. »očetov naših imenitnih del«.²² Ilirski Metulum in turške boje lirski subjekt tu prepušča pesmi »Homêrov naših«, sam pa se zaveže lirski, ljubezenski Muzi, češ da so njegove strune »preslabe peti boje vam sloveče« (Prešeren 131). A kot kažejo nekatera poznejša Prešernova dela, v tem položaju ni čisto dosledno vztrajal; natančneje rečeno, zgodovinski drobci so vendarle vstopali v njegove pesmi, vendar so pri tem razmerja med poezijo, zgodovino in nacionalnim postala kompleksnejša.

Prešeren je načrtno in sistematično razširil literarni repertoar z uvajanjem novih, kompleksnih pesniških oblik. Mnoga njegova dela so visoko samoreferenčna: nenavadno konsistentno tematizirajo narodno-prerodno in kohezivno vlogo poezije.²³ Poleg tega pa je pri njem mogoče najti tudi zgodovinske reprezentacije, zlasti v epskem Uvodu pesnitve *Krst pri Savici*, ki je bila knjižno objavljena leta 1836. V *Krstu* Prešeren obuja zgodnjefederalno državo Karantanijo in nekdanje herojske in poganske čase slovenske nacionalne suverenosti. V resnici je Prešernov »karantanski« model v primerjavi z Vodnikovo Ilirijo zgodovinsko neprimerno verodostojnejši; a tudi pri njem je zgodovinsko ozadje pokristjanjevanja Karantancev uporabljeno za večjo operacijo ustvarjanja mita. Njegove konstitutivne poteze so:

- nekdanja slava slovanskih (slovenskih) ljudstev;
- evokacija zgodnjedemokratskih principov v Karantaniji;²⁴
- tuji vladarji so ob pokristjanjevanju prevzeli oblast in Slovencem odvzeli svobodo.

Vse te elemente je mogoče opaziti v sledečih odlomkih iz *Krsta*:

Narvèč sveta otrokam sliši Slave,
tje bomo najdlji pot, kjer nje sinovi
si prosti voljo vero in postave [...]

Na tleh leže slovenstva stebri stari,
v domačih šegah vtrjene postave;
v deželi parski Tesel gospodari,
ječé pod težkim jarmam sini Slave,
le tujcam sreče svit se v Kranji žari,
ošabno nós'jo tí pokonci gláve (177–79).

France Prešeren, *Krst pri Savici* (ZD 179)

Prvi verz iz Uvoda v *Krst* predstavlja vrhunec dramatičnega govora Črtomira, vodje poganske vojske, ujete v oblegani utrdbi; gre za edini verz v pesnitvi, ki ga je s poševnim tiskom poudaril avtor. Hkrati opozarja

na razprostranjenost slovanskih ljudstev in na njihovo slavno preteklost. Sledeča verza v tercini priključeta demokratičen družbeni red nekdanjih Slovencev (Karantancev). V stanci iz začetka osrednjega besedila *Krsta* pa so opisane nevzdržne posledice pokristjanjevanja, ki je hkrati na oblast privedlo arogantne tujce.

Podobna zamisel se pojavi še v eni izmed Prešernovih nespornih mojstrovin, *Sonetnem vencu*. Kratek sprehod skozi »nacionalno zgodovino« je postavljen v samo osrčje kompleksne pesnitve, v 7. in 8. sonet. Zamisel je preprosta: odkar je ugasnila slava vladavine kralja Sama, je Slovence nemila zgodovinska usoda le tepla: ves čas so bili podložni tujcem, izgorevali so v medsebojnih spopadih; zaznamovali so jo v krvi zadušeni kmečki upori in roparski turški vpadi. Spodnji verzi torej niso nobeno presenečenje:

Minuli sreče so in slave časi,
ker vredne dela niso jih budile,
omóknili so pesem sladki glási (144).

Predvsem v *Krstu* Prešeren večje preoblikuje zgodovinsko nezadostno dokumentirano zgodbo o nekdanji suverenosti Slovencev, ki naj bi živeli v neodvisnosti in slavi. Njegov glavni zgodovinski vir o pokristjanjevanju Karantancev je delo Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain (Slava vojvodine Kranjske)* iz leta 1689; vir, za katerega danes velja, da v tem pogledu ni pretirano zanesljiv. Skope podatke je seveda Prešeren dopolnil z živahno poetično imaginacijo in jih pregnetel z duhovnim obzorjem lastnega časa; vse to so postopki, ki so povsem običajen del ustvarjalnega procesa v literaturi. Vendar je njihov rezultat v določenem zgodovinskem trenutku prestopil meje literarnega: postal je uporaben ideološki okvir, temelj za načrt, kako naj se slovenska kulturna skupnost ubrani pred tujimi »napadalci«. Nacionalistom zdaj ni bilo treba skovati »slovenstva« kot nečesa docela novega: vse, kar je potrebno, je rekonstruirati nekaj, kar je nekoč že bilo, a je po krivici vzeto: slavo in čast preteklosti. Prešeren je to dosegel s prepričljivo fikcijsko prezentacijo herojske bitke, ki je markirala zaključek slavnega obdobja. Spet je fikcionalizacija, polna resnih zgodovinskih napak, prestopila meje literarnega – tu vpeljan pogled na slovensko zgodovino je imel realno manipulativno moč, ki nikakor ni bila zgolj fiktivna. Ni nikakršno presenečenje, da je priljubljena napitnica *Zdravljica*, ki med drugim evocira tudi »oblast in čast« preteklosti, v katerih zlahka prepoznavamo obrise karantanskega mita, postala državna himna v samostojni Sloveniji.²⁵

Povsem očitno je, da lahko v zgodnji slovenski poeziji nekje do leta 1848 sledimo predvsem dvema mitologizacijama, ki sta bili značilni za literarno invencijo nacionalne zgodovine (kakršne so, kot smo že ugotovili,

vzporedno potekale v različnih deželah širšega območja – bodisi struktur-
no podobno ali pa tudi na podlagi dejanskih kulturnih stikov): to sta *ilirska*
in *karantanska*.²⁶ Obe sta ključni tudi za razumevanje pesnitve *Slovenja carju*
Ferdinandu, ki jo je leta 1844 ob prihodu habsburškega cesarja v Ljubljano
v Bleiweisovih *Novicah* objavil Jovan Vesel Koseski. Ne glede na poznejše
mladoslovenske diskvalifikacije poezije Koseskega je pesem brez dvoma
vredna pozornosti, že zato, ker je bil vpliv Koseskega in njegovih pesmi
na narodnjake 19. stoletja naravnost izjemen.²⁷ V svoji tridelni alegorični
odi, v kateri je prvič javno promoviran termin Slovenija (v izvirniku zapi-
sana brez i, torej kot *Slovenja*) – današnjemu bralcu je komaj razumljiva, v
svojem opevanju »duševno preprostega Habsburžana« (Grdina, *Jovan Vesel*
Koseski 271) Ferdinanda I. pa deluje celo nekoliko groteskno – Koseski
naniza vrsto podob iz slovenske nacionalne zgodovine.²⁸

V prvem delu po bombastičnem nagovoru carja, »trojno ovenča-
nega« vnuka vladarjev »iz hiše Rudolfa«, alegorizirana Slovenija, ki odo
Ferdinandu poje v prvi osebi, sprašuje, ali je tudi zanjo odprta knjiga zgo-
dovine:

Željno prašaje, ali smem se šteti med Avstrije stebre,
Ali na zboru deržav moja beseda veljá,
Sini slovenski al so v številu zemlje junakov,
Tudi za mene razpet al je istorie list? (7)

Ohrabrujoče ji odgovori kar Klio, grška muza zgodovinopisja, ki
Sloveniji pojasni, da njena preteklost ni kar tako: bila je varuh Evrope,
nekakšen ščit od Baltika do Jadrana, še pred Rimom in Bizancem; nje-
no jeklo je služilo v trojanski vojni, njene puščice je poznal Aleksander
Veliki; Justinijan z Belizarjem in Dioklecijan pa so kar njeni »sestranci«.
Po nagovoru Klio se Sloveniji razodene prvi niz »njenih« junakov: to so
antični *ilirski* kralji in vitezi: Agron in Tevta, Pinez, Brem, Bolk, Skerdilaj,
Pleurat, Baton; pa celo 18 rimskih cesarjev, ki so bili domnevno slovanske-
ga rodu. Paradi ilirskih junakov sledi prva prisega habsburškemu monarhu:
Slovenija mu, kajpada, obljubi neomajno privrženost in zvestobo. V dru-
gem delu ode Slovenija popiše mračne dobe barbarskih vpadov, ki Evropo
spreminjajo v klavnico, pri čemer Koseskemu očitno ni čisto jasno, kdo je
Slovan (Ilir?) in kdo »barbar«. In vendar se v tem času iz »vekov temot«
prikaže *šesterka* slovanskih junakov: Samo, Borut, Ketumar (Kajtimar oz.
Hotimir), Privina (Pribina), Bojnomir (Vojnomir) in Kocel (Kocelj); veči-
noma gre za *karantanske* oz. spodnjejanonske kneze iz 7., 8. in 9. stoletja.
Tudi drugi paradi sledi skoraj dobesedno ponovljena prisega monarhu. V
tretjem delu ode opeva Slovenija – kot kontrast prejšnji dobi »mertvaške
groze« – svoj razcvet pod Habsburžani; Rudolf I. se ji prikaže kot »zveli-

čar« in »lekar«. V časih bojev s Turki so Slovenci opisani kot »mejaki kri-voverstvu«, slovenske prsi »jez viharnimu toku divjakov«, slovenski meči »pogin tlačivniku vere in pravde« (Koseski 10). Slovenci predstavljajo torej – če uporabimo neko aktualnejšo sintagmo – »živi ščit« urejene Evrope. A ne le vojaške zmage, tudi um in znanost odlikujeta Slovence, ki so jim, kajpak, ravno Habsburžani (predvsem Marija Terezija, Jožef II. in Franc II.) »znanstva odperli zaklad«: junaki znanstva so Vega, Valvasor, Voglar (zdravnik Petra Velikega), Zois in »stotine drugih«. Sledi tretja ponovitev prisege, ki se šele tokrat zdi tudi ustrezno *utemeljena*, ne pa *slépa* kot poprej – iz same ode namreč vse do tretjega dela ni jasno, kje bi lahko tičal razlog za tako popolno pokorščino. Zasluge za razcvet Slovenije ima monarhija, in zato:

Blago, življenje in kri, visoki Vladar! Ti posvetim,
Bistri v sodbi razum, v boju nevžugani dlan,
Tvojimu rodu na čast, na zgubo protivnikom Tvojim,
Snuje v oserčju mi duh, cuka na bedru mi meč,
Hrast se omaje in hrib, – zvestoba Slovincu ne ganel! (11)

Zgodovinskega materiala je torej več kot v izobilju; pravzaprav bi lahko pesem brali skoraj kot program, matrico za poznejše izdelovanje ustrezne zgodovinsko-patriotične literature. Z vidika zgodovinopisja so nekatere konstrukcije Koseskega naravnost bizarne, toda v političnem smislu so pravzaprav udarne, radikalne. Kajti čeravno oda slavi Habsburžane in jim prisega neomajno zvestobo, torej se vsaj navidez uvršča v tok dinastične slavlilne poezije, izraža tudi zelo moderno nacionalno idejo. Alegorizirana Slovenija se postavlja ob bok češkemu levu in s tem »pretendira na nivo podobne zaokroženosti« (Grdina, *Jovan Vesel Koseski* 275). Zato pesmi ni moč uvrstiti v rubriko avstrijskega legitimizma, saj Vesel v resnici »slavi« zamisel Zedinjene Slovenije, ki je stari režim monarhije ni sprejemal. Hkrati je za razliko od začetka stoletja pri Koseskem že jasno rešeno tudi vprašanje razmejitve slovenskega: gre za skupni kranjsko-koroški prostor, ki je ločen od hrvaškega. Pred vrati je leto 1848, vse je pripravljeno: nacionalistični *šov* se zdaj lahko začne.

* * *

Iz vsega, kar smo povedali, je mogoče podati nekaj zaključkov glede zgodnjih literarnih reprezentacij slovenske nacionalne zgodovine. Invencija zgodovine v literarnih besedilih je potekala vzporedno s postopnim prehodom od pokrajinske oziroma deželne identitete (kranjske) k modernejši, nacionalni (slovenski).²⁹ Literarna fikcija je imela posebno moč v artikulirani

ranju preteklosti in je tudi v okviru že uveljavljenih konvencij (predvsem estetske konvencije) presešla ali obšla *resničnostni kod* (resnično/neresnično), zavezujoč v drugih diskurzih, na primer zgodovinopisnem.³⁰ Povsem očitno se je pokazalo tudi, da predstavlja literatura na Slovenskem že od svojih začetkov privilegirano mesto artikulacije narodnih idej³¹ – pri čemer seveda proizvaja tudi fantazme, polverjetne zgodovinske konstrukcije in »nadomestne mitologije«. V obravnavanem obdobju sta pri reprezentiranju – ali bolje rečeno, *invenciji* – nacionalne zgodovine prevladovala predvsem dva mita: *ilirski* in *karantanski*, pri čemer bi lahko zadnjemu z zgodovinske plasti pripisali za odtenek večjo verodostojnost. Vsekakor sta obe veliki zgodbi učinkovali narodno-kohezivno, toda razmislek o njunem učinkovanju je treba podvreči omejitvam, ki smo jih v zvezi s tezo o »slovenskem kulturnem sindromu« izpostavili v prvem delu razprave. Predvsem je pomembno ozavestiti, da razširjanje nacionalne ideje ni bilo mogoče skozi poezijo samo, oziroma povedano natančneje: s sredstvi, ki so bila na voljo v (pomanjkljivo razvitem) literarnem sistemu; temveč se je ta možnost odprla šele v zgodovinski prisvojitvi literature, njeni instrumentalizaciji s strani določenega političnega razreda. Še pomembnejša pa je morebiti ugotovitev, da tega procesa ne bi smeli razglašati za nekaj »sindromatičnega«, nekaj »specifično slovenskega«. Kolikor so namreč vzponi nacionalnih in etničnih identitet v regiji netili medsebojna trenja in konflikte, pa tudi *izbrise* drugačnih identitet, in v tem prispevali k *raznolikosti* (četudi z negativnimi stranskimi učinki), so si bili v strukturnem smislu presenetljivo *podobni*.

OPOMBE

¹ Pravi kontekst za preučevanje tega kompleksnega pojava je širši, vključuje zgodovinske razmere, kulturne relacije, politične boje, razvoj literarnega in znanstvenega sistema in še marsikaj.

² Opozoriti je treba, da v slovenski književnosti zgodnje reprezentacije nacionalne zgodovine niso sovpadle s takojšnjim razvojem posebnih historičnih literarnih žanrov; pa vendar je njihov poznejši vpliv nanje povsem očiten.

³ Okolje, v katerem se pojavi Stritarjev spis, ni nič manj simptomatično: gre za prvi poskus izdajanja kanonizirane zbirke, ki naj bi prinesla »cvetober« s slovenskih literarnih poljan. Ali je treba namigniti, da je bil tedaj komaj 17 let pokojni Prešeren prvi avtor (in po bankrotu založnika dejansko tudi edini) v tej elitni zbirki?

⁴ Knjiga nosi značilen podnaslov: »Sociološka študija o slovenskem leposlovju kot glasniku in pobudniku nacionalne osvoboditve v drugi polovici devetnajstega stoletja.«

⁵ Rupel želi odgovoriti na sociološko vprašanje, koliko gre za sluzo, da »smo Slovenci iz razkosanega, podrejenega ljudstva postali avtonomen in svoboden narod«, pripisati slovenskim pesnikom in pisateljem; izmeriti hoče ne le, kako se socialni tokovi odražajo v sočasni literaturi, kar je klasično literarnosociološko vprašanje, temveč tudi, »koliko so socialna gibanja izraz in odsev literarnih gibanj« (*Svobodne besede* 10).

⁶ Tezo o posebnem pomenu umetnosti za Slovence Pirjevce izvaja iz političnih trenj, ki so jih konec šestdesetih let izzvale težnje po modernizaciji poezije (avantgarda) in posledični poskusi njene politične »regulacije«. S te plati je »vsenaroden« interes za poezijo mogoče razumeti tudi kot »izjemen interes« za poezijo s strani nosilcev oblasti in politične moči; oziroma kot še en incident med partijo, ki je prek svojih ideologov želela obvladati kulturni prostor, in literaturo, ki je hotela delovati in se razvijati avtonomno.

⁷ Takšna opredelitev pove malo, ker je negativna, govori o tem, kaj Slovenci niso bili, podobno kot »narod brez vodilnega sloja«, »narod zamudnik«, »nezgodovinski narod« ipd. Odtod Pirjevce izpelje zanimivo misel, da je opredeljevanje *per negationem* tudi samo del temeljne strukture slovenskega bivanja.

⁸ Poezija lahko šele sedaj zaživi v svoji (heideggerjansko razumljeni) biti: kolikor deluje, deluje neposredno, se torej vrača sama k sebi, ni več ne akcija ne racionalno spoznanje, temveč igra, ki stvari imenuje in se jih dotika na poseben način, ki jih pusti »nedotaknjene«, kaže, da vse, kar je, najprej in predvsem *je*.

⁹ »Ker literatura kot 'ideološka forma' jezikovnega meščanskega 'občestva' nima svojega 'lastnega' ideološkega aparata, postane sama svoj ideološki aparat – in nacionalistični politiki pišejo pesmi, prirejajo besede, odkrivajo spomenike besednim umetnikom itn.« (*Razprave* 58). Paradigmatični ideološki aparat v marksistični optiki je seveda *šola*; z njeno pomočjo naj bi meščanstvo izvrševalo svoje »razredne cilje«. Ker te (in tudi drugih) slovenski narodnjaški politiki ne obvladujejo, postane v tem smislu slovenska literatura »ideologija *pred* svojo materialno podlago, torej filius ante patrem« (58).

¹⁰ Ta svojevrstna avtopoetičnost bi gotovo terjala še dodatnega razmisleka in ostaja eden od zanimivih »orehov« pri interpretiranju slovenske literarne in kulturne zgodovine.

¹¹ Tu jih žal ne bo mogoče podrobneje argumentirati, mogoče pa se je sklicevati na mojo raziskavo slovenskega literarnega sistema (Dovič, *Slovenski pisatelj*).

¹² Distribucija Vodnikovih del, vključno s časopisom *Ljubljanske novice*, je bila skrajno omejena (ne preseneča torej, da so si razsvetljenci goreče prizadevali premostiti to težavo z žanrom pratike). Podobno velja za Prešernova dela vse tja do prvih objav v Bleiweisovih *Novicah* (Dovič, *Slovenski pisatelj*).

¹³ Rupel, ki je v svojih delih večkrat izpostavil ravno enkratnost, specifičnost slovenske kulturne situacije (sindroma) v 19. stoletju, je medtem postal zunanji minister neodvisne Slovenije. Le ugibamo pa lahko, ali je v vsakodnevnem stiku s predstavniki sosednjih narodov svoja nekdanja stališča revidiral.

¹⁴ Druga stran tega entuziastičnega procesa je seveda potlačitev elementov, ki so ogrožali integriteto in koherenco zgodbe: kolektivna amnezija je za narod pomembna ravno toliko kot skupni (zgodovinski) spomin.

¹⁵ O tem zanesljivo priča kratek odlomek o Ilirski dvorni pisarni v rokopisu Linhartovega *Versucha*, ki ga je cenzura prečrtala.

¹⁶ Skoraj nemogoče je oceniti, v kakšni meri je vtis lojalnosti monarhiji v slovenskih besedilih do leta 1848, in tudi pozneje, avtentičen in koliko je povezan z okoliščino, da je bilo tiske potrebno »spraviti« skozi ljubljansko ali dunajsko cenzuro. Pri Devu lojalistično ozračje vsekakor deluje avtentično.

¹⁷ Gre za »karantansko« idejo, katere popularizacijo Grdina pripisuje prav Linhartu. Ta naj bi bil »zelo uspešen pri prepričevanju elite svojih rojakov, da živi severno in južno od Karavank en etnos in se – vsem dialektalnim razlikam navkljub – govori en jezik« (Grdina, *Vladarji* 21).

¹⁸ Učnega in kontroverznega duhovnika je literarna zgodovina ožigosala z radikalnimi epiteti: »brez daru«, »izumetničen«, »nerazumljiv«, »učenjaški«. Zavrnilo so ga že sodobniki in sodelavci: Prešeren je nanj naslovil uničujoč epigram in zabavljivi sonet *Ne bod' mo šalobarde*. Ne preseneča torej, da je avtor danes malodane pozabljen.

¹⁹ Kratki cikli verzifikacij v Vodnikovem slogu (alpske poskočnice) se v naslovu sklicujejo na grškega zgodovinopisca Plutarha in kronista Nestorja, kijevskega meniha iz 11. oz. 12. stoletja (in ne na istoimenskega grškega mitološkega modreca).

²⁰ Zgledi iz *KČ* so prečrkovani iz bohoričice, sicer pa se navedki ravnajo po izvirniku.

²¹ Razmerja med slovenskim in slovanskim tu vsekakor še niso dovolj jasno začrtana.

²² Gre za prvi sonet, ki ga je Prešeren objavil v *KČ*, pa tudi v zbirki *Poezije* stoji kot prvi v nizu sonetov – s te plati mu je mogoče pripisati vsaj kanec *programske* narave.

²³ Ta značilnost ustreza drugemu modusu intratekstualnih strategij v naši shemi.

²⁴ Inauguracija karantanskih vladarjev naj bi bila v resnici nenavadno demokratična. V *Six livres de la République* jo je opisal Jean Bodine, njegovo delo pa je vplivalo tudi na Thomasa Jeffersona.

²⁵ Verzi v *Zdravljici*, ki evocirajo preteklost, niso ravno eksplicitni, a dobro se ve, kam besedilo meri: »prost, ko je bil očakov, / naprej naj bo Slovincov dom; /.../ de oblast, / in z njo čast, / ko préd, spet naša boste last!« (Prešeren 28, 29).

²⁶ Šele pozneje so se v slovenski literaturi vidneje uveljavile nekatere druge zgodovinske teme, na primer celjski grofje z Veroniko Deseniško, turški vpadi in podobno. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja so za razliko od časa pred revolucionarnim letom 1848 nastali tudi osamosvojeni zgodovinski literarni žanri.

²⁷ Izvirna poezija Koseskega je sicer večinoma primerno nacionalistična, zgodovine pa se resneje loti le v omenjeni odi. Zabaven ekskurz v »zgodovino« si je Koseski privoščil tudi v znamenitem *Nemškutarju*. »Učil je, ne zabi, Slovenec modrost, / Ko glodal še Nemic je medvedovo kost« (Koseski 106). Zamisel niti ni povsem neutemeljena, saj se je, kot komentira Grdina, pri tem mogoče sklicevati denimo na srednjeveško Teofilaktovo *Klimentovo žitje*, kjer so »'Nemitsol' označeni za 'divjaške ljudi prirojene surovosti'« (Grdina, *Jovan Vesel Koseski* 281).

²⁸ O oblikovnih značilnostih na tem mestu ne bomo obširneje razpravljali, saj so bile že večkrat obravnavane; naše zanimanje pa je predvsem literarnosociološko. Pesem in njen kompleksen »historični aparat« je najdosledneje »dešifriral« Kozma Ahačič v delu *Izvirne slovenske pesmi Jovana Vesela Koseskega*.

²⁹ Pri tem je bilo hitro jasno, da stare administrativne delitve dežel ne ustrezajo ločnici slovansko-germansko; težavnejša pa je bila razmejitev etničnih skupin znotraj (južno)slovanskega območja. Tu so se rešitve prej kot v teoriji pojavile v praksi: že protestanti so – ob sklicevanju na slovanstvo – v knjige prenesli lokalno narečje. Tudi Zois, Kopitar in Vodnik so »ilirizmu« navkljub uspešno zavrnilo možnost enotnega »ilirskega« jezika v Ilirskih provincah. Odločna zavrnitev ilirizma Vrazovega tipa nekaj desetletij pozneje je na tej podlagi razumljivejša.

³⁰ Očitno pa so se reprezentacije preteklosti v literarni preobleki tudi lažje prebile skozi stroge cenzurne postopke.

³¹ Vse do leta 1848 se namreč najradikalnejše politične zamisli pojavljajo skoraj izključno v literaturi. Celo zasebna korespondenca med Zoisom in Kopitarjem v začetku 19. stoletja postane, ko gre za kočljiva politična vprašanja, močno šifrirana (Vidmar, »*Et in politicis*«).

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Zgodovinska drama na Slovenskem in njena družbena vloga pod komunizmom

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Članek se ukvarja z družbeno vlogo zgodovinske drame na Slovenskem med letoma 1960 in 1990. Čeprav ob zgodovinskih žanrih večinoma govorimo o tem, da so gradili nacionalne in ideološke mite, je bila zgodovinska drama v našem primeru način formuliranja družbene kritike v času bolj ali manj ostrega ideološkega nadzora s strani oblastnih struktur.

Ključne besede: literatura in ideologija / literarna sociologija / slovenska dramatika / 20. stol. / zgodovinska drama / družbena vloga / komunizem

UDK 821.163.6.09-24"1960/1980"

Uvod

Ko govorimo o zgodovinskih literarnih žanrih in njihovih razmerjih do političnih ideologij ter nacionalnih mitologij, navadno mislimo na dve možnosti. Lahko predstavljajo bodoči družbeni red in s tem gradijo družbene utopije, legitimirajo gospostvo določene družbene skupine, ki sčasoma lahko postane realno; lahko pa z mitologizacijo nekaterih zgodovinskih dejstev v razvoju naroda utrjujejo obstoječa družbena razmerja. V slovenski drami po l. 1955 se je razvila zanimiva tretja opcija te vloge, saj je dramatika kritizirala sočasno oblast in družbeni sistem, hkrati pa je ravno preko te kritike utrjevala vez med družbenimi elitami in večino državljanov, pomagala graditi zaupanje v večne reforme ter s tem pravzaprav utrjevala pozicijo Komunistične partije. To situacijo bom analiziral s pomočjo primerjave dveh dram in njunih usod. Najprej bom analiziral *Afero Primoža Kozaka*, nato pa *Toplo gredo* Marjana Rožanca. Napisani sta bili v prvi polovici 60-ih let, ko se je prvič vzpostavilo nekakšno zaveznitvo med dramatikom in oblastjo, poleg tega pa s svojima usodama predstavljata dva povsem nasprotna primera. *Afera* je bila eden najuspešnejših dramskih

tekstov v 60-ih, *Topla greda* pa je bila edina drama na področju nekdanje Jugoslavije, ki je doživela sodno prepoved tiskanja in uprizarjanja.

Primerjava obeh tekstov bi morala razkriti način, na katerega se je slovenska dramatika umeščala v diskurzivno polje, z drugimi besedami, pokazati bi morala, zakaj je bila tako uspešna kljub svoji družbeni kritiki. Moja hipoteza je, da je zgodovinska drama premeščala dogajanje v oddaljen prostor in čas in s tem omogočala več različnih interpretacij. Bilo jo je mogoče razumeti kot kritiko prejšnjih oblik socializma in s tem kot podporo aktualnim reformam, ali pa kot metaforo za aktualne razmere in torej kritiko sočasne oblasti. Zaradi tega je enako uspešno nagovarjala tako privrženca kot nasprotnike socialističnega sistema. Na koncu bom prej omenjeni primerjavi dodal še analizo dveh kasnejših zgodovinskih dram: radijske igre Andreja Hienga *Corteseva vrnitev* in drame *Veliki briljantni valček* Draga Jančarja. S tem bom skušal prikazati nadaljnji razvoj zgodovinske drame in potrditi svojo hipotezo.

Afera

Afera se ukvarja z osnovno dilemo komunistične revolucije: lahko dokončno osvoboditev človeštva dosežemo le preko popolne podreditve partijskemu vodstvu in uporabe nasilja ali pa jo je treba graditi na doslednem upoštevanju svobode posameznika? Čeprav opisuje odporniško gibanje v severni Italiji po l. 1943, je bilo od vsega začetka jasno, da je njena zgodovinskost le kamuflaža za kritiko jugoslovanskih razmer. Vladimir Kralj je ob njeni uprizoritvi v ljubljanski Drami zapisal, da gre »v tej na zunaj skoraj zgodovinski drami [...] za projekcijo nekega problema sedanosti v neko bolj ali manj neobvezno preteklost« (357). Publika in gledališki ustvarjalci so njeno aktualnost prepoznali že ob njeni postavitvi v eksperimentalnem gledališču Oder 57, ki je na *Festivalu malih odrov* v Sarajevu l. 1961 dobila nagrado za najboljšo predstavo. Kasneje istega leta je bila ponovno uprizorjena na odru osrednjega slovenskega gledališča, torej na odru ljubljanske Drame, kar ji je omogočilo veliko večji odmev. Po podatkih, ki jih navaja Polde Bibič, je predstavo na Odru 57 videlo 750 ljudi, predstavo v Drami pa kar 6968 (77). Kritično naravnost publike in gledališča lahko zlahka razumemo, saj se napovedani družbeni raj v petnajstletnem povojnem obdobju ni uresničil. Bolj preseneča dejstvo, da so Kozakov tekst podprli tudi nekateri vodilni člani Komunistične partije Slovenije in slovenske vlade. Josip Vidmar, nekdanji član vodstva NOB, ki je gledališke kritike pisal pravzaprav samo v 60-ih letih, ko ga je na to mesto postavilo vodstvo Partije, je o postavitvi *Afere* v Drami napisal eno svojih najbolj navdušenih

in pozitivnih ocen. Na začetku svojega članka je poudaril dejstvo, da gre za dogajanje v italijanskem odporniškem gibanju po l. 1943. Čeprav je tudi sam priznal, da obravnavana problematika presega konkretni zgodovinski okvir, se zdi, da je ni povezal s situacijo v nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Igra se mu zdi »z resničnim pisateljskim čutom in okusom pisano delo čiste idejne problematike, delo, ki je prispevek k osveščanju problematike naših dni in ki je vrhu tega odrsko zelo razgibano in učinkovito« (22).

Kljub temu pa je bilo Kozakov tekst mogoče interpretirati tudi kot radikalno kritiko sočasne oblasti, kar se je pokazalo le nekaj mesecev kasneje na Sterijinem pozorju, največjem gledališkem festivalu v Jugoslaviji. Nastop ljubljanske Drame, ki je bil 9. 5. 1962, je, kot se spominja gledališki kritik Vasja Predan, sprožil burne reakcije srbskih članov žirije. Ti so nasprotovali temu, da bi Kozak dobil nagrado za najboljšo dramsko besedilo, zaradi česar je sestanek žirije protestno zapustil Vladimir Kralj. Čeprav Kozak na koncu ni dobil nagrade za najboljši tekst, je ljubljanska predstava dobila tri druge nagrade (več kot katerakoli druga predstava na festivalu), tako da lahko upravičeno domnevamo, da je bila najboljša uprizoritev festivala. Kot mi je Vasja Predan povedal v intervjuju, so se ljudje na Pozorju zavedali političnega ozadja svoje odločitve in so Kozaku zato podelili nagrado za najboljšo dramsko besedilo šest let kasneje ob uprizoritvi njegovega *Kongresa*.

Postavitev v Drami je omogočil njen umetniški in poslovni direktor Bojan Štih, tesen prijatelj Borisa Kraigherja, tedanjega predsednika republiškega izvršnega sveta. Kraigher in njegov naslednik, Stane Kavčič, sta bila glavna akterja t. i. liberalizma na Slovenskem, ki je predstavljal serijo ekonomskih reform. V času liberalizma sta se ekonomska situacija in splošni življenjski standard močno dvignila, postala sta primerljiva npr. s situacijo v sosednji Avstriji, a so reforme obenem pripeljale politični sistem do njegovih meja, ko se je začela vedno bolj jasno kazati tudi nujnost političnih sprememb. Vodstvo Komunistične partije je razumelo te zahteve kot grožnjo lastnemu obstoju, zato je konservativna partijska struja ponovno prevzela oblast, liberalci pa so bili odstavljani s svojih funkcij in so se morali povsem umakniti iz javnega življenja. Propad liberalizma se je zgodil okrog l. 1970, podobno dogajanje pa lahko opazujemo že pet let prej ob ukinitvi živahne eksperimentalne gledališke scene, katere povod so predstavljali dogodki okrog Rožančevega dramskega feljtona *Topla greda*.

Topla greda

Rožančeva drama *Topla greda* je bila uprizorjena na Odru 57 31. 5. 1964. Na gledališkem plakatu za uprizoritev je Andrej Inkret poudaril, da gre za novo obliko ljudskega teatra. »Ena njegovih bistvenih značilnosti naj bo ukinjanje distance med odrsko rampo in avditorijem, igralcem in gledalcem, v poistovetenju prvega z drugim v enega samega, novega in skozinskoz nepomirjenega družbenega akterja.« *Toplo gredo* je označil kot aktualistično agitko ali časnikarski feljton in zaključil, da se mora gledalec »aktivno vključiti v igro, sprejeti nase konfliktno situacijo ter se v njej opredeliti. To pa je tudi sicer že začetek akcije« (165, 66).

Rožanc je napisal svojo dramo na podlagi članka Jožeta Pučnika z naslovom *Dileme našega kmetijstva*. Jože Pučnik je bil le teden dni pred premiero Rožančevega komada že drugič zaprt zaradi kontrarevolucionarnega delovanja in omenjeni članek je bil eden od osrednjih dokazov obtožnice. Kljub temu je presenetljivo dejstvo, da Rožanc pravzaprav propagira nekatere tedaj aktualne ideje Partije. Šlo je za prehod od totalitarnega vodenja države, v katerem je državo upravljal majhen krog ljudi, k bolj demokratičnemu sistemu delavskega samoupravljanja, v katerem naj bi delavci oz. državljani sami upravljali gospodarstvo in državo. Stari iz *Tople grede* je revolucionar starega kova, ki slepo sledi partijskim navodilom, čeprav ta ne prinašajo željenih rezultatov v kmetijski zadruzi, ki jo vodi. Ker je povsem očitno nesposoben uresničiti dane obljube o pravični družbi blaginje, ga delavci odstavijo in sami prevzamejo pobudo. Konec predstave naj bi se zato razvil v splošno debato o predstavljenih problemih, v kateri naj bi se spojila oder in avditorij in s tem postala živi primer samoupravljanja.

Vendar pa predstava nikoli ni bila odigrana do konca, saj so premiero prekinili delavci KZ Grosuplje, ki so protestirali proti Rožančevemu tekstu. Kasneje se je izkazalo, da so bile demonstracije organizirane s strani direktorja zadruga Jake Perovška, ki je bil brat tedanjega republiškega ministra za kulturo Janeza Perovška (Inkret 182, 83).

Prekinitev premiere je sprožila ostro polemiko v časopisih, kasneje celo razpravo v parlamentu in na koncu dobila še sodni epilog, v katerem je sodišče odredilo zaplembo vseh obstoječih izvodov igre ter prepoved nadaljnjega izvajanja in tiskanja teksta. V teh reakcijah na predstavo lahko zaznamo nek enoten vzorec. Negativni odzivi na *Toplo gredo* slikajo Rožanca in ostale pripadnike njegovega kroga kot ljudi, ki nič ne delajo, ki živijo od štipendij in pozno vstajajo, medtem ko protestnike na premieri opisujejo kot predstavnike večine, ki je delavna ter spoštuje pridobitve NOB in socializma. Podobno sliko dobimo iz zapisov o skupščinski razpravi, na kateri

je poslanec Janez Švajncer izjavil: »Če se pojavljajo posamezniki ali skupine, ki hočejo rušiti, kar smo ustvarili, jim je treba to onemogočiti« (Taufner 252), enaka dikcija pa se nadaljuje tudi v obrazložitvi sklepa sodišča. »Predsednik senata je v obrazložitvi sklepa povedal, 'da so prepovedali to delo, ker po mnenju senata širi neresnične in vznemirljive vesti, neresnično prikazuje današnjo stvarnost in napada ustavna načela'« (Taufner 253). Čeprav je bil napad na *Toplo gredo* bržkone najočitnejše vmešavanje oblasti v jugoslovansko gledališče, pravzaprav ni imel resnejših posledic za Rožanca in ostale kritične dramatik. Vsekakor je pomenil velik šok, saj je pokazal, da se oblast ni povsem odrekla represivnim metodam pri discipliniranju umetnikov, vendar je lahko Rožanc še naprej objavljaj in je bil pogojno obsojen zaradi svoje proze l. 1967. Še bolj ilustrativna je nadaljnja usoda nekaterih drugih dramatikov z Odra 57. Čeprav ga je država ukinila, so ti avtorji še naprej pisali gledališke tekste, ki so bili uprizarjani v osrednjih institucionalnih gledališčih. Eden teh avtorjev je bil tudi Primož Kozak, ki je po l. 1964 napisal še *Kongres* in *Legendo o svetem Che*, s katerima je dosegel vidne uspehe tako v Sloveniji kot v širšem jugoslovanskem prostoru.

Zgodovinska drama v družbenem kontekstu nekdanje Jugoslavije

Da bi lahko razumeli uspeh slovenske zgodovinske drame kljub njeni družbeni kritičnosti, moramo odgovoriti na dve vprašanji: 1.) kaj je slovenski dramatik omogočilo, da je kritizirala oblast brez resnejših posledic tudi v primerih, ko so drame doživele odkrito nasprotovanje oblasti; in 2.) katera je tista razlika med *Afero* in *Toplo gredo*, ki je botrovala njuni povsem nasprotni usodi?

Kot smo že pokazali, kažejo napadi na *Toplo gredo* enoten vzorec, ki kaže umetnike, natančneje skupino kritičnih umetnikov, ki so se zbirali okrog Odra 57, kot neproduktivno družbeno skupino, ki živi od štipendij oz. od denarja drugih ljudi. Ta argumentacija je pravzaprav ideološka mistifikacija v dveh korakih, ki jo Slavoj Žižek opiše v svoji knjigi *Logika antisemitizma* (46-52). Žižek omenjeno ideološko operacijo ponazori na primeru antisemitizma, ki je skušal prikriti konflikte kapitalistične družbe z vzpostavitvijo skupnega sovražnika (judje). Kapitalizem je popolnoma spremenil družbene odnose. Če so fevdalni odnosi med gospodarjem in podložnikom predvidevali očetovsko skrb prvega in popolno podrejenost drugega, kapitalizem pozna le še odnos izkoriščanja, katerega končni cilj je dobiček. Akumulacija kapitala postane edini cilj produkcije, ki izpodrine zadovoljevanje posameznikovih potreb.

Da bi torej prikrih kruto naravo kapitalizma in prepričal večino, da sprejme novi družbeni red, je antisemitizem razvil prej omenjeno obliko ideološke mistifikacije. Najprej je razdelil kapital na produktivnega (predmeti in sredstva dela) in neproduktivnega (finančni kapital) ter ju kasneje personaliziral. Razmerje med produktivnim kapitalom in delavci je prikazano kot nujno razmerje vsake produkcije, medtem ko se finančni kapital lepi na ta odnos od zunaj in si neupravičeno prilašča plodove te iste produkcije. Verjetno ni potrebno posebej poudariti, da je bil produktivni kapital pripisan Nemcem, neproduktivni pa Judom.

Žižek detektira podobne ideološke operacije v jugoslovanskem samoupravljanju 70-ih in 80-ih let. Komunistična partija je propagirala utopično enotnost družbe, ki naj bi se uresničila ob dokončni vzpostavitvi socializma, kar se sicer ni nikoli zgodilo, a je v oblastnem diskurzu nenehno ostajalo uresničljivo. Vera v možnost uresničitve socialistične družbene utopije se je vzdrževala s pomočjo podobne logike kot pri antisemitizmu. Da bi prikrihla svojo nezmožnost odpraviti družbene delitve, je Partija ponudila javnosti t. i. neproduktivne družbene skupine kot nadomestni objekt njenega upravičenega nezadovoljstva.

Enako strategijo lahko opazimo pri napadu na *Toplo gredo*, pri katerem pa sta posledice utrpela le drama in gledališče, ne pa tudi njegov avtor. Še več, nekatere družbenokritične drame (npr. *Afera*) so bile izredno uspešne in so jih v nekem smislu celo podpirali z oblastnega vrha.

Vse to nas pelje do našega drugega vprašanja. V čem se torej *Afera* in *Topla greda* razlikujeta? Najbolj očitna razlika je dejstvo, da je Kozakova igra zgodovinska drama, medtem ko Rožančev tekst to ni. Kaj pomeni to dejstvo za zgoraj opisano ideološko operacijo? Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, je ravno tu srž problema. *Afero* je zaradi žanra zgodovinske drame mogoče interpretirati na dva načina. Prvi nas vodi do spoznanja, da je avtor hotel prikazati konkretno zgodovinsko situacijo, ki pa jo je mogoče razumeti tudi kot prikaz splošnih eksistencialnih vprašanj. Druga interpretacija se umešča nekam vmes, saj nam pokaže možnost avtorjevega družbenokritičnega stališča, ki pravi, da Partija ni uspela uresničiti svojih obljub, da mora zato na novo premisliti način uresničevanja lastnih postavk in postaviti dosledno upoštevanje svobode posameznika na prvo mesto.

Če skušamo sedaj definirati družbeno vlogo slovenske drame pod komunizmom, lahko rečemo, da je ravno večpomenskost tekstov omogočila nastanek krhkega ravnovesja med različnimi tendencami in cilji dramatike, oblasti in javnosti. Dramatika je oblasti priskrbela podobo skupnega sovražnika, ki je bil fiktiven in ga zato ni bilo treba zatreti v realnosti. Povedano drugače, Partiji ni bilo treba dejansko uporabljati represivnih sredstev, da bi utrjevala svojo povezanost z javnostjo in legitimirala svoje

gospostvo. Poleg tega je kreirala podobo skrajno represivne družbe, ki so jo gledalci bržkone identificirali s situacijo v nekdanji SZ in ostalih državah vzhodnega bloka. Ker povprečen državljani oz. obiskovalec gledališča oblasti v svojem vsakdanjem življenju ni čutil kot tako represivne, je torej kritiko oblasti lociral v tuje okolje in s tem dobil potrditev svojega prepričanja, da živi v najsvobodnejši deželi socializma.

Čeprav se morda zdi, da je šlo za skupno manipulacijo z javnostjo, torej za nekakšno zavestno zavezništvo med dramatikom in oblastjo, je ta ugotovitev zelo daleč od resnice. Na tem mestu je treba poudariti, da so dramatika, oblast in javnost v to ravnovesje vstopale s povsem različnimi motivacijami in ga nikakor niso uravnavale zavestno, poleg tega pa so vse-skozi verjele, da so iz njega izšle kot zmagovalke. Gre namreč za teoretični model, ki ga lahko postavimo šele danes na podlagi ohranjenih dejstev, nikakor pa ti odnosi niso bili jasni že samim akterjem v času njihovega nastanka. Dejansko je imela ta situacija pozitivne učinke za vse vpletene. Oblast je dobila skupnega sovražnika in preko tega splošno podporo reformam, saj je dramatika nagovarjala tako njene privržence kot tudi njene nasprotnike – vsako skupino s svojo interpretacijo. Dramatiki so dobili možnost, da svoje tekste predstavijo na osrednjih institucionalnih odrih, kar je pomenilo veliko večji odmev, poleg tega pa tudi disidentsko auro oz. status kulturniške opozicije, ki je nadomeščala neobstoječo politično opozicijo. Javnost je na eni strani podpirala oblast in njene reforme, na drugi pa je imela občutek, da sodeluje v njeni opoziciji, ko je kot publika podpirala družbenokritične predstave.

Zgodovinska drama v 70-ih in 80-ih letih

Nadaljnji razvoj slovenske zgodovinske drame potrjuje obstoj našega modela relacij med že omenjenimi faktorji. Najprej bom analiziral radijsko igro *Cortesova vrnitev*, ki je bila napisana sicer že l. 1967, a kaže enake vsebinske in formalne lastnosti kot Hiengove zgodovinske drame iz 70-ih let. Andrej Hieng je bil eden redkih avtorjev, ki so pisali zgodovinske drame tudi po koncu 60-ih let. Njegovi teksti so postavljeni v še bolj oddaljeno preteklost. *Cortesova vrnitev* je del trilogije o Špancih oz. o njihovih pobojih Indijancev v Južni Ameriki v 16. st., njegova ostala dramska dela pa so postavljena v srednjeveško Evropo. Zaradi tega so bile interpretacije, ki so v teh delih videle specifično zgodovinske ali splošno eksistencialne probleme, še bolj poudarjene.

Po avtorjevih besedah govori *Cortesova vrnitev* o »ljudeh, ki jih je zgodovina oropala smisla, ljudeh, za katere sedanost v smislu dejanske,

intenzivne eksistence ne obstaja in so prepuščeni le svoji preteklosti ali prihodnosti« (Hieng, *The Return* 16). Drama govori o Don Franciscu, nekdanjem vojaku generala Cortesa, ki se je vrnil v Španijo, a ni bil poplačan za svoje zločine nad Indijanci. Don Francisco je bil skupaj s Cortesom in ostalimi tovariši idealist, ki je prelil ogromno krvi, da bi ustvaril novo Kristusovo deželo, vendar se izkaže, da so bile dejanske posledice le ropanje zlata, dobički in moč španske aristokracije, ki je kasneje prevzela oblast in pobrala zasluge. Don Francisco tega ne more sprejeti, zato čaka Cortesovo vrnitev, saj je prepričan, da bo general zbral nekdanje soborce in odšel popraviti svoje napake. Na koncu se Don Francisco in Cortes srečata, a v njunem dialogu postane jasno, da njuna dejanja niso imela želenih posledic, da zanje niso bili nagrajeni, še več, postali so celo nadležni novim družbenim elitam.

CORTES: In bi prisegel, da sem isti človek, ki si ga poznal pred petnajstimi leti?

DON FRANCISCO: Isti!

CORTES: Ubogi moj fant! – Nisem. Cortes je zdaj prav malo ali nič. Toda to nemara ni važno. Nemara ni važno, da živim ob robu sveta, ki sem ga osvojil, pa zdaj po njem lazijo in šarijo in vladajo povsem neznani, novi ljudje. Nemara ni važno, da me srečujejo ljudje, me začudeno pogledajo, potem pa zašepetajo – on je BIL... in tako naprej... Nemara vse to ni važno...

DON FRANCISCO: Je važno!

CORTES: Jaz sem v resnici bil, pa nisem več. Vsaj ne isti. (Hieng 26)

Cortesovo vrnitev pa lahko interpretiramo tudi kot radikalno deziluzijo partizanskega gibanja in socialistične revolucije. Poboji Indijancev v marsičem spominjajo na znane medvojne delitve in povojne poboje. Krivice, ki jih trpita Don Francisco in Cortes, spominjajo na nekatere obračune v partijskih vrstah, med katerimi sta morda najbolj znana primera Edvarda Kocbeka in Milovana Đilasa. Končno spoznanje igre – svet ni pravičen, družbena utopija ni uresničljiva in vse nasilje je bilo neupravičeno – odraža popolno deziluzijo socialističnega projekta, ki jo je Hiengova generacija doživela ob aferi *Topla greda* in propadu liberalizma. Čeprav se je dokončni obračun z liberalizmom zgodil šele l. 1972, se je stvar pripravljala že nekaj let prej, s čimer je postajala strožja tudi ideološka kontrola v umetnosti. To je pomenilo, da so lahko avtorji tako močno kritiko sistema izrazili le posredno, pri čemer je bila ena od možnosti tudi zgodovinska drama s svojo premestitvijo dogajanja.

Hiengove drame, ki so bile napisane v obdobju poostrene ideološke kontrole, so bile uspešne po vsej Jugoslaviji. *Cortesovo vrnitev* je dobila prvo nagrado na natečaju RTV Slovenija l. 1967, na 12. tednu jugoslovanske radijske igre je bil *Cortes* najboljša igra po mnenju žirije in kritikov, Hieng pa je dobil tudi nagrado za najboljše besedilo festivala.

Zadnji tekst, ki ga bom analiziral v tej razpravi, je *Veliki briljantni valček* Draga Jančarja. Premierno je bil uprizorjen l. 1985 na odrih obeh osrednjih gledališč (SNG Drama Ljubljana in Maribor) in še istega leta izdan tudi v knjižni obliki. Predstavi sta bili zelo popularni – v Ljubljani je Jančarjevo dramo videlo 7.670 obiskovalcev in je bila najuspešnejša slovenska drama sezone, v Mariboru pa 1.903.

Veliki briljantni valček je še posebej zanimiv za našo razpravo, saj tematizira družbeni mehanizem, ki je omogočil uspeh slovenski zgodovinski drami, čeprav je bil njegov prvi namen prikazati sodobno oblast kot totalitarno silo, ki se ohranja z nasiljem nad marginalnimi skupinami, ki jih sama ustvarja. Igra se dogaja v psihiatrični ustanovi »Svoboda osvobaj« – aluzija na napise nad vhodi v nacistična koncentracijska taborišča – kamor vsak ponedeljek pripeljejo nove paciente. Jančar postavi na oder zgodbo Simona Vebera, zgodovinarja, ki raziskuje življenje poljskega vstajnika Sewerina Drohojowskega, o katerem je v svojih pismih pisal Emil Korytko. Veber se sicer delno identificira z objektom svoje raziskave, a še vedno ohranja tudi lastno identiteto. Kmalu postane jasno, da namen njegove hospitalizacije ni ozdravitev, ampak popolno poistovetenje z Drohojovskim, upornikom, ki ga je treba obvladati in onemogočiti. Veber noče sodelovati, dokler strežnik Volodja ne prevzame nadzora nad institucijo.

DOKTOR: Volodja... ti si... jaz se te bojim.

VOLODJA: Tako je tudi prav, doktor, ker odslej bom jaz vodil zavod. (54)

Po Vebrovih spoznanjih naj bi bil Drohojovski ranjen, tako da so mu morali amputirati nogo. Simon se torej dokončno poistoveti s Poljakom šele tedaj, ko mu Volodja dejansko odreže nogo.

DOKTOR: Niste Drohojovski. Vi ste Simon, zgodovinar Simon Veber.

SIMON: O, ne! Nenene!

LJUBICA: Simon.

SIMON: Samo, da se izkopljem iz tega jarka. Da pridem do Galicije. In začnemo znova. Lahko pa kar tukaj začnemo. Rajko! Kje je Rajko? On bo začel, tisti tihi fant, ki se zna smejeti tiranu v obraz. On se ne boji... samo da pridem tu ven, da splezam na rob ceste, da stopim na cesto [...]. (56)

Čeprav je primarno sporočilo drame nedvomno v tem, da je sočasna družbena ureditev totalitarna, je zanimivo, da Volodja, predstavnik vladajoče elite, pridobi oblast s tem, da premesti potencialno nevarnega intelektualca v oddaljeni zgodovinski kontekst. To je namreč natančno tisto, kar se je zgodilo slovenski dramatiki oz. tistemu njenemu delu, ki je svojo kritiko izražal v žanru zgodovinske drame.

Zaključek

Zgodovinska drama je imela na Slovenskem med letoma 1955 in 1990 posebno družbeno vlogo. Zaradi premestitve dogajanja je omogočala različne interpretacije, preko katerih je lahko kritizirala oblast in sistem ter obenem legitimirala gospostvo komunistične partije. To je omogočilo nastanek krhklega ravnovesja med dramatiko, oblastjo in javnostjo, v katerega je vsak od faktorjev vstopal z različnimi motivacijami in v njem tudi dosegel povsem različne, pogosto celo nasprotujoče si cilje.

Ko so bili avtorji preveč neposredni v svojem družbenokritičnem sporočilu, so bili njihovi teksti praviloma prepovedani (primer *Tople grede*), zato ne moremo trditi, da slovenska dramatika ni bila del disidentske literature, ki je nastajala po vsej Vzhodni Evropi. Moja raziskava le dekonstruira splošno sprejeto mnenje s konca 80-ih let, da so pisatelji oz. intelektualci odigrali odločilno vlogo v propadu socializma in SFRJ.

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Zgodovina opere in zgodovinska opera

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Namen članka je povezan s poizkusom definiranja žanra zgodovinske opere, predvsem v luči njenega razmerja do zgodovinskih literarnih žanrov. Izkaže se, da je prostor zgodovinske opere vsaj glede na zgodovinski roman bistveno zožan, saj za njeno določitev ne zadostuje kriterij »zgodovinskosti« snovi, temveč mora zgodovinska opera izkazovati specifičnosti na glasbeno-formalni in operno-dramaturški ravni

Ključne besede: literatura in glasba / velika opera / zgodovinska opera / zgodovinski roman / libreto

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Naslov članka izhaja iz privlačne besedne igre, vendar pa moj namen ni povezan s podajanjem obsežnega razvoja žanra zgodovinske opere in njegovih raznolikih oblik, kakršne lahko zasledujemo od »poantičnega« rojstva opere v začetku 17. stoletja do aktualne sodobnosti. V prispevku se bom osredotočil na poizkus definiranja zvrsti, predvsem v luči njenega razmerja do zgodovinskih literarnih žanrov.

Literarna zgodovina v večini primerov postavlja na začetek razvoja zgodovinskega romana Walterja Scotta (Starikova 25; Hladnik, *Temeljni* 2), kar pa ni nepomembno tudi za vznik zgodovinske opere. Prav v času mode Walterja Scotta se je tudi pri opernih ustvarjalcih pojavil bistveno povečan interes za zgodovinske snovi, kar je logično pripeljalo tudi do oblikovanja žanra zgodovinske opere (Gerhard 1576). Zgodovinske snovi je sicer mogoče najti tudi v operah, ki so nastale v času pred 19. stoletjem, vendar pa je bil v baročni in klasicistični operi delež historičnih sižejev glede na prevladujoče mitološke teme, obdelave bibličnih legend in ljubezenske spletke obrozen. Še pomembnejše pa je, da se te redke opere z zgodovinsko snovjo v svojem ustroju in značilnostih niso prav nič razlikovale od oper, zasnovanih na nezgodovinskih temah, zaradi česar sploh ne moremo govoriti o posebnem žanru.

Ob premišljevanju, kaj je zgodovinska opera – opozoriti velja, da se zgodovinsko opero redko izpostavlja kot poseben operni žanr in se jo raje

preprosto povezuje s pariško veliko opero, za katero so bile značilne monumentalne zgodovinske freske (Bartlet) – moramo biti posebej pozorni, saj se kot osrednje vprašanje zastavlja, ali lahko v žanr zgodovinske opere uvrstimo res vsako glasbeno-gledališko delo, katerega libreto prinaša zgodovinsko snov. Literarna veda ob problematiki zgodovinskega romana izpostavlja naslednje kriterije: dogajalni čas je postavljen v preteklost, posamezne dogodke in dejanja motivirajo zgodovinska dejstva, pomembna pa je tudi zgodovinska oz. pripovedovalčeva distanca (prim. Starikova; Hladnik *Temeljni*; Matajc; Hladnik *Slovenski*). Tem osnovnim določilom se priključuje še osrednja dilema, ki je povezana z vprašanjem razmerja med fikcijo (izmišljenim) in zgodovino (dokumentiranim). Nadežda Starikova to napetost razrešuje salomonsko s poantirano mislijo, da »[brez] dejstev zgodovinski roman preneha biti zgodovinski, brez fikcije – preneha biti roman« (Starikova 28). Znotraj zgodovinskega žanra torej vrata fantazijskosti niso zaprta, a le dokler prek nje ne potvarjamo zgodovinskih danosti.

Zgodovinska opera seveda ni literarni žanr oz. je to samo posredno prek libreta, zato zgornja določila ne morejo biti zadostna za vzpostavljanje kriterijev za zgodovinsko opero. V najboljšem primeru jih lahko uporabljamo za določitev »zgodovinskosti« izbranega sižeya, drugače pa moramo specifične zgodovinske opere iskati v posebnem oblikovanju glasbenega stavka, glasbeno-operne dramaturgije in formalnih operno-dramatičnih rešitvah. Še drugače povedano: o zgodovinski operi morajo odločiti tudi glasbeni kriteriji, če želimo, da snovna oznaka preraste v žanrsko.

V 19. stoletju postanejo opere z zgodovinsko snovjo prevladujoče, kar gre povezovati z zgoraj omenjeno »scottovsko« mrzlico. Njihovo število postane praktično nepregledljivo, tako močan porast pa je gotovo povezan tudi z eno izmed osrednjih značilnosti romantike – z idejo karakterističnega. Nek posebej izbran zgodovinski dogodek je tako lahko zagotavljal specifično zgodovinsko barvo – »couleur du temps« – po kateri se je opera ločila od vseh drugih in tako izpolnila zahtevo po karakterističnem. Tak postopek pa v operi ni predstavljal nekaj povsem novega, saj je podobno vlogo igrala že lokalna barva – »couleur locale«: skladatelj je svojo opero postavil na neko oddaljeno prizorišče – najbolje, če je bilo eksotično – ki ga je označil z značilnim glasbenim eksotizmom ali folklorizmom. Vsakič na novo izbrano prizorišče in nacionalni »okus« naj bi operam podeljevala vrednost karakterističnega.

Natančno preučevanje fenomena »couleur locale« pa nas utrdi v spoznanju, da takšni postopki največkrat prinašajo le videz karakterističnega, ne pa tudi prave individualnosti in razločljivosti. Problem lokalnih barv je namreč povezan z njihovo izmenljivostjo – pogosto se namreč zgodi, da eksotizem ali folklorizem lahko prepoznamo, saj se po svoji glasbeni

ustrojenosti razlikujeta od preostalega konteksta, vendar pa jima je praktično nemogoče določiti izvor. Tak tipičen primer predstavlja situacija v Borodinovi nedokončani operi *Knez Igor*. Borodin skuša v svojem delu glasbeno začrtati nasprotujoči si vojskujoči strani – Ruse in Polovce – vendar pa Borodinovih folklorizmov (ruske ljudske intonacije) in eksotizmov (vezani so na tatarsko polovsko pleme) med seboj sploh ne moremo ločiti. Izkaže se namreč, da skladatelji pri naznačevanju lokalne barve uporabljajo vedno ene in iste kompozicijske tehnike, ki so ozko omejene na melodično obigravanje enega tona, pentatoniko, kromatiko, konstantno izmenjavanje med durom in molom, pedalni ton, v lestvici ponavljajočo se zvečano sekundo, zvečano kvarto ali zmanjšano seksto ter ostinato (Mahling 53), kar posledično povzroča skoraj prosto izmenljivost.

Podobno velja tudi za zgodovinske barve, ki pa niso izmenljive samo same med seboj, temveč pogosto tudi z lokalnimi barvami. To je razvidno iz Spontinijeve opere *Fernand Cortez ou La Conquête du Mexique*, v kateri skuša skladatelj zgodovinski dvoboj dveh kultur naznačiti prek tipičnih vzorcev lokalne glasbe obeh narodov. Zgodovinsko je torej v resnici naznačeno s pomočjo lokalnega, kar nas lahko samo še utrdi v prepričanju, da skladatelji v 19. stoletju pravzaprav ne ločijo arhaičnega in eksotičnega. Oboje je zvedeno na skupni imenovalec oddaljenega ter na ta način zaznamovano z zahtevo po karakterističnem (»romantična« enačba bi se lahko glasila: arhaično = eksotično = oddaljeno = karakteristično).

Zgoraj razjasnjena problematika, povezana z lokalno in zgodovinsko barvo, nas tako sili, da specifične zgodovinske opere ne iščemo v glasbeni materialnosti, temveč v operni dramaturgiji. Le-ta pa je ozko povezana z vlogo, ki jo izbrana zgodovinska snov opravlja v operi. Pri tem lahko ločimo štiri značilne situacije: (1) zgodovinski milje lahko predstavlja samo okvir za zgodbo iz intimnega življenja, ukrojeno po modelih melodrame; (2) z zgodovinsko snovjo se skladatelju odpre možnost za povečevanje »zanimivosti« prek vpeljevanja značilne zgodovinske ali lokalne barve, ki predstavljata glavni čar opere; (3) zgodovinski dogodki so lahko v središču opere in usodno vplivajo na njen razplet, kar na primer pomeni, da intimna ljubezenska zgodba ni usodno zaznamovana s političnim intri-gami, temveč da ljubezenska spletko usodno vpliva na politične in zgodovinske rešitve;¹ (4) poseben primer predstavljajo še nacionalne opere, ki se v večini primerov prav tako naslanjajo na zgodovinske snovi.

Večino oper z zgodovinsko snovjo, nastalih v 19. stoletju, je mogoče povezati s prvo in drugo situacijo (1, 2). Izbrana zgodovinska snov je le zunanji dejavnik, ki omogoča zgodovinsko in lokalno barvanje, drugače pa je v središču zasebna zgodba, ki v resnici ni usodno prepletena z zgodovinskimi dogodki. Takšne opere ostajajo v dramaturškem in formalnem

pogledu zavezane prevladujočemu italijanskemu tipu melodrame, kakršna je bila značilne za osrednje italijanske operne skladatelje tega časa – V. Bellinija, G. Donizettija in G. Verdija² – in v katerih so prevladovali intimne scene in solistične točke kot tipične oblike osebnih izpovedi.

Na skrčeno vlogo zgodovine v takšnih operah pa ni vplivala le trdna zavezanost skladateljev in libretistov tradicionalni in pri občinstvu priljubljeni dramaturgiji melodramatične opere, temveč tudi v 19. stoletju izjemno močna cenzura in specifične »literarne« zahteve libretističnega žanra. Tako je bila cenzura izjemno pozorna na mogoče vzporednice, ki bi tekle med zgodovinskim dogodkom in aktualno politično stvarnostjo, zaradi česar so bili libretisti pogosto prisiljeni izvirno zgodovinsko snov prenesti v drugo okolje. Tak tipičen primer predstavljata Verdijevi veliki operi *Les Vêpres siciliennes* (Siciljanske večernice) in *Un ballo in maschera* (Ples v maskah). V prvem primeru je bil osrednji libretist pariške velike opere Eugène Scribe prisiljen zgodovinsko zgodbo iz Nizozemske 16. stoletja prestaviti na Sicilijo v 13. stoletje (Schreiber 621, 22), za italijansko izvedbo pa je bilo potrebno poiskati še nevtralnejši naslov (*Giovanna de Guzman*), v drugem primeru pa je bilo resnično zgodbo o atentatu na švedskega kralja Gustava III. iz leta 1792 potrebno spremeniti v umor britanskega guvernerja v Bostonu (Schreiber 629), saj cenzura ni želela »rojalističnih« umorov na gledaliških deskah. Seveda je simptomatično, da osrednja točka glavnega junaka Riccarda ne spominja na angleško ali celo na švedsko ljudsko intonacijo, temveč nas zaziblje v tonu napolitanske barkarole.

Svoje pasti pa nosi tudi žanr opernega libreta, za katerega so glede na literarno dramsko obliko značilne vsaj tri prilagoditve: poenostavitev (zmanjša se število oseb, nemirni dialog je upočasnen, črtane so vse komplicirane povezave in izpuščene razlage ter miselno-filozofska tvarina), osrediščenje na situacijo (pogosto v prid vizualnemu, procesualno je prevedeno v slike), protagoniste pa vodijo predvsem globoke emocije, ki so pogosto tako močne, da nam postane prestop v petje celo razumljiv (argumentiranje in diskusija se morata umakniti surovi moči čustev) (Koebner 194, 95). Opravka imamo torej z deliterarizacijo in hkrati z odklonom od realnega, posledično tudi od zgodovinskega.

Kljub množični uporabi zgodovinskih snovi so v 19. stoletju tako so-razmerno redki primeri, ko postane izbran zgodovinski dogodek osrednji nosilni element opere (3). Tako odločilno vlogo igra zgodovinski milje le v nekaterih velikih operah, *Les Huguenots* (Hugenoti) in *Le Prophète* (Prerok) Giacoma Meyerbeerja ter v *Boristu Godunovu* in nedokončani *Hovanščini* Modesta Musorgskega. V skladu z načinom obravnave zgodovinske snovi se v teh operah spreminja tudi dramaturgija: v središču so množične scene, ki preraščajo v velike statične slike, v katerih je močno povečan pomen vi-

zualnega in pantomimičnega, bistveno se skrči delež intimnega dogajanja in s tem tudi število solističnih točk. V zgodovinski operi je torej bistveno bolj kot pevski solist obremenjen zbor kot nosilec kolektivnega dogajanja. Bolj kot te zunanje značilnosti »pravih« zgodovinskih oper, ki jih večinoma res lahko povežemo z najsijajnejšim obdobjem pariške velike opere, pa je pomembno spoznanje, da v teh operah zgodovinska snov pridobi idejno potenco in je njena vloga tako povzdignjena iz gole dekorativnosti. Že Heinrich Heine je v svojem poročilu o francoskem gledališču 19. stoletja zapisal, da velika pariška opera, torej zgodovinska opera, predstavlja »trpljenje in srečo celotnega človeštva« (Heine 335) in tak značilen premik lahko opazimo tudi v Verdijevi zgodovinski operi *Don Carlos*, katere idejno središče predstavlja svoboda – ne samo Flandrije, temveč svoboda kot obči pojem in stanje.

Tako se izkaže, da za zgodovinsko opero ni toliko pomembna »literarna« dilema o razmerju med fikcijo in zgodovino v zgodovinskih literarnih žanrih, temveč veliko bolj razmerje med zasebnim in javnim (političnim), solističnim in množičnim ter nenazadnje med dojemanjem zgodovine kot okvirne snovi ali osrednje ideje.

Seveda se postavlja dodatno vprašanje, kaj se zgodi v tistih primerih, ko ideja neke zgodovinske opere prevzame tudi ideološke poteze. Take primere nam predstavljajo nacionalne opere (4), ki še dodatno zvišujejo delež zgodovinskih oper v 19. stoletju, še posebej po letu 1850. Praktično vse nacionalne opere (zanimivo izjemo predstavlja *Halka* S. Moniuszka) so zamišljene kot zgodovinske opere – libretisti in skladatelji so si za snov izbrali nek pomemben zgodovinski trenutek naroda, ki je odločilno zaznamoval njegovo nadaljnjo usodo (med najznačilnejše nacionalno-zgodovinske opere sodijo *Življenje za carja* M. Glinke, *Hunyadi László* in *Bánk Bán* F. Erkla ter *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* I. Zajca). Formalno pa so nacionalne opere odvisne od tujih zgledov – veliko bolj kot od Meyerbeerjeve velike zgodovinske opere od Verdijevega melodramatičnega tipa, v katerem je zgodovinski moment ponavadi zreduciran na vlogo okvirja – in zato je v njih v resnici le malo nacionalno specifičnega. Vzorec za nacionalno opero je povzet po tujem modelu in sredstvih, nacionalna tipika pa je dodana prek prav tako že utečenega postopka lokalne barve. Med nacionalno glasbeno intonacijo in eksotizmom pa, kot smo spoznali, ni prave razlike, zato postanejo nacionalne opere, potem ko postrgamo njihovo jezikovno lupino, v resnici izmenljive. Eksotizem je pretvorjen v nacionalni folklorizem, v njem pa se križata lokalna in zgodovinska barva. V formalnem in dramaturškem pogledu sta si tako Glinkova opera *Življenje za carja* in Erkllova opera *Bánk Bán* zelo sorodni – loči ju le zunanje motivirana lokalna barva, sicer pa sta obe operi ukrojeni po zgledu belcanta.

Seveda ostaja v nacionalnih operah problematična tudi vrednost zgodovinske snovi kot idejnega potenciala, saj je praviloma v vsaki nacionalni operi izkoriščena za isti cilj: prebujanje nacionalnih čutov. Idejnost nacionalnih oper je tako reducirana na plakativno politično ali nacionalistično propagando.

Iz vsega povedanega mora biti razvidno, da je prostor zgodovinske opere v primerjavi z literarnimi zgodovinskimi žanri, posebej z zgodovinskim romanom, bistveno zožan. To lahko še najbolje potrdimo na primeru Hladnikove tipologije zgodovinskega romana (Hladnik *Temeljini* 190, 91). Hladnik loči glede na funkcijo, ki jo v romanu opravlja zgodovina, najprej dve veliki skupini besedil. Prvim gre za prezentacijo preteklosti (I), pri čemer je le-ta eksotična, slikovita in poetična (I1), kar je samo sebi namen, lahko pa je v dvojni relaciji s sedanostjo: je bolj simpatična od aktualnega trenutka (gre za tipičen primer eskapizma, I1a) ali pa je naslikana v »temnih barvah« (I1b). Za drugo skupino je značilno, da ima zgodovina v razmerju do drugih časov instrumentalno vrednost (II), pri čemer se lahko ukvarja s splošnočloveškimi problemi (II1) in s tem kaže na nespremenljivost človeškega življenja ali pa uporablja preteklost kot metaforo (II2), ki ima lahko spoznavno razsežnost (II2a) ali propagandno funkcijo (II2b).

Ko skušamo zgornjo tipologijo aplicirati na žanr zgodovinske opere, se izkaže, da je mogoče z žanrom zgodovinske opere povezati le dva Hladnikova tipa. Mnogim skladateljem, ki v svoje opere prevzemajo zgodovinsko snov, je pomembna le okvirna oz. dekorativna vloga preteklosti, ki jo udejanjajo s pomočjo zgodovinskih in lokalnih barv. Takšne opere lahko primerjamo s Hladnikovim prvim tipom zgodovinskih romanov (I), še posebej s tisto varianto, po kateri prikazuje zgodovinski žanr eksotično in slikovito preteklost zaradi eksotičnosti in slikovitosti same (I1). Takšnih oper ni mogoče povezati s samostojnim žanrom zgodovinske opere, saj se po svojem glasbenem in dramaturškem ustroju v resnici prav nič ne razlikujejo od prevladujočega melodramskega tipa. Enako velja tudi za nacionalne opere, ki v svoje središče sicer postavljajo pomembne zgodovinske dogodke, vendar pa ima njihova instrumentalizacija poudarjeno propagandno funkcijo (II2b), v svoji glasbeno-dramaturški strukturi pa spet ne prinašajo odločilnih novosti oz. žanrskih specifičnosti. V vseh teh primerih zgodovina ne prevzema idejne funkcije, ki pa se izkaže kot odločilna za tiste opere, ki jih lahko povežemo s posebnim žanrom zgodovinske opere. »Preureditev« zgodovinske snovi v idejno vodilo povzroča spremembe na dramaturškem (odločilna vloga vizualnega, poudarek na množičnih prizorih, prednost javne sfere pred zasebno) in formalnem nivoju (prevlada zborovskih točk in velikih, statičnih slik), zaradi česar lahko v teh delih izpostavimo tipične žanrske poteze zgodovinske opere. Glede

na Hladnikovo tipologijo zgodovina pridobiva takšno idejno vrednost, kadar izpostavlja splošnočloveške probleme (II1) ali pa ima zgodovinska metafora spoznavno razsežnost (II2a) – le v primerih, ko zgodovina v operi opravlja podobno idejno funkcijo, lahko govorimo o samostojnem žanru zgodovinske opere.

Zgodovinska opera kaže tako na eni strani tesno odvisnost od literature (izbrana snov je pogosto prevzeta iz zgodovinskih romanov, poplavo oper z zgodovinsko snovjo je sprožila prav popularnost Scottovih zgodovinskih romanov), na drugi strani pa jo kot specifičen operni žanr lahko definiramo samo s pomočjo imanentnih glasbeno-opernih določil (dramaturške značilnosti, formalne posebnosti). Na prvi pogled se zdi tako razmerje paradoksalno, vendar je za opero tipično. Tudi v primeru zgodovinske opere gre torej za znano operno dilemo: *prima le parole, dopo la musica* ali *prima la musica, dopo le parole* – »uspešnost« in trdoživost zgodovinske opere (med sodobnejše primere bi lahko uvrstili opere *Einstein on the Beach*, *Satyagraha* in *Echnaton* P. Glassa, opero *Bremer Freiheit* A. Hölszky, delo *Graf Mirabeau* S. Matthusa, *Goyo* G. C. Menottija, opero *Die Teufel von London* K. Pendereckega, *Jakoba Lenza* W. Rihma, *Gesualda* A. Šnitkeja, *Cortezovo vrnitev* P. Šivica in aktualno delo *Prvi cesar* Tan Duna) je torej povezana prav s takšno značilno lego med literaturo in glasbo.

OPOMBE

¹ Tipičen primer take opere predstavlja *Boris Godunov* Modesta Musorgskega, kjer ljubezenska zveza med Marino in Dimitrijem ne pomeni le tipičnega melodramatičnega obarvanja opere, temveč je ključna za politične spletke – prodor samozvanca Dimitrija na carski prestol (Dahlhaus 246).

² Med take opere bi lahko šteli: Bellinijevo *Beatrice di Tenda* (dogajanje je postavljeno v 15. stoletje), Donizettijeve opere *Anna Bolena* (o ženi angleškega kralja Henrika VIII.), *Maria Stuarda* (spet angleška dinastična zgodba), *Lucia di Lammermoor* (po Scottovem romanu se odvija na Škotskem konec 16. stoletja) in *Roberto Devereux* (zgodnje 17. stoletje, Anglija), Verdijeve opere *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, *Giovanna d'Arco*, *Attila* in tudi Parizu namenjene velike opere *Les Vêpres siciliennes*, *Simone Boccanegra* in *Un ballo in maschera*.

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O AVTORJIH

Lucia Boldrini predava angleščino in primerjalno književnost na Univerzi Goldsmith v Londonu in je glavna koordinatorica Evropske zveze primerjalnih literarnih študij. Med njenimi deli sta monografiji *Joyce, Dante, and the Poetics of Literary Relations* (2001) in *Biografie fittizie di personaggi storici* (1998) ter članka »Translating the Middle Ages: Modernism in the Ideal of the Common Language« (2003) in »'Allowing it to speak out of him': The Heterobiographies of D. Malouf, A. Tabucchi and M. Yourcenar« (2004).

Marijan Dovič je raziskovalec na Inštitutu za slovensko literaturo in literarne vede ZRC SAZU. Predvsem ga zanimajo sodobne sistemske teorije literature, literarno vrednotenje in literarni kanon. Zanima se tudi za zgodovinsko avantgardo (Kosovel, Podbevšek) in literaturo 19. stoletja (Trdina). Leta 2004 je v zbirki *Studia litteraria* objavil teoretični prvenec z naslovom *Sistemske in empirične obravnave literature*. Poleg tega se ukvarja z uredniškim delom, kot izvajalec in skladatelj pa tudi z jazz glasbo.

Bart Keunen je profesor primerjalne književnosti na univerzi v belgijskem Ghentu, kjer poučuje evropsko literarno zgodovino, sociologijo literature in primerjalno književnost. V svojih delih, ki so bila objavljena v mednarodnih znanstvenih revijah in monografijah, se je ukvarjal z vprašanji urbane literature, žanrov, literarnim zgodovinskim in literarno sociologijo. Med njegovimi objavljenimi monografijami sta *Tijd voor een verhaal. Mens- en Wereldbeelden in de populaire verbaalcultuur* (Gent: Academia Press, 2005) in *Post-ex-sub-dis: Fragmentations of the City* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002).

Vanesa Mataj je docentka na Oddelku za primerjalno književnost in literarno teorijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Je članica mednarodne pisateljske organizacije PEN, članica Društva za primerjalno književnost in članica Društva slovenskih pisateljev. Med njenimi objavljenimi deli najdemo: monografijo *Osvetljave. Kritički pogledi na slovenski roman v devetdesetih* (2000) ter članka »Ideological blocks to the reception of existentialism in the cultural and political context of Slovenia: the case of Edvard Kocbek« (2006) in »Interakcija literature in teorije od romantike do moderne = The Interaction between literature and theory from Romanticism to the fin de siècle« (2006).

John Neubauer je profesor emeritus primerjalne književnosti na Univerzi v Amsterdamu in dopisni član Britanske akademije (FBA). Pred letom 1983, ko je začel predavati v Amsterdamu, je učil na univerzi Princeton, Case Western University in Univerzi v Pittsburghu, bil pa je tudi gostujoči profesor na Harvardu, Princetonu in drugje. Skupaj z Marcelom Cornis-Popeom urejata obsežno delo *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, ki bo izšlo v štirih knjigah (prvi del je izšel maja 2004). V zadnjem času je objavil še *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe* (skupaj s P. de Voogdom, 2004); »Is Western Narrative Theory Universally Applicable?« (2005); »Zitiert und vorzitiert. Kafka und die Vaterbilder bei Danilo Kiš und Péter Esterházy« (2006).

Egon Pelikan je predstojnik Inštituta za zgodovinske študije UP ZRS Koper in predavatelj na Fakulteti za humanistične študije na Univerzi na Primorskem. V zadnjih desetih letih je objavil pet samostojnih znanstvenih monografij ter vrsto znanstvenih razprav in člankov doma in v tujini. Njegove raziskave so večinoma usmerjene v prostor zahodne Slovenije. Kot gostujoči docent je predaval na univerzah v Trstu, Gradcu in Essnu.

Gregor Pompe je zaposlen kot asistent na Oddelku za muzikologijo ljubljanske Filozofske fakultete. Leta 2006 je doktoriral iz muzikologije na temo postmodernizma in semantike glasbe. Njegova strokovna pozornost velja sodobni glasbi, operi in vprašanjem semantike glasbe, dejaven pa je tudi kot publicist in skladatelj. Med svoja najpomembnejša dela uvršča dvojezično monografijo *Pisna podoba glasbe na Slovenskem / Music in Slovenia through the aspect of notation* (s soavtorjem Jurijem Snojem) in znanstvene članke »Boulezova racionalna serialna organizacija in Cageovo naključje - enakost različnega«, »Nekaj nastavkov za razumevanje postmodernizma kot slogovnega obdobja«, »Sodobna slovenska kompozicijska praksa in muzikologija«.

Igor Škamperle je l. 1997 začel predavati na Oddelku za sociologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Med letoma 1996 in 1999 je kot gostujoči predavatelj deloval tudi na FDV, od leta 1999 pa je zaposlen kot docent na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. Napisal je romana *Sneg na zlati veji* (1992) in *Kraljeva hči* (1997) ter zbirko strokovnih esejev *Magična renesansa* (1999). Ureja tudi revijo *Poligrافي* in je aktivni alpinist.

Beata Thomka je od l. 1996 profesorica in vodja doktorskega programa na Oddelku za literarne in kulturne študije Univerze v Pecu. Objavila je več knjig, med katerimi je npr.: *Glosszárium* (Debrecen: Alföld, 2003), ter uredila knjigi *Tolnai-symposion* (Budapest: Kijárat, 2004) in *Domonkos-symposion* (Budapest: Kijárat, 2006).

Gašper Troha je asistent na Oddelku za primerjalno književnost in literarno teorijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Ukvarja se s sociologijo literature, še posebej z vprašanji sodobne svetovne in slovenske dramatike. V zadnjem času je objavil naslednje članke: »Podoba družbenega sistema v slovenski dramatiki: 1943–1990« (2005), »Problemi poetične drame« (2005), »Dramatizacije na slovenskih odrih 1992–2006« (2006).

History and its Literary Genres: Introduction to the Thematic Issue

Vanesa Matajč

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The breaking of the “Rankeian” faith in the attainable scientific objectivity of historiography (“wie es eigentlich gewesen war”) is a representation of a new – that is, modernist – paradigm. Brian McHale (1987) ascribes an “epistemological dominant” to modernism. Even in history, by acknowledging subjective realities in the shadow of the absent Truth, epistemological uncertainty appropriates the subjectivism planned through the romantic and idealistic *Geistesgeschichte*, and enables historians to legitimize or become aware of their unavoidable presence in their own values and standpoints that Nietzsche’s critical history would call “time appropriate,” and their subjective (creative) imagination within their own discipline – that is, non-fiction historiography. At the same time, the doubt about metaphysical truth systems ascribed a deeper cognitive range to semi-literary and pure fiction forms; the culmination of the feeling of modernism – the zenith and the turn – is distinctly created and expressed by Nietzsche’s essayist philosophy. In the first half of the 20th century, the “geography” of western metahistory expressed similar beliefs; for example, in Germany, Egon Friedell recognized a narrative characteristic of history as well as its relationship to literary fiction in his *Geistesgeschichte* survey titled *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit* (A Cultural History of the Modern Age; 1927–31). History revealed itself to him in the form of saga, legends, and myths (Friedell 13). At approximately the same time in France, the *Annales* historian Lucien Febvre (who established the journal *Annales* together with Marc Bloch in 1929) became aware that human perceptions of phenomena are created by ideas, emotions, tendencies, and reactions; even by people’s feelings, passions, and hatreds – that is, multitudes of uncanonized views, not merely the official views of selected individuals or institutions, which Febvre presented in his 1942 study *Le problème de l’incroyance au XV^e siècle: la Religion de Rabelais* (The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais). Even today this is considered a somewhat “controversial work;” “history, his words show us, can be like a lively conversation” (Hughes-Warrington 89, 90). It was not by accident that the complexity of views and feelings, for which a

more open “conversational” historiographic form is suitable, awakened a renewed interest in Carlo Ginzburg (*Il formaggio e i vermi* [The Cheese and the Worms], 1976), for example, who used the method of “microhistory” within the *new cultural history*¹ (cf. Burke 50–51). In the spirit of postmodern metahistory, Ginzburg is well aware of the fact that presenting the past cannot avoid rhetoric and subjective selection as well as stylization of the narrated. The British perspective that historians apply their subjectivity in the reconstruction of historical events was also expressed by R. G. Collingwood in 1935.² The chapter from his book *The Idea of History* (1946) is the point of departure that Lucia Boldrini uses in her study to recognize the nature and expressions of the “Copernican” (Collingwood) or the “paradigmatic” (Thomas Kuhn) turn. With this, Boldrini actually realizes the modern derivation of the method that was emphasized by the *Annales* historian Marc Bloch in modern historiography. The method of his comparative history that advocates comparison of cultures or societies existing in the same place or time (cf. Hughes-Warrington 12)³ can be extended in modern metahistory to comparison of spatially and chronologically *related* text documents. In postmodern culture, the compared objects that are especially highlighted are texts of historiographic (meta)fiction and historiographic theory (metahistory). In this comparison, the relationship to the *Geistesgeschichte* method is especially obvious (cf. Virk’s essay *Strah pred nainnostjo* [The Fear of Naivete]).

During postmodernism – which, according to McHale, is defined by an *ontological dominant* – ontological uncertainty is expressed as a multitude of truths between which there are no clearly determinable lines; it is thereby produced and expressed as conscious intertextuality, blending, and pluralism of discourse, as well as an exchange of scholarly and fictional discourse. As already mentioned, the way for this kind of intertextuality and application of meta-disciplines has been paved, most evidently in the field of historiography, by modernism in western cultures. In the period of ontological uncertainty, the convergence of literary fiction and historiography culminated in two different representations of the postmodern historical turn that, with the cultural and linguistic turns,⁴ combines into historiographic metafiction and scholarly-historiographic metahistory.

Both representations reveal their connectedness at various levels; for example, the early Lukácsian *Geistesgeschichte* perspective (*Theorie des Romans*, 1920) defines the modern genre – that is, the novel – as an esthetic attempt to reconstruct the epic tradition or history – or, in other words, as a quote of the epic world’s lost totality. Bart Keunen draws attention to the modern novel’s citationality in this volume. The origin of the modern concept of totality that has been used as a criterion of literary and historiographic

genres since Romanticism, turned into a metahistorical representation, is explored by John Neubauer in his paper “Historiography of Literary History” and, in the spirit of Whitean metahistory, he extends it to the origin of modern literary history discourse. From the viewpoint of modern or postmodern historiography and in line with the logic of developing modernism (!), this discourse is revealed as traditional. Neubauer recognizes the original field of *organic totality*, which modern literary history discourse sought to achieve, in a discipline established in the second half of the 18th century – that is, biology as the history of living organisms.

Western epistemology thoroughly examined the fruitful expansion of the organicism concept in Romantic literary history, theory, and idealistic philosophy or its understanding of the creative subject and creation, whereas *Geistesgeschichte* reinterpreted it with the concept of *immanent transcendence*. In his article, Neubauer establishes concrete relationships between newly established biologicistic concepts and literary history at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century (the transfer of the *epigenesis* concept – which predominated over older, previous metaphysics expressing *pre-formation* – to the “biological and metaphorical” notion of literature). Using concrete text examples by August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, he presents the victorious march of the originally biologicistic concept through the romantic “foundations” of modern literary history. Using concrete examples from Eastern-Central European national literary histories from the early 20th century – that is, Romanian (Iorga, and Ilinescu) and Croatian (Vodnik) – he then manifests the ideological turn from its originally liberal (autonomous, emancipating) context into a consequently nationalist and conservative context. This conclusion, in which literature and literary history reveal themselves as a political force, is justified by the postmodern shift of literary history to the concept of heterogeneity that abolishes the *great story*. This shift is also used by Neubauer’s literary history of Eastern- and Central Europe. This practice is realized by recording unemplotted events, which thus avoids narrativity and also offers the recipient the opportunity to disperse the historical chronology of events into simultaneous component parts.

A second opportunity is offered by the revived *history of events* that undergoes *emplotment* in Whitean terms or builds up into a narrative form. Consistent derivation of both historiographic concepts thus leads to two tendencies formed by the postmodern awareness of historical value in metahistory: to a revisionism of historical or past understanding of history that can lead to an opposition of the pure experience of reality at a given moment, and to a revisionism that, by discerning the symbolic orders within a culture, consciously historicizes and connects the past with the present – that is, consciously emplots the selected events. In short, the

postmodern earthquake undermines Archimedes' "point" and the epistemological experience of instability leads to two "citation" paradigms: the Herodotean principle of history as a series of records made of individual concrete events, or the chronicle, and the Aristotelian principle of poetry as mythos or mimesis. However, in modern metahistory both "citation" paradigms are realized with an awareness of a displaced viewpoint – that is, from a relativized line between fiction and (historical) truth or reality.

Modern historiographic tendencies towards heterogeneity and homogeneity are described by Igor Škamperle in his paper "Družba, zgodovina in literarni pogled" (Society, History, and Literary Perspective). Škamperle is also the author of the philosophical-historical novel (Starikova 30, 31 and Matajč, *Sodobni* 206, 207) *Kraljeva hči* (The King's Daughter, 1997). In the same way in the novel and the paper – that is, with a distant view and, at the same time, directly involved; or, in other words, with historical distance and personal experience – he examines the diverse human representation of time in the 20th century.

Škamperle is thus incorporated into the metahistorical tradition that was opened by *Geistesgeschichte* (see above) and that was later simultaneously used by cultural history. Initially, cultural history was a neglected stepdaughter of political and economic *plain history*. The tradition of metahistoriography was then most strongly applied by the French *Annales* School. In the second half of the 20th century, Foucault's post-structuralist epistemology replied to early intellectual and cultural historical reflections and probably made the key contribution to the postmodernist *historical turn*, the metahistoriography trend, and Hayden White's influence as well as the (literary) history method of *new historicism*. It is no coincidence that all the methods and trends listed above are summarized in a discipline that has been undergoing a revival and experiencing its heyday since the middle of the 1970s – that is, cultural history. This probably occurred because of the blending of the three *turns* (historical, linguistic, and cultural) mentioned earlier, which implies methodological pluralism or Bloch's multitude of approaches to the past. Fundamentally, the metahistorical blending of these three turns is probably made possible by the form that, according to Škamperle, is

important or even essential for grasping reality and the realization of truth to both the literary and historiographical spheres, regardless of whether this truth is fictitious or empirical with regard to events – that is, the form of narration. /.../ Within this context, we continue to return, in this way or another, to what it seems the basic knot – that is, the narrative event or cross-reference (as referred to by Paul Ricoeur) between the desire for reality in history and fiction – that is, literalized narration.

As a metahistorian and writer, Škamperle is aware of the contact between historiography and literary fiction – that is, narration and its time reference – but he also distinguishes between their temporality. Among the two time aspects that Škamperle highlights, the first can still be observed as a common practice of historiography and literary fiction, or “a time-form created by literary text either as a diachronic narration of events and, at the same time, its transcendence through entrances into the synchronic “now” – that is, both in the current now of the reader’s reception and in the integrated historical moment of the event or object described.”

As demonstrated by Peter Burke’s⁵ comparison of concrete writers’ or historians’ realistic- and modernistic-oriented narrative strategies, historiography and literary fiction establish numerous analogue narrative strategies that articulate the time experience of reality. By openly increasing the share of subjectivity in documentary material, the second aspect or understanding of time provides (historical) literary fiction with an esthetic and experiential effect, and thus a contemporizing and revival of the past, whereby the esthetic form preserves the temporal duality of the past and present, the known and the other, in the reality presented.

Škamperle perceives this second understanding of time in literary practice; this is what the

/.../ imagination of the voice of the character or several characters appearing in the narrative is like. /.../ This is also literature’s advantage over historiography. Literary text provides the voice of the historical character, who comes alive in our minds. It creates mental places that causally connect events that are not part of history or have not been recorded. Just think about how many such voices we know and what weight they have in a collective – say, national – identification.

Esthetic contemporizing of the past – that is, the other face of historicizing the present through symbolic forms – is reminiscent of the *experiential* effect that Wilhelm Dilthey (*Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* [The Structure of the Historical World in the Human Sciences], 1910) presented as the most reliable way of understanding the past in *Geisteswissenschaften*. However, Škamperle uses modern viewpoints of cultural anthropology, cultural sociology, and epistemology to think about the production and narrative strategies of creating such an experiential effect because he establishes that, at least partially (and this time consciously), modern historiography returns to the narrative event. Škamperle recognizes this return as an antipode of two modern tendencies – that is, the fractalization of experiencing reality (expressed in the form of a random *blog*) and “the transfer of symbolic speech into signaletics that causes the separating and representative moment as well as the rich ambivalence

of meanings and the semantic openness of the symbol to disappear. The virtual world of signs or signalitics is not representative.”

As it appears, the effect of these two tendencies described by Škamperle can be discerned in everyday life practices. If the well-known Hobsbawm syntagm is transferred from a political and ideological-historical level to an epistemological level, the modern tension of “absolute” temporizing can easily be named *the time of extremity*.

Within the framework of “absolute” historicizing, Lucia Boldrini explores the literary representation of *the historical turn* or historiographical metafiction in her paper “Keeping our Nerve: Scientific and Historical Paradigms in John Banville’s *Doctor Copernicus*”. However, she does this by contrasting numerous metafictional levels, from genre syncretism to the narrative anachronism procedure in Banville’s novel (1976), with the aspect of theoretical representation, and connecting both historical aspects into an expression of a paradigmatic turn; Banville’s novel (i.e., historiographical metafiction) represents the structural entity of *Kuhn’s scientific revolution* through the character of Copernicus and his intellectual context, as the crisis of passing from the Middle Ages to the modern age, but such that “through hybridization and by linking discourses, Banville extends Kuhn’s analysis of the history of science into a comprehensive form, which could be referred to as the epistemes of the period in Foucault’s terms. In Boldrini’s opinion, the Copernican turn and postmodernism represent an introduction and an epilogue to the modern paradigm and, with his epilogical gesture, Banville expresses “a threshold of a new ism or a new synthesis.”

It still remains open what the articulation of the future time experience will be like. For the time being, judging from the papers above, we are dealing with the domain of scholarly and historiographical metahistory and historiographical metafiction. The retrovision of “great stories” or “organic totalities”, which reversely reveal their nature of the Foucauldian *discourse of power* and the articulation of political or national ideologies, is inseparably connected with metahistory (which can also be used as an umbrella term for both historiographical discourses).

National ideologies do not merely define the *traditional* – or, in fact, *modern* – literary history paradigms in Eastern, Southern, and Central Europe, as established by Neubauer’s paper, but they also strongly influence the formation of literature created in these cultural zones. Because their geographic location also represents a place of meetings and appropriations of various 20th century political ideologies, the ideological reference of the literary fiction produced and received in this area is intensified accordingly. In his paper “Zgodovinski roman med nacionalno identiteto, ideologi-

jami in ‘zgodovinskimi žanri’” (The Historical Novel between National Identity, Ideologies, and “Historical Genres”), Egon Pelikan observes various ideological dimensions in the historical novel genre from the viewpoint of modern historiography, which in this case combines the history of ideologies, literary history, and – by registering ideological strategies and tactics in literary practice – cultural history as well.

Ideological dimensions become especially evident by comparing two thematically extremely similar Slovenian novels (Boris Pahor’s *Zatemnitev* [The Darkening], 1976, and Alojz Rebula’s *Nokturno za Primorsko* [A Nocturne for the Littoral], 2004); both writers create the same historical topic by referring to a personal experience (of a common cultural area across the Slovenian border):

universal contexts of European and world history /.../; the national historical context (violence against the Slovenian minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia in the interwar period); the rebellion in Friuli-Venezia Giulia after the First World War (the Catholics on one side and the communists on the other); /.../ both authors (intentionally or unintentionally) also stand within the literalized ideological context of interpreting contemporary Slovenian history; this is why both (intentionally or unintentionally) quickly find their bearings in the political use of historical material in the form of literalized partial stories; /.../ a special context that unites both authors is /.../ the view of history of common Slovenian ethnic territory from the viewpoint of history taking place in its western part under Fascist Italy.

Although both novels are great artistic creations, Pelikan’s paper proves how parallel reading of both of them demonstrates the historical novel as an eminent genre in which the ideological semantization of literary fiction can be realized; in this case it represents a national ideology as well as modern progressive ideas of the nation’s political and ideological perspectives (i.e., political Catholicism, and communism).

The *traditionally modern* historical novel described above, as a historiographical fiction, thus also becomes the object of an analysis representing the postmodern historiographical interdisciplinary approach; the analytical methods that it motivates include the analysis of national and totalitarian ideologies, a chronology of political history, the history of the everyday, analysis of commemorative sources, and so on – in short, a syncretic union of literary history, plain history, and cultural history. From the viewpoint of the *discourse of power* recognizable in literary ideological representations, reality is revealed as a construction.

However, because of its constructedness, it can never present itself as absolutely coherent. This post-structuralist view is discussed in this volume by Beata Thomka in her paper “Deconstruction of History and Its

Narrative Identity.” This post-structuralist view also expresses most strongly the awareness of historical relativism that is generally latently present in all postmodernist metahistories. In the epistemological span from Friedrich Nietzsche to Jacques Derrida, from the *interpretation* that Nietzsche emphasizes in his *Will to Power*, to the *traces* highlighted by Derrida, historians reveal themselves as interpreters that cannot talk about the past *an sich*, but only through text sources or documents of the past; the past is thus presented only as a textualized past or, in other words, as a text. The *discursive (de)construction of reality* refers to the present and past in their simultaneous – and only in this way possible – representation. The described metahistorical stance, which most explicitly emphasizes the “intentionality and literary nature of history,” is recognized by Thomka in the *new historicism* tendencies or in the modern *cultural poetics* established by the guiding force of new historicism Stephen Greenblatt in his textual reference to the works of Yuri Lotman (*Vnutri mysljačih mirov* [*Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*]).

This “intertextual terrain” is represented by some already classic modern European novels by postmodernist writers or those that at least to some extent break postmodernist relativism through existentialist heritage (cf. Kos). These authors include Umberto Eco, Lawrence Norfolk, Danilo Kiš, Péter Esterházy, and László Márton. They carry out the described act of postmodern historiography as a metahistory in its broadest sense, blur the lines between historiography and literary fiction, and perform a cognitive-theoretical turn from *reflection* to *representation* and *metaphorical structures*. Thomka observes the realization of this turn in Esterházy’s novel writing; with his metanarrative strategies he explicitly presents the history of his family, country, and region, as well as his own past – all this as an interpretative construct that establishes the narrator or historian as a “narrative identity.”

“The interpretation of text traces” in the paradigm of modern metahistoriography places (i.e., historicizes) all scholarly disciplines, including literary theory, into a historical perspective. Literary theory also convincingly places the narrative structures – that seemed ahistorical when recognized – into the historical mentality paradigms of pre-modern and modern times. In this journal, such a literary theory stance is realized by Bart Keunen in his paper “The Emergence of a Meta-Genre: The Modernization of the Novel.”

In the intellectual heritage of Romantic *Geistesgeschichte*, especially with the early works of Georg Lukács, the novel was considered an eminent literary genre of modernism; it is understood as a new-age representation of the idea of modernism. By defining the *proteanism* of the novel, this

kind of understanding of the novel was relativized by Mikhail Bakhtin. However, also for modern narratology, *proteanism* is revealed in all its historical (historically different) forms of occurrence. Even if the novel is not realized from the modernist approach (if we accept Bakhtin's understanding of the novel), its modern versions can be observed, which Keunen dates to the 17th and 18th centuries, and their apex in the 19th century. This differentiation is enabled by the effects of two text strategies: the scope of the novel's semantic universe, and the type of its plot. According to Keunen, the meta-genre structure of the modern novel becomes evident from the viewpoint of transfer between pre-modern, final, "eschatological" dynamics of the plot to the modern, open, and "dialogical" plot; in modern versions of the pre-modern novel, divine providence, or at least preplanned ascribing of meaning to events, is replaced by a coincidence or tension between characters. According to Keunen, this (or a dialogical conflict) substantiates the modern novel as a meta-genre because it can combine all of the known genres and text strategies in its text strategy. This "quotation" nature of the genre is represented by the historical novel (a subcategory of the modern novel), which (at least) in its *Scottian* beginnings "quotes" pre-modern, eschatological plot dynamics, but ascribes them meaning in a modern way – that is, as a possibility of realizing a dialogical relationship between characters or between the characters and their spatial and temporal context.

In a narrative and structural manner, the plot's dialogical dynamics represent Bakhtin's *polyphonic character* of the modern novel. It represents a shift from the medieval metaphysical vertical of Truth–man to the modern new-age horizontal of man–man or *Mit-mensch* (Peter Szondi: *Theorie des modernen Dramas*, 1956) and to the *Lukácean* Romanesque world that the gods have abandoned. From this viewpoint, the novel appears as a meta-genre or "quotation" of the lost totality.

Postmodern metahistory – also meta (literary) history – reveals this type of "quotation" under the influence of the *Foucauldian discourse of power*, especially in the ideological constructs of the past that correspond to the present. In this aspect, the papers by Marijan Dovič and Gašper Troha perform the retrovision of literary production, reception, literary history, and cultural history in this journal.

Using selected historiographical, semi-literary, and literary genres of the texts discussed, Marijan Dovič's paper "Zgodnje literarne artikulacije slovenske nacionalne zgodovine in 'slovenski kulturni sindrom'" (Early Literary Articulations of Slovenian National History and "Slovenian Cultural Syndrome") establishes how national history (or historiography) and identity were constructed from Protestantism to Romanticism

through the representation of two Slovenian myths: the Illyrian and the Karantanian. They both created and expressed an emancipatory national consciousness – that is, the motivation of national autonomy.

Based on Kant's definition of *esthetic experience*, Romanticism established the legitimacy of various discourses and thus (also or especially) legitimized the autonomy of artistic or literary discourse and, as shown in Neubauer's paper, at the same time negated the autonomy of esthetic artifacts. The thesis that became famous with Herder – that is, that a nation's essence is expressed most clearly within culture and the *linguistic* art or literature within it – subjected the emancipation and autonomy of literary discourse to a “higher” purpose – that is, the emancipation and autonomy of the nation – with its culmination in the 1848 *Spring of Nations*.

In this nation that (until 1991) remained without its own state, literature should assume the role of a representative of national culture and identity *par excellence*, and thus also a nation-building institutional function in which literature is appropriated by national ideology. Based on the viewpoints of modern meta (literary) history, Dovič supplements this thesis, which was gradually developed by the Slovenian literary historian Dušan Pirjevec, and the sociologists Dimitrij Rupel (later, foreign minister) and Rastko Močnik – namely, the thesis of the “Slovenian cultural syndrome.”

In the theater reception of drama, the ideological function of historiography is shown in Gašper Troha's paper “Zgodovinska drama in njena družbena vloga na Slovenskem pod komunizmom” (Historical Drama and Its Social Role in Slovenia under Communism), which analyzes the relationships between three social factors: the theater, authorities, and audience. Troha presents their ideological intersections using the plays *Afera* (The Affair) by Primož Kozak (staged in 1961), and *Topla greda* (The Hothouse) by Marjan Rožanc (its premiere was intentionally and violently interrupted in 1964). Both plays are thematically similar; they are both politically, ideologically, and socially critical and this is also how the audience understood them. Regarding the question of why the authorities received them in a diametrically opposite way, Troha replies with an adapted theory of ideology as developed by the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek in his *Logika antisemitizma* (The Logic of Antisemitism, 1987): “The authorities divided society into ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive’ spheres, and then ascribed the latter the nature of a common enemy.” In Troha's opinion, the function of the “common enemy” was assumed by Rožanc's play, which did not transfer its socially critical theme into a historical theme or, in other words, did not reshape it (or conceal) it in a literary genre, as was done by Kozak's play or other Slovenian plays with a historical theme in the third quarter of the 20th century that

expressed “radical criticism” of the social system and, at the same time, its confirmation.

Strictly speaking, Troha’s paper represents the operation of *strategies* and *tactics* in establishing, confirming, and expressing the symbolic order of history-culture-literature. As also established by Škamperle’s paper, the typical effect of the symbolic order is ambivalence. Appropriations of history (or historical themes) in literary genres are ambivalent; on the one hand, they represent *Foucault’s strategy* of power, by which this power is established and maintained and, on the other hand, they represent individual *tactics* that adjust the authorities’ power and thus partially subvert the authorities, confirming them in literature by using the ambivalent symbolic potential of historical signs (only seemingly and, at the same time, real).

Gregor Pompe’s paper “Zgodovina opere in zgodovinska opera” (The History of Opera and Historical Opera) translates the described retrovisions of history, historiography, and historical artistic genres onto an interdisciplinary level. By comparing them to historical literary (fiction) genres, it outlines the characteristics of the genre of historical opera, which, the same way as *Scottian* literary fashion, became popular during Romanticism – that is, when “consciousness of history” was established (Lukács).

Although its integral element of libretto means that opera is also partly a literary representation, the historical theme potentially expressed in the libretto is not sufficient to place it in the genre of *historical opera*. According to Pompe, “musical materialness” is also insufficient. The genre characteristic of *historical opera* – which Pompe recognizes in, for example, the works of Giacomo Meyerbeer and Modest Mussorgsky – is provided by dramaturgy when it appropriately functionalizes the historical theme: “crowd scenes are at the forefront, which grow into large static images in which the importance of the visual and pantomimic is greatly increased; the share of intimate action and thus the number of solo acts is considerably decreased. /... In/ these operas, the historical theme acquires a conceptual power and thus its role is elevated from mere decoration.” Conceptual power can be modified into an ideological – or more precisely, a nationally ideological – power because the heyday of historical opera takes place in the time of the Spring of Nations.

Neubauer’s paper provides arguments for the “nationalist” deautonomization of national artistic production in literature or literary history, whereas Pompe’s paper in this volume extends the historiographical field into an interdisciplinary approach; among other things, it shows how *mythistory* also operates in musical production and reception, with the only exception that it uses its own expressive and material practice. With its

interdisciplinary method of genre theory, Pompe's theory thus opens the path to cultural-historical research on culture.

NOTES

¹ "The term 'new cultural history' started to be used at the end of the 1980s. /.../ This is a new 'paradigm' in the sense in which this term is used in Thomas Kuhn's work on the structure of scientific "revolutions" /.../when 'a new research tradition emerges from the model of normal practice" (Burke 57).

² Collingwood resists the "scissors-and-paste" understanding of historiographical practice and the historian's blind trust in an 'authority' whose words he blindly pastes to his conclusions. However, in his awareness that this historiographical practice is problematic, the historian establishes himself as his own authority that verifies and certifies himself: 'historians do not evaluate evidence, but simply write down what they see or, in other words, they 'read' the evidence. Evidence is created from what they 'say' from their own viewpoints. The historian works with his own abilities; he performs 'the aesthetic act of reading a certain text in a language he knows, and assigning to it a certain sense" (Hughes-Warrington 43).

³ Marc Bloch described his own concept of comparative history in his article "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes".

⁴ The standard Slovenian translations of these *turns* are the following: *obrat k zgodovini* (historical turn), *obrat b kulturi* (cultural turn), and *obrat k jeziku* (linguistic turn). In this paper, these syntagms take into account (as opposed to the standard translation) the "basic features" or "aspects" of the reality understood or studied – that is, their embeddedness in historicism, in the symbol orders of culture or culturalism – as well as articulation, which in the discipline or narration is inevitably wordy, linguistic, and organized into a linguistic discourse with which – with regard to the Foucauldian definition of *discourse systems* – gains characteristics that make it part of the *episteme* of historicism and culturalism mentioned above.

⁵ Referring to the film historian Sigfried Krauer, Burke illustrates structural similarities between historiography as an academic discipline and literature: from story-forming, successive narration to modern temporal fragmentation and breaking-up of the story (Burke *Zgodovina*, 78; cf. also Matajc, *Risanje*, 168).

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Historiography of Literary History

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Literary histories constitute a species of modern discourse that emerged in Early Romanticism at the end of the eighteenth century as an indispensable element of professionalizing literary studies. Although the rise of organic theories of literature and culture is often associated with Romanticism and Samuel Coleridge in particular, it has not been sufficiently understood how, specifically, romantic historiography has profited from the clash of biological theories in the second half of the eighteenth century. In response to concentrated and prolonged twentieth-century attacks on the organicist assumptions of literary histories, some recent publications have attempted to abandon the traditional principles.

Key words: literature and history / literary history / historiography / Romanticism / organicism / national identity

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History of literature nestled itself between history writing and historical fiction. Though it could not compete with their popularity and scholarly stature, it powerfully shaped the identity of nineteenth-century national groups by canonizing national writers and their works and by authenticating ancient legends and myths as reflections of a past national glory. Literary histories, widely used in schools and at universities, became an important factor in shaping national self-images.

The overarching tropes and narrative forms of literary history were eclectically adopted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from two different fields: 1) the epic or dramatic narratives that were actually a subject matter of literary history, and 2) the history of living organisms that the new science of biology developed in the second half of the eighteenth century. My paper is primarily a study of the biological metaphor, which has been relatively neglected compared to the former category, which is usually treated today under the heading “grand narrative” (grand récit).

I

If, as Hayden White and others have argued, all historical writing employs tropes and narrative forms, then literary histories, especially in

Eastern Europe, have borrowed these primarily from the history of living organisms. The organicist ideology that underlies such literary and other histories has rightly but often indiscriminately been attacked. Organicism, as I call it, has many faces. More concretely, biological metaphors had a double role in literary histories, a positive and emancipatory one that allowed for genuine historical change, and a negative one that counteracted this by setting up organic form and organic growth as quasi-natural laws of literature, the arts, culture, and human history. Precisely this reading of culture as nature has been the target of contemporary criticism.

Before turning to literary history proper, I briefly note that “organicism” has been applied to many aspects of the arts. Literary (as well as musicological and art historical) studies have imposed biological cycles of birth, growth, decline, and death on the life of artists, on literary periods and movements, and many other temporal processes in the arts. Furthermore, organicism has, next to this diachronic dimension, also a structural meaning: it implies that the parts of a totality are “organically” interrelated, that all of them manifest, though in various forms, the core or essence of that totality. We are all familiar with the “organic cohesion” that literary historians have attributed until recently to each successful work of art, to the life and the oeuvre of an artist, and to such period concepts of literary history as Baroque, Romanticism, or Realism. Holistic approaches have been severely criticized by deconstructionist thinkers, as well as by Michel Foucault, who wanted to replace the organicism of *Geistesgeschichte* with his own notion of *epistèmes*. I have argued elsewhere that Foucault’s philosophy of history, and other radical attacks on organicism, could not rid itself from vestiges of an organicist ideology.

Biology’s more technical contribution to the emerging genre of literary history emerged from the switch from a mechanistic *preformation* model to an *epigenetic* one that attributed to each organism an inner life force of its own. In the theory of *preformation* (*Einschachtelung* or *emboitment*) all descendants were considered to be present as miniatures in the oldest ancestor or originator. At the end of the eighteenth century, preformation was replaced by the theory of *epigenesis*, which claimed that the developmental force was not predetermined but rather innate to each organic being. Although important physiologists like Lazzaro Spallanzani and Albrecht von Haller opposed the new theory on account of its materialist potential, physiologists and philosophers of the next generation continued to elaborate on the notion that organic beings possessed some innate force. Charles Bonnet, for instance, distinguished between two versions, labeling them with terms that have recently been recuperated in the humanities: seeds were either everywhere (*dissémination*) or they descended from Adam

and Eve (*mise-en-abîme*). Caspar Friedrich Wolff, the key figure in epigenetic theory, claimed that all beings possessed a *vis essentialis*; Friedrich Blumenbach rebaptized this force as *Bildungstrieb*, whereas Herder, building on Blumenbach, claimed that more than one innate force shaped the life of all living beings (see Müller-Sievers).

Theories of innate life forces obviously had an immense appeal to the romantics and the idealist philosophers. Some critics have recently argued that epigenesis forms the basis, or point of departure, for theories of self-generation, and even that it had a vital role in the emergence of Idealism and Romanticism. For now, I want to show with a concrete example how the new epigenetic model functioned in one of the first literary histories, August Wilhelm Schlegel's 1811 lectures on European drama. In a famous passage, August Wilhelm turns against Johann Joachim Winckelmann's doctrine that the modern arts must imitate the classical ones. In August Wilhelm's view Shakespeare and Calderón are a match to the ancients, even if they do not follow theatrical rules derived from them. Instead of mechanically imposing ancient forms on their material (which would be the equivalent of biological preformation) these post-classical and post-medieval writers adopted forms that developed from their own material and age. It is this "inner-determined" form that Schlegel regards as organic. Seen this way, organic form manifests autonomy and self-organization. Translating the epigenetic biological principle into a principle of theater history means that each age must develop, "from inside" so to speak, its proper theatrical forms:

the spirit of poetry is eternal but it passes through different bodies, as it were, and each time it becomes incarnate in humanity it has to bring about a new body, must build for itself a differently constructed body from the nourishments of a changed epoch. Forms change with the direction of poetic sensibility; to label new poetic forms as old genres and to judge them in terms of them is to make an utterly inadmissible use of the reputation that classical antiquity enjoys. Nobody should be judged by a court that has no jurisdiction over him. We gladly admit that most dramatic works of the English and Spanish poets are neither tragedies nor comedies in the ancient sense; they are romantic theater. (*Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* 2 112)¹

The passage does not refer to epigenesis explicitly, but its biological simile hinges on the epigenetic view that each organism develops from an inner principle, and not from a pre-existent one inherited from the ancestors, as the preformationists held until the last decades of the eighteenth century. As Schlegel argues, it is unfair to judge English and Spanish theater in terms of criteria derived from ancient tragedies and comedies; the spirit of poetry impregnates each epoch differently, so that new art forms come about. The imagery may seem romantic and fanciful, but it relies

on biological discourse: literature perpetuates itself by means of epigeneses (repeated new generations) rather than mechanical preformation. By implication, both genres and national literary cultures can develop freely, unfettered by the canonized forms of tradition. The biological metaphor is not restrictive but liberating, allowing a free movement throughout the centuries and across national boundaries.

II

This liberal and anti-dogmatic approach to literary history very quickly changed in the early years of the nineteenth century, as Friedrich Schlegel's 1812 Vienna lectures, *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur*, clearly show. The decisive historical event shaping Friedrich Schlegel's lecture was the war against Napoleon, which reached its turning point in 1812. By that time, as Hans Eichner writes, "the follower of Fichte became a Catholic, the partisan of the French Revolution became its determined opponent, and the European Cosmopolitan became a German patriot and an admirer of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Ironically, just these lectures, which supported so firmly the state and the status quo, were almost suppressed. The university was of the opinion that such extra-mural lectures were unnecessary, the police rejected the application, and only the Emperor's direct intervention secured for Friedrich the needed permit – on the condition that a police observant be present at the lectures. In the end, the lectures that were held between February 27 and April 30, 1812 became a great success.

Schlegel's newly won Catholic, conservative, and nationalist position is reflected in his dedication to Metternich, which explains that he wants to bridge the deep gulf between the literary and intellectual world on the one hand and "practical reality" on the other. Schlegel's goal was to show, "how decisively a nation's spiritual culture (*Geistesbildung*) may often intervene, even in great global events and the fate of nations." For Schlegel, literature was not merely entertainment or a copy of the "real world" but also a political force.

Schlegel's introduction and his first lecture specified the task further. He wanted to convince the political leaders that literature was the essence [*Inbegriff*] of a nation's intellectual life, though he acknowledged that scholars and writers had traditionally been isolated from the higher classes as well as from the rest of the nation. Divisions within the artistic-intellectual culture itself, and its separation from the people were the greatest obstacles in developing a general national culture, but, Schlegel claimed, the eight-

eenth century generated in Germany and the other European nations a revival of the “national spirit.” In practice this meant for him that literature ought to serve the state, and, more specifically, to glorify the national past:

From a historical perspective that compares people according to their value it is most important for a nation’s further development, even its whole spiritual existence that a folk should retain those great national memories of its distant origins that usually vanish. Poetry’s prime business is to preserve and to glorify these. Such national memories, which constitute the most splendid part of the heritage a folk can have, represent an advantage that nothing else can replace. And if a folk finds itself “ennobled,” elevated in its self-esteem due to its great past and its memories of primeval time – if it has, in a word, poetry--then it will also be raised to a higher level in our eyes and judgment. (*Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* 6 15 f)

III

In other contexts I have shown how Friedrich Schlegel’s conservative and nationalist conception of literary history became dominant in the nineteenth century. For my present purpose I can merely indicate, with a couple of examples, that organicist nationalist literary histories lived on in the twentieth century. I take the great Romanian polyhistor and politician Nicolae Iorga, his younger colleague Nae Ionescu, and the Croatian literary historian Branko Vodnik as my examples.

Iorga maintained in his *History of Romanian Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (1901) and thereafter that Romanian literature grew *organically* and *spontaneously* from the soil of local traditions and folklore, but also from Dacian, Roman, and Byzantine sources. In *Byzantium after Byzantium* (1935) he tried to show that Dacian culture and Roman customs were preserved by the Romanian peasantry. Indeed, he thought that the peasants he found in Hunedoara county were still Dacians:

here are the true Dacians, the new Dacians of 2,000 years past, who carry with them as a sign of their triumph the language of a Rome long consigned to dust. The peasants here are indeed Dacians, with their tough and reserved features, their tight-lipped and ancient custom of paying everyone their due with a sense of justice. (*Válogatott írások* 167-69)

If Iorga’s organicist nationalism is inclusionary and expansionist (because it appropriates a whole non-Romanian tradition), that of his younger countryman, Nae Ionescu, was exclusionary. Ionescu, like many populists in various countries, deplored the cosmopolitan spirit of cities, especially of Bucharest. For him, Romania’s capital city distinguished itself by “lack

of national roots” (note the biological metaphor!) and a “loss of contact” with everything native, including the Eastern Orthodox Church and the folk tradition in the countryside (Ionescu 146–48). He even recommended closing the Romanian borders and decoupling Romania from world politics and foreign borrowings (287).

It would seem from these examples that organicism had always glorified the peasants and the traditional values of the countryside. While this is, indeed, mostly the case, my final example shows that organicism could serve several different ideologies. At the center of Branko Vodnik’s Croatian literary history was not the countryside but the city, more concretely the Dalmatian city state. Vodnik’s organicism was as exclusionary as that of Ionescu’s, but it excluded just what was, for the latter, the heart of the organism. As Nenad Ivić writes, Vodnik wanted to show in *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* (1913) “the organic development of our old literature” (4). He meant by “organic development” the exclusion of whatever seemed to him heterogeneous, not organically fitting, for instance Glagolitic literature, because it was not specifically Croat. Proper Croatian literary history began, according to Vodnik, with the flourishing of Humanism and Renaissance in free Dalmatian city-states. The Croatian national space was organically cohesive and permanently coextensive with that of his own time: Vodnik suppressed, according to Ivić, potential disruptions, differences between cities and their environments, between Dalmatia, Croatia proper, and Slavonia, between Dubrovnik and other Dalmatian cities, between languages and dialects, or types of literacy and literature. The hero of Vodnik’s historical narrative was an unchanging subject without internal fissures or contradictions: a Croatian nation, reduced to its primeval form of a city-state.²

IV

Vodnik published his Croatian literary history in 1913, on the eve of World War I. The war inaugurated a long period, in which organicist literary histories—and literary histories in general—were regarded with great suspicion. Let us remember the rise of Russian Formalism during and after the war, the dominance of New Criticism during the interbellum and beyond in the West, the coming of Structuralism and Poststructuralism in the decades starting with the 1950s. Of this well-known story, which need not be rehearsed here, I single out as exemplary Roland Barthes’s “Histoire ou littérature?,” written in the 1950 and included then in his book on Racine (1963), and Michel Foucault’s *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1972), the polemical companion piece to his own historical construction in *The Order of Things* (1966) and the most concerted attack on organicist historiographic assumptions.³

Poststructuralist, Foucauldian, and deconstructivist attacks on the presuppositions of the organicist traditions have recently led to new and experimental literary histories, which transgress narrative, disciplinary, and national/cultural borders and thereby destroy, explicitly or implicitly, the principles of organic unity. Of this growing body of new histories I can mention here only a few. Thus, narrative conventions are radically discarded in the French literary histories that Denis Hollier put together with a team of scholars. The overarching narrative of the “grand récit” is replaced here by a large number of essays, each attached to a particular date that marks a literary or political event. Disciplinary borders are most evidently transgressed in studies inspired by New Historicism, while national and cultural borders are crossed in regional studies, such as the *History of the Literary Cultures in East-Central Europe*, edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope and myself, and the new attempts to write transcultural and global literary histories, published by under the editorship of Gunilla Lindberg-Wada. How they succeed in overcoming the organicist tradition, how they absorb elements from it, and how they succeed in creating radically new ways of writing literary history, time will tell. Their thorough discussion will have to wait, in any case, for another occasion.

NOTES

¹ /Hieraus leuchtet ein, daß/ der unvergängliche, aber gleichsam durch verschiedene Körper wandernde Geist der Poesie, so oft er sich im Menschengeschlechte neu gebiert, aus den Nahrungsstoffen eines veränderten Zeitalters sich auch einen anders gestalteten Leib zubilden muß. Mit der Richtung des dichterischen Sinnes wechseln die Formen, und wenn man die neuen Dichtarten mit den alten Gattungsnamen belegt, und sie nach deren Begriffe beurtheilt, so ist dieß eine ganz unbefugte Anwendung von dem Ansehen des classischen Alterthums. Niemand soll vor einer Gerichtsbarkeit belangt werden, unter die er nicht gehört. Wir können gern zugeben, die meisten dramatischen Werke der englischen und spanischen Dichter seyen im Sinne der Alten weder Tragödien noch Komödien: es sind eben romantische Schauspiele.

² Of the many more, and different examples I mention here only the postwar Ukrainian debates about the question what would constitute a great national literature, a literature “of and for the people.” Iurii Sherekh, for instance, postulated a “national” or “national-organic” style that expressed the uniquely Ukrainian experience and spirit (see Grabowicz).

³ On Foucault and literary history, see Simon During’s *Foucault and Literature*, and my own two articles, “Foucault’s Voices” and “Can Foucault save Literary History?” In the latter I list his contributions under three rubrics: 1) his close readings of specific literary texts, 2) the place and function of literary texts in Foucault’s historical narratives, and 3)

Foucault’s (meta)critique of historiography. It is ironical, of course, that Foucault’s own epistemic historical structure in *The Order of Things* should bear some resemblance to organicist histories, even if it should postulate breaks instead of continuous “growth” between the epistemes.

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Society, History, and Literary View

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The paper deals with some of the transformations of historiography that took place in the last hundred years and focuses especially on literary and narrative forms and their role in historiography. After rejection of eventuating history and attempts to develop structural approaches in its analyses we witness today an existence of two contrasting trends. On one hand we can witness a renaissance of a narrative form in historiography; on the other we see an emergence of a self-narration, which is a consequence of ahistoric fractalization of contemporary perception of reality.

Key words: literature and history / historiography / literary fiction / narrativity / metahistory / cultural history / time

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The muse Clio inspires the writing of history, which from the very beginning of Western civilization has maintained a form akin to that of literary expression. For both fields (i.e., the literary and historiographic), this seems to evince relevant and even essential features of grasping reality and learning about the truth, regardless of whether the truth is fictional or eventuating/empirical. It is a form of narration. Let us leave aside for a moment the question of whether the form of narration is a constitutive or solely derivative form, as Paul Ricœur expressed himself in his monumental work *Temps et récit*, which today proves a peculiar question of its own (see Ricœur). In the last two decades, the question of historiographic narration and the notion or concept of the event in general (*histoire événementielle*) have become the object of criticism and serious analyses, which is most clearly shown in recent French historiography. From its first masters of history in the journal *Annales*, especially Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, to contemporary authors such as Le Goff, Duby and Le Roy Ladurie, this historiography has fundamentally changed the writing of history and established a new epistemological field of understanding its reality and truth (see Burke). One way or another, it seems that within this context we are constantly returning to the basic knot, which is the narrative eventness (viz. crisscross reference), as Paul Ricœur put it, between desire for reality in history and fiction; that is to say, fictionalized narration.

The “crisscross reference” contained in narrative form probably most distinctly manifested itself in the 19th century, when historiography played an important role in forming modern nations in Europe. In forming national identities, great relevance has been attributed to tradition and the related national past, which is why historiography and literature deserved the widest possible social, cultural, and scientific consensus. In addition, this historiography was still indistinguishable from literature, and this not only in the sense of historical genre, with which selected topics from the past that were relevant for a specific culture were presented in literary oeuvres, but also because it was a general fact that the historian was someone with a touch for the esthetic level and was a good writer. Analogously, it was also true, as it probably still is today, that a man of letters is also someone with a fine touch for history, being able to actually interpret historical tradition with the help of his narration, recreating it, setting the events and insights of human existence in a specific time, and thus acting as an irreplaceable source of cultural tradition relevant for both individual and collective identity.

By the end of the 19th century, this form of historiography experienced a certain crisis. Despite the fact that, from antiquity onwards, Western history has been written in various genre types – from annals and chronicles to memoirs, reports, monographs, and parables – the prevalent form was narration of important military or political events and deeds of great men. In trying to bring its narration closer to science, historiography resorted to stricter criteria and relied only on reliable archival sources and political history. Rankean historiography thereby narrowed its field of interest and helped strengthen the importance and role of the historical genre in pure literature. There were of course exceptions among historians that wrote a different kind of history in the second half of the 19th century, much closer to the polyphonic plurality of human culture and feeling. These included Jules Michelet and Jakob Burckhardt. This trail – which has long remained one of dissidence in view of the basic academic stance, but nonetheless of great importance for the form of narration, crisscross references, and complementarity with pure literature – leads to Johan Huizinga at the beginning of the 20th century. In his works *Homo ludens* and *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Huizinga raised theses varying considerably from those of traditional historiography. He rejected schematic divisions and political chronology. Instead, he brought to the fore society and culture, whose nature is primarily esthetic and ludic, or playful. The human world is first of all the world of imagination, faith, rituals of honor, love, and an immeasurable crossbreed of symbols and experienced images.

It is interesting that historiography of the archival type, which strives for exactness and scholarly relevance, was also critically rejected by the founder of positivism and sociology, Auguste Comte, who named these small exactitudes “childish, petty details” (Burke). Later development saw both historiography and literature take parallel and autonomous paths. History, which (as in the past) remained one of the most popular subjects of pure literature, was freeing itself from narrative form in its own field. Instead of narration, what came to the fore was the issue of approach. Various human activities thereby gained scholarly relevance: mass psychology, forms of belief, and ways of perceiving things that are not objectively material. These included dreams, fear, perception of time, beauty, religious feeling, and so on. Instead of schematic chronology, an in-depth form of the long-lasting surfaced, and also the claim that in every historical moment time moves in different modes of velocity. (It is here that I usually remember my grandmother, who would complain when paying us a visit, how time in the city passes more quickly than it does in her village!) This brings us closer to the two segments of greatest importance for the literary historical genre. The first is the form of time, created by the literary text, either as a diachronic event-narration and simultaneously its transcending through entering into the synchronal “now,” into both the momentary now of readers’ reception and the integrated historical moment of the moment or object described. The second one – and perhaps the greatest effort by an artisan or writer – is the reaching for the voice of a hero or more literary heroes. Within the context of the historical genre and writing about a certain historical situation from the distant past, this proves to be a very acute problem, demanding in terms of writing, and at the same time literarily extremely challenging, creative, and, I dare say, bearing long-term pertinence for the readership and collective identification. This is how the advantage of literature over history can be evinced. A literary text communicates a voice of a historical hero, who thereby becomes alive in our consciousness. It mentally creates spaces that causally connect events unknown to or unrecorded by history itself. Let us reflect for a moment on how many voices we know and what their importance is for the collective; that is, national identification. The voice of Črtomir and Bogomila can be heard, in the middle of the night if need be. Odysseus, Antigone, and Hamlet can also be heard in our language. Likewise Marcus Aurelius with the help of Alojz Rebula’s novel *V Sibilinem vetru* (In the Sibyl’s Wind), or Marguerite Yourcenar’s *Memories of Hadrian*. Can we also hear the voice of Primož Trubar?

In the first decades of the 20th century pure literature, the entire art world, and historiography subverted the narrative form in the desire to

embrace and create deeper structures that latently but fundamentally determine or even direct individual and collective human existence. We need not repeat here the familiar adventures and formative approaches we are all familiar with; the names alone suffice: Proust, Joyce, and Kafka and, in fine art, Picasso, Malevich, and Kandinsky. The ambition of psychoanalysis, and also that of the structural linguistics of Saussure and Jakobson, was to grasp latent and unconscious structures as the fundamental matrix of both anthropological reality and our forms of creativity and communication (with an interjection that old Freud nevertheless could not avoid the seemingly “original” event, the *Urszene*, which was supposed to condition all subsequent behavior). Durkheimian sociology also tended to make evident the in-depth structures of society and thereby rejected eventuating history. It is these very theoretical and artistic forms, which represent the core of the 20th century, that were supposed to decentralize the topos of the subject and create a polyphony of discourses, in which narration as the prevailing discourse – be it a fictional world or a social truth – is always arbitrary. Michel Foucault never grew tired of warning about the implicit relatedness of narration with the concepts of power (cf. Foucault’s *L’Archéologie du savoir* and *Scritti letterari*).

Recently, however, we are witnessing a peculiar turning-point, which can also be understood as a reflection on the trodden path. On the one hand, pure literature is still looking back into the past to capture it in its form, and recreate it in and talk through its segments about human beings, and their experience, truth, and possible worlds. On the other hand, historians are markedly turning to “symbolic capital,” as Bourdieu put it (see his *Le sens pratique*), and to cultural anthropology, symbolic reality, and outlining historical and social habits, which are spatial and temporal in nature. What is most interesting – after exhausted structural approaches, after leaving behind linguistic ambitions, after exhausted psychoanalysis, which has turned into a repetitive rhetoric, at times even ridiculous, and after the great disappointment with economic determinisms of historic materialism, relentlessly formed by Marxism – is that one part of historiography is stepping back to narration. Historical narration, or even historical biography, certainly has a form and intention different from the one it had a hundred years ago. What is stepping into the foreground today is not a dull chronology, but rather an attempt to delineate the aforementioned habitats, to seek evidence of the mentality of reality, the polyphony of times and identities. The revival of narration brings back good old eventness, be it as personal existence or the reality of a collective, civilization, or even universe. To put it in a nutshell, if it is all still about discovery or the esthetic re-experience of reality and truth, we are still (at least to a certain

degree) inclined to understand it as the form of narration and story. “Je suis ce que je me raconte” says Paul Ricœur. “I am that which I narrate and am narrated by.” One of the basic aspects characteristic of both literature and the writing of history is the act of repetition. Narrative repetition or reconstruction of certain events and facts, integrated into a holistic linear temporal and spatial dimension, is in truth a creative act, because it is only through this very act that conscious cognition is brought about, providing meaning to things both real and fictitious. One genuine example of this form is provided by the *Odyssey*, especially in two places: on the island of Scheria, where Odysseus retrospectively reconstructs his adventures after the fall of Troy and his voyage to the island, whereby he becomes conscious of the entire meaning of his adventures, and in Eumaeus’ cottage, when, after returning to Ithaca, he talks more or less truthfully with his shepherd about past events. The invisible island of the Phaiakians, or wonderland, and the shepherd’s cottage are the birthplace of Western narrativity (see Citati).

Today, however, we are facing two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, we are witnessing the actualization of the “fractalization” of reality, which is the consequence of postmodernism and textual and general deconstruction, as well as virtual globalization. Instead of synthetic integration, the contemporary man, who is becoming a true *homo fractalis*, is experiencing a dispersion of the elements of reality, as adequately expressed by contemporary art.

The second aspect of contemporaneity is the abolition of the historical perspective, since it is becoming increasingly irrelevant and even fictitious. This is accompanied by a deterritorialization or exclusion of the subject and discourse from the physical space, which is only possible due to the abolition of distance, both spatial and temporal. Today we are talking about the notion of *uchronia*; that is, exclusion from successive or historical chronology. The abolition of distinctions can also be detected at various levels of entities, such as cultural, national, regional, sexual, and so on. The immediate consequence is a certain slip of symbolic language into signaletics, which loses the differentiating and representative moment, as well as the rich ambivalence of meanings and the semantic openness of the symbol. The virtual world of signs, or signaletics, is not representative, is not differentiating; rather, it abolishes the otherness and the ambivalence of meaning. It is an image without its negative. Namely, signaletics has to be subjected to quantification logics, dictated by the form of numbers and calculation, which erases all ambivalence in meaning. As a consequence, everything is drowned in the visual signaletic moment of the “now,” in the dehistoricized present moment; with or without physical presence. The

beautiful and traditional Art of Memory is becoming the craftsmanship of communication and consumption, although without the possibility of deeper reflection and esthetic pleasure, as enabled by static experience.

On the other hand, contemporary transformations of intimacy, as analyzed by Anthony Giddens, evince a reflexive project of the self, which is accompanied by emotional self-narration (see Giddens). “Blogs” are the last embodiment of the traditional form of narration. Contemporary man decidedly aims at a construction of the self-identity story. Within its framework, man develops an instrumental attitude towards the world, while woman and girl evince the eroticization of their own bodies in the desire to be loved. The fractal reality is accompanied by episodic encounters, and the final aim is the confluent love of two autonomous persons.

Translated by Janko M. Lozar

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Keeping our Nerve: Scientific and Historical Paradigms in John Banville's *Doctor Copernicus*

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Drawing on Collingwood and Kuhn, the article shows how Banville's 1976 Doctor Copernicus delineates a scientific / historical "paradigm" by linking the "revolutions" of early modernity to the crisis of knowledge of the latter part of the 20th century, emphasising the need for historical awareness.

Key words: literature and history / historiography / historical novel / science / scientific paradigm / Copernican turn / Banville, John

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In the chapter "The Historical Imagination" of his now classic *The Idea of History*,¹ R. G. Collingwood identifies historical thought as the dominant interest of modernity. History, he argues, has evolved since early modernity a technique no less structured and certain than that of her "elder sister," physical science, which dominated thought in the seventeenth century (Collingwood 232). But Collingwood rejects what he calls the "common-sense theory" of history, according to which the historian relies on documentary sources to record facts objectively as they have happened. By recognising that, for the historian, imagination in the (re)construction of historical events is "not ornamental but structural" and "a priori" (241), and that the historian himself – rather than (presumed) objective facts – is his own ultimate authority, "it is possible to effect what one might call a Copernican revolution in the theory of history" (236).

For us, steeled in the (post)structuralist and postmodern debates of the second half of the last century, the withdrawal of authoritative status from historical fact may not seem so bold a move. Even when Collingwood was writing, the objective status of external reality was being queried in various fields; we might think of the concern with the subjectivity of perception and the power of language to shape reality differently, or of the challenge

to the ideological premises of supposedly objective, factual genres that we find in writings as diverse as the fiction of Joyce and Woolf, the linguistics of Saussure and Sapir-Whorf, or the “new biography” of Strachey and other members of the Bloomsbury group. But in the 1930s the positivist model of historiography still dominated, and relocating authority from the objectivity of external facts to their narrative reconstruction by the historian was still a radical step, and one that can be seen as a pivotal moment in the twentieth-century’s evolving reflection on the nature of “referential” discourses.

Thus Collingwood’s description of this shift of perspective as the possibility of “a Copernican revolution in the theory of history” almost inevitably prompts reference to Thomas Kuhn’s equally groundbreaking model of the history of science. In the terms of Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, what Collingwood effects through this radical reversal of our understanding of historiography and of the nature of historical truth would be defined as a “paradigm shift.”

The way “normal science” (scientific research firmly based on the foundations of past scientific achievements and of accepted theories) operates within the stable scientific paradigm (briefly: the sets of theories and beliefs that at any given time govern the way scientific knowledge is organised and new information is sought), may be compared to the “common-sense theory of history,” insofar as both these normalising modes of operating assume that the methods and principles governing research within their disciplines conform to the structure of reality and therefore best allow us to describe it. When “normal” scientific activity produces data that cannot be accommodated within the existing scientific theories, the paradigm starts to come under pressure and moments of crisis occur, leading to a sense of confusion, of loss of reference points and of certainties (the ramifications may be felt well beyond the group of specialists, as we see in the wider social effects of heliocentrism, or of Darwinian evolutionary theory). A battle then ensues within the scientific community over the conflicting theories, until a new paradigm is accepted, and this is what Kuhn calls a “paradigm shift.” Collingwood’s interrogation of the principles of historical writing similarly comes at a time when the predominant model is unable to answer satisfactorily the questions asked of it; his unhinging of narrative from proven objective truth can thus be seen to herald a new “paradigm” (I place it in quotation marks so as not to elide the differences that remain between Kuhn’s and Collingwood’s systems) that privileges the historian’s choice and focuses on the structures of linguistic and narrative accounts – what would later come to the foreground in postmodernist and New Historicist historiography.

In the 1960s and 1970s, in the context of the debate on “the Two Cultures” prompted by the Snow-Leavis controversy, but especially of the

impact of Foucault's writing on Western knowledge and of "the linguistic turn" of theory, Kuhn's work was seized on to blur the differences between discursive disciplines and those traditionally based on external evidence. But while Kuhn himself had pointed out a fundamental similarity of the two he was also careful to warn against a too hasty juxtaposition of the scientific and artistic models. In the 1969 "Postscript" to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* Kuhn suggests that he had taken the pattern of "scientific development as a succession of tradition-bound periods punctuated by non-cumulative breaks" from historians of "literature, of music, of the arts, of political development," for whom "[p]eriodization in terms of revolutionary breaks in style, taste, and institutional structure have been among [...] standard tools" (208), and in a later essay he points out that "the artist too, like the scientist, faces persistent technical problems which must be resolved in the pursuit of his craft" while "the scientist, like the artist, is guided by aesthetic considerations and governed by established modes of perception" ("Comment" 343). But he also insists that "[c]lose analysis must again be enabled to display the obvious: that science and art are very different enterprises or at least have become so during the last century and a half" ("Comment" 341), notably in respect of their relationship with aesthetics, with their public, and with their past achievements (I shall return to this last point later).² Collingwood was likewise careful to distinguish the sphere of historical research from that of fictional narrative despite their profound analogy: while the latter need only be bound by laws of internal artistic coherence, the historian will select, combine, and use his imagination in the narrative of events but must neither invent facts to prop his argument, nor suppress those that might undermine it.

If I return to these issues and bring together Collingwood and Kuhn, it is precisely because of the impact in the 1960s and 1970s of their call for a rethink the premises of their respective disciplines, and because it is such moments of historical, scientific, and cultural crisis and renovation, with their attendant sense of apprehension, confusion, and loss of stable values that are explored in John Banville's *Doctor Copernicus*.³ This postmodern novel, published in 1976, combines detailed historical reconstruction, cultural analysis, and the examination of (our construction of) the mechanisms of historical and scientific evolution in order to reflect, finally, on the present condition. By engaging the discourses of science, biography, fiction, historiography and economics it shows their interrelatedness in the "historical paradigm," and by placing the figure of Copernicus at the centre both of the scientific revolution (or "paradigm shift") and the broader historical and cultural upheavals of early modernity and of the sense of crisis of knowledge and values of the latter part of the 20th century, it

furthermore implicitly extends Kuhn's analysis of the history of science to a more encompassing, Foucauldian notion of epochal *episteme*. Much of this sense of displacement appears to depend on the mismatch between our perceptions of reality and the structures through which we know how to explain and understand reality itself, and it thus centres, at both ends of the historical spectrum, on the fracture between the desire to know reality as it is and our ability to represent it adequately. It is to this confluence of discourses in *Doctor Copernicus* that I therefore now turn.

The protagonist of *Doctor Copernicus* is a perfectly identifiable historical character, and the faithfulness to historical and biographical "fact" is very precise throughout the novel – indeed, almost be too precise to be believed:

people still come to me and say about *Copernicus*, "was that really his life? Did he do all those things?" I say to them "yes" and they look at me and don't believe it. So that when you actually do supply them with facts they don't believe it. If you reason it out, they're quite right. Because a novelist has no business taking actual historically recorded facts. (Sheehan 83)

The genre signposted from the start is that of the Joycean *Bildungsroman*, marked by the third person narration and the adoption of the character's perceptual, emotional, and intellectual point of view that gradually evolves from the child's to the young man's to the adult's. Unlike in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, however, the voice is from the beginning that of a narrator that translates the perceptions of the child into a language rich with literary and philosophical echoes. The novel mimics then the style and conventions of biographical narration, moving on after that to a traditional omniscient and somewhat patronising narrator. There are then pages in epistolary form, and the second part is framed by allegorical, almost visionary, Gothic passages that re-echo throughout the novel. A completely different portrait of Copernicus appears in the third part through the (auto)biography of his disciple Rheticus, an utterly unreliable narrator who invents or distorts facts animated by resentment and spirit of revenge towards the astronomer. Copernicus also voices thoughts that the final notes ascribe to more recent figures such as Einstein, Planck, Kierkegaard, and in the fourth part any semblance of psychological realism is further disrupted by the imaginary, allegorical debate, also full of anachronistic references, between the old scientist, victim of a stroke, and his dead brother Andreas.

It is almost as if different points of view and voices, different narrative models, were tried out in the search for the most adequate biographical model that can present the character reliably and convincingly, and this

goes hand in hand with the character's own construction, or search for, a scientific model through which to express and reveal the truth of the cosmos and of the natural world.

In *The Copernican Revolution* (1957), cited by Banville as one of his sources, Thomas Kuhn presents Copernicus as a man suspended between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, his *De Revolutionibus* – “a revolution-making, rather than a revolutionary text” – as “at once ancient and modern, conservative and radical” (134-35). In the novel, the use of the proper name becomes a pivot of this “suspension” between two worlds, two epochs, different artistic and scientific necessities, and focuses the ways in which the individual belongs to history and to different, shifting “historical paradigms.” The proper name should be the fixed, untranslatable mark of individual and family identity, and yet debating the derivation of the name Koppernigk from an uncertain, material origin seems to be the first and foremost necessity in biographies of the scientist – almost as if this were a way of tying him back to the earth he'd sent out spinning into the universe. Open to different interpretations, the name can be linked to different “things” depending on the eulogistic or spiteful intention of the speaker:

Burnished sheets of copper glowed [...] and happiness seemed a copper-coloured word. It was from this metal that the family had its name, his father said, and not from the Polish *coper*, meaning horseradish, as some were spiteful enough to suggest. Horseradish indeed! (8)

To complicate matters, Copernicus himself varied the spelling of his name depending on the context and the nature of the documents: Copernic in official administration, Coppersnic when the area was German speaking, Copernicus in official correspondence and in literary and scientific manuscripts. The signature could further vary into Koppernieck, Kopperlingk, Kupernik, etc. The form historically “approved” and used in most biographies, including the one by Arthur Koestler, which Banville has consulted extensively (244), and that written in the nineteenth century by Leopold Prowe and still considered the authoritative text, is Koppernigk (Koestler n. 1 569). What matters, however, is not what the various forms were but what Banville makes of this etymological and graphic uncertainty. It is when reference is made to the origins of the name that the narrative technique shifts from that of the Joycean *Bildungsroman* to the traditional biographical narration, with the account of the family origins:

The Koppernigks had originated in Upper Silesia, from whence in 1396 one Niklas Koppernigk, a stonemason by trade, had moved to Cracow and taken Polish citi-

zenship. His son, Johannes, was the founder of the merchant house that in the late 1450s young Nicolas's father was to transfer to Torun in Royal Prussia. (8)

The name gives the character his place in history and fixes his social identity, also identifying the family as one which had a good nose for business: the move to Krakow occurs when the city becomes the royal seat and builders and stonemasons are in great demand; the family then transfer to Torun when the relatively peaceful and prosperous 15th century turned the Vistula into one of the main commercial routes of Eastern Europe. To free himself from this net of pre-fixed identity, Nicolas must perform a symbolic act of defiance and of rupture that will enable him to assert his individuality and make a new, independent name for himself, a name that would signify his true, essential, autonomous identity and which can become his own personal seal on the new world view coined by his revolutionary scientific theory:

They might try, but they would not take everything from him, no. If the sentry were to accost him now he would announce himself fiercely, would bellow his name and impress it like a seal upon the waxen darkness for all Heilsberg to hear:
Doctor Copernicus! (109)

This self-made name, sanctioned by history ever since as “Copernicus,” supplants in history the – until then – historically sanctioned family name “Koppernigk.” It is here then that the rupture is located: in the intentional and individual choice, by the subject, of the subject's own manner of belonging in/to history. It is thanks to this new name that the character Doctor Copernicus can engrave, impress (Greek *kharássein*) his own uniqueness upon history, like a seal on wax (a wax remindful perhaps of the second Cartesian meditation on the proofs of the existence of the subject (Descartes 89-95)), like a sort of copyright mark upon the new structure of modern thought. This historical-genealogical fracture coincides with the scientific and philosophical fracture of traditional cosmology, while the shift from an identity centred in one's place in the pre-determined social structure to one centred on individuality – the act of self-creation – coincides with the moving of the centre of the cosmos from the earth to the sun.

Having drawn my neat parallels, I must also point out that Copernicus' rebel cry to assert his name and impress it like a seal upon the waxen darkness of the night in fact goes totally unnoticed by the sentry guarding the gate of the town: “But the sentry was asleep” (109), and he never even utters his rebellious cry. To pursue this ironic counterpoint further and modulate my own emphasis on the centrality of “character” in the novel,

another statement by Banville may be noted: “I have no interest in characterisation. Prior to *Copernicus*, in which I had the characters made for me, I consciously chose absolute stereotypes” (Sheehan 83).

Kharaktér describes both the tool that allows a mark, a seal, a stamp to be impressed, for example on coins so as to give them their value, and the imprint itself that fixes the value of the coin. Thus it is appropriate that Banville should choose “stereotyped” characters (characters whose meaning and value is pre-fixed – like historical ones, on whom the author’s imagination and invention can only exercise limited intervention), and it acquires even greater significance that Copernicus should choose his own value, his own character. Above all, it is significant that the issue of character construction, which in a way is the central issue of biographical writing, should be thus connected with the question of value, of money, of coins: for in the novel there is a subtext, an undercurrent that plays against the scientific and the imaginary – what should be concerned with the priceless, the absolute – and concerns instead the question of money, of the economy of meanings, of the value of science. In 1522, by request of the Prussian Diet, Copernicus wrote a treatise to implement a reform of the monetary system that fixed the quantity of metals to be used in coins, introduced state monopoly on the issuing of money, regulated the amount of currency that may circulate at any given moment (Koestler 145; n. 28 571). Thus Copernicus also takes his place within the nascent modern economic structure, and this links it with the new cosmology. Of course, this early capitalist development is only envisaged: the dominant system remains the hierarchical, feudal system based on land control through ecclesiastical tithes, and indeed it is one of Copernicus’ tasks, during the war between Poland and the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, to ensure that the land is cultivated and farms are not abandoned. The conditions of the peasants, whose status is that of serfs “tied” to the land, but who nevertheless seek to escape to the safety of towns when the war is fought on their lands and on their bodies, is often referred to in the novel. The link between money and cosmology in the (self-)construction of Copernicus’ *character* prompts us to read the contrast between the two opposite views of the cosmos and of man (medieval and modern; pre- and post-Copernican revolution) also in terms of the changing economic structure that evolves from the tie with the earth and the “fixity” of the “natural” value of things towards a target of free movement, variability and productivity that becomes autonomous from nature and is controlled by man through conventional and arbitrary laws increasingly detached from the rhythm of the apparent but regular and natural movement of the sun.

This also extends to the verbal and scientific *accounts* that, by their very nature of vehicles of communicative exchange, become substitutes for their referent. It is Nicolas' father, the Torun merchant, who explains to him "the meaning of money" (6), linking it to the value of words and of representations:

Coins, you see, are only for poor people, simple people, and for little boys. They are only a kind of picture of the real thing, but the real thing itself you cannot see, nor put in your pocket, and it does not jingle. When I do business with other merchants I have no need of these silly bits of metal, and my purse may be full or empty, it makes no difference. I give my word, and that is sufficient, because my word is money. Do you see? (6)

Nicolas "did not see" (6), but the parallel has been established between monetary and verbal systems of substitution, and he will later extend it to the scientific system of representation, when as an astronomer he seeks to explain the universe through an abstract model that he would like to be true ("He had believed it possible to say the truth"), but whose inevitable and frustrating conventionality, fictionality, and yet necessity he has to recognise ("now he saw that all that could be said was the saying. His book was not about the world, but about itself," 116).

The poet knows that in order to see clearly things in their essence one would need to "become an ignorant man again" and elude any kind of formalisation or interposition of cultural, historical, social filters. The epigraph of the novel is taken from Wallace Stevens' *Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction*:

You must become an ignorant man again
And see the sun again with an ignorant eye
And see it clearly in the idea of it.

The child too, like the poet, can have access to the vision thanks to his *infantile* (non verbal, or pre-verbal) perceptions. At the beginning of the novel little Nicolas – as yet unnamed – feels one with the linden tree, also as yet unnamed and unidentified: "At first it had no name. It was the thing itself, the vivid thing. It was his friend. On windy days it danced, demented, waving wild arms" (3). Nicolas' infantile perception of the tree is intuitive, of direct access to the object and of union with it. It is only when the tree is given a name that Nicolas (whose name we also learn now for the first time) learns to distinguish it, and thus to distinguish himself from it, and to recognise the relationship between words and the world of things:

Look, Nicolas, look! See the big tree!

Tree. That was its name. And also: the linden. They were nice words. He had known them a long time before he knew what they meant. They did not mean themselves, they were nothing in themselves, they meant the dancing singing thing outside. (3)

“The artist like the infant, must learn to speak in order to assimilate the world” says Banville in a talk given in 1981, 5 years after the publication of the novel (“A Talk” 15). The essential truth, “the thing itself” (a phrase frequently repeated in the novel, with an – often ironic – echo of the Kantian *Ding an sich*) can only be intuited with a creative / poetic act of the mind, suggesting the alliance of poetry and philosophy, as in Goethe’s *Dichtung und Wahrheit* or Heidegger’s *Dichten und Denken*. The paradox of course is that language will “mediate,” interpose itself between self and world, word and thing – and often it won’t even be able to mediate: “The universe of dancing planets was out there, and he was here, and between the two spheres mere words and figures on paper could not mediate” (*Doctor Copernicus* 93). It is the problem that besets the scientist through his life: on the one hand the desire to capture the truth of the world, even the possibility of intuiting it in the instant of vision; on the other, the inevitable reduction of it to an arbitrary, conventional model, and the apprehension that a model may be superseded by a new one: the necessity, in order to see each time anew, to become each time a blind, ignorant man again.

It is only on his deathbed that Copernicus will find again just for a moment the lost unity with “things” and with the linden tree of his childhood, re-uniting again his sundered self, finally hearing in the everyday noises of life that “music of the spheres” to which his ears had yearned all his life. Coins jingle, the thing itself doesn’t, his father had taught him. Coins are only for little boys, the grown up scientist yearns for the real thing, yet he wants to hear its music. It is only when he is again like a “little boy,” an infant in his senility, hallucinating, “demented” as a consequence of a stroke, that he can hear the music, the jingle of the real thing, and this music is not that of the cold, silent spheres, but the voices of the common people, of their everyday lives. The historical circle of biography, the orbit of a life is closed, the circulation / revolution of meanings, names, of the values of words and things is completed – and they do jingle, toll, and call him away to them:

and Nicolas, straining to catch that melody, heard the voices of evening rising to meet him from without: the herdsman’s call, the cries of children at play, the rumbling of the carts returning from market; and there were other voices too, of churchbells gravely tolling the hour, of dogs that barked afar, of the sea, of the

earth itself, turning in its course, and of the wind, out of huge blue air, sighing in the leaves of the linden. All called and called to him, and called, calling him away. (242)

The tension between the desire for a scientific “truth” that is more than just a “model” and our attempts at description – that can only be models – already emerge during Nicolas’ student days, when he thinks he can discern the trace of a doubt in the writings of his professor of astronomy, and this makes tangible for him the crisis of a system and the slow but inevitable advent of a new one:

Nicolas had read everything the Professor had ever written on the Ptolemaic theory. Out of all those weary hours of wading through the dry sands of a sealed mind there had been distilled one tiny precious drop of a pearly doubt. He could no longer remember where or when he had found the flaw, along what starry trajectory, on which rung of those steadily ascending ladders of tabular calculation, but once detected it had brought the entire edifice of a life’s work crashing down with slow dreamlike inevitability. *Professor Brudzewski knew that Ptolemy was gravely wrong.* He could not of course admit it, even to himself; his investment was too great for that. This failure of nerve explained to Nicolas how it was that a mathematician of the first rank could stoop into deceit in order, in Aristotle’s words, *to save the phenomena*, that is, to devise a theory grounded firmly in the old reactionary dogmas that yet would account for the observed motions of the planets. (29)

Of course, the Professor denies that such heresy can be gleaned in his writing:

You are asking our science to perform tasks which it is incapable of performing. Astronomy does not describe the universe as it is, but only as we observe it. That theory is correct, therefore, which accounts for our observations. (35)

Brudzewski is with these words almost signals an awareness that is more modern, more “Kuhnian,” than that of Copernicus, who wants to get to the “vivid truth” of the cosmos. He does so, he thinks, in a clear, pure instant of vision. *Theoría* etymologically translates as “spectacle,” “contemplation” (from *theorein*, “to see” or “look” in the abstract sense, in turn derived from the root *theāsthai*, from which also comes “theatre” as “place where one sees, or looks” (Klein *s.v.* “theory”). Copernicus’ theory, in short, is his intuitive vision: he is the spectator of a mental representation of the cosmos that he mistakes for its reality. But the linguistic translation of the vision, “instead of approaching the word, the crucial Word,” can only fade into “loquacious silence” (116). The theory, so simple in its purity, but then also so illusory, is both original creation and radical rup-

ture with tradition and the dominant culture of the time. At war here are not only two different scientific paradigms, but also two conceptions of truth. The change of paradigm is Kuhnian, the language visionary:

Nothing less than a new and radical instauration would do, if astronomy was to mean more than itself. /.../ The closed system of the science must be broken /.../ the birth of the new science must be preceded by a radical act of creation. /.../ Calmly then it came, the solution, like a magnificent great slow golden bird alighting in his head with a thrumming of vast wings. It was so simple, so ravishingly simple, that at first he did not recognise it for what it was. /.../ What mattered was not the propositions, but the combining of them: *the act of creation*. He turned the solution this way and that, admiring it, as it were turning in his fingers a flawless ravishing jewel. It was the thing itself, the vivid thing. (83-85)

Copernicus too has a moment of doubt, and experiences a sense of loss, fear, and confusion similar to that described by Kuhn at the end of a paradigm:

No sooner had he realised the absolute necessity for a creative leap than his instincts without his knowing had thrown up their defences against such a scandalous notion, thrusting him back into the closed system of worn-out orthodoxies. (85)

The astronomer sees in his revolutionary discovery, compounded with his own doubts about his theory, the risk of death: the death of faith, of man's trust in his own strength and in his centrality, in the structures that have sustained society for centuries:

He would be dragged out, kicking and howling, into the market place /.../ he began to wonder if he would be well advised to destroy his work. /.../ They would seize upon his work, or a mangled version of it more like, with awful fervour, beside themselves in their eagerness to believe that what he was offering them was an explanation of the world and their lives in it. And when sooner or later it dawned upon them that they had been betrayed yet again, that here was no simple comprehensive picture of reality, no new instauration, then they would turn on him. /.../ They must be made to understand that by banishing Earth and man along with it from the centre of the universe, he was passing no judgements, expounding no philosophy, but merely stating what is the case. (119-20)

(Ironically, there is no such outrage, not yet: paradigms shift slowly). This is just what had happened to Brudzewski, whose nerve failed him, who accepted to sink back into that orthodoxy to which Copernicus will also yield, afraid to publish his revolutionary book.

The need for the “radical act of creation” is permitted by – it originates in – an acute sense of alienation and alterity: from the world, of the world, with the world. This sense of alterity enables both the scientific vision and the poetic act of creation; Banville quotes Wallace Stevens again:

From this the poem springs: that we live in a place
That is not our own, and, much more, not ourselves. (Banville, *A Talk* 15)

For the Irish author this inevitably extends to the social, political, cultural context, and cannot but recall Stephen Dedalus’ words in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, where Stephen, the Artist, also attributes a generative function to this sense of alterity. While talking to the Dean of Studies, an Englishman, he thinks:

His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (189)

It is precisely because of this fretting of his soul that Stephen will become an artist, but this also raises, in our context, much more specific and specifically historical questions of national identity. What may be displaced onto the historical position and appropriations of Copernicus – is he German, Prussian, Polish, Ermlander? – is the question, particularly bitter in the 1970s, of Northern Ireland and of Irishness, of independence, of independent thought and its relationship with national and individual identity; and, echoing Joyce, of the way nationalism can become one of those “nets” that the individual has to “fly by” (Joyce, *Portrait* 203) to achieve his autonomy:

Pressures from all sides were brought to bear on him. His brother-in-law Bartholomew Gertner, that fervent patriot, stopped speaking to him after the Canon one day during his stay at Torun had refused to declare himself, by inclination if not strictly by birth, a true German. Suddenly he was being called upon to question his very nationality! and he discovered that he did not know what it was. Bishop Lucas, however, resolved that difficulty straightaway. “You are not German, nephew, no, nor are you a Pole, nor even a Prussian. You are an Ermlander, simple. Remember it.”

And so, meekly, he became what he was told to be. But it was only one more mask. Behind it he was that which no name nor nation could claim. He was Doctor Copernicus. (94)

Just like his individual identity as a scientist displaces his social one, science becomes a way out of the “nightmare of history” (Joyce, *Ulysses* 34).

But history and science cannot be unhinged: for the Nazis Copernicus could not be a Pole because he was a genius, for the Poles he is a national hero. History re-appropriates the scientist, turns him again into a battlefield of nationalities and racial, national and cultural superiority.

Thus, to sum up, *Dr Copernicus* draws from and unsettles a wide range of genres. It reconstructs clearly identified historical events (wars in Central Europe in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries, intrigue in Renaissance Italy, changes from a feudal to an early modern world, Columbus' travels, the discoveries of the era), and it can therefore be called a historical novel (given its mixing of accurate historical references and allegorical passages we may ask, of the romance or the realist type?). Or would be more appropriate to call it a biographical fiction? In fact, the genres of biographical writing also multiply, and, as we have seen, we have autobiographical parts, epistolary sections, "factual" biography, and parts that belong to the tradition of the *Bildungsroman* (which, we could say, is to biography as the historical novel is to history). Of course, it is also a book about the scientific discovery of an almost literally earth-moving theory, which describes its early reception and, through anachronistic references to and quotations from later physicists and philosophers (from Kierkegaard to Einstein), suggests its later effects on the development of science up to our time. It is thus a book about an individual, a scientific problem, and an epoch; about the beginning of modernity, and about late modernity – perhaps *the end* of modernity – therefore also about us, and our own contemporary historical and cultural crisis.

With its challenging of the boundaries between historical fact and poetic creation, its mixing of past and present, its anachronistic presentation of Copernicus, *Doctor Copernicus* is a postmodern book, what Linda Hutcheon would define as "historiographic metafiction"; with its nostalgic desire for order and allusions to the Joycean *Bildungsroman* it also gestures towards modernism; the nineteenth century principle that history is the biography of great men also applies. The origins of the historical novel are in the Romantic period, when the link between "historical consciousness and cultural-political concepts of the emancipation of nations" gave rise to "a new conception of art as a means of aesthetic experience":⁴ *Doctor Copernicus* also bears the hallmark of such romantic origins of the genre, representing as it does the link between nationhood, history and mythology, including, we have seen, the construction of (but also the intolerance towards) a national mythology of identity around the figure of Copernicus.

Postmodern, modernist, nineteenth-century, romantic, early modern; Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Kierkegaard, Einstein: within the bookends of Copernicus at one end and the latter part of the twentieth century at the

other, the novel alludes to and establishes a relationship between the history of science, of historical writing, of biographical writing, of the form of the novel – all ways in which we have historically attempted to find ever better (and, as we realise, ever inadequate) ways to represent reality to ourselves. I have suggested above that the variety of genres explored in *Doctor Copernicus* can also be seen as a way of trying out the various forms through which the modern novel has attempted to represent character, subjectivity and the sense of our relationship with the world: Copernicus appears as a centre around which different generic forms rotate, encircling but not enclosing him, attracted by but unable to ever quite get to the essence or centre of the character. (The heliocentric model places the centre of the solar system in a mathematical point that is near to but does not coincide with the sun: we rotate around a void, as does Copernicus, as do our various attempts to represent identity or reality, whether scientifically or artistically.) There may thus be another reason why the novel references so many different generic models of writing: because they are all used up and need to be rethought, just like our conception of the world, the universe, and our place in it must be rethought. The old forms of expressing truths no longer serve us; but we can't discard them until we have new ones – in any case, *because this is literature*, we would not be able to discard them altogether and they remain part of our construction and understanding of reality. As Kuhn suggests, unlike science, which replaces old models with new ones, erasing previous explanations from the scientific field and relegating them to history or the museum, literature does not discard old models but includes them in its evolution, constantly returning to them, revising, rewriting and re-elaborating them: “Unlike art, science destroys its past”; “art can support, far more readily than science, a number of simultaneous incompatible traditions or schools” (Kuhn, “Comment” 345, 348). As John Barth proposed in 1967, the exhaustion of old forms requires not their erasure, but their re-signification.

It is in this context that two points of analogy between Collingwood's idea of history and Kuhn's history of science become especially relevant: while neither rejects the truth of facts and events, both unhinge them from a historical or scientific discourse that stakes its truth and authority on its adherence to such facts – for Collingwood, authority resides in the historian, for Kuhn in the community of scientists, and both accept the necessity of narrative structures that are in turn analogous, in various ways, to those of literature. The novelist Banville goes further in pursuing the analogy than either Collingwood or Kuhn, and his work posits that all of them are supreme and necessary fictions produced by our capacity to imagine, rationalise, and express.

As we have seen, while still a university student in Krakow, young Copernicus argues with one of his teachers, identifying in the old professor's defence of Ptolemy "a failure of nerve" (the phrase comes from Koestler 53-65) that stubbornly continues to sustain "the old reactionary dogmas" (29) despite the awareness that they no longer function adequately. In the metaphor of the pearl ("Out of all those weary hours of wading through the dry sands of a sealed mind there had been distilled one tiny precious drop of a pearly doubt," 29), the speck of grit that becomes jewel ("He turned the solution this way and that, admiring it, as it were turning in his fingers a flawless ravishing jewel," 85) references the way in which marginal data that the paradigm of normal science cannot sift accrete questions, until they lead to what Kuhn would call a scientific revolution or paradigm shift, and what *Doctor Copernicus* more poetically calls "a new and radical instauration" (83) after the slow inevitable "crashing down" of the old establishment (29).

The need to "keep our nerve" is taken up again by Banville in his 1981 talk, when he suggested that we are "on the threshold of a new *ism*":

We are continually being told that the novel is moribund, but the fact is, if we can keep our nerve, the novel is only beginning to explore its own possibilities. It can become the Supreme Fiction that Stevens dreamed poetry might be. If we keep our nerve.

Modernism has run its course. So also, for that matter, has post-modernism. I believe, at least I hope, that we are on the threshold of a new *ism*, a new synthesis. What will it be? I do not know. But I hope it will be an art which is honest enough to despair and yet go on; rigorous and controlled, cool and yet passionate, without delusions, aware of its own possibilities and its own limits; an art which knows that truth is arbitrary, that reality is multifarious, that language is not a clear lens.

Did I say *new*? What I have defined is as old as Homer. (16-17)

Out of the death of the medieval, pre-Copernican world came what we know as the Renaissance, the "re-birth," anticipating the "birth of man" of modernity that Michel Foucault describes in *The Order of Things*. Man was de-centred from the universe but found in himself a new centre on which to rebuild all knowledge and all faith: *Cogito, ergo sum*. If in the postmodern, post-humanist context this modern subject faces a "death" through the dissolving of its transcendence, reinterpreted as an effect of language and of desire, and the objectivity of external reality (scientific, historical), is recast, at least partly, as an effect of narrative, once again we must "keep our nerve" as these deaths will lead to new births, though we may not yet know what they are. Banville is specifically talking about artistic forms, but his "hope" can be thus taken to refer, more generally, to the intellectual and cultural (as well as political and economic) structures

of our society. Seeing the magnitude of the historical, political, cultural, religious upheavals that our world is experiencing today, over three decades after Banville's novel, we must certainly agree that we need to "keep our nerve" through this latest "Copernican revolution," and that exploring the forms that these revolutions take, their roots, and their possible consequences, is more than a literary game, much more than the amusing but shallow playfulness with forms that postmodernism has so often been accused of staging: it is, on the contrary, essential to our historical consciousness – a consciousness turned as much to the past as to the future; aware of the cyclical recurrence of crises; that we do not have *the* truth; and that we shall continue to endeavour to find new ways of describing reality and our place in the world, negotiating between alternative explanations; because it is only by accepting the provisional and contingent nature of our truths that we can recognise our individual and collective responsibility to history.

NOTES

¹ The book was first published posthumously in 1946, but this chapter dates to 1935.

² On the misuse of Kuhn and the differences that he identifies between the two models see especially John Neubauer, "Reflections."

³ This is the first in the "Revolutions Trilogy" that also includes *Kepler* (1981) and *The Newton Letter* (1982).

⁴ From the programme of "History and Its Literary Genres" (Lipica, 7-8 September 2006), at which this paper was presented.

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The Historical Novel between National Identity, Ideologies, and “Historical Genres”

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*Author's comparative analysis deals with two literary images of the 20th-century Slovenian history (two historical novels of the resistance: Alojz Rebula's novel *Nokturno za Primorsko*, and Boris Pahor's novel *Zatemnitev*). Both novels treat some key subjects of the relationship between literature and historiography: universal contexts of the European and World history, national historical context, position of the resistance, autobiographical features, ideological interpretations of the Slovenian history, as well as the contemporary political perspectives. Both novels reveal how myths, speculations, and apparently illogical connections, which have »no right to exist« inside the frames of scientific historiography, may serve perfectly well as an aesthetic means of thematising the complexity of history.*

Key words: literature and history / Slovene literature / historical novel / Central Europe / national identity / Pahor, Boris / Rebula, Alojz

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Introduction

For a comparative analysis of the literarization of contemporary Slovenian history, I have chosen two historical novels that address the topic of resistance from the perspective of Slovenians from the Littoral region (Sl. *Primorska*) during the period when almost one third of the entire Slovenian population lived under the Italian regime. These novels are *Nokturno za Primorsko* (Nocturne for the Littoral, Mohorjeva družba, Celje 2004) by Alojz Rebula and *Zatemnitev* (Fade to Black, Slovenska Matica, first publication: 1975, second publication: Ljubljana 1987) by Boris Pahor.

Both works of art are characterized by employing a series of common contentual contexts taken from the same or shared historical subject matter, which is shaped by the authors into identical motifs (i.e., rebel, priest,

revolutionary, female activist, executor, etc.), but with conceptually mirror interpretations of the themes. These refer to key issues of 20th-century Slovenian history, which serve both authors as a means of gradual descent into the story in the form of concentric circles and at various levels of a multilayered historical spiral. This moves from broad, entirely universal issues to themes at the political level and, ultimately, the level of personal experience, which recurrently (and all the way back to the highest level) once more legitimize and justify the subjective judgements and reflections of the literary characters' actions – again in the name of the highest universal conceptual premise. These spirals, upon which both authors move the protagonists of their stories, constitute a conceptual skeleton that enables the multiple layering of both stories. Such an approach is entirely in line with the method of traditional historiography from Romanticism to (at least) the French concept of “total history” vs. the “pluralism” of discourses (Veyne 24).

Similar to traditional historiography, both historical novels also circumscribe a full hermeneutic circle and, in both cases, in a single place offer a comprehensive selection of contents conditioning the relation between historiography vs. the historical novel:

1. Universal contexts of European history (the universalism of the European Enlightenment vs. the universalism of Catholicism);

2. National historical context (i.e., the status of the Slovenian minority in Venezia Giulia under the Fascist regime between the two world wars vs. the unrealized idea of a united Slovenia within the United Slovenia political programme);

3. By their conscious choice of this historical subject matter, both authors are willingly or unwillingly transposed (to a certain extent) into the ideological context of interpreting 20th-century Slovenian history;

4. For this very reason, both authors cannot but see themselves (again, willingly or unwillingly) as also addressing the historical subject matter from the political perspective to a certain extent. In the 20th century, this is only seldom entirely separable from interpretations of historical developments;

5. Both authors present the resistance in Venezia Giulia following World War I (in so doing, they present different conceptual orientations assumed by the resistance: from Catholic, through Liberal and Nationalist, to Communist tendencies);

6. Finally, the authors combine the dilemmas and differences of ideas with the issues of resistance and collaboration during World War II (and the attitude of Slovenians towards all three forms of European totalitarianism that they were confronted with during World War II and the immediate period thereafter);

7. A special context that is common to both authors is also the “historical context of the Slovenian minority” (i.e., a view of the history of the common Slovenian ethnic environment from the perspective of historical developments in its westernmost parts: the Littoral under Italian rule);

8. A further characteristic of both authors is the “current context of the Slovenian minority” (i.e., the present view vs. collective national memory, generated at the “outskirts” of the ethnic environment);

9. Both authors are also comparable in terms of the literary forms and methods they employ. Boris Pahor presents a biographical novel in which developments intertwine to a certain extent with the actual biography of the author. Alojz Rebula, on the other hand, creates a clerical historical novel whose developments take place in the period experienced by the author himself.

10. In addition to all the characteristics noted thus far, which render the authors comparable to each other, both authors most frequently use fictitious dialogues as their basic means for arguing conceptual premises.

The selection of these levels and the issues addressed by both novels is reminiscent of a curriculum for historical studies at any Central European university. One encounters the entire “weekly schedule of subjects” in a single place (each individual novel): from general European history (i.e., the Enlightenment, social revolutions, totalitarian ideologies, resistance, collaboration, Communism, political Catholicism, the Holocaust, etc.), through European national ideologies and the “Birth of Nations”, chronologies of political history, and the history of European national minorities, to the history of everyday life and individual memory sources – and one could enumerate many more.

The authors deal with these major themes through personal experience and the destinies of rebels from the Littoral (Catholics, Liberals, and Communists, or individuals that are politically and ideologically entirely passive), and they invest great effort in their mental endeavours in order to substantiate the decisions, actions, and (consequently) personal fates of the protagonists by means of well-considered and planned individual dialogues that the protagonists engage in.

Through these argumentative or interpretative “excesses”, which contemporary historical studies more or less disallow (as speculation, supposition, suspicion, intuition, assumption, etc.), the authors (who ground their work in historical subject matter) thus leave the domain of historiography behind and transpose their creation into the literary domain – the realm of historiographical fiction.

Basic premises

Universal Contexts of European and World History

In their literary confrontation with these multilayered historical themes, both authors refer to the broadest possible historical context of European ideas, which serves them as a starting point for their writing. Specifically, they refer to the origins of the secularization of European thought during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and on the other hand to the tradition of ideas of European Catholicism.

Alojz Rebula's novel puts a positive accent on the idea-based viewpoints of its characters, who are actual historical figures. These include the Bavarian newsman Fritz Gerlich, editor of the Catholic newspaper *Der gerade Weg*. In addition, the novel summarizes ideas or short quotations from figures such as Nikolai Berdyaev and papal authorities from Leo XIII to Pius XI (Rebula 116, 123–125). These figures, which form an integral part of the tradition of European Catholicism, obviously represent the authorities for the ideas in the novel.¹

Boris Pahor, on the other hand, frequently focuses on individuals from historical tradition, beginning with figures such as Francis Bacon, and then moving on to, for instance, Giuseppe Mazzini or the liberal ideas of Alessandro Manzoni, Giacomo Leopardi (Pahor 55, 66, 274), and other figures representing the main theme of the (more or less) secularized paradigm of the ideas of the European Enlightenment.

The National Historical Context

The authors relate key turning points in 20th-century Slovenian history to the initial outline of the bipolarity of the ideas indicated above. From these turning points, which they develop within every context – within universal, national, ideological, and political contexts, as well as their subjective experience of the history of the Littoral – they derive the viewpoints of their characters.

The national historical context (which was, almost as a rule, nationally defensive for the Slovenians) is consistently nationally defensive for minority authors. As regards both authors, this context is so strongly present that they both (willingly or unwillingly) continuously shape even the most radical ideological viewpoints of their protagonists into a nationally defensive posture (e.g., the Slovenian people and culture must survive, the goal that must be attained is the United Slovenia Programme, etc.).

When providing arguments for or defending one or another ideological or political position, their literary characters often assume the role of interpreters of viewpoints and developments that can hardly be fully illuminated and substantiated from the historical point of view. The protagonists identify with them, defend them, or merely sympathize with them. For instance, Pahor explains the primacy of the Communist Party in World War II (181), whereas Alojz Rebula provides arguments in favour of “functional collaboration” (110). The representations of ideological viewpoints constitute two extreme points at which the authors create historical novels from the context of historiography.

The Ideological Context of Interpretation of Slovenian Wartime History

Within the ideological dilemmas of the nationally defensive context, there is also a necessary confrontation with the attitude assumed towards the paradigm of the Catholic idea. The basic division of ideas in Slovenia – that is, from the establishment of the pluralism of ideas and political pluralism onwards (as in both novels under consideration) – extends from the conflict between liberal and Catholic ideas, through the conflict of socialist and Catholic ideas, to the conflict between Communist and Catholic ideas. This primarily unfolds (in complete consistency with the well-known theses of, for instance, Dušan Pirjevec, Dimitrij Rupel, etc.) in literature, then moves on to the political arena to evolve into a radical political (and, during World War II, military) conflict, only to reappear today – paradoxically – “again” in the literature of both of these authors (Hladnik 211). In this case, historical literature (i.e., the novel) conducts itself equally (it is “nationally functional”) as literary historiography.²

It seems as though the rhythm of the division of ideas, ideologies, and politics within the nation gradually intensified into an uncontrolled dynamics because the political events condensed too rapidly and succeeded one another in too intense a sequence. Such divisions by ideas then obviously led to a national catastrophe similar the one that took the form of the civil war in Slovenia considered in all its complexity by both novels. The fact that both authors are active outside Slovenian national territory by no means changes this fact – on the contrary, it confirms it (Kos 193, 194, 218, 219) because the clash of ideas returns once more to the field of literature.³

In his definition of the Slovenian literary tradition, Boris Pahor expressly exposes the double-tracked nature of ideas. This occurs when one of the protagonists from the Catholic ideological circle refers to Finžgar

and Pregelj in his attempts to define his worldview, or when others from the liberal circle refer to Župančič and Ferdo Kozak (Pahor, 20), or to Kosovel, Bevk, and Cankar (Pahor 77, 274).⁴

At the theoretical level, the “clash of ideas” culminates in a retrograde eschatological thematization of the question of the primacy of religion or nationality addressed by both authors (Rebula 33, 34; Pahor 79). In their attempts at this, they are confronted with the question of the ideological “order of values” (as the question of the primacy of “religion or – nationality” was termed by Aleš Ušeničnik, the leading wartime ideologist of Slovenian political Catholicism; Grdina 60).

The Political Character of Historical Subject Matter

Whether the authors desire it or not (this question may remain open to debate), in the light of the facts given thus far their novels are also necessarily subject to interpretations within the current political context, which extends deep into present political dilemmas (reconciliation, redress of wrongs and choice of national holidays, national celebrations and commemorations, etc.). Synchronous reading of both novels involuntarily provides a hushed answer to the question as to why the Catholic battle, waged in the 1930s and during World War II, was lost beforehand; doomed, for instance, like the battle of the German Catholics against National Socialism. “The sacrament of the Lamb” (to paraphrase Heinrich Böll) stood no chance in its clash with Communism in Slovenia, and the concept of “beyond good and evil” was just a phrase to the Catholic rebels, who never quite got to understand it.

By establishing a specific literary dialogue with the past, the authors thus help us understand what Hannah Arendt (30–43) terms a “perpetual confrontation with totalitarianism”.

Resistance in Venezia Giulia during the Two World Wars

From the broad response that both novels met with among Slovenians, it is evident that Slovenian historical literature confronts us with a similar lack of knowledge of the history of Slovenians in the Littoral (as regards the Slovenian national context as a whole), just as in historiography. In this respect, it is a question of a well-known issue: namely, whether the history of the Slovenian people can actually be written “with a common denominator” given such diverse development of regions (not least of all,

during the 19th and 20th centuries) (cf. also Rožac Darovec). In the period thematized by both novels (the period between the two world wars), the Littoral under Italian occupation faced entirely different issues and problems compared to central Slovenia, where Slovenians faced other political problems (e.g., centralism, rapid economic development, and ideological bipolarity strained to the extreme; Vodopivec 7).

The resistance against Fascism in Venezia Giulia (following the establishment of the Rapallo border, Venezia Giulia comprised almost one third of Slovenian ethnic territory) thus constitutes the point at which the authors “agree” to the greatest extent possible in terms of interpretation and literarization of historical developments. In the thematization of this period and environment, the ideological bipolar characteristic of the Slovenian perspective on the 20th century no longer plays an essential role. A common enemy and obvious injustices caused by an attempt at systematic ethnocide in Venezia Giulia not only obliterated the clash of ideas, ideologies, and politics, but all of a sudden allowed all other forms of resistance to coexist as entirely acceptable, regardless of ideological differences – the national resistance of liberal youth in the antifascist organization TIGR, the Communist resistance of Pino Tomažič (even though he harboured thoughts of a Slovenian Soviet Republic), and the organized irredentist resistance to the “policy of the two Romes” posed by the Catholic circle (Rebula 39; Pahor 43).

Issues of Resistance and Collaboration during World War II

In their interpretations of these issues, the authors disagree radically. They address the key and ever-present questions of 20th-century Slovenian history, as considered within the framework of traditional ideological and political currents following World War II. Resistance and revolution, on the one hand, and anticommunism and collaboration, on the other, intertwine as motifs and themes throughout both literary works. However, in addressing these issues (which their protagonists contemplate), the authors find themselves on opposing sides of an unbridgeable gulf. Once again, both authors present the situation from the different perspectives of the Littoral partisan movement vs. the Littoral clergy. The situation in the Littoral therefore once again transcends the Slovenian context; yet, at the same time, both authors also problematize the historical developments taking place in the Slovenian environment.

Within the ideological context described here, Pahor’s protagonists are more inclined to defend participation in the resistance, albeit under the

leadership of the Communists, and to advocate resistance “even if all that was said about the Communists is true”, all from the “never-side-with-the-occupier” point of view (Pahor 79, 80). Rebula’s protagonists, on the other hand, within their proper ideological context, elaborate on the situation in the counterrevolution and, consequently, collaboration. They also address the tragedy that befell the Slovenian Catholic movement after it found itself on the side of collaborationists (Rebula 109, 110). As a final consequence, the protagonists also have different views of nationally defensive action; for example, as waiting for the right moment (Rebula 109–111) or as immediate armed resistance (Pahor 290).

The Historical Context of the “Slovenian Minority”

By now, the Slovenian minority has (undoubtedly and understandably) condensed the issues related to the historical context of the Littoral, which appear in both literary and historiographical considerations regarding the status of Trieste at the end of World War II. The “loss of Trieste” constitutes a unique and special Slovenian national myth. In relation to this, one of Alojz Rebula’s protagonists insinuates that the loss of Trieste resulted from the occupation policy in Trieste and the autocracy of the Yugoslav authorities during the “40 days” (Rebula 171). Pahor’s protagonist, on the other hand, experiences the loss of Trieste as the clash of great powers (Pahor 317), which actually unfolded in this very place when the political fate of the city was addressed.

The Current Context of the Slovenian Minority

In their historical and cognitive dimensions, the dialogues and individual fates of the protagonists in both novels ultimately and involuntarily lead the reader to the conclusion that neither the Catholic idea of resistance in the 1920s and 1930s, nor the revolutionary idea during World War II, are absolutely victorious. This is the case both in fact (for which reason both authors remain members of the Slovenian minority to date, as the United Slovenia Programme mentioned above was never realized) and in content (because liberation did not result in the victory of democracy and did not constitute a veritable social liberation within the Slovenian national context).

Common to both authors at this point is once again the view of Slovenian territory from the western outskirts, “from beyond the national border”. This does not seem make their views substantially clearer – they

are probably far too determined by context, which (being national) is also ideological and thereby again and instantly “classically Slovenian”—that is, marked by the experience of the clash of two ideologies with rather clearly drawn limits separating the two (cf. Zalta).

Literary Forms and Methods for Confronting Ideas

Most frequently, the argumentations in both novels take the form of fictitious dialogues between individual protagonists or their self-reflection. Both authors create dialogues in which one or another interlocutor (in line with his or her designated ideological option) is generally victorious or, at least, in which one or another interlocutor confronts the other with a situation in which no rational counterargument is possible, a dilemma without an answer (Rebula 111, Pahor 182). Dialogues unfolding in this manner are modelled on the “Socratic dialogue”, serving as a classic literary technique. The ideological coordinates of both texts are expressed in the dialogues of “neutral observers”. These, however, are frequently subtly lenient towards the decisions and, even more so, towards the fundamental ideological premises of one or another ideological circle.

In this specific narrative procedure, characteristic of such a dialogue, the difference between scholarly historiography and the historical novel becomes apparent on numerous occasions. Contemporary historiography presents and explains a problem on the basis of sources, historical doctrines, methodological approaches, and, not least of all, the choice of a multitude of historical sources. Literature, on the other hand, produces a story, sums the story up, and concludes it. It thereby frequently and inevitably simplifies the answers that surround such a story and constitute its historical context in the name of the nation, minority, ideology, or politics. As long as such actions take place within literature, whose primary goal is aesthetic, no harm is done. In this respect, from the point of view of contemporary historiography, both authors proceed similar to any traditional historian or historical novel relying on traditional historiography.⁵ Contemporary historiography (as opposed to traditional historiography) evades the story, and is generally not predetermined by the idea of totality.⁶

Conclusion: Between Historiography and Literature

For the literarization of historical subject matter (i.e., similar to the argumentation of the views assumed by their literary characters), both authors use the production of historiography as their starting-point. In the

“chicken-and the-egg” story of literature and historiography, it is rather clear, at least in this case, that historiography precedes literature. Without historical texts, neither of the two novels could be conceived.

Myths, speculations, guesses, and seemingly illogical connections, which “have no right to exist” in historiography, enable the literarization of history. On the one hand, this produces great surpluses in the understanding of complex historical developments (e.g., addressing moral and political dilemmas that literary characters can resolve, while historical facts can neither confirm nor deny them). On the other hand, this allows literature to suffer great shortcomings.

Literature can afford quick conclusions, moral resolutions, and judgments regarding historical developments because they are literary and therefore fictitious. However, historiography may only present historical developments, articulate them, and accompany them with reflections. Regarding historical texts, historical sources may exercise the “right to veto”. Even if there existed an infinite number of possible interpretations of or discourses on the wartime collaboration of the Slovenian forces (the *Domobranci*, or Home Guards) and their tragic postwar fate or the Communist liquidations, we are ultimately still left with something that can be neither reduced nor reinterpreted: that something that can only be termed the “historical truth”. To use the definition by Jerzy Topolski, a historian is in a permanent dialogue with the past through historical sources, with himself through rational argumentation, and with the public (i.e., a select group of specialists), where he is a prisoner of sources applied with a positivistic attitude (Hanisch 221). The inevitable subjectivity of interpretation associates a historian with the author of a historical novel only at this level.⁷

Literary authors, on the other hand, are allowed to choose from the “historiographic shop-window”, selecting those arguments that “render their story logical”, each with respect to one’s own conviction and even one’s own adherence to a particular idea (cf. Matajč).

Only thus is it possible for both of these authors to coexist within the nationally defensive context (i.e., the minority context), even though they frequently find themselves on opposing ideological sides, each creating for himself a separate convincing literature. As such, this literature establishes “its proper sense of right” but, being literature, it does not provide ultimate confirmation of the “facts” that it presents, nor is it obliged to do so. The authors disagree with respect to key questions; however, they both recognize that these (identical) questions are essential. These are the points at which both novels are completely compatible in terms of motifs. At the same time, however, these are also the points at which both

novels diverge most in terms of argumentation, which is paradoxical, yet understandable. It appears that Alojz Rebula’s novel was (willingly or unwillingly) actually written in response to the novel by Boris Pahor, which was produced 30 years ago. For this reason, it would be best to read both novels in direct succession because, in addition to aesthetic pleasure, such reading also provides the possibility of comparing the argumentative efforts of both authors.

Considering all that has been said thus far, both authors create state-of-the-art literature. This is also shown by their national and international reputation, which ranks them among the most prominent names in Slovenian literature.

Literature cannot, therefore, prove historical facts. However, because it is a question of literature, of fiction, it need not prove these facts, and readers of historical literature should be aware of this. At this point, historiography can traverse literature into (national) mythology, which is a constitutive factor for a nation.

Myths, which can be prejudicial to historiography, may serve a purpose in literature. Not necessarily all of them at all times, but the majority of them are generally produced within the relationship between history and literature – with the aesthetization of the former.

Translated by Dejan Brate

NOTES

¹ According to the literary historian Janko Kos, Alojz Rebula “gradually evolved from an author whose initial narratives – the novel *Senčni ples* (Shadow Dance) in particular – were designed in a relatively liberal fashion to a distinctively Catholic literary witness, essayist, and polemicist” (Kos 208).

² “It is therefore understandable that with its very origin – that is, with Herder – historicism was ideologically fed from yet another base, which was constructive for the emergence and development of (literary) historiography: namely, from the tendency to establish an imaginary community: the nation. As regards the ‘cultural’ nations – that is, nations that were deprived of a single and national individuality if compared to the ‘historical’ nations – it was literary historiography itself that emerged as a redemptive ally” (Juvan 21–22).

³ “The public dilemma within which historiography operates is illustrated by the experience of transition, when revived interest in the public past serves to redefine collective identities /.../, national identity in particular. On the one hand, politics forces historians to adjudicate on all matters that have proved controversial in the recent past and, on the other hand, historians are reproached that ‘official’ history – although it addresses ancient ethnogenesis – constitutes a means of indoctrination” (Juvan 27).

⁴ Compare the analysis of worldviews in, for instance: Janko Kos, *Dubovna zgodovina Slovencev*.

⁵ “[Literary] historian, who had been faithful to the metaphysical, philological, and national-political inclinations of 19th-century historicism, became the all-knowing and all-seeing narrator, who reveals the ‘idea of totality’ to the audience. He beheld the idea in the image of a depth momentum, which links once dispersed ‘coincidental’ information into a uniform and reasonable story, provides it with meaning, and illuminates it from within by interpretation; the ‘idea of totality’ shaped the method of commenting on facts, linked the text in terms of themes, and assumed the role of a transpersonal protagonist, such as, ‘beauty’, ‘progress’, ‘zeitgeist’, or ‘nation’, which is the hidden cause or objective of individual historical developments and achievements” (Juvan 19, 20).

⁶ “Bloch exposed a new idol that must be banished from historical reflections; namely, infatuation with a single cause. Judgement is without appeal: monism of cause, prejudice of common sense, postulate of logic, obsession of the investigating magistrate /.../ In history, causes are not postulated. They are sought” (Bloch 34).

⁷ “History should therefore /.../ refrain from establishing false principles because perpetual invasions of coincidences render them impossible. History is valid only when it is imbued with rationality and intelligibility: its scholarly property is therefore reflected not in its nature, nor in its subject, but in the proceedings and methods of the historian” (Bloch 17).

Translated by Dejan Brate

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Dekonstruierung der Geschichte und narrative Identität

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Die als sprachliche Vermittlung aufgefasste Narration führt zur Begründung neuer Identitätsformen. Die biographischen und historischen Momente können als Bestandteile einer komplizierten narrativen Strategie betrachtet werden. Die fiktionale Erzählung bringt nicht die reale, sondern eine Quasi-Vergangenheit zustande. Die Geschichtsschreibung hat sich von der Rekonstruierbarkeit geschichtlicher Ereignisse entfernt. Die Dekonstruierung der Geschichte und der autobiographischen Imagination hat die Beziehung zwischen Autobiographie und Roman grundlegend verändert. Die Annahme einer Selbstidentität als narrativer Identität modifiziert die bisherigen Erfahrungen über die Beziehung von faktualer und fiktionaler Erzählung.

Key words: literature and history / historiography / narrativity / literary fiction / metahistory / New Historicism

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Der im Konferenzplan erwähnte *historische Relativismus* begegnet uns in den modernen Theorien sowohl der Philosophie als auch der Literatur. Lubomír Doležel stellte in einem Referat dieses Jahr in Paris die Frage, inwieweit dies auf die Geschichtsschreibung zurückgewirkt hat (z.B. auf Simon Schamas *Postmodern Narratives of the Past*). Mein Interesse gilt zunächst einigen *gemeinsamen* theoretischen Fragen der historischen und der literarischen Narration; anschließend soll untersucht werden, wie der historische Relativismus in bestimmten modernen Romanen reflektiert wird.

Narrativismus. Die narrativistische Geschichtsphilosophie und die Dekonstruktion stellen das traditionelle hierarchische Modell und die lineare Auffassung der Geschichte in Frage. Der Postmodernismus hat dies auch in der erzählenden Literatur zum Ausdruck gebracht. Das alles scheint Paul Ricoeur zu bestätigen, der die Ansicht vertritt, dass *Geschichte* und *Fiktion* ineinander übergehen. Das betrifft beide *narrative Programme*: sowohl die Geschichte als auch die Literatur. Unter der Kreuzung von Geschichte und Fiktion versteht er eine ontologische und epistemolo-

gische Struktur, in der diese beiden Diskursformen die Intentionen der jeweils anderen übernehmen. Die Geschichte benutzt die Fiktion, um die Zeit neu zu schaffen, zu refigurieren; und die Fiktion benutzt die Geschichte zu demselben Zweck (Ricoeur 264–75). Die Geschichte als Organisationsform des Wissens ist in bestimmten Relationen selbst auf fiktionsbildende Verfahren angewiesen. Ihr Diskurs ist literarischen Mustern und der poetischen Tradition angepasst, was man von der Antike bis in die Zeit der Romantik als natürlich empfand.

Poetik und Narratologie haben sich in letzter Zeit auf fruchtbare Weise mit bestimmten philosophischen, anthropologischen, kulturtheoretischen und historiographischen Aspekten verbunden. Somit bietet sich auch für die grundlegenden Fragestellungen dieser Konferenz ein interdisziplinärer Ansatz an. Nach Georges Duby stellen die Humaniores ein System dar d.h., wenn eine Disziplin in Bewegung kommt, bewegt sie die anderen mit (Duby). In der Terminologie der Geschichts- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften haben sich vier poetische/rhetorische Begriffe durchgesetzt: *Interpretation*, *Narration*, *Metapher* und *Fiktion*. Besondere Bedeutung haben die Narrativierung, die Erzählung als Interpretation, die Narration als Fingierung und die Fingierung als Interpretation erlangt.

Die Vertreter der narrativistischen Geschichtstheorie sprechen nicht von der Rekonstruktion der geschichtlichen Vergangenheit, sondern von der *Schaffung der Vergangenheit*. Dabei stellt sich auch die Frage, was die Bestimmung der Historizität im Zeitalter der Wirklichkeitsfiktionen sein kann (Partner), ob die Geschichte einen Gegenstand hat, bzw. wovon die Geschichte überhaupt handelt (Gábor Gyáni). Gegenüber der traditionellen Geschichtsauffassung haben sich folgende Grundsätze entwickelt: an die Stelle der Spuren der Vergangenheit treten textuelle Elemente; das Ereignis in der Vergangenheit wird durch sprachliche Figuren *ersetzt*; der Text des Historikers ist virtuell. Der auf Northrop Frye aufbauende, von Hayden White eingeleitete theoretische Prozess hat auf die Eigenreflexion von Literatur und Historiographie zurückgewirkt. Meines Erachtens kommen der Poetik und der Rhetorik in der Geschichtstheorie der Gegenwart die Rolle der *methodologischen Eigenreflexion* zu. Die Gegner der Theorie meinen dagegen, dass der Narrativismus aus einer falsch angenommenen Parallele von Historie und Literatur entstanden ist.

Fiktive Vergangenheiten. Paul Ricoeur betrachtet die Erzählung in ihrer Beziehung zur fiktiven Vergangenheit. Die Vergangenheit der Erzählung ist eine *zeitliche Pseudovergangenheit*. Die zeitphilosophische Konzeption seines Werkes *Temps et récit* (1983–1985) hat auch die Narrationstheorie, die Poetik und die Historiographie beeinflusst. Ricoeur spricht von Narration als Vermittler. Die Narration ist ein gemeinsames sprachliches Medium

sowohl der *Erinnerung* als auch der *Geschichte*: Die historischen Berichte von menschlichen Handlungen und Erfahrungen treten zu narrativen Strukturen zusammen. Anhand der Erfahrungen der literarischen und autobiographischen Erzählweise kommt Ricoeur zur *narrativen Identität*, die in beiden Diskursen von besonderer Bedeutung ist.

Folgt man diesem Gedankengang, kann auch die Erkenntnis in Michel Foucaults *Les mots et les choses* (1966) nicht umgangen werden: Der Historiker begegnet während seiner Arbeit nicht dem Gegenstand seiner Forschungen, sondern dessen Dokumenten. Sein Text ist die Nacherzählung und Interpretation von anderen Texten. In unserer Kultur ist der Historiker ein Kommentator von Zeichen, Schriften und Dokumenten. Er schafft Texte und Archive bzw. *vermittelt* zwischen dem über die Dinge laufenden Diskurs und uns. Der Historiker ist auf Bibliotheken, Kataloge, Inventuren und Archive angewiesen: Er kann nicht über die Dinge selbst, sondern nur von anderen Worten reden. In einer Kultur wie der unseren erscheint jeder Diskurs im Vordergrund des Verschwindens der Ereignisse. In diesen Spalt, diese Lücke, diese zeitliche Distanz dringen in den westlichen Kulturen die Texte, Dokumente und Aufzeichnungen ein. Hier entsteht ein intertextuelles Gelände, das einen Gegenstand des Diskurses von Poetologen des New Historicism und der Kultur darstellt. Das historische Wissen wird sowohl bei Nietzsche als auch bei Derrida aus den Texten, nicht aus historischen Tatsachen abgeleitet. Anhand mancher Romane der europäischen Gegenwartsliteratur – man denke etwa an Umberto Eco, Lawrence Norfolk, Danilo Kiš, Péter Esterházy oder László Márton – kommt man zu einer ähnlichen Schlussfolgerung. Sie alle sind Forscher, Archäologen und Interpreten von Textspuren jener historischen Epoche, aus der sie ihre Romanfiktion herleiten – ganz gleich, ob es sich dabei um das Mittelalter, die Neuzeit oder die Gegenwart handelt.

Fantasie, Repräsentation, Intention. Ricoeur identifiziert die Repräsentation mit dem geschichtlichen Bewusstsein, das an die Stelle der Vergangenheit tritt. Wir konstruieren die Vergangenheit, die Geschichte mit der schöpferischen Kraft des *imaginaire* und machen sie auf diese Weise zur eigenen Erfahrung. Bei der Gestaltung der Beziehung des Lesers zur Geschichte wirkt also die gleiche imaginative Tätigkeit wie bei der Literatur. Anders wäre sie nicht zugänglich. Auch die narrativistische Geschichtsphilosophie argumentiert für die Intentioniertheit und für die literarische Natur der Geschichte. Richard T. Vann verweist auf *Clio*, die gleichzeitig die Muse der Historie und der epischen Dichtkunst ist. Sowohl die Historie als auch die fiktionale Prosa erfordern eine narrative Verständnis- und Interpretationsweise. A. C. Danto, H. White und ihre Nachfolger lehnen die Erkennbarkeit der historischen Realität ab, der

Historiographie nähern sie sich mit tiefer erkenntnistheoretischer Skepsis. Der Text des Historikers ist kein Vermittler irgendeiner Wahrheit, weil er von *Undurchschaubarkeit*, *Opazität* geprägt ist. Die Aufgabe des Historikers besteht nicht in einer neuartigen Beschreibung der Vergangenheit, sondern in der Schaffung neuer Interpretationen derselben, also darin, den Text der Vergangenheit zu einem Erzähltext des Historikers zu machen. Die Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Wirklichkeit in der Historiographie ist also unsicher, weil der Text – wie eine Metapher – immer eine neue Bedeutung ergibt. Wieso also sollte dann ein Roman mit historischen Bezügen und dessen Interpretation nicht kompliziert sein?

Referentielle Illusionen. Anhand der zeitgenössischen Romanliteratur liefert unsere Zeit allenfalls zum Nachdenken anregende Erfahrungen. Die historische und autobiographische Fiktion gelangt in den Werken nicht durch Tatsachen, Dokumente und Wirklichkeitsfragmente zu einer gestaltenden Funktion. Die im Roman enthaltenen Tatsachen, historische Daten oder Namen sind nämlich *referentielle Illusionen* (M. Riffaterre). Die empirischen und historischen Elemente erscheinen schon von vornherein interpretiert, das heißt sie tragen einen Aspekt, ein Bewertungsmoment in sich.

Familienroman? Péter Esterházy greift an einer Stelle in seinem *Harmonia caelestis* (2000) das alte Dilemma der Wirklichkeitstreue auf. Der genannte Roman, so Esterházy, sei nur zum Teil das Buch, das er sich vorgestellt hatte, weil die Erinnerung endlich und unsicher ist. Bücher, heißt es bei Esterházy weiter, die aus der Wirklichkeit geschaffen wurden, können meistens nur einen schwachen Widerschein oder nur Fragmente des Erlebten wiedergeben. Noch bedeutender als die elegante Ablehnung der mimetischen Traditionen ist der Gedanke, dass die Empirie, die Erinnerung und die erlebten Erfahrungen eingeschränkt ist. Demgegenüber unterliegen Imagination und Fiktionsbildung keinerlei Beschränkung. Die Dinge sind im Grunde nicht erzählbar. Der Romanautor bringt mit seinen eigenen Instrumenten einen mit dem Relativismus und der gnoseologischen Skepsis der Theoretiker verwandten Standpunkt zum Ausdruck. Er schafft keine epische, sondern eine fragmentierte Romanstruktur. Mit der diskontinuierlichen Geschichte lehnt er das klassische Modell des *grand récit* ab und damit auch den Kanon und das Erwartungssystem, den bzw. das die Literaturgeschichte mit den Gattungen historischer Roman oder Familienroman verbindet. In der Tradition des 19. Jahrhunderts galt die Darstellung der Vergangenheit als Schilderung von historischer Realität und Tatsachen. Die Interpreten der Postmoderne wenden sich demgegenüber der Repräsentation sowie metaphorischen Strukturen zu.

Esterházy's Roman Kunst beantwortet diese Fragen auf metanarrative Weise und mit Ironie. Der Nachkomme der berühmten historischen

Adelsfamilie kann die Ereignisse der Gegenwartsgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts als Zeuge, als Teilnehmer, als Zeitgenosse erleben. Er kann die historische Vergangenheit der Familie, des Landes und der Region durch Imagination zur eigenen Erfahrung verarbeiten. Die unzugänglich weit entfernten Vorgänge der Vergangenheit werden ihm dabei mittels Interpretation von Tatsachen und Zeichen – also indirekt – zu Elementen seiner Fiktion, ähnlich wie im Falle des Historikers. Die Familiengeschichte und selbst die eigene Vergangenheit sind nur scheinbar Rekonstruktionen. Im Grunde genommen sind sie ein Schaffen, das Konstruieren von Interpretationen und Erzählungen mit wechselnden Blickwinkeln. Es sind die moderne Vergangenheitsinterpretation und die Selbstinterpretation des Romans, die die narrative Identität des Erzählers konstruieren.

Die Geschichte der Dynastie könnte in Form von referentiellen Mikroeinheiten in die epische Synthese integriert werden. Die historische Imagination und die kritische Eigenreflexion lehnen jedoch die epische Tradition ab. Sie bestreiten die Chancen der historischen Romantradition in der Gegenwart. Weder die Gattung, noch die konkrete Erzählung noch die narrative Identität bringen eine Einheit zustande, auf der die Tradition dieser Kategorien aufbaut. In manchen Momenten übernimmt der Verfasser von *Harmonia caelestis* die Rolle des Historikers, die er als Narrator eines anderen Romans mit dem Titel *Javított kiadás – Verbesserte Auflage* (2002) noch mehr übernehmen muss. Hier konzentrierte er sich aber nicht auf die familiengeschichtliche Tradition, auf mündliche und schriftliche Überlieferungen, sondern richtet sein Augenmerk verblüfft auf ein anderes Dokument, auf eine Polizeiakte. Die Arbeitsstätte ist diesmal nicht irgendeine virtuelle Familienchronik, sondern das Historische Archiv in Budapest. Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Geschichte, Erfahrung und Romanrhetorik werfen neue Fragen auf. Liest man also eine eingebettete Fiktion oder eine eingebettete Historie, wenn der Autor die im Archiv aufgefundenen Spitzelberichte und –anzeigen aus der sozialistischen Ära in Ungarn als Montage in den Roman einarbeitet? Handelt es sich um einen autobiographischen Text oder um eine Fiktion – zumal der Spitzel kein anderer ist als der Vater des Verfassers?

Der Verleger von *Javított kiadás* hat die Texte des Narrators mit schwarzer, die von dem Vater stammenden Dokumente mit brauner Typographie gekennzeichnet und voneinander unterschieden. Diese Vorgehensweise unterstreicht, dass der Textkomplex zwei mögliche Lesarten zulässt: eine *literarische* und eine *historische*. Das bisherige Lebenswerk Esterházy's sowie auch die narrative, rhetorische und poetische Konstruktion des Textes lenken den Leser zur Gattung des alternativen Romans und nicht zur do-

kumentarischen Literatur. Die Biographie, Geschichte und Fiktion gleichzeitig berührende Prosa basiert auch in diesem Werk auf der *Schaffung der Vergangenheit als Fiktion* – obwohl sie auf *textgetreuen* Dokumenten, authentischen Aussagen beruht. *Javított kiadás* ist trotz der besonderen Bedeutung, die darin dem historischen Faktum und dem Dokument überhaupt zukommt, ein fiktives Werk. Auf diese Weise leitet der Verfasser einen Dialog mit der Geschichte des Vaters, mit der Vergangenheit einer kommunistischen Gesellschaft und mit sich selbst ein. In der Selbstinterpretation der europäischen Gegenwartskultur verstärkt sich die historische Eigenreflexion und wird unumgänglich. Voraussetzung dafür sind nicht nur die bewusst erforschten, sondern auch die spontan entdeckten, zum eigenen Ich führenden *diskontinuierlichen* Spuren. Archiv, Installation, Bibliothek, Enzyklopädie, Fiktion und Dokument werden dem Schock der *ars memorativa* untergeordnet. Deshalb kann man sich nicht mit der Skepsis von *Javított kiadás* oder mit dem Gedanken einer ausbleibenden Katharsis identifizieren. Beim Lesen verfolgt und erlebt man die Erschütterungen des Eigenverständnisses des Verfassers, des Erzählers und des die Dokumente veröffentlichenden Tagebuchschreibers neu. Ricoeur meint:

Die Überreste der Vergangenheit sind ebenso verstreut wie die Zeugnisse über diese Vergangenheit; mehr noch, die dokumentarische Disziplin verstärkt mit ihrer »selektiven Destruktion« den vielfältigen Informationsverlust, der die sogenannte »historische Evidenz« verstümmelt. So tritt die Rhetorik nicht zur Dokumentation hinzu, sondern durchdringt sie schon an der Quelle. Man möchte also, dass die Erzählung die Beunruhigung mildert, die durch die Lücken des dokumentarischen Beweises hervorgerufen wird. Aber diese Erzählung schafft ihrerseits neue Beunruhigungen, die durch andere Diskontinuitäten verursacht werden. Hier setzt die Debatte zu der von White eingeführten Tropologie an. (*Histoire* 21, 22)

Péter Esterházy konfrontiert sich und auch den Leser in *Javított kiadás* mit der Lückenhaftigkeit und mit den Brüchen des Schreibens, des Lesens, der Erfahrung und der Erinnerung. Das Werk ist ein Teil des kritischen und die Selbstinterpretation betreffenden Handlungskatalogs, den die europäische Kultur des ausgehenden 2. Jahrtausends gegen Amnesie aufgestellt hat. Ein Mitgestalter und Miterlebender des Prozesses, der die Geschichte, die Fiktion und den Roman zwecks Schaffung einer neuen narrativen Identität dekonstruiert.

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The Emergence of a Meta-Genre: The Historical Novel and the Modernization of the Novel

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The aim of the article is to situate the historical novel within the history of the novel. It is argued that the great pioneers of the historical novel in the 19th century are pivotal within a tendency that could be called "the modernization of the novel". The 19th-century historical novels confirm the modernization tendency both on a semantic level and on a compositional level. They pay attention to the contingencies of everyday life as well as to the "openended" dialogical nature of the fictional world.

Key words: literature and history / historical novel / 19. cent. / modern novel / literary fiction / Bakhtin, Mihail

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Formulation of a Problem: Two Tendencies in the History of the Novel

The modernization of epic genres, a gradual process that started with the Italian Renaissance, is a complex process within which several stages and certain clear contrasts can nevertheless be distinguished. The modern novel of the 18th and 19th centuries deviates from medieval and classicist styles of writing by introducing two remarkable textual strategies. On the one hand, the modern novel seeks an expansion of its semantic universe and tries to integrate random events from the non-literary world – in other words, there is a change at the semantic level, at the level of the worldview. On the other hand, the totality of random events in the fictional world is conceived in a new way too – a change at a macrosyntactic or compositional level, at the level of the construction of the fictional world. Both textual strategies can be seen as meta-generic interventions. The modern novel likes to play with speech genres taken from the everyday world (letters, anecdotes, common conversation, and even jokes) and, through this expansion of its semantic universe, takes on its now familiar, modern

character. At the compositional level, the meta-generic tendency can be described by envisaging the modern novel as a kind of parasite that feeds on older narrative patterns. As I show at the end of my paper, both meta-generic tendencies are vital for the 19th-century historical novel. The novels of Sir Walter Scott and Alexandre Dumas (père) did not create a new genre in the margin of the great novelists. On the contrary – as Georg Lukács demonstrated in his famous essay on the historical novel – the writers of historical novels are key novelists in the process of the modernization of the novel. The textual strategies they developed influenced writers like Balzac and Zola and made the meta-generic text fashionable in the “belles lettres.”

The historiography of the modern novel (and this is the central thesis today) must take into account these two revolutionary tendencies: the semantic reorientation as well as new conceptions with regard to the composition of the novel. To put it more technically, the two textual strategies can be called developments in the “motivation” of the novel. Boris Tomashevsky conceived this term to show that a novel is only an esthetic object if the arbitrarily chosen parts of the text are incorporated into an artistic unity. Each introduction of a motif must be motivated; that is, justified via a causal explanation: “If the individual motifs, or a complex of motifs, are not sufficiently suited to the work, if the reader feels that the relationship between certain complexes of motifs and the work itself is obscure, then that complex is said to be superfluous. If all the parts of the work are badly suited to one another, the work is incoherent. That is why the introduction of each separate motif or complex of motifs must be motivated” (Tomashevsky 171). These two tendencies in the novel are connected to two of the three motivation types distinguished by Tomashevsky. On the one hand, coherence at a semantic level follows a new pattern and, on the other hand, the novel will gradually evolve into a different compositional coherence. By discussing both tendencies in detail, I show how they can contribute to defining the adjective “modern” in the concept “modern novel,” and how they can explain why the novel took a revolutionary turn in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries and achieved its modern aspect in the 19th century.

The first Tendency: The Rise of the Contingent-everyday in the Semantic Universe of the Novel

The semantic reorientation that characterizes the modern novel can be typified most clearly by contrasting the *motivation* in realist poetics with

the classicist ideal of credibility. During the transition from classical style movements (Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, and Classicism) to modern novel styles, the novel's subject matter underwent a clear evolution: the fondness for exalted subjects gradually gave way to a preference for everyday topics. Following Lukács, it can be argued that the modern novel focuses on a problematic world. Indeed, for Lukács, the staging of a problematic individual in a God-forsaken world is the core of novel-writing. The role of the random is frequently emphasized for this tendency. Chance is an invention of the modern subject in the sense that the subject is fascinated with the immanent processes of everyday life to such an extent that he gradually distances himself from the theological and metaphysical explanations of the contingent that have been dominant since the Middle Ages. The opposite of the fascination with the everyday can be found in the ideal of loftiness that haunts many forms of classicist art and that also characterizes older epic literature. The exalted can easily be associated with the opposite of chance; namely, providence – God's messianic plan and the natural order that He set down in nature and in the social world.

The transition from providence thinking to chance thought plays a crucial role in Köhler's study on "Der literarische Zufall." In older genres, he states, the characters are under the constellation of the classical ideal of credibility. The random is stashed away in the causality compulsion of an eschatological worldview; for Sir Lancelot for instance, nothing is random as such but instead refers to great metaphysical forces. Köhler correctly stresses that a forceful aristocratic ideology is hidden behind the apparently random in a romance of chivalry: "Damit ihm auch wirklich zu-fällt, was ihm zu-kommt, begibt der Protagonist des Artusromans sich auf die Suche nach der aventure – aventura. /.../ Die queste des höfischen Ritters integriert im Abenteuer den Zufall in einen universalgeschichtlichen Kontext, der sich in den Gralromanen zur ritterlichen eschatologie steigert" (29). It is typical for the exalted message of a romance of chivalry that the random is situated in a metaphysical and dogmatic-social context. A suprapersonal social destiny and a suprapersonal destiny of being are the goals that make any arbitrariness impossible. For a knight that goes out on adventure, everything has a meaning and no opposing force arises by accident: evil is a necessary component of a world that, in order to materialize, requires the contingent or the random. At the same time, the random adventure is constantly transformed into a world order that is beyond all contingency, a world order that refers to the transcendental. Just as the *Geist* in Hegel can only materialize due to the apparently Other, so the necessary also materializes in the romance of chivalry thanks to

the apparently random. According to Köhler, this eschatological logic is also still noticeable in the character of Don Quixote, but Cervantes' hero is a modern hero precisely because, in the end, he can no longer deny the painful secularization of chance.

Bakhtin properly typified the transition between both semantic universes in his thesis on the "incompleteness of the novel," which he defends in *Epic and Novel*. He views premodern genres like the epic and the romances of chivalry as "complete," while the novel is in essence "incomplete." After all, completeness denotes a semantic homogeneity, a fictional strategy to present the semantic universe of the novel as a closed entity that is uniformly maintained in a strictly constructed manner. The romance of chivalry and the epic are indeed good examples; they are rooted in a culture in which moral codes are relatively stable and in which events can always receive a deeper, symbolic meaning. The makers of closed fictional worlds view narrative events from afar, and present and interpret them from an Archimedean standpoint: "Thanks to this epic distance which excludes any possibility of activity and change," according to Bakhtin, "the epic world achieves a radical degree of completedness not only in its content but in its meaning and its values as well. The epic world is constructed in the zone of an absolute distanced image" (*Epic* 17). In another essay, Bakhtin elaborates on this idea more carefully. In his comparative study of narrative chronotopes, he notes that the epic world of the Greek romance is "an alien world: everything in it is indefinite, unknown, foreign" (Bakhtin, *Forms of Time* 101). This study defines the opposite of the epic more precisely. Owing to his analysis of the picaresque novel, he argues that the semantic condition of the fictional world in the modern period changes profoundly in the modern period. He illustrates this with reference to the chronotope of the road, a semantic element that can be regarded as a grid for the entire worldview of the modern novel. With the chronotope of the road, the novel enters the everyday and fictional events will occur in the changing world of familiar surroundings: "the road is always one that passes through familiar territory, and not through some exotic alien world /.../; it is the socio-historical heterogeneity of one's own country that is revealed and depicted" (Bakhtin, *Forms of Time* 245). The significance of Bakhtin's observation is situated in the possibility of relating the literature of the everyday to a new semantic universe that views the credibility of random events differently. The modern semantic universe is an open system in which the heterogeneous and multiform events of a thoroughly random universe occupy center stage, rather than the homogenous events and events marked by uniform moral codes. "The road is especially (but not exclusively) appropriate for portraying events governed by chance.

This explains the important narrative role of the road in the history of the novel” (Bakhtin, *Forms of Time* 243–44). In modernity, the world of the novel becomes a domain in which everything occurs as if we were on the road in everyday life. It is the everyday causality in which the causes concern the coincidences of “being on the road.” The cause of an event is the banal fact that different roads cross one another. Modern man does not ask any metaphysical questions simply because he already assumes that the material world follows different laws than the spiritual world, and also that the social order does not ascribe privileged functions to certain groups. On the contrary, the divine social order and divine providence are no longer credible. Heroes are no longer defined *a priori* by an artificial closed world with fixed moral and social codes.

For Bakhtin, the introduction of the everyday boils down to the fact that space is created for a fictional world that is not complete and that has a fundamentally “open” character. The modern novel will frequently use older epic motifs but, when these genres are imported, this will go hand in hand with the new semantic universe: for example, the quest is introduced in many picaresque stories but without the metaphysical undercurrent that determined the motif in romance or in the epic. According to Bakhtin, we are dealing with a tendency that can be generalized and that is constitutive for the definition of the “modern novel:” “/T/he novel inserts into these other genres an indeterminacy, a certain semantic openedness, a living contact with unfinished, still-evolving contemporary reality (the opened present)” (Bakhtin, *Epic* 7).

The second Tendency: from Eschatological to Dialogical Plot Patterns

In order to arrive at a workable definition of the “modern novel,” causal logic may be a necessary condition at the semantic level, but it is not a sufficient condition. For a modern novel, there needs to be a second form of causality; namely, the dialogic composition form. Through a contrast between, on the one hand, strictly teleological composition patterns (which I shall call eschatological plot structures) and the open structure of the dialogical plot on the other hand, the novel’s causality principles can be shown to be subject to a process of modernization at the level of the novel’s composition as well.

Using Tomashevsky’s term, causality at the level of the macrostructure of a text can be called “compositional motivation.” The introduction of motifs must be made believable through its plausible and coherent order-

ing within the whole of the plot structure. In premodern story types, the compositional motivation passes off relatively rigorously. For instance, the classical tragedy is a tightly ordered series of acts that, as Aristotle notes, must demonstrate a certain necessity. Although this is by no means the case for all stories, the majority of products from our narrative culture nevertheless display this tendency. Gerald Prince states: “Many narratives can be viewed as teleologically determined. Narrative often displays itself in terms of an end that functions as its (partial) condition, its magnetizing force, its organizing principle” (157). In such teleological compositions, the global story arc that is imposed on the plot is significant. The story evolves from a state of disequilibrium toward a balanced final situation. French structuralist narratology – Todorov and Greimas especially – frequently used this type of composition as a point of departure for formalist descriptions of plot structures. More important, however, is the conclusion that this teleological logic functions according to the outline of an eschatological story. Tightly composed stories start from a value system that precedes the contingent acts that are mentioned in the story. This value system can be a system of mythical or religious beliefs, or of bourgeois truths such as virtue, individual happiness, and so on. Whatever the specific value pattern, it will be accepted in the story as an *a priori* fact and will play a crucial part in the composition of the fictional world. The value system explains the hero’s actions and the direction in which the story evolves. In the course of the story, these values appear to materialize with great difficulty; like the Messiah in the Christian eschatological story, the heroes battle with the negative forces in the contingent world, but eventually succeed in enforcing non-contingent, universal values on this decayed world. Such stories are, moreover, eschatological because they present the end of the story as the ultimate victory of the fundamental value system. An eschatological plot outline will indeed culminate in a revelation; in the *eschaton* (Greek for ‘ultimate moment’ or ‘fundamental instance’) the story will show the double meaning of the word *apokalypsein* ‘revealing’: the contingent world will perish but, at the same time, the truth of the value system will be revealed. After all, the story ending is the cornerstone of the composition for premodern stories. Such stories are highly dependent on goal-oriented actions, and these actions have to be constricted in a tight, “closed” structure.

The plot of such teleologically stories can be called “a plot of action,” using the term of the neo-Aristotelian narratologist Ronald Crane. According to Crane, a typical action plot is the plot of *Tom Jones*, a story in which the hero must overcome a great deal of carnal and moral weakness and numerous peripetias of fate in order to finally manifest himself

as a morally righteous and happy individual. “A plot in this sense – the sense in which modern novelists pride themselves on having got rid of plot – can be pronounced good in terms simply of the variety of incidents it contains, the amount of suspense and surprise it evokes, and the ingenuity with which all the happenings in the beginning and middle are made to contribute to the resolution of the end” (Crane 95). Crane’s statement in the quote that modern novelists abandon such plot concepts is remarkable. In *Tom Jones*, he implicitly argues, the novel has yet to reach its ultimate “modern” form. Even though this novel is one of the first highlights of the modern novel at the level of the semantic strategies and the tendency towards the everyday, its closed plot structure would indeed be labeled premodern by many novelists of the 19th and 20th century. As far as the composition is concerned, *Tom Jones* has more in common with the romance of chivalry and the epic than with the open structures of Balzac or James.

Thus, the question we need to ask is: how does the plot structure of the modern novel differ from its premodern predecessor? Moreover, is there a specific form of causality that makes the modern novel deviate from tradition? In other words, the question is whether a different form of causality features in the romanesque process of modernization. My hypothesis is that the logic of causality of the novel does indeed change character and that, with regard to the modern novel, there is a gradual replacement of the old eschatological plot structures by a new plot structure I would like to call dialogical. The main reason for introducing the concept “dialogical” is the fact that dramatic principles get the upper hand in relation to the strict action logic of the older story structures. Just as the novelist is no longer able, at a semantic level, to observe a form of transcendent inevitability in reality, he or she will also develop another view of causality at a compositional level, in the structure of the narrative development. Stories no longer have to represent actions in the function of the story’s dénouement – also called “the closure” by Rabinowitz – but they have to investigate these actions and attempt to describe them adequately. In brief, they cannot dwell too long on an eschatological composition principle, but must sketch the events in their dialectic complexity. The narratologists of the Chicago School (like Crane, Booth, and Rabinowitz) argue that a modern novel must equally pay attention to forms of causality other than the merely chronological causality of the actions. They hold the neo-Aristotelian view that stories, apart from style (speech or “diction”), must be seen as a conglomeration of action patterns (a plot), characters, and ideas. It is in fact primarily the causality of the character system that can be called one of the revolutionary contributions of the modern novel to

literary history. Every novel, according to Ronald Crane, must be regarded as a combined action of three forces or causes: “It is impossible /.../ to state adequately what any plot is unless we include in our formula all three of the elements or causes of which the plot is the synthesis; and it also follows that plots will differ in structure according as one or another of the three causal ingredients is employed as the synthesizing principle. There are, thus, plots of action, plots of character, and plots of thought” (Crane 97).

Based on this plot theory, it can be argued that *Tom Jones* pays a great deal of attention to the characters that carry the action – after all, the novel is often labeled a novel of manners – but that the text’s coherence is primarily situated in the action logic hidden behind the events. The compositional motivation – which is responsible for this coherence – is all about the eschatological action plot.

A novel that, compositionally speaking, deserves the epithet “modern” will achieve coherence based more on a plot of character – a plot that focuses on the dialogue between the moral positions of the characters. A coherence based on a plot of character is certainly one of the most innovative elements in the novel. José Ortega y Gasset’s statement in *Notes on the Novel* (1927) about the “disappearance of the plot” possibly contains the clearest reference to the conceptual contrast that I want to bring into focus here: “In its beginnings the plot may have seemed to form its most important part. Later it appeared that what really matters is not the story that is told but that the story, whatever it might be, should be told well” (Ortega 63). In accordance with Henry James’s remarks on “telling” and “showing,” Ortega regards the “told well” of the modern novel as a whole of techniques that the novel borrows from drama: “From being narrative and indirect the novel has become direct and descriptive” (62). He further explicitly argues that there is a contrast between the modern novel and premodern prose forms or its epigones – epics, romances of chivalry, adventure stories, dime novels, and serials (80–81). Whereas the latter are based on concrete action, “which moves as fast as possible toward a conclusion” (Ortega 80–81), the modern novel will depart from different principles: “the order must be inverted: the action or plot is not the substance of a novel but its scaffolding, its mechanical prop. The essence of the novel – that is to say, of the modern novel with which alone I am here concerned – does not lie in what happens but precisely in the opposite: in the personages, pure living, in their being and being thus, above all, in the ensuing milieu” (87).

Thus, the modern in the composition of the novel seems to be situated at the level of the “plot of character.” Characters and their dialogue

with their environment (social forces as well as the psychological forces that are inherent to the character) are indeed at the center. As a result, the “closure,” the teleological focus on a final resolution of the story, is devalued. Teleology is still possible, but this principle no longer dominates the composition. Rabinowitz states that “one of the primary targets for many nineteenth- and twentieth-century novelists has been closure itself. /.../ I would argue that many realistic writers prefer endings in which the full consequences of the events portrayed /.../ are neither worked out nor clearly implied” (307). He observes this in *Crime and Punishment* and *Pelléas et Mélisande*, but – and here I refer to Peter Brooks’s *The Melodramatic Imagination* – the novels of Balzac and James equally excel in “unresolved endings.” These are all novels in which characters are foregrounded and which, via the characters, provide the plot with tension from the inside. The ending of the novel is more a reconciliation between viewpoints or a statement of a permanent “dramatic” tension between characters. Bakhtin equally observed this. He views premodern genres like the epic and the romances of chivalry as “complete,” whereas the novel is in essence “incomplete.” On the one hand, the novel no longer has the epic certainty that the described events have, with a predetermined sense and meaning. On the other hand, “incomplete” also means that the novel no longer has a fixed shape and that a novel instead has to constantly reinvent its own formal characteristics. In this sense, each novel composition is contingent. It distinguishes itself by creating ever-changing new combinations of older generic patterns: “The novel gets on poorly with other genres. The novel parodies other genres (precisely in their role as genres); it exposes the conventionality of their forms and their language; it squeezes out some genres and incorporates others into its own peculiar structure, reformulating and re-accenting them” (Bakhtin, *Epic* 5). The novel as it were quotes the older forms of literature and comments on them. The modern novel frequently uses a plot of action to give body to the characters. For instance, the love stories and adventurous events in Balzac are used to characterize the psychology or the ethical choices of the characters. The overall plot structure can be viewed as a conflict between the characters; yet, at a deeper level, one can observe that the tension between the characters is connected to the different plots of actions that the characters carry with them. In this sense, the modern novel, with its psychological portrayals, its emotional conflicts and ethical problems, is a meta-genre that makes use of the generic instruments of Western narrative tradition. The novel has become a meta-genre into which all existing structures can be incorporated.

The Case of the Historical Novel

The first aspect of the modernization of the novel can easily be found in the works of the pioneers of the 19th century. Scott and Dumas pay a great deal of attention to the details and contingencies of everyday life. It does not matter that the world they describe is not the contemporary everyday context; they depict characters in an immanent world that is ruled by chance and by the volatile desires of the human psyche.

However, the second tendency seems to be absent in the historical novel. Do the novels of Scott not end in a very harmonious manner with the achievement of one or another transcendent goal or ideal? In this sense, they could be called teleological texts with an eschatological plot. This probably explains why the genre failed to be taken seriously by the academic world. The historical novel did something that the modern novel wished to avoid: namely, it used dominant eschatological plot lines. Nevertheless, 19th-century historical novels also confirm the tendency toward modernization at the compositional level. In his late 19th-century study on Walter Scott, Louis Maigron argued that the historical novel primarily wants to “show” (cf. James’s “showing”) and no longer wishes to render a teleologically sound history: “dans un bon roman historique /.../ l'intrigue ne compte guère et ne saurait guère compter” (365). Georg Lukács continues along the same line by asserting that Scott’s historical novel does not fundamentally deviate from the realistic novel of his contemporaries: “both demonstrate how a fictional character’s thoughts and actions are determined by the social, political and economic structure of the society in which the character lives” (Heirbrant 10). I would like to subscribe to the viewpoints of both distinguished scholars because many elements in the historical novel demonstrate that this type of text emphasizes dialogicality as the foundation of the plot structure, even more so than the 18th-century realist novel. In this context I would like to refer to two arguments. First, Scott – together with Dumas – is a master of writing dialogues and creating tension by way of dialogues. These writers certainly do not rely solely on an exciting storyline. As a result, the plot becomes character-driven and deviates from the earlier eschatological plot line. Second, the historical novel is indeed related to the “open text” that Bakhtin characterizes as modern. The historical novel is a modern novel because the character is also transformed together with the contextual change; to such an extent even that Lukács regarded Scott as the predecessor of Balzac for that exact reason. It is entirely true that Scott’s novels (appearances notwithstanding) strongly deviate from the premodern novel. After all, the fictional world in eschatological stories remains abstract;

the adventurous world of the older epic is full of obstacles that serve only one purpose: to yield conflict material. In other words, the context of the characters differs from the way in which modern man views his world: change is absent, all values remain constant, and fate is ubiquitous and reigns with a strong religious or natural philosophical inevitability. Thus, the hero that contends with such a context has to be an equally unchanging, static hero. In a historical novel, as in other types of the modern novel, both context and hero are “modern:” they are inconstant and are able to adapt. This becomes most obvious in the dialogue between hero and context: the hero responds to his time, tries to intervene, and is affected by it. Bakhtin nicely summarizes the essence of the modern novel: “Changes in the hero himself acquire plot significance, and thus the entire plot of the novel is reinterpreted and reconstructed” (*Bildungsroman* 21). This is most definitely the case in Walter Scott’s work. Maigron correctly argues that, for Scott, the intrigue (the eschatological plot) is of minor importance. Maigron probably meant that Scott conceives of the novel as a meta-genre and that his novel quotes older plot types in the function of the “plot of character” and of the historical fate of an *Ivanhoe*, a *Rob Roy*, or a *Waverley*.

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Early Literary Representations of National History and the “Slovene Cultural Syndrome”

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The paper deals with the early representations of national history in Slovene literature. Two cohesive stories, “Illyric” and “Carantanian”, proved to be most characteristic and appealing in poetical works before 1848. From a historiographical point of view, both were deficiently documented or even problematic, and in literature they gained mythological features. These historical fragments have to be observed in the light of the later thesis of the “Slovene cultural syndrome”, which was often used to describe the relationship between Slovene literature and the political project of national emancipation. The paper tries to ascertain in which way literature actually “replaced” politics and attempts to revise some elements of the popular thesis.

Key words: literature and ideology / historiography / sociology of literature / Slovene literature / historical themes / cultural identity / national identity

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From the very beginning of Slovene artistic literature, a certain notion of the past has existed in literary texts. In this respect, the fragmentary presence of what could be called “Slovene national history” in the works of the first important Slovene poets from the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century (Dev, Vodnik, Zupan, Koseski and Prešeren), seems to be especially intriguing. Of course, it cannot be said that the idea of Slovene national history was actually *produced* by literature or by literary authors.¹ Its origins can be traced in the age of Reformation (16th century), and the idea probably did not reach maturity before the end of the 18th century, the period of the early Enlightenment, when it was adopted and set forth by a group of intellectuals in Ljubljana, known as the *Zois’s circle*.² Nonetheless, since its appearance, Slovene *literature* has represented a privileged space where the idea of Slovene national history – together with its political implications – has been continuously articulated. This seems to be a good reason to scrutinize especially the earliest ap-

pearances of the idea in literary texts; texts that had an important impact on the future literary, as well as non-literary, perspectives on the subject.³

One of the first things that an apt observer can notice concerns the *significance* of what I have designated as “early literary representations of (Slovene) national history”. This significance transcends the level of literature, although not necessarily from the start. At first glance, the importance of early aesthetic products in Slovene language might not really seem significant: at least at the time of their publishing, from the point of view of a positivistic sociological approach, they seem to be *marginal*. The number of potential recipients was extremely limited, and the print runs were minimal – one can never speak of more than a few hundred copies circulating. In the course of time this changed: some of the texts became *fundamental*; they gained a status of so-called “key-texts” of the social (national) community. This is why we always have to keep in mind that what we are dealing with are fairly complex entities: “the value” or “the significance” of a certain historical representation should not be measured only from the point of the literary system. The “surplus” value, produced by reproductive discourses and canonization processes, has to be investigated most seriously. If one says, for example, that Prešeren’s well-known poem *The Baptism on the Savica* is a fundamental text for Slovenes, this is not precise enough: it can only become a fundamental text when we add to it the history of its reproductions, its intertextual impact, its contradictory interpretations, the cultural and political conflicts connected to it, in short: the history of its canonization; as well as considering its various uses (perhaps also “abuses”) in other contexts until the present time.

The presence of history in literature directs the observer’s attention towards the social dimensions of the phenomenon. In the Slovene case, this consequently leads to a re-examination the interesting thesis of the “Slovene cultural syndrome”. As the authors of the invitation text for the Vilenica Colloquium on History and its Literary Genres have justly observed, literary coverage of past events in the period of the cultural and political emancipation of nations strengthened the consciousness of national identity among the increasing number of readers; and many authors were personally engaged in establishing national emancipation. In the (increasingly) Slovenian cultural space, the crucial period of national emancipation was the second half of the 19th century, when the cultural opposition Slovene / German became the most important cultural background, being more decisive than, for example, political beliefs (conservative, liberal, social-democratic), at least in the first few decades after the year 1848. The outcome of this cultural “struggle” was the dominance of the Slovene fraction towards the end of the century.⁴ What is interesting here is the decisive role ascribed to literature in the process of the forma-

tion of national identity. One of the reasons (but not the only one) for this was, I believe, the special ability, or “power”, of fictional texts to deal with the past in such a way as to suit the needs of the national movement.

Therefore, to understand and evaluate the significance of the early literary representations of national history, one has to observe them in the light of what occurred later, in the second half of the 19th century, when the emerging literary system was locked in the opposing demands of aesthetic autonomy, on one side, and those of national politics, on the other; a strained situation that was only gradually resolved in the 20th century. This is why we first need to devote some attention to the “Slovene cultural syndrome” thesis.

The “Slovene Cultural Syndrome” Thesis

To a certain extent, establishing national literatures was connected to national identity formation all over Europe, but this was even more decisive in small and dominated cultures, where one could really conceive of “national identity formation through literary texts”. To delve into this problem, I would first like to quote a writer and essayist from the second half of the 19th century, Josip Stritar, who initiated the triumphant inauguration of France Prešeren as the “national poet”:

If the nations were assembled on the Judgement Day to prove how they had managed their talents and how every one of them had participated in universal, human culture, the small Slovene nation could fearlessly prove itself among others with one small book, entitled Prešeren’s ‘Poezije’. (48)⁵

This passage was later quoted very often, becoming canonical itself together with the aesthetic object that Stritar’s critical discourse attempts to canonise in a skilful mythographic

operation.⁶ Its intention is obvious: to argue that Slovene culture and literature are, although small in scale, aesthetically equivalent to those of larger nations, and therefore worthy of being included in the group of important European cultures. What is crucial here is a kind of presupposed equation between literature and nation (which, as we know, is time-specific, connected to Pre-Romantic and Romantic ideas). This kind of argument implies an assertion that the nation can be endorsed, legitimated, through poetry; a thesis that has been endlessly recycled and has become part of the view of Slovene history. It was formed in the last third of the 19th century and has been reproduced until today, when the “ancient dream” has been realised: Slovenes living in an independent, sovereign

and democratic state. Stritar's statement (17 years after Prešeren's death) is a kind of introduction to a series of texts and argumentations that led to the sociological thesis of the so-called "Slovene cultural syndrome".

A book by literary sociologist Dimitrij Rupel, *Free Words* (1976), gives this thesis one of its most precise articulations.⁷ He argues that because of the lack of other institutions (politics, state) Slovene literature took upon itself the function of national emancipation. Therefore, the literature of that time is not only a simple sector of social production but also tends to perform other functions that should actually be performed by other social sectors (law, politics, education, science), sectors that were, of course, present, but were strongly dominated by German culture. So literature, taking language (already codified) as its basis, was the first relatively developed social subsystem.⁸

Rupel's thesis is actually based on a specific *commonplace*, something that has been "in the air" all the time, something that has been "known" by Slovene poets, historians and politicians since the middle of the 19th century. Prior to Rupel, in an essay *The Question of Poetry* (1969), the charismatic Slovene comparatist and philosopher, Dušan Pirjevec, presented similar ideas: "In all of us the idea that without Prešeren and his poetry we as a nation would have a different fate, that we would be much less solidly grounded or even nonexistent, is present in one way or another"; and also: "Poetry is the only self-consciousness of the Slovene nation", "a personality that has created us and does not cease to control us", "our super-ego", "our superior value and, if so, also the 'goal' of our national existence" (55–57). All of these ideas are already implied in Stritar's essay on Prešeren: his poetry is an argument for justifying the existence of Slovenes: poetry actually became a means to legitimise a nation as a historical fact.

Furthermore, this is exactly the way that Slovene poetry understood itself within the literary texts themselves: poetry's role in national awakening became a topic of poetry – starting from Prešeren's vision of the Orpheus who will wake Slovenia with his singing. Pirjevec agrees with this idea, stating that until the beginning of the 20th century poetry had been "the centre of our culture, the only organ of our consciousness, our self-grounding and legitimatisation" (58). This is exactly the point from which Rupel is able to articulate his thesis. A nation without a state is reduced to a movement, and due to the position of being dominated it can only be a "suppressed movement": as such, its interests can only be pursued through art, and especially through literature in a national language. At the same time, such literature as an "instrument of national struggle" cannot really be congruent with its real essence, it cannot be "poetry as such".⁹

The thesis of the Slovene cultural syndrome is, as we can see, rather obstinate, yet it has already been subjected to scrutiny. What attracts one's

attention might be the fact that the thesis, “the time has not yet come for real politics, so literature is the only possible ground for national emancipation”, had already been formulated in the 19th century and was employed extensively by Slovene politicians, literary and cultural historians, etc. It is, of course, contradictory: literature being at the same time the supreme manifestation of a Slovene spirit and an asylum for poor and frightened politics. The thesis was labelled as an “ideological fossil” by leftist sociologist, Rastko Močnik, who was interested in tracing ideological operations that helped the emerging Slovene economic and political elite to legitimate itself: he did not fail to observe that in this way the bourgeois ideology successfully subordinated the producers of literature (Močnik, *Raziskave za sociologijo književnosti*). Literature provided “great men”, and through the glorification of national greats nationality, already class-represented, was established. Literature as an ideological form imposed itself on Slovene bourgeois ideology as an authentic focal point through an ideology that states that language is the basis (glue) of national community (and also demonstrates this cohesiveness), even if the evocation of language alone would not suffice in producing this effect. Literature was indispensable for the nationalistic movement in that phase, but this connection castrated the artistic dimensions of literature.

Močnik’s contribution to the understanding of the thesis is invaluable since, by analysing ideological and rhetorical mechanisms, it reveals how politics used literary strategies to establish the nation, while at the same time suppressing both the class dimension of its project and its autopoietical, “münchhausen”-like features (producing the basic conditions for its own existence). Močnik’s critique of Rupel should be seen more as a correction, since their views are not as far apart as it may at first seem. The skeleton of the thesis is actually hard to refute: Slovene literature definitely emerged under the strong pressure of the national idea and in circumstances when fully differentiated national politics was impossible. Literature has indeed produced cohesive effects in texts, and has at the same time been used as a means of affirmation of national politics – as a representative of a nation that was formed and legitimated through literature. That this mutual interdependence has had a considerable influence on the production of texts is impossible to deny: since Prešeren, national emancipation has remained an important motivation for literature. A good question is, then, perhaps the following:

to what extent did literature actually *give rise to* politics, and to what extent did the emerging politics instrumentalise literature and its “glorious men”? In other words: to what extent were the “glorious men” actually “glorious” before the nationalistic discourse proclaimed them as such?

To Močnik's lucid observations some findings can be added that should supplement or revise the image of the "Slovene cultural syndrome".¹⁰ The great self-confidence of literature, namely that it alone can "change the world", that it can give ground to the national movement project, which culminated in a strong conviction that "Slovenes" would not exist without literature, is misleading and exaggerated. As some of my recent research shows, if we try to take into account broader cultural, political and economic contexts – especially before 1848, in Vodnik's and Prešeren's era – it becomes perfectly evident that poetry itself never had enough strength to distribute and disseminate its (political) ideas into its environment. One of the main reasons for that was the underdeveloped nature of national institutions; more precisely, the whole media and artistic system: for instance, newspapers, (specialised) reviews, the book market and publishers (Dovič, *Slovenski pisatelj*). In such circumstances, literature, which already thematised and articulated national issues and ideas, had no chance of really succeeding.

A breakthrough was only possible when literature was adopted and appropriated by the emerging Slovene nationalistic middle class in the second half of the 19th century, an era accompanied by the rapid evolution of the media system (after the revolutionary year 1848, which also loosened the firm grasp of the "Vormärz" censorship system), exponentially increasing the number of Slovene newspapers, magazines and publishers (Dovič, *Literatura in mediji* 545, 55). At the same time, the Slovene political and economic elite, which had a strong need for legitimation, took upon its shoulders the national emancipation project, using poetry as a tool to achieve its political aims. So the "Slovene cultural syndrome" thesis actually needs at least one small correction: it is not that the rise of the nation was made possible by poetry itself; it was made possible by the rise of poetry, instrumentalised by the powerful nationalistic middle class, which already dominated Slovene public discourse through the emerging mass media. The Slovene cultural syndrome thesis is, therefore, a kind of *amphibian* – simultaneously valid and invalid.

Another question is whether such a "cultural syndrome" can be denominated "Slovene", and to what extent similar features can be traced in cultures that found themselves in similar environments. The accentuation of the specifically Slovene character of the "syndrome" in Pirjevec's theories, and even more in Rupel's, definitely awakes a certain amount of scepticism, especially since neither of them provides any evidence. Slovene development is definitely not a "syndrome" with unique features, as we can quite easily learn from a newer comparative survey of literary cultures of East-Central Europe. When we place the thesis in this context, the

“syndrome” ceases to be something *specifically Slovene*. In general, we can agree with Cornis-Pope and Neubauer in their statement regarding most cultures in the area that there are “striking similarities, indeed, structural interrelations, between the emergence of nineteenth century nationalism and the birth of national literatures and literary studies” (*History* 7). According to Ernest Gellner, nationalism invented nations even where they did not exist. This process was much more intense in communities (nations) that had no “robust self-image” (unlike France or England) and “wanted to further their national identity” (8). The “invention of nationality” regularly took place in texts, and literature was of the utmost importance in this process. Besides writing dictionaries and grammars, and national (literary) histories, as well as reviving oral, medieval and baroque vernacular literature, the core of the project was the *production* of national literature. A very special place was reserved for writing historical fiction.¹¹

Representations of National History in Early Slovene Literature

In spite of the partial revisions to the thesis that we propose here, the Slovene cultural syndrome does seem to be an appropriate vantage point from which a specific reading of the historical fragments in the pioneer works of Slovene literature can be justified. Before we actually start to read, we should briefly examine a scheme that can help us conceive of different types of “structural joints” between national politics and literature. The basic difference here is whether national questions are raised *inside* the literary text or the literary text is *used as a means* of political argument.

Inside the literary text we can distinguish:

- thematisations of *nationalistic elements*, ranging from daily pamphlets and polemics to “coining ideologies” or historical constructions – all of these can serve to legitimate the existence of a distinct Slovene culture and nation; and

- thematisations of *literature as a self-grounding of the nation*: articulations of the idea that literature will unite the nation and bring it to a higher level of self-consciousness, to an equal existence among the great cultures of Europe.

At the same time, *outside* literature (in other discourses), two basic modes can be distinguished:

- argumentation emphasising the fact that the *existence of aesthetically successful literature* itself *legitimises the existence of a distinct nation*. This idea can usually be traced in the correspondence of the authors, programme essays, and theses of literary critics, historians and theorists. From meta-lit-

erary discourses the thesis enters political discourse as a simple equation formula: elaborated language and literature = culture = nation = political sovereignty;

– the *use of literary myths in the political struggle*; this option includes, for example, referring to literary thematisations of glorious past events, ancient sovereignty, etc., as an argument in claiming more political autonomy in the present time (the administrative unity of Southern Slavs or Slovenes, ideas of trialism within the Habsburg empire, claims for appointing Slovene as an official language in administration, education ...).

This can be illustrated with some historical examples from Slovene literature. Prior to the period of the Enlightenment it is actually hard to find a Slovene text that could be conceived as “literary”. Nevertheless, the ethnic idea – which in the first phases does not demarcate clearly what is (generally) Slavic (or South Slavic), what is (distinctly) Slovene and what is Carniolian¹² – was reflected in other kinds of texts, such as prefaces to Slovene Protestant books in the 16th century. In a preface to Adam Bohorič’s Slovene grammar, *Arcticae horulae succisivae* (the book was written in Latin), from 1584, we can for the first time trace the idea of the great and glorious past of Slavic nations. History in this narrative is often deformed according to its basic intention: to give the community the confidence of belonging to an important and prolific group of Slavic cultures (the bottom line being that they are *not* German). The same is true of the preface to Marko Pohlin’s grammar, *Kraynska grammatika*, published almost two centuries later (in 1768, written in German, although its *tendency* is actually anti-German). This short text is full of historical and etymological insipidities, one of the most noticeable being the implied connection of the contemporary Slovene population with ancient Illyricum. Shortly after Pohlin’s grammar, a far more historically credible view on the local history was produced in a scientifically conceived attempt of Anton Tomaž Linhart, a poet, dramatist and historian who belonged to Zois’s circle. Even though in his *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Österreichs*, a work which remained incomplete (two volumes came out in 1788 and 1791), the idea of the great Slavic nation and the importance of the Slavs is also emphasised.

Again, the idea of Illyricum, this time connected to more realistic (contemporary) political expectations, is cautiously tackled in Linhart’s work. As has been discovered more recently, the aims of Zois, Linhart and their colleagues were political as well as cultural – to argue for more recognition of the South Slavic nations inside the monarchy (Vidmar, “*Et in politicis*”). Dealing with the Slovene past obviously became an important issue of the Slovene Enlightenment movement towards the end of the 18th century.

This question was reflected in the literary texts of the period more explicitly than in other discourses.¹³ It was probably not only a consequence of the rigid institution of preliminary censorship in the monarchy, which was enforced until the revolutionary year 1848. Another reason for this was that national questions could enter literature in the ways that were no longer possible in historiography, which tended to develop in accordance to the scientific paradigm. The differentiation of the two evolving social systems, science and literature, would not allow such odd constructions as can still be observed in Pohlin's preface just a few decades earlier.

The first important figure linked with the beginnings of Slovene literature is *Janez Damascen Dev*, an Augustinian monk, editor and the most productive poet of the first Slovene poetry almanac *Pisanice* (Writings), published in the years 1779, 1780 and 1781. National history is mostly absent from his poetical texts. At first glance, they manifest complete political loyalty to the Habsburgs. In the opening poem of the 1779 volume, entitled *The Love of Joseph II for his Fellow Man* (a pamphlet against men avoiding military service) the Emperor himself bandages a wounded soldier. On the other hand, Dev's tendency towards Slovene cultural autonomy is obvious: he thematises the problems of Slovene language, calls for a dictionary of the "Carniola", and calls the muses to come to Slovenia (Carniola) and raise its literature and culture to a higher level. This self-referentiality, which is not unusual in early Slovene poetical products, played an important role in the process of literary canon formation, as Marko Juvan has pointed out (*Literary Self-referentiality* 119–123).

If distinct national awareness, coupled with loyalty to the monarch, is undoubtedly characteristic of Dev's poetry, a notion of national history is hardly noticeable in his works (except for the lament for the poor Slovene cultural tradition). Yet some poems by *Valentin Vodnik*, another poet of the Enlightenment period and also a member of the Zois's circle, show different picture. Of particular interest are his two odes on Illyricum. Their basic idea is the glorification of the historical territorial unity of the Roman province Illyricum, which in fact provides a kind of legitimation for the territorial unity of the South Slavic nations within the empire. The ode *Illyricum Revived* was written in 1811, during the short period when the central Slovene lands were not subordinate to the Habsburg Empire (under French jurisdiction, a new administrative entity, called the "Illyric provinces", was actually formed). In his poem, Vodnik recalls the great past of Illyricum and equates its ancient population with contemporary Slovenes, foretelling a great future for them. The Illyrians were, according to Vodnik, a superior civilization:

Skilful on sea
 Illyrian was sailing,
 When galleys to hew
 the Roman was learning¹⁴

At the end of the ode, ancient Corinthos is compared to the new Illyricum: as Corinthos was once known as the “Hellenic eye”, the new Illyricum in the future would become “the ring of Europe”.¹⁵

Vodnik used this historical fiction, even though he probably did not take it so seriously himself. A prominent Slovene literary historian, Janko Kos, thinks that for Vodnik this was only a *licentia poetica*, a means to express a provocative and contemporary idea. After all, it is well known that the evoked genetic link was highly problematic for Vodnik’s colleague from the Zois’s circle, the playwright and historian Linhart¹⁶, already mentioned above. Nevertheless, Vodnik’s odes remain the most unequivocal articulation of the Slovene national idea up to that time: from here, it is just a short step to the idea of a culturally independent, or even sovereign, entity – “Slovenia”. What seems to be important here is that this was acquired by using “history” in a poetical text to construct a myth that is itself – a *falsification*. In the time when historiography was striving to become more scientific, poetry was allowed to take this role.

After Vodnik, historical themes were also tackled by Jakob Zupan, one of the leading poets of the next important poetic almanac *Krajnska žbelica* (Carniolian Bee), published annually from 1830–1833 and in 1848. Zupan wrote a few cycles of short poems, entitled *Krajnski Plutarčik* and *Krajnski Nestorčik*, which refer to the ancient historian Plutarch and the medieval Russian chronicler Nestor, a monk from Kiev. In these cycles, he praises the glorious men from the local history of Carniolia (barons and bishops), and depicts important historical incidents – ranging from the ancient (Illyric) city of Metulum fighting against the Roman emperor Augustus to the independent Slavic state in the early Middle Ages and medieval Turkish battles. Even though Zupan sometimes uses the adjective or noun “Slovene” instead of “Carniolia” or “Carniolian”, his treatment of history should largely be explained as a strengthening of the local identity (the province of Carniolia), especially since the relation between Slovenian and Slavic is not clearly demarcated in his short versifications.¹⁷

To a certain extent, Zupan’s historical interventions do imply both the “Illyric idea” as well as another story that was growing in importance (the early medieval independent Slavic states), but they do not emphasise their national-cohesive potential. The same could not be said for the poetry of Zupan’s colleague, France Prešeren, the great romantic poet from the first half of the 19th century who later gained the status of “the national poet”

– a status that has remained unchallenged up to the present day. In the second volume of *Kranjska čbelica* (1831), Prešeren published a sonnet in which he leaves the topic of the “great deeds” of our ancestors to other poets, claiming ironically that his Muse is too weak to praise the “glorious fights”. As some of his later works show, however, he did not persist with such an attitude; historical fragments did, in fact, enter his poetry, but the relations among poetry, history and nationality became far more complex.

Prešeren’s work is impressive, even astonishing: both as a really good poetry as well as regarding the Slovene national project. He deliberately and systematically broadened the literary repertoire through the introduction of new, complicated poetic forms (the sonnet, the wreath of sonnets, terza rima, ottava rima, Spanish romance with assonances, oriental ghazal, nordic ballad). Many of his literary texts are highly self-referential: we can find an unusually consistent thematisation of poetry’s national awakening and cohesive role throughout his poetic opus.¹⁸ But what is most interesting is a transgression of fiction into politics, again by using “quasi-historical” narrative. This textual strategy is most visible in the lyrico-epic poem *The Baptism on the Savica* (*Krst pri Savici*, 1836), especially in its Introduction. In *The Baptism*, Prešeren evokes the early feudal state of Carantania (7th-9th century) and the old, heroic and pagan times of Slovene national sovereignty. This model is far more historically credible than that of Vodnik’s Illyricum. However, the historical background, the Christianisation of the Slavs, is still used to skilfully form a myth. Some of its elements are:

- the (former) glory and fame of the Slavic people;¹⁹
- an evocation of the early democratic principles in the state of Carantania;²⁰
- by establishing Christianity, the foreign rulers took the ancient glory and freedom away.

All of these elements can be traced in the following verses from Prešeren’s *The Baptism*:

Most of this world belongs to Slavdom’s races;
 We’ll find a path to where each blood relation
 is trust in faith and justice freely places (115).²¹
 /.../
 Old pillars of Slovenedom are cast down,
 And all our laws on ancient habit based;
 All bow before Bavarian Tesel’s crown,²²
 The sons of Slavdom ‘neath his yoke are placed,
 And haughtily the aliens strut and frown
 Within our homeland, by bright fortune graced (119).²³

The first verse, which is the climax of a dramatic speech by Črtomir, the pagan army leader, to his fellow men, is the only verse in the whole poem that was emphasised by the author (it was printed in italics). At the same time, it evokes the *widespreadness* of Slavic nations, as well as (at least in the original Slovene text) their glory. The next two verses evoke the supposedly democratic social order of ancient Slovenes (Carantanians). The following stanza describes the unbearable consequences of Christianisation, which at the same time brought the aliens to power.

Similar ideas are characteristic of Prešeren's other poetical masterpiece, *Sonetni venec* (A Wreath of Sonnets).²⁴ In this work, the national idea is central; in the middle of the "wreath", in the 7th and 8th sonnets, Slovene history is depicted. The idea is simple: since the glorious age of King Samo, ruler of the tribal alliance of Alpine Slavs (in the 7th century), everything that Slovenes had experienced in the course of history had been unpleasant: constant subjugation to foreign rulers, destructive internal quarrels, medieval peasant risings suppressed in blood, Turkish invasions ... It is therefore no surprise that:

The joyful years of glory long ago
Through valiant labours never were regained,
And songs' sweet voices we no longer know (95).²⁵

In *The Baptism* and *A Wreath*, Prešeren skilfully handles the historically deficiently documented myth of the ancient sovereignty of Slovenes, who lived in independence and glory. His main source on the Christianisation of Carantanians was a 17th century historian, Janez Vajkard Valvasor, and his work *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain* (*The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, 1689); a source which, as we know today, is not very reliable.²⁶ The scarce data were, of course, coupled with Prešeren's lively poetic imagination and a touch of the thought horizon of the poet and his era; procedures that are a normal part of the creative process. What is important here is that a result of this process in a specific historical moment could become a useful ideological framework – a possible basis for a programme – for how the Slovene cultural community could defend itself against the foreign oppressor. Nationalists now do not have to create "Slovenedom" as something new, but simply have to reconstruct what was once already there and was taken away unjustly: the power and glory of the past. This is achieved by a convincing fictional presentation of the heroic battle that marked the end of the glorious period. Fictionalisation, again with serious historical errors, transgressed literature – this way of seeing Slovene history had a real manipulative power, which was by no means only fictional. It is no wonder that Prešeren's *Zdravljica* (A Toast), an extremely popular drinking

song that also evokes the “power and the glory” of the past (according to the Caranthian myth), became the national anthem of independent Slovenia.²⁷

As is quite obvious, there were two basic narrative lines that were characteristic of the “invention of national history” in the works of Slovene poets before 1848. It is not too tendentious to designate them as the two myths: *Illyrian* and *Carantian*.²⁸ An interesting fusion of the two can be found in the work of Jovan Vesel Koseski, another of Prešeren’s contemporaries. His fate is most interesting: his patriotic and nationalistic rhymes were extremely popular and he was considered the best Slovene poet since the late 1860s, when young liberal intellectuals inaugurated Prešeren as the national poet. By 1900, Koseski was clearly almost forgotten, but in his time he was widely read, quoted and recited. Most instructive in this respect is his ode *Slovenja carju Ferdinandu* (Slovenia to Tsar Ferdinand), written for the occasion of the visit of the Habsburg emperor to Ljubljana in 1844. Although it manifests monastic loyalty, a new entity (nation) actually rises under the surface (Austroslavism). The whole song is full of historical allusions. The subject of the ode is an allegorised *Slovenia*, and this term was actually promoted publicly for the first time in Koseski’s text. At the beginning of the ode, Slovenia rhetorically poses the question: is she worthy of being the servant of the empire? The answer, given by the muse Clio, is: *yes*, because the history of Slovenia proves its exceptional value.

We are, of course, curious: what kind of constructions does Koseski use in his three-part historiographical “overview”? Again the idea of the great Slavic past is accentuated: the sons of Slovenia produced steel for the Trojan wars, its arrows were familiar to Alexander the Great, and many Roman or Byzantium emperors were (supposedly) of Slavic origin. In the centre of the first part of the ode we can trace the *Illyrical* myth: mentioning the “famous” rulers and heroes, such as Teuta, Agron, Pinez, Brem, Bolk, Pleurat or Baton; and the brave resistance of the ancient Illyrical city of Metulum.²⁹ The second part begins with the fall of the Romans and the bloody chaos that followed, in which Koseski obviously does not know exactly who is Slav (Illyrian?) and who is “barbarian”. But finally, from the “darkness of the ages”, a six-pack of Slavic heroes appears: Samo, Borut, Ketumar, Privina, Bojnomir and Kocel; all of them *Carantian* or Lower Pannonian dukes from the 7th, 8th or 9th century. The third part of the ode describes the uprising of the Slovene lands under Habsburg rulers and the hard times of the medieval Turkish invasions, in which Slovenes function as a kind of “live shield” of the civilised world. Koseski praises the braveness, education, skills and especially the complete political loyalty of Slovenes.

There is no lack of historical material in Koseski's ode; as a matter of fact, the poem could be read as a programme, almost a *matrix*, for the later production of appropriate historico-patriotical literature. If the loyalty to the monarchy seems to be unconditional, the fact remains that a clear and distinct national awareness has arisen. Historically bizarre and tendentious, Koseski's constructions are politically radical and powerful. Slovenia is set side by side with the Czech lion, pretending to the same level of "coherence" and validity. Therefore, the ode is not at all simply dynastically legitimistic, as it glorifies the idea of a "united Slovenia", an idea that the old regime definitely did not accept. In contrast to the beginning of the century, the demarcation of "Slovenian" is evidently solved: it is the united territory of Carinthia and Carniola, clearly separated from what is Croatian. The revolutionary year 1848 is at the doorstep: the nationalistic *show* is ready to begin.

* * *

We can now try to summarise some of the more notable conclusions concerning the early literary representations of Slovene national history. The invention of national history in literary texts was synchronic with the gradual shift from a provincial (Carniolian) identity towards a more modern, national identity. Literary fiction had a special power in articulating the past, and it was allowed – due to the conventions that were already accepted – to transgress or bypass the reality code (true/false) which was obligatory in other discourses, for example in historiography. It is very obvious that since its appearance literature in Slovenia has represented a privileged space for the articulation of national ideas; in the process of which it has also produced phantasms, half-credible historical constructions and supplementary mythologies. In the period that I have examined, two mythologised narratives were predominant: Illyrian and Carantanian; the latter being slightly more credible from the historiographical viewpoint. Both stories had important national-cohesive effects. Consideration of their real impact, however, has to be subject to the constraints that have been exposed in the discussion on the Slovene cultural syndrome thesis. It is important to realise that the expansion and dissemination of the national idea was not possible through the poetry itself, or to be more precise, through the means that were available in the deficiently developed literary system. This possibility opened up in the historical "adoption" of literature, its instrumentalisation, carried out by a particular social fraction especially after 1848, which was coupled by an expansion of the media system. Even more significant might be the ascertainment that this process was not "syndromatic" or "specifi-

cally Slovene". As much as the rises of national and ethnic identities in the region ignited mutual conflicts and friction (as well as the erasure of different identities), and in so doing contributed to *diversity* (sometimes also in the negative sense), structurally they were surprisingly *similar*.

NOTES

¹ The proper context for the analysis of this highly complex phenomenon is broader: it includes the study of the history of the wider area, cultural relations, political struggles and much more.

² The informal group was (later) named after its leader, aristocrat Baron Žiga Zois (1747–1819). Zois was a prominent European scholar of his time and an enthusiastic lover of fine arts. He was also an indispensable financial sponsor of the cultural activities of his colleagues (writing poems, dramas, publishing the first Slovene newspaper and books for rudimentary readers, writing scholarly works, etc.).

³ In Slovene literature, the earliest articulations of the idea of national history did not coincide with the immediate development of distinct historical literary genres; nevertheless, their impact on the latter is easily demonstrable.

⁴ Politically, Slovene speaking territories were, of course, still dominated by the Habsburgs until 1918.

⁵ The English translations are the author's (unless otherwise indicated).

⁶ Its institutional context is also specific: it is the first attempt to publish a canonic literary collection that would bring to the fore the "gems" of Slovene literature.

⁷ Its subtitle is quite characteristic: *A sociological study of Slovene literature as an initiator of national emancipation in the second half of the 19th century*.

⁸ The notion of a "social system" in Rupel's book is not based on contemporary systems theoretical models, such as Niklas Luhmann's.

⁹ Pirjevec understood literature in the Heideggerian manner. Only when the instrumental use of literature is abandoned can it really come to be itself: a game which lets things *be* in the first place.

¹⁰ The arguments cannot be fully presented here, so I refer the reader to my more extensive research into the Slovene literary system and the evolution of the role of the literary producer (Dovič, *Slovenski pisatelj*).

¹¹ The other side of this enthusiastic process was the suppression of elements that threatened the integrity of the story: collective amnesia is as important to a nation as shared memories.

¹² An administrative name for the area around Ljubljana, most usually used before the 19th century. In public discourse, the denomination Slovenia was not widely used before 1848, while in practice the foundations of the demarcation between Slovene and South Slavic were laid in Protestant books of the 16th century, which used the language actually spoken in "Carniola". The next strong point of confirmation of this demarcation was probably the success of Zois and his colleagues against attempts to impose Dubrovnik's dialect as an official language of the Illyric provinces (Vidmar, *Et in politicis* 759).

¹³ Even the private correspondance between two important intellectuals of the era, he already mentioned Zois, who lived in Ljubljana, and the Vienna-based Slovene linguist Jernej Kopitar, becomes hermetic and full of ciphers when political issues, such as "Illyricum" come to the fore (Vidmar, *Et in politicis propheta* 754).

¹⁴ The English translation of the strophe is author's. The Slovene original reads: "Že močen na morju / Ilirjan je bil, / K' se ladie tesat / je Rimic učil."

¹⁵ In Slovene the final lines are: "Korintu so rekli Helensko oko, / Ilirija prstan Evropini bo."

¹⁶ At the time of the publication of Vodnik's ode Linhart was no longer alive.

¹⁷ Historian Igor Grdina thinks that one of the most influential promoters of the idea of the national unity of the people who lived north and south of the Karavanke mountain range was the above-mentioned Linhart.

¹⁸ This would, of course, suit the second mode of intratextual strategies according to my scheme.

¹⁹ The etymology of the word Slav was connected with "glory", since both words have the same root. Sometimes this ambiguity was used in literature; it is not translatable.

²⁰ The inauguration procedure for Carantanian rulers was actually unusually democratic, as was described in *Six livres de la République* of Jean Bodine, a book that also influenced Thomas Jefferson.

²¹ In Slovene, the translated passage from the Introduction to *The Baptism on the Savica* (written in perfect iambic terza rima strophes) sounds like this: "Narvèč sveta otrokam sliši Slave, / tje bomo najdlji pot, kjer nje sinovi / si prosti voljo vero in postave."

²² Bavarian ruler Tassilo.

²³ The main part of *The Baptism* is written in iambic ottava rima stanzas. In Slovene: "Na tleh leže slovenstva stebri stari, / v domaèih šegah vtrjene postave; v deželi parski Tesel gospodari, / jeèé pod težkim jarmam sini Slave, / le tujcam sreèe svit se v Kranji žari, / ošabno nòs'jo tí pokonci gláve."

²⁴ This complex poetic form consists of 15 sonnets, the last (Magistrale / Master theme) being composed of the initial verses of all of the sonnets; besides that, their initial letters form an acrostic "Primicovi Julji" ("To Julija Primic"), a dedication to Prešeren's muse.

²⁵ In Slovene: "Minuli sreèe so in slave èasi, / ker vredne dela niso jih budile, / omólknili so pesem sladki glási."

²⁶ As historian Igor Grdina has pointed, Valvasor's writing should not be observed in the terms of nationalism: his work is *patriotic* in the sense of the province of Carniolia (Kranjska) (Grdina, *Vladarji* 21). Prešeren modified this original context of Valvasor's report.

²⁷ The verses in *Zdravljica* that evoke the past are not very explicit, but it is not hard to guess what they are about: "Henceforth, as were our forebears, / May Slovenes' homes be truly free / ... / That again we may reign / And honour, riches now regain!" (Prešeren, *Poems* 159)

²⁸ Later, together with the more differentiated historical literary genres, some other topics also came to the fore, such as *the counts of Celje* or *the battles against Turks*.

²⁹ The settlement was probably situated in Lika, part of today's Croatia. In the 19th century in Slovenia it was enthusiastically (but falsely) supposed that its location was in Carniolia.

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Historical Drama and Its Social Role in Slovenia under Communism

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The aim of this paper is to present and investigate the special social role played by Slovene historical drama from the 1960s to the 1980s. Although historical drama is usually viewed as a means of creating national and ideological myths, in this case it represented a means of formulating social criticism during a period of extreme ideological control in the arts.

Key words: literature and ideology / sociology of literature / Slovene drama / 20th cent. / historical drama / social role / communism

UDK 821.163.6.09-24"1960/1980"

Introduction

When one speaks of historical literary genres and their relations to political ideologies and national mythologies, two possibilities are usually considered. First, these genres can envisage a future social order; in doing so, they support and construct social utopias, the ideological background of a certain social group, which can, in the course of time, become reality. Second, by describing the past (especially mythical points in national history), they can try to legitimise the present social order. An interesting third option was developed in Slovene post-war literature; namely, in Slovene drama after 1955. Because Yugoslavia wanted to be seen as a socialist state with the highest degree of personal freedom, and artistic freedom was the easiest and the least harmful way to support this notion, theatre played a special social role in it. On the one hand, this dramatic literature strongly criticised the socialist order and the communist regime. On the other hand, however, it was precisely this criticism that helped the authorities gain public support for perpetual reforms, which only strengthened the position of the Communist Party. I illustrate this by comparing two plays: *Afera* (An Affair) by Primož Kozak and *Topla greda*

(*Hotbed*) by Marijan Rožanc. These plays were written and staged in the first half of the 1960s, when the temporary alliance between theatre and the communist authorities was first established. They represent two radical examples of this social balance between the theatre, the authorities, and the general public because *An Affair* was one of the most successful plays of the decade, whereas *Hotbed* was the only Yugoslav play to be banned by a court order.

This comparison shows how historical drama situated itself in a social discursive field – in other words, why was it so successful despite its social criticism. My hypothesis is that historical drama displaced its criticism into the past and into a remote place, thus making an ambiguous interpretation possible. It could be understood as support for the current political reforms or as a metaphor and criticism of the current social state. Because of this, it succeeded in successfully addressing both proponents and adversaries of the Yugoslav communist regime. I also analyse *The Return of Cortes*, a radio play by Andrej Hieng from the end of the 1960s, and *The Great Brilliant Waltz* by Drago Jančar from the 1980s in order to investigate the further development of historical drama and verify my hypothesis.

An Affair

An Affair deals with the very basic dilemma of communist revolution. Can the final emancipation of humankind be achieved through present-day terror and blind subordination to the party's leadership, or should it be built on a rigorous defence of one's own freedom? Although it was set in northern Italy after 1943, it was evident from the start that history is a camouflage for criticism of the contemporary social situation. As Vladimir Kralj noted in his review, this is an "almost historical play" that "represents a projection of certain problems of our time into a less binding past" (357). Both the audience and theatre professionals recognized a critical aspect of the play at its premiere on the small experimental stage Oder 57 (Stage 57), which was awarded a prize for the best performance at the *Festival Malib odrov* (Festival of Small Stages) in Sarajevo in 1961. Later that year, *An Affair* was restaged at the central and most important theatre in Slovenia: *Drama slovenskega narodnega gledališča v Ljubljani* (Drama of the Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana, or SNT), which meant a considerable increase in its popularity. The performance at Stage 57 was seen by 750 people, and the following performance at the SNT was seen by 6,968 (Bibič 77). The support of social criticism by theatre professionals as well as by the audience can be easily understood because the social paradise

prophesised by the communist regime failed to materialize in the post-war period. More surprising is that the play was fully supported by top officials in the Slovene government and Communist Party. Josip Vidmar, the most influential theatre critic of the 1960s, who had been a member of the Partisan leadership during the Second World War and was appointed to his position at the newspaper *Delo* by the party's leadership, wrote enthusiastic praise about the premiere of *An Affair* at SNT. He started by clearly stressing that the play takes place in northern Italy during the Second World War. Although he felt that its relevance exceeds this historical framework, he did not seem to think it had any connection to the current situation in Yugoslavia. He found the play to be "written with delicate feeling and aesthetic taste. It is a work with a very clear theme, a fine example of contemporary social problems, and furthermore very effective on stage" (22).

The play could also have been interpreted as a radical critique of current politics because it was shown a few months later at the biggest theatre festival in the former Yugoslavia, the *Sterijino pozorje* (Sterija Stage). *An Affair* was performed on 9 May 1962 by Ljubljana's SNT and, as the theatre critic and researcher Vasja Predan remembers, it stirred up quite some controversies among the Serbian members of the jury. They were against awarding Kozak the prize for the best play of the year, and Vladimir Kralj, a member of the jury from Slovenia, left the meeting in protest at such biased decision-making. Although Kozak did not receive the prize for the best play, *An Affair* won three other prizes (more than any other performance at the festival), which may indicate that it was actually the best performance at the festival. As Predan told me in an interview, the theatre judges at Pozorje were aware of the political background of their decision, and so they awarded Kozak the prize for best play six years later for his less inspired play *Kongres* (The Congress).

The restaging at the SNT was initiated by its artistic director and general manager Bojan Štih, who was a close friend of Boris Kraigher, the prime minister of Yugoslav Slovenia. Kraigher and his successor Stane Kavčič were the leaders of "liberalism" in Slovenia, a series of economic reforms that started at the beginning of the 1960s and yielded good results and a general increase in the standard of living, but at the same time pushed the political system to its limits, where radical changes seemed inevitable. The communist leadership saw this as a threat to its position, and so the conservative faction of the party took over once again and the liberals were forced to leave their positions and disappear from public life. This happened around 1970; however, similar events had suppressed a vivid experimental theatrical life five years earlier. This suppression was provoked by a dramatic feuilleton called *Hotbed*.

Hotbed

The play *Hotbed* by Marijan Rožanc was staged at Stage 57 on 31 May 1964. In the program Andrej Inkret stressed that the play represented a new form of popular theatre. Its “aim is to abolish the distance between the stage and the audience, thus creating a new social factor that will have a radically critical point of view on a social reality.” He described *Hotbed* as a topical propaganda play or dramatic feuilleton, and concluded that “the audience must actively participate in the performance. It must recognise the social conflict and take a stand. This stand represents the beginning of social action” (165–66).

Rožanc based his play on the article “Dileme našega kmetijstva” (The Dilemmas of Our Agriculture) by Jože Pučnik, a well-known dissident, who was imprisoned for the second time on 22 May, only one week before the premiere of *Hotbed*. This article was one of the pieces of incriminating evidence of his counterrevolutionary activity. However, it is interesting to see that Rožanc was somehow promoting the same ideas as the current Slovene government. These anticipated a transition from a totalitarian administration, in which everything was led and supervised from the centre (Communist Party leadership), towards a more democratic system of self-management, in which workers and citizens were supposed to manage the economy and state themselves. The character Stari (Old Man) is a conservative revolutionary that believes in total obedience and strictly follows the party’s instructions, although they do not yield the expected results at the agricultural cooperative he is running. Because he is obviously unable to make a righteous and prosperous society come true, he is replaced by his workers (the people), who will find their own solutions. The end of the play was intended to become a general debate on topical social issues – a forum in which both theatre and audience would merge into one and thus set an example of self-management in progress.

However, the performance never reached the end because its premiere was interrupted by workers from an agricultural cooperation from Grosuplje, who protested against the play. The demonstrations were organised by the director of the co-op, Jaka Perovšek, who was the brother of the Slovene minister of agriculture at that time, Janez Perovšek.

The interruption of the play resulted in a fierce polemic in the newspapers, later on in a political discussion in the Slovene parliament, and finally in a court decision to confiscate all existing copies of the play and to ban all further printing and public performance. In these polemics, one can detect a certain pattern in the negative responses to the play. They all perceive Rožanc and other members of his literary circle as people that do

not work, live on grants, and get up late in the morning. Such texts see the demonstrating workers as representatives of the majority of the Slovene population, which is hardworking and respects the achievements of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution. The same pattern was repeated in the parliament, where the member of parliament Janez Švajncer said that “lately an individual (e.g., Marjan Rožanc) is receiving public attention he doesn’t deserve. If there are individuals or groups that want to ruin what we’ve accomplished, we have to stop them” (Taufert 252). In a commentary on the verdict, even the judges stated that they “banned the play because they believe it represented a false and alarming description of our time and attacks institutional principles” (Taufert 253). Although the attack on *Hotbed* was probably among the fiercest attacks – if not actually the fiercest – on a theatre production in the former Yugoslavia, it had practically no consequences for the author. It was clearly a shock for all theatre professionals to see that the authorities had not given up their Stalinist methods completely. That is, they had not renounced repressive measures in regulating art, although Rožanc was permitted to go on publishing his work and was actually placed on probation for two years in 1967 because of his prose. The same goes for other authors of his literary circle. Although Stage 57 was closed soon after the turmoil surrounding *Hotbed*, its most prominent authors continued to write plays and these were also successfully staged at mainstream theatres. One of those authors was also Primož Kozak, who wrote another two plays after 1964 (*Kongres* and *Legenda o svetem Čhe*) and was quite successful with both of them in Slovenia and throughout Yugoslavia.

Historical Drama in The Social Context of the Former Yugoslavia

In order to understand the success of Slovene historical drama despite its social criticism, two questions must be answered. First, what enabled Slovene theatre to criticise the social system without serious consequences even when certain plays met strong disapproval from authorities? Second, what is the difference between *An Affair* and *Hotbed* that provoked such opposite reactions from the authorities and the audience?

As already noted, the attacks on *Hotbed* show a common pattern. They characterise artists – specifically, a group of critical artists that collaborated with Stage 57 – as an unproductive social group that lives off grants; namely, other people’s money. These arguments are made up of two successive operations, which were described by Slavoj Žižek in *Logika antisemitizma* (*The Logic of Anti-Semitism*, 46–52). The role of anti-Semitism was to cover

up the potential conflicts of the capitalist system, which was accomplished by the invention of a common enemy (i.e., the Jews). Capitalist society has changed social relations and production completely. The relationship between a feudal master and his subjects, which presupposed fatherly concern of the former and total subordination and respect of the latter, has been replaced by exploitation and profit. In the same way, the aim of production has changed from satisfying one's needs to accumulating capital.

However, to cover up this insensible and cruel nature of capitalism and to persuade the exploited masses to accept the current social reality, anti-Semitism came up with an ideological mystification. First, it divided capital into unproductive (financial) and productive capital (labour resources and products), and then personified them. The relation between productive capital and the workforce appeared as an inevitable relation of any productive process. Unproductive capital, however, has been represented as an intruder that collects the products of work without any right to do so. There is probably no need to add that productive capital was assigned to Germans and unproductive capital to Jews.

Žižek finds a similar ideological operation in Yugoslav self-management of the 1970s and 1980s. The Communist Party propagated the utopian unity of society, which would finally materialize when socialism fully established itself. This of course never happened, although in government and party discourse it remained constantly within reach. This perpetual belief in the possibility of a just social order was made possible by a similar operation to the one Žižek described with anti-Semitism. In order to cover up the inability to overcome social divisions, the Communist Party offered the “unproductive” social groups that live off other peoples' money to the public (i.e., the productive social group) as a surrogate object for its dissatisfaction.

The same pattern was used, as already shown, in the attack on *Hotbed*. However, it was only the play and the theatre (Stage 57) that suffered the consequences, and not the author. Furthermore, some socio-critical plays (e.g. *An Affair*) were very successful and were supported by the government itself.

This leads to the second question: What is the difference between *An Affair* and *Hotbed*? The most obvious one, of course, is the fact that Kozak's play is a historical drama whereas Rožanc's play is not. What does this mean for the ideological operation described? In fact, it changes everything. *An Affair*, being a historical play, can be interpreted in two different ways. The first interpretation leads to the conclusion that Kozak wished to present conflicts that happened in a certain period of time in Italy and can also be understood as general existentialist problems. The second interpretation, however, reveals the author's socio-critical point, which is that the Communist

Party failed to fulfil its promises; that it has to reconsider its path and put the personal freedom of an individual before its political agenda.

Sketching out the social role of Slovene drama, it can be observed that exactly this polyvalent nature of plays (e.g., *An Affair*) enabled the emergence of a balance between different tendencies and aims of the theatre, authorities, and general public. Theatre was able to provide the authorities with a common enemy that belonged to the realm of fiction. By displacing the action of plays to a remote time and place, it created the common enemy, a phantasm that did not have to be suppressed, and therefore the authorities practically did not have to use repressive measures. Theatrical social criticism supported governmental reforms and sustained the utopian conviction that the prophesied social unity could be achieved. At the same time, it created an image of a highly repressive totalitarian regime, which was easily identified with the other communist regimes in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Thus the Yugoslav audience was reconfirmed in its belief that it lived in a socialist country with the highest degree of personal freedom, which was even further reinforced by the fact that critical plays were staged at mainstream theatres and were recognised throughout Yugoslavia.

Although it might seem that the theatre was manipulated or used for the political purposes, this is actually far from the truth. I want to stress that the theatre, authorities, and general public entered this balance with quite opposite motives, and also believed they had gained more than they had lost. In reality, the authorities gained a common enemy and thus the broad support of public opinion for their reforms because they managed to address their supporters as well as their opposition. Slovene playwrights gained a chance to have their plays staged in mainstream theatres, to reach a broader audience, and to achieve great resonance because they represented the “cultural opposition”, a surrogate for political opposition. On the one hand, the general public supported the government and its reforms; on the other hand, it played a role in the opposition through participation as an audience for critical theatre works.

Historical Drama in the 1970s and 1980s

Further development of Slovene historical drama verifies this model of social relations between the factors mentioned above. I start with an analysis of the radio play *The Return of Cortes*, which was written in 1967 and shows a pattern regarding content and form similar to that in other historical plays by Andrej Hieng. In fact, Hieng was one of the few authors that carried on the genre in the 1970s. His plays are set even further away in time and space. *The Return of Cortes* is a part of a trilogy about the

Spanish slaughter of the indigenous inhabitants of South America in the 16th century and his other plays are set in an unspecified place in medieval Europe. Therefore interpretations that perceive these plays as commentaries on specific historical or general existentialist problems seem to have been even more emphasized.

According to its author, *The Return of Cortes* speaks “about men disinherited by time, men for whom the present in terms of actual, intensive living does not exist, and who are left only with their past or future” (Hieng 16). However, the story tells about Don Francisco, a former soldier of General Cortes, who is back in Spain and receives no reward for his slaughter of American Indians. Don Francisco, together with Cortes and some other comrades, was an idealist that spilled enormous amounts of blood in hopes of creating a new world for Christ. Unfortunately, as it turns out in the end, it was all for gold and the profit of others. All this violence cannot be justified, and it only leads to silent hatred of the survivors. Don Francisco does not want to accept this and he is waiting for Cortes to return, because he is sure he will gather his soldiers once again to go back to America and correct their mistakes. At the end of the play, Don Francisco and Cortes do meet face to face and in their conversation it becomes evident that all the violence and battles yielded little or no result, that the soldiers and even Cortes have not been rewarded for their sacrifices; even more, they are forgotten and represent a nuisance to the present elite.

CORTES: And would you swear I am the same man you knew fifteen years ago?

DON FRANCISCO: The same one!

CORTES: My poor boy! – I’m not. Now Cortes means very little or nothing. But this may not be so important. It may not be important that I too have suffered injustices. It may not be important that I’m now living at the end of the world I have conquered, where completely unknown new men crawl and interfere and rule. It may not be important that I meet people that look at me in astonishment and then whisper – he has been . . . and so on . . . All these things may not be important. . .

DON FRANCISCO: They are!

CORTES: I am indeed a has-been and am no longer: At least not the same man. (Hieng 36)

The Return of Cortes can also be interpreted as a presentation of the radical disillusionment with the Partisan movement and communist revolution that followed the Second World War. The slaughters of Indians can be easily connected to divisions during the war and killings of counterrevolutionaries after it. The injustices that Cortes and Don Francisco have to endure are similar to those of some prominent members of the Partisan movement that later became dissidents – Edvard Kocbek and Milovan

Đilas being the most obvious cases. The final recognition of the play – that there is no justice in this world, that the social utopia will never come true, and that all the violence was thus in vain – expresses the final disillusionment of the socialist project, which struck Hieng's generation after the ban of *Hotbed*. Because the liberal faction inside the Communist Party was losing its power and the conservative one was regaining its position – the final turn occurred in 1972, but it had begun several years before – ideological control in the theatre and arts became stricter. Consequently, such profound disillusionment with the socialist project could only have been expressed in the genre of historical drama, which displaced its action even further into a distant place and time. This verifies the hypothesis that in Slovene dramatic literature the genre of historical drama was a means for expressing social criticism without meeting opposition from authorities, especially because the historical dramas by Andrej Hieng – which were mainly written in the 1970s, a period of intense ideological pressure – displaced their action even further back in order to be successful. “*The Return of Cortes* received the first RTV prize in Ljubljana in 1967. During Week XII of the Yugoslav Radio Play at Ohrid in 1968, his *Return* was pronounced the best work as a whole by the official jury and the jury of critics, and the author was awarded first prize for his text” (Hieng 16).

The last play discussed in this paper is *The Great Brilliant Waltz* by Drago Jančar. It was staged in 1985 at the SNT in Ljubljana and Maribor (the biggest theatres in Slovenia) and also published the same year. It was quite popular, seen by 7,670 people in Ljubljana (the most popular domestic play of the year) and 1,930 in Maribor. After the death of the legendary leader of former Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in 1980, ideological control over the arts lessened its grip. It was almost impossible to ban a production because the Yugoslav republics started to compete among themselves in keeping up appearances of liberalism. It was thus very common that a theatre production or a book that had been banned in one part of the country was soon after published in another republic and became an absolute hit.

The Great Brilliant Waltz is particularly interesting for this paper because it actually shows the social mechanism behind the success of historical dramas revealed in these analyses, although its primary goal is to show that the current authorities are totalitarian and that they exercise their power by using repressive measures against marginalised groups that are being produced by the system itself. The play takes place in a mental institution called “Freedom Liberates” – an allusion to the Nazi slogan above the entrances to the concentration camps – where new people are brought in every Monday. Jančar presents the story of Simon Veber, a historian that is researching the life of the 19th-century Polish rebel Sewerin Drohojowski. Drohojowski was

a real person that Emil Korytko described in one of his letters during his stay in Slovenia. Veber starts to identify with his subject of research, but still manages to retain his own identity. However, when he enters the institution it soon becomes clear that he is not there to rid himself of his fixation, but to identify with Drohojowski completely; in other words, to become Drochojowski, a rebel that must be contained and kept under surveillance, which is the role of the psychiatric institution he is in. Veber refuses to play the game until the nurse Volodja takes control of the institution by force.

DOCTOR: I'm afraid of you, Volodja.

VOLODJA: Well, that's how it should be, Doctor, because from now on I will be running this Institute (125).

Because Drochojowski was injured and probably had to have his leg amputated, Volodja actually amputates Simon's leg and thus finally transforms him into Drohojowski.

DOCTOR: You are not Drohojowski. You are Simon, the historian, Simon Veber.

SIMON: Oh, no, no, no.

LJUBICA: Simon.

SIMON: Just let me dig myself out of this ditch. Let me get to Krakow. And then we can start again. We can start right here Rajko. Where's Rajko? He'll begin. He's a quiet man who knows how to laugh at tyranny in the face. Just let me get out of here onto the edge of the road...(127–28)

Although the primary message of this play is that current society is totalitarian, it is also interesting to see that Volodja, an emblematic character of the ruling elite, gains his power by forcing the potentially dissident intellectual Simon into a distant historical context. This is precisely what happened to Slovene dramatic literature; to be more precise, to the part of it that expressed its social criticism in the genre of historical drama.

Conclusion

Slovene historical drama between 1955 and 1990 played a specific social role. Because of its displacement of action, it stimulated different interpretations and thus became a means of severe social criticism on the one hand and a way to legitimise the domination of the communist elites on the other. This was possible because of a delicate balance between the theatre, the authorities, and the general public, in which every factor entered with different motivations and gained different, even opposite,

benefits. However, because these coexisted, historical dramas prospered throughout the entire period. This coexistence was made possible by the fact that historical dramas stimulated ambiguous interpretations and could serve different purposes.

When playwrights crossed this line and became too direct in their criticism, their plays usually faced severe consequences (the destiny of *Hotbed*), so one cannot say that Slovene drama after 1955 did not belong to the dissident literature of Eastern Europe. This research serves to deconstruct the commonly accepted notion, from the end of the 1980s, that writers and intellectuals played a decisive role in the downfall of communism and the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

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History of Opera and Historical Opera

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The main goal of this paper is to define the genre of historical opera, mainly in its relationship to literary-historical genres. It is clear that historical opera encompasses an essentially narrower field than the historical novel. As a criterion, the “historicity” of a theme does not prove to be sufficient because historical opera should display its characteristics on a formal musical level, as well as in its dramatic construction

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Although the title of this paper is a play on words, my goal is not to present the vast history of the historical opera genre in all of its forms – that is, from the post-antiquity “rebirth” of opera at the beginning of the 17th century to its contemporary form – but rather to define the genre of historical opera in its relationship to other literary-historical genres.

Literary history places Sir Walter Scott as a leading contributor to the development of the historical novel (Starikova, 25; Hladnik, *Temeljni* 2). Scott’s contribution is also important for the evolution of operas dealing with historical subject matter (Gerhard 1576). A spectrum of historical themes can also be found in operas written before the 19th century, but their presence in Baroque and Classical opera is relatively minimal in comparison to the more predominant range of themes found in these operatic types, ranging from mythological subjects to Biblical themes and love affairs. An extremely significant fact is that there is no discernable difference between operas dealing with historical or non-historical subjects as regards the opera’s structure and characteristics. It is for this reason that one cannot speak about historical opera as an autonomous genre.

It is with this in mind that the nature of historical opera should be carefully considered; the central question of this paper revolves around the designation of an opera as historical due to its libretto being drawn from historical sources. Musicology seldom speaks of a particular historical operatic genre; contemporary terminology prefers the term *grand opera*

in connection to the operatic climate of Paris in the 19th century (Bartlet). Indeed, the findings of literary history concur in that the historical novel displays these same characteristics: the plot unfolds in the historical past, some of the events are indeed motivated by true historical facts and historical distance (or, better, narrative distance) proves to be very significant (see Starikova; Hladnik, *Temeljni*; Matajč; Hladnik, *Slovenskež*). In addition to these main characteristics, scholars have also revived the central dilemma around the relationship between fact and fiction. Nadežda Starikova solves this problem in one decisive sentence: “[w]ithout facts the historical novel stops being historical, without fiction it stops being a novel” (Starikova 28). One possible interpretation of this finding is that historical genres do indeed encompass fiction, but only to the extent that the historical facts presented retain their accuracy.

Nonetheless, historical opera cannot be classified as a literary genre – it only comes into indirect contact with literature via the libretto. It is for this reason that the aforementioned characteristics of the historical novel can only be used to define the “historicity” of the chosen subject; otherwise it is clear that the particulars of historical opera should be sought in the distinct features of musical structure, operatic dramaturgy, and formal solutions. If our aim is to properly designate a genre, the musical criteria above all must be called into account.

Operas based on historical subjects became dominant in the 19th century, an event greatly linked to the admiration and popularity surrounding the novels of Sir Walter Scott. In fact, it becomes difficult to trace all the historical themes that appear in this period and the “fever” for historicity was partly connected to the central Romantic notion of character. A well-chosen historical event provided a specific historical flavour, a *couleur du temps* that distinguished one opera from others and fulfilled the demand for character. This was not, of course, a completely novel idea. Composers had long been making use of the particular local colouring of a site, its *couleur locale*. Composers and librettists often set their operas in remote sites (because particularly exotic “landscapes” were in demand) and displayed this local colour through the vehicles of musical exoticism and folklore. A novel location along with a corresponding national “flavour” thus guaranteed each subsequent opera its own unique character.

Detailed studies of *couleur locale* indicate that such procedures do not generally provide true individuality and distinctness, but instead merely the outer vestments of character. The problem of local colours is connected to their interchangeability; exoticism and folklore are discernable within their operatic contexts because of their musical construction, but it is often difficult to define their precise origins. A typical example of this

can be found in Borodin's unfinished opera *Prince Igor*. Borodin attempted to portray two opposing and belligerent musical parties – the Russians and the Polovtsians – but ultimately, folklore (achieved via Russian melodies) and exoticism (tied to this Turkic tribe) remained indistinguishable. This leads to the finding that composers tend to use a certain set of compositional techniques – that is, melismatic circulation around one tone, use of pentatonic modes, chromaticism, constant shifts from major to minor, pedal points, augmented second and fourth, and diminished sixth and ostinato (Mahling 53) – in an effort to indicate local colour, causing indeterminacy and interchangeability.

The same can also be claimed for various forms of historical colour, which are interchangeable not only among themselves but also with “local colour”. Such is the situation in Gaspare Spontini's opera *Fernand Cortez, ou La Conquête du Mexique*. **Here the composer attempts to picture the historical clash of two cultures by enlisting the help of the typical musical patterns of both nations.** Thus, the historical is presented as local, which only demonstrates the lack of distinction between the archaic and the exotic for 19th-century composers. Both are reduced to their shared characteristic of remoteness, which indeed runs parallel to the idea of character. Therefore, the “Romantic” equation is as follows: archaic equals exotic equals remote equals characteristic.

The issues linked to local and historical colour demand a search for the specifics of historical opera, not only in musical material but especially in dramaturgy. The latter is closely linked to the role that the chosen historical subject plays in the opera. Four specific categories can thus be distinguished: (1) the historical milieu merely represents the frame of a story that focuses on scenes from private life with melodramatic premises; (2) the historical subject offers increased external attractiveness through specific historical or local colour; (3) historical events are tightly wound into the opera's core, greatly affecting its dramatic plot; for example, in which a love affair is not only interwoven with political intrigue, but exerts a fundamental influence on political and historical events;¹ and finally (4) national operas, which are most often based on historical subjects, representing special cases.

Most 19th-century operas with historical subjects can be placed in the first and second categories (1, 2). Their chosen historical subject matter actually represents mere external features that enable the interweaving of historic and local colour; otherwise, the private story at the centre of the opera remains unconnected to the historical events surrounding it. Formally and dramatically, such operas continue to be obliged to the predominantly Italian type of melodrama, common to the central Italian op-

eratic composers of the time; Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi.² These operas are dominated by scenes from private life, with solo numbers as typical examples of the type of personal confession required.

Nonetheless, the reduced role of history in 19th-century operas was not only the result of a firm obligation to the traditional and very popular dramaturgy of melodrama – historicity also lost its strength due to the powerful censorship and specific demands of the libretto genre. The censors very precisely observed parallels that could potentially be established between isolated historical events and current political realities. It is for this reason that the librettists were very often forced to displace the original historical subject in favour of a more “neutral” milieu. Examples of this include Verdi’s grand operas *Les vêpres siciliennes* and *Un ballo in maschera*. In the first instance, the famous librettist Augustin Eugène Scribe was obliged to shift the original historic plot from the 16th-century Netherlands to 13th-century Sicily, and to change the title for the opera’s Italian performance (to *Giovanna de Guzman*) (Schreiber 621, 22). In the second instance, the creators were forced to change the plot originally based on the true story of the assassination of Swedish King Gustav III in 1792 to the murder of a British governor in Boston because the censors were unwilling to present royal murders on the stage (Schreiber 629). It remains symptomatic that the central aria of the main protagonist, Riccardo, does not resemble either English or Swedish national musical character, but is instead conceived of as a Neapolitan barcarole.

However the genre of the opera libretto should also be carefully considered. This special literary genre differs from usual dramatic text in at least three integral characteristics: simplification (the number of protagonists is reduced, difficult dialogue resumes at a slower pace, and all complicated connections and philosophic threads are cut loose), emphasis on situation (priority is on the visual, with the processional translated into pictures,) and a strong emphasis on emotions (with the protagonists being led by emotions above all; hence the reason for singing becoming increasingly plausible, as argumentation and discussion reduce the emotion) (Koebner 194, 95). It is possible to speak of a simultaneous deliterarization as well as a deviation from reality and, consequently, also from history.

Despite the mass application of historical subjects, only a few 19th-century operas feature a chosen historical subject as their central element (category 3). At the very least, the historical milieu plays precisely just as extensive a role in Meyerbeer’s grand operas *Les Huguenots* and *Le Prophète* and in Musorgsky’s *Boris Godunov* and his unfinished *Khovanshchina*. The special role of history in these operas affects changes at a dramaturgical level: the centres of these operas include mass scenes, implemented through vast

static pictures (*tableaux*) in which the functions of the visual and pantomimic are increased. Correspondingly, private actions and thus solo numbers become less important. More important than these external characteristics, which can mainly be linked to the most brilliant period of the Paris Opéra, is the fact that the historical subject gains the role of the central idea in such operas and is thus elevated from its former merely decorative function. In his description of French theatre in the 19th century, Heinrich Heine wrote that the Paris Opéra (i.e., historical opera) represented “the sufferings and happiness of all mankind” (Heine 335). Such a shift can be seen in Verdi’s historical opera *Don Carlos*, in which the centre of the idea the opera revolves around is represented by the quest for freedom – not only for Flanders, but for freedom as a universal conception and condition.

It becomes clear that in historical opera, as opposed to literary-historical genres, the relationship between fact and fiction loses importance, while the relations between the private and public (political) spheres, solo numbers, and mass scenes gain precedence, adding to the discrepancy of history as a decorative subject and history as a central idea.

However, another question remains: what happens when the idea of historical opera is applied to ideological goals? Such operas can be found within the genre of national opera (category 4), which was especially common after 1850. Almost all national operas (an interesting exception is Stanisław Moniuszko’s *Halka*) were conceived of as historical operas: librettists and composers chose important historical events crucial to the history of their nation or state as the subjects of their operas (such scenarios can be found in Mikhail Glinka’s *A Life for the Tsar*, in Ferenc Erkel’s *Hunyadi László* and *Bánk Bán*, and in Ivan Zajc’s *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*). In their formal construction, however, the national operas were dependent on foreign examples; the predominant pattern less resembled Meyerbeer’s historical grand opera than Verdi’s melodramatic type, in which the role of history was reduced to serve a mainly exotic or decorative function. This is why national operas in fact contain very few true national characteristics and elements. The national operas were modelled on foreign schemata and national characteristics were only added with the help of the well-known procedure of local colouring. We have already recognized that there is no serious difference between national musical character and exoticism, which is why national operas become freely interchangeable after their linguistic facade is exposed. Exoticism is transformed into national folklore, which becomes the merging of local and historical colour. Thus, at both a formal and dramatic level, Glinka’s opera *A Life for The Tsar* and Erkel’s *Bánk Bán* look very similar, and differ only in externally motivated local colour, both otherwise following the examples of bel canto.

National operas also present certain dilemmas regarding the potential of ideas of the chosen historical subject, which is almost always used to achieve the same goal: the awakening of national feelings. The potential of ideas of national opera is almost always thus reduced to placatory political and nationalist propaganda.

From this it is clear that, in comparison with literary-historical genres, especially the historical novel, the field of historical opera is substantially narrower. This can be confirmed by Hladnik's typology of the historical novel (Hladnik, *Temeljni* 190–191). With regard to the role of history in the novel, Hladnik distinguishes two main groups. The first mainly presents historical fact (I), which can be either picturesque or beautiful (I1) for its own sake; otherwise, it can establish a double relation with the present, yet be more pleasant than reality itself (this is a typical example of escapism, I1a) or it can be painted in “dark colours” (I1b). In the second group are works in which history establishes itself in an instrumental fashion to other periods (II). This relationship can further deal with common human problems (II1) and therefore point to the invariability of human life, or use the past as a metaphor (II2), which can have cognitive (II2a) or propagandistic functions (II2b).

Applying Hladnik's typology to the genre of historical opera, it turns out that only two of his types can be linked to this genre. Many composers of historical operas use historical subjects merely as a literary frame or decorative element. Such operas correspond to Hladnik's first type of historical novel (I), especially fitting with the genre that represents the exotic and picturesque for its own sake (I1). These operas cannot be linked to the independent genre of historical opera because their musical and dramatic structures do not differ from the prevailing melodramatic type. The same also holds true for national operas centred on important historical events. Again, they do not implement any particular innovation or characteristic specific to the genre, and the function of historicity is often reduced to mere propaganda (II2b). In all of these cases, history does not take over and function as an idea or centre of signification, which should be the crucial criterion for the opera wishing to be linked with the historical opera genre. The decisive transformation of the historical subject into the opera's central idea creates changes on a dramatic level (the decisive role of visuals, emphasis on mass scenes, public taking precedence over private) and a formal level (the dominance of choir numbers and vast static tableaux), and this is why the specific characteristic of historical opera can be found in these operas. According to Hladnik's typology, these operas gain this signifying potential when they present general human dilemmas (II1) or when the historical metaphor achieves cognitive dimensions (II2a). It is

only when history acquires a true potential for signification in opera that one can speak of an autonomous genre of historical opera.

On one hand, historical opera displays a great dependence on literature (the chosen subject is often derived from historical novels, and moreover the flood of operas dealing with historic subjects was launched by the popularity of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels). On the other hand, it should only be understood as a specific operatic genre via immanent musical-operatic definitions (e.g., specific dramaturgy, formal specialties). At first sight, such a relationship seems paradoxical but is also largely typical of the history of opera. This is to say that the genre of historical opera continues with a well-known operatic dilemma: *prima le parole, dopo la musica* or *prima la musica, dopo le parole*. The success and persistence of historical opera are attested to by its contemporary examples: Philip Glass's *Einstein on the Beach*, *Satyagraha*, and *Echnaton*, Adriana Hölszky's *Bremer Freiheit*, Siegfried Matthus's *Graf Mirabeau*, Gian Carlo Menotti's *Goya*, Krzysztof Penderecky's *Die Teufel von Loudon*, Wolfgang Rihm's *Jakob Lenz*, Alfred Schinttke's *Gesualdo*, Pavel Šivic's *Cortesova vrniten*, and, recently, Tan Dun's *The First Emperor*. The success of all of these operas is primarily connected with their specific positioning between literature and music.

NOTES

¹ A typical example of such a historical opera is Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, in which the relationship between Marina and Dmitry is crucial for reasons of political intrigue (the breakthrough of the Pretender to the throne) and thus brings more than mere melodramatic character.

² Examples of such operas are Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda* (the plot takes place in the 15th century); Donizetti's operas *Anna Bolena* (the story of the wife of King Henry VIII), *Maria Stuarda* (another story borrowed from the history of the English royals), *Lucia di Lammermoor* (taken after Scott's novel, set in Scotland at the end of the 16th century), and *Roberto Devereux* (set in England at the beginning of the 17th century); and Verdi's operas *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, *Giovanna d'Arco*, and *Attila*, as well as his works written for the Paris Opéra: *Les Vêpres siciliennes*, *Simone Boccanegra*, and *Un ballo in maschera*.

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