ISSN 1949-8519 (Print)
ISSN 2154-6711 (Online)

Forum for World Literature Studies

世界文学研究论坛 Vol.4 No.1 April 2012

Literature
الأدب
Littérature
Literatura
Литература

Shanghai • Wuhan • West Lafayette

Shanghai · Wuhan · West Lafayette

上海·武汉·西拉法叶

Forum for World Literature Studies

Vol. 4 No. 1 April 2012

Ramóndel Valle-Inclán Studies

Edited by

Arturo Casas

Danish and Norwegian Welfare Literature Studies

Edited by

Anne-Marie Mai

Chinese Literature Studies

Edited by

Yang Gexin

Shanghai · Wuhan · West Lafayette

世界文学研究论坛

拉蒙·德尔·巴列-因克兰研究
阿图罗·卡萨特(栏目主持)

丹麦挪威的福利文学研究
安-玛丽·麦(栏目主持)

中国文学研究
杨革新(栏目主持)

上海·武汉·西拉法叶

Editorial Board

编委会

Forum for World Literature Studies (ISSN 1949 - 8519) is a peer-reviewed academic journal sponsored by Shanghai Normal University, Purdue University and the Wuhan Institute for Humanities, and co-edited by Professor Huang Tiechi of Shanghai Normal University, Professor Nie Zhenzhao of Central China Normal University and Professor Charles Ross of Purdue University. This journal provides a forum to promote diversity in world literature, with a particular interest in the study of literatures of those neglected countries and regions. With three issues coming out every year, this journal publishes original articles on topics including theoretical studies, literary criticism, literary history, and cultural studies, as well as book review articles.

Forum for World Literature Studies accepts submissions in English or Chinese by authors from all over the world. The manuscript is expected to be of about 8000 words and must follow the MLA style. Submission should be made including an abstract of about 200 words, a short biography of the author, and three to five keywords, as well as the main body of the essay. Manuscripts from America shall be submitted to Charles Ross (Email: cross@ purdue. edu; Mailing address: 500 Oval Drive, West Lafayette, IN47907; Phone :765 - 4943749), and those from outside America shall be submitted to the office in Wuhan: FWLS Office, Wuhan Institute for Humanities, #19 - 2 - 1 - 103, Wanke Meilizhicheng, Fourth Gaoxin Road, No. 1, Donghu Hi-Tech Development District, Wuhan, 430205, P. R. China. Phone: (86) 2787920279. Email: fwlstudies@ gmail. com.

Contents

Ramón del Valle-Inclán Studies

Danish and Norwegian Welfare Literature Studies

Chinese Literature Studies

目录

拉蒙·德尔·巴列-因克兰研究

丹麦挪威的福利文学研究

中国文学研究

Introduction to Valle-Inclán Between Europe and the Americas: Aesthetics, Language, History

Arturo Casas
Faculty of Philology, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
North Campus - Burgo das Nacións, Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain
Email: arturo.casas@usc.es

Few writers like Ramón del Valle-Inclán (1866 – 1936) have been able to make will of style and aesthetic viewpoint, projected onto the world or onto human reality, fundamental tools for understanding the scales on which we view the course of history. Dealing with important events and daily occurrences, the Spanish narrator and playwright worked conscientiously, with indubitable determination and with great confidence in the illuminating power of his artistic language, which was permanently pushed to the limits of expressivity and plasticity. He carried out this project of his in short stories, novels, melodramas, farces and other literary genres, especially dealing with modern Spanish history; but this also involved dealing with the European crisis surrounding the First World War and the vestiges of Latin American and African colonization, and the lengthy processes of revolution and war that were putting an end to this domination.

For many years, specialists in Valle-Inclán's work accepted that the constant search for an artistic language truly capable of revealing the non-official history, the hidden records of conflicts and abuses and also of romantic and festive social practices, had passed through two main stages.[1] The first, associated with Latin American modernism, was of an aestheticizing nature, decadentistic and even esoteric through its link to theosophy and occultism. The second, more politically committed, is generally linked to the artistic-literary renewal caused by the appearance of cinema, firstly, and later, by the explosion of the avant-garde, with the possible influence of cubism and expressionism.

It even became a habit to interpret these two positions as having their ideological correlates in two opposite movements. First we have the traditionalism of the 19th century, which in a Spain removed from the ideals of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution, aspired to maintain the old social, economic and institutional structures, with strong ties to the most immovable Catholicism and to the dynastic struggles that led to successive civil confrontations between 1833 and 1876 (known as the *Carlist Wars*). Second we have a progressive direction, in some ways close to historical materialism and to Marxism; marked simultaneously by the Soviet and Mexican revolutions, and exploring the mechanisms belonging to all consciousness-raising art

and, for that reason, given to grotesque characterization, to carnivalization or comic deformation and to all that which converges in the name of *esperpento* (something akin to *theatre of the grotesque*). This concept is complicated to understand if we do not bear in mind the notions of history as contigency and as discourse and, at the same time, of language as representation and as performative mediation. Valle-Inclán explained it by referring to the effect of concave mirrors, before which heroism and beauty lose all their splendour. The *esperpento* was a way to exhibit national history and to contrast it with what it could have been, hence its character of *tragedy deprived of dignity*. Thus, we can understand it as an aesthetic of agitation, revolutionary in the sphere of consciousness and in the denunciation of social cynicism in the service of an anachronistic power, indeed useless for any modernizing and democratic aim.

Of course, this is a rather simplistic way of interpreting an aesthetic-ideological evolution which in Valle-Inclán is impossible to separate from a long series of biographical factors: his book- and community-based education, his family and cultural background, his conflict-filled and passionate relationship with the theatre world, his various trips to America (Mexico and South America), his interpretation of the long-established Spanish militarism and of colonization as an element of economic-moral legitimization, his experiences of various instances of armed conflict (he even flew over the French-German border in 1916 and turned that fact into a journalistic and literary account), his family's complex economic survival, his difficulties in establishing himself in the various career paths he achieved—some of which were of significant institutional relevance, such as the directorship of the Spanish Academy of Arts in Mussolini's Rome (1933 – 1934)—and his own personal extravagance.

Furthermore, the simplication to which I refer tends to ignore elements which are in no way secondary and which, so to speak, span the entire career of this writer, who perhaps— along with Federico García Lorca—had the most influence on Spanish theatre of the second half of the 20th century. Among these elements are his Galician cultural and anthropological roots, his reception of contemporary thought and philosophy, an aesthetic with a very strong visual arts and theatrical framework, a conception of the occupation of writing as a space conducive to intertextuality and as a permanent exercise of revisiting foreign texts and of rewriting own texts, and, ultimately, an attempt to intervene and to be noticed in the public sphere, for which purpose he not only cultivated a provocative attitude towards society and power (dandyism, rebellion, mannerisms...) but also assumed numerous artistic and civil risks, and not just in his early years.

The five essays that constitute this dossier on Valle-Inclán aim to offer a general perspective on the topics presented here. With their contributions, the authors have achieved a well-rounded perspective, which is very effective at highlighting the most important critical points of agreement and also at showing alternatives to the contemporary interpretation of the significance of Ramón del Valle-Inclán's rich and plural work, from a comparatist and world literature perspective.

Darío Villanueva's article focuses on the coordinates of European and American modernism in order to explore Valle-Inclán's narrative poetics in its various aesthetic phases, comparing it to the form-, perspective- and spatial/temporal-structure-rene-

wing processes developed by important novelists such as Marcel Proust, Jules Romain, Thomas Mann, Herman Hesse, James Joyce and William Faulkner.

Robert Lima devotes his analysis to the notion of the *esperpento* as an appropriate choice for revealing the social, political and religious reality of Spain at the beginning of the 20th century, but he manages to avoid the temptation to reduce everything to the national, and shows the theatre of the grotesque in relation to the theatre of the absurd and the theatre of cruelty and connects it with historical and avant-garde movements, both literary and artistic.

Margarita Santos' article discusses the interartistic nature of Valle-Inclán's entire body of work, with detailed attention paid to its relationship with painting, both in its dealings with institutions and artists (Zuloaga, Romero de Torres and others) and in its own critical and essay output, including, of particular note, a sort of aesthetic program that the author developed in a 1916 work, *The Lamp of Marvels. Aaesthetic Meditations*.

Antonio F. Pedrós-Gascón's essay develops the view that Valle-Inclán was one of the European writers who tried hardest to incorporate Latin American historical reality into his work. The stated goal is to observe and analyze in *The Tyrant Banderas* (1926), his dictator novel, the traces of the ideologeme that opposes civilization and barbarity, keeping in mind the sociocultural dimension of Mexican muralism and the author's own ideological evolution.

Rosario Mascato-Rey's work deals with Valle-Inclán's reception of Bergson's philosophy, particularly as it affects the comprehension of temporality, and with special attention to the Galician author's first collection of poetry (*The Fragrance of Legend*, 1907), an orientation which doubtless affects the rhythmical-musical elements of his writing, and not only in the lyric genre.

Note

1. I offer an alphabetical list of Valle – Inclán's works mentioned in this dossier as they have been translated or rendered into English in various places. I am grateful for my colleague Dru Dougherty's invaluable assistance in compiling this list: *Aromas de leyenda* (1907) [*The Fragrance of Legend*]; *Claves líricas* (1930) [*Lyrical Keys*]; *Las Comedias Bárbaras* (1907 – 1922) [*Barbaric Comedies*: *Cara de Plata* (*Silver Face*), *Águila de blasón* (*Heraldic Eagle*), and *Romance de lobos* (*A Romance of Wolves*)]; *Divinas palabras. Tragicomedia de aldea* (1920) [*Divine Words. A Village Tragicomedy*]; *Farsa italiana de la enamorada del rey* (1920) [*Farce of the Girl who Loved the King*]; *Farsa y licencia de la reina castiza* (1919) [*Farce of the True Spanish Queen*]; *Flor de santidad* (1904) [*Flower of Sanctity*]; *La Guerra Carlista* (1908 – 1909) [*The Carlist War Novels*: *Los cruzados de la causa* (*The Crusaders of the Cause*), *El resplandor de la hoguera* (*The Glow of the Bonfire*), and *Gerifaltes de antaño* (*Notables of Days Gone By*)]; *Jardín umbrío* (1914) [*The Shadowy Garden*]; *La lámpara maravillosa* (1916) [*The Lamp of Marvels. Aesthetic Meditations*]; *La marquesa Rosalinda. Farsa sentimental y grotesca* (1913) [*The Marquise Rosalind. A Sentimental and Grotesque Farce*]; *La medianoche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra* (1917) [*Midnight*: *A Stellar Vision of a Moment during the War*]; *Luces de bohemia* (1920, 1924) [*Bohemian Lights*]; *Martes de carnaval* (1925 – 1930) [*Mardi Gras. Grotesqueries*: *Los cuernos de don Friolera* (*The Horns of Don Friolera*), *Las galas del difunto* (*The Dead Man's Duds*), and *La hija*

del capitán (*The Captain's Daughter*)]; *El Pasajero* (1920) [*The Passenger*]; *La pipa de kif* (1919) [*The Pipe of Kiff*]; *Retablo de la avaricia, la lujuria y la muerte* (1927) [*Tableau of Avarice, Lust and Death*]; *El Ruedo Ibérico* (1927 – 1932) [*The Iberian Bullring*: *La corte de los milagros* (*The Court of Miracles*), *Viva mi dueño* (*Long Live My Lord*), and *Baza de espadas* (*Tricks of Spades*)]; *Sonatas* (1902 – 1905) [*The Pleasant Memoirs of the Marquis de Bradomin. Four Sonatas*: *Sonata de primavera* (*Sonata of Spring*), *Sonata de estío* (*Sonata of Summer*), *Sonata de otoño* (*Sonata of Autumn*), and *Sonata de invierno* (*Sonata of Winter*)]; *Tirano Banderas. Novela de Tierra Caliente* (1926) [*The Tyrant Banderas. A Novel of Warm Lands*].

责任编辑:杨革新

Modernism and the Novel: Ramón del Valle-Inclán

Darío Villanueva
Faculty of Philology, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
North Campus - Burgo das Nacións, Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, 15782 Spain
Email: dario. villanueva@ usc. es

Abstract This paper points out the error of evaluating Ramón del Valle-Inclán (1866 – 1936) solely in a limited context, as a representative of Hispanic modernism, or as a prodigal son of the generation of '98. The creator of the esperpentos is in fact one of the major actors in the renovation of the forms of literature: his theatre ranks beside that of Jarry, Brecht, Beckett or Meyerhold, while at the same time there are equivalences between his narrative and the writings of Mann, Proust, Faulkner, Dos Passos, or Jules Romains. Valle-Inclán was the Spanish writer who most directly contributed to the international modernism of the first third of the 20th century.
Key words modernism; novels of valle-Inclán; Irish writers; point of view; timelessness; world literature

One of the most notable errors of scholars of Ramón del Valle-Inclán (1866 – 1936) has been to evaluate him solely within the context of Spanish-language literature, as a Spanish representative of Hispano-American modernism or, in Pedro Salinas' words, as "a prodigal son of the generation of '98." The creator of the *esperpentos* is in fact one of the major actors in the renovation of the forms of European literature. Some have related his theatre to that of Jarry, Brecht, Beckett or Meyerhold. Others (myself included) have established equivalences with the founders of the modern novel, including Mann, Proust, Faulkner, Dos Passos and Jules Romains.

Valle-Inclán was the Spanish writer most directly involved in that fertile wave of creativity that gave birth to the modernist renovation of literature during the first third of the 20th century. This is hardly surprising if we bear in mind the breadth of his interests and experiences. He was familiar with the literature of nations such as Italy and Portugal, which he translated. He was witness to two major historical events, the Great War and, during his second visit to Mexico in 1921, the institutional consolidation of the Mexican revolution. His theatre tour of Argentina in 1910, his visits to Cuba in 1893 and 1921, and his period in Rome as director of the Spanish Academy of Fine Arts in 1933 and 1934, all moulded and testify to his cosmopolitan character. And few European intellectuals followed so closely as he the course of the Soviet revolution, which together with events mentioned above was decisive for the change in direction taken by his writings between the publication of *La media noche* (1917) and the final version of *Luces de bohemia* (1924).

What we might call the prehistory of Valle's narrative art is embodied in a series of novellas and short stories published at the turn of the century, between 1895 and 1903. These writings are characterized by a symbolist and decadent aestheticism inspired by the author's early reading—mainly of European writers—and by the reinvigorating influence of the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío on the straitjacketed Spanish literature of the day. At the same time, this phase produced a kind of literary granary to which Valle would return again and again to recover resources, characters and settings for the more substantial narrative works published between the start of the *Sonata* series in 1902 and the end of the Carlist war trilogy in 1909—a period that also gave us the novel *Flor de santidad*. A writer in whom the Bohemian and the professional were inextricably intermingled, Valle-Inclán constantly wove and unwove his corpus, continually rewriting his works.

Though not marked by a radical aesthetic change, there is a clear change of tack in the writings of Valle's second period, following the publication in 1917 of one of his least renowned but most transcendental books: *La media noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra.* In 1920 this new phase also saw the first version of the play *Luces de bohemia*, which is so difficult to stage because of a vertiginous narrative syntax that already reflects the influence of the cinema—Valle was one of the first Spanish writers to follow Ricciotto Canudo in recognizing the cinema as "the seventh art." It is this play that includes, metaliterarily, the definition of a new expressionist aesthetics rooted in the nature of "Spain as a grotesque deformation of European civilization:" *esperpento*. In December 1926 *Tirano Banderas* was published, followed shortly afterwards by the first two volumes of the first part ("Los amenes de un reinado") of the unfinished cycle *El ruedo ibérico*. *La corte de los milagros* appeared in 1927 (though its final version was not published until 1931, when it appeared in instalments in the daily *El Sol*), and *Viva mi dueño* in 1928. "Vísperas septembrinas," the first part of the the third volume, *Baza de espadas*, appeared in *El Sol* in 1932, but was not published in book form until 1958, more than 20 years after Valle's death.

The modernism in which Valle-Inclán may be inscribed is not the poetic movement represented principally, in Hispano-American letters, by Rubén Darío, but rather the grand international upheaval that occurred chiefly in the first third of the 20th century and afforded its best results in the 1920s, the years in which Valle-Inclán was writing his major works. His own concept of modernism—a question that has remained polemical to this day—was first expressed in print in 1902, the year of his first novel (*Sonata de otoño*), in an article so titled in *La Ilustración Española y americana* (an article he later reworked and republished several times). Here, though warning that the word "modernism" had acquired a meaning "as broad as it was suspect," he wrote that the essence of the idea consisted in the "analogy and equivalence of sensations," which was not mere extravagance but a consequence of a "progressive evolution of the senses;" (Valle-Inclán, Ramón del 1463), and in the 1908 version of this essay ("Breve noticia acerca de mi estética cuando escribí este libro" [*Corte de amor*]), he concludes that "If anything in literature may be called modernism, it is certainly a keen yearning for personality, and that is doubtless why

we see young writers more bent on expressing sensations than ideas."[1] It must be borne in mind that the authors named by Valle as examples of modernism in 1902 were not Rubén Darío, José Martí or Gutiérrez Nájera, but French and Italian writers: Théophile Gautier (as represented by his prologue to Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal*), Rimbaud, René Ghil, Carducci and Gabriele d'Annunzio.

The parallelism between Valle and other European authors was noted in the obituary written in 1936 by Juan Ramón Jiménez, who defined him as "a genuine Celt" on a par with "his contemporaries the best Celtic writers of Ireland." Among them, he saw greatest kinship with Synge and Yeats: "That similarity is to be seen in everything, body and soul. Galicia and Ireland remain twins. And just as Ireland freed Yeats and—especially—Synge, Galicia freed Valle-Inclán from exoticist modernism, which he fortunately entertained only fleetingly, and from the Castilianist modernism that has had such a lamentable and lasting influence on some others."[2]

Yeats was born in 1865, just a year before Valle-Inclán. In the year in which *Sonata de otoño* was published, he presented the final, augmented version of *The Celtic Twilight*, a bunch of anecdotes inspired by Irish folklore that Joyce described as his happiest book.[3] His essay "The Celtic Element in Literature" begins with quotations from Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold, for whom the Celtic peoples—Valle's Galicians among them—were characterized by their passion for nature, imaginativeness, and melancholy (Yeats *The Major Works* 370). Yeats' peasants, like Valle's, talk with the dead, for in Ireland, as in Galicia, there is no discontinuity between this world and the next. There thus arises a kind of "timid affection" between men and spirits in that damp green land where emigration (Yeats *The Celtic Twilight* 92), shipwreck and Fenian bands share everyday life with fabulous treasures and faery beings. There, in the words of the verse that introduces *The Celtic Twilight*, "time drops in decay / like a candle burnt out . . . ," but in the spirit of the folk there lives on a tradition of imagination that modern society has cast from its bosom.

There are tales in *The Celtic Twilight* that are very close to the Galician world of *Flor de santidad: historia milenaria*, which Valle published in 1904 before concluding the *Sonatas*. Thus "Happy and Unhappy Theologians" relates the glorious death of a serving-maid who hangs herself for love of God; while Adega, the heroine of *Flor de santidad*, is an ingenuous shepherdess who is seduced by a pilgrim *en route* to Santiago de Compostela and, following the pilgrim's death, believes herself to have been left with child by God Himself. And in "The Last Gleeman," the events surrounding the burial of the blind Dublinese rhymer Michael Moran are genuine *esperpento*, in the same aesthetic sense of the concept as is shared, for example, by *Luces de bohemia* and Joyce's *Ulysses*. These *motifs*, and many others that could be mentioned, reappear elsewhere in Valle, notably in the "tales of saints, souls in torment, sprites and thieves" collected in *Jardín umbrío*.

In "And Fair, Fierce Women," one of the shortest pieces in *The Celtic Twilight*, the "heroic beauty" that had been "fading out of the arts since that decadence we call progress set voluptuous beauty in its place" was reclaimed by Yeats in a hybrid English as thickly peppered with Irishisms as Valle's Spanish is peppered with Galicianisms, slang, Romany and Americanisms of all origins. This is one of the

marks of kinship between the Irish and Galician writers: they all enriched the language of the metropolis from its outer regions, with zero regard for maintaining its purity. Juan Ramón Jiménez described Valle, together with his Irish peers, as "loose-tongued," because "each word of his was a tongue, and I believe he cared for nothing but to let loose his tongue, for better or for worse."[4]

In a way, the *Sonatas* are another hybrid in their relationship with their fictitious narrator, a character conceived by Valle prior to 1902 and destined to reappear in *Águila de blasón* (1907), *Los cruzados de la causa* (1908), *Una tertulia de antaño* (1909), *Luces de bohemia* (1920 – 1924), and the above-mentioned three episodes of *El ruedo ibérico* (1927 – 1932), as well as in *El Marqués de Bradomín* (1907), the stage play based on the *Sonatas*. On the one hand, Bradomín evidently delights in narrating a series of amorous adventures and the tangled situations associated therewith; his model as a writer of memoirs is Giacomo Casanova, whom he cites explicitly when in *Sonata de invierno* a shocked Sister Simona reveals that his latest conquest is his own daughter. But it is no less evident that throughout the tetralogy Xavier de Bradomín strives to establish the singularity of his persona, constructing it with deliberate artifice, rather than sincerely to record his personality. The cynicism and diabolic aura that characterize the Marquess undoubtedly place the *Sonatas* closer to the letters of Pietro Aretino (1537 – 1557), the gallant memoirs of Casanova (1822) or the libertine literature of the Marquis de Sade than to the *Confessions* of St. Augustine—the late 4th century germ of autobiography—or to those of Rousseau (1771 – 1778), both of whom are mentioned in a famous passage of *Sonata de invierno*.

Anautobiography is necessarily characterized not only by the chronophanic nature deriving from the semantic value of time, but, above all, by its focus on the identity of a single individual. And as a "rereading" of the author's past experience, it tends to reconstruct his or her life as a coherent whole, incurring thereby in excessive rationalization and making sense of events that may have had other senses or none at all. But the *Sonatas* go much further, their creator seeking not just to endow his legend with meaning, but to construct it from scratch. For if anything characterizes Bradomín it is his constant striving to adapt his behaviour, Lon-Chaney-like, to fit models to whom he is especially attracted. Thus at the beginning of *Sonata de estío*, upon disembarking in Veracruz, Xavier struts before the Niña Chole "as proud and arrogant as a *conquistador* of old," remembering his ancestor Gonzalo de Sandoval, founder of the Mexican kingdom of New Galicia.

The "autobiography" of the Marquess of Bradomín is thus doubly fictitious: Firstly, because its narrator is a fictitious character, not the real author Ramón del Valle-Inclán, in spite of continual insinuations of genuine *alter ego* status; and secondly because Xavier is a great impostor of himself, of what he wishes to be for others, regardless of his authentic personality. When he acts before others rather than speaking as narrator, he leaves us with an intense sense of theatricality, of for ever acting the part of a Don Juan *à la* Tirso de Molina or Zorrilla, though with certain singularities of his own—notably his cynicism. Thus the theme of the four *Sonatas* is not the life of Bradomín, but how Bradomín gradually created his persona by dint of imposture, finally consolidating his *opus* by means of what is always but another, subtle

form of pretence: autobiography. In short, literature to the power of two, full of oblique allusions aimed at readers who can no longer be innocent. Herein lies the chief originality of the *Sonatas*: with Xavier de Bradomín, Valle-Inclán concocts the immoralist literature of a feigned self in continual ironic and metaliterary defiance of reality. And finally, we should not overlook the significance of the designation of these four works as *Sonatas*: for the sonata is both a form in which musical themes may be organized, their initial presentation being followed by successive variations and a final recapitulation; and that conjunction of four independent, conventionally structured movements that culminated in the sonatas of Haydn and Mozart.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, *Sonata de invierno* also contains elements that exemplify that "fictitious sincerity" that I have contrasted with the theatrical cynicism with which Bradomín constructs himself. I refer to its Carlist setting and subject matter, which make this novel a bridge between the *Sonatas* and the Carlist War trilogy published between 1908 and 1909. Right from the first description of Carlos VII in the church of San Juan, the narrator exhibits an allegiance to the Pretender that is no less effective for having an aesthetic basis—an origin acknowledged explicitly in a well-known passage in which Bradomín confesses that he has always found fallen majesty more attractive than majesty enthroned, and that he defends tradition on aesthetic grounds, seeing in Carlism the solemn charm of the great cathedrals.[5] Margarita Santos Zas[6] finds proof in these words that, at the time he was writing *Sonata de invierno*, Valle-Inclán had not only a profound knowledge of the history of Carlism and the personality of its leader, but also pronounced ideological leanings in that direction—in spite of which he would later support the Mexican and Soviet revolutions, and later still be seduced by the paraphernalia of early Mussolinian fascism.

It was this affinity and familiarity of Valle's with Carlism—the affinity half aesthetic and half ideological, the familiarity both personal and derived from his readings and research—that gave birth, immediately after the last *Sonata*, to the trilogy comprising *Los cruzados de la causa*, *El resplandor de la hoguera* and *Gerifaltes de antaño* (this last title taken from a line of Rubén Darío's "Los cisnes"). All three are set in Galicia and feature such important Valleinclanesque characters as Bradomín himself, the family of Don Juan Manuel Montenegro, and Cara de Plata, who also links this trilogy to the world of the *Comedias bárbaras*. In contrast to the cynicism, distance and imposture of the *Sonatas*, the prose of *La Guerra Carlista* strikes a note of authenticity, of involvement with the vicissitudes of the Cause, and displays a narrative treatment that tends to the epic sublimation of the story told and its protagonists. Gaspar Gómez de la Serna once noted[7] that in a talk given in 1910 Valle stated that in this trilogy he had tried, in painting its characters, "to augment them with what they had not been." A beggar must be like Job, a guerillaman like Achilles—the very opposite of what characterizes the *esperpento* of the banana republic of the tyrant Banderas or the Isabelline court of miracles of *El ruedo ibérico*. In the twelfth scene of *Luces de bohemia*, Max Estrella defines *esperpento* thus: "Classical heroes reflected in concave mirrors produce *esperpento*. The tragic sense of Spanish life can only come about through a systematically deformed aesthetics;"[8] which is not to say that certain premonitory hints of esperpentic expressionism are not already present in *La Guerra*

Carlista and the *Sonatas*.

In September 1902, in the same month as *Sonata de otoño* was published, Émile Zola died. Sixteen years earlier, Clarín had written that "naturalism is a thing of the past; if you do not believe me, look at decadentism and symbolism, which if they have not yet had much impact, soon will do. Fashions, isms! *Vade retro*! We have all sinned, let us all repent. Long live art, long live artists!" This state of opinion typifies the parting of the ways that was perceived in the autumn of French naturalism, and which gave rise to the vast literary process—studied by Michel Raymond in *La crise du Roman. Des lendemains du Naturalisme aux années vingt* (2nd edn., 1967)—that renovated and modernized the European and American novel. Far from sentencing to death a *genre* that in the 19th century had indeed reached its highest degree of influence and social acceptance, this process of renovation simply replaced the narrative system or poetics of the 19th century with something better fitted to the society and ways of thought of the 20th, innovative narrative forms springing simultaneously from the pens and typewriters of authors who were not in contact with each other, but who responded in the same way to some of the profound social, philosophical and artistic changes that were afoot.

In my book *Estructura y tiempo reducido en la novela*[9] I have discussed extensively the fundamental ingredients of this renewal of the forms of the novel. Some limit the omniscience of author and narrator, imposing a relativist perspective; others eliminate the traditional hero, who in some cases simply disappears (Kafka, Musil), and in others is replaced by a collectivity; while an important third group concern time as the central pillar of the structure of the novel. In contrast to the linearity and chronological progression of the 19th century novel, time is now the object of all kinds of significant manipulations: timelessness is achieved by weakening the sense of duration, or by making time cyclic; the tyranny of strict chronological order is overthrown to allow divers anachronies; or the time narrated is strictly limited, enhancing the vividness of its duration and opening the way to the achievement of simultaneity.

It would be hard to point to a European writer who can be better identified with this renovational project than Valle-Inclán—which is why his works retain an attractiveness that has been lost by those of some contemporaries. By his own efforts, Valle arrived at conclusions that set him on a par with the great figures of modernism—Marcel Proust, Thomas Mann, Virginia Woolf, André Gide, Aldous Huxley, William Faulkner, Hermann Hesse, or James Joyce himself—conclusions that allowed him, without in any way reneging his previous work, to reorient his writings in consonance with an aesthetic and ideological *avant garde*.

The year 1916 is crucial in this respect. For one thing, it was the year in which Valle acquired first-hand acquaintance with the Great War. This had a considerable influence on his relationship with history: whereas previously it had been characteristic of him to identify with the past, he was now open to the present and the future—a change immediately reinforced by the Soviet revolution of 1917 and shortly afterwards by his travels in post-revolutionary Mexico (1921) and by the political upheavals in Spain, where the monarchy was replaced first by the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and then by the Second Republic. Secondly, 1916, marked by the death of

Rubén Darío, is a turning point in Valle's aesthetic evolution, the year in which he put behind him that "other modernism." His essay *La lámpara maravillosa*, parts of which had already appeared in 1914 and 1915, was placed at the front of the collected works that began to be published that year, as a recapitulation of the aesthetic theory underlying the period now brought to an end; by October he was publishing by instalments a work that showed his transition to other aesthetic positions (distinct but not in all respects radically different; see below) and his integration in the modernist renovation of narrative: *La media noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra* (1917).

In *La media noche* Valle tackled two issues of major importance in the renovation of the novel: the point of view of the narrator, and the spatio-temporal coordinates of the narration. Illuminated by the extraordinary experience spoken of by Corpus Barga (288 – 310)[10], his night flight over the battlefront in a French fighter (later described in esoteric, occult vein by Valle himself), he managed to provide a structural, holistic vision—a vision proper to what Benjamín Jarnés would call the "polygraphic novel"—of such a typically collective event as a great battle, combining a multiplicity of narrative perspectives with the simultaneity of a text conceived as the depiction of a single timespan in multiple arenas. That this enterprise was not wholly divorced from his earlier aesthetics is clear from his having written, in *La lámpara maravillosa*, of human limitations being overcome by an eagle's eye view, a view such as he had from the fighter over the battlefront; but beyond this confused, imprecise phraseology, his actual narrative praxis in *La media noche* shows him advancing in a modernist direction taken by John Dos Passos in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925) and *U. S. A.* (1930 – 36), by Gorky when he proposed the *A Day in the World* project (later realized on film, twice, by Dziga Vertov), and, in particular, by Jules Romains in the unanimism that began to appear publicly in his novels in *Mort de quelqu'un* (1911). In his prologue to the first two volumes of *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, Romains claimed that his unanimist style of composition freed him from focusing on the individual; and according to André Cuisenier Romains lifts us out of the world of individuals to a higher level, a vantage point from which they can be surveyed like the individuals of a hive or ants' nest (Romains 42). Nothing defines this superior vantage point better than the *visión estelar*, from "beyond the bounds of geometry and chronology," that was discovered and mythified by Valle in *La media noche* (Valle I 904)

It may be pointed out that, together with Valle, the great novelists mentioned above, and others that might have been, another to pursue the goal of holistic presentation was that archetypal renovator of contemporary narrative, James Joyce. *Ulysses*, a complete metaphor of human life condensed in a single day, is paralleled by the total vision of the collective drama of war presented by Valle-Inclán in a few hours of nocturnal flight. The stellar perspective that allows Valle to see simultaneously the separate fates of the aviators in Chapter IV (or in Chapter XXVIII to take in the coming of dawn, the roads behind the front, the bombed villages and cities in ruins, the military cemeteries, and the recuperation barracks of the exhausted troops) is the same as is adopted in *Ulysses*, in Episode 10 ("Wandering Rocks"), for example;

according to Stuart Gilbert, Joyce too aspired to rise above the category of time and see a simultaneous universe, adopting, as it were, God's view of the cosmos. Elsewhere[11] I have observed that *Ulysses* has compositional, thematic and aesthetic similarities with *Luces de bohemia*, in spite of one being a novel and the other a play, the explanation of this apparent paradox being Valle's having identified narrative and dramatic forms when he found that dialogue was ideal for guaranteeing objectivity in the narration of action. This impassiveness of the narrator, which conforms to the objectivist trends current in the theory and practice of the novel of the time (Joyce, Faulkner, Pérez de Ayala and others resorted to dialogue for identical reasons), already stood out in *La media noche*, where the stellar vision placed the narrator at a distance that promoted objectivity.

In a conversation with Gregorio Martínez Sierra published in *ABC* at the end of 1928, Valle explains quite transparently one of the fundamental aspects of the composition of *La media noche*, *Tirano Banderas* and *El ruedo ibérico*:

> I believe that the novel advances parallel to history and political movements. In these days of socialism and communism, I don't think society's principal hero can be the human individual, but social groups. History and the Novel scrutinize the phenomenon of the masses with the same curiosity.[12]

A few years earlier, in a letter to Cipriano Rivas Cherif published under the title "Autocrítica" in the magazine *España*[13], he had already presented a perfect rationalization of the most decisive temporal characteristic of all his post-1916 works:

> You are quite right in saying that the action walks a tightrope; it's like an oniric stage effect, with larvae talking with the living. True. This effect is contributed to by what we might call the *straitness of time*. An effect similar to that of El Greco, with the straitness of space. Velázquez is full of space. His figures can change their posture, spread out and make room for others. But in the *Entombment* only El Greco could arrange them in such a small space [...]. This straitness of space is straitness of time in the *Comedias*. The scenes that appear to be placed quite arbitrarily are consequents in the chronology of the events. *Cara de Plata* begins at dawn and ends at midnight. The other parts also take place without interruption. In something I'm writing now I'm occupied with this idea of filling time like El Greco filled space. Some of the Russians understood all this.[14]

As he explains later in this letter, the work in progress to which he alluded was "An American novel of tyranny and Spanish avarice,"[15] *Tirano Banderas: novela de tierra caliente*, a prodigious creation that was Valle-Inclán's own favourite among his novels, and in which we once more detect the presence of renovational narrative poetics and further foretastes of *El ruedo ibérico*.

The title of *Tirano Banderas* is somewhat misleading in that the objective of this work is not so much the portrayal of a tyrannic individual as the denunciation of the

degradation of man by tyranny. The pursuit of holism that characterizes Valle leads him to conceive an imaginary republic, Santa Trinidad de Tierra Firme, as the quintessence of Spanish America with its three castes: the creoles, the despised Spanish *gachupines*, and the Indians—among these last the tyrant Santos Banderas, who is not modelled after just a single dictator but, as Valle revealed in a letter to Alfonso Reyes in 1923, after "Dr. Francia, Rosas, Melgarejo, López, and don Porfirio." (Hormigón 310) This complete social and historical plan, which rules out any possible epic or individualistic interpretation of the novel, extends to its language, which as the same letter goes on to explain is "an aggregate of all the Spanish-speaking countries, from vulgar slang to the speech of the gauchos."[16] In *Tirano Banderas*, the dialogue does not only contribute to objectivity, but also to the sense of holism that permeates this work, which Ricardo Gullón, in his excellent study of Valle-Inclán's techniques, describes as "a sketch for a gigantic parable declaring the destiny of mankind"(35).

What Borges wrote of *Ulysses* in a sonnet dedicated to Joyce in *Elogio de la sombra* ("*En un día del hombre están los días / del tiempo . . . Entre el alba y la noche está la historia / universal*") is also to be seen in *Tirano Banderas*, in which time is characterized by straitness, anachrony or flashback, and simultaneity. Its structure as a sequence of fragments, which so facilitates the achievement of narrative simultaneity, is at times reminiscent of cinema, of the aesthetic and expressive potential of which Valle was already convinced in 1926. Valle's work in fact provides fine examples of the experimental fusion of theatre, novel and cinema, and this syncretism may in large part explain the air of modernity that his literary work still exhales. In *Tirano Banderas* time is registered in multiple spatial enclaves of Sante Fe de Tierra Firme, providing us with an in-depth perception of the contrasts among the various social classes and individual positions, the wrongs suffered by the people, how the rebellion is forged, and the pitfalls placed in the path of the just cause by the tyrant and his allies. For this purpose, the technique chosen by Valle is ideal; seven years later, André Malraux would employ it in *La condition humaine* (*Man's Fate*) to recount the collective, unanimous and simultaneous impetus of communist freedom-fighters in 1927 Shanghai. Both in Malraux and Valle-Inclán, simultaneity is not just a technical tour de force, but a tool that is essential for a comprehensive treatment of the theme of the novel.

The simultaneity of *Tirano Banderas* also emerges in a suggestive fashion, one that is likewise related to space, but in this case the space of painting. I refer to those concise, swift sketches such as the famous passage that ends Don Roque Cepeda's meeting in Part 2, Book 2: "The police began to swipe right and left with their swords. Splinters of broken lamps, cries, hands raised to heaven, bloody faces. Convulsion of lights going out. The angled ring broken. A cubist vision of Harris' Circus."[17] Cubist art certainly consists of a kind of visual simultaneity, since it allows details from all dimensions of space to be contemplated in a single plane, that of the canvas. Valle makes masterful use of this procedure, generally on the last page of one of the books that constitute the second of the three levels into which *Tirano Banderas* is divided (part, book and chapter), combining extreme narrative economy with a

gripping climax; though elsewhere the cubist paragraphs of the novel seem to be put together following artful techniques of film editing, such as cross-cutting (rapidly switching to and fro among two or more arenas of action).

Compositional circularity, perfectly achieved in *Tirano Banderas*, is the fundamental aesthetic element in the conception of *El ruedo ibérico*, where it moreover has implications of alternative history and timelessness that I believe to be absent from the "*novela de tierra caliente*". Temporal circularity, alternative history and timelessness, which were also present in other landmark novels of the twenties and thirties, had indeed been rooted in Valle's aesthetic ideas since *La lámpara maravillosa*, but alternative history—in spite of the hesitant assertions of certain critics—only appears in *Tirano Banderas* as a suggestion at the end of Part 5, Book 2. In *Tirano Banderas* time is strait but also active and progressive, leading towards the final downfall of the tyrant; the reader perceives the tense maintenance of the moment as a painful parenthesis, not an inexorable property of history—remember that Valle was writing under the influence of the excitement produced by the Soviet and Mexican revolutions at a time when he was himself suffering the effects of the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain. That the prologue and epilogue are chronologically adjacent does not mean that the novel is a circular negation of time, but that, thanks to the unstoppable advance of time, the barbarity now firmly seated in power may tomorrow be swept away by the hitherto downtrodden.

A very different attitude, if not the very opposite, is shown by the author of *El ruedo ibérico*, a work impregnated with pessimism *vis-à-vis* the history of the Spain portrayed in *La corte de los milagros* and *Viva mi dueño*: corrupt and decadent from palace to people, an immense and tragic cacophony, a paradise of conflict and dissent, violence and death. Technically, *El ruedo ibérico* does indeed conform to the new narrative poetics that we have seen developing since 1916. In a famous interview with José Montero Alonso in 1926, Valle explains that

> *El ruedo ibérico* will have no leading character. Its principal character is the social medium, the atmosphere ... I want to bring to the novel the Spanish perception of things as shown by Spanish reactions to events of importance. For me, how a people reacts to such events reflects and is the measure of its perception of things (296).[18]

In this same interview he speaks of *El ruedo ibérico* as pointillist—just as *Tirano Banderas* was cubist—in its simultaneist fragmentation of its narrative discourse. This characteristic is especially conspicuous in *Viva mi dueño*, where Queen Isabel's chief minister González Bravo attempts in vain to control a situation in which the anti-Isabelline conspirators include revolutionaries, *espadones*[19] and Montpensierists in Spain, political exiles in Paris, Lisbon and London, and the pretender Don Carlos in Gratz. *Viva mi dueño* exhibits a kind of revolutionary unanimism that is continued in *Baza de espadas* (though now concentrated in Madrid, London and Cadiz, where the revolution of 1868 was brewing), and that makes these works comparable with Eisenstein's *October* (1927), Malraux' *La condition humaine* (1933), and the second part of

Sartre's *Roads to Freedom* trilogy, *Le sursis* (*The reprieve* 1945).

Valle-Inclán's idea of the tempo with which history should be narrated shows a radical change of mentality when compared, for example, with Benito Pérez Galdós' *Episodios nacionales*. Galdós aimed to relate the progressive course followed by Spanish history over three-quarters of a century, between the battle of Trafalgar and Cánovas del Castillo. Valle, in spite of his declared intention of portraying the evolution of Spanish perceptions between the revolution of 1868 ("*La Gloriosa*") and the death of Alfonso XII in 1885, in practice demonstrated his preference for the strait, profound account of events—the best fitted for their holistic, structural interpretation in contrast to their mere concatenation in a linear sequence.

However, temporal straitness and multiplicity do not by themselves suffice to define the narrative form of *El ruedo ibérico*. On the contrary, the predominant impression in these volumes is of *timelessness*, a result of the circular structure that Valle had already experimented with, to different effect, in *Tirano Banderas*. From the stellar vantage point first assumed in *La media noche*, Valle sees Spain as a vast bullring in which a never-ending spectacle of violence and death is staged. Violence engenders violence, over and over—witness the periodic series of Spanish civil wars—but nothing changes. *Viva mi dueño*, like the belated prologue "Aires nacionales" (1931), begins and ends with the same sentence, trivial variations apart:

> Disingenuous tidings spread the revolutionary message throughout the roundness of the Iberian Arena. And in old cities, under the arcades of the square, and in the sunbaked forecourts of little towns, and in Andalusian wineshops, and in the drinking houses of Madrid and Asturias, and in Basque playing courts, among grey seas and green meadows, the gossiping parrot opens the day with the news that the Darling One is coming. And the Darling One staying out every night to sleep in theoffing![20]

At the beginning of the last of the surviving books of *Baza de espadas* we likewise read: "In all the roundness of the National Arena there circulated messages written in invisible ink, the accompaniment *de rigueur* of any revolutionary spree."[21] Space in Valle-Inclán realizes the metaphor contained in the title of the whole series: *El ruedo ibérico*. Spain, as already noted above, like an immense bullring seen from the stars—hence a circular space. But this initial narrative dimension goes over into what E. M. Forster called pattern (140). In *La corte de los milagros* and *Viva mi dueño*, the text itself, as a written spatial object organized in nested units (chapters, books, etc.), exhibits a clearly circular pattern such that the correlations among these units can be visualized as four concentric annuli and a circumference—theme and form—reinforcing a certain concept of time that in turn has an ideological interpretation. Behold here the clearest possible proof that an artistic text is a structure, a system of subtly interdependent formal and meaningful elements, and that time and space in the novel are two of the most intimately related compositional factors.

Notes

1. "Si en literatura existe algo que pueda recibir el nombre de modernismo, es, ciertamente, un vivo anhelo de personalidad, y por eso sin duda advertimos en los escritores jóvenes más empeño por expresar sensaciones que ideas." Valle, Vol. I, p. 200.
2. "Ramón del Valle-Inclán (Castillo de quema)", in José Esteban (ed.), *Valle-Inclán visto por* . . . , Las Ediciones del Espejo, Madrid, 1973, pp. 220 – 221.
3. James Joyce, "The soul of Ireland", *Daily Express*, Dublin, May 26th 1903.
4. "Cada palabra suya era una lengua, y yo creo que no le importaba nada que no fuera su lengua buena o mala, deslenguarse." See J. Esteban(p. 221) as shown in Note2.
5. Valle, Vol. I, p. 589.
6. Santos Zas, M., *Tradicionalismo y Literatura en Valle-Inclán* (1889 – 1910), Society of Spanish and Spanish American Studies, Boulder (Colorado), 1993.
7. G. Gómez de la Serna, "Las dos Españas de don R. M. del Valle Inclán", *Clavileño*, No. 17, October 1952, p. 26.
8. "Los héroes clásicos reflejados en los espejos cóncavos dan el Esperpento. El sentido trágico de la vida Española sólo puede darse con una estética sistemáticamente deformada." R. del Valle-Inclán. *Obra completa*, Vol. II. Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 2002, p. 933.
9. Published by Bello, Valencia, 1977; 2nd edition Anthropos, Barcelona, 1994.
10. "Valle-Inclán en la más alta ocasión", *Revista de Occidente*, 44 – 45, 1966, pp. 288 – 301.
11. "Valle-Inclán and James Joyce: From *Ulysses* to *Luces de bohemia*", *Révue de Littérature comparée*, 1, 1991, pp. 45 – 59.
12. "Creo que la Novela camina paralelamente con la Historia y los movimientos políticos. En esta hora de socialismo y comunismo, no me parece que pueda ser el individuo humano héroe principal de la sociedad, sino los grupos sociales. La Historia y la Novela se inclinan con la misma curiosidad sobre el fenómeno de las multitudes." Joaquín and Javier del Valle-Inclán (eds.), *Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. Entrevistas, conferencias y cartas.* Pre-Textos, Valencia, 1994, p. 396.
13. *España*, March 8th 1924. Cited through Joaquín and Javier del Valle-Inclán (eds.), *Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. Entrevistas, conferencias y cartas.* Pre-Textos, Valencia, 1994, p. 259 – 260.
14. "Hace usted una observación muy justa cuando señala el funambulismo de la acción, que tiene algo de tramoya de sueño, por donde las larvas pueden dialogar con los vivos. Cierto. A este efecto contribuye la que pudieramos llamar *angostura del tiempo*. Un efecto parecido al del Greco, por la angostura del espacio. Velázquez está todo lleno de espacio. Las figuras pueden cambiar de actitud, esparcirse y hacer lugar a otras forasteras. Pero en el *Enterramiento*, sólo el Greco pudo meterlas en tan angosto espacio (. . .). Esta angostura de espacio es angostura del tiempo en las *Comedias*. Las escenas que parecen arbitrariamente colocadas son las consecuentes en la cronología de los hechos. *Cara de Plata* comienza con el alba y acaba a media noche. Las otras partes se suceden también sin intervalo. Ahora, en algo que estoy escribiendo, esta idea de llenar el tiempo como llenaba el Greco el espacio, totalmente, me preocupa. Algún ruso sabía de esto." Joaquín and Javier del Valle-Inclán (eds.), *Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. Entrevistas, conferencias y carta* (Pre-Textos: Valencia, 1994)260.
15. "Una novela americana de caudillaje y avaricia gachupinesca."
16. "Una suma de todos los países de lengua Española, desde el modo lépero al modo gaucho".
17. "Los gendarmes comenzaban a repartir sablazos. Cachizas de faroles, gritos, manos en alto, caras ensangrentadas. Convulsión de luces apagándose. Rotura de la pista de ángulos. Visión cubista del Circo Harris." Valle Vol. I, p. 1003.
18. "*El ruedo ibérico* no tendrá protagonista. Su gran personaje es el medio social, el ambiente . . . Quiero llevar a la novela la sensibilidad Española, tal como se muestra en su reacción ante los he-

chos que tienen una importancia. Para mí, la sensibilidad de un pueblo se refleja y se mide en cómo reacciona ante esos hechos." Joaquín and Javier del Valle-Inclán, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

19. Politically involved military leaders.

20. "Chismosos anuncios difundían el mensaje revolucionario por la redondez del Ruedo Ibérico. Y en las ciudades viejas, bajo los porches de la plaza y en los atrios solaneros de los villorrios, y en el colmado andaluz, y en la tasca madrileña, y en el chigre y en el frontón, entre grises mares y prados verdes, el periquito gacetillero abre los días con el anuncio de que viene la Niña. ÏY la Niña, todas las noches quedándose a dormir por las afueras!..." Valle Vol. I, pp. 1417 and 1718.

21. "Por toda la redondez del Ruedo Nacional circulaban los papeles escritos con tinta simpática, que son el obligado acompa ? amiento de todas las jácaras revolucionarias." Valle Vol. I, p. 1878.

Works Cited

Forster, Edward Morgan. *Aspects of the novel* (1927). London: Edward Arnold, 1963.

Gullón, Ricardo. "Técnicas de Valle-Inclán", *Papeles de Son Armadans*, XLIII, CXXVII, October (1996): 35.

Hormigón, Juan Antonio. *Valle-Inclán: Biografía cronológica y espistolario*, Vol. III, Madrid: Publicaciones de la Asociación de Directores de Escena de España, 2006.

Romains, Jules. *L'Unanimisme et "Les hommes de bonne volonté"*, Paris: Flammarion, 1969.

Valle-Inclán, Joaquín and Javier del (eds.). *Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. Entrevistas, conferencias y cartas.* Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1994.

Valle-Inclán, Ramón del. *Obra completa*, Vol. I. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2002.

---. *Obra completa*, Vol. II. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2002.

Yeats, W. B. *The Celtic Twilight. Myth, Fantasy and Folklore*, Bridport: Prims Unity, 1994.

---. *The Major Works*, Edward Larrissy (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

责任编辑　刘富丽

The *Esperpento*: A Theatre of Absurdity, Cruelty and Savagery

Robert Lima
Sparish and Comparative Literature, Peunsylvania State University, USA
University Park, PA16802, USA
Email: rxl2@ psu. edu

Abstract The distinguished literary career of Ramón del Valle-Inclán (Spain, 1866 – 1936), which began with the Modernist phase, eventually turned dark as the author beheld the upheavals at the turn-of-the century and its aftermath throughout Europe. Spain had lost most of its colonial empire, the Great War of 1914 – 18 erupted, and the Czarist regime in Russia was overthrown in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Valle-Inclán saw the necessity of reflecting the absurdity, cruelty and savagery then rampant in Europe by creating a new theatrical aesthetic. That mode of expression he termed *Esperpento*. And, indeed, the *Esperpento* held a mirror to the social, political, and religious aberrations that defined European society, and Spain in particular, during those turbulent times.

Key words Valle-Inclán; Esperpento; theatrical cruelty; *La lámpara maravillosa*; *Luces de bohemia*; *Divinas palabras*; *Los cuernos de Don Friolera*

> The contemplation of the horrid or sordid or disgusting, by an artist, is the necessary and negative aspect of the impulse toward the pursuit of beauty.
> T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood* (1920)

Eliot noted the positive and negative aspects of the artist's pursuit in the works of Dante, Shakespeare and Blake, among others; his observations were also pertinent in the context of his own time for writers and painters were distorting reality (Picasso's Cubism is an example) in order to portray life in all its dimensions.

In the early days of the Twentieth Century, the Spanish author Ramón del Valle-Inclán also saw the necessity of reflecting the absurdity, cruelty and savagery then rampant in Europe by creating a new theatrical aesthetic. That mode of expression he termed *Esperpento*. And, indeed, the *Esperpento* held a mirror to the social, political, and religious aberrations that defined European society, and Spain in particular, during the turn-of-the-century and the subsequent era.

The first quarter of the Twentieth Century saw unprecedented upheavals throughout Europe. Spain suffered the loss of much of its overseas empire in the so-called Spanish-American War (also known as the War of Cuban Independence), causing

nationwide demands for change in the nation's politics by the members of the "Generation of 1898," to which Valle-Inclán belonged. And change would follow elsewhere on the continent as the Great War of 1914-18 erupted, having been brought about by the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, at the hands of a Serbian anarchist in Sarajevo. A third impactful event was the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia through the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. These European events not only caused major political shifts and alignments, but brought about unparalleled suffering and death through purges and warfare. In the case of the Great War, brutal and sadistic measures made possible by such new techniques for mass annihilation as aerial bombardment and the use of lethal or debilitating gases proved the most horrid example of man's inhumanity to man. [1]

As the tide of war spread across Europe, Spain remained neutral while seeking the reintegration of its national spirit. But for many writers, composers, painters, playwrights, and other creative individuals scattered throughout the warring areas, it became necessary to flee the carnage and destruction; while Pablo Picasso was content away from his native Spain in his various French haunts, others chose to sit out the war in Zurich. Taking advantage of Swiss neutrality yet attuned to the ravages of war and revolution alike, they created a new art to depict the irrational and outrageous outcomes of modern technology as manifested in the absurdity of life and the cruelty of warfare; they called their movement Dada, a nonsensical term meant to describe the world that human pretentiousness had created. Tristan Tzara led the charge against modern inanity in culture and painters such as Marcel Duchamp described the dehumanization of the times in "*Nude Descending A Staircase*" and "*Fountain*" (a urinal) while others pastiched together on canvas or on board objects that were totally unrelated via the technique they termed collage, and composers of the ilk of Kurt Schwitters proposed a new, discordant musical expression in "*Non-syllabic Sonata.*" The Dadaists who met at the Cabaret Voltaire sought to demolish contemporary culture, leaving only a *tabula rasa*.

Valle-Inclán, who had been to the front lines in France and reported on the bombardment of troops from the air (Lima 243 – 50), who had seen a succession of inept and corrupt governments that could neither better the miserable state of the peasant in the countryside and the worker in the city, nor rectify the many inequities of daily life in a nation that had not learned the hard lessons that led to the debacle of 1898, [2] and who had experienced Madrid's artistic life in all its absurdity, could not help but be concerned over the plight of modern Spain. He perceived his life and times as too absurd, grotesque even, to join in the mindless games of the Dadaists.

Then in 1924 many of the same writers, painters and composers who had created Dada sought a more meaningful evasion of the torpid post-War reality around them and, following the lead of André Breton, formed a new movement that they called Surrealism, whose concerns were emanations out of the subconscious mind, the interpretation of dreams, and such creative techniques as automatic writing and stream of consciousness (a la James Joyce). These ideas were published in several Manifestos, journals, posters and other printed matter.

Just as he had avoided the frivolities of Dada, Valle-Inclán felt the need to forgo

the evasions of reality promoted by Surrealism. In the 1920s, therefore, the playwright could not have his writings present only a lighthearted facet of society, as in the satirical play *Farsa italiana de la enamorada del rey*, which, although published in 1920, was the product of an earlier mindset. The times had been too severe for reality to be relegated to a secondary role; consequently, he sought to depict anguish and frustration as well through a new aesthetic of the absurd and the grotesque which he devised and termed *Esperpento*. This new point of view, akin to the approach of the German Expressionism and Italian Futurism of the same period, was marked by a departure from strictly realistic models and the re-interpretation of the human figure as marionette, or as a two-dimensional cardboard image, as laughably exaggerated, ultimately grotesque in external form (a referent to the greater internal deformity). Essentially reactive, it was an aesthetic of objectified dissent and distortion, a radical departure from traditional models of both rationalism and idealism. It would prove to be a revolutionary form of theatre.

But this new premise did not spring into his consciousness full-blown. It had been nurtured in the first two of his *Comedias bárbaras* (*Barbaric Plays*) of the early 1900s and then furthered in the mystical and aesthetic tenets of *La lámpara maravillosa* (*The Lamp of Marvels*) of 1916, in whose section entitled "Trinitarian Exegesis" he commented:

> The Platonic Ideas are intuitions of aesthetic quietism, to the extent that allimmutables are eternally beautiful. But this understanding is more readily grasped in compliance with Gnostic doctrine and by seeking quietude within ourselves—beyond forms, with the will and desire extinguished, with the soul crucified to a single thought, with love for all the images of the world, fecund and sterile essences alike, with the infinite banishment of the generative reasoning of the Stoics. The monsters of Byzantine art, wherein primal forms degenerate into absurdity, teach us this comprehension of beauty in opposition to Hellenism, which perpetuates the eternal sense of life in the Ideas of Plato. Gargoyles, corbels, dragons, beasts of fantastic mien had this new intuitiveness ensconced in their perverse forms; their character, elaboration of uniqueness, was set against that archetype by which the ancient world had set its course. The spirit of the Gnostics uncovered an aesthetic emotion in the absurdity of forms, in the creation of monsters, in the termination of life. Possessors of a hallucinogenic creed, they deduced therefrom categories of beauty which are liberated from that intimate bond which tied the archaic art of the Greeks to the temperament of the species. To Gnostics, the beauty of images does not reside within them but in the act which created them, from which they are never separated; thus, all things are to be loved as one since they all issue from the same eternal source in the same eternal act—quiet, absolute, one. (73 – 74)[3]

Valle-Inclán often looked to the past, as did other members of the "Generation of 1898," to learn its lessons in order that he could participate in the continuum by his own innovations. In this case, the Gnosticism which informed much of his thinking in

La lámpara maravillosa also provided the premise from which would evolve the new aesthetic. These ideas pre-dated the commentary by T. S. Eliot.[4]

The poet, too, made his statement on the absurdity and grotesqueness of the period in 1919 when he published *La pipa de kif* (*The Pipe of Kiff*),[5] presenting the emerging aesthetic in such poems as "ÏAleluya!," where he tersely discloses his new mode: "Through divine Spring inspired,/My mind has become riled/Writing teetering verses today —/Grotesque, a purist would say" (OC 2: 1924). and "Vista madrileña" ("Madrid View"), wherein he focuses on one of many grotesques in the Spanish capital:

> An ugly girl —
> Whom typhoid left
> Devoid of hair —
> In the garret dances,
> Dragging a chair,
> And playing the man.
> She peers from the window
> And looks like the cuckoo
> That peeps from the clock. (OC 2: 1957)

Valle-Inclán found it necessary to depict the absurdity and grotesqueness of the period in his dramatic works as well. As he declared in an interview:

> There are three ways of seeing the world artistically or aesthetically: from the knees, standing, or from the air. When one adopts the kneeling position—and that's the oldest stance in literature—the characters, the heroes, are given a condition superior to that of human beings or, at least, to that of the narrator or poet. Thus, Homer attributes to his heroes qualities that humans only have in limited form. In other words, it is a way of creating beings superior to human nature: gods, demigods, and heroes. There is a second way, which is to consider fictional protagonists as if they were of our own nature, as if they were our brothers, as if they were us, as if the character duplicated our essence, with its very virtues and defects. This is, undoubtedly, the most successful approach. This is Shakespeare, all of Shakespeare. . . . And there is a third way, which is to see the world from a superior plane and to consider the characters of the plot as beings inferior to the author, with a touch of irony. The gods become characters in a skit. This is a very Spanish manner, the manner of a demiurge who cannot conceive of himself as made of the same stuff as his figurines. This is the manner of Quevedo. . . . This manner is definitive in Goya. And it was this consideration that moved me to take a new course in my literature and write the Esperpentos, the literary genre that I baptize with the name of Esperpento.[6]

This was the identity of the new aesthetic of the absurd and the grotesque, a perspective that sought to point to the great gulf (Kant's *grosse Kluft*) that existed between

the intuited or noumenal world and the sensate or phenomenal world. It is interesting to note later statements that rework Valle-Inclán's original statement on the *Esperpento*:

> Authors must be studied according to their three manners. First, the character is superior to the author. The manner of the hero. Homer, who doesn't have the blood of the gods. Second, the author who duplicates himself: Shakespeare. His characters are nothing other than duplications of his personality. Third, the author is superior to his characters and contemplates them as God does his creatures. Goya painted his subjects as inferior to him. As did Quevedo. This is bred in picaresque literature. The authors of such novels did not wish to be confused with their characters, whom they considered very inferior to themselves, and this spirit still persists, naturally, in Spanish literature. I too consider my characters as my inferiors. My work is an attempt at what I tried to accomplish. (Madrid 104) [7]

The natural procedure would be to apply these ideas beyond the limited scope of individual perspectives. Valle-Inclán did not omit this process; he chose to make a comparative study of three closely interrelated literatures:

> French authors always stand ecstatically before the events in their plays and the voices of their characters. They deify their heroes. They engender gods. In France, the author is the first vassal of his offspring. He exalts the protagonist and his drama well beyond human limitations. He serves his heroes in good times and in bad as he would extraordinary divinities. The English, workmen full of decorum and sociability, exercise club literature. Their characters move within a circle of friends, subject to the rights and duties of men-of-the-world. An author places his hero in a circle, gives him the proper credentials, and grants him the right to vote in its deliberations. When the time comes for rewards, respectful of class interests, he grants him the title of peer. The author and his character experience the same human protocol. The play is a purely social event, one hardly worthy of mention inThe Times. Othello is a family member who commits the impropriety of showing exaggerated jealousy. We Spaniards always place ourselves above the drama and its interpreters. We are always aware of our capricious manipulation of the strings of the farce. Cervantes feels superior to Don Quijote. He mocks him a bit, sometimes shows pity over his sorrows and follies, forgives him his fits, and even grants him the boon of a final moment of lucidity before leading him, quite generously, to the gates of Heaven. We Spanish authors, haughty from our youth, like to sprinkle the life that we create with a touch of sorrow. Ours is a harsh paternity. By dint of caprice and blood. Because we are ever accompanied by indignation at what we see taking place around us fatally. Spain is a vast stage selected by tragedy. There's always a dramatic moment in Spain; a drama well beyond the capabilities of the participants. These, cardboard figurines, lacking ideality and courage, seem ridiculous to us in their heroic trappings. Like strolling players, they interpret the

> most sublime tragic situations clumsily. Don Quijote is represented as just another Quijote. Doctors diagnose Don Juan's dramatic escapades as ambiguous physiology. Our whole populace is seen to be worth less than a gang of trivial players set on staging the genial drama of Spanish life. The result, of course, is an Esperpento.[8] (Madrid 344 – 46)

As Valle-Inclán had stated earlier, aberrations of social, political and religious traditions had been experienced and depicted in their respective eras by Francisco de Quevedo (1580 – 1645) and Francisco Goya (1746 – 1828). Theirs, too, were times of rapacity and inequities, each with its own peculiarities. Quevedo's sardonic view of life in Spain at the height of its power in the Siglo de Oro (the Golden Age, 1492 – 1680) can be seen in *Historia de la vida del buscón llamado don Pablos* (*The Life of Pablos the Rogue*, 1626) and *Sueños y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos, vicios, y engaños en todos los oficios y estados*, collectively known as *Sueños* (*Dreams*, 1606 and thereafter).[9] Goya's embittered vision of Spanish society-at-large was depicted in such collections of etchings as *Los caprichos* (*Caprices*, 1797), *Disparates* (*Absurdities*), and *Los desastres de la guerra* (*The Disasters of War*, pre-1820), along with paintings of other grotesque subjects, most notably those referred to as the "Black Paintings" in *La Quinta del Sordo* (*The Villa of the Deaf Man*); together they provided unequivocal evidence of the long and continuous history of the nation's social, political and religious grotesqueness.

A similar attention to social incongruity, deformity and absurdity are present in all of Valle-Inclán's *Esperpentos*, in whose extended format he could amply assess both the physical grotesqueness and the spiritual decadence he observed in society. As with Quevedo and Goya[10], his concern was to depict the inhumanity of people toward one another, whatever the ambient, whatever the period. Often, as in the works of Quevedo and Goya, that inhumanity has a savage aspect. *Luces de bohemia* (*Bohemian Lights*)[11] is at the beginning of a cycle of plays that study the variety of social savagery in Spain but that are, in point of fact, universal in their assessment of the human condition. And he is able to interpret it through external and internal diagnostics that produce deep insights into human nature and the social experience.

Luces de bohemia, the first *Esperpento*, is a drama in fifteen scenes tracing the final moments in the bitter life of Máximo Estrella, a poet blinded by syphilis, who has struggled for recognition only to witness the deterioration of hope. His life moves steadily toward its tragic denouement while the grotesqueries of human existence become increasingly visible in the incidence of irony, cynicism, dissonance, satire, baseness, lewdness, opportunism, mockery, and alienation. The absurd caricature of life becomes the context of Máximo Estrella's distorted existence.

But there is another level in the play. *Luces de bohemia* is the fictionalized biography of the flamboyant bohemian Alejandro Sawa, who was born in Málaga in 1862 and died early in August 1909 under conditions not unlike those described by Valle-Inclán in the play. In a letter to the poet Rubén Darío, Valle-Inclán communicated the news of Sawa's tragic end:

> DearDarío: I've come to see you having first been to the house of our poor Alejandro Sawa. I cried in front of the dead man, for him, for myself, and for all the poor poets. I can't do anything; neither can you, but if some of us got together, we could do something. Alejandro left an unpublished book. The best thing that he's written. A diary of hopes and tribulations. The failure of all attempts at publishing it, along with a letter from El Liberal reneging on a piece that would have brought sixty pesetas, drove him mad in his last days. A hopeless madness. He wanted to kill himself. He died like a king in a tragedy: mad, blind, and raving. (Álvarez Hernández 70 – 71)[12]

All the tragic elements depicted in the play are present in the description of Sawa's last days.[13] Present, too, are Valle-Inclán's sympathy and sorrow, as well as his identification with Sawa. The life that the dead writer led had been Valle-Inclán's before his marriage; he could have ended as did his friend and that recognition was disturbing. The life and death of Sawa verified the absurdity of human existence for Valle-Inclán, and he created *Luces de bohemia* in that cast. He classified the play as an *Esperpento* and even had Máximo Estrella define and discuss the new aesthetic with Don Latino de Híspalis as they walked the streets of old Madrid:

> Our tragedy is not tragedy . . . TheEsperpento . . . Goya was the inventor of Esperpentism. Classical heroes have taken a stroll along Gato alley. . . . Classical heroes reflected in those concave mirrors manifest the Esperpento. The tragic sense of Spanish life can only be rendered through an aesthetic that is systematically deformed . . . Spain is a grotesque deformation of European civilization. . . . In a concave mirror, the most beautiful images are absurd. . . . Deformity ceases to be that when it is subject to a perfect mathematical system. My present aesthetic is to transform classical norms through the mathematics of the concave mirror . . . Let us deform expression in the same mirror that deforms our faces, and the whole miserable life of Spain. (OC 2: 1597 – 99)[14]

The Callejón de Alvaro Gato in Madrid's old quarter, an alley in the area between Puerta del Sol and Plaza Santa Ana, presented a series of fun-house mirrors that distorted the images of passersby in Valle-Inclán's day. Looking into those mirrors results in the unmasking of the reality of the viewer, who is reflected in a grotesque distension that Valle-Inclán uses as the symbol of society's true aspect. As individuals confront their reflections in the concave mirrors, they behold the depersonalization and dehumanization to which modern society has brought them.[15] While those street mirrors have lost much of their reflective properties over the years, the brilliance of Valle-Inclán's figurative concave mirrors has increased as his aesthetic of the grotesque has been more widely accepted and his *Esperpentos* read and performed with growing frequency in Spain and abroad.

In the expression of this and other tenets Valle-Inclán united his ideas to the life of Sawa and the resultant was Máximo Estrella, the protagonist who not only embodies one example of life's absurdity but is also the representative of all men whose exist-

ence enfolds the struggle between practicality (life in the sensate world) and ideality (life as perceived by the mind): the great gulf that Kant has posited in his dualism. Because the artist cannot achieve complete separation from the world and yet must, as he senses, the struggle is absurd and the absurdity is underscored by the inevitability of the outcome. The prison of the body and the prisons man creates for himself keep his spirit from full flight, as in the experience of such mystics as Saint Theresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross. And, ironically, as in the case of Sawa-Estrella, a point is reached where the artist must look to these same hindrances for salvation. The body must be cared for and society must be caressed. In the end, however, these attentions come too late. Sawa, who had penned attacks on the press and the government, found himself without assistance when he needed it; Max died in the same abandonment.

Luces de bohemia takes as its central concern the suffering and death of the protagonist at the hands of society. That suffering and that death are as chargeable to the people with whom Máximo Estrella comes in contact as if they had actually executed him with their own hands. Further, even those who express concern for Max's situation cannot be trusted. For one, his avowed friend Don Latino takes the lottery ticket from a drunken Max and pockets the winnings after his death, never even thinking of sharing the money with the writer's destitute widow and daughter. In the depths of despair, the two women commit the act of suicide which they and Max discussed early in the play.[16] Frequently, the inhumanity of man to man manifests itself in tacit but no less savage ways than direct aggression.

The impact of this *Esperpento* is even greater when its basis in the life of Alejandro Sawa is recognized. In portraying Sawa through Max Estrella, Valle-Inclán made his bitterest dramatic statement on the savagery of society, in this case directed towards the artist. Both middle and lower classes here are guilty of savage indifference to his plight as artist and man; it is that lack of recognition of his writings and the cutting off of his meager source of income that lead to Max's unconquerable despair—the death of his spirit—to be followed inexorably by the death of his body, a dual death reminiscent of the fate decreed for the protagonists of Greek tragedy, as viewed in *La lámpara maravillosa*:

> Those who were loved by the gods in Greek antiquity were born under the star of a lamentable destiny. Fate dragged them along like a sacred wind, dishevelling their souls, their garments, and their hair. Because lives convulsed with pain are the object of love, misfortune was a celestial gift. If tragic heroes are perpetuated in our minds with an almost divine aspect, it is due to the compassionate shudder with which we contemplate them. (LM 65)

Yet, despite such touchstones to the ancestral theatre in *Luces de bohemia*, tragedy in the manner of ancient Greece is held to be anachronistic. The speculum, the polished metal plate used as a reflector of reality in antiquity, just won't do today. Only the aesthetic of the *Esperpento* is seen as applicable to modern life, wherein the absurd and the grotesque prevail. In such circumstances ancient heroes are transmogrified in-

to the anti-heroes that the *Esperpento* mirrors. In other *Esperpentos* Valle-Inclán attacked different segments of society and the culture that has given rise to its long-established institutions and hallowed traditions, along with the debasement of the heroic.

One such is *Divinas palabras*: *Tragicomedia de aldea* (*Divine Words*: *A Rural Tragicomedy*), an *Esperpento* in point of fact, although it does not have that label in its title. First, Lucero's verbal and physical abusiveness of Poca Pena, his mate, is seen in the opening moments of the play. Then, two deaths mark the indifference of society: that of Juana la Reina, is mourned ritually rather than emotionally by family and friends, while that of her idiot son Laureano goes unmourned. Indeed, the first death is seen as beneficial to the living relatives, who fight for possession of the trophy, the hydrocephalic dwarf; the second death is seen as oppressive in that the income produced from displaying the idiot's genitals disappears with his demise. The social savagery is pointedly underscored by pigs eating Laureano's cadaver. Yet another instance is Pedro Gailo's attempt to seduce his daughter, who fights off his drunken savagery and deftly avoids the incestuous liaison. In the same pattern of amorality and sanctimoniousness, townspeople are about to stone the naked Mari Gaila to death for fornication, only to be halted by her foolish husband's last-minute mouthing of Christ's words which had saved the Gospel prostitute. Recovering from the momentary hesitation, everyone again stands ready to throw stones at the prostrate woman until, astutely, the same words are spoken in Latin. Only upon hearing the Church's language, whose meaning, though lost to them, has attained an aura of magic, is the savagery of the populace quelled. The words uttered in Latin have become the Divine Words of the title. Thus, it has taken a near-miracle to subdue the savage beast of a mob bent on mayhem and murder in the name of Christian morality. After the ritual with bell (ringing from the steeple), book (from which the Gospel words are read), and candle (held by Pedro Gailo) which has saved her from the imminent stoning, Mari-Gaila is raised from her crouching position and is led through the cemetery into the church by her husband in a symbolic rite of passage from death to rebirth. The natural in her has been diluted in the process and, after her near-death experience before a sanctimonious mob ready to stone her, Mari-Gaila, in an absurd manner reborn to the Church, will thereafter behave properly, as wife and Christian, following the accepted secular and religious dictates of society, or so it is made to appear at the end of the play.

Divinas palabras is the culmination of a series of rural tragedies begun with *Aguila de blasón* and *Romance de lobos* and continued with *El Embrujado* and an impressive work of prose fiction, *Flor de santidad* (1904; *Flower of Sanctity*), and an occasional story. The setting of these works is also Galicia, and the characters are founded on regional types. But it is in *Divinas palabras*, one of the masterworks of Valle-Inclán's literature, that the traditions depicted earlier find their most perfect delineation through the heightened sensitivity and mastery of style that define his innovative dramatic technique.

There are also other sectors of society whose perspectives are satirized. In *Los cuernos de don Friolera* (*The Horns of Don Friolera*), the dramatist expanded on his theory of the grotesque through words at the beginning of the prologue spoken by Don

Estrafalario, an intellectual whose name reinforces his eccentricity and slovenly dress:

> I've also been concerned with the Devil's grimace before the Sinner. The truth is that I had a very different idea of infernal laughter; I'd always thought of it as mocking, supremely mocking, but no . . . Don't for a moment believe in the reality of a Devil who takes an interest in the human charade, enjoying himself like a shopkeeper. Tears and laughter are born out of the contemplation of things akin to ourselves, and the Devil has an angelic nature. . . . Those sentimentalists who express sorrow over the agony of horses in the bullring are incapable of feeling the aesthetic emotion of the bullfight: Their sensibility is manifestly parallel to equine sensibility and, through some subconscious process, they've come to believe that their fate will be akin to that of those disemboweled horses. . . . That's how it is. And there's a similar parallel with whatever makes us laugh: We reserve our jeers for whatever relates to us. . . . My aesthetic transcends pain and laughter, as must the conversations of the dead when they tell stories of the living. . . . All our art is born out of the knowledge that we will pass away some day. That knowledge makes men equal, more so than the French Revolution. . . . I would like to view this world with the perspective of the other shore. Iím like that relative of mine who, when asked by his overseer what he would like to be, replied: "A corpse." (OC 2: 1697 – 99)

Don Estrafalario, like Max Estrella before him, reveals the intent and point of view of the dramatist. These, however, are not presented in a thesis play. Instead, Valle-Inclán employs the traditional theme of the cuckold (*Commedia dell'Arte*, Moliére, *Siglo de Oro*, Restoration Comedy) in union with a strong anti-militarism to depict the grotesqueries of contemporary life. The dramatist avoids the cliché and proceeds to demolish satirically the "sacred cows" before him. And in the process he succeeds in making *Los cuernos de don Friolera* both a social and a theatrical document, the first through the exposure of social conventions as ridiculous, and the second through the satirization of the type of drama that thrived on thematics that he felt were unworthy of the stage. The prologue and epilogue that frame the twelve scenes of the *Esperpento* make clear Valle-Inclán's attitude on the second point; the play proper discloses his social commentary.

The prologue commences with the peripatetic intellectuals DonEstrafalario and Don Manolito conversing against the active background of a folk fair.[17] The aesthetic pronouncements of the former stand out in the popular setting, appearing as eccentric as his name. But his views are shortly reinforced through the fantasy created by a puppeteer and his creatures. Reality is eclipsed temporarily while the tale of the cuckold Friolera unfolds before an expectant crowd, prominent among whom are Don Estrafalario and Don Manolito. Friolera, the deceived lieutenant, is talked into killing his mistress as a point of honor despite his indifference to her affair. The prodding of the puppeteer brings on the indignation that leads to the act. But before Friolera can be imprisoned by society, he learns how to revive the fallen woman, an act com-

pleted as the playlet ends. This plot will be paralleled within the play proper; but the second version of the events will have its own variations, as will a third one narrated in the epilogue. Fantasy, reality, legend. Society will be served. But which of the three venues will prevail? In the puppeteer's version both society and the individual are equally served: society (the insistence of the puppeteer) demands that the honor of the cuckold be avenged in the blood of the deceiver, and it is; the individual benefits from this purgation and is freed from legal consequences (also imposed by society) through the absurd resurrection of the victim. This is the world of fantasy and its absurd operations have an intrinsic logic. It is this veracity that prompts the comments of Don Estrafalario on the status of the Spanish drama.

> There's no doubt that the comprehension of such humor and morality does not come from Castilian tradition. It is Portuguese and Cantabrian, perhaps from the mountains of Catalonia as well. The other regions literally know nothing of such jests about cuckolds, of such witty good sense, so contrary to Castile's theatrical and African concept of honor. That puppet stage on the back of an old itinerant storyteller is more suggestive than the entire rhetorical Spanish theatre. (OC 2: 1704)

Further, despite the qualifications to this statement suggested by DonManolito, Don Estrafalario adds:

> The cruelty and dogmatism of Spanish drama are found only in the language. Shakespearean cruelty is magnificent because it is blind, possessed of the greatness of natural forces. Shakespeare is violent but not dogmatic. Spanish cruelty has the entire savage liturgy of the auto-de-fe. It is cold and disagreeable. Nothing is more removed from the blind fury of the elements than Torquemada: His is a scholastic fury. If our theatre had the quaking of bullfights, it would be magnificent: Had it known how to convey that aesthetic violence, it would be a theatre as heroic as the Iliad. Lacking that, it has all the antipathy of codices, from the Constitution back to the Grammar[18]. (OC2: 1705)

The opportunity to vent his views through one of his characters is not used in vain by Valle-Inclán. Don Estrafalario is made to express other expository ideas on the theatre:

> Shakespeare rhymes to the beat of his heart, the heart of Othello: He is as one with the jealousy of the Moor: Creator and creature are of the same human stuff. As for that puppeteer, not for a second does he stop considering himself superior by nature to the puppets on his stage. He has a demiurgic dignity[19]. (OC 2: 1706)

It is this superior attitude, which obliterates sentiment and the melodramatic, that makes possible the *Esperpento*. As Don Estrafalario has pointed out, laughter and

tears exist only where there is an identification with the subject. But such is not possible where puppets are concerned. Likewise, the *Esperpento* makes the characters like marionettes so that there can be no semblance of attachment. The dramatist achieves this end, just as the puppeteer does, by being superior to his creations. Valle-Inclán considers them grotesque because their frame of reference is an absurd existence, as he expressed it in an interview in which he made an important addition to the premises that informed his vision:

> Life—its events, sorrows, loves—is always the same, fatally so. What changes are the characters, the protagonists of life. Those roles were previously played by gods and heroes. Today. . . well, what's the use of speaking? In the past, destiny fell on the shoulders—haughtiness and sorrow—of Oedipus or Medea. Today, destiny is the same, fate is the same, greatness is the same, pain is the same. . . . But the shoulders that bear them have changed. Actions, concerns, recognition are the same as yesterday and forever. The shoulders are different, too minuscule to support that weight. Out of that are born contrast, disproportion, and the ridiculous. In Los cuernos de don Friolera, the sorrow of the protagonist is the same as Othello's and yet it lacks its greatness. Blindness is beautiful and noble in Homer. But in Luces de bohemia that same blindness is sad and lamentable because it concerns a bohemian poet, Máximo Estrella. (qtd. in Madrid 114)

Valle-Inclán has explained adroitly the distinction between Greek tragedy and his *Esperpento* and the necessity for the latter in a society that has eschewed its gods, its heroes and its ethical sense of being. Society as a whole is really no different at the end of these plays. Those people who have died have left behind an unchanging scheme of life in which some will continue to suffer greatly, some will show no pity, being moved only by fear, some will continue as they were, perhaps to again manifest their fallen nature through outright evil or extreme selfishness.

Society is savaged by Valle-Inclán in *Luces de bohemia*, *Divinas palabras*, and *Los cuernos de don Friolera*, as well as in the other *Esperpentos*, because the dramatist views society as hypocritical, self-serving, and abusive of power. Because this society, potentially a dystopia akin to that of Huxley's *Brave New World* for one, perpetrates and condones savage acts that not only mock the Christian charity it purportedly espouses but also the protective parameters of ethical behavior, it is deservedly savaged by the acidic attack it receives in each *Esperpento*, be it set in rural Galicia or urban Madrid, be it concerned with naive primitive traditions or sophisticated modern protocols. It is Valle-Inclán's sense that an absurd, depraved, corrosive society deserves to be depicted as absurd and grotesque, and he achieves this through his ability to create memorable characters and social types, placing them in situations that highlight society's deformity and savagery.

Much of Spanish post-Civil War drama hasbeen influenced by Valle-Inclán's innovative ideas in writing and staging plays, as has been acknowledged by Antonio Buero Vallejo, Alfonso Sastre, José Martín Recuerda, Antonio Gala, Domingo Mir-

as, Carlos Muñiz, and Francisco Nieva, among other prominent contemporary playwrights. Buero, for one, has said of Valle-Inclán's most immediate influence that:

> He fecundates the greatest dramatist that follows: Lorca. And today he manifests himself as a unique author, a formidable revealer of his land and of the sullen or ludicrous face that speaks the truth about man: that truth, among others, that shows man as a marionette subject to his conditioned reflexes. [20]

Buero, too, was a product of the social consciousness that characterized Valle-Inclán's *Esperpento*. And Sastre has placed him at the center of the modern European theatre:

> Valle-Inclán is one of the great masters of the European theatre of this century. . . . His theatre represents the autonomous Spanish discovery of theatrical expressionism; the anticipation of the antipsychologicalism of the subsequent "social" theatre, and the deliberate use of the technique of "distancing" (which Brecht would come to use and explicate theoretically). [21]

But beyond his innovative experimentation with what would come to be called "the alienation effect," with the *Esperpento* Valle-Inclán established the tenets and techniques that mark his plays as precursors of the later and much-touted "Theatre of the Absurd" and "Theatre of Cruelty." If Samuel Beckett (1906 – 1989) in *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame*, for two, stripped the stage and its personages down to bare essentials for the presentation of absurdist premises, the *Esperpento* had already shown the way; if Eugène Ionescu (1909 – 1994) portrayed human gullibility through its physical transformation into beasts in *Rhinoceros*, the *Esperpento* had preceded it through its portrayal of numerous physical and moral transmogrifications; and if Jean Genet (1910 – 1986) portrayed the cruelty and inhuman acts he had experienced in prison in such as his *Deathwatch* and *The Blacks*, the *Esperpento* had set the stage long before. Ramón del Valle-Inclán was in place before them and preceded them as well through the writing and staging of his *Esperpentos*.

Although the Irishman Beckett, the Rumanian Ionescu, the Frenchman Genet, and the Spaniard Arrabal, among other purveyors of the absurd, have received greater praise and renown, as did the Frenchman Artaud for his theories on the place of cruelty on the modern stage, Valle-Inclán's creative contributions to world drama have come to be acknowledged as his plays have found their way into the international repertory, having been translated into all the major Western languages. [22] More so than ever before, Valle-Inclán's importance as an innovative dramatist in his own right and as the Spanish precursor of the alienatory, absurdist and cruel modes in theatre has come to be recognized worldwide in the present period by critics and directors, as well as by audiences.

Notes

1. Valle-Inclán, who had made an official visit in 1916 to the French front with journalistic creden-

tials, wrote his impressions of the war's savagery in a series of newspaper articles later published in book form as *La media noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra* (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1917). For details on his trip, see Lima, *Valle-Inclán: The Theatre of His Life* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988) or *Valle-Inclán: El teatro de su vida* (Santiago de Compostela, Spain: Editorial Nigra - Consorcio de Santiago de Compostela, 1995), chapter 8.

2. See Lima, "Crisis and Response: The Dynamics of Spain's 'Generation of 1898.'" In John Crispin, et. al. (Eds.), *Los hallazgos de la lectura. Estudio dedicado a Miguel Enguídanos*. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1989.

3. Hereafter cited in the text as LM.

4. T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood*.

5. The two poems from this collection cited below are in my translation. They can be found in *Obras completas de don Ramón del Valle-Inclán*, hereafter given in the text as OC.

6. Interview with Martínez Sierra. See Martínez Sierra's "Hablando con Valle-Inclán. De él y de su obra." ABC (Madrid), December 7, 1928, p. 1. The translation is mine. Lope de Vega's *Pedro Carbonero* mentions three ways in which an author can observe his creations; it is possible that Valle-Inclán derived his theory in part from this source.

7. The translation is mine. So is the translation of the other quotations from this book.

8. See also Gómez de la Serna, *Don Ramón María del Valle-Inclán* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1944 (Col. Austral):138) for other statements on the subject. Toward the end of *Niebla*, the author Unamuno and the character Augusto Pérez discuss the relationship of author and character in a similar manner.

9. The five dreams or visions were written over a period of years: *El sueño del juicio final* (*Dream of the Last Judgment*, 1606), *El alguacil endemoniado* (*The Bewitched Constable*, 1607), *El sueño del infierno*, also known as *Las zahurdas de Plutón* (*The Dream of Hell/The Pigsties of Pluto*, 1608), *El mundo por dentro* (*The World from Within*, 1612), and *El sueño de la muerte* (*The Dream of Death*, 1621 – 22). Sometimes editions have included an additional piece: *La hora de todos y la fortuna con seso* (*Everyone's Time and Fortune with Judgement*, 1635).

10. See Lorenzo-Rivero's *Goya en el esperpento de Valle-Inclán* (Sada (A Coruña): Ediciós do Castro, 1998) for a study, with illustrations, of the relationship of Goya's etchings, drawings and paintings to Valle-Inclán's *esperpentos*.

11. The title refers not to the country of Bohemia but to the bohemian lifestyle. Thus, it is wrong to capitalize it in Spanish, as is sometimes done. The protagonist and his cronies are the "lights," that is, the luminaries of the bohemian world of Madrid in the early years of the twentieth century.

12. The translation is mine. The note is unsigned but bears a cross drawn by Valle-Inclán. Darío wrote the prologue to the posthumous book, *Iluminaciones en la sombra* (1910). In this context it is important to note Sawa's letter to Darío, dated 31 May 1908 from Madrid, as reproduced in Ghiraldo (*El archivo de Rubén Darío*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1943: 214 – 15): "The only thing that you know of this latter part of my mortal life is that I've become blind. That would seem to be sufficient, but it isn't; besides being blind, I have also been so ill for nearly two years that the Trappist phrase of our great Villiers—"My body is already ripe for the grave"—has become one of the most frequent litanies in which my soul is diluted. And so, in my condition, in my being, I live in the middle of Madrid more forsaken yet and with less assistance than it I had set up my tent in the middle of barren lands away from all roads. Relying on my literary prestige, I've knocked on the doors of newspapers and publishing houses to no avail; relying on social contacts—I'm not an ogre or a wild beast—I've called on friends, insistently, again to no avail. Is it possible that someone like me can die this way, dismally, assassinated bit by bit by everyone, so that his death, like his life, has no more significance than that of a mere anecdote about solitude and rebellion in contemporary society?" The translation is mine.

13. Pío Baroja also employed Sawa's last days in an episode in *El árbol de la ciencia* (Madrid:

Alianza Editorial, 1981) dealing with the character Rafael Villasús.

14. The translation is mine. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from this work are my translation. Valle-Inclán's consistent identification of the *Esperpento* with Goya underlines the relationship of influences flowing from the painter to the writer. In 1928, Ramón Sender suggested emphasizing this relationship by publishing in *El Sol* one of the *Esperpentos* in honor of Goya's centennial. See Sender, *Valle-Inclán y la dificultad de la tragedia*, 42 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1965).

15. An interesting aspect of *Luces de bohemia* in this context can be seen in the animal names and nicknames the dramatist gives his characters, as well as referring to some as animals; the list of characters ends with El Pollo (chicken) de Pay-Pay, dogs, cats and a parrot; Don Latino is often called a dog by Max; Zaratustra is *abichado* (insect-like) and *zorro* (fox); Pica Lagartos is associated with lizards; La Pisa Bien is described as having *zarpas* (claws); the animalistic is also implied when Max, Don Latino, La Pisa Bien and Zaratustra are referred to as *trogloditas*. Goya's use of animal imagery can perhaps be seen as operative here.

16. Or so it would appear for their names are not given in a newspaper report on the suicides. There is only conjecture about their identities. Thus, Valle-Inclán ends the work with ambiguity.

17. These characters represent the "Generation of 1898," as is obvious in their conversation. Further, Don Estrafalario has certain traits that make him resemble Unamuno, as his companion asserts: "You're not a philosopher and, consequently, have no right to reply with pedantries. You're nothing more than a heretic, like Don Miguel de Unamuno" (OC 2: 1706).

18. *Grammar* refers to Nebrija's work, the first grammar of any European language since the Roman era.

19. The concept of the Demiurge is found in Plato and in the Gnostic speculation, for which see *La lámpara maravillosa* or *The Lamp of Marvels*.

20. "Encuesta sobre el teatro de Valle-Inclán," *Insula*, 4. The translation is mine.

21. "Encuesta sobre el teatro de Valle-Inclán," *Insula*, 4. The translation is mine. I have used "distancing" to convey the Spanish "distanciamiento." Brecht's technique is better known as the alienatory effect or alienation.

22. See my *Ramón del Valle-Inclán. An Annotated* Bibliography, Vol. I: Works. London: Grant & Cutler, Ltd, 1999. (Coll. Research Bibliographies & Checklists 53.1).

Works Cited

Álvarez Hernández, Dictino. *Cartas de Rubén Darío.* Madrid: Taurus, 1963.

Eliot, T. S. *The Sacred Wood.* London: Methuen & Co, Ltd, 1920.

"Encuesta sobre el teatro de Valle-Inclán," *Insula* (Madrid), Vol. XVI, Nos. 176 – 177 (July-August 1961): 4 – 5.

Lima, Robert. "The Gnostic Flight of Valle-Inclán." *Neophilologus* (Holland), Vol. 78, No. 2 (April 1994): 243 – 50.

Madrid, Francisco. *La vida altiva de Valle-Inclán.* Buenos Aires: Poseidón, 1943.

Valle-Inclán, Ramón del. *La lámpara maravillosa. Ejercicios espirituales.* Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería—Imprenta Helénica, 1916.

---. *The Lamp of Marvels: Aesthetic Meditations.* Trans. Robert Lima. West Stockbridge, MA: Inner Traditions—Lindisfarne Press, 1986.

---. *Obras completas de don Ramón del Valle-Inclán*, 2 vols. Madrid: Talleres Tipográficos Rivadeneya, 1944.

责任编辑:郭晶晶

Ramón del Valle-Inclán and the Plastic Arts

MargaritaSantos Zas
Faculty of Philology, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
North Campus - Burgo das Nacións, Santiago de Compostela, 15782, Galicia, Spain
Email: margarita. santos@ usc. es

Abstract Taking as reference framework the renewal of artistic expression in the first third of the twentieth century, based on a fruitful dialogue between the arts, this paper aims to address the art-literature symbiosis that defines Valle-Inclán's work. Such a symbiosis is based on the brotherhood of the arts which in the Galician writer's case is guaranteed, on the one hand, by his biography linking him to the art world, thanks to specific posts in institutions and organisations related to different artistic and personal relationships with contemporary artists. On the other, it is guaranteed by his role as art critic in the contemporary press. These factors explain the incidence which art in general, and, more specifically, painting, had on his work and his conception of aesthetics, as expressed in *La Lámpara Maravillosa* (1916).
Key words Valle-Inclán; painting; visual arts and literature; symbolism; pre-raphaelitism; Romero de Torres

It is difficult to understand the renewal of artistic expression, which occurs in the first third of the twentieth century, without appealing to the "Brotherhood of the Arts," that Charles Baudelaire embodied in his famous sonnet of *Les fleurs du mal* (1857), the title of which, "Correspondances", is eloquent of the relation that he believed to perceive between the arts, as it contains all the Synesthetic theories which Parnassians and Symbolists are to develop in the second half of the 19th century. In fact, the above-mentioned poem becomes a sort of manifesto of Symbolism—not to mention the precedent of the lyrical-pictorial work of William Blake—which even relegated Jean Moreas' manifesto to be part of the background (*Le Figaro*, 1886). In this context, the art-literature symbiosis suggests a reinterpretation of the Horatian *ut pictura poesis* topic (Litvak 43), the assimilation of word and image which is evident in the terminology and the facts that both disciplines share over time.

Ramón del Valle-Inclan is one of themore significant exponents of this synthesis[1], for within the field of Valle-Inclanian research it is well known that the Galician writer had an intense and continuous relation with the arts (both the visual and plastic or applied arts like graphic design) and contemporary artistic trends (symbolism, impressionism, expressionism...), a relation which either influenced his aesthetics or received the stamp of his creation. In turn, such a relation had its effects on the protagonists of the artistic panorama of the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, as expressly acknowledged by some of them. At the same time, the influence of the arts, painting in particular, but also music, dance or film in his work is of paramount im-

portance to understand its diversity and complexity. It also impossible to ignore the biographical trajectory. My aim here cannot be another than that to briefly present the hitherto features in order to offer a brief panorama of the writer's fecund relation with the arts, especially the painting of his time and other ones.

Valle-Inclánspoke frequently of Art, from the knowledge that certain details of his biography give proof of. In fact, his direct experience with the art world dates back to his youth, when as a student of law at the University of Santiago de Compostela (degree studies which he did not complete) he enrolled at the School of Arts and Crafts in the subject of "Drawing, Embellishments and Painting" (1888 – 1889). In 1916 he undertakes a trip to France (May-June) as the war correspondent of the *El Imparcial* newspaper, an experience reflected in what was from the narratological point of view, one of his more innovating works *La Media Noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra* (1917). Just weeks after his return from the Allied front, and due to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts Julio Burell—the writer's childhood friend—he was appointed professor of the Chair of Aesthetics at the School of Painting, Printmaking and Sculpture, a post which he held for three years: from July 19, 1916, when he takes office, until November 10, 1919, when he resigns (Alberca and Valle-Inclán Alsina 6 – 11). According to *La Gaceta de Madrid*, "the head of Aesthetics should be *a writer and a publicist acknowledged by critics and opinion* (Alberca and Valle-Inclán Alsina 7), circumstances that concur in the writer, who according to eyewitnesses, gave his classes in the Museum of the Prado (9). Besides his peculiar way of teaching, such an attitude reveals his clear interest in a direct bonding with his young students and painting masterpieces.

Since then therehas been much speculation as regards reasons for his resignation, speculation encouraged by Valle himself in his contradictory statements. In this sense, Alberca and Valle-Inclán Alsina (6 – 11) suggest that a probable reason for his resignation was the difficulty of reconciling his life in Galicia, where he had settled in 1912 with his teaching duties. These duties required his presence in Madrid during the academic year, especially following the ministerial measures implemented during 1918 – 1919, aimed at combating teacher absenteeism. It seems that, despite the guarantee of a monthly salary, Valle would leave this post in order to get rid of ties that would be a limiting condition in his complete dedication to literature.

Hereafter follows a long interval in the 20's, the most fertile period from the point of view of Valle-Inclanian literary creation, which in accordance with the development of the artistic vanguard in Spain, leans towards a vision of reality based on the grotesque, crystallising in the *esperpento*. In turn, in its aesthetic postulates, the *esperpento* is indebted to Francisco de Goya, the author of *Caprichos* and the *Pinturas negras*, which is specifically mentioned in the pages of *Luces de Bohemia* (1920/1924), the work in which *esperpento* poetics and its innovative stage praxis acquires full artistic status. After the proclamation of the 2nd Republic (1931) we again find Valle heading institutions or official organisms related to the arts world: besides being member of the Patronage of the Museum of Modern Art (1931), Manuel Azaña, President of the Government, promoted the appointment of his admired friend as Custodian of the National Artistic Patrimony (2/9/1931) and Director of the Museum of

Aranjuez (29/1/1932), positions from which Valle-Inclán noisily resigned a few months later, annoyed at the lack of official answer to his projects as the head of the department he had been entrusted with (Montiel Rayo 291 – 313).

Finally, one of Valle's greatest aspirations is fulfilled when he is appointed Director of the Academy of Fine Arts of Spain in Rome (Santos Zas *et al*. *Todo Valle-Inclán*…)[2], where he shared households with his painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving and music pensioners during the three years of mandate that, intermittently he spent in Rome. In the election process he received the warm support of famous Spanish artists, headed by Zuloaga, who considered to the writer the suitable person to direct the Academy and to give it back, as he aimed to do, its "lost prestige". However, a number of several types of obstacles, including the slowness or the silence of the public administration—the Academy directly depended on the Ministry of State—, the internal conflicts with the artists granted a scholarship, his precarious health, which turned even worse in the years in Rome, prevented him from carrying out his revitalising project for the Academy. Disappointed and very ill, he returned to Spain in the spring of 1935 and died a few months later (January 5, 1936) in Santiago de Compostela. A bust of Valle, carried out by Victorio Macho, one of his opponents to the direction of the Academy, stands as memory to him in San Pietro in Montorio, the current site of said Academy.

If all these posts, not without controversy and fabulations, are eloquent of the close links that joined Valle to the world of art, personal relationships do not do more than confirm it, since he was a friend of painters, engravers and artists with whom he rubbed shoulders daily in Madrid gatherings, particularly in the Nuevo Café de Levante (Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán y las tertulias…" 13 – 15).[3] I'll dwell on it for a while, since it constitutes one of the most significant meeting-places of the turn-of-the-century Madrid, crucible of artistic modernism, according to the unanimous opinion of critics, and a showcase for a generation, whose socio-literary gatherings Valle led from 1903 and until 1916, when it is dissolved by the division between pro-Germans and pro-Allies (Baroja 99). The extensive list of fellow members who participated in "That Music Hall" (Tudela 160) includes the complete list of the so-called 98ists and modernists, whose names speak for themselves of the interartistic sign of that cenacle, although, as Baroja again remembers (99): "the majority were painters, sculptors, engravers and sketchers… If previously, Literature was the favourite subject, later sculpture and painting were almost always the main objects of discussion." Of that nourished group (whose cartoon published in Pharos the 4 of April of 1912), it is possible to mention to Anselmo Miguel Nieto, Arteta, Ricardo Baroja, Juan de Echevarría, Gutiérrez Solana, Julio Antonio, Victorio Macho, Ricardo Marin, Mir, Moya del Pino, Penagos, Rusiñol, Regoyos, Romero de Torres, Vivanco, Zuloaga, the Zubiaurre brothers… And circumstantially, they were joined by a young Picasso, Diego Rivera or Matisse on their passing through Madrid.

In the early 20th century, they were united by the search for the renewal of artistic expression, the subversion of established codes, which they identified with the realist school: "We were scornfully called "modernists" (. . .) We wanted to do something impossible or least very difficult, to go ahead of our time or go back to the past

one" (Baroja 99). In 1907, under the motto "Independent Painters," they carried out an exhibition in the Circle of Fine Arts, bitterly contested by those who did not understand their similarity of aesthetic criteria. In this regard, in his lecture "Modernism in Spain", issued in Buenos Aires in 1910, Valle recalled, how "bravely they had struggled against prejudice (...) of the critics". In the early days, he adds, these painters hardly obtained any honorary mention at the Salon de Madrid" (J. and. J. del Valle-Inclán Alsina 48).

Within this common awareness of singularity, the Café de Levante played the role of an eye critical as to the artistic reality of the times: "Our meeting acquired great importance when the National Exhibitions of Fine Arts came around (…) The academic scholars, the consecrated artists , teachers in formal schools of art feared us like the plague" (Baroja 101), Valle-Inclán adds: "the Café de Levante has exerted more influence on literature and contemporary art than two or three Universities and Academies" (Baroja 101).

This unique atmosphere of artists left a deep impression on the writer, who evoked the newly appointed Director of that Academy of Fine Arts of Spain in Rome, where he intended, as he told the newspaper *El Sol* (10/3/1933), to play the role of adviser of young pensioners: "I have always lived surrounded by artists, rather than by writers in the old gatherings at the Café de Levante, and now I intend to continue this co-existence, resume those family discussions, and at the same time guide those boys" (Santos Zas *et al*. *Todo Valle-Inclán*… 116).

Such friendships also find proof in his books, designed and illustrated by some of his artist friends (Romero de Torres, Anselmo Miguel Nieto, Arteta, Moya del Pino, Vivanco and Ricardo Baroja). In the field of applied arts, the best example of this art-literature synthesis is *Voces de Gesta* (Veiga Grandal 183 – 212), written a century ago, a preview of which Valle read to the other members of these gatherings. In this regard, reference should also be made to the careful attention paid by Valle in book-designing, obedient to the idea that the book is a work of art, whose covers deserve as much attention as its content. From this perspective, the whole of the Galician writer's work is, by its originality and excellence, one of the best examples of the renovation in graphic design of the first third of the 20th century.[4]

The strong personality of Valle-Inclán, as could be expected, also attracted the artists of his time to the extent that he is probably one of the writers of his generation who has received more attention by painters, illustrators and cartoonists, who featured a picture of the Galician author in a gallery of portraits (Echevarria, Zuloaga and Anselmo Miguel Nieto, Gregorio Prieto, Victorio Macho or Vázquez Díaz) and cartoons (Cilla, Sancha, Bagaría, Castelao, Fresno, Moya del Pino, Penagos, Corredoira, Massaguer...)[5], agree in emphasising the strongest features of his face: its extreme thinness, his long beard, his piercing gaze, filtered through his round spectacles, and his lack of an arm[6], hidden under the Spanish cloak he was wont to use. His unique appearance and attire earned him defining expressions as ingenious as that coined by Ramón Gómez de la Serna: "he was the best mask on foot crossing the street of Alcala" (Gómez de la Serna 56), or the dictator Primo de Rivera, who called him an "eminent writer and extravagant citizen" (Gómez de la Serna 159). At

the same time, several of these painters recognized the aesthetic teaching of the writer in their pictorial practice; *great teacher*, he was called by his admired friend Romero de Torres (Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán, de puño…" 435) and not without reason, as Rivas Cherif remembers in an interview published in *España* (11/5/1916):

> (...) all those who are in the habit of going to artistic centres andcliques, know, for example, to what extent his ingenious suggestions have influenced the criteria of painters such as Anselmo Miguel Nieto and Julio Romero de Torres, who owe him much of the deserved popularity which they enjoy, first because of his acute advice, and, above all because of the subtle literary interpretation with which he has provided the pictorial renovation that these two young artists represent in Spain. (J. and J. del Valle-Inclán Alsina 163)

Such a statement is corroborated by Moya del Pino in the tribute that the magazine *La Pluma* rendered Valle in 1923: "The influence of Valle-Inclán's aesthetic norms in contemporary Spanish art has been very great. All the artists (…) were influenced to a lesser or greater degree by his doctrines and they spread them by means of his works" (63).

However, Valle-Inclán's admiration for contemporary artists was no less, as is proven in his praise of Ignacio Zuloaga in his essay on"La pintura vasca" (1919)[7], or his reference to Anselmo Miguel Nieto in the above quoted lectures in Buenos Aires (1910), as an exponent of the aesthetic conception that Valle defended. On some he wrote chronicles in the press or in the catalogues of their exhibitions (f. inst: Romero de Torres and Juan de Echevarría), others were the subject of lectures, such as Anglada Camarasa, in a cycle-tribute to the painter in Madrid in 1916, in the same way as he participated in the Julio Antonio *in memoriam* lecture series, in March 1918.[8] Valle himself mentioned his favourites in an interview with Juan Lopez Núñez (1/1/1915): "Ricardo Baroja, the most attractive and strong personality that in Spain exists; Romero de Torres, a most brilliant painter; the sculptor Julio Antonio; Moya del Pino (...); Penagos, the Villalbas; Anselmo Miguel Nieto, and the wonderful Arteta…" (Dougherty, *Un Valle-Inclán…* 60).

In line with these considerations, Valle left a written record of his knowledge in the field of arts, architecture, sculpture, dance, film, music, and above all, his passion for painting: "painting delights me" (Dougherty, *Un Valle-Inclán...* 55), a fascination which he shared with that of Baudelaire for Delacroix, John Ruskin for Turner, Rubén Darío for Watteau or of Proust for Vermeer, very eloquent proof of the syncretism of the arts which is a sign of the period under study. In this sense, Serge Salaün (116 – 131) rightly points out that:

> Valle-Inclán, whilst not being a painter, like Gual or Rusiñol, visualises (...). His pictorial cultureis encyclopedic, covering both national and international, the contemporary and the preceding heritages. In this, again, he shows his strict identification with the Symbolist and Expressionist intellectuals who gave painting a decisive paper in the exercise of modernity and worked closely

> with painters. It is no exaggeration to say that even the aesthetic rupture, in Europe, is essentially based on painting, both as regards works and as theoretical writings of some painters very prone to doctrinal reflection. (121)

As for Valle, together with the explicit reference to contacts and personal friendships above-cited, revealing the shared interest of the "brotherhood of the arts" as echoed in magazines and publishing houses, we know of Valle's particular pictorial preferences which according to his own statements range from the "primitive" Italians to the English Pre-Raphaelites, whom he vindicated together with the Brotherhood theorist, John Ruskin, and from Botticelli, Titian, Raphael, El Greco or Velázquez to Goya.

Valle's fascination with these and other artists finds its witness in his works, full of references to the art world (Eva Lloréns) which, as a tribute, can be traced from his four Sonatas—art about art and literature about literature—to his later novels (*Tirano Banderas* or *El Ruedo Ibérico*), from his first book of poems, *Aromas de Leyenda* (1907), to *Claves líricas* (1930), a book that brings together his poetic work. Such a relationship can be extended to all his dramatic production, a compendium of the renewal of the performing arts in the first third of the 20th century. In all cases, plasticity is the dominant note, perceptible in the linguistic construction of his images, in which luminous and chromatic games in their most varied shades and gradations, come together in search of an intensification of sensations, as Valle himself stated in his 1902 article, "Modernism"[9], which his work in the early years of the 20th is ascribed to. With the same aim, he uses *ékfrasis* in numerous passages of his texts, identifiable with specific pictorial works; as well as other technical resources, seeking to produce plastics and visual effects. They are indicative of his attraction to painting, which goes beyond mere contemplation to form an integral part *of his view of reality* and is projected onto his own work as a critical component of it, a fact which, by the way, has not gone unnoticed.

My aim is not to inventory the influences or "reminiscences" of the "immense pictorial *intertextual* apparatus of Valle-Inclán" (Salaün 121), an impossible task due to the multiplicity of examples that could be adduced. On the other hand, in his work "Valle-Inclán y la pintura" Salaün himself offers a tight and eloquent review of these instances, which infer, as the French critic indicates, "the amplitude of Valle's knowledge, his capacity for absorbing or impregnating and his eclecticism when reusing so much iconographic material" (121).

For my part, I am going to pause in a single example, paradigmatic of the versatile literature-painting overlapping in Valle's work: Italian Pre-Renaissance painting goes hand in hand with that of the English Pre-Raphaelites and the French Symbolists in the recreation of female portraits that Valle offers in his Sonatas, faithful to two end of the century prototypes.

Firstly, the *angelicata donna*, the frail woman, virginal and naive, shrouded in mysticism, whose more emblematic iconography is represented by Pre-Raphaelite paintings like *May Morris*, *Reverie*, *Study of a girl Holding a leaf* or *Beata Beatrix*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, which share a plastic reference in the figure of Mary in Fra Angelico's *The Annunciation*, without forgetting John Everett Millais' *Ophelia*, or the

female portraits by William Morris, Holman Hunt and Edward Burne-Jones, to name the most representative names of the Brotherhood, moreover often illustrators of literary works. In the *Sonata de Primavera* (1904) we find descriptions, almost taken at random, in which the writer expressly refers to his pictorial models:

> The other daughters of the Princess, seated in a circle embroidering Santa Margherita Ligure's mantle, talked to each other in low voices, their heads joining, and left the room murmuring cheerfully, a chaste and springlike group like that painted by Sandro Botticelli. (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*... 355, I)

Or this other passage, referred to the youngwoman, about to profess in a convent, whom Bradomín tries to seduce: "she seemed lost in a reverie: her face, pale with nostalgic ideals, was full of hope as if talking to invisible souls and her motionless eyes, contemplating the infinite, watched without seeing" (344, I). Her figure awakens clear echoes of Pre-Raphaelite paintings set out above, which in a further description Valle relates to their predecessors, the Italian primitives, in this new quote:

> Maria Rosario wept silently, and shone like a beautiful, candid Madonna (...) I remembered then the old paintings often seen in a former monastery in Umbria, Pre-Raphaelite tables,that a unknown monk painted in the retirement of his cell. (349, I)

Compare these descriptions with theone of Ádega in *Flor de Santidad* (1904), in which it is possible to perceive the same pictorial tastes, recreated by painters and contemporary writers:

> In the shelter of Celtic stones, turned golden by millenarian lichens, a shepherdess sat spinning (…) Her forehead was as golden as honey, and she had a candid smile. Her eyebrows were blond and delicate and her eyes, where a blue violet trembled, were mystical and fiery, like prayers. Guarding the flock, she spun her skein with rhythmic and slow moderation. She had a beautiful old name: she was called Ádega. She was very devoted, with a shadowy, inlandish and arcaic devotion. (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*… 606, I)

Coexisting with this *angelicata donna* prototype, and at the same time its opposite, the Symbolist painters recreated the second and no less emblematic of the end of the century archetypes, that of the *femme fatale*[10], which finds its best expression in the portraits of the biblical Salomé—the Hebrew princess who asks Herod for the head of John the Baptist as a reward for her dancing.[11] The more representative painters of this archetype are Gustave Moreau[12] or Odilon Redon and among Spanish painters from the Café de Levante, Romero de Torres Anglada Camarasa, who also recreated the myth so dear to Fin de Siécle tastes. These women share beauty features and the ability to seduce, women who exert a diabolic fascination on the men who under their

"infernal" dominion eventually lose control. A prototype—a female master in the art of temptation—in which characteristics of diverse feminine personages with distant antecedents converge. [13]

Consider the description of the Niña Chole, the seductiveprotagonist of *Sonata de Estío* (1903), whom the Marquis de Bradomín—narrator of the story, presented in the form of memoirs—describes the first time he sees her, in an exotic Mexican setting, the natural environment of the girl who with her beauty seduces the Marquis, a newcomer to the Aztec country:

> It was a bronzed, exotic beauty, with that strange and undulating grace of the nomadic races, a hieratic and serpentine figure whose contemplation evoked the memory of those princess daughters of the sun, who in Indian poems shine with the double sacerdotal and voluptuous enchantment [···] Her long black mane fell loosely, herhuipil playing across her classic breast. Unfortunately I could only see her face the rare times that towards me she turned it. But I made up for the face at the sight of that which her wimple did not manage to cover, admiring the morbid suppleness of her shoulders and the contour of her neck. God help me! It seemed to me that that body burnished by the fiery Yucatan suns exhaled languid effluvia, and that I inhaled and drank them, was intoxicated with them... [...] On seeing her face, my heart sank. She had the same smile as Lili. The Lili I do not know whether I loved, or hated! (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*··· 393 – 394)

However, this feminine prototype which Valle uses in his early works has a later manifestation in a poem of the *El Pasajero* (1920) entitled "Rosa de Oriente". This composition, in its original and handwritten version (ca. 1914) is dedicated to the exotic dancer Tórtola Valencia[14], who symbolises the artistic syncretism—which the author had such a liking for—, by uniting movements, gestures, music and plasticity in her dancing. Last but not least, in her performances, which Valle went to in the second decade of the last century, she added the sensuality, the beauty and the mystery that emanated from her. These features are condensed in the following verses of the mentioned iconographic sonnet:

> Tiene el andar la gracia del felino
> Es toda llena de profundos ecos.
> Anuncian sus corales y sus flecos
> Un ensueño oriental de lo divino
> Los ojos negros, cálidos, astutos,
> Triste de ciencia antigua la sonrisa
> Y la falda de flores una brisa [···][15]

(*Her swaying is of feline grace/she is full of deep echoes. / her corals and fringes announce/ An oriental dream of the divine/, warm, smart, black eyes/ her smile, the sadness of old science/and her floral skirt, a breeze* [...])

This reconciliation of the musical and plastic arts, which finds an exemplary blend in dancing, according to the writer, sustains his notion of "the work of total art", a goal Valle aspires to.

This same type of woman, although in a version of a very different sign may be glimpsed at behind the figure of another character, who appears in work published after the ones seen hitherto. I'm referring to La Pepona, the protagonist of the play *La Cabeza del Bautista* (1924), whose title refers specifically to the biblical figure associated with the myth of Salome. This instance presents the peculiarity that Valle carries out a re-reading of *ut pictura poesis*, using a grotesque and distorting mirror game—typical of the *esperpento*—which he submits the figure of the woman to, thus moving away from his Symbolist origins and approaching pictorial Expressionism, in a set of loose brush strokes that make up her portrait: "A big woman with black curls, dark circles under her eyes, rouge on her cheeks, at the back of the café plays with the cat" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*··· 1175, II), "The big woman tied a garter, showing her striped stockings to the eyes of the cat and the Spaniard" (1178, II), "Rearranging her hair and patting her hips, she approaches the window···" (1184, II). To sum up, the *femme fatal* prototype, the female seducer par excellence shows its enormous vitality in the turn-of-the-century literature and painting. As regards Valle, he was particularly attracted by such a figure as is proven in his wide range of works from 1895 to 1935.

However, beyond the specific citations or allusions, the interest shown in the work of the great individuals of the past or contemporary artistic currents (Pre-Raphaelitism, Symbolism, Impressionism or Expressionism), which caught his eye and also left a clear imprint on his texts, Valle carries out reflections on Art. From this perspective, controversial son of his time and this time, Valle was intolerant and uncompromising with the artistic vulgarity, distilled, in his opinion, by the then-current exhibitions which hosted a conformist art, indebted to obsolete aesthetic premises. Valle denounced such an artistic conformism in his chronicle of the Closing of the national Exhibition of 1908, in no uncertain terms:

> The exhibition has closed its doors. Those thousand emotion-less pictures and that art-lessbustle of statues, a farce of hospice plasterers. All that world of triviality and vulgarity that in my memory now appears to me with an exact expression of its value [...]

In opposition to thisrealistic and mimetic art, the Galician author presents models in consistence with his own vision of art, in which the image, the visual and the plastic acquire a unique role, an art fleeing from ephemeral fashions in search of a synthesis, a notion central to Symbolism, which involves an effort to combine elements to produce a self-referential reality:

> The work of art that has lasted a thousand years is one that is more likely to last another thousand. What was present for centuries is what will remain so in the

> future, with the august force, disdainful of works that only have the present time of a day. The fashions that another fashion buries without ever reaching the lofty prestige of tradition! (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*... 1498)

It is precisely in the two aforementioned series of chronicles, published in two newspapers of Madrid—*El Mundo* (1908)[16] and *Nuevo Mundo* (1912)—[17], on the occasion of the National Exhibition of Fine Arts in those same years, where Valle presents observations and opinions about contemporary Spanish artists. In these artists, he finds a deep aesthetic harmony[18], allowing for a gleaning of ideas, which whilst not giving shape to a doctrinal corpus, reveal the unequivocally idealistic source of their concept of art, following the path traced from Plato to Bergson.

However, Valle later re-elaborated his thoughts in order to incorporate them in his aesthetic postulates developed in *La Lámpara Maravillosa. Ejercicios espirituales* (1916), his treatise on aesthetics, where they make perfect sense, taking into account that two of the pillars of this work are: the Neo-Platonic and the ocultist traditions, which were also, a fact not to be forgotten, the pillars of symbolism and related currents.

Without aiming to construct a theory, which we are still far from outlining, I will now refer to some original examples from these Valle-Inclanian texts, pointing to the idealistic conception of art that the writer defends. As a starting point, Valle establishes a difference between "the low truth that the eyes discover" and "the essential truth that only the spirit discovers" from which an essential aesthetic principle exudes: "Nothing is as it is but as recalled" because "memory—we read in *La Lámpara Maravillosa*—is the alchemy that purifies all images" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra* ··· 1952, I). That is to say, the painting must be the truth seen through memory. With this approach Valle undermines those who use Velázquez as the flag of that "painting of photographic reality", without understanding that the Velázquez' brush "spreads all images in light, moving them away in space and coating them with a quiet charm as memory does when evoking the images that are distant in time" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*... 1945, I).[19]

This idealistic conception of art brings to mind the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood theorist, not in vain were Ruskin's works part of Valle's personal library.[20] In one of the lectures delivered in Buenos Aires Valle says: The Pre-Raphaelite trends in Spain have the highest representative in Julio Romero de Torres, who has the distemper of the old masters, the richest..." (Garat 109).[21] In the chronicle "Del retrato" (*El Mundo*, 12/6/1908), which he dedicates to the Andalusian painter Romero de Torres, Valle affirms:

> For the work of artnothing is as it is but as memory recalls it. And in this process of evocation—like in that other one of forgetting—the road that memory goes down is the same for all even when the intensity varies in each individual: expression is the first thing to be recalled, then the characteristics of the line and finally, colour, almost as an accident. But what is never defined in the memory is light and chiaroscuro: memory is a sum of different times, and chiar-

> oscuro and light the impression of just a moment, so ephemeral that it changes whenever we move or whoever we look at moves. Therefore, [there is] nothing so absurd or lacking in artistic sense as the way of those painters who grant the accident of light the sole importance in the picture, and on the other hand, turn expression into something more accessory than the reflection of a red or blue curtain. (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*··· 1508)

From this text it possible to gather that Valle gave priorityto line, colour and composition, which formally means a classicist vision of painting, hence his criticism of "illuminism" as represented by Sorolla in his personal way of assimilating French impressionistic concern with light[22] and translating it to the canvas. Furthermore, he grants superiority to concept over technique, a literary vision of painting which once again overlaps an "idealistic" concept of art. All "exalted art", meaning by exalted "that which captures the fundamental condition of things, is idealistic", he wrote in his 1912 article concerning the Cordovan painter Julio Romero de Torres, whose paintings, according to all the experts, is best defined as *idealistic*. Labelled as literary, the work of Romero de Torres is inscribed within Symbolism, with a determining influence of Italian painting particularly of the Florentine school of the Spanish masters, mainly of El Greco, and English Pre-Raphaelitism. Such are the aesthetic coordinates which gave rise to a personal style, following a crucial artistic journey, made in 1907, on the advice of Valle-Inclán, to France, England, Netherlands and Italy, where he came into direct contact with his main sources (Zueras Torréns 32).

In his articles and in *La Lámpara Maravillosa* Valle will disseminate other notes, revealing that idealistic affiliation, which in turn may be recognised in pictorial currents close in time, but also in the great figures of the past. Thus in Raphael —"the most wonderful of painters"—Valle finds that "supreme knowledge" which may be glimpsed at in the way in which he "always changed the line his models offered, but he did it in such a subtle manner that the eyes only can discern it when they are applied to studying it and compare the living images with those of his pictures. Then we see that none of those figures could move with the grace that the brush gave them" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*··· 1923, I).

This stylisation is achieved, says Valle in the catalogue he writes for Romero de Torres' 1922 exhibition, by "renewing formulas bequeathed byItaly. The Latin tradition gives them the contour and the definitive attitude of statues (...) The supreme condition of mystery that makes them worthy of Art." Valle emphasises the sculptural nature and the embodiment of classical painting, associated with the sense of stillness, one of the fundamental notions in *La Lámpara maravillosa*, in one of whose passages of the chapter "El quietismo estético" we read: "To discover in the vertigo of movement the supreme aspiration to stillness is the secret of aesthetics" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*···, 1955, I). The latter seeks the embodiment of the eternal—constructed outside space and time—as opposed to the ephemeral, which, in his opinion El Greco was able to capture. According to Valle, El Greco, "under the insignificance of our daily attitudes, knew how to inquire the unique gesture, that one gesture which only death can give us back." As an instance, Valle refers to the portrait of

Cardinal Tavera, which El Greco painted from the mortuary mask "traced by Alonso de Berruguete" (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*··· 1962, I).

The importanceacquired by memory as a filter in the perception of reality is complemented by two other essential notes: ambiguity and mystery. We must bear in mind that the French painter Odilon Redon, in *Notes to himself*, referred to the sense of mystery as "a question that always is immersed in ambiguity" (Lucie-Smith 75-6). According to the Symbolists, behind the shapes and colors arranged on the painted surface, there is always something more, another field, another order of meaning. The ability to suggest, the ambiguity—there is no codified equivalence between symbol and meaning—the essence of Symbolist art: "Suggestion, that is the dream", said Mallarmé (see Lucie-Smith 55). Thus, behind the images and symbols another reality is locked which must be unraveled, and in order to reveal it, Valle demands the artist "to have perceptions beyond the limit that eyes and ears establish", a route to emotion and truth, qualities inherent to every work of art, as is expressed in "Divagaciones" (*El Mundo*, 11 May, 1908):

> Certainly, it is notnew virtues what the artist of today requires to be personal, but a new gradation, on adding to himself and his work, those two unique and eternal ones: Emotion and Truth.
>
> Since thedistant magnificent dawn of the great Florentine revival, there is no man who has the brilliance of the teachers, in whom something so unique appears that it cannot already be seen in the work of that one divine grandfather who was Sandro Boticelli. Everything, oldest and newest, has been in his brushes, that the only thing that could change was the several proportion in the two virtues of the aesthetic sum, which I would call the two wings whereupon, in time and space, Art flies. (Valle-Inclán, *Obra*···, 1501, II)

For the work of art to be one, Valle lays his stakes on that "archaic and modern charm, which is the essential condition of the work of art aspiring to be beautiful in order to prevail over time". According to the Galician writer, archaic "is nothing but the condition of eternity" (Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán de puño···" 416) or in other words, the reverse "of the fashions that only have the present time of a day. The fashions—he adds—that another fashion buries without ever reaching the prestige of tradition" (Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán de puño···" 416).

Should I want to summarise the series of loose brush-strokes presented hitherto, there would benothing better than the following passage, taken from a lecture entitled "Concepto de la vida y del arte"[23], in which Valle Inclán summarises these ideas, in a manner both synthetic and eloquent:

> It is, then, the aspiration of art to perpetuateforms, to perpetuate rhythms, and to give all things an esoteric sense of eternity and unity. And, thus, every artist has to discipline his spirit with such an austere discipline that all things will reveal to him the ephemeral and the permanent or, at least, durable, that lie therein. In order to achieve that discipline, it is necessary to be trained in evo-

king remembering, because in art, and as regards the work of art, nothing is as it is, but everything is as it is recalled (...). (Dougherty, "Valle en Valencia" 14)[24]

Notes

1. Indeed, the International Conference, "Valle-Inclán y las artes", held at the University of Santiago de Compostela (25 – 28 October 2011) and organized by the Valle-Inclán Chair of this University gathered a large group of specialists who dealt with Valle's relationship with the arts: film, music, dance, visual, performing and graphic arts as thematic fields of said conference. The keys to all these arts-related fields have been deciphered within this conference, with innovative contributions. Congress Proceedings will be published in 2012.
2. Besides the aforementioned monograph on the three years that Valle was Director of the Academy of Rome, see Santos Zas, Mascato and Dominguez, *Valle-Inclán, Director de la Academia de Roma: estudio y documentación*, in *Anuario Valle-Inclán V/ ALEC*, 30.3. 2005.
3. From the late 19th century until the European war of 1914, the literary gatherings in the cafés of Madrid were the gravitational centre of writers, journalists, people of the theatre world, musicians and artists. They all formed part of the so-called new people, the modernists, the rebels, iconoclasts, the Bohemians..., who Valle would skilfully portray in *Luces de bohemia* as fellow adventurers of Max Estrella. The end of the Great War (1918), the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera(1923 – 1930) and the Second Republic(1931 – 1939) mark the transition to maturity and the birth of new artistic currents, which provide those literary cenacles with their own signs of identity, which used to take place in parallel with those of their predecessors. Valle was a regular attendant of the cafes and frequented, -and often presided over – the literary gatherings that enlivened the cultural life of Madrid. For more information, see the monographic number of *Ínsula*, 738, June (2008) and on the social gatherings Valle attended (see Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán y las tertulias…" 13 – 15).
4. See Portal "Cátedra Valle-Inclán" in the Virtual Library Miguel de Cervantes which contains a wide selection of the designs of his works: http://bib. cervantesvirtual. com/portal/catedravalleinclan/. For more information see Joaquín del Valle-Inclán Alsina, *Valle-Inclán y la imprenta*…
5. On the cartoons and pictorial portraits, I would quote the catalogues of two recent exhibitions: *Valle-Inclán debuxado / Valle-Inclán dibujado* (1888 – 1936), Serrano Alonso and De Juan (eds.), and *Retratos de Valle-Inclán* (*Catálogo*…) that are accompanyAied by literary portraits of the writer, made by contemporary writers and intellectuals.
6. It is well known that Valle lost his left arm following a dispute with the journalist Manuel Bueno, held at the Café de la Montaña in 1899. The medical diagnosis indicates that the blow that Manuel Bueno struck him with his walking cane produced the rupture of the bones of the forearm, whose later necrosis determined the amputation (Hormigón, 256 I). This dramatic episode has been the subject of fanciful explanations by the writer himself and his contemporaries. Valle novelised the episode in *Sonata de Invierno* (1905, in which his hero, the Marquis of Bradomin has his arm amputated after being shot in a military skirmish between Carlists and Liberals. On the other hand, in the poem "Rosa del sanatorio," from *La Pipa de Kif* (1919), Valle presents the anesthetic effects of chloroform in poetic terms: "Bajo la sensación del cloroformo / me hace temblar con alarido interno, / la luz de acuario de un jardín moderno/ y el amarillo olor del yodoformo" (Under the sensation of chloroform/ the light of an aquarium of a modern garden/ and the yellow scent of iodoform/ make me tremble with an internal howl) (Valle-Inclán, *Obra...*, 1311 – 1312, II).
7. This essay was published in the book *La pintura vasca* 1909 – 1919. [Bilbao]: Biblioteca de Amigos del País, 1919, 3 – 10 (reproduced, among others, in Serrano Alonso 262 – 66).
8. For more information, see the following papers: Santos Zas ("Valle-Inclán, de puño…" 405 –

50); Mascato Rey ("Valle-Inclán y Anglada Camarasa..." 183 – 96) and Dougherty ("Valle-Inclán y la pintura…" 66 – 87), who analyse the relationship Valle with the painters mentioned.

9. Published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (22/2/1902), Valle extended and clarified the ideas outlined therein for the prologue of the book by Almagro San Martín, *Sombras de vida* (1903). He further rewrote them for the edition of *Corte de amor* (1908): "Brief news about my aesthetics when I wrote this book" (the article can be seen in Valle-Inclán, *Obra*…, 1461, I)

10. A detailed analysis of this turn-of the-century prototype and its legendary and literary antecedents can be found in my "De 'Raquel' a la 'Niña Chole'…" 91 – 107.

11. On the fascination that the character enticed among many different artists, from its first representation by Henry Fuseli (h. 1780 – 1790) to achieving its fullness in symbolism and decadence, see Molíns (17 – 65) and Wollen (89 – 93), in the catalogue of the Salomé exhibition, *Salomé un mito contemporáneo*.

12. Gustave Moreau dedicated more than 120 drawings, watercolours and oils to the figure of Salomé whom he considered "The emblem of that terrible future reserved for pursuing an unnamed ideal, inspired by sensuality and morbid curiosity" (see Molins 23).

13. Among those antecedents the name Lilith, also quoted by Valle is common-place. In Jewish mythology, she is considered Adam's first wife, whose Hebrew legend has its origin in an interpretation of the Genesis. Lilith is represented as a beautiful woman with long curly hair, usually red, and the many variants of the legend are associated with the demonic, rebellion and sexual freedom. In the same vein, it is necessary to recover the name of Delilah, Samson's seducer, who makes him lose the strength that lay in his hair, by cutting it while he slept, with all the erotic connotations that the gesture entails. My own contribution to this list of women would be to add that of Rachel the Jewess, who seduces the King Alfonso VIII, who abandons his royal duties for his lover, according to medieval chronicles, and has a long history in Spanish literature (see Santos Zas, "De 'Raquel' a la 'Niña Chole'… 91 – 107).

14. I have already dealt with this figure in the above-mentioned article ("De 'Raquel' a la 'Niña Chole'…). For more information about the dancer, her relationship with Valle-Inclán and the role he attributes to dancing, see Rosario Mascato, "Valle-Inclán, contemplatêur" 67 – 76.

15. As for the autographic poem "A Tórtola" (see Amor y Vázquez, 11 – 32), which I have transcribed in part, we know of several printed versions with different titles: "Rosa gitana. Poema de las rosas" (*El Imparcial*, 24/6/1918), "Rosa de Oriente. Clave III" (*El Pasajero*, 1920; and *Claves líricas*, 1930), and finally, "Rosa de Zoroastro", *Ciudad*, Madrid, 23/1/1935 (a poem that nothing has to do with the one published under the same title in *Claves líricas*). H23e publishes the same poem, under the title "Rosa gitana. Autógrafo" [1935], dedicating it to José María Castroviejo.

16. For this newspaper Valle wrote ten chronicles, whose titles are: "Exposición de Bellas Artes. La primera palabra" (29, March); the other nine under the generic title "Notas de la Exposición", are subtitled: "Las intrigas" (2, May); "Un pintor" (3, May), "Las tres Esposas" (6, May); "Divagaciones V" (11, May), "Santiago Rusiñol VI" (19, May); "Ricardo Baroja VII" (1, June); "Del retrato VIII" (12, June); "Las hijas del Cid IX" (30, June); and "La clausura X" (4, July). Henceforth quoted as Valle-Inclán, *Obra* . . . , 1494 and ff. See Eliane Lavaud (115 – 128).

17. The new series of 1912 chronicles is formed by: [:] "Divagación" (23, May); "Romero de Torres" (30, May); "Santiago Rusiñol" (6, June); and "Notas de la Exposición" (20, June). In what follows, I will cite as Valle-Inclán, *Obra* . . . , 1557 and ff. See Jean Marie Lavaud (286 – 311).

18. Such is the case of the Cordovan painter, Julio Romero de Torres, to whom he dedicates two chronicles in 1908 and 1912 as well as the catalogue of the Exhibition that he presented in Buenos Aires in 1922 (see Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán, de puño…" 405 – 450; autograph facsimile, 421 – 30).

19. Invoking Valle, Romero de Torres said about Velázquez "the sublime painter gives line, colour and composition a serenity, which reality never has and is so far from it in an ultra-realistic sense as is the Beato Angelico with his wonderful idealism" (see Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán, de puño . . . " 413 and 435).

20. Specifically, *Las siete lámparas de la arquitectura* and *The Modern Painters*. On the other hand, Ruskin, when dealing with Turner's painting, stated: "He did not paint this directly, he retained it, and a long time later, he put it on canvas (Ruskin. *Prerrafaelismo*··· 82 – 83; see Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclán, de puño···" 445 – 46, n. 54).

21. As regards this, it is significant that in 1910 Romero de Torres entitled one of his paintings *Flor de Santidad* in open tribute to the homonymous Valle novel possibly one of the works that best exemplifies the shared background of Pre-Raphaelitism in their respective works.

22. "Iluminismo" or "luminismo" is defined as a way of approaching reality starting from the fascination about the fullness of light. Its main representative is Joaquín Sorolla (1863 – 1923), whose palette is characterised, in his major stage (1900 – 1911), by strong light contrasts, in an effort to capture movement and drawing to barely recognisable limits, an effort which he applies to themes related to customs. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasise that Valle does not reject pictorial impressionism, but rather the assimilation of the French school that some Spanish painters such as Sorolla carried out (see Santos Zas, "Valle-Inclan, de puño. . . " 443 and the bibliography cited therein).

23. See *El Mercantil Valenciano*, 31/5/1911.

24. This study is part of the Research Project: "La obra y el legado manuscrito de Valle-Inclán", subsidised by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación and FEDER funds (FFI2011 – 24 130). The Spanish text was translated by Karen J. Duncan Barlow (Universidad de Vigo).

Works Cited

Alberca, Manuel & Joaquín del Valle-Inclán. "Valle-Inclán, un profesor especial". *Clarín. Revista de nueva literatura*, 87. XV, may-june (2010): 6 – 11.

Amor y Vázquez, José. "Valle-Inclán y las musas. Terpsícore". *Homenaje a Willliam Fichter*. Madrid: Castalia, 1971.

Baroja, Ricardo. *Gente del* 98. *Arte, cine y ametralladora*. Ed. Pío Caro Baroja, Madrid: Cátedra, 1989.

Catálogo dela Exposición: Retratos de Valle-Inclán. Pontevedra: Museo de Pontevedra, 2011.

Dougherty, Dru. *Un Valle-Inclán olvidado: entrevistas y conferencias*. Madrid: Espiral /Fundamentos, 1983.

---. "Valle-Inclán en Valencia (1911)". *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 523 (1994): 7 – 18.

---. "Valle-Inclán y la pintura: la exposición de Juan de Echevarría (Madrid y Bilbao, 1923)". *Boletín de la Fundación Federico García Lorca*, june (1995): 65 – 73.

Garat, Aurelia. "Valle-Inclán en la Argentina. Apéndice documental". *Ramón Ma del Valle-Inclán.* 1866-1966 (*Estudios reunidos en conmemoración del Centenario*). La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1967, 89 – 111.

Gómez dela Serna, Ramón. *Don Ramón María del Valle-Inclán*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, Austral, 427, 1979(5th ed).

Hormigón, Juan Antonio. *Valle-Inclán. Biografía cronológica y epistolario*. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Asociación de Directores de España, 2006 – 2007(3 vols).

Insula: "Encendíamos palabras. Las tertulias literarias". Coord. Laureano Bonet, 738, June (2008).

Lavaud, Eliane. "Valle-Inclán y la Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes". *Papeles de Son Armadans*, CCXLII (1976): 115 – 28.

Lavaud, Jean Marie. "Une collaboration de Valle-Inclán au journal *Nuevo Mundo* et l´Exposition de

1912". *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXI. 1 – 2, january-june (1969): 286 – 311.

Litvak, Lily. *Imágenes y texto. Estudios sobre literatura y pintura* 1849 – 1936. Amsterdam-Atlanta: GA, 1998.

Lloréns, Eva. *Valle-Inclán y la plástica*. Madrid: Ínsula, 1975.

Lucie-Smith, E. *El arte simbolista*. Barcelona: Destino, 1991.

Mascato Rey, Rosario. "Valle-Inclán y Anglada Camarasa: una conferencia de1916". *ALEC/ Anuario Valle-Inclán I*, 26.3 (2001): 183 – 97.

Mascato Rey, Rosario. "Valle-Inclán, contemplatêur". *Moenia. Revista Lucense de Lingüística y Literatura*, 12 (2007): 67 – 76.

Molíns, Patricia. "Salomé. Un mito contemporáneo". In*Catálogo de la Exposición: Salomé. Un mito contemporáneo*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura-Comunidad de Madrid, 1995, 17 – 65.

Montiel Rayo, Francisco, "Valle-Inclán 'Inquilino de las nubes': cuatro cartas inéditas a Marcelino Domingo". Aznar Soler & Sánchez Colomer (eds.) *Valle-Inclán en el siglo XXI* (*Actas del II Congreso Internacional*, 20 – 22 *de noviembre de* 2002. *Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona*). Sada-A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro, 2004, 291 – 313.

Moya del Pino, José. "Valle-Inclán y los artistas". *La Pluma* (Madrid), IV.32 (1923): 63 – 65 (collected in *Catálogo general. Valle-Inclán y su tiempo, hoy*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986, 21 – 2).

Ruskin, John. *Prerrafaelismo. Conferencias sobre arquitectura y pintura*. Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1915.

Salaün, Serge. "Valle-Inclán y la pintura",*Hecho Teatral*, 1 (2001): 115 – 135.

Santos Zas, Margarita. "De 'Raquel' a la 'Niña Chole': historia de un prototipo femenino". Mianda Ciova & Anca Crivât (eds.). *Estudios Hispánicos. II. Literatura* (*Actas del Congreso "Los estudios Hispánicos en Rumanía: 50 años de vida unviersitaria"* (26 – 28 *de abril*, 2007). Bucuresti: Editura Universitatii din Bucuresti, 2008, 91 – 107.

---. "Valle-Inclán, de puño y letra: notas a una exposición de Romero de Torres". *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea*, 23. 1 – 2 (1998): 405 – 50.

--- . "Valle-Inclán y las tertulias: el Nuevo Café de Levante". *Insula*, 738, june (2008): 13 – 15.

Santos Zas, Margarita*et al.* (Francisca Martínez, Carmen Vílchez, Catalina Míguez, Cristina Villarmea, Sandra Domínguez & Rosario Mascato). *Todo Valle-Inclán en Roma: edición, anotación, índices y facsímiles*. Santiago: Universidad de Santiago, Biblioteca de la Cátedra Valle-Inclán / Diputación de Pontevedra, 2010.

Serrano Alonso, Javier(ed.). Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Artículos completos y otras páginas olvidadas*. Madrid: Istmo, 1987.

Serrano Alonso, Javier & Amparo de Juan Bolufer (eds.). *Valle-Inclán debuxado / Valle-Inclán dibujado*. Lugo: Concello de Lugo-Cátedra Valle-Inclán da Universidade de Santiago, 2008.

Tudela, Mariano. *Valle-Inclán. Vida y milagros*. Santiago: Imp. Tórculo, 2006 (1th ed. 1972).

Valle-Inclán Alsina, Joaquín. *Valle-Inclán y la imprenta* [*Una Introducción*]. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2006.

Valle-Inclán Alsina, Joaquín & Javier. *Valle-Inclán, Entrevistas, conferencias y cartas*. Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1994.

Valle-Inclán, Ramón del. *Obra Completa*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. Vol. I: *Teatro. Poesía. Varia*; vol. II: *Prosa*, 2002.

Veiga Grandal, Pilar. "Las ilustraciones de*Voces de Gesta*". *Anuario Valle-Inclán* II / ALEC, 27.3 (2002): 183 – 212.

Zueras Torréns, F. *Julio Romero de Torres y su mundo.* Córdoba: Caja de Ahorros-Monte de Piedad, 1987.

责任编辑　刘富丽

Civilization and Barbarism: *Tirano Banderas*' Legacy

Antonio Francisco Pedrós-Gascón
Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures, Colorado State University, USA
C124 Clark, 1774 Campus Delivery, Fort Collins, CO 80523 - 1774
Email: Antonio. Pedros-Gascon@ colostate. edu

Abstract In 1926, five years after his second visit to Mexico, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán published *Tirano Banderas*, one of the most important Spanish-language novels of the twentieth century. This article analyses the way in which Valle-Inclán absorbed the dictates of the Mexican post-revolutionary muralist school, integrated by figures like José Vasconcelos and Diego Rivera. It is the thesis of this article that Valle-Inclán conferred a pro-traditionalist twist in his adoption of some of the ruling ideologemes of this school, which sharply depart from Vasconcelo's *mestizo* theories. Familiar with the Latin American identity battleground established by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in *Facundo* — civilization versus barbarism —, Valle-Inclán rewrote the identifications set by the Argentinian, following instead a pro-Hispanic and traditionalist set of references based on the selective adoption of master-narratives of the nineteenth-century Spanish historiography — both liberal and traditionalist. The result of this rewriting creates a social paradigm in the novel that mimics the identity visions of traditional historiography — with a clear separation of Jews, Moors and Christians — which is applied to present Mexico. The racial visions brought with this shift drain or neutralize the *mestizo* ideologemes, favoring a traditionalist stance loosely identifiable with pre-Columbian forms of governance on both sides of the Atlantic.
Key words Valle-Inclán; transatlantic studies; Spanish historiographical and literary revisionism; Hispanic identities; Baroque literature

> *Ningún otro escritor Español, salvo los que pasaron allí el exilio a partir de* 1939, *ha incorporado lo americano con tanta intensidad a su pensamiento ni ha vivido el mundo de la lengua castellana, de la cultura latina, con tan sentida unidad.* (Casado 63)
> [No other Spanish writer, except for those who lived exiled there after 1939, has incorporated with such intensity that which is American to his thinking, nor has lived the world of Spanish language, of Latin culture, in such heartfelt unity. (personal translation)]

> *Debemos de sumar al castellano todos los modos de hablar el Español. En Méjico está la esencia más pura de España. Debemos ser todos unos. Todos una lengua.* (Valle-Inclán, qtd. in Hormigón vol. 2.2 610)

> [We must add to Castilian all the ways of speaking the Spanish language. In-Mexico lays the purest essence of Spain. We must all be one. All one language. (personal translation)]

In 1890, shortly after his father's death, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán abandoned his law studies — which he had pursued at his father's request — at theUniversity of Santiago de Compostela, in his native Galicia. At age 26 the young author felt the call for adventure and went to Mexico to pursue his destiny. He arrived in Veracruz, the city founded by Hernán Cortés, on April 8, 1892. His romantic visions of the continent had been molded by the colonial fantasies sparked by the old metropolis, in tune with his anachronistic traditionalism. Once in Mexico Valle-Inclán fancied himself a conqueror (qtd. in Martínez Saura 272). He also aimed to recover the lost grandeur of his lineage, as he explained in 1903 in a *faux* autobiography where he presented himself as his own *Sonatas*' character, the Marquis of Bradomín (Valle-Inclán, "Juventud"). Upon his arrival he immediately felt sympathy for the pro-Western rule of General Porfirio Díaz (Alberca and González 61), who he praised — in an interview published January 1, 1915 — comparing his stature in history to that of Pope Leo XIII or Julius Caesar (López Núñez 132).

It was inMexico where Valle-Inclán declares he was born to literature (qtd. in Schneider 157), in a very literary way too… It is very well known that — during his stay there — Valle-Inclán requested a duel to repair the affront that the Spanish colony had received, in a letter to the editor of *El Tiempo*, where he was working. The anonymous letter signed by "Óscar" — published May 12, 1892 —, accused the Spanish colony of committing usury and abuses of power. To the young Valle-Inclán, Spain and Europe represented civilization versus the atavist barbarism that the Amerindian past posed. [1]

In due time, Valle-Inclán will reformulate the above-mentioned perspective in*Tirano Banderas. Novela de Tierra Caliente* (1926), with a sharp difference. [2] This article will analyze how the writer develops in this particular novel the ideologeme of civilization versus barbarism. It is relevant to note to this purpose that Valle-Inclán's review is partially informed by Mexican muralism — especially by his personal relationship with Diego Rivera, whose life and figure intertwined on many occasions with that of the Spanish novelist. This article will demonstrate that Valle-Inclán's substantially appropriates common ideologemes to those of Rivera's work, to confer in them a pro-traditionalist meaning which counteracts the Mexican revolutionary agenda. This appropriation favors a messianic neo-feudal vision, a regenerative program pro-Hispanic in nature. [3] It will also be discussed that in order to achieve this goal, the author will approach existing tensions in the Mexican society with the tools of Spanish national historiography. Valle-Inclán's ultimate purpose is to analyze Mexico's present from an ethnic and racial perspective, establishing a parallel with Medieval Spain.

On January 6, 1907, a promising yet unknown 21-year-old Mexican artist named Diego Rivera arrived inSpain to continue his education as a painter (Rivera *et al* 212). Rivera reached the shores of the old colonial empire at a time when Spain was preparing for the centennial celebration of the so-called War of Independence (1808)

that had put an end to the Napoleonic invasion. During this first European tour that lasted several years, the young Rivera received the first international recognition for his work, presented in 1908 at the Hispano-French Exposition held in Zaragoza. In Madrid, Rivera studied at Eduardo Chicharro's painting academy. While he lived there, Rivera became a frequent visitor of the Museo del Prado, the Café de Pombo (where he met the even younger Ramón Gómez de la Serna, among others), and the Nuevo Café de Levante, where the modernist poet and novelist Ramón María del Valle-Inclán held his *tertulia* or "literary gathering." Paraphrasing Serrano Alonso, Valle-Inclán's was not a *tertulia à la mode*; the attendance was shaped by painters, sculptors, architecture students… and his influence on them was evident, probably unlike that of any other intellectual (Serrano Alonso 28 – 9).

The mixed emotions Rivera underwent in Spain as a foreigner had been felt before by Valle-Inclán in 1892, when he went to Mexico at a young age to earn a living.[4] Valle-Inclán's first visit left a big impression on his writings: the rich language and exotic experiences he had were integrated or re-created in the *Sonata de estío* (*Summer Sonata*, 1904), one of the peak novels of Modernism. Young Rivera soon felt a strong admiration for Valle-Inclán: "'I have the impression,' says Diego, 'that at the time only he [Chaumier], I and a very few others realized the stature of Valle Inclán.'" (Rivera 219). From the older writer Rivera learned many lessons, and not just aesthetic only; for example, a decade after Valle-Inclán's return from Mexico (he was there in 1892 – 93), he started spreading a *faux* story about his heroic military participation in Mexico under the command of Sóstenes Rocha (Fernández Almagro 20); similarly, Diego Rivera later lied about his involvement in the early stages of the Mexican Revolution.[5]

After a short stay inMexico, Rivera decided to return to Paris in 1911, where he resided until 1920. This second stay was extremely precarious due to economic hardship. During his stay in France, when he met Pablo Ruiz Picasso and Amadeo Modigliani, among others, he familiarized himself with the pre-war *avant-garde* movements, Cubism and Post-Impressionism. In 1920, the final year of the Mexican Revolution, and one year before the celebration of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence of Mexico in 1821, Diego traded Paris for Italy. The reasons for his Italian stop had a strong political motivation: "[…] [Rivera went] to Italy to study Renaissance art in the hopes of establishing a philosophy of public art that will be adequate for postrevolutionary Mexico" (Hurlburt 47). The new Mexican post-revolutionary government, established by General Álvaro Obregón, under whose presidency the philosopher, politician and writer José Vasconcelos worked, fostered the creation of a national school of painting: Mexican Muralism. Rivera's visit to Italy was triggered by the need to familiarize himself with the early Renaissance fresco techniques of the *quattrocento* (Downs 17), which he had the chance to apply later in Mexico with an evident ideological aim: to (re)create a Mexicanist tradition that portrayed, in the frescoes, the native and mestizo realities of the Mexican peoples.[6]

The Mexican muralist school reflected the ideologemes of the Revolution, with a set of values antagonistic to Porfirio Díaz's previous Eurocentric views.[7] The model for the rising nation was no longer France — as it was during Díaz's reign — but Mexico

for its Aztec- and Maya-inspired arts, which until then were non-officially backed forms of art. These models were to be the mirror in which the Revolution looked for its own reflection, and provided the self-imagery that was to be broadcasted to the world from then on.

The centennial festivities of the Independence of Mexico were attended by an official delegation of the Spanish government on behalf of Alfonso XIII. It is worth noting that the Spanish administration had not yet recognized the new Mexican government, due to the risk it posed to the economic and real estate interests of the Spaniards living in Mexico. The official representation was shaped by the dignitaries sent from Madrid plus the main figures of the Spanish colony in the country; the unofficial representation was none other than Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, whom President Obregón invited with the assistance of Alfonso Reyes. Valle-Inclán was elevated in these festivities to the rank of Ambassador*in pectore* of the Spanish intellectuals. As Dru Dougherty has pointed out, the ideological connotations of this invitation should not be underestimated (Dougherty, "El Segundo" 193 – 4), since he ended up playing a counter-figure to what the Spanish government represented, acting in some ways as a speaker in favor of Obregón's agrarian policies (Dougherty, *Un Valle* 124), and of revolutionary ideals. Though it may seem paradoxical, Valle-Inclán was able to combine the ideals of Obregón's reform with his earlier Carlism, even with his growing interest for Bolshevism, since all of them were a rejection of Liberalism.[8] Symptomatic of this fact was the display in his house, side by side, of dedicated Obregón and Carlos de Borbón portraits (Valencia 17).

The dissonant voices of the official and un-official legacies were evident from the beginning. While the *gachupines*—a derogatory word for "Spaniard", in Mexico—were asking for monetary compensation for them, Valle-Inclán called for an uprising of the *indio mexicano* against the *encomenderos* (the name given to the Peninsular enslavers in the first stages of the colonial administration in the Americas), recommending that they be killed.[9] Three decades before Valle-Inclán envisioned himself in the role of *conquistador*, legitimizing the results of the conquest and colonial periods, and backing the Spanish Colony "civilizing mandate" in their journals. Conversely, in 1921 he embodied an anti-colonial position for Mexicans. His visions were rooted not in the official figures of the Spanish conquest, but in pro-Indigenous figures like Father De las Casas, whom he identified as bearer of a Spanish ethical tradition in the New World (Dougherty, *Un Valle* 128 – 9). It is pertinent to notice that though Valle-Inclán praised Father De las Casas, he felt sympathy as well for Cortés the conqueror — one of the idealized representatives of the Empire — based on the defense of this ethical mandate.[10] On one occasion Valle-Inclán compared Don Porfirio's leadership with Caesar; in 1921 he found a resemblance between Father De las Casas and present revolutionary leaders like Obregón and Madero but without disowning Cortés.[11] In both comparisons he read these figures through European lens and set of references, a European legitimizing standard.

At the end of the centennial celebrations, Valle-Inclán travelled around Mexico by train with some members of the revolutionary cultural elite, Diego Rivera among

them. [12] The train had been arranged for Valle-Inclán's personal use per Obregón's request. This intellectual's retreat/tour fostered the discussion and development of the new Mexican aesthetic, which also inspired some visits to pre-Columbian archeological sites. Among these revolutionary elites, a new aesthetic blossomed. Both for Valle-Inclán and the revolutionary elites, the future of each culture was to be rooted in their pre-Columbian past. [13] This model of successful cooperation between artists and political leaders of the revolution left a deep imprint on Valle-Inclán, whose anti-liberalism and traditionalism at first brought him closer but later distanced him from, several representative and non-representative forms of government. [14] However, he always remained a traditionalist *avant la lettre*, and the agrarian demands of the Mexican Revolution revived in Valle-Inclán anachronic semi-feudal dreams. [15] The vitality of the Soviet Union, even to some extent the arrival of Mussolini, were seen by Valle-Inclán as the messianic symptoms of a new era, a covenant of political elites, aesthetics and lettered men, like the one he had just experienced in Mexico.

Back in Spain, Valle-Inclán soon started writing one of the most important novels of the twentieth century: *Tirano Banderas* (1926; partially published in installments in 1925). Several critics have already emphasized the watermark in this novel of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo, o civilización y barbarie. Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* (1845 – 51). [16] This text was one of the favorite readings both of Miguel de Unamuno and Valle-Inclán (Montes 286). The ideological battle between civilization and barbarism had a long progeny after Sarmiento's pro-European stand in the Hispanic world, with both defenders and detractors. In *Tirano* Valle-Inclán took a clear pro-Indian stand — not to be confused with pro-Indigenist — attacking the dregs of the Spanish Empire represented in the Spanish colony; unlike Sarmiento, he did not present the natives and the countrymen as barbarians *per se* but as redemptive figures for the Hispanic world. It is evident that Valle-Inclán had a pro-Indian and not a pro-Indigenist stand, due to the weight he conferred to the Spanish language — although not the native ones — presented as a national tie, and given the narrow racial separations that operate in the text.

This pro-Indian/anti-European positioning clearly put Valle-Inclán at odds with the desire of Spanish liberal thinkers to *europeizar* and modernize Spain: for them, like for Sarmiento, Europe equated civilization; but unlike the Spanish liberals, Sarmiento considered the Spanish atavism a cause for current Latin American barbarism. What is worth evaluating more in detail are the consequences that Valle-Inclán's pro-Indian twists bestowed on this discussion, a twist that attests to all the contradictions existing in his political thinking and in that of the era.

Mimicking the identity dialectics of Latin America expressed by Sarmiento in *Facundo*, Spain underwent a rewrite of these concepts in the early twentieth century. The majority of Spanish intellectuals defended the conquest and colonization based on the *imperativo Español* or "Spanish civilizing mandate": the conservatives emphasized the need that existed to proselytize the Catholic faith and teach the Castilian language to the natives; the liberals stressed the necessity to modernize the undeveloped native cultures and economies. In both cases the Spanish intellectuals saw themselves as Europeans, at the center. To the affront of the Spanish, the postcolonial thinkers of Lat-

in America identified Spain with barbarism and anti-modernity, as non-Europeans.

To the astonishment of the pro-European philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, Miguel de Unamuno pointed to the African and Celt-Iberian substrata as important elements of the modern Spanish *castizo* identity.[17] Valle-Inclán, like Unamuno, also conceived of Spain and the Hispanic world as an "other" of the European civilization — a well-established trend in European Romanticism. However, Valle-Inclán absolutely despised the African and *levantino* or "easterly" substratum[18], and blamed all the problems of the present on that past, just like Sarmiento loathed the Spanish substratum in the Southern Cone:

> Apart from these considerations, the speech [of Valle-Inclán] presented an apparent novelty: the root of his support for Obregón's regime, Don Ramón left aside the concept of social revolution and established a link between Madrid and Mexico via Christianity and other features of the Latin Culture, transmitted by Spain to the New World: "As Greece inherited the Egyptian civilization, and Rome the Hellenic, Spain rose with the Latin civilization and erected cities, and dictated laws, and spread its language in America··· The official Spain does not want to relinquish its obscure African spirit, and contributes to the destruction of this highly Christian national entity of three centuries". To return to this civilizing tradition would be, in the end, to recuperate the historic mission of Spain in America. Moreover, it would place the official politics in harmony with its national will, which did not establish any separation between what was revolutionary and what was Christian.[19] (Dougherty, "El Segundo" 202; square brackets in the original; personal translation)

The logic performed in Valle-Inclán's rewrite of civilization and barbarism can be easily understood when we take into account his favor fortraditionalism and the old forms of production (Santos Zas 356). He envisioned a social and political return to a medieval Arcadia, loosely identifiable with the feudal peninsular kingdoms, which ideally portrayed the Spanish identity.[20] In his view, that Arcadia was put to an end by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Catholic Monarchs (Dougherty, *Valle-Inclán* 33). In Valle-Inclán's idealized vision of the past, the Empire's greed for gold and material riches can be identified with the entrance of (what later would be) Protestant Europe into the national politics. This entrance was certified via the wedding of Juana, the daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, with Philip of Hapsburg, a European (Dutch) and hence a foreigner. By holding this vision Valle-Inclán coincided with the established trends of Spanish liberal historiography, as Inman Fox explains eloquently in *La invención de España* (51). Valle-Inclán also departed from this model, as will be explained later.

Emperor Charles V, the son of Juana and Philip, survived and won the feudal Revolt of the Communards (1520 – 1522), which literally marks the end of feudalism. Valle-Inclán, in *Tirano*, praises Father De las Casas—a coetaneous figure to Charles V—, and his Humanism is read more as an extension of the Medieval Scholasticism than as a result of the Renaissance Anthropocentrism. Valle-Inclán's de-

fense of De las Casas is more than an attack of the colonial system of the Empire; it is in tune with the Mexican revolutionary politics as well as with liberal historiography in Spain. As Bretz notes: "Condemnations of Charles I and Philip II recur frequently in writers of the [Modernist] period and the repudiation of Hapsburgs monarchy typically combines with calls for religious and racial tolerance, abolition of the patriarchy, and aperture to the outside" (Bretz 165). Valle-Inclán's condemnation, nevertheless, seems to depart from these parameters: his defense of the *conquistador* implies a yearning for the arrival of an idyllic neo-feudal concord, parallel to that he understands existed before the Catholic Monarchs, and it is anything but clear whether he advocates for racial and religious tolerance.

A vast majority of the critical production written about *Tirano* assumes that Valle-Inclán takes a postcolonial stance as the default ideology of the novel, disregarding or not noticing the problem posed by his defense of Cortés. Those supporting this stance find in *Tirano* a redeeming work that "saves" Valle-Inclán from his previous traditionalist positions; that approach may be an over-simplification of Valle-Inclán's complex historical thought. As Souto Alabarce explains, though with a very different reading:

> It has been said that *Tirano Banderas* is antipatriotic because it scorns the Spaniards in America, but that is a very narrow and prudish sense of patriotism. When Valle-Inclán criticizes the bad *gachupín* in America, he is criticizing the bad Spaniard in Spain.[21] (xix; personal translation)

The question that needs to be answered is: what is it that makes them "bad"? Is that a circumstantial, a willful or an innate tendency? To answer this question it is necessary to take into consideration the social divisions operating in *Tierra Caliente*. In an interview with Gregorio Martínez Sierra — published December 19, 1928 —, Valle-Inclán declared:

> In *Tirano Banderas* there is, in addition, the literary will to add to the *castizo* Spanish the vocabulary created in Latin America. It is evident that, in order to achieve this, I needed to invent a Republic with an imagined geography. For the plot, I thought about an America made up by the aboriginal Indian, the creole and the foreigner. The Indian, who is either the president or on most occasions the pariah, I developed as three figures: Generalito Banderas; the pariah that suffers the terrible punishment of whipping; and the Indian whose wife was arrested and from the revolutionary group, Zacarías the Crusader.
>
> The creole, in a parallel way, I developed in three kinds: the eloquent Dr. Sánchez Ocaña; the guerrilla fighter Filomeno Cuevas and the creole filled with religious fervor that echoes that of Assisi, that is Roque de Cepeda.
>
> The foreigner, I also developed as three types: the Spanish Minister; the rich Don Celes and the pawnshop owner Señor Peredita.[22] (Martínez Sierra 395; personal translation)

It is obvious that this ethnic division is too simplistic since it lacks a major group present in the Latin American republics: the *mestizo*. The author mostly presents a two-dimensional scheme: Indians — the "real" Americans — and Europeans, being possible to divide the last category between *criollos* or "creoles" (the good Europeans called to liberate the Indian race[23]) and *peninsulares* (the worst kind). Indeed, in the few occasions when the word *mestizo* or relative words appear in the book, they tend to be presented in a negative fashion.[24] Contrary to that, one of the positive attributes used to describe Zacarías the Cruzader is imported from the Spanish historiography; in this case the virtue of this Indian is equated with that of "real" Spaniards: *estoico*, or "stoic" (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 174), a word associated with virtue and purity. In sharp contrast with that, one of the derogatory words he uses to describe Don Quintín—probably the worst characters in the novel—is *ladino* (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 135), a synonymous word used in Central America for *mestizo*.

It is symptomatic of his traditionalism and colonialist vision how Valle-Inclán saw the whole continent as a racial unity, disregarding the existing differences between the myriad of populations existing in the Americas. Valle-Inclán, with a clear colonialist gaze that unifies the other, considers Latin America a racial unity, an "other", as stated in an article published May 21, 1930: "Mexico does not resemble any of the other American republics; his race is made of oak, it is the race of the Incas" (Valle-Inclán, qtd. in Hormigón vol. 2.2 512; personal translation).[25]

The tripartite scheme — actually bipartite, the "norm" versus the "other" — recalls that of the Spanish traditionalist historiography, which projected a clear separation between Christians (the "real" Spanish), versus Jews and Muslims (the "others" or foreigners). Subsequently, Valle-Inclán does not seem to subscribe an integrated mixed vision*à la* Américo Castro, as his letter to Alfonso Reyes dated December 20, 1923 demonstrates:

> The *gachupines* possess seventy percent of the territory: —they are the essence of the Iberian barbarism—the land at the hands of those foreigners is the most noxious form of possession. A thousand times worse than at the hands of dead people. Our Mexico, to finish with the revolutions, must divide the property of the land, and the *encomendero*.
>
> [···] The revolution for independence cannot be reduced to a change of viceroys, but to the cultural overcoming of the Indian race, the completion of their rights, and the expulsion of Jewish and Moorish *gachupines*. Better it would be, surely, to slit their throats.[26] (Valle-Inclán, qtd. in Hormigón vol. 3 312 – 3; personal translation)

In *Tirano* the *gachupines* are foreigners to the Mexican land as Jews and Moors are to traditionalist historiography in Spain, and he proposed the same solution that the Catholic Monarchs reached four centuries earlier: expulsion.[27] In the novel the *peninsulares* are greedy outsiders (a frequent accusation against the Jews in Spain) or effeminate sodomites (an accusation against Moors and other Orientals, or *levantinos*). Thus, Don Quintín and the Spanish colony are usurers, and the Spanish Ambassador

Don Mariano Isabel Cristino and Currito—the bullfighter-like Andalusian—have homosexual intercourse. In addition, the Ambassador receives the Spanish colony reclined like an Arab odalisque, wearing silk gowns, with makeup on his face (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 30 – 31). Like the Jewish population in Spain was often viewed, the Spanish colony in *Tirano* does not mix with the natives; they have their own journals, their own casinos and associations, marry within their own group, etcetera. They are *faux* Spaniards, they do not represent the "ethical tradition" of Spain in the Americas, just like *conversos* were fake Christians to the Inquisition. Bělĭc appropriately indicates how in *Tirano*: "Symmetry, in my opinion, has the special mission to underline, by confronting and strikingly opposing, the contrasts"[28] (23; personal translation). The contrast shows how the Spaniards of Mexico lack some kind of purity of blood/ethics: they can pass for "real" Spanish people—they shape the "official" Spain in the country—but they do not share the values of "real" Spain, the medieval Spain.[29]

Well known is the letter dated November 14, 1923 that Valle-Inclán sent to Alfonso Reyes. In this correspondence the Spanish writer describes his work-in-progress *Tirano Banderas* as a synthesis — of Latin American cultures, regions, ages, people, language, and etcetera. The word he uses to designate the process, synthesis, is worthy of thought because of the etymological implications it carries. A synthesis is the byproduct of mixing (at least) two separate components which produce a different outcome, a processed outcome.[30] Very different from the Mexican muralist school, that presented Mexico as a synthesis of the two races producing a mestizo one — as Vasconcelos theorized in *La raza cósmica* (1925)[31] —, in *Tirano* Valle-Inclán portrayed a racially segregated scheme. Against the false Spain portrayed by the colony, Valle-Inclán opposes the Arcadia of Spanish traditional historiography with the twist that it is not a Catholic, but a Christian Arcadia. The anti-Catholic stance of Don Roque in the novel (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 60), on the other hand, is a direct transposition of Vasconcelos' political views.

The undesirability of racial mixing between the American race and this *marrano* colony — *marrano* or 'pig' is the name given in the Golden Age to the fake *converso* Jews — does not mean that there can be no transculturation, although it is clear that it must not be accomplished by the mixing of races. This racial segregation can only be overcome via Christianity, understood as a way to transcend national frontiers; he also expressed this idea in 1922 in "El deber Cristiano de España en América" (Valle-Inclán, *Entrevistas* 227 – 8), right after his return from Mexico. He sees a redemptive project in common for the Hispanic world between the Indians and the best of the creoles through language and its attached culture, more than race. In the messianic scheme of Valle-Inclán, the synthesis that he seems to endorse for the Hispanic world is not the racial mixing of the "real" Americans with the "real" Spain but a linguistic and religious synthesis. His solution is the adoption and acceptance of the language and the religion of the conqueror by the conquered.[32]

Valle-Inclán's concept of synthesis is also linked with pictorial aesthetics, as the self-comparison of his technique in*Tirano* with El Greco's use of space denotes.[33] The synthesis of time and space produces an uchronic kaleidoscope that allows for the co-

appearance of multiple sides of reality and time altogether, similar to cubist techniques. Yet the most important synthesis at play in the novel is that which is operated on the language through its baroque stylistics. It is this linguistic synthesis that had a wider progeny in the twentieth century in the Hispanic *lettres*: Carpentier, Lezama Lima, Sarduy, Paz, Fuentes, and etcetera. All these Latin American thinkers and novelists spoke about or made use of the baroque in order to instill a concept of Latin American community.

One of the biggest innovations of *Tirano* is how Valle-Inclán rewrites the topic of civilization versus barbarism following a strictly peninsular set of references and values. To Sarmiento's Eurocentric cluster he opposes the idealized Latin cultures, led by Spain's Christianism and traditionalism, making use of baroque stylistics, cubism and the muralist aesthetics learned from Rivera. It is sure that Valle-Inclán's synthetic use of baroque language bridges both sides of the Atlantic, and therefore he pictures an *esprit* of Hispanic unity that modifies both sides, as Dougherty rightly notes (Dougherty, *Palimpsestos* 188). Although that reading is always sustainable and positive, a problem continues to be posed; the tenets underneath it can be very easily reinscribed from the old metropolis and appropriated as a pro-colonial stance, as Arraco 's comments on Valle-Inclán probe, as early as 1947:

> Cervantes did not need to leave Spain to see the grandeur of his country; but Valle-Inclán, locked in the Iberian [bullfighting] ring, narrow, miniscule, breaks the barriers, gallantly jumps, and unable to pull down the helmet or to wear the lance, brandishes the pen, with a steady hand and calm reason, to become the first soldier of this army that is only moved by the strategy of pure hearts, and whose aim is to reconquer America through the spirit of one same language.[34] (Arraco 141; personal translation)

The celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Valle-Inclán's death and decades since these ideologemes were put into circulation, it is time to consider how much of an exogenous/colonialist impulse may lie underneath the pro-baroque fervor on a part of the Spanish and Latin American Academies of the last decades. In this sense the case of *Tirano* may be paradigmatic: it has been interpreted as a novel that gives voice to the drama of the native populations through the synthetic use of a baroque language; but as it has been argued in this article, the voicing of the oppressed comes paradoxically hand in hand with a pro-traditionalist rewriting of the oppressors' history.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to Nina Bruni, University of the West Indies; Sheri Anderson, Georgetown University, and Soraya Rozkuszka, for their assistance at correcting this text.

Notes

1. "He aquí dos tropos fundamentales del discurso colonialista Español de 1926: jerarquías raciales, civilización y barbarie. De la Madre Patria parte la civilización que se imparte con látigo sobre las espaldas del indio《naturalmente ruin》. Patriotismo, racismo y misión civilizadora se entretejen en este diálogo que llama la atención sobre ciertas actitudes que sostienen la tradición colonial de España en América." (Dougherty, *Palimpsestos* 184)
2. "Si comparamos los resultados literarios más relevantes que se derivan de cada viaje, el contraste no es menor. Para decirlo de una manera indirecta: la distancia que hay entre la lujuriante niña Chole y el humilde y digno indio Zacarías el Cruzado, y entre el decadente mundo galante de la *Sonata de estío* y la caída de la sórdida tiranía en los umbrales revolucionarios de la novela *Tirano Banderas* es la medida evidente de este cambio." (Alberca and González 190)
3. "Así pues, tanto el aristocratismo como el tradicionalismo no son factores estrictamente formalistas; el culto a la tradición —como bien señala Gómez Marín— es megalomanía, pero también encierra un sentido regeneracionista —es pasión regeneradora—, en cuanto guarda un modelo de vida que aspira a recuperar y, sobre todo, se opone a otro considerado corrupción y degeneración del primero. [⋯/...] Este rechazo le conduce a refugiarse en un pasado idealizado, pervivencia de glorias pretéritas, 'la 'otra España' —más que posible, definitivamente imposible— representada por el retablo medieval y caballeresco del carlismo' [Seco Serrano 205], que se opone a la mediocridad del presente." (Santos Zas 349, 357)
4. "One of the principal reasons for his [Rivera's] feeling of foreignness was thedifference in language. To hear the language in which he had thought he expressed himself and to realize the strangeness of the Spanish of Mexico was something that isolated him more than if had heard Chinese being spoken around him. In the peninsula, the Spanish of a Mexican seems slow, sweet, and high-pitched, with many colloquial nouns and adjectives, precisely the most Mexican ones, which are as foreign to the Spaniards as Chine: no one understands them. [/] He suddenly understood the linguistic drama of Mexico." (Loló de la Torriente, in Rivera *et al* 214)
5. "At the Café de Pombo, a hang-out for the Spanish *avant-garde*, Diego spent time with the two Ramóns and María Blanchard. Ramón number one was Ramón Gómez de la Serna, a critic and soon-to-be Dada poet. Ramón number two was Ramón del Valle-Inclán, a Spanish novelist who had lost his left arm to the swing of a cane in a brutal café brawl. He was a grand storyteller, and Diego thoroughly absorbed his enthralling gift of prevarication, adding touches to expand his own myth-making machine. [⋯/...] Having the documented evidence of Rivera's movement and associations during this 1910 to 1911 period, the self-portrait he painted of the 'revolutionary' and 'patriot' Diego Rivera years later during this explosive time in Mexico's history makes for wonderful fiction. In later years when he had once again become the artistic symbol of Mexico and needed to show his street credentials to the latest regime, his part in the Mexican Revolution between 1911 and 1920 became a lusty tale of adventure." (Souter 37, 59)
6. "The invitation from Pani and Vasconcelos was confirmed a few months later and Diego embarked on June 10, 1921. By June 21 he was already giving interviews in Mexico City. Did Rivera intend to create an especially Mexican style, a goal on the minds of many Mexican artists and intellectuals of the time? There has been much speculation on this subject. The received view is that the predominantly *Byzantine* style of his first murals proves the contrary, given the contrast with the overtly Mexican style of his Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública/SEP) work. But Rivera was already thinking of a mixed style in which *lo mexicano* would have a place. An anonymous interview offers evidence on this point. 'Why have you returned to Mexico?' asked the reporter: 'My motive for coming back was something more than the nostalgia for Mexico I've felt in Paris, Madrid and Rome, indeed, wherever I went. I want to study popular art and the ruins of our amazing past in order to clarify certain notions of art, certain projects I have; if I can realize them,

they will undoubtedly give a broad new sense to my work.' The reporter further asked: 'So, do you think that popular art — which is insufficiently appreciated here in Mexico — has within it a well-spring of beauty that can be put to use?' Rivera replied: 'Precisely. What the European artists are so ardently seeking is abundantly present here, above all in Mexican art'." (Lozano and Coronel Rivera 11)

7. "El ministro de educación [Vasconcelos] había comenzado a propagar su ideología mexicana y sus ideales humanistas por medio de un programa de pinturas murales que confió a los artistas interesados en el tema. Además estaba firmemente decidido a utilizar la amplia reforma cultural, iniciada por él, para apoyar la igualdad social y racial de la población india, proclamada en la Revolución, y a favorecer la integración cultural y la recuperación de una cultura mexicana propia, después de siglos de opresión católica-hispánica. La pintura de murales, provista ahora de una fundación educativa, era un pilar fundamental de su política cultural, con la que quería hacer patente la ruptura con el pasado sin interrumpir la tradición y sobre todo el rechazo a la época colonial y a la cultura europeizada del siglo XIX." (Kettenmann 22)

8. "En suma: como resultado del repudio de la realidad entorno, Valle busca un modelo social que opone idealmente al histórico en el que él mismo se mueve. Y ese modelo se aproxima significativamente al que el carlismo ofrece en su doctrina como alternativa al liberal-burgués vigente, ya que el carlismo —conviene subrayarlo— es un movimiento esencialmente contrarrevolucionario, es decir, nace como reacción a la revolución liberal burguesa." (Santos Zas 357)

9. "Valle-Inclán [at the International Congress of Students] toma una de las banderitas mexicanas de papel que adornaban la mesa y escribe: 《Indio mexicano / mano en la mano, / mi verdad te digo: / lo primero, matar al encomendero, / y después segar el trigo.》" (Hormigón vol. 2.1 122)

10. "Con esto España no hará más que seguir la tradición nacional iniciada en el siglo XVI por el padre Las Casas. Y Hernán Cortés en su testamento dispuso que le enterraran en el Hospital de Jesús, que él había fundado para asilo de indios desvalidos. El conquistador quería ser enterrado en el seno popular y no en el panteón de la catedral, entre encomenderos y prelados. Este es el ejemplo que debemos seguir." (Valle-Inclán, qtd. in Díaz Migoyo 211)

11. In that sense, this rejection to disown Cortés separates *Tirano* from the trend that Bretz finds in Modernist writings: "However, the indeterminacy of the future does not efface a clear repudiation of major aspects of the past." (Bretz 92)

12. "Sale hacia Jalisco en ferrocarril, en un tren especial formado por una locomotora, un vagón dormitorio y un vagón comedor. Viajan junto a Valle-Inclán, Daniel Cosío Villegas (1898 – 1976), Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Diego Rivero, Gerardo Murillo (el Dr. Atl) (1875 – 1964), Julio Torri (1889 – 1970), la soprano Carmen García Cornejo, Roberto Montenegro, Carlos Pellicer y los estudiantes argentinos Arnaldo Orfila y Ripaveldi." (Hormigón vol. 2.1 13)

13. As Alberca and González noted: "Valle continuará su lucha contra la sociedad moderna, proponiendo un futuro revolucionario que era para él en realidad la vuelta a un primitivos arcaico y, por tanto, utópico. Pero en estas obras citadas, asumió el desafío estético y político de recuperar una sociedad periclitada con la aspiración ilusoria, pero noble y sincera, de hacerla otra vez posible." (132). This idealization of the past is evident in *Tirano*, where sentences like the following can be read: "— Las antiguas colonias Españolas, para volver a la ruta de su destino histórico, habrún de escuchar las voces de las civilizaciones originarias de América." (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 60)

14. "Con los portavoces de la derecha, compartía el escritor gallego el deseo de recobrar la 《esencia》 de España (una esencia ahistórica, claro está, de signo espiritual) y la visión de un 《dictador》 que fuera instrumento de la dignificación del país. A los revolucionarios de izquierdas le aproximaba su desprecio por la burguesía así como el espíritu populista y el afún justiciero que laten en sus obras literarias. Y con los anarquistas coincidía don Ramón al ensalzar la libertad individual y al asignar un fin espiritual a la revolución. Los puntos de contacto eran numerosos, en fin, creando la impresión de una variedad de tendencias que la mayoría ha dado en calificar de 《incoherente》 o

《contradictoria》." (Dougherty, *Valle-Inclán* 57 – 58)

15. "Frente al mundo elitista en el que se mueve Ortega, que abraza con entusiasmo los cambios traídos por la sociedad capitalista, que anhela la llegada de una sociedad democrática dirigida por una minoría selecta y que incluso recibe con brazos abiertos la dictadura de Primo de Rivera, Valle se muestra partidario de una sociedad tradicional, se solidariza con el estamento que progresivamente es desposeído de su honra y sus privilegios por una sociedad burguesa cada vez más afianzada y manifiesta su oposición a la dictadura, llegando a convertirse incluso en un símbolo antidictatorial (Entrambasaguas 383). Ortega, como puntualiza Predmore, defiende una tradición liberal cuya misión es forjar una nueva España democrática, mientras que Valle no comparte ese espíritu democrático." (Tasende 154 – 5)

16. See for example Dougherty "Sarmiento" and Orbe to have two antithetic perspectives.

17. "En España, aún más que en América, se adoptaron desde el siglo XVIII las influencia extranjeras — francesas, inglesas, alemanas —, se reaccionó contra la tradición Española, y se abogó por la europeización por reformadores, progresistas, krausistas, institucionistas, modernistas, etc., desde Feijóo hasta Ortega y Gasset, al mismo tiempo que se afirmaba el indigenismo ibérico por los mejores europeizantes, como don Joaquín Costa, al buscar la construcción de su nueva política salvadora en la organización política, civil y religiosa de los celtíberos, o don Miguel de Unamuno, al afirmar como un desafío a Europa el africanismo de España." (Onís 14)

18. "Las notas anteriores dan razones suficientes para entender una concepción tripartita de las Españas: la nórdica, la meseteña y la 'levantina' — expresión, esta última, de cierta elasticidad, puesto que incluye todos los modos 'meridionales' Españoles —, es decir, Castilla la Nueva — Madrid incluido — y Andalucía." (Díaz-Plaja 78)

19. "Aparte de estas consideraciones, la conferencia presentó una aparente novedad: como base de su apoyo al régimen de Obregón, don Ramón dejó a un lado el concepto de la revolución social y estableció un enlace entre Madrid y México por medio del cristianismo y otros rasgos de la cultura latina transmitidos por España al Nuevo Mundo: 'Como Grecia fue heredera de la civilización egipcia y Roma de la helénica, alzóse España con la civilización latina y erigió ciudades y dictó leyes y difundió su idioma por América… La España oficial no quiere desposeerse de su oscuro espíritu africano, y contribuye a destruir [esta] obra nacional altamente cristiana de tres siglos'. Volver a esa tradición civilizadora sería, en fin, recuperar la misión histórica de España en América. Además, sería poner la política oficial en consonancia con la voluntad nacional, que no hacía separación alguna entre lo revolucionario y lo cristiano."

20. "El rasgo ideal de ese paraíso perdido era, en el caso de don Ramón, su síntesis de barbarismo y civilización, de energía primitiva entregada a la voluntad y normas de cultura aptas para encauzar ese vitalismo. La tensión propia de la España moderna entre《la barbarie ibérica》y《las normas clásicas》estaba ausente — según esta visión ideal — en la Edad Media." (Dougherty, *Valle-Inclán* 31)

21. "Se ha dicho del *Tirano Banderas* que es antipatriótico porque hace escarnio del Español en América, pero esto es tener un sentido muy estrecho y mojigato del sentimiento patriótico. Cuando Valle-Inclán critica el mal 'gachupín' en América, está criticando al mal Español en España."

22. "En *Tirano Banderas* hay, además, la voluntad literaria de sumar al castellano castizo el vocabulario creado en la América Española. Claro que para esto me ha sido necesario la invención de una república con geografía imaginaria. En cuanto a la trama, pensé que América está constituida por el indio aborigen, por el criollo y por el extranjero. Al indio, que tanto es allí, alguna vez presidente como de ordinario paria, lo desenvolví en tres figuras: el Generalito Banderas, el paria que sufre el duro castigo del chicote, y el indio del plagio y la bola revolucionaria, Zacarías el Cruzado. [/] El criollo es tipo que, a su vez, desenvolví en tres: el elocuente doctor Sánchez Ocaña; el guerrillero Filomeno Cuevas y el criollo cargado del sentido religioso, de resonancia del de Asís, que es don Roque de Cepeda. [/] El extranjero también lo desenvolví en tres tipos: el ministro de

España; el ricacho don Celes y el empeñista señor Peredita. Sobre estas normas, ya lo más sencillo era escribir la novela."

23. "En la forma [de Filomeno Cuevas] de su amor a la tierra, y en la de estar constituida su familia [...], en sus renunciamientos serenos, en su decisión de *hacer historia* al embarcarse en la revolución, Valle-Inclán coloca, y muy expresivamente y atinadamente, cuál ha de ser el papel de la auténtica casta criolla." (Zamora xx)

24. "El Coronel Licenciado López de Salamanca [...] Nieto de encomenderos Españoles, arrastraba una herencia sentimental y absurda de orgullo y prem áticas de casta. De este heredado desprecio por el indio se nutre el mestizo criollaje dueño de la tierra [...]" (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 66).

25. "México no se parece a ninguna otra de las repúblicas americanas; su raza es de roble, es la raza de los incas."

26. "Los gachupines poseen el setenta por cien de la propiedad territorial: — Son el estracto [*sic*] de la barbarie íbera — La tierra en manos de estos extrangeros [*sic*] es la más nociva forma de poseer. Peor mil veces que las manos muertas. Nuestro México para acabar con las revoluciones tiene que nacionalizar la propiedad de la tierra y al encomendero. [.../...] La revolución por la independencia, que no puede reducirse a un cambio de visorreyes, sino a la superación cultural de la raza india, a la plenitud de sus derechos, y a la expulsión de judíos y moriscos gachupines. Mejor, claro está, sería el degüellen."

27. "*Cf. El Noroeste* de la misma fecha:《Dijo que en España se había logrado hacer una unidad religiosa, pero no política, calificando de disparate la expulsión de los moriscos》" (Dougherty, "Valle-Inclán" 81). Though this opinion may seem to contradict the thesis of this article, notice that Valle-Inclán complains specifically about the expulsion of Muslims in the seventeenth century, not about that of Jews in 1492. In *Tirano* the 'bad' Spaniards — just like the bad Europeans — will be associated with Judaism: "Sonrió el gachupín [Peredita] con hieles judaicas" (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 125). Thus, the German Ambassador is "semita de casta" (237) as well.

28. "La simetría, a mi juicio, tiene por misión especial la de subrayar, confrontando y contraponiéndolos llamativamente, los contrastes."

29. Concerning this concept of the "real" Spain Díaz-Plaja states: "Cuando Valle Inclán, en la línea que le solicitara Ortega, desciende de su esteticismo en procura de cosas *humanas*, se encuentra, pues, con aquella 'España oficial' retórica y teatral que le parece la antítesis o contradicción de la España viva, tradicional y foral, haciéndole intuir las formas liberales de la política vigente como destrucciones de la autenticidad Española." (Díaz-Plaja 87)

30. Díaz Migoyo prefers the concept of syncretism to synthesis, a word that emphasizes the internal contradictions instead of a homogeneous outcome (173).

31. "El Español de *Tirano Banderas* es un lenguaje vivo, resucitado, enriquecido por afluentes de todos los ámbitos americanos y peninsulares. Contra todo academismo anquilosado, Valle-Inclán veía en él un renacimiento, no sólo de la lengua, sino del espíritu de los pueblos hispánicos. Esta vez, se daba a este lado del Atlántico. ¿No es ésta también la actitud de Vasconcelos en la *Raza cósmica*?" (Souto Alabarce, xv)

32. "El Océano Pacífico acompaña el ritmo de sus mareas con las voces unánimes de las razas asiáticas y americanas, que en angustioso sueño de siglos, han gestado el ideal de una nueva conciencia, heñida con tales obligaciones, con tales sacrificios, con tan arduo y místico combate, que forzosamente se aparecerá delirio de brahamantes a la sórdida civilización europea, mancillada con todas las concupiscencias y los egoísmos de la propiedad individual. [...] Nosotros, más que revolucionarios políticos, más que hombres de una patria limitada y tangible, somos catecúmenos de un credo religioso. Iluminados por la luz de una nueva conciencia, nos reunimos en la estrechez de este recinto, como los esclavos de las catacumbas, para crear una Patria Universal." (Valle-Inclán, *Tirano* 62)

33. "Había dicho Valle-Inclán en 1924 que en el *Tirano Banderas* le preocupaba llenar el tiempo

como el Greco llenaba el espacio. Y no es un tiempo largo el ficticio que se encuentra en el *Tirano*: la tragedia transcurre en tres días. Pero el novelista gallego, a quien le horroriza el vacío como suele ocurrir a los artistas barrocos, lo alarga y distorsiona, llena esos días mediante la perspectiva múltiple, los ojos compuestos y prismáticos que desdoblan la acción en mil figuras yuxtapuestas. Los planos se dan libremente en el tiempo y en el espacio. Es la visión cubista que el propio Valle-Inclán manifiesta en una frase de la novela misma: 'visión cubista del circo Harris'." (Souto Alabarce xxi)

34. "No tiene Cervantes necesidad de salir de España para ver la grandeza de su país; pero Valle-Inclán, encerrado en el ruedo ibérico, estrecho, minúsculo, rompe las barreras, salta gallardamente, y no pudiendo calarse la cimera ni tomar la lanza, empuña la pluma, firme el pulso y serena la razón, para convertirse en el primer soldado de ese ejército que sólo se mueve en la estrategia del corazón puro, y que tiene como objetivo la reconquista de América por el espíritu de una misma lengua."

Works Cited

Alberca, Manuel, and Cristóbal González. *Valle-Inclán. La fiebre del estilo.* Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2002.

Arraco, Jesús. ""Introducción" a don Ramón del Valle-Inclán."Schneider 140 – 42.

Bělĭc, Oldřich. *La estructura narrativa de* Tirano Banderas. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1968.

Bretz, Mary Lee. *Encounters Across Borders. The Changing Visions of Spanish Modernism*, 1890 – 1930. Lewisburg PA and London: Bucknell UP and Associated UP, 2001.

Casado, Miguel. *Ramón del Valle-Inclán.* Barcelona: Ediciones Omega, 2005.

Díaz-Plaja, Guillermo. *Las estéticas de Valle Inclán.* Madrid: Gredos, 1965.

Díaz Migoyo, Gonzalo. *Guía de* Tirano Banderas. Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1985.

Dougherty, Dru. "El segundo viaje a México de Valle-Inclán: una embajada intelectual olvidada." Schneider, 193 – 204.

---. *Palimpsestos al cubo: prácticas discursivas de Valle-Inclán.* Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2003.

---. "Sarmiento y Valle-Inclán: la sombra de *Facundo* en *Tirano Banderas.*" *Siglo XX/20th Century* 12 (1994): 113 – 27.

---. *Un Valle Inclán olvidado: entrevistas y conferencias.* Ed. Eugenio Suárez Galbán. Madrid: Fundamentos, 1983.

---. "Valle-Inclán ante la dictadura militar: el viaje a Asturias (1926)." *Valle-Inclán, nueva valoración de su obra* (*Estudios críticos en el cincuentenario de su muerte*). Ed. Clara Luisa Barbeito. Barcelona: PPU, 1988, 17 – 21.

---. *Valle-Inclán y la Segunda República.* Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1986.

Downs, Linda. "Introduction." Newman Helms 17 – 21.

Fernández Almagro, Melchor. *Vida y literatura de Valle-Inclán.* Prol. Critina Viñes Millet. Pamplona: Urgoiti Editores, 2007.

Hormigón, Juan Antonio. *Valle-Inclán: Biografía cronológica y epistolario.* 3 vols. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Asociación de Directores de Escena de España, 2006 – 7.

Hurlburt, Laurance P. "Diego Rivera (1886 – 1957): A Chronology of His Art, Life and Times." Newman Helms 22 – 117.

Inman Fox, E. *La invención de España: nacionalismo liberal e identidad nacional.* Madrid: Cátedra, 1997.

Kettenmann, Andrea. *Diego Rivera* 1886 – 1975. *Un espíritu revolucionario en el arte moderno.* Mexico DF: Numen, 2003.

Lozano, Luis-Martín, and Juan Rafael Coronel Rivera. *Diego Rivera. The Complete Murals.* Ed. Be-

nedikt Taschen. Köln, Los Angeles: Taschen, 2007.
López Núñez, J. "Valle-Inclán." Valle-Inclán, *Entrevistas* 131 – 49.
Martínez Sáura, Santos. *Espina, Lorca, Unamuno y Valle-Inclán en la política de su tiempo.* Madrid: Libertarias, 1996.
Martínez Sierra, Gregorio. "Hablando con Valle-Inclán." Valle-Inclán, *Entrevistas* 393 – 98.
Montes, E. M. "En el Ateneo." Valle-Inclán, *Entrevistas* 283 – 8.
Newman Helms, Cynthia, Ed. *Diego Rivera. A Retrospective.* New York/London: Founders Society Detroit Institute of Arts, WW Norton Company, 1986.
Onís, Federico de. *España en América. Estudios, ensayos y discursos sobre temas Españoles e hispanoamericanos.* Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1955.
Orbe, Juan. "Una inspección de《Tirano Banderas》como "síntesis"." *Genio y virtuosismo de Valle-Inclán*. Ed. John P. Gabriele. Madrid: Editorial Orígenes, 1987, 79 – 87.
Rivera, Diego, *et al. Diego Rivera. Illustrious Words.* 1886 – 1921. México DF: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Museo Estudio Diego Rivera, Editorial RM, 2007.
Santos Zas, Margarita. "El carlismo de Valle-Inclán: balance crítico." *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea* 12.3 (1987): 337 – 68.
Schneider, Luis Mario, Prol., not., icon., and bib. *Todo Valle-Inclán en México.* México DF: Coordinación de Difusión Cultural, 1992.
Serrano Alonso, Javier, ed., intro., and notes. *Ramón del Valle Inclán. Artículos completos y otras páginas olvidadas.* Madrid: Editorial Istmo, 1987.
Souter, Gerry. *Diego Rivera. His Art and His Passions.* New York: Parkstone Press International, 2007.
Souto Alabarce, Arturo. "Introducción." *Tirano Banderas: novela de Tierra Caliente.* By Ramón del Valle-Inclán. Mexico DF: Editorial Porrúa, 1980, ix-xxxvi.
Tasende, Mercedes. "La influencia de Ortega y Gasset en la formación del corpus crítico en torno alas*Sonatas.*" *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea* 27.3 (2002): 147 – 81.
Valencia, Antonio. "Introducción." *Tirano Banderas. Novela de Tierra Caliente.* By Ramón del Valle-Inclán. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1984, 9 – 29.
Valle-Inclán, Ramón María del. "Juventud militante. Autobiografías." *Alma Española* 27 Dec (1903): 7.
---. *Entrevistas, conferencias y cartas.* Ed. Joaquín and Javier del Valle-Inclán. Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1995.
---. *Tirano Banderas.* Ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978.
Zamora Vicente, Alonso. "Introducción." *Tirano Banderas.* By Ramón del Valle-Inclán. Ed. Alonso ZamoraVicente. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978, vii-xxxii.

责任编辑 刘富丽

EuropeanIntuitionism, Mysticism and Modernity in Focus: The Case of Valle-Inclán's *Aromas de Leyenda*[1]

Rosario Mascato-Rey
Faculty of Philology, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
North Campus - Burgo das Nacións, Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain
Email: rosario.mascato@usc.es

Abstract Having recently stated in a previous article the fact that Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Galician author nowadays considered as one of the paradigmatic writers of modern Hispanic literature, could hardly ignore the modern currents of thought originated in Paris by the end of 19th century, the aim of this work is, therefore, to examine how the scarcely explored path of bergsonian philosophy would contribute to an explanation of the liaisons of music, art, mysticism and poetry in the writer's production, namely his lyrical collection of poems, *Aromas de Leyenda*, published in 1907.
Key words modernity; contemporary French thought; Valle-Inclán's poetry; Bergson; Loisy

It is not an easy labour resuming Valle-Inclán's trajectory for those who do not know him at all. He was located by critics in the literary generation shared by Miguel de Unamuno, Pío Baroja or Antonio Machado, representing among them one of the most remarkable paradigms of not just Hispanic, but also European modernity. He was best known as a novelist and the creator of a new dramatic genre, the *esperpento*, where he projected his antimilitarism and anticlericalism, in a more acid way than that of other works of his, through absurd, grotesque, caricature and puppet-characters... in search for a critical distance between spectators and show.

But further from his profession as a writer, Valle-Inclán also developed along his life all type of activities, demonstrating his aim to intervene in his time's society and culture. He decided to distribute his living between Galicia, his home land, and Madrid. In Madrid, after trying to become an actor by the beginning of the 20th century, he started his career as a prestigious writer and an eloquent speaker not just in academic tribunes but also at literary gatherings in cafés, where he exerted his influence on some of the best known Spanish plastic artists of the time. He intensively collaborated in the press, where he gave to light the biggest part of his works and where we can also follow his trajectory as a journalist, lecturer, art critic or even war correspondent during I World War; at the same time journals and magazines account for the relevance his figure achieves along the years, which turns into a referent for all kind of matters, as we can read in reviews of his works and talks, in his interviews or

in news about him spread in newspapers from countries all over the world (Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Mexico, Argentina or USA, just to mention a few).

But Valle-Inclán was also part of Spanish political and institutional world, namely with the rise of the II Republic.[2] An irreverent opponent to Bourbon monarchy and General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923 – 1930), it was just before the establishment of the republican regime that he decided to get directly involved in politics, putting himself forward as a candidate to the Republican Courts in 1931.[3] And, even though he did not become a deputy, he played an important role in Republican cultural history (1931 – 1936), for he was firstly chosen as the President of the Madrid's Athenaeum; later named as National Artistic Heritage Curator; and finally elected for the post of Director of the Spanish Fine Arts Academy in Rome, a position he held until his death in January 1936.[4]

The deliberate institutional silence his figure and works were submitted to during Francoism (1939 – 1975) could not avoid the process of reinstatement started by the Republican exile and the academic world, mostly from the 1960s, and his canonization process was completed once democracy was restored, with different homages and public recognition, which has made him become one of the most prestigious intellectuals of 20th century Hispanic culture.

Now, even if tons of secondary bibliography about Valle-Inclán have been written, actually more than five thousand articles and monographies until 2011,[5] two of the issues which critics have paid less attention to are his trajectory as a poet —for he also published poems in three books, finally gathered in *Claves Líricas* (1930)—and his assumption of the patterns of European thought of his time, two entwined aspects this article will focus on, taking the names of Bergson, Loisy and Valle-Inclán as the centre of our discourse.

Even when we do not have a complete (and no doubt necessary) study on the presence and influence of bergsonian thought in Spain (as we do have about Nietzsche's thanks to Sobejano)[6], we have evidence that his philosophical theories were well known in the country by the beginning of 20th Century, for most part of the intellectuals of the time testify their admiration for the intuitionist thought and even reflect it in their works, as we can see in the case of Leopoldo Alas Clarín, Antonio Machado or Miguel de Unamuno. Spanish academic forums and press, likewise, spread his most significant works, which became an absolute success for general public during his visit to Madrid in 1916.

After a closeresearch on this issue we can almost certainly affirm that even when Valle-Inclán did not have the chance to meet Bergson and when he never mentioned his name in his talks or writings, he for sure knew the basis of intuitionist ideas for those are in the roots of his literary production at least from early 20th century, as we can appreciate in his use of the terms such as *intuition*, *contemplation*, *memory*, *creative soul* or *grace*. These are concepts profoundly in debt with the French philosopher's thought,[7] whose theories Valle-Inclán was highly interested in since -according to Arbour - these were nothing but the lengthening in time of the anti-positivist reaction headed a few years before by Baudelaire and French symbolist poetry (193 – 94), which the Galician author considers as the origin for aesthetic moderni-

ty, something he had stated in an early article titled "Modernismo" in 1902 (114).

The links between bergsonian thought and modern art have been underlined by the critics: in the fourth volume of *Les Études Bergsoniennes*, published in 1964, S. Dresden in fact classifies Bergson among those philosophers who, according to Plato, "cherchent a comprendre la musique des sphères, l'harmonie de l'univers, et qui ne s'arretent pas aux apparences extérieures des phénomenes" ["*search for an understanding of the music of the spheres, the harmony of the universe, and who do not stop at the external appearance of phenomena*"]; those who "s'interessent plus que les autres aux éléments artistiques de la philophie" ["*are more interested than other in the artistique elements of philosophy*"] (55). An example of that is the constant reference to aesthetic questions along his work, although no article specifically dedicated to this issue was ever written by the French philosopher, a fact that has not prevented his enormous influence on art and literature of the European interwar period.[8] One of the keys for it seems to be in the fact of Bergson considering creative process as a phenomenon comparable to his concept of *durée* (duration), for —just like the latter— art departures from an act of rebelliousness, from bringing social and subjective I into conflict; it is an act of freedom located in the intuitive power, and it necessarily introduces a problem of communication when its essence (spiritual, ageless) is absolutely opposite to that of the poetic language (progressive, arithmetical, current).

Even so, not all artistic manifestations equally voice the art of suggestion: it happens with music, if we remember Bergson's concept of heterogeneous time as "la mélodie ininterrompue de notre vie intérieure" ["*the uninterrupted melody of our inner life*"] (qtd. in Dresden 68), which establishes a clear link with symbolist poets such as Mallarmé, Verlaine, or Valéry after them; it also appears in plastic arts, which are the representation of the undefined and eternal; and, finally, in poetry, which reflects the fusion of several ways for aesthetic pleasure (auditory and visual), and embodies the power of suggestion, encoded in images and rhythm, enabling writers to reveal the ineffable.

So, for Bergson, as Ruth Lorand remarks, art is not the question. On the contrary, aesthetic experience seems to be the answer to the philosophical dilemmas his works state, especially in terms of order (vital, sensible and unpredictable, not geometrical) (405 – 06). Therefore, the French philosopher understands in a pragmatic way the role of intellect, for it allows us to divide, and therefore, analyze and conceptualize, either historical periods (of an everlasting *durée*) or the different elements of the works of art, even if they were created as the transmission of sensations encoded in suggestions. So, art proposes for Bergson new forms of order, which hold a much more authentic view of chronological duration and which intend to substitute pre-existing orders that do not satisfy our (historical, aesthetic, etc.) needs and expectations any more.

In addition, according to Henri Bergson, there is still a second human experience that enables the contact with metaphysical concepts such as *durée* and *intuition*: Christian mysticism, because of everything it implies in terms of history philosophy. Debates around this conception mean an important element of spiritual culture of 19th and 20th centuries, especially in France, where this issue is inevitably related to the

concept of *modernism*, and to *bergsonism* as well.

Even if it is true that the so-called "religious modernism" cannot be considered as a heterogeneous movement, as individuals and groups who in France, Germany or England react against catholic establishment, there were in it names as relevant as Alfred Loisy, the first whose works had international echo. As a pioneer emphasising the Bible's historical truth, who pledged for forgetting the supposed supernatural origin of Catholic Church's fundamental work, his critical studies around the filiations and development of the textual tradition of the Holy Scriptures took him to demolish catholic fundamental concepts such as divine inspiration and inerrancy, in his condemnation of scholastic rationalism, expounded in two books: *L'Évangile et L'Église* and *Études évangéliques*, both on sale in 1902, and both rapidly forbidden for the parishioners a couple of months later by the *Bulletin de l'Archevêché* de *Paris* (Cózar 20).

Although Leo XIII never explicitly rejectedLoisy's works, his successor, pope Pius X, was not so benevolent, and he soon decided a public censure of the "modernist" propositions extracted from Loisy's documents, with the *Decreto Lamentabili sine exitu* (July 4th 1907), and the subsequent *Enciclica Pascendi dominici gregis* (September 1907).[9]

We have evidence of a close relation between Bergson and Loisy in the fact of both being professors at the College de France, as well as in the correspondence they held from 1909 to 1937 (Provencher 425). Historian regularly sent the philosopher his publications and, in a certain way, Bergson's reflections about these works gave birth to one of his best known books, *Les deux sources de la morale et la religion* (1932).

Both of them agree in the preponderance of "mystic" faith over "dogmatic" one imposed by the ecclesiastic tradition (Forni 92), as well as in the primacy of intuition (instead of meditation) in the access to knowledge (97). And in the same way, they share a central interest in the consideration of language for the expression of that intangible, immaterial and inscrutable reality —spiritual, mystic or artistic —, a fact also reflected in their letters. But if there is a difference between them, it is fundamentally the fact that the philosopher qualifies as a mystic experience any exceptional thing that allows the human being to get in touch with divinity (which includes, as obvious, art), while Loisy defends an everyday vision of social solidarity and love as a bridge for that connection. This discrepancy is developed in complete opposite objectives: Bergson will try to explain the spiritual *substratum* of human being from metaphysics, to reach the inaccessible of history, consciousness, time and space, to achieve a supreme and indivisible truth; Loisy, on the other hand, will prefer reading mysticism in a moral and social key, which will contribute to new ways of evolution for humanity, assuming the incapacity of men and women to understand further away from their reality (97 – 98).

In any case, both their aims are in their eagerness to remodel reality from assumptions beyondthe positivist domain of reason over moral values and language, proposing alternative accesses to (mystic, metaphysic, artistic) knowledge to deepen in a hardly accessible reality of even more difficult expression. Bergson and Loisy share

in the end the same spirit and try to solve a unique problem, which is in the origin of modernity as a spiritual and aesthetic current.

In the same way, there exists in Valle-Inclán this eagerness to reorder reality in what Anthony Zahareas has named as the articulation of aesthetic solutions for historical problems, since history and social reality are only to be understood through their artificial and contrived ways of representation (273).

That is why, just like in Bergson's proposal, Valle-Inclán pushes into practice, from his intuitive conception of life and artistic creation, a project of established order reconstruction that enables him to transmit his alternative view of *chronos* (history, me, writing), with the objective of counteracting reality with the evocation of a world in the verge of extinction, a fact that constitutes the pure essence of modernity as far as that anti-establishment will is the central premise of the artistic debate in the transition from positivism to idealism.

One magnificent example of the application in Valle-Inclán's work of such a colossal project is offered by Professor Zahareas, when he analyses the elaboration of the Marquis of Bradomín, an omnipresent character in the author's work, often identified as an *alter-ego* of his, whose figure generates a reinterpretation of chronological order of those works he appears in as well as of the historical frame where these are apparently set:

> ... the fictive character of a modern Don Juan appears, as if it was historical, in flesh and bones, in the pages of those contrived love sonatas narrated by himself to sell them, with the help of the historical figure of Nicaraguan poet RubénDarío (whose published poems include an autumnal sonnet in honour of Bradomín) who, well-known, leaves the real social world of the bohemia to enter as a fictive character in a *new genre*, the *esperpento*, where a contrivedly hybrid character between Max Estrella and Alejandro Sawa plays the leading role, the latter being a friend of both Valle-Inclán and Dario [...]. In Valle-Inclán's aesthetics we take for granted that without the historiography distinction between what *is* and what *is not*, there can not be a historical function of fiction. Alejandro Sawa is clearly a historical figure and, on the other hand, Max Estrella is nothing but a fictive figure. The implications of this perspective are revealing. Historical Sawa is not the same Sawa presumably represented by Max. Memories written by the fictive Bradomín were published between 1903 and 1905 (sic); historical bohemian Alejandro Sawa died in 1908 and the Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, in 1916. When historical chronology is altered in fiction, *what was* historically verified in *Luces de Bohemia* has been transformed in such a way that what *is* verifiable in history *is not in fiction*: in *Luces* of 1920 – 1924 the "memories" by already old Bradomín have not been published yet; and the already dead Darío still lived to attend the burial of Max, who, if in fact is Sawa, did not die in 1908. (274) [10]

This is nothing but the construction of what another French theorist, CharlesRenouvier —one of Bergson's precursors and, at a time, disciple of August Comte and the spir-

itualist Jules Lequier —named in 1876 as *uchronias*[11], or *futures of the past*[12]: the setting of a point of departure for a new history in a remote time, when it virtually forks from, constituting an alternative and parallel track, either individual or collective. This alternate view recaptures historiography, legends or myths conforming to that identity which a new order is intended to be built on, and charges the author's proposal with moral, political, social and cultural values different from those in force, [13] a reason why they pledge their commitment to the controversies and debates held in the literary field. Understood this way, the concept of *uchronia* is at a time ecstasy and evolution freed from historical materiality, what unavoidably links its development to that of internal, subjective, personal time, and therefore, to bergsonian *durée*. Eternity, therefore, and its expression are something that become an obsession for writers such as Valle-Inclán, who along the years tried to find the clues to go beyond the limits of chronology in his works, with his poetry being the ideal workshop, as far as it joins in one single expression that of music, image and lyrical thought.

Valle-Inclán edited *Aromas de Leyenda*, his first collection of poems, in 1907 at the age of forty, as part of his strategy for intervention in Madrid's literary field during the debate, started by the Real Academia Española (*Royal Spanish Academy*) about the disappearance of Castillian lyrical poetry —as traditionally conceived —with the entrance in Spain of new literary currents, mostly originated in France. He intends to prove that there is another possible way for the renewal of lyrical expression, other than that of the medieval *romancero*, focusing on Galician-Portuguese popular and cult tradition. His contemporaries receive the collection as a delicious book of poetry that gathers in an original way real scents from antique legends of his old land, from the old soul of his home, far away in Galicia... ("Libros" 332). In fact, green landscape and rural sounds gain progressive importance along these verses, identified not only with a past recovered through memory, but with an Arcadian fantasy, a spiritualized and poeticized recreation, where that timeless place emerges along the thirteen poems of the book —like its classical model —as the home of Pan, a virtuous space because of its human, hospitality nature, but also for the fact of its inhabitants being shepherds and musicians, who the lyric voice identifies itself with: those gifted for a sublime form of existence, those who can abandon themselves to the creative *otium* Virgilius talked about.

The structural and thematic centre of the book is conformedto by the legend of the old hermit monk who experiences how three hundred years go by in the single song of a bird. And this idea is, in Valle-Inclán, the turning point in his modern living of chronological experience, which gets him closer to a bergsonian reading of the chronological conflict proper of the time. This legend of the ecstatic monk, of clear Christian origin, gathers —according to Millé —two biblical texts where the idea of time is linked on one hand to the simultaneous, infinite and eternal of God; on the other, with the limited, the temporary, the ephemeral of humanity (237): Psalm 89 of the Psalter, in its 4th verse, and the third epistle of Saint Peter, in its chapter III, 8th verse, which portray a God indifferent to time, connoisseur of the inner self of things.

Millé reports localizations of this legend in France, Germany or Portugal. But an

echo of it, closer to the author, is also found in his home region of O Salnés, in Galicia: the legend of Ero, founder abbot of Armenteira Monastery, the place that —according to the writer's son —truly inspired Valle-Inclán to write *Aromas de Leyenda*. In any case, this history seems to be a common one to all those places where there has been an enclave of the Cistercian Order, which Valle-Inclán felt a profound interest in, mainly because of the figure of Bernard of Clairvaux who embodies the power of sound as the trigger for mystic ecstasy.

This obsession with the condensation of time, with the *instant pregnant with eternity*, as the writer himself would express, took Valle-Inclán in a journey with two poles: on one hand, reflecting about the idea of time without end and finding models for its expression in art, what he finally resumed in the need to achieve an aesthetic language that would join Grace, Emotion and Truth in one single suggestion; on the other, essaying in his writing the mixture of resources to achieve this aim: symbols, legends, musical elements of language and finally the construction of the image-word, in an inter-artistic and complex proposal which includes the search for *uchronia* — from a thematic and formal point of view —, something noticeable in his verse production, namely in *Aromas de Leyenda*: an inexistent Golden Age, here understood as *a platonic state of happiness*, *localized in an eternal blessed present that refers to an ideal of harmony*, *justice and good government* (Bauzá 21 – 22). This is: spiritual and aesthetic moments the writer understands as elements that allow him to go beyond the temporal tracks and project his conception of "eternal", built out of time and space, as the myth of Arcadia.

But there is still, in this book, another attempt to reorder reality with a moral lesson: an important and scarcely mentioned aspect of Valle-Inclán's use of this legend is the fact that, instead of choosing an Abbot or a theologian as the protagonist of his poems, he is inclined towards the figure of a hermit monk, completely beyond ecclesiastic hierarchies. Turning this old man living in a remote, legendary, quiet land in the protagonist of the book, from its own cover (illustrated by Ricardo Baroja), is added to the fact of identifying the mystical experience of divine intuition with that of a rural landscape, peaceful retirement, where richness of soul confronts abject poverty, and where —according to a couple of verses of its central poem "Ave Serafín"— is to be found "the grace of Christ Our Lord" (Valle-Inclán, *Aromas* 58).

It is precisely in this disapproval of progress and industrialism that we can resume the reasons why this collection of poems no doubt fits even more with this modern spirit that was part of European thought. It is, in fact, a statement where Gnostic philosophical readings of bergsonian echo and religious-social references which could be inspired by Loisy's postulates appear added to a symbolist aesthetic, appropriate for the search of eternity, where configuring an original style and *turning coal into crystal* becomes a priority, as Valle-Inclán himself stated in his articles and papers about art and aesthetics from 1907 on, as a prelude for his spiritual essay *La Lámpara Maravillosa* (1916).

But, in addition, "Ave Serafín" also introduces the first appearance in his production of one of his most recurrent symbols, that of the bird, which will represent, from 1917's *La media noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra*, his theory of

"higher vision" or the annulation of chronological borders, which encounters its parallel in Bergson's conical vision, the total control over time and space: the possibility of observing the whole of times and places. It is, therefore, in *Aromas de Leyenda* that Valle-Inclán firstly depicts eternity as "Eucharistic venture" and hours as sin, fury and lust, representing the revenge of time on human beings. The singing of the birds, namely the "celestial bird," opens up the contemplative path —which the writer will get back to in further writings —directing the pilgrim, the Saint, to a syncretised paradise of pagan and Christian reminiscences, guarded by archangel Saint Michael, who helps the traveller's soul battle the diabolic fate of hours. So, the bird means, in the end, the ability to communicate with gods, the union of spirit and matter, the entrance to a superior state of consciousness (Cooper 28 – 29), and in brief, the mixture of mystic and metaphysical ways of reordering reality which Valle-Inclán is in pursuit of:

> Arde la zarza adusta en hoguera de amor,
> y entre la zarza eleva su canto el ruiseñor,
> voz de cristal, que asciende en la paz del sendero
> como el airón de plata de un arcángel guerrero,
> dulce canto de encanto en jardín abrileño,
> que hace entreabrirse la flor azul del ensueño,
> la flor azul y mística del alma visionaria
> que del ave celeste, la celeste plegaria
> oyó trescientos años al borde de la fuente,
> donde daba el bautismo a un fauno adolescente,
> que ríe todavía, con su reír pagano,
> bajo el agua que vierte el Santo con la mano.
>
> El alma de la tarde se deshoja en el viento,
> que murmura el milagro con murmullo de cuento.
> El ingenuo milagro al pie de la cisterna
> donde el pújaro, el alma de la tarde hace eterna...
> [...]
> Fueran como un instante, al pasar, las centurias.
> El pecado es el tiempo: las furias y lujurias
> son las horas del tiempo que teje nuestra vida
> hasta morir. La muerte ya no tiene medida
> [...]
> Un perfume de gracia y luz ardiente y mística,
> eternidad sin horas y ventura eucarística.
> [...]
> El ave de la luz entreabre el horizonte. (*Aromas* 55 – 59) [14]

Therefore, this will for *uchronia* is portrayed in Valle-Inclán's poetry, as well as in his contemporaries, through two paths: the resource of myths and aesthetical figura-

tions of timeless nature offered as a retro-effect, a re-evaluation and re-idealization of past, individual or collective; the writer's effort to elaborate a series of techniques that allow him to liberate the poetic form from the sequence and linearity or word. It is compulsory to make it clear that both paths superimpose on each other along his trajectory as a poet. Nevertheless, it is relevant to indicate that depending on which of these aspects we focus, we will obtain a different dimension, a complementary public image of the author, who along his canonization process as a poet will appear as a mystic or an avant-garde writer whose ideological and formal proposals are hardly endorsed by the literary field, except for the youngest poets among his peers in the restricted literary sub-field. In a case, the plot line of the poems on the whole in *Aromas de Leyenda* and *El Pasajero* (1920), his third book of poems, shows the dialogue with (re-) created history and *uchronia*; on the other—mainly *La pipa de kif* (1919), his most rupturing verse collection—presents formal excellence and the most experimental aspect of artistic creation rule. In one case, legendary and mythological writing predominates; in the other, the image-word.

Fundamentally, to our understanding, in what was soon to be a nostalgic evocation of a lost good —encoded in words, images, myths and symbols —, it is precisely this elaboration of aesthetic projections of an archaic and Galician past that constitutes the differential nature of Valle-Inclán's first poetry production in the Spanish literary field of his time. At the same time, it portrays the link between his work and early 20th Century European thought, for he assumes the need to re-order reality concerning both the renewal of artistic expression along with counteracting the empire of dehumanized progress and its impact on people's life, an issue that no doubt makes Valle-Inclán's proposal more up-to-date than ever.

Notes

1. This article is part of the research activities developed by the project *Valle-Inclán, the Press and the Editorial System*, subsidized by the Galician Government (INCITE09263078PR).

2. See Dru Dougherty's *Valle-Inclán y la Segunda República* (Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1986).

3. SeeAmparo de Juan Bolufer and Javier Serrano Alonso's *Valle-Inclán, candidato republicano* (Santiago de Compostela: Cátedra Valle-Inclán and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2007).

4. See Santos Zas et al.: *Valle-Inclán, Director de la Academia de Roma* (1933 – 1936): *Estudio y documentación. Monográfico de Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán* V 30.3 (2005) and *Todo Valle-Inclán en Roma* (1933 – 1936): *edición, anotación, índices y facsímiles* (Santiago de Compostela and Pontevedra: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela and Deputación de Pontevedra, 2010).

5. See Javier Serrano Alonso and Amparo de Juan Bolufer's "Bibliografía de Ramón del Valle-Inclán," *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán XII*. 37.3 (2012)

6. See Gonzalo Sobejano's *Nietzsche en España* (Madrid: Gredos, 1967).

7. See Rosario Mascato Rey's "Tras la huella de Bergson: fundamentos para un estudio del bergsonismo en Valle-Inclán." *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán IX*. 34.3 (2009): 765 – 91.

8. Mark Antliff's *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

9. This document constitutes the best exposition of modernist doctrines in theology, and shows in the clearest of ways the existent relation between these and the philosophical thought in force by that time, particularly bergsonian intuitionism. Its intention is no other but condemning the fact of modern thinkers questioning dogmatic truths as well as their interest in separating historical Jesus Christ and its divine image, saving the latter exclusively for the sphere of faith; but the most significant and polemical issues were those concerning Catholic church's social performance, an aspect that religious modernism was asking to be reformed regarding its disciplinary regime (more humility and poorness in cleric's life) and its interference in social issues (Cózar). These aspects had a great impact in the political field, because of the denial of the doctrinal role of Church in State —an element that was used by labour unions and progressive politics (See Laboa's "El modernismo teológico en España". *Ínsula* 613 (1998): 21 – 25). The complete text of the *Enciclica* is accessible in its English version in Vatican's web: http://www. vatican. va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en. html.

10. From the original text in Spanish. The translation is mine.

11. Renouvier published a book about time and history he entitled coining a neologism: *Uchronie* (*L'Utopie dans l'histoire*). *Esquisse historique apocryphe du développement de la civilisation européenne tel quíl n'a pas été, tel quíl aurait pu être.* It is a sort of novel, where the history of Europe is reconstructed, from Clasique Antiquity to the end of 18th Century, with the aim to portray what a society with predominant values as peace and social justice would have been, which bitterly contrasts with the author's social, political and economical world, full of conflicts because of the rule of nationalisms and industrial revolution. Renouvier posts this way a history flow where Christian doctrine had not triumphed in the development of western civilization, where the Roman Empire fall had not occurred and, therefore, Middle Ages had not emerged.

12. See Paul K Alcon's *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* (Athens: Georgia University Press, 1987).

13. The term has currently given name to a new narrative genre, also known as "uchronic fiction" and applicable to literature, cinema and television, meaning a re-writing of history, the projection of alternative worlds and wondering about humanity's development as we know it, something that establishes an intersection between literature and historiography. For an extensive study of the concept, see Henriet's *L'histoire revisitée: Panorama de l' uchronie sous toutes ses formes* (Éditions Encrage / Les Belles lettres, 2004.) or Wesseling's "Historical Fiction. Utopia in History" (Coord. Hans Bertens. *International Postmodernism: Theory and Literary Practice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997). . This phenomenon has, likewise, given place to numerous pages and forums in internet (i. e. *Uchronia. The Alternate History List*, accessible in http://www. uchronia. net, where a bibliographic index is also available).

14. Without English version of Valle-Inclán's poetry, we offer a prose translation for the purpose of illustrating our article: "Harsh bramble burns in love flame and a nightingale, crystal voice ascending in the peaceful path, elevates its song over it, as the silver crest of the warrior archangel; sweet charming song in an April garden, that makes blue daydream flower open, the blue mystic flower of the visionary soul who heard from the celestial bird the celestial pray three hundred years by the edge of a spring, where a young adolescent faun, who still laughs with his pagan laughter, was being baptized under the water poured by the Saint's hand. [/] The afternoon's soul is torn by the wind, which whispers the miracle with a tale's murmur. The ingenuous miracle by the step of the source where the bird makes the afternoon's soul eternal. [...] Centuries were like an instant in passing by. Sin is time: furies and lust are the hours of time weaving our life till we die. Death has no measure [...] A perfume of grace and mystic and burning light, eternity without hours and Eucharistic venture [...] The bird of light half-opens the horizon."

Works Cited

Arbour, Le P. Romeo. *Henri Bergson et les lettres françaises.* París: Corti, 1956.

Bauzá, Hugo Francisco. *El imaginario clásico. Edad de Oro, Utopía y Arcadia.* Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1993.

Cooper, J. C. *Diccionario de símbolos*. México D. F.: Gustavo Gili, 2000.

Cózar Castañar, Juan. *Modernismo teológico y modernismo literario: cinco ejemplos Españoles*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002.

Dresden, S. "Les idées esthetiques de Bergson". *Les Études Bergsoniennes* IV (1964): 53 – 75.

Forni, Giusseppe. "Bergsonismo e modernismo. A. Loisy e la critica del cristianesimo." *Cristianesimo nella storia* 12.1 (1991): 85 – 118.

"Libros." *La Alhambra*. Madrid (30 – 07 – 1907): 332.

Lorand, Ruth. "Bergson's Concept of Art". *British Journal of Aesthetics* 39.4 (1999): 400 – 15.

Milléy Jiménez, Juan. "Valle-Inclán y el milagro del monje de Heisterbach". *Religión y Cultura*. XXIII (1933): 235 – 49.

Provencher, N. "Les lettres de Henri Bergson à Alfred Loisy". *Eglise et theólogie* 20.3 (1989): 425 – 38.

Valle-Inclán, Ramón María del. "Modernismo". *La Ilustración Española y Americana*. Madrid: XLVI 7 (22/02/1902): 114.

---. *Aromas de Leyenda. Versos en loor de un santo ermitaño*. Madrid: Villavicencio, Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, 1907.

Zahareas, Anthony. "Sólo por estética: soluciones estéticas de problemas históricos". *Valle-Inclán en el siglo XXI*. Eds. M. Aznar Soler and Ma Fernanda Sánchez Colomer. A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro, 2004: 273 – 88.

责任编辑:郭晶晶

Introduction to Topic on Danish and Norwegian Welfare Literature

Anne-Marie Mai
Department of Literature, Culture and Media, University of Southern Denmark
Campusvej 55, 5230 Odense M, Denmark.
Email: ammai@ litcul. sdu. dk

The thematic issue on Danish and Norwegian welfare literature consists of five articles. Johs. Nørregaard Frandsen's article, "The Insoluble Conflict of transformation: The Modern Aspect of Hans Christian Andersen's 'The Galoshes of Fortune'", discusses the modern themes in Hans Christian Andersen's tale, published 1838. Hans Christian Andersen based his short stories, tales and fairytales on certain experiences from his own life that can shed light on aspects of modern life under the welfare state. Hans Christian Andersen was a so-called mould-breaker. He was born and grew up in poverty and abject circumstances, but via his art was able to rise into the highest social spheres. This rise, or mould-breaking, is present in many of his tales in the form of an enormous productivity, fantasy and restlessness that could never be satisfied. In that sense, Andersen is a highly modern writer, just as his themes point towards a modern welfare society where social change is a societal necessity. Anne-Marie Mai's article, "The Roles of Writers in the Danish Welfare State", introduces the Nordic welfare model and discussed the function of literature in the welfare state from the 1950s to the present day. Anders Thyrring Andersen's article, "The Dialogic and Religious Theme of Welfare in Harald Høffding and the Authors around Heretica", shows how religious ways of understanding have been of crucial importance for the literary idiom and the theme of welfare in a Danish context. The article gives a description of the dialogic and religious theme of welfare in Danish post-war modernism, as it was expressed by the authors around the famous magazine *Heretica* (1948 – 1953) and the article also discusses the "welfare-principle" of the Danish philosopher, Harald Høffding (1843 – 1931). Tore Rem's article, "Authorship in the Norwegian Welfare State, c. 1950 – 1975", examines the survival of a Romantic role of the author in post-war Norwegian literature. It shows how an important group of writers in the late 1940s and the 1950s still shared a vision of the writer as an isolated individual, opposed to society and the state. During this time, this old role was reactivated and given a new function in opposition to the developing Welfare State. The writer and intellectual Jens Bjørneboe (1920 – 76) was a prominent member of this loosely organized group, and someone who makes for a particularly interesting case when exploring authorship in the Norwegian Welfare State.

Antje Wischmann's article, "Collage City – City Collage: On the Relation Between Aesthetic and Political Mobilisation in Sven Holm's *Min Elskede — En Skabel-*

onroman (*My Beloved — A Pattern Novel*, 1968)", examines an experimental, post-modern novel by Sven Holm from 1968. Holm uses a collage technique for critical, theoretical and creative purposes in a typical "revolutionary novel" of the youth movement of 1968. Sven Holms novel is a unique welfare critique and a "city collage text fragment" using the latest art and architecture expressions of the sixties but also with a retrograde romantic notion on politics. Peter Simonsen's article, "The Welfare State and the Nursing Home Novel: Bent Vinn Nielsen's A Life in Ordinariness" introduces "old age" as a major issue in many political debates in the contemporary Danish welfare state as well as in much contemporary Danish fiction. In contemporary realist fiction several authors address the subject of old age. Among these authors Peter Simonsen singles out Bent Vinn Nielsen and in particular his novel from 2010, *Et liv i almindelighed* (*A Life in Ordinariness*) to propose that this novel provides readers with affective knowledge of the final chapters of life as experienced by ordinary individuals in the welfare state. This knowledge is needed, the article proposes, in order to have a qualified and properly nuanced public debate about old age in the welfare state of the future. The editors hope that the variety of articles on fictional literature of the Nordic welfare state shows the emerge of a new literary research field and will stimulate further scholarly and readerly interest in Nordic welfare literature.

责任编辑:杨革新

The Insoluble Conflict of Transformation: The Modern Aspect of Hans Christian Andersen's "The Galoshes of Fortune"

Johs. Nørregaard Frandsen
Head of Institute of Literature, Culture and Media Studies, University of Southern Denmark
DK-5230 Odense M, Denmark
Email: jnf@ litcul. sdu. dk

Abstract In this article, I analyse the tale "The Galoshes of Fortune", published by the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen in 1838. The story was thus written more than a century before the emergence of the Danish welfare state, or the so-called welfare model, so there is hardly any point in drawing historical or societal parallels between Andersen's age and our own in the Scandinavian countries, where the welfare state is solidly anchored as a concept and a social model. Hans Christian Andersen, though, based his short stories, tales and fairytales on certain experiences from his own life, and these can perhaps even so shed light on aspects of modern life under the welfare state. Hans Christian Andersen was a so-called mould-breaker. He was born and grew up in poverty and abject circumstances, but via his art was able to rise into the highest social spheres. This rise, or mould-breaking, is present in many of his tales in the form of an enormous productivity, fantasy and restlessness that could never be satisfied. In that sense, Andersen is a highly modern writer, just as his themes point towards a modern society where social change is a societal necessity.
Key words social imagination; mould-breaker; welfare society; yearnings and narration

The Welfare Society Calls for Fleetness of Root

A modern welfare society such as the Danish requires mobility and the ability to adaptto its population. It is, for example, characteristic of the Danish welfare state — or of the Scandinavian, for that matter — that there is a relatively complex and dynamic relation between various considerable economic and occupational structural changes from a distinctly agricultural and industrial society in the 1950s and 1960s to a society that to a far greater extent bases its existence on the generation of knowledge and networking in a global economy.

Naturally, Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries are not alone in this respect. Far from it! But in order to constantly be able to finance and develop the institutions of the welfare state and the resulting relatively high level of taxation precisely these societies have always demanded a high level of education, a high level of so-

cial mobility and a will to change on the part of its citizens. This is, of course, a highly simplified presentation, but in a society such as the Danish the readiness and the individual ability to break moulds and patterns and to move around in the social landscape are important elements. One could perhaps claim that fleetness of foot rather than depth of root is what is called for. The generations that grew up in Denmark after about 1945 and the conclusion of the Second World War, have had to a great extent to chart their own paths in the new mental landscapes. The experiences of their parents, gained from the family-owned farm or the small trades and professions, have often proved to be limited when it came to indicating paths to the technical, academic or economic qualifications gained by their daughters and sons — and the modern, urban reality that was to become theirs.

The modern welfare society, in order to develop, has thus required mobility, feet on the move and the ability to adapt both socially and mentally — in particular to adapt from a mainly local and national economy and culture to functioning within a far more international and global economy and culture. These changes, which most countries and cultures are facing in an ever more globalized world, call for the capacity to break moulds and a readiness to work on one's identity. A modern society calls for fleetness of foot — and proper footwear!

It has been documented by a number of research projects and scientific works in Denmark just how art and literature in particular have thematized the relation between the societal changes and the identity-related aspects. In Denmark, for example, major and highly interesting research efforts are being linked to the analysis of the thematisation by contemporary writers of the welfare state and its social institutions. [1] The establishing of the welfare state has given the individual considerable existential and life-related gains, but also at a cost to individual identity. Breaking with social patterns and cultural traditions does not come free of charge. Nor does it revolting against the *status quo*, a great deal of energy is often released in the process.

This article portrasy the ambiguous or conflict-torn experiences of such a revolt as captured in a literary work. This will be attempted not in the analysis of a work by a contemporary writer but one of a story by the greatest author in the history of Danish literary history, Hans Christian Andersen (1805 - 75), who lived in a completely different age, i. e. the class-divided, traditional society of the 19th century, where breaking the social mould, as Hans Christian Andersen did, was absolutely not the norm.

Andersen based his now world-famous fairytales and short tales on personal experiences and these may possibly shed light on aspects of modern life and its call for constant change. Andersen was to a great extent what is now referred to as a social mould-breaker. He was born and grew up in poverty and abject circumstances, but via his art and ambition was able to rise into the highest social spheres. This rise, or mould-breaking, is present in many of his tales in the form of an enormous productivity, fantasy and restlessness that could never be satisfied. In that sense, Andersen is a highly modern writer, or, at any rate, his fairytales and stories are extremely modern for they look profoundly at aspects of identity which modern life insists on and has brought into being, including the demands of modern life regarding social changeabil-

ity, which is now a fundamental societal condition. So when Hans Christian Andersen at various points in his work allows shoes and footwear to be included as essential and often magical objects, it is not just because he came from an environment where, among other things, both his father and grandfather were shoemakers, but because shoes, boots, galoshes and other kinds of footwear are symbols of movement.

Magic Galoshes

Hans Christian Andersen published the tale or fairytale "The Galoshes of Fortune"[2] in the collection *Tre Digtninger* in 1838. This means it belongs to the first and comprehensive group of fantastic tales and stories that begin to flow from Andersen's pen from *Eventyr – fortalte for Børn* (*Tales Told for Children*, 1835) onwards. These are often characterised as having broken the boundaries between traditional genres and thereby established their own forms. "The Galoshes of Fortune", which is about 25 printed pages long, does precisely this moving out exuberantly into new narrative landscapes. In that way, "The Galoshes of Fortune" is already in terms of forming a kind of journey, with the tale also dealing with transformation and sudden shifts in time, space and identity.

Strictly speaking, "The Galoshes of Fortune" is not really just one story but a number of smaller stories that are loosely held together by means of a framework and a recurring portrayal of a pair of galoshes with magical properties. The framework consists of what the literary researcher Klaus P. Mortensen has called "a self-made myth"[3] that deals with a fairy of fortune and a fairy of Care who make an experiment with humans' desire to have their wishes concerning the transformation of time, place, body and identity fulfilled with the aid of a security, a pair of galoshes that send the wearer off into the realisation of a dream the very moment it has been dreamt. It is not at all the fairy of fortune in person but "an assistant to one of her ladies in waiting, used to delivering the more trifling gifts of fortune" (Andersen 1838, 98), and this reservation Andersen has probably introduced in order to ironically suggest that good fortune is not what one believes. Not in this tale, at any rate. The fairy of Care, on the other hand, is the very person in question: "She was Dame Care, who always goes in her own sublime person to see to her errands herself, for then she knows that they are well done" (Andersen 1838, 99).

The two fairies, or fairy representatives, in the tale do not just have the role of observers who, on behalf of the reader, comment on the strange nature of human life. They are also initiators, for it is fortune's representative who, because it is her birthday, has been allowed to hand over a gift to humanity. The gift is a pair of galoshes, which, once put on, transport the wearer instantly to the place and the time that person is dreaming of. The first fairy believes that this can only serve to enhance that person's good fortune, but Care claims that, on the contrary, it will make that person unhappy and want to return to the point of departure and the situation prior to the galoshes.

Within the framework of the fairies' staging, a series of highly odd episodes and dramas takes place in which the galoshes allow their character to travel to the Middle

Ages, into the heart of the bourgeoisie, out in space to the moon, inside the feathered form of a lark, get a head stuck in a railing of heavy iron bars at the entrance to Frederiksberg Hospital, travel to Italy and go on several out-of-body journeys. They are extraordinary journeys that go far beyond common sense, but at the same time the various depictions are of situations and environments characterised by social realism and a high degree of social recognisability. They are portrayals of people in concrete environments who desire some form of change. And this is what they get, but it is definitely not good fortune that awaits them. On the other hand, the reader is served with if not good fortune then a sublimely entertaining reading experience, for Andersen's framed tales about human striving for fortune are divinely amusing.

In the Entrance Hall of the Bourgeoisie

"The Galoshes of Fortune"' begins, so to speak, the move into the entrance hall of the bourgeoisie! Hans Christian Andersen wanted with all his heart to be taken in and accepted by this upper middle class, which he nevertheless treated ironically at the same time, or even distanced himself from in some of his tales. He admittedly, despite his humble beginnings, gained the recognition of the bourgeoisie as an artist, but throughout his life and in many of his tales he demonstrates a strongly ambiguous relationship to this same bourgeoisie. This particular tale starts as follows:

> It was in Copenhagen, in one of the houses on East Street, not far from King's Newmarket, that someone was giving a large party. For one must give a party once in a while, if one expects to be invited in return. Half of the guests were already at the card tables, and the rest were waiting to see what wouldcome of their hostess's query: "What can we think up now?" (Andersen 1838, 98)

The introduction is driven forwards by a marked irony which demonstrates that social life is mainly a question of repetitions and emptiness — and the rest of the passage continues in this vein. The men discuss the scientific treatise by the physicist Hans Christian Ørsted on the relation between old and new times, with Ørsted making a great point of emphasising the advantages of the modern age. But the councillor of justice with the funny name Knap (the Danish word can refer to both orders and buttons on a uniform) claims that the past, and the Middle Ages at the time of the Danish medieval King Hans in particular, were absolutely better than the present.

It is this pompous councillor of justice who ends up exchanging his own galoshes for those of Fortune when he is to go home — and immediately he finds himself in the midst of the muddy, dark medieval city. In the scene that now unfolds, Andersen does not pull his punches. The councillor of justice is a fatuous person who is lucky enough to finally lose the galoshes and therefore end up in back home in East Street, where he is obliged to praise the lighting, and thereby also modern life.

Head Stuck

It is not a friendly portrait that Andersen paints of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, nor are there only friendly about the dreamers in the other depictions. Even so,

Andersen does include a certain sympathetic understanding in his portrayal of the town watchman who finds the galoshes, for he longs to be freed from his cold, lonely job in the city streets at night. Via the galoshes he turns into a fine, love-stricken lieutenant, but even so longs for his own kindly wife and their tiny tots back home. His next dream is of the universe and the large full moon he can see in the night sky. He thinks to himself that his body could well remain here on the stairs where he is sitting and that only his soul could fly off to the moon. Which it does!

Andersen now explains the soul's journey to the moon in such a way that it becomes a whole scientific dissertation, one where the reference to the physicist Ørsted plays a certain role. In this way, an ironic distance is also introduced into the tale:

> All of us know how fast steam can take us. We've either rushed along in a train or sped by steamship across the ocean. But all this is like the gait of a sloth, or the pace of a snail, in comparison with the speed of light, which travels nineteen million times faster than the fastest race horse. Yet electricity moves even faster. Death is an electric shock to the heart, and the soul set free travels on electric wings. The sunlight takes eight minutes and some odd seconds to travel nearly one hundred million miles. On the wings of electricity, the soul can make the same journey in a few moments, and to a soul set free the heavenly bodies are as close together as the houses of friends who live in the same town with us, or even in the sameneighbourhood. However, this electric shock strips us of our bodies forever, unless, like the watchman, we happen to be wearing the galoshes of Fortune. (Andersen 1838, 108 – 109)

In this fashion, the tale continues about the soul's transmigration to the moon, about the physical nature of the moon and its "population" of strange creatures that live in soft cities of egg-white, are delicate souls and speak a mental language which, among other things, they use to discuss whether the earth can be inhabited, something they very much doubt.

In almost every way, it is the transcending of boundaries that is sought in this phantom journey to the soft landscapes of the moon, for the "scientific" presentation, which is punctuated so to speak by imaginative and humorous moments, walks a tightrope between grotesque and fantastic elements that erase the conventional boundaries between these different areas of reality.

From the journey to the moon, which ends when a passer-by in the street in Copenhagen steals the galoshes of the body of the town watchman without his soul, the tale now takes us on a grotesque journey. It is now the young interne at the hospital who arrived too late and sees that the wrought-iron gate of Frederiksberg Hospital is closed, but he is sure he can squeeze between the railings. All goes well with most of his body. But his head gets stuck in the railings, and this incident is symbolically what happens to those who think they can get past the railings of social life. He gets caught while trying to cross between two worlds and becomes a terrible source of ridicule, just as Hans Christian Andersen probably recalled all his life that he had been the first few times he stuck his neck out to try and gain access to high-class places.

The Ambiguous Ascent

The fun continues through the sections where the so-called copying clerk, an office employee, takes the form of a lark and has to flee from the cat's claws. In paradoxical fashion he says, because he has heard a parrot repeating time and time again, the sentence: "Come now, let us be men!" — and this restores him to his original body and his original position at the desk as a copying clerk who, like a parrot, repeats and repeats. The copying clerk rejects his out-of-body experience as "all nonsense from beginning to end", i. e. some form of magic enchantment, such as only exists in a strange and completely unreal dream.

In the sixth and last of the small tales, a transmigration of souls also takes place. A young theologian borrows the galoshes and, because he hears the sound of a stagecoach horn in the street, he exclaims: "Oh to travel, to travel. That's the most pleasant thing in the world!" (125) and he happens to mention Switzerland as his dream destination — and suddenly he finds himself in a tightly packed diligence in Switzerland. He then is borne off on the wings of his dream as a tourist to various parts of Italy, but only travels on tourist class, so to speak, for he gets bad food to eat and is bitten by mosquitoes, so he now wishes:

> "Traveling," said the student, "would be all very well if one had no body. Oh, if only the body could rest while the spirit flies on without it. Wherever I go, there is some lack that I feel in my heart. There is always something better than the present that I desire. Yes, something better-the best of all, but what is it, and where shall I find it? Down deep in my heart, I know what I want. I want to reach a happy goal, the happiest goal of all." (Andersen 1838, 127 – 128)

The theologian now immediately returns in his ethereal form as a soul to his home, where his body lies inanimate and dead in a black coffin:

> Long white curtains draped the windows, and in the middle of the floor a black coffin stood. In this he lay, sleeping the quiet sleep of death. His wish was fulfilled – his body was at rest, and his spirit was free to travel. (Andersen 1838, 128)

The explicit narrator of the tales then reflects more about the dead body by citing the words of the antique poet and statesman Solon that one can call no man happy until he rests in his grave. Fortune is fleeting and transient. Only at death is one's fate determined and the thread finally spun. The narrator also reflects on the enigma of the sphinx, as it is called, for "Shall I arise only in the graveyard grass?" (Andersen 1838, 128). Is the body all there is, or do we have a soul that travels to the far side? Here in the story the problem solves itself, for Care, one of the two fairies, shows herself to be merciful and removes the galoshes from the dead man in the coffin. And the theologian is immediately alive once more. But Care takes the galoshes with her, for, as Andersen ends his story in bitter and ironical fashion: "She proba-

bly regarded them as her own property" (Andersen 1838, 129).

By means of his tale of the magic galoshes, Hans Christian Andersen has presented in artistic form a desire for leave-taking and transformation that is fulfilled. In this magic story, meeting the man in the moon or travelling in beautiful Italy presents no problem, just as a journey back to the time of King Hans in the Middle Ages is also possible. For all of these journeys, these leaps in time and space, however, one has misfortune or care as one's travelling companion. All of the characters get into scrapes: the councillor of justice ends up in the mud, the interne gets his head caught in the railings, the copying clerk is in danger of the cat's claws but able to escape by his parrot-like behaviour. They all manage to get out of a tight corner, which every time proves itself to be Care's domain, by returning to the point of departure in the same body, the same place, the same function.

So the tale has to do with the strange imbalance of the human mind. People cannot accept finding themselves where they find themselves socially, physically and as regards their level of awareness. They long to get beyond time and place, beyond their own experiences, beyond their own limitations. All the time they want to be somewhere else, and often even in another body. Perhaps there is a different, more profound longing behind this earthly longing, i. e. the desire to only be a soul, a longing for death and a resurrection in the divine robes of the soul.[4] That is probably how one is to understand Andersen's artistic reflections in "The Galoshes of Fortune", as, by the way, in a whole series of his tales. The tale captures and interprets human restlessness that does not lead anywhere — and certainly not to happiness. Human beings are to live life here on this good earth and leave the rest to God.

What makes this tale so modern and so instructive is its thematisation of the relation between longing and binding, one that is admittedly described in an infinitely amusing and ironical fashion, but which is also written with the seriousness that characterises the course of Hans Christian Andersen's own life. All through his life, he longed to get beyond himself and his own situation. The restlessness, the modern aspect of Andersen, led to great art that transcended norms, conventions and genres, just as it took Andersen on his travels. The restlessness and ambiguous attitude to time and place and identity that Andersen stages here artistically seems to have become a social and existential condition for access to the reality of present-day welfare society, which requires the single individual to constantly leave behind the patterns and perception of reality it had and regarded as being universally accepted a moment earlier. The portrayal of the eternal restlessness, the desire to become happy in a different figure or form, is one of Hans Christian Andersen's greatest artistic achievements — and it is this that makes his art so modern. For it contains within it the insoluble existential conflict of the mould-breaker.

Notes

1. See Anne-Marie Mai. Hvor litteraturen finder sted. Moderne tider 1900 – 2010. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2011. 283 – 347. Nils Gunder Hansen (ed.). Velfærdsfortœllinger: Om dansk litteratur i velfœrdsstatens tid. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2010. Johs. Nørregaard Frandsen et al. Den

centrale periferi. Aarhus: Hovedland, 1994. 38 – 72.

2. I quote "The Galoshes of Fortune" from the translation by Jean Hersholt. See www. Anderson. sdu. dk/vaerk/hersholt/The Galoshes Off Fortune/html. Online. The pages stated refer to the Danish edition. See Hans Christian Andersen. "Lykkens Kalosker". Tre Digtninger (1838). Samlede Eventyr og Historier. København: Gyldendal, 1962. 98 – 129.

3. See Klaus P. Mortensen, Tilfældets poesi. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2007. 62 – 64.

4. See Klaus P. Mortensen. Tilfældets poesi. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2007. 63 – 65.

Works Cited

Andersen, Hans Christian. "Lykkens Kalosker". Tre Digtninger [1838]. Samlede Eventyr og Historier. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1962. 98 – 129.

Andersen, Hans Christian. "Lykkens Kalosker". (The Galoshes of Fortune. Translated by Hersholt). www. Anderson. sdu. dk/vaerk/hersholt/The Galoshes Off Fortune/html.

Andersen, Jens. *Andersen: En biografi*, vols. I-II. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2005.

Detering, Heinrich. *Hans Christian Andersen.* Berlin/München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011.

Frandsen, Johs. Nørregaard et al. *Den centrale periferi.* Aarhus: Hovedland, 1994.

Hansen, Nils Gunder. ed. *Velfærdsfortællinger: Om dansk litteratur i velfærdsstatens tid.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2010.

Mai, Anne-Marie. *Hvor litteraturen finder sted: Længslens tidsaldre 1800 – 1900.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2010.

Mai, Anne-Marie. *Hvor litteraturen finder sted. Moderne tider 1900 – 2010.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2011.

Mortensen, Klaus P. *Tilfældets poesi: H. C. Andersens forfatterskab.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2007.

de Mylius, Johan. *Forvandlingens pris: H. C. Andersen og hans eventyr.* Copenhagen: Høst & Søn, 2004.

---. *Myte og roman. H. C. Andersens romaner mellem romantik og realisme: En traditionshistorisk undersøgelse.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1981.

Müller-Wille, Klaus. ed. *Hans Christian Andersen und die Heterogenität der Moderne.* Tübingen/Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 2009.

Wullschlager, Jackie. *Hans Christian Andersen: The Life of a Storyteller.* London/New York: Penguin Books, 2000.

责任编辑:易立君

The Roles of Writers in the Danish Welfare State

Anne-Marie Mai
Institute of Literature, Culture and Media Studies, University of Southern Denmark
55 Campusvej, 5230 Odense M, Denmark
Email: ammai@ litcul. sdu. dk

Abstract Welfare is a well-established concept in a Danish political and literary context, and it has given rise to strong differences of opinion between literature, culture and state. The article presents the Nordic welfare model, introduces the discussions on the function of literature from the 1950s to the present day and the literary welfare themes.
Key words The Nordic welfare model; Danish literature; literary culture; framing; the function of literature

In the golden age of the Danish welfare state, from the mid-1950s to around 1980, art and literature are one of the hottest subjects in the public debate. Fierce political debates and popular resistance accompany the establishing of the Danish Arts Foundation in 1964, with public discussions about funding for writers and artists in the welfare state a recurrent theme over the following decades. It really provides food for thought that several of the objections to the Arts Foundation and its dispensations raised in the 1960s and 1970s are still alive and kicking in the 2010s.

However, even though the debate on the Danish Arts Foundation and the funding of literature is easily recognisable decade after decade, the discussions are nevertheless accompanied by many attempts from writers both young and old to break new artistic ground both thematically and formally, to challenge the welfare-state public and their own artistic roles.

The Jewel in the Welfare State Crown — the Scandinavian Model

The Danish welfare state comes into existence via a number of legislative initiatives from the second half of the 1950s up to the present day. Parallels and comparisons between the structure of the Danish welfare state and relations in the other Nordic countries are often made (Christiansen 2006). A number of researchers talk about a Nordic model for the welfare state that seriously gets underway in the period after the Second World War.

In a Danish context, the new laws and schemes for an old-age pension from 1956 were the first icon of the welfare state. These gave all Danish citizens the right to receive the basic pension irrespective of their economic situation. The welfare state is thus based on a principle of universalism, which means that it is citizenship that guar-

antees the individual social rights.

Apart from universalism, welfare research emphasises that the Scandinavian model is characterised by its granting the individual a certain degree of independence from the labour market via social guarantees and schemes in connection with education and training, pregnancy, unemployment or illness. The so-called flexicurity model (an expression that first emerges around 1995) promotes a flexible labour market that can easily adapt to changing economic situations and demand for commodities and labour (Klindt 2009). Additionally, the Scandinavian model is typified by the public authorities intervening and offering benefits within family area in the form of day-care centres for children, leisure activities for young people, centres for the elderly, assistance in the home for old people, and help to the sick (Esping-Andersen 1990).

It is possible, as the welfare researchers Jørn Henrik Petersen and Klaus Petersen point out, to choose to adopt either a broader or a narrower definition of the welfare state. A broad definition regards the welfare state as an overall term for the entire societal architecture, one that also comprises values and ideas that form the basis for the Danish welfare state, including science, art and literature. A narrow definition focuses on concrete political areas such as pensions, education and training, housing, culture or health(Petersen et al 18).

Whichever definition one chooses, it is important to note that the various political areas are knit together and are all part of the establishment of a new type of society, one based on a modified form of capitalism.

A group of Nordic welfare researchers, including Klaus Petersen, summarise their considerations of the Nordic model in the following way:

> Nevertheless, in the post-war years, there seems to have been developed fairly parallel plans for 'the good society' in political parties and among social engineers in the Nordic countries. The new interpretations of the political goals included neither the classical liberalistic nor the socialist utopias, but a new type of society, a modified capitalism. To various extents, all the political agents wanted to keep the market forces under control. The ambition of the Social Democratic party and, to a lesser degree, the Liberal and Conservative parties was to fit all policy dimensions into a framework that gradually took the form of a welfare state. Social security pensions, care of the elderly, the children, the handicapped, health services, education, research, and cultural policies were all firmly knit together. Apart from the non-Social Democratic left, all political parties had agreed upon economic growth as a precondition for welfare. (Klausen et al 21)

In a Danish context, cultural policy was the large major legislative area in the golden age of the welfare state in the 1960s. It was as if the establishment of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs in 1961 and the law relating to the Danish Arts Foundation (1964) added the finishing reformist touch to a Danish-Design crown. Artists and politicians came together to discuss frameworks and ideas for the ministry and the legislation that

came into being in the mid-1960s. At meetings at Krogerup Højskole and the Louisiana museum in autumn 1960, Social Democratic and Social Liberal politicians met with the head of Louisiana, Knud W. Jensen, and the writers Ole Wivel, Bjørn Poulsen, Thorkild Bjørnvig, Elsa Gress, Erik Aalbæk Jensen, Peter Seeberg and Villy Sørensen to discuss the relationship between the state and the arts and the obligation of the state to support quality art.

The Social Democratic prime minister Viggo Kampmann was personally interested in art and literature and he asked for a dialogue and guidance from the artists with regard to social life: "If only those who are culturally interested were prepared to leave their critical stance behind and start to give us advice in a kindly and understanding fashion, much would have been gained. Naturally, they can back out, but they should clearly understand that government will carry on regardless," he stated in a birthday interview with Ejvind Larsen in *Information* in 1960 (Larsen 5). Here, he also expressed his ideas about making culture a real asset in the development of society. The interview was the direct cause of the meetings at Krogerup and Louisiana.

Kampmann also felt that those in the Ministry of Education, which had been responsible for the area of culture until that point, had been far too passive. Denmark was beginning to lag behind other countries (Rohde 1996). The Social Democratic congress of 1957 had just received a large petition from 79 prominent artists and scientists, who feared that the post-war society was well on the way to becoming too strongly oriented towards technology and economics. One was on the point of forgetting science, education and art, and the prospect of "passive cultural life", i. e. the successful entertainment industry, was viewed as problematic. The individual ought to be made independent and emancipated to "cultural self-activity". Among the many artists who signed the petition were the writers Halfdan Rasmussen, Erik Knudsen, Karl Bjarnhof, Knut Becker, Henning Ibsen, Siegfrid Pedersen and Lise Sørensen.

In this way, welfare policy — especially via Viggo Kampmann's initiative — also came to include art and literature, with universalism being the underlying principle. Art and literature were to help to keep all of society "alive and mobile" (Petersen 70).

In 1965, the writer Anders Bodelsen made use of the concept citizenisation of artists in connection with welfare-state cultural policy. In a leading article in the periodical *Perspektiv* he argued that the various initiatives to do with arts funding was a veritable enrolment of the artist in society, and a chance for artists to be able to live under the same conditions as their audiences. Artists could be satisfied with their "welfare and consumer situation" (Bodelsen 4) and moreover criticise both people in general and themselves in particular. From Bodelsen's point of view, artists were now very much on their way out of the Romantic realm of the spirits and their traditional outsider situation: They had arrived in the present and in welfare society. "No artist has ever suffered from knowing the society he possibly opts out of or chooses to generate," Bodelsen claimed.

An Undying Debate

When one studies statements made by the many fierce protagonists in the Arts Foun-

dation debate of 1965, it is clear that there are four main positions: debaters who oppose funding as such; debaters who oppose the forms of art being supported; debaters who oppose the system that has been established; and debaters in favour of the Arts Foundation funding dispensed via the Arts Foundation system and its so-called arm's-length bodies that comprise both artists and experts. The "arm's length" principle was formulated as far back as the Krogerup/Louisiana meetings in 1960 in a discussion between the Social Liberal politician Jørgen Jørgensen and the writer Villy Sørensen.

The storekeeper Peter Rindal from the linen factory in Kolding became a symbol of popular opposition to Arts Foundation funding and to the kinds of art being funded. Rindal declared himself to be a warm supporter of books by such popular writers as Morten Korch and Ib Henrik Cavling, and his opposition had to do with both the experts' dispositions and the concept of supporting the arts: "We can't pay for something we don't like," he stated to *Information* (Rindal 1965), emphasising that it is the majority which is to decide what is art, and that artists must be able to live off their own work without support from the state. What Rindal perhaps did not realise was the fact that Morten Korch had received funding in the 1949 budget, along with such writers as Johannes V. Jensen, Martin A. Hansen and Tove Ditlevsen. The announcement of the dispensation of financial support to artists in the budget of 1948 is published in *Ekstra Bladet*(6.10.1948).

But there was no room for such niceties in the large-scale debate that was aggressively run by the newspapers *Jydske Vestkysten*, *Kolding Folkeblad*, *Vestkysten* and *Hejmdal*, which — to add bite to their arguments — sent photographers out to take pictures of scrap metal, cranes and pumps, which were then presented as modern pictorial art (Kastrip og Lærkesen 199). The provincial press also featured inflammatory articles stating that hard-working tax-payers were sure to be able to get a job polishing Klaus Rifsbjerg's stylish sports car while the writer took a holiday under warmer skies! (Jydske Vestkysten 2)

On the TV front, the level-headed journalist and art connoisseur Flemming Madsen was sent to Esbjergs Kunstpavillon to lead a major TV debate (Danmarks Radio, 12 March 1965), where both opponents and supporters were able to speak. "The blackest intolerance and the bitterest reactionism blended yesterday evening with a deep understanding of art as well as vaguer in-between points of view," Ole Schrøder wrote in his "TV Opinion" in *Ekstra Bladet* (Schrøder 10), and his description could also well apply to the confused picture the debate painted for the subsequent period.

However, it is clear from the 1965 debate that a number of the opponents of the Arts Foundation do not regard the arts as being something that has to do with society as a whole. Rindal, for example, has nothing against helping to pay for a bridge across the Great Belt, which he considered to be "a matter of common interest", but not for art and literature.

Other debaters, on the other hand, emphasise precisely the importance of art and literature for all of society. The Conservative writer Hans Jørgen Lembourn repeats the idea of the dangerous passivation that intellectuals had warned against in

1957, speaking warmly of the activising effect of art. Cultural policy must not be dictated by social causes but should promote activity and movement in society as a whole. If "the affluent society" is to avoid ending up as a "nanny state" with "overgrown babies" that are only capable of opening their mouths, art must challenge and force the public out into an active situation, emphasises Lembourn, who during the 1971 – 81 period was chairman of the Danish Authors' Society (Lembourn 6).

The last major battle in the first of the welfare-state art debates took place in 1967 and had to do with a proposal to support the establishing of culture centres throughout the country. The idea of culture centres came from France, where President de Gaulle's minister of culture, the author André Malraux, attempted to decentralise cultural life by setting up arts centres (Michelsen 30). In Denmark, the proposal was made in 1963 in the cultural affairs committee of the Danish Folketing, and a white paper was drawn up concerning the future culture centres. The aim of the new centres was to be to renew local cultural life and be meeting places where citizens could concern themselves with literature, the visual arts, music, drama and film as well as take part in study circles and leisure-time education. The director of the art museum Louisiana, Knud W. Jensen, publicly strongly supported the idea of using the new culture centres for chamber music, dramatic productions, films and art studios (Jensen 19). Culture centres would transform the new dormitory towns into environments where people could thrive — and thereby help fulfil an important task of welfare.

Bodil Koch, who was minister of cultural affairs 1966 – 68, had a bill prepared in 1967, but she decided not to present it in the Danish parliament because she feared that the centres would end up as strongholds of highbrow culture that had no popular backing. There was, in fact, support for the bill in the committee of cultural affairs, but several members of the culture centre committee were worried that the culture centres would start to compete with libraries and folk high schools — and critics in the public sphere had also made their voices heard.

The Arts Foundation debate seems to have caused Bodil Koch to think twice about attempting any more "top-down" initiatives, for she chose instead to prepare for a kind of cultural pause, even though she did not make direct use of this concept, which had been launched by Jens Otto Krag back in 1963 when he wished to curb the advance of the new Ministry of Cultural Affairs. As prime minister, Jens Otto Krag was critical of the ministry and its first minister, Julius Bomholt, whom he quite simply dismissed in 1964 and replaced with Hans Sølvhøj. "Culture-pause" is listed as having entered the language in 1962 (Jarvad 487).

The Social Liberal politician K. Helveg Petersen, who succeeded Bodil Koch as minister inthe 1968 – 71 period, expressed the view in connection with the local government reform of 1971 that the local authorities would now come to play a more active role in policies related to culture and art. In a feature article about the new cultural policy in *Ekstra Bladet* he begins to assert that culture is one of the most controversial and disputed areas of all, and that if one mentions the word "culture centre", one automatically causes offence: "Not at any price will one have such places for which the state takes the initiative and where it will attempt to impose a particular

cultural pattern" (Petersen 10). Gradually, however, the minister sneaks in the centre idea into the feature article, emphasising a model that encourages a cooperation between initiatives from the top and bottom of cultural life. His point is that the far too closed nature of the cultural debate will end, and that "our discussion of culture" will gain completely new dimensions. In addition, art has the "spin-off" effect of contributing to the national economy. An old argument to do with arts funding is brought forward, and the art and culture policy of the welfare state now also finds it universalistic principle in the economy: art benefits the economy of the country and thereby everybody's economy.

K. Helveg Petersen was proved right, and the double strategy — top-down and bottom-up in a single move — worked. Culture centres did actually emerge after the local government reform in both the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s in the form of centres known as "kulturhuse" that opened in many Danish towns. The centre in Århus, for example, opened in 1972, when local youth organisations took over the former Århus Museum building. New culture centres are still being established around the country and the concept of culture centres is actively being fought for through club and association activities.

The Arts Foundation debate has never really stopped. The various positions from 1965 are present throughout the whole period of the debate on arts funding. Inthe mid-1970s, the writer of children's literature Martin Elmer — a member of the representatives for the Single-Tax Party — added up the figures and criticised the fact that funding went to the same author year after year (Elmer 1976). Now Henning Mortensen has received a total of DKK 165,000 and Jørgen Leth DKK 109,000 Elmer remarked angrily in his comments on the report for 1975 – 76. In 2010, the same criticism is made by Leonora Christine Skov in a large-scale attack on the dispensation practice of the Danish Arts Agency and the Danish Arts Council (Skov 8). Here, among others, it was the writers Kirsten Hammann and Katrine Marie Guldager who came under fire for each having received, over a period of 17 years, DKK 2 million in funding. In 2011, Jens Chr. Grøndahl admittedly did not, as was the case in 1965, talk about Klaus Rifbjerg's cream-coloured sports car, but he did say that Danish writers for a whole generation had been on an Arts Foundation diet of "whipped cream and motherly care" (Grøndahl 1).

While the protests in 1965 started outside the ranks of the professional writers and politicians, the present-day discussions often flare up among professional debaters. At the newspapers' websites for Internet comments on articles and points of view it is still possible, however, to find Rindal's arguments and rhetoric being recycled, and at times the fundamental premises for the funding system are also questioned, as was the case, for example, in connection with the arts funding committee of the then minister of culture, Per Stig Møller, which took a look at the entire funding system in 2011.

Protests from the major trade unions and workplaces, however, belong to the 1960s. It is still possible as a politician to profile oneself by criticising the Arts Foundation and airing the thought of privatising arts funding, as the newly established Liberal Alliance party has done. The really large-scale debates on values that were

linked to the Arts Foundation in the 1960s have, however, shifted over to other policy areas such as health, the fight against terrorism, immigration and globalisation.

The undying discussion about the Arts Foundation can be perceived as a sign that art and literature have successfully been made a part of the welfare policy area, an area thatcan and shall be discussed and regularly adjusted, but where the answers are universalistic, even though the politicians find their justification for the universalism of the arts in various arguments such as: the arts contribute to the formation of a national identity; the arts promote growth; the arts contain quality, create internationalism and can be used to market Denmark as a brand.

All the parties that won seats in the Danish parliament in 2010 back the idea of arts funding out of societal considerations, although the Danish People's Party and the Liberal Alliance in particular wish to limit the state's influence and the nature and size of the funding.

The Differences of Opinion Between the Welfare State and Literature

When studying the differencesof opinion between literature and the welfare state, there are three areas in particular that overlap each other and that also affect the issue of the roles of writers: 1) literary thematisation of the living space and forms of experience of the welfare state and the reader relation of literature, 2) interpretations of the function of literature in the welfare state and the public debate, and 3) differences between literature and the framings of the welfare state's ideas and values in the political debate.

Within these three areas it is important to take a closer look at the distinctive nature of the literary discourse and its status in relation to other welfare-state discourses, at the political, pedagogical and communicational discourses that are publiclyused about the arts, and at the exchanges between various discourses that included literature. These areas are highly comprehensive subject areas in themselves that exceed the scope of this presentation. Here it will only be possible to look at a few examples of how various political, scientific and artistic discourses are present and interrelated during the establishment of the welfare state.

When defining the sociological and political relations concerning the differences of opinion between art and literature with the welfare state, it is relevant to include a sociological concept about the positioning of art and literature in particular societal fields. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the literary field can be interesting here, even thought it originates from his analysis of French literary culture in the 19th century, with many autonomous art groupings and various schools that flock round the Paris café tables of the time. The field concept can, however, contribute to a description of the social and conceptual complexity connected with the welfare states' framing of literature. Bourdieu defines the field in the following way as a particular social universe that has its own laws, and that functions independently of the political and economic laws. The existence of the writer as an actual figure and as a value is inseparable from the existence of the literary field as an autonomous universe that is equipped with specific principles for an evaluation of its practice and its work (Bourdieu 162 – 163).

In my opinion, this autonomy must, however, be modified: Literature is made independent as a social universe where writers, publishers and experts, not politicians and socio-economists, define artistic quality, lay down the agenda for literary renewal and create literary groupings and schools.

Particularly in the early phases of the establishment of the welfare state, one sees many underscorings of the idea that art and politics ought to be kept separate. The author Villy Sørensen expresses himself in no uncertain terms when he asserts that the welfare state wants artists to take on all sorts of other tasks than precisely art, but that it is a complete misunderstanding to try and get the artist to think along political lines (Claussen 34).

This point of view was later repeated by various groups of writers, not least by the poets of the 1980s, where Michael Strunge, Søren Ulrik Thomsen and Pia Tafdrup claimed that the prime obligation of the poet must be to create poems that constitute an enclosed linguistic reality, since they never address themselves or refer to an outside world. "If the poem has any aim whatsoever, it must be to resist demands from the outside," (Tafdrup 142). Pia Tafdrup wrote in her poetics *Over vandet går jeg* (I walk over the water, 1991). Jens Martin Eriksen did not lay claim to such a hermetic lyric poetics, but emphasised that the literary practice and political practice of the writer ought to be kept completely separate: "Literary practice develops in sovereign fashion, whereas political practice becomes that of every other human being," he states in his presentation at the conference "The Book's Situation" in 1990 (Eriksen, 17 – 18). At the same time, several of these authors actually became extremely active social debaters: Michael Strunge as a critic of the 1968 generation, Søren Ulrik Thomsen as ethicist with critical views on the physical and mental frameworks of modernism, Pia Tafdrup as a commentator on world events in her literary interviews and Jens Martin Eriksen as a writer of documentary books (together with Frederik Stjernfelt) on ex-Yugoslavia and on multiculturalism.

Literature is made independent, while also displaying varying poetics about its relation to society, and it becomes part of a complex feedback relation with other social fields because of the welfare state's resolve about the universalism of art. The modern and postmodern ages are therefore characterised by a dynamism between the literary fields, artistic trends and poetics and the societal and state institutions and players in the public debate.

Thematic and Relational Differences of Opinion

When it comes to the thematic differences of opinion between literature and the welfare state, it would appear that literature from the mid – 1950s up to the present day deals artistically with a whole series of changes to society and family life brought about by the policy of the welfare state.

This does not mean that all literature in the welfare state deals with the thematics of welfare. But there are a numberof important literary works where the theme is present. The advent of welfare policy is actually accompanied in the literature by a number of portrayals of the new society that is coming into being. The literary expert Lasse Horne Kjældgaard has dealt with the utopias, dystopias and the realistic narra-

tives that are linked to the thematisation in literature of the expanding and crisis-hit welfare state in the period from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s (Kjældgaard 2009). Using analyses of works by, in particular, Anders Bodelsen, Henrik Stangerup and Svend Åge Madsen, Kjældgaard examines how literature relates the realities of the welfare state and the consequences that can follow in the wake of the state taking over responsibility for family life.

Characteristic for the literature from the mid-1950s to the present day is that a variety of key works have dealt with welfare themes. This applies to an often debated fear of an overprotective state, which is not only dealt with by Villy Sørensen and Svend Åge Madsen in the 1960s and 1970s but also by writers of the 21st century, such as Lars Frost, who lets his "welfare trilogy" *Smukke biler efter krigen* (Beautiful cars after the war, 2004), *Ubevidst rødgang* (Unconsciously crossing against the red light, 2008) and *Skønvirke* (*Arts & Crafts*, 2011) end in a dystopia, a society at war and in crisis. A superficial hysteria about health is rampant, a serial killer is on the loose, and women have taken over all the powerful positions in the state and society!

The changes to family life and the relation between state institutions, the family and the individual have been an important welfare theme, and it is found both such classics as Kirsten Thorup's social-critical novel *Baby* (1977) and in contemporary works such as Helle Helle's book about personal relationships *Forestillingen om et ukompliceret liv med en mand* (The idea of an uncomplicated life with a man, 2002).

The changes to working life and social living space are also themes explored in, for example, the novellas ofTage Skou-Hansen in *Tredje Halvleg* (Third Half, 1971) about the old working-class districts and the new dormitory towns of the 1960s, in Jens Smærup Sørensen's novel *Mærkedage* (*Red-letter Days*, 2007) about the phasing-out of traditional agricultural culture, and in Kirsten Hammann's *Fra smørhullet* (*From the Cosy Little Corner*, 2004) about narrow-mindedness and unhealthiness in the double-loneliness of the welfare family.

Mental impoverishment resulting from living in the welfare state is treated in, for example, Klaus Rifbjergs *Det sorte hul* (*The Black Hole*, 1980), which deals with a middle-aged man who has climbed socially in the welfare state from the working class to the more prosperous middle class, but who mental is sucked directly into the blackest hole of existence, and in Kirsten Thorup's *Tilfældes gud* (*God of Chance*, 2011) about a good-natured career woman who ends up destroying both herself and the African she, with palpable welfare force and power, wants to rescue from poverty.

The theme of youth's criticism of the welfare state can be seen in, for example, Michael Strunge's poems *Skrigerne* (*The Screams*, 1981), which describes the revolt of the punk generation against their parents from the 1968 generation, who have taken the safe path to a middle-class job, family life and a fat pension. The lives of the elderly at welfare institutions has become another major theme, now that the well-known author figures of the welfare state, such as Anders Bodelsen, are themselves reaching old age.

The welfare-state themes point to the possibilities literature has to give the reader insight into all aspects of life, the lives and feelings of their fellow-citizens, both the those that resemble the readers' own, and those that differ from them. The writer

Sven Holm spoke as early as in 1966 of the artist as "the last member of society that has the *entire* human being as his speciality" (Claussen 94).

One can obviously point to both criticism and empathy in many of the literary narratives on life in the Danish welfarestate. In this difference of opinion between literature and the welfare state, literature places itself at the disposal of its readers with its themes, its language, its images and its narratives, its insight into the welfare state. It thereby has an educative function that is often mentioned in the public debate on the importance of literature for the whole of society.

Even though literature is not read by all citizens of society and therefore does not always realise its entire educative potential, it nevertheless has an important societal function. Villy Sørensen intensifies such a way of thinking in his retrospective look at his own authorship and the major debates about art and society in his memoirs *På egne veje* (*My own separate way*, 2000). Here he writes:

> [···] art is just as necessary for the health of society as the dream of the health of the individual. Dreams are necessary, even if we cannot remember them; art is perhaps just as necessary, even though very few people are interested in it. (Sørensen 103)

The generation of writers who made their debut in the 1950s and early-1960s, and who made the transition to the artistic citizenship of the welfare state, often dealt with the theme of the human everyday problems of life in the new welfare state andthe possibly dystopian future perspectives of the system itself. But the generation of writers that followed immediately afterwards, and made their debut around 1965 – 67, and who were some of the first to be 'born' with citizenship and access to applying for Arts Foundation subsidies, went about things differently. These writers had emerged while the Arts Foundation debate was raging, and they had seen a cultural divide widening. And, in retrospect, it is clear that as writers they followed other paths than the thematic one when it comes to formulating in their writing and dealing with a difference of opinion between literature and the welfare state. Their works belong to a wide range of artistic tendencies, but they all share having the relationship to the reader often being an important aesthetic focus, no matter whether they work with documentarism, minimalism, confessional writing or experimental, fictional texts.

An early signal of a new orientation in art in general is to be found in the work of the pictorial artist Jens Jørgen Thorsen. In a large feature article in *Ekstra Bladet* in spring 1965 — in continuation of the Arts Foundation debate — Thorsen makes clear his objection to cultural radicalism, its rejection of pop music and popular mass culture and the "spectator art" it has promoted. Instead, Thorsen advocates an inclusive, experimental art with popular roots, along the lines of Asger Jorn and Henry Heerup.

In literature, the revolt against cultural radicalism and neo-radical modernism was underway, inspired by European and American literature and literary theory (Mai 2011). The postmodern aesthetics that opened up for dialogue and interpretation was used when the prose-writer Svend Åge Madsen made his books into DIY-kits, where

the reader personally had to construct a way forward, as in *Tilføjelser* (Additions 1967), the poet Vagn Steen published books with empty pages under the title *Riv selv* (*Tear It Out Yourself*) and *Skriv selv* (*Write It Yourself* – both from 1965), and the writer Charlotte Strandgaard published the documentary book *Herinde* (In Here, 1969) with proposals for a debate about young people's drug addition. The book consists of letters and statements from young drug-addicts about their relation to their parents, friends and the institutions of the welfare state. According to Strandgaard, the way out of the many problems the reader must personally try and help find. These reader-dialogue works thus operate with modernist, concretist and documentary poetics. What they all share is that literature and art from this new angle become a model for, and an example of, language and existence that the reader as well has to work on and use in his or her existence in general.

The French art critic Nicolas Bourriaud has later used the concept "relational art" about forms of art that work with an interactive relation to its public. Bourriaud conceives the work in itself as a meeting between artist and public. In the anthology *Relational aesthetics* (2005) he provides examples of the dialogical and relational aesthetics of contemporary art. Bourriaud deals with advanced installation projects and provocative forms of artistic expression. He claims that while art in earlier historical periods concentrated on the relation between humanity and God and later on that between humanity and the object, contemporary art is preoccupied with interhuman relationships, with its influence on the public. Art creates dynamic relations with other discourses in and outside art itself. The idea of art as a dynamic relation that refers to and includes various discourses and art forms adds a new dimension to the differences of opinion between art, literature and the welfare state. Bourriaud's concept of relational art has been criticised from several sides. Claire Bishop discusses Bourriaud's theories, pointing out that Bourriaud's ideas idealise both society and the subject (Bishop 2004).

Open works and relational literature appear in a Danish context to be attempts to transcend the semantic hierarchies of values that had become linked to the idea of the privileged insight of the modernist writer, to involve the reader and thereby bridge the then so controversial cultural gap. Writers and artists try to formulate themselves on the basis of Villy Sørensen's ideas about disquieting art which – as he described it in his debut feature article of 1954 — is to "gain an overview of the chaotic world, an Archimedean point in the abstract, in the unconscious, in the universal" (Sørensen 40).

In his generation anthology *eksempler* (1968), the writer and critic Hans-Jørgen Nielsen emphasised that the young poetry has abandoned the traditional subjectivist poetic role and the idea of the poem as cognition. Literature is to be examples, actions with things and words. We are dealing with a poetry "that is written between people, not for the people. Attempts to do the latter are not only futile but also involve a relapse to the old role of the poet as a kind of secularised priest that discovers the people" (Nielsen 177).

The youth revolt of 1968 created new frameworks for literature and art, since the political groupings and grass-roots movements that followed in its wake made use of

documentarism, fictional texts and confessional literature. The experience-based literature of the feminists (known as "red-stockings" in Denmark) was colourful and involved many self-taught writers who criticised family patterns and gender roles, wrote verse about burning their bras, cutting off their hair and turning being a woman over 40 into something festive.

The growth of the welfare state in the education system also meant that more young people actually got the chance to acquire art and literature. This, combined with the development of a large cheap book market, of bestsellers and new quality literature for children also strengthened the dissemination of literature.

The Functional Differences of Opinion

In continuation of the welfare thematics in contemporary literature, the educative aspect and the relational, open aesthetics in art and literature from the mid-1960s to the present day, it is a good idea to examine the functions ascribed to literature in the public debate in relation to the welfare state.

Many debaters in the early discussion of art and welfare emphasised that writers and artists possessed a special expertise when it came to the human problematics of the welfare state, and large sections of the literature and art have also been defined and interpreted as an expression of such a human understanding. The writer Leif Panduro, for example, acquired as a result of his TV plays the status of a senior psychologist who portrayed anxiety, loneliness and distance between people in the new affluent society with more insight and depth than anyone else. The large piles of letters Panduro received reveal him as being a "psychiatrist of the screen" (Jørgensen 290), who was sought out by people committed to psychiatric wards, people who did not dare come out of the closet as homosexuals, or persons trapped in the legal system.

Many viewers felt that Panduro understood them and their particular problems in relation to the public therapist system. He was a psychiatrist who defended them against the psychiatrists. One of the readers who sought out Panduro did so because she had the same name as one of this characters! Panduro maintained a correspondence with her for several years!

The quite tangible use of art and literature which Panduro experienced when people, after having watched his plays, asked for advice about their own lives also became part of the difference of opinion between literature and the welfare state. Literature was admittedly still read for its own sake, for aesthetic enjoyment and for entertainment, but it is also used as a possibility for communicating knowledge of and insight into psychological, social and gender-related difficulties and health problems. And here the function Villy Sørensen intended as psychologically in-depth and symbolising writing is actually linked to Hans-Jørgen Nielsen's conception of literature as an involved example of life and the use of literary texts by the grass-roots movement as proposals for the exchange of experiences and conversation.

One of the illnesses where literature is at present being used as an aid to patients and families is Alzheimer's (AD). A number of players within care of the elderly recommend the reading of literary texts if one wishes to have a greater understanding of the illness. The book by the Swedish writer Ulla Isaksson about the course of her hus-

band's illness *Boken om E* (*The Book about E*, 1994) is recommended in this context as well as Pia Tafdrup's poems about her father's illness and death in *Tarkovskijs heste* (*Tarkovsky's Horses*, 2006). The recommendations of these works are placed alongside specialised non-fiction and scientific articles about the illness.

Because of its thematics, its potential for experiencing and empathy and the training of citizens in its use through the education system, literature is one of the forms of expression that interacts with experiences, ideas and values in various areas of society.

This also applies for the whole conceptual framework of welfare, which is not a kind of open field of knowledge in the public debate, where research, business life and politics as well as literature and art are discussed by debaters from all corners of society.

Framing as a Difference of Opinion

The concept framing is used both in sociological and linguistic research when investigating how ideas and values appear and are linguistically formulated in the political debate. A couple of American examples can illustrate this.

The American sociologist John L. Campbell describes how sociology studies the politicians' framing of their policy in order to ensure it makes an impact. Frames function as normative and cognitive ideas and linguistic patterns that are placed at the forefront of the political debates. For example, the concept economic globalisation in the 1990s is used as a framing for the American shift to a neoliberal economic policy. In a similar way, political wishes to throttle back the American welfare reforms of the 1970s and 1980s are framed by concepts of special treatment of ethnic minorities, which creates divisions in the group of low-paid workers and ends by causing them to turn against the welfare reforms that actually benefit large sections of society. Campbell also mentions the skilful linguistic formulating of the European Union as an example of effective political framing (Campell 27).

The American language philosopher Georg Lakoff emphasises that the comparison of society with a family is an important frame in the American political debate: the Republicans frame the family of society as a patriarchal family with fixed rules, personal responsibility and the right to inflict corporal punishment, while the Democrats emphasise the family as being typified by parental care, where equality, freedom and a sense of community are established. According to Lakoff, framing is nor primarily about politics or political messages. "Frames" are mental structures, or schemata, that give us the opportunity to understand reality (Lakoff 25).

When it comes to the difference of opinion between artistic literature and the welfare state, one can notice how literature reacts to some of the widespread political frames and adopts a critical attitude towards them.

The concept of the welfare state itself appears in Social Democratic language use when Hans Hedtoft in his debate book *Mennesket i Centrum* (*Man at the Centre*, 1953) uses the concept "the people-governed welfare state" (Bomholt 7). Here, inspired by the British political discussion welfare ideas, he combines the word welfare with a concept of the state. The word welfare has a long tradition in literary history,

being found in such classical writers as Ludvig Holberg, Hans Adolf Brorson, Johannes Ewald, Hand Christian Andersen and N. F. S. Grundtvig, who, in accordance with normal language use at the time, used the word in referred to the individual's well-being, happiness, success and good conditions both in this life and the life beyond.

Hedtoft links the concept of welfare to a state system. The concept does not immediately occur in art and literature to any great extent, nor is it dealt with more closely. Welfare is still basically taken as referring to the individual level.

The political framing of the concept welfare and welfare state means that welfare as a concept is normally now seen as referring to something people have in common. If politicians talk about "welfare", "more welfare" or "lasting welfare", they do not mean the possibility the individual has for well-being and security in his or her personal life, but the individual's share of common welfare, or quite simply common welfare itself.

The concept of welfare forms what Georg Lakoff would call a deep frame in the Danish political debate, even though the political ideas concerning paths to welfare often take very different directions and the concept of the welfare state itself changes meaning and nature according to the context of which it is a part (Petersen 23).

In the mid-1950s, the concept welfare state was on its way to becoming a negative framing in the political debate. The Conservative opponents of welfare policy used the concept "formynderstat" (guardian state, or, popularly, "nanny state"). The term was first used in 1956 by the Conservative politician Poul Møller as a criticism of the consequences of Social Democratic policy concerning the welfare state (Madsen 107).

The concept of a paternalistic state was thematised in Villy Sørensen's *Formynderfortællinger* (*Tutelary Tales*, 1964). He deals with the principle of guardianship on the basis of psychological, religious, existential, social and political approaches. The tales deal among other things with states and societies that assume guardianship over their citizens, since the citizens either are deprived of, or voluntarily give up, their personal and social freedom and responsibility, after which an ominous conformity and uniformity ensues. Villy Sørensen himself claimed that he had absolutely not sought to portray present-day society, but had been interested to a greater extent in showing that social development can acquire its own negative logic if people do not also develop (Clausen 30).

The point of the tales in this context is that the emerging welfare state could end upbecoming a paternalistic system of government if people are incapable of mental growth. *Formynderfortællinger* became a literary classic, and the socially critical tale "A Glass Story", which deals with a modern uniformity and self-chosen conformity, was often included in anthologies and was subject to innumerable analyses in the school system.

The negative political framing of the welfare state by the Conservatives initially faded into the background, but the guardian concept still lives on in the political debate and is occasionally used — by a number of Liberal politicians, for example.

The growing demand for labour in the 1960s created a political framing of the in-

coming foreign labour force, who from 1965 were referred to as "guest workers", and from 1966 as "foreign workers" (Jarvad 308). The political framing was critically examined in the literature of the time, in both poems, songs and stories. Among the very first was the Turkish-born Murat Alfar with his poems *Memet en rejsende i arbejde* (*Memet, An Immigrant Worker*, 1974). Here Alfar portrays how an identity as an alien comes about via small shifts in everyday language and self-perception.

In the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, the political framing of globalisation and New Danes has been particularly controversial, both during a debate on values in the first period of the right-wing government under Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and later in connection with the increasing criticism of the tone of the debate about Islam and immigration after the right-wing terror action in Norway in summer 2011.

A number of writers who had their debut in the 2000s and 2010s, such as Eva Tind Kristensen and Maja Lee Langvad, publish critical texts precisely about language use and the framing of new Danes, nationality and globalisation.

Another example of political framing is the talk of the growing group of elderly people in Danish society as a burden or a ticking bomb underneath the welfare society in connection with the welfare policy discussions of the 1990s and 2000s. This framing has been critically dealt with in the literature by Lars Frost. In his welfare novel *Smukke biler efter krigen* (*Beautiful Cars after the War*) the somewhat naive main character Lasse thinks a long time about how morally deplorable it is to use such a term about a whole group of the population.

Differences of opinion between welfare state and literature are seen in the welfare state in various relations:

Firstly, politicians include literature and art in the universalism of the welfare idea; secondly, key works and texts from the 1950s to the present day thematise a number of the changes in family life, working life, education and demography that the welfare state involve; thirdly, political and artistic debaters formulate publicly ideas about the function of literature and the writer in the welfare state; fourthly, the political framing of the construction of the welfare state and the welfare debate itself are critically dealt with in the most important literary works of the period from the 1950s to the present day. Welfare is a well-established concept in a Danish context, and it has given rise to strong differences of opinion between literature, culture and state.

Works Cited

Andersen, Gøsta Esping-Andersen. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. London: Polity Press, 1990.

Bishop, Claire. "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics." *October*110(2004): 51 – 79.

Bodelsen, Anders. "Kunstnerens nye statsborgerliggørelse." (The New Citizenship of The Artist). *Perspektiv* 7(1965): 4

Bomholt, Julius. *Mennesket i Centrum* (*Man in the Centre*). København: Fremad, 1953.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

Campbell, John L. "Ideas, Politics and Public Policy!" *Annual Review of Sociology* 28(2002):21 – 38.

Christiansen, Niels Finn, et al. eds. *The Nordic Model of Welfare — a Historical Reappraisal*. København: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006.

Claussen, Claus. ed. *Digtere i forhør* (*Interviews with Poets*). København: Gyldendal 1966.

Elmer, Martin. "Brev til Kunstfonden." (Letter to the Art Foundation) in *Danish Arts Foundation's Report for* 1975 – 1976. 10 Sept. 2009. <http://www.litteraturpriser.dk/sk/sk757601.htm>.

Eriksen, Jens Martin. "At forvente det umulige." *Bogens situation*, *Kulturministeriets konference*. Ed. Kulturministeriet. København: Kulturministeriet, 1990.

Grøndahl, Jens Chr. "Forfattere i flødesovs." (Artist in Creme). *Politiken* 16.7(2011): Section 2, 1.

Gunder Hansen, Nils. *Velfærdsfortællinger* (Welfare Narratives). København: Gyldendal, 2010.

Helveg Petersen, K. *Kulturpolitisk redegørelse*. *Betænkning* 517, 1969. (On Culturel Politics. Report 517). København: Kulturministeriet, 1969.

---. "Kulturen – nu venter vi på kommunerne." (Culture – Now we are Waiting for the Local Counsil. *Ekstra Bladet*16.3(1970): 10.

Jarvad, Pia. ed. *Nye ord i dansk* 1955 – 1998 (New Danish Words). København: Hans Reitzel, 1999/1962.

Jensen, Knud W. "Kulturcentre." (Cultural Institutions). *Kulturoffensiv – en rigere hverdag*. Ed. Ole Vernerlund. København: Fremad, 1967. 19 – 37.

Jørgensen, John, Chr. *Leif Panduro. En biografi*. København: Gyldendal, 1987.

Kastrup, Anne Marie and Ivar Lærkesen. *Rindalismen. En studie i kulturmønstre*, *social forandring og kultursammenstød* (Rindalism. A Study of Cultural Patterns, Social Change and Cultural Conflicts). København: Hans Reitzel, 1979.

Kjældgaard, Lasse Horne. "Fremtidens Danmark: tre faser i dansk fiktionsprosa om velfærdMøllersstaten, 1950 – 1980." (The Future of Denmark. Three Stages in the Fiction on The Welfare State, 1950 – 1980). *Kritik*191(2009): 31 – 34.

Klindt, Mads Peter. *Institutionel komplementaritet mellem velfærdMøllersstat og arbejdsmarked* (*Institutional complementarity between welfare state and labour market*). Aarhus: Aarhus University. 2009.

Kristensen, Eva Tind. *Do*. København: Gyldendal, 2009.

Lakoff, Georg. *Thinking Points. Communicating our American Values and Vision*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Ciroux, 2006.

Langvad, Maja Lee. *Find Holger Danske* (*Find Oger le Danois*). København: Borgens Forlag, 2006.

Larsen, Ejvind. "Interview with Viggo Kampmann: I'm not actually all that tremendously interested in politics." *Information*25 – 26.6(1960): 5

Lembourn, Hans Jørgen. "Derfor." (That is Why). *Berlingske Tidende*5.3(1965): 6

Madsen, Henrik. *For velfærdMøllerens skyld? En analyse af de danske debatter om velfærdMøllersstat og medlemskab af EF* 1950 – 1972. (*An analysis of the Danish debates on the Welfare State and membership of the EC* 1950 – 1972). Syddansk Universitet: Syddansk Universitet, 2006. 20 July. 2007. <http://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles//Files/Om_SDU/Fakulteterne/Humaniora/Phd/afhandlinger/2007/Afhandlinger%2089_madsen%20pdf.pdf>.

Mai, Anne-Marie Mai. *Hvor litteraturen finder sted*. Vol 3 (*Where Literature Takes Place*). København: Gyldendal, 2011.

Michelsen, Ole. "Malraux' kulturhuse." (Malraux's Cultural Institutions). *Kriterion* 4(1967): 30 – 33.

Nielsen, Hans-Jørgen. *Eksempler. En generationsantologi*. København: Borgens forlag, 1968.

Petersen, Jærn Henrik, et al. eds. *Dansk velfærdMøllershistorie*(*History of the Danish Welfare State*)

Vol. 1. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010.

Petersen, Klaus. "velfœrdMøllersstaten i dansk politisk retorik." (The Welfare State in Danish Political Rhetoric). *Tidsskrift for velferdsforskning*, Oslo, no. 1, 2002.

Rindal, Peter. "Interview." *Information*25.2(1965):4

Rohde, Henning. *Om kulturministeriets oprettelse* (*On the Establishing of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs*). Published by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs on the occasion of its 35th anniversary, 1996.

Schrøder, Ole. "TV-Mening, Madsen, folket og kunsten" (On Television, Madsen, The People and The Art) *Ekstra Bladet*13.3(1965): 10

Skov, Leonora Christina. "Litteraturdebat på støttehjul." (Stabiliser for the Debate on Literature). *Weekendavisen* 29.10(2010): The Book Section: 8.

Sørensen, Villy. "Den sære Kunst og Virkeligheden." (Weird Art and Reality). *Berlingske Tidende*, 26.2(1954): 40

---. *På egne veje* (My own separate way). København: Gyldendal, 2000.

Tafdrup, Pia. *Over vandet går jeg*(*I walk on water*). København: Borgen, 1991.

责任编辑:王　卓

The Dialogic and Religious Theme of Welfare in Harald Høffding and the Authors Around *Heretica*

Anders Thyrring Andersen
Institute of Literature, Culture and Media Studies, University of Southern Denmark
55 Campusvej, 5230 Odense M, Denmark
Email: ata@ litcul. sdu. dk

Abstract Contradicting the belief that Danish modernist literature is solely of a secular nature, this article aims to show how religious ways of understanding have been of crucial importance for the literary idiom and the theme of welfare. A short description is given of the dialogic and religious theme of welfare in Danish post-war modernism, as it was expressed by the authors around the magazine *Heretica*. For these authors truth lies in intersubjectivity. The meeting between people engaged in dialogue is where the collective creation of meaning takes place. These authors were qualifying the early welfare state in a particular way with the assertion that a relationship to one's surroundings, based on dialogue and a religious mode of interpreting existence, is more conducive to a welfare-thinking than the idea of the sovereignty of the individual. As a basis for this, the article calls attention to an evident, but rather ignored condition of the modern conception of welfare. The Danish philosopher Harald Høffding was the first in the world to work out a welfare-principle. He expressed a dialogic and democratic standpoint, a fellowship and an ideal concerning equality, and consequently a distinct philosophical basis for the later realization of the formation of the welfare state. Høffding pointed out that welfare-thinking has a decisive precondition in the commandment concerning charity in the Gospels and the historical development of this in Christianity.
Key words welfare-principle; dialogue; religion; modernism; intersubjectivity

Existential and religious issues of the welfare state in Danish post-war literary modernism, constitutes a neglected field of critical inquiry. Contradicting the widespread belief that the modernist literature of the welfare state is solely of a secular nature and has a cultural-radical foundation, this article aims to show how religious ways of understanding and of expression have been of crucial importance for the literary idiom and the theme of welfare.

Against the prevailing view of the period in Danish literary history, I argue that immediately following the war literature was seen as a place where the individual and the community were considered, debated and artistically articulated. The traditional account of Danish post-war modernism claims that modernist literature is secular and

deals with a lonely being in a world of fragmentation and meaninglessness. However, a closer and more open-minded study will show that a great number of the modernist works from the period are altogether different.

This has mainly to do with two factors. Firstly, it has to do with a distinct effort regarding dialogue. It is not in or by the isolated individual that meaning is found or created, but rather through the exchange between two or more subjects. Secondly, it has to do with a religious perspective, according to which the important measure is not formed by the values the lonely human intellect is able to set up, but by the values that are given to a human being, by other people, in corporation with others, or by an act of divinity. What is being longed for in a great number of these modernist works is to move beyond the isolated individual and, by means of a dialogue with the other, to move towards a sense of community. Very often this is carried out in an artistic practice where the reader is involved in a dialogic enterprise.

Harald Høffding: Welfare-Principle on a Christian Basis

This article aims to give a short description of the dialogic and religious theme of welfare in Danish post-war modernism, as it was expressed in the circle of authors around the magazine *Heretica* in the years immediately following the Second World War.

However, as a basis for this it should prove suitable first of all to call attention to an evident, but in the history of ideas rather ignored condition not only of the artistic formulations in postwar modernism of the theme of welfare, but also of the modern conception of welfare as such. Reading a number of the common expositions and examinations of the welfare state and its historical, political and religious preconditions I have noticed two things. How rarely the research has reached back to *The New Testament* — for instead mainly to talk about the protestant working morality and conduct empirical investigations of the attitudes of different religious groups towards the welfare state. And to what extent the significance of the Danish philosopher Harald Høffding (1843 – 1931) has been disregarded. Yet it was Høffding who was the first in the world to work out a welfare-principle, namely in his *Etik* (Ethics) in 1887. Today, Høffding is not widely known, but in his lifetime and up to the 1950ties he was an internationally famous philosopher, whose works were translated into many languages and who was several times nominated for the Nobel Prize.

In the abandonment of the Christian ethics, positivism had to try to give the grounds for a morality which does not seek refuge with a divine authority. The contribution of Harald Høffding lies in continuation of the utilitarianism in Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806 – 73), whose normative theories on ethics claim that the correct action ethically is the one that compared to the other options, produces the greatest amount of positive values. And that means that the ethical values of an action depend on its ability to increase the amount of happiness. The principle of utility is formulated this way: The greatest possible happiness for the greatest possible number of people. Among the problems in this ethics are how different forms of values can be compared, which yardstick they can be measured by, and how a just and/or fair distribution of boons can be based.

To a great extent Harald Høffding replaced the conceptions of utility and happi-

ness with "the principle of welfare": a specification of the yardstick that must be used when evaluating actions. The object of the welfare-principle is not the individual or momentary inclination, rather the lasting vital necessities of the human race, and therefore it places the point of judgment at the effects of an action. As a consequence, in Høffding's *Etik* there is no rule of universal validity concerning ethics — egoism is not in philosophical meaning unethical, but it is inexpedient from the view of the common good and in regard to the freedom of the others. To form an ethics, it is necessary to choose a standpoint, an end, for which you want to act. You can choose only to show consideration for yourself, for your family, your social class, your nation, or the human race, but Høffding argues in favor of the universal humanity: the potential conflict between the individual and the society is solved in seeing the display and development of the single human being as the purpose of the society. But this end will be achieved by a citizen in the best way when he not only asserts his independence, but also with love gives himself to the others.

In 1889, two years after the publication of Harald Høffding's *Etik*, the literary historian Georg Brandes (1842 – 1927) published the article "Aristokratisk Radikalisme" (Aristocratic radicalism) in the magazine *Tilskueren*. In this article Brandes joined several of the viewpoints of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), among others that a democratic society is a leveling organization, an inane mash and a barbarism without culture or strength. On the contrary the only task of the human race is to producea few great human beings, who are the purpose of history and mankind. The people are the detour that nature makes to produce these few greats, as the large quantity of people can be only one of three things: bad copies of the great ones, opposition against the great ones, or a tool for the great ones. The many shall obey, the few command. And the few are the geniuses, the supermen, who also in the political sense shall seize the power and rule — in opposition to the morality of welfare, which is built upon the slave morale of Christianity, the small people envying the great. According to Nietzsche and Brandes, progress must instead be measured by victims, as there is no progress in preserving the lives of the weak and useless people, but only in bringing up a stronger, higher kind of man, no matter how many mediocre lives that may cost: "En jævn Middelmaadighedslykke sikret det størst mulige Flertal af de elendige Kreaturer, vi nu til Dags kalde Mennesker, vilde for ham [Nietzsche] intet virkeligt Fremskridt være. Men for ham [···] vilde Opfostringen af en stærkere, højere Menneskeart end den, som omgiver os ('overmennesket'), selv om den kun kunde opnaas ved at Masser af Mennesker, som vi kende dem, ofredes til Bedste derfor, være et stort, et virkeligt Fremskridt." (A plain happiness of mediocrity ensured the greatest number of those miserable livestock that nowadays are called human beings, would for him [Nietzsche] not constitute any real progress. But to him [···] the bringing up of a stronger, higher kind of man than the one that surrounds us ("the superman"), even if it only were possible to reach that goal by the sacrifice of lots of people as we know them, would be a great, a real progress.) (Brandes/ Høffding 33).

In other words, Georg Brandes, who wholeheartedly joins the views of Nietzsche, dissociates himself from the ideal of the greatest possible happiness for the

greatest number of people. To Brandes, the issue is happiness for the best and strongest, who necessarily must despise the crowd over which they rule. As it at one point is summarized: "Næsten er noget, der skal overvindes." (One's neighbor is something which must be overcome.) (Brandes/Høffding 42) — at the expense of his fellow creature the great human being must be his own creator and legislator. "Det er godt at være uselvisk, siges der. Men hvad vil det sige: godt? Godt for hvem?" (It is good to be unselfish, they say. But what does that mean: good? Good for whom?) (Brandes/Høffding 23). Here the modern concept of humanity and the collective idea of happiness are undermined. Happiness and welfare becomes the prerogative of the sovereign individual and equals the creation and liberation of this individual.

In a succeeding issue of *Tilskueren* Harald Høffding put forward an objection in the form of the article "Demokratisk Radikalisme" (Democratic radicalism), in which he in the light of his principle of welfare rejects the philosophy of the superman — as great people according to the welfare-principle are tools for more extensive ends than themselves, namely what they are working for. To Høffding and the welfare-principle it is all about the development of human beings who can work for the things that can be beneficial to the greatest possible number of people. And that is the measure for greatness: the ability to work for as much welfare for as many people as possible: "[…] fremfor alt gælder [det] om at udvikle Mennesker, som i stort Omfang og med stor Kraft kunne arbejde for, hvad der kan komme mange, maaske alle til Gode. […] Og hvilken anden Maalestok har man for Storhed, der skal være ét med storstilet Godhed, end netop den: om der er Vilje og Ævne til at arbejde for saa stor velfœrdMøller som muligt, for saa mange som muligt?" ([…] above all the most important thing is to develop people, that in a large scale and with great power could work for things of benefice to many, maybe everybody. […] And what other measurement do you have for greatness than precisely that: if there is will and ability to work for as much welfare as possible, for as many people as possible?) (Brandes/Høffding 56).

Harald Høffding defines welfare as "den til sund og kraftig Livsvirksomhed knyttede Lystfølelse)" (the feeling of pleasure tied to healthy and vigorous activity of life) (Brandes/Høffding 59), and the principle of welfare is defined as a democratic principle, as it has the universal good in mind: "velfœrdMøllersprincippet er et demokratisk Princip, for saa vidt det forbyder at glemme de manges Lidelser over de faas Nydelser." (The principle of welfare is a democratic principle, as it forbids that you forget the sufferings of the many in favor of the pleasures of the few.) (Brandes/Høffding 67).

Harald Høffding's point is that the greatest feeling of happiness comes from using one's strength for a purpose that reaches beyond oneself: "[…] han vil kunne have den største Lykkefølelse, den, at raade over et stort Fond af Kraft, som anvendes til et Formaal, der ikke blot omfatter hans egen Person, men uendelig mange flere." ([…] the person that will be able to experience the greatest feeling of happiness is the one which possesses a big fund of strength, that is used for a purpose which not only includes his own person but infinitely many more.) (Brandes/Høffding 60).

And this in turn is due to the fact that everything, including the lives of the small and the great people, is connected and is part of a whole: "De levende Væseners Kaar ere indfiltrede i hverandre." (The conditions of the living creatures are entangled in each other.) (Brandes/Høffding 57). Because: "[…] i langt flere Tilfælde, end man hidtil har tænkt sig, er Individernes Lykke solidarisk, naar man blot gør sig Umage for at finde de fælles Betingelser." ([…] in far more instances that you previously have thought, the happiness of the individuals is a thing of solidarity, as long as you just make the effort to find the common conditions.) (Brandes/Høffding 67).

In other words, here Harald Høffding is expressing a dialogic and democratic standpoint, a fellowship and an ideal concerning equality — and consequently a distinct philosophical basis for the later realization of the formation of the welfare state.

During the article, Harald Høffding a few times points out the historical and religious preconditions for this mindset and perception. The first time as part of an argumentation for, that the genuine intellectual aristocracy will not, as Georg Brandes thinks, perceive itself as an end, but as a means to an end: "Det højeste er at være den store Tjæner. Det gamle Ord beholder sin Sandhed (det er jo ogsaa sagt af et Stormenneske): "Den iblandt eder, som vil være stor, skal være de andres Tjæner". Æren er den, at være det store Middel, at være meget for de mange" (The highest is to be the great servant. The old Word is still true (as it is said by a truly great man): "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister". The honor is to be the great means, to be of great importance for the many.) (Brandes/Høffding 61).

The inlaid quotation is from The Gospel according to Matthew and Luke, and the great man who spoke these words, was of course Jesus. As it is expressed in Matthew: "[…] Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (*The King James Bible*, 20,25 – 28).

This "inversion of values" takes place everywhere in the Gospels: God comes not in the form of a king, but as the son of a poor craftsman, and Jesus says, that God has hidden the path to salvation from the wise, the sensible, de clever ones, those which usually is in charge amongst human beings, and instead has revealed the path to salvation to the ones without authority, the simple ones, the poor, all those that normally are nothing in the eyes of the world. Jesus states that the first shall be the last, and the last shall be the first. The Son of God came to the human beings to be their servant, to give his life for their sake.

Harald Høffding's second pointing out the preconditions of the mindset of the welfare-principle comes in the form of a contradiction of the assertion of Georg Brandes, that Julius Caesar guaranteed for every progress in that age. The answer of Høffding is:

Det virkeligt grundlæggende fandtes ved Oldtidens Slutning snarest i det, som

> bevægede sig i den store Masse, hos de mange smaa, de foragtede og de lidende. Her kom noget frem, som viste sig at have mere Livskraft i sig end Cæsars Værk. Af Askesens, Dogmatismens og Overtroens Svøb har der udviklet sig paa den ene Side en Selvfølelse, en Følelse af Værd selv hos det ringeste Menneske, en Følge af den Vøgt, Kristendommen lagde paa hvert enkelt Menneskes Sjæl og dens Frelse, paa den anden Side en inderligere og mere omfattende Menneskelighedsfølelse end man hidtil havde kendt. Det blev de nye Kræfter, der kunde føre Slægten videre. De blev ikke skabte af Kristendommen. De ædleste Strømninger indenfor den græske Filosofi førte dem med sig; men de styrkedes, inderliggjordes og udbredtes ved Kristendommen. De bedste Mænd paa Kejsertronen i Rom vare i deres bedste Foranstaltninger besjælede af denne Aand. Men først under helt nye historiske Forhold kunde den i fuldere Maal komme til Gennembrud. Det er denne Aand, ikke Cæsars Aand, som er det sande Fremskridts Aand, omfattende alt, det store som det ringe. (Brandes/Høffding 63 – 64)

> (At the end of the antiquity the truly fundamental was, if anything, found in what was happening in the masses, the many small people, the despised and the suffering. Here something appeared which proved to possess more vitality than the work of Caesar. From the shawl of asceticism, dogmatism and superstition on the one hand a self-esteem has developed, a feeling of worth even in the lowest human being, as a consequence of the importance Christianity attached to the soul and salvation of every single human being, and on the other hand a more intense and extensive feeling of humanity than had been known till then. That became the new forces which were able to carry on mankind. They were not created by Christianity. The noblest aspects of Greek philosophy brought them along; but they were made stronger, were intensified and were widely distributed by Christianity. The best men on the imperial throne in Rome were in their finest arrangements animated by this spirit. But not until entirely new historic conditions it could to a larger extent have its breakthrough. It is this spirit, not the spirit of Caesar, which is the true spirit of progress, including everything, the great and the small.)

In this way, Harald Høffding attach the decisive importance to the role of Christianity in the development of the self-esteem, a value of even the most inferior human being, due to the significance that Christianity attribute to the soul and salvation of every single human being. This more intense and extensive feeling of humanity was made stronger was widely distributed by Christianity, the real vitality of the age. The Christian acknowledgement of the rights of those who are suffering, the deepening and expansion of the emotional life and of the view of the fellow human being, which in this way expresses itself, is the clearest precondition of the welfare-principle. Or in other words: the Christian commandment concerning charity is the most important historical basis for the democratic welfare. As it is said in the Gospel according to Matthew: "Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? [···] Thou

shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. [···] If thou wilt be perfect, go [and] sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come [and] follow me." (*The King James Bible*, 19,16 – 21).

Indeed Harald Høffding had his starting point in utilitarianism but he transcended it's more narrow principle of happiness, as the welfare-principle in the end does not identify the supreme good with the happiness of the individual, but considers the utmost purpose of being as the appearance of men of sterling characters, who have a feeling of happiness in working for the common good. And Høffding stated himself, that a decisive precondition of this was the commandment concerning charity in the Gospels and the historical development of this in Christianity. You could add, that even in *The Old Testament* it is of vital importance for happiness to live in a safe fellowship with other people, e. g. in Ecclesiastes: "Two [are] better than one; [···] For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him [that is] alone when he falleth; for [he hath] not another to help him up." (*The King James Bible*, 4,9 – 10). What an edifying formulation of the dialogic-religious basis for the modern concept of welfare with its idea of happiness built upon a feeling of solidarity.

Harald Høffding had an eye for that welfare-thinking has its origins in the concept of equality expressed in the commandment concerning charity in the evangelical accounts of Jesus Christ, which since as a consequence of the historical development of Christianity in a new way has marked human beings understanding of themselves, their relations to each other, and the way they organize their society. Right from the evangelical message that everybody has equal rights, to the Danish welfare-society, that was not based on a mentality of "noget for noget" (give and take), meaning that you get in the same measure as you have given, but based on a mentality of "noget for ingenting" (something for nothing), meaning that you can have without making an account for how much you have given. And that is precisely the relationship that exists in the Gospels between the gracious God and the sinful human being.

In Denmark, for most people Georg Brandes is synonymous with "the modern breakthrough", and therefore also a symbol of democracy and welfare-thinking. Contrary to this myth, Brandes was an antidemocrat, an adversary of Cabinet responsibility and disgusted with the concept of a society based on the principle of welfare. To him society was primarily to perceive as a thing that restrain the superman in his natural and beneficial self-realization. And that means that you strongly have to question a widespread understanding of a cultural-radical basis for the modern welfare state, and instead point to the welfare-principle of Harald Høffding on a Christian basis as a decisive precondition.

Heretica: Dialogic-Religious Modernisms

A great deal of the modernist literature in the Danish post-war period was centered around the renowned literary magazine *Heretica*, published in the years 1948 to 1953. This magazine must be seen as the centre of that particular tension between tradition and modernity, which was being articulated in the period 1945 – 65. The literary field around *Heretica* consisted of authors who broke through before the Second World War, e. g. Karen Blixen (1885 – 1962); some that broke through during the 1940s,

e. g. Martin A. Hansen (1909 – 1955), Ole Sarvig (1921 – 1981), Thorkild Bjørnvig (1918 – 2004) and Ole Wivel (1921 – 2004) and some that did not break through before the 1950s or even the 1960s, e. g. Jørgen Gustava Brandt (1929 – 2006), Tage Skou-Hansen (1925 –) and Per Højholt (1928 – 2004). In itself this is a very compound body of writers, inviting untraditional lines of connection as opposed to an account of modernism as unified and determined by conflicting generations. Actually, around the magazine three generations of authors would gather to create several kinds of modernism, which have informed Danish literature ever since.

In the years after the War *Heretica* was setting the agenda for the cultural debate and quickly received the status of a Parnassus. Today it is undoubtedly difficult to perceive, in its entirety, the significance of the gathering around this magazine and the aura by which it was surrounded, especially for young readers and poets. But *Heretica* was not merely a Parnassus, rather a melting pot for various thoughts and ideas on poetry. The name of the magazine suggests heresy or heretical writings, and *Heretica* were the voice of a group of authors, who manifested themselves with a new understanding of existence and a new literature opposing that outlook and literature, which had been dominant in the previous years, and according to many had failed in a definitive way in connection with the Second World War. Internally the editors and writers of the magazine disagreed on many subjects, but a marked common denominator was to emphasize the individual human being and art as counterweights to alienation, nihilism and mass ideologies of a political or cultural nature.

Heretica is often considered by Danish literary historians as representing an aloof and secluded form of late symbolism, located in an ivory tower or a waiting room, but a joint concern for most of the authors around *Heretica* was an active and engaged opposition towards the modern ideology which stressed the sovereignty of the individual and the ensuing relativism of values. To be sure, the modern experience is that everything is tied to a point of view and that nothing remains unaffected by it. At the same time, the authors around *Heretica* attempted by artistic means to show that it certainly is possible to combine the experiences tied to the point of view with a belief in and an interpersonal experience of the existence of points of view formed in human communities or by a divine entity. This meant that the authors around *Heretica* were creating and qualifying the early welfare state in a particular way with the assertion that a relationship to one's surroundings, based on dialogue and a religious mode of interpreting existence, is more conducive to a certain welfare-thinking than the worship of the lonely intellect and the promotion of the idea of the sovereignty of the individual, which has characterized Western Europe since Descartes (1596 – 1650) and the Enlightenment.

Consequently, in the works by the authors around *Heretica* we often find a certain kind of double understanding: from the viewpoint of the individual everything is fragmented, but from a viewpoint based on dialogue or religious belief all the parts are connected and everything has its meaningful place. Notable examples of literary expressions of this by members of *Heretica* are Martin A. Hansen's short story "Midsommerfesten" (Midsummer's Party, 1946) and Ole Sarvig's novel *Havet under mit vindue* (*The Sea Beneath My Window*, 1960). Yet, within the limits of this essay a

more practicable example is Peter Seeberg's (1925 – 99) short story "Patienten" (The Patient) (published in *Eftersøgningen*, The Search, 1962). The earliest part of Seeberg's work thematizes the traditional modernist issue of the lonesome and futile attempt by the individual to create meaning out of the apparently meaningless. However, in "Patienten" a decisive change in Seeberg's work occurs in so far as the solution to the problem of meaning and identity appears by virtue of something one is granted. In the short story a nameless I is attacked by the illness of modernity and welfare, "almindeligt bortfald" (ordinary lapse), which means that close to all limps and organs must be amputated and replaced by prostheses. After a while the patient begins to wonder if after this complete replacement he is still himself. In the last lines of the text a surprising answer to the question of "who am I' is given:

> "Kan du kende mig," siger jeg hver dag til min hustru, når hun kommer. "Ja, det kan jeg da," svarer hun og stryger mig over håret. "Elsker du mig," hvisker jeg, for jeg vil gerne vide det hver dag. "Jeg elsker dig mere end nogensinde," siger hun mildt hver dag. "Men du kan ikke se mig," siger jeg så højt, stemmen kan bære mig. "Jo," siger hun. "Nej, ikke rigtigt," siger jeg, "det kan du ikke forstå. Jeg er større, end du tror, hvad du kan se, er slet ikke mig." "Åh jo," græder hun, "det er dig. Det er dig." "Så lad det være mig," siger jeg. Hver dag. (Seeberg 31)
> ("Do you Aecognize me", I ask my wife every day when she comes to see me. "Yes, of course I can", she answers and strokes my hair. "Do you love me", I whisper, because I really want to know every day. "I love you more than ever", she says mildly every day. "But you can't see me", I say as loud as my voice allows. "Yes", she says. "No, not really", I say, "you can't understand. I am larger than you think, what you see is not me at all". "Oh yes", she cries, "it is you. It is you". "Then let it be me", I say. Every day.)

The patient seeks the solution to his crisis of identity in another human being closest to himself. The disparate parts of which the patient consists are taken into possession by means of an acceptance: "Så lad det være mig" (Then let it be me). An interpersonal, dialogic act of creation that echoes Genesis gathers the parts into a whole existence, an identity and a shared reality, which is repeated "every day". This means that the identity and meaning one is unable to find for oneself is granted from the outside; in other words, love and confirmation of identity come from somewhere else.

The modern loss of places in which meaning may be found and the ensuing feeling of meaninglessness is, therefore, not only oppressive but also liberating. Modernity, according to this perspective, is emphasizing the necessity of replacing a worldview according to which you are forming life in your own image in favor of one where you are willing to be formed by somebody or something else. As such the problems concerning identity and reality is no longer a crushing self-responsibility but something that to great relief comes from somewhere else, from one's fellow man, from an act of narrative, from nature or from God. Identity and reality is therefore not to be understood as a lonely struggle but something that is created between people or be-

tween human beings and God.

While the cultural-radical modernism, which emerged in Denmark around 1960 and is best represented in the writings of Klaus Rifbjerg (1931 –), expresses the official story of secular liberation in the twentieth-century, the authors around *Heretica* and several of the authors that had first appearances in the following decades contributed artistically to the foundation of values characteristic of the welfare-thinking with their emphasis on dialogue, the existential and the religious. In other words, in the very establishment of a modernist literature in Denmark and the almost simultaneous establishment of the Danish welfare state, there existed another narrative on welfare than the one of the alienation and loneliness of modern man as told by secularised criticism and cultural-radical modernism.

Deeply inspired by Søren Kierkegaard (1813 – 1855), for several of the authors around *Heretica* truth lies in intersubjectivity. The meeting between the literary work and the reader, between people engaged in dialogue, is where the collective creation of meaning takes place. It is based upon the ability to tell stories, to communicate, to identify with the worlds and viewpoints of others — and this takes place through language and literature. As expressed by one of the first editors of the magazine, Bjørn Poulsen (1918 – 2000), in a letter from the 25th of August 1949 to the young aspiring poet Per Højholt: "Heretica er tønkt som et Væv af Dialoger mellem Mennesker, som vel ikke er enige, men paa Talefod med hinanden […]" (Heretica is intended as a web of dialogues between people who are on speaking terms but hardly in agreement […]) (Andersen and Svindborg 231). This statement, I believe, is an outstanding illustration of a fundamental basis for and a decisive content of a welfare state and the mindset of which it is an expression.

Furthermore, it is notable that this understanding is analogous to the development of the philosophy of the subject in the twentieth century, e. g. the critical reflection on the tradition of Descartes. This development finds that knowledge is not the lonely effort of the subject. Knowledge is created and developed through the relation to the other. The subject does not have any immediate access to itself, but has to understand itself through interaction with others and by interpretation of common linguistic and cultural signs. In this process, the creation of identity becomes a joint matter of dialogue. A change from position to relation, from intention to process, from self-created to granted, from monologue to dialogue. This can be observed, for instance, in the dialogue-thinking of Martin Buber (1878 – 1965), the personalism of Gabriel Marcel (1889 – 1973) and the critical reflection of Paul Ricæur (1913 – 2005).

The authors around *Heretica* were highly important for the cultural and institutional environment and development in the years following the War — most notably as a result of their dominant position in regard to cultural matters and the cultural policies concerning the construction and maintenance of the welfare state.

Right from the beginning *Heretica* and the publishing company behind it, Wivels Forlag, were financed by a single man, the patron of the arts Knud W. Jensen (1916 – 2000). He was the wealthy owner of a cheese factory, and in 1952 he spent a great deal of his funds to buy the biggest publishing company in Denmark, Gylden-

dal. A motivation for this acquisition was to ensure that the authors around *Heretica* and subsequent generations of Danish authors would have an effective foundation from which to operate, and that they, as far as possible, could reach the rapidly expanding book market in the welfare state.

In the summer of 1952, Knud W. Jensen asked Martin A. Hansen for advice about buying Gyldendal, and in his Dagbøger (Diaries) for 21 December 1952, Hansen summarises the conversations as follows:

> Jeg opfattede det saaledes, at Knud for det første anede, at han med Gyldendal kunde realisere en Kongstanke, nemlig at hans store Firma i Ost efterhaanden kunde glide ind som en fast Støtte for et Kulturarbejde, isÓr Litteraturen — men vel Kunsten stort set. Jeg tror, uden at han over for mig har udtalt det direkte har en lignende Tanke som Brygger Jacobsen i sin Tid, men at han vil gøre denne Kulturstøtte væsentlig praktisk — hvad han kunde ved at faa Gyldendal. Dels var det hans Tanke ikke først og fremmest at støtte Litteraturen og Digterne ved Legater, men gennem Bogpolitik og Bogsalg og gode Vilkaar. (Hansen, *Dagbøger* 1931 – 55, 806)
>
> (I gathered that Knud first of all sensed that with Gyldendal he could realize a grand idea, namely that his large cheese factory could gradually become a permanent means of support for cultural work, especially literature, but most likely art as such. I think, without him ever expressing it to me, that he has an idea similar to that of Brewer Jacobsen in his days, but that he will want to make his cultural support rather practical — which he could accomplish by buying Gyldendal. By implication his idea was not primarily to support literature and the poets through grants, but through book policy and book sales and good conditions.)

As it turned out, the assumption of Martin A. Hansen was absolutely correct. A few years later Knud W. Jensen established the art museum, Louisiana, north of Copenhagen, a museum which during the 1960s simply became the temple for modernist art to the new welfare-segment.

Neither *Heretica*, nor Gyldendal, nor Louisiana was paid solely with Knud W. Jensen's cheese-money. An immense expansion of Jensen's factory in 1952 was financed by a Marshall-loan; in other words, a cultural expansion tightly woven into the colossal upheaval of Danish society, which would soon prove to be a crucial phase in the formation of the welfare state. The circle of authors around *Heretica* must therefore be seen to play an important role in the formation of the cultural institutions which became a result of mindset of the welfare state. Cf. a letter from Jensen to Martin A. Hansen 19 February 1952:

> Vi har fået Marshall-Lån til vor smeltefabrik i Sydhavnen og er nu i gang med bygningen […]. Vi bliver et par hundrede mennesker derude, ca. 50 funktionærer, 50 mandlige og 100 kvindelige arbejdere, og det er pludselig gæet op for mig, hvilket ansvar man egentlig er pålagt overfor alle disse mennesker.

> Jeg vil derfor gerne nu realisere mange gamle drømme og planer om foranstaltninger til gavn for medarbejderne. Der er noget vist paradoksalt ved, at man i så mange år har beskæftiget sig med kulturkritik og været så enig med Grønbech og alle andre revsere af det moderne storbymenneskes livsvilkår i dag, og så samtidig selv driver en fabriksvirksomhed, hvor arbejderne sidder ved samlebåndet, og har et kontorpersonale, hvis arbejdsvilkår ikke adskiller sig væsentligt fra andre kontorers. Man er så tilbøjelig til at sige, at det er hele grundlaget for kulturen, som er forkert, og det nytter ikke med lapperier, men jeg tror synspunktet er uholdbart, og at vi hver på vores vis må søge at realisere netop visse lapperier, som angiver en retning mod noget bedre. Der findes rundt omkring mange virksomheds-ledere som uden nogen som helst kulturel eller filosofisk ballast har realiseret mange tiltalende ideer til gavn for personalet. Jeg vil nu prøve at se, hvad der findes af den slags i Danmark og Sverrig, og så må vi se hvad jeg kan få realiseret selv under de nye forbedrede pladsforhold, vi får i Sydhavnen. (Hansen *Kætterbreve. Martin A. Hansens korrespondance med kredsen omkring Heretica* 916 – 17)
>
> (We have had a Marshall-loan for our melting-factory in Sydhavnen and are now building it. [⋯] We will be a couple of hundred people out there, approximately 50 officials, 50 male and 100 female workers, and suddenly it has dawned upon me, the extent of responsibility you really have to all these people. Consequently, now I would like to realize many old dreams and plans concerning arrangements of benefit to the employees. It is a certain paradox, that I for so many years has been occupied with critique of culture and so much has agreed with Grønbech and all other castigators of the conditions of life today for the modern people in the large cities, and then at the same time has run a manufacturing industry, where the workers is placed at the assembly line and has an office staff, whose working conditions are not markedly different from those of others offices. Then you are inclined to say that is it the very basis for culture which is wrong and that patching is not useful, but I do not think that point of view is valid, instead we must precisely, each in his own way, try to realize a certain patching, which points towards something better. Round about many factory managers exist, that without any kind of cultural or philosophical equipment have realized many pleasant ideas to the benefit of the staff. Now I will investigate what exists of that kind in Denmark and Sweden, and then we will see what I myself am able to realize under the new, improved accommodations that we are going to have in Sydhavnen.)

Contrary to the myth concerning the magazine, in this letter the socially engaged and welfare-forming central movement of the authors around *Heretica* is expressed: from the critique of culture by the individual to a concrete work for the cultural and social public utility, financed by one of the foundations of the welfare state, the Marshall-loans, and realized in the form of a politics concerning culture, that from the personal initiative form the basis for a transition to public funding of the arts.

At a meeting at Krogerup Højskole in the autumn of 1960 Knud W. Jensen, Ole

Wivel, Thorkild Bjørnvig and Bjørn Poulsen, together with one of the most important authors of the next generation, Villy Sørensen (1929 – 2001), proposed the idea that a democratic state has an obligation to support art of quality. The effect of this proposal came quickly and had far-reaching implications: the establishment in 1961 of a Ministry of Cultural Affairs and in 1964 of the National Arts Council, the political organ that distributes public funding of the arts. The first Minister of Cultural Affairs was Julius Bomholt (1896 – 1969), who in the early 1940s made the acquaintance of Martin A. Hansen. In the years from 1946 to 1950, Hansen was a committee member of The Danish Union of Authors and in that capacity he wrote several articles about the necessity of publicly funded support of authors – thoughts that clearly had an inspirational effect on Bomholt when the opportunity to realize them presented itself.

In other words, the leading figures of *Heretica* acted as spearheads for ensuring Danish artists far better opportunities for making a living and in disseminating modern art to the population of the welfare state, who by then had more time and greater economic and educational resources to be engaged with and informed by contemporary art and literature. Actually, it would be fair to claim that Knud W. Jensen and the authors around *Heretica* represent the decisive change from art financed by a private patron to art financed by grants from the state, and with that a change from an ancient hierarchic and individually controlled financing of the arts to the model of the modern welfare state.

Contrary to the widespread belief that the authors around *Heretica* were living in an ivory tower secluded from the outside world, it was in fact common and natural for these authors to move about in numerous cultural and institutional contexts and to cross the borders between different genres and environments. As a consequence the author became an important figure in the discussion of values. This is certainly true in the case of Martin A. Hansen, whose enormous significance as an author and as a cultural figure to a large extent can be explained by his function as a link connecting different areas of knowledge, such as literature, theology, history, archeology and general debate of public matters, and that he used a variety of forms of publicity such as lectures and fictional texts that he or others read aloud in the radio. This behavior contributed to a change in and expansion of the role of the author: instead of being something elevated and distant, the author was now someone who was near and present — a human being you could meet, hear lecture and engage in debate with. Or to put it in other words, the author functioning as an arranger of dialogues concerning the common cultural values.

The godfather of the Danish culture-radicals, Georg Brandes, defined the task of literature as debating problems. My point is that literature has significantly more legitimate tasks than that, and that you can debate problems in many other ways than it is done in a literature debating and imitating reality. More often than not such a literature will define a debate of problems as a phenomenon of politics and ideology, in the narrow sense of these terms. To consider the matter in such a constricted way, as Brandes did and as a number of leading Danish literary historians have done ever since, has restrained the acknowledgment of the fact that also forms of modernism such as those that were expressed in *Heretica* just as well influenced and interacted

with the organization of society, both in regard to its foundation and its practical elaboration.

If as a part of the fundamental definition of democracy you must include dialogue, then literature has a significant role to play in the discussion of values a democracy must feed upon. Indeed, the democratic form itself is to move away from locked positions to movable relations. A common denominator between the democratic understanding of life and society, welfare-thinking and a literature that is a part of the formulation of the basis for these things, can be found in a novel by the youngest of the authors I am interested in, namely Svend Åge Madsen's *Sæt verden er til* (Suppose the world exists, 1971): "Ord er hver for sig meningsløse, uden betydning. Og dog kan de, når de anbringer sig i den rette sammenhæng, udgøre en betydningsfuld sætning." (Separately words are meaningless, without significance. And yet they can, when they place themselves in the right combination, constitute an important sentence) (Madsen 339).

As the above should make apparent, I am essentially concerned with interpersonal relationships, the ability to put oneself in the place of others and be put there by something other than oneself. For the modern ego-fixation this is inherently extremely difficult, while it is the very content of Christianity. A decisive basis for the mindset which has manifested itself in the welfare state must be the recognition of the value of interpersonal relationships, that the creation of identity is a consequence of acts of dialogue or by divine creation. In other words, something granted, and under no circumstances something, the individual can obtain alone.

Works Cited

Andersen, Lotte Thyrring and Bruno Svindborg. eds. *Poetiske forposter. Jens Kruuse og Heretica – Breve* 1942 – 72. *Per Højholt og Heretica – Breve* 1948 – 53. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2008.

Brandes, Georg and Harald Høffding: *Fr. Nietzsche. Tre Essays* [1889 – 90], Aarhus: Akademisk Boghandel, 1972.

Hansen, Martin A. *Dagbøger* 1931 – 55, vol. 1 – 3. Eds. Anders Thyrring Andersen and Jørgen Jørgensen. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1999.

---. *Kætterbreve. Martin A. Hansens korrespondance med kredsen omkring Heretica.* vol. 1 – 3. Ed. A. Thyrring Andersen. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2004.

Madsen, Svend Åge. *Sæt verden er til*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1971.

Seeberg, Peter. *Eftersøgningen og andre noveller*. Fredensborg: Arena, 1962.

责任编辑:杨革新

Authorship in the Norwegian Welfare State, c. 1950 – 1975

Tore Rem
Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages, University of Oslo
P. O. Box 1003, Blindern 0851, OSLO, Norway
Email: tore. rem@ ilos. uio. no

Abstract This article examines the survival of a Romantic role of the author in post-war Norwegian literature. It shows how an important group of writers in the late 1940s and the 1950s still shared a vision of the writer as an isolated individual, opposed to society and the state. During this time, this old role was reactivated and given a new function in opposition to the developing Welfare State. The writer and intellectual Jens Bjørneboe (1920 – 76) was a prominent member of this loosely organized group, and someone who makes for a particularly interesting case when exploring authorship in the Norwegian Welfare State. He started out in a right-wing opposition to social democracy, but in the 1960s and 1970s took up a left-wing oppositional role. His view of the writer's relationship to society, as well as of the relationship between culture and politics, remained relatively stable, however. The article explores how such a Romantic role survived in modern Norway, and how the Welfare State project may be said both to have contributed to its long survival, and, in the end, through a generally democratizing movement, to have made it impossible.
Key words author's role; Jens Bjørneboe; welfare state; social democracy; meta culture

The End of a Role

During the late 1960s and early 1970s a new and radical generation of Norwegian writers began to oppose what they saw as the hitherto available roles for authors in bourgeois society. At least in part acting from their own communist persuasions, they stressed the need for a professionalisation of the role, based on a conviction that authors were hard-working labourers, producers of a commodity of which society was in need. As a consequence they wanted to dethrone the Romantic author, to demystify the idea of the lonely, misunderstood and socially excluded genius. For the leading writer of this generation, Dag Solstad, a central problem lay in liberating oneself from what he termed "some kind of general, mythical notion" of the author ("En samtale om litteratur i dag" 261; "Spilleren" 81, 76). He argued that an author's authority must be based on something other than the traditional role. The author can no longer be a prophet and leader of the people", he noted, nor "alchymist" or "sufferer". In order to do his work, he claimed, in what was a criticism of certain ideas of authen-

ticity, the author had to become "a player".

Before indicating the general direction for my article's discussion of certain aspects of literary life in the Norwegian welfare state, it is worth identifying one of several striking paradoxes in the historical material under investigation. Those who articulated the most vociferous criticism of a traditional, Romantic image of the author were at the same time oppositional voices within the Welfare state, from the left, while those who most clearly adhered to such a traditional role were also critics of the Welfare state, but from the right, or at least from what they themselves considered an a- or unpolitical position. Jens Bjørneboe (1920 – 76), who, for reasons which should become clear, will play a central part in my discussion, in political terms went from the latter position in the 1950s to the former in the 1960s. But both his critical approach to the Welfare state and his view of his own role as author were remarkably consistent. My aim is to contribute to the understanding of some of the central premises for literary life and authorship in a developing Norwegian Welfare state, including, not least, views of the author's role in society. Bjørneboe, who was a poet, novelist, playwright and essayist, the perhaps last of a certain kind of Sartrean author-intellectual, was active in Norwegian public life from 1948 – 1976, and may be said to be the best example of the kind of authorial role against which Solstad rebelled. In Norwegian cultural discourse in the first decades after his death, Bjørneboe indeed became something like the incarnation of this role. When the question "Where is the new Bjørneboe?" is asked in almost ritual fashion, it is clearly with reference to a role rather than a person. But such a question is not only based on a particular kind of nostalgia which necessarily involves the erasure of many of the historical meanings connected with Bjørneboe; it assumes that such an investment in the authority of the author figure is desirable.

A Conservative Opposition

In order to understand how a fundamentally Romantic notion of the author could survive for so long in Norway — and I am not suggesting that it is absolutely extinct, but that it is theoretically discredited and, due to a general process of democratisation, made structurally difficult — it is fruitful to see it in connection with the development of the Welfare state and a particular form of conservative opposition to the same. The traditional story of the author as outsider, as misunderstood genius, was one of the most distinct narratives which young authors could enter in the 1950s. But during this decade this strong narrative came to be decided by a particular negation, not of society or the community more generally, but of the state. The state which a number of authors came to oppose was, more particularly, a state which was becoming a welfare state during the phase of post-war reconstruction.

An important context for anumber of writers who were to maintain a Romantic role of authorship, and who represented some of the most important oppositional voices against the Norwegian Welfare state in the 1950s, lay in the immediate aftermath of World War II, and the founding of the journal *Spektrum* (*Spectrum*) (1946 – 1954), since continued as *Horisont* (*Horizon*) (1955 – 1967). The idea behind the first of these journals was that it would have the strength of the inter-war Mot Dag

(Towards Day) group, but as a negation of the latter's political radicalism. The ambition was, furthermore, to stand outside of political parties, to advocate a certain holistic anti-materialism, and, in an attempt at finding a middle ground, neither to support the capitalists nor the proletariat ("Spektrum"). Humanity had reached a low point, and *Spektrum* was to work for freedom and "a spiritual restructuring", while they noted, and I will claim that this is absolutely central to their undertaking, that there was nothing to "achieve via politics".

A number of literary anthroposophists, the followers of the Austrian esotericist and philosopher Rudolf Steiner (1861 – 1925), came to make up a substantial part of the *Spektrum* group, and became absolutely dominant in *Horisont*. Their views can, apart from their esoteric and occult persuasions, be characterised as strongly individualist and anti state. When an influential literary critic in 1955 attempted to identify the surprising and conspicuous influence that this group had asserted in the first decade after the war, he called them "the strongest spiritual group in Norwegian cultural life" (Eidem 3, 8). It was within these contexts that Bjørneboe found his literary and intellectual voice. The most important conclusion he and his circle seems to have drawn from the war was that the mass movements had been discredited, whether they were called communism, fascism or nazism, and that it was necessary to reject all such collective efforts, in addition to totalitarianism and the state. For them, the very survival of the individual was at stake. Such perspectives meant that they from the very outset were hostile to the idea of giving the state sector an increased role within a social democratic society.

Bjørneboe was on the whole to remain faithful to his anti-stateism. When he republished his novel *Under en hårdere himmel* (*Under a harder sky*) (1957) in 1969, he had in the meantime, at least outwardly, moved from the right to the left. But his attitude towards the state's role seems to have been pretty much the same: "Not under Quisling, — but after the war, came the fascist period of Norwegian history" (Bjørneboe, "Etterord" 186 – 91). In making such a provocative claim, he seems to have had state influence, the minority's role under a mighty majority and a more general liberal deficit in mind.

In the 1950s Bjørneboe involved himself in a number of debates where the social democratic state may be said to have been the main opponent. A central premise for the role he and his closest friends and colleagues advocated and believed in, lies in the relationship between culture and politics, historically often thematised through the binary pair of culture and civilisation. During this period Bjørneboe was convinced that "radicalism" had gone wrong by becoming political ("Hans Jæger" 23 – 28). "Real radicalism", he would claim, "goes far deeper than to the political" ("Vi er blitt provins: Nasjonal-radikalisme er en karikatur" 1 – 2). There are a number of examples of how Bjørneboe explicitly places culture (including for him aesthetics and metaphysics, in fact inextricably linked to the latter) above politics. One of the reasons why such an oppositional role arose just at this historical juncture, may very well be an experience of what the historian Jens Arup Seip has characterised as "the one-party state", a fairly monolithic post-war political structure dominated by the Labour Party and what may be termed a "reform technocracy" (Seip 7 – 42). But Bjørneboe

and his literary (and spiritual) circles in any case go further than to advocating a resistance towards or even a rejection of the Welfare state project; they seem more generally to be rejecting the legitimacy of the political sphere. These arguments are reminiscent of the young Thomas Mann's (1875 – 1955) argument that it was useless and self-contradictory to oppose modern civilisation via politics. For him and a number of other European cultural critics of the twentieth century, modernity was simply the triumph of a political, as opposed to a cultural, mentality.

The British critical theorist Francis Mulhern has coined the term "meta culture" or a "metacultural discourse" in an attempt at exploring culture's own self-reflexivity, how it describes itself and its relationship to other fields, including the political (xiii – xiv). It is a matter, then, of how culture "speaks of itself", how it "addresses its own generality and conditions of existence". In order to grasp the reasons behind Bjørneboe and his literary group's opposition to the Welfare state, i. e., how this particular tradition of *Kulturkritik* or cultural criticism shaped their views, it is not enough to see their position as a traditional conservative or right-wing one; it is clear that they were more fundamentally opposed to politics, both as a field and as a *praxis*. They questioned its authority as such. Holding the view that culture stands in a hierarchical position to politics, as superior, is both problematic and potentially productive, at least in literary terms. What makes this position particularly interesting in this case, is that it is held by a writer, Bjørneboe, who has also become the key representative of the socially and politically engaged artist in the Norwegian literary history of the latter part of the twentieth century.

One of the things most obviously at stake in metacultural discourse is "social authority", seen as a struggle for the status of culture, not least in relation to society's most established form of social authority, i. e., that achieved through politics (Mulhern xix). A whole series of European cultural critics of the last century seems to have worked towards reinstating their own notion of culture in what they considered an organic unity, and as the central principle of social authority, thus, at least potentially, dissolving political reason. T. S. Eliot symptomatically put the question as to why "the man of letters", in other words someone very much like himself was so particularly suited when it came to solving the greatest political challenges of the time (North 11). In "Notes Towards the Definition of Culture" (1948), he argued in similar fashion that his own class ought to use their positions in order to solve the problems which society could not solve. Like so much anti-liberal critique, whether from the left, or, as in this case, from the right, Eliot inevitably ended up by referring to hidden value systems and mystified forms of power.

Metaphysics and State Involvement

Jens Bjørneboe's understanding of himself as artist was shaped by the experience of a small literary community during the war and in thefirst post-war decade, but it was also founded in theory, i. e., in Steiner's energetic production of books and lectures. In his view of the artist, the founder of The Anthroposophical Society was guided by ideas of fate, and of Platonic and Occult notions leading to a vision of the artist as a medium between this and a more spiritual reality. This special status inevitably also

included sacrifice, if only as a confirmation of the fact that the great artist must necessarily be a heretic, an outsider. While Bjørneboe was still among the most important voices of Norwegian anthroposophy, he noted that "if one is to speak truth, one must accept being treated as a liar" ("Til årets russ" 92 – 107). This was in line with Steiner's idea that the (few) initiated would always be misunderstood (by the masses). Such ideas led to a strong emphasis on the individual, and, by implication, to a general scepticism of all kinds of collective bodies, with the new Welfare state as a strong version of the latter. In 1952, Bjørneboe had been crystal clear in his views on the relationship between the state and culture: "I consider it absolutely impossible that a writer with his sanity intact would want to give the state a right to influence our cultural and religious life" (1952).

While the state intervened in the controversial Norwegian language question, in an attempt at merging the nation's two written languages into one, Labour's cultural politics in 15 years after the war were otherwise remarkably *laissez faire*. It was not until the early 1960s that Norwegian social democrats admitted that they had failed in their cultural policies. It was wrong, they now realized, to have left literature to itself to such a large extent. The result had been an increasingly poor output of Norwegian books, and a sense of a crisis in a book market dominated by translations and non-fiction. Within the next few years this led to the most important, and still existing, systems for the regulation of Norway's literary life, namely the so-called "Innkjøpsordningen" (The Purchase System) (1965), in which the state agreed to buy one copy of new fiction books for every public library (i. e., of Norwegian novels, short story collections, poetry and drama), and the "Momsfritaket" (exemption from VAT) (1967). By this time, it should be added, a radicalised Bjørneboe had for a while reached the conclusion that the state indeed *had* a role to play within the cultural field. His cousin and friend André Bjerke, who stayed faithful to the views the two had shared in the fifties, would conclude, however, that artists who could not do without support from the state might as well become salesmen (1962). He went on to mock the vision of writers in a new "Age of social security".

Even if Bjørneboe at this time had changed hisviews about state involvement in the nation's cultural life, his view of his role as a writer was remarkably consistent. In the first number of the literary journal *Vinduet* in 1961, Bjørneboe figures in an *enquête* about the writer's calling. For him the writer is nothing less than a prophet: "We suffer from some kind of prophetic clairvoyance" ("En dikters kall profetens var –" 74 – 76). Authors are "supersensitive" with a special ability to "sense the suffering of others as if it were their own". A writer's "prophetic force" is gained through experience, Bjørneboe continues, thus making suffering and loneliness central ingredients in his view of the artist. This was a view, it may be added, which he went on to practise, more and more in the last decade of his life. His life and works thus also became inextricably connected in what developed into a Bjørneboe mythology.

In spite of the fact that he took up new political positions, including, for a while, also adopting a more positive perspective on the Welfare state, Bjørneboe's worldview remained as manicheistic as before, if not, as the sixties came towards

their close, even more so. After a more open if ambivalent approach to the state in the first half of the sixties, he lost faith, again seeing his own role as part of the battle between state and individual, good and evil. In a response to the culture budget of 1972, he articulated his views in clear terms: the state represents lies; authors stand for truth (Bjørneboe, "Staten og litteraturen", 6 and "Staten og litteraturen II", 6). Politicians were liars and hypocrites, he noted, and politics was "an obscene word". Bjørneboe's old views seem to have become solidified, and even hardened, and this in the very period in which he, as a celebrated writer among the new radical left and the so-called "68 – ers", became precisely a role model for the kind of social engagement which was now so often deemed to be required of writers and artists. Bjørneboe remarked that he was concerned with greater and deeper things than politics, namely with what he now called "spiritual culture". In this response to another depressing budget, he drew on what he referred to as one of his favourite verses in the gospels, albeit a somewhat inaccurate version of Christ's warning to Jerusalem and its pharisees in Matthew 23:37: "But you have stoned the prophets!" The powerful will always persecute the truthsayers, he claimed. As long as there are states, the list of "killed, imprisoned and at best exiled poets" would be endless. The authors and the "professional liars" would never be reconciled, while literature was in fact the "real, secret and innermost life" of the people. Bjørneboe was clearly preaching a highly elitist gospel, one connected to a Romantic and even esoteric view of the author, a scepticism towards the existing Welfare state, and towards politics and the state more generally. "The state is our enemy", he observed, and went on to claim that any writer who did not take up a hostile position in relation to the state was "a betrayer of culture".

In a Norwegian context Jens Bjørneboe represents a rare example of continuity between the conservative literary opposition of the fifties and the new and radical stance of the 68 – ers. But his role seems almost consistently to have been constructed from the premise that individual integrity would always be at odds with collective self-delusion and corruption. He argued as if intellectual integrity could only exist outside of the collective, outside of institutions, democracy and politics, the Welfare state included.

Conclusions

The 1950s literary opposition against the Norwegian Welfare state and social democracy can hardly be understood without an insight into these writers' views of politics and the role of the author. The only prominent figure among this group who managed to revitalise and keep this role alive in the 1960s, was Bjørneboe, and this primarily seems to have happened because he changed his political position at the right moment. By becoming radicalised at the beginning of the decade, he found his historical moment towards the decade's end, both in literary and political terms. This also meant that he became positioned on the winning side in the cultural and political battle of the 1960s, and the group which won this battle also went on to write their own history, thus to a large extent controlling our later perceptions of them. But there is another paradox at work in relation to Bjørneboe's status as a prophet-writer at this

particular time, and that for a new generation of radical youth. The rebellion against authority which Bjørneboe preached, contributed, albeit as part of a larger movement towards a more general democratisation, to the very deconstruction of his own authority. He was, it might be said, a somewhat authoritarian critic of authority. Furthermore, and equally relevant to the concerns of this article, such an investment in a role, that is the role of the author, became more difficult as part of this rejection of authority.

The question "where is the new Knut Hamsun" is not often asked in Norwegian public life. The historical trauma of the nation's great writer who sided with the Nazis and German occupants during the war may have meant that it would be impossible to emulate his role, a role in which he would consider himself both an outsider and a leader of his nation, after the war. It is, from this perspective, curious that a similar role would still be available after Hamsun, and this should, I will suggest, be seen in relation to the development of the Welfare state. This grand social and political project may, at least in the literary field, be seen to have created its own negation. In this way the old role of the artist as prophet and heretic was given a new, if limited lease, and it was given a new political, and even *über* -political rationale, in opposition to collectives, to mass movements, and to social democracy. For Bjørneboe and a number of other writers during this period, a Romantic view of the artist seems to have been a prerequisite for finding a voice. Through a strong, if not unfettered individualism, combined with a particular belief in the special role artists still ought to play in society, if only as a misunderstood elite, these writers found motivation for their many and vehement attacks on the Welfare state and its different manifestations. They lived, in their own perception of the situation, at a time and within a political system which had voluntarily chosen to "stone its prophets".

Works Cited

Bjerke, André. "Kanskje det blir mer forlokkende å være dikter nu?" *Morgenbladet* 9(1962).

Bjørneboe, Jens. "En dikters kall profetens var –." *Vinduet* 1(1961): 74 – 76.

---. "Etterord." *Under en hårdere himmel*. Oslo: Pax, 1969. 186 – 91.

---. Jens Bjørneboe to the Board of Forfatterforeningen av 1952. (The Authors' Society of 1952). 19 May 1952. Brevsamling 350, National Library.

---. "Hans Jæger." *Horisont*2(1955): 23 – 28.

---. "Staten og litteraturen" and "Staten og litteraturen II." *Orientering*10 and 11(1972): 6.

---. "Til årets russ." *Samlede Essays: Kultur I*. Oslo: Pax, 1996. 92 – 107.

---. "Vi er blitt provins: Nasjonal-radikalisme er en karikatur." *Minerva* 11(1955): 1 – 2.

Eidem, Odd. "Vinner Larsen?" *Verdens Gang* 15 (1955): 3 – 8.

Mann, Thomas. *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. Berlin: S. Vischer Verlag, 1918.

Mulhern, Francis. *Culture/Metaculture*. London: Routledge, 2006.

North, Michael. *The Political Aesthetic of Yeats, Eliot, and Pound*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Rem, Tore. *Født til frihet: En biografi om Jens Bjørneboe II* (Born to freedom: A Biography of Jens Bjørneboe II). Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2010.

---. *Sin egen herre: En biografi om Jens Bjørneboe I* (His Own Master: A Biography of

JensBjørneboe I). Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2009.
Seip, Jens Arup. "Fra embedsmannsstat til ettpartistat." *Fra embedsmannsstat til ettpartistat og andre essays*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1980. 7 – 42.
"Spektrum." Box 41, Ms. fol. 4274, National Library, Oslo.
Solstad, Dag. "En samtale om litteratur i dag." *Vinduet* 4 (1968):248 – 63.
---. "Spilleren" (The Player). *Artikler om litteratur* 1966 – 1981. Oslo: Oktober, 2000: 69 – 81.

责任编辑:王　卓

Collage City — City Collage: On the Relation Between Aesthetic and Political Mobilisation in Sven Holm's *Min Elskede — En Skabelonroman*

Antje Wischmann
Skandinavistik, Universität Tübingen, Germany
72074 Tübingen, Germany
Email: antje. wischmann@ uni-tuebingen. de

Abstract This close reading analyses how collage technique is used for critical, theoretical and creative purposes in a typical "revolutionary novel" of the 1968 movement. As a genre hybrid, Sven Holms *Min elskede — en skabelonroman* (*My Beloved — A Pattern Novel*, 1968) illustrates the urban society's estrangement from the organic community, the arbitrary construction of meaning by the difference of signs and the ongoing process of collage. These three issues are critical with respect to the urban society, the interaction between human language and everyday life, and even fleeting art forms (happening, concept art). In fact, collage technique as writing and composition process turns out to be much more important than the results of collage and montage themselves. At the same time, different problems of social communities are discussed in the text because of their ambivalent demands on group solidarity and respect for individual interests. It is evident that Holm's novel is a unique "city collage text fragment" using the latest art and architecture expressions of the sixties but also with a retrograde romantic notion on politics.
Key words 1968 movement; aesthetics and politics; metafiction; criticism of the welfare state; Sven Holm

The Danish writer SvenHolm (born in 1940) is a typical artist representing the protest movement of 1968. During the Welfare State consolidation and it's economic upturn (rekordår), many left wing artists in Denmark protested against e. g. the isolated and standardised life in industrial societies, excessive consumption, pollution, efficient city planning and the warlike traffic of private cars in the expanding cities (Wischmann 2003, 81 – 85, 99 – 104). Influenced by the English architect group *Archigram*, Holm invented an example of literary concept art as a contribution to both the Danish counter culture and politics — and to the international "counter aesthetics" as well. According to his criticism of recent city planning, Holm later on became an advocate for the independent, experimental subcultural community of *Christiania* in Copenhagen, which promises the realisation of a utopian city (Wischmann 225).

The following close reading of the novel *Min elskede — en skabelonroman* intends to give proof of how Holm's aesthetic collage process and his linguistic-metaphorical

model of the city are combined in order to mobilise the participating readers and to make them feel compelled to take a critical point of view of the 1968 movement.

> Over København ligger København. Luften over byen eren fortælling om den. Men den varer kun det ene døgn hvor den er blevet til. Den forsvinder efter at have ført alle fortællingens elementer sammen, ladet dem glide ind i hinanden som i en drøm om alle tings samhørighed og om fortællingens grænseløshed – hvor der ikke længere findes adskillelse, hvor væggene er nedlagt og etagerne ophævet, hvor der ikke er forskel på op og ned og til siden. Kort efter opgiver fortællingen sin samlede kuppel og spreder stykkerne for alle vinde. Det er et billede. (Holm, *Min elskede — en skabelonroman* 46).
> (Above Copenhagen is Copenhagen. The air above the city is a story about it. But it only lasts as long as the day on which it was created. It disappears once it has connected and interweaved all the elements of the story, as if in a dream of the common identity of all things and the boundlessness of the narrative—where there are no more divisions, where the walls and floors are removed and dissolved, where there are no more differences between above, below, or to the side. A short time later, the story disperses its collected dome and scatters its pieces to the winds. This is an image.)

In this extract, a text collage is marked as conceptual art and the collaged product is dissolved into its constituent parts, so that the illustrative process appears as if deconstructed. What remains is the term "image" as the linguistic label for a model.

This process description is characteristic of Holm's novel which elevates the relationship between linguistic or figurative signs and whatthey denote to a topic in itself. The book is a modernist urban novel which opens a debate on the status of language in relation to the extratextual world. At the same time, *Min elskede* is a work which is sceptical of urbanisation, its criticism of civilisation foreshadowing the urban crisis and criticism of capitalism in the 1970s.

Holm's novel presents a utopia of Copenhagen—and its supposed failure. With his definition of existence in Copenhagen as "på et tynd blad mellem oppe og nede" (living on a fineline between above and below) (Holm 61), Holm elaborates on the notion that both the city's development and urban living are at a turning point at the end of the 1960s. In this major upheaval "København er nedlagt" (Copenhagen was closed) (Holm 113), the revolution is consummated by a reversal of relations: "ed og op skifter retning" (above and below have exchanged their viewpoints) (Holm 110). Revolution as a consequence of the "up-and-down movement" not least alludes to the *Sanct Hansaften-Spil* (1803) by Adam Oehlenschläger, striking a characteristic revolutionary-romantic note. Beyond this, Holm's novel explores the question of how the notion of the "city as a conglomerate text", which in this case consists of highly heterogenous elements, is related to a politicised text calling for action. In what follows, I would like to investigate how the aesthetic and political processes of mobilisation are interwoven.

Montage and collage are the key interdisciplinary techniques of composition and

internal structurein Holm's novel, which is divided into 38 brief chapters, an epilogue, a conversation, and a letter. The text characterises itself as a genre hybrid:

> Det er en reolbog. Fyldt op med alle genrer. En rodekasse. Det er en æske lysbilleder af København og en tegnefilm om hvad man måske burde gøre. Det er et hyrdebrev og en traktat og en opbyggelsesbog. (Holm 117).
> (This is a shelf book. Filled with all genres. A crate full of odds and ends. It is a box with Copenhagen slides and a cartoon on how one might take action. It is a pastoral letter and a tract and a devotional book.)

Holms novel deals (non-chronologically) with a pre- and post-revolutionary Copenhagen. To protagonists, the agents A and B intend to build a new alphabet of human beings which are supposed to start a kind of counterrevolutionary movement. In the epilogue of the novel a bizarre technocracy illustrates the risks of utopian socialism.

A number of chapters are linked by the satirical revolutionary actions of the two agents, others can be understood as part of plot strands. References to genre can be discerned, for example to filmic or dramatic forms: film episodes, the performances of the Marx brothers, improvised scenes, street theatre or revue interludes: the satirically coloured portrayal of a gun battle in the harbour, resembling the travesty of a civil war during the revolution, includes the stage direction, "Der er ingen musik til denne del af kapitlet" (There is no music to this chapter) (Holm 59).

When reading *Min elskede*, the fragmentary novel is run through in its performative consummation, the text is to perform itself and become a reading event which goes beyond a mere constitution of meaning.

City and Text as Collage

The novel's epilogue concerns the fantastic architecture of the English artist group *Archigram*, which practised radical criticism of urban planning in the 1960s (Cook 60 – 62). *Archigram* raised the collage to a principle for its urban planning and architectural designs, applied both conceptually and to the concretisation of the landscaped areas and buildings it described.

Analogous to specific structuralist premises which also stand out in the linguistic reflection of *Min elskede*, *Archigram* calls for a fluctuating city which does not just continuously transform itself but can even move and invoke itself in another place. As an example, the "Blow-Out Village" from *Archigram* develops like a dome in a process similar to metamorphosis. It is precisely this metaphorical concept that Holm selects to illustrate the structure of words which stretches over Copenhagen in a text-conscious manner (Holm 46). In contrast to the technology-affirmative, modernistic vision of *Archigram*, Holm's utopia also includes anachronistic elements: horse, cart, and tent for the "travelling people" or showmen which can form voluntary nomadic communities. The agents A and B, who want to recruit an alphabet of revolutionaries, are also voyagers. The invigoration of urban forms of cohabitation in *Min elskede* acclaims the organic and foreshadows ecological values. This has nothing to do with *Archigram's* glorification of Le Corbusier's machines for living in, as I have argued

elsewhere (Wischmann 2003, 235 – 243).

The Swarm

The demands of a peaceful revolution and a change of awareness are expressed with great clarity in the sensual metaphor of the swarm: the swarm of fish or insects reorganises itself unremittingly, finds new forms of organisation, remains defined by the interests of the individual, and is non-hierarchical: The swarm of fish represents the harmonic community of sensitive individuals with a fulfilling collective experience (Holm 63). The fishes swimming side by side in the water are united in their slight moves and they are moving as one body in dialogue with environment and nature. But by an arbitrary signal the swarm splits up and each member of this temporary community focuses her/his concentration on different aspects of the living conditions. The perceptions and sensations of each member stay individual, even unique.

As the personification of Copenhagen as beloved already suggests, fluctuating characteristics are mainly positively connotated, such as ability for metamorphosis, movement and change (e. g. a dancing crowd, groups of animals, growing grass, evocative gardens in moonlight). Mobility and dynamism display a fundamental suitability for trying out utopia. At a love-in in forest park Dyrehaven, the heady crowd resembles a swarm of fish: Hver bevægelse er langsom, som et kærtegn i distraktion, huden står søvnigt åben og ånder med gæller. " (Every movement is slow, like a distracted caress, the skin is sleepily open and breathes through gills.) (Holm 82). This is a vegetative state understood in a positive way, characterised not by stagnation but inner dynamism.

The presentation of a gathering of like-minded people as an organic community may seem like a notion indebted to the 19th century. The organic concept as we find it in Ferdinand Tönnies and elsewhere, however, is regenerated or even problematised by Holm in several respects: the organic communities are characterised on the one hand by physical sensuality, on the other the formation of the temporary self-sufficient group is played through medially and textually. The members of the swarm—the following example deals with picture elements and insects—only form a meaningful whole for a certain period of time and only from a specific perspective. Once this totality has been created, the context dissolves, as the novel repeatedly stresses. This image formation and dissolution also relates to the collage units of the novel themselves.

In a solo feminist effort, a young woman lures the four men who have actually arrived for a rendezvous into an image trap:

> De [Herrerne, AW] gar sammen hen til døren og åbner den. De mødes af et stort spejl som viser fire mænd i festtøj på vej ind i et soveværelse. På sengen, under en lille lampe, ligger et legemsstort fotografi af deres veninde. Hun er nøgen. [. .] Fotografiet er forstørret. Når de fire mænd bøjer sig over det ser de tydeligt de grove korn i eksponeringen af den afklædte krop. (Holm 90).
> (They [the men, AW] go to the door and open it. They are standing opposite a large mirror which shows four men on their way to the bedroom. On the bed, be-

low a small lamp, is a life-size photograph of their girlfriend. She is naked. [...] The photo has been enlarged. When the four men bend over the image they can clearly identify the rough grains of the image in the enlarged photographic print of the naked body.)

In this example, it is first the overall figure and its outline which is the focus and then the constituent elements, similar to the art of Roy Lichtenstein and Sigmar Polke who in their graphic and painterly conceptions work with the rough image grid of newspaper photos. The dots receive their semiotic character as picture elements related to one another only in the overall image. Only in context can certain dots express lighting states or diverse material surfaces.

The metaphor of the swarm receives a further dimension when in a "sociological nature scene" the grains of the image in press photos or in pop art is directly projected onto a swarm of mosquitos. The narrator describes how the insects buzz in the air after they have sucked their bodies full of blood (and can thus be visualised clearly as dark picture elements): "Afstanden mellem de enkelte blodpunkter ville blive stadig større ligesom et fotograferet portræt går i opløsning i lutter korn. Ligheden med et menneske vill aftage" (The distance between the blood dots becomes increasingly large, just like a photo portrait dissolves into mere image grains.) (Holm 104).

In the model of a community in *Min elskede*, a collective multipartite movement, participation, and organic harmony are emphasised. The overriding intention of the temporary multipartite organism, which remains constantly in motion, nevertheless remains unclear. The event of its existence is more important than its intended actions, the happening itself more important than the outcome.

Urban Revolution and Linguistic Renewal

The novel reveals that a political movement also presupposes a linguistic and aesthetic movement. What is at the bottom is moved to the top. The energetic urban body ultimately prevails, the stomach and drives triumph over the intellect, and grass overgrows the stony city. The typical watchword of the time, "Under brostenene ligger stranden'" (The beach is below the paving), suggests itself.

Beyond this, an existing freedom is also to be reclaimed as an aesthetic and political experimental sphere: there should always be sufficient air between the words and the buildings to drive forward dynamism and change in the sense of a system-critical revolution (Wischmann 2003, 225). It is first the successful work of the agents A and B which demonstrates how the potential of these possibilities of political involvement can be gradually harnessed, who enlist ever more members for the "up and down movement", so that the foundation for an alphabet—the structured variant of a swarm made up of letters—is laid. Due to the assassination by their stooge, they must flee prematurely. Their contribution to the revolution of 1968 is therefore of doubtful value.

Post-revolutionary Copenhagen also sees itself faced with insoluble problems: linguistic doubt makes itself felt in the epilogue. Or must the author of the "statutes for a mobile Copenhagen" in the style of the "walking city" from *Archigram* possibly

adapt himself to the demands of the censors and revise his utopian project? Might the urban utopia, once enacted, tip over into a dictatorship because the socially emancipatory ideal of the swarm cannot be achieved? Does the figure of the author remain such a captive of his text that he comes to doubt the urban planning utopia for precisely the reason that it is founded in language? Or should the limits and possibilities of politicising literature be generally problematised?

The reader ultimately gains the impression that the figure of the author suffers under the pressure of expectation to contribute proactively to the 1968 movement.

By contrast, the work of the agents merges linguistic and political activity directly. Their provocative actions aim to show the Copenhageners what is latent within them, what unexploited energies and abilities lie dormant: the demand for an experimental testing ground can be understood as a call to translate latent possibilities into (linguistic) action and realise utopian projects. Linguistically, this approach—to paraphrase Saussure—can be grasped as a transformation of units of a potentially possible linguistic system ("langue") into a genuinely practised linguistic system ("parole"). Provocative linguistic work could thus be understood as encouragement to consciously enlarge the previously linguistically active register, proceeding from linguistic potential in particular to better exploit aesthetic and political potential.

The process of mastering language and mobilising the "langue" is simply illustrated by the agents A and B, as they learn Danish in order to recruit members. They perform acts of language and motion simultaneously: "vi taler og cykler dansk" (we speak and cycle in Danish) (Holm 37). Significantly, with their non-Danish linguistic backgrounds, they formulate different idiomatic expressions than those typically used by Danes in daily life. They also make use of many quotations and linguistic clichés which they re-enact in puns and plays on words. The figures employ an improper language, phrase things experimentally and tentatively, use phrases or markedly ambiguous expressions: the stooge of A and B, a tailor, for example says: "jeg hæfter mig ikke ved det" (I'm not stuck on it), or the figures recognise their own phrases in the other: "Det er som om det er mine ord." (It seems to me that your words are mine.) (Holm 39, 24). (These plays on words are not really translatable, but they even show that—as in Saussure's semiotic model—a single altered letter completely changes the meaning of a word: "fugten og fuglen" (Holm 15): "magesløst und magtesløst" (47); "på dens gamle plads und på den gamles plads" (113). The leitmotivic formula of the "fine line between above and below" also relates to the meaning-generating difference of the relations of signs. The textual metaphorisation of the "city as text" is thus developed linguistically and philosophically.

Copenhagen as Narrative

In the quotation about the collected dome and the description of the hybrid genre (Holm 45, 117), the overcoming of boundaries, the flowing transitions and the merging process are emphasised. This fulfilling experience, accordingto the quotation, is bound to the time it takes to read the novel. In addition, the challenge here is to bear in mind the model character of the dome city I identified as the "Blow-Out Village" by *Archigram*, which is not a literally formulated utopia with direct call to action but

an arrangement of exemplary urban texts which in its composition forms a linguistic image for a conceptual metaphor of a city.

The novel plays textually and self-reflexively with the figure-ground relationship: the writing on thepage, the buildings on the earth's surface, the incomplete revolutionary movement of A and B as an aborted writing movement in Copenhagen's text. On the departure of the agents, the scenography is dominated by whiteness, as if the printed text were being removed from the page of the book (Holm 109, 107). A free city of words promises a non-hierarchical language. This hope is not fulfilled, the swarms lose their outlines and move aimlessly, the alphabet of revolutionaries illustrated as letters, potentially complementary and mutually enabling proves not to be sound. Nevertheless, the narrator—following a fictitious conversation with a dissatisfied critic and a baffled reader—remains true to the ideal of the swarm of fish and thus also to the dream of pre-linguistic intuition (Holm 119).

Mobilisations

Min elskede reveals a specific mobilisation for change—starting from the indignation and criteria of system-critical left-wingers and the grassroots movement. The positively connoted dynamism is obviously not related to the economic growth of the Danish "record years", an increase in efficiency or accelerated everyday life. It is to be understood not teleologically but organically. Bourgeois capitalist society and its conventional social models represent destructive stagnation, even death in isolated portacabins: "Ingen kan flytte sig uhindret op og ned, gennem væggene, hen over pladserne og i parkerne." (No one can move freely from below to above, through walls, across squares and into parks.) (Holm 105, see also 83, 119). In the social-realistic chapters of the novel, a lack of mobility and openness represents isolation and the absence of communal energy or communicative circulation. Planned existence and functional and rational building are equally denounced as having caused a state of deficiency.

Voluntary mobility and bodily or collective-intoxicating experiences of movement often hold sensual and erotic potential; they have a welcome deregulatory effect on the subconscious and civilisation's safety mechanisms. This is emphatically underscored by the love-in in the Dyrehaven forest park (potentially driven by animal instincts). In place of proverbial codification, fragmentation and restructuring are advocated.

In Holm's work, the image of the extendible domed city from *Archigram* accentuates the fact that the urban everyday world becomes a mobile artefact under the influence of revolutionary action. The domed city resembles a mobile which can be frozen for the moment, which remains in temporary constellations for a brief time. These stills of the mobile are presumably not repeatable, at the very most certain set pieces can be cited or certain semantic contexts can be recapitulated. The consequences of the actions of the city dweller inspired by revolution are just as unpredictable as the formations of the social collective themselves.

Holm's 1968-inspired views of the time can be interpreted in terms of cultural history as close to the*Provie* movement, a rebellious subgroup of provocative agitators who infiltrated and disrupted other groups or created their own happenings (Österberg

91). This movement celebrated its own burial once, in its own assessment, there was a danger of the *Provies* petrifying into an established organisation. In *Min elskede*, the movement guarantees the individual and not the other way around (Österberg 91). The human criterion may not be lost, the "good intentions" should in no way be abused or ideologically manipulated by state interests.

The contradiction between the organic swarm metaphor and the collage's conscious use of models is striking: an intuitive community, characterised as pre-linguistic, and an overriding analytical concept of urban society in the style of a "supertext" face each other. The metaphor of the swarm is already itself ambivalent, as an anachronistically-coloured, social romantic idea of community encounters "modern individualism". The question of the actual motives and values which make the swarms actually cohere remains unanswered. It is, however, evident that it is the demand of bodily and sexual politics which stands out in the thesis of the political integration of physicality and the glorification of the organic in *Min elskede*.

The swarm concept must be described as ahistorical because a shared understanding of community, in the sense of an intuitive feeling of common identity, is presupposed amongst all members (se here the criticism of the unbalanced positive evaluation of "community" in Bauman 2009). Processes of inclusion and exclusion, such as the status differences between members and non-members, the freedom of the "others" or the potentially arduous and protracted building of consensus are absent. Alone the emphasis of the protected right to individuality is reminiscent of the possible risk that the common movement might become an end in itself and the needs of the members one day subordinated to the collective interest, a development which would mark a point of change from utopia to dystopia.

Although the swarm can be integrated within the overall concept as acollage element, this image represents a somewhat retrograde utopia. The visionary idea, presented in the epilogue, of a post-revolutionary Copenhagen which transforms *Archigram's* "Blow-Out Village" and "Walking City" in a literary way, directs the focus to an uncertain future. Here, language appears to be threatened by an endurance test between mimetic function and self-reference. The decision to be met collectively on who is to supply the guidelines for the communal life also involves danger. In 1968, the yearning for community is evidently directed towards the past and the future simultaneously.

The aesthetic mobilisation primarily exists in the efforts of the reader required to bring together the many component parts into a text dome and in doing develop a highly personal interpretation. Performative understanding of the construction of the text and meaning is required of the reader. The recipients create their own collage in reading which is tied together via intra- and intertextual connections (Riha). As the discussion between the author figure, critic and reader at the end shows, the fragmentary challenge of *Min elskede* aims to provoke. The process of provocation is widespread in both concept art and the political culture of the 1968 revolution and can be understood as the epitome of combined aesthetic and political activation.

The process of setting in motion points to the call to action and the challenge to adopt a position, in this case to critically examine the idea of community and in parti-

cular the swarm metaphor and investigate the ambivalences of this model (Togeby). This also includes careful consideration of all the aesthetic and political connotations of the swarm (and might also be inferred from the current and usually careless use of the swarm metaphor in the context of social networks). In a further frame of reference, the process of plunging into turmoil of the "above and below movement" suggests adopting an attitude of the groupings and demands of the 1968 movement—a counter-revolutionary, feminist, ecological, or, intellectual-philosophical one? This positioning is a key and easily underestimated consequence of mobilisation. And it is precisely the kaleidoscope of text elements which opens up a perspective on these highly different tendencies and dynamics. Contradictions, confrontations and interstices remain clear, as in a collage of heterogeneous or prefabricated materials. In this experimental novel, Holm forges a link from the romantic fragment to pop art.

Works Cited

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Gemeinschaften. Auf der Suche nach Sicherheit in einer bedrohlichen Welt*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009[2001].

Cook, Peter et al. *Archigram*. London: Studio Vista, 1972.

Etzemüller, Thomas. *1968 — ein Riss in der Geschichte? Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und 68er-Bewegungen in Westdeutschland und Schweden*. Konstanz: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005.

Holm, Sven. *Min elskede — en skabelonroman*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1968.

Louis, Eleonora and Toni Stoos (eds.). *Archigram. Symposion zur Ausstellung*. Wien: Ritter Verlag, 1997.

Oehlenschläger, Adam. *Digte* 1803. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1966.

Riha, Karl. *Cross-reading und Cross-talking*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010 [1887].

Togeby, Lise. *Fra tilskuere til deltagere, den kollektive mobilisering af kvinder i Danmark i 1970'erne og 1980'erne*. Århus: Politica, 1994.

Wischmann, Antje. *Verdichtete Stadtwahrnehmung*. Berlin: BWV-Verlag, 2003.

Östberg, Kjell. *1968 — när allting var i rörelse. Sextiotalsradikaliseringen och de sociala rörelserna*. Stockholm: Prisma i samarbete med Samtidshistoriska institutet vid Södertörns högskola, 2002.

责任编辑:易立君

The Welfare Stateand the Nursing Home Novel: Bent Vinn Nielsen's *A Life in Ordinariness*

Peter Simonsen
Institute of Literature, Culture and Media Studies, University of Southern Denmark
55 Campusvej, 5230 Odense M, Denmark
Email: petsim@ litcul. sdu. dk

Abstract Old age is a major issue in many political debates in the contemporary Danish welfare state as well as in much contemporary Danish fiction. Most western populations are experiencing a demographic revolution, where societies are coming to consist of an increasing number of older compared to younger citizens. This puts pressure on the traditional Danish or Scandinavian welfare model, which has financed all older citizens' pensions and health care, but which most politicians and economists argue cannot be carried into the future in an unchanged form. Thus welfare reforms have been accelerating since the 1990s. Concurrently, in contemporary realist fiction many authors address the subject of old age, aging and the welfare institutions and intersubjective collectives in which this takes place. In these fictions, often set in nursing homes, hence "nursing home novels," we may observe how individual citizens can be imagined to live in and with these welfare reforms. Among these authors this essay singles out Bent Vinn Nielsen and in particular his novel from 2010, *Et liv i almindelighed* (*A Life in Ordinariness*) to propose that through the immersive experience of fictional reading such a text potentially provides readers with affective knowledge of the final chapters of life as experienced by ordinary individuals in the welfare state. This knowledge is needed, the essay proposes, in order to have a qualified and properly nuanced public debate about old age in the welfare state of the future.
Key words Bent Vinn Nielsen; welfare state; nursing home; old age

A number of critical studies have in recent years begun toaddress and analyze the complex relations between the Danish welfare state as it has emerged and been transformed through a series of political compromises since the Second World War, and narrative works of imaginative literature (Kjældgaard and Stjernfelt; Hansen; Schwartz; Simonsen and Stougaard-Nielsen; Mai, *Kœttere*). The underlying premise is that we enhance our understanding both of the welfare state and of literature when we consider them in an interdisciplinary perspective. In terms of this research, Bent Vinn Nielsen (born 1951) singles himself out as an author who claims special interest. In particular by virtue of his most recent novel, *Et liv i almindelighed* (*A Life in Ordinariness*) (2010), his fifteenth since his debut in 1978. The novel is set in a nursing home (hence "nursing home novel") and it deals with a key political issue in today's welfare state: old age. Old age is a major issue in the political debate in

the contemporary welfare state, where the increasing number of old (Above 65) and very old (Above 80) citizens both entitled to and in need of pensions and various forms of care is often seen as a potential bomb under the welfare system. Old age is also an issue in much contemporary fiction, where many authors address the subject of old age and ageing and the welfare institutions and intersubjective collectives in which this takes place, and through the immersive experience of fictional reading potentially provide their readers with affective knowledge of how this chapter of life is experienced in the context of the welfare state. This knowledge is needed, the essay proposes, in order to have a qualified and properly nuanced debate about old age in a reformed welfare state of the future.

Vinn Nielsen's workcan be considered as both a product of and a critical response to the welfare state as the political and ideological system that frames the lives of ordinary Danes in multiple ways. The critic, Rune Lykkeberg, has recently argued this in his study, *Kampen om sandhederne* (*The Battle for the Truths*), where much of Vinn Nielsen's work functions as a seemingly privileged mirror of changes in the basic values and mentalities in Danish society over the past decades. According to Lykkeberg, Vinn Nielsen's novel, *Opkøb af dødsboer* (*Buying Estates from the Dead*) (1980), for instance, anticipates by twenty years the then newly elected Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal party, Anders Fogh Rasmussen's 2002 critique of the reigning values and ideological presuppositions of the Danish cultural elite (Lykkeberg 59). The cultural elite was seen to have participated in creating a system of welfare that was informed by many good intentions on behalf of the citizens in terms, for instance, of creating equality through progressive taxation and economic redistribution as well as providing free health care for all, free education (including higher education) to enable social mobility, as well as a variety of pensions and other monetary means of insurance against social risks. Yet despite these good intentions, the system was felt by many to be, on the one hand, patronizing and to disempower the individual, and, on the other hand, a system that is largely beneficent to the middle class rather than those at the bottom of society.

Vinn Nielsen's critique of the welfare state is complex and reflects many Danes' ambivalent relationship to the welfare state. Most Danes support the basic ideas and values of the welfare state (Petersen and Petersen 2007; Gundelach). Indeed, to assume political power and governmental office, one cannot be fundamentally critical of the welfare state (Petersen and Petersen 2010). The chief architect behind Anders Fogh Rasmussen's victory in 2001, the liberal politician Claus Hjort Frederiksen, for instance, in an interview in 2010 embraces the welfare state in a way he and the Liberal party had never done before 2001 when he says that he has had it "ind under huden" (it has "gotten under his skin") (Lundis 37). However, he finds that it has developed away from a Social Democratic universalist model, where everyone gets the same offers and services from the state, towards a more (neo) liberalist model, where the individual citizen is given more choices and where the public sector is integrated with and competes with the private sector. Yet many Danes are also skeptical of the welfare state's interventions in their personal, intimate lives when the state assumes a position of one who knows better than the citizen what is best for that citizen. And

they are skeptical about the good intentions on behalf of those at the bottom of society.

Vinn Nielsen is acutely aware of this ambivalence. This can be seen for instance in the fact that he, on the one hand, is a part of the welfare system because he gets money from the National Art Foundation of 1965 for being a creative author of the highest quality, and on the other hand that he is very skeptical of the very system that feeds him because he knows that it sometimes treats people in inhumane ways by denying them their individuality and reducing them to infantile clients. This is brought out in a newspaper essay from 1998 where he reflects with Kafkaesque insight and precision on how he was granted a prestigious lifelong stipend from the state. The official letter from the Minister of Culture pointed out that this stipend was "samfundets officielle anerkendelse af og taknemmelighed for de værdier, du har skabt som kunstner, og som har beriget samfundet som helhed" (society's official recognition and expression of thankfulness of the values you have created as an artist, which have enriched society as a whole) (Vinn Nielsen, *Dysfunktionelle* 8). The welfare state, in other words, appreciates its artists, even if they are critical of it (sometimes *especially* if they are critical) (Mai, *Kættere*). This is a key aspect of Danish democracy, which one of the most significant intellectuals who supported the idea of the welfare state in the period after the Second World War, when it was frowned upon by many, Villy Sørensen, describes in a newspaper article in 1965:

> "Ligesom diktaturstaten ganske logisk forbyder den originale kunst for at opretholde sig selv, er det ganske logisk, at den demokratiske stat begunstiger kunsten — for at opretholde sig selv. Loven om statens kunstfond er det officielle udtryk for, at staten har anerkendt kunstens opposition lige så vel som den politiske opposition"
> (As a dictatorship logically bans original art from sustaining itself, so the democratic state must favour art for its own sustainability. The Law on the National Art Foundation is the official stamp for the state's recognition of art as a critical opposition similar to the political opposition) (qtd. in Mai, "Literature as Companion" 56).

Yet even as it appreciates and subsidizes a critical and oppositional literature as the bedrock of democracy and freedom, the welfare state in the guise of the complex system of taxation makes life almost intolerable for many artists. In the 1998 essay Vinn Nielsen reports how the state made him feel disempowered when — without even informing him — it took money that he earned through having his books available free of charge in the public libraries (a cornerstone in the welfare state's cultural policy) and used it to pay his tax debts and in effect virtually deprived him of his livelihood. He is not averse to paying his taxes, he says, but he wants to be treated with at least a modicum of respect. These kinds of ambivalent experiences with the double-edged sword of the welfare state inform Vinn Nielsen's work in many ways.

Vinn Nielsen is not a politician and he has no utopic literary agenda. In a newspaper interview he states that for him, literature is not meant to give directions or for-

mulate a political program. Instead it must reflect, with the greatest adequacy and precision, how a given politics influences the people in their ordinary lives. Vinn Nielsen's novels are ideally suited for this task in so far as they combine a distinct social realism of language, style and content that is almost documentary in terms of giving slices of life as it is lived in Denmark today, with certain experimental aspects of modernism, especially the use of limited perspective and narrative unreliability and irony. This mix enables Vinn Nielsen to avoid the tendency towards naïve moralism and idealism in traditional social realism, where the indignation and know-all attitude of the author can transform the work into propaganda, and the diametrically opposed tendency towards abstraction and mysticism in high modernism, where the formalism of the author can turn the work into a merely self-reflecting string of words that cannot keep the reader's interest for long. Navigating these Scylla and Charybdis, Vinn Nielsen instead delivers what has been characterized as "et stort og enestående stykke samtidssociologi" (a grand and unique piece of sociology of the present) (Stjernfelt 262).

The choices made by an author of where to turn his sociological gaze, of which political consequences to investigate in his art are political, no doubt, but they do not reflect an ambition to change things in a direct manner reflective of a crude instrumental understanding of the literary work of art. Vinn Nielsen's most recent novel, *Et liv i almindelighed*, investigates among other things Danish welfare politics as it has impacted on retirement habits and the treatment of the very old in nursing facilities. The nursing home and the treatment of the very old is a privileged topos when anyone wants to measure the extent to which the welfare state lives up to its own good intentions. In an essay from 2000, Vinn Nielsen reflects on the Social Democratic Prime Minister (1993 – 2011), Poul Nyrup Rasmussen's annual New Year speech to the people, which is broadcast on January 1st every year. Nyrup Rasmussen talked at length about and celebrated the history and basic values of the welfare state, saying among other things,

> "Vi skal have råd til velfœrdMøllerssamfundets grundlæggende omsorg og tryghed. Vi må ikke affinde os med svigt i forhold til dem, der er svagest og mest udsat. Vi må ikke affinde os med, at gamle på plejehjem behandles uværdigt. Der *skal* overalt i vores land være en ordentlig Ældreomsorg"
> (We must be able to afford the basic care and security of the welfare state. We must not fail those who are most weak and exposed. We must not accept that old people in nursing homes are treated in an unworthy manner. Everywhere in our nation there *must* be a proper care for the old) (Rasmussen; Rasmussen's italics).

Nyrup Rasmussen's point was that we could afford this and that reports of maltreatmentin nursing homes were exceptions to the rule. To this, Vinn Nielsen drily comments:

> Hvis man nu var senildement beboer på et plejehjem i Odder, er det ikke sikkert

> man ville kunne se ligheden mellem det samfund, statsministeren taler om, og så det man selv kender. [⋯] Enten taler Nyrup mod bedre vidende, eller også har hans rådgivere bare ikke fortalt ham, at i løbet af de år han har været ved magten, har middelklassen nok forbedret levestandarden. Men det har de omkring 800. 000, der er afhængige af velfærdMøllerssamfundets velvilje, bestemt ikke. (Vinn Nielsen, *Dysfunktionelle* 19)
> (If you were a senile inhabitant of a nursing home in the city of Odder, it is not certain that you could see the similarity between the society the Prime Minster talks about and the one you know yourself. [⋯] Either Nyrup Rasmussen is speaking against his better knowledge, or his advisors have neglected to tell him that in the few years he has been in power, the middle class may have improved its standard of living. But those 800.000 people who depend on the good will of the welfare state, have not.)

While Vinn Nielsen here, in a polemical newspaper essay, sides with the old nursing home inhabitant and against the system, in his art he is more nuanced.

Disregardingfor a moment the novel's complex manner of articulation through various narrators and the subtle ironies that emerge from this manner of articulation, it contains, on the one hand, what seems a critique of a system of public welfare that both pays generous early retirement pensions ("efterløn") to individuals who could still work (aged 61 and 62), but have chosen to follow their own interests and ways of aging, and at the same time seems to disregard the individual needs and desires of a very old disabled person in a nursing home (the protagonist, Skat Enevoldsen, who is 96 years old, has to struggle against the system to get his daily shave and the freedom to go on a little road trip). On the other hand, the novel opens itself up to being read as affirmative of certain aspects of the welfare system given that the welfare system both directly and indirectly enables Skat Enevoldsen to tell his life story to a voluntary visiting friend. This visiting friend has taken early retirement because there were no jobs for him in this part of the country (the hardware business that had employed him closed), but unlike his wife, who cultivates herself with trips to enjoy nature and art museums and joins other early retirees at Nordic Walking, he spends his early retirement as a visiting friend at the local nursing home where he has been sent specifically to visit Skat Enevoldsen by the municipality, a key part of the welfare state. In the telling of this story, Skat Enevoldsen enriches his own life and the lives of others, both directly and indirectly. The welfare state in other words is both a companionable helper and an obstacle to be struggled against, and persons on early retirement are both represented as problematic narcissistic free riders and as crucial supporters of the welfare system that pays their pensions. The relations between the work of literature and the welfare state are in other words complex making it impossible to deduct a politics from this novel as far as the state is concerned.

Et liv i almindelighed thus engages what may be the most serious immediate challenge of the welfare state: the growing number of people reaching deep old age and moving from the position of taxpaying contributors to the welfare system to being recipients of various welfare services and benefits. Some economists and demogra-

phers see this as a potential disaster and talk about a "global retirement crisis" (Jackson 325 – 32), yet Vinn Nielsen sees more than that: a fertile artistic material that gives us as readers a rare chance to imagine life — a life lived in ordinariness — from the perspective of old age disability (Skat Enevoldsen is confined to a wheelchair and unable to use his fingers to write due to arthritis), which is a perspective most readers are debarred from in their ordinary lives. The novel indeed continues but also extends Vinn Nielsen's micro-sociological approach by opening up his work to a tendency which we have witnessed increase its pace over the past decade or so in both Danish and international fiction: stories which in various ways seek and find aesthetic expression for life as it can be imagined being lived and experienced for an old individual; a perspective and slice of life not traditionally bestowed much attention by writers of imaginative fiction. In Danish literature, besides Vinn Nielsen, we can think of work by Christian Jungersen, *Krat* (1999), Kirsten Thorup, *Ingenmandsland* (2003), Bent Haller, *Først ved livets ende* (2004), Trisse Gejl, *Patriarken* (2006), Anders Bodelsen, *Varm luft* (2009) and Vibeke Grønfeldt, *Livliner* (2011). Different as they are in many ways, these authors aim to provide realistic, that is, credible, believable and at times seemingly authentic narratives about old age as it is lived, sensed and felt by imagined individuals in contemporary Denmark. Their stories enable readers to imagine what it is like to inhabit the country of old age, a country whose inhabitants are nothing like they used to. Old people in the West are generally older, healthier and much more interested in their specific identity and circumstances in life compared to the generations that came before. Today it is normal to expect to grow old even though the maximum number of years reached by the oldest old has not changed significantly. The reasons for this "long life revolution," as it has been dubbed by Robert Butler, have to do with developments in medicine, hygiene, nutrition, increase in wealth, better working and living conditions. We see new life ages emerge (we can expect both a third and a fourth age), new types of identities, hobbies, interests, diseases, medicines, forms and places of living, patterns of consumption, educational needs, etc. Our common existential horizon is in other words being expanded dramatically, even if slowly. To begin to make sense of the human implications of these revolutionary changes we turn to fiction for its capacity to dramatize the life of the individual in society and to capture emergent structures of feeling, mentalities and issues of human interest.

One of the first pieces of welfare legislation in Denmark (1891) concerned old age pensions. Indeed, care for the old has always been a key issue in the development of the welfare state (Petersen). The universalism of the people's pension of 1956, where all citizens were granted the right to the same relatively generous pension upon retirement, irrespective of who they were and how they had lived their life, is an important symbol of the Danish model of welfare and an integral part of Danish national identity. This despite the fact that the pension system, through a number of still ongoing reforms aiming to accommodate the welfare system to changing demography, has developed away from its former pay-as-you-go universalism towards a system where the individual's future pension is contingent upon his or her employment, which means that a greater degree of inequality can be anticipated in the future.

Yet Danes (and Scandinavians more generally) expect the state to take care of them in their old age and in the Danish welfare state care for the old is seen as primarily the duty of the state rather than the family or the employer (Szebehely). The state takes care of the old in order that adult children can pursue their own careers. The idea that the state acts as a parent vis-à-vis the citizen is indeed second nature to many Danes, whether they like it or not (Kjældgaard). Former Social Democratic Prime Minister (1972 – 73 and 1975 – 9), Anker Jørgensen, who is by many Danes seen as the incarnation of the traditional ideas and values of the welfare state, compares in an interview the welfare state (which he conflates with the welfare society) to a family: "på samme måde som forældre skal skabe tryghed for deres børn, så har samfundet — bare I størrre målestok – til opgave at være en slags forældre for borgerne og sørge for tryghed" (in a manner similar to parents making sure their children are secure, society's role — merely on a larger scale — is to be a kind of parent to the citizens and ensure their security) (Lundis 16). In the 1960s and 1970s a greater number of old age pensioners moved into a nursing home while they were still in relatively good health. The modern nursing homes were large and in them the inhabitant was treated in a standardized way almost as if he or she were in a hospital. At the end of the 1970s amidst the world oil crisis, it increasingly dawned on politicians that the state could not afford these nursing homes, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, that few people wanted to enter what was being seen as what Erving Goffman would call "total institutions" to be treated as patients even while they were healthy. Instead, the politics was changed to enable people to stay in their own homes as long as possible and only go to a nursing home facility (or other form of sheltered housing) when they could no longer be cared for in their own homes (the standard of private housing had risen dramatically in the Golden Age of the welfare state, 1950 – 1970, where many had acquired their own house in the suburbs to give this politics a firm basis for realization). The means to realize this politics was extensive home care and completely refraining from building new nursing homes after 1987 (Rostgaard). Simultaneously, a new understanding of old age as *not* an illness but rather a phase of life filled with potential for change, productivity and personal growth began to emerge both among the elderly and society in general. The desire to stay in one's own home after retirement and for the rest of one's life is the desire of the overwhelming majority of Danes today. This suits the politics, which is increasingly aimed at developing various forms of home care, and reflects the advanced individualization of late modern societies (Lewinter). As an anthropological study has recently shown, to become dependent, enter a nursing home and be treated as an object by indifferent caretakers epitomizes our greatest fear when asked about what constitutes "the good life" in old age (Nielsen). As I will suggest in the last part of this essay, Vinn Nielsen's *Et liv i almindelighed* is virtually unthinkable and maybe unreadable outside of this context of the Danish welfare model regarding old age. Before making that argument, I wish to indicate how old age is represented in two of Vinn Nielsen's previous novels.

Nursing homes and old age can be found on themargins of Vinn Nielsen's earlier work. *Realiteternes verden* (1992) (*The World of Realities*) is a novel profoundly critical of the mentality generated by the welfare state in a group of unemployed and

unskilled workers in a Danish province (Nakskov, Lolland). The nursing home here figures as the ultimate but ambivalent "gift" the welfare parent-state has to offer the citizen-child. The first person narrator, Knud, looks from within his rather limited point of view at his own situation as a client of the welfare state without any prospect of real employment:

> [···] vi sad jo bare på vores blankslidte, artige røv og blev mere og mere gråmelerede. Vi skulle nok holde kæft og gøre, som der blev sagt. Vi generede ikke nogen, vi kunne ingenting og vi gjorde ingenting. Ingen kunne bebrejde os noget, vi lavede ingen uro, vi sad helt stille og roligt og var bare glade for at blive forsørget. En skønne dag kunne de køre os hen på et plejehjem, så kunne vi sidde derhenne og spise småkager og more os over de ungdommelige typer, som gad optræde for os i fjernsynet. (75)
> ([···] we were just sitting on our well-worn, well-behaved ass getting more and more grayish. Of course we would shut up and do as we were told. We didn't bother anyone, we were good for nothing and we did nothing. No one could blame us, we caused no trouble, we sat all quiet and were happy to be provided for. Some fine day they could take us to a nursing home where we could sit and eat biscuits and be amused by the youthful types who cared to entertain us on television.)

Knud speaks directly to a small group of listeners (according to Vinn Nielsen they are students of sociology, Skyum-Nielsen 18) on behalf of a collective "we." He cannot imagine a life that is different from the one he has, where he is kept alive by the welfare state, but where all the state has to offer him on the horizon of the future is a nursing home. This may sound comfortable with cookies and TV, but as we hear repeatedly through the novel, Knud does not like to watch TV, and as the novel also points out in the story of one of the marginal characters, Emmy Jordansen, there is not much to look forward to.

Emmy Jordansen is a long time friend of Knud's family who lives alone with poor health (bad lungs) in very poor housing by the harbour. Knud visits her now and then, but not as often as he thinks he ought to (148). On one of his visits, Knud says,

> Var det ikkenoget for dig at komme på plejehjem? spurgte jeg hende — sådan som jeg vist også havde gjort sidst. Men nej, det ville hun ikke. Hun havde en hjemmehjælp til at komme to gange om ugen, det var godt nok [···].
>
> Da jeg gik kunne jeg ikke lade være med at tænke på, at man ærlig talt godt kunne se på hendes lejlighed, at hun kun havde hjemmehjælp to gange om ugen. Der var møgbeskidt, den hjemmehjælp hun havde, kunne ikke være af de mest effektive. Hvorfor lod man mennesker bo på denne måde? Var det ren beregning: på den måde kradser de hurtigere af, det er langt billigere end at sende dem på plejehjem?
>
> Svineriet, tænkte jeg da jeg lukkede mig ud, sådan er det efterhånden ble-

vet her i svineriet. (149 – 50)

(Shouldn't you consider getting into a nursing home? I asked her — as I think I had done the last time we met. But no, she wouldn't. She had home care twice a week, which was good enough [···].

As I was leaving I couldn't help but think that really it was obvious from her flat that she only had home care twice a week. It was filthy. The home care she had could not be the most efficient. Why were people allowed to live like this? Was it pure calculation: in this way they croak faster, it's much cheaper than sending them to a nursing home?

The mess, I thought as I let myself out, this is how it has come to be here in the mess.)

Knud clearly thinks the welfare state does not do its job properly and he even thinks this as part of a big conspiracy: that the state (which he refers to as "the mess," which in the Danish original is "svineriet" and refers to the mess left by pigs carrying very negative connotations) kills the citizen slowly and indirectly but systematically through providing insufficient home care. In the end, his prophecy of course turns out to be self-fulfilling as he sums up this thread of his story by saying that "hun er død, helt efter svineriets plan" (she is dead, exactly in accordance with the plan of the mess) (172).

In the novel we observe an isolated part of the welfare state where thoseat the bottom of society try to subsist on the lowest welfare rate and are forced to moonlight if they want extra money, for example to send their daughter to university, as Knud against all odds manages to do. Thus, in the story of Knud and his group, this novel is chilling in its portrayal of how the welfare state has rendered them passive and given them a self-image as victims, reflected also in how they see the state as fully responsible for their care in old age even though they know it cannot live up to that responsibility (in part because of the magnitude of moonlighting and other forms of tax-evasion going on in society, where the rich exploit the poor doubly: by paying them less than they otherwise would, and by not contributing to the common good by paying taxes). Yet, in the marginal story of Knud's oldest daughter, Susan, who gets the highest grade average from high school and goes straight to university in Copenhagen (her tuition is fully paid by the state but setting her up is made possible by money Knud earns moonlighting), the novel narrates a story of social mobility, which is a success story of the welfare state even as it is also the story of the death of the local community from where the story is narrated as an exception to the rule represented by the younger sister, who drops out of school to work at the local gas station.

In Vinn Nielsen's novel, *En bedre verden* (*A Better World*) (2004), the nursing home is again present at the periphery of the fiction, but nonetheless serving an important function. Early in the novel, the first person narrator, Rudy, is told on the phone by the head of a nursing home that his father, aged eighty two, has just died, and it strikes him that the last time he visited his father was two years ago:

Da jeg havde lagt røret, kom jeg i tanke om, at det var to år siden jeg sidst

havde besøgt min far på hjemmet. Jeg havde dårligt nok tænkt på det, jeg havde jo altid travlt.

Jeg var chokeret.

Ikke bare over at far var død, han var trods alt i en alder, hvor døden ikke kommer som den store overraskelse. Han var godt slidt. Måske var det i sig selv et lille mirakel, at han trods alt blev toogfirs.

Men det var ikke kun derfor, jeg var chokeret.

Jeg skammede mig. Som en hund.

Hvorfor havde jeg ikke set min far i to år? (14)

(When I had hung up the phone, I realized that it had been two years since I had visited my father at the nursing home. I had barely thought about it, I was so busy all the time.

I was shocked.

Not just at my father's death, he had after all reached an age where death comes as no big surprise. He was pretty worn down. In itself it was perhaps a small miracle that he reached eighty two.

But that was not the only reason I was shocked.

I was ashamed. As a dog.

Why hadn't I seen my father in two years?

Rudy's sense of shame stems probably from both having left his father in the care of the nursing home whose leader seems all nice but also very patronizing when she allows the father to smoke a cigar on his eightieth birthday, and from having let him down by pursuing an unfortunate path in life. It leads him to think about his father's one dream in life: the dream of owning his own house with a small garden. This was something his father could never afford, but which the workaholic freelance photographer Rudy, who lives alone in a little shabby apartment where he spends very little time, can easily afford. So he buys a house in the outer suburbs of Copenhagen in order to lead a "better life" than his father had done (15). However, one year after his father's death, he suffers a breakdown from stress and his doctor orders him to go on a vacation. What happens on this vacation is at the heart of the novel's theme of a dramatic midlife crisis and adjacent need to find new meaning and purpose in life, which Rudy by accident finds when he begins to write a story about two people and their complex relationship and reflects that maybe there is a certain hope for a better world in that act of writing about other people's complex inner worlds (88 – 89). While this story is not directly related to the welfare state, it is significant that the midlife crisis, which leads to a writer finding his vocation and an intersubjective poetics, is framed by that same individual's shock and sense of shame at having neglected his father and left him in the care of the welfare state's nursing home.

In *Et liv i almindelighed* we finally enter the nursing home and the mind of the old individual in a position of dependency vis-à-vis the welfare state. As mentioned, this novel is virtually unthinkable and maybe unreadable outside of this context of the Danish welfare model regarding old age. This goes both for the subject matter of the novel (state financed old age care and pensions as well as a new family structure and

intergenerational relations and organized voluntary help) and for the very form and style of narration (reminiscence therapy in a nursing home setting facilitated by the welfare state and made possible by a voluntary visiting friend who has taken early state financed retirement). The novel is narrated in a peculiar but striking and compelling manner. It is presented as a recording made by one of the characters in the novel (James D. Møller). The voice who speaks the most is that of an old inhabitant of a nursing home, the 96-year-old Skat Enevoldsen. He has accepted the welfare state's offer of a voluntary visiting friend (a sign that care taking is organized in a "welfare mix" of private and public agents, as described in e. g. Lewinter) and its suggestion (mediated by the physical therapist at the nursing home) that he should write his memoirs, narrate his life story, because it will increase his life quality. A member of the local authorities, the municipality responsible for most welfare services, has written a brochure outlining the benefits of reminiscence therapy that is offered to the inhabitants of the nursing home to increase their quality of life (and presumably to increase their health status and thus *prevent* them from becoming a too great burden on the health care system, although in this novel we are very far from the paranoia vis-a-vis old age politics we witnessed in *Realiteternes verden*). In an essay from 2006, a person who has experience from a Danish old age pensioner's organization working with reminiscence workshops says that "along with other elderly, the participants [in such workshops] are given the opportunity to refresh memories that had long been forgotten. To be able to remember more than you thought you could, can form the basis of wonderful and positive experiences, which enhance the quality of life for the individual" (Vestesen 66). The offer to write his story tempts him, although we are not told exactly why he is tempted (Vinn Nielsen, *Et liv* 13). This temptation to tell his story is crucial to this novel. It may be interpreted as an indication that he is both tempted because it will bring a meaningful closure to his own life and because he can perhaps for the first time communicate, however indirectly, with his youngest daughter, Jenny. He sees her all the time, but it is difficult for them to speak with intimacy and we are given a sense early on in the novel that there are things he wants to tell her (19) but is unable to because of his temper (28). However, Skat's fingers are too frail to write his memoirs. This problem is fixed by the voluntary visiting friend, who shows up with a recording device at the opening of the narrative. The intersubjective relationship between Skat and the visiting friend has in other words been created by the welfare state, which according to social legislation is indeed obliged to organize and subsidize such voluntary services (Lewinter 54 – 60).

Skat Enevoldsen has inhabited the nursing home for the past 6 years. Previously he was able to take care of himself, but now he is confined to a wheelchair and unable for instance to shave himself. This is in fact the novel's way of introducing his basic existential situation to the reader: Skat Enevoldsen stubbornly insists on his right to a daily shave, which he seems to consider instrumental to maintaining his dignity and sense of life quality. Indeed, it is as if his daily shave represents his entire claim to have personal autonomy and self identity. In the very first chapter he manages to claim this daily shave despite meeting resistance from the leader of the nursing home, who casually remarks that "Man kan blive barberet et par gange om ugen

[…]. Nogle bliver kun barberet en gang om ugen" (You can get a shave a couple of times per week […] Some are only shaved once a week) (11). Yet this is not the beginning of a piece of traditional social realism that indignantly tells of a system's failure to protect the weak individual against its own standardizing and spirit-breaking measures. Had Vinn Nielsen written fiction in the spirit of his newspaper essay's reaction to the Prime Minister's paean to the welfare state, this could have been expected. Instead, Vinn Nielsen narrates a story about how deeply our lives are involved in the system and how some services and benefits provided by the welfare state in fact miraculously work, even if not always according to plan, and enable life to be lived in ways that seem to increase the happiness of the individuals living there.

Skat Enevoldsen is in the nursing home because he can no longer take care of himself and because his two adult daughters cannot take care of him. His oldest daughter, Lore, because she lives far away in the northern part of the country (Vendsyssel), and in addition has a disabled adult son to take care of. His youngest daughter, the laggard Jenny, who was born in 1951 and is 48 years old, cannot take care of him even though she lives as a single right next to the nursing home in a house which according to her father is big enough for an entire family. Modern family life is not as it used to be — it is deeply intertwined with the state. Jenny moved in with her father briefly before he went to the nursing home, but she could not balance her work life as a school teacher and her private life as her father's primary care taker. Choosing her own work, in the manner she is encouraged to by the welfare state that encourages de-familiarization (that is, takes responsibility for care of children, old, disabled), but which in other states and cultures would be less easy for both economic reasons and reasons of norms and customs, she caused her father's resentment and had to call for her older sister to arrange for his move into the nursing home against his will (174). In a world apart from the highly de-familiarized Scandinavian welfare state, the youngest daughter would be more likely to have been obliged to take care of the old father. This would have kept her from living the life she herself has chosen and that seems to make her feel happy and content, as far as this novel is concerned. If her life is really authentic and if her happiness is really genuine, however, that is, if she leads a morally and ethically laudable life, seems open to interpretation. Indeed, she can both be seen as wasting her life and as living the good life. She is competent as far as her work is concerned (she is a teacher specializing in "vanskelige drenge" (difficult boys) (124)), she jogs, watches movies, drinks wine, goes on vacations with a friend, and does occasional charity work. She visits her father almost every day, enjoys herself and lives a carefree secure life within the cocoon of the welfare state. Liberal critics of the welfare state would say that she has virtually been lobotomized by the state whereas Social Democrats in the tradition of Anker Jørgensen might say that the parent-state is taking good care of her. Villy Sørensen and most of the culture-radical critics who Vinn Nielsen, according to Rune Lykkeberg, holds in contempt for their know-it-all attitude in behalf of other people uninterested in or directly skeptical of their elitist norms and values, would say that she has confused the means (social security, material wealth, rights to welfare benefits) with the ends of the welfare state (to be allowed to confront one's inner existential anxieties and prob-

lematic personality without worrying about basic needs for survival) (Sørensen 1956, 79).

Skat Enevoldsen's story, which he tells in little bits of pieces over a period of time, takes up the first two thirds of the novel, until he suddenly dies. In the process of telling his story, Skat seems to open up to James D. Møller and also to reach some kind of closure in his life, especially as far as his son Carlo is concerned. Skat, we understand by implication, more or less drove Carlo to a dramatic suicide and I interpret the novel as Skat's desire to come to terms with this by beginning to take responsibility for his actions for the first time. At the heart of the novel is thus the story of a father's brutal raising of his son (especially his crude and insensitive initiation of the son into the mysteries of sexual procreation) who ends up killing himself as a consequence of his father's tyranny. This story is only marginally related to the context of the welfare state. Perhaps it indirectly implies that the education of children in public school — not least their education in matters of sexuality — is to be preferred compared to this, that is, it may be read to support the idea of the state as a substitute for malfunctioning families. What interests me in this novel as an exemplary welfare narrative is the framing of the father-son story: an old man sitting in his wheelchair telling his life's story to a voluntary visitor sent his way by the municipality also responsible for initiating the storytelling in the first place. Were it not for the welfare state, the story would never have been told.

After Skat Enevoldsen's death, James D. Møller takes over and reflects on the story he has heard and then begins to tell parts of his own story. He talks in solitude to the recording device about a minor crush he has developed on Jenny and he talks about the problems in his marriage, which seems to be nearing the end and dying out of sheer boredom and divergent life interests, but which in the end seems to find new stimulus. As James D. Møller says after his marriage has survived a minor crisis (his wife learns how he clumsily tried to kiss Jenny), "Der er gået næsten tre uger nu. Hun er stadig mere opmærksom over for mig end hun har været I mange år. / Man kan ligefrem sige, at hun er kærlig" (It has been almost three weeks now. She is still more attentive towards me than she has been for years. / One can actually say that she is affectionate.) (209). And he talks about what to do with the recording of Skat Enevoldsen's story now that he is dead. After thinking it over, he decides that it belongs to Jenny to whom he gives it at the end of the narrative. The novel is in other words to a large extent about the telling of one's life story from the vantage of the end and about the potentially life changing effects of telling and listening to such narratives.

There is no authorial instance beyond theserecorded voices (we also hear one of the care taker's voice very briefly on the tape). As such, this mode of narration may be said to be dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense and open to interpretation in the manner characteristic of what Anne-Marie Mai has theorized as "welfare literature" in a recent essay. According to Mai, imaginative literature is both "companion" to and "critic" of the welfare state, something she relates to its dialogic nature and openness to engage with issues (political, social, and broadly human) in an unprejudiced manner:

The present welfare literature is characterised by a focus on dialogue as the basic democratic premise and value and sometimes points out human experiences and experiential forms that have previously not been articulated. That is, not all literature in the welfare state is welfare literature, but welfare literature is a literature that contributes to and challenges the dialogue between the members of the welfare state (Mai, "Literature as Companion" 50).

Vinn Nielsen's novel is both an instance of this as itliterally records this kind of conversation and about this in the sense that the very genesis of the conversational situation in the novel is the intervention of the welfare state. The dialogic poetic Mai outlines entails an emphasis in this literature on intersubjective relationships, which is also a prominent theme and structural feature of Vinn Nielsen's work, at stake both in the dialogic situation which the novel dramatizes where two or more people are together in the same conversational space, and in the represented action, which centres on a number of intimate human relationships enmeshed in the welfare state.

Nursing home novels, that is, novels about old, disabled and relatively powerless people in nursing homes, who are at the mercy of the welfare state, are about more than just that. They are parables ofthe relationship between the individual and the state at its extreme: of the vulnerable and exposed individual citizen in a typically disempowered and feared state vis-à-vis the powerful welfare state in its many manifestations and valuations, at least among Danes: on the one hand Danes typically want the state to take care of them and their old family members, on the other hand, they fear the state of being in the hands of the state and they tend still to have a bad conscience that stems from putting their elders in the care of the state so they can go to work and cultivate their individual careers.

In this novel we move from a primitive welfare state that only cares for social security and providing simple services such as shelter, food and personal hygiene to a more developed and reflective welfare state that also concerns itself with the life quality of the individual citizen and with recognizing his or her unique human potential by facilitating such a thing as reminiscence therapy for a 96-year-old disabled person. Something indeed comes out of these welfare state mediated and facilitated human relations. Skat Enevoldsen gets the chance to tell the story of his life and seems to find closure by bringing several personal traumas to rest. The visiting friend, James D. Møller, gets the chance to see himself from the outside in a new and strange perspective through Skat Enevoldsen's very direct manner of confronting him and thereby gets his rather stale marriage shaken up and, after a crisis, reinvigorated. The youngest daughter, Jenny, to whom the recording is ultimately given, gets to see her father from a new angle and a chance to get to know him and understand the motivations behind his actions in old age in a manner that is similar to how we, as readers of all this, come to see how an old disabled man in a wheelchair may hide a rich inner life and a complex character which it cannot hurt — in a double sense — to *pay* attention to by listening carefully and by supporting a system of welfare that enables this storytelling. In a sense, this nursing home novel is thus more than anything an allegory of the role and fate of the storyteller in the bosom of the modern welfare state — Skat Enevoldsen, James D. Møller *and* Bent Vinn Nielsen — and of the need to support

them even to the end.

Works Cited

Butler, Robert N. *The Longevity Revolution: The Benefits and Challenges of Living a Long Life*. New York: Public Affairs, 2008.

Gundelach, Peter. *I hjertet af Danmark: Institutioner og mentaliteter* (In the Heart of Denmark: Institutions and Mentalities). København: Hans Reitzels forlag, 2008.

Hansen, Nils Gunder, ed. *velfærdMøllersfortøllinger: Om dansk litteratur i velfærdMøllersstatens* København: Gyldendal, 2010.

Jackson, Richard. "The Global Retirement Crisis." *The Welfare State Reader*. Second Edition. Ed. Christoper Pierson and Francis G. Castles. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006. 325 – 332.

Kjældgaard, Lasse Horneand Fredrik Stjernfelt, eds. *Litteratur og velfærdMøller* (Literature and Welfare). Special Issue of *Kritik* No. 191 (2009).

Kjældgaard, Lasse Horne. "In Loco Parentis: Affamiliarisering i fiktion om den skandinaviske velfærdMøllersstat" (In Loco Parentis: De-Familialisation in Fiction on the Scandinavian Welfare State), *velfærdMøllersfortœllinger: Om dansk litteratur i velfærdMøllersstatens tid*. Hansen, ed. 2010. 65 – 90.

Lewinter, Myraand Bent Gravesen. *Pleje og omsorg i fremtidens velfærdMøllerssamfund* (Nursing and Care in the Welfare State of the Future). København: Ældre Sagen og Foreningen Østifterne, 2003.

Lundis, Bjarne Henrik. *FarvelfœrdMøller* (Farewellfare). København: Forlaget Sidespejlet, 2010.

Lykkeberg, Rune. *Kampen om sandhederne: Om det kulturelle borgerskabs storhed og fald* (The Battle for the Truths: On the Cultural Bourgeoisis' Greatness and Decline). København: Gyldendal, 2008.

Mai, Anne-Marie, ed. *Kœttere, Kœllinger og Kontorfolk* (Heretics, Bitches and Office Workers). København: Gyldendal, 2012 (in print).

---. "Literature as Companion and Critic of the Welfare State." *Scandinavica* 50. 1 (2011): 47 – 62.

Nielsen, Bent Vinn. *Dysfunktionelle proletarer og rasende god underholdning* (*Dysfunctional Proletarians and Excellent Entertainment*). København: Gyldendal, 2010.

---. *En bedre verden* (*A Better World*). København. Gyldendal, 2004.

---. *Et liv i almindelighed* (*A Life in Ordinariness*). København: Gyldendal, 2010.

---. *Realiteternes verden* (*The World of Realities*). København: Samlerens, 1992.

Nielsen, Marie Konge. *Et godt liv som gammel* (*A Good Life as Old*). Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2006.

Petersen, Jørn Henrikand Klaus Petersen. "Wie es eigentlich gewesen: velfœrdMøllersstatsfortœllingen" (Wie es eigentlich gewesen: The Welfare Narrative). *velfœrdMøllersfortœllinger: Om dansk litteratur i velfœrdMøllersstatens tid*. Hansen, ed. 2010. 288 – 310.

---. eds. 13 *værdier bag den danske velfœrdMøllersstat* (13 Values behind the Danish Welfare State). Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2007.

Petersen, Jørn Henrik. *Den danske alderdomsforsørgelseslovgivnings udvikling* (*Danish Old Age Pension Law*). Volume 1 – 2. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 1986 – 2006.

Rasmussen, Poul Nyrup. "Statsministerens nytårstale" (The Prime Minister's New Year Speech). *Statsministeriet*, 2000. Web. January 26 2012.

Rostgaard, Tineand Torben Fridberg. *Caring for Children and Older People: A Comparison of European Policies and Practices*. Copenhagen: The Danish National Institute of Social Research,

1998.

Schwartz, Camilla. "Den sunde krop som et polemisk mellemværende hos Sundhedsstyrelsen og i Lotte Inuks: *Sultekunstnerinde*" (The Healthy Body as a Polemical Issue Between the National Board of Health and Lotte Inuk's *The Starving Female Artist*). *Aktuel forskning ved ILKM* (2011). 27 Jan. 2012. http://www.sdu.dk/Om_SDU/Institutter_centre/Ilkm/Forskning/AktuelForskning

Simonsen, Peterand Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, eds. *Literature, Welfare and Well-Being*. A Special Issue of *Scandinavica*. 50. 1 (2011).

Skyum-Nielsen, Erik. *Et skrivende dyr: Samtaler med Bent Vinn Nielsen* (A Writing Animal: Conversations With Bent Vinn Nielsen). København: Gyldendal, 2011.

Stjernfelt, Fredrik. "Bent Vinn Nielsen." *Danske digtere i det* 20. *århundrede* (Danish Poets of the Twentieth Century). Ed. Anne-Marie Mai. København: Gad, 2000. 261 – 271.

Szebehely, Marta, ed. *Äldreomsorgsforskning i Norden: En kunskapsöversikt* (Reaserch on Old Age Care in the Nordic Region). København: Nordiska Ministerrådet, 2005.

Sørensen, Villy. "velfœrdMøllersstaten og den suspenderede personlighed" (The Welfare State and the Suspended Personality). *Ståsteder søges* (In Need of Positions). Eds. Karl Bjarnhof and Johannes Smith. København: Det danske forlag, 1956. 77 – 88.

Thyssen, Nikolaj. "Anders Fogh for altid" (Anders Fogh Forever). *Information*. November 6 (2004). Web. 27 Jan. 2012.

Vestesen, Jytte. "Erindringsværksted" (Memory Workshop). *Reminiscencs og livshistorie: Lad livets fortœllinger blomstre* (*Reminiscence and Life Story: Let the Stories of Life Bloom*). Eds. Jonas Havelund and Anders Møller Jensen. Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 2006. 63 – 74.

责任编辑:易立君

Approaching Politics in Contemporary Chinese Fiction

Yang Jincai
Institute of Foreign Literature, Nanjing University, China
No. 22 Guangzhou Rd., Gulou District, Nanjing, Jiangsu, P. R. China
Email: jcyang@nju.edu.cn.

Abstract Chinese fiction in the 21st century is featured by various thematic concerns of which the political concern stands out. Writers in the new century have diverged from the conventional way to sing along with and speak for the dominant ideology of the reform as many did during Deng Xiaoping's reign. They have shifted their attention to the shaded side of contemporary China, writing about the disadvantaged/marginalized and reflecting on the social problems that accompany the existing social order. Their voice is harsh, interrogative, but heart-wrenching. The paper will cite the newly released texts by Yan Lianke, Mo Yan and Liu Xinglong to examine how these writers interrogate the leading policies and write up the grassroots rebellion against the orthodox society.
Key words contemporary Chinese fiction; politics; social transformation

It is no easy job trying to identify the defining characteristics of any period of literary history, especially when the period under examination is close to us. However, even from our relatively short distance from the 2000s, it is possible to map out some of the dominant trends within the fiction of the period. Two things can be said with relative certainty: first, that the period is one of healthy production of narrative fiction seen by the vast number of novels produced in China during the past decade or so and fuelled by the rise of popular culture and commercial globalization. As Lei Da has argued, the novel of the new century has fully recovered from the sentimental retrospection and naïve, simplistic socialist realism in the decades following the end of the Cultural Revolution(11). The second main characteristic of Chinese fiction in the 21st century is its sheer diversity featured by various thematic concerns. Examples of novels can be identified that address issues of globalization, hi-tech, urbanization, marketing economy, internet and poverty and their impact upon the lowly common Chinese such as the disadvantaged rural farmers. Writers in the new century have diverged from the conventional way to sing along with or speak for the dominant ideology of the reform as many did during Deng Xiaoping's reign.[1] They have shifted their attention to the shaded side of contemporary China, writing about the marginalized and reflecting on the social issues that accompany the existing social order. Efforts have been made to explore specific national and regional identities, displaying a reengagement with a realist tradition. Their voice is harsh, interrogative, but heart-wrenc-

hing. The paper will cite the newly released texts by Yan Lianke, Liu Xinglong and Mo Yan to examine how these writers interrogate the leading policies and write up the grassroots rebellion against the orthodox society. I will limit myself to a brief survey of three novels in relation to their interrogative presentations of politics in contemporary China.

As China enters its age of rapid economic development, many writers have to respond in various ways to the socio-historical contexts and ideological agenda underlying a persistent interest in material achievement and wealth seeking. Different from their predecessors in the 1980s and early 1990s who simply depict life in rural and urban China against the backdrop of the Cultural Revolution and its upheavals, Chinese writers in the 2000s are more socially critical, investigating mechanism of the present society. Yan Lianke, for example, offers a sociopolitical commentary on a way of life generally unfamiliar to Westerners in his brilliantly conceived writing such as *Serve the People* (2005) and *Dream of Ding Village* (2006). Within this range of shift, the relationship between fiction and historical context has been of central concern. On the one hand, the Chinese novel in the 2000s responded to contemporary social and cultural movements within the decade, while on the other, there arose a concentrated focus on the place of historical legacies and its marginalized dwellers. Yan Lianke (2004), Liu Xinglong (2009) and Mo Yan (2009) explore social and cultural issues embedded but largely ignored in contemporary Chinese society. In this sense, their novels have served as a means to reveal an unknown world of misery which you can never acquire from Chinese official mass media.

Attempting to periodize literary history is a process that is always fraught with difficulties, and the 2000s is no exception. In many ways the 2000s represents a continuation of central themes and concerns of the previous decades, although the period from the 1990s onwards represents a phase in Chinese literature different from that of the earlier decades of the post-Cultural Revolution period. In the late 1970s and 1980s Chinese literature went through a period of political revisions and economic reforms. Writing at the time known as "shanghen wenxue" (Scar literature)[2] and "gaige wenxue" (Reform literature) either rebuked the Cultural Revolution or hailed reform policies in favor of Deng Xiaoping's mission and the Party to rectify past tragedies. A typical example of the former genre is Liu Xinhua's 1978 story "Scar," critiquing official hypocrisy and corruption and Liu Xinwu's earlier undertaking "The Class Teacher" in 1977. Jiang Zilong, however, exemplifies the latter genre of which his story "Manager Qiao Assumes Office" is the exemplar. The story became the most popular one in the country and the titled film was also widely acclaimed in those days, for it reveals that China was gripped with a "Chinese modernization" fever (Link 27, footnote 10). It was not until the mid 1980s and early 1990s that Chinese literature began to deviate slightly from the conventional way of following the Party leadership. A case in point is Zhang Chengzhi's idealism regarding his experiences during the Cultural Revolution in his *Black Stallion* and *Rivers of the North* known as rebuttals to the negativism of both scar literature and the reform one (McDougall 395 – 396). These efforts were soon followed by the trend of pleasure seeking movements and a satirical style embodied in Wang Shuo's novels such as *Masters of Mischief*

(1987) and *No Regrets about Youth* (1991),[3] displaying a satire that is less of a direct confrontation with the Communist autocracy than it is a mockery of their lack of cool and a statement of utter indifference to any political or nationalistic correctness (Yao 431). It must be remembered that this post Cultural Revolution period marked an ideological change in Post Mao era, and Chinese writers in the 21st century are especially aware of it. Instead of "going marginal" or pursuing a nihilistic attitude, they are more socially concerned and continue to write about both urban and rural life inflicted by Cultural Revolution and Party-led policies. They are more politically conscious, emphasizing a thorough interrogation of all Party-led political maneuvers in the past decades, and exhibiting a severe critique of dominant ideologies in the past decades. Yan Lianke's banned books are undoubtedly cases in point.

The second rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping in July 1977 initiated an age of Reform and opening to the outside bringing about a sea of changes in Chinese people's life. There have been recognizable differences in Chinese society and culture between the 1980s and the 1990s that are reflected in the fiction of the period. Two historical events may have a crucial political and symbolic resonance for Chinese culture. At one end was the Tiananmen Incident in 1989 followed by a democratic voice against the corrupt Chinese leadership. The incident posed a direct threat to the Chinese communist political reign and it was actually a warning signal that Chinese government should take into account something more than the mere economic reform under way. Chinese intellectuals, including writers were then strongly questioning and doubtful about their political system. They began to think about the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent dismantling of the Communist powers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, calling into question the orthodox notion of socialism with Chinese characteristics and communist policies in general. Instead of writing in line with the dominant ideology and acting as pure promoters for the main theme of their time, the Chinese novelists almost gave up their grand ideas of becoming people's artists, a cliché prevalent during Mao's time. They scorned what is called "an engineer of the human soul,"[4] giving rise to a phase of nihilism in contemporary Chinese literature.

At the other end of the period, or at least close enough to represent a symbolic shift in Chinese way of life, were the rapid developments of market economy. The Chinese leadership then abandoned most of its orthodox communist ideologies and turned to economic construction, following Deng Xiaoping's doctrine of "crossing the river by feeling the stone." Socialist ideology was then largely threatened and even ignored. There arose a unique phenomenon that the whole society was crazy about making money without caring much about whether it was right or wrong. In this heyday of economic pursuits, China collapsed morally, entering an age of no-belief and becoming an arena of ruthless struggle for either pleasure or survival. "Dagongmei" (working girls), "nongmingong" (peasant immigrant workers), and "xiagang" (laid-off) came into being immediately followed by a variety of social problems. While the impact of Chinese economic reform is probably too close to see clearly in a cultural perspective, the subsequent social injustices, polarization between the rich, the poor, and the gradually degraded and marginalized people in rural China have already been represented as part of a "revival of China" or a "harmonious society",

with the leading Party's political principle shifted away from its original Utopian communism to a dominant capitalist marketing ideology. The 1990s, therefore, can also be seen as a decade of destruction, frivolity and moral degradation in 20th century China despite its boastful claim of tremendous material achievements.

While reflecting on the political/ideological impact on Chinese society, many Chinese writers in the late 1980s and early 1990s showed their dissatisfaction with the political system. They abandoned their former political enthusiasm and became attracted to a more interrogative cultural root-seeking, starting to critique character weaknesses in Chinese intellectuals and the devastating influence of the communist political rule since 1949. As official censorship was quite severe, they could only search for subtle alternatives to express their minds. Accordingly, they turned to the secular to cater to the rise of popular culture, resulting in a lack of fine works in the early 1990s. Novel writing at the time shrank in quantity. Those who continued to write began to turn to personal sensitivity and to focus on their own private experiences. Body writing became trendy and so did local writing. In 1993 there appeared several fine novels such as Chen Zhongshi's *Bai Lu Yuan* (*The White Deer Plain*)[5] and Jia Pingwa's *Fei Du* (*The Abandoned Capital*)[6] which deal with family history and changes in a local Chinese community.

Observed from a cultural perspective, Chinese fiction in the 1990s displays a multifaceted value system in which there is a mixture of idealism, radicalism, cultural conservatism, feminism, religion and secularism. It responds to a market-oriented society featured by desire, fierce competition, commercialism, unemployment and pleasure-seeking. Various forms of entertainment are revitalized to meet the growing needs of the Chinese people. It is hard to single out consistent thematic concerns, for writers can change subjects easily to commercialize their works. Writers now often touch a wide range of themes rather than one or two subjects. They mix instructive stories with entertaining scenes, implying a far more complicated hidden message in which Chinese families and social communities are somewhat historicized. It is easy to detect in a novel Chinese politics, sexuality, social and economic activities and officialdoms. Typical examples are *Feng ru fei tun* (*Big Breasts and Wide Hips*), *Riguang liunian* (*Life As It Is*), *Chen ai luo ding* (*Red Poppies*), *Huo zhe* (*To Live*), *Yi ge ren de zhanzheng* (*One Person's War*) and *Siren shenghuo* (*A Private Life*)[7] which all trivialize ideology though differing in subjects. Traces of popular culture are visible in these works and this writing fashion continues into the new century, but many writers at the turn of century are growing conscious of the reality they are supposed to write about.

The relationship between fiction and reality is therefore central to an understanding of 1990s culture. The importance of folk culture and leisure and the concentration on the form in which pleasure is made accessible to the public are all aspects of anxiety prevalent in China today. The nature of the "real" is largely historicized and mimicked in the first decade of the 21st century. Since 2000, Mainland China alone has turned out more than 8000 novels of which works of merit are numbered, but *Qinqiang* (*Qin Opera*), *Shengsipilao* (*Life and Death Are Wearing Me Out*) and *Langtuteng* (*Wolf Totem*) are some of the highly recommended novels.

As Chinese writers are now observant of reality, there has also occurred a trend toward a critique of Chinese modernity and an exposé of social inadequacies. Occasionally, their works catch the attention of the Party watchdogs and get banned. A case in point is Yan Lianke's *Wei renmin fuwu* (*Serve the People*), which contains vivid and colorful descriptions of sex scenes, resulting in extensive controversy. The novel was banned soon after it was released in 2005 in a literary magazine *Huacheng* (*Flower City*) partially because of its depiction of items related to Mao and political issues.[8] The storyline is very simple, about the younger wife (32 yrs) of an old and impotent PLA general (52 yrs), who begins to seduce a soldier (28 yrs), assigned to do the domestic chores for the general. During sex, they have discovered that by smashing items with Mao's image or his writings such as the slogan "To Serve the People", they can achieve incredible climaxes. Thereafter, they collect Mao's statues or busts and keep them nearby, to be smashed while having sex. This explicit portrayal of sex scenes and obvious negation of Chairman Mao is controversial and thus gets banned, but such experience of conflict with the Chinese government has made Yan much wiser, for he now knows how to avoid direct confrontation with Party watchdogs. He can navigate between what he wants to say and what the party might allow. As a result, he often writes two versions at once, watering down the controversial sections for Chinese readers and party watchdogs while keeping the full flavor of his provocative imagination for editions to be published abroad.

Writers like Yan feel impelled to tell the world how the majority Chinese in rural areas are suffering all along from various forms of "Zheteng," the flip-flops of the Chinese Communist Party's political maneuvering in the countryside. According to Yan, China today is a mystery glorified by the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda mass media, yet largely hidden by dazzling neon lights. Chinese modernity that juxtaposes modern urbanization to a backward, remote countryside is actually saturated with its ugly side. It should be kept in mind that at the heart of the problem of Chinese modernism lies modernity, and that consequently at the base of a purportedly stylistic or formal procedure lies also a political dimension, a social meaning. Modernism, according to Theodor Adorno, is the art form capable of combating new forms of capitalist modernity—not necessarily direct combat, but rather through an expression and awareness of the experience and brutality of modern life, Anorno's concept of "aesthetic resistance." "[T]he development of artistic processes," Adorno writes, "usually classed under the heading of style, corresponds to social development… The basic levels of experience that motivate art are related to those of the objective world from which they recoil. The unsolved antagonisms of reality return in artworks as immanent problems of form. This, not the insertion of objective elements, defines the relation of art to society" (Adorno 5 – 6). As we have seen here, Adorno claimed that modernism emerged as the aesthetic form capable of opposing new forms of monopoly capitalism that were rising in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However this does not necessarily mean that modernist works combat the increasingly brutal experience of existence under capitalist rule via their content—that is, overtly—but rather via form, or the "unconscious consciousness in the midst of the work itself" (Adorno 334). Art works like contemporary Chinese fiction bear what is op-

posed to them in themselves and should be read toward a realization of the critical consciousness. It was only recently that Yan turned again to his birthplace a world he knows so well that he can use "aches and pains" to express his love for the wide earth and its peasants. So do his peer writers Mo Yan and Liu Xinglong. What follows is a brief analysis of three recent novels *Shouhuo* (*Enjoyment*), *Wa* (*Frog*) and *Tianxingzhe* (*The Fate of the Citizen-managed Teachers*) to reveal how Chinese underdogs are represented in marginalized rural China today.

The release of Yan's *Enjoyment* was accompanied by a firestorm of hype, fuelled by controversy over the politics of rural modernization. The book stands out as a scathing critique of Chinese reality under Party leadership. It is different from modern Chinese fiction about peasants and New China farmers such as Jiang Zilong's *Nongmindiguo* (*An Empire of Peasants*). In modern Chinese fiction, the peasants vary from silent victims to revolutionary activists and from honest toilers to deformed idiots. Its authors often inject too much of their own imagination into the original status of rural China. More often than not, they would exaggerate the changes that have taken place in the countryside. In fact, much of rural China and life of its peasants remain unchanged. Seen from this viewpoint, the emergence of "root-seeking" fiction in the mid 1980s is now problematic despite its pastoral aspects and idealization of rural life. Gao Xiaosheng, Han Shaogong and Wang Anyi all unexceptionally view peasant virtues as the cause of their shortcomings and see deformed peasant bodies as the manifestation of their moral defects. They criticize peasants though often in an implied way. In a similar fashion, *An Empire of Peasants* exaggerates a saga of peasant success embodied in the image of Guo Cunxian who is brave and adventurous and knows how to get rich in an age of marketing economy. Yan's *Enjoyment*, however, voices peasant grievances and the devastation that results from poorly reasoned human acts including the Chinese Communist Party's political maneuvering. Its burlesque style makes it one of the best novels in the new century.

Ironically, *Enjoyment* constructs a Utopian boundary that goes beyond the reach of government's power. The story takes place in a remote mountainous village in Northwest Henan across ages from the great immigration in late Ming Dynasty to the end of the 20th century, but what attracts the reader most is the rollicking story of local Chinese officials who try to buy Lenin's corpse from Russia to attract tourists to their backwater town. *Enjoyment*'s protagonist and narrator is Liu Yingque, a village politician raised in the valley Village of Enjoyment, which is part of Chinese countryside. He is deeply entrenched in contemporary Chinese political mores, a product of the party's education and propaganda, unique and typical. All his fantasy originates from his firm belief in the party's rural policies. He strongly believes that he is able to lead his villagers to a prosperous life. Also remarkable is his aptitude to please his boss which results in his promotion. His idea to purchase the remains of Lenin from Russia does sound idiosyncratic but his real purpose is self evident when he says the village can then make money while honoring the great revolutionary leader. Here one can see it is merely a matter of formality to pay respect to Lenin, for Liu assures his fellow villagers that Lenin's corpse will make a fine tourist spot. The Village of Enjoyment can then sell tickets as is implied in the following: "A ticket, he says, can sell

for 10 yuan. If foreigners come, we can sell it for 10 or 15 dollars" (Yan 27). Socialist legacy from Lenin is not what Liu interests, for his aim is to consume the revolutionary leader as is the case with hanging the image of Mao in a car or filming the red classics nowadays. His purpose has become more associated with the impulses of a secularly acquisitive culture.

Another scene in the novel is Mao Zhipo's determination to quit the collective commune so as to live a less controlled life. It is again a satire of the Party's ideology and marks the failure and dissolution of the commune or socialist co-op. According to her, the commune or socialist co-op, instead of taking care of its participants, has brought the Village of Enjoyment havoc and losses. What is more striking is the contrasted portrayal of both the able and disabled who are struggling for a living in the village. Here Yan seems to empathize with his handicapped characters who are involved in the village's economic development. In these handicapped but genuine, innocent, smart and helpful villagers Liu finds something that turns profitable like goods. They are also consumed, for it is their deformed bodily performances that help the village get rich. The physically healthy villagers are however portrayed as the other, lazy, shrewd, secretive and stealthy. They cannot get along with the rapid social changes in a rural society and become totally lost in an age of economic competition, implying Yan's negative views of the market-oriented, profit-driven group of Chinese. Thus, the portraiture of the rural political culture in the Village of Enjoyment mirrors "the complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group" (Eagleton 34). In this sense, *Enjoyment* is a superbly well written account of a sick and morbid rural society constituted by disadvantaged groups manipulated by the power obsessed and politics driven maniacs in the countryside. It is a biting satire symbolic of a rural tragedy of political power which skillfully responds to "San nong wen ti" (three dimensional rural issues concerning agriculture, countryside and farmers) in China today. It is therefore not difficult to understand that only the weak handicapped can take care of themselves in such a debased socialist new countryside.

If Yan mourns over his depopulated rural hometown in his *Enjoyment*, Liu Xinglong explicitly addresses in his *The Fate of the Citizen-managed Teachers* the question of politics in a marginalized group of countryside intellectuals known as "Minban jiaoshi" (Citizen-managed Teachers). Politically respected as engineers of the human soul, these citizen-managed teachers are all poverty stricken, and not only under paid but also maltreated by village carders. Very often they do not receive a stipend for several months. Their students even don't have textbooks, and in order to run a school the headmaster has to raise pigs. Zhang Yingjin, a new teacher, is shocked when he "looks at the pigs and the pupils" (Liu 14). Poor as they are, these countryside teachers are dedicated to their teaching as the headmaster does. Some of them have done the job for over 20 years hoping that they can be officially accepted as state-managed teachers. Ming Aifen started to teach at 16. Only 2 days after she gave birth to a child, she went for an examination designed for a job transformation from a citizen-managed teacher to a state-managed one. Unfortunately, she got seriously sick and paralytic. Even many years later, she still dreamed of becoming a regular teach-

er. "It is just the urge to be a regular state-managed teacher that has kept her from despair. She has visited Death several times but returns from it simply because her wish is not fulfilled yet" (Liu 72). Ming is excited to die when her chance of job transformation finally arrives. Cheng Ju, a teacher's wife "loses her sense when her husband receives a stipend" (255). Such narrative creates a kind of frisson that heightens the vividness of the scenes of the poor and miserable countryside teachers. One effect of this juxtaposition is the observable aesthetic investment in the sad and pitiable scenes in contrast to the background of indifference in the rural government. A red national flag flies over the school and it rises with the National Anthem every morning. The song "we are the successors to the communist cause" is also heard at school every day. Language in the novel is obviously tied to physical reality, displaying a sense of incongruity. On the one hand, the government tends to give verbal honors to teachers and the job of teaching is idealized as the greatest profession under the sun; on the other hand, so many rural teachers are living in poverty. It is a grotesque one that calls into question the compulsory education in rural China promoted by the government.

As has been analyzed above, both *Enjoyment* and *The Fate of the Citizen-Managed Teachers* are concerned about the marginalized groups of Chinese that are totally abandoned and ignored during the process of China's modernization led by the Party. The two novels are insightful in the way in which contemporary China is subtly examined and judged. Mo Yan's *Frog* goes further to offer a close look at the Party's policy of family planning in the countryside. It is again a telling story about rural China, written to call an enlightened public's attention to the systematic campaign for contraception in the countryside. In a mix of fact and fiction, Mo Yan is actually characterizing a woman country doctor named "Gugu" (Aunt) whose potential and reality are different, generating a far more complicated nature of her mind. She is both a firm executor of family planning policy and a humanist, for she forced mothers of children to have induced abortions or a ligation of the oviduct. She would track down and launch a massive manhunt for runaway pregnant mothers. As a midwife, she gives life to hundreds of babies, but as an executor of the family planning policy, she is a killer. Here in the narrative, we read three different aunts: one is the gynecologist aunt addressed in a letter at the beginning of the novel, one is the fictionalized protagonist around whom the story unfolds, and one is the aged reflective and despondent aunt in the play that follows the novel. Approached from its surface literal meaning, *Frog* may be read as a story of a woman doctor's experience in rural practices of contraception. But, if we observe it from the context of family planning, we find *Frog* not only truthful but emblematic as well epitomizing life and death. Its significance lies in an account of forced abortions which have killed hundreds of babies. The novel does not judge the policy of family planning, but its author continues to inhabit a spiritual world wherein rural resentments against it are handled, exhibiting a huge amount of antagonism and spiteful attitudes from the empowered peasants towards the policy. Then the text is well aware of the issue of human rights accompanied by the policy family planning and the government's imposition of power on its subjects.

Having read *Enjoyment*, *The Fate of the Citizen-Managed Teachers* and *Frog*, I

feel impelled to call your attention to China's postsocialist transformation in the past couple of decades. It is extremely helpful to comprehend contemporary China and its fiction writing. One can easily detect in China today an explosive capitalist growth, multiple social contradictions, tumultuous strategies of re-linking with global capitalism, an apparent lack of coherence between theory and practice, and a vast transformation of the social body into emerging interest groups. China's increased globalization has also kept rural China ever on the edge in producing interpretations of what China's transformation means, ranging from coming collapse to inimical rise, with uncertainty and ambivalence in between. While such colossal transformation has been central to contemporary China, Chinese writers are becoming more and more reflective in their criticism. This is especially true of Yan Lianke, Liu Xinglong and Mo Yan.

Notes

1. Many writers in the 1980s hailed the Chinese reform and offered their salient critical stances in rebuking the Cultural Revolution. Gu Hua, Li Guowen and Zhang Jie are such writers whose well-known novels are among many *Hibiscus Town* (by Gu Hua), *Spring in Winter* (by Li Guowen) and *Heavy Wings* (by Zhang Jie).
2. This is a genre of Chinese literature which emerged in the late 1970s, soon after the death of Mao Zedong, portraying the sufferings of cadres and intellectuals during the tragic experiences of the Cultural Revolution and the rule of the Gang of Four. See, for further reference, Chen Xiaoming's "The Disappearance of Truth: From Realism to Modernism in China" (158 – 166).
3. These works are criticized by conventional Chinese intellectuals as a "spiritual pollutant" for his hooligan style of writing, marked by rebellious behaviors.
4. In China, for a long time it is believed that writers are the engineers of the human soul. Thus a novelist should turn out healthy spiritual food for his fellow countrymen. Wei Wei, for example, urged his contemporaries to write more works that can boost up the prestige of the Communist Party among people and help them build up their confidence. For further information, see Wei Wei, "How I Wrote *The East*" <http://www.wyzxsx.com/Article/Class12/200707/21444.html>.
5. The story tells of the hardships and spiritual pursuits of several generations living on White Deer Plain, mirroring the radical changes taking place in the Chinese countryside over a near-half-century. It was an enormous success and Chen Zhongshi shot to fame almost overnight, since when, he has been held up as an idol. In 1997, Chen was given the Mao Dun Literature Award, the highest such award in China. Today, he is fast-becoming a household name among Chinese readers.
6. The novel describes the chaotic sex life of a renowned writer and was once banned for its explicit sexual content.
7. *A Private Life* by Chen Ran is a monologue written in autobiographical format that reflects on the coming of womanhood in its female heroine from the time period of the mid 1970s to the mid-1990s. The novel explores the main character's individuality of existence, her desires and sexual ideologies, and the problems in her inner life that caused her disconnections to the outside world. It is a reflection of a new woman's image in post-modern China.
8. Yan's first novel *Xiariluo* (*The Setting of the Summer Sun*) was banned in 1994 because of official outrage over its depiction of two army heroes who go bad.

Works Cited

Adorno, Theodor. *Aesthetic Theory*. Trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P,

1997.

Chen, Xiaoming. "The Disappearance of Truth: From Realism to Modernism in China." *In the Party Spirit: Socialist Realism and Literary Practice in the Soviet Union, East Germany, and China*. Ed. Hilary Chung. Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1996. 158 – 166.

Eagleton, Terry. *The Idea of Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Lei, Da. "Ershishiji jinsanshinian changpianxiaoshuo shenmeijingyan fansi" ("Reflections on the Aesthetic Experience of 30 year novels in the 20th Century"). *Xiaoshuopinglun* (*Novel Review*) 1 (2009): 11 – 19.

Link, Perry. ed. *Stubborn Weeds*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983.

Liu, Xinglong. *The Fate of the Citizen-managed Teachers*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009.

McDougall, Bonnie S. & Louie Kam. *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

Mo, Yan. "*Frog*." *Zuo pin yu zheng ming* (*Works and Debates*) 1 (2010): 3 – 90.

Yan, Lianke. *Enjoyment*. Beijing: October Literature and Art Press, 2009.

Yao, Yusheng. "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo and His Hooligan Characters." *Modern China* 30.4 (October 2004):431 – 469.

责任编辑:杨革新

Ezra Pound's "Liu Ch'e" and Poetics of Translation

Young Suck Rhee
Department of English and Literature, Hanyang University
222 Wangsimni-ro, Seongdong-gu, Seoul 133 - 791, Korea
Email: ysrhee@ hanyang. ac. kr

Abstract Ezra Pound's poem "Liu Ch'e" is a translation of a Chinese poem, "Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas." Pound's "Liu Ch'e" has become a new poem that has incorporated his poetic theory: it is an independent, self-contained poem, without reference to the original poem, "Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas." The paper investigates the original poem and the translation by looking into Chinese scholars' critiques and Giles' and Pound's translations of the same poem.
Key words poetics of translation; "Liu Ch'e"; "Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas"; Pound Giles

In translation there is the problem of communicability between two languages — the original language and the target language. In prose translation meaning outweighs form. The target language in this case focuses on the transfer of meaning in the original. And the problem of literary quality or art in writing seldom surfaces, unless the prose work is highly "poetic." However, Pound's "Lie Ch'e" is not merely a literary translation. It is a creation of a new poetic work, based on a Chinese poem, though Pound's knowledge of the Chinese language seemed limited. It was likely that he read an English translation of the original Chinese poem. Pound was a good translator of poetry in several languages. And when he translated poetry, he tended to translate it freely, which turned out to be very good. [1]

Ezra Pound is one of the most important poets in the 20th century, and his being a poet outweighs his patronage of the writers of the last century; his role as a patron in literary circles is, however, well known, for T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, and James Joyce. Eliot's "The Waste Land" is a result of collaboration between Eliot and Pound; without Pound, it would have looked different or would never have been a representative poem of the last century. His influence on other writers was thus so great and changed them better and great. It is not difficult to assume that this ability of his to ameliorate a literary work in a draft must have applied to what he had accomplished as translator of so many great classical works of the East and the West, as Ming Xie surveys what Pound has achieved in his "Pound as Translator" (204 - 223).

Pound's "Liu Ch'e" is a translation. But it is also one of his own poems. Pound knew Chinese, but he might have been unable to read poetry in Chinese, as He

Huang claims, as below, in his article discussing Pound's translation of the same poem[2] and Ming Xie mentions that Pound's Chinese "remained rudimentary" (Xie 205). When Pound saw a translation, just as he had been asked to look at "The Waste Land," he must have seen a possibility of it being a great poem.

To make a comparison, three of the poems are put together: first, Pound's "Liu Ch'e"; then, H. Giles' "Gone," a translation of Lie Che's poem; finally, Liu Ch'e's poem, which is in Chinese, with the transcription of each word's Chinese pronunciation added by the present writer for the purpose of this study:

Pound:

"Liu Ch'e"

The rustling of the silk is discontinued,
Dust drifts over the court-yard,
There's no sound of foot-fall, and the leaves
Scurry into heaps and lie still,
And she the rejoicer of the heart is beneath them:
A wet leaf that clings to the threshold. (Huang 14)

H. Giles:

"Gone"

The sound of rustling silk is stilled,
With dust the marble courtyard filled;
No footfalls echo on the floor,
Fallen leaves in heaps block up the door…
For she, my pride, my lovely one, is lost,
And I am left, in hopeless anguish tossed. (Huang 14)

Liu Ch'e:

落叶哀蝉曲	**luo ye ai chan qu**
罗袂兮无声，	luo mei xi wu sheng,
玉墀兮尘生，	yu chi xi chen sheng,
虚房冷而寂寞，	xu fang leng er ji mo,
落叶依于重扃，	luo ye yi yu zhong jiong。
望彼美之女兮，	wang bi mei zhi nv xi,
安得感余心之未宁！	an de gan yu xin zhi wei ning! (Chen 223)

II

To have a point of reference, the original poem in Chinese is discussed first and then the two translated poems by Giles and Pound. The two translations need to be compared side by side. Without Giles' initial translation, Pound would not have made this poem, as he was not as good at Chinese as Giles was. But it seems that Giles was not as competent a poet as Pound was, as the two translations are compared. Translation of a poem from one language into another is an impossible task, unless the trans-

lator is a bilingual poet in both languages. But the fact is, Giles was good enough to translate a poem in Chinese, but not as good a poet as Pound.

It will be of great help to understand the translations if we can understand the original work. So, we would like to follow He Huang and discuss his article, "Rewriting Strategy in Ezra Pound's Translation of 'Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas.'" Huang offers three key elements in the Chinese poem to consider: the music, or the rhymes, the imagery, and the metaphor in it.

First, music: The pronunciation of each word is transcribed, to follow what he explains:

luo ye ai chan qu
luo mei xi wu sheng,
yu chi xi chen sheng,
xu fang leng er ji mo,
luo ye yi yu zhong jiong。
wang bi mei zhi nv xi,
an de gan yu xin zhi wei ning!

Thetwice repeated exclamation, xi(兮), in lines 1 and 2 emphasizes the powerful grief of emotional rise and fall in the poet. The last characters in lines 1 and 2, sheng (声) and sheng (生), are rhymed, and the last characters in lines 4 and 6, jiong (扃) and ning (宁) are also rhymed. These four that end with the nasal sound, "-ng," produce sad lingering affection. Then, Huang gives the metrical feet, "/" for strong accentuation, "×" the weak one, and "‖" for the break:

/ × / ‖ × /,
/ × / ‖ × /。
× / ‖ / ‖ × × /,
× / ‖ / ‖ × × /。
/ ‖ × / × × /,
× / ‖ / ‖ × / ‖ × × /? (Huang 15)

The first four lines are two parallel couplets, which flow well. But in line 5, there is a change in tone, but this fifth line again matches with line 6, with a slight difference. This abrupt change represents the poet's intense grief and inquietude.

The imagery: The poet, Emperor Wu, describes the dusty steps, which were once clean, and the fallen leaves on the numerous doors to express the desolate scene in late autumn. The "fallen leaves," luo ye (落叶), and "numerous doors," (重扃), give a peaceful and still impression; the verb, "cling," yi (依), breaks the impression, reminding the readers of death. The poet makes effective use of the image, which is still and in motion as well, to express his deep sorrow.

The metaphor: In line three Emperor Wu uses xu, (虚), as in "xu fang leng er ji mo" (虚房冷而寂寞), which means two things. It means "emptiness" and "loneliness." And what follows, "leng er ji mo" (冷而寂寞), means both isolation

and the grief that the poet feels keenly when he is left alone. In line four yi (依, meaning to rely, rest, cling) is the central word in sound, image, and meaning: it is a soft unrounded vowel, representing the poet's fragile temperament, the inseparable attachment to each other, and the pain, which the parting causes.

III

Pound's translation is to be regarded as an independent poem, though he must have been exposed to Emperor Wu's original poem, "Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas," by way of Giles' translation of the poem, "Gone." Pound's poem is farther removed than Giles' translation from the original poem. Giles' translation and the original poem in general have some similarity, despite the difference in Chinese and English. There is a difference between the original poem and Giles' translation. Giles, according to Huang, changes the tactile sensation of temperature into an auditory sensation. Giles, for example, translates "the empty house feels cold and lonesome" (xu fang leng er ji mo:虚房冷而寂寞) into "No footfalls echo on the floor." The word "echo" well expresses emptiness and sadness, which is a good translation. In the following line, "Fallen leaves in heaps block up the door…," to "block up" cannot express the original poem's beauty and affection. Compared with Giles' translation, Pound's is farther away from the original. But Pound's difference is not a mistake or disregard of the original, but an enhancement of the original, which is a "creative translation." "The sensibility of the original writer and his translator interact in the creation of a new work of art" (Sullivan 106).

We have now come to Pound's translation, "Liu Ch'e." Pound adapted many of Chinese poems contained in Herbert Giles' *History of Chinese Literature* (1901) and published "Liu Ch'e" and others in *Des Imagistes* in the early 1914. And in April 1915 he published *Cathay*, a book of 14 Chinese poems, which can be regarded as his translations and his own poems as well. The full text is quoted again to have a whole picture:

"Liu Ch'e"
The rustling of the silk is discontinued,
Dust drifts over the court-yard,
There's no sound of foot-fall, and the leaves
Scurry into heaps and lie still,
And she the rejoicer of the heart is beneath them:
A wet leaf that clings to the threshold.

In this translation Pound is an imagist poet: the point of view is like that of a moving camera lens; the auditory image in the first line: "The rustling of the silk is discontinued" is followed by a visual image of "Dust [that] drifts over the court-yard." Then the third line combines the auditory and visual images: "There's no sound of foot-fall, and the leaves." The next line links the third line, which is a subject for the verb, "Scurry into heaps and lie still." Lines 1 to 4 are continuous, as in the original poem, as He Huang has demonstrated above. What is marvelous is, how

could Pound feel the sense of grief building up in the original poem, without knowing the original poem in Chinese? And as in the original poem, Pound mimics the music in the translation: line 5 abruptly breaks the rhythm that has built up in a similar tone, but the final line goes back to the previous rhythm. Further, the image of the beloved is emphasized, or the absence of her: "And she the rejoicer of the heart is beneath them:" She is beneath the leaves! And the final line is a powerful ending to the poem, and to the poet. It is a metaphor and a literal image of "A wet leaf." It is a metaphor that represents his heart that sheds tears and is wet, his heart still clinging to the departed. It is a wet leaf, cold and cruel, that clings to the stone of the threshold.

Giles' translation has contributed to Poundin making a great poem, which is a kind of unintended collaboration between translators. A good original has to wait for translators, until it becomes a good piece, such as Pound's "Liu Ch'e."

Notes

1. As J. P. Sullivan in his book review "Ezra Pound as a Latin Translator" points to "Pound's disregard, intentional or unintentional, of literary accuracy. . . . and [his] willingness to compress what he regards as poetically irrelevant, antiquated, or incomprehensible to the modern reader …" (101), Pound tends to *create* a new poem, rather than just translates it into English. This is a review on *Ezra Pound: Translations* (Eds. Ezra Pound and Marcella Spann. New York: New Directions Paperback, 1964) and *Confucious to Cummings. An Anthology of Poetry by Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1964).

2. See *Journal of Anqing Teachers College* (Social Science Edition) 7 (2008):14 – 16. He Huang's article has been translated into English, and it is worthwhile to sum up his main points about the music, imagery, and metaphor in the Chinese original in this article, Sections II and III. Huang is a native speaker of Chinese who can best discuss the original poem, and provides a basis for the present argument that Pound was a good imagist poet when he translated the poem into English. This essay and the other one by Chen are translated from Chinese into English by Jin, Lihua (金丽花), a Ph. D. student at Department of English Language and Literature, Graduate School, Hanyang University, Seoul.

Works Cited

Chen, Tai-sheng. "Liu Ch'e's 'Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas' and Pound's 'Liu Ch'e': Translation of the Cross-Cultural in Liu Ch'e's Poem." *Culture and Poetics* 1 (2008): 221 – 230..

Huang, He. "Rewriting Strategy in Ezra Pound's Translation of "Song of Fallen Leaves and Whining Cicadas." *Jounal of Anqing Teachers College* (Social Science Edition) 27.7 (2008): 14 – 16.

Sullivan, T. P. "Ezra Pound as a Latin Translator." *Arion* 3 (1964): 100 – 111.

Xie, Ming. "Pound as Translator." *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*. Ed. Ira B. Nadel. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 204 – 223.

责任编辑:何庆机

The Self is That Which Gets Lost in Translation: A Sociolinguistic View of Chinese Poetry Translation through Modernity & Parataxis

Lucas Klein
Department of Chinese, Translation & Linguistics, City University of Hong Kong
Tat Chee Avenue, Kowloon, Hongkong SAR
Email: LRKlein@cityu.edu.hk

Abstract How has the translation of Chinese poetry into English contributed to the reconsideration of the self—or "the lyric ego"—in contemporary and avant-garde Anglophone poetry? Examining the micro-history of avant-garde English presentations of Chinese poetry, and the shifting configuration of China in the politico-economic sphere and the Anglophone imaginary over the last hundred years, this paper will offer a socio-linguistic reflection on the notion of the self. Specifically, I will approach the divergence between so-called "avant-garde" and "Unmarked Case" (my term for "establishment" or "mainstream") poetic communities by interrogating whether such a distinction is sociological or linguistic. Through the lens of Chinese poetry translation, I will trace the development of "Classical" Chinese poetry in English translation from its former association with English experimentation (Pound, Rexroth, Snyder, etc.) to being upheld by stalwarts of "Official Verse Culture" (Milosz, Merwin, Wright, Young, etc.), leaving avant-gardists (Hejinian, Padgett, Waldrop, etc.) to entertain their current predilection for the contemporary in Chinese poetry. This examination will yield conclusions both about our definitions of "modernity" and "tradition" as well as about how we deploy language and rhetoric to signify those concepts. Finally, looking at the few current poetic avant-gardists—John Cayley, Kit Kelen, Jonathan Stalling, and Jeffrey Yang—who work both with modern and pre-modern Chinese poetry, I will conclude with an appeal for a view of translation that can work to reconcile the socio-linguistic divisions between the avant-garde and the "unmarked."

Key words translation; avant-garde; self; transcendence/immanence; parataxis/hypotaxis

In 1975, after a batch of his translations of Japanese poet Rai Sanyō 赖山阳 (1780 – 1832) appeared in the journal *Montemora*, translator Burton Watson wrote to editor Eliot Weinberger, saying, "I can't tell you how honored I am to be in the same magazine as Charles Reznikoff."[1]

Reznikoff, only recently rescued from the forest of obscurity,[2] was the writer for whom Louis Zukofsky coined the term Objectivism.[3] Generally known for its Judaism

and Leftism (as opposed to the Rightward anti-Semitism of Modernism's first generation Yeats, Pound, and Eliot), Objectivism is also thought to have developed from Ezra Pound's earlier Imagism. Developed from, not a redux of: Imagism's "Direct treatment of the 'thing'" could be either "subjective or objective,"[4] and Objectivism 's object was a double (as in, its vision of the "art form as an object"[5]). Nevertheless, Imagism and Objectivism share a common association with the Chinese aesthetic[6]: "Poetry presents the thing," Reznikoff quoted the epigram to A. C. Graham's *Poems of the Late T' ang*, "in order to convey the feeling. It should be precise about the thing and reticent about the feeling."[7]

So Reznikoff quotes a Chinese critic in outlining his own poetics; perhaps Watson, praising him to Weinberger, was only returning the favor. And yet, what classical Chinese translator today would be so well versed in the contemporary avant-garde that he or she could name—and be honored to appear beside—a similarly obscure avant-gardist American poet? And more to the point, would any avant-garde poet be able to return the favor by asserting her or his poetics as in line with classical Chinese poetry as conveyed by a particular translator? Clearly, things have changed, both in the world of Chinese translation and in the literary system of contemporary poetry in English. Shifting between angles historical, sociological, and literary, this paper will examine some of the reasons why.

1. Immanence or Transcendence: A Socio-Linguistics of American Poetry

One of the most pressing questions today in contemporary American poetry is the relationship between literary style and sociology. I intend to reach a definition of avant-garde treatment of Chinese poetry as involving both paratactic juxtaposition and a questioning of selfhood, but to get there—and to questions about how Chinese tradition and modernity get inscribed within the history of poetry in English—I will first have to trace or tease out why and how the entanglements of style and sociology got so pressing. If the pressure of the debate can be said to have a single source in recent times, that source is probably Ron Silliman, one of the original "Language Poets." *Silliman's Blog* —the closest thing to a common reading list and community many poets have in the new millennium—has also been the locus for much of the debate on the overlap between sociology and style, taking the form of an argument about Silliman's terms "post-avant" and "School of Quietude."[8] Umbrella terms for sociological / stylistic trends Silliman sees in contemporary American poetry, named both generally and specifically as an attempt to overturn the hierarchy between them, "School of Quietude" and "post-avant" have proven very contentious. Silliman might even relish such contention; here he is recently explaining the division once again:

> I know, whenever I use the phrase School of Quietude in some pointed fashion, what kind of response I' m going to get… Surely I could have used some other term, though the only adequately descriptive alternative I can think of is Neophobe… Regardless of the noun involved, the Unmarked Case invariably has a history & a politics…The School of Quietude is poetry's unmarked case, and its most characteristic — even defining — feature is the denial of its own existence

… (Silliman 2010)

In the background to the "School of Quietude" is a socio-linguistic awareness of class: for Silliman, the "School of Quietude" seems to graph onto the bourgeoisie, and as Roland Barthes has pointed out, "the bourgeoisie is defined as*the social class which does not want to be named*" (Barthes 126).[9] For this reason—and so I don't adhere too closely to Silliman's controversial terms or his understanding of them—I'm tempted to refer to Bourgeois Poetry rather than the "School of Quietude," which would give the oppositional term, the avant-garde, the full weight of its associations with the Leninist *vanguard*. And yet, Silliman's notion "post-avant" is worth digging into, as well: he defines it at face value, saying, "The avant became the post-avant the minute poets began to think of themselves as part of a broader avant-garde tradition, given that avant-gardism is a fundamentally synchronic move within the arts and tradition is fundamentally diachronic, rendering 'avant-garde tradition' an oxymoron of practice" (2009). Nevertheless, a quick close-reading of "post-avant" suggests that "post" latches onto "avant" in "post-avant" the same way it latches onto "modernism" in "postmodernism"; that is, certain underpinnings of the ideology of an "avant-garde," namely, the logic of an artistic vanguard behind which will come mass motions of literary or artistic history, no longer seem viable.[10] While on the one hand I believe that such a view of literary history would be simplistic, in its incorporation of pre-modern Chinese sources at least, the avant-garde has indeed proven itself to be a leader of a certain historical current, behind which the literary "garde" has fallen in step. If this means that "avant-gardism" can no longer be understood as a "fundamentally synchronic movement within the arts," then so be it. Therefore, I'll still refer to the "avant-garde," though I'll temper that by resisting my urge to refer to "Bourgeois Poetry," and call it—socio-linguistically, rather than socialistically—the "Unmarked Case."

Silliman, at any event, is not the only one to try to define these groupings, and the definition is not always sociologically motivated: younger poet / blogger Seth Abramson has tried to defend, and define, a "School of Quietude" for his (no-longer) Unmarked side putting the literary first: "The greatest divide in poetry, by far," he says, "of the past hundred years has been between poets who treat language as a locus forimmanent meaning and those who treat it as a locus for transcendent meaning" (Abramson 2010)[11]. For Abramson, the "School of Quietude" is "Quiet in the sense that they are not permitted their full expression as "words-qua-words," but instead remain merely signifiers of a series of referents whose acknowledgment, comprehension, and internalization is the most important work of the poem" (ibid.). What this has to do with translation and Chinese poetry's reception in English is complicated, and will be addressed anon; nevertheless, I believe we have reached a central tension in the approaches to translation—in general, though also to translation of Chinese in particular—seen in various poets of differing "schools," tendencies, or ideologies, which has to do not only with linguistic transcendence or immanence but with how poets associate with traditions of linguistic transcendence or immanence. If the twentieth-century poet of "transcendent meaning" *par excellence* is Robert Frost,

does his quip that "poetry is that which gets lost in translation"[12] not assert that poetry is defined by linguistic immanence? Meanwhile, if the paradigmatic twentieth-century poet of "immanent meaning" is Ezra Pound, do his translations suggest faith that language could refer to transcendent meaning, as well?

While Abramsondefines these schools solely based on how they use language, he seems to overlook the sociological aspect for such divisions in the house of American poetry. In short, because of the expanse of the population and of printing in the US and throughout the English-speaking world, the demimonde of poetry grew so large nobody could read it all, and factions began to fraction. American poets began to take notice in the Seventies: while in the Sixties limited publishing outlets and a general opposition to the Vietnam War gave poets everywhere the sense that they were part of a larger community, even if they stood at disparate edges, by the Seventies the early fissures—Robert Lowell's "Raw and the Cooked"[13] (in which he suggested himself to be a mediation between the two, a notion laughable to the avant-gardists of the day, who saw him as cooked to a crisp), and Paris Leary and Robert Kelly's *A Controversy of Poets*[14]—degraded into a free-for-all.

By the end of the decade, *Montemora* could host a feature, compiled by Weinberger and Nathaniel Tarn, inviting members of the extended American poetry community to sound off on the predicament. "We are in the midst," they wrote, "of a poetry pandemic:"

> 2000 American poets registered in the government Directory, thousands more unlisted, some 3500 small presses and little magazines, scores of government and corporate-sponsored "service" organizations, creative writing schools producing legions of creative writers, endless grants and programs and prizes and residencies and readings. In short, the production of poetry and poetry-related services has become a branch of American business, a respectable middle-class occupation. (We even have our own trade paper, CODA, which advertises itself: "Poets read CODA the way bankers read The Wall Street Journal.") (Weinberger & Tarn 73)[15]

Many participants took the opportunity to present sociologies of the poetry scene. Of particular note is scholar Robert Bertholf's social history, "The Polity of the Neutral," which also engages in some creative cartography on the way to examining a literary-psychological question:

> For the sake of the poetic map, I would like to make a separation that is not completely accurate: one line leads from Pound to Olson to the New Poetry, and a second line leads from Eliot to Lowell to the confessional poets, and to the writing schools … When Eliot pronounced that in his impersonal theories "Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion; it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality," he went behind a façade of the objectivity of his poetry…. And with the concentration on the objectivity of expression, there was a shift away from the concern for the intensity

> and care of expression of the passional, to the procedures, the techniques of expression: technique, to push the point to the extreme, predominated over expression, so that the critical concern over the split between form and content … re-emerged into critical thinking. (Bertholf 94 – 95)

From there, Bertholf further historicizes the rise of egocentric writing out of the dregs of the ethic of impersonal poetry:

> The split between form and content was now an operative principle … But in the 1950's and into the 1960's a movement came into the universities which announced technique to the exclusion of all else. The procedure put to countless versions got to the poet where poetry became an exercise of conformity to such an extent that it was necessary to re-assert the "I" of the poet to provide a subject. . . . But in an abstract sense this is a restatement of the impersonality of the poet, in Eliot's sense, because the product is fixed in a segregated reaction, itself neutralized from other events, and not related. (ibid. 95)

His conclusion: that "With the only subject the ego of the poet, and the ego's reaction to events, and with the overlay of the right procedures, then the reaction to the events comes out as a process of writing as an act of therapy, without the benefit of professional training" (ibid.). By the Seventies, the American avant-garde picked a losing battle against the self-contained unity of the ego.

This battle can be seen as well in Weinberger's own entry to the *Po-biz* feature, where he also picks up on writing-as-therapy as a response to "massive overproduction" of poetry and "thousands of writers and few readers." (Weinberger and Tarn 98) "Psychoanalysis," he says,

> of course is largely textual criticism: not an analysis of the experience, but of its discourse: narratives of the waking life, slips of speech, the texts of dreams. In collapsing society, egocentrism flourishes in the absence of social concern: we have become a nation of analysands (practitioners and fellow-travelers). Social-religious conviction has been replaced by worship of the self: the litany is the monologue, and, to the point, the scripture is*my* thoughts and *my* feelings petrified in the typed, xeroxed, and too-often printed word: *my* poetry. (ibid.)

For Weinberger, part of the redress of poetry's "worship of the self," moving the writer beyond "*my* thoughts and *my* feelings," is translation; Weinberger would later write, "A translation is based on the dissolution of the self. A bad translation is the insistent voice of the translator" (Weinberger 60)[16].

But while translation is not the only way to dissolve the self, it became the centerpiece to Weinberger's debate with his nemeses on the avant-garde, the Language Poets. The Language Poets have also critiqued the main streams of American poetry for its egocentrism, stating in their group manifesto, "Aesthetic Tendency and the Politics of Poetry," that "our work denies the centrality of the individual artist….

The self as the central and final term of creative practice is being challenged and exploded in our writing" (Silliman etc. 264)[17]. But if both the Language Poets and Eliot Weinberger are members of American poetry's avant-garde, and seem to agree on the necessity of a poetics beyond the self, then why are they nemeses? In short, it comes down to what Weinberger sees as the Language School's nationalism, and their avoidance of translation—the Language poets are notable for not being interested in languages, he's said.[18] (Silliman claims that his class background did not afford him any opportunity to learn languages other than English[19]; also, Charles Bernstein's and Lyn Hejinian's later engagements with translation—from the Russian of Arkadii Dragomoshchenko, the Portuguese of Régis Bonvicino, as well as *Shadowtime*, Bernstein's libretto on Walter Benjamin—deserve mention). But can Language Poetry's Deconstruction of the Self in One Country be reconciled with Weinberger's translation-centered notion of the avant-garde?

Yes and no. The history of Chinese poetry in English translation shows why.

2. Methods of the Ideogram: A Historical Taxis of Chinese Poetry Translation

If there is a method to Language Poetry's madness of deconstructing the self, it is paratactic juxtaposition. Such method is laid out in Ron Silliman's "The New Sentence"—best encapsulated by Silliman's Language comrade Bob Perelman, as

> a new sentence is more or less ordinary itself but gains its effect by being placed next to another sentence to which it has tangential relevance. New sentences are not subordinated to a larger narrative frame nor are they thrown together at random. Parataxis is crucial: the internal, autonomous meaning of a new sentence is heightened, questioned, and changed by the degree of separation or connection that the reader perceives with regard to the surrounding sentences. (Perelman 313)

—but paratactic juxtaposition as a hallmark of the avant-garde in English is not new. It was part of the invention of Chinese poetry in our time: Ernest Fenollosa's essay, edited by Ezra Pound and published as "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry," harbored it in in what must be its most important statement, "two things added together do not produce a third thing but suggest some fundamental relation to them" (Fenollosa & Pound 46).

The lesson took a while to stick—in *Cathay*, which Pound also took from Fenollosa's notebooks, Pound translates Li Bai's (Rihaku's) 李白 paratactic 浮云游子意 / 落日故人情 with hypotaxis: "Mind like a floating white cloud. / Sunset like the parting of old acquaintances" (Pound 258)—but the association of parataxis with the Chinese character created Pound's "ideogrammic method." This method not only gave Pound a building block for his *Cantos*, it also enabled readings such as the following:

The last three lines are from Pound's "ideogrammic" reading of the character 新 (*xīn*, "new"), which Pound understood as underbrush cut [斤] with logs [木] piled up and growing [立].[20] After this, the avant-garde treated history as a source for made newness, and Chinese as an opportunity to suggest a fundamental relation between things.

The importance of the Chinese character and its paratactic conglomeration of elements was important to translations of Chinese we no longer consider very avant-garde. Amy Lowell, for instance, whose*Fir-Flower Tablets* with Florence Ayscough was the response to Pound from the Imagism he had left behind, also considered the paratactic conglomerations of the Chinese written character as significant—and signifying—in her English renditions. And while her translations do not read as particularly avant-gardist today, consider her translation of Li Bai's "*Yè sī*" 夜思 against that of Herbert Giles. Here is Lowell and Ayscough:

> **Night Thoughts**
> In front of my bed the moonlight is very bright.
> I wonder if that can be frost on the floor?
> I lift up my head and look full at the full moon, the dazzling moon.
> I drop my head, and think of the home of old days. (Lowell and Ayscough 74)

> 床前明月光　疑是地上霜　举头望明月　低头思故乡

And here is Giles, published the following year, but reading as if it were written a generation earlier:

> **Night Thoughts**
> I wake, and moonbeams play around my bed,
> Glittering like hoar-frost to my wondering eyes;
> Up towards the glorious moon I raise my head,
> Then lay me down—and thoughts of home arise. (Giles 329)[21]

In addition to the conscientiously anti-poetic diction in Lowell and Ayscough's plain-spoken lines, which emerge all the more forcefully when contrasted with genteel Giles, is the new aesthetic of the immanence of language and the texture of writing as an element of signification: the repetition of "full" and "moon" in line three is, I think, an attempt to get at the repetition of 月 (*yuè*, "moon") as a component in Li Bai's line three, as a character on its own and in 望 (*wàng*, "to look, to gaze") and 明 (*míng*, "bright, clear").

Parataxis as a medium for translating Chinese poetry was, however, a firmer fixture in the avant-garde. Another avant-gardist to reach prominence as a transmitter of Chinese poetry in English was Kenneth Rexroth, for whom parataxis was also paramount in suggesting a fundamental relation between things, as in this translation of Du Fu 杜甫:

Snow Storm
Tumult, weeping, many new ghosts.
Heartbroken, aging, alone, I sing
To myself. Ragged mist settles
In the spreading dusk. Snow skurries
In the coiling wind. The wineglass
Is spilled. The bottle is empty.
The fire has gone out in the stove.
Everywhere men speak in whispers.
I brood on the uselessness of letters. (Rexroth 6)

《对雪》
战哭多新鬼　愁吟独老翁　乱云低薄暮　急雪舞回风
瓢叶尊无缘　炉存火似紅　数州消息断　愁坐正书空

Pound and Rexroth were very similar poets and figures in many ways: both close with their mutual publisher James Laughlin, they were likewise anti-academic autodidacts who translated from many languages, particularly Chinese, and were equally invested in the relationship between the politico-economic and the poetic. Despite this, or because of it, Rexroth needed to define himself against Pound in the face of all their similarities—countering Pound's fascism with his anarchism, reading Daoism and Buddhism while Pound read Confucius, but translating Du Fu whereas Pound translated Li Bai—Rexroth even said in a 1958 interview with Jerome Rothenberg and David Antin, "as a poet I find [Pound's] verse soft and mellifluous . . . a limp soft line. It 's not what I' m looking for at all" (Rothenberg & Antin 2011). Nevertheless, Rexroth's method of translating Du Fu is very much based on a Poundian ethic of juxtaposition, foregrounding the poetic device over and against the poetic persona.

This reaches an apparent culmination with Gary Snyder, whose translation style compelled him to avoid personal pronouns even more conspicuously than the Wang Wei 王维 poem he translates:

Deer Camp
Empty mountains:
no one to be seen.
Yet—hear—
human sounds and echoes.
Returning sunlight
enters the dark woods;
Again shining
on the green moss, above. (Synder 539)[22]

《鹿柴》
空山不見人　但闻人语声　返景入深林　复照青苔上

With this translation style, we seem to see how the juxtaposition of parataxis, Chinese translation, and dissolution of the self could culminate in the suggestion of a fundamental relation between them. With Snyder's Buddhism, we might even think we arrive at the apotheosis of Fenollosa's essay—right after describing "two things added together," he says, "A true noun, an isolated thing, does not exist in nature" (Fenollosa and Pound 46), which must certainly apply to the ego as well—especially in light of Haun Saussy's revelation, in his introduction to the *Chinese Written Character*'s critical edition, that Pound largely edited out Fenollosa's allusions to Tendai 天台 Buddhism in preparing the essay for publication.[23] And yet, we should not overlook Snyder's more famous translations, of Han Shan 寒山, where the self seems much more stable:

Some critic tried to put me down—
"Your poems lack the Basic Truth of Tao"
And I recall the old-timers
Who were poor and didn't care.
I have to laugh at him,
He misses the point entirely,
Men like that
Ought to stick to making money. (Synder 526)

客难寒山子　君诗无道理　吾观乎古人　贫贱不为耻
应之笑此言　谈何疏阔矣　愿君似今日　钱是急事尔

These two examples deepen the rift we witnessed between a Poundian linguistic immanence that translates and a Frosty linguistic transcendence that does not, reaching a fissure as well between translation's egolessness and the dominance of the lyric self in poetry by the Seventies. Such a rift was prefigured in Alan Watts's 1958 essay, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen," where he says,

> the Westerner who is attracted by Zen and who would understand it deeply must have one indispensable qualification: he must understand his own culture so thoroughly that he is no longer swayed by its premises unconsciously … He must be free of the itch to justify himself. Lacking this, his Zen will be either "beat" or "square," either a revolt from the culture and social order or a new form of stuffiness and respectability. (Watts 610)

Watts even specifies Snyder's poetry, saying, "as I know it, it is always a shade too self-conscious, too subjective, and too strident to have the flavor of Zen … which would rather hand you*the thing itself* without comment" (ibid. 611). Of course, both translators and Zen adepts know how unattainable *the thing itself* can be, especially if the isolated thing does not exist in nature.

By the 1980s, the split suggested in Snyder's translations becomes enlarged in the translation of Chinese poetry as a whole. By now, not only has Language Poetry seemingly taken over parataxis, but the avant-garde barely translates pre-modern Chinese. Instead, ancient China has entered the mainstream, though it doesn't necessarily fare any better: *A Book of Luminous Things* shows Czesław Miłosz placing Chinese a grab-bag of pre-modern Chinese poets in ahistorical dialogue with international greats such as Elizabeth Bishop and Joseph Brodsky; the Chinese calligraphy cover image of Charles Wright's *Black Zodiac* is printed upside-down, then "corrected" by a reprint that's right side-up, but backwards. And the poetry itself? W. S. Merwin's stable lyric ego (to say nothing else of what Merwin does to the motivation of Li Bai's homesickness in "*Yè sī*," the Lowell / Ayscough and Giles translations of which I quoted above)—

> **Quiet Night Thoughts**
> I wake and my bed is gleaming with moonlight
> Frozen into the dazzling whiteness I look up
> To the moon herself
> And lie thinking of home (Merwin 17)

—and David Young's hypotactic Du Fu:

> **Gazing at Mount Tai**
>
> How to describe a peak
> that has produced such reference?
>
> there's greenness that surrounds it—
> two provinces, Qi and Lu
>
> all creation is contained
> on those dark slopes, that sunny side

layers of clouds refresh
climber and climbed alike

the birds fly up and up
beyond our straining eyes

someday I want to stand
right there on the summit

the other mountains dwarfed
spreading in all directions! (Young 5)

《望岳》
岱宗夫如何　齐鲁青未了　造化钟神秀　阴阳割昏晓
荡胸生曾云　决眦入归鸟　会当凌绝顶　一览众山小

Even translators of Chinese poetry who consciously write against the dominance of hypotactic Unmarked Case poetry are bound to find themselves caught up in it; a recent review of David Hinton's *Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology*[24] said that one of Hinton's translations "sounds like something Charles Simic might write" (Thorburn 88).[25] I wonder how Hinton felt about that.

At the same time, when the avant-garde translates Chinese poetry, it translates the modern and contemporary. Xue Di 雪迪 has a book translated in part by Keith Waldrop and Forrest Gander,[26] and I have done versions of Bei Dao 北岛 with Clayton Eshleman,[27] but mostly this takes place in anthologies: *New Generation: Poems from China Today*, edited by Wang Ping, includes versions co-translated by Lyn Hejinian, Ron Padgett, David Shapiro, Keith Waldrop, and Anne Waldman—all representatives of various avant-garde or "post-avant" groupings—and *Another Kind of Nation*, edited by Zhang Er 张耳 and Chen Dongdong 陈东东 included translations done in part by Leonard Schwartz, Bob Holman, Cris Mattison, and Susan Schultz, also all part of the avant-garde tradition writ large.

The reasons for this return us to the sociological. The entry of pre-modern Chinese poetry into "Unmarked Case" poetics reflects a risk-averse "investment strategy," allowing a move such as Chinese poetry translation to demonstrate success or failure on the periphery before being brought into the "mainstream." Meanwhile, the avant-garde's move from classical to contemporary Chinese poetry reflects the shift towards modern languages and the logic of "applicability" (no matter how much the avant-garde purports to disdain such logic) in the American educational system. And while paratactic juxtaposition is a main mode[28] in Chinese "Obscure" 朦胧 and "Post-Obscure" poetry (Bei Dao even describes Eisenstein's "montage," which of course grew from his understanding of the Chinese character, as influential to his early poetics[29]), mostly, I believe, the shift has to do with social networks and China's "reform and opening up" 改革开放, whose prongs have been exile and immigration and access to international poetry festivals, all of which allows for living Chinese and

American poets to enter the same social networks. Bei Dao's friendship with Eliot Weinberger and Clayton Eshleman, for instance, has led both to translate Bei Dao, and the pairings of Chinese poet with American poet-translator in both Wang Ping's anthology and Zhang Er's is the result of—and testament to—everyone's membership in interlinked social networks.

Such a pattern to the reception of Chinese poetry in English presents a problem, however, since Chinese poetry is rarely able to fulfill one of the main purposes and functions of avant-gardism, which is to challenge preconceptions (perhaps the "avant-garde" has become the "post-avant," after all). Instead, the split between "modern" and "pre-modern" Chinese poetry gets mirrored in Anglophone poetries, and a historical divergence is inscribed as a matter of taste (the avant-gardists like the "contemporary," while readers of the "Unmarked Case" like the "classical"). And rather than being able to exist as a text related to its own time and culture and later, distant times and cultures, pre-modern poetry in English translation once again becomes victim of the May Fourth prejudice against it, and becomes "traditional." This is quite a change from the early twentieth century, when classical Chinese poetry constituted an essential component of modernism.

3. Transcending the Transcendent Self: Towards a Reconciliation

Two questions remain: *why* has paratactic juxtaposition been so important to Anglophone avant-garde poetry? and are any avant-garde poets using what they've learned from the "ideogrammic method" to build pre-modern and modern Chinese poetry into a single, if polyvocal, tradition in English?

The first question is very large, of course, but parataxis is not new as a method in English poetics; Erich Auerbach in *Mimesis* considers it one of the fundamental literary techniques of Western literary heritage. But the way he describes it is telling: "far from weakening the interdependence of the two events," Auerbach says, parataxis "brings it out most emphatically; … in English it is more dramatically effective" (Auerbach 62). But if it is more dramatically effective in English already, in poetry it represents language charged with meaning all the more because it is poetry. I see the development of parataxis in avant-garde English language poetry in the early twentieth century as a response to the dominance of the novel, which had occurred over the previous hundred years, and the dominance of literary realism within that dominance of the novel. "Prose," observe Michal Peled Ginsburg and Lorri Nandrea, "has come to appear 'natural': what we all, like Molière's M. Jourdain, speak without even knowing it and writing without needing a special talent or art" (Ginsburg and Nandrea 246); poetry—and avant-garde poetry in particular—gains its force, the dramatic effectiveness Auerbach mentions, by being determinedly unnatural.

Literary realism, meanwhile, has become dominant to the point of not only describing reality, but creating it. Peter Brooks explains:

> Once a radical gesture, breaking with tradition, realism becomes so much the expected mode of the novel that even today we tend to think of it as the norm

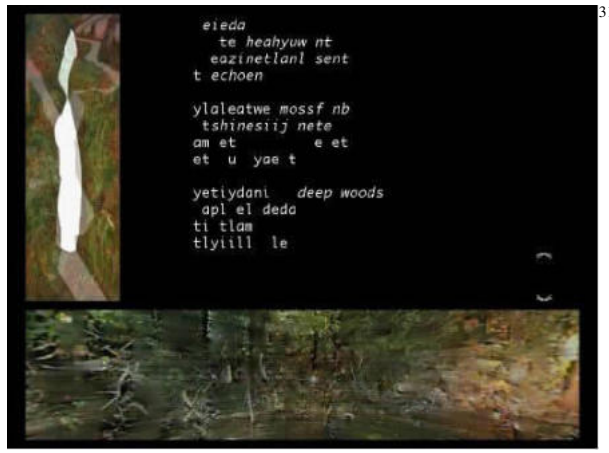
> from which other modes … are variants or deviants. That is, we eventually came to regard [its] styles of representing the world … as standard, what we expected fiction to be. The novel in the airport newsstand will tend to be written from a repertory of narrative and descriptive tools that come from the nineteenth-century realists. What they are doing, and their radical pioneering in the novel, has ceased to astonish us. (Brooks 5)

I would go further, even, and say that literary realism writes not only the way we expect fiction to be, it writes the way we expect reality to be, as well. If the ego seems stable to us in reality, it is less because of the stability of the *lyric* subject than because of the pervasiveness of realism's narrative arc. In challenging its artistry through parataxis, avant-garde poetry also challenges its ideology. The transcendental ego can be dissolved.

But if avant-garde poetry can try to dissolve the transcendental ego, can it also complicate the overarching simplicity of Chinese poetry's reception in "modern / avant-garde" and "Unmarked / traditional"? At this juncture several potential conclusions present themselves: I could press harder on the "bourgeois" nature of Unmarked Case poetry and Chinese translation, thinking through the politico-economic views and poetry-world positions of figures such as Pound, Rexroth, and Sam Hamill; I could consider the functions of race and the avant-garde vis-à-vis Chinese poetics, looking at poets such as Afaa Weaver and Arthur Sze; I could go in depth about translators such as David Hinton and Brian Holton who have worked extensively on both pre-modern and contemporary Chinese poetry… but if the poetic avant-garde—for all its sociological shortcomings of representationality, race-based, gender-based, and class-based—is going to be defined by its writing*as well as* and not *only as* sociology, then I should focus on the carriers of the avant-garde tradition, and I should do so by looking not at translation *per se* but at the avant-garde poetic writing adjacent to translation proper, since such writing draws the most from and contributes the most to the constitution of Chinese poetics within the schools of Anglophone poetry. I should, therefore, conclude by presenting work by four poets I believe to be continuing the dissolution of the lyric self through avant-garde poetry and translation practice that unites, rather than divides, pre-modern and contemporary Chinese poetry. In debt to Weinberger's model of bringing knowledge of pre-modern Chinese translation (e.g., his *New Directions Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*) to bear on translation of contemporary Chinese poetry (his translations of Bei Dao), the four poets I mention—John Cayley, Kit Kelen, Jonathan Stalling, and Jeffrey Yang—all extend the avant-garde tradition of questioning a transcendent self through their renewal of the "ideogrammic method."[30]

John Cayley, English, writer of digital media currently at Brown University. He describes one piece,*riverIsland*, a three-dimensional hyperspace presentation of Wang Wei's 辋川集 that expands on Weinberger's *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, as "a navigable text movie composed from transliteral morphs with a few interliteral graphic morphs … a spatialized aural poetic environment in which you may also investigate of procedures of textual transformation associated with translation, which are

here proposed as transliteral"：



[31]

Kit Kelen, Australian, poet and professor in English at the University of Macau. Having lived in Macau for nearly a decade, he incorporates English — Chinese and Chinese — English translation into his poetry (with his students, he has translated, most notably, Meng Jiao's 孟郊 poetry, and all his English writing is published with Chinese versions *en face*). Here is a poem that in English refers to Snyder and in Chinese to the *Canon of Verse* 诗经 and the "Rhymeprose on Literature" 文赋 by Lu Ji 陆机[32]：

hewing an axe handle with the only thing handy	操斧伐柯
words are always more than themselves	词语总是超越 词语
they've been everywhere we've not	它们无处不在 甚至在我們无法到达的地方
but where can they go without us?	但没有我们 它们又能去哪儿
we take them on through new doors every day	每天 我们都把它们 带进崭新的门
words are wise	词语聪慧
when you're not looking they wander away	你一不留神 它们就会逃逸
rolled up in a scroll	卷成轴

or sealed tight between covers	或封存在书与书之间
you'd think they'd be safe asleep	你以为它们睡得安详
but that's the dark they travel	但那里有它们穿行的黑暗
you know that they've been	你知道它们曾到过
in every corner	每个角落
because there's nothing	因为没有什么
words can't handle	词语无法控制
the problem	只要肯承认
if we could only admit it	问题在于
is ours	我们自己
in finding them	是否将它们找寻 (Kelen 220 – 1)[33]

Jonathan Stalling, American, Assistant Professor of English at University of Oklahoma and editor of *Chinese Literature Today*. In addition to translating the work of noted contemporary poets such as Shi Zhi 食指,[34] Stalling's experimental translation of pre-modern poetry has focused on sound—and especially, tone—as a previously unexplored area of English poetics. From *Yíngēlìshī—Chanted Songs Beautiful Poetry*:

(Stalling 92)

Jeffrey Yang, American, editor at New Directions, and translator of the poetry of Liu Xiaobo 刘晓波 as well as Su Dongpo 苏东坡. In both his original poems—recently published as *An Aquarium*—and his translations, he brings avant-garde parataxis and Chinese allusion together to constitute a re-birth of poetic modernism nearly a century after Pound's first development of the "ideogrammic method." Two of "his own" poems:

Jiang Kui
Jing Wang translates Jiang Kui
of the Northern Song: "In writing poetry,
it is better to strive to be different
from the ancients than to seek to be
identical to them. But better still than
striving to be different is to be bound
to find one's own identity with them,
without striving to identify;
and to be bound to differ with them,
without string to differ." (Yang 2008: 21)

White Whale
Round and round we wheel
around the White Whale
in a braided cord
of good and evil,
till self's
freed
from ego. (ibid. 53)

Plus a translation of Wang Wei:

BAMBOO DWELLING

Sitting alone within a hidden bamboo
grove plucking the qin repeating long
howls in a deep forest no one knows
bright moon illuminates the harmony

(Yang 2005: 7)

《竹里馆》
独坐幽篁里　弹琴复长啸　深林人不知　明月来相照

Through original poetry and translation (blurring at times the distinction between such categories), each of these poets has engaged not only with Chinese poetry at both the modern and pre-modern level, but has found the potentially avant-garde within the pre-modern Chinese tradition, as well, applying that further to the dissolution of the self via writing against the hypotactic mode of fictional "realism." Always the result of collaboration, translation, too, "denies the centrality of the individual artist," even if it also requires the handling of "transcendent meaning"; and yet through parataxis, their work expresses the urgency of "immanent meaning," as well, revealing that what truly gets lost in translation is the self.

Notes

1. Personal conversation (July, 2010) and correspondence (Nov. 24, 2010) with Eliot Weinberger.
2. See Seamus Cooney, ed., *The Poems of Charles Reznikoff*: 1918 – 1975 (Jaffrey, NH: David R. Godine, 2005).
3. See Zukofsky "Sincerity and Objectification: *With Special Reference to the Work of Charles Reznikoff*," first published in *Poetry*, 1931, and available in reprint in Louis Zukofsky, *Prepositions* + : *The Collected Critical Essays*, ed. by Mark Scroggins (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001) 193 – 202.
4. See Ezra Pound, "A Retrospect," < http://www. poetspath. com/transmissions/messages/pound. html >.
5. See Zukofsky, "Sincerity and Objectification," 2001: 194.
6. Pound's Imagism, for that matter, was not as interested in Chinese translation as was his Vorticism, though this is not how most people remember it.
7. Epigram by "Wei T'ai," in A. C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang* (London: Penguin, 1965): 9. In Chinese, this section of the epigram reads: "Poetry conveys emotion by presenting the thing; things prize precision, emotion prizes reticence" 诗者述事以寄情,事贵详,情贵隐 (Wei Tai 魏泰 [11th/ 12th cent.], in Chen Yingluan 陈应鸾, ed., *Línhàn yǐnjū shīhuà jiàozhù* 临汉隐居诗話校注 [Remarks on Poetry from the Hermitage that Overlooks the Han] [Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2001]: 37); for Reznikoff's quotation of the epigram, see L. S. Dembo, "The 'Objectivist' Poet: Four Interviews [Charles Reznikoff]," in *Contemporary Literature*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Spring, 1969):193.
8. For a taxonomy of the term "School of Quietude," which comes from an Edgar Allen Poe review of Nathaniel Hawthorne from 1847, see*Scarriet*, 21 July 2010 < http://scarriet. wordpress. com/2010/07/21/come-along-quietly/ >.
9. Also see James Mitchell, *Il Bloggio di Plainfeather*, 1 August 2010 < http://plainfeather. blogspot. com/2010/08/whats-wrong-with-modern-poetry. html >, where the bourgeois character of the poets Silliman points out allows for another name: the "American Standard" school (A. S. S.). Accounting for "(say) 90% of contemporary poetry … it excludes transgenderism, radical politics, anti-Establishment tyrades, moral bankruptcy, drugs, criminal activity, strikes, masturbation, religious visions and many other more exotic human behaviors, and it characteristically excludes language and imagery which is difficult to understand." It is also, Mitchell notes, the only school "certified and approved by capitalism and is accordingly the single recipient of its favors, and epitomized, according to Mitchell, by Billy Collins (Mitchell provides a link to Collins's website, saying, "don't forget to go shopping later for the products linked to in the right-hand column"). The name "American Standard" not only derives from the name of "the language most of us write in," but also because American Standard is a toilet.
10. As A. D. Jameson puts it, "The term's early 19th-century Socialist origins have mostly been forgotten," so that the "avant-garde" "assumes an incorrect model of how art and innovation actually proceed. It begins by positing that there's a single conservative high art world, which follows a long and noble yet conservative tradition, and that there's a single low art world, which is popular and commercial (i. e., crass). And then it assumes that there's a small band of daring creative pioneers, huddled in some corner of the culture somewhere, who pass all artistic innovation to both the highs and the lows. (It's the art world version of Reaganomics.)" A. D. Jameson, *Big Other*, 4 January 2011 < http://bigother. com/2011/01/02/why-i-hate-the-avant-garde/ >.
11. Of course, such a definition is also sociological, since it allows Abramson to re-draw Silliman's map of cools and squares: "The School of Quietude would now like to assert its claim on the bulk of the poems produced by the following purportedly 'post-avant' poets: Frank O'Hara; Ted Berrigan;

Robert Creeley; virtually all second- and third- wave (so-called) 'New York School' and 'Black Mountain School' poets; all the Modernists but Pound; all under-forty so-called 'Neo-surrealists' (but not any of the *actual* Surrealists); and the so-called 'Imagists' and 'Neo-Imagists'" (Suburban Ecstacies, 14 July 2010 <http://sethabramson.blogspot.com/2010/07/supplied-herein-definition-of-school-of.html>).

12. This famous quotation does not appear anywhere in Frost's published writings, though he accepted attribution (See Luba Zakharov, 8 March 2009 <http://www.packingtownreview.com/posts/5-featured- response-by-luba-v-zakharov-to-quotwho-said-poetry-is-what-gets-lost-in-translationquot>.) Its formulation is so memorable, and so anathema to the ethics and aesthetics of avant-garde-leaning translators, that Eliot Weinberger copies its syntax while rebutting it in the first line of *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*: "Poetry is that which is worth translating" (Eliot Weinberger & Octavio Paz 1).

13. See Robert Lowell's acceptance speech at the National Book Award ceremony, 1960, for *Life Studies*.

14. Paris Leary and Robert Kelly, eds., *A Controversy of Poets: An Anthology of Contemporary American Poetry* (New York: Doubleday, 1965).

15. Looking back from today, though, such overpopulation seems sparse. With a journalistic exclamation point, Chad Harbach notes in "MFA vs. NYC," "There were 79 degree-granting programs in creative writing in 1975; today, there are 854!" (Chad Harbach, "MFA vs. NYC—America now has two distinct literary cultures. Which one will last?" *Slate*, Nov. 2010 <http://www.slate.com/id/2275733/pagenum/all/#p2>). Nevertheless, the contrast with the Sixties is an important incitement to the *Po-biz* feature.

16. Weinberger's twenty-five maxims were originally published as "Notes on Translation" in Clayton Eshleman's journal *Sulfur* in 1988.

17. Marjorie Perloff has testified—in a test of the manifesto's manifest success—to the pervasiveness of their logic amongst the avant-garde, saying their argument "has been so thoroughly internalized in our own 'advanced' discourses about the place of the aesthetic in our culture. The demise of the transcendental Ego, of the authentic self, of the Poet as lonely Genius, of a unique artistic style: these, as we have seen, are now taken as something of a given" (409).

18. Weinberger stated this, among other times, at the "Translation: Ethics, Censorship, Speaking Out" roundtable at the National Grad Student Translation Conference held at Columbia University, March 30, 2008. For an earlier take, see "The 'Language' Letters," in *Written Reaction: Poetics Politics Polemics* (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1996), 83 – 96.

19. Personal conversation with Ron Silliman during discussion at Yale Working Group on Contemporary Poetics, November 7, 2008.

20. Ezra Pound, "Canto LIII" in *The Cantos* (New York: New Directions, 1993) 264 – 265. For more on the phrase Pound quotes, see also Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 7, and Haun Saussy, "Conclusion: The Difficult Inch," in *Great Walls of Discourse and Other Adventures in Cultural China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2001), 183.

21. In fact, it may indeed have been written a generation earlier: "The first edition of this work was published," Giles wrote in Cambridge, 1922, "in 1898, and has long been out of print. The present edition, considerably enlarged, is a companion volume to Gems of Chinese Literature, also in its second and enlarged edition…" (290). The versions from the 1898 edition are indistinguishable from those that constitute the expansion, which shows that while avant-garde poetry in English pushed literary history forward, Giles's translations were for a readership that preferred to adhere to earlier norms of English verse.

22. For further discussion of Snyder along similar lines to my discussion, see Jonathan Stalling, "Teaching the Law: Gary Snyder's Poetics of Emptiness," in*Poetics of Emptiness: Transformations*

of Asian Thought in American Poetry (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010) 97 – 120.

23. See esp. section 5 of Haun Saussy, "Fenollosa Compounded: A Discrimination," in Haun Saussy, Jonathan Stalling, and Lucas Klein (eds), *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: A Critical Edition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008) 18 – 23.

24. David Hinton, trans., *Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008).

25. Simic became a particularly contentious figure on the poetic left when his review of the double-volume *Collected Poems of Robert Creeley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) came out ("The Cat Went Out for Good," *The New York Review of Books*, October 25, 2007).

26. Xue Di 雪迪, trans. by Keith Waldrop, Forrest Gander, Stephen Thomas, Theodore Deppe, Sue Ellen Thompson, Hu Qian, Wang Ping, Hil Anderson, Waverly, and Iona Crook, *Another Kind of Tenderness* (Brooklyn: Litmus Press, 2004).

27. Bei Dao 北岛, translated by Clayton Eshleman and Lucas Klein, *Endure: Poems by Bei Dao* (Boston: Black Widow Press, 2011).

28. In at least instance, English translations demonstrate a continuation of avant-gardist language even when the tone of the Chinese is markedly different; consider Donald Revell's and Zhang Er's translation of Han Dong 韩东:

About Da Yan Pagoda	**有关大雁塔**
About Da Yan Pagoda	有关大雁塔
What more to know?	我们又能知道些什么?
The people come from far	有很多人从远方赶来
To climb it, to be	为了爬上去
Heroes for once, or even a second time	做一次英雄也有的还来做第二次
Some of them, or perhaps more.	或者更多

See Donald Revell and Zhang Er 张耳, "About Da Yan Pagoda," in Zhang Er and Chen Dongdong 陈东东, eds., *Another Kind of Nation: An Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Poetry* (Jersey City: Talisman Publishers, 2007) 69.

29. Personal conversations (March, 2011) with Bei Dao.

30. Another important forebear vis-à-vis China is J. H. Prynne, whose engagement with China deserves (and has received: see Joshua Kotin, "Reading Ezra Pound and J. H. Prynne in Chinese," in *Private Utopias, Transnational Modernism* [Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, August 2011]) its own study, but surely can be a model for poets trying to engage with China's textual, material, and ideological histories and implications.

31. John Cayley, *riverIsland* (2007) http://programmatology.shadoof.net/index.php?p=works/riverisland/riverislandQT.html.

32. The Snyder poem in question is "Axe Handles" (in *The Gary Snyder Reader* 489), which reads:

> One afternoon the last week in April
> Showing Kai how to throw a hatchet
> One-half turn and it sticks in a stump.
> He recalls the hatchet-head
> Without a handle, in the shop
> And go gets it, and wants it for his own.
> A broken-off axe handle behind the door
> Is long enough for a hatchet,
> We cut it to length and take it

With the hatchet head
And working hatchet, to the wood block.
There I begin to shape the old handle
With the hatchet, and the phrase
First learned from Ezra Pound
Rings in my ears!
"When making an axe handle
the pattem is not far off."
And I say this to Kai
"Look: We'll shape the handle
By checking the handle
Of the axe we cut with—"
And he sees. And I hear it again:
It's in Lu Ji's*Wên Fu*, fourth century
a. d. "Essay on Literature"—in the
Preface: "In making the handle
Of an axe
By cutting wood with an axe
The model is indeed near at hand."
My teacher Shih-hsiang Chen
Translated that and taught it years ago
And I see: Pound was an axe,
Chen was an axe, I am an axe
And my son a handle, soon
To be shaping again, model
And tool, craft of culture,
How we go on.

33. This poem is translated by Fan Xing 樊星. Kit Kelen, "Hewing an Axe Handle with the Only Thing Handy," in *China Years: Selected and New Poems* (Macao: ASM, 2010) 220 – 221.

34. Shi Zhi 食指, *Winter Sun*, Jonathan Stalling, trans. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

Works Cited

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Trans. Willard Trask. New York: Doubleday, 1953.

Barthes, Roland. "Myth Today." Trans. Annette Lavers [unattributed]. *A Roland Barthes Reader*. Ed. Susan Sontag. London: Vintage, 2000. 93 – 149.

Bertholf, Robert. "The Polity of the Neutral." *Montemora* 5 (1979): 94 – 95.

Brooks, Peter. *Realist Vision*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Giles, Herbert. *Gems of Chinese Literature*. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1923.

Ginsburg, Michal Peled and Lorri G. Nandrea. "The Prose of the World." *The Novel: vol* 2, *Forms and Themes*. Ed. Franco Moretti. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 244 – 273.

Fenollosa, Ernest and Ezra Pound. "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: An Ars Poetica." Eds. Haun Saussy, Jonathan Stalling, and Lucas Klein. *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: A Critical Edition*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2008. 41 – 60.

Kelen, Kit. *China Years: Selected and New Poems*. Macao: ASM, 2010.

Lowell, Amy and Florence Ayscough. *Fir Flower Tablets: Poems from the Chinese*. London: Consta-

ble & Co. Limited, 1922.

Merwin, W. S. *East Window: The Asian Translations*. Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1998.

Perelman, Bob. "Parataxis and Narrative: The New Sentence in Theory and Practice." *American Literature*, vol. 65, no. 2 (Jun., 1993). 313 – 324.

Perloff, Marjorie, "Language Poetry and the Lyric Subject: Ron Silliman's Albany, Susan Howe's Buffalo." *Critical Inquiry* 25.3 (1999): 405 – 34.

Pound, Ezra. *Poems and Translations*. Ed., Richard Sieburth. New York: Library of America, 2003.

Rexroth, Kenneth. *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*. New York: New Directions, 1971.

Jerome Rothenberg & David Antin, "A First Interview with Kenneth Rexroth (1958), Part Two," on Jerome Rothenberg, Poems and Poetics. 10 August 2011 < http://poemsandpoetics.blogspot.com/2011/08/jerome-rothenberg-david-antin-first_30.html >.

Silliman, Ron, Carla Harryman, Lyn Hejinian, Steve Benson, Bob Perelman, and Barrett Watten. "Aesthetic Tendency and the Politics of Poetry: A Manifesto." *Social Text*, 19/20 (Autumn, 1988): 261 – 275.

Silliman, Ron. Silliman's Blog: A weblog focused on contemporary poetry and poetics. 7 July 2010 < http://ronsilliman.blogspot.com/2010/07/i-know-whenever-i-use-phrase-school-of.html >.

---. Silliman's Blog. 22 April 2009 < http://ronsilliman.blogspot.com/2009/04/note-that-appeared-in-my-comments.html

Snyder, Gary. *The Gary Snyder Reader: Prose, Poetry, and Translations*. Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1999.

Stalling, Jonathan. *Poetics of Emptiness: Transformations of Asian Thought in American Poetry*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010.

Tarn, Nathaniel. "Open Letter Regarding a Proposal for an Order of Silence." *Montemora* 5 (1979): 76 – 77.

Thorburn, Matthew. "'Bamboo that seems Always on my Thoughts': reading David Hinton's Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology." *Rowboat: Poetry in Translation*, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 88.

Watts, Alan. "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen." *The Portable Beat Reader*. Ed. Ann Charters. New York: Penguin, 1992. 607 – 614.

Weinberger, Eliot, and Nathaniel Tarn (eds). *The Poetry Business* feature. Montemora 5 (1979).

Weinberger, Eliot. "3 Notes on Poetry: 2. Translating." *Outside Stories*. New York: New Directions, 1992. 59 – 61.

Yang, Jeffrey. *An Aquarium: Poems*. St. Paul, MN: Graywolf, 2008.

---. *Rhythm 226: A translation of the Qian Jia Shi*. Beacon, NY: Tioronda Books, 2005.

Young, David. *Du Fu: A Life in Poetry*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.

责任编辑:何庆机

世界文学研究论坛

黄铁池/上海师范大学（中国）
聂珍钊/华中师范大学（中国）
查尔斯·罗斯/普渡大学（美国）

Editors in Chief

Huang Tiechi,Shanghai Normal University,China
Nie Zhenzhao,Central China Normal University,China
Charles Ross,Purdue University,U.S.A

ISSN 1949-8519