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Edited by

A.M. HALÁSZ

C O N T E N T S

L I T E R A T U R E

A. M. Halász

THE RECEPTION OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE IN HUNGARY BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Anglo-Hungarian literary relations date back to a comparatively long past and research in this field has always been one of the main lines of Anglistics in Hungary, mainly that of the English Department of the University of Debrecen, which did pioneer work in this field. It is remarkable, however, that the period between the two World Wars has not been examined yet from the point of view of literary relations between Hungary and Britain and America, respectively. This fact is the more peculiar as the period in question is exactly the age when for the first time in the history of Anglo-Hungarian literary relations English and American literatures appear on the Hungarian literary scene as the most influential among the foreign literatures which the Hungarian reading public had access to in the form of translations. It is self-evident that the translation of a literary work into the language of another literature does not mean its full reception; it is, as it were, the material precondition which sets the mechanism of reception into action. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile studying the translated literature of a certain period because the quantitative and qualitative factors of the translations published give a very instructive insight into the specific conditions of the receiving literature in

the period in question.

It is characteristic of the general state of translation literature in Hunagary that interest in foreign literatures is suddenly revived in the years following the First World War. This is proven by the sudden increase in the number of translations. While in 1913 translations of 106 belletristic works were published (a fifth of the whole output of belles-lettres), in 1928 this number triples and constitutes approximately one half of the total number of belletristic publications. As to the distribution of translations, it is remarkable that in the first half of the twenties works of French origin prevail, partly classics, partly works of acknowledged contemporary authors. In comparison with their number the quantity of translated trash literature is insignificant. The French predominance, however, did not last long. During the period 20-25 the number of belletristic works translated from English increases and reaches the number of the books translated from French; at the same time the works translated from German are small in number and of a comparatively low artistic level.

It is very instructive to note the qualitative distribution of the English translations, especially if compared with later developments. Between 1920-25 the bulk of the published translations consists of classics and of books for the young; even these are mainly new editions of translations published before the war. The explanation of this tendency can be found above all in business considerations: in the chaotic post-war years publishers were not willing to take

the risk of introducing new forein authors, instead they pressed the publication of well-known writers, who sold well.

For this reason the publication of classics in Hungarian seems to follow the traditional line begun in the past century and at the turn of the century, respectively. Old and new translations of Dickens' and Thackeray's novels, books by W. Scott, Shakespeare's dramas figure among the publications. It is interesting to note that the full reception of O. Wilde takes place just in these years. At that time Wilde passed more or less for a classic whose reception had begun before the war and was completed in the twenties. His collected works appeared between 1921-28 in 40 volumes.

The first manifestation of the new interest in American literature is the renascence of some American classics, such as E.A. Poe, who, after a long pause, appears again on the Hungarian book-market with two volumes of short stories. However, it was only *The Mystery of Marie Roget* and *The Narrative of A.G. Pym* that captured the attention of the Hungarian reading public and ran through two editions. The rest of his work had no success in Hungary, not even the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* in the translation of M. Babits, the leading Hungarian poet in the interwar period. The other American writer rediscovered in the first half of the twenties was Bret Harte. After the Hungarian publication of his book *The Luck of Roaring Camp* in 1875, which was a world-wide success, his name figures for the first time in 1922 with the short story *The Idyll of the Red Gulch.*

Beside these rediscoveries the first half of the twenties acquainted the Hungarian readers with Victorian authors, who had been inaccessible before. Browning's *Pippa Passes*, *The Egoist* by Meredith and *The Cloister and the Hearth* by Charles Read are translated and published, together with 19th century American fiction, such as Washington Irving's *Rip van Winkle* and Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*. These last named authors, however, never achieved the popularity of American evergreens such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Tom Sawyer* or Cooper's *Leather Stocking*, which by the beginning of the 20th century had become stock and type of the literature for the young.

When speaking of the first half of the twenties, mention should be made of the translations of poetry, the more so as with progressing time their appearance on the book market becomes more and more scarce, finally they disappear altogether. At that time there still were publishing houses which took the risk of bringing out poetry in translation with the cooperation of outstanding Hungarian poets, such as Lőrinc Szabó and Árpád Tóth, who translated Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner*, Milton's *Sonnets* and *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso* and *Lycidas*. The hundredth anniversary of Byron's death encouraged several publishers to publish his best-known works in Hungarian: *Childe Harold*, *Manfred*, *Beppo*, *Mazeppa*, *Cain*.

As to contemporary literature, there are some characteristic facts worth mentioning. First of all, it is remarkable that in the post-war years publishing in Hungary conciously endeavours to join in the stream of world literature

again and to make up for the lag caused by the war at an increased pace. For this reason it is mainly authors having gained recognition in their own countries in the years preceding the war who are introduced to the Hungarian public, authors, whose reception in Hungary had hardly begun or had been hindered by the outbreak of the war. The second remarkable point is that Hungarian translation literature mirrors the main lines of English and American fiction of the given period in a fairly capricious way. The leading novelists of the early 20th century, A. Bennett, H.G. Wells, J. Galsworthy and J. Conrad became known in Hungary without exception, but with a varying intensity, in a varying degree and from varying aspects.

As to Bennett, it is characteristic that whereas his works of literary rank were not translated at all, his novels written solely for entertainment purposes went through numerous editions, in cheap paperback form. Well's reception had begun comparatively early when *The Invisible Man* came out one year after the publication of the original, in 1898. A number of his science-fiction writings appeared before 1913 (*The War of the Worlds*, 1899;* *The Island of Doctor Moreau*, 1901; *The Time Machine*, 1909, etc.), but the series of publications continued as late as 1920 when *The First Man in the Moon* came out. However, from that time on Wells, who had been granted civic rights in Hungary as the world-famous author of fantastic thriller, continued his triumphal march with his novels concentrating on social issues, dealing with

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* The dates given indicate the dates of the Hungarian publications.

the problems of the man in the street, and coloured by a deep social sympathy. In fact, he had become so popular that even his utopian views on a unified world-state, on the endless development of science and technology, on the implementation of a just and rationalistic society by the 'brains trust' were eagerly consumed by Hungarian readers. Well's popularity is best demonstrated by the fact that the serial publications of his novels made up the bulk of translations from English between 1920-25, moreover, none of his novels stopped at the first printing and one of them, *The Passionate Friends* (1922) ran through four editions. Galsworthy began his career in Hungary with *The Country House* in 1914 and his works kept on being translated in the post-war period (*The Patrician*, 1923; *Dark Flower*, 1925; *The Silver Box*, 1925; *The Island Pharisees*, 1927), curiously enough with the exception of the very novel which established his world fame. The first part of *The Forsyte Saga*, *The Man of Property* had not been translated until 1932, the year of the Nobel Prize, marking at the same time Galsworthy's heyday in Hungary. It seems that in the 20s Galsworthy, the naturalist playwright and the subjective rebel against the English caste system was appreciated in Hungary more than the later Galsworthy, the wisely ironic chronicler and critic of the English upper-middle class.

In the case of Joseph Conrad, attempts were made to pay off the war debts and in the year of Conrad's death, in 1924, readers were presented with the first Hungarian translations, that of *The Arrow of Gold* and of *Almayer's Folly*. Since Conrad also belonged to the group of novelists who had

become known in their home countries before the war, the publication of his works fits into the general pattern of Hungarian reception, since, however, even in the English-speaking world he was not a widely read and popular novelist, the publication in Hungarian cannot be explained by a world-wide success as in the case of the other authors listed above. It seems more than probable that the attention of the Hungarian publishers was drawn to him by the commemorations following his death. The selection of the novels chosen for publication seems to support the assumption that the publishers aimed at a compromise between cultural mission and business considerations and for this reason the choice fell on the first and on one of the late Conrad novels, whose common characteristic may be found in the fact that they are among Conrad's comparatively easily accessible works, in which the adventurous surface story and the magic of the romantic requisites are predominant. It should be noted, however, that the cultural mission fulfilled by the Hungarian translation met at the same time the demand of a high-brow élite, which, although numerically not sufficient to necessitate more than one printing of the above novels, provided the basis of further publications in Hungarian, such as *The Outcast of the Islands*, (1926), *The Shadow Line*, (1927), *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, (1929).

The reception of American literature in the first two decades of the century was far more restricted than that of English literature. Attempts were made to introduce some of the novelists belonging to the naturalist school. Hamlin

Garland's *The Tyranny of the Dark* and two novels by Upton Sinclair--*The Jungle*, *Samuel the Seeker*--had been published in pre-war times (1907 and 1908), the introduction of Frank Norris, the initiator of sociological naturalism, however, took place as late as 1923 when the second part of his 'wheat-trilogy', *The Pit* was published. Although *The Pit* was a best-seller in its time, it struck no chord with the Hungarian reading public, whereas Norris' disciple, Jack London became an unequalled success. Between 1918-1925 more than 40 volumes were brought out by various publishing houses; some of the volumes, such as *The Call of the Wild* went through five editions between 1921-25. Jack London's popularity can be accounted for by the exotic setting and by the adventurous romanticism of his novels. If we line up, however, the English and American authors who became favourites with the Hungarian readers in the given period--Wells, London, Galsworthy and G.B. Shaw, whose plays were also brought out in serial publication partly before, partly after the war--and if we search for a common feature in their oeuvre, we can discover it in what we may call their anti-capitalistic attitude. This is certainly a very broad definition in that it comprises elements as disparate as the protest of the early Galsworthy against the English caste system, the Fabian socialism of Wells and Shaw and Jack London's muddled proletarian revolutionism, but it is undoubtedly relevant for the reason that it gives an astonishing picture of the cultural profile of the early inter-war period, namely, it shows that the very authors whose ideology was in sharp contrast

with the official right-wing policy dominant in inter-war Hungary appeared in the widest circulation. If we try to find an explanation for this striking phenomenon, it seems to be a fair assumption that in the new and unsettled historical situation following the war and the 1919 revolution the average reader was particularly responsive to the kind of literature which recorded the everyday facts of the age, the drab reality of industrial civilization, the dreary world of the little man with a naturalistic precision, but at the same time, offered a popular and easily accessible world interpretation, and, moreover, some attractive ideas for a way out of the actual mess, such as Wells' utopian conceptions, Shaw's Fabianism, Jack London's romantic prophecies on the 'naked, free and wild' natural life rooted in man's biological being. The Hungarian reader enjoyed reading books of this kind written in a colourful, enthralling tone and in an unsophisticated narrative style making no particular demands on the reader and requiring neither special literary literary training nor a refined taste for new and unusual devices of artistic expression.

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During the decade 1926-1936 slightly different trends appeared in the output of translation literature and its relationship to the original literatures. First of all, the number of publications of classics decreased and the range of assimilation of classic authors hardly widened. Among

the few classic works mention should be made of the appearance of Meredith's *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1930), E. Berrett-Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1936) and the first and very probably unique translation of Disraeli: *David Alroy* (1929). The stock of American classics brought out in Hungarian is expanded by Melville's *Moby Dick* (1929); the date coincides with the time of Melville's universal recognition in America and Europe.

From a quantitative aspect contemporary novels of some literary value dominate the book market; at the same time, there is a gradually increasing tendency towards the publishing of what the German terminology classifies as 'Trivialliteratur', i.e. light literature and the works of authors unrecorded in literary history, who must have been fashionable in their time but have been forgotten by now. As time goes on, best-sellers gain more and more ground at the expense of classical publications. This trend is particularly marked by 1931, when, in the wake of the general financial depression, the whole output in literary publication diminished a great deal. When circumstances returned to normal, by the mid-thirties a fairly stable proportion had become established, with best-sellers topping the list and the second place being usually shared in equal measure by classics and contemporary fiction, while now and then modern novels gain ascendency over classical works, This phenomenon can be accounted for by the fact that in the period of the inner stabilization of the Horthy-régime the enterprising spirit of the publishers began to rise again and they willingly ventured on a larger

scale introduction of modern English and American literature. In order to counterbalance the risk involved in following an untrodden path, the publishers brought out books which in their own countries as well as in other areas had already proved successful and, therefore, their success in Hungary could also be taken for granted. A distinctive feature of this new wave of reception was that this time it was not the great authors of yesterday but novelists contemporary in the strict sense of the word that gained admission to the Hungarian book market, almost simultaneously with their publication at home. Another remarkable fact is that from that time on public interest seems to focus on the American novel rather than on its English counterpart. The cause of this change of roles may be found in new trends developing within the original literatures themselves.

The English novel was just undergoing the last phase of its polarization with the break between the modern novel as represented by Joyce, V. Woolf, D.H. Lawrence, E.M. Forster and the traditional novel practised by reliable and talented second-rate authors becoming complete. Parallel with this there began a process of stratification within the reading public itself. The intellectual novel detached its narrow élite public and the rest split into smaller groups, each with its preference for the traditional novel, for light literature, for the detective story, etc. At the same time American literature was living through one of its richest periods producing a variety of literary schools and a number of outstanding novelists. American writers gained acceptance

and achieved popularity even in Britain, perhaps because they were able to fill the gap between the intellectual novel inaccessible to the average reader and the traditional novel lacking originality. Therefore, it is small wonder that from the second half of the 20s on, the American writers attracted the liveliest attention in Hungary too.

The English avant-garde writers--apart form occasional publications in periodicals--remained almost entirely unknown in Hungary for a fairly long time, which is comprehensible because none of these writers were easily 'exportable', first of all on the account of the linguistic difficulties of the translation. Not only could they not aspire to a wide ranging popularity but even professional criticism, which carried weight with the educated reader, received their experimental aspirations with some reservation. In consequence, no attempt has been made at their transplantation into Hungarian, with the sole exception of D.H. Lawrence, but, in all probability, the publishers undertook the venture to launch him not on account of the artistic value of his books but on account of the erotic aura surrounding his name, which promised good business. It is interesting to note that in Lawrence's case we are confonted with a phenomenon which used to be frequent in older times but was quite exceptional in the period in question, notably, that an English author was introduced in Hungary through German mediation, first with the *Plumed Serpent* (1929), then with *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1933. The German mediation seems to be supported by the curious fact that the Hungarian translation omitting some of

the 'sexiest'passages came out in the same year as the German version with a title which was a literal translation of the German title (*Lady Chatterley und ihr Liebhaber*) and not that of the original. It seems to be the case that it was not Hungarian prudery that forced the translator to produce a mutilated version of the original, but he simply translated the clipped German text. This also meant the end of Lawrence's reception until 1945; the '*succes de scandale*' responsible for his fame abroad did not suffice to create the basis even for a restricted popularity. It is not surprising, therefore, that only Babits and the élite literary publishing house, *Nyugat* deemed Lawrence worthy of appearing in a collection of English short stories *Mai angol dekameron* (Present Day English Dekameron, 1935) among the leading English authors.

The consequence of the polarization of the English novel and of the English reading public can also be traced in Hungarian translation literature. The readers of the English avant-garde--if there were any--were recruited from among those who were able to read their novels in the original. Within the wide masses of the readers dependent on Hungarian translations certain signs of differentiation can be observed. From among the traditional novelists, Galsworthy, the Nobel Prize winner of 1932, attracted the widest public. *The Forsyte Saga* and its sequels appear invariably on the publication lists from 1932 to 1943 in various editions. The cheap edition, launched by *Franklin* in 1932, circulated each volume at a price of P 2.50, which proves that *The Forsyte Saga* had become a popular and attractive novel easy to sell even to

people in narrow circumstances. Not less successful was Maugham's career. Strangely enough, *The Painted Veil* seems to be the first novel that drew the attention of the publishers to him, in spite of the fact that Maugham's name had been known since the early years of the century. *The Painted Veil*, however, got into print very quickly, in the very year of the publication of the original, in 1925 and went through several editions in a comparatively short time. The easy readability and the romance-like story did not fail to impress the readers and from that time on Maugham became a stock author of the Hungarian publishers, with many of his books brought out at low prices such as *The Moon and Sixpence* (1929), *Cakes and Ale* (1930), *the Narrow Corner* (1932) and the series of publications continued well into the 1940s.

It must have been the success of *The Forsyte Saga* that induced the publishing house *Singer & Wolfner* to bring out the new English saga novel, Hugh Walpole's *The Herries Chronicle* in eight volumes between 1932-34. But the bulky family history could not repeat the success of Galsworthy's novel, although Walpole was already a known author, through the translation of the first *Jeremy* novel in 1928, which had also been published in an edition for the young. *The Herries Chronicle* announced in advance with noisy propaganda did not find an echo similar to that of *The Forsyte Saga* among readers because the fresco-like presentation of the 200 year-span story did not offer the same illusion of true-to-lifeness as the minutely documented realistic sketch of the more or less familiar yesterday of the Forsytes.

The representatives of the English second line attracted no special attention, except for two successful historical novels by Robert Graves, *I, Claudius* (1935) and *Claudius the God (1936)*. R. Aldington's celebrated war novel, *All Men Are Enemies* (1933), Frank Swinnerton's *Nocturna* (1929), which had been included in the World Classics series launched by Oxford University Press and John Collier's *His Monkey's Wife* (1935), which passed for a special literary delicacy in its time, were not received as favourably as in Britain.

In fact, Galsworthy and Maugham were the only English novelists in this period who managed to create a more or less constant reading public of their own and if we try to find out what circles this reading public was recruited from then we must look for them among the educated readers who were all in favour of a quasi-serious subject-matter concerned with social issues, but did not go in for radical social criticism, let alone for its proletarian-centered variety. They preferred reading about the sophisticated world of the upper-middle-class and while attaching some importance to literary value, they wanted mostly to be pleasantly entertained. They were averse to sharp and offensive ways of posing problems, but all the more willing to delight in the polished and witty, ironically softened criticism offered by both Galsworthy and Maugham. This assumption seems to coincide with the fact that Evelyn Waugh's *A Handful of Dust* (1935), which also deals with the aristocratic 'bright young set' of the roaring twenties, passed almost entirely unnoticed and failed to achieve any popularity, probably on account of its black humour and

bitterness.

The American novelists appealed to a circle of readers even wider than that of Galsworthy and Maugham and, presumably, their public was different from that of the English writers. From the point of view of the reception, two questions are relevant: first, who were the writers selected for publication? And second, which of them came up to the expectations attached to their publication? The mass-invasion of the modern American novel into Hungary began, properly speaking, with S. Lewis' Pulitzer Prize in 1926. At this time professional publishers were already well-informed of the events of literary life abroad and they were after authors whose names were hallmarked by official and professional recognition, by literary awards or other tangible signs of success. In Lewis' case the sensation was heightened by his refusal of the Pulitzer Prize awarded for *Arrowsmith* and it seems to be more than probable that the clamour created around him prompted the publishers to introduce him to the Hungarian readers. It is remarkable, that although S. Lewis had been a widely known and much translated novelist not only in America but in a great number of European countries since the appearance of *Main Street* in 1920, his name never appeared on the Hungarian publication lists and the date of publication of his first novel coincides exactly with the year of the Pulitzer prize. The first translation, however, was not *Arrowsmith* but *Babbit*, which enabled Lewis to top the list of the most frequently translated and most frequently published novelists in Hungary. From that time on each year

brought a new Lewis novel (*Mantrap*, 1927; *Arrowsmith* in 15,000 copies between 1928-41; *Dodsworth* in 10,000 copies between 1929-37, which is an enormous number by Hungarian standards) and from 1930, the year of the Nobel Prize on, his earlier novels also began to be translated from *Our Mr. Wrenn* in 1931 to *It Can't Happen Here* in 1936.

Lewis' overwhelming success encouraged the import of several other American novelists of the naturalist school. Booth Tarkington was discovered 20 years after his appearance on the American scene, but instead of his realistic novels his early sentimental romances were published, such as *The Beautiful Lady* (1928). In the case of Upton Sinclair it is more a renascence than a discovery. His *Oil* (1928) overshadowed all his former success and the five editions of this novel were a mere introduction to his amazing popularity in the 40s, which will be dealt with later. It is remarkable that the way to Dreiser's reception was also paved by S. Lewis. *An American Tragedy* (1930) was selected for translation in the year of Lewis' Nobel Prize and its success provided the basis for the publication of several other novels by Dreiser, such as *Sister Carrie* (1933) and *Jennie Gerhardt* (1934), which appeared in Hungarian some 20-30 years after the original publications. Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* (four printings between 1933-1944) proved to be a best seller. All the books of the Nobel Prize-winning authoress were brought out in very cheap editions and met with the same warm reception as in other European countries, due to their exotic settings, and to the pathetically philanthropic tone prevailing in the

presentation of Chinese life.

All these successful enterprises encouraged the publishers to venture farther into the undisclosed but promising territories of American literature. Sherwood Anderson was translated with various success. *Dark Laughter* (1927) in spite of its being notorious as a 'sex-novel', was less successful than *Poor White* (1929), which went through two editions. *Tar* (1930) was Anderson's last appearance in the inter-war period. His novels concentrating on inner processes and penetrating in psychological or even pathopsychological depths did not appeal to the average reader. Dos Passos appeared with two novels on the publication list: *Manhattan Transfer* (1928)and *Forty-second Parallel* (1934). His reception, however, in spite of the timeliness of his message, was hindered by his unorthodox and not easily accessible narrative technique. Even expert literary criticism was baffled by Dos Passos' experiment: "... Innovation also has its frauds. The cinema style of the American Dos Passos for example is merely a bluff based on appearances"--this is the judgement of an outstanding Hungarian critic of the period. Hungarian readers seem to have coped with the construction of the New York novel--witness the second, cheap edition in 1931--but the USA trilogy proved to be indigestible and so the second part, *1919* did not find its way to Hungary until 1943 when a mutilated version was published. The Hungarian translation of his first outstanding novel, the antimilitaristic-pacifistic *Three Soldiers* appeared, for political reasons, not in Hungary but in Czechoslovakia in 1937. At the same time

two novels by Thornton Wilder followed radically different directions--*The Bridge of San Luis Ray* (1928) and *The Woman of Andros* (1930)--achieved a success sufficient for several printings, in spite of the fact that neither of them constituted easy reading; moreover, the former novel was also experimental in its own way. The success may have had various causes, first of all, the great fame of *The Bridge of San Luis Ray* and, in connection with it, the snobbery of certain layers of the reading public, who deemed it compulsory to decorate their book-shelves with novels passing for the last word in literature. (This assumption, however, seems to be contradicted by the remarkable failure of Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* (1935), the world's greatest best-seller before *Gone with the Wind*. It appears that besides international fame, Hungarian public taste also played a role in determining the fate of a book.) Another explanation may be offered by the exceptional quality of Wilder's novels amidst the dominance of the sociologically oriented naturalism with its aspiration to factual information and to plain communication. In Wilder's person the public met an author with exquisite formal and artistic culture, responding eagerly to the charm of the Catholic and Latin South and presenting a world totally different from the earth-bound soberness of the Yankee world.

Similar factors may have played a part in the publication of Willa Cather's historical novel *Death Comes to the Archbishop* (1935), which also expresses neo-romantic, Catholic nostalgia. The obvious course for the publishers would have

been to select for publication W. Cather's novels which had established her reputation in her home country. The 'lost generation' of the First World War remained unknown in inter-war Hungary, with the sole exception of Hemingway, who appeared at that time as the author of *A Farewell to Arms* (1934). His first novel, *The Sun Also Rises* was not published until 1937; the most significant of Hemingway's novels whose publication would have been above all indicated, *For Whom The Bell Tolls* was forbidden to the Hungarian readers for political reasons. As to the two translated novels, their theme had lost actuality by the time they reached Hungary and, therefore, did not attract special attention.

On the grounds of these facts, it seems to be obvious that on the whole, it was the American realists who achieved the widest range of reception, novelists who criticised American civilization, the standardized American way of life and exposed the social antagonisms hidden behind the facade of economic prosperity--authors who in this phase of their creative careers professed progressive leftist ideas, from S. Lewis' rather vague anticapitalist attitude to Upton Sinclair's syndicalism. Those of them who became favourites with the Hungarian reading public used the traditional naturalistic narrative methods in that they subordinated artistic considerations to precise, journalist-like documentation, to the straightforward formulation of their message. The reading public consuming their works must have been recruited from among people sympathizing with their ideas and wanting to satisfy their intellectual curiosity by reading serious books

concerned with topical problems of public interest. These books had to contain stories dealing with real problems, however, with problems of no indirect concern for the Hungarian reader. The drab and dreary reality of American life described by the late American naturalist represented a new and strange world for the Hungarian public, a world attractive on account of its exotic quality. The main attraction of the American novels in the years preceding World War Two was, however, that they did not confront the reader with the much more acutely painful and disturbing problems of contemporary life. In this way, reading American literature was a sort of escapism, which explains, at least partly, why Hungarian literature had been pushed into the background for a long while by the continually increasing number of foreign books, to the extent that by the end of the Horthy-era the quantity of works translated from foreign literatures had doubled, whereas that of Hungarian fiction hardly increased.

As to the reception of entertaining literature, the list of imported novels ranges over a varied scale. Among the writers we find best-selling authors of the literary kind, such as R. Hughes with his *High Wind in Jamaica* (1933), Nordhoff and Hall with *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1932), J. Hergesheimer with *The Party Dress* (1935); humourists like Erskine with *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* (1928), Linklater with *Juan in America* (1935), the Canadian Leacock and, last but not least, Wodehouse, whose success with *Leave it to Psmith* (1929) was so lasting that his books were translated and published serially up to the mid-forties. Other fashionable

light-weight novelists like Michael Arlen, Fanny Hurst, Edna Ferber aroused moderate interest; the American Aldrich, however, created the greatest sensation of the period in question with her sentimental pioneer novel *A Lantern in Her Hand* (1931), the favourite reading of the wide masses of women readers.

The only publication of high literary level were two anthologies published by *Nyugat* containing an excellent selection of contemporary English and American short stories with the title *Mai angol dekameron* (Present Day English Dekameron, 1935) and *Mai amerikai dekameron* (Present Day American Dekameron,1935). Each anthology featured outstanding authors of the period, such as Huxley, Joyce, Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, Edith Sitwell and Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway, respectively. After a long interval poetry in translation appeared on the scene again, with an anthology of English poets (*Angol Költők*, 1930) including prominent representatives of English poetry from Pope to O. Wilde and with an American anthology of verse with the title *Amerika uj lirája* (Modern American Poetry, 1935) in which poets of rank such as Aiken, Crane, Cummings, E. Dickinson, J.G. Fletcher, R. Frost, A. Lowell, M. Moore, A. MacLeish, E.A. Robinson, C. Sandburg appear together with poets of ephemeral fame.

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In the next and last phase of the period investigated, that from the years directly preceding the outbreak of the

war to the end of the Horthy-era, we witness some peculiar facts. While the German influence became stronger and stronger in the political arena, it did not extend to the area of literary relations at all, just the contrary: in 1937 the number of belletristic works translated from German diminished significantly in comparison with the output of the previous years and remained at the same low level throughout the years to come. At the same time the number of publications of English and American origin was constantly rising, paradoxically enough, especially from 1941, when Hungary officially declared war on America. Even the quantity of French books, whose presence on the Hungarian book-market had been negligible since the mid-twenties, showed a sudden rise from 1942 on. When examining the qualitative distribution of the publications translated from German, we find a predominance of German literature written by exiles followed by apolitical works from within the Reich. From among the representatives of the official 'Blut- und Bodenliteratur' only one or two appear on the publication lists. In this way the paradoxical situation emerged that whereas the literature of the German ally found hardly any access to Hungary, the penetration of the literatures of the 'hostile' Western countries was stronger than ever.

As to the influx of English and American literature, two interesting features stand out. Firstly the unprecedented wide ciculation of a small number of books, a phenomenon which made the last phase of the Horthy-era the age of best-sellers. It is difficult to explain why each year brought its sensa-

tional best-selling success, considering the fact that novelists as gifted as Cronin and Bromfield very probably had existed in the previous decades, too, without becoming super-best-selling authors. By way of explanation it might be assumed that advertising business in the American style with its fully developed armament as well as the film industry turning successful books immediately into motion pictures and popularizing them above national boundaries succeeded in manipulationg the taste of the easily swayed public to an extent unknown before. The question why just novelists of the Anglo-American world had become the superstars of the book market may find an answer on the one hand in the law of great numbers, or on the other hand in the famous American magazine culture, which had bred a special stock of experienced and gifted writers knowing all the tricks of the trade, that is the genuine raw material for a best-selling author. On the part of the reading public nothing is more comprehensible than the wish to escape from the worries of daily life overshadowed by the threat of the war in the thrilling and glamourous world offered by the best-sellers. The vogue of the best-seller was a world-wide phenomenon at that time anyway, so the Hungarian reading public joined a general trend when they bought and consumed novels by Cronin, M. Mitchell, Bromfield, Daphne du Maurier, Rachel Field in editions of 20,000 to 50,000 copies.

The second striking feature of the English-American book import is a remarkable rise in the literary level of the translated works, especially from 1940/41 to 1944. As to the

publishers, they seemed to adopt a new business policy inasmuch as, when satisfying the requirements of profits by the mass publication of best-sellers, at the same time they tried to serve cultural causes with the same determination and took great care to make sure that the English-American material getting access to Hungary be of artistic value and serve the education of the readers. This trend asserted itself in the selection both of classics and of modern authors. After a long period of stagnation the publication of classics received a new impetus: novels never published in Hungarian came out with the contribution of translators of note, actually outstanding Hungarian writers and scholars acting as interpreters of Anglo-American culture. Mention should be made first of all of *Wuthering Heights*, Thomas More's *Utopia* and Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables*. The same goes for classic works that had already been published in the past century but in not quite adequate and by that time obsolete translations, such as Ch. Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Dicken's *Hard Times*, Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, G.B. Shaw's *Mr Trefusis*, etc. Moreover, after a fairly long interval, poetic anthologies began to appear in an expert selection and in highly artistic translations: G. Halász: *Az angol irodalom kincseshâza* (1942) (The Treasury of English Literature), which, apart from poetry, comprises also dramatic and prose passages, and Cs.L. Szabó: *Három költő* (1942) (Three Poets, a Selection of Poems by Byron, Shelley and Keats).

In the field of modern English and American literature

a twofold tendency can be observed. On the one hand, attempts were made at catching up with recent developments and at introducing authors who, on the grounds of their rank attained in their home countries, would have deserved being translated long before, but to the rather business-oriented publishing policy of the preceding period the publication of their works did not appear to be a profitable business venture. In this way, after a delay of about fifteen years the Hungarian reader was given the opportunity to get acquainted with some of the great novelists of the 20s: V. Woolf (*The Waves*, 1937), E.M. Forster (*A Passage to India*, 1941) and Aldous Huxley, who became a favourite with the high-brow reading public. It was *Two or Three Graces* that set the process of reception going in 1935, after that each year brought a new Huxley sensation, from *Antic Hay* (1936) to *After Many a Summer* (1941). All of Huxley's novels ran through at least three to four editions and the series of publications continued even in 1944, the most critical year for Hungary in the history of World War Two. The leading English novelist of the 30s proved to be so attractive that the Hungarian reading public accustomed to traditional narrative technique eagerly swallowed even the chronological experiment of *Eyeless in Gaza* (1937). Huxley's success was not equalled by anybody else; nevertheless, it is certainly to the credit of the Hungarian publishers that they made the public acquainted with Rose Macaulay, considered to be the greatest English authoress after Virginia Woolf (*Keep Up Appearances*, 1937), with two short stories by David Garnett, which created quite a sensation in their time:

Lady into Fox and *The Man in the Zoo* (1937), with Rebecca West's *Thinking Reed* (1937) and *St Joan of Arc* (1937) by Victoria Sackville-West, an authoress belonging to the Bloomsbury group. On the other hand, attempts were made to revive novelists whose reception had begun in past decades but had come to a standstill due to lack of interest novelists like Erskine with *The Brief Hour of Francois Villon* (1940), J. Conrad with *The Mirror of the Sea* (1944), E. Waugh with *Black Mischief* (1942), W. Cather with the historical novel *Shadows on the Rock* and *Saphire and the Slave Girl* (1944), Hemingway with *The Sun Also Rises* (1937) and T. Wilder with *Heaven's My Destination* (1942). Apart from this, it should be noted that publishers showed a preference for the progressive American leftist novelists of earlier times and began to bring out their books again; Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* and *Jennie Gerhardt* (1942), Dos Passos' *1919* (1943), Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* (1942), S. Lewis' *The Trail of the Hawk* (1943) and most of all Upton Sinclair, and not only the Lanny Budd stories but a number of others, old and new alike, such as *Oil* (1944), *Mountain City* (1943), *Co-Op* (1944), *Little Steele* (1938), *The Flivverking* (1944), *The Wet Parade* (1943). This conspicuous leftist renascence seems to be rather incompatible with the official intellectual atmosphere in Hungary in the 40s when the German influence reached its peak and the policy of the country shifted to the extreme right.

The selection of literature contemporary in the strictest sense of the word was also determined by a high literary standard and a thorough knowledge of what was happening in

English and American literature. This is to be appreciated all the more as from the mid-thirties on it was more difficult to keep step with developments than before when the Anglo-American novel rested in the hands of some outstanding novelists. In the prose fiction of the period in question there was no well-defined line in predominance and there were no outstanding creative talents who could have passed for leading figures.

In relation to their reception in Hungary, the authors selected for translation can be divided into two categories. One group comprised writers whose publication did not involve any risks on the publishers' part because the novelists in question were authors known and respected all over the world, thus, their success abroad guaranteed, as it were, the profitability of their publication in Hungary, both in cultural and financial respects. For the same reason, their discovery for the Hungarian book market did not require any special flair or professional expertise. This holds true first of all of Huxley and next of Priestley. In his person, after a long time, a writer emerged who held the undivided attention of the British reading public. He was considered to be the voice of Great Britain and, therefore, he had fans everywhere in the civilised world and enjoyed great popularity in Hungary, too, among readers sympathizing with the British world. (*Good Companions*, 1937; *Faraway*, 1937; *Let the People Sing*, 1940). In 1940 Steinbeck continually appeared on the best-seller lists of the Hungarian publishing houses with *The Grapes of Wrath*, going through four editions between 1940-44.

The translation of his earlier novel *To A God Unknown*, encouraged by the success of *The Grapes of Wrath*, was far less popular, and *Of Mice and Men* (1943) in its turn, became a box-office success only in the dramatic version. The forties witnessed the publication of 'noble' best-sellers, such as Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* (1940), J. Hilton's *Lost Horizon* (1940) and *Goodbye, Mr Chips* (1940), Howard Spring, who made his name all of a sudden with *O Absalom* and *Fame is the Spur* (four to six printings between 1940-44), Hutchinson's *Testament* (1940) and C.B. Forester's *Captain Hornblower* (1941).

The second group of authors deserve our attention for the reason that their works were neither obvious export articles nor well-proven world successes, thus, although they were known in their home countries, their publication cannot be explained away by material considerations, instead, it definitely points to the fact that at that time the publication of foreign literatures was controlled by experts of great erudition. Among the authors belonging to this group mention should be made of Graham Greene, who had just appeared on the scene as a promising young talent and fulfilled the hopes attached to him with *The Power and the Glory* in 1940. The Hungarian translation appeared a year later, although Greene did not become known to the wide masses of the reading public until later, when the film version of *Gun For Sale* was released. Charles Morgan was not an author of international popular appeal either, nevertheless, three of his important novels--*The Fountain* (1937), *Sparkenbroke* (1943)

and *The Voyage* (1943)--were published.

From among the American authors making their appearance just about that time, O'Hara was introduced with his first novel *Appointment in Samarra*, although with a delay of four years, in 1938, Marjorie Rawling's novel *The Yearling*, awarded the Pulitzer Prize, was published almost simultaneously with the original, in 1941. Some other remarkable facts should also be recorded: John Marquand, who was known before only as the author of thrillers, emerges as a 'serious' author with *H.M. Pulham, Esq* (1944). As to Saroyan's publication, it would not deserve special attention in itself, considering that he ranked high in Europe, and that he was even regarded by many as the greatest living American novelist. What strikes one as incredible is that it was just his *Human Comedy* (1944) that gained access to Hungary, a novel conceived in the experience of the war and inspired by patriotic feelings, by an almost sentimental enthousiasm and love for the American fatherland--Hungary's enemy. In the same way, it is astonishing that at a time when Nazi racism and anti-communism were the key-words of the official ideology, a novel like *Native Son* (1941) should have appeared by Richard White, a dedicated communist at that time and the leading figure in the struggle against Negro racial discrimination.

If we try to find an explanation for these peculiar phenomena, we must look for possible causes in the economic and social changes taking place in the last phase of the Horthy-era. As is known, the publication of foreign literatures had always been the province of large share companies,

controlled by experienced businessmen with a thorough knowledge of the book market. As a consequence of the official swing to the extreme right in the country these businessmen were forced to leave their posts which were taken over by new, politically reliable cadres with good connections but with very little expertise. In this way, they had to rely to a great extent on the advice of experts--publishers' readers, translators,critics--in one word, of professional men of letters. At the same time and for the same political reasons, many personalities of the cultural and literary life had to earn their living as free-lancers. The only course open for them was to offer their services to the publishing houses where they could find occasional jobs as translators, readers or advisers. They may have had less business acumen than their predecessors but they were all the more intent on supplying the Hungarian public with reading material of artistic and intellectual value, the more so as, due to the restricting and oppressing influence of the government's cultural policy, the native literature of the 40s was hardly able to meet this demand.

The data investigated show that the reception of English and American literature reached its peak both in quantity and in quality exactly at a time when Hungary was at war with Great Britain and the USA, and when the official propaganda used every effort to discredit 'destructive' Western ideological and cultural influences. The widest reading public was attracted by authors who conveyed liberal, bourgeois-humanistic or even socialist ideas, i.e. trends totally opposed to

the official ideology forced on the country. These phenomena seem to demonstrate that throughout the 25 years of the Horthy régime there existed an intellectual opposition in the country, which consciously and consistently refused to let their tastes be manipulated by right wing cultural policy. Instead, they satisfied their intellectual demands by reading the literatures coming from the Western democracies representing for them a political, social and cultural ideal.

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István Janó

SOME ASPECTS OF THE JAPANESE IMPACT UPON ANGLO-SAXON CIVILIZATION

The magic East, which lived in the imagination of European people as the distant, misty origin of human life, the cradle of history, has had an enormous appeal for a large number of voyagers, artists, writers and poets through many centuries. This magic fascination, which has lasted ever since and which seems to be taking new directions in our time, is not easy to account for. One of the reasons might be sought in the increasing feeling of pessimism brought about by the belief, commonly held from the Middle Ages on, that mankind has been corrupted since the Fall of Man, and that this process of deterioration reached its climax in our century. The gradual decay of the old system of values based on Christian tradition resulted in a heated attempt to find something that could open new horizons and provide a new world-conception. It was inevitable that exotic, hitherto "unspoiled" civilizations should be discovered for new sources of inspiration. Many writers and poets, as well as philosophers have looked to the Orient to find new forms of expression which could give a further impetus to the development of Western culture. Although India and China, which belong to the greatest ancient civilizations of the world, with extraordinary achievements in philosophy and art - the culture

of the T'ang dynasty of China is often referred to as the finest in the world - have exerted a great influence on the West, it is Japan, a country with a comparatively shorter history of cultural traditions, which has been most influential upon Western civilization since about the second half of the last century. The basic aim of this essay is an attempt to give a brief survey of some of the most conspicuous forms of the Japanese influence upon Anglo-Saxon culture, covering literature, philosophy and fine arts as well.

I.

Although Marco Polo, the famous voyager of the Middle Ages, mentions the name of Japan in one of his travel accounts, the country was actually opened to the Western mind in 1549, when St. Francis of Xavier began his mission to convert the Japanese to Christianity. During the two years of his visit he discovered a remarkably clever and peculiarly civilized people who proved to be responsive to his missionary efforts. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of converts amounted to no less than 300,000, and, although St. Francis' careful work was undone by Japan' military leader, Toyotomi Hideyoshi - who banned Christianity in 1587 - it has remained influential until the present day. Subsequent to the historical achievement of St. Francis of Xavier, the curiosity of Europe was aroused by this Far Eastern country, and the lively interest, ranging form excited and often exaggerated enthusiasm to a mature comprehension of its traditions and adaptation of its literary forms, has not slackened since.

The first contact between Europe and Japan in the form of the Jesuits' visit and missionary work resulted in a revaluation of previous notions and misconceptions about Oriental civilizations. The missionaries' experiences led thinkers to draw comparisons between a restless, provincial and in many respects "barbarous" Europe, and a highly cultured, intelligent people with a stable family and social system, refined arts and crafts, and a responsiveness to and ready absorption of foreign cultural influences.

Although the country chose to isolate itself from the rest of the world until 1854, the Western image of Japan created by the Jesuits had not changed for about two and a half centuries, and may be described best with John Stalker's words: "Let not the Europeans any longer flatter themselves with the empty notions of having surpassed all the world... The glory of one country, Japan alone, has exceeded in beauty and magnificence all the pride of the Vatican and Pantheon heretofore."[1]

The rediscovery of Japan was brought about by Commodore Matthew Perry, who asked the military government of the country to end the policy of isolationism, a request which was eventually granted by the shogun Tokugawa Iesada in 1854. This event of historical importance, confirmed by the visit of a Japanese mission to America in 1860 to ratify the treaty initiated by Perry, produced a new wave of interest in Japan.

Nathaniel Hawthorne considered the Far Eastern country to be an excellent literary subject[2], and Walt Whitman, who realized the significance of the Orient, hailed the new meet-

ing between East and West in some of his poems[3]. In the meantime, Ernest Fenollosa, an American Orientalist, who spent some time in Japan, made an attempt "to condense my experiences of two hemispheres, and my study of their history".[4] In his poems he compared the contact between East and West to a twofold marriage, and he was among the first to borrow and adapt elements of Japanese poetry. Fenollosa's literary oeuvre has mainly lost its attraction for today's reader, but his ideas exerted a great influence on succeeding generations. Ezra Pound, himself an admirer of Fenollosa's art, has summed up his career best: "In America and Europe he cannot be looked upon as a mere searcher after exotics. His mind was constantly filled with parallels and comparisons between eastern and western art. To him the exotic was a means of fructification."[5]

England's attitude towards the newly discovered Far Eastern empire was at the beginning far from the enthusiasm of the American literary élite. The country, acknowledged to be the Glory of Europe, chose to treat Japan with unjust condescension, still uncertain whether to regard it as a civilized or a barbarous nation. This wavering between two extremes of evaluation is manifest in the works of Charles MacFarlane, a British author of minor importance in the second half of the nineteenth century. The obvious disparity of the American and British assessment of the Japanese culture might be explained by the fact that America, the meeting-ground of foreign tradition, looked in similar terms on Japan, a country which was destined not so much to create new ideas but to

adapt and re-create what other countries had to offer. England, on the other hand, starting from the self-sufficient position of a country that had given the greatest creative geniuses to the world, obviously set much less value on Japan.

This initial air of condescension on the part of Victorian England, however, yielded soon to an entirely different attitude towards the Oriental country, brought about by a sudden interest in Japanese art, painting, porcelain and lacquerware. The Japanese vogue was immediately reflected by the literature of the period, and several poets and writers, though failing to grasp the real significance of the Orient, considered Japan a suitable literary subject. Sir Edwin Arnold, a poet and writer of travel-sketches, proved to be highly responsive to Japanese culture. Besides showing a keen interest in Buddhism, he was well-read in Japanese poetry as well. He not only translated Japanese poems into English, but wrote some of his own in the tradition of the haiku and waka.[6] Rudyard Kipling also contributed to the popularization of the Far Eastern country in Western Europe. A traveller in Japan, he was fascinated by the refined culture and superb architecture of the country. His impressions are poured out in a number of enthusiastic travel-sketches and poems which reveal a keen artistic perception and a profound comprehension of the Oriental civilization.[7]

Besides poetry, Japan appears in Western fiction as well, offering interesting, often exotic material for various novelists,most of whom had travelled in Japan. One of the

most typical forms of fiction using Japanese subject matter is the travel book, produced by the hundreds in this period. They are based mostly on tales, legends or events in Japanese history, conveying an atmosphere of misty exoticism and providing a distorted, romantic image of the country. In general "Japan was described as on the one hand, fairy-like, quaint, childish, toy-like, polite and honest, while on the other hand it was called proud, militaristic, cruel, revengeful, and treacherous."[8]

The other type of fiction is the so-called story of desertion, the finest example of which is, undoubtedly, *Madame Butterfly*, a novel written by John Luther Long. The novel was brought to stage by David Belasco, the famous American playwright, and made into a splendid and uniquely popular opera by Giacomo Puccini. The play, though more closely resembling melodrama than tragedy with the usual irresponsible, rakish naval officer and the disappointed Japanese woman, is a remarkable literary accomplishment because, by setting two moral codes against each other, it attempts to give a more authentic, more realistic picture of Japan.

The first remarkable synthesis of Japanese and Western cultural traditions in fiction was realized by Lafcadio Hearn, an American writer, who died as a Japanese citizen in Tokyo. - Despite the fact that he had no more than a moderate knowledge of the Japanese laguage - a handicap which he managed to overcome by an extremely sensitive personality akin to the spirit of the Japanese people and an intuitive understanding for their cultural traditions - he belongs to the few who are

said to have really understood nineteenth-century Japan. His restless spirit and insatiable desire to explore new territories of learning led him to discover the literature, the art and the religion of his adopted country. The tone of his numerous prose works published during his stay in Japan between 1894 and 1904 varies from a conscious exoticization of "that land of lovely mists, gentle and sensitive if rather bloodless people, cherry blossoms, and amiable legends"[9] to an attempt to give an objective picture of the country, free from romanticism and traditional misconceptions. Hearn's literary merit lies in the artistic adaptation of foreign material in Western literature and a highly original style, superbly adequate to the subject matter, as well as in his "keeping Japan alive in the minds of writers till the day when a new generation of poets might turn to Japan for one of its sources of ideas and verifications of artistic principle."[10]

The example of these and many other writers and poets clearly shows that by the turn of the century Western interest in Japan was becoming more serious than it had previously been - in recognition of the fact that Japan was well on the way to turning from a distant, exotic country into a world-power.

These unparalleled phenomena of manifold cultural interrelationships, however, were by no means confined to England and America. France also began to develop an intelligent interest in Oriental cultures, which originally took the shape of a vogue for Chinese fine arts. Chinese exoticism,

however, took new directions in 1856 when Félix Bracquemond discovered several masterworks of the Japanese painter, Hokusai, in the possession of the printer Delâtre. Bracquemond's interest was soon shared by some of the most prominent French artists and critics, and attention came to be focussed upon Japanese art, with special regard to a unique genre, the wood-block print. - The art of woodcut, *hanga* or *ukiyoe* in Japanese, which was introduced to Japan from China in the wake of Buddhism,became the national mode of engraving and was carried to marvellous perfection. For a long period the woodcut was confined to religious images, but the themes of the later prints show a great variety from scenes taken from the everyday life of common people and portraits of actors, beautiful ladies and courtesans to landscapes and illustrations to contemporary literary works. The greatest masters of the genre include Kitagawa Utamaro, whose prints depicting the sensuous beauty of women ("bijinga") are incomparable; Katsushika Hokusai, who found new inspiration in landscape; and Andoo Hiroshige, who rendered every aspect of his country with extraordinary intimacy and freshness. - The masterpieces of Japanese block-print art did not only attain an unexpected popularity in France, but, more importantly, they came to serve as models of technique and theoretical basis for French Impressionism. Manet, Monet, Degas, Van Gogh, Gauguin and Duret regarded the Japanese as "the first and finest Impressionists." They found in the peculiarly stylized features, the unusual combination of colours, and the uncommon perspectives of the block-prints a liberation from academic formal-

ism, declaring that Japanese paintings defied the rigid, traditional rules of composition and achieved a beauty of the artist's own devising. Although contemporary Japanese critics condemned the art of the block-prints for lacking a universal meaning in depicting human activities at a static, transitory moment, Japanese ukiyoe, paradoxically enough, remained one of the most fertile sources of French Impressionism.

It was James Whistler, an American who studied in France and spent most of his life in England, who succeeded in combining the Oriental interests of all the three countries. Being a member of the group of the French Impressionists, he began as a collector of Japanese and Chinese works of art, block-prints, lacquerware, etc. The first paintings of his own in the Japanese tradition are imitations of his models both in composition and subject matter, but he gradually managed to absorb the stylistic elements of the block-prints, and he developed a refined, mature style entirely of his own. When one of his critics wrote: "Never have the elements of Eastern and Western art been so originally united as in these poems of night and space"[11], he also alluded to one of the most remarkable characteristics of Impressionism: its quality to unite fine arts, music and literature. This interpenetration of arts and poetry accounts for the fact that the significance of Whistler's ideas was recognized not only by painters, but poets and writers as well.

II.

The turn of the century witnessed a poetic revival launched by a new generation of experimenters. The origins of the movement are to be sought in France where the interest of the Impressionists in Japanese art was taken up by promiient figures of literature Literary-minded travellers in Japan familiarized the French public with translations and imitations of Japanese poetry. It was Paul-Louis Couchoud, who is said to have started the vogue of haiku in French poetry,[12] and his practice was soon followed by a number of poets who integrated elements of the Japanese verse in their own poetry. In 1910 Marcel Revon published his famous *Anthologie de La Littérature Japonaise*, and La Nouvelle Revue Francaise contributed to the popularization of this Japanese poetic form by holding haiku competitions. - A brief survey of the history of the genre may perhaps throw light on why haiku assumed such a central position in the new poetic movement.

Haiku is the shortest form of Japanese verse, consisting of seventeen syllables - with lines of five, seven, and five syllables - , and is alternately called "hokku" or "haikai". It is a complete poem by itself, and in its short compass it can give a picture and mood, and in the hands of a master considerably more. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the form was used for light, inconsequential verse and word play, but it came into its own with Matsuo Bashoo. His haiku are simple and direct pictures of actual scenes, from which one gets not only the effect of a temporary mood,

but, also a true and noble spirit. According to his rules, each haiku must state or imply one of the seasons, a fact which suggests the high degree to which the form is devoted to natural subjects and natural images. These images are conventional symbols derived from the eclectic heritage of Taoism, Buddhism, and Shintoism (e.g. cuckoo as the symbol of loneliness, fir-tree as that of longevity and peace, etc). The greatest masters Bashoo, Taniguchi Buson, Kobayashi Issa, and Masaoka Shiki had a large share in elaborating and further refining this unique form of poetry, whose most outstanding features are: condensation, definite imagery, simple, unembellished style and lack of didacticism.

This poetic technique was accepted as a literary model by a group of young poets, including F.S. Flint, J. Campbell, F. Farr, E. Storer and F.W. Tancred, who founded the so-called Poets' Club in 1908. Their leader was T.E. Hulme, the prominent English philosopher and literary theoretician, who is said to have started the new poetic movement. His literary principles were influenced by two sources of inspiration: Japanese and modern French symbolist poetry. The clever combination of these two sources with free verse produced a highly original and revolutionary poetic style, the Imagist technique. The "New Poetry" propounded by Hulme broke with Romanticism, and was characterized by accuracy and conciseness, lack of sentamentality and precise imagery usually taken from nature. - In the next two years after its formation, new figures like Richard Aldington, Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher became associated with the Poets' Club, whose leadership

was gradually taken over from Hulme by the greatest of Imagists, Ezra Pound.

Richard Aldington was first impressed by the block-prints of two great masters, Hokusai and Utamaro, then by Arthur Waley's superb translations of Japanese prose and poetry. Amy Lowell had perhaps the most profound knowledge of Japanese art and culture among the members of the Poets' Club. Her brother, who stayed in Japan for a long time, sent home books on the country and Oriental works of art. "All through my childhood", Amy Lowell wrote, "these books and works of art made Japan so vivid to my imagination that I cannot realize that I have never been there."[13] She preserved her fondness for Japanese art all her life, and her childhood impressions were translated into the language of poetry. Some of her poems evoke the vague, floating atmosphere of the block-prints, others show her familiarity with haiku and other forms of Japanese poetry. - John Gould Fletcher's interest in Japan started with his reading translations of Japanese art and philosophy. Influenced by Fenollosa's works on Japanese art and its philosophical background, he became familiar with the mystic doctrines of Zen Buddhism. His first poems bear the heavy burden of his philosophical studies, but the later ones show a shift from art and philosophy to haiku. What he admires most in this poetic form is "the universalized emotion derived from a natural fact" and "the expression of the emotion in the fewest possible terms".[14] Fletcher grasped the essence of haiku perhaps better than the other members of the Poets' Club, but his efforts to put his theories into

practice produced a poetry disappointing on the whole; either because of his conventional use of exotic materials and settings or his juxtaposition of unnatural, dissonant images. - Besides poetry, he wrote some remarkable essays in which he emphasized the importance of haiku for the whole Imagist movement: "I should say that the influence of haiku on the Imagists was much more considerable than almost anyone has suspected. It helped them make their poems concise, full of direct feeling of nature.[15]

An objective assessment of the literary merit of the Imagists seems today to require a concentration not so much on their poetic accomplishment itself, but rather on their formulation of new aesthetic principles and their preoccupation with opening new fields for modern poetry by absorbing and assimilating various literary influences from Japanese poetry to French Impressionism and Symbolism. Their experiments prove that Oriental poetic techniques can serve as a basis for establishing modern poetic theory and practice.

This, in some respects ambivalent evaluation certainly does not hold true of Ezra Pound, whose literary oeuvre itself, though still the subject of heated controversies, seems to belong to the greatest achievements twentieth-century poetry can boast of. Graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, he began his literary career in Europe. His first volume of poetry, *A lume spento*, was published in Venice in 1908. The next year he established himself in London and remained there until 1920. He met W.B. Yeats and their acquaintance soon matured into sincere friendship. His second

he must so use them that their symbolic function does not obtrude; so that a sense, and the poetic quality of the passage, is not lost to those who do not understand the symbol as such, to whom, for instance, a hawk is a hawk.[16] This conception contributed to formulate the central thesis of Pound's poetry: the image, which is "an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time... It is the presentation of such an image which gives that sudden sense of liberation; that sense of freedom from time and space limits; that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art."[17]

The definition of image led Pound to take a step further, and, influenced by Fenollosa's *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry*, he set himself the nearly impossible task of exploring the mysterious world of the ideograms, i.e., the Sino-Japanese written characters. It is a well-known fact that both languages employ the Chinese characters, which, in some respects, may be regarded as abstract representations of ideas. As a matter of fact, in prehistoric times, a number of characters were direct representations of things or ideas. But even in those times, most of the characters were already symbols of particular words in the language, which means that they were not strictly ideographs (symbols of ideas), but logographs (symbols of words). According to traditional classification, the characters are grouped into five categories: 1. pictographs, 2. simple ideographs, 3. compound ideographs, 4. phonetic loans (i.e. borrowing the use of a homonymous word for writing something

volume of verse, *Personnae*, which appeared in 1909, made him one of the leading figures in the avant-garde circles of London.

The decisive period in his artistic development are the years from 1912 to 1914, when he became associated with the Poets' Club, and, under the influence of Fenollosa's works, began to devote himself to the study of Japanese poetry. In an article published in *The Fortnightly*, 1914, he revealed how Japanese haiku influenced him in forming his literary principles:

"Three years ago (1911) in Paris I got out of a 'metro' train at La Concorde, and saw suddenly a beautiful face and another and another... And that evening... I found suddenly the expression... not in speech, but in sudden splotches of colour. It was just that - a 'pattern' or hardly a pattern if by pattern you mean something with a repeat in it. But it was a word, the beginning for me of a new language in colour." This experience inspired one of his best-known verses in the tradition of haiku.

> "The apparition of these faces in a crowd;
> Petals on a wet, black bough."

Pound adapted the haiku technique in a number of short poems and in the *Cantos* as well, and used it to form his literary theory, laying the emphasis - similarly to the poetic principles of the members of the Poets' Club - on compactness and natural imagery. "I believe that the proper and perfect symbol is the natural object, that if a man uses 'symbols'

which cannot be pictured or indicated graphically), and 5. phonetic compounds, consisting of a phonetic, giving the sound, and a signific, giving the meaning.

Starting from the ideogrammic quality of the characters, Pound conceived them as a new kind of metaphor, whose poetic message depended upon the interrelationship of the component elements. Based on this conception, he invented the so-called super-pository technique, adapted in his own poems in the haiku tradition, which involved the use of a vivid passage, as in the case of a compound ideogram.[18] - At present it is extremely difficult to decide whether Pound's conception was correct or not. Scientists tend to agree that pictorial representation or composition according to logical rules are characteristic for only a limited number of characters. The majority of them is made up by phonetic compounds, yet in an undefinable number of cases there is an obscure, mainly inextricable relation between signific and phonetic. This fact indicates that Pound might have been mistaken in his conception. His error was soon found out and ridiculed by his critics, who are liable to obscure the fact that even through a misconception, Pound succeeded in extending his Imagistic technique and opening new territories for modern poetry by combining Western and Oriental literary traditions.

Around the turn of the century, Western interest turned to the traditional forms of Japanese drama, among which *nōh* was to become one of the most fertile sources of inspiration for Western dramatists. - Nōh, one of the classical Japanese dramatic forms, was created by Kan'ami and Seami Motokiyo

toward the end of the fourteenth century. Originally a fashionable entertainment of the aristocracy, it became later open to common people, too, exerting a great influence upon the puppet theatre and the kabuki, which appeared as late as the end of the sixteenth century. In the traditional nōh repertoire we find pieces praising the prosperity of the country, plays dealing with warriors and historical characters among others. Some are set in an entirely real world; in others supernatural beings, ghosts, demons, appear. The plays are written in poetic form, using a variety of complex literary devices. The actors are all male, singers and dancers at the same time, wearing fourteenth-century costumes and in some roles masks, too. The performance is usually accompanied by two or three drummers and flutist. A chorus of six or more men chants the narrative parts of the play and sometimes the words of the characters. Originally nōh was played in outdoor theatres, but now most stages are constructed within a building. The stage walls are decorated with stylized pine trees and painted bamboo designs. Scenery is usually also stylized, merely suggesting the objects.

Despite the fact that nōh is the most complex of Japanese literary forms, it exerted a great influence on many poets and playwrights of the 20th century, above all on Ezra Pound and William Butler Yeats. They studied nōh together,[19] and they both found its basic techniques well in keeping with their own conceptions.

Pound's profound interest in the genre led him to translate and re-create some of the best pieces, and to inte-

grate its artistic principles into his poetic theory. Since the ideal noh play is organized around a single natural image and has the same high degree and excellence of technique as haiku, it provided him with a method to construct larger poems. The best-known example of the use of this technique are the *Cantos*, which abound in references to noh dramas, Japanese art and religion, whose logical coherence is achieved by the unifying power of certain archetypal images in the manner of noh.

The other poet, greatly indebted to the technique of noh, W.B. Yeats, belongs with Pound to the greatest figures of twentieth-century literature. His poetry is also a unique synthesis of the most diverse literary influences: the Anglo-Irish cultural heritage, English Aestheticism, French Impressionism and Symbolism. Attracted to mystical metaphysics and occultism, theosophy and astrology from his early youth, he soon found his way to the séances of Madame Blavatsky, and to the sophisticated Rhymers' Club, where he is said to have been introduced to Japanese art by Arthur Symons. Ezra Pound, whom he met in 1911, urged him to acquire a thorough knowledge of Japanese literature. After a period of studying noh, references to Japan began to appear in his poetry. To him, the far-away country meant the model of an ideal, aristocratic culture with its refined arts and exquisite literature.[20] Noh itself provided him with new techniques for his dramatic art, and the element of dance intensified the symbolism of his non-dramatic poetry as well. In 1916 Yeats published *Certain Noble Plays of Japan*, a volume containing

ences in a higher synthesis.

The literary and artistic activity of Pound and Yeats created an unexpected vogue for Japanese poetry and art among young American intellectuals. Besides a large number of minor figures, whose disappointingly low-quality poetry enjoyed, nevertheless, a tremendous popularity, some of the greatest poets of twentieth-century American literature, Conrad Aiken, William Carlos Williams, Archibald MacLeish, tried their hands at composing poems in the haiku tradition. Wallace Stevens, whose poetry is often alleged to be obscure and esoteric, also professed a keen interest in Oriental art as well as Japanese and Chinese poetry. His poetry abound in referencs to block-prints and porcelain, Chinese sages and Japanese courtesans. Many of his poems which derive their titles from series of block-prints like Hiroshige's *Eight Views of Oomi*, Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*, or Utamaro's *Seasons*, evokes the spirit of haiku, both in technique and subject matter.

Another generation of poets decided to break with the traditionally exoticizing literary treatment of Japan, and aimed at achieving an entirely different way of approach. Edmund Blunden, the spiritual leader of this group, recorded his experiences in Japan in poems and essays which convey an unbiased, realistic image of the country, free from both supercilious condescension and unjustified enthusiasm. - For the most part, William Plomer's poetry shows the same realistic intent in trying to grasp the true essence of the Japanese spirit. Although he generally treats the country with sympathetic love, more often than not he makes satirical and

critical comments on the dark sides of the Japanese way of life. - The poetry of William Empson, one of the most important figures of New Criticism, who was lecturing on English literature at the Tokyo Bunrika University from 1931 to 1934, and the National University of Peking from 1937 to 1939, gives evidence of the same tendency towards realism.

Japan seems to have lost the position of an enticing, magic land of wonders it held through so many centuries. The two World Wars, improved transportation and communication, as well a growing familiarity with its culture and language, were to put an end to exoticism, enabling a new evaluation of the country on different, in many respects more sound and mature grounds.

III.

So far we have dwelt upon the revolutionary changes which took place in Western literature, poetry, drama and - to a lesser degree - fiction, stimulated at least in part by certain forms of Japanese art and literature, but our picture would not be complete without taking a brief look at the philosophical backgrounds of these changes. Various twentieth-century literary movements, like symbolism and decadence in poetry, went hand in hand with the spread of irrational philosophies, mysticism and occultism. All these trends shared a common distrust towards objective reality which hides the realm of essence form the eyes of the observer. Artists and philosophers supposed the existence of a mystical, transcendental reality, superimposed on the objective world, which

cannot be grasped through ordinary, discursive thinking. The only contact possible is through a higher faculty of mind: intuition.

The Oriental philophies centering on the mystic experience, like Taoism, Buddhism or Hinduism, have been discovered and intensively studied by intellectual circles in the Western world since about the beginning of the twentieth century. The newest discoveries in psychology, backed up by the experiments with narcotics, made possible a detailed description and interpretation of the mystic experience. Recent analyses have pointed out that the Enlightenment of the Oriental philosophies is in many respects similar to the ecstatic experiences Christian saints are supposed to have undergone. This apparent similarity was immediately made most of by missionaries of Oriental religions, who made an attempt to present their beliefs in an acceptable form by adapting them to Christian ideology. Meanwhile, Western psychologists and philosophers whole-heartedly devoted themselves to the analysis of the mystic experience, in order to define its relationship to religion, magia and arts.

From the philosophico-religious heritage of Japan it is Zen which has stirred the greatest excitement and commotion since about the Second World War. Zen, one of the most peculiar schools among Oriental religions, claims to transmit the essence or spirit of Buddhism. Its motto is:

> "A special transmission outside the Scriptures,
> No dependence on letters or words,
> Pointing directly at the Mind in every one of us,

And seeing into one's Nature, whereby one attains Buddhahood."

Strictly speaking, Zen is neither religion for philosophy nor psychology, but rather a way or a view of life, which is legendarily thought to have originated in India and to have been taken to China by Bodhidharma early in the sixth century A.D. Its actual origin was in China beginning with Huineng, regarded as the sixth patriarch. The principles of Zen became known to the Japanese in the Nara period (A.D. 710-784), but as an independent sect it is said to be dated from about 1200, when the monk Eisai founded Rinzai, one of the three existing Zen sects in Japan.

The word itself means "meditation" or "a concentrated state of consciousness", but Zen cannot be described aptly as the Meditation School, since the days of the Zen monk are not spent in idle passivity, but in hard work. Zen lays the emphasis not on meditation, but on intuition; which brings about a sudden awakening of a higher spiritual power, enabling a direct contact with reality itself. On the other hand, Zen does not reject meditation and concentration as unnecessary exercises of the mind. What it claims is that they are not inherently or automatically conducive to the attainment of the desired state of Enlightenment. - Satori, which corresponds to the Supreme Enlightenment, experienced by Guatama, is a realm beyond intellect, a mystic experience, whose contents cannot be described or interpreted in logical terms. Suzuki D.T., the best-known popularizer and explicator of Zen in the Western world, made an attempt to circumscribe it by

four original dramas, with an introduction in which he pointed out what noh had to offer to Western theatre. "In fact with the help of those plays... I have invented a form of drama, distinguished, indirect and symbolic... an aristocratic form... Therefore it is natural that I go to Asia for a stage-convention, for a chorus that has no part in the action and perhaps for those movements of the body copied from the Japanese marionette shows of the fourteenth century."[20]

In 1921 he wrote *Four Plays for Dancers*, which were designed for drawing-room performances against purely symbolic backgrounds, with masked actors employing a set of conventionalized movements and dances to the accompaniment of a drum, a gong, and a zither. The action of the plays is short, condensed, "reduced to its simplest form, or at any rate to as simple a form as it can be brought to without losing the sense of its place in the world. The characters that are involved in it are freed from everything that is not part of the action... The action is an energy, an eddy of life purified from everything but itself."[21]

Yeats' purpose was not to imitate a foreign literary source or to escape into an idealized dreamland, but to create a new form of poetic theatre based on ancient Irish legends and stories, in perfect harmony with the general objectives of the Irish Dramatic Movement. He found that noh fulfilled his ideal and dream of what the modern drama might be, and although his interest in Japanese literature shows but one side of his complex personality, it sheds light on how he managed to combine the most heterogenious cultural influ-

enumerating its most characteristic features. According to his definition, satori is an irrational, intuitive and transcendental experience, not to be attained by intellection. It centres around a supernatural kind of knowledge which is universal, absolute and untransmissible. Although it is sometimes spoken of in negativistic terms, satori implies a positive attitude towards the existing world, and goes hand in hand with a feeling of infinite calmness and peace, spiritual elevation and expansion. In this state of mind, the ego is temporarily suspended and it undergoes a perfect coalescence with the objective world. Contradictions disappear and oppositions merge into a higher synthesis of absolute Oneness.

As Alan W. Watts, the famous American expert on Zen, points out, awakening is compatible with the affairs of everyday life; it is a spontaneous, natural phenomenon which may occur at any moment. Consequently, there can be no question of approaching it by stages, by the slow process of accumulation of knowledge. It must be realized in a single flash of insight.[22] This, however, does not mean that there are no devices which can be useful in producing awakening. Since satori lies beyond the world of ordinary logic, one has to break down the bars of the intellect, to get rid of the fetters of common everyday thinking. For this purpose, Zen masters have developed a unique method of instruction: the *kooan*. Generally speaking, the kooan is a nonsensical type of dialogue, with no logical coherence whatever between the questions and answers; or an irrational, puzzling dilemma, like the famous one concerning the sound of one hand clapping.

- This method may occasionally combine with an unexpected gesture of the part of the master. A laugh, an oath, a shout, a shaking, even a blow may do what years of meditation may have failed to achieve.

Between the two World Wars Zen Buddhism was known to and analyzed by only a limited number of intellectuals in the United States, but after the Second World War, especially in the 50s and 60s, it enjoyed a tremendous popularity among the members of the so-called Beat Generation, who believed that the basic tenets of Zen were compatible with their instinctive dissatisfaction with conformist American society. Starting from the allegedly benevolent effects of satori on the development of human personality, their ideologists claimed that Zen may contribute to establishing a new world based on universal peace and love. In this way, Zen became no less than the symbol of an unorganized and basically harmless protest against the world of the hated "squares". The Beatniks, however, failed to grasp the essence of Zen, an ancient way of life whose ends can achieved only through a lifetime of rigorous spiritual discipline. They have cried aloud the name of Zen and picked out random slogans from its ideology, but they have never been willing to adopt its ascetic discipline. What they seemed to have found most attractive in Zen was anti-conformism, spontaneity and the holiness of the personal impulse. By gradual detachment from the world, the Zen disciple finally achieves the point where, pure and holy in spirit, his self will be absorbed into the All. To the Beatniks, however, Zen purification has been reduced to a self-hypnosis attained by alcohol, drugs, sex and rock music.

Although experiments with narcotics have proved that psychedelic hallucinations may produce a state of mind not unlike the satori of Zen Buddhism, they not only lack the wholesome effect of developing one's personality and strengthening one's will-power, but they gradually bring about a complete disintegration of the ego. Missionaries of Zen and experts on Oriental philosophies most emphatically turned against this attenuated, shallow form of Zen Buddhism. They pointed out that for all its spontaneity, satori is an experience belonging to the world of psyche and has no politico-social implications whatever.

On this level, Beat Zen is no more than sensation-seeking which is the mark of an over-comfortable and disillusioned generation. Yet we are wrong to conclude that the role of Zen in Western culture was rather negative on the whole. The preoccupation with the mystic experience as propagated by Zen Buddhism led to a more mature understanding of Oriental philosophies and cultures in general, and the study of the various methods of meditation and concentration produced invaluable discoveries in the sphere of psychology as well.

IV.

Our investigations could by no means cover all aspects of the influence Japanese culture has had on the West. At the same time, we should bear in mind that the history of Western-Japanese cultural relations is far from having come to an end in our days. On the contrary, old techniques are being constantly revived and new forms appear day by day. -

At present, the Western world is witnessing the spread of the most diverse tendencies, from the growing popularity of the unique art of flower-arranging ("ikebana") to that of newly-discovered forms of Japanese theatre (kabuki and bunraku), as well as the Japanese film. According to an article published in the literary magazine *Bungei Shunjuu*,[23] haiku poetry continues to be cultivated in the United States, where contests are held annually and several periodicals (Modern Haiku, Dragonfly) are being published. The newest and most vigorous literary trend, however, seems to be the renaissance of fiction using Japanese material as subject matter. In his tremedously popular novel *Shoogun*, which was widely acclaimed in Japanese literary circles,[24] James Clavell gives an authentic picture of Japan in the early Tokugawa period. Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* has also become a bestseller.

All these phenomena show the consistent appeal of Japan to the West, from the activity of the Portuguese missionaries to the present day. Considering the four centuries of cultural relations between Japan and the West, two main types of influences can be observed: one of ideas and imaginative materials (Japanese tales, legends, historical events), and one of literary forms (haiku, noh, kabuki, etc). As a matter of fact, it was the second source which proved to be more fructifying, at least in our century, whereas the first one produced mainly exotic literature of little importance. The explanation for this situation seems to be that the twentieth century, a basically experimental era in literature, has been

searching for new forms of expression rather than "ready-made" materials handed down from past centuries. Having developed adaptable and stimulating literary forms, it was Japan of the Oriental civilizations which was able to meet this need of twentieth-century Western literature. Thus, it is no exaggeration to conclude that Japan, by refreshing and enriching European and American culture, has become the medium of Western understanding of the Orient.

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Éva Pagonyi

SOME FEATURES OF ART AND SOCIETY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

(Social Conditions and Taste) In 19th century England a new artistic trend blossomed out when both in the field of art and society signs of crisis began to show. It is beyond doubt that in the field of art, the Royal Academy hindered development, and it may be due to this impeding element that at the beginning of the century for several decades no art with orimal style or art with independent ideas came into being. It was the lack of a homogeneous style that established the "Victorian Style", the main characteristic of which was ecclecticism. It is well know that at the turn of the century the Royal Academy as an institution had its importance; as the stronghold of official art it was the stronghold of society in which aristocracy strove to keep its long-enjoyed hegemony. But the power and wealth, which at the dawn of Queen Victoria's reign was in the possession of the aristocracy, was soon divided. Industrialization, capitalist venture, development of science and trade all contributed to the shaping of people's financial situations. The Victorian age was influenced by two adverse classes of society: the conservative landowning aristocracy and the town-dwelling, tending towards democracy.

At the beginning of Victorian age the ideal way of

life was still set by the aristocracy, their way of living was an example that everybody endeavoured to imitate. Their estates were like small villages, where from the houses of the numerous servants to various workshops, barns and granaries everything could be found within the grounds. Country houses were spacious; there were houses which boasted more than two sitting rooms, and rooms prepared in case the Queen wanted to spend a night there. They sent their sons abroad to give them the best possible education and to encourage them to get acquainted with art on the Continent. Their mansions, usually built in Tudor style, were furnished with exquisite taste and decorated with articles of artistic value. After a long stay abroad, they often returned home with pictures of old masters and very valuable and tasteful Roman and Greek antiques. With Queen Victoria's accession to the throne the court became fashionable and a less amusing and colourful life than had prevailed during the Regency was followed. It was puritan principles which determined and directed general taste and conduct.

The bankers, whose significance grew considerably during the war with Napoleon, did not endanger the social structure of conservative England. They strove to obtain estates: they realized that it was only as landowners that they could have a chance of becoming significant in political and social life. The possession of an estate meant not only power but a seat in Parliament. In this way, this layer of society formed a connection with English feudalism without direct amalgamation. Their wealth rendered it possible for them to

enjoy all that art could offer. Their interest in art increased, but unfortunately their taste was not discerning enough to enable them to differentiate between artistic and inartistic value. The bankers showed a great desire for building new houses. Not infrequently they pulled down beautiful old mansions and had huge new houses built, conforming to fashion, in neo-gothic style. The development of the railway came to their help, as cheap building material could easily be transported from distant parts of the country to the building sites. Materials from which old builders used to create their splendid houses were replaced by cheap brick and slate. The once so beautiful, tasteful, simply furnished interiors ceased to exist, the new taste preferred overcrowding the rooms with furniture. The walls of the rooms were often covered with gaudy wallpaper; on the windows, instead of simple and smooth curtains, heavy, gathered and pleated curtains were hung. Various knick-knacks, porcelain figurines and paper-maché articles covered every smooth surface, every corner.

The middle classes, developing from craftsmen, tended to get closer to the upper classes and at the same time they had a contempt for those they considered their inferiors. Not having any tradition of their own, they kept their eyes on the aristocracy and imitated them. They had their houses altered and new wings added to them just as the aristocrats did. The alterations were carried out mainly during the period of Gothic revival, and often turrets and crenellations decorated the houses. Their homes were tastelessly furnished

with furniture made of mahogany, the heaviest being the table, dominating the room, covered with all kinds of trinkets and souvenirs. The uncomfortable sitting-room furniture was likewise large and heavily padded with horsehair. House furnishings can be said to have been showy rather than comfortable and serviceable. Later on, when people of the middle classes began to show an interest in art, lacking any basic knowledge, they tried to satisfy their pretensions unmethodically. They had the desire to make their environment more beautiful, but their lack of taste both in spiritual and artistic spheres made it very difficult. They also showed interest in literature, but the books they liked to read were exclusively romantic; young ladies belonging to the middle classes were keenly interested in love as their main duty, and probably wish, was to get married. They showed so much indifference for books dealing with the problems of their own age as for art-publications or pictures.

Though acceleration of industrialization began in the 18th century, proletarization became stronger only in the first decades in the 19th century. People who had come to towns in the hope of better life settled down in houses which had seen better days, or else they went to live in tenement houses where each family, however large, had but one room. The money the family earned was enough only to meet the cost of basic necessities and they could not dream of improving their home and environment. The majority of English society regarded the struggle of the workers without interest. Most people set their conscience at rest saying that workers had

a better life in the slums than peasants used to have in the country in bygone days. There were some economist and thinkers (Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and Newman) who were disturbed by the inhuman conditions of the workers. They clearly saw that the beauty and the pleasures of life were unattainable for the proletarians, and they sharply attacked Victorian complacency and the atmosphere of the age that refused either to notice or to alleviate the misery of the working classes. Besides economists and philosophers, artists also attacked the classes in power, as they were convinced that most problems of the age arose from the joyless work of the working class.

(Artistic Interpretation in the 19th Century) The most characteristic feature of English art in the 19th century lay in the unresolvable antagonism between official art - represented by the Royal Academy - and progressive art. As a matter of fact, it was not that a conservative Institutuion was at variance with a new authority taking shape, but pseudo-art came into collision with genuine art. The most striking feature of Victorian art was that architecture ceased to play the leading part it had in previous centuries. Architecture not only used to decide styles of the periods, but it had amalgamated the various branches of the fine arts and at the same time ensured "Lebensraum" for them. The loosening of the bonds between architecture and the fine arts had the result that instead of one prevailing style various trends appeared. There were periods in the history of art when creative force became weaker and it produced affected, eclectic works. The

19th century is unique in that for many decades it was unable to produce art with independent style and theory. Artists who enjoyed the support of the Royal Academy usually designed buildings or painted pictures that had not much to do with real art. General taste in art was on a rather low level when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Art was considered to be a kind of illustration of high quality, thus it cannot be wondered at that the academic Landseer's popularity did not diminish during the reign of the Queen. Lady Eastlake, the art critic, said that the artistic taste of the public "had scarcely advanced beyond the lowest step of aesthetic ladder." (James Lover 1954, 190)

The Royal Academy which determined art in the Victorian age was established by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the 18th century. His theories, which at the time of the establishment of the Academy were progressive, proved harmful a century later. The members of the Academy not only interpreted Reynold's theories in the wrong way, they also applied them incorrectly. They followed Reynold's teaching slavishly, completely forgetting that Reynolds, their great predecessor, wanted only to inspire his young followers with his theories, he wanted them to learn from the works of the Masters, and at the same time to rely on their own inventions and experiences. He said: "Invention is one of the great marks of genius." (G.H. Fleming 1969, 8.) Then he continued: "If we consult experience, we shall find, that it is being conversant with the inventions of others that we learn to invent." (Fleming 1967, 8.)

Reynolds reminded his followers: "Guard against an implicit submission to the authority of any one master, however excellent" (Fleming 1967, 8). He himself did not support "An entire dependence upon former masters, for I do not desire that you should get others to do your business, or thinking for you" (Fleming 1967, 8). From the quotations it becomes quite clear that Reynold's most important theory - besides the theory of drawing from the old Masters - was that Nature is "the fountain from which all excellencies originally flow" (Fleming 1967, 9).

For artists in the Victorian age Pheidias and Raphael were the two most significant exemplary paragons. The main idea of their theories was that a precise tracing should dominate in each picture, and each composition should have an *S* or triangular form. Of all colours brown was preferred, and they seemed to forget that in each picture painted by an old Italian master, the dark brown tint was caused either by bad quality of the paint or by the age of the picture. It is easy to comprehend how poor an opinion they had of painters who refused to follow the ideas they deemed advisable. An unknown critic spoke of the Royal Academy disapprovingly: "Their only standards are old pictures: hence if the new production fails to remind them of something they have seen before, it is instantly condemned" (Fleming 1967, 9).

In the first decades of the century, the Royal Academy was most influential. The annual exhibition it organized was a social event. The members of the Academy had a very unfair advantage over other artists. Before the official opening

they had three days to find the most suitable positions for their works in the rooms where the exhibition was to take place while all other painters were given only a few hours. The members were allowed to exhibit eight pictures without being criticized by the Committee of the Academy while the works of non-members were seriously criticized.

It was Constable who already in 1821 realized the harmful influence of the Academy: "In thirty years English art will have ceased to exist" (Fleming 1967, 11). In 1840 it seemed that Constable's prophecy would come true. The Royal Academy, which had been governing art for more than a century, came to a standstill. In 1848 Rossetti wrote: "The British School of painting... had sunk far below what it had been in the days of Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Blake, and its ordinary average had come to be something for which commonplace is a laudatory term." (Fleming 1967, 11).

In the 1840s critics backing the Academy attacked Turner with all their force. Up to this time he was considered to be one of the artists belonging to the old school and accordingly was highly spoken of, but when he joined the non-conformists, a most rude and sharp attack was launched against him. His work "Sun of Venice", exhibited in 1843, was condemned and critics stated with regret that Turner's genius was on the decline.

The Royal Academy could not overcome its difficulties and it had reached its nadir in 1843, as it was unable to change its ideas and refused to modify its methods of teaching. The conservatism represented by the Academy which had

away by a small group of young artists who tried to find new ways and means. From this moment of the Royal Academy and its followers were openly criticized and attacked by the young artists. In 1848 Holman Hunt wrote: "There was such lack of courage and individualism in the painting of these things, and so slavish an adherence to one technical formula, that it would not have been difficult to believe that half the pictures were the work of a single competent and laborious hand" (Fleming 1967, 11).

There were other art schools in the country that worked in concert with the Academy as the official stronghold of art and they did not take any notice of the danger hovering over them. They continued their rather formal method of teaching. Holman Hunt, who together with Rossetti and Millais attended the art school of the Royal Academy, angrily said of the work at school: "For all such systems I had neither time nor inclination" (Fleming 1967, 114). Both his friends shared his view. The soul-killing reproduction made them upset and unhappy and not infrequently they made their dissatisfaction known either by their behaviour or simply by not attending the classes.

The Royal Academy sensed that its hegemony was in danger and fought to keep it. They realized that a new artistic movement would not only diminish but would completely put an end to their authority. In the 1840s the Academy entirely lost its leadership in the field of English art. Aesthetes and artists saw that the representatives of official art were unable to satisfy the demands of society for art and culture.

One of the greatest achievements of the trend was that it wanted to get rid of the historical style and of every other style represented by the Academy. As a matter of fact the new reform endeavours, which started around the middle of the century, raised people interested in art from the malaise of social inertia, and beyond that they wished to bring harmony and beauty into the lives of simple people. Representatives of the new reform endeavours wanted to teach people to enjoy art and they did not refrain from being their teachers. The most important characteristic feature of the new trend was that it aspired to draw together various artistic branches and forms. The connection between fine arts and literature could easily be established because most members of the movement showed talent in more than one field. Synthesis of the arts and artistic forms proved easy as every work of art was considered to be a decorative element. The new trend diminished the significance of the individual work and consequently the function of works of art produced collectively gained in significance.

The small group of the Pre-Raphaelites with all their youthful idealism stood against the power and retracting force of the Royal Academy. Pre-Raphaelitism both with its work and theory served as a bridge between the Romantics of the first third of the century and Symbolism which flourished at the end of the century. They yearned for the Middle Ages when art still had a definite social function. William Gaunt aptly characterizes them in the preface of his book: "This is the true story of kinghts of Art, born out of their time, who

went a-roaming through the specious but prosaic reign of Queen Victoria, like so many Don Quixotes, their heads as full of meiaeval chivalry, of strange questing and of high endeavour. They fought but railway trains, the steel clad, snorting dragons of the industrial age. Fair damozels they sought, rescuing them from thraldom of the commonplace, laying at their feet impossible devotions and placing them on such mystic pinnacles of idealism as ever did a Sir Bedivere of a Sir Lancelot - converting a young woman from southeast London into Beatrice beloved of the poet Dante and the daughter of an Oxford livery stable-keeper onto a sad, remote Quinevere of Arthurian romance" (William Gaunt 1966, Preface).

(Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites) Dante Gabriel Rossetti who can be considered to have been the initiator of the new artistic movement was born in England in 1828 but was brought up in an atmosphere his Italian-born father created within the family circle. From his early childhood he showed a great liking for drawing. Nobody was surprised when he began to attend the famous Sass's art school in 1841. The institution which was a sort of preparatory school of the Royal Academy School had a good name and Rossetti went there until 1845. His initial enthusiam very soon flagged. He had a passion for art, his only desire was to devote his energy and ambition to it but he hated and detested the spirit and method of the school. Rossetti attended other art schools in the hope they might meet his expectations but he was disappointed with all of them.

In the period of his life when with all his energy he

should have tried to learn the technique of his chosen profession, he preferred spending his time reading and writing poetry. The impatient young man turned to poetry believing he would make headway quicker with it than with painting. But he was mistaken. Fortune and fame did not come as quickly as he had expected, and Rossetti often became depressed. Impatience, poverty, and his craving for independence impelled him to give up his studies. This decision of his was fostered by Leigh Hunt's practical advice. Rossetti sent him some of his poems with the request that he should read them and criticize them. The reply to his letter, which decided his career for a time, soon arrived: "I guess that you are altogether not so musical as pictorial ... I know not what sort of painter you are. If you paint as well as you write you may be a rich man" (F. Madox Hueffer 1902).

The year 1848 brought a decisive change in Rossetti's life. It was in this year that he eventually gave up poetry and decided to choose painting as his profession. He turned for help to Madox Brown, whom he admired with the admiration of a beginner. He wrote him a letter asking him to accept him as his student. But Rossetti was disappointed again in his expectations as he came to recognize in his teacher's methods those of the Royal Academy. Before long he got tired of copying his master's pictures and he was determined to find another teacher. He chose Holman Hunt whom he already knew from the art school run by the Academy. It was in 1848 that, at an exhibition Hunt's picture, the "Eve of St. Agnes", made such a great impression on Rossetti that the next day he

called on him in his studio. Though Hunt refused to be Rossetti's teacher, he offered him his help and support. Hunt urged him to set to work and in this way Rossetti, with his friend's guidance began to work on his first picture, "The Girlhood of Mary Virgin".

After the day's work the two friends often spent long hours together in Hunt's studio talking and discussing contemporary art and its influence. Hunt shared Rossetti's opinion, he likewise condemned contemporary art, its conventionalism, fastidiousness and lifeless style. Rossetti became enthusiastic about Hunt's ideas and joined him in preaching the necessity of turning to Nature which they considered an indispensible basis of modern art. The rebellious Rossetti and Hunt soon made friends with J.E. Millais and from that moment on the three of them spent most of their free time together. Not infrequently they were lost in artistic albums admiring beautiful engravings and reproductions of works of Old Masters. Once they happened to turn the leaves of an album in which there were the engravings of Carlo Lasimio of the famous frescoes of Campo Santo. They were quite enthralled by the beauty of the frescoes and for long hours they kept admiring the engravings representing the creation of man, his expulsion from Paradise and other episodes from the Bible. They immediately sensed the artist's sincerity, his belief in his work and the sincere intention of his approach to the subject. The unconventionality of the pictures fascinated them, too. According to some critics it is possible that these engravings played a great part in the formation of the "Broth-

erhood".

Besides the frescoes of Campo Santo the German Pre-Raphaelites under the leadership of Peter Cornelius and Frederick Overbeck made a deep impression on Rossetti and his friends. In 1811 the German Pre-Raphaelites settled down in Rome where they led a very simple life like that of monks, and devoted themselves to art. Their idea was to bring back the spirit of the Middle Ages into the modern world. They shunned contemporary fashion and taste professing that contemporary art was empty and meaningless. They likewise despised the Reanissance, its art and artists, as well as its followers. Raphael, whom they considered the symbol of infidelity and worldliness, was also disdained. But they were keen on the art of the Middle Ages which they believed to have been pure and godly. Overbeck, Cornelius and their followers declared themselves to be the disciples of early Italian masters and called their group "Nazarene". This group was often spoken of as Ecclesiastical Romantics, or Pre-Raphaelites. Their fame quickly spread all over Europe and many artists under their influence yearned for the creed of earlier centuries which had been rejected by the 18th century sceptics. It was Dyce, a Scottish painter, who after meeting them in Italy began to spread their ideas in England.

Rossetti, Hunt and Millais were looking for something which would serve as a starting point for their rebellion. The frescoes in the Lasimio volume charmed them to such as extent that they soon reached the point of deciding that they would take them as their starting point, though they had no

intention of copying them. Critics rightly attribute the formation of the Brotherhood to the three friends, but it cannot be denied that it was Rossetti who, with his ambition and strong personality, initiated the Brotherhood's coming into existence. Years later Rossetti's dominance was justified with Madox Brown's words: "Rossetti talked them into founding it" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 67).

There are many critics who have claimed that John Ruskin helped the young artists in forming the Brotherhood. But this supposition has proved wrong because Rossetti and his friends came into contact with Ruskin only in later years. It has to be admitted, however, that Ruskin's work "The Modern Painters" published anonymously the first time in 1843, impressed the small group of young painters. They took inspiration from Ruskin's work, and made Ruskin's ideas their own, they professed with him the theory of turning to Nature and learned from him that each artist's duty is to study Nature, as well as forms and formations produced by Nature.

For them the principle of turning to Nature, however, was different from what it had been for Constable, who can be considered to be one of the forerunners of Impression. The Pre-Raphealites stuck to Ruskin's principle and interpreted it word for word, and when working they strove to follow it quite closely and strictly. Their uncompromising attitude manifested itself in their use of colours, too. They did their best to transfer each colour found in Nature to their pictures as precisely as possible.

The Brotherhood came into being in 1848, the year of

the European revolutions. The inhuman living conditions of industrial workers in the slums greatly contributed to the formation of the new artistic movement. The young artists at first only felt pity for the workers who had no access to art, and no means of learning to enjoy art. Their idea in establishing the Brotherhood was to bring beauty into the workers' lives, to teach them to appreciate art, which they meant to revive for their sake.

The Brotherhood was rather complex. As English citizens, the founders backed reform activities and as artists their great desire was to change the drabness and emptiness of the lives of the suppressed. But reality distressed them so much that they escaped into the world of dreams and fantasy. Their intention was to use their ideas as a means of changing the unbearable conditions prevailing both in art life and everyday life. They turned to the past believing they would find refuge there against the inhumanity of society. Furthermore, their aim was to reconcile reality with unreality, dream with realism. They started working like demons and the hard work bore fruit as one beautiful picture was produced after another. In their technique they followed the Italian masters. The prime colour was invariably white and then they applied other colours with very thin brushes that oozed into the prime colour. The white gave a peculiar radiance to the other colours and it gave the impression as if sunshine shone through each of their pictures. They were masters in working on the tiniest details and managed to reveal unusual beauty. The faces of the figures in their pictures are melancholic, even

solemn, as if they were the symbols of unfulfilled yearnings. They drew the outlines of figures and objects so that they strikingly show up against the background. That work required great technical knowledge.

Rossetti, Holman Hunt and Millais were the founder members. Their friend Madox Brown, the painter, never joined them, although he agreed with their ideas. Only once did Brown give an explanation for his not having become a member of the Brotherhood: "I don't know, for one thing, whether they ever asked me to become a Pre-Raphaelite Brother; I suppose they did; but I never would have to do with societies - they are bound in cliquishness: besides I was a good deal older than they" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 67). They accepted the versatile Thomas Woolner as the fourth member, whose sphere of interest was wide, as he was both a sculptor and a writer. He shared Rossetti's view and that of the others and maintained that the source of artistic inspiration must be Nature. The fifth was James Collins, and the sixth Rossetti's brother William. Hunt realized that William would never become an artist but never refused to accept him among the members, as he liked him and hoped that in some way he might become useful. Hunt by that time suspected that Rossetti's influence was getting stronger and stronger with each new member, therefore it was he who chose the 19-year-old George Stephens, the young artist, as the seventh member. When the number of the Brotherhood rose to seven they decided not to enlarge the company any more. They superstitiously thought that seven was a lucky number. As earlier, they gathered in Millais'

studio, and it was here they meditated about the future of the company, and it was here that they decided to give the name "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood" to their association.

Explanations concerning the choice of the name of the association are rather contradictory. According to Madox, he mentioned first to Rossetti that Peter Cornelius and Johann Frederick Overbeck had brought about an association in Rome in 1811 which was called the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. From the first moment Rossetti and the others agreed with the artists working in Rome, though their interest in religion was less intense than that of Overbeck and his friends. Their ideas concerning art were different in that the artists in Rome did not turn to Nature for inspiration, though they were passionately fond of art before Raphael. Rossetti said it was quite by chance that they gave this name to their association. When in 1847 Millais and Rossetti criticized Raphael's picture the "Transfiguration" exhibited by the Royal Academy, one of Rossetti's friends overhearing his remark cried out: "Then you are a Pre-Raphaelite." (G.H. Fleming 1967, 57). The most acceptable explanation is that Rossetti proposed the name and all his friends accepted it without any opposition. Biographers and literary historians speak of Hunt as the theoretician of the Brotherhood who formulated the basic principles of the association. He stated that in spite of the chosen name they did not intend to copy the art of the Middle Ages slavishly, and concerning the Italian Pre-Raphaelites, they only acknowledged the intellectual relationship with them. They marvelled at the originality of their imagi-

nation and accepted the simplicity of their representation as their own starting-point. They stated that their fight was not against Raphael but the very harmful influence of his followers as well as lifeless, stiff rules, conventions and traditions. Hunt expressed their turning to Nature principle: "Pre-Raphaelitism in its purity was the frank worship of Nature, kept in check by selection and directed by the spirit of imaginative purpose" (W. Gaunt 1966, 77).

Rossetti and Hunt worked out the document in which they took an oath on their adherence to these principles. They said that they would accept the belief of those they considered immortal and they would accept nobody else as their models. The preface was followed by a list of names in five groups containing the names of their accepted models. In the first group was the name of Jesus and in the second that of Shakespeare. Then in order of importance the names of immortals were recounted. It seems odd that neither Plato's nor Aristotle's nor Giotto's name was on the list. The friends also agreed that on each picture the initial letter of the Brotherhood, P.R.B., would be indicated.

No sooner had the Brotherhood come into being than the three friends, Rossetti, Hunt and Millais set to work. At the very beginning of their common work they wanted to prove their relationship by choosing the same subject for their pictures. It was only Millais who carried out the original plan. Millais's picture "Isabella" is naturalistic and symbolic at the same time. He succeeded in representing the deep emotions on the faces of the lovers. The simplest details are

worked out with the greatest possible care. When working, he naturallly would nave needed models for his picture. But he was poor and could not afford a model of his own, so his friends rushed to his help and sat for him. In the picture Rossetti's brother, William, is identifiable.

The friends worked hard and with great enthusiasm. Hunt after finishing his work "Eve of St. Agnes" began painting "Rienzi". Rossetti, contrary to his original plan, did not turn to literature, but he found inspiration in the Bible. In his canvas he represented an episode of the Blessed Virgin's life. "The Girlhood of Mary Virgin" is the title of the picture. When he started working, he accepted Hunt's advice and went outdoors to make some sketches there. The week he spent in the country proved very fruitful because Rossetti succeeded in representing the harsh colours of Nature. The beautiful picture has its faults too, but admiring its beauty one forgets the lack of perspective. Hueffer said of the picture: "Its lines are a little rigid, a form of precosity; its composition is unskilful because it was the work of a boy of twenty. But when everything is said and done it has wonderful charm; it is wonderfully refreshing" (F.M. Hueffer 1902, 22). Rossetti's work was first exhibited at the "Free Exhibition" and critics who saw it at the opening of the exhibition could only extol it. Maillais, the loyal friend, expressed his sincere appreciation in a letter to Rossetti: "The success of the P.R.B. is now quite certain" (T. Hilton 1974, 9). His friends rejoiced in his happiness and encouraged him to continue working. Very tactfully they

they tried to advise Rossetti on his further work, but quite in vain because he was too obstinate to listen to anybody. William, his brother, wrote in his memoir: "Gabriel never paid attention, worth speaking of, to perspective, and indeed ... was at all times almost indefferent to the question of whether his works were in perspective or out of it" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 88). This attitude that was characteristic of Rossetti disturbed his friends but they liked him and accepted him with all his follies realizing that soon he would become a great artist. The year 1850 was a remarkable one in Rossetti's life, because he got acquainted with Elizabeth Siddal. Rossetti was enthralled by the girl's beauty, her complexion and the reddish masses of her hair. Her noble, refined manners also made a great impression on him. Elizabeth soon made friends with the other members of the association and became their favourite model. Neither of the friends was surprised that the girl's beauty bewitched Rossetti.

In the life of the Brotherhood this year was very significant because most of the young and zealous writers and artists who read the short-lived *Germ*, a magazine compiled and edited by Rossetti, came to know their works and they shared their ideas and views.

In the exhibition organized in 1850 Rossetti appeared with the picture entitled "Ecce Ancilla Domini". The picture definitely showed an improvement in his development as a painter, and critics considered it the embodiment of preraphaelitism. The critics were right as in this picture each sign of preraphaelitism can be most clearly discerned. Most crit-

ics highly praised Rossetti's work. R.D. Sizeranne for example, wrote: "If it is born in the mind that it was painted in 1850, it will be evident that it was a revolution in the way of simplicity, humility, and up to a certain point, realism in religious painting" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 132). But there were less favourable criticism, too. The Illustrated London News published the following criticism: "The ingenious gentlemen... devote their energies to the production of saints, squeezed out perfectly flat" (T. Hilton 1974, 52).

Millais's picture "Christ in the House of His Parents" was more seriously criticized. Dickens in the periodical "Household Words" attacked Maillais' work sharply: "You behold the interior of a carpenter's shop. In the foreground is a hideous, wry-necked, blubbering, red-haired boy in nightgown,... a kneeling woman, so horrible in her ugliness that she would stand out from the rest of the company as a monster in the vilest cabaret in France or in the lowest gin-shop in England" (W. Gaunt 1966, 31).

Some critics and experts were outraged that a group of young artists spoke disparagingly of Raphael. They also suspected that they wanted to bring radical changes into the English art world. The critics were afraid that the young painters wanted to strike at the root of contemporary art. They suspected an organized conspiracy which wanted to break with all tradition to which English art was tied.

The artists tried to disregard the attacks that were first hardly noticeable, but later they became harsher and ruder. The attacks not only offended their vanity but before

long they suffered from them materially, too. While Hunt and Millais bore the attacks valiantly, Rossetti remained in the background. Alienation among the friends became deeper and deeper. It is said to have been partly due to Rossetti's betrayal, who not being able to resist the sculptor Munro's solicitation, revealed the meaning of the letters P.R.B. and with it the artistic conception of the Brotherhood. Hunt and Millais were quite taken aback and deeply hurt when they learnt about their friend's weakness. Hunt's mother, when she heard of the affair, expressed her emotions in bitter words: "That sly Italian, I wish Jack had never met him" (W. Gaunt 1966, 47).

(Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaellites) However many attacks they had to suffer, the young artists went on working and their ambition was reinforced by Ruskin's understanding and friendship.

Before Ruskin came to know them personally he first saw their works at the exhibition of 1851. Ruskin turned towards the young men with interest after he had read a criticism on them in the Times. Without doubt the writer of the article was a zealous supporter of the conservative Royal Academy. He asserted that there were no real works of art at the exhibition and refused to understand the new trend represented by Rossetti and his friends. "We can extend no toleration to a mere servile imitation of the cramped style, false perspective, and crude colour of remote antiquity. We want not to see drapery snapped instead of folded: faces bloated into apoplexy, or extenuated into skeletons: colour

borrowed from jars in a druggist's shop,..." (W.G. Collingwood 1900, 31). Then the critic said that art which was ready to sacrifice beauty and truth and sincere emotion and whose aim was only to give the impression of originality cannot count on the understanding of the spectators. Ruskin's interest and curiosity was duly aroused and he went to the exhibition to see for himself the ugliness of the pictures that the critic had depicted so perceptively. Standing before the pictures of the Pre-Raphaelites he noticed the faults but he was so deeply enthralled by the beauty, harmony and unity of the works that he wrote a long article in the Times in which he took the painters under his protection. In this article he stated that since Dürer nobody had produced anything so perfect.

In his second article Ruskin backed the young artists even more boldly, saying that he was convinced that they might lay in England the foundation of a school: "Nobler than the world has seen for three hundred years" (T. Hilton 1974, 67). These two articles meant a turning point in the lives of the young artists. They expressed their gratitude in a letter and soon after Ruskin with his wife called on Millais and from that day on, Ruskin became their friend.

Ruskin, besides the articles published in papers, defended them in a lecture held in Edinburgh the same year. He pointed out that the idea "Preraphaelitism" was interpreted in different ways. Contrary to general belief which preraphaelitism a trend to romanticism or a painting technique, Ruskin emphasized that its main conception was the

turning back to Nature. He denied that their aim would have been only to go back to the techniques of the Middle Ages. He asked his audiences to try to understand the works of the new school. He was convinced that the main reason for the reserve of the public was their lack of information believing that the young artists would have liked to bring back the ignorance of the Middle Ages into modern art instead of interpreting its ideas.

Ruskin was convinced that the series of attacks against the Pre-Raphaelites were a sure sign of pure envy. He very clearly refuted the charges brought against them. Ruskin believed in their art and considered them the greatest and most progressive painters since Turner's death.

A deep and lasting friendship started between Ruskin and Millais in spite of the fact that Millais refused Ruskin's idea that he should follow Turner's art. Ruskin would have liked Millais to join him on a longer journey on the Continent, but Millais, however great the temptation was, had to refuse it as he was working hard for the exhibition of 1852. He exhibited "Orphelia" this time. It was not only Millais who worked hard but the other members of the Brotherhood, too. Hunt's work "The Hireling Shepherd" is a perfect example of Hunt's didacticism. In the catalogue it was described in the following way: "Hunt painted the picture in rebuke of the sectarian vanities and vital negligence of the nation" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 187). Each of them exhibited at least one picture in 1852 and Ruskin after the opening enthusiastically praised their works; he was deeply impressed by

the harmony of colours in Rossetti's pictures. Ruskin and Rossetti never became friends because Ruskin was disappointed by Rossetti's chaotic private life and his rather haphazard way of working. But soon he became sorry for him seeing that he lived in poverty and could scarcely cope with his troubles. Ruskin helped him to find a job and Rossetti became a teacher in the "Working Men's College", where he soon was very popular with his pupils. He found pleasure in his work because seeing the respect with which simple craftsmen approached art could only inspire him. From that time Rossetti stopped taking such an active part of the work of the Brotherhood.

In 1853 Millais was elected a member of the Royal Academy. When Rossetti learned about it he wrote to his sister: "Millais, I just hear, was last night elected associate, so now the whole Round Table is dissolved" (F.M. Hueffer 1902, 33).

The Brotherhood was short-lived, but their ideas spread widely and undoubtedly aroused interest in art. Their idealism was a necessary antidote to the materialism of the middle class, the tasteless articles manufactured by industry with which the homes of the middle class were flooded. After the Brotherhood dissolved, the former members continued to remain popular, and their popularity even increased and spread.

The breaking up of the P.R.B. was inevitable. But their revolt against the Royal Academy was not ineffectual. During the five years they worked together they bravely stood up against conservatism represented by the Academy. It was owing to them that Constable's prophecy did not come true.

They became as significant among painters as Wordsworth and Coleridge in literary life. It was the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge which helped the painters to find their own way to individual indepenence, and slowly the romantic revolution began to shape public taste.

(The Revival of the Brotherhood) The second phase of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood is linked with Oxford. Their fame at the end of 1840 reached this university town rich in mediaeval monuments where the young people of the town turned to the Middle Ages with enthusiasm.

The most significant episode of the Brotherhood is their friendship with William Morris and Edward Coley Burne-Jones. It was they who helped the revival of the Brotherhood. Morris and Burne-Jones were Pre-Raphaelites without realizing it. Like Rossetti and the other members of the Brotherhood they also thought of Ruskin as their master and prophet. They heard of the existence of the Pre-Raphaelites from Ruskin's lecture in Edinburgh. It was in 1855 that they first admired their works at an exhibition in London. They were so similar in their aspirations to the Pre-Raphaelites that they also endeavoured to start a literary magazine, the Oxford Cambridge Magazine, whose finance was raised by Morris. It was only in the following year, in 1856, that they had the chance of meeting Rossetti. They felt they were greatly honoured, as Rossetti at that time enjoyed a fine reputation. Rossetti immediately sensed that both young men were gifted not merely enthusiasts. Rossetti urged Morris to start painting. Morris and Burne-Jones were proud of Rossetti's friend-

ship, and they were charmed by the enthusiasm radiating from Rossetti's personality.

During the first phase of the Brotherhood, Dante's spirit permeated them: this time Sir Thomas Malory was their model. Instead of Vita Nuova, they read *Le Morte d'Arthur*, which was elaborated by Tennyson in the *Idylls of the King*. Not long after they were commissioned to decorate the Hall in the Oxford Union with frescoes. This period was the happiest one since the Brotherhood came into being in 1848. Some aesthetes of the age reckon the beginning of the "Aesthetic Movement" from this point. They found an enormous pleasure in their common work, and Rossetti was the leading spirit of the company. "What fun we had! What jokes! What roars of laughter!" (T. Hilton 1974, 164), wrote Val Prinsep, one of their friends remembering the days spent together. Their commission was to decorate the gallery running all round the Hall with frescoes. But the strenuous work did not bear fruit as the young artists were not yet at home in the technique of frescoe painting.

At the end of the summer the friends with the exception of Morris returned to London. When some time later the friends met in London again, they greeted each other warmly but the unclouded, high spirited mood of the young painters never returned. In a short time each got married and settled down. Morris stayed in Oxford for the sake of Jane Burden, whom he soon married. Morris and his wife, wanting to furnish their new home, were quite taken aback because they were unable to find a single piece of furniture to their taste. As they

refused to buy ugly, tasteless furniture, Morris, with the help of his friends made some for them. He made the designs for the furniture with the intention that they also relect their adherence to the spirit of Morte d'Arthur.

When Morris was unable to find a suitable home, he set to work to design his own house, the "Red House". Furnishing was again a great problem. Once more his friends came to his help. The furnishing of Morris' two houses gave them the idea to help friends and acquaintances to acquire homes full of taste. This work led them to establishing the "Firm" whose initiator was Rossetti. He succeeded in arousing his friends' interest by suggesting that they should establish a workshop Giotto used to have.

For Morris the enterprise not only meant a good source of income; for him art was the means of reform. In his eyes the workshop represented culture and as he meant to open up art and culture for each individual he instilled in this enterprise all his belief in the present and the future and all his hankering for the past. The prospectus of the Firm in which they disclosed their purpose and ideas was compiled by Rossetti: "The growth of Decorative Art in this country, owing to the efforts of English Architects, has now reached a point at which it seems desirable that artists of reputation should devote their time to it" (G.H. Fleming 1967, 109). They listed the names of the artists who believed in the firm, and were convinced that very soon they would produce beautiful, decorative and tasteful articles. In this way the "Morris, Marshall, Faulkner Firm" came into existence.

With the establishing of the Firm, the Brotherhood broke up the second time. Though Hunt often entertained his friends, he somehow did not enjoy conversations and discussions with them any longer. He came into conflict with Rossetti and Brown and it only deepened the antagonism between them. The old friendship came to an end.

After his wife's death Rossetti changed; he was no longer the jovial man he used to be. He broke with Ruskin and gave up poetry, too. In this period of his life he painted and exhibited a number of beautiful pictures. His portraits such as "Monna Vanna" show that his technique became precise and refined. "Astarte Syriaca" can be considered his best picture, the culmination of his career as a painter, as it embodies religion, love and art.

At that time the Pre-Raphaelites had no financial difficulties. Art became fashionable. Rossetti's and his friends' aspirations, their respect for art, their ambition to change contemporary ideas were not fruitless. When they appeared on the scene they were met with indifference, even hostility. But due to their endurance and belief in art as well as in themselves, they came into their own when subsequent generations recognized and appreciated their greatness as artists. Unfortunately their wish to make the products of the Firm accessible to the labourers remained a pious wish. Whatever the member of the Brotherhood or the Firm produced was far too expensive for the working classes to buy. Morris came to realize this and knew that it was not enough to "revolutionize" art: the movement had to go hand in hand with social

changes. The Pre-Raphaelites' impact remained on the field of art and even its present, growing appreciation seems to belong to art historians and critics, not to the masses they intended to reach.

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B. Rozsnyai

THE ROMANCE OF EITHER/OR: HAWTHORNE'S *THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES*[1]

Hawthorne's second major romance *The House of the Seven Gables*, written shortly after *The Scarlet Letter*, is frequently considered to be an artistic failure, the cause of which is partly the happy ending[2] and partly its unsuccessful attempt to mingle the "marble and mud"[3]. Waggoner (1955, 170) even sees in *The House of the Seven Gables* "the beginning of that decline in the quality of Hawthorne's writing which did not end until it had reached the almost complete failure of the unfinished romances."

Several interpretations reduce the romance to one of its aspects, and condemn Hawthorne for his alleged failure to fully realize it.[4] The reason, it seems, can be found in the fact that many disregard the writer's insistence that *The House of the Seven Gables* is not a novel but a romance. Chase (1957, 83), when speaking about *The Blithdale Romance*, declares "he was, strictly speaking, finally unable to master the novel form"; and Hirsch (1971, 45) justifies this attitude by considering the "romance" subtitles as mere clichés, and goes on to say that Hawthorne, in the prefaces, "establishes the novelist's tendency to obliterate the dividing line between the real and the imaginary."

The present paper is an attempt to interpret *The House*

of the Seven Gables and, at the same time, to explore in what ways Hawthorne realizes his idea of a form of fiction that he sharply and emphatically distinguishes from "the novel".

* * *

Chapter 19 ("Alice's Posies") opens a new day in the story of the Pycheon-House; it is the day after the storm of the previous chapters. The storm had transformed the House of the Seven Gables; the water had purified it; and now "the wide benediction of the sky" (284) can at long last spread over the once dark place. It is the "sweet amends of Nature" (284) for the storm, and, at the same time, it draws the House and its environment into a larger order, Nature, and thus the Universe: the pools of rain water are "sky-reflecting" (284). The introductory part of Chapter 19 asserts this unity, which is further strengthened by the Pyncheon-elm. The tree assumes mythic qualities: "...it was all alive and full of the morning sun and a sweetly tempered little breeze ... set a thousand leafy tongues a-whispering all at once ..." (284-285). It is not difficult to discover here the all permeating "romantic breeze"[5]. And after reaffirming thus this quality of the elm[6], Hawthorne introduces "the golden branch that gained Aeneas and Sybil admittance into Hades" (285), and then, goes on to identify the House with Hades, with the golden branch as a symbol of any passer-by's "right to enter and be made acquainted with all the secrets of the house"-- Hades (285). Hawthorne does not specify his Aeneas and Sybil at this moment

rather, he stresses the absence of a new Aeneas or Sybil, for though the right to enter is in anyone's reach, no one takes the challenge of all those present in Chapter 19 except for Phoebe at the very end of the chapter.

And here Hawthorne puts all the principal minor characters of the romance on stage: Uncle Venner comes as usual for the "eleemosinary contributions", and, in what I believe to be a very marked manner, stays outside throughout his conversation with Holgrave, who has been inside the house since last night. The old man senses the change that the house has undergone, and it is he who notices that Alice's posies are in full bloom. Still, he is not the "person of imaginative temperament" (285) who could really understand the nature of the change; the identification of Alices posies as the flower of Eden is not in his scope.

He is followed by a host of "visitors", the carrier-boy, Mrs. Gubbins, "the lady on the opposite side of the street", Ned Higgins, Dixey and his friend, then the man of root-beer, the baker, the butcher, a number of children and, finally, the Italian boy with his puppet-show and monkey. None of them is able to perceive the plain truth; the scene is dominated by a complete lack of understanding. Though the truth is there for all of them to see: the Death inside the House manifests itself, but its signs are either ignored or misinterpreted (Dixey and the butcher). The situation is not particular and accidental, it seems to be universal.

"Was ever before such a grinding-out of jigs and waltzes where nobody was in the cue to dance? Yes, very often. This

contrast of intermingling of tragedy with mirth, happens daily, hourly, momently." (295)

The contrast is summed up in the Italian boy's "automatic community" (293), "this fortunate little society" (163) and the gloom of the House. Hawthorne expands the contrast by 1) earlier establishing the mythical quality of the House of the Seven Gables (Hades), and 2) referring to the universality of the situation. Also, he adds one more aspect which actually transforms the situation into the human condition as it is in/against Nature. Alice's blossoming posies refer to the "sisterhood of Nature", and now throughout the scene of this tragicomic misunderstanding and mirth,

> "a locust sang, once or twice, in some inscrutable seclusion of the tree and a solitary little bird, with plumage of pale gold, came and hovered about Alice's posies." (289)

Later, still undisturbed by the din of the people, "the locust kept singing, in the great, old Pyncheon-elm" (293). The order of Nature is left unaffected by the human goings-on, and the transcendental serenity of the Universe cannot influence man's smaller world either. And if Nature (Universe) is undivided and harmonious, man's smaller world is not; for the House of the Seven Gables, now "deserted of life, and with awful Death sitting sternly in its solitude, was the emblem of many a human heart, which, nevertheless, is compelled to hear the trill and echo of the world's gaiety around it." (295) The sentence serves as a reminder of what Hawthorne has repeatedly asserted; the House symbolizes man or man's

heart.[7]

The heart has its secrets: gloom and darkness and Death inhabit it, and no one standing in front of or passing by it strives to explore its darkness, the terrible truth, even if there is the golden branch to provide the right to enter; no one cares or dares to.[8]

This, however, is not quite true; Holgrave has been inside the House and faced Death[9], and at the end of the chapter, despite the warnings of the frightened Ned Higgins, Phoebe enters the House through the garden. Her entry is accompanied by omens: the hens run to meet her, "a strange Grimalkin" stalks in the garden, and

> "The growth of the garden seemed to have got quite out of bounds; the weeds had taken advantage of Phoebe's absence, and the long-continued rain, to run rampant over the flowers and kitchen-vegetables. Maule's Well had overflowed its stone-border, and made a pool of formidable breadth, in that corner of the garden." (299)

These omens reaffirm the mythic qualities of the House as Hades, and underline the significance and particularity of the girl's act.

Chapter 20 ("The Flower of Eden") contains, then, the revelation of truth to this Aeneas that is no longer falsified by mere appearance.

* * *

These two chapters focus our awareness on the fact that *The House of the Seven Gables* concerns itself with myth, which, as the Virgilian reference makes it clear is not identical with Frazer's myth of the Golden Bough, nor with the cyclic view of Nature[10], but rather with myth as a key to existence on all levels. And since, as will be shown when we discuss the structure of the romance in detail, all the earlier chapters serve to build up the climax in Chapters 19 and 20, we can say that the central theme of *The House of the Seven Gables* is not so much the essence of this myth as the way to it. The romance explores truth neither through the action of its characters, nor by structuring its "story" into a plot signifying Reality. It is not a consciously undertaken quest for truth; Hawthorne exposes his people to circumstances which could lead them to the discovery and acceptance of his truth, and then shows their inability or reluctance to face reality. The circumstances gradually darken until, at last, Hades is reached, facing which no character can escape final judgement.

* * *

The House of the Seven Gables contains twenty-one chapters of approximately equal length (between 12 to 17 pages), with the notable exceptions of Chapters 1 and 20. Chapter 1 ("The Old Pyncheon Family") has 25, and Chapter 20 ("The Flower of Eden") 9 pages. The former is actually not a part of the narrative proper; as Hawthorne remarks at the end of the chapter,

> "And now--in a very humble way, as will be seen--
> we proceed to open our narrative." (29)

Yet, in spite of the author's reference to it as something detached from what follows, the chapter is not wholly independent of the main body of the romance: it describes the setting of the narrative, and places it against the wider perspective of history. Also, it provides the reader with "clues" to the ensuing story; that is its function seems to be an introductory one.

Chapter 20 is the shortest; it is slightly longer than half the average length chapters. As can be expected, the shortness only stresses the importance of the chapter; this is what the title underlines, by transposing Chapter 19's posies (actual flowers) onto a mythical level. In fact, the happy ending of the romance takes place here; Holgrave and Phoebe achieve not only knowledge, but love that transcends the darkness of their knowledge recognized in the Hades of the House of the Seven Gables. Also, it is here that Hepzibah and Clifford, purified and redeemed, join the young lovers. The concluding chapter ("The Departure") acts as an anticlimax to the preceding one; it marks the return from the world of myth to the world of everyday matters.

The narrative, accordingly, stretches between Chapters 2 and 21, and divides into two larger units, the first one ending with Chapter 11 ("The Arched Window"). Part 1, furthermore, consists of four smaller units: Chapters 2-4, 5-7, 8-10 and 11, with the last slightly separated from the rest of Part 1. It is neither the story nor the plot but the charac-

ters that punctuate the first half of the romance. Chapters 2-4 are devoted to Hepzibah ("The Little Shop-Window, "The First Customer" and "A Day Behind the Counter"). At the end of Chapter 4 Phoebe arrives, and the writer's and the reader's interest shifts from Hepzibah to her; in fact, she assumes the central role in Chapters 5-7, the second smaller unit. As Clifford's arrival at the end of Chapter 7 also has the function of shifting emphasis from one character to the other, we can say that Hawthorne employs the two arrivals as indicators of transition from one narrative unit to the other. These three smaller units (Hepzibah's, Phoebe's, Clifford's) define the three characters not so much through their actions (with the possible and occasional exception of Hepzibah, who is introduced as she is preparing to open her shop) as through their relations to the other two and other lesser characters. (Both Jaffrey Pyncheon and Holgrave are reduced to the state of minor characters in this part even if Hawthorne suggests their importance.)

It has to be noted that in addition to the shift of emphasis, the narrative tone, the perspective and the narration itself undergo gradual changes in Chapters 2-10; from the slightly involved authorial "we" of Chapter 2, it assumes the form of a "disembodied spirit", that is the narration becomes both omnipresent and omniscient and "objective". In the second smaller ("Phoebe") unit it gives place to a less omniscient and more "subjective" narration; when speaking of Hepzibah, all her thoughts, feelings, emotions, that is her inner world is mediated through the outside "omniscient"

narrator, but when Phoebe takes the central role, the objectivity is replaced by subjective third person singular narration. In other words, we are "let in" Phoebe's mind, the number of phrases indicating her inner world in a direct way ("she thought", "it seemed to her", etc.) increases. The shift suggests a deeper involvement on the part of the author (and thus the reader), which is also strengthened by the lack of irony that in Hepzibah's case only creates a greater distance which is not lessened by the deep pity and sympathy Hawthorne has for her. In the "Clifford" unit (Chapters 8-10) the narrative tone becomes indirect and objective; and it now lacks both the irony with which Hepzibah is viewed and the warmth and "identification" of the "Phoebe" unit; Clifford, indeed, is viewed with the deepest pity.

When we say the narration is third person singular subjective, it does not, of course, define the perspective of three chapters; it is rather the dominant tone. Within the "Phoebe" unit the minor characters (and here all other characters must by necessity be reduced to at least secondary roles, even if elsewhere they assume key positions) are seen from the outside, their inner world is hardly even suggested. The narration, when they are concerned, returns from its "subjective" aspect to a detached "objective" mode. This is especially true of Jaffrey Pyncheon; he is not allowed even the "saving grace" of other figures (Hepzibah or Clifford or, for that matter, Holgrave).

The changes of perspective and narrative tone, then, condition the reader's response to Hepzibah, Clifford, and

Phoebe and to the minor characters as well.

After the introduction and the exploration of the three Pyncheons, the "Clifford" unit ends with a happy scene in the garden, where Hepzibah, Clifford, Phoebe, Holgrave and Uncle Venner are present; and thus the last scene parallels Chapter 21 ("The Departure"), which on the one hand indicates the limited happiness of this scene and, on the other, marks the distance that lies between the characters' condition before and after the redemption of the "Hades" part. And limited this happiness is, both in time and in its extent, and Hawthorne draws our attention to it in a very emphatical way. First, he warns Clifford,

> "If not the thing itself, it is marvellously like it, and the more so for that ethereal and intangible quality, which causes it all to vanish, at too close an introspection. Take it, therefore, while you may. Murmur not--question not-- but make the most of it!" (158)

Throughout the chapter Clifford and Phoebe sit behind a curtain that hangs against the window. Beneath the arched window that had once been a balcony, scenes of everyday life flit by. The scenes, though common and unimportant, assume a significance that determines the tone of the whole chapter. Hawthorne first qualifies the events below by referring to them as "the great world's movement" (159) and then draws the reader's attention to the least common denominator of what is being seen.

> "A cab; an omnibus, with its populous interior, dropping here-and-there a passenger, and picking up another, and thus typifying that vast rolling vehicle, the world, the end of whose journey is everywhere and nowhere;" (160)

The water-cart that leaves circles behind; the railroad ("the idea of terrible energy"), numerous carts, and then the scissor-grinder.

Movement and circles dominate the passage[11], but each movement is either directionless or aimless; "the journey is everywhere and nowhere". The scissor-grinder seems to introduce a new aspect of the *circle*; his "magic wheel" brings about renewal of not only inanimate objects but life as well. But the magic is demonic, the wheel is turned by Satan ("... issued an intense and spiteful prolongation of a hiss, as fierce as those emitted by Satan and his compeers in Pandemonium", 162). This is, then the way the world moves; the Evil is the mover.

The central consciousness of the chapter (Clifford) stays an outside spectator: he sits behind a veil; and even the scissor-grinder's wheel cannot sharpen "poor Clifford's wits" (161); that is, he can neither participate in the life before his eyes nor does he recognize the essence of all the movements beneath the arched window.

The following scene ("the organ-grinder") gains additional metaphoric sense from the previous passage and it also feeds back, as it were, a strengthened metaphoric sense to the earlier one. Naturally, the connotations of the organ-grinder's show have traditionally been strongly allegoric, and it would

function so by itself, still the background of the earlier scenes add symbolic force to the traditional allegory of the puppet-show, and thus it becomes an integral part of the symbolic movement of the whole chapter. In other words, we can realize that Hawthorne has been building up a symbolic movement gradually, which reaches its climax in the puppet-show scene, and it becomes inclusive of all the earlier stages; thus helping to interpret the whole movement.

An Italian boy arrives with his barrel-organ, puppet-show and monkey, "who" collects money from the spectators. The show presents a "fortunate little society" (163), the members of which pursue their various activities, but their motions, their "dance" is to "one identical tune" (163), and when the Italian boy stops turning the crank, all the puppets cease moving, and the moment reveals how superficial their integrity, individuality is. Hawthorne then meditates on the futility of their busy activities: they bring nothing to pass. Fundamentally, the earlier "circle"-motives are summed up here; all their aspects (apparent motion forward--actual stasis, directionless, aimless movement, Clifford staying outside) are focused onto one, now universal, vision of the human condition.

It is true Hawthorne seems to reject "the moral of the whole show", but he does so in a mocking afterthought[12] which does not at all affect the validity of the statement; the symbolic movement is, at this point, irrevocable. The Italian boy's monkey ("the covetous little devil", 164) turns the scene obscene: it is Mammon itself; and the figures of

the puppet-show actually dance to its tune: the Evil's tune.

None of the onlookers recognizes the meaning of what they see, they cannot or do not want to discover the condition which after all is theirs, which is the human condition. It is only Clifford who senses what the scene may signify; he starts to cry as he "lacks the tragic power of laughter" (164). He achieves, then, recognition here; yet he is an outsider, he cannot participate in "the chain of human sympathies". Hawthorne provides him with two opportunities to get out of his isolation; the first is the political procession.[13] Clifford, drawn and repulsed at the same time, nearly plunges himself "into the ocean of human life" (166); he is prevented from doing so in the last moment.

> " ...had I taken that plunge, and survived it, methinks it would have made me another man!" (166),

comments Clifford, but the reader is aware this is only wishful thinking; what Clifford would have experienced is death and not rebirth.

The second opportunity is equally a dead-end for Clifford. On Sabbath everyone goes to church, Phoebe among them. The atmosphere is lent a spiritual quality (the bells), and Clifford feels an urgent desire to join the others with Hepzibah.

> " ...his heart gushed out, as it were, and ran over at his eyes, in delightful reverence for God, and kindly affection for his human brethren." (168)

But when they are ready to leave, they cannot take the final

step.

> "They could not flee; their jailor had but left the door ajar, in mockery, and stood behind it, to watch them stealing out. At the threshold, they felt his pitiless gripe upon them. For, what other dungeon is so dark as one's own heart! What jailor so inexorable as one's self!" (169)

After the two abortive attempts to join the brotherhood, Clifford returns to his once favourite pastime, he blows soap-bubbles. The concluding scene of Chapter 11, actually functions in three ways: 1) summarizes Clifford's condition; 2) stresses the tragic isolation of the human self; 3) refers to the impossibility of recognizing and communicating the truth of man's condition; what man can perceive is only reflections on the surface of soap-bubbles, the glittering of which hides away reality.

> "Little, impalpable worlds, were those soap-bubbles, with the big world depicted, in hues bright as imagination, on the nothing of their surface." (171)

The soap-bubbles, "the airy spheres", "these brilliant fantasies" (171) are messages, messages from "this abortive lover of the beautiful" to the others, little works of art, in their way, ones that Clifford, incapable of the final recognition and identification can create; inscrutable, undecipherable ones, which through their incomprehensible beauty provoke hostility from the passers-by, who draw perverse gratification from destroying "the bubble, with all its pictured

earth and sky scene"(171). The last bubble is pierced by Jaffrey Pyncheon,[14] and the hostility of the passers-by now turns into an evil power destructive of Clifford.

This atmosphere of menace, particular and general, closes Chapter 11 and the first larger part of the romance. Within this part, Chapter 11 stands somewhat apart; it is actually a pivotal unit inasmuch as the three earlier units ("Hepzibah, "Phoebe", "Clifford") are summed up here, and the basically static quality characteristic of the first part ends with this unit.

Chapter 11 also marks a difference in the ways the units of Part 1 and Part 2 are punctuated: there are no more shifts that introduce a new unit; the transitions are more abrupt. The difference is not only a matter of punctuation; it is also noticeable in the relation of the units to one another within the parts. The shifts of Part 1 not only help the transition from one unit to the other, but make them complementary of each other as well. The units of Part 2 are more antithetical than complementary; Unit 1 (Chapters 12-14) and Unit 2 (Chapters 15-17) have their antithesis in Unit 3 (Chapter 18); and a kind of synthesis is achieved in the concluding unit (Chapters 19-21). The most important aspect of the difference lies in the fact that whereas Part 1 is "static", Part 2 is "kinetic": each unit contains basic changes, while Part 1 stresses the inability of its people to change, with Chapter 11 presenting us the image of "stasis" (Clifford). When Hawthorne complains to Field his publisher on November 29, 1850, that

> "It darkens damnably towards the close, but I shall try hard to pour some setting sunshine over it."[15]

he may as well be referring the "The Arched Window", since this chapter can only lead towards a dead end (the later appearance of Jaffrey Pyncheon only contributes to the darkness, the hopelessness of the situation).

Unit 1 of Part 2 (Chapters 12-14) concerns Holgrave and Phoebe, and, in a way, the long dead Alice Pyncheon. Seemingly, Holgrave dominates the scene, yet the unit cannot be referred to as "Holgrave" unit; unlike Chapters 5-7 ("Phoebe") this is not dominated by the consciousness of one, central, character. Holgrave is kept at a distance, neither the author not the reader can wholly identify with him. He is viewed with irony, the tone of which was established earlier. The interest is focused on Holgrave's and Phoebe's relationship, which is paralleled by the interwoven story of Alice Pyncheon. The parallel is negative, it only marks the difference between Matthew Maule and the present descendant of the wizard's family. Holgrave refuses to abuse his mystic power, as he respects the integrity and sanctity of the human soul. Strangely enough, Phoebe does not realize this, and complains of Holgrave's coldness of the heart.

Phoebe, for the first time in her life experiences the magic of the moonlight. Two aspects of her enchanted state must be referred to here; first, it is important that the enchantment follows Holgrave's refusal to exploit his powers; had he hypnotized the girl, it would equal her enslavement

while the non-human enchantment of the moonlight leaves her "free", and thus her love of Holgrave springs from her free will. And secondly, that it is not the moonlight exclusively that brings about the enchantment, but the evening twilight when both the moonbeams and the sun's rays are present simultaneously. Strangely enough, most of Hawthorne's critics neglect the mixture of the two lights, and treat the scene as a Romantic commonplace.

Hawthorne himself explicitly warns the reader; the moon appears on the horizon as "an ambitious demagogue" (213), and accordingly as the shadows become deeper and the moonlight transforms reality by a charm of romance, it is a distortion of reality. But the sun is still shining, it prevents the moon from completely falsifying reality. Sunshine, the sun has throughout the book been a means to go deeper than the surface; it reveals the essence of things. Holgrave's daguerrotypes, which "misuse Heaven's blessed sunshine" 46), give away their object's (Jaffrey) true nature. The sun is cruel; it violates "the holy ground where shadow falls" (178)[16]. That is, accepting the sun's reality only is misleading, and so is moon's reality exclusively: both distort reality. Hawthorne offers a solution instead: the twilight when both lights are present, and the moon's beams mellow the cruelty (the violation of the soul's holiness) of the sun.

> "By this time, the sun had gone down, and was tinting the clouds towards the zenith with those bright huse, which are not seen there until some time after sunset, and when the horizon has quite lost its richer brilliancy. The moon, too, which had long

> been climbing overhead, and unobtrusively melting its disk into the azure - like an ambitious demagogue, who hides his aspiring purpose by assuming the prevalent hue of popular sentiment - now began to shine out, broad and oval, in its middle pathway. These silvery beams were already powerful enough to change the character of the lingering daylight. (...) The common-place characteristics - which at noontide, it seemed to have taken a century of sordid life to accumulate - were now transfigured by a charm of romance. A hundred mysterious years were whispering among the leaves... " (212-213)

The scene prefigures Chapter 20 ("The Flower of Eden") where the as yet unconfessed love will be confessed, and it will transform the cruelty (the non-human nature) of the knowledge that Holgrave and Phoebe have gained in the presence of death. But at the end of Unit 1 of Part 2 (Chapter 14), Phoebe has not yet committed herself, she is still free to leave, as if escaping Holgrave's love and knowledge. She is changing, though; she is on the threshold of maturity.

> "Her eyes looked larger, and darker, and deeper; so deep, at some silent moments, that they seemed like Artesian wells, down, down, into the infinite. She was ... less girlish, but more a woman!" (175)

Unit 2 of Part 2 (Chapters 15-17) turns to Hepzibah and Clifford. Their lives have reached a point of change forcefully imposed upon them: Jaffrey Pycheon tries to realize his evil scheme, either to make Clifford give away his alleged secret of the hidden wealth or to close him up in a lunatic asylum. The revelation of the scheme causes Hepzibah to rebel

against her powerful relative, the Evil Destiny of the family; and her timid resistance marks a change in itself. But it is far less important than the way Hepzibah is forced to go along because of her reluctance to fulfill the demands of Jaffrey Pyncheon. The way leads her through an ever growing isolation ("shivering solitude" 242) to a kind of redemption.

As early as the beginning of Chapter 15 the sense of emptiness, coldness starts to settle down on the scene; Phoebe's departure leaves the House of the Seven Gables, its kitchen lifeless;

> "The house itself shivered, from every attic of its seven gables, down to the great kitchen-fireplace, which served all the better as an emblem of the mansion's heart, because, though built for warmth, it was now so comfortless and empty." (224)

This seems to be an objective remark on the part of a disinterested spectator, and in fact, the narration in Chapter 15 remains third person singular *objective*. But the opening sentences of Chapter 16 change the narration to third person *subjective*:

> "Never had the old house appeared so dismal to poor Hepzibah, as when she departed on that wretched errand. There was a strange aspect in it." (240)

A similar shift was employed in Phoebe's case; with her exception, all other characters, including the Daguerrotypist himself, were mediated; their consciousnesses were revealed through someone else's reactions. The change in

narration here, then, seems to indicate Hepzibah's importance at the expense of the other persons in this part of the romance. It is equally necessary for Hawthorne to emphasize the change in Hepzibah's view of her smaller world, since through it he can repeatedly endow the house with mythic dimension, thus ensuring the exceptional status of the house. And as the dominant consciousness of this part is that of Hepzibah, her view (the "strange aspect"), her perception determines the reader's "perception" as well.

Hepzibah's way takes her along "foot-worn passages", through "one crazy door after another", and up a "creaking staircase" (240). The human qualities of the parts of the house refer to its long history; a history which is identical with the history of New England. Hepzibah's journey, however, is not only into the past, where she meets "the rustle of dead people's garments" (240) but she also faces "pale visages" (ibid.), and thus the journey is at the same time into the nether world. The phrase "pale visages" is clearly a classical reference;both Odysseus and Aeneas meet them during their journeys into Hades, and thus, it is a reference to myth. The expansion of the particular (Hepzibah's) experience into universal dimension through family and human history[17] is crucial to Hawthorne's idea of the romance, and, therefore, essential to the understanding of his works. The writer himself, breaking his third person singular subjective narration, observes,

"(The family history) seemed little else but a series

> of calamity, reproducing itself in successive generations, with one general hue, and varying in little save the outline. But Hepzibah now felt as if the Judge, and Clifford, and herself - they three together--were on the point of adding another incident to the annals of the house, with a bolder relief of wrong and sorrow, which would cause it to stand out from all the rest. Thus it is, that the grief of the passing moment takes upon itself an individuality, and a character of climax, which is destined to lose, after awhile, and to fade into the dark grey tissue, common to the grave or glad events of many years ago. It is but for a moment, comparatively, that anything looks strange or startling..."(240-241)

For Hepzibah the journey is, then, a search for understanding, for discovering reality (actually she wants to find Clifford, who, in fact, is her reality as she lives only for him), which she is unable to find. All the stations of her way are errors leading nowhere. All her movements originate or result in error or more precisely in misunderstanding. Thus she stops at the Arched Window to find permanence; it was from here that Clifford viewed the circular motion of life; and just as her brother, Hepzibah wants to plunge herself "upon that unknown woman's companionship" (241). What she finds facing her is "shivering solitude" (242), and an incomprehensible reality. She is forced to admit that her world is "this dull delirium of a world" (243), and that this is the punishment for her isolation. Still, her journey is not at its end; its next station is Clifford's chamber, which is empty. This is the moment when Hepzibah's solitude becomes absolute; her world is an empty void. (It explains the sig-

nificance of the otherwise uninterpretable, and seemingly irrelevant title of the chapter, "Clifford's Chamber".)

At the deepest point of her journey, the direction suddenly changes, the distraught Clifford appears, and urges his sister to flee the House of the Seven Gables. Hepzibah misunderstands the situation, believing Clifford had murdered Jaffrey, and thus, now she too *wills* the escape from the dark house. Clifford's remark ("Come come; make haste; or he will start up like Giant Despair in pursuit of Christian and Hopeful, and catch us yet!" 252) functions on two levels; on the one hand it describes their situation; both pairs needed will alone be able to escape from their dungeons, which, in the romance at least was identified with man's own heart[18]. On the other hand, it serves as a reminder of the mythic dimension of Hepzibah's journey.

On the train Clifford discusses his idea of history with their fellow-traveller; he believes it to be "an ascending spiral" (260). Reality, however, belies his theory; the train takes them nowhere; it does not save them from their dungeons. They get off the train at a desolate place,

> "The world had fled away from these two wanderers. They gazed drearily about them. At a little distance stood a wooden church, black with age, and in a dismal state of ruin and decay, with broken windows, a great rift through the main body of the edifice, and a rafter dangling from the top of the square tower. Farther off was a farm-house in the old style, as venerably black as the church, with a roof sloping downwards from the three-story peak to within a man's height of the ground. It seemed uninhab-

itated." (266)

It is at this forsaken place that Hepzibah is at last able to utter the words of the prayer that sets them free; through which they gain redemption, "Oh, God--our Father--are we not thy children? Have mercy on us!" (267)[19]

After Units 1 and 2 of Part 2, which hint at possibilities of at least partial redemption, Unit 3 (Chapter 18) is antithetical. The change is inclusive of tone (sympathy to cruel irony), narration (3rd person singular objective, with the end becoming first person plural and employing "thou" as form of address); and most importantly and in an emphatic way the kinetic character of the preceding six chapters turns into static again. It stresses[20] Jaffrey Pyncheon's inability and refusal to denounce his "original sin", Greed and Pride. From his first appearance, the Judge is identified with all-engorging Greed; in an emblematic way he is prefigured by Ned Higgins, Hepzibah's first customer, and as no other aspect of his character is described, we must consider him rather a personified sin (Mask of Greed) than a really living character (that is, living within the context of the romance). This explains the much debated and misinterpreted cruel irony of the chapter. Obviously, it is not sheer malice or prejudice on the writer's part[21], nor even some kind of self-tormenting penance for the Hawthorne family's guilty past[22]. The irony is directed against Greed the worst of the deadly sins, and the exhortation of the concluding paragraph and its biblical language is appropriate for this reason. Jaffrey Pyncheon does not move to accept "the blessed radiance" of

the sun, "the universal benediction" (282); instead he tempts flies to come and one "alights now on his forehead" (283). The Judge has been judged; he now is eternally identified as Greed, and damnation is inevitable; Satan is, after all, the lord of the flies.

Unit 4 (Chapters 19-20) completes the antithetical movement of the previous units and provides a kind of synthesis; it is here that the real and full knowledge of Hades ("myth") is discovered. It must be noted that the people who can participate in this knowledge and who are allowed into Eden had gone through "Hell", and had been redeemed in Units 1 and 2 of Part 2.

It must also be noted that the happy ending is neither unexpected nor does it ensure a permanent condition to the four characters.[23] It rather induces a momentary recognition the memory of which only survives; and it may and does create unease in at least one of them, Holgrave.

Holgrave's abandonment of his reformist zeal and ideals has been much and frequently criticized; generally it is considered either insincere or psychologically unacceptable.[24] These criticisms, however, simplify Holgrave's case in the romance; notably, they seem to forget or at least neglect the situation in which he first speaks of his possible future change. He tries to gain Phoebe's love, and as earlier Phoebe expressed her dismay at the Daguerrotypist's reformist zeal, it is only natural that he now promises to "mend his ways". It has to be added that Phoebe, respecting Holgrave's integrity, refuses his promises,

> "'I could not have it so!' said Phoebe earnestly." (306)

Upon which Holgrave, wisely and as if explaining and justifying his statement, answers,

> "'Do you love me, Phoebe?' asked Holgrave. 'If we love one another, the moment has room for nothing more. Let us pause upon it, and be satisfied. Do you love me, Phoebe?'" (307)

For the moment, at least, Holgrave's intentions are clearly sincere; accepting love, he finds himself content in, rather than at unease with the world. Though his vision of reality as undistorted by illusions,the view he achieved in his descent into Hades first fills him with desperation and bitter pessimism.

> "The presence of yonder dead man threw a shadow over everything, he made the universe, so far as my perception could reach, a scene of guilt, and of retribution more dreadful than the guilt. (...) The world looked strange, wild, evil, hostile" (306);

The vision and the knowledge is too cruel for man to live with, and Hawthorne seems to suggest that human survival needs at least an anodyne that mellows: that humanizes the cruelty and sordidness of reality. Earlier, in Chapter 15, the writer hinted at a similar mode of vision; there the cruelty of the sun was balanced by the moon. Holgrave and Phoebe are offered compensation for the knowledge, love that re-

deems the Earth to those who have experienced the truth achieved in Hades.

> "They transfigured the earth, and made it Eden again, and themselves the first dwellers in it. The dead man, so close beside them, was forgotten. At such a crisis, there is no Death; for Immortality is revealed anew, and embraces everything in its hallowed atmosphere." (307)

This condition is a miracle, it is an exceptional and passing moment. The world outside, the people who have never participated in the descent into Hades, who have refused to explore the darkness which inhabits the heart, this dark dungeon, cannot share the ecstatic state of Phoebe and Holgrave. They are content to live with the illusion of reality; they abhor facing the true nature of the Universe. Yet Holgrave and Phoebe must join their world, otherwise they would isolate themselves from "the sympathetic chain of human nature" (141). It is a compromise but a necessary one,

> "But how soon the heavy earth-dream settled down again!" (307)

Clifford and Hepzibah arrive at this moment. And though they have not actually descended into Hades, they have recognized a reality (Universe) that is too large for the finite mind to comprehend, and accepted it with humility; and now they alone of all the outside people can sense the "transformation".

> " I thought of you both, as we came down the street

> and beheld Alice's Posies in full bloom. And so the flower of Eden has bloomed, likewise, in this old, darksome house, to-day!'" (308)

After the scene of recognition in Unit 4 of Part 2, the final Chapter 21 functions partly as a reinforcment of the fact that Hepzibah, Clifford, Phoebe and Holgrave are different and thus separated from the other people by virtue of their greater and deeper understanding[25], and partly as a traditional conclusion which makes it manifest in terms of material existence that the four people (and the "prelapsarian" Uncle Venner) have indeed achieved happy ending in the smaller world of the romance.

The final happiness, however, is not undisturbed; Holgrave accepts it with a "half-melancholy laugh" (315). His melancholy is not the result of remorse,[26] its cause lies deeper and elsewhere. Hawthorne himself provides the clues partly in the form of repeated references to Holgrave as "the artist" and partly in the form of Holgrave's own words,

> "'You find me a conservative already! Little did I think ever to become one. *It is especially unpardonable in this dwelling of so much hereditary misfortune*, and under the eye of yonder portrait of a model conservative, who, in that very character, rendered himself so long the Evil Destiny of his race.'" (315, italics mine)

Beyond the literal meaning and reference, the passage assumes far larger dimensions through the two italicized phrases by their biblical wording, by the connotations accumulated during the romance.[27]

The Unpardonable Sin for Holgrave is to give up his privilege of seeing reality ("retribution more dreadful than the guilt"), and forget about his duty to depict it. By accepting this active awareness of the non-human order, he is also guilty of another Unpardonable Sin: isolation from mankind.[28] There is no compromise between the two modes of existence, the visionary mind, conscious of the impossibility of living in both worlds, suffers, thus, the tragic sense of an inevitably sinful existence. The happy ending of *The House of the Seven Gables* is, then, an ambiguous one; the material happiness of Holgrave is wholly indifferent to himself and to the reader as it is a matter of transience.

> "Maule's Well, all this time, though left in solitude, was throwing up a succesion of kaleidoscopic pictures, in which a gifted eye might have seen foreshadowed the coming fortunes of Hepzibah and Clifford, and the descendant of the legendary wizard, and the village-maiden, over whom he had thrown love's web of sorcery. The Pyncheon-elm, moreover, with what foliage the September gale had spared to it, whispered unintelligible prophecies." (319)

* * *

The interpretation of *The House of the Seven Gables* offers three major conclusions, which now summarized, may seem repetitive ones, still important enough as they provide some light on not only *The House of the Seven Gables* but on the romance, and thus, on Hawthorne's art as well.

1) Hawthorne accepts a Universal Order that transcends the human level of existence; and he does not question its validity. At the same time, however, he considers it too cruel and too large for the human mind; and, therefore, incomprehensible to the rational "common sense". It is the visionary artist's task to mediate between the two levels of reality.

2) This is why Hawthorne emphasizes the fact that his work is not a novel; that it differs from the contemporary realist novel, which, in his opinion, reflects a superficial reality only; by sticking to the tangible and visible surface of things, it can only create an illusion of reality. Hawthorne, therefore, turns to poetry for means and ways to express the rationally incomrehensible reality.

3) Accordingly, he structures his romance around a central metaphor (the House), the meaning of which is not fixed, but as in the poetic practice of (and especially in the second generation of) English Romanticism, is unstable, continually shifting. The changes, however, do not build up a unified movement which could provide the romance with a structural pattern; rather they are a means to establish levels of meaning, and provide the clues to "decode" them.

Kermode (1974, 436-437) defines Hawthorne's modernity by saying,

> "the catastrophe of the times, represented by palpable changes in society, in history, in art, has made all typologies problematical. This is the topic with which Hawthorne plays in *Seven Gables*.

> He had done so with much more direct allusion to older typology in its greater predecessor, *The Scarlet Letter*. But that too is a bubble of fugitive typologies, consciously modern, carefully unauthoritative, open to multiple interpretations because the modern world is so."

I believe, however, that Hawthorne's romances, not really "open to multiple interpretations", are shaped by the Kierkegaardian ambiguity of choice that he finds inherent in the human condition, and a paradigm of which he presents in the tragic and necessarily guilty situation of the artist.

N O T E S

1 Hawthorne, Nathaniel: *The House of the Seven Gables*, The Centenary Edition, Vol. II. 1965. Ohio State UP. All page references are to this edition.
This paper is a part of a larger study on the romance, and therefore, it does not aim at a definition of this particular form of fiction, nor does it contain references to other works of Hawthorne or his contemporaries.

2 Bell 1971, 220; Cunliffe 1964, 86-87; et al.

3 Hoffman (1961, 188): "The fusion of techniques is incomplete, because the materials are by nature incompatible."

4 Dillingham (1959, 70) finds "the major theme" to be "the necessity of man's close communion with his fellow beings"; Crews (1966, 172-193) identifies the romance with a Freudian allegory; and Kaul (1963, 191) sees in it "an imaginative recreation of the history of American civilization, from the Puritanism of the 17th century to the democracy of the 19th century", similarly, McPherson (1969, 145) interprets the romance as a historical allegory.

5 Cf. Abrams 1960, 37-54.

6 As early as Chapter 1, p. 5, the elm assumes a significance that renders it emblematic; and also the juxtapostion of the House and the tree, "these two antiquities" refers to them as two antithetical principles.

7 Thus on p. 5, "The aspect of the venerable mansion has always affected me like a human countenance"; "It was itself like a great human heart, with a life of its own, and full of rich and sombre reminiscences." (27); "the great kitchen-fireplace (...) an emblem of the mansion's heart" (224),

etcetera.

8 The heart, the self has already been identified as the darkest dungeon (169), and thus the entry into the House-Hades and its darkness also refer to the exploration of the Heart as Hades.

9 Baym (1976, 168) slightly distorts Hawthorne's point by her statement on Holgrave's mysterious conversion; she declares that it is the result of Holgrave's night-long meditation over the corpse, the essence of which would be that man is mortal. But Holgrave, in fact, discovers the dead Judge in the morning, "A dark, cold, miserable hour!" (306), and his recognition is an intuitive insight into the human condition.

10 Crews (1966), misinterprets the romance as he identifies the elm as the Golden Bough of Frazer, and his conclusions are along Freudian lines.

11 Cf. Lubbers 1969, 107-109.

12 "Saddest of all, moreover, the lover was none the happier for the maiden's kiss! But rather than swallow this last too acrid ingredient, we reject the whole moral of the show." (163)

13 Cf. Stubbs 1970, 52-78.

14 The view of Jaffrey Pyncheon is ironic,

"At length, just as an elderly gentleman of very dignified presence happened to be passing, a large bubble sailed majestically down, and burst right against his nose!" (171-172). But the irony does not decrease the menace of his appearance, "As for Clifford, an absolute palsy of fear came over him. (...) Strength is incomprehensible by weakness, and therefore the more terrible." (172)

15 November 29, 1850, quoted by Charvat 1965, XXII.

16 One is tempted to draw comparison here with Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", in which the Sun and the Moon have slightly similar functions.

17 Hawthorne identifies New England history with the history of fallen man, both in *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables*. The idea roots deeply in early American ideology and literature. Cf. Bell 1971 and Bercovitch 1972.

18 Their escape depended on their will only. Jaffrey stays behind as a "defunct nightmare" (252).

William Golding's *Free Fall* (Ch. 9) offers a similar situation with an identical image at its center; Sammy Mountjoy in the darkness of his cell discovers the essence of the void, his own heart, and his escape depends on his will to open the door.

19 Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" again parallels the romance; it is the Mariner's humble acceptance of a Universal Order that redeems him.

20 The title of the chapter seemingly contradicts this; the point, of course, is that the Judge will never become Governor Pyncheon. The trivial insignificance of Jaffrey Pyncheon in view of the cosmic order, is underlined by a reference to time,

"The watch has at last ceased to tick, for the Judge's forgetful fingers neglected to wind it up, as usual, at ten o'clock, being half-an-hour, or so, before his ordinary bed-time; - and it has run down, for the first time in five years. But the great world-clock of Time still keeps its beat." (281-282)

21 Cf. Stubbs, 1970, 117.

22 Cf. Cunliffe 1964, 79-101.

23 Hawthorne has been preparing it from the pivotal Chapter 11 on; for contrary views cf. Stubbs 1970, Chapter 4, Hoffman 1961, Pt. 2, Ch. 10, especially 190-192.

24 Hirsch (1971, 157) summarizes, as it were, these criticisms,

> "Hawthorne portrays in Holgrave the ubiquitous rebellious dispossessed intellectual who modifies his liberalism and recants his radicalism as soon as he assumes social ties and becomes a respected member of the establishment."

25 The "outsiders" do not understand anything; their response is only to the material gain of the four people. "Pretty good business!" is how Dixey sums up the situation (319).

26 Cf. Baym 1976, 169.

27 The dwelling of much hereditary misfortune, the House of the Seven Gables has been identified with the postlapsarian human condition, while the hereditary misfortune refers to the history of the House, i.e. to the history of the Pyncheon and Maule families, to New England and human history; to the latter not only on a factual level but on the level of providential history, as it recalls the original sin. See also Note 17.

28 "The play costs the performers too much - and the audience is too cold-hearted!" Phoebe reproaches Holgrave for his aloofness (217); and "at his highest elevation, the poet needs no human intercourse" (141). The cool, outside observer, indifferent to his object, is considered by Hawthorne to be guilty of the Unpardonable Sin, as he degrades another human being (Soul) to the inanimate level of things. Also cf. Stoehr 1969, 33-60.

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considered preraphaelitism a trend to romanticism or a painting technique, Ruskin emphasized that its main conception was

Gy. E. Szőnyi

THE QUEST FOR OMNISCIENCE: THE INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF MARLOWE'S *DOCTOR FAUSTUS*

> "Though placed in nature, we sometimes attain power above nature, and perform operations so marvellous, so sudden, so difficult, by reason of which shades obey, the stars are disturbed, deities are compelled, the elements are made to serve. Thus man devoted to God, and lifted up by those theological virtues, command the elements, drive away fogs, call up winds, compel clouds to rain, cure disease, and raise the dead."
>
> Agrippa: *De occulta philosophia*[1]

(The Quest for Power) Faustus' opening soliloquy in Marlowe's play is one of the most majestic manifestations of Renaissance thought, aspiration and ambition in 16th century English literature. Although the *Prologue* anticipates his gloomy fate,

> ...swollen with cunning, of a self-conceit,
> His waxen wings did mount above his reach. (20-1),

the dynamism of the beginning of the drama makes the spectator forget about this anticipated fall of the protagonist and, again, makes him adopt Faustus' goals. The first scene presents a conflict between the infinite aspirations of Renais-

sance man and the boundaries of knowledge, the limits of science at his disposal. In his solitary study, Faustus enlists and reviews the branches of the curricula of the contemporary universities - logic, medicine, law, and theology - but the conclusion is embittering. What suits university departments and busy scholars proves to be mean and little for the new type of human intellect as none of these sciences can compete with the ambition of human imagination while knowledge is limited by the disappointing fact:

> Yet art thou still but Faustus, and a man. (I.i,23)

Logic offers Aristotle and "sweet Analytics", but the outcome is pointless argumentation and dispute. Medicine with its Galen provides the physician with welfare and temporary succes, but death puts an end to his activities. Faustus complains:

> Couldst thou make men to live eternally,
> Or being dead, raise them to life again,
> Then this profession were to be esteem'd. (I.i,24-6)

Justinian and the study of law is "too servile and illiberal" for Faustus, and even the highest in rank, theology is good for nought but the despair of its student. Faustus notices the traps of the divine doctrine:

> Why then, belike we must sin, and consequently die.
> Ay, we must die an everlasting death. (I.i,43-4)

Everything seems to come to an end here. "Faustus stands at the frontiers of knowledge. The whole of Renaissance learning

is within his grasp, but on closer scrutiny of the parts the whole crumble away and he is left with nothing but a handful of dust" (Gill 1975,xx). Gill (*ibid*) observes that the doctor shares in this respect Hamlet's Wittemberg scepticism on man's paradoxical nature:

> What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! How infinite in faculties!...the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? (*Hamlet*, II.ii,293-7)

But this comparison is not entirely appropriate, as scepticism is Hamlet's final state of mind, while Faustus takes a further step in order to realize his dreams and ambitions. It is magic in which he supposes to find the network providing for him the means of access beyond human possibilities, to win mortality and to acquire a "profession to be esteem'd":

> These metaphysics of magicians
> And necromantic books are heavenly;
> Lines, circles, signs, letters and characters:
> Ay, these are those that Faustus most desires.
> (I.i,47-50)

Power and omnipotence possessed Marlowe's imagination. He had already given an overwhelmingly poetical expression to these ideas in his first significant play, *Tamburlaine the Great*, when writing,

> Our soules, whose faculties can comprehend
> The wondrous architecture of the world,
> And measure every wand'ring planet's course,
> Still climbing after knowledge infinite.
> (*Tamb.* 1.II.vii,21-4).

but in that drama power was manifested in an earthly, most definite form - kingdom and rulership:

> ...never rest
> Until we reach the ripest fruit of all,
> That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
> The sweet fruition of an earthly crown. (*ibid.*,26-9)

Faustus' ambition seems to be greater in extent, though more shadowy, less distinct (Bradbrook 1960, 150):

> O what a world of profit and delight,
> Of power, of honour, of omnipotence,
> Is promised to the studious artisan!
> All things that move between the quiet poles
> Shall be at my command, Emperors and kings
> Are but obeyed in their several provinces.
> Nor can they raise the wind or rend the clouds.
> But his dominion that exceeds in this
> Stretches as far as doth the mind of man:
> A sound magician is a demi-god. (I.i,51-60)

Thus, we can finally conclude that Faustus wants to reach a state of mind which is superhuman (demi-god) providing him with knowledge which is more than ordinary knowledge (omniscience) by means of a kind of meta-science which is superior to all ordinary sciences (magic).

(Magic, White and Black) The idea of man's turning himself into a demi-god is neither Marlowe's invention nor unusual in the period of the Renaissance. Marlowe's literary merit was that he gave an exceptionally high-level expression to this old philosophical desire of mankind. Its origin goes

back to the orthodox doctrine of the Scriptures - "So God created him" (*Gen.* 1:27)[2] - though it restricts man's reunion with God up to the time of the Last Judgement. Some Hellenistic philosophers, mixing Plato's teachings with notions derived from Persian gnosticism, Egyptian magic, and Jewish cabala, however, supposed that man can break out of the fixed hierarchy of the structure of existence ("the Great Chain of Being") and can elevate himself to the level of God by means of gnostic contemplation and occult practices. This idea was revived and propagated by the philosophers of the Renaissance and led to the doctrine of the dignity of man. This syncretic system of Neoplatonic hermetism perfectly fitted the new trend of man-centered world picture, usually called the Renaissance spirit.[3]

It was the Medicis' Florentine Neoplatonic Academy within which the above described doctrine developed onto the level of theoretical philosphy. Marsiglio Ficino (1433-99) discovered, translated and edited the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the collection of Egyptian magic and Hellenistic Neoplatonism in which *Nous*, the Father, *expressis verbis* encourages man: "Command your soul to take itself to India, and there, sooner than you order, it will be. Command it to fly to heaven, it has no need of wings: nothing can obstruct it, neither the fire of the sun, nor the air, nor the revolution of the heavens, nor the other celestial bodies. ... If you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot know God: because like is intelligible only to like."[4]

This was the concept of man's reconsidered abilities

that Ficino propagated in his own works, especially in *De vita coelitus comparanda* (1489), a work which defined magic as operations making man ascend to God. Ficino's disciple, Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) developed his master's philosophy, combining his Neoplatonism with Jewish cabala and wrote a famous treatise entitled *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486) in which he stated that the true distinction of man consists rather in the fact that he has no fixed properties but has the power to share in the properties of all other beings, according to his own free choice (cf. Kristeller 1963, 218). Pico starts his thesis by invoking the occult pagan authorities and the Arabians: "'There is nothing to be seen more wonderful than man.' In agreement with this opinion is the saying of Hermes Trismegistus: 'A great miracle, Asclepius, is man.'" Then he proceeds to an outburst of poetical images comparable to that of Marlowe's: "Who would not desire, by neglecting all human concerns, by despising the goods of fortune, and by disregarding those of the body, to become the guest of the gods while yet living on earth, and, made drunk by the nectar of eternity, to be endowed with the gifts of immortality though still a mortal being?"[5]

Pico became entirely flattered by the infinite possibilities that seemed to be open to human efforts and he also referred to magic as a means to realize these possibilities (cf. Yates 1964, 84-117). He advertised several orphic incantations, numerological calculations and magic talismans, but it was Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535) who endeavoured to compile a complete system of magic, a puri-

fied and Christianized one, following the doctrines of the Neoplatonists. In his enormous work, *De occulta philosophia* (published in 1533) he divided the universe into three worlds: the elemental, the celestial, and the intellectual. The first two books dealt with the questions of natural philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, while it was Book Three that explicitely touched the territory of religious and ceremonial magic, including the invocation of demons. Agrippa enlists several examples of superhuman deeds of magicians, some of them very similar to that of Faustus' wishes: "I have seen and known a certain man inscribing the name and sign of a certain spirit on virgin paper in the hour of the moon. When afterwards he had given this to a river frog to devour, and had murmured a certain song, having replaced the frog in the water, soon showers and storms rose up."[6] He also published plenty of incantations here, like as follows: "...per hagios et sedem Adonay, et per o Theos, iscyros athantatos, paracletus: et per haec tria secreta nomina, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, adjuro concestor..,"[7] while he asserts that the spirits appear by the power of geometrical figures, such as the circle, the pentagon, and the cross, to overmaster evil spirits (Nauert 1965, 247), just as in Faustus' soliloquy:

> ...necromantic books are heavenly;
> Lines, circles, signs, letters and characters...
> (I.i,48-9)

As the drama testifies Marlowe was certainly familiar with Agrippa's teachings; moreover, Aprippa-Cornelius person-

ally appears in the play, as Faustus' master in the art of magic. A thorough analysis, however, reveals behind the formal correspondences the striking differences between the world pictures of Marlowe and Agrippa. Ficino and the Neoplatonists turned to magic in order to get closer to God and they always separated their religious, pious magic from the ignorant, dark, and wicked practices of the Middle Ages (cf. Yates 1964, 108). Pico explicitly taught the bringing of magic within the sphere of religion, stating that there is no science proving better the divinity of Christ than magic and cabala,[8] and likewise, Agrippa never ceased emphasizing the importance of faith and divine revelation within his magical network. Man does not by his rational powers learn to use natural forces; he depends, Agrippa argues, on divine inspiration for his control over them (Nauert 1965, 202).

Comparing these pious aims to Faustus' magical practice, we see that only the initiatives are similar, but Marlowe's protagonist chooses a different world in which to realize his goals. Instead of invoking deities like the contemporary Renaissance sources, he casts aside this pretense and dedicates his ceremony directly to Satan, as did the sorcerers of classical literature, Medea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, or Erictho in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, who calls upon the Furies, Hell, Chaos, and Hecate (cf. Kocher 1962, 156).

> Faustus, begin thine incantations
> And try if devils will obey thy hest,
> Seeing thou hast pray'd and sacrific'd to them.
> *Sint mihi dei Acherontis propitii; valeat numen*

> *triplex Jehovae; ignei, aerii, aqatici, terreni spiritus salvate Orientis princeps, Belzebub inferni ardentis monarcha, et Demogorgon, propitiamus vos, ut appareat, et surgat, Mephistophilis.*
>
> (I.iii,5-22)

Kocher (1962, 160) is plausibly right when he says that Marlowe must be separated from the Neoplatonists trend of Renaissance thinking as he retains the dychotomy and antagonism of orthodox religion and the rebellious, damnable "black art" in contrast to Neoplatonist hermetism which treats white magic as a religious means.

Thus, what is Marlowe's conception rooted in? Definitely not in his actual source, the German origin *Faustbuch*, published in English in 1592. The German folk-book and also its English version were mere jest-biographies belonging to a group of books "which in their day were read by all but scholars, and in our day are read by none but scholars" (Wilson 1954, 69). *The History of the Damnable Life and deserved death of Doctor John Faustus* now seems to didactic, rather primitive, coarse-humoured, and dull reading. It gossips a lot about Faustus' childhood, education, the external circumstances of his life; presents the magical practices on the rudimentary level of the popular *Malleus maleficarum* (1484); and most of the book deals with Faustus' adventures and practical jokes, not to mention the detailed condemnation of the Doctor's wicked pact. Marlowe noticed this topic but immediately raised it to the level of phiosophical and spiritual conflict.

(Theology and Freethinking) Marlowe's intellectual approach to the popular story can be explained either within orthodox Christianity - noticeable in the mainstream and the moral of the play; or from the point of view of freethinking and atheism, which the dramatist was also famous for. Orthodoxy would be a logical product of Marlowe's Cambridge years where he studied divinity, while atheism, freethinking, and the cult of Machiavelli also found their way among the Cambridge students (cf. Buckley 1965, 58), not to mention here the world of spies, secret agents, and the London artists, a background to other chapters of Marlowe's biography. Although scholars have been debating for a long time whether to connect Marlowe to orthodox theology or to heretical philosophy, the logical task is to look for a compromising amalgamation of these ideas in Marlowe's plays and to measure - as the best Marlowe studies actually do[9] - the proportion of the above mentioned ingredients.

Faustus is definitely a rebel when he calls upon Satan, stating that,

> Philosophy is odious and obscure,
> Both law and physic are for petty wits;
> Divinity is basest of the three,
> Unpleasant, harsh, contemptible and vile. (I.i,104-7)

He scorns and criticizes theology and religion. This does not necessarily mean atheism in the modern sense of the term but it was definitely considered atheism in the 16th century (Buckley 1965, 136). The same can be stated of Marlowe him-

self . All that we know about his religious views, come from personal attacks, pamphlets, interrogation records and from the famous "Baines report", a spy's denunciation against the dramatist. None of these documents paint Marlowe as a particularly pious character and especially the Baines-note provides a more or less systematic description of his heretical opinions, among them the oft-quoted blasphemies:

> 'He affirmeth, that Moses was but a juggler...
> 'That the first beginning of religion was only to keep men in awe.
> 'That Christ was a bastard and His mother dishonest.
> 'That St. John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christ and leaned always in his bosom; that he used him as the sinners of Sodoma.
> 'That if he were put to write a new religion, he would undertake both a more excellent and admirable method, and that the New Testament is filthily written.'[10]

Kocher (1962, 33-69) thoroughly examined this information and came to the conclusion that its content highly resembled an organised dissertation against Christianity, having the form and typical expressions of a Renaissance treatise on theology. Kocher also tried to reconstruct this unpublished thesis, which must have been familiar to many contemporary intellectual circles as we know about it from other sources:

> 'That he saith and verily believeth that one Marlowe is able to show more sound reasons for atheism than any divine in England is able to prove divinity, and that Marlowe told him he hath read the atheist lecture to Sir Walter Raleigh and others.'[11]

The restored treatise testifies that it was more than a mere blasphemous joke, as having a strong kinship with the thoughts of Celsus, the classical sceptic philosopher. Marlowe could easily get access to his ideas through widely known theological books which naturally were directed against Celsus but in the refutation-process they repeated his ideas. Such books were Origen's *Against Celsus* (3rd century A.D.) and Philip Duplessis Mornay's *Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (1581), the latter translated into English in 1587.

Not only the Baines-note throws light on Marlowe's habit of deriving ideas from books generally contrarious to those ideas. Another example of this kind of compilation is the manuscript that was confiscated among the papers of a dramatist, Thomas Kyd, once Marlowe's room-mate in London. It was written by Kyd's hand but the arrested playwright avowed it had originally been composed by Marlowe. The text is an Antitrinitarian argumentation against Jesus Christ (and this radical heresy was boldly called atheism in the 16th century) and modern scholarship has proved that its origin is a book by John Proctor, published in 1549, with the title *The Fal of the Late Arrian*. Proctor's book reprinted an Antitrinitarian pamphlet, written by the "late Arrian", and refuted it paragraph by paragraph. Buckley (1965, 124-5) remarks that when the refutation material is removed and the sections or paragraphs are all put together, they form exactly the same work as the one found in Kyd's study.

When tracing after the origin of Marlowe's theological and philosophical ideas, these biographical documents lead us

away from Agrippa and the Neoplatonists into another direction, towards religious scepticism and some radical sects, especially Antitrinitarianism. Before referring to these, it should be mentioned here that scepticism was not unknown to Agrippa either, but the magus experienced different kinds of doubts and disillusionment. Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientarium* (1526), the product of the author's sceptical period, was published in English in 1569 so it may have influenced Marlowe with certain points of its argumentation. Still, its general tone is different from that of the English dramatist. Agrippa called into question the fruits of human reason and stated that any higher patterns of explanation, in the occult arts or in any science, are merely arbitrary constructs of the human mind without any objective existence. He considered all scientific research ridiculous (including his own hermetic studies) and also expressed his doubts concerning religion, but actually he never left the external side of the Catholic faith (Nauert 1965, 184-215).

On the other hand, the Neoaristotelian philosophy (especially Pietro Pomonazzi and the Paduan school) and the radical Bible criticism referred to human reason when attacking the inconsistencies of Christianity. Antitrinitarianism was the most radical form of this type of criticism in the period of the Renaissance. This sect - an established church in Poland and in Transylvania - denied the deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost and among the Reformation schools went farthest in the criticism of the Christian dogmas. Antitrinitarianism - later called Unitarianism - accepted a liberal

Apart from Ellis Fermor 1927, who interprets *Doctor Faustus* as a conflict between two conceptions of the universe, medieval and classical, all the scholarly analyses of the play emphasize that the intellectual clash develops within a single theological system, namely the tragedy turns upon Faustus' rational rejection of Christianity and his emotional attachement to it (cf. for example Henderson 1978, 128). Again, we shall see that the ground for a solid anaysis has to be that of the healthy compromise between the two argumentations.

Kocher (1962, 104-19) was the first to point out that the drama "is not primarily one of external action but of spiritual combat within the soul of one man, waged according to the laws of the Christian world order" (op.cit., 104). And this spiritual struggle is really serious when Faustus wanders along the way of damnation from rebellious pride to hopeless despair. Thus, I feel it somewhat frivolous when Kocher (*ibid.*) writes that "this theme allows Marlowe congenial opportunites of blaspheming without fear of being called to account. Through Faustus he can utter strictures on prayer, on Hell, on the harshness of Christian dogma, and then cover them safely with the usual orthodox replies." He seems to be nearer to a fair interpretation when he remarks that however desperate in his desire to be free, Faustus, like Marlowe, is bound to Christianity by the surest of chains - hatred mingled with reluctant longing, and fascination much akin to fear (op.cit., 119).

Faustus' revolt against the limitations of medieval

> 'That the Holie Ghost is not God, but an Holy spirite.
> 'That Christ is only man and synfull as other men are.
> 'That no children ought to be baptized before their full age and to know what they should beleave'
> (Buckley 1965, 58).

Kett, who had been a fellow of Marlowe's college at Cambridge, was sent to the stake in 1589.

After reviewing the more and less accepted theological and philosophical trends at Marlowe's disposal, we can conclude that three main sources ought to be taken into consideration, all three antipathetic to each other: Cambridge Calvinist orthodoxy; Neoplatonic magic; and radical Reformation. It is also interesting to see that though these trends were contrarious, they very often appeared parallel in the crucible of Renaissance ideas. Still, an analysis of *Doctor Faustus* proves that the odyssey of Marlowe's intellect took place within the fabric of orthodox Christianity.

(Orthodoxy In Doctor Faustus) Though the most poetical parts of *Doctor Faustus* - culminating in the scene presenting Faustus' outburst of love towards the apparition of Helen of Troy - reflect the Renaissance cult for man's infinite power, for classical Antiquity, and for ideal beauty. Other crucial motifs - Faustus' religious conflict and the general tone of the *Prologue* and the *Epilogue* - keep the play as a whole within the argumentation of the Christian religion.

universal theism that practically pointed towards atheism, and in fact, a trend within today's Unitarianism actually denies the existence of God (John Dewey's concept of Religious Humanism).

Sixteenth century Antitrinitarianism was strongest in Eastern Europe[12] and one of the most interesting figures of the movement, Christian Francken of Brandenburg, the apostate, reached a state of religious scepticism not far from atheism. In 1593 he wrote a treatise in Kolozsvár (Transylvania) that, even in its title - *Disputatio de incertitudine religionis christianae* - manifested the greatest divergence from orthodoxy. This work remained unpublished but another treatise of his (*Praecipuarum enumeratio causarum*, 1584), definitely Antitrinitarian and just a little milder in scepticism, had been published in Poland and soon found its way even to England. The mysterious natural philosopher and traveller, Doctor John Dee sent a copy of this book to the Archbishop of Canterbury about 1592, calling the work "of blasphemie against Christ and the Holy Ghost".[13] Arianism and Antitrinitarianism could not become very widely accepted in 16th century England, still we have evidence of their popularity among certain intellectual circles. Sir Walter Raleigh and his mathematician, Thomas Harriot, may be suspected of it and it is also worth noticing that beginning in 1579 there was a series of burnings at Norwich for this type of heresy. Most famous among the victims was Francis Kett, who stated

> 'That Christ was not High Priest until his Assention into Heaven.

knowledge and his contract with the Devil in order to gain superhuman power can be interpreted either as the protagonist's psychological effort to return to his subconscious archetype (cf. C.G. Jung's "night-religion" theory in his *Seele und Erde*) or simply as a mighty Renaissance desire to transcend the limitations of individual man and rise to greater achievements and heights (Fitzwater 1972, 45). From a theological viewpoint this revolt, however, is nothing but the deadly sin of pride making the hero dissatisfied with his position in the universe ordered and arranged by God, and tempts him to disregard the law of nature according to which supernatural powers are reserved for the gods and that the man who attempts to handle or deal with magical powers must face eternal damnation.

Faustus combines this capital sin with an even more serious one, that of despair, from the very beginning of the play. Already in his first soliloquy he comes to the conclusion that

> The reward of sin is death. That's hard.
> *Si peccasse negamus, fallimur, et nulla est in nobis veritas.*
> If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth
> In us. Why then, belike we must sin, and so consequently die.
>
> (I.i,40-3)

He derives these ideas from St. Paul: "sin pays a wage, and the wage is death" (*Rom.* 6:23), and from St. John: "If we

claim to be sinless, we are self-deceived and strangers to the truth" (1 John 1:8). This rigid opinion coincides with Calvin's severe notion that man, of his own nature, is too weak and corrupt to repent of his sins unless God has chosen to give him the grace. This is the basis for Faustus' embittered obduracy:

> Now, Faustus, must
> Thou needs be damned and canst thou not be saved
> What boots it then to think of God or heaven?
> Away with such vain fancies and despair.
> Despair in God and trust in Belzebub:
> Now go not backward: no, Faustus, be resolute.
> (II.i,1-6)

and his stubbornness is strengthened from time to time by Mephistopheles or by the Bad Angel:

> *Faustus:* Contrition, prayer, repentance, what of these?
> *Good Angel:* O they are means to bring thee unto heaven.
> *Bad Angel:* Rather illusions, fruits of lunacy,
> That makes man foolish that do trust them most.
> (II.i, 17-20)

Kocher (1962, 106) has pointed out that "Faustus makes the fatal error of not going on to see that man, thus condemned by the letter of the law, is redeemed through the sacrifice of Christ if he will faith in God's mercy and will repent his sins." Faustus' mistake is that he stopped reading St. John's letter in the middle of the verse while it goes on as follows:

"If we confess our sins, he (i.e. God) is just, and may be trusted to forgive our sins and cleanse us from every kind of wrong" and also "we are being cleansed from every sin by the blood of Jesus, his Son" (1 John 1:7-9).

This kind of Calvinist fatalism is highly manifested in the contemporary witch-theories. When Faustus contracts with the Devil he formally renounces God and becomes a witch. Describing this process Marlowe's play is but a literary illustration of the theological treatises on witchcraft. The world of Faustus is akin to that of the ideas described in Jean Bodin's *La Démonomania des sorciers* (this book, published in Paris, 1580, was a real authority on 16th witchcraft-literature), Lavater's *Of Ghostes and spirites* (translated into English in 1572), Reginald Scott's *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), or George Gifford's *Discourse of the Subtle Practices of Devils by Witches and Sorcerers* (1587), to mention just the most popular ones of Marlowe's time (cf. Rowse 1974, 1:293-306).

Thomas (1973, 588-98) explains the fact that it was not by chance that the Faustian theme of pacting with Satan raised interest among the people of the Renaissance, and especially in Protestant areas. In the Middle Ages, says Thomas, the organized religion had its means to protect the believer from the attacks of Satan and the maleficence of witchcraft. The *Malleus maleficarum* declared that the exorcisms of the Church were for this very purpose. Until there was no shortage of holy water, candles, church bells, consecrated herbs, and powerful prayers, the Christian might feel

immunity from the fiend. On the contrary, the Reformation disturbed the situation, by drastically reducing the degree of immunity from witchcraft which could be conveyed by religious faith alone (Thomas 1973, 589). The new religion rejected the old mechanical protections as empty symbols, deprived the believers of trusting in their guardian angels while placing an unprecedented stress upon the reality of the Devil and the extent of his earthly dominion.[14] As God made a covenant with His Church, so Satan makes a covenant with his instruments; as God has sacraments, so Satan has his charms and figures; as God revealed His will to his prophets, so Satan to his soothsayers and sybils; as God has his ministers, so Satan has his in witches, declared William Perkins in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (1608, cf. Rowse 1974, 1:302) but at the same time he drastically rejected the exorcism and other superstitions of the Catholic Church. Thus "Protestantism forced its adherents into the intolerable position of asserting the reality of witchcraft, yet denying the existence of any effective and legitimate form of protection or cure" (Thomas 1973, 590).

Satan, in his supposed reality, was considered at that time a fearful tempter, too. The fear was logical as, if the Devil existed physically, being able to appear to human folk, similarly, there could be individuals who entered into semi-feudal contracts with him thus mortgaging their souls in return for a temporary supernatural power and knowledge. Faustian legends emerged at the beginning of the 16th century and were popular for two centuries until the ideological basis

they rested on gradually changed. These legends usually dressed in the form of tales and jest-biographies, which described Satan as a trickster, but also reached such literary heights as Marlowe's play. *Doctor Faustus* is a perfect illustration, with a full fabric of psychological motivation, of the process by which the protagonist becomes ready for damnation having started with forbidden ambitions finally reaching the state of despair caused by a wrong interpretation of the Scriptures. The outcome of the play is entirely orthodox, Faustus' condemnation is full: his fate is a result of his own choice as nothing obstructed has free will. Marlowe still leaves some hints of implicit resentment towards religious dogmas. There must be something imperfect in the revelation of God if it can be misinterpreted, leading men to damnation. This kind of detraction is in complete accord with the Renaissance spirit of criticism and with the author' own statement:

> 'That if he were put to write a new religion, he would undertake both a more excellent and admirable method.'

(Levels of Meaning and Structure) Although in this paper I have tried to look for the connotations of only a few lines of Marlowe's play, actually the opening soliloquy, some concluding remarks can be drawn.

First of all, we cannot help noticing the highly complex system of cultural connotations which provide two parallel interpretations of Marlowe's thoughts on two different notional levels, each containing an intellectual conflict, or

dichotomy:

PHILOSOPHICAL LEVEL

Medieval - Renaissance

THEOLOGICAL LEVEL

Orthodoxy - Radicalism

Every motif and element of *Doctor Faustus* has its place in both systems, always with a twofold meaning. On the philosophical level the play can be seen as a morality (medieval side) with its allegorical characters, (e.g. the Seven Deadly Sins) and with a moral, already determined at the very beginning of the play. This medieval world is ideologized by an orthodox theological explanation, which shows Faustus' fall to be inevitable. On the other hand, in the context of the new Renaissance ideas the same Faustus seems to be a heroic character whose psychological conflict points to tragedy. In this context the allegorical characters, the Good and the Bad Angels, turn out to be different aspects of the protagonist's psyche, and the consistency of the play's theological argumentation becomes undermined by certain "blasphemies", which often resemble the rational criticism of the Unitarians.

The *Prologue* clearly anticipates this double nature of the play referring to the medieval side: "Excelling ... in heavenly matters of theology, till swoll'n with cunning, of a self-conceit, ... falling to a devilish exercise", but also referring to the Renaissance connotations by a poetic image taken from classical mythology: "His waxen wings did mount

above his reach." Icarus' sin was pride (hubris), a capital vice both in classical ethics and Christian morality. The key symbol of the play, the apparition of Helen of Troy also has this twofold meaning. First she is the embodiment of the lost beauty of the classical world (Henderson 1978, 131) chased so fervently by the artists of the Renaissance, while she also makes Faustus commit the ultimate sin, demonality, the bodily intercourse with spirits (Gill 1975, xxvi).

The structure of the drama has the same transitory nature. The rough fabric of the morality is performed in an elevated, highly poetical, new kind of language, with the help of Marlowe's "mighty line". Also the comic underplot between Wagner and the clown, which so excellently parodies Faustus' compact with Lucifer, is partly the heritage of the medieval English stage (Bradbrook 1960, 154) reminiscing about the morality-interlude sequences; at the same time it points forward to Shakespeare whose dramaturgy always mixes the tragic and comic elements - radically differing from the ideals of classical drama, but creating a typical Renaissance English theatre.

Textology explains the roughness of the drama revealing that Marlowe worked with collaborators and not more than 825 lines can be attributed to his own hand (Wilson 1954, 75). The rest of the play was compiled by his fellow-actors or by a little-talented dramatist who must have been more interested in the adventure-episodes of the original *Faustbuch* than in Marlowe's philosophical dilemmas. The textological problems of *Doctor Faustus* are perhaps the most difficult in the

whole history of Elizabethan literature,[15] and this may absolve Marlowe from the charge of being a heedless dramatist, but it will not make the play perfect.

We can reconcile ourselves with the fact that Marlowe's message - inspite of its imperfect shape - is still valid (as the many successful performances of his plays testify) and we can but regret, together with Henderson (1978, 157), that during his short life "he began works on a great design which he could not complete. Intoxicated by the classical vistas opened by the 'new philosophy', he attempted more than he, or anyone else, could achieve."

N O T E S

1 Cologne, 1533. Bk. III, ch. vi. ccxviii. Translated and quoted by Nauert 1965, 251.

2 Cf. also *Col.* 3:10 which confirms the validity of the *Genesis* in the context of the *New Testament*: "(You) have put on the new nature which is being constantly renewed in the image of its Creator and brought to know God." The Biblical quotations are cited here from *The New English Bible*, London, 1974, Penguin.

3 Thanks to cultural historians the importance of Renaissance hermetic philosophy has been emphasized in such works as Festugiere 1950-54; Kristeller 1966; Secret 1965; Walker 1958; Yates 1964.

4 A modern edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum* has been prepared by A.D. Nock and A.J. Festugiere, Paris, 1945-54 (4 vols). The quotation translated and cited by French 1972,75.

5 Translated by Elizabeth Livermore Forbes, ed. by Cassirer 1963, 223-57. The quotation is on p. 233 of this edition.

6 Bk. III, ch. xxiv, ccliv. Translated and quoted by Nauert 1965, 250. See also the quotation at the head of this paper.

7 Agippa *Opera*, Bk. I, 461, quoted by Kocher 1962, 156.

8 "Nulla est scientia que nos magis certificet de divinitate Christi, quam Magia et Cabala" (quoted by Yates 1964, 104).

9 All modern studies emphasize Marlowe's theological preoccupation: e.g. Bradbrook 1960, 151; Gill 1975, xxii; Henderson 1978, 128-9; Wilson 1954, 77-85; etc; while the author's infamous atheism has been most brilliantly es-

teemed by Buckley 1965, 121-37 and Kocher 1962, 21-175. The latter is evidently the best study ever written on Marlowe's ideology and intellect.

10 The document is published in Brooke 1930, but most monographs reprint it.

11 This report is a testimony, commonly known as *Remembrances of words and matter against Richard Cholmley* (published by Brooke 1930), a secret agent, and one of Marlowe's acquaintances.

12 Among Anglo-American scholarly works on Antitrinitarianism most valuable are Wilbur 1952 and Williams 1962, but it should be mentioned here that the 16th century history of this movement has been more thoroughly examined by Italian, Polish, and Hungarian scholars, especially by Deglio Cantimori, Lech Szczucki and Antal Pirnát.

13 See: *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, ed. by O.J. Halliwell, London, 1842, at the inscriptions of 5 July, 1587, and 13 October, 1592.

14 Luther, for example, often spoke as if the whole world of visible reality and the flesh belonged to the Devil, the Lord of this world (cf. Thomas 1973, 561).

15 See: Gill 1975 and Wilson 1954, both based upon Greg 1950's pioneer work which compared and analysed the two different texts of the 1604 and 1616 quartos.

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M. Trócsányi

THREE IMAGES OF TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITAIN AS MANIFEST IN THE NOVEL

The present paper constitutes part of a more comprehensive study of a particular aspect of the novel in Britain--it examines the relationship of the artists' world view and their use of imagery in the novels. While this longer study seeks answers to questions like what were the sources of the polarization of the English novel in the twentieth century and how was the process of polarization connected with an insistence on tradition and an artistic dispostion for experiment, the present paper has a far less ambitious goal. From successive historical periods of the twentieth century three novels have been chosen for discussion to show how their writers saw their world and themselves.

Galsworthy's *The Man of Property* has been selected because it is in this novel written at the beginning of the twentieth century that one can witness the *continuity* of the *traditional*, *formal* and *conceptual* features of the English novel entirely *unaffected by* any *experimental* disposition of its author with the novel form.

For contrast and comparison (non-conventionality, an extreme example of experiment with the novel form) did we choose Woolf's *The Waves*. There appears to be a paradoxical feature

at either pole of the polarization process: both in the traditional and in the experimental lines. An Ideologically progressive attitude was formulated in the traditional, formally non-experimental line of Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy and H. G. Wells while the experimental novels of J. Joyce or V. Woolf with their frequent use of flashback technique, interior monologue, multiple point of view, the confrontation of clock-time and mind-time each and all cover or hide an ambivalence in the world-view of the novelist.

The above statement is obviously open to discussion, yet the phenomena of polarization are facts accepted by several critics though they use different terms to describe the process. The greater the distance between the two poles, the more intensive the desire of the serious novelist to restore a comparatively full view of contemporary Britain. Both the traditional and the experimental novelists, in their own way, gave a slightly distorted and limited view of their country.) When studying novelists of the atomic-war period, I found that William Golding can be regarded as a writer who has been striving for a synthesis when forming a view of the nature of postwar existence in Britain. Before I appear to jump to a conclusion too early, I would stress that this synthesis--if ever attained--does not directly derive from either the traditional or the experimental line of novel: Golding drew upon more ancient materials (Egyptian and Greek sources) to try to find answers to major problems of our art and life.

Golding's *Lord of the Flies* has been selected as a remarkable achievement of Golding's search for a comprehensive view

of Britain today, as an example of the effort for the synthesis of what S. Spen er described as "modern" and "contemporary".

I.

Galsworthy: *The Man of Property* (1906)

Why the novel arose exactly in the 18th century we know from G. Lukács and from Arnold Kettle as well. According to Arnold Kettle, "for the bourgeois man feudal society was not satisfactory but frustrating" (Kettle, 1969, 1:35)--the novel arose as the expression of the bourgeois man freed from his feudal ties. The 18th century novelists--as G. Lukács put it--"lived in a post-revolutionary period and this gives their work an atmosphere of stability and security and also a complacent short-sightedness," (Lukács, 1950, 150).

Was not the historical situation at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in some respects similar to the above one? Between the Civil War and the First World War there was no crisis comparable to these ones for Britain and her people. The early 18th century was the beginning, the late 19th century the end of the same process: classical, free-enterprise capitalism. Late Victorian society with its features of growing imperialism was frustrating and disappointing for its intellects (Thomas Hardy), yet it still retained something of the atmosphere of the stability and prosperity of an earlier, bygone period that they could not look at otherwise than with nostalgia, (Galsworthy). Galsworthy, on the evidence of his writing suffered from a short-sightedness of a different nature from what Lukács

described above. His cultural, intellectual myopia rose from his social position, from his belonging to upper layers of the middle class that still held its position firmly. The difference between the opening and the closing period of the traditional social novel in Britain was manifest in the fact that while 18th century novelists accepted and shared the value system of their society (Defoe, Richardson), Matthew Arnold, Thomas Hardy, Joseph Conrad or John Galsworthy were all at odds with a society whose values they could not or would not share.

Galsworthy was on the way to become a novelist when the British Labour Party was founded (1900), or when two years later Balfours's Educational Act created a coherent educational system in Britain. Sylvia Pankhurst was nearly-contemporary to Galsworthy: it was she who began first militant agitation for women's suffrage (1904). In 1911, the Parliament Act restricted the previously unlimited veto power of the House of Lords. In the following year, allegedly influenced by the performance of a Galsworthy play (*Justice*), Winston Churchill, the then Home Secretary, took immediate measures to improve prison conditions in Britain. Considering the state of the "two nations" it appeared at the turn of the two centuries that democratic rights and general welfare did increase, and Galsworthy as a public figure and dramatist had a not insignificant role in that. Yet his achievement as a novelist is slightly different from that of the public figure.

In his foreword to the *Forsyte Saga*, he summed up his goal as a novelist as follows:

> "This long tale is no scientific study of the period; it is rather an intimate incarnation of the disturbances that Beauty effects in the lives of men. The figure of Irene, never present except through the sense of other characters, is a concretion of disturbing beauty impinging on the possessive world," (Galsworthy, 1960-3).

Galsworthy's principles as a novelist were in accordance with philosophical concepts he studied and made his own: with positivism. This doctrine contends that sense perception are the only admissible basis of human knowledge and precise thought. A natural consequence of this concept was that Galsworthy was very keen to describe *details* of events or of *action*. When examining *The Man of Property* one finds that his descriptions are precise, the buildings and addresses in his novels are easy to locate. Galsworthy's biographers discovered and discussed at length how I ene had been modelled from Galsworthy's wife. The major questions for us at present are whether we get a coherent picture of contemporary society from *The Man of Property*, what this image of the country is like, and through what means this view is presented.

We come to know the upper middle class of London from the very first page of the novel onwards, from the occasion of the "at home" event of the Forsytes, when June Forsyte and Philip Bosinney announce their engagement. Galsworthy's aim is obvious: to present the typical, characteristic part of Britain through a small sample, a family--an "upper middle class family in full plumage... a family so formidable a unit of society, so clear a reproduction of society in miniature..." (Galsworthy,

1970, 11).

The sentences that convey this information to the reader are all massive, firmly built, balanced: the economy of each phrase according to its function is properly weighed. This statement, on careful examination, holds good not only for the first page, or for the first volume: it is a major stylistic feature of Galsworthy's Forsyte trilogies. The description of old Jolyon--centre and archetype of the Forsytes--is an example of Galsworthy's mastery of style in exterior description:

> "Eighty years of *age*, with his fine, white hair, his dome-like forehead, his little, dark, grey eyes, and an immense white moustage which drooped and spread below the level of his strong jaw, he had a patriarchal look, and in spite of lean cheeks and hollows at his temples, *seemed* master of *perennial youth*," (Galsworthy, 1970, 13).

The primary feature (age) is syntactically firmly linked through signs of age and through "he" to its opposite in appearance: to "youth".

While the above was an example of objective description inspired by the writer's sympathy, the strong shade of irony is unmistakable in the following lines:

> "There, spreading to the distance, lay London, with no sun over it, mourning the loss of its daughter, mourning with this family, so dear, the loss of her who was mother and guardian. A hundred thousand spires and houses, blurred in the grey web of property, lay there like prostrate worshippers before the grave of this, the oldest Forsyte of them all", (Galsworthy, 1970, 107).

Galsworthy exaggerated the significance of the Forsytes, of Anne Forsyte in the above example, in particular, by subordinating building and spires of huge London to a Forsyte of property. Their world appears to be firm and secure with the Forsytes encased in their possessions. Galsworthy's irony is particularly forceful in the lines describing them as "cattle when a dog comes into the field they stood head to dead, shoulder to shoulder prepared to run upon and trample the invader to death", (Galsworthy, 1970, 15). Bosinney is the invader who might bring new and disturbing ideas into the family. The visual acuity of the single image acquires symbolic value when viewing the novel as a whole: with Bosinney's death within it.

Among the Forsytes, where emotions like gratitude are useless, new, refreshing ideas can only enter through marriages. Irene (Soames' wife), young Jolyon's wife and Philip Bosinney represent beauty in the novel--most of the Forsytes can think about it only as a feature or form of their property which is valuable. Enigmatic Irene, when shown motionless, evokes the plain, unadorned beauty of Greek vases, Bosinney's love of beauty becomes manifest in the house he planned, built for her and which is the cause of his death. Several English critics definitely refused Galsworthy's presentation of Irene and Bosinney by saying he was a reckless, careless architect, who simply could not count the expenses of the house and, having spent more than was allowed to, in a way he was the cause of his own tragedy. D. H. Lawrence or Arnold Kettle both refused the lifelessness of the anti-Forsytes,

i.e. of Irene and Bosinney. Arnold Kettle summarized his judgement of *The Man of Property* (according to us with considerable exaggeration) by referring to it as a "museum-piece", (Kettle, 1969, 2:90). Though Bosinney is really not a 'round' character, and Irene also appears to be sham and non-convincing at places, one should bear in mind, that the passages describing the emotions between Irene and Bosinney were, in many ways, very personal for Galsworthy, and also that some of the passages about Irene belong to the few, suggestive and forceful, lyrical passages of the novel. Irene's return home after her double loss (June 'takes Bosinney back' before either of them could realize that they both have lost him) becomes a double defeat: she can do nothing but return home to the man she hates. Galsworthy's description of her suggests depth and true tragedy. She is shown with looks "like the wide, startled brown eyes of an owl", then he elaborates the original simile concentrating it into a metaphor and stresses her resemblace to a "captive owl" when she "sat there huddled like a bird that is shot and dying...with slow, soft, unseeing look", (Galsworthy, 1970, 311-12).

Rarely is a writer's world-view so directly seen in his style as Galsworthy's positivism referred to above in *The Man of Property*. The clauses are bound tightly to one another, and firmly attached to the predicate. (See the description of old Jolyon above). As the sentences are individually built, so is the whole novel constructed, linking paragraph to paragraph, chapter to chapter. The chapter titles themselves are clear labels: there is little doubt in the reader about their

content. The firm structure of the first volume does not loosen throughout the *Forsyte Saga*, only the sentences become vaguer, their balance and argumentative power weaker.

The lyrical passages quoted about Irene are rare in the novel, which is another, indirect mark of the mechanic-materialistic elements of Galsworthy's world-view. His style is rather definitive than suggestive: even those few pictorial elements of his descriptions are exact, objectivised and feel heavy, like a brick in the hand.

The major deficiency of Galsworthy's art as a novelist, is his lack of ability to concentrate or delete passages where necessary. In many excellent parts the long comments following it did not explain the passage before, but explained it away. Examples are too many to make it necessary to quote any of them. A natural consequence of using ten words where five would better do, is the poor, evocative, suggestive power of his written word. There is a contrast and contradiction within his style that D. H. Lawrence and Arnold Kettle equally dislike and criticize: the novel as a whole is an odd mixture of naturalism and symbolism: the beauty symbol hangs over the detailed naturalistic descriptions of the Forsytes like a fashionable dress badly cut.

When speaking about Soames as *The Man of Property* we cannot help comparing him with the descriptions given of him in later volumes of the Forsyte trilogies. It is in these later volumes where there appears to be a contradiction stronger than the mixture of styles referred to above--between the artistic achievement in the novel and the political, social

commitment of Galsworthy, the public man. While he firmly criticized or attacked contemporary British bourgeois society, all his sympathy for the strikes and for the poor in prison sound unconvincing when the cruel possessive man of property is made to appear as somebody that Galsworthy found possible to follow.

The image Galsworthy gave of London at the turn of the century in *The Man of Property* was convincing as long as his irony made us feel the difference and distance between author and his figures. Yet making London appear as essentially middle-class is a slight distortion of contemporary existence in the British capital: Galsworthy as novelist remained within the value system of his own class, and technically he would not see the rise of a new novel and its perspectives.

II.

Virginia Woolf: *THE WAVES* (1931)

Miss Woolf's refusal in 1919, in "Modern Fiction", of a group of artists, with Galsworthy among them, labelled as "materialists", suggested an entirely different concept of, and attitude towards the 20th century English novel. Her main complaint against A. Bennett, J. Galsworthy and H.G. Wells was that "life escapes" from their works, the "luminous halo", the "semi-transparent envelope" of experience could not be felt. She stressed the need in fiction of the rendering of the *personal, individual, private* aspects of experience. By refusing what she called "materialist novelists" she did

Not deny realism, though the neo-realism she had inherited with other members of the Bloomsbury group from the philosophy of E.G. Moore allowed ample space for subjective, idealistic interpretations of reality. She rather criticized the *shallow, unimaginative, impersonal* atmosphere of the prose written by the above authors. In Woolf's prose we have an entirely internalized view of the world (this holds good particularly to *The Waves*) with "the visionary piercing through to reality", (Blackstone 1972, 166).

The lyrical, visual elements of her style, the rich use of imagery in her prose were results of a deliberate effort: she wanted to give the reader the experience he may receive when watching an exhibition piece by Cezanne.

When we attempt to study Woolf's world-view that she had formed of early twentieth century Britain, we come upon a reality entirely different from the narrow scope and massive solidity of the *Forsyte Saga*. Her first novel was composed under personal and social uncertainties and published in the first year of the war. She was anti-Victorian like most members of the Bloomsbury group, for whom traditional, material values of the 19th century like stability, prosperity, respectability seemed to have disappeared with the century. In 1924, when she said that "in or about December 1910 human nature changed", she should have rather referred to the social changes that deeply affected the form and function of individual existence. Britain was slowly opening her windows on the world: more and more of European cultural influences found their way to the British Isles. (Czekhov and Dostoyevsky were

were first translated into English in 1909, 1912 respectively, the first London exhibition of French impressionists was held in 1910.

Of Virginia Woolf's best novels, *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) seems to have combined best the traditional elements of the novel with technical experiments on the novel form: this novel gives the reader the most direct view of contemporary Britain, of London in particular.

I find, however, that it is in *The Waves* that she arrives at the extreme end of experimentation with the novel form and it is in this novel that the exterior world is almost entirely internalized. Not only different forms of individual experience in Britain are shown or reflected in the interior monologues: the constant shifts of point of view, the discontinuity in presentation and the sumultaneous appearance of different impressions of different characters all serve to enable the readers to have a better knowledge of the individual self, and of themselves as well. Where Galsworthy's novel developed lengthwise, Virginia Woolf's *The Waves* probed depthwise: into the clock-time of about twelve hours, the mind-time of six carerrs; through their symbolic value the whole human life is concentrated from birth to death. In her novel the reader is brought within the creative process, every reading is a rediscovery of what Woolf may have experienced when composing the novel.

On opening *The Waves* our very first impressions of Woolf's prose come to us through our eyes: visual effects reach us first. The sight of the sea and of the sky both

appear slowly through the light effects of the sun as if a photograph was being slowly developed.

"The sea was slightly creased as if a cloth had wrinkles in it",(Woolf 1964, 5).

With the above lines there begins a series of comparisons which do not come to an end before the novel does, and they often take the form of lyrical similes and constitute not a decorative but a functional element of the book: they make themselves "the organic form", (Blackstone 1972, 243), and pave the way to the reader's understanding of the individual lives. The clauses of comparisons reach out like arms for known and familiar elements to elucidate with them the more abstract and distant.

The first passage quoted above is followed by snapshots of individual dreams of six characters, who are small children then. Their dreams, all in the form of pictures, appeal to the visual fantasy of the reader: each child has a single and unique vision which serves as a guide-line for the character for the rest of the novel.

Bernard sees "a ring" (unity, symmetry, sympathy); Susan a "slab of pale yellow" (uncertainty, vagueness); Jinny a "crimson tassel twisted with gold threads" (love of pleasure, of beauty, of easy-going way of life); Neville a 'globe' (completeness and perfection as his aims); Rhoda hears a sound and "Louis also hears something, something stamping. A great beast's foot is chained. It stamps and stamps", (Woolf 1964, 6) (fear, horror). The fact that Rhoda and Louis *hear* sounds while the others see different pictures also sug-

gests that the two figures will have a great deal in common throughout their lives.

The novel is constructed along a series of soliliquies that grow out of the individual dreams and visions of the children. The writer completely disposes of plot, any real dialogue, action or exterior discription except for a few italicized passages which, like a framework, describe the passing of one day as seen in the forms and colours of the sea and seaside. These italicized passages follow the progress of the individual lives, from childhood to adulthood and from adulthood to old age and death. Thus, as Avrom Fleisham puts it, "sunrise equals birth and sunset death" (Fleisham 1975, 153).

Of the six figures Rhoda and Bernard deserve special attention for our discussion because they are both *personae* of the author.

Bernard with his efforts wants to create harmony, unity and balance of the fragments of knowledge he acquires himself and from others. Rhoda, the dreamer, the outcast, who lives apparently in the world of fantasy, acquires the most poignant knowledge of the six of them: a lesson taught by fear, horror and dread.

Two examples from the numerous in the novel about Louis and Rhoda respectively show us the way Virginia Woolf's mind works and rises to infinite distances from simple, concrete images.

Louis, the Australian boy, is standing watching a flower:

> "I hold a stalk in my hand. I am the stalk. My roots go down to the depths of the world, through earth, dry with brick and damp earth, through veins of lead and silver. I am all fibre (Woolf 1964, 9).

The childhood vision, when realised in adulthood, does not seem to have changed considerably: the roots and fibres appear as telephone wires that connect Louis, the businessman in London, with half of the world. Yet, with his Australian accent, with his failure to establish a lasting relationship with Rhoda he remains an outcast for life.

Of Rhoda's childhood-images one contains the germs of all what she will experience later in her life. Rhoda is sitting in the classroom, doing math exercises. She finds it is a hard job for her.

> "The others are handing in their answers, one by one. Now it is my turn. But I have no answer...I am left alone to find an answer. The figures mean nothing now...Look, the loop of the figure is beginning to fill with time; it holds the world in it. I begin to draw a figure and the world is looped in it, and I myself am outside the loop... The world is entire and I am outside of it crying 'Oh save me from being blown for ever outside the loop of time!'" (Woolf 1964, 17).

Bernard, the 'phrase-maker' made, similarly, serious efforts to reach out into the distance through the creative power of his imagination to strive for a communion with the others--friends or fellow-men. Yet he feels more and more that, by coming to know his fellow-men better, he becomes

diluted, he becomes partly dissolved in them and there returns the urgent need to re-determine himself, to recapture his identity.

The relationships of all the six figures in the novel grow from the separateness of six children to a communion twice in the novel at the adulthood of characters, and end in complete isolation of six old, disillusioned people.

Bernard's effort at integrating the six different figures in a common knowledge of them ends in disintegration. The sentence at the end of the novel "The waves broke on the shore", is no more a reflection of a thought in the mind, but a real fact: Bernard's death.

The individual soliloquies through which Bernard tries to know them are bound together through the associations in one mind of the other character. Thus, for example, Susan visualizes Rhoda "on the path, rocking petals in her brown basin" (Woolf 1964, 14). Rhoda follows apparently as if "answering" Susan's associations. The simple images are bound together not only through a common element of thought in them: they are all closely related to the central image, the symbol of the waves as well. The pictures in the individual minds are reflections of continual waves of thought dominated by an internal rhythm in them.

The formation of relationships between one character in the novel and another also follows the pattern of the movement of the waves from pull to push, from affection to dislike and on to love, and back to dislike and hatred again. (Rhoda--Louis.)

As the soliloquies progress, their "content", the thoughts in them, become richer as the waves of thoughts become more powerful: the scope of the associations widens, the figures go deeper in the exploration of their own character or of the other figure. The deeper they dive in the other self in the process of cognition or recognition, the more knowledge and valuable experience they bring up for themselves. (Like the large waves which move a greater amount of water and hold more powerful energies.)

The waves of the associations move on toward a kind of goal--as much as the characters strive to attain the purpose that appeared before them in the dream of the opening chapter. Neville moves on in the creative process, Bernard acquires more knowledge and wisdom, Louis achieves success in business, Susan experiences happiness earned by hard work in and for a family, Jinny moves on towards new, repeated though passing pleasures in life that she fully enjoys, Rhoda seems to be the only one who is floating rootlessly: she does not seem to progress towards any goal.

The associations of the six characters also move towards a common goal: it takes the shape of a common image in their second meeting. The image of a flower with six petals is shared by all the six of them: it means the same for everybody for a moment: subordination of the self to the community. Rhoda found it most difficult to experience unity and communion with the others: her world was entirely different and the more she attempted to approach, the more difficult it appeared to be for her.

But the symbol of the waves apparently has autobiographical roots as well. Not only in the childhood experiences of summers spent at the seaside; but also in the way Woolf's whole conduct of life followed, very closely, the rhythmic movement of the waves. Her "delicate health" often gave way: she improved when in the progress of or preparing for a holiday novel", exhaustion followed completion of a major novel, her torturing headaches returned, and she got back on the crest of the wave with the lifting power of a new idea of a new book. And the cyclic progress was repeated again and again.

Miss Woolf has often been criticized that she almost entirely ignored in her novels the material world outside. Through her attempt with exploring the nature of human consciousness she created an extremely subjective view of contemporary Britain, though indirectly British ways of life are unmistakable in the associations of her figures. (Cricket, endless cups of tea, prayer before the day begins at school, sermon in the morning at school,subtle, social distinctions--Louis, the successful Australian boy is looked upon as a foreigner because of his accent. The last "proof" that the novel was composed in Britain is Woolf's love of the sea as shown in her description and in the symbolism of the waves: only the civilisation of an island could create a novel like *The Waves*.)

In her involvement with the exhaustive study of individual characters, Woolf atomized their internal world and with it the reflections of the world outside. Then she rearranged

these fractures according to a solid pattern of nature, the rhythmic rise and fall of the waves--but according to no pattern of contemporary society. As if the world, the Western civilisation in particular, had appeared to be entirely without a centre or structure--she composed her novel in the time of economic crisis, the Great Crash and the appearance in Europe of the danger of fascism.

Woolf's image of Britain in 1931 contained an individualized, internalized view of the world, a world "without a self". The novel is a tragic vision of the relationship between individual and community: connections are scattered and even though knowledge might suggest that communion of individuals can be attained, (the two communions in the novel) facts of experience contradict: the figures end in complete isolation; though Bernard strives towards a new start, he is defeated.

Woolf herself seems to explain her ceaseless use of imagery in the novel: "Visual impressions often communicate to us briefly statements that we shall in time to come uncover and coax into words" (Woolf 1964, 162).

The explanation, I believe, lies deeper. 'The arms of similes' frequently did not shorten but increase the distance between the objects compared and compared to. For Rhoda, people's words were blades, tongues like whips beating her. Her imagery pointed toward alienation of the self from the world that she so dearly wanted to conquer. Woolf's rich use of lyrical imagery was also a mark of the ideological ambivalence of the novelist: when unable to *describe* or *determine* the nature of experience, she compares, and by *comparing*

tries to seize the object or the image. Yet life escapes from her novels, from *The Waves* as well: through her study of the mind, of the milliards of impressions, she lost contact with the ground.

The source of ambivalence of V. Woolf's world-view is fairly obvious: she refused the matter of fact 'materialism' of her contemporaries for 'another' kind of reality--akin to the neo-realism referred to above. Away from 'materialism' through impressionism in the novel form she arrived, unnoticed, at a kind of'other reality',the reality of the mind. From here, with the aesthetic subordination of the world to the self, she was very near to the acceptance of an overt idealism and subjectivism. The world was split for her and there was no bridge over the gap.

III.

William Golding: *LORD OF THE FLIES* (1954)

When studying a novel written after the Second World War, we are concerned with a different historical period in Britain again. The polarization of the novel-form had also been a reflection of the collapse of the traditional, 19th century value system that neither the traditional line of the novelists, nor the experimentalists were able to share or accept. Any serious novel since the Second World War has been an attempt to express the new values of post-war Britain, which are slow to take shape. The new element of social and individual existence in Britain (and more or less all over bourgeois Europe and part of the world), is the growing sense

of uncertainty experienced also because of the loss of massive colonial territories, and the fear of the people living in the shadow of the mushroom-cloud. Another novelty appears in the way that social sciences view man in society: at the turn of the century the individual, personal, private aspect was stressed in the study of man (psycho-analysis), while the late forties brought the first comprehensive studies of group psychology and social psychology which view the individual as acting in or being acted upon by communities.

When one thinks of a synthesis of the traditional construction of the novel form and the experimental achievements, one expects the restoration of plot, story and living character, as well as a suggestive, lyrical power of the written word which points beyond surface values.

William Golding's novels, described as "fables", "myth" or "allegory", each and all have a good story, a fairly clear plot. They also make use of what critics and the author describe as "gimmick"--a sudden shift (or several shifts) in the point of view of the novel.

Virginia Tiger, author of the most recent biography on William Golding's art, described his novels as constructed upon an ideographic structure with a coda ending. In the title of her study she stressed the exploring attitude of the writer and his efforts to discover more of the true nature of man (Tiger 1974, 43).

In *Lord of the Flies* Golding chose real children as his protagonists, he created a scene after an air-crash that is frighteningly convincing and realistic, and he made these

children speak in a language they would normally use. (Golding knew school-children very well from several years of teaching them in a Salisbury cathedral school.)

From games on the island grew rivalry, from rivalry battles, from battles murders, that came to a halt with the interference of the outer, adult world. Yet, in spite of the realistic circumstances

> "the whole book is symbolic in nature except the rescue in the end, where adult life appears, dignified and capable, but in reality enmeshed in the same evil as the symbolic life of the children on the island." (Epstein 1972, 189).

The above lines were Golding's own explication of the thematic content of his novel.

My method, when studying Golding's novels was an approach from texture to structure, and from structure towards the wider world-view of the novelist with a constant comparison of my findings in the text of the novels with Golding's own comments and theoretical writings. Before discussing some aspects of the novel towards a synthesis, I would like to study one passage in detail to show how Golding evokes symbolic content from the simple picture that he presents.

> "The dark sky was shattered by a blue-white scar. An instant later the noise was on them like the blow of a gigantic whip. The chant rose a tone in agony. *Kill the beast! Cut his throat! Spill his blood!* Now out of the terror rose another desire, thick, urgent, blind. *Kill the beast! Cut his throat! Spill his blood!* Again the blue/white

> scar jagged above them and the sulphurous explosion beat down. The littluns screamed and blundered about fleeing from the edge of the forest, and one of them broke the ring of biguns in his terror.
> Him! Him!
> The circle became a horseshoe. A thing was crawling out of the forest. It came darkly, uncertainly. The shrill screaming that rose before the beast was like a pain. The beast stumbled into the horseshoe.
> *Kill the beast! Cut his throat! Spill his blood!*
> The blue/white scar was constant, the noise unendurable. Simon was crying out something about a dead man on the hill.
> Kill the beast! Cut his throat! Spill his blood!
> Do him in!
> The sticks fell and the mouth of the new circle crunched and screamed. The beast was on its knees in the centre, its arms folded over its face. It was crying out against the abominable noise something about a body on the hill. The beast struggled forward, broke the ring, and fell over the steep edge of the rock to the sand by the water. At once the crowd surged after it, poured down the rock, leaped on to the beast, screamed, struck, bit, tore. There were no words, and no movements but the tearing of teeth and claws" (Golding 1960, 145).

A metaphor and a simile help us to *see* the scene: the children are preparing for a feast under the dark sky before a storm. A '*blue-white scar*' and the '*blow of a gigantic whip*' affect our eyes and ears, and both images suggest fear, injury and pain that *is* or *might* be caused. Thus, in its possible consequences, *sight* and *sound* are united.

A '*thing*', '*the beast*' and '*Simon*' are the three objects

that we see next. From the sky, attention is drawn to the ground, to the little clearing, the circle and then the horseshoe of the boys, the figure '*stumbling in*' to the horseshoe of the children. A '*thing*', '*the beast*' and '*Simon*' as subjects introducing three very different sentences appear to be such different and independent objects that not even a careful and attentive reader would identify the one with the other at once. The three things are not expected to arrive: the children do not know *the beast*, they have never seen it, *Simon* left the party of boys a short while before, and '*the thing*' for the reader is a new peculiar word combination of the indefinite and definite in one phrase. **The identification** of '*the thing*' and'*the beast*' is made in Golding's text grammatically--thus we cannot ignore it any more. But the identification between '*the beast*'='*the thing*' and Simon cannot have happened yet. Our attention tends rather to seperate than to combine the lifeless(?) object and the living Simon. But Golding's use of '*knees*', '*arms*' and particularly of '*face*' hasten the identification. The beast is reported to be killed first, Simon's name is not mentioned again until the very end of the passage. They get rid of the beast but the act of actual murder of a friend is not literally uttered at all. '*Stain*' from the dying body, '*broken body*','*Simon's coarse hair*' and '*air from the mouth with a wet plop*' are mosaics written in the passage to follow (not quoted above) of the miserable whole: Simon's dead body.

The act of ignorant murder acquires symbolic value because Simon, the weak boy, the only one who knew the nature

of their fear, could have helped them remove their dread of the beast--when Simon cried, they would not listen.

The scene discussed above is closely related to the major structural dividing lines of the novel. The first fire, which the children make for their protection and for a signal for passing ships, grows by way of a similar artistic method, from the squirrel-fire to the image of a jaguar (within the nature of the children) ready to kill. The murder scene quoted above was the externalization of immanent evil in man: instinct overcoming reason. The last, third major fire scene in the novel is exactly what the first one foreshadowed: a conflagration on the island, fire made for revenge, to extinguish lives deliberately.

The major, central images of the novel are firmly rooted in the story, elaborated in detail at crucial points of structure, and their elaboration is the gradual shaping of Golding's frightening message about our evil nature.

The shift of perspective at the end constitutes an organic part of the novel: it is not only evil in man that Golding constructed *Lord of the Flies* against: the self-confidence and conceit of adults is expressed in the patronizing attitude of the naval officer, who believes he knows and cannot imagine what could have happened on the island before his arrival. Yet Ralph, apparently a child, knows better, he grew up in a few days to be wiser than the ignorant adult pretending wisdom, who came to save them.

Many simple pictures in the novel grow to symbolic heights similar to the imagery of the squirrel--fire and jaguar--

conflagration.

When the children find a shell, it turns out to be a *conch*, which, when they try to blow, gives a sound; he who sounds it can call a meeting, he who holds it during the meeting has the right to speak. When the conch is smashed not only a shell is broken: a community collapses before the reader's eyes.

The *island* as a site of isolation and separation reappears in different interpretations in all Golding's later novels as well as the image of the Fire or of Fall.

The *beast* and the *Lord of the Flies*, complementary symbols in the novel we selected for discussion, also grew out of a simple, descriptive picture: from the dead body of a parachutist and of the bleeding, messy head of a small pig that the hunters have murdered. They are symbols of fear for the ignorant children, but visual equivalents of human evil as well.

With his rich and systematic use of imagery in his novels, in *Lord of the Flies* Golding draws attention to the meaning beyond the image one sees: his intention with the kind of novels he wrote is obvious: to save his readers, us, from shallow, hasty, superficial knowledge.

When the reader wants to recognize Golding's view of Britain today in his novels, he will find that it is less directly revealed than, say, in the fiction of Allan Sillitoe or C.P. Snow. In his study of contemporary man and his predecessors in ancient cultures, he concentrated on the spiritual and moral features of man. He shows man rather in relation

to his cosmic situation, fighting, failing or falling. He investigates not what man in society is like now, but what made man as he is, and act as he does today. Yet his ironical treatment of each and all of his characters ensures a critical attitude, a distance between author and figures: in Galsworthy or in Virginia Woolf, sources and manifestation-forms of the world-view of the novelist were fairly obvious.

As the reader finds it impossible to grasp the message of Golding's novels on the first reading, so is the demonstration of the nature of Golding's world-view very difficult on the basis on one single novel. In my more detailed study of Golding's novels (Trócsányi 1977), I made an attempt to elucidate the nature of Golding's world-view, whose ambivalent nature could be thrown into relief with a few examples from different novels.

Simon, the ill child in *Lord of the Flies* is portrayed with an extreme tenderness, his features are both from Simon and Peter from the Bible. Though wisest among the others, he trusts them unconditionally, and does not see their anger and hatred.

The title is a combination of two contradictory images: one suggesting power, obeyance and dignity, the other filth, dirt and blood. Yet it is this latter, the non-rational, which masters the children, the rational being in the form of different manifestations of the 'beast'.

Pincher Martin is *Christopher* Martin: cross-bearer and thief ('pinch'). His fight for survival is shown as a seemingly successful effort of the rational human being--and as

and as such it is admired until it becomes clear from the coda ending that he had long been dead, when he thought he was still fighting (he did not have time to kick off his boots) against what was shown as God's punishment for Martin's having been a 'pincher' all his life.

In *The Inheritors* the emotional and trusting Fa is far too much idealized in contrast to her man, Lok: the more rational and intelligent of the two.

In *Free Fall* we get the most explicit example in Sammy Mountjoy's character of the dual nature of Golding's world-view. Sammy--like Golding himself--cannot help accepting the world of the burning bush and that of the physics lab with the brilliant mind of Nick Shales, teacher of physics. And both worlds are real to Sammy/Golding, and--again--there is no bridge over the gap.

In *The Spire* the creation of the impossible is attempted: to build a spire on marshland, on no ground. And there the spire stands, as do all Golding's novels--very much like the real one it was modelled upon: Salisbury Cathedral.

Similar series of examples could be quoted from the network of Golding's lyrical imagery of novel: how the same symbol came to bear meanings from 'both worlds' referred to above. *Fire*: signal--murder--sexual passion; *Fall*: gravitation--moral failure--original sin; *Island*: a piece of land to help survival amid waters--separation, isolation, exile (Jocelyn)--passionate, desiring female body (Palm in *Clonk Clonk*).

Until a career is changing, taking new directions, no

ultimate criticism or value judgement is admitted. He is striving for a more complex view of man--rather than of Britain in particular. The formal strength of his novels is a firm combination of a good story and the use of suggestive, rich network of symbolism which grows out of the story unnoticed.

The ethical, moral value of Golding's achievement as a novelist is his insistence on acquiring and accepting true knowledge only: (based on proper foundations) and the ridiculing and refusal of superficial, sham knowledge.

The aesthetic value of his novels lies in "the dark fields of discovery": suffering, pain, torture or murder are so presented that they suggest directly or indirectly the beauty of human effort out of its isolation from a community.

When looking back to the three novels examined above by three different authors one cannot help admiring the variety of the images they respectively created from very similar material. Galsworthy's Forsytes were upper middle class, the children in *The Waves* went to the best private schools, and it is these or such children who serve as examples for Golding to present the utmost cruelty of man's instinct overcoming reason.

A hundred years ago Tennyson was proud of the "narrow seas" that separated the continent from Britain.

Today Sillitoe's simple, plain words express an opinion not entirely alien to the aesthetic creed that Golding has been striving for:

"I long for a bridge to be built over the Channel or a tunnel dug under it...Better still if the Channel were filled in and this island was connected to the mainland which is its rightful place, all the rubbish of Europe tipped into the sea until land joins land and cliff meets cliff" (Sillitoe 1974, 37).

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L I N G U I S T I C S

István Kenesei

TYPES AND STRATEGIES IN RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION

1. In this paper I will discuss tensed postnominal relative clauses which have antecedents. In order that the demarcation be unambiguous, let us now see what types of construction will be neglected in the analyses below.

Firstly, I will not deal with 'independent' relative constructions, i.e. those that have no separate (nominal or other) antecedent but form a noun phrase in themselves, e.g.:

(1) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}$ what you say] is true

as against the 'dependent' relative clause below, which has a (nominal) antecedent:

(2) $[_{NP}\ [_{NP}$ the things] $[_{S}$ which you say]] are true

Secondly, all those relative constructions are also excluded from the scope of the present paper which do not follow their antecedents; compare the following example from Japanese:[1]

(3) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}$ Yamada-san ga ka'tte iru] sa'ru]
Mr Yamada Nom. keep Pres. monkey
'The monkey which Mr Yamada keeps'

Finally, all relativizations will be neglected here which are not tensed, i.e. whose predicate is non-finite, as in the Russian:

(4) $[_{NP}\ [_{NP}$ mal'čik] $[_{S}$ čitajuščij knigu]]
boy reading book
'The boy who is reading a/the book'

The constructions thus excluded are extremely interesting and can serve as the subject of a different typological investigation. However, they cannot be taken into consideration here, mainly because our attention must be concentrated upon comparable cases and the construction types of (1), (3), and (4) are incommensurate with postnominal tensed relative clauses in essential respects.

Although the definition excludes not only some of the relative constructions of individual languages from the examination but also entire languages (i.e. those that have no other types of relativization, e.g. some of the Finno-Ugrian languages, as well as American Indian and East and South-East Asian languages), it seems safe to say that there is still sufficient material for a typological analysis.

2. It is self-evident that the relativized element of a tensed postnominal relative clause (hereafter abbreviated as RC) is anaphorically related to its antecedent. That is, in the expression below

(5) $[_{NP}\ [_{NP}$ the boy] $[_{S}$ who is reading the book]]

there is an anaphora relationship between the antecedent *the boy* and the relative pronoun *who*. It is, however, not the semantics of the anaphora that we are now interested in, but the syntactic rendering of the relationship in the various languages.

It is probably due to the Latin grammatical writing of past centuries that the descriptions of RCs in European languages almost unexceptionally refer to the element intro-

ducing the RC as relative pronoun. But this notion is of very little use to the linguist who must deal with languages differing in some respect from what has been claimed to be the general paradigm. For constructions of the following kind present a difficult problem for the supporters of the 'relative pronoun hypothesis'. This sentence is from Urhobo, a Kwa language (source: Keenan and Hull 1973, 369ff).

(6) John mle oshale na l- aye na teye le
John saw man the that woman the hit him
'John saw the man who the woman hit.'

In Urhobo an invariable relativization marker *l-* introduces all RCs with no respect to what the syntactic position of the relativized element is or what its gender, number, etc. is. Note that there is a resumptive pronoun, which is identical with the general anaphorical pronoun. Here are a few more examples:

Hebrew (source: Givón 1973, 135ff)

(7) ha-ish she-etmol natati lo et ha-sefer
the-man that-yesterday I-gave him acc. the-book
'the man to whom I gave the book yesterday'

Ngizim (Chadic language; source: Keenan and Hull 1973, 362f)

(8) mə́ayìm wàaʼà áčî náa tlà
a boy that he has a cow
'a boy that has a cow'

Gilbertese (Austronesian; source: Keenan and Hull 1973, 355f)

(9) E-nora te aomata Kumon are oro*ia* te aine
he-saw the man Kumon that hit *him* the woman
'Kumon saw the man that the woman hit'.

In these constructions there is thus an anaphorical

pronoun on the 'far side' of the anaphora relationship, and this pronoun is in no way different from the 'ordinary' anaphorical pronoun which we find, say, connecting two consective sentences in the language. At the same time the RC is prefixed by an invariable marker characteristic to subordinate clauses in general, or only to relative clauses.

3. Even if the syntax of the above structures is relatively easy to grasp, it will later on prove worthwhile to have made a short digression into some aspects of the theory of grammar.

According to recent conceptions of the rules of syntax, it is possible to analyze every sentence in at least a large number of languages into a sentence-radical and a complementizer, which may be lexically filled or characterized by syntactic features - with some simplification. In more formal terms:

(10) $\overline{S}$ --→ COMP S

In many European languages it is the node Complementizer which hosts question words, relative pronouns, as well as elements introducing other types of subordination and indirect questions. These constituents are thought to be moved by an appropriate preposing rule into Comp.

Since, however, there is no such movement in Urhobo and the other languages illustrated above, we may as well suppose that the position of the Complementizer is occupied by the element introducing embedded sentences. The constituent structure can be shown as follows:

(11) $[_{NP}$ NP $[_{\overline{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$ embedding marker$]$ $[_{S}$...$[_{NP}$ AnaPro$]$...$]]$

where *AnaPro* is an anaphorical pronoun, and the embedding marker is *l-* in Urhobo, *she-* in Hebrew, and *are* in Gilbertese.

There are, however, languages in which the resumptive pronoun does not occur in some of the cases. Keenan and Comrie (1977, 66) have shown that the noun phrases of various languages are accessible to relativization in a hierarchical order according to the syntactic positions of the NPs in the sentence on the one hand, and, on the other, the occurrence of the resumptive pronoun in relative clauses (if relativization is possible) follows the same hierarchical order - in the opposite direction.

(12) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison

where ">" means 'is more accessible than'; 'Oblique' stands for 'major oblique case NP' when it is an argument of the main predicate; and 'Object of Comparison' is, for example, *the man* in *John is taller than the man* (for more detail see Keenan and Comrie 1977, 66).

If, then, a language allows the relativization of an indirect object, it also permits the relativization of NP positions to its left, but not necessarily to its right. At the same time a language which requires the occurrence of a resumptive pronoun in a relativized object position will require a resumptive pronoun in every case to its right - provided that relativization is possible in those positions.

In Hebrew, for example, the resumptive pronoun does not occur when the subject is relativized in neutral word

order (source: Givón 1973, 137):[2]

(14) ha-ish she- (*hu) higia etmol
the-man that he arrived yesterday
'the man that arrived yesterday'

When the object is relativized, the occurrence of the resumptive pronoun is optional:

(15) ha-ish she- Yoav raa (oto) etmol
the-man that Yoav saw him yesterday
'the man that Yoav saw yesterday'

But if the indirect object is relativized, the use of the resumptive pronoun is obligatory:

(16) ha-ish she- Yoav natan *(lo) et ha-sefer
the-man that Yoav gave to-him acc. the-book
'the man to whom Yoav gave the book'

In conclusion, in Urhobo, Hebrew, Ngizim, and a number of other languages it is the structure (11) that underlies the only possible RC forming strategy as supplemented in some of these languages by a deletion rule of the type of (17):[3]

(17) AnaPro ---→ ∅ if λ > μ
[λ function]

where ι *function* stands for the syntactic positions in the hierarchy (12), λ *function* for the position of the anaphorical pronoun in the RC, and μ *function* is the leftmost position in the hierarchy in which an anaphorical pronoun can occur. That is, if an anaphorical pronoun occurs in a position signified by λ, it will result in an ungrammatical construction.

4. Turning now to the other, more familiar, strategy, which is found again in a large number of languages (e.g.

Finnish, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Latin), let us see its mechanism on a simple example example from German:

(18) der Film, den ich gestern sah

In the construction (18) the position of the relative pronoun *den* can be occupied by no other constituent, nor can it be moved into some other position within the clause. However, its original position cannot be the same as the one in which it is found in the RC. The underlying structure can then be rendered as follows:

(19) $[_{NP}\ NP\ [_{\overline{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ \ldots]\ [_{S}\ X\ RelPro\ Y\ ]\ ]\ ]$

where *RelPro* stands for 'relative pronoun', and *X* and *Y* can be one or more, or possible zero constituent. Then in the case of (18) the underlying structure will be something like the following string: *der Film COMP ich den gestern sah*. The corresponding surface structure is derived through a movement transformation which places the pronoun in the Comp node as shown in (20):

(20) $[_{NP}\ NP\ [_{\overline{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ RelPro\ ]\ [_{S}\ X\ Y\ ]\ ]\ ]$

Relativization in languages of the same type as German is carried out by means of a pronoun which has no anaphorical use in the language in question without any other device indicating subordination or some subtype thereof. The relative pronoun (here the term is legitimate) can be identical with or similar to the interrogative pronoun (e.g. Latin), can be a special variant of the demonstrative pronoun (e.g. German), or a merger of the two (e.g. Hungarian, cf. *aki* 'who [relative only]' from *az* 'that [dem.]'+ *ki* 'who?'), but it always

agrees with its antecedent in case, gender and/or number - in accordance with the rules of the language and the Accessibility Hierarchy. However, even more important is the observation that the relative pronoun can never be omitted in these languages; compare the following examples from Finnish (source: Karlsson 1972, 106), German and Hungarian:

(21) a. Tüttö (jonka) tapasin oli kaunis.
girl whom I-met was beautiful

b. Der Film, (den) ich gestern sah, war interessant.

c. Az a fiu, (akit) János látott, értelmes volt.
that the boy whom John saw intelligent was
'The boy who John saw was intelligent.'

We have seen two distinct strategies of relativization at work in our schematic typology. The first one, which might be called pronoun retaining strategy, is the only possibility of constructing relative clauses in languages like Urhobo and Hebrew. The other one, which we will label pronoun changing strategy, is similarly an exclusive relativization process in languages like German and Finnish.[4]

5. There is, however, a third option for individual languages to form relative clauses: the combination of the two strategies discussed above. This double strategy will be illustrated by examples from English.

The pronoun changing strategy operates in English by preposing the *wh*-word or -phrase into Comp, and marks it according to case if it is below the Indirect Object position in the Accessibility Hierarchy and, in general, in terms of the *human/non-human* choice. In the examples below, oblique

case is marked in (22a), while in another possible version, (22b), the case is unmarked on the pronoun.

(22) a. the man about whom I told you
b. the man who I told you about

The pronoun retaining strategy employs the subordinator *that* in the leftmost position of the relative clause. The formative *that* undergoes no change at all, so it cannot be preceded by a preposition, cf.

(23) a. the man that I told you about
b. *the man about that I told you

thus in English the RCs containing *that* are derived through the deletion of an anaphorical pronoun rather than by replacing a relative pronoun with *that*.[5] That is to say, if there are two distinct strategies at work in English relativization, then, similarly to Latin, Finnish, etc., no relative pronoun is omitted in the formation of the so-called contact clauses, e.g.

(24) the man I told you about

If *who* and the other relative pronouns cannot be deleted, it must be the subordinator *that* which is omitted in RCs. This is further corroborated by the fact that non-restrictive RCs (e.g. *Peter, who you were talking about, has just come back*) allow neither replacement of relative pronouns by *that* nor their deletion. Since, as is well-known, the occurence of *that* is not obligatory in all subordinate clauses, cf. (25), the scope of the language-specific deletion rule (26) can be extended to cover the domain of relative clauses.[6]

(25) John thought (that) he was ill.

(26) $[_{COMP}$ that $]$ --→ $\emptyset$

Consequently, in languages which utilize the double strategy of relativization and which allow contact clauses of the type of (24) (e.g. Swedish, Nauhatl) the deletion transformation will operate on the complementizer rather than on the relative pronoun.

The fairly complete interchangeability of the two strategies as in English, is quite infrequently found. Some of the Scandinavian languages (Swedish and Danish) do, however, show an amazing correspondence with English in this respect.[7]

Slavic languages, for example, often imploy both strategies with more or less equal range of usage. Compare the following examples from Colloquial Czech (a-c-e) with their counterparts in formal or literary Czech (b-d-f-g):[8]

(27) a. ten člověk, co jsem ho viděl
the man that I him saw

b. ten člověk, kterého jsem viděl
whom

c. ten člověk, co viděl Petra
the man that saw Peter (acc.)

d. ten člověk, který viděl Petra
who (nom.)

e. ten člověk, co jsem viděl jeho bratra
the man that I saw his brother

f. ten člověk, kterého bratra jsem viděl
whose

g. ten člověk, jehož bratra jsem viděl
whose

In Albanian the pronoun changing strategy is applicable to all cases of relativization, e.g. (source: Morgan 1972)

(28) a. Xhemal Suli, i cili më ndihmoj
who me helped
'Xhemal Suli, who helped me'

Qyteti në të cilin banonte tër jetën
city-the in which (she)lived all life-the
'The city in which she lived all her life'

The pronoun retaining strategy (as supplemented with pronoun deletion) can be used only in case of relativization of subjects and objects, but then the two strategies are fully equivalent.

(29) a. ay që kërkon paqe
he that seeks peace
'he who seeks peace'

b. revizioni që kam shkruarë më 1921
revision-the that (I) have written in 1921
'the revision which I wrote in 1921'

In Swahili the pronoun retaining strategy makes use of no complementizer; the anaphorical element *o* is attached to the verb of the RC together with the class marker as an infix or a suffix, e.g.:

(30) a. mtoto ali- soma
child past-sing-3rd read
'The child read'

b. mtoto ali- -*ye*- soma kitabu
child past-sing-3rd *that*("dem") read book
'the child who read a book'

c. kitabu ali- -cho- -ki- soma mtoto
book past-sing-3rd *that*(dem) object-marker read child
'the book which the child read'

The pronoun changing strategy uses the combination of the prefix *amba* (a derivative from the verb meaning say') and

the anaphorical element *o*, which is placed at the beginning of the RC and is in agreement with the antecedent according to class. The *amba* relative is the only possibility in Swahili if the case of the relativized NP falls into the lower section of the Accessibility Hierarchy.

(31) a. mtu ambaye aliijenga nyumba yangu
man who built house my
'the man who built my house'

b. Hiki ni kitabu ambacho ndani yake niliiona picha.
this is book which inside of I-saw picture
'This is the book in which I saw the picture.'

6. We may now conclude that until conflicting evidence is discovered, postnominal relative clauses can be held to rise along two different paths: the pronoun retaining and the pronoun changing strategy. In the former option the position of the complementizer (if it exists in the given language) is filled either by a general subordination marker or by a special RC marker. In the RC itself the position of the relativized NP is occupied by a pronoun which is used in anaphorical function outside of the context of relative clauses in the language and can be deleted some way through or all along the Accessibility Hierarchy - perhaps by the rule (17).

The pronoun changing strategy employs a pronoun in place of the relativized NP which is never used in anaphorical function anywhere outside a relative clause in the language. The pronoun itself can be a specifically relative one or some other pronoun which has an additional use in RCs.

If the language has complementizers the relative pronoun can be moved from its original position into that of the complementizer.

As regards the formation of postnominal relative clauses the languages of the world can thus be classified into three types: a large number of languages make exclusive use of either of the two strategies, while the third type can apply both strategies. In this last group the fields of application of the two strategies may differ according to Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy but overlapping is always possible.

N O T E S

1 Source: McCawley 1972, 206.

Postnominal relative constructions can be contrasted not only with prenominal ones; there are languages in which the relative clause 'surrounds' the antecedent as in the following Bambara sentence (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 65, who call this "internal RC strategy"):

tye ye $[_{NP}$ ne ye so min ye] san
man Past I Past horse which see buy
'The man bought the horse that I saw.'

Here and below I follow whatever transcription my sources give together with their glosses and translations. Although this can lead to an inconsequential handling of phonetic data, I think it is a minor offence in a paper on syntax. My references are solely to immediate sources, which are not necessarily identical with the original provenance of the examples.

2 Parantheses indicate an optional element. An asterisk within the parentheses signifies that on condition of the occurence of the element within the parentheses the construction is ungrammatical as a whole. If the asterisk is outside the parentheses the construction is ungrammatical on condition of the omission of the element within the parentheses.

3 Rule (17) and the explanation appended to it is again rather simplified due to the sketchy theoretical background outlined here.

4 The names of the strategies are not to be literally understood; it depends on the grammatical framework what particular derivations are rendered to the strategies.

5 Note that in some of the current dialects as well as in an earlier state of the language English does/did have resumptive pronouns in RCs - especially in the lower cases of the Accessibility Hierarchy.

6 The rule (26) is of course constrained by a number of conditions, most notably, as far as relative clauses are concerned, by the constraint on the deletion of *that* if the RC has had its subject deleted, cf.:

*The man *(that) saw me at the bar has just nodded.*

The deletion of the complementizer sometimes does occur with languages of the 'pure' pronoun retaining type too, like the Amerindian Tuscarora language.

7 For more detail see Andersson 1973 and Maling 1978.

8 For the examples and their analysis my thanks are due to Dr. Vladimír Mach (Charles University, Prague).

The last three constructions (27 e-f-g) are ordered in increasing order of acceptability. In (27g) *jehož* derives from Old Church Slavic *jegože* (cf. Golab and Friedman 1972).

10 It was only after writing this paper, which is based on my dissertation *Trace theory and relative clauses* (Budapest, 1978), that I have had access to Downing 1978, an extensive account of the typology of relative clauses. Since his analyses rely on the study of 52 languages and dialects his results are,natually enough, much more comprehensive in comparison, but also, as a rule, more prone to 'second-hand' errors. This is particularly true to his alluding to Hungarian as having a Noun-Complementizer-Relative Pronoun sequence in relative constructions (384). However, Hungarian never applies a complementizer between the antecedent and the relative pronoun. According to Down-

ing's rather unreliable source,Indonesian would be another language belonging to this group, but no data are quoted. As regards the sequence Noun - Relative Pronoun - Complementizer, Downing mentions two languages which make use of it: Hebrew and Old as well as Middle English. But Downing's immediate source, Talmy Givón's unpublished paper, is in contradiction with Hayon 1973, who says that what Downing (probably following Givón) takes as relative pronouns in Hebrew can occur only in independent relative clauses, and not in postnominal ones. For the precise status of the *wh*-word in Middle English relative clauses see the relevant sections in my dissertation, where I argue that *which* and the like have the same status as *since, before, if,* etc., that is to say, they are indicators of the type of subordination rather than ordinary relative pronouns. Then the only type of relativization unaccounted for by the strategies outlined in the present paper is found in Rumanian, where the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun and contains a clitic prónoun declined in case and gender.

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E D U C A T I O N

Miklós Kontra

ON THE STATE OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN HUNGARY IN THE 1970s

My purpose in this paper, after giving a sketchy historical overview, is to discuss three questions concerning the teaching of English in Hungary, namely the question of learners and teachers, what the I.E.A. national report (as yet unpublished) reveals about English teaching in present-day Hungary, and my thoughts on how teacher training in the country could be improved.

1. The teaching of English in Hungary began at the University of Budapest in the last decades of the 19th century. English has been a recognized school subject in Hungarian "gimnáziums" (i.e. traditional German-type high schools offering eight years of study) since 1926. The second English Department in Hungary, that at the University of Debrecen, was founded in 1938 (for a highly informative paper on the ups and downs of that department see Békés 1977), and since 1965 students majoring in English language and literature have been trained, in ever increasing numbers, at the University of Szeged, too. In addition to the three university departments, the teacher training colleges (preparing teachers for the junior high schools) at Eger and Pécs have also established English Departments, thus the training of Hungarian teachers of English has been going on at five higher educa-

tional institutes since the late 1960s. Further, the College of Foreign Trade, Budapest, and the K. Marx University of Economics, Budapest, have English Departments too.

The year 1974 seems to be important for at least two reasons concerning English teaching in Hungary. First, T.I.T. (the Hungarian Society for the Popularization of Sciences, also the major foreign language teaching organization for adults) hosted the first overseas conference of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language in Budapest, a most welcome event, which provided hundreds of Hungarian teachers with an opportunity to engage in professional discussions with their colleagues from numerous countries of the world. On the occasion of the I.A.T.E.F.L. conference, T.I.T. published a special English language issue of its journal *Modern Nyelvoktatás*, entitled *Modern Language Teaching* (Budapest, 1974), which gives a fairly good cross-section of the language teaching situation in Hungary at the time. One could also mention in this connection the proceedings of an international conference jointly held by the Society for the Popularization of Sciences (T.I.T.) and the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (F.I.P.L.V.) in Budapest, 1971. The volume (Telegdi *et al.* 1975) contains a good deal of writings on English teaching in Hungary.

Second, 1974 was also an end. The Hungarian-English Contrastive Linguistics Project, undertaken by the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the American Center for Applied Linguistics, started June 1, 1971 and

terminated May 31, 1974. The project gave a great impetus to English teaching in Hungary by enabling several university faculty members to travel to the United States on scholarships, which, in turn, resulted in a considerable but still very insufficient number of contrastive studies. As of September 1979, seven working papers have been published (cf. References) and a collection of studies is yet forthcoming edited by L. Dezső and W. Nemser. However, contrastive analysis of English and Hungarian, unlike that of English and Polish, Roumanian or Serbo-Croatian, seems to have considerably lost momentum on both sides of the Atlantic.

One more circumstance, at least partly historical in origin, needs to be stated: teaching English in Hungary has always meant teaching British English exclusively to any other dialect. One is hopeful today, however, that with the increasing activity in American studies in Hungary (cf. Rozsnyai 1978) will come a healthy 'bidialectalism' in our English teaching, that is, beside British English, American English will not only be tolerated but increasingly taught to more and more students, by more and more able teachers.

2. To say that in Hungary English is the first foreign language after Russian, which is obligatory for all students, is unanimously accepted today, but needs some qualification. English is taught in a small and fluctuating number of elementary schools to 9-14-year-olds (grades 3 through 8), to larger bodies of learners in high schools (i.e. "gimnáziums" and trade schools) and university colleges, and also to adults in courses organized by various societies, institutes, minis-

tries etc.

To illustrate the present state of English teaching in Hungary, I quote statistical data of three groups of learners of English. Of all Hungarian elementary school pupils 8%, that is 6,629 children learned English daily in the 1978-79 school year, while an additional 2,967 pupils took English as a special subject (Statisztikai tájékoztató az alsófokú... p. 32). This figure is larger than that of learners of German (3,767) and French (2,119) taken together.

Of all high school students a total of 32,975 learned English in 1978-79, while German was taught to a somewhat larger number (37,001) and French to a considerably smaller number (9,727) of students (Statisztikai tájékoztató. pp. 37-8). Although English is first after Russian in the intensive courses taught in the "gimnáziums" (this means five or more reaching periods a week), in trade schools and "gimnáziums" with no intensive English (two to three periods a week) learners of German still outnumber learners of English by a few thousand. Notice, however, that there live a considerable number of bilingual German-Hungarians in the country.

Adult language learners show a somewhat different picture. Over 41% of those enrolled in foreign language courses at T.I.T. in 1978 learned English, 40% learned German, 8% learned Russian, a compulsory subject at all schools, and a mere 4.5% took French (T.I.T. Statisztikai évkönyve. p.24).

These statistics indicate parity in the numbers of English and German learners in today's Hungary. This parity should be viewed in the context of Hungarian educational pol-

icy, which strives for a balance, that is sufficient numbers of Hungarians with knowledge of each of the following languages: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish. Other foreing languages taught include the languages of Hungary's neighboring countries, of socialist countries, Latin and Esperanto.

The key-figures in English instruction, teachers are trained in the three university departments (where students take courses for 10 semesters), and the two teacher training colleges offering eight semesters of study. Owing to the Hungarian educational system, all of our teachers were double majors at college, which explains why it is that most teachers of English teach history, Hungarian, or some other foreign language as well.

3. In 1965 the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (I.E.A.), Stockholm, inaugurated a cross-national study of achievement in six subjects, one of them being English as a foreign language. The countries participating in the English study are Belgium (French region), Chile, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Hungary, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Thailand. The results of the study at the international level were published four years ago (Lewis and Massad 1975), the Hungarian national report, however, still awaits publication. In the following I will review some of the findings of the manuscript national report (Kádár-Fülöp 1975).

In describing the range and method of the study (Chap-

ter 1) Kádár-Fülöp defines the two populations of students involved (Population II: 14-year-olds and Population IV: school-leavers, i.e. 18-year-olds), demonstrates what achievement tests were administered to students and what questionnaires were used in eliciting information from principals, teachers and students.

Chapter 2 (Achievements in our high school teaching of English) sets out to show Hungary's place among the ten participants of the study. A glance at Hungary's place among the I.E.A. countries as shown by achievements in the four skills (in reading Hungary is 8th out of 10, in listening 4th out of 6, in writing 4th out of 6 and in speaking 2nd out of 6 nations) will certainly give credence to Kádár-Fülöp's conclusion that our students' results are *poor* when measured cross-nationally.

Perhaps the most striking finding of the Hungarian report is the relatively good performance of our students on the speaking test. This is rightly attributed by the author to the educational reform of 1961 in Hungary, which promoted the cultivation of the audio-lingual skills at the expense of former grammar-translation. The outstanding speaking result of Hungarians is also interesting inasmuch as it points to the great responsibility borne by authorities in a state-governed educational system like Hungary's. Comparing our relatively high speaking achievement with the relatively low listening achievement (2nd out of 6 and 4th out of 6 respectively), the report rightly questions the communicative value of a relatively good speaking ability which is not matched by listen-

ing ability of at least the same standard. The reason for this striking disparity in the audio-lingual skills of learners is seen to be the requirements of the official syllabus which foreign language teachers in Hungary are expected to follow.

Questionnaires revealed that all teachers except Hungarians give priority to developing the listening skill over the other three. Hungarians rated speaking first, although both psychological and communication theoretical considerations would point to listening as the most important foreign language skill.

In addition to this unfortunate overemphasis on speaking, teaching listening is hampered by the virtual lack of any tapes (listening courses) of unscripted, natural English speech in Hungarian classrooms. Sixty-two per cent of the school-leavers studied say that records, radio or TV are rarely or never used in the English class. Consequently, a kind of foreigner talk, 'Hungarian English' is often the resulting means of communication. 'Hungarian English' is characterized as a language similar to English on the grounds that Englishmen do partly understand it. It is used by teacher and students talking to each other, its communicative value being restricted mainly to the classroom. Learners do understand each other and their teacher, but no native speakers of English. The disharmonious relationship between students' needs and syllabus requirements expected of teachers is seen by the author as the main reason that numerous Hungarian teachers have to content themselves with teaching 'tourist English'.

Hungary's English reading achievement is extremely poor (8th out of 10 countries) in spite of the fact that English is mainly needed for reading purposes in Hungary. The author therefore urges the introduction of extensive reading in high school English classes and the compilation of readers of a wide choice of topics.

The modest Hungarian performance of the writing test is seen to be related to the inefficient methodology of teaching writing in this country.

The study also concerns itself with the differences among schools where English is taught. Three types of English classes are distinguished: (1) those where the language is taught in 5 or more periods a week, (2) those in cities with a population of over 100,000, where it is taught in 2-3 periods a week, and (3) those in small towns with 2 or 3 teaching periods weekly. Investigating the role that different variables play in influencing the teaching/learning process, the author concludes that differences in the provision made for English in a school may be important, but by no means essential. This is evidenced by the fact that the best classes with 2-3 teaching periods may achieve higher results than the mean achievement level of classes with 5 or more teaching periods. The study has shown a great difference in achievement between students in large cities and students in small towns or villages.

It has been found by our National Technical Officer Kádár-Fülöp, that 25% of all high school students of English emerge with no workable knowledge of the language as a result

of four years of study, 50% 'pick up' something which is still no workable knowledge but mentionable at least, and it is only the remaining one-fourth of school-leavers whose knowledge of English seems a sufficient basis for further self-study.

Comparison of the 1st grade students' and the 4th grade students' results (i.e. Population II vs. Population IV) has shown the longitudinal development of knowledge of English in Hungarian high schools. The poor performance of Hungarian students on the listening test is further explained by the very little improvement found in sound discrimination over the four years of learning. Longitudinal comparison of the writing results yields that 13% of all 1st graders could not write a single English sentence on the topic 'travel' that would be comprehensible to native speakers, while this percentage among school-leavers decreased to 4%. It is the reading skill which develops the most conspicuously as a result of high school English teaching, but the degree of that improvement leaves much to be desired.

Kádár-Fülöp summarizes her findings saying that, viewed internationally, our students perform poorly, the range of achievement levels within the Hungarian educational system is greater than would be desirable, and the language development of students is slow and uneven.

Considerable difference can be found between Hungary and the other I.E.A. countries if the teaching of English in each country is characterized by the product of the national mean achievement on, say, the reading test and the learners of English expressed in percentage of all high school students.

One answer, perhaps the most important, to the question why Hungary lags so far behind is that she does only 4-5% of all her foreign trade with English-speaking countries, while this figure for the other I.E.A. countries is 2o to 4o%.

Chapter 3 of the Hungarian national report gives an account of the causes of differences among students. After analyzing all of the factors that might influence achievement, Kádár-Fülöp shows that the teacher (his or her fluency in English, professional knowledge, personality etc.) and how well-equipped a particular school is are the most important factors influencing students' achievement, regardless of curricula. In describing advantageous vs. disadvantageous pedagogical variables, it has been found that the only factor significantly influencing learners' achievment is the length of the teachers' residence in English-speaking countries. That being so, we can easily attribute our students' low achievement levels to the fact that of all practising Hungarian teachers of English, 93.5% have spent only 0-3 months in English speaking countries.

As a final conclusion, the report states that 'in today's Hungary English teaching in schools offers not much to too few learners.'

4. According to I.E.A. internatinal report the teaching of foreign languages is governed less and less by the traditions of philology or even by "humanistic" values. 'Instead there is increasing evidence that specifically practical objectives related to the need to enrich social interaction

and improve face-to-face communication are given greater weight in preparing syllabuses and articulating the aims of language teaching. This tendency has been reinforced by the general movement to make foreign languages available not only to a selected and élitist minority but to an increasing proportion of the school population' (Lewis and Massad 1975, 22). This world-wide tendency has reached Hungary as well: in 1979 a Cabinet-decision was taken to improve the entire foreign language instruction in the country (cf. E. Fónagy and Sipőczy 1979).

Prospective English teachers trained in our universities take courses of three kinds. One component of their studies comprises English and American literature from the beginnings up to the present day, taught in the form of survey courses; the second component consists of descriptive and historical linguistics (at the time of writing this paper students still have to take almost as many courses in the history of English as in its descriptive grammar); and the remaining one-third of the curriculum is taken up by what could broadly be called practical English courses.

This highly traditional curriculum has no sufficient provision for what is typically called teacher training. Teacher preparation in Hungary is still not quite devoid of the naive philosophy that 'Good teachers are born, not trained'. How many *are* born is anyone's guess. That most have been, and are, inadequately trained is shown by the I.E.A. study, among other things. Besides the three major courses in literature, linguistics and practical English, university-trained

teachers-to-be take courses in the history of education and didactics offered by the Education Departments. These courses are supplemented by trainees observing and discussing actual teaching practices in various schools. English majors receive their TEFL-training proper in the English Department in the form of a two-semester methods course, and practice teaching in the training schools. The methods course is usually given either just before, or simultaneously with the practice-teaching, in the 8th, 9th or 10th (i.e. the last of all!) semesters. Actual teaching practice means 12 to 20 teaching periods an all, true, with about 50-60 'sit-ins' on fellow trainees' lessons, which are immediately followed by discussions between trainer and trainees. The teaching practice we provide for our students is not only regrettably short, it is also much too belatedly provided.

Most conspicuously lacking is the introduction of applied lingustics courses into our teacher training. Applied linguistics in Hungary has not yet acquired the prestige in academia it deserves solely on account of its potential importance in a nation's education and economic life. Until recently, very few courses in applied linguistics have ever been offered in foreign language departments or linguistic departments (which are *called* departments of general and applied linguistics) at our universities.

However, applied linguistics is not the only thing missing. More courses in educational psychology and pyscholinguistics would undoubtedly benefit any language teacher.

They would surely make teachers better prepared for the teaching of young children, thus rendering feasible the introduction of English at progressively earlier ages, as well as the establishment of a few special schools where English is used as the teaching language.

What really needs to be stressed in this connection is the absolute need for recognition of the teaching of English as a professional discipline in its own right. However, the problems inherent in getting this recognition in the universities are far more diverse than could even be indicated here.

Discussing some basic principles of teacher training, Strevens (1977) writes that shortcomings in staff affect the quality of the *theory* component (the 'why' of language teaching), shortcomings in library holdings affect the *information* component (the 'what' of language teaching), and shortcomings in demonstration and practice facilities affect the *skills* component (the 'how' of language teaching). To further improve the theory component of our teacher training, I would find it imperative for Hungary to send students to British and American universities to earn M.A. degrees in applied linguistics and TEFL/TESOL, so that, on their return to Hungary, they can participate in a large-scale introduction of the science of applied linguistics into our English departments. In fact, thanks to Professor Harold B. Allen, Fulbright-Hays lecturer at Debrecen in 1972-73, Hungary's link with the University of Minnesota has already provided three professionally trained TESOL specialists. Such M.A. holders as

those three should be followed by sufficient numbers and should all be teaching applied linguistics and methods courses in the universities, for a considerably longer time than two semesters. Later, some of the older M.A. holders should be replaced by new ones on the university faculties, and should earn PhD degrees in an English-speaking country. If only one such scholar were to work in each of the English Departments at Budapest, Debrecen and Szeged, it would certainly make an enormous impact on the future on teaching English in Hungary.

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L. Matzkó

A CASE OF BILINGUALISM

Much is said about the "natural way" as the best method of learning a language. The "natural way" is commonly understood to be unsystematic everyday conversation. It is also commonly believed that a child learns its mother toungue easily if everyone in its environment speaks it. Some also think that a small child learns a second language most easily in the same way from a governess.

However, if we take into consideration the long period which elapses between the child's "taking notice" and its ability to speak coherently, we can state that the result is disappointing considering the eight or ten hours of daily practice. But has any mother ever tried whether better results can be obtained by keeping to a systematic order and giving a child not just random sentences, but systematically designed sentence patterns with a careful selection of words? That the latter method could be more effective seems to be a reasonable supposition.

In order to prove that a system properly applied gives better results than the "natural way" and also to test how the linguistic abilities of the child develop, I started to teach my son G. English in a purely Hungarian milieu when he was little more than one and a half years old. In the following I am going to describe the methods and results of my

experiments in chronological order.

First Stage (1953). G. began to say Hungarian words--but not sentences--when he was about *one and a half years old*. In this first stage of experiments G. could imitate English and Hungarian speech sounds and words only very imperfectly. The type of English I chose for teaching G. was American. The method first used was that I repeated the names of about six objects pointing them out at the same time. The first words were *lamp, picture, table, clock, door, bed*. I repeated them several times in the same order, then without any order. Since G. could not speak in sentences in Hungarian either, I first used the words in isolation. As G. would not say the names of the objects in English when he was urged to do so, a method had to be devised to test his passive knowledge. He was told (in Hungarian) to point to the objects the names of which I uttered. After I had repeated the words three or four times in the same order and as many times again without any order, G. could point out the corresponding objects without a mistake. The experimental "lesson" did not last longer than five minutes. The next day I said the same words again and G. was able to point them all out correctly. He tried to say the words after me when he was asked to do so, but would not say them if I pointed to a thing expecting him to tell the name of it. Then there came a few weeks with one or two such sessions during weekends when I could test whether G. had for gotten the words learned the previous week, but he retained them in his memory. Then I tried simple sentences like *What is this? It is a... Is*

What means "mi", *is* means "van", *this* means "ez". I repeat the question: What - is - this? Mi - van - ez? But in H. we always omit *van* in this type of sentence. Thus the corresponding H. sentence is: *Mi ez?*

After the meaning of every word in the sentence had been explained in a similar way, literal translation was no longer given, only the idiomatic because literal translations, aside from a first analysis, only impair the readiness of the learner to express himself correctly in the foreign language, and a literal translation is often more difficult (for children) to understand than an idiomatic one. As soon as G. could understand the sentences straight from English, their H. translation was omitted. After this, all the sentences he was supposed to know were used as often as opportunity offered. This method, which was no longer "direct" and in which translation was used only as the simplest and shortest explanation on first mentioning and later as an occasional reminder, but in which translation was dispensed with as soon as possible, might be termed the "indirect" or "intermediary" method as still distinct from a genuine translating one which all the time relies on translations. At this point the argument might be raised that understanding based on translation, even if translation is used only for first explanations, will always remain conscious, later unconscious, first slower, later faster, mental translation, just because understanding was originally based on an explanation by translation, which will always be remembered consciously or subconsciously. G.'s later development, however, seems to prove that this is not quite

this a...?, but the answer would not come although G.'s facial expression seemed to indicate that he understood them.

A few months later G. learned ready-made sentences, but not the separate elements constituting them. He seemed to feel them as long words, not as combinations of words. One could see that although he understood the meaning of a sentence which was explained to him by gestures and the circumstances in which it was used, e.g. *Give me the pen*, the meaning of the sentence elements was not clear to him. In other words, his way of thinking was of a synthetic nature.

At this stage I did not translate for G. the meaning of the sentences or words; therefore this initial stage can be regarded as the stage of direct method. Since, however, most of the time I had to be away from home, the experiment could not be continued. I did not regret it very much, for I thought that a year or several years later it would not yet be too late to recommence, but it was clear that at a later age the direct method would not be the most effective under similar circumstances.

Second Stage. The next experiments were carried out one year later in 1954, when G. was *two and a half years old*. By that time he had learned to speak Hungarian. Now the direct method did not seem to be so easy or effective as in the first stage. The method was therefore changed. The English sentences were explained in H. (Hungarian) first by means of literal, and then by free, idiomatic translation. The elements of the sentences were also explained separately. For instance: *What is this?*, literally means (in H.) *Mi van ez?*

so. (See Sixth Stage, Grade Nine, dreaming and school experiences.)

If the learner of a foreing language is exposed to normally spoken foreign speech, he will generally have no time to associate the foreign expression (word, phrase or sentence) with the corresponding mother tongue expression and only after that with the thing (concept) /formula: F -- M -- T, or F T /, which are strong associations (indicated here by lines), but his mind, supported by experience and training, will strengthen the direct link between the foreign expression and the thing meant: F --- T

If at the same time and after this the F -- M association is neglected, not practiced, the result will be gradual weakening or possibly even loss of the same:

F --- T or F --- T

In the last case the translating ability of the learner will be through the indirect line F -- T -- M, i.e. the direct association between the F and M expressions will practically be wiped out. By the way, the formula F -- T is the M -- T starting point of the direct method, though the result is usually F --- T or F --- T or (and usually only in the very young age group, say between 1 and 16) F --- T .

Anyone with a gift for languages may have experienced

in a foreign language environment the drift from the first formula toward the last. Speaking of adults, the drift is faster in persons with a gift for languages than in those without it.

Little children (between 3 - 10 years of age) have been known to have completely forgotten their mother tongue and to have acquired another and even to have relearned their original mother tongue on their return to their home country, forgetting their second mother tongue. G.'s attention was concentrated on nouns. These he learned easily; not so the other words. He was surprised that "everything should have two names". A year earlier this problem had never occurred to him. Even now, however, he was unable to distinguish what was Hungarian, although I tried to explain to him what another people and another language means. He understood that other peoples speak differently from us, using different words, but he did not know whether *table* was an English word or just another Hungarian word for *asztal*. After all, certain things may have two or more different names in one and the same language.

In spite of my efforts, G. would not say English sentences. Perhaps he could not learn them or perhaps he was loath to use them because they differed so much from Hungarian sentence structures he was accustomed to or because the Hungarian structures had already taken root in him, while his mind was still open for the reception of new words which he could use in these Hungarian structures. This latter supposition seems to be borne out by the fact that he unhesi-

tatingly *used English nouns in Hungarian sentences.* It is significant that he did not use English form-words or suffixes, nor indeed any other kind of words but nouns. In spite of his clinging to Hungarian sentences, he *did not provide the E. (English) words with H. case endings but used them only as subjects so that the use of a case ending did not become necessary* because the nominative or subject case requires no case ending in H. The child must have felt that these words never take an ending except -s. He made sporadic use of English words when he spoke Hungarian, but did not mix H. words in his English, as he did not speak in English sentences. In order to avoid his mixing the two languages I thought it advisable to stop teaching him. My idea was that if H. was allowed to take deeper roots in his mind before an intensive study of E. was begun, he would be able to keep the two languages apart owing to his greater familiarity with the one than with the other. So teaching was again suspended until a year later.

The second stage of experiments lasted about a month with no more than a quarter of an hour of daily practice. So little time was used for practising in this stage because the family feared lest the child should be mentally overstrained. There could hardly be such danger though, for I only taught G. when, and as long as, he felt like it.

As to the mixing of two languages, I had seen an interesting example several years earlier in a family residing in Hungary where the father was Hungarian, the wife English. They had two sons. At home English was exclusively used.

The children's English grandmother was also with them during the Second World War because she could not go home when the war broke out. The elder boy, aged about six when I got to know him, had never had a tendency to mix the two languages, according to the parents. The younger was still mixing them at the age of four. He chose the Hungarian or the English word for his sentences according to which of the words presented itself first in his mind. Was this difference between the two boys due to individual abilities or was it due to a change in the environmental conditions? The parents could not tell.

It is clear that the environmental conditions of these boys were very different from, and from the point of view of learning English much more favorable than those of G. who is an only child and for whom the English language was represented in the family by myself alone.

Third Stage (1955). (G.'s age *three and a half years.*) Early in 1955 when the experiment was resumed, G. showed the same tendency to mix the two languages as a year earlier, so the experiment was not continued and G. was allowed to forget the few (about 100 or 150) E. words he had learned.

Fourth Stage. The experiment was resumed again late in 1955 when G. was nearly *four years old.* Even now he paid attention only to nouns, but he no longer had a tendency to use them in H. sentences. Practice, as in the first three stages, amounted to only a few minutes daily for about two weeks. The fact that G. heeded, at least apparently, only nouns, seemed to contraindicate beginning serious language learning

with him.

Fifth Stage (1956). In August of the next year, when G. was nearly *five years old*, I recommenced teaching him. He did not seem to recognize more than 30 or 50 words learned in the preceding year. He *was now willing to repeat* whole sentences, carefully chosen sentence patterns, after me and *could answer a few types of questions*, although *usually with one word, a noun*. His pronunciation E. was fairly good. The initial results at this stage were promising enough, but as I could not spend much time with G., I stopped teaching him after ten days.

Sixth Stage (1957). G.'s age *about five and a half*. Regular teaching began in January 1957. G. could still remember the words he had learned in August 1956, but it was only passive knowledge. His pronunciation of new and recapitulated words was very good, though not perfect.

The material for study was everyday conversation and a pictorial dictionary (Csehov, *Az orosz nyelv képes szotára*. Athenaeum, Budapest, 1950).

The method was the same as in the Second Stage. I first pronounced the E. sentence, then translated it into H., then repeated it in E. Then G. had to say it after me and then I asked him what it meant in H. In this way he was obliged to observe, reproduce, and remember, that is, to perform all of the essential actions that go with the use of a language. This method now proved very effective. G. was no longer inclined to mix the two languages. Because of the bad weather he was at home all day and scarcely had an opportunity

to play with other children. So it was easy to make him interested in the game of learning English. I say "game" because it was presented to him as such; there was no coercion.

The successive grades in the course of learning were the following:

Grade One. (First week of January 1957.) We began with recapitulation of the formerly studied sentence patterns. A large enough vocabulary had to be built up so that elementary conversation might become possible. The first patterns were: *What is this? -- This is a ... That is a ... It is a ...*

The words that completed these sentences were the names of objects in the room and the street and names of animals. At first only six or eight words were practiced at a time, later ten or twelve. Practicing was done as described in the Second Stage. The sessions lasted five to eight minutes at first; later they were gradually extended to ten or fifteen. The sessions were only held when G. was interested and willing to learn and were stopped as soon as he showed signs of tiredness or boredom. This was very important if I wanted him to go on playing this disguised "game" willingly. At first, instead of answering he only repeated my questions. This was annoying, but after a week or so he gave one-word answers (nouns!).

Grade Two. (Second week of January 1957.) The plural of nouns was introduced together with the pluralized verb: *What are these? These are ... They are ...*, etc.

Then came yes-no questions,

Where-questions with the definite article:

Where is the ...?, etc.

a few commands: *Come here! Sit down! Open the door!*, etc.

question beginning with *What kind of ...*

genitives with *'s* and those with *of* .

possessive adjectives.

Of course G. had no notion of grammatical categories yet. Such things as singular and plural had to be explained to him. His attention was called also to the inversion of the word order in questions and to the fact that such inversion of the word order does not necessarily take place in H. No more grammatical notions were explained in this grade.

Aside from form words, G.'s active and passive vocabulary now consisted of about 80 words. He could recognize six to eight new words immediately after hearing them once. He usually recognized them the next day too, but I took care that the same words should be repeated many times on the following days. G. knew them actively usually after two or three practice sessions.

Of course it would not be wise to generalize from this one case, the more so because G.'s abilities are above the average. Proof of this are his excellent reports from school. Besides this it often happened that G. knew a word after a single mentioning and never forgot it, but there were other words that he could not remember even after five or six mentions. The probable explanation for this is the child's greater or lesser interest in this or that word or this or that thing. Again, the child's interest in a given word de-

pends on the circumstances he lives in, the context of which it occurs, the acoustic impression created by the word, etc.

It turned out in later years that G. knew many words mentioned only once, a year before in a tale, but it also happened sometimes that he did not recognize a word he had met several (4-8) times.

Because of this phenomenon it would have been misleading to keep a record of his vocabulary by means of a card index. Beyond 1000 words it is very difficult to check the actual knowledge of words because of their great number. Therefore I contented myself with making sure that G. recognized the meanings of the words in the text of the books we read at a later date. That he recognized their meaning in a new context, too, could easily be checked by asking for the H. translation. I found that my having read a book aloud to G. meant his having learne its vocabulary, at least passively, except for a small percentage of forgotten words--less than 10 per cent by my estimation. So after all it was possible to determine roughly his passive vocabulary by means of books.

Grade Three. (Third week of January 1957) The former sentence patterns were constantly being repeated and the vocabulary enlarged by 48 additional words, while new patterns were introduced. Prepositions were introduced and the Present Progressive. After this the present tense of the verb *be* was practiced in isolation, too: *I am*, *You are*, etc. This grade included in this way the Personal Pronouns.

The Infinitive of verbs was simply explained by trans-

lation. Then came sentences with the there-construction. Together with these the use of *any*, *some*, and *none* was practiced.

Grade Four. (Fourth week of January 1957) Forty-seven new words were added. This grade introduced Adjectives, the pronoun *one* standing for a qualified noun, and the gradation (comparison) of adjectives. The patterns were: *What color is ...? It is ...? What color are ...? They are ...*

G. was told to observe that words answering the question *what ... like?* (i.e. adjectives) do not take the plural ending in contrast to words answering the question *who* or *what*.

Gradation was first practiced in sentences, after that a few times also in isolation.

Grade Five. (February) This grade concentrated on verbs and further increase of the vocabulary. The verbs were first used in the *Imperative* in Grade Two. Now came *Negative Imperatives* such as *Don't drink! Don't cry!* etc. The explanation was simply a H. translation given *only once*. This proved to be quite satisfactory. At the same time the *Negative Contracted Forms of be and have* were practised.

The Present Continuous, little used in Grade Three, was practised extensively now. The explanation was literal translation first and then an idiomatic one. Literal translation was given only in the first one or two instances. Here, as in all grades, translation was omitted as soon as possible, i.e. as soon as it could be ascertained that G. understood the sentence with the verb in question, which did

not usually require repetition or more than one repetition. The adverb phrase *éppen most* or *most éppen* (H. for "just now") was very appropriate to use in the H. translation because it made the idea of continuity clearer.

Next came the *Present Non-continuous* to express usual actions in such examples as: *When do we get up? When do you go to bed? What do you do during the day? Where do we wash? Do you go to bed in the morning?* , etc. and of course the answers to these.

After some practice with sentences like those above, a few verbs were practised in isolation too: I go, you go, etc., do I go, do you go, etc.

This served to show the system of conjugation better than by practice in sentences only,as in the "natural method".

Grade Six. (Second half of February This grade introduced the Future, the Present Perfect and the Past Tenses in this order.

The *Future Tense* was easily explained by saying that *shall* and *will* with an infinitive express future actions just as *fog* in H. (although H. uses the Present whenever the context makes the idea of futurity evident). The Future of a verb was said in isolation: *I shall go, you shall go*, etc.

The five-and-a-half-year-old child hadn't a very clear idea of futurity, but the fact that E. *shall* or *will* correspond to H. *fog* was easily understandable for him. Nevertheless I gave the explanation: "What we do or what anybody does is an action. It is an action if we go or eat. Going is an action, eating is another. If the action took place

some time ago, that is before now, the action is a past one; if it is taking place now, it is a present one; and if it takes place after the present time, later than now, it is a future one. The time when the action takes place can therefore be past, present or future time." (H. has only these three tenses and uses the same word *idő* for both "time" and "tense".)

Shall I open the window? Shall I read? In connection with these examples I explained that *Shall I open* asks a wish or order and also that the English Future Tense must often be rendered with the Present in H.; also, that *will* can nearly always be used instead of *shall*.

I shall come home in the evening. I will read to you in the evening. In these sentences the adverbial modifier of time makes futurity evident. In such cases H. uses the Present.

After this the Present Perfect Non-Continuous was used, though relatively rarely, in sentences like *Have you washed your hands? I have opened the window. It is still open. Have you closed the window yet? I see you haven't closed it yet, for it is still open.*

Here again I did not content myself with making sure that G. understood the meaning of such Present Perfect forms, but gave a short analysis of the construction thus: The word *have* or *has* is coupled here with a verb or action-word and this latter usually has then / t / or / d / at the end.

The *Past Tense* was introduced in such sentences as *What day was yesterday? Yesterday was Sunday. Did it rain*

yesterday? Yes it did.

By the end of Grade Six G. knew some 550 words, including all the 500 words of the picture dictionary, both passively and actively.

Learning English was not a burden but an amusement for G. He was never given tasks: we just practiced together.

Grade Seven. (First and Second week of March) G. was now prepared for the understanding of *stories with carefully simplified texts*. Since however no such texts were available, I had to write some. The first story was that of the Selfish Giant. The sentences were divided in word groups (as shown by the dividing lines in the text). At the end of each group followed the H. translation. First every word within the group, and then the meaning of the whole group was explained. Then the whole sentence was read again slowly or at least not too fast. The basic forms of the most important words (such as the singular of a noun, the infinitive of a verb) were also mentioned. The group was first read in E., then in idiomatic H., translation, then again in E.

Since the Past Tense was still insufficiently practiced, the child's attention was called to the distinctive marks or forms of this tense. For each occurring verb the three principal parts, Infinitive, Past Tense, and Past Participle, were given thus: *to go -- /he goes/ -- he went -- he has gone.* (At the beginning I also mentioned the third person of the Present.) I called these parts the pricipal or main "forms" of the verb. After a few examples had been taken out of the text, it was enough to mention the pricipal parts thus: *go* --

went -- gone. The principal parts of the strong or irregular verbs were always mentioned when such verbs occurred in the text. G. said the text after me by groups (each group once). Here is the text of the Selfish Giant:

Once/ there was / a selfish giant. He lived/ in a beautiful large castle. But/ his garden/ was still more beautiful/ than his castle. It was the most beautiful garden/ in the country./ Every day/ the children came there/ to play./ One day/ as the giant looked out of his window,/ he saw the children/ playing in the garden./ He went out/ into the garden/ and cried:/ "You mustn't play here!/ Go away from here!/ Go and play on the street!/ The children went away./ They were very sad,/ because/ they liked/ the beautiful garden./ It was winter./ When Spring came,/ he saw no children/ in the giant's garden./ He said:/ I don't go/ where there are no children./ The giant didn't know/ why Spring didn't come to his garden./ One morning/ as he looked out of his window,/ he saw/ a small child/ in the garden./ He went out/ and asked him/ what he wanted./ The child answered:/ "I have come/ to tell you/ that Spring/ will come/ to you/ if you let/ the children/ play in your garden."/ Then the giant/ called the children/ to come and play/ in his garden./ Spring came/ and the giant and the children/ were happy./

This story contained 20 new words for G. I read the story once according to the method just mentioned. Next day I read it again slowly and asked G. to tell me what the text

meant. Group by group he translated it impeccably. In order to find out whether he just remembered the H. translation of the tale, or whether the E. words were meaningful for him, I asked him what this or that word of a sentence meant. He invariably gave correct answers. It was unbelievable, but however I tested him, he could remember everything. I then tried to work up the theme by questions in E. but G. would not answer; he said he could not. I did not insist for fear of discouraging him, but decided to wait.

After the first story came others. G.'s passive knowledge of words grew rapidly. The second story, The Musicians of Bremen, was three times as long as the first, with 63 new words. The third story was Little Red Riding Hood with 50 new words. The fourth was The Fisherman and his Wife with 51 new words.

These texts gradually became more difficult. By way of illustration here is a passage from The Musicians of Bremen:

An old donkey/ which had carried bags to the mill/ for many long years/ heard/ as his master said/ that he would kill him/ the next day./ The poor donkey/ didn't wait for that,/ but left the house./ As he was going on the way,/ he met a dog/ who was very sad./

The more complicated tenses in this text presented no difficulty. It must be noted that at this time G. could not read either E. or H.

In April, May, and June there was a pause in learning because of my own occupation and because G. spent nearly all

his days playing with his chums. In the evenings, when I had some time for him, he was already too tired to learn. During this period nearly 60 per cent of his knowledge of E. seemed to be lost.

Grade Eight. When we resumed the study of E. at the end of June (1957), it was evident that a systematic recapitulation/revision had become necessary. All the grammatical constructions already learned were practiced again, and the words of the earlier grades repeated. This took about two weeks. Then there was another pause until fall.

Toward the end of September we began reading stories again. After my introductory simplified stories illustrated above, it was now easier to find suitable literature for G. We read four books of the Little Golden Books series (Simon and Schuster, New York). They were: Walt Disney's Sleeping Beauty; From Then to Now; The Sky; The Seashore.

After these we read *The Yellow Fairy Book* (edited by Andrew Lang, New York: A.L. Burt) which was in normal E. We could make only slow progress because of the large number of new words. I read only half a page daily and explained the new words partly in E., partly in H., and often in both. When I re-read the text the next day, G. understood it. He also understood my questions, but still answered merely Yes, No, Here, Red, etc. and would not say more.

In October I got some more books with simplified texts and returned to these easier stories. They were published by Uchpedgiz in Moscow or Leningrad. In the autumn and winter months we read the following:

Oscar Wilde: *The Happy Prince and Other Tales*

Thomas Mayne Reid: *The Boy Hunters*

Mark Twain: *The Prince and the Pauper*

It was disheartening, however, that though he understood so much, G. showed no inclination to speak in sentences. I thought it was no use forcing the thing and it was better to drop it altogether, though G. often asked me (in H.) to read English to him.

Grade Nine. It was then (in November 1957) that my wife, who knew only a few lessons of an English textbook, provoked G. into speaking by saying to him that she could speak English better than he. She said a few sentences with several mistakes. G. triumphantly corrected her. Then my wife asked him how this or that sentence could be rendered in E. G. readily translated them. After this he went on speaking to show how he could speak and continued to speak for quite a long time. Although my wife had suspected that G. knew more than he let appear, she was astonished. She told him to speak English to Dad too.

This happened in my absence. When I returned home I was not a little surprised to hear G. speak to me in incorrect but fluent English. The fact that he spoke English was less surprising than the fluency of this utterance.

It is clear that the child had been under the effect of an inhibition. He had not dared to speak English in my presence because he was afraid of making mistakes and being censured for them. Incidentally but importantly, I had never censured him for the mistakes. This inhibition was removed

by my wife's clever interference. When G. discovered that nobody ridiculed him and that he knew something better than Mother, he was no longer afraid to speak English; in fact he liked to do so and my corrections did not disturb him either. Whenever he made a mistake, I immediately corrected him without lengthy explanations. After this his linguistic skill in English developed spectacularly. In December of the same year (1957) he began the telling of tales improvised by himself in English. In January 1958 he was able to hold conversation exclusively in English and to understand new words that were explained to him in the same language, because since November I had been following the practice of explaining every new word first in E. and telling the H. equivalent only after that, and that only if I thought it advisable, i.e., when I was not sure that G. understood it exactly.

We returned to reading the Yellow Fairy Book again. While I was reading the texts, I checked whether G. understood everything properly by asking the meaning of the more difficult words or sentences but took care not to make him translate more than was enough for checking. G. *was soon more ready to explain them in E. than to translate them.* It was clear then that finding the corresponding terms of H. was more difficult for him than explaining them in E.:

F --- T

M

This meant that when he was listening to E. speach or reading, he *thought in E. and did not translate mentally into H.* This was most evident when he easily explained the meaning of a word by a periphrasis or by gestures but *was at a loss how*

to say it in H.

Then one day in January (1958) G. asked me to always speak E. with him. Since that time we have used E. between ourselves. So with me he always speaks E., with other family members H. We have now got so much used to this that we would find it strange to do otherwise. G. himself said not long ago (in 1962): "It would be so funny to speak Hungarian with Father." So the language of conversation between us is E. but alongside of E. explanations of new words and expressions, I often mention their H. equivalents on first occurence at least (This statement is dated: 1962).

It was also in January 1958 that G. met a Canadian. G. easily understood her and was able to converse with her. She, too, was surprised at G.'s knowledge.

Now my task was to eradicate the mistakes in his speech and increase his vocabulary. All sorts of verb forms and tenses had already occurred in the texts. Now even the grammatical explanations were given in E. Abstractions were of course so far as possible avoided.

G.'s pronunciation was fairly good but not perfect. His articulation base was slightly fronted as compared with normal general American articulation. Therefore I once told him to try and speak with his tongue "drawn back". In order to make him notice the effect of retraction more clearly, I first pronounced a few sentences in H. with exaggerated retraction saying that an American learning Hungarian would probably pronounce it so. I also told him to watch my mouth and tongue at the same time. G. was very much interested because

he found this rather funny. Then I told him to say a few H. sentences in this way. He did so. Then I pronounced E. sentences in the same way and G. repeated them after me. From that moment his articulation was quite or nearly perfect in this respect. I also called G.'s attention to the diphthongal pronunciation of *o* and *a* in words like *no, home, day, same.* For a long time after this I often noticed that G. was closely watching my mouth while I was speaking to him. The improvement in his pronunciation was striking.

The type of American pronunciation used with G. from the beginning was so chosen that it should parallel Southern Standard British as consistently as possible.

By April 1958, when he was *six and a half years old,* G. recognized the meaning of some 4000 - 5000 words in their context. On each normal book page printed in normal-sized characters and written in normal, non-simplified English there were in general about four or five new words; I just gave an explanation of the new words and read on. I do not think it would have been good to make him mug. Talking could be practised during walks best because then it was easy to find topics to talk about.

By the time he went to the first form of the elementary school in September 1958, his E. had much improved in correctness too. He had been studying E. for 20 months then, but if we discount the pauses, for not more than 15. During this period E., probably through the charm of fairy tales, had gained such ascendancy over his mind that it became the dominant language with him. Although his E. was not as correct

as his H., his E. word hoard was as rich as the H., if not richer.

True, there were words that he knew in H. and not in E., but there were also words that he knew in E., but not in Hungarian.

Some might think the practice of two languages retarded the normal development of his vocabulary in the one and the other.

I had no English children about me for comparison, but it can be safely said that his H. was neither better nor worse than that of his playmates of the same age. Similarly the "Canadian lady's" impression was that, except for correctness, he knew as much English as English-speaking children of the same age do.

G. still made mistakes with the conditional subordinate clauses *if I would be* for *if I was /were/*. Besides, he sometimes used a wrong government as a Hungarianism: *full with* for *full of*; look *something* for *look at something*, but the number of these mistakes was rapidly dwindling.

When he had no playmate and was playing alone, he spoke E. to his tin soldiers.

In sleep he often spoke aloud, as he had done before the language study was started, but *now* it was *always in E.*, that is, he dreamed in E.

Often he *was embarrassed how to say something in H.* to Mother. At last he said the whole sentence in E. or just inserted an E. word in the H. sentence and said: "Sorry, Mother, I just can't say this word in Hungarian." At such times he

was angry with himself. His attempts at an explanation were not always crowned with success. Sometimes it happened that I had to solve the riddle when I arrived home.

In spite of the deficiencies described above, it was obvious that G. had become in a sense bilingual.

There are widely divergent views on, and definitions of, bilingualism. W.T. Elwart[1] says that "By bilingualism we can understand: A. Bilingualism of the individual, B. Bilingualism of a social group in a certain geographical and social sphere, C. Stylistic bilingualism, which consists in using two forms of the same language in the same social group, each form having its own sphere of function. In the linguistic literature the term Bilingualism has yet another, still more specific meaning, namely: the speech of the bilingual or bilinguals."

Further, he (Elwert) says that bilingualism is commonly understood by non-linguists as the equal or nearly equal command of two languages.[2]

A similar view is held by P. Christophersen[3], who defines the bilingual person a "a person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages."

Much more liberal is Einar Haugen[4] when he says: "Bilingualism is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language."

By bilingualism I understand the knowledge of two languages in such a degree that the person in question can under-

stand, speak, and think in either of them without mental translation from one into the other.

That G. had become bilingual in the sense of the last definition is proved by three facts:

a. He dreamed in English;

b. He could speak both lanuages fluently, but was scarcely able to translate from one into the other;

c. According to his own confession he thought now in English, now in Hungarian.

It must have contributed to G.'s quick progress in E. that from the fall of 1957 on, the sessions had gradually grown to one, two, or even three hours.

When he began to speak E. in November 1957 (Grade Nine), I was surprised to hear from his mouth words that I had mentioned only once, half a year earlier. This showed that he had a very retentive memory. This then was another factor.

Grade Ten. School was a major factor working in favor of H. but it did not interfere with G.'s already acquired knowledge of E.; it only slowed down his progress in the latter. Nor was the practice of E. at home a drawback at school. Although his H. was more correct than his E., the latter seemed to have a stronger hold on his imagination and to have gained his preference. The reason for this was that he had heard tales regularly first in E., not in H. Thus he had emotionally more agreeable associations with E.

In the first semester of the schoolyear, that is in the fall months, G. learned the H. alphabet, but even in the second semester, after Christmas, he, as well as his class-

mates, had difficulty in reading the letters fluently together into words, though H. spelling is in a high degreee phonetical.

From the beginning of his study of E. I had been trying not to let G. see written E. because I feared lest it should interfere with his pronunciation. But when he had a little school practice in reading H., he became interested in written E., too. This happened in early autumn. From this time on he liked to see what I was reading aloud to him. Then I explained to him that in E. several letters often stand for one sound, one and the same letter may stand for different sounds, that the letters have sound values other than in H., and that there are also silent letters.

It is interesting that in spite of the greater consistency and relative simplicity of H. spelling, after a little practice G. could read E. texts more fluently than his H. textbook.

Speaking of the First Stage of experiments, I have already referred to the child's synthetic way of thinking. Reading E. better than H. may have been related to it.

G. practiced reading E. very little and I still did not encourage him to read E. and only showed him how it was done in order to please him when he was interested. Of course, partly the consistency and simplicity of H. spelling, partly the preponderance of the school practice of reading H. soon turned the tables in favor of the latter.

From this time on G. could recognize, i.e. read out, nearly all the words he knew acoustically (that is by hearing), but did not like to read new texts; he preferred to read again

and again what I had already read and explained to him. He did not tire of reading the story (Robinson Crusoe, The Black Arrow, The Boy Hunters, Pinocchio, etc., all in adapted version) as many as five or even ten times. Although I soon taught him how to find a word in the dictionary, he did not like it and did not use it. In 1962 he had not yet used the dictionary for independent reading, although he could now find the words if he wanted to.

Experimenting with the IPA phonetic script used in the dictionary I found that it was more difficult for G. to read than the ordinary spelling. In fact, the phonetic script only confused him. So I did not insist upon his learning the IPA symbols. The diacritics used in other dictionaries seemed to be more useful. But most helpful was the indication of a few basic rules by means of grouped examples, such as: out, house, mouse, down, brown, now, etc.

Of further progress there is little to say because there was no longer any need to use a peculiar system or trick. The essential thing was to read and practice speaking. There were days and even weeks when I could not practice with G. because of my own occupation, but when we could, we read and talked for half an hour or an hour. Reading still meant that I read aloud to G. Sometimes he followed the text with his eyes.

Sometimes even, usually at the weekends, we played together imagined stories or enacted Treasure Island, and G. greatly enjoyed these games.

From the summer of 1959 on, he was able to understand

American and British films.

During 1960 I sometimes showed him what the same passage would sound like in American, British, and Scottish style.

In August 1961 he had an opportunity to speak with several Englishmen who spoke with heavy Southern, Western, Midland and Northern accents respectively. G. understood them.

G.'s ability to translate had much improved since 1957-1958.

In 1962 he could translate easily enough, at least orally, though sometimes he became embarrassed. Although his H. and E. vocabularies may have been different, he was at home in both languages at this time and could think in one or the other. The words of the two languages were first of all associated with the ideas in his mind, and not with the corresponding words of the other language. An example illustrating that the languages were associated direct with ideas in his mind is that once in that year, when he was reciting his geography lesson in H. at home, I interrupted him with some questions in E. After the interruption he continued to recite the lesson in E. and did not notice he was speaking E. instead of H. until I warned him after the first two sentences.

In the following years we had more simplified and non-simplified texts. During the summer of 1962 I read R. Haggard's novel, *The Wanderer's Necklace*, to G. as an example of slightly archaic (non-simplified) English.

In the achievement of success four principles have played decisive roles:

(1) the principle of following the line of least re-

sistance or the principle of no coercion;

(2) the principle of provoking the child to emulation;

(3) the principle that the subject of talk or tale must appeal to the fantasy of the child;

(4) the principle that the child must be given opportunity to use the language while he is engaged in some activity.

During later years of schooling G. had no time to practice E., but during the university years he refreshed and further developed his knowledge of it. At present he feels that both languages are his own.

The facts here described are not based on reminiscences but were collected from records made simultaneously with the observations.

N O T E S

1 Elwert, Dr. W. Theodor: *Das zweisprachige Individuum*. Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1960.

"Unter Zweisprachigkeit kann man, mit Grootaers, folgende Sachverhalte verstehen: A. Zweisprachigkeit des Individuums, B. Soziale Zweisprachigkeit: zwei Sprachen werden von einer Mehrzahl von Individuen als Gruppensprachen in einem Bestimmten geographischen und sozialen Bereich gesprochen, C. Stilistische Zweisprachigkeit: zwei Formen derselben Sprache werden in der gleichen sozialen Gruppe mit je eigener Gebrauchssphäre verwendet. In der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur nimmt der Terminus "Zweisprachigkeit" noch eine speziellere Bedeitung an, nämlich: die Sprach des Zweisprachigen oder der Zweisprachigen, dh, den Gegenstand der Untersuchung bildet das Ergebnis des Zustandes der Zweisprachigkeit des Individuums oder der Gruppe (und meist wird nur der zweite Fall überhaupt der Betrachtung unterzogen: das Ergebnis der Sprachbetätigung der Zweisprachigen, die Sprachmischung.)"

2 *Ibid.*

"Ausser den Unklarheiten hinsichtlich des Begriffes 'Zweisprachigkeit", die oben erwähnt wurden, weswegen auf die Unterscheidungen von Grootaers Bezug genommen wurde, begegnet man noch divergierenden Meinungen darüber, bei welchem Grad der Sprachbeherrschung von Zweisprachigkeit gesprochen werden könne. Die landläufige Vorstellung, die den meisten und insbesondere nicht-linguistischen Publikationen zu grunde liegt, ist wohl die, dass man als zweisprachig nur denjenigen ansehen könne, der eine zweite Sprache ebenso gut oder fast ebenso gut spricht wie die sogenannte 'Muttersprache', oder aber sie jedenfalls so beherrscht, dass sie im täglichen Gebrauch ihren Zweck er-

füllt, was freilich bereits eine erhebliche Einschränkung bedeutet (Hall, l.c.S.16: 'the effective command of two languages'). Dieser Begriff ist jedoch viel zu eng, denn alle an Zweisprachigen zu beobachtenden Phänomene setzen ein, sobald sich die Kenntnis eines anderen Ausdrucksmediums über die Kenntnis vereinzelter Vokabeln erhebt... "

3 Christophersen, Paul: *Bilingualism*. 1918. London: Methuen and Company

4 Haugen, Einar: *The Norwegian Language in America. A study bilingual behavior*. 1953. Philadelphia

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Christopersen, Paul. 1918. *Bilingualism*. London: Methuen and Company

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László Pordány

AMERICAN STUDIES IN TEACHING TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

In the present paper I will put forward some ideas concerning the relevance of cultural studies in general, and American studies in particular, to the teaching of advanced translation and interpreting.

These ideas have been initiated and in fact, necessitated, by an actual teaching program started at Szeged University in 1978. It is a comprehensive, 4-year program leading to a degree and offering thorough training in an English-Hungarian context. As the knowledge of English of the students when beginning the training is of intermediate level, the first two semesters primarily involve language learning and teaching; that is, the teaching of mostly British English, and an introductory course to American English; and there are also some advanced courses concerning various aspects of Hungarian, the mother tongue. The cultural component is incorporated mainly from the second year onward, i.e. during the part of the training actually devoted to translation and interpreting, although, naturally, a certain amount of elementary cultural material is taught from the very beginning. The training is given in general translation and interpreting, in other words, there is no specialization apart from the fact that the basic orientation is toward social sciences and the

humanities rather than science and technology, or any type of highly technical text. The total number of hours available for teaching culture will be equally divided between British and American, and though all my examples are from the field of American studies, a good deal of what is proposed should *mutatis mutandis* apply to British studies and should, in fact, be relevant to any culture studies for the purpose of teaching general translation and interpreting, and, to some extent, to various language teaching situations. A discussion of teaching methods of syllabus details is, therefore, not an aim of this paper; I will rather deal with some of the assumptions underlying the role of American studies in the given context and with some basic considerations concerning the contents of a university course.

In Hungarian as well as in many other Central European universities, there have been in the past basically two differing, and occasionally conflicting concepts of foreign (in this case, non-Hungarian) culture studies. One is literature-oriented and assumes or takes it for granted without questioning that literature is the primary and by far the most important representative of the achievements of a nation, sometimes together with music, philosophy, and creative arts. This, of course, is a general view shared by Europeans and Americans alike, although many sociologists claim to have found that the role and significance Europeans--especially Middle Europeans--attach to literature is markedly different from corresponding American views and attitudes. For one thing, it is true that in many European universities litera-

ture is massively taught not only to those who want a degree or specialize in literature, but also to many students of all kinds of other branches of knowledge, or so it seems at least from an American point of view. A case in point could be represented by various teacher training universities where for instance English language teacher trainees mandatorily participate in 8-semester programs of English and American literature with heavy reading lists covering thousands of pages each semester, a good portion of which is written in archaic English. There is the argument, on the other hand, that those who are against these programs are missing the idea entirely, as the students in question, for instance, are supposed to become not just "teachers of English", but "teachers of English language and literature", which is their official title. And it is not just the title that makes the difference. Literature is actually part of the language-teaching profession as well as many other professions, and further, it is present in the everyday life of people from all walks of life. For a very direct and simple indication of this in the language, think of any of the numerous Hungarian phrases having in them the element *irodalom* (literature), as *irodalmi est, irodalombarát, élet és irodalom, irodalom-politika, irodalmi kávéház*, and so on, all pointing to an inter-relatedness of literature and life. I think this at least partly explains the fact that whenever we want to study the culture of another country, literature automatically comes into focus, and this is also one of the reasons for the very existence of the numerous literature-centered American courses

in this country.

The assumptions underlying the other kind of culture courses go back to the German *Landeskunde*, and Russian *stranovedenie* concept. These courses claim to give the student of a foreign language a so-called "background" or "general orientation" of the country or countries where the language in question is spoken. They are assumed to help the students in their language studies, but have in the past amounted to not much more than casual and somewhat haphazard adjuncts to language courses. Almost invariably, they have a lower prestige than the literature courses I discussed above, which may partly be due to their haphazard nature, but, undoubtedly, this lower prestige is also an indication of the priority of literature in Hungarian universities.

An introductory course to American culture can, and should be used, as much as possible, to prepare the student for going to America if he has the opportunity to supplement his studies there; it should help him avoid or at least quickly overcome the so-called America-shock, something said to sooner or later affect most of our students precisely because of the cultural differences between the two parts of the world, which are far-reaching and are in their essence hidden from the student who has not studied them carefully. But because going to America is a very ambitious aim for a Hungarian student, in fact, too ambitious in most cases, such a course must even function as a substitute--although never adequate, we must realize--for staying in that country.

However, in the training of translators and interpreters,

whose job will be to deal with languages and very often with subtle differences between two given languages, the chief aim of culture courses must be linguistic. Strictly linguistic, it must be emphasized, because this makes it somewhat different from what is referred to as "background knowledge", useful, the language books tell us, or even necessary perhaps, for mastering a second or a foreign language, I think that we should consider the cultural component as one of the features of language itself as seen from the point of view of the learner. In other words, we should consider culture in the language teaching context as an integral part of language with a structuring of its own somewhat like that of grammar or phonology. The structures or patterns are possible--although not at all easy--to observe, examine, describe, and process for teaching purposes, and this should be done by way of a constant comparison with the elements of the so-called source culture (in our particular case: Hungarian), or, to put it precisely, the method in research as well as in teaching should be contrastive and confrontative. In the learning situation, items of the source culture (that is, the native culture in the vast majority of cases) can interfere with those of the target culture, with the cultural interference resulting in what we might call a cultural accent. This accent, one simple and easily detectable form of which is inappropriate word usage, is such that it can obstruct or hinder communication just as badly, or even more seriously than, let us say, a phonetic or phonological accent.

Of the various aspects of the learner's language, it

is most of all *meaning* that is affected by a knowledge of, or by a lack of knowledge of, culture, therefore we have to be concerned with its conveyor, the lexicon of the language, that is, with those lexical items that are *significantly culture-bound*. Culture-bound words and other units can be classified and sub-classified based on a careful and thorough study of their complex meanings, including referential meanings and "connotations".

A relatively simple class, for example, will be that of certain proper names, to a sub-class of which we can assign certain geographical names. The semantic fields covered by lexical units like *The Alamo*, *Podunk*, *Wounded Knee* or *Gettysburgh*, for example, are so complex that they reach far beyond their so-called dictionary meanings; still, they must be treated as parts of the regular word-stock of American English, the learning of which, however, requires much more than the acquisition of the forms and the dictionary meanings. The semantic fields in question are possible to identify and describe, I believe, although this presupposes a complex knowledge of various aspects of American culture.

Now let us look at a few examples of how cultural differences appear as language problems in actual translation. Attila József wrote a major poem shortly before his death in 1937, which in the American translation that was published soon afterward had the title "At the Rim of the City", a perfect-looking, although word-for-word translation from the original. The only snag is that Hungarian *perem*, for which the translator chose *rim* is, and was especially in the 30s,

associated with the most run-down and poor districts of a city, something that *rim* does not convey at all. In fact, *suburbia*, with which it might be logically associated, has just about the opposite connotation. And an appropriate translation of American *suburbia* into Hungarian, by the way, presupposes the same kind of cultural insight that the translator of the poem lacked.

Still more hazardous are those translation situations where on the surface it appears that we have word-for-word translation equivalents to begin with, as sometimes it only becomes clear after examining the cultural elements that the equivalence is formal or does not go beyond a kind of dictionary equivalence. One could mention as examples expressions like *school bus*, *party convention*, *social work*, or *co-operative*, and many more, which are, because of easily identifiable and neat-looking formal correspondences in Hungarian , likely to mislead the translator or the interpreter, unless he has the necessary training in American culture.

The following example signifies a slightly more complex translation problem. Consider the following sentence taken from an American magazine: "The girls' party had been rather dull, however, I made Betsy write a bread-and-butter card, first thing in the morning." At first sight, this sentence should be very easy to translate into Hungarian or probably into any other European language, though of course, the expression "bread-and-butter letter" would have to be replaced by something like a "thank-you letter", given the fact that

Hungarian, like several other European languages I know of, simply does not have the phrase. So for so good. The trouble is that the translation in a way will mean almost the opposite of what the original does, since it is not only the phrase that is not known in Hungary, but also the custom of sending bread-and-butter letters, cards, or making calls etc. Therefore, while the mother in the English sentence behaves quite normally, at least in the given middle-class setting, the mother in the translation, no matter what the setting, does something very strange and unusual, or is even suggested as behaving in a very hypocritical way. I do not know, especially without a larger context, what an adequate translation might be, but I think it is obvious that an awareness of the cultural difference that causes the problem is the first step toward a solution.

The other aim of the course, i.e. the preparation of the student for America, as it were, is not and should not be entirely separated from the linguistic one. In fact, the teaching material (including coursebooks, movies, slides, recordings etc.) must be designed in such a way that the two things run parallel to the extent that it is possible. Here is a simple example: in one of the coursebooks at Szeged University, there is going to be a chapter supplemented by a series of slides showing some of the history and expecially the present status of the telephone in America and how it has affected the life of Americans. There is a description of how business is done by telephone in America. It is then that expressions and clichés like *collect call*, *yellow pages*,

or "Please don't call us, we'll call you" etc., are introduced, as by that time the student should be ready to grasp their real meaning and significance. And it is after all that, of course, that consideration of, and attempts at, translation possibilities and variants follow, but that does not concern us here.

As for the teaching material, this is no place to discuss any syllabus details, but I would like to refer briefly to some assumptions and considerations which, if proven valid by teaching results, could be drawn upon by researchers and course designers not just in the given Hungarian setting, but also in any similar teaching situation.

If the contents of the course are to be in accord with the aims, we have a rather dramatic departure from both literature-centered teaching--and in fact from any concept that allows only high intellectual achievements or "culture with a big C"--and from the traditional "Landskunde" or "Kulturkunde"-type courses. Although most elements of these latter-type courses will be included or at least touched upon in coursebooks or in lectures at Szeged, they will mostly just serve as the ABC to what we sometimes call the anthropological aspect of the program, and even so emphasis will be shifted from things to people at the very start.

It seems that while the two traditional approaches concentrate on the best intellectual achievements on the one hand and institutions and the natural environment on the other (Landskunde roughly meaning, the knowledge of the land) they pay little attention to our primary concern, the people. We

are interested in what is typical and characteristic in the common man, we might say in the "average American", in his way of thinking, patterns of life style, in what he does or how he reacts in different situations--including both "home ground" and when abroad: think of the stereotype of the "ugly American"--his traditions, his religious and other beliefs, his attitudes, values, and ideals; in a word, in all the things that are sometimes collectively referred to as "culture with a small c".

Values and ideals , for example, together with the need to compare them to those of the source culture are often mentioned in various manuals on translation and interpreting, but the real significance of the task is seldom weighed, perhaps because we find it difficult to believe that other people can be so radically different, given the universal nature of human character. Of course, the existence of strong cultural universals cannot and should not be denied--in fact, they are, among other things, what make translation possible in the first place. Yet, we must reckon with differences that can surprise not only the unassuming layman but even the researcher, especially when cultures of the same "culture family" are being compared, i.e. cultures supposedly very similar to each other; as we can see in the following example. The quotation is taken from a European government publication, a sort of propaganda booklet dealing with topics people are said to be commonly discussing in the given country as well as perhaps in several other countries.

"That young man had before him a crude, yet simple,

clear and attainable aim. There was no reason to interfere with his advance towards it. Let him furnish his flat well, let him establish his orchard (*even if for the sake of the income* and not for a love of nature), let him buy a car. Having achieved this *crude and primitive aim*, (italics mine) he would (if he was developing normally) set himself a more distant, higher, more refined aim. I am not arguing, of course, that this young man is by any means a leading member of today's society...". Now it is obvious that the basic value system underlying these statements is very different from, and at several points even runs counter to, let us say, an American value system, according to which the young man in the quotation would probably be "highly" valued, and would actually be considered a "leading member" of society ("leading" here really meaning "respected").

In the past, various attempts have been made to teach "culture with a small c", but it seems that actual teaching work has not very often gone beyond an unstructured presentation of various clichés and stereotypes usually serving to reinforce the student's image of the target culture, which is by nature almost invariably simplistic, and hence, false.

We have asked a few students who spent some time in the United States about how much of their previous knowledge of the people and the country had turned out to be helpful in any way, and the usual answer is that even though their information was not necessarily incorrect, it was mostly irrelevant. They had to start from scratch, so to speak.

One ultimate reason for inefficient teaching, I think,

is a failure to realize the complexity and the many ramifications of the task, and a failure to see that efficient teaching material can only be designed on the basis of massive and far-reaching cultural, anthropological and interdisciplinary research. Another problem is the failure so far to appreciate the significance of the contrastive approach, although it has the advantage, among other things, that it can reveal many facets of the *source culture* that would otherwise remain hidden from the observer.

As for the actual contents of the course, let me try to refer to its general character with a few examples. Literature, to begin with, is included. But rather than doing exclusively what we would be advised to do by literature coursebooks or literary criticism or *The New York Book Review*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, etc., we do refer to, let us say, *Love Story* and Earl Stanly Gardener's books and various other popular paperbacks; not necessarily and often not at all--for their literary value, but because we know that they influence the thinking and ultimately perhaps the lives of large groups of people in America, and therefore a knowledge of them is necessary for the understanding of the people. We incorporate systematic reviewing of various non-fictional or non-literary publications from the comic books to the more influential magazines, as these all play a rôle in forming the American mind. All this must be done without making any immediate value judgements concerning either the publications in question or the tastes of the people reading them.

Most major topics in the conventional Landeskunde

courses are incorporated. But, to take geography, for instance, we are not concerned with, let us say, exactly how high Mt. Marcy in Upstate New York is (that sort of factual information can be obtained very easily from a handbook or guidebook anyway), but again with what significance, if any, that particular place has for Americans, or for any group of Americans, tourists or otherwise. In the field of history, emphasis will be shifted in the direction of aspects such as popular viewings of the past; and the attitudes of the "average" American toward history in contrast with Middle European images wherever possible.

Naturally, areas where there are considerable differences between the two peoples get much more attention than others, and, more importantly, we try to make an attempt at finding the areas and aspects of life in America that have practically no counterparts in Hungary. Some of these are relatively easy to identify (think of the almost diametrically opposed political and economic systems and their numerous direct implications), while others are more subtle and difficult to observe, not to mention describe and present in a coherent and systematic way.

As most of our students are being trained to become not only translators but also interpreters, we try to cover areas that have to do with face-to-face communication and may cause misunderstanding. One such area is *gesture and body language*, something that has been studied in the United States and to some extent also in Hungary, although a contrastive study has not yet been done. The American's concept and use

of *time* is a background element to communication in general, and this we have to study and contrast with Hungarian attitudes. Concerning time, some constrastive research has been done in a North American-Latin American, especially Mexican, context. Taking this as a starting point, a preliminary observation on the time concept of Hungarians seems to indicate that it can roughly be placed somewhere between "*hora americana*" at one extreme, and "*hora mexicana*" at the other. For yet another field, we try to study the American concept and handling of *space*, which upon detailed examination reveals important differences from that of Hungarians, and therefore needs to be studied in a large variety of situations.

Such and similar studies, we hope, will eventually lead to a comprehensive survey for teaching purposes of what may be called *national character*, though the validity of the expression itself is being debated by several scholars.

Finally, we are trying to make use of recent research concerning the American self-image, that is we are interested in how Americans see America as a country and themselves as a people, as we consider this an important aspect of their character, although we feel that here one must be expecially careful in how far one can go generalizing. Furthermore, we are interested in the American's image of other nations, notably of Hungarians. Some examples of such an image of other nations are directly reflected in language. In the 19th century, around the time that large numbers of poor Hungarian peasants were emmigrating to the United States, an expression, although not entirely complementary, was formed which can now be heard

in various parts of the Mid-West and which goes "You look like you've just gotten out of the boat from Hungary". Conversely, Hungarian has various espressions with the element "American" in them.

Images of other nations have at least two things in common. One is that they are of necessity incomplete and inaccurate, although the degree of incorrectness can vary; and the other is that the people concerned are usually unaware of them. The so-called average Hungarian, if he goes to America or simply talks with Americans is likely to be very much surprised to learn that most everybody knows about certain things and people he has never heard of in his life, and may on the other hand indignantly find that Americans have no idea of people, things, and achievements he cherishes most, and vice versa, of course.

Ultimately, besides the aforementioned linguistic aim, a main purpose of our American course is to correct false images, disperse false and unjustified value judgements, and to promote a better understanding of Americans as a people.

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