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HISTORIČNI SEMINAR  
2004–2006

5

# *Historični seminar 5*

*Zbornik izbranih predavanj 2004–2006*

*Uredili*

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Peter Weiss



Ljubljana 2006

## HISTORIČNI SEMINAR 5

Zbornik izbranih predavanj 2004–2006

Uredili Vojislav Likar, Petra Svolfjšak in Peter Weiss

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## *Predgovor*

S petim zbornikom izbranih predavanj *Historičnega seminarja* se po dvanajstih letih, ki so minila od objave prvega, zaključuje serija njegovih knjižnih objav. Kakor vsi zborniki doslej tudi ta izpričuje večdisciplinarno usmerjenost njegove organizacijske zasnove in prinaša širok izbor za knjižno objavo posebej redigiranih predavanj iz strok, ki segajo od historične antropologije, etnologije, muzikologije pa vse do kulturne in politične zgodovine. Posebnost tega zbornika (kakor tudi vseh dosedanjih) pa je, da slovenski in tuji raziskovalci javnosti predstavljajo »nova«, »sveža« in »aktualna« dognanja in dosežke specifičnih raziskovalnih tem, in da v mnogih primerih odpirajo tudi nove poglede in predstavljajo nove pristope sodobnih znanstvenih iskanj in raziskovanj na področje humanističnih in sorodnih ved nasploh.

*Historični seminar* seveda ostaja še naprej živa organizacijska oblika predstavljanja in srečevanja domačih in tujih raziskovalcev s strokovno in širšo javnostjo. Svoj namen in poslanstvo pa bo poslej priredil zahtevam časa in objave najbolj odmevnih predavanj prenesel v medij, ki bo omogočil veliko širšo in hitrejšo dostopnost – svetovni splet.

Uredniki se zahvaljujejo vsem, ki so pomagali k pripravi zbornika za tisk, posebej še Metodi Kokole, Katarini Šter in Tinki Selič.



# *Che cos'è una città carovaniera?*

## *Il paradigma di Palmira*

ARNALDO MARCONE

L'idea di città carovaniera in genere, e di Palmira in particolare, è associata all'evocativo libro, *Caravan Cities*, pubblicato da M. Rostovtzeff nel 1932. Alcune sue formulazioni sono tali da restare impresse nella memoria: “the temple, and the caravan road, religion and lucre: such are a caravan city's main interests”; “Petra and Palmira are among the most romantic relics of the ancient world”; “Palmira is the most typical caravan city of antiquity”; “the pulsation of commercial caravan life”; “this fairy-tale city created by caravans and intended for caravan trade” (Rostovtzeff 1932: 125, 132).

Come è ben noto lo studioso russo, che all'epoca era impegnato con Franz Cumont nella direzione degli scavi a Dura Europos, ha dato nel libro una brillante ricostruzione delle imponenti rovine di alcune località ubicate nella vasta area del Vicino Oriente governata da Roma (cfr. Millar 1995). Per Rostovtzeff c'era una serie di città che potevano essere definite sinteticamente come “carovaniere”: Petra e Gerasa in Giordania, Palmira, situata lontano nella steppa tra Emesa e Damasco e l'Eufrate, e infine Dura-Europos, la guarnigione sull'Eufrate. Ad esse si può aggiungere Seleucia, un incrocio tra città-carovaniera e porto fluviale (cfr. Marcone 2003a).

Parlare di loro come “città carovaniera” implica che esse devono il loro carattere di città al commercio, al commercio di lunga distanza, alle carovane. Quando parliamo di carovane intendiamo naturalmente convogli di cammelli, che percorrono lunghe distanze attraverso il deserto.

In realtà parlare, in termini molto generali, di città carovaniera potrebbe essere appropriato solo per Palmira. Petra fu, a rigore, in un primo tempo una città regia e, quindi, una modesta città provinciale, situata in una zona dove era possibile l'agricoltura. Vedere in Gerasa una città carovaniera è problematico. Gerasa ha una bella piazza centrale, con una peculiare forma ovale che ha suggerito a Rostovtzeff di vedervi un possibile luogo di incontro per le carovane. Ma dato il ricco territorio agricolo circostante, questo basta per spiegare la sua



imponenza architettonica. Certamente Dura non era una città carovaniere (cfr. Leriche 1994).

Vediamo di articolare la nostra riflessione fissando alcuni punti-chiave:

### **Punto primo: Città carovaniere e commercio a lunga distanza**

Le città carovaniere devono essere associate al commercio a lunga distanza. Rostovtzeff ha avuto il grande merito di concentrare l'attenzione sulla crescita spettacolare di alcune città nel Vicino Oriente. In realtà è difficile, se non impossibile, considerare tutti e quattro i casi delle città da lui presi in esame come "città carovaniere".

### **Punto secondo: Effetti economici indiretti del commercio**

Di regola un commercio attivo è all'origine di una notevole popolazione non produttiva che richiede lo sviluppo di un'agricoltura più avanzata che sfami le comunità dei mercanti, dei partecipanti alle carovane e degli altri associati con il commercio.

### **Punto terzo: Itinerari commerciali e loro modificazioni**

Quanto è vero per il commercio carovaniere nel I millennio a.C. non è altrettanto vero per i primi due secoli d.C. L'inizio del commercio sudarabico nella seconda metà del X secolo a.C. ha dalla sua tanto il Vecchio Testamento quanto le iscrizioni reali assire ed è altresì compatibile con lo sviluppo tecnologico del controllo arabo sull'ambiente desertico con la sua rete di itinerari carovaniere così come è ricostruibile (cfr. Bulliet 1990). Un inizio del commercio sudarabico alla fine del X secolo implica l'esistenza di una forma almeno embrionale di città carovaniere yemenite in un periodo più o meno contemporaneo o anteriore.

Consideriamo il noto passo di Plinio, *Storia Naturale* VI, 101 in cui lo scienziato latino menziona il commercio marittimo tra l'Egitto e l'India. La nostra documentazione ha un punto di partenza sicuro nel *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, un testo davvero straordinario che riguarda il commercio marittimo di lunga distanza per mare scritto tra il 40 e il 70 d.C.

Il problema fondamentale è dato dalla natura della nostra documentazione. Le informazioni di cui disponiamo sul commercio per terra, le cosiddette *Stazioni Partiche* di Isidoro Saraceno, scritte probabilmente all'inizio del I secolo d.C., sono difficilmente paragonabili. L'interesse dell'autore, infatti, è centrato sulle questioni militari e non su quelle economiche. La nostra fonte di maggior pregio sul commercio di lunga distanza per terra è ancora Plinio che sembra abbastanza aggiornato. Cito il passo che interessa della *Storia Naturale* XII, 63–65:

“L'unica strada che si può percorrere per portare l'incenso da Sabota (una città dell'Arabia centrale) passa per il territorio dei Gebbaniti, e così si paga un tributo anche al loro re. La loro capitale, Tomma, dista da Gaza, città della Giudea posta sulle rive del Mediterraneo, 1437 miglia e mezzo, una distanza che si percorre in 65 tappe di cammello (quindi si considera che le tappe che un cammello possa percorrere siano in media di 22 miglia). Anche i sacerdoti e gli scribi del re ricevono delle parti fisse. Ma, oltre a questi, anche le guardie e i loro aiutanti, i portieri e i servi si danno al saccheggio. Per tutto il viaggio si paga dove per l'acqua, dove per il pascolo o per le soste e i pedaggi vari: si raggiunge così la spesa di 688 denari a cammello per il viaggio fino alla costa del Mediterraneo, e poi lì si paga ancora ai pubblicani del nostro Impero” (trad. A. Perutelli).

Strabone è utile ma il suo punto di vista è differente. A suo dire c'era un regolare traffico commerciale da Petra a Leuké Kome, (un sito che non è stato individuato anche se probabilmente si trovava all'interno del golfo di Aqaba), “verso cui viaggiano in piena sicurezza gruppi di persone e di commercianti sulla via da e verso Petra con un numero tale di cammelli e di uomini da non essere distinguibili da un esercito” (*Geogr.* XVI, 4, 23).

Prendiamo in considerazione una citazione del *Periplus* che menziona anche Leuké Kòme:

“attraverso questa località c'è una via verso l'interno fino a Petra, a Malichus il re dei Nabatei. Questo porto svolge in parte la funzione di porto di scambio di prodotti trasportati dalle imbarcazioni, nessuna grande, che vi giungono con il loro carico dall'Arabia. A tal scopo vi è insediato un addetto doganale e anche un centurione con una guarnigione” (*Per.* 19).

#### **Punto quarto: Il ruolo della politica e della storia militare**

Consideriamo il caso di Gerasa. Gli sviluppi della prima metà del primo secolo d.C., quando fu tracciata l'ambiziosa pianta della città,

non erano che un preludio di quanto doveva avvenire sotto Traiano e il suo successore Adriano e dello sviluppo che sarebbe culminato nell'età d'oro degli Antonini. Gli imperatori erano profondamente interessati alle province orientali, che vedevano come una base sicura per la loro politica flessibile relativamente alle frontiere. Di particolare significato per Gerasa era la politica traiana di espansione che portò all'annessione dell'Impero nabateo nel 106 d.C. e alla creazione della provincia di Arabia. Sino ad allora lontana dal centro, Gerasa si trovò ad essere geograficamente vicina alla nuova capitale provinciale. Per garantire sicurezza e facilità di controllo della regione fu costruito un sistema di belle strade, non solo la grande *Via Nova* ma anche una strada tra Philadelphia e Gerasa, una collegante Gerasa con Bosra, e una che univa Gerasa a Pella. Quest'ultima, costruita sotto la direzione di C. Claudius Severus, legato di Traiano, pose le condizioni perché il commercio passasse da Gerasa in direzione della costa. Gerasa, trovandosi improvvisamente in una posizione strategica, iniziò presto a raccogliere i benefici che avevano fatto tanto ricca Petra.

Traiano era considerato "salvatore e fondatore" come ci informa un'iscrizione della Porta Nord. Gli abitanti di Gerasa capivano chiaramente che era responsabile della loro prosperità.

Si deve tener presente che Gerasa controllava un'area disomogenea. Alcune città di rilievo si trovavano nella sua orbita ma tutte tranne due erano situate ad occidente rispetto ad essa. Verso oriente, al contrario, ci troviamo di fronte a un mondo in larga misura privo di influenze di urbanizzazione.

### **Punto cinque: Storie di breve periodo**

La conseguenza dell'importanza che noi attribuiamo alla storia politica è che i fenomeni di cui trattiamo non sono immutabili perché condizionati in modo decisivo dal clima e dall'ambiente. E' vero l'esatto contrario. O la categoria di città carovaniera è così generica che alla fine ne troviamo troppe, oppure è il risultato di condizioni molto precise e uniche. In quanto località dalle quali gruppi di viaggiatori si dirigono attraverso i margini della steppa, esposti agli attacchi da parte dei nomadi o, almeno, alle esazioni di pedaggi da parte loro Antiochia, Beroea e Hierapolis in Siria, Zeugma sull'Eufrate, Batne, Edessa e Nisibi in Mesopotamia potrebbero ricadere tutte, almeno potenzialmente, nella categoria di "città carovaniera" (cfr. Millar 1995).

La politica è importante. Il punto che deve essere sottolineato è che la pista attraverso il deserto fino all'Eufrate, che tocca l'oasi di Palmira, non è certamente una tappa 'naturale' per carovane che

si dirigono dall'Oriente romano verso la Mesopotamia. Le vie che passavano più a nord erano senz'altro conosciute anche se la situazione politica precludeva in larga misura il loro uso. Queste vie, secondo Strabone, erano piene di grandi difficoltà per il viaggiatore a causa delle esazioni dei capi nomadi ivi operanti, che forse avevano acquisito importanza dopo che i Seleucidi avevano perso il controllo di quest'area. Il geografo romano afferma che per questa ragione i mercanti preferivano affrontare il rischio di un viaggio attraverso il deserto piuttosto che viaggiare lungo il fiume:

Infatti dopo l'attraversamento del fiume la strada attraversa il deserto sino a Scenae, un'importante città situata su un canale vicino ai confini di Babilonia. Dall'attraversamento del fiume fino a Scenae c'è un viaggio di 25 giorni. Ci sono conducenti di cammelli sulla pista che ha dei caravanserragli, alcuni dei quali ben forniti di acqua, molti con cisterne e alcuni dove usano acqua portata da altre aree. Gli Sceniti sono pacifici e moderati nell'esazione dei pedaggi e perciò i viaggiatori evitano il paese lungo la costa e si dirigono attraverso il deserto e lasciano il fiume sulla destra per un viaggio di circa tre giorni. (XVI, 1,27)

Strabone fornisce dunque documentazione per l'uso di questa strada da parte dei mercanti (quelli che pagano dazi sono chiamati "mercanti" poche righe dopo) verso la metà del I secolo a.C. La via sembra, secondo la descrizione di Strabone, aver varcato l'Eufrate ed aver quindi attraversato il deserto tra l'Eufrate e il Tigri sino a che non si raggiungeva Babilonia.

La strada che più tardi avrebbe acquisito tanta importanza, quella che attraversava il deserto siriano attraverso l'oasi di Palmira e, quindi, sino all'Eufrate, sembra sconosciuta tanto a Strabone che a Isidoro Caraceno, ed è dunque possibile che non avesse ancora il rilievo che avrebbe avuto in seguito. Appiano, tuttavia, fa riferimento all'esistenza di Palmira nel 41 a.C. ricordando un attacco di Marco Antonio verso quella città. In questa versione, Appiano menziona il fatto che i Palmireni erano commercianti che trasportavano mercanzie dall'interno del regno partico a Roma: "Essendo mercanti, trasportano le mercanzie indiane ed arabe dalla Persia per venderle nelle terre dei Romani" (*Guerre Civili* V, 9).

E' possibile che quest'allusione si riferisca a un'epoca successiva quando i Palmireni avevano già dato inizio alle loro attività mercantili che li avrebbero portati a un livello di ricchezza senza precedenti. Oltre a questa, l'unica menzione letteraria del ruolo di Palmira come centro commerciale, noi abbiamo pochi indizi della natura dei beni

trasportati: si tratta di prodotti indiani e arabi che erano trasportati dall'interno della Persia. Qualunque documentazione ci possa essere per una "Via della Seta" e un commercio sistematico della seta con la Cina a una data più tarda, non ne disponiamo alcuna per il primo secolo a.C. Le merci trasportate attraverso Palmira, e perciò molto probabilmente lungo la via dell'Eufrate, erano indiane e arabe, assai probabilmente aromi e spezie. Inoltre è chiaro che questi beni venivano trasportati dalla Persia, vale a dire dall'interno del regno partico. Questo commercio perciò non era in alcun modo in competizione con quello che passava attraverso il regno nabateo, che partiva dall'Arabia meridionale.

Un'ulteriore osservazione di Plinio a proposito di Palmira risulta molto importante per il mio discorso:

"Ha il suo destino tra i due grandi imperi, dei Romani e dei Parti, e alle prime manifestazioni di conflitto è sempre al centro dell'interesse di entrambe le parti" (*Storia Naturale* V, 21) (cfr. Will 1985).

In proposito non mi sembrano condivisibili affermazioni come questa:

"This was certainly not the case in Pliny's time and it may be that he is quoting an earlier source" (cfr. Young 2001). Mi sembra di poter dire, al contrario, che Plinio sta parlando di una situazione contemporanea di cui è pienamente consapevole. Palmira, a mio modo di vedere, al tempo di Plinio non è ancora pienamente sotto il dominio romano ma continua a godere di un certo grado di libertà di azione.

Per ribadire in breve quello che ho detto. Le vie a nord di Palmira non sono altrettanto ben attestate di quelle attraverso Palmira, Petra e l'Egitto. Ciò nondimeno c'è della documentazione che mostra che i mercanti facevano uso di strade che partivano da Antiochia e attraversavano l'Eufrate a Zeugma. Tra queste c'era la famosa 'Strada della Seta', così come la via lungo l'Eufrate descritta da Isidoro che dava accesso alla Mesopotamia e al Golfo.

Tali strade attraversavano l'area che era spesso oggetto di disputa tra l'Impero romano e i suoi antagonisti iranici, i regni partici e quindi sasanidi. Questo significa che, almeno in quest'area, il commercio orientale di lunga distanza rivestiva, almeno potenzialmente, una certa importanza politica, e forse costituiva anche un elemento di cui tener conto nella determinazione della politica estera da parte di una delle due potenze. Tale circostanza può spiegare l'importanza di Palmira e la sua sorprendente crescita nei primi tre secoli d.C.

## **Sesto e ultimo punto: Scoperte tecniche**

Ci sono due importanti sviluppi che giocano un ruolo di primo piano nel commercio di lunga distanza tra Oriente e Occidente, per terra e per mare. L'invenzione di una sella da cammello, nota come sella nordarabica sulla base del suo presunto luogo di invenzione, in un'epoca compresa tra il 500 e il 100 a.C., trasformò la storia economica, sociale e politica del Vicino Oriente. Quello che accadde in questo periodo in cui i cammelli diventano predominanti nell'economia del trasporto è che i nomadi allevatori di cammelli acquisiscono un potere militare, politico ed economico senza precedenti ed erano perciò in grado di conseguire un grado di integrazione socio-economica con le terre di insediamento.

La scoperta dei monsoni in età ellenistica aprì la via dell'India per via marittima (cfr. De Romanis 1996). L'epoca del primo impiego dei monsoni da parte dei marinai greci è stata oggetto di ipotesi diverse, ma il suo uso era chiaramente ben stabilito all'epoca di redazione del *Periplus*. La menzione da parte di Strabone di un commercio molto accresciuto tra l'Egitto e l'India dopo l'annessione dell'Egitto sembra indicare con sicurezza che il monzone era conosciuto e usato al suo tempo. Il *Periplus* mostra che i regni dell'Arabia meridionale godevano di un alto livello di ricchezza e di influenza nel primo secolo d.C., con i loro porti attivi e pieni di commercianti: questa situazione sorse molto probabilmente a causa del commercio romano di in censo in queste regioni.

Prima dell'arrivo dei Romani, i Tolemei avevano iniziato a sfruttare il commercio tanto con l'India che con l'Arabia con la costruzione di porti lungo la costa del mar Rosso. Il commercio marittimo era ben consolidato alla fine del periodo ellenistico. Il commercio tanto con la penisola arabica che con l'India era stato molto facilitato dalla scoperta dei monsoni. Il ricorso ad essi consentiva alle navi che commerciavano con l'India di raggiungerla direttamente invece di essere costretti a fare un lungo e difficoltoso viaggio a tappe lungo la costa (cfr. De Romanis 1996).

Prima di tale scoperta sembra che poche navi facessero il viaggio senza scali intermedi: il cargo trasportato di regola veniva trasferito dalle navi indiane e arabe in uno dei porti sudarabici. Il *Periplus Maris Erithraei*, scritto verso la metà del primo secolo d.C., che registra molti particolari significativi sul commercio, ricorda un'epoca in cui non c'erano viaggi diretti per mare dall'Egitto all'India, ma tutti i carichi venivano trasferiti nell'Arabia Eudaimon (Aden). I mercanti romani dell'Egitto non erano i soli commercianti provenienti dall'Occidente in questi porti: molte iscrizioni palmirene menzionano navi

che viaggiano verso la “Scizia”, che era il nome dato alla costa indiana. Il passo fondamentale del *Periplus* è il seguente:

“L’*Arabia Felix* era chiamata ‘fortunata’, essendo un tempo una città, allorquando, dal momento che le navi né venivano dall’India in Egitto né quelle dell’Egitto osavano andar oltre ma arrivavano fin qui, essa riceveva i carichi da entrambi i paesi, così come Alessandria riceve le merci importate al di fuori dell’Egitto” (26).

Dopo la scoperta dei monsoni da parte dei marinai greci le navi provenienti dal Mediterraneo facevano il viaggio direttamente, e il ruolo dell’Arabia meridionale nel commercio tra l’Egitto e l’India fu ridotto a quello di un mero luogo di sosta per il rifornimento d’acqua. E’ vero, tuttavia, che il commercio più lucrativo dell’Arabia, quello della mirra e dell’incenso, non fu toccato da questo sviluppo dal momento che questi prodotti venivano coltivati all’interno dell’Arabia stessa.

## **Palmira**

Concentriamo ora la nostra attenzione su Palmira, la “*Venise des sables*” (è la definizione di Will 1992). Al pari di Emesa, ma in modo del tutto diverso rispetto a Damasco, Palmira come centro urbano era una nuova creazione, che non risale al di là del primo secolo a.C.

Plinio descrive Palmira come benedetta da buone terre e sorgenti d’acqua, malgrado la sua collocazione nel bel mezzo del deserto:

“Palmira è una città celebre per il suo sito, per la ricchezza del suolo e per l’amenità delle acque. Il suo territorio è circondato da ogni parte da grandi estensioni sabbiose ed è come se dalla natura fosse separata dal resto del mondo” (*Storia Naturale* V, 88).

Le iscrizioni che documentano il commercio palmireno vanno dal 19 d.C. agli anni 250–260 d.C.

La località esisteva e doveva essere un luogo di transito già da diversi secoli. Ma non sembra che ci fosse alcun insediamento stabile nel sito per tutto il periodo ellenistico. E’ solo in Flavio Giuseppe, lo scrittore ebreo del I secolo d.C., che troviamo quella che si può chiamare una “preistoria” di Palmira (*Antichità Giudaiche* VIII, 6,1)

“(Salomone) si inoltrò anche nel deserto della Siria superiore, se ne impadronì e vi fondò una grandissima città distante due giorni di viaggio dalla Siria superiore e un giorno di viaggio dall’Eufrate, mentre la distanza dalla grande Babilonia era di sei giorni. Il motivo della fondazione di una città così distante dalle parti abitate della Siria, fu che nella regione inferiore non v’era acqua, e solo in quel luogo si trovavano pozzi e sorgenti; così fondò questa città, la circondò di mura

fortificate e la chiamò Tadmora, come è chiamata tuttora dai Siri, mentre i Greci la chiamano Palmira” (trad. L. Moraldi).

Le prime fasi di urbanizzazione del centro non possono essere ricostruite. Come sito Palmira viene alla luce per la prima volta nell'ambito della storia narrativa greco-romana per la menzione che ne fa Appiano di cui si è già detto. Appiano (*Guerre Civili V*, 37–38) racconta di come i Palmireni evacuassero la città e fuggissero attraverso l'Eufrate, preparandosi a difenderne la riva con i loro esperti arcieri.

Da questo passo è impossibile congetturare se Palmira avesse le mura o meno e se il suo commercio di lunga distanza fosse già iniziato nel primo secolo a.C., cosa che sembra inverosimile. Il commento di Appiano si riferisce a tempi recenti dal momento che scrive: “essendo commercianti essi comprano beni indiani e arabi dal territorio dei Persiani e ne fanno uso in quello dei Romani”.

Si deve aggiungere che la prima iscrizione palmirena nota risale al 44/43 a.C. e registra l'erezione di una statua da parte dei sacerdoti di Bel. Gli elementi distintivi della civiltà palmirena incominciano a essere individuabili. Il gruppo di iscrizioni onorifiche degli anni 20 d.C. fornisce anche la prima prova documentaria di due importantissimi elementi della città: il commercio con Babilonia e l'evoluzione dei Palmireni in una collettività con una specifica organizzazione politica. Il testo dell'iscrizione del 24 è redatto in onore di Malichus da parte “di tutti i mercanti che sono nella città di Babilonia”. Si tratta davvero un punto di partenza: questa è infatti la prima di una serie di iscrizioni che documentano il commercio palmireno con centri di appoggio negli Imperi partico e persiano (cfr. Drexhage 1998; Marcone 2003).

Il punto che desidero sottolineare è che Palmira, sin dal primo momento in cui la vediamo emergere come centro urbano, è evoluta passo dopo passo verso le strutture di una “normale” città greca. Nel 32 d. C. fu eretto il grande tempio di Bel. C'è una coincidenza cronologica tra la dedica del tempio e il primo riscontro documentario della formale organizzazione della comunità. Ma si deve sottolineare che tale coincidenza coincide anche con la prima attestazione di presenza romana e di influenza romana. Un cippo di confine trovato a circa 75 km a nord-ovest della città indica che Palmira era saldamente nella sfera d'influenza romana: i confini della *regio Palmyrena* erano stati stabiliti sotto Creticus Silanus, legato di Siria nell'11–17 d.C. Un testo successivo, il codice fiscale del 137 d.C., cita una disposizione emessa da Germanico quando operava in Siria nel 18–19. Una delle poche iscrizioni trilingui di Palmira risale al 58 e riguarda probabilmente un pubblico romano, Lucius Spedius Chrysantius, che potrebbe essere stato incaricato di riscuotere le tasse indirette romane (*IGR III*, 1539).

Palmira non era certamente al centro di una campagna fertile



come quella attorno a Gerasa. Ma ciò nondimeno era, come qualsiasi altra città greco-romana, la “sede centrale” di un hinterland agricolo. Ecco perché la famosa legge fiscale non getta alcuna luce sul traffico a lunga distanza di Palmira, che peraltro esisteva. Come è stato ribadito anche recentemente questa legge riguarda prodotti che arrivavano in città dal suo immediato entroterra (cfr. Matthews 1984; Teixidor 1984). In verità sono tassati anche i commercianti, ivi comprese le prostitute. Si tratta infatti di una legge sulle tasse indirette che Palmira, come qualsiasi altra città dell’Impero, aveva titolo per riscuotere. Ma i testi si riferiscono a carichi portati da cammelli o dromedari; ad animali che arrivavano per essere macellati, a statue di bronzo che venivano importate, alla vendita di sale; e a pecore che entravano in città o per il pascolo o per essere tosate. Quasi niente nella legge suggerisce commercio di generi di lusso sulla lunga distanza. L’unico bene che può rientrare in questa categoria è la menzione di cammelli – o dromedari – carichi di balsami, di mirra. Un’analisi della legge fiscale crea un’immagine dei movimenti economici e delle relazioni commerciali della città che potrebbe essere vera di ogni località di una certa importanza. In altri termini dalla legge fiscale non emerge che Palmira fosse una città carovaniera.

Un numero limitato di iscrizioni ed alcuni monumenti attestano gli inizi della vita urbana nell’oasi isolata di Palmira durante il primo secolo a.C. Sembra che, verso l’inizio dell’era cristiana, Palmira formasse una sorta di comunità indigena, amministrata da “tesorieri” eletti. Non abbiamo la possibilità di accertare sino a quanto indietro nel tempo risalissero queste istituzioni. Questa comunità entrò nell’orbita del potere romano molto probabilmente con Germanico nel 17 d.C. (non è necessario pensare a un vero e proprio inserimento nella provincia) lasciando apparentemente al loro posto le istituzioni preesistenti (discussione della questione in Gnoli 2001, in particolare delle tesi svolte dagli studiosi francesi). Le iscrizioni, tuttavia, attestano che già verso la seconda metà del secolo esisteva un consiglio cittadino, degli arconti eletti e dei liberti stranieri che agivano come pubblicani: in altri termini, per quel che possiamo giudicare, Palmira aveva il regime standard di una città provinciale. A differenza però di altre città provinciali, Palmira conservò l’aramaico per l’uso ufficiale anche se di regola affiancato dal greco (cfr. Millar 1998).

Malgrado le sue peculiarità culturali, questa ‘repubblica di commercianti’, come è talvolta chiamata, rimase sotto il controllo diretto o indiretto dei governatori romani senza alcuna manifestazione di volontà di indipendenza sino alle convulsioni della metà del III secolo. Mentre le sue frontiere settentrionali e occidentali (con Emesa ed Apamea) erano stabilite, o confermate, da parte dell’autorità romana all’inizio

del primo secolo, il territorio cittadino era praticamente aperto verso sud dove incontrava il deserto. Verso Oriente Palmira controllava una parte della valle dell'Eufrate a sud di Dura-Europos, con l'isola fortizzata di Ána e i terreni da pascolo nel Wadi Hauran nei pressi del fiume, così come le stazioni militari lungo le piste desertiche che portavano là (cfr. Gawlikowki c.d.s.). Queste postazioni avanzate segnavano perciò i limiti dell'Impero Romano, ma apparentemente non erano presidiate da truppe romane regolari. Per certi versi il territorio di Palmira formava una zona cuscinetto, mentre la città stessa era stabilmente inserita nell'orbita del potere romano (cfr. Sommer 2005).

### **Relazioni con i nomadi**

Il regolare traffico carovaniero verso l'Eufrate, e più giù verso il Golfo Persico, presupponeva condizioni di sicurezza che avrebbe potuto essere garantito solo da una complessa rete di relazioni con i nomadi. E nessuno, a parte i componenti delle tribù nomadi, avrebbe potuto garantire il necessario potenziale di crescita per Palmira e per la creazione di ranch nel deserto nelle colline nordoccidentali, essenziali per l'allevamento di massa di animali da soma per le carovane palmirene. Palmira appare quindi un caso di riuscito insediamento di nomadi all'interno del quadro preesistente della vita cittadina, stimolato dalle opportunità per il commercio che si aprivano con la pace romana.

Nomadi sedentarizzati potevano creare le condizioni per lo sviluppo di santuari o di centri urbani sofisticati come Petra e Emesa, quest'ultima una città con caratteristiche simili a quelle di Palmira. Di regola, tuttavia, è difficile trovare tracce di un'autentica vita nomade.

A un certo momento alcune tribù, gli Sceniti, in Mesopotamia, avevano iniziato a far sentire il loro potere al punto di riscuotere tasse sui prodotti commerciali in transito attraverso al loro territorio; altri, i Nabatei, erano andati un passo oltre ed erano diventati essi stessi mercanti. Altri ancora erano lontani da questi sviluppi.

Il grado di conflitto tra i nomadi e i gruppi sedentarizzati, e la natura della risposta delle autorità romane a questa minaccia, è stata oggetto di valutazioni diverse. Mentre taluni studiosi vedono le tribù desertiche come aggressori potenziali che richiedono una costante presenza militare sul *limes* fortificato, altri li considerano come praticamente innocui e il *limes* arabico del secondo secolo come in primo luogo una strada essenzialmente militare (cfr. Young 2001). Quello che è chiaro è che, di fatto, non vi è registrazione di serie incursioni di nomadi nel primo Impero. Se questo risultò da una salutare paura, o da passi positivi presi dai Romani, appare incerto.

In Mesopotamia, ad esempio, i nomadi si spostavano nel deserto tra l'Eufrate il Tigri. E' interessante che, secondo Strabone (XVI.1.27), una parte delle tribù si dedicava al rifornimento delle carovane. A tempo debito esse finirono sotto il controllo delle città e dei capi sedentarizzati della regione: un *arabarches* risiedeva nella Dura-Europos dominata dai Parti, e la sua controparte era ubicata nel regno di Edessa. La città di Hatra ad Occidente del Tigri si sviluppò attorno a un importante santuario ai cui grandi sacerdoti, nella seconda metà del secondo secolo d.C., fu dato, presumibilmente da parte dei governanti partici, il titolo di "re degli Arabi" e di "Arabia" (cfr. Sommer 2003).

E' evidente che i commercianti palmireni viaggiavano regolarmente verso l'Eufrate, direttamente a Dura, o lungo la via in direzione sudoccidentale verso Hit (cfr. Gawlikowski 1988). La lunga pista attraverso la steppa è ancora visibile dal cielo. I mercanti potevano scendere lungo il fiume sino a Vologesia, la cui esatta ubicazione sull'Eufrate non è nota, o a Spasinou Charax (Mesene), che è menzionata in molte iscrizioni del II sec. d.C. Ma essi potevano anche navigare verso le coste dell'India nordoccidentale. E' interessante che non ci sia documentazione palmirena che indichi che questi mercanti abbiano mai preso la via in direzione nordorientale verso l'Asia Centrale, vale a dire la via che parte da Seleucia attraversa i monti Zagros, la via attraverso l'Iran e l'Asia Centrale, la famosa Via della Seta.

## Il commercio carovaniero palmireno

Quello che sappiamo del traffico carovaniero è per lo più limitato a quello che apprendiamo da iscrizioni onorarie che hanno un carattere molto formale, ufficiale. Sappiamo che i membri delle *synodiai*, delle carovane, erano chiamati "figli delle caravane". Le carovane erano davvero una componente regolare del commercio. C'era un capo carovana, il "syndiarchos", e una figura pubblica denominata "archémporos" (cfr. Young 2001). Le carovane avevano necessità di protezione contro i nomadi e i pericoli delle vie terrestri. Quello che sembra un'esclusività di Palmira è che risulta essere l'unica città provinciale che avesse propri avamposti militari lontano sull'Eufrate, al di fuori di qualsiasi controllo romano.

Noi non sappiamo nulla, in realtà, dell'organizzazione interna di una carovana e dell'oggetto del commercio. E nulla dei mezzi di trasporto, cammelli e dromedari. E soprattutto non abbiamo documentazione del modo in cui questo commercio si svolgeva verso occidente e in quale direzione. In effetti noi non sappiamo neppure quali beni

fossero trasportati verso Oriente dalle carovane palmirene. L'unica traccia è un passo nel *Periplo del Mar Eritreo* (39) che menziona diversi prodotti importati nell'India settentrionale. E' possibile che le carovane palmirene si mettessero in viaggio solo con un limitato numero di prodotti da Occidente, acquistando il resto dei loro beni da smerciare nella loro strada verso sud.

Va ricordata l'importanza di Arsu nell'arte palmirena. Il dio delle carovane è di solito raffigurato o seduto su un cammello o vicino a lui: molti rilievi mostrano con abbondanza di particolari le truppe a cammello che sorvegliano la via del deserto.

Palmira era abituata ad innalzare statue in onore dei più illustri capi delle carovane e sciecchi beduini ricevevano spesso l'incarico di condurre i convogli palmireni. Una colonna del secondo secolo d.C., che fu trovata lungo la via carovaniera Palmira-Hit, reca un'iscrizione significativa in onore di un certo Soados Boliadou. Soados aveva avuto riconoscimenti da parte di due imperatori romani in ragione dei suoi "reiterati buoni uffici" e del fatto che in "molte circostanze importanti" aveva "aiutato con generosità principesca mercanti, carovane e quanti dei suoi concittadini che erano insediati a Vologesia". Inoltre il senato e il popolo di Palmira, così come "diverse carovane", avevano eretto quattro statue di Soados a spese del tesoro pubblico; e tre altre statue erano state erette in suo onore a Spasinou Charax, a Vologesia e al caravanserraglio di Genneas.

In ragione in gran parte della sua posizione sulla frontiera tra Roma e l'Impero persiano Palmira godette nel terzo secolo d.C. di un breve periodo di gloria militare molto superiore a quello mai goduto da Petra. Plinio, nel terzo quarto del I secolo d.C., aveva in realtà colto il senso della peculiare situazione della città e del suo destino (v. il passo citato sopra a p. 12).

## **Palmira e Dura**

Si deve tener presente che al livello attuale della ricerca le fonti archeologiche non forniscono una risposta precisa al problema se Dura-Europos fosse situata sulla strada delle carovane palmirene. Sebbene le iscrizioni di Palmira, per quanto è a mia conoscenza, non menzionano mai Dura con riferimento al commercio carovaniero, la cosa non costituisce un argomento decisivo contro il suo coinvolgimento nel traffico carovaniero dal momento che le iscrizioni non forniscono informazioni in merito al percorso esatto seguito dalle carovane e non specificano i mezzi di trasporto dei beni che venivano

importati o esportati. Si deve aggiungere che non c'è neppure materiale che comprovi il commercio locale tra le due città.

Ad ogni buon conto viaggiare attraverso il deserto richiedeva tempo, era costoso e rischioso e possiamo perciò supporre che i commercianti seguissero la via più breve possibile verso l'Eufrate e ritorno. E' possibile, come sostenuto da Gawlikowski, che la lunghezza del percorso seguito dalle carovane dipendesse dalla navigabilità dell'Eufrate (cfr. Gawlikowski 1988). Per il viaggio controcorrente, cioè dal Golfo Persico verso Palmira, il fiume era navigabile solo sino a Hit (cfr. Mouterde – Poidebard 1931). In questa località i Palmireni erano costretti ad abbandonare le loro imbarcazioni e le carovane seguivano un percorso di ritorno lungo 500km. Per il viaggio verso il mare il fiume non poneva limiti di sorta ed è ragionevole che i Palmireni scegliessero la via più breve in quella direzione.

L'ipotesi che si transitasse da Dura solo nell'itinerario da Palmira al Golfo Persico può spiegare perché noi non incontriamo mai il nome della città nelle iscrizioni palmirene che riguardano il commercio carovaniero. Con pochissime eccezioni tutte le iscrizioni attestano il viaggio delle carovane dalle città nella Babilonia meridionale a Palmira. Questa disomogeneità nel materiale epigrafico può essere dovuta in parte ai pericoli incombenti sul percorso da Hit a Palmira. Quello che appare importante è che le informazioni forniteci dalle iscrizioni risultano condizionate da considerazioni politiche e, in parte, militari: i benefici menzionati a proposito degli evergeti che vengono celebrati si riferiscono alla terra di nessuno tra Palmira e l'Eufrate e, cosa che mi sembra molto importante, tra l'Impero romano e quello partico e, quindi, persiano. Roma aveva davvero necessità di Palmira.

## **Conclusione**

Abbiamo parlato di commercio carovaniero e di città carovaniere. E' opportuno ribadire semplicemente che quello che è vero per il commercio carovaniero nel I millennio a.C. non è altrettanto vero per i primi due secoli d.C. E quello che è vero delle condizioni politiche nel primo millennio a.C. non è più vero dopo la conquista romana e il peculiare equilibrio di forza tra Roma e il regno partico nei primi secoli d.C.

Palmira alla fine appare come un caso a sé stante. Indubbiamente non era solo una città carovaniera. Ma era anche una città carovaniera. Palmira, insomma, era Palmira, la "Venezia delle sabbie".

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## POVZETEK

### **Palmira: karavansko mesto?**

Pojem »karavanska mesta« je povezan s knjigo, ki jo je leta 1932 izdal Mihail Rostovcev. Karavansko mesto naj bi dolgovalo svoj značaj trgovini, trgovanju na velike razdalje in karavanam. Ko govorimo o karavanah, mislimo predvsem na trgovske odprave s kamelemi, ki prek puščav prepotujejo velike razdalje. Načeloma lahko kot karavansko mesto opredelimo zgolj Palmiro, ne pa tudi druga mesta, ki jih Rostovcev obravnava kot karavanska (Petra, Dura-Europos in Gerasa). Primer Palmire je poseben in zasluži podrobno obravnavo. Po eni strani je kategorija karavanskih mest tako splošna, da jih bomo odkrili preveč, zato je verjetneje, da so na značaj mesta vplivale in ga oblikovale točno določene in edinstvene okoliščine. Kraje kot npr. Antiohijo, Berojo, Hierapolo v Siriji, Zevgmo na Evfratu, Batne, Edeso in Nizibis v Mezopotamiji, od koder so se skupine popotnikov odpravljale z obrobij step prek puščav, kjer so bile izpostavljene napadom nomadov in/ali prisiljene plačevati za prost prehod, lahko vse obravnavamo kot karavanska mesta.

# *Tko je pravi muž?*

## *Slučaj biandrije u Dubrovniku 1480*

ZDENKA JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER

Prije nekoliko godina, kada sam u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku radila na jednoj sasvim drugoj temi, u katalogu sam ugledala zabilješku koja me privukla. Radilo se o seriji *Giustizieria* – pod brojem 2 stajalo je: »*Processum matrimoniale Marusse, relicte olim Antonii Bratossaglich*, 1480., ca. 103.« Dakako, privuklo me to što se radilo o bračnom procesu, jer se oni u 15. stoljeću nisu vodili pred svjetovnim sudom nego pred crkvenim, pa mi je bilo čudno što ta knjiga radi u Arhivu Republike. No, još više od toga me začudila brojka na kraju bilješke: 103 karte, znači 206 folija – pa kakva je to parnica koja se vodi na više od dvjesto stranica? Prije toga prelistala sam stotine stranica sudskih spisa i pročitala tisuće parnica koje su u najtežim slučajevima, kada se radilo o osobito teškim ubojstvima, zapremale tek nekoliko stranica. Kad sam počela raditi na rukopisu, pitanja su se nizala dalje. Doista, proces je bio vođen pred nadbiskupskim sudom (točnije vikarskim, jer je nadbiskup bio odsutan), pa se postavilo pitanje kako je i zašto došao iz nadbiskupskog arhiva u Arhiv Republike. O tome možemo samo nagađati, jer uz rukopis nije ostavljena nikakva bilješka, nikakav komentar o ruci koja je učinila taj sudbonosni potez, sudbonosni zbog toga što je dubrovački nadbiskupski arhiv izgorio u požarima koji su gradom bjesnili nakon potresa 1667. godine, koji su progutali i dobar dio srednjovjekovne franjevačke biblioteke. Knjige Vijeća Umoljenih (Senata) iz te godine također nema, pa ne mogu dokumentirati svoju pretpostavku da je vlada Republike odlučila preuzeti slučaj u svoje ruke i zaustaviti skandal koji je od proljeća do jeseni te godine potresao grad. Osim činjenice da je rukopis sačuvan u Arhivu Republike, takvu pretpostavku potvrđuje uobičajena praksa miješanja svjetovnih vlasti u crkvenu jurisdikciju i njihova sklonost zataškavanju skandala. U svakom slučaju, da nije bilo tog poteza, danas ne bismo imali jednu od najživopisnijih priča iz dubrovačke prošlosti.

Na 206 stranica ovog kodeksa razvija se priča o ljubavi i braku, odnosu oca i kćeri, načinima sklapanja braka u srednjem vijeku, svećenstvu, životu višeg sloja građana kojem su svi protagonisti pri-



padali i, općenito, o Dubrovniku toga vremena. Valja reći da tih 206 stranica ne znači kraj, jer parnica time nije okončana – naime, pisar je došao do kraja kodeksa i vjerojatno prešao u drugi, a taj drugi nije sačuvan. Sam rukopis je ostavio otvorenim pitanje ishoda parnice, no to sam uspjela saznati iz drugih dokumenata. Rukopis je pisan latinskim jezikom, ranom kurzivnom humanistikom, ne osobito lijepom, ali prilično dobro čitljivom.

Priča počinje 8. svibnja 1480. godine, kada se pred nadbiskupskim sudom pojavio Nikola Bizia i pozvao Marušu Bratosaljić, udovicu zlatara Antuna Bratosaljića i kćer Jakova Butka da se pojavi pred sudom i prizna svima da je njegova zakonita žena. On doslovno kaže da je »predicta Marusa me prefatum Nicolaum capit in suum verum et legitimum sponsum et maritum sicut vult sancta mater ecclesia. Et ego Nicolaus predictus acceptavi illa supradicta verba et fidem.«<sup>1</sup> No, problem je bio u tome, što je postojao i drugi muž, Frano de Menze, pučanski potomak jedne od najznačajnijih patricijskih dubrovačkih obitelji, s kojim je Maruša, čini se, već živjela. Kratko rečeno, mlada udovica je svoje ljubavno-imovinske dvojbe između dvojice muškaraca koji su je htjeli za ženu riješila na takav način da se udala za obojicu. Osim njih dvojice, bilo je još prosaca u igri – nekoliko svjedoka kažu da im je Maruša rekla, prilično cinično: »Multi me in uxorem petunt sed pro minori malo acciperem Nicolaum Jacobi.«<sup>2</sup> Na Nikolinu tužbu Frano je odgovorio protutužbom – obojica su tvrdili da se Maruša za obojicu zakonito udala u razmaku od nekoliko mjeseci. Prvi je bio Nikola, no to mu nije samo po sebi donosilo prednost pred sudom, jer je trebalo valjanim svjedocima dokazati da je brak sklopljen kako treba i tek ga je tada sud mogao priznati valjanim. Već prvoga dana u parnicu se umiješao i Marušin otac, Jakov Butko, koji je svesrdno zagovarao bogatijeg zeta, to jest Menčetića. Iz kasnijih iskaza svjedoka saznaje se da je, blago rečeno, utjecao na Marušin izbor i silio je da za muža prihvati njegovog poslovnog suradnika Menčetića. Svjedoci su pripovijedali i o tome da je Marušino srce jače kucalo za Nikolu, no prihvatila je očev izbor, kao što je bio običaj. Kada ju je prijateljica Maruša Miošić upozorila da je Nikola na glasu po lošem ponašanju, odgovorila je vječnom ženskom zabludom: »Ego eum meliorem redderem.«<sup>3</sup> Pred sudom je opisana i romantična zgoda kada je Nikola čekao i gledao sakriven iza ugla, dok je ona njegovom posredniku kroz

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<sup>1</sup> DAD, *Giustizieria*, ser. XIII, sv. 2, *Processum matrimoniale Marusse, relicte olim Antonii Bratossaglich*, 1480, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Isto, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Isto.

prozor spustila cvijet u košarici, kao znak ljubavi i pristanka. Taj je događaj, doduše, suprotna strana osporila, no ostaje ipak opis običaja i značenja simboličnih poklona u uspostavljanju bračne veze.<sup>4</sup>

Nikola je po riječima svih svjedoka zapravo bio jako dobar čovjek, ali je volio zabavu s društvom i rasipao je novac – i sama Maruša rekla je svojoj rođakinji: »Nicolaus Jacobi est dissipator et male sua expendit. Nescio quid factura sum.«<sup>5</sup> Nikola nije bio sirotinja – bio je iz dobro stojeće pučanske obitelji Bizia, ne osobito bogate, ali ugledne. On i braća bavili su se trgovinom i često su plovili do Venecije i ondje boravili. Maruša je u razgovorima sa svojim prijateljicama spominjala oca i njegovu prisilu – on joj je branio udaju za Nikolu, no kako se doznaje iz iskaza nekih svjedoka, tek onda kada se pojavio prosac po njegovom ukusu, a tada je brak s Nikolom već bio sklopljen. Neki rođaci izjavili su da ih je Maruša molila i nagovarala da idu posredovati kod njezinog oca kako bi prihvatio Nikolu. On je, pak, molio rođake da joj iz glave izbace tu opaku ideju »quia Nicolaus nec vita nec genere est par nobis«.<sup>6</sup> Jednom je odbio Nikolin zahtjev za zaštitu Marušina miraza i rekao da će je, ako Nikola dobije parnicu, poslati u samostan, pa joj miraz neće trebati.

Iz svjedočanstava nedvojbeno proizlazi da je otac vršio pritisak na Marušu, što je bilo uobičajeno. Djevojke su se u Dubrovniku udavale po mediteranskom modelu – vrlo mlade, u dobi od 16 do 18 godina, za starije muškarce, u dvadesetim, a još češće u tridesetim godinama života, pogotovo u višim slojevima društva. Prije toga su život provodile u kući, pod strogim nadzorom. Kod odabira mladoženje nisu imale riječ – o tome je odlučivao njihov otac, braća i drugi skrbnici. Mogle su biti sretna ako bi uopće bile izabrane za udaju, jer je za njih trebalo priskrbiti miraz odgovarajući njihovom staležu. One prekobrojne, iz siromašnijih obitelji i s više sestara morale su odlaziti u samostan, ne po duhovnom pozivu nego zbog toga što nisu imale miraz. Ako bi se usprotivile dogovorenom braku mogle su izgubiti miraz i time biti razbaštinjene, jer nisu imale pravo na nasljedstvo kao sinovi.<sup>7</sup> Međutim, Maruša je bila poseban slučaj, zato što je bila udovica i nije bila adolescentica nego zrela žena. Ne znamo točno njezinu dob, ali s obzirom da se prvi puta udala 1471. godine, u vrijeme parnice mogla je imati 25 ili više godina. Njezin je prvi muž bio zlatar

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<sup>4</sup> Daniela Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001, 205–210.

<sup>5</sup> *Processum matrimoniale*, 20'.

<sup>6</sup> Isto, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad: Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća*, Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest FF-a u Zagrebu, 1999, 109–111, 126–137.

Antun Bratosaljić, uspješan trgovac na Levantu koji je ondje i umro 1476. godine. U oporuci napisanoj u Sitiji na Kreti u kolovozu 1475. spominje se »dilecta uxor Marussa« kojoj osim obećanoga (!) ostavlja još 100 dukata.<sup>8</sup> Sačuvana je i isprava o Marušinom mirazu iz koje se vidi jedan od mogućih motiva parničenja oko njezinog drugog braka. Naime, ona je od oca dobila visoki miraz, od 1300 perpera, 20 aksagija zlata, nakit i odjeću opšivenu biserima, prema dubrovačkim običajima.<sup>9</sup>

Nakon muževe smrti Maruša je njegovu imovinu neko vrijeme držala nepodijeljeno s njegovim bratom Ivanom. Genealogija Antunina spominje Antunovu i Marušinu djecu, sinove Stjepana i Benedikta.<sup>10</sup> Zanimljivo je, međutim, da ih Antun ne spominje u oporuci – spominje samo izvanbračnoga sina Iliju. Ne spominje ih ni djed Jakov Butko ni u oporuci ni u sporovima koje je pokrenuo zbog izvršenja zetova testamenta. Također, sinovi se uopće ne spominju u sudskom sporu niti se itko poziva na Marušine majčinske obaveze. Što je još čudnije, ne spominju se niti u sudskim sporovima oko imovine koje je Maruša vodila s Ivanom, bratom svoga muža. Naime, iako žena u Dubrovniku nije mogla nasljeđivati, upravljala je imovinom muža u ime maloljetne djece, pa bi bilo logično da se u sporu s djeverom Maruša pozove na to. Ta šutnja izvora o djeci, baca sumnju u točnost podataka Vlajkijeve genealogije, odnosno, postavlja se pitanje jesu li to doista bila Marušina djeca. U svakom slučaju, ako su to bila njihova djeca, stariji sin mogao je u vrijeme parnice imati najviše 9 godina, a mlađi manje od toga. Nije poznato što je bilo s djecom nakon Marušine preudaje.

Niz sudskih dokumenata otkriva pojedinosti o Antunovoj imovini: upravo 1480. neki su vjerovnici tražili da Ivan i Maruša podijele imovinu i namire Antunove dugove koje su zavljučili 4 godine.<sup>11</sup> Kasnije, 1481. godine, Ivan Bratosaljić tužio je Marušu i njezinog drugog muža, jer mu nije isplatila dio imovine prvoga muža: tražio je ogrlicu od bisera, 10 zlatnih prstenova s dragim kamenjem, 4 zlatna pojasa ukrašena dragim kamenjem, dva srebrna nožića s ukrašenim koricama, srebrnu vilicu i 2 lančića, dvije krunice sa srebrnim kuglicama, koraljne niske, 10 lakata novog platna 28 lakata svile i puno drugih finih tkanina, svilu za torbice, ogrtače i kape i firentinsko ogledalo ili da mu na ime toga isplate 175 dukata. Maruša je isprva tvrdila da nema pojma o tim stvarima i da ih nije nikada vidjela, ali

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<sup>8</sup> DAD, *Testamenta*, ser. X, sv. 23, 1–1' a tergo.

<sup>9</sup> DAD, *Libri dotium*, ser. XXXII, sv. 7, 112', 26. 1. 1471.

<sup>10</sup> DAD, *Vlajkijeva genealogija Antunina*, 295'.

<sup>11</sup> DAD, *Sentenze*, ser. XXIV, sv. 41, 40–41', 101.

je na inzistiranje sudaca ipak priznala da je te stvari ponijela iz kuće svog pokojnog muža; donesena je presuda da sve to mora vratiti ili isplatiti.<sup>12</sup> Ti prihodi sigurno su odigrali ulogu u njezinim strastvenim potezima i naveli je da se pokuša suprotstaviti uobičajenim obiteljskim ženidbenim strategijama. Ne treba zaboraviti ni to da je ona kroz četiri godine udovištva okusila slast samostalnosti i da je to moguće izvorište njezinih poteza.

Sačuvani zapisi o parnici teku od 8. svibnja 1480. do 10. studenog iste godine, kada se priča prekida. U tom razdoblju pred sudom se izredao niz likova, jer su obje strane pozivale velik broj svjedoka. Izbrojala sam 75 svjedoka, najvećom većinom uglednih građana iz redova bratovštine Antunina, bogatih trgovaca, druge elite grada.<sup>13</sup> Uspjela sam pronaći njihove oporuke, bračne i mirazne ugovore, te ustanoviti njihove rodbinske, poslovne ili prijateljske veze s jednom ili drugom stranom u sporu. Na stranicama kodeksa pred našim se očima izmjenjuju trgovci, sitni dućandije ili bogati veletrgovci, obrtnici, plemići, bogati pučani, pravnici, svećenici, Marušine prijateljice i rođakinje, Nikolino društvo s kojim je pio u Rijeci dubrovačkoj, čitava galerija likova tadašnjeg dubrovačkog društva kojih se Držić ne bi postidio, dapače, katkad se čine literarnijima od literarnih likova.

Osim likova tu su i situacije, prostor, običaji koje iz drugih izvora ne možemo iščitati i koji pružaju nezamislivo dobar materijal za antropološku analizu života mediteranskog grada na kraju srednjega vijeka, u jednom, zapravo, sretnom razdoblju. Osim glavne priče, tu ima i drugih priča, vezanih uz svjedoke. To je posljedica pravosudnog sustava u kojem je svjedočanstvo svjedoka moglo biti pobijeno difamiranjem toga svjedoka. Drugim riječima, da bi poništila svjedočanstvo nekog svjedoka, suprotna stranka je činila sve da ga ocrni i oblati pred sudom. Najbolji primjer takvog postupka je Nikolin prijatelj, svećenik Pavao Radosaljić. On je posredovao između Maruše i Nikole i upravo pred njime su oboje izjavili da su sporazumni uzeti jedno drugo za zakonitog bračnog druga. Njegovo je svjedočanstvo stoga imalo najveću težinu. Marušin otac, Jakov de Butko, zbog toga je pred sudom izjavio da se takvom svjedoku ništa ne može vjerovati i da ga treba odbaciti kao svjedoka, jer je prost i nepouzdan, sumnjivog života, sramotan i da ga je dva puta vidio u nastupu bijesa. Nadalje je naveo da je pred nadbiskupom bio optužen zbog krive zakletve, da

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<sup>12</sup> *Sentenze*, sv. 42, 163'–164'.

<sup>13</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999, 264–269.

zbog toga nije smio neko vrijeme slaviti misu niti druge obrede. Osim toga, kada je bio *in partibus et ditione* Turchorum naveo je zaručnicu nekoga Bosanca iz Uskoplja da postane redovnica u Dubrovniku, a poslije se krivo kleo da to nije učinio. Nadalje, sa svojim prijateljem Nikolom i drugima je lumpao u Rijeci Dubrovačkoj, kao najprostija osoba, a ne kao svećenik, te je pred njima uzeo jedan vrč vina, i klanjao mu se kao svetoj krizmi i ulje vičući »Ave sanctum crisma«, te potom njime krizmao prisutne po glavi. Sumnjiv je također i zbog toga što je siromašan i ima mnogo vjerovnika, te više jede u Nikolinoj kući nego u svojoj. Zato Butko tvrdi da je Radosaljić podmićen i nagovoren i da je njegovo svjedočanstvo lažno.<sup>14</sup> Pavao na to daje pismeni odgovor, kako kaže, »ne bez prolijevanja suza i preteške boli«, tvrdeći da je Jakov ispunjen i potaknut đavoljim duhom, bez ikakvog poštovanja i savjesti prema njegovoj starijoj dobi i svećeničkom dostojanstvu i bez straha od Boga njega sramotno i nečasno napao. Na njegove optužbe je uzvratilo rekavši da je Jakov nečist, nesretnik, gnjusan, tvrd i svetogrdan čovjek koji je izmislio laži o njemu, Kristovom vojniku i time doveo u opasnost čitav kler i vjeru. Tražio je odštetu od 1000 dukata za duševne boli. Pisao je i Svetoj Stolici i tražio zaštitu.<sup>15</sup> U tom pitanju došlo je do dodatnog spora unutar glavne parnice, tako da se dalje paralelno odvijaju dvije parnice i istrage. Radosaljićeva oporuka iz 1483. svjedoči da je moglo biti i zrnce istine u Butkovim optužbama – u oporuci se najviše govori o nerazriješenim dugovima, a svojim bližnjima ostavlja stare haljine, pokrivače, bakrene posude, klupe i tepihe. Budući da nije imao novca, dvije gregorijanske mise za svoju dušu platio je pokrivačem.<sup>16</sup>

Kako su oba braka bila sklopljena? Priča o tome otkriva složenu problematiku srednjovjekovnog braka. Prije Tridentinskog koncila, koji je uveo red i stroga pravila u obred sklapanja braka, na tom je području vladalo poprilično šarenilo. Neki su elementi kršćanskog obreda sklapanja braka bili prisutni još od 9. stoljeća i postupno su prodirali među laike, no nisu bili obavezni niti su imali ikakve veze s konstituiranjem braka. Nije bilo potrebno da se brak sklopi pred svećenikom niti u crkvi, a blagoslov i prsten bili su opcionalni. Čak i kada se sve to odvijalo u crkvi ili, što je bilo češće, pred crkvenim vratima, to nije bilo zbog vjerskih razloga, nego zbog toga što je to javno mjesto na kojem se čitava zajednica može okupiti. Crkva se ne uključuje izravno u ugovore »per *verba de futuro* et *verba de prae-*

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<sup>14</sup> *Processum matrimoniale*, 33<sup>r</sup>–35.

<sup>15</sup> Isto, 38–39<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> DAD, *Testamenta*, sv. 25, 1.

*senti*« ni preko svojih predstavnika ni svojim zakonima. U svemu tom šarenilu čvrsto je bilo samo načelo »*consensus facit nuptias*«. Crkva je ustrajala na takvoj definiciji braka, kako bi izbjegla konstitutivno značenje *copulae carnalis*, iako je i to ostalo vrlo važno za definiranje braka, no ne i za njegovo sklapanje. To je načelo utjecalo na porast ravnopravnosti žena i *de facto* isključilo potrebu pristanka roditelja za sklapanje braka, barem u katoličkim zemljama, jer je Luther smatrao da je volja roditelja i Božja volja. Dakle, smatralo se da je brak sklopljen već ženidbenim ugovorom, bez obzira na to što je mladenka možda još godinama ostajala živjeti u očinskoj kući – to je bila posljedica crkvene definicije braka kao sporazuma.<sup>17</sup> Dubrovačka svjedočanstva o tom razdoblju su raznolika. Kada se radilo o višim slojevima stanovništva, izvori svjedoče da su se supružnici rijetko viđali, dok, je npr. na otocima to bilo vrijeme kada se brak već slobodno konzumirao, iako supružnici još nisu zajedno živjeli.

Stvar je komplicirala i činjenica da se srednjovjekovni brak sklappao u nekoliko stupnjeva. Prvo je slijedio dogovor *per verba de futuro* – to je razmjena obećanja da će se brak sklopiti. Istina je da je ugovor *per verba de praesenti* bio središnji i u juridičkom i u vjerskom smislu, no i *verba de futuro* imala su pravno značenje.<sup>18</sup> Upravo je to rezultiralo ogromnim brojem parnica koje su se zbog bračnih obećanja, *verba de futuro* i *verba de praesenti* vodile pred crkvenim sudovima po čitavoj Europi, osobito u onim slučajevima kada je došlo do konzumacije veze. Ti procesi, kojih su biskupski arhivi prepuni, bili su vrlo teški za suce, jer se razmjena obećanja najčešće događala u četiri oka, bez svjedoka, pa nerijetko nije bilo svjedočanstava koja bi dopuštala da se nedvojbeno utvrdi istina.<sup>19</sup> U središtu procesa je pitanje

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<sup>17</sup> D. Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime*, 42–59, 69–97, 179–241; Michael M. Sheehan, Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages: Development and Mode of Application of a Theory of Marriage, u: *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ur. James K. Farge, Toronto – Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996, 87–117; Joel F. Harrington, *Hausvater and Landsvater: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, *Central European History*, 21, 1 (1992), 52–75.

<sup>18</sup> Christiane Klapisch Zuber, Zacharie, ou le père évincé: Les rites nuptiaux toscans entre Giotto et le concile de Trente, *Annales E.S.C.* 34, 6 (1979), 1216–1243; D. Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime*, 180–210, 228–241;

<sup>19</sup> Jean-Philippe Lévy, L'Officialité de Paris et les questions familiales à la fin du XIV siècle, u: *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel le Bras* 2 (1965), 1265–1294; Rudolph Weigand, *Liebe und Ehe im Mittelalter*, Goldbach: Keip Verlag, 1993; Richard H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974; Joseph Löhr, Die sachliche Zuständigkeit des Archidiakonatsgerichts insbesondere die Ehegerichtsbarkeit, u: *Die Verwaltung des Kölnisches Grossarchidiakonates Xanten am Ausgang des Mittelalters: Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* 59/60, ur. Ulrich Stutz, Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand

kako dokazati da je brak bio regularno sklopljen kad se sumnjalo da je sporazum potajno razmijenjen, što je za crkveni sud samo po sebi bilo nebitno. Naime, prema crkvenom zakonu tajni brak, doduše, jest nešto što bi trebalo izbjegavati, ali je ipak valjan. Upravo ta, čvrsto provedena konsensualna doktrina Crkve, davala je pojedincima mogućnost slobodnog odabira bračnog druga i time dovodila u pitanje laičke, obiteljske ženidbene strategije.<sup>20</sup> I u Dubrovniku se već u 13., a pogotovo u 14. stoljeću prijekim okom gledalo na razvrgavanje zaručaka, pa je i svjetovno pravo nastojalo regulirati ugovore sklopljene *per verba de futuro*.<sup>21</sup>

Konačni korak bila je svadba – svečani događaj kada je mladenka odlazila u kuću muža nije značio sklapanje braka, jer je on već bio sklopljen riječima *de presenti*. Svadba ili *deductio in domum mariti* označavala je konzumaciju braka, odnosno početak reproduktivnog života para, te kohabitaciju, ali ne i početak braka. Između jedne i druge faze moglo je proteći dugo vrijeme, po nekoliko godina.<sup>22</sup> Problem Nikole de Bizia bio je upravo u tome što je brak bio sklopljen, ali se nije realizirao taj konačni početak zajedničkog života. U mjesecima dok se na to čekalo, Maruša je sklopila i drugi brak. Drugi njegov problem je bio to što nije sklopio pismeni ugovor s Marušom pred notarom, što je bio jedini način službene registracije braka. Naime, do Tridentuskog koncila nisu vođene matične knjige, tako da nije bilo nadzora na tom planu. Mnogi su dubrovački trgovci imali vjenčane žene u Dubrovniku i u Bosni, o čemu svjedoče njihove oporuke. Dubrovački arhiv čuva 14 svezaka bračnih ugovora od 1447. do pred kraj Republike, *Pacta matrimonialia*, ser. XXXIII. Raniji ugovori bilježeni su u knjige *Diversa Notariae*. Takav ugovor kojim su se obje strane osiguravale od iznenađenja, sklapale brak i utvrđivale rok odvođenja u kuću muža, Nikola nije mogao sklopiti, jer bi u tome, po građanskom pravu, morao sudjelovati mladenkin otac. Još je manje mogao sklopiti mirazni ugovor (čuvaju se u seriji XXXII Libri doti-

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Enke, 1909, 199–222; Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 15–25; Gigi Corazzol, *Esperimenti d'amore: Fatti di giovani nel Veneto del Cinquecento*, Vicenza: Odeonlibri Editrice, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> D. Lombardi, *Matrimoni di antico regime*, 47–59; Jean Gaudemet, *Le mariage en Occident: Les moeurs et le droit*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987, 225–237; Beatrice Gottlieb, *The Meaning of Clandestine Marriage*, u: *Family and Sexuality in French History*, ur. R. Wheaton – Tamara K. Hareven, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980, 49–83.

<sup>21</sup> *Lastovski statut*, ur. Frano Radić, Split: Splitski književni krug, 1994, cc. 66, 74; *Liber viridis*, ur. Branislav Nedeljković, Beograd: SANU, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, od. III, knj. XXIII, 1984, c. 237.

<sup>22</sup> Ch. Klapisch Zuber, *Zacharie, ou le père évincé*, 1221–1225.



um), jer Marušin otac nije htio ni čuti za njega, a pogotovo ne ugovarati miraz. Dakle, Nikola je imao ono što je po važećim kanonskim zakonima bilo jedino važno: bila su izrečena *verba de presenti*, to jest razmijenjen je sporazum i time je sklopljen valjani brak, ali, pokazalo se da su zakoni laičkoga društva također imali svoju težinu i da je Crkva zapravo ulazila u kompromise s potrebama tog društva.

Nikola je pred sudom ustvrdio da je sklopio s Marušom brak »*solum cum sola ... per verba de presenti secundum ritum romane ecclesie contraxit matrimonium his specialiter uterque usi verbis videlicet: Ego te capio in meam veram et legitimam uxorem prout vult sancta mater ecclesia Romana. Et illa similiter dixit: Ego te capio in meum maritum legitimum secundum quod vult sancta mater ecclesia.*«<sup>23</sup> To se dogodilo u prosincu 1479. godine. Čitav događaj je prepričao Nikolin prijatelj, svećenik Pavao Radosaljić, pred kime je sporazum izrečen, odnosno sklopljen brak između Nikole i Maruše. To se dogodilo u crkvi Svih Svetih gdje je Radosaljić službovao i kamo je došla Maruša s prijateljicom, tražeći od njega posredovanje i razmjenu bračnog sporazuma. Ona se zaklela pred svećenikom da uzima Nikolu za svoga zakonitog muža i poslala ga Nikoli. Njezinu su zakletvu čuli mnogi svjedoci u crkvi. Nikola je izjavio i zakleo se da je uzima za svoju pravu i zakonitu ženu. Činjenica da oni nisu zajedno dali te izjave nije u pogledu pravovaljanosti braka značila ništa, jer je sporazum bio izrečen pred svjedocima i time je brak bio sklopljen. Štoviše, u većini spomenutih registriranih ugovora stoji da mladenka nije prisustvovala tom činu, već ju je zastupao otac koji de facto sklapa ugovor sa zetom. Zanimljivo je da je postojala čak i mogućnost sklapanja braka per procuram, a da ni jedno od mladenaca nije moralo biti prisutno, nego je brak u njihovo ime sklapao opunomoćenik.<sup>24</sup> Za Nikolin i Marušin brak znali su mnogi – velik je broj svjedoka koji su to izjavili na sudu. Neki kažu da se o tom ugovoru čulo već prije godinu dana, da se o tome u gradu puno priča i da se ljudi čude i zgražaju. Franjevac i plemić Marko de Benessa upozorio je Frana neka se ne mota oko Maruše, jer je ona Nikolina žena, pa od nje neće moći imati zakonito potomstvo: »*Francisce, noli te impedire in Marusam quia ipsa tua uxor non est, et quod ex ea natum erit non erit legitimum.*«<sup>25</sup> Maruša je pred nekim svjedocima priznala da je sklopila brak s Nikolom, a svjedoci su izjavili da »*in civitate Ragusina erat publica vox et fama*« da je ona

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<sup>23</sup> *Processum matrimoniale*, 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> J. Gaudemet, *Le mariage en Occident*, 179–180; E. Blum, *Le mariage par procuration dans l'ancien droit*, *Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger* 41 (1917), 383–402.

<sup>25</sup> *Processum matrimoniale*, 97.



Nikolina žena.<sup>26</sup> Dodala je da joj je on drag i dobar i da je njezin gospodar. Brojni svjedoci su pred sudom izjavili da se tako po čitavom gradu pričalo i da su to čuli i više desetaka puta, te da se radilo o *verba de praesenti*, a ne *futuro*. Među onima koji su tako govorili i posredovali za Nikolu bio je i Franov brat Marin, svećenik. Pred mnogim je svjedocima izjavio da je Maruša Nikolina žena. Jednom se svjedoku, plemiću Orsatu de Zamagna, toliko smučila kampanja protiv Nikole da je pred sudom potvrdio da je vjenčanja bilo, ali da Nikoli za njegovo dobro želi da izgubi parnicu.

Brak s Franom bio je sklopljen nekoliko mjeseci kasnije, u jednu svibanjsku nedjelju. Zanimljivo je da se to odvalo u dućanu, jer je jedan od posrednika u ugovaranju bio *aromatarius* – ljekarnik Monaldo Viganti. Tamo su bile izrečene riječi pristanka, ovoga puta bez prisutnosti Maruše – u njezino ime, pristanak je izgovorio otac, pred Franom i dvojicom svjedoka. Svećenici kao posrednici ili sudionici kod sklapanja braka spominju se samo u Nikolinom braku – tu je Pavao Radosaljić i franjevac Jeronim kojeg su molili da ih vjenča. Do toga na kraju nije došlo – on sam duhovito kaže da sjedi u samostanu bolestan od gihta i još uvijek ih čeka da se dođu oženiti – naime, nastupio je kao svjedok Jakova de Butko. Dakle, na Franovoj strani nije bilo kanonsko pravo, jer je prednost imao brak koji je bio sklopljen prvi. Frano se pred nekim svjedocima izdao prije sklapanja svoga braka, kada je govorio da Maruša »non vadit ad domum« ili čak »quare non vadit ad domum quia est desponsata«,<sup>27</sup> misleći na dom Nikole. To što je izgovorio zapravo su formule *deductio in domum mariti* i priznanje da je znao da su izrečena verba de presenti. Bio je očito svjestan i njezinih osjećaja, jer je, u tuzi nakon smrti brata Marina, nekima rekao da Maruša veselim i raširenim očima gleda Nikolu.

Uz problematiku braka koja je u ovom tekstu ključna, iz njega izvire i niz drugih tema, među kojima su se meni na prvom mjestu nametnule neke: npr. društveni život žena i njihovo razmišljanje, pučka religioznost, odnos klera i laika, odnos pučke i učene kulture, pravna kultura, odnos javnosti prema skandalu.

Tekst parnice omogućuje osobiti pogled na pravnu problematiku, ne samo s gledišta suda i propisanog postupka nego i s gledišta sudionika. Tu se prije svega nameće pitanje vjerodostojnosti svjedoka i međusobnog nadmudrivanja pravnika. Moguće je, također, zaključivati o pravnoj kulturi onih koji nisu imali pravničko obrazovanje.

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<sup>26</sup> Isto, 79', 82'.

<sup>27</sup> Isto, 92', 93'.

Sam Nikola o tome je izravno progovorio kada je na ročištu 26. lipnja tražio da se njegova obrana svećenika Pavla Radosaljića uzme u obzir, iako je počinio grešku kada je izjavio da su optužbe protiv njega općenite, a ne posebne. To se dogodilo zato što on ne poznaje niti pontifikalno niti civilno pravo, a ima lošeg odvjetnika, a ne dobrog kao što ima suprotna strana, čiji je odvjetnik doktor pontifikalnog prava. Smatra da njegova prava zbog toga ne smiju biti ugrožena, pa traži odgodu, kako bi mogao pronaći dostojnog odvjetnika koji će se znati suprotstaviti suprotnoj strani. Jer, ne smije se dogoditi da zbog nesposobnosti odvjetnika on izgubi svoju ženu, što bi bilo protiv Boga i svete majke Crkve. Ako sud ne bi udovoljio ovom zahtjevu, u što sumnja, odmah ulaže protest. Očito je kako je s vremenom njegovo pravno znanje napredovalo, jer stalno ulijeće sa zahtjevima da se briše ova ili ona formulacija, da se provede neki zaključak, apelira ili slično. Na jednom je ročištu uskočio s novom optužbom za zavlacenje parnice, naime, optužio je Frana de Menze da se ponaša podrugljivo i spletkarski kada tako zavlaci parnicu, a zna da je Maruša žena drugog i da se za drugog udala po svetim kanonima i njegova ne može biti. Tražio je da se to unese u zapisnik. U paralelnom sporu protiv Pavla Radosaljića doveo je stvari do apsurdna kada se pojavio pred sudom s upitnikom koji se odnosio na svjedočanstva protiv Pavla. Tražio je da se ispita navod o tome da je Radosaljiću zabranjeno slavljenje mise, to jest da se ustanovi u koje vrijeme godine, koji mjesec, u koje doba dana ili noći se to dogodilo, u prisutnosti kojih svjedoka i koji je notar to bilježio i gdje je isprava o tome; je li to bila kazna i za što je presuđena. Također neka svjedoci navedu je li to bilo u Dubrovniku ili na nekom drugom mjestu i neka iznesu detaljne podatke o mjestu događaja: je li sudac stajao, sjedio ili hodao, je li dan bio kišan, vedar ili oblačan i tome slično. Jednako tako detaljnu istragu zahtijevao je i o slučaju s vrčem vina. Izjavio je da su navodi suprotne strane isprazni, lažni, bezvrijedni, nejasni i potpuno neprihvatljivi. Traži da se odbace optužbe protiv Pavla Radosaljića koji je dostojan svećenik, poštovan od klera i puka i da se proslijedi na donošenje presude u njegovoj parnici. Mora se reći da je Nikola mijenjao mišljenje o sudu. Na početku je imao veliko povjerenje u nadbiskupski sud i bio siguran u ishod parnice, a kasnije je dolazio u sumnje, naročito nakon otvaranja postupka protiv Pavla Radosaljića. Tom je prilikom donio dodatak na svoju tužbu u kojem kaže da će njihova sudska služba pasti u veliku opasnost i osudu, ako dopuste da žena ostavi svog prvog muža i pravi brak i živi u krivom i lažnom braku. Također traži da se sudski zaštiti Marušin miraz, jer njezin otac troši taj novac u parnici koja nije korisna niti njemu niti Maruši. Budući da mora brinuti za buduće terete i troškove u svome braku traži da se ovaj zahtjev izvrši. Traži da se sav

novac, odjeća i nakit koji pripadaju Maruši odmah izdvoje i predaju u ruke nekog poštenog čovjeka koji će to čuvati dok parnica ne bude završena. Žena ne smije rasipati miraz protiv volje muža i nanositi štetu, kaže on. Zanimljivo je spomenuti i to da su ročišta bila vrlo česta, svakih par dana, katkada i svaki dan.

Iskazi likova donekle dopuštaju i uvid u razlike između učene i pučke kulture. Upadljivo su različiti njihovi iskazi ovisno o statusu i obrazovanju. Najnaivniji i jezično najjednostavniji su iskazi žena. Sluškinja Margarita rekla je da ništa zna, samo zna da joj je gospodarica zaručena. Marušine prijateljice bile su usredotočene na ljubavnu zavrzlamu, a njezina rođakinja Nikoleta, koja je bila u rodu i s Franom de Menze, lukavo je nastojala prikazati Marušin odnos s Nikolom kao emotivnu dvojbu koja je prošla bez da su pale te važne riječi. Njezin brat, Dobruško Dobričević (*de Bonis*), doktor obaju prava, o samom je slučaju govorio kao vješti pravnik. Njegov iskaz očituje visoko obrazovanje i želju da se to obrazovanje pokaže. Iskazi svjedoka su uzimani usmeno, sasvim sigurno ne na latinskom jeziku – notar ih je prevodio i zapisivao na latinskom. No, iskaz ovoga doktora prava dan je u vrsnom latinitetu koji izrazito odskače od svih ostalih iskaza. To ne samo da upućuje na razinu obrazovanja nego daje misliti da je on, kao pametni pravnik, dao svoj iskaz pismeno, da poslije ne bi bilo nikakvih zabuna. On je cijelu stvar prikazao tako kao da je Nikola oblijetao oko Maruše i pokušavao nagovoriti neke ljude, pa i njega da posreduju kod njezinog oca. Priznao je da je Maruša bila sklona Nikoli i da se željela udati za njega, čak je rekla i da se ne bi mogla bolje udati nego za njega, ali je naglasio da to nikako nije htjela učiniti bez pristanka oca. Tu su potom klerici koji se međusobno vrlo razlikuju po obrazovanju, od neobrazovanih službenika u pojedinim crkvama i skromnih redovnica, do vrhunski obrazovanih franjevac i crkvenih velikodostojnika.

Izvan kuće, glavno mjesto susreta za žene bila je crkva. Pribijanje vjerskim obredima bilo je, uz posjete rođacima, gotovo jedini oblik društvenog života žena iz viših slojeva, a i drugih. U crkvu se nije odlazilo samo zbog pobožnosti i vjerskih obreda, već i zbog susreta i razgovora s drugim ženama. Zapisnici sudskog spora o braku Maruše Bratosaljić pokazuju da se ondje razgovaralo o vrlo svjetovnim stvarima. U ovom slučaju, crkva Svih Svetih i mala crkvice svetog Nikole u Zlatarskoj ulici bile su poprište ljubavnih pregovora i ogovaranja. Žene koje se pojavljuju u ovom sporu su vrlo različite – neke su vrlo romantične i samo pričaju o ljubavi. To su uglavnom žene nižeg stалеža, najviše sluškinje. Nikolina sluškinja Vukava prepričala je susret

u crkvi svetog Nikole, kada je rekla Maruši da je želi što prije vidjeti u njihovoj kući, a ona je odgovorila: »Doleo quod Nicolaus expendit Deus scit quod nunquam male de eo dixi sed ipsum Nicolaum Jacobi amavi ut animam meam et semper de eo contenta fui.«<sup>28</sup> Druge su pak ozbiljne i skandalizirane, kao Nikoleta, žena Mihovila Baranina, koja se nije htjela miješati u ovaj slučaj i nije htjela svjedočiti niti pod prijetnjom ekskomunikacije. Na kraju je ipak morala svjedočiti, ali ne na sudu nego u svojoj kući. Druge žene jedva su čekale da budu pozvane pred sud i da se njih pita o tom skandaloznom slučaju o kojem je brujao čitav grad. Neke su pak, očito bile instruirane u svojim iskazima, kao redovnica Dominka koja je na kraju zagovarala pobjedu pravedne strane, ali je iz njezinih riječi vidljiva antipatija prema svećeniku Pavlu i prema Nikoli.

Vjerska osjećajnost i uloga vjere u životu tih ljudi također je našla mjesta među redovima sudskih zapisa. Veliki dio zbivanja, osobito među ženama događa se u crkvi. Potom, tu je Pavao Radosaljić, vrlo živopisan lik svećenika po ponašanju i stilu života. Među optužbama koje su bile izrečene na njegov račun u njemu je najviše straha izazvala ona o herezi, jer ga je to moglo koštati svećeničke službe i čitave egzistencije. Čitav je niz aluzija na vjeru, svi se na razne načine pozivaju na Boga i njegovu pravdu, njegove rane i Evanđelja, no to bih sada ostavila po strani i usredotočila se na jedan zanimljivi fenomen. Naime, Nikola je od početka parnice tvrdio da Maruša i Frano ne poštuju odluku suda da ne smiju biti zajedno sve do donošenja presude. Konačno je krajem srpnja uspio to i dokazati pomoću svjedoka koji su izjavili da su vidjeli Frana de Menze kako izlazi iz njezine kuće u Zlatarskoj ulici ili u nju ulazi. Frano de Menze i Jakov Butko isprva su reagirali bahato. Izjavili su da Frano ne krši odredbu suda, uostalom da mu nije bila ni izrečena nego samo opomena ili prijetnja. Dalje kažu da je Frano javno sklopio brak s Marušom *bona fide*, i sada ne može ući u posjed toga braka zbog uznemiravanja Nikole de Bizia. Mjesec dana kasnije Nikola je ponovo podsjetio sud na taj problem i zahtijevao ekskomunikaciju, zabranu pričesti, dolazak u crkvu i ukiđanje svih prava vjernika. Doveo je veći broj svjedoka koji su potvrdili da su vidjeli Frana de Menze kako na dan svetog Bartolomeja, poslije večernje, izlazi iz kuće u Zlatarskoj ulici. Suprotna strana nije ozbiljno shvatila te optužbe. Čak su izjavili da je zabrana nepravedna, jer je u procesu ustanovljeno da je Maruša u braku s Franom. No, kad je ekskomunikacija proglašena, promijenili su ponašanje: u silnom strahu od ekskomunikacije postali su ponizni i skrušeni. Maruša

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<sup>28</sup> Isto, 96'.

je »klečeći i moleći pokoru i odrješenje od nadbiskupa« rekla da je Frano ušao u njezinu kuću, jer je bio neobuzdan zbog mladosti, pa je htio s njom razgovarati. Namjeravao je odmah otići tako da ga nitko ne vidi, no na kraju nije niti razgovarao s njom, nego je došao samo do pola skala i vratio se. Na kraju, Maruša moli poštedu za sebe, ako bi nadbiskup odlučio ekskomunicirati Frana. Nadbiskup je procijenio da je prekršena naredba suda i objavio ekskomunikaciju Frana de Menze. Na sljedećem ročištu Frano se bacio na koljena i molio pomilovanje i obećavao da nikada više neće prekršiti naredbu suda i motati se oko Marušine kuće. Kad se zakleo na Evanđelje ekskomunikacija mu je ukinuta.

## Epilog

Priča se prekida kada je okrivljena strana došla s novom listom svjedoka, pa daljnji tijek i kraj parnice ostaje nepoznat. Srećom, rekonstrukcija ishoda moguća je preko drugih izvora. U seriji Sentenze zapisana je presuda u tužbi Ivana Bratosaljića protiv Maruše i njezina muža – Frana de Menze, iz 1481. godine. Nikola je ostao bez žene, iako je bilo jasno da je brak sklopljen, sud i javnost priklonili su se lakšem rješenju i odobrili status quo koji je bio društveno prihvatljiviji, zbog pristanka Marušina oca. Presudu nemamo, no vjerojatno je da je Nikolin brak bio okarakteriziran kao uvjetovani brak, koji je nevaljan jer uvjet, pristanak ženina oca, nije bio zadovoljen.<sup>29</sup>

Što je dalje bilo s Nikolom? Kao i u slučaju strastvenih literarnih junaka, njegov je kraj bio tragičan. Brak s Marušom mu je propao i on se više nije ženio – kuga ga je odnijela u epidemiji 1482. godine. Njegovu oporuku nalazimo već u travnju 1482. godine. U oporuci nema ni riječi o Maruši, ali nalazimo nekoliko drugih poznatih likova: tu je Pavao Radosaljić kojem Nikola ostavlja 20 dukata per amor, pa sluškinja Vukava koja je dobila čak 50 perpera. Jeronimu de Bona ostavio je naušnice za uspomenu, a sve je ostalo dao za svoju dušu i dušu svoje majke.<sup>30</sup> Mjesec dana kasnije oporuke su sastavila i njegova braća Šimun i Pavao koji spominju njihov posjed u Rijeci i kvart u Veneciji gdje su boravili kao trgovci.<sup>31</sup> Pronašla sam i oporuku njihove majke Orsule, sastavljenu 11. 9. 1480. u jeku parnice, promulgiranu 13. 12. 1482, nakon njezine smrti.<sup>32</sup> Jedan dio te oporuke, onaj koji se tiče

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<sup>29</sup> Rudolph Weigand, *Liebe und Ehe im Mittelalter*, 414–414; Richard H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, 47–66.

<sup>30</sup> *Testamenta*, sv. 24, 37'.

<sup>31</sup> Isto, 48, 158.

<sup>32</sup> Isto, 121.

Nikole, sasvim je neuobičajen. I neki drugi roditelji preferirali su određenim darom neko od svoje djece, ali nitko to nije učinio kao Orsula de Bizia. Ona je sve osim kvarte za svoju dušu ostavila sinu Nikoli, zajedno s legatima njezine sestre Gajuše. Dala je i obrazloženje za to: »Et non sia alguno che piglia admiratione de quello che lasso al dicto Nicolo per che benche io habia zenerato cussi li altri figlioli como el dicto Nicolo. Tamen verso me alguno de li altri non ha usato honor et reverentia figliale saluo esso Nicolo el qual sempre me fo obediente et studioso de farme ogni piacere et contentamento.« Njega proglašava izvršiteljem oporuke i povjerava mu brigu za svoju dušu.

A Maruša, što je bilo s njom? Pitanje ostaje otvoreno. Posljednji spomen o njoj nalazimo u presudi parnice koju je protiv nje i njezina muža Frana de Menze pokrenuo Ivan Bratosaljić, brat njezina prvog muža, pred Božić 1481. godine.<sup>33</sup> Nakon toga, o njoj više nema ni glasa. Nije sačuvana njezina oporuka, kao ni Franova. Otac je uopće ne spominje u oporuci, ni kao živu ni kao mrtvu, kao ni njezinu djecu. Ne spominje je nitko od rođaka ni prijatelja, sudionika parnice. Moguće je da je i ona podlegla pomoru kuge 1482. godine, ali o tome nema nikakve potvrde. Nakon ove skandalozne parnice, ako nije bila mrtva, bila je društveno mrtva. A zašto? Zato što je u jednom trenutku svog života neuspješno pokušala ići za svojim željama, protiv uobičajenih uzusa. U društvu u kojem okvir ženskog identiteta bio isključivo obiteljski ili redovnički, njezin je potez naišao na osudu.

Jedna od stvari o kojima razmišljam i na čemu radim pripremajući knjigu o Marušinom slučaju je odnos između fikcije i stvarnosti. Ovakva priča, s ovakvim likovima i zapletima ne može se napisati, a da i sam taj tekst ne bude u dobroj mjeri literaran, ne fiktivan, ali oblikovan književnim sredstvima. I inače se priklanjam tzv. povratku naracije, jer smatram da je ona medij imanentan povijesti, da je povijest ujedno i pripovijest. Danas je već iza nas lingvistički obrat kojeg su mnogi povjesničari smatrali pravim hororom i uništenjem vlastite discipline. Historiografija je već prihvatila nova promišljanja o pisanju, pod utjecajem literarnih teorija. Moje je mišljenje da možemo sasvim slobodno i neopterećeno ispitivati granice discipline i da se ne moramo bojati njezine bliskosti s književnošću, umjetnošću, religijom, psihologijom i antropologijom. Ne mislim da je tako opasno po spoznaju priznati da književni izraz daje dio značenja povijesnoj pripovijesti, kao što se mnogi povjesničari pribojavaju. Uostalom, i sama književnost, iako fikcija, može posredovati spoznaju stvarnosti. Što se tiče historiografije, mislim da ona nimalo ne gubi identitet, područje

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<sup>33</sup> *Sentenze*, sv. 42, 163'–164'.

niti spoznajnu vrijednost primjenom književnih sredstava.<sup>34</sup> U ovom konkretnom slučaju pitam se, kada u formulama sudskog zapisnika pri nadbiskupskom sudu tako kipi život, kako bih ja smjela u svojoj historiografskoj obradi ugušiti tu životnost, upropastiti dobru priču.

Prošlo je vrijeme kad smo morali dokazivati da povijest ipak ima nekakve veze sa stvarnošću, pa se sada otvaraju konkretnija metodološka pitanja o prirodi toga odnosa. Kako se povjesničar mora odnositi prema priči, koliko u nju smije ulaziti i smije li je zaokruživati i interpretirati; ako da, do koje mjere i na koji način? Jedan od limita povijesti jest da ona može pisati samo o onome što nalazi u izvorima. Uza svu želju da saznamo više detalja, da zaokružimo priču ili je učinimo sočnijom, mi se ipak moramo držati onih podataka koje nam donose izvori. Naravno, pri tome ne moramo niti bismo smjeli biti puki pozitivistički prepričavatelji izvora; naprotiv, mi možemo graditi priču, čak je i konstruirati. Ovu priču mogu dograditi drugim izvorima koji joj daju kontekst i općenitije značenje, osvjetljaju sredinu u kojoj se to dogodilo i odnose u njoj.

Želim, također, iskušati i neke metodološke granice discipline, vidjeti koliko duboko mogu zagaziti u literaturu, a da ipak pišem historiografiju. Osim toga, ovaj predložak će biti idealan test i za vaganje odnosa subjektivnosti i objektivnosti u historiografiji. Svako historiografsko djelo osim o temi izuzetno mnogo govori i o svom autoru, utoliko više ukoliko ima više emotivnog angažmana. U ovom slučaju svakako ga ima: u meni prije svega postoji velika znatiželja u odnosu na ovu temu, zatim preferencija pojedinih likova, pa i ispitivanje sebe kroz njihove situacije. Sebe u knjizi vidim u ulozi pripovjedača, ne sveznajućeg, odmaknutog, ali donekle i uklopljenog u ova zbivanja. Poigrat ću se svjesno konvencijama priče i nastojati to uskladiti s metodologijom povijesnog istraživanja. Nadam se da ću na kraju dobiti djelo koje će iznijeti na vidjelo izvorne podatke, priču i likove i koje će istovremeno uključiti mnoge dosege socijalne povijesti, antropologije, historije mentaliteta, kulturne povijesti i psihologije i pokazati da je moguće stvaranje historiografskog značenja, odnosno spoznaje kroz pripovijedanje.

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<sup>34</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, *O pisanju povijesti i znanju o prošlosti*, Zbornik Mirjane Gross, Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1999, 445–458.

### **Kdo je pravi muž? Primer dvomoštva v Dubrovniku leta 1480**

Maja 1480 so na nadškofijskem sodišču v Dubrovniku obravnavali vlogo Nikole de Bizia, ki je tožil Frana de Menzeja, da se je nezakonito poročil z njegovo zakonito ženo, vdovo po zlatarju Antunu Bratosaljiću, Marušo. Frano je odgovoril s pritožbo – oba sta ne samo trdila, temveč tudi dokazala, da se je Maruša v kratkem času z obema zakonito poročila. Ohranjen je dvesto strani dolg spis, v katerem se razpravlja o zakonu, ljubezni, spolnosti, poučenosti, neznanju, o ženskah in moških, o družbenih razlikah, verski osveščenosti, o duhovnikih, trgovcih, plemičih, pa o raznih zabavah, skrivnih snidenjih in znakih in še o mnogočem. Slika, ki nam jo daje ta zapis, obrača na glavo mnoge ustaljene predstave, ki jih imamo o srednjem veku, in omogoča drugačno antropološko, kulturološko in jezikovno analizo. Spis z naslovom *Processum matrimoniale Marusse. relicte olim Antonii Bratosaglich 1480* hrani Zgodovinski arhiv mesta Dubrovnik v fondu Giustizieria, XIII.2.





# *The Concept of Democracy in the Political Thought of T. G. Masaryk*

MARIE L. NEUDORFLOVÁ

Since T. G. Masaryk was formulating his ideas about democracy, its complexities and conditions needed for its development mainly in the last quarter of a century before World War I, my focus will be on this period. The most relevant in this context is his complex method of looking at reality. Its essence comes out best in his relevant views on specific issues and problems, particularly Czech conditions and developments. To a certain extent, they will serve in my article as background for Masaryk's more general views. Masaryk's Presidency will be mentioned only briefly at the end of my essay, because this period was filled with his struggles to apply his ideals and concepts in practice on various levels and with various degrees of success. He was aware that the existence of democratic institutions itself does not guarantee the existence of a functioning democracy, and that its success depends not only on long and short term aims, but equally on daily struggles to foster conditions for preserving and advancing democracy and on the art of making reasonable compromises in competing needs and interests. While he was very satisfied with the existence of institutional democracy in Czechoslovakia after 1918, he was permanently worried about the insufficient number of knowledgeable and politically involved democrats.

If Masaryk's concept of democracy is to be understood, it is first necessary to mention Masaryk's major assumptions on which he built his concept. To a great extent, it still remains relevant to the present,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The number of works which could be considered as relevant is extremely large. For that reason only recent works, which contain usually references to older works are mentioned in this paper. The most recent work in English, which elaborates on Masaryk's approach to reality and on his major assumptions related to the advancement of democracy is Alan Woolfolk and Jonathan B. Imber, Eds., *Constructive Sociological Theory. Thomas G. Masaryk*. USA: Transaction Publishers 1994. This book, however, does not make many reference to the literature on Masaryk. Masaryk's works are being published by the Masaryk Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague. Over thirty volumes have been published so far. *Masarykův sborník*, XI-XII, 2004, contains valuable contributions by Czech

especially in light of the fact that the development of functional democracies in post-communist countries is not very successful.

Masaryk incorporated into his concept basic assumptions of Enlightenment thought related to the possibility of progress in a very broad sense, including the recognition of inner worth and the equality of people (the idea basically Christian); the idea that those who are ruled should have the power to control, influence and recall those who rule, and that the division of people into privileged minorities and unprivileged dominated majorities was inhuman, unjust and illegitimate. Consequently, a democracy in the form of representative government, division of power, and political equality was desirable for the benefit of the majority of people and society as a whole. It implied human rights and political freedoms, knowledge of society, critical spirit as well as the majority principle, and at the same time respect for the rights of minorities.<sup>2</sup> Masaryk perceived the ideal of democracy as revolting against theocracy and aristocratism of all kinds. Democracy was in harmony with the dignity of every individual and with the principle of 'love for your fellow man', which denies the right to use people as a means for privileges and advantages of any individual, group or nation. Masaryk called the related positive and constructive philosophical principles, developed from basic Christian values, the ideas of the Enlightenment, and from historical experience, 'humanistic ideals'.<sup>3</sup>

Due to strong and even violent pressures from below, and decades of lasting philosophical reasoning in their favour, these general principles became gradually reflected in political institutions. Masaryk always emphasised that the degree of success of democracy and its

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as well as foreign scholars on various aspects of Masaryk's thoughts and activity. It also contains a list of publications on Masaryk from 1999 to 2004. Standard works on Masaryk's life do not contain much analyses of his ideas and political concepts. The value of Masaryk's intellectual and moral heritage is questioned by a number of conservative, Catholic as well as neoliberal intellectuals (mainly Czech and German).

<sup>2</sup> John Locke and Andre Jardin Tocqueville, while in favour of advancing democracy, occupied themselves with minorities from different perspectives. Locke perceived certain groups, particularly of different confessions than protestantism, as incompatible with civic status, and thus excluded them from his democratic considerations. Tocqueville, concerned with the rights of minorities, had in mind mainly traditional aristocratic power groups. As an aristocrat, he was worried that a democracy could eliminate these groups completely from power.

<sup>3</sup> Masaryk summarized humanistic ideals as reflected in Czech and Slovak tradition and writings in European context, in his work *Humanitní idealy*. Praha 1901. In English, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, *Humanistic Ideals*. USA: Bucknell University 1971. The first edition was published as *Ideals of Humanity*. London: George Allen and Unwin 1938.

efficiency was dependent on other *conditions, related to the overall level of every specific society, its cultural, economic, moral, political level*. Their level determined particularly the efficiency of *public discussions on matters of public concern*, the possibility to accept modern democratic values, and the ability to solve problems by non-violent means. In other words, the *political maturity of the public* and its responsible involvement in politics was a necessary condition for the advancement of democracy. Masaryk also perceived democracy as a *division of work*, as the participation of all members of society on work useful to progress of both the individuals and societal level. (This was different from undemocratic systems, in which the privileged classes did not have to work). He also considered democracy possible only with the involvement of scientific and critical methods and the use of knowledge from all disciplines – *it was necessary to understand the world, society, human positive potentials and needs*. He was aware that such an outlook was contrary to a mythical theological explanation of life and the world, but not necessarily to religious beliefs. But religion, relevant to morality and spiritual growth, had to be in harmony with reasoning and common sense. Masaryk was aware that conditions, which he viewed as fundamental for the establishment of democracy, *required a society deeply integrated in many respects*.

Taking into the account the level of Western civilization, Masaryk considered *national entities*, with their deeply rooted broad identities, as the most suitable for the development of democracy. Members of each nation shared many important aspects, such as territory, language, history, culture, traditions, partly social and political values, the level of education, needs, interests, problems and even enemies. Such a historically deeply rooted degree of integration provided potentials for the existence of a significant public sphere, for very thorough self-knowledge and self-reflection – indispensable for the effective communication on matters of public concern, and for effective involvement of the public in the process of policy making through political parties and various civic groups. There was not equally complex, significant enough community, with which people could meaningfully identify. While the majority of the public might well understand that a democracy is more beneficial to its needs and interests than other systems, its capacity to maintain and preserve functional democracy had to be continually cultivated through a knowledge of problems (media), democratic values, and skills to form and communicate informed opinions. This perception did not underestimate the need for continuous communication among nations and the process of their mutual influence. But the adoption of ideas from others had to be main-

tained as a critical approach, in harmony with the needs of one's own community, nation.

Equally important was the ability of the public to resist the undemocratic minority streams in society, particularly those strong enough to seek power, influence and privileges at the cost of others (Catholic Church, aristocracy, some privileged ethnic groups). It was clear already at the end of the 19th century that ethnic minorities could create problems for the advancement of democracy when their loyalty to the community was insufficient. But even the liberal ideology and practices became counter productive to the advancement of democracy because of their insufficient respect for integrating moral and cultural values. Also Marxist ideology of social democratic parties had more divisive than integrative potentials.

Masaryk, as many other thinkers,<sup>4</sup> considered a conflict in human existence as its natural component, particularly the conflict between those who possessed power and privileges and those who did not. Masaryk believed that providing as many equal opportunities for people to advance their positive potentials was effective in preventing serious social problems and violent conflicts. Democracy was more promising in this respect than other systems, because it was more responsive to needs of the public, especially basic needs. Consequently, *a democracy was more a harmony with the ideal of justice.*<sup>5</sup>

While Masaryk believed that a democracy was the most desirable and in the interests of the majority of people, he shared a view with Karel Havlíček and others, that people had too strong a desire for privileges at the cost of justice. People had to be continuously educated in understanding why democracy with its social, cultural and educational solidarity was in the interest of stability, the quality of people and societies and their future. The humanistic roots of democracy – the love for the fellow man, was complemented by the belief that it was possible to create such a system, in which the principle of justice had broader social, ethical and political foundations, including the involvement of a democratic government on its behalf.

Since he viewed knowledge (general as well as specific), and informed public opinion as a necessary condition for democratic poli-

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<sup>4</sup> For example, already in 1873 John William Draper published in the USA an excellent book, *History of Conflicts Between Religion and Science* (published in Czech in 1892). Very relevant is a recent publication by American historian Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe 1650-2000*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press 2004.

<sup>5</sup> Tilly, *Contention and Democracy*, elaborates considerably on the role of the public in politics as the only force able to block an excessive influence of undemocratic groups and their inclination to undermine democracy.

tics, he developed a *special method of investigating reality*. He called this method 'realism'. In the English literature on Masaryk it is usually called 'constructive sociological theory'. It is a sociological method of investigating various specific issues of society *to gain sufficient knowledge on society and its problems*. However, if this knowledge was to be useful for positive work, improvements and progress on practical levels, it had to be combined with democratic philosophy, political as well as personal, partly growing from the collective positive experience of one's own community, usually the nation. It assumed both the knowledge of positive history, to continue its course, and the knowledge of negative experience, to serve as a warning for avoiding past mistakes, conflicts and problems as much as possible. To neglect both meant leaving dangerous amount of public space to private interests and to those not interested in the advancement of common good, justice and democracy. In other words, *without a knowledge of history, a society would easily become a means for private interests and privileges of undemocratic minority elites*. In this context, Masaryk viewed good modern education as the most important element in the process of democratization of a society and building a political democracy. This aspect will be mentioned again below.

In the past, usually the lack of freedom for gaining and spreading knowledge and information served the privileged classes, supported by the dogmatic teachings of churches and the imposition of the hierarchical organisation of societies claimed as natural and given by God. Liberalism, while undermining the position of the nobility, churches and religion, in the 19th century its political practices began to obstruct the process of democratisation. Leaning on positivism (disinterested in causes and consequences) as a way of perceiving reality, contributed to confusion in the understanding of social conditions. Especially adverse effect had failed to distinguish between more and less important information, promoting excessive individualism, almost unlimited freedom and competition (with destructive results), the support of culture focused on instincts as well as a considerable abuse of language.

Masaryk greatly appreciated the analyses of liberalism by Karel Havlíček, the most significant Czech political journalist till the present, who already in the mid-1800s, pointed to substantial differences between democratic philosophy and values and the current liberal ideology. Analyses of both seem to be still relevant. *Liberalism*, with its concept of expanding freedom, individualism, competition, certain rights and freedoms for individuals, the demand that governments stay away from solving social problems, and having a materialistic perception of the world and humans, *had a more divisive than integra-*

*tive impact on society. A high level of moral, cultural and historical integration was needed however, for the advancement of democracy.* Above all, liberal ideology ignored the importance of the moral and cultural sphere for the quality and meaning of life, it ignored the importance of a community (nation), its history and culture, despite of their importance for the stability of people, their mutual trust and the ability to act constructively and responsibly towards others, and to cooperate and to maintain solidarity with weaker groups. The liberal practices increasingly allowed the power elites to perceive society as a means for the advancement of their private interests and advantages, at the cost of justice and social peace. In other words, Masaryk viewed the liberalism of the period since the mid-1800s as insufficient for advancing justice and democracy.

In his view, it was also high time to apply democratic principles to relationship between large, usually expansionist nations and smaller nations in Europe, since they proved their worth by contributing culturally to the level of Western civilization,<sup>6</sup> and the dignity of their people required that they had a chance to develop with respect to their conditions, needs and interests. Masaryk criticized liberal practices viewing small nations as obstacles to progress in a number of his works, similarly as other ideologies with insufficient democratic orientation. Since the position and the existence of small nations in Central and Eastern Europe were always threatened by the expansionism and destructiveness of large European nations, he also paid attention to the attitudes of the large nations.<sup>7</sup>

He considered these attitudes as causing a waste of talents and positive potentials of small nations, which could under less pressures and more respect and cooperation, contribute to their own positive development as well as to the whole of Western civilization. Nobody benefited from resulting conflicts, which were absorbing positive potentials and possibilities. Moreover, efforts to eliminate small nations would become a dark mark on the history and conscience of respective large European nations. With these views, Masaryk actu-

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<sup>6</sup> Tilly, *Contention of Democracy*, points out often overlooked but essential aspect of Western democracies, who apply democratic principles at home, but in relation to other nations, especially those whom they do not consider as equal, apply undemocratic, usually excessively liberal practices, blocking the development of democracy. This double standard possibly has something to do with views of Adam Smith, who in his work *Wealth of Nations* expresses a view that it is not possible to gain wealth by honest means.

<sup>7</sup> Masaryk elaborates in detail on the need to reorganise Central Europe on democratic principles in his *Nová Evropa. Stanovisko slovanské*. Praha 1920. It was published first in English in 1918: *New Europe. Slavic View*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode 1918 and again in 1972.

ally continued the considerations of František Palacký, expressed half a century earlier.

In relation to the Habsburg Empire, Masaryk as well as a number of other politicians, viewed the federal reorganization of the multinational Empire as the first necessary step to improvements and democratization. The result would provide not only more dignified and equal positions for the dominated nations, but also more financial resources to respond to their different specific needs, to which the central government in Vienna was unable or unwilling to respond positively. It was important that each nation would build its own economy as much as possible, to serve the level of its people and not to profits of foreign investors, corporations and banks. Only this way could nations have enough financial resources for culture, education, science, etc.

To avoid wasting intellectual, moral and even economic resources, Masaryk believed in the necessity of a political and even national program, realistically related especially to basic needs for improvements in societal life, such as education, health, social securities, culture, social improvements. In the Czech case, Masaryk appreciated the political program formulated by Palacký and others during the promising revolutionary period 1848-49. The aspects of the program related to the idea of federalism, cultural and political democratization remained basically in force up to 1918. It demanded an equal position of the Czech Kingdom and the Czech nation with the Austrian Germans, and put great emphasis on the cultural development on the assumption that the work for the overall elevation of the Czech nation, based on as broad an initiative of the public as possible, would not only secure its dignified existence but would make it a worthwhile part of Western civilization. Masaryk's major assumption was that the acceptance of humanistic and democratic ideals and orientation would be in Western civilization permanent, although he had no illusions about possible temporary reversals.

Masaryk believed that the internal politics of nations should be in harmony with this orientation as much as possible, and this applied to every level of democratic development, including political parties. He felt that the two major Czech political parties had gradually reduced the original program and focused too much on official politics, especially struggles to achieve various concessions from the imperial government. Consequently, the cultural aspects of the program related to work with the Czech public, had been gradually neglected. Since the mid-1890s, the critical approach to Czech politics and to governmental politics became a continuous part of Masaryk's political writings. *Actually, he seemed to be the only one who considered the thorough, continual, systematic and critical reflections on political*



reality as extremely important for securing democratizing orientation. Our experience indicates that there is never enough understanding of the overall conditions in which people live. Under democracy, the first obligation of intellectuals, especially in the humanities, is to be continually contributing to such understanding. It is quite interesting that Masaryk also included among sources of valuable knowledge the reflective arts, especially good literature, about which he believed that its most demanding mission was to search for truth about life and its problems in a social context.

*The idea of having a broad long term as well as short term program for national development, political as well as cultural, and growing from different conditions of each nation, became very much a part of Masaryk's concept of democracy. Moreover, he demanded that politics be built on ethical principles.* These aspects were important especially in relation to the small nations of the Empire, since they could not afford to waste human resources and the talents of their people. The program would also necessarily include defensive methods to resist the destructive tendencies of various groups, internal as well as external.

It was essential that most individuals would accept the national entity as extremely worthwhile, and would incorporate concern for its level and quality into their *personal philosophy*, in harmony with Havlíček's question of not only what the nation could do for the individuals but also what the individuals could do in their capacity for the nation. This principle was directly related to the cultivation of the democratic political culture.

It should be emphasized again that only a knowledgeable public, capable of informed opinions was relevant in this context. The notion of the public included three groups: the minority in the position of influencing the majority with its knowledge and views (usually the intellectuals and politicians); the majority, which played a less active role in this respect, but was important in the election process; and specific minority groups with special needs and potentials (occasionally even antidemocratic). The constructive interaction between them in the democratic spirit was a necessity if a democracy was to be stable. The quality and efficiency of this interaction, and consequently *the stability of the democratic system, was dependent on the general level of education, maturity, sharing democratic values and honest concern for common good.*

Similar to other thinkers in the 19th century, Masaryk contributed considerably to the increase of the educational, intellectual and moral level of the Czech public, including the intelligentsia. He also got involved in parliamentary struggles with the government for a

greater number of Czech schools and for a second university.<sup>8</sup> The Czech secondary schools began to be established only from the 1860s, the university from the beginning of the 1880s. The girls' schools had been built from Czech public donations, and the Austrian government never included them into the state system of schools. Masaryk's arguments pointed to the unjust treatment of Czech schooling, to their insufficient number and quality, which was far behind the opportunities which the Germans enjoyed despite being only a one third minority in the Czech Kingdom. On the whole, nine million of Austro-Germans had nine universities or their equivalent, while six million Czechs had only one university.<sup>9</sup> Especially in his parliamentary speeches Masaryk implicitly accused the government and the Austro-Germans that they were intentionally retarding the positive intellectual development of the Czechs, disregarding that the Czechs payed the highest taxes. As in other areas, he argued that the educated peoples in the Empire would strengthen it, and he repeated that each nation needed to incorporate into the educational system its own conditions and needs. When talking about university education, he emphasized the need for more humanities, knowledge of history and culture of different parts of the Empire, as well as knowledge relevant to the needs of modern society.

The issue of quality and easy availability of education was very important in Masaryk's considerations related to democracy. He demanded substantial school reforms and resistance to the Catholic Church pressures to have more influence over schooling, since *modern times demanded people with knowledge, able to think, judge objectively, discuss, have positive initiative, and able to get involved responsibly in politics on behalf of individuals as well as positive social development*. From this perspective he continually emphasized the importance of knowledge gained by sociological methods as well as its popularization, to provide expanding ground for understanding life and its potentials. This understanding, combined with ethical, moral principles, was to be at the root of human responsibility and responsible democratic politics.

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<sup>8</sup> Complete Masaryk's parliamentary speeches in the Reichsrat, Bohemian Diet and in the Delegations were published by Masaryk Institute AV ČR, as T. G. Masaryk, *Parlamentní projevy 1891-1893*, V. 21, Praha 2001, and *Parlamentní projevy 1907-1914*, v. 29, Praha 2002.

<sup>9</sup> In the mid-1890s the Imperial government and the Reichsrat permitted the establishment of a second Czech university, which was supposed to be in Moravia (Brno or Olomouc). But the Moravian Diet, in which the Germans were able to form the majority due to the unjust electoral law, never allowed the relevant bill to be passed.

Masaryk considered the political sphere of the constitutional and parliamentary system potentially as the most effective path to improvements and solving problems. While he appreciated what the Czechs achieved by their own struggles and means through the 19th century in the cultural and economic spheres, he viewed their achievements in the political sphere as not reflecting the opportunities provided by the existing semi-democratic system, especially since the 1880s.<sup>10</sup> *He believed that providing thorough knowledgeable analyses and good arguments in favour of badly needed reforms (federal, national, educational, social, legal, etc.) would persuade the Austro-German majority in the Reichsrat to support them.* He was particularly concerned with a federal reform in favour of the equality of all nations in the Empire, which he believed and argued would be in the interest not only of dominated, unequal nations, but also in the interest of the Empire's prosperity, stability and respectability. In times of advancing democracy, it was, for example, untenable that the Czech majority had the position of a minority in their own Kingdom.

To provide knowledge needed for positive politics, including the advancement of democratisation, Masaryk became a deputy in 1891 for the Czech Liberal Party (Young Czechs), on condition that the party would accept his idea of *professional and diligent parliamentary work and the idea of more intensive communication with the Czech public* (a principle in fact necessary for any efficient democracy). He and other Czech deputies delivered dozens of competent knowledgeable speeches between 1891 and 1893 on all important issues (usually translated into Czech and published in the Czech press), the quality of the speeches being something completely new in Austrian parliament. The majority of the Austro-German and conservative deputies remained, however, unmoved and tried to justify the privileged German, dominant position, and unjust electoral laws, by arguments related to German superiority, state-forming capabilities, and the need for a centralised state on behalf of efficiency. The Czech demand for re-

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<sup>10</sup> Since the establishment of constitutionalism and parliamentarism and at the same time dualism in the Habsburg Monarchy in 1867 (dividing the rule between the Austro-Germans and the Hungarians), the Czechs resisted this political system treating the majority of the Empire's nations as unequal, and practiced so called 'passive resistance' in the Reichsrat and in the Bohemian Diet. However, since the end of the 1870s they began to participate due to the change of the electoral law for Land Diets. But not to irritate the Taaffe's government and the Czech historical nobility, they maintained insufficient initiative. This was the reason, why the Czech younger deputies gradually established the Czech Liberal Party in the 1870s (svobodomyslná strana or Mladočeši), which won the elections for the Reichsrat in 1891, and almost swept the National Party from the political scene. Masaryk became a member of the Liberal Party and became a deputy for two and half year.

storage of the Czech Historical State Law, and thus for a greater independence of the Czech Kingdom, was viewed by Austro-German deputies as incompatible with the Empire's interests, and even proclaimed by one deputy (Menger) as treason.<sup>11</sup>

The intensive communication of the Czech deputies with the Czech public on issues discussed in the Reichsrat, and frequent political meetings (often attended by thousands of people) had been mostly conducted in informative manner, and in the spirit of democracy and justice. Thanks to *Národní Listy*, the public was generally well informed on the work of their deputies and the press provided an additional source for political education. According to some historians this period of almost three years was the most intensive wave of political education of the Czech public.<sup>12</sup>

When this unusual political participation of the Czechs was ended by the government's proclamation of exceptional measures (unjustified and illegitimate in all respects), limiting the possibilities for political activities of the public and the press to a minimum, and lasting for over two years, Masaryk began to understand that the official politics was not really open to the interests and needs of modern democratic ideas and to the respect for the needs of the Empire's nations. He began to perceive the Empire mainly as a means for the preservation of privileges and the dominant position of Austro-Germans, who saw the majority of people and nations in the Empire as a threat to the Empire and to their privileges. Since the 1860s, their attitudes blocked needed democratization, and the introduction of the universal suffrage in 1907 made little difference in this respect, since the rule was maintained more by the Emperor's decrees than by decisions of disfunctional parliament.

Masaryk became aware that the struggles for more democratization and positive advancement had to ignore official politics, and

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<sup>11</sup> Masaryk elaborated on Czech historical State Rights in several of his speeches. After his speech in the Reichsrat on 23 November 1892, he was proclaimed by Austro-German deputy Menger a traitor to the Monarchy. Despite considerable sympathy for him, Menger was censured by the majority of the House. Josef Penížek, *Česká aktivita v Čechách letech 1878-1918*. Vol. 2. Praha: Český čtenář, 1931, pp. 161-162. The leader of the Germans in the Bohemian Kingdom von Ernst Plener, believed that the realization of the Bohemian Staatsrecht (Czech Historical State Laws) would destroy the Empire. Since the 1870s the Austrian government increasingly shared this view. It was no coincidence that the government prohibited to make connections between domestic and foreign policies in the Reichsrat as well as in Delegations. But Czech deputies frequently violated this principle, and pointed to the increasing dependence of the Empire on Germany as a source of grave troubles for the Empire. Since the end of the 1890s Masaryk began to promote 'the natural right' of nations to their full existence, as equally important as historical rights.

<sup>12</sup> Penížek, *Česká aktivita*, 2, pp. 123-127.

concentrate on struggles from below, in non-political areas. He called this orientation 'subtle work' (drobna prace). He figured out five major areas in need of urgent attention to preserve and even to advance the gains already achieved in advancing democracy: *sources of inspiration for positive work; the role of intellectuals; the quality and influence of journalism; the destructive role of radicalism on national integration; and education*. After resigning his parliamentary seat in September 1893, for several years Masaryk devoted his attention to these issues, and then gradually also to the Czech women's movement, which he also viewed as very relevant to democratisation.

First he began to seek efficient means of preventing the Czech nation from demoralization under strict exceptional measures, which reduced drastically political freedoms. He was occupied for almost two decades with philosophical sources of positive constructive thinking, and his interest in positive streams of Czech history was one of them.

Masaryk always considered the role of the intelligentsia as crucial for the level of the nation and its democratic orientation, and since the 1880s he contributed to it to an admirable extent by his journals, articles, lectures. He tried to balance the one-sided influence of German philosophy and thinking by publishing translations and reviews of thinkers from other countries, especially Anglo-Saxon, since they were incomparably more relevant to the advancement of democracy. He also paid great attention to the Slavic nations of Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, considering intensifying their political cooperation as extremely important for the future. He searched for positive inspiration to encourage the faith of the Czech nation in its *positive potentials and in meaningful work for its positive development even in politically difficult conditions*. In the background of his efforts was Palacký's and Havlíček's belief that after periods of oppression, opportunities always come for more freedom and a more decent political system, but the nation has to be prepared for such a chance. Only two decades later he began to perceive the international tensions and a coming war conflict as playing into the hands of democratic forces.

In *Česká otázka* (1895)<sup>13</sup> he was trying to show on the basis of Czech history, that it was always *the focus on humanistic ideals and positive work on various levels*, that had been in the background of Czech positive advancement, occasionally bringing the Czechs to the forefront of struggles against oppression and for a more free and dignified human existence. By *humanistic ideals he understood the continuation of those streams of thoughts and ideals, which had faith in the inner equality and autonomy of human beings, their right*

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<sup>13</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Česká otázka. Snahy a tužby národního obrození*. Praha: Čas 1895.

*to develop their positive potentials, including morality, and to apply them in practice.*

In the Czech case, he traced the line back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century to Jan Hus, the Czech reformation and the Enlightenment. His book caused century-lasting controversies and it is still viewed by many historians as the most important Czech work, because it created a specific philosophy of history, soon called 'Czech philosophy', providing moral criteria against which the work of Czech intellectuals are still valued. *The major point is that Masaryk, like many contemporary scholars, believed in the importance and great value of a deeply rooted and integrated community, and that knowledge of its history was essential for the development of democracy.* He shared with Palacký and Havlíček the view that history was, to a great extent, a part of the present, its knowledge making possible the incorporation of positive achievements into the present and future struggles, and partly assisting the avoidance of past problems, mistakes and conflicts. This stand, unlike a conservative one, believed in the possibility of progress, and unlike radicalism, favoured more reforms than radical changes, including revolutions. Masaryk, however, recognized the need of revolutions, when all other legitimate and non-violent means failed to achieve the just and legitimate ends, and when the revolution had a chance for victory. His perception of history was much broader than was usual in his times. His call to broaden the scope of historical research (not only events, but also social, cultural, economic, and other conditions), as well as the range of methods of investigating history (sociology, philosophy, ethnography, psychology, economy, etc.) soon resulted in a very positive and fruitful response among young Czech historians.

He was concerned especially with the young intelligentsia, who began to turn to various fashionable -isms (cosmopolitanism, radicalism, anarchism, Marxism, socialism, free love, etc.), without understanding their roots, meanings, and purposes. He tried to persuade young intelligentsia to work hard, to concentrate on gaining a good education (general as well as professional), including knowledge of the conditions and needs of their own nation, and to use their skills consciously for positive work. He argued that *the community of the nation provided broad opportunities for positive involvement in the public sphere even under unfavourable political conditions, and the acceptance of the nation's needs into one's personal outlook, philosophy and positive work expanded the identity of individuals, and provided them with a higher meaning of their life. Consequently, the self-respect of individuals was to increase as well as the ability to take themselves, their talents, work and others seriously.*

In other words, Masaryk promoted the view that the intelligentsia, having privileges and more knowledge and understanding, should be also more involved in public affairs, and should have more responsibility for the state and the level of the nation. He viewed all other orientations, especially cosmopolitanism and positivism, as an escape from real life and from responsibilities. Since the 1880s, he wrote a number of articles on this topic, but at the end of 1895 summarised his views in detail in several chapters of *Naše nynější krise* (Our Present Crisis).<sup>14</sup> With this book, he influenced a considerable part of young Czech intellectuals and students.<sup>15</sup> Masaryk, like Palacký and Havlíček, also implied that *a morally, culturally and politically mature nation, relying mainly on its own initiative and work, would eventually achieve its legitimate aims*.<sup>16</sup> In this work he also criticized the insufficiency of Czech politics, its narrow and rather unrealistic orientation on gaining various concessions from the central government, especially the recognition of the Czech Historical State Rights, instead of focusing more on work, which would also assist the overall level of the Czech nation, including political education.

Since journalism before World War I was the most important means of spreading political information, education and attitudes, and since Masaryk viewed the Czech journalism of the 1890s as very insufficient (regardless of existing hard censorship), he paid great attention to possibilities to improve it. He viewed the emptiness of news, frequent vulgarities, unclear terminology, the lack of educational aspects, false radicalism, as little helpful to the advancement of democratic and positive values and skills. To avoid moralizing, he took great pains to mine again into Czech history, and in 1896 came out with the book on Karel Havlíček, the Czech journalist active around the revolutionary period of 1848-49.<sup>17</sup> Masaryk viewed as very relevant his clear political thinking, his method of explaining modern political terms and concepts, and the essence of political conflicts. Masaryk shared Havlíček's *persuasion that a democracy was possible under the condition that the public must be, with its level of educati-*

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<sup>14</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Naše nynější krise*. Praha: Čas 1895.

<sup>15</sup> A young literary critic F. X. Salda summarized the positive influence of this book on young intelligentsia in article *Těžká kniha*. In: *Rozhledy* 4, 1895, p. 641-8, 711-21.

<sup>16</sup> Koloman Gajan, Ed., *Tomas Garrigue Masaryk: O demokracii*. Praha: Melantrich 1991, s. 91.

<sup>17</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Karel Havlíček. Snahy a tužby politického probuzení*. Praha: Čas 1896. When the political absolutism was renewed in the Habsburg Monarchy, Havlíček was persecuted despite his skills not to violate the existing laws. In 1851 was taken to exile to Brixen. When he was released in 1856, he was a sick destroyed man and died several months later at the age of thirty six.



on, prepared for its complex and responsible role in the democratic system. He hoped that with this book he would influence the unsatisfactory quality of Czech journalism. For all his life he believed, that objective and critical journalism is a part of the public control over the government and its decision-making. Democracy was not possible without free, informative, educational and responsible journalism. He considered politics, democracy and journalism intimately interconnected.<sup>18</sup>

Various kinds of radicalism began to grow in the 1890s, the most disturbing being that of some youth organizations (Pokrokáři), which assumed that the radical agitation for badly reduced Czech Historical State Rights<sup>19</sup> would force the government to renew them in some form. The radical progressives promoted the idea of a revolution against Vienna to achieve independence for the Kingdom. Masaryk tried in several articles to explain that such attitudes were contraproductive, unrealistic, and that the idea of revolution, which had no hope for victory, was very dangerous, especially for those democratic and progressive aspects which had been already achieved. But he worried even more about the influence of Marxism on the young intelligentsia and the working class, who formed a considerable part of the Czech population. It was not only the idea of revolution which worried him, but the materialistic essence of the teaching, with all its assumptions incompatible with the concept of democracy. He wrote a substantial critical book on Marxism, carefully analysing distorted assumptions of Marx and Engels' teachings about human nature and possible solutions of social problems.<sup>20</sup> Both authors had basically a pessimistic view of human beings, ignored non-materialistic dimensions of human existence as essential to human well-being, and did not explain

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<sup>18</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Světová revoluce*. Praha: Orbis a Cin 1925, pp. 547-48. The last chapter of this extremely important Masaryk's work 'Demokracie a humanita' is devoted to considerations on democracy in a very broad context, pp. 499-608. Last edition MSU AV ČR, Praha 2005. In English published as *Making of a State 1927, 1969*, in Slovene in 1936, and in a number of other languages.

<sup>19</sup> Czech Historical State Rights was a set of Rights of the Czech Kingdom as established after the disastrous battle of White Mountain in 1620 by the Catholic Habsburgs from the position of power. Its status was still considerably autonomous in the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy, but especially under the rule of Maria Tereza and Josef II, its independence was reduced, and when constitutional system was established in 1867, the Czech nation became with other non-German and non-Hungarian nations a second class nation, with unequal political rights. However, the validity of the Historical Rights was usually recognized by the Habsburg Emperors in times of crises, when they needed the Czech support, the last occasion being in 1871. But the promises given had never been fulfilled in practice.

<sup>20</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Otázka sociální. Základy marxismu filosofické a sociologické*. Praha: Jan Laichter 1898. Also published by MSU AV ČR Praha 2000.



how from decayed conditions the revolution could make a better system. He perceived the influence of Marxism as a divisive force for the nation, ignoring the importance of morality, culture, and insensitive to the positive achievements of the past, undermining the integrity of society, dangerous to conditions necessary for the advancement of democracy. While he viewed both the critique of social conditions and the demands of the working class justified, he always disagreed with the means by which socialists wanted to achieve changes. Masaryk even argued that Marx and Engels later began to abandon the idea of revolution since the practice had shown that reforms could be an efficient means for the improvement of the lower classes. In his view, democracy as an open society and public influence provided sufficient opportunities for such reforms.

In this context the existence of political parties, representing the needs and interests of various social groups, played an important role. He considered their existence as necessary for a democratic system. but worried that not all political parties use political freedoms honestly and build their ideology on the acceptance of basic democratic principles. He pointed particularly to the conservative parties, which had an inclination to perceive their often selfish objectives as those of the whole nation. *In Masaryk's view, to be a tool of democracy, political parties had to have a common basis related to democratic principles, values, rules, and open communication with the ruling strata as well as with the public, and they primarily had to aim at the common good, justice for all, and the well-being of the community.* Masaryk agreed with Havlicek that the nature and quality of political parties should be judged mainly on the basis of their attitude to education, its quality and availability for all people.<sup>21</sup> In the Czech case, considering the insufficient experience of the public with democratic politics, Masaryk perceived as untimely the existence of a considerable number of political parties at the end of the 19th century, since there was not even universal suffrage yet, and some parties had the inclination to enforce too specific interests at the cost of the common good. Their position was also a kind of radicalism, unfavourable to public interests, contrary to the public role of controlling political power, and thus contributing insufficiently to democratic development.

Masaryk had no illusions that some kind of perfect democracy was achievable on any relevant level (state, municipality, political organizations, etc.), but he considered the continual struggle for the

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<sup>21</sup> Masaryk, T. G., *Karel Havlíček*, p. 219. Masaryk presented considerably detailed review of Havlíček's views on the nature and the role of most common political parties, pp. 219-223.

advancement of democracy and the positive development of both the individual and the community as essential for the continual advancement of democracy. *He was aware that the content of democracy on various levels and in different times had to reflect changing conditions and needs, and for that reason it was necessary to be permanently in touch with all relevant aspects of reality.*<sup>22</sup>

Since Masaryk viewed a *democracy also as a way of thinking*, in which public and private needs and interests had been interconnected, it did not escape his attention that women had been treated not only as unequal social beings but also as unequal in their intellectual potentials. He believed as feminists did, that with such a perception of women it would be difficult to advance democracy. While as a deputy, he demanded equal educational opportunities and equal political rights for women, he became aware that the prevailing society's perception of women as unequal beings had very deep historical reasons related to the official teaching of the early Christianity. When he became active in the Czech women's movement at the beginning of the 1900s, he devoted several lectures and articles to this issue, gradually presenting the teaching of St. Paul and its consequences for the Christian church, as the major source of the distorted view on women as inferior beings. Masaryk tried to prove this perception was very unjustified, contrary to the position and attitude towards women, which Jesus maintained. The distortion of his teaching allowed the brutal exploitation of women through history. *He did not exclude the private sphere from the need to adopt more moral and democratic attitudes. He particularly saw the need for adopting the principle of cooperation in marriage and the family, and the need for more respect and appreciation for the work of women by society and men. He considered important that women had the opportunities of choice in many respects.*

Masaryk considered the prevailing attitudes towards women as basically immoral. The double standard of sexual morality before marriage, free for men and strict for women, caused great disappointments and distrust on the part of women, and at the same time it was a great health hazard, destroying the healthy foundations of the family

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<sup>22</sup> From the theoretical perspective, the summary of Masaryk's views on democracy is in T. G. Masaryk, *Demokratismus v politice*. Praha: Studentská revue 1912; T. G. Masaryk, *Nesnáze demokracie. Syndikalismus a demokracie. O bolševizaci*. Also relevant is: *O tak zvané diktatuře proletariátu*. Praha 1990. (Originally in 1913). In 1925 In *Světová revoluce* Masaryk described in detail Czech and Slovak struggles during World War I for a democratic Czechoslovakia and Central Europe. A useful review of his ideas on democracy is in Koloman Gajan, Ed., *Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, O demokracii*. Praha: Melantrich 1991.

and the nation. It was not only that sexual diseases were incurable, but even married men, especially from the middle classes, had a habit of visiting brothels, since wives tried to avoid sexual relations to escape pregnancy (anticonceptives had been almost unobtainable and perceived as perverse). For the sake of women's health and family well-being, he thought it timely that men should also become more in control of the number of children their families had (six to twelve was quite common), since too many children had been unwanted, illegitimate or even abused. Masaryk's perception of women as equal beings (but not identical), with equally valuable positive potentials, and his ability to see the relations between men and women from women's moral and emotional needs, was viewed by Czech women as almost revolutionary, and they remained grateful to Masaryk for decades. Moreover, his views seemed to influence, at least partly, the Czech public, especially the intelligentsia.<sup>23</sup> Since he was a deputy in early 1890s, he fostered the idea of political equality for women, especially the right of voting. In 1901 he expressed in detail his ideas on this topic in lectures, which were published in *Zenský obzor*.<sup>24</sup>

Until 1914, Masaryk's major concern was with the change of unequal status of small nations in the Habsburg Empire, since their position, as it was mentioned, was that of a minority in most of the lands despite the fact that the Austro-Germans or Hungarians in fact formed a minority in most of them. The unequal status was related to political and national rights, to the use of a mother tongue, and even more importantly to the number and quality of schools. Masaryk, as a deputy, demanded an increase in the legal use of the Czech language not only in regions where the Czechs formed a majority, but also in regions where they formed a minority, since their children had been forced to attend German elementary schools there and had been under great pressure to be germanized. This went at the cost of learning other subjects, thus blocking their intellectual and professional development. Masaryk believed that people, when a reasonably sized minority, should receive, for a number of reasons (including emotional,

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<sup>23</sup> Most of Masaryk's published relevant lectures are included in the volume published in honour of Masaryk's 80th birthday by Czech Women's Council in 1930: *Masaryk a ženy*. Praha: Ženská rada 1930. In English a detailed summary of his relevant views is in Marie L. Neudorfl, *Masaryk and the Women's Question*. In: Stanley B. Winters, Ed., *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)*. USA: St. Martin's Press 1990, pp. 258-282. Since the major source of Masaryk's views on feminism were influenced by his wife Charlotta, a volume of contributions on her life should be mentioned: Marie L. Neudorfl, Ed., *Charlotta G. Masaryková*. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2001, 246s.

<sup>24</sup> Masaryk, T. G., *Žena a politika*. In: *Ženský obzor*, 1901, no. 1, pp. 5-7, no. 2, pp. 19-20, no. 3, pp. 38-40.

psychological and intellectual), the chance to get an education in their mother tongue. But he always considered it important that educated people know more languages, to keep intellectual contact with other countries; for the Czechs, the German language was most practical, but Masaryk wished that learning foreign languages would not be out of necessity. He devoted to this issue parts of his several parliamentary speeches as well as parts of a number of his studies.

When President of the Czechoslovak Republic, he was well aware of the problem of incorporating the German minority into participatory politics as loyal citizens, since their feelings of superiority were badly wounded by the formation of a democratic Czechoslovakia. He was very careful to preserve conditions for their cultural level (till the 1930s they had more secondary schools per number of children than the Czechs had), but the rise of Hitler and Nazism had changed the promising development of peaceful coexistence. Some Czech patriots viewed him as a Germanophile (for example, writers Viktor Dyk, deputy, and Božena Viková Kunětická, senator), and his trust in German rationality and good will as unjustified.

Masaryk built his views and policies on the assumption that a democratic course in Europe would gradually intensify and that a realistic chance would be provided for smaller nations to advance their level and potentials. He was well aware of intensifying contacts among nations and states, and perceived the positive potentials of this development. But he believed that democracy applied to the international scene would prevent undesirable and destructive pressures on the identity, culture and integrity of nations, particularly small nations. He was not politically naive, and was aware of the possible reversals of positive developments, but believed that attempts to destroy democracies would always be defeated in Western civilization. Definitely, he was not, however, able to imagine the horrors of World War II and its planned destructiveness not only towards Jews, but also towards the Slavic peoples. His considerations on how to strengthen the democratic systems in Europe and the cooperation among Slavic people continued in the 1920s and 1930s. He considered particularly important the cooperation of smaller countries in Central Europe and the Balkans, pointing to certain cultural traditions and many common interests.<sup>25</sup> His practical policies had been directed to this goal, but

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<sup>25</sup> He elaborated on the need for cooperation of smaller Central European countries especially in *New Europe* and in the last chapter of *Světová revoluce*, pp. 505-512. He was partly sceptical about good will on the part of the Polish government, but he was very optimistic as to the cooperation with the Balkan Slavic nations, especially the Serbs and the Slovenes. Many relevant aspects are discussed by Irena Gantar Godina, for example, *The Influence of T. G. Masaryk on the Slovenes*. In: Stanley B.

Nazi Germany, and its aggressiveness and the expansionist war and its consequences thwarted again this promising course.<sup>26</sup>

## POVZETEK

### Koncept demokracije v politični misli T. G. Masaryka

Masarykov koncept demokracije vsebuje različne temeljne predpostavke, med katerimi je najpomembnejša ta, da popolne demokracije ni, da ne obstaja in da mora biti boj za njeno uresničitev nekaj stalnega. Dejstvo je, da popolni demokraciji grozijo nedemokratski pritiski. Druge predpostavke se nanašajo na možnost napredka, na željo po splošnem dobrem, na obstoj globoko prežetega fenomena družba–nacija, na njeno samospoznanje, na proces politične enakosti deprivilegiranih skupin (ženske, delavstvo, manjšine) in že v začetku nujno upoštevanje njihovih razmer. Drugi vidiki se nanašajo na posebne potrebe vsake posamezne družbe, kot so npr. izobraževanje in demokratične vrednote. Demokratična politična kultura predstavlja prepoznavanje družbenih problemov, učinkovito in odgovorno sodelovanje oz. poseganje javnosti v politične procese in sposobnost politične elite sprejemati razumne kompromise, ki so lahko v korist večine posameznikov, družbe kot celote in ne škodijo šibkejšim skupinam.

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Winters, Ed., *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)*. USA: St. Martin's Press 1990, pp. 114-129; *Lončar in Masaryk*. Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica 1994; *T. G. Masaryk in the Eyes of the Slovenes*. In: *Proceedings of the conference 'Masaryk a střední Evropa'*. Brno 1997.

<sup>26</sup> This Contribution is a part of Research project MSU AV ČR Search for Identity: Ideological and Political Concepts of Modern Czech Society 1848–1948. Kod AVOZ 70900502.

# Tri »dobre zgodbe« o kralju Matjažu

ISTVÁN LUKÁCS

## I

Kralj Matjaž je osrednji lik slovenskega ljudskega pesništva, o njem govorijo številne ljudske pesmi in pripovedke. V njih je še vedno veliko skrivnostnega, kralj Matjaž pa se v ljudskih pripovedih o skupni slovensko-madžarski preteklosti pojavlja predvsem kot pozitiven junak, odrešenik slovenstva. Z likom kralja Matjaža v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu se je prvi ukvarjal Avgust Pavel še v časih pred drugo svetovno vojno, žal pa ni napisal načrtovanega celovitega dela o tej temi.<sup>1</sup> Skoraj neodvisno od Pavlovih raziskav, toda bistveno pozneje, so se analize, razlage in klasifikacije ljudskih pesmi in pripovedk o kralju Matjažu lotili tudi slovenski etnologi, med njimi Ivan Grafenauer in Milko Matičetov.<sup>2</sup> Leta 1990, ob petstoti obletnici smrti kralja Matjaža, je v Mariboru potekala skupna slovensko-madžarska konferenca, na kateri so v zvezi s to temo prišli na dan številni detajli, ki so raziskovanju matjaževk dali nov zagon.<sup>3</sup>

Ljudske pesmi in pripovedke o kralju Matjažu so od romantike naprej predstavljale navdih za slovensko književnost. Kralj Matjaž slovenskega ljudskega izročila se je uvrstil med bajeslovne like slovenskega naroda, pisatelji in pesniki so se opirali na to bogato ljudsko izročilo in so skušali prek zgodb o kralju Matjažu poiskati odgovor na usodna vprašanja slovenstva in tudi na svoje individualne dvome.

V monografiji v madžarskem jeziku sem povzel dognanja slo-

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<sup>1</sup> Ágoston Pável, *Az Orpheusz-monda rokonai a délszláv népköltészetben*, v: Ágoston Pável, *Válogatott tanulmányai és cikkei*, Szombathely, 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, *Slovenske pripovedke o kralju Matjažu*, Ljubljana: SAZU, 1951; Milko Matičetov, *Kralj Matjaž v luči novega slovenskega gradiva in novih raziskovanj*, Ljubljana: SAZU, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Gradivo konference je bilo objavljeno v zborniku *Corvin Mátyás-konferencia – Posvetovanje Matjaža Korvina* (sic!), ur. József Varga – Zoltán Molnár, Maribor, 1991. Študije o kralju Matjažu so bile pozneje objavljene v *Hasonlóságok és különbözőségek – Ujemanja in razhajanja*, ur. István Fried – István Lukács, Budapest: Kossics Alapítvány, 1998.

venske in madžarske strokovne literature 20. stoletja o kralju Matjažu v slovenskih ljudskih pesmih in pripovedkah in sem prvi podal celovit pregled o recepciji matjaževk v slovenski književnosti.<sup>4</sup> Uspelo mi je pritegniti pozornost madžarskega bralca in opozoriti na to, da je najuspešnejši vladar madžarske nacionalne zgodovine igral pomembno vlogo v življenju narodov tega prostora, še zlasti pa v družbenem, zgodovinskem in duhovnem življenju Slovencev. V tej študiji bom skušal predstaviti svoja najnovejša dognanja v okviru te vsestranske teme. Moje raziskave so se osredotočale predvsem na naslednja vprašanja, pojave in probleme: na predstavitev nekaj novih zgodovinskih dejstev, ki govorijo o odnosu kralja Matija Korvina do slovenskih dežel; nova interpretacija besedil ljudskega izročila o kralju Matjažu kot besedil kolektivnega spomina, kolektivnega narativa in nacionalne identitete; in na koncu na soočanje, konfrontiranje zgodovinskih dejstev, motivov besedil kolektivnega narativa in leposlovne adaptacije besedil o kralju Matjažu.

## II

Splošno znano dejstvo je, da je usodo ozemlja, poseljenega s Slovenci, že davno pred kraljem Matijem Korvinom, od 12. stoletja naprej, oblikovala rodbina Celjskih grofov. Z zelo spretnimi političnimi koraki, ki so pogosto vplivali tudi na evropske razmere, s sorodstvenimi vezmi s pomembnimi evropskimi dinastijami so postali važen dejavnik od Balkana pa vse do meja Habsburškega cesarstva. V boju za oblast so uporabili tudi najbolj grobe metode, značilne za fevdalno aristokracijo. Pri širjenju svojega vpliva so bili v glavnem v sovražnem odnosu s Habsburžani. Ob zatonu oblasti Celjskih grofov pa je usodna vloga doletela Hunyadijce. Po smrti bosanskega kralja Tvrtka II. se je János Hunyadi zaradi dediščine sprl z Ulrikom Celjskim, ki je bil poročen s hčerjo srbskega despota Jurija Brankovića. Zaradi poraza na Kosovem polju (1448) sta bila vendarle prisiljena skleniti premirje. János Hunyadi je obljubil, da se bo njegov sin Matija Korvin poročil z Elizabeto, hčerko Ulrika Celjskega. Matija Korvin in Elizabeta Celjska sta leta 1451 sklenila poročno pogodbo, poroka pa je bila zaradi spora med starši šele leta 1455. Elizabeta je živela pri Jánosu Hunyadiju, Matija pa je moral na dvor Ladislava V. Ta poroka med otrokoma je bila v resnici navadna ugrabitev. Elizabeta Celjska je kmalu umrla, po vsej verjetnosti na gradu Hunyad. Po smrti Jánosa Hunyadija 11.

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<sup>4</sup> István Lukács, *A megváltó Mátyás király színeváltozásai a szlovén néphagyományban és szépirodalomban*, Budapest: Lucidus, 2001.

avgusta 1456 je habsburški kralj za vrhovnega kapitana Ogrske imenoval Ulrika Celjskega in ne Ladislava Hunyadija. Zaradi tega se je v krogu Hunyadijev še poglobilo sovraštvo do Celjskih grofov. Pristaši Ladislava Hunyadija so 9. novembra 1456 v Beogradu ubili Ulrika Celjskega. S kruto smrtjo zadnjega moškega člana Celjskih grofov je bila rodbina, ki je vseskozi imela dinastične ambicije, dokončno izbrisana iz slovenske zgodovine. Usmerjenost Celjskih grofov na jug in vzhod, njihove rodbinske vezi in pomembna posestva so bistveno vplivali na usodo krajev od Balkana do Ogrske. Za dediščino Celjskih grofov se je začel srdit boj, katerega zmagovalec je leta 1457 postal cesar Friderik. S krvavimi bitkami si je pridobil bistveni del premoženja. Ovdovela kneginja Katarina je našla zatočišče v Turčiji in je tam tudi umrla. Toda celjsko vprašanje se s tem ni končalo; slovensko ozemlje je postalo prizorišče še bolj krutih vojn. Po smrti kralja Ladislava je nastal nov položaj. Leta 1458 je postal češki kralj Jurij Podjebrad, ogrski pa Matija Korvin. V habsburških deželah je potekala dedna vojna med Friderikom in Albertom. Skoraj celo desetletje so na slovenskih tleh spet pustošile najemniške vojske s češkimi vojskovodji na čelu enkrat ene, drugič druge strani. Med ljudstvom so se širili letaki, ki so Friderika ostro kritizirali. Po umiku najemnikov pa se je nenadoma pojavila nova nevarnost – Turki. Turška vojska, ki je prihajala iz Bosne in Srbije, je med letoma 1469 in 1483 že preplavila slovensko ozemlje med Istro in Zagrebom ter po njem požigala in pustošila, povzročala ogromno škodo in z ustrahovanjem pripravila teren za morebitni večji pohod. Obrambni ukrepi Friderika III. niso bili učinkoviti, po nenadnem umiku turške vojske se je zmanjšala tudi protiturška bojevitost. Vedno nove davščine kmetom niso izboljšale položaja in ti so postajali čedalje bolj nezadovoljni. Kruti turški vdori so se prenehali po mirovni pogodbi med miroljubnim Bajazitom II., ki je sledil bojevitemu Mehmedu II., in Matijem Korvinom leta 1483. Glede priljubljenosti kralja Matjaža na Slovenskem to nikakor ni nepomembna okoliščina.

Kralj Matjaž in Turki ter kralj Matjaž v turški ječi sta pogosta motiva v slovenskih ljudskih pesmih in pripovedkah pa tudi v raznih leposlovnih adaptacijah. Pogostnost teh tem bi bilo mogoče razlagati tudi z dejstvom, da je bil v nenehnem boju s Turki, obstaja pa tudi bistveno bolj zanimiva in skrivnostna biografska okoliščina, zaradi katere so lahko te zgodbe bolj »osebne«. Matija Korvin je v pismu, ki ga je napisal Mehmedu II., sultana spoznal za krvnega sorodnika, pozneje pa prav tako tudi mlajšega brata sultana Bajazita II., prestola željnega princa Džema, ki ga je skušal dobiti od papeža, da bi ga imel kot lastnega ugrabljenca. V zvezi z njim je papeževemu odposlancu sporočil, da je princ Džem sin starejše sestre njegove stare mame,



matere Jánosa Hunyadija, ki je bila v turškem ujetništvu in je postala sultanova soproga. Bajazit II. je v mirovni pogodbi leta 1488 Matija Korvina prav tako imenoval za svojega »brata in sorodnika«.<sup>5</sup> Glede tega sicer ni zanesljivega zgodovinskega podatka, toda že samo dejstvo, da je kralj pogosto poudarjal krvno sorodstvo, je izredno pomembno in je bilo morda splošno znano.

Leta 1480 se je začela prava vojna med Friderikom III. in Matijem Korvinom. Ogrri so zavzeli Radgono, kmalu tudi Fürstenfeld, naslednje leto pa so oblegali že Maribor. Nekateri plemiči so se postavili na stran kralja, ki jih je bolje plačal. Leta 1483 so Ogrri vdrli vse do Ljubljane. Načrti Matija Korvina so bili vedno jasnejši: Habsburžane je želel izriniti od Dunaja pa vse do morja, na tem območju je hotel postaviti močne utrdbe proti Turkom. Matija Korvin je kljub nasprotnim prizadevanjem Friderika III. zavzemal vedno več slovenskih krajev. Leta 1489 so se začela mirovna pogajanja, toda ogrska oblast nad slovenskim ozemljem se je kmalu končala zaradi Korvinove nenadne smrti leta 1490. Zavzeto ozemlje je ponovno prešlo pod oblast Habsburžanov. Matija Korvin je verjetno predstavljal vladarja, ki bi bil sposoben slovenstvo obvarovati pred turško nevarnostjo in ki bi lahko namesto zasmehovanega Friderika III. na Slovenskem vzpostavil red.<sup>6</sup>

V zvezi s kraljem Matjažem iz slovenskega ljudskega izročila se ne le v mislih laika, ampak tudi v slovenski strokovni literaturi poraja temeljno vprašanje, s kom je mogoče pravzaprav poistovetiti junaka ljudskih pripovedi, natančneje: ali ga je sploh mogoče istovetiti z likom iz madžarske zgodovine, z Matijem Korvinom? Zgodovinska dejstva o vplivu renesančnega madžarskega vladarja na Slovence, ki sem jih predstavil zgoraj, sicer potrjuje zelo malo pisnih virov in dokumentov, toda vseeno je treba ugotoviti, da je imela vladavina Matija Korvina močen vpliv na omenjenem območju, in to velja tudi za Slovence. Vsekakor je treba upoštevati ugotovitev, ki jo je zapisal Ivan Grafenauer v svoji monografiji: »[V]prašanje je malodane nerešljivo, dokler se zgodovinsko razmerje kralja Matija Korvina do slovenskih dežel in Slovencev nadrobno ne razišče ...«<sup>7</sup> Vedeti moramo, da se za znanstvenimi in včasih tudi za lažnimi znanstvenimi razpravami

<sup>5</sup> András Kubinyi, *Mátyás király*, Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2001, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Milko Kos, *Zgodovina Slovencev: Od naselitve do petnajstega stoletja*, Ljubljana, 1955; Bogo Grafenauer, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda III*, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1956; Hunyadi Mátyás, *Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*, Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1990; Peter Štih – Vasko Simoniti, *Slovenska zgodovina do razsvetljenstva*, Celovec, 1996; András Kubinyi, *Mátyás király*, Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, n. d., 174.

skriva nacionalna podoba o najbližjem sosedu, ki je seveda ni mogoče ločiti od razvoja določenega naroda. V zvezi nacionalno podobo velja splošna resnica, ki jo je vsekakor treba upoštevati, namreč da iracionalni elementi, stereotipi bistveno vplivajo na nacionalno podobo in da se v določeni zgodovinski situaciji pogosto ponovno pojavijo že pozabljene posplošitve, negativne ocene in poenostavitve.<sup>8</sup> Ob razumevanju in genezi kralja Matjaža v slovenskih ljudskih pesmih in pripovedkah srečamo vse te pojave.

Anton Ocvirk je v svoji duhovnozgodovinski študiji iz tridesetih let 20. stoletja ob Lepi Vidi, Petru Klepcu in Kurentu med najpomembnejše slovenske nacionalne simbole uvrstil tudi kralja Matjaža.<sup>9</sup> Po Ocvirkovem mnenju ti nacionalni bajeslovni simboli v sebi skrivajo osrednjo resnico, iz katere je mogoče izluščiti celoten eksistencialni, umetniški in kulturni razvoj. Povsem nepomembna je okoliščina, da so ti štirje liki nekoč prišli iz tujega okolja in da bi si jih morali deliti z drugimi narodi – pomembno je le to, da jih je narod prilagodil lastni duhovni podobi. Ocvirkova študija o duhovni zgodovini Slovencev je bila pravzaprav predhodnica monografije Jožeta Pogačnika, ki jo je napisal dobrih pet desetletij pozneje, o najpomembnejšem mitu ljudskega pesništva v slovenskem leposlovju, o leposlovni adaptaciji mita o Lepi Vidi.<sup>10</sup> Ta mit je celi vrsti pisateljev in pesnikov nudil trdno in trajno doživetje, prav zato je mogoče domnevati, da se v njem skriva neka elementarna slovenska psihofizična globina. Tema se pojavlja v vseh literarnozgodovinskih obdobjih, v vseh smereh, kar pomeni, da so intepretacijske možnosti sporočila, ki se skriva v njem, neizčrpane. Pogačnik je to poimenoval elastična stabilnost. Po Pogačniku je vsebina mita »vse bolj rasla, vključevala je psihični, socialni in nacionalni problem slovenstva ter s tem postajala nadčasovna in obča. Do take rasti je lepovidskemu in drugim podobnim motivom pomagal poseben psihološki pojav, ki se imenuje kolektivni spomin. V njem se stikajo stvari, ki so podzavesten izraz življenjske usmerjenosti nekega naroda in njegovega posebnega življenjskega občutja. Kolektivni spomin je tudi sicer najbolj pogosta oplojevalna sila v umetnosti. Stvari, ki so nezavestno živele v narodovi notranjosti, ožive v času, ko se kulturnozgodovinska, sociološka in biološko-psihološka plat strnejo v konstelaciji, ki spontano uresniči in aktualizira poprej le virtualno živčeče podobe.«<sup>11</sup> Pogačnik je mit Lepe Vide razdelil na tri skupine, ki si zgodovinsko sledijo: 1. *sensus mythicus*, to, kar poznamo iz tradici-

<sup>8</sup> Dénes Sokcsevits, *Magyar múlt horvát szemmel*, Budapest: Kapu Könyvek, 2004, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Anton Ocvirk, Slovenski kulturni problemi, *Ljubljanski zvon* 1931, 241–249.

<sup>10</sup> Jože Pogačnik, *Slovenska Lepa Vida ali hoja za rožo čudotvorno*, Ljubljana, 1988.

<sup>11</sup> N. d., 295–296.

onalnega ljudskega pesništva, 2. *sensus historicus*, realistična dela, ki mit razlagajo z genetskega oziroma zgodovinskega zornega kota, in 3. *sensus astrologicus*, dela, v katerih se nahaja kozmično bistvo hrepenjenja. Umestitev mita Lepe Vide v zgoraj navedeno trojno pojmovno enoto, ki jo je odkril Pogačnik, se popolnoma ujema z možno tipologijo mita o kralju Matjažu v ljudskem pesništvu in leposlovju.

### III

V zgodovinski znanosti današnjega časa se je zvečala vrednost kolektivnih narativov, ki zagotavljajo obstoj in časovno trajnost določene skupnosti, služijo pa tudi reorganizaciji identitete posameznika. Te kolektivne pripovedke imajo posebno dinamiko, saj so se določene zgodbe skozi čas ohranile v najrazličnejših različicah, vse dokler ni nastala »dobra zgodba«. <sup>12</sup> Kolektivni spomin, nacionalna identiteta in ustvarjeni narativi tvorijo med seboj povezano trojico. Maurice Halbwachs, ki je prvi izdelal teorijo o kolektivnem spominu, meni, da človeški spomin ni individualne narave, ampak je vezan na družbeno komunikacijo. Spominjamo se lahko samo tistega, kar posredujemo v komunikaciji različnih družbenih skupin, kar lahko umestimo v tamkajšnje socialne sheme ali družbeni kontekst. <sup>13</sup> Spomin je lahko komunikativni in kulturni. Po Janu Assmannu komunikativni spomin vsebuje tiste spomine neposredne preteklosti in sedanjosti, ki si jih delijo sodobniki. Kulturni spomin sega nazaj vse do izvora skupnosti. Kultura opredmeti doživetja in spomine, ki so pomembni za skupnost, med drugim jih kodira v zgodbah in jih tako ohrani. Po Assmannovem mnenju traja časovni interval štirideset let, v tem času spomin članov skupine na konkretne dogodke prepusti mesto simboličnim oblikam, torej kulturnemu spominu. <sup>14</sup> Želim pripomniti – in to potrjuje Assmannov pogled –, da so prva poročila o kralju Matjažu kot junaku slovenskih ljudskih pripovedi dokaj zgodnja. Marcantonio Nicoletti (1536–1589), notar v Čedadu, je v drugi polovici 16. stoletja prvič poročal o običajih Slovencev v okolici Tolmina in med drugim zapisal: »[R]adi pojo v svojem jeziku, v vrsticah različnih napevov pesmi v slavo Kristusovo in svetnikov, pa tudi ogrskega kralja Matija ter drugih slavnih ljudi svojega naroda.« <sup>15</sup> To zgodnje poročilo priča o tem,

<sup>12</sup> Ferenc Pataki, Együttes élmény – kollektív emlékezet, *Magyar Tudomány* 2003, št. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Gábor Gyáni, Kollektív emlékezet és nemzeti identitás, *Magyar Tudomány* 2003, št. 1, 12–16.

<sup>14</sup> Jan Assmann, *A kulturális emlékezet*, Budapest: Atlantisz Kiadó, 1999.

<sup>15</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, n. d., 9.

da je kralj Matjaž dokaj hitro zavzel mesto v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu. Glede ohranjanja preteklosti so spomin in kolektivni narativi izredno pomembni. Pierre Nora pravi, da če se prekine trajnost spomina, se oddaljimo od lastne preteklosti. Spominjamo se lahko le, če obstajajo spominska mesta (ustanove, topografske točke, kulturne stvaritve, družbene navade, rituali, narativi). Najpomembnejša naloga spominskih mest je krepitev in posredovanje nacionalne identitete.<sup>16</sup> V narativih kot spominskih mestih kodirani dogodki »niso resnični zato, ker so se zgodili, ampak zato, ker so vredni spomina, ter zato, ker si najdejo prostor v kronološko urejenem zaporedju dogodkov«. <sup>17</sup> Kako pravzaprav funkcionira kolektivni spomin, ki ustvarja narative za ohranjanje kolektivne in individualne identitete? V verigi dogodkov dobijo poseben pomen določeni epizodni dogodki, ki se kolektivno stilizirajo. Kolektivna pripovedka, ki je tako nastala, fizično ohrani skupnost, zagotovi njeno časovno trajanje in na podlagi te se gradi in trajno reorganizira posameznikova samozavest. Ti narativi se permanentno spreminjajo: obnavljajo in dograjujejo se, njihov pomen se dopolnjuje. Gre za zaprt sistem pomenov: določene ideje so razumljive le za skupnost. Le malo vemo o mehanizmih ustvarjanja kolektivnih narativov.<sup>18</sup>

#### IV

Med številnimi ljudskimi pesmimi in pripovedkami ter leposlovnimi besedili o kralju Matjažu vsekakor izstopajo tri »dobre zgodbe«, ki so bile tudi že prej predmet številnih zanimivih analiz zgodovine mita.<sup>19</sup> Prva »dobra zgodba« je pripovedka z naslovom *Voznik pri kralju Matjažu*, druga ljudska pesem *Godec pred peklom*, tretja pa pripovedka Ivana Cankarja z naslovom *Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž*.

##### *Voznik pri kralju Matjažu*

Neki Slovenec (pravijo) je iz Ugerske vina doma vozil. Nekega dne pride po svojem potu skozi veliko dobravo, nameri se pod visoko goro, na kateri opazi hišico, ktera stoji na pol v skalo zazidana, tako da se je kumej streha iz zemlje vidila. Pred vratami zagleda verlega junaka, s sabljo opasanega. Kadar se Slovenec s vozom približa, začne junak govoriti in pitati: »Prijatelj!

<sup>16</sup> Nav. po: Gábor Gyáni, n. d., 12.

<sup>17</sup> Hayden White, *A történelem terhe*, Budapest: Osiris, 1997, 134.

<sup>18</sup> Ferenc Pataki, n. d.

<sup>19</sup> Ágoston Pável, *Az Orpheusz-monda rokonai a délszláv népköltészetben*, v: Ágoston Pável, *Válogatott tanulmányai és cikkei*, Szombathely, 1976, 7–29; Vlado Nartnik, *Od kvarnerskega zmaja Negotina do koroškega kralja Matjaža*, *Riječ* (Rijeka) 1996, št. 2, 150–156.

Ti si iz gornjih naših stran. Povej mi, ali še lazijo mravlice na te tri verhe: na Šent-Krištofov, na Šent-Helenin in na Šent-Urihov verh?»

(Tako se imenujejo tri gore na severnoizhodnej strani od Celovca. Na vrhu vsake teh treh gor je cerkva izzidana, kamor so Slovenci radi na božji pot hodili. Tudi je bila ta navada, da so se morale vse tri cerkve na jeden den objiskati, kar je bilo dosti težavno. Cerkva sv. Uriha *se je že poderla*; unidva ste pa še celi.)

Slovenec je odgovoril: »Še lazijo, pa ves čas le redje.«

»Povej doma: kadar bode vera toliko oslabela, da ne bode nikdo več hodil na te tri verhe, tedaj bodem jaz ustal in prišel s svojo černo vojsko.«

»Kdo si pa ti?« ga upraša Slovenec.

»Jaz sim kralj Matjaž! Stopi bliže in pojdi za menoj v to hišico, da se sam s svojimi očmi prepričaš.«

Slovenec gre z njim v hišico in kralj Matjaž mu ukaže: »Stopi tu za me in poglej meni črez desno ramo skoz toto okno.«

Človek stori, kakor mu je ukazano, in vidi ravno polje, dolgo in široko. Po celim polju črez in črez vse sami vojaki v orožji s konji. Pa vse mirno in tiho. Nič se ne gane, kakor da bi spali konji in vojaki.

»Vidiš, to je črna vojska!« reče kralj Matjaž začudjenemu Slovincu. – »Poglej spet skoz okno.« – Človek spet pogleda, kralj pak prime rahlo za svojo sabljo in jo malo iz nožnice povleče. Sdaj glej! Cela vojska oživi! Vojaki se vzdvignejo, konji začnejo s glavami majati, herzati in s kopitami kopati.

»Vidiš!« reče kralj Matjaž, »ne bode več dolgo, in jaz bom ustal in potegnil svojo sabljo. Bode mlačen veter potegnil, vsem ljudem jedno misel dal. Moji vojaki bodo poskakali na konje. Tedaj bode črna vojska za sveto staro vero in pravico.« (Tako je dejal Kralj Matjaž.)<sup>20</sup>

V zgornji »dobri zgodbi« se skrivajo številne zanimive in pomembne bajeslovne, duhovnozgodovinske in konkretne zgodovinske plasti, z njihovo razlago in klasifikacijo pa je bilo podkrepljeno vse tisto, kar sem zgoraj na kratko navedel o oblikovanju kolektivnih narativov. Vlado Nartnik je v svoji študiji ob tej zgodbi opozoril hkrati na bajeslovne in zgodovinske globine, ki oblikujejo diskurz kolektivnega spomina.<sup>21</sup> Arabski znanstvenik Al-Masúdi je v svojem delu iz 10. stoletja poročal o treh svetiščih Slovanov, in sicer takole:

Prvo svetišče iz raznoterega in raznobarnega kamenja stoji na previsokem gorovju, v njegovi kupoli so na vzhodni strani line in znamenja, ki se po njih prerokuje, z viška donijo silni glasovi.

Drugo svetišče je postavil na Črni gori eden od slovanskih kraljev sredi zdravilnih voda. V njem stoji velikanski Saturnov malik v obliki starca, držčega palico, ki z njo spravlja v gibanje kosti mrtvih; pod njegovo desno nogo so mravlje, pod levo pa vrane in druge ptice »zamorci« in »črnci«.

Tretje svetišče iz marmorja in smaragda je na gori, ki jo obdaja morski zaliv. Maliku v njem iz četrerega dragocenega kamenja in z zlato glavo stoji

<sup>20</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, n. d., 210–211.

<sup>21</sup> Vlado Nartnik, K rabi in smislu barvnih izrazov v Cankarjevem Kurentu, *Jezik in slovstvo* 1984/85, št. 6, 194–199.

nasproti ženski malik. Svetišče je sezidal neki modrijan, ki je prerokoval skoz lino v kupoli.<sup>22</sup>

Med »dobro zgodbo«, Al-Masudijevim poročilom in *Voznikom pri Kralju Matjažu* je več očitnih ujemanj: prerokovanje skozi lino prvega in drugega svetišča, torej pogled v prihodnost, nadalje vidna podobnost med Saturnovim malikom v drugem svetišču z Matjaževim likom. Matjaž povabi voznika v svojo hišo, da bi čez njegovo desno ramo skozi okensko odprtino pogledal v prihodnost. Dokaz za to, da gre v resnici za pogled v prihodnost, je že pretirani prihodnji čas v zadnjem odstavku pripovedke, saj v vsaki povedi najdemo spregane oblike pomožnega glagola v prihodnjiku (*bode, bodem, bode, bodo, bode*). Saturn v roki drži palico in s tem oživlja kosti umrlih. Matjaž z napol izvlečeno sabljo zbujaja svoje nepremične vojake. Pod Saturnovo desno nogo so mravlje, Matjaž pa voznika sprašuje o tem, ali še plezajo mravlje na tri hribe. Pred Saturnovo levo nogo so tudi krokarji »zamorcji« in »črncji«. Ptica v Matjaževem grbu je prav tako krokar, njegovo vojsko pa so imenovali »črna vojska«. To so najpomembnejši elementi »dobrih zgodb«, na podlagi katerih je mogoče potegniti mitološke vzporednice med Al-Masudijevim opisom in *Voznikom pri kralju Matjažu*.

V *Vozniku pri kralju Matjažu* omenjeni trije hribi – Sveti Krištof, Sveta Magdalena in Sveti Ulrik – se nahajajo na območju, ki je tvorilo osrednji del Regnuma Noricuma in bilo pozneje priključeno Rimskemu cesarstvu. Treba je vedeti, da so se pred vojaško širitvijo Rima v smeri vzhoda pojavili trgovci imperija, ki so imeli stalno predstavništvo na hribu Sveta Magdalena. Prek teh trgovcev se je na tem območju rimska civilizacija pojavila že pred politično integracijo.<sup>23</sup> Pozneje je na istem hribu imela postojanko tudi manjša enota ptuj-ske osme legije.<sup>24</sup> Na hribu Sveti Ulrik so arheologi odkrili ostanke poznoantične bazilike, na hribu Sveta Magdalena pa so našli ostanke Noreie, ki se je štela za središče Norika.<sup>25</sup>

Na vrhu treh hribov severovzhodno od Celovca stojijo tri cerkve – poimenovana po svetem Urhu se je podrla –, ki so bile ciljne točke t. i. »letečih procesij« Slovencev. Te tri svete hribe se je spodobilo obiskati v enem dnevu, kar je bilo dokaj utrudljivo.<sup>26</sup> Vprašanje kralja

<sup>22</sup> Nav. po: Vlado Nartnik, n. d., 199.

<sup>23</sup> Bogo Grafenauer, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* I, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1978, 145.

<sup>24</sup> N. d., 159.

<sup>25</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, n. d., 210.

<sup>26</sup> Vlado Nartnik, K izvoru koroških letečih procesij, *Koledar Družbe svetega Mohorja v Celovcu* 1989, 64–70.

Matjaža v slovenski ljudski pripovedki – »Povej mi, ali še lazijo mravlice na te tri verhe: na Šent-Krištofov, na Šent-Helenin in na Šent-Urihov verh?« – se seveda nanaša na božje poti.

Zgodba na začetku govori o velikem gozdu, visokem hribu in o »hišici, koja stoji na pol v skalo zazidana, tako da se je kumej streha iz zemlje vidila«. V zvezi s tem je treba spomniti na sodobnika Matija Korvina, Erazma Predjamskega, in njegov tudi v svetu redek grad v bližini Postojnske jame, ki pravzaprav tvori celoto s kraško jamo. Jama je del kraškega sveta, pod njo se v treh nadstropjih skriva podzemeljski svet z vodnimi tokovi. V prvem nadstropju se nahaja t. i. Erazmova jama, pri njenem vhodu so zgradili grad, prednika gradu pa so uredili še globlje v sami jami. Grad je v 14. stoletju prišel pod upravo nemške rodbine Lueger, ki so jo Slovenci imeli za Predjamsko. Največ legend je povezanih prav z imenom Erazma Predjamskega, ki se je proti cesarju Frideriku III. povezal z Matijem Korvinom ter postal pravi roparski vitez. Leta 1484 so ga v lastnem gradu ubili.<sup>27</sup> Kot roparski vitez je ustrašoval svojo okolico, pogosto je napadal okoliško zemljiško gospodo in trgovce, ki so čez Kras prevažali blago na morje, ali pa prav z morja v notranjost države.<sup>28</sup> Ta posebna lega gradu se popolnoma ujema s položajem Matjaževe hišice v pripovedki (»na pol v skalo zazidana«). V pripovedki je moški, ki prevažava vino, »Slovenec«, o Matjažu na začetku zgodbe pa izvemo le, da je »verli junak«. Tukaj gre pravzaprav za prikrito opozicijo: Slovenec – »verli junak« (ki ni Slovenec). Zgodbo je mogoče na tej točki povezati tudi z Erazmom Predjamskim.

V svoji knjigi o kralju Matjažu sem že opozoril na zgoraj navedene mitološke in zgodovinske povezave, med raziskovanjem gradiva pa sem našel dve dodatni dragoceni informaciji, ki zgodbo še popestrijo. Gre za dva dogodka, ki sta se zgodila blizu slovenskega ozemlja v času vladavine Matija Korvina v letih 1485 in 1487. Matija Korvin je pred osvojitvijo Dunaja 18. marca 1485 zavzel Kronenburg. Matjažev dvorni zgodovinar Antonio Bonfini je v zvezi z dogodkom napisal: »Tega dne je bil tako močan sončni mrk, da so se videle številne zvezde. Številni so napovedali, da bo sončni mrk pomenil nesrečo za cesarja.«<sup>29</sup> Opisani sončni mrk je bil pravzaprav 16. marca 1485 in je zajel območja okrog Linza, Kószega in Esztergoma. Na Dunaju in v Budimu pa je bil sončni mrk skoraj popoln. Merkur, Venera, Mars in Jupiter so bili ob Soncu vidni kot svetle zvezde. Za kralja pa je bilo splošno znano, da se je bal nebesnih znamenj. Drugi pomembni dogodek se je zgodil po zavzetju Dunajskega Novega mesta 17. avgusta

<sup>27</sup> Nace Šumi, *Slovenija – umetnostni vodnik*, Ljubljana, 1990, 146.

<sup>28</sup> Ivan Stopar, *Gradovi na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1987, 331.

<sup>29</sup> Antonio Bonfini, *Mátyás király*, prev. László Geréb, Budapest, 1959.



1487 na razkošnem pregledu vojske, ki ga je Bonfini zelo podrobno opisal. Iz zelo obsežnega besedila želim navesti le kratek odlomek: »Na ravnem polju pred Dunajskim Novim mestom je razvrstil celotno legijo, jo postrojil ... Vojska, ki je iz taborišča zakorakala na polje, da bi se odpravila na zavzetje sotesk in dolin Norika, je štela osem tisoč pešcev, dvajset tisoč konjenikov in okrog devet tisoč vozov (brez oprode, pomočnikov, jestvinarjev). Kralj je želel osebno postaviti vse kolone in je sam podelil vojaške naloge po zaslugi posameznika ... Povsod je vladala pokorščina, ljubezni do poveljnika se je pridružila bojazen in spoštovanje, njegovim ukazom so ustregli, še preden jih je izgovoril, zanj bi žrtvovali tudi življenje. Povsod je bila tišina, nikjer se ni slišal človeški glas, kaj šele rezget konja. Potem so se posamezne kolone vojakov malce premaknile naprej, na povelje so vladarju izvedli vojaško vajo, kolone so tvorile razne formacije v obliki klina, kroga, trikotnika, štirikotnika, žage in škarij.«<sup>30</sup>

Bajeslovni kralj Matjaž v ljudski zgodbi *Voznik pri kralju Matjažu* prav tako oživlja svoje vojščake »črne vojske« kot zgodovinski kralj Matjaž v Bonfinijevem opisu na vojaški paradi na polju Sollenau vojaške svoje črne vojske. V obeh »dobrih zgodbah« sta opisani dve stanji: mirujoče, mrtvo, in vitalno, dinamično. Do prehoda iz enega stanja v drugo pride, ko pravljичni kralj potegne sabljo iz nožnice oz. ko ukaže zgodovinski vladar. Na mističnem/bajeslovnem »ravnem polju« – pri Bonfiniju prav tako »ravno polje«<sup>31</sup> – Slovenec zagleda mirujočo »černo vojsko«, ki je prej ni videl. Dve stanji »črne vojske« – obstoj, neobstoj – kot da bi bili povezani z sončnim mrkom, ko dejanski svet za kratek čas izgine, potem pa se hitro vrne. Omenjena dva zgodovinska dogodka (sončni mrk, vojaška parada), ko je zgodovinski kralj Matjaž s svojo večnacionalno vojsko tri leta pred smrtjo prikorakal dejansko najbližje slovenskim krajem in se mu je odprla pot na zahod (Norik), sta vsekakor morala pustiti vidne sledove v kolektivnem spominu slovenstva. V *Vozniku pri kralju Matjažu* kot polivalentni »dobri zgodbi«, ki je od časa do časa doživela metamorfoze, najdemo različne plasti kolektivnega spomina – mistične, bajeslovne in zgodovinske.

## V

Orfejev lik je v grški mitologiji skrivnosten vse do danes, saj ni razjasnjeno, ali gre za zgodovinsko osebo ali za bajeslovnega junaka.

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b85/ch39.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Tako tudi v pesmi *Godec pred peklom*: »pole široko«.



Spomin nanj je negovala skupnost orfeistov, ki so o sebi trdili, da imajo v posesti knjige z Orfejevimi nauki, njegovimi poročili o pohodu v podzemlje in vse znanje, ki si ga je pridobil tam spodaj in potem širil na zemlji.<sup>32</sup> Njegov lik sta najbolj poetično upodobila Ovidij v *Metamorfozah* in Vergilij v *Georgiki*. V teh dveh delih sta poudarjeni dve temeljni značilnosti njegovega mita: magična moč njegove pesmi, ki očara ves živi svet, in njegov spust v podzemlje. Orfej je bil zamenjan v podzemlju, svoje ljubljene Evridike ni mogel rešiti, medtem ko se je Dioniz, drugi mitični junak, ki so ga v antiki primerjali z Orfejem, uspešno spustil v Had po svojo mater Semelo.<sup>33</sup>

Orfejev lik se je pojavil tudi v ljudskem pesništvu južnoslovenskih narodov. Najbolj znani pesnik hrvaškega baročnega pesništva Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638) ga je omenil v epu *Osman*. Od Orfejeve tradicije v dolini Marice, ki jo omenja Gundulić, se ni ohranilo nič, Avgust Pavel pa je madžarskim bralcem predstavil bajčno legendarno pesem o kralju Matjažu, ki je nastala po popolnem orfičnem navdihu in ki je le ena od tovrstnih v slovenskem ljudskem pesništvu.<sup>34</sup>

*Godec pred peklom*

Stoji mi pole široko,  
Po poli steza vglajena.  
Po stezi pride kral Matjaš  
No se močno hudo drži.  
Jega pa sreje potnik star,  
Potnik star, sam večni Bog:  
»Pa kaj je tebi kralj Matjaš  
kaj se ti tak hudo držiš?«  
»Bog vam plati na pitanje!  
Koj se ja nebi hudo držâ,  
Ki že meni za doûgo let  
Moja luba mrtva leži,  
Moja luba mrtva leži,  
No duša joj v pekli gori.«  
»Oj nikaj, nikaj, kral Matjaš!  
Le idi ti na senjem lep,  
Si kupi žoûte goslice,  
No pred peklom zaigraj.  
Da boš igrâ minote tri.  
De tebe pitâ šatan vrag:  
Čuješ, ti igrc, kral Matjaš.  
Kaj pa bom ti za plačo dâ?  
Ti pa mu (ta) odgovor daj,  
Kaj boš si plačo jemâ sam.«

<sup>32</sup> Károly Kerényi, *Görög mitológia*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1977, 365.

<sup>33</sup> N. d., 368.

<sup>34</sup> Ágoston Pável, *Az Orpheusz-monda ...*, n. d., 7–29.

Kral Matjaš grè na senjem lép  
No si kupi žou̇te goslice,  
Te on ide pred pekel,  
No pred peklom zaigrà.  
Da je že igrà minote tri,  
Ga je pità šatan vrag:  
»Čuješ, ti igrc, kral Matjaš!  
Kaj pa bom ti za plačo dà?«  
»Čuješ, ti šatan, peklenski kral!  
Jaz bom si plačo sam jemà.«  
On prime lubo za belo rokó  
No jo pela z pekla žerečega.  
Kak hitro jo perpela vun,  
Tak hitro luba pregoūci:  
»Nesrečen bodi, pekel ti,  
kaj bõš zdaj mogâ prazen bit!«

Kak hitro luba pregoūci,  
Tak hitro nazaj v pekel zleti.  
»Nesrečen bodi, jezik ti,  
Kaj nesi mogâ tiho bit!  
Zdaj pa na veke goriâ boš,  
Zdaj pa na veke trpiâ bõš!«

Osnovno razliko med antičnim Orfejevim mitom in zgoraj navedenim predstavlja prisotnost krščanskih elementov. Vemo, da je imel Orfej v krščanski mitologiji posebno mesto. V katakombah je pogosto videti njegovo podobo v obliki dobrega pastirja. Ne vemo, kako je prišla legenda o Orfeju v slovensko ljudsko pesništvo, skrivnost pa je tudi to, ali je lik kralja Matjaža neposredno zamenjal Orfeja ali drugo, še starejše mitično bitje.<sup>35</sup>

Joseph L. Henderson, ameriški učenec C. G. Junga, je v svoji študiji *Orfej in Božji sin* preučeval, kako se različni miti dograjujejo, zamenjujejo in katera psihološka izkušnja se skriva v njih.<sup>36</sup> Avtor trdi, da verško iskanje človeka sodobne zahodne krščanske civilizacije še vedno določajo prastara izročila, medtem pa med poganskimi in krščanskimi verovanji nastane konflikt, ki ga je mogoče dokazati v fantazijah in sanjah. Toda ne le v sanjah, bomo rekli mi, ampak te prehode verodostojno in dobro vidno hrani tudi ljudsko izročilo. V predkrščanskem obdobju sta bili dve zamenjavi misterija, ki sta se

<sup>35</sup> Ágoston Pável, n. d., 7–29; Vlado Nartnik na podlagi osnovnih ugotovitev Pavlove študije nakazuje na oddaljene, delno literarne (Dante), delno neevropske, novomehiške vzporednice. Gl. Vlado Nartnik, *Pogledi na Pavlove raziskave tematike Orfeja*, v: *Slovensko-madžarski jezikovni in književni stiki od Košiča do danes*, ur. István Nyomárkay – István Lukács, Budapest: Kossics Alapítvány, 1998, 205–210.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph L. Henderson, *Orpheusz és az Ember Fia*, v: C. G. Jung, *Az ember és szimbólumai*, Budapest: Göncöl Kiadó, 1993, 140–148.

pozneje organsko navezali na krščanstvo: prvi je bil kult perzijskega boga sonca Mitra, drugi grški Dionizov kult. Kult Mitra je bil v 3. stoletju prisoten v krogu rimskih vojakov v okolici Ptuja; trije reliefi hranijo spomin nanj.<sup>37</sup> Na Slovenskem se nahaja še en Mitrov relief, in sicer v Rožancu v Beli krajini; v naravnem okolju so ga vklesali v skalo.<sup>38</sup> Več reliefov Mitra in Dioniza so našli tudi na panonskem področju.<sup>39</sup> Predivja osrednja lika, ki sta »hrepenela po verskem življenju«, je pozneje zamenjal Orfej, ki ga je zgodnja krščanska cerkev štela za predpodobo Kristusa in ki je na prefinjen način ohranil Dionizovo vero. »Orfej je kot dober pastir in posrednik našel ravnotežje med Dionizovo in krščansko vero, ker tako pri Dionizu kot tudi pri Kristusu odkrijemo podobno vlogo [...] – ena je ciklična vera spodnjega sveta, druga pa je predstavnicca nebeške in eshatološke (o zadnjih ciljnih življenja in sveta) ali finalne vere.«<sup>40</sup> Na Ptuju tudi danes stoji Orfejev spomenik, ki ga je okrog 2. stoletja postavil neznani dobrotnik. Sploh ni naključje, da je v srednjem veku služil za sramotilni stolp.<sup>41</sup> Zaslediti je tudi Orfejev panonski kult, saj njegov spomin hranijo številni reliefi.<sup>42</sup>

Posebna slovenska projekcija antične vzporednice med Dionizom in Orfejem je, da zgornja pesem obstaja v še eni različici, ki jo je zapisal Stanko Vraz v okolici Ljutomera v bližini ogrske meje. V tem besedilu se kralj Matjaž v pekel ni spustil po svojo ljubico, ampak podobno kot Dioniz po svojo mater.<sup>43</sup> Iz življenjepisa Matija Korvina poznamo s Ptujem povezani politični in družinski dogodek. Mati in snaha, torej bodoča Matijeva soproga, sta se prvič srečali na Ptuju. Matija Korvin se je leta 1476 poročil z Beatrice, hčerjo Ferdinanda I., neapeljskega kralja. V številčni ogrski delegaciji, ki je potovala v Neapelj, je bilo tudi 20 turških ujetnikov. Nevarna kopenska pot bodoče kraljice je peljala čez Kranjsko in Štajersko, med potjo so nanjo prežale turške čete. Prve dni decembra so prispeli na Ptuj, kjer je bodočo kraljico počakala vdova Jánosa Hunyadija, Matijeva mati, in jo spremila v Székesfehérvár, kjer so jo okronali za kraljico.<sup>44</sup>

*Iz Godca pred pekлом lahko prav tako kot iz Voznika pri kralju*

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<sup>37</sup> Bogo Grafenauer, n. d., 207.

<sup>38</sup> *Zakladi Slovenije*, besedilo Matjaž Kmecl, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1979, 124.

<sup>39</sup> Gyula László, *Vértesszőlőstől Puztaszerig*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1974, 139 in 146.

<sup>40</sup> Joseph L. Henderson, n. d., 143.

<sup>41</sup> *Zakladi Slovenije*, n. d., 31.

<sup>42</sup> Gl. Gyula László, n. d., 135.

<sup>43</sup> *Slovenske ljudske pesmi – Szlovén népdalok*, prev. Ágoston Pavel, uredil, predgovor in opombe napisal Vilko Novak, Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1967, 180.

<sup>44</sup> József Prém, Mátyás király a krajnai népköltészetben, v: *Mátyás király emlékkönyv*, Budapest, 1902.

Matjažu izluščimo tiste bajeslovne in zgodovinske plasti kolektivnega spomina, ki so v njiju okamnele. Ptuj kot pomembna lokacija je spominsko mesto, v katerem sta se »srečali« bajeslovje in zgodovina. Kralj Matjaž v slovenskih ljudskih pesmih in pripovedkah je pravzaprav »arhetipski simbol«,<sup>45</sup> v katerem se v spremenjeni, malce preoblikovani in aktualizirani obliki pojavljata »preteklost in prihodnost, ki sta prisotni v kolektivni podzavesti«<sup>46</sup> in ki sta določali zgodovinski in kulturni razvoj slovenstva. Preteklost v tem smislu, da se je v teh besedilih ohranilo spiritualno bistvo vseh civilizacij, s katerimi je bila geografska pokrajina naseljena s Slovenci skozi zgodovino v stiku, prihodnost pa tako, da slovenstvo vse do danes ohranja izročilo o kralju Matjažu.

## VI

Poslikavanje panjskih končnic je bila na Slovenskem razširjena navada. Najstarejša panjska končnica izvira iz sredine 18. stoletja, večina pa jih je iz 19. stoletja. Glede tematike in motivov spada polovica končnic v krog posvetnih, polovica pa v krog verskih.<sup>47</sup> Med njimi so slike, ki predstavljajo podobe iz stare zaveze, najdemo pa tudi upodobitve treh evangelistov v podobi živali. Številni motivi izvirajo prav iz ljudskega pesništva. »Motivika na panjskih končnicah, ki jo je v stoletjih dopolnjevala ljudska domišljija s spreminjanjem izvirne zgodbe, je tako kot drugo ljudsko izročilo preplet psihološkega, socialnega in zgodovinskega.«<sup>48</sup> Izmed cele vrste panjskih končnic želim opozoriti na dve, ki sta pomembni v luči naše teme in sta glede kompozicije tesno povezani ter sta blizu tudi povesti Ivana Cankarja *Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž*. Osrednji lik prve slike je Kristus z glorio, ko ga slačita dva rimska vojaka. Kompozicijo z obeh strani zaključujejo drevesa. Na drugi sliki zavzema osrednje mesto kralj Matjaž, njegova dolga brada je razdeljena na dva dela in sega čez kamnito mizo. Vsekakor je nenavadno in anahronistično, da kralja Matjaža z obeh strani varuje po pet *rinskih* vojakov s sulico. To se zdi nenavadno tudi odličnemu poznavalcu te teme Gorazdu Makaroviču: »Kralj ne spi, ampak sedi ob mizi pod krošnjami dreves. Okoli njega stojijo njegovi vojaki v

<sup>45</sup> Northrop Frye, Az irodalom archetipusai, v: *A modern irodalomtudomány kialakulása*, ur. Antal Bókay – Béla Vilcsek, Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1998, 440–448.

<sup>46</sup> C. G. Jung, Múlt és jövő a tudattalanban, v: *Az ember és szimbólumai*, Budapest: Göncöl Kiadó, 1993, 30–37.

<sup>47</sup> Edi Berk – Janez Bogataj – Janez Pukšič, *Ljudska umetnost in obrti v Sloveniji*, Kranj, 1993.

<sup>48</sup> Ida Gnilšak, *Pripovedi s panjev*, Radovljica, 1992, 11.

nenarodnih nošah, podobnih rimskim.«<sup>49</sup> Kompozicijo tudi v tem primeru zaključujeta drevesi. Slikar panjske končnice je želel sporočiti, za koga pravzaprav gre, saj je na sliki tudi napis *Kral Matiaš*, kar je dokaj nenavadno za to zvrst. Vojaki v *rimski* obleki so dokaz za to, da gre tudi v primeru teh dveh panjskih končnic za aktualizacijo: v kompoziciji je Kristusa z glorio zamenjal lik kralja Matjaža, zgodovinski lik, ki je postal legendaren. Glorio zamenja krona, torej svetniški sij zamenja simbol najvišje posvetne oblasti. Toda v tem primeru obstaja bistvena razlika: v upodobitvi kralja Matjaža na panjski končnici je v ospredju bajeslovnost/mističnost kralja, saj sedi za kamnito mizo, ki jo bo obrasla njegova brada.

Ritualni in bajeslovni sistem simbolov je za književnost neizčrpen vir, »neke vrste arhetipska gramatika«.<sup>50</sup> Tudi na splošno drži in bomo s pomočjo slovenske književnosti tudi konkretno dokazali, da je leposlovje prek folklore genetsko povezano z mitologijo.<sup>51</sup> István Fried trdi, da metodika kritike mita lahko pomaga pri odkrivanju tistih svetopisemskih in antičnih elementov v literarnih delih 19. stoletja, ki pogosto razlagajo in preoblikujejo pomen, lahko pa osvetli tudi tiste skrite bajeslovne aluzije, ki hkrati odpirajo poti do Svetega pisma, antike in psiholoških arhetipov.<sup>52</sup> Hkratno presojanje ljudske likovne umetnosti, ljudskega izročila in književnosti, razvozlanje arhetipskih stikov med njimi nam je lahko v pomoč pri boljšem poznavanju zgodovinskih duhovnih plasti in pri boljšem razumevanju in reševanju literarnih del avtorjev, ki temeljijo in črpajo iz teh tradicij.

Posebna sinteza skoraj stoletje prisotnega mita o kralju Matjažu v slovenski književnosti je Cankarjeva povest *Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž* iz leta 1905. Pred nastankom dela je bil Cankar v posebnem, prenapetem duševnem stanju. V času pisanja *Potepuha* se je odločil za nenavaden korak. Poglavja, ki so bila napisana, je predal v branje Ivanu Prijatelju, ki je celotno Cankarjevo literarno ustvarjanje razlagal na podlagi Nietzschejevega apolonskega in dionizijskega principa. Končno besedilo pa je poslal Franu Levcu s temi besedami: »Kakor že ime razodeva, sem krenil to pot skoro popolnoma s svoje dosedanje ceste; hotel sem pokazati tistim ljudem, ki mi očitajo, da ne pišem za 'ljudstvo', kako se piše dandanes naroden jezik in pa da se dá vsaka ideja obleči v čisto preprosto obliko.«<sup>53</sup> Cankar se je pravzaprav po-

<sup>49</sup> Gorazd Makarovič, *Poslikane panjske končnice*, Ljubljana, 1962, 115.

<sup>50</sup> Jeleazar Meletyinskij, *A mítosz poétikája*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1985, 152.

<sup>51</sup> N. d., 357.

<sup>52</sup> István Fried, Utak a komparatiztikában, v: *Utak a komparatiztikában: Az összehasonlító irodalomtudomány új-régi kérdései*, ur. István Fried, Szeged, 1997, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Ivan Cankar, *Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž*, v: Ivan Cankar, *Zbrano delo* 13, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1973, 235.

skusil prilagoditi Trdinovi estetsko utemeljeni folklorni usmeritvi, o kateri se je izrazil pohvalno, torej novim literarnim normam, pričakovanjem. Prav zaradi tega je njegova metoda tudi literarnozgodovinsko utemeljena in je hkrati dvojni – estetski in zgodovinski – odgovor na Kettejeve protinarodne očitke, ki jih je izrekel v zvezi s Cankarjevo *Sodbo*.<sup>54</sup>

Marko zaspi in se v sanjah zateče na »čudovito pot«. Sredi gozda skozi odprtino vstopi v jamo, ki je podobna grobu. Slika, ki ga je sprejela v jami, ta pa se je razširila v dvorano, je bila zelo podobna tisti na panjski končnici: »Hodnik se je razmeknil, razširil se in vzbočil v prostorno dvorano. Ob vhodu je slonelo dvoje vojščakov. Globoko na prsi sta povešala glavo, roke so se opirale ob ratišče dolge sulice. Podobna sta bila natanko tistim rimskim vojščakom, ki jih je videl Marko nekoč v farni cerkvi pred božjim grobom; tudi tako rjava in bradata sta bila v obraz.«<sup>55</sup> Matjaževa in Kristusova podoba se tudi v tem primeru združita.

Na podlagi mota pripovedke *Potepuh Marko* – »Kadar bo kralj Matjaž kraljóval, / onda bo kmetič dobro kmetóval« – lahko identificiramo slovensko ljudsko pripoved, ki je bila Cankarjev vir. Pripoved najdemo v knjigi Ivana Grafenauerja z naslovom *Pijanec pri kralju Matjažu*.<sup>56</sup> Za Cankarja je bil literarno »idejno« zanimiv le en element pripovedi, in sicer lik pijanega glavnega junaka, ki ga je s pomočjo načel modernistične estetike oblikoval v resnično ambivalentno figuro. Marko je pravi dionizijski lik, ki uteleša večstoletno iskanje pravičnosti slovenstva – umetnik, berač, pijanec, tragična in komična figura v eni osebi. Potepuh Marko je izredno zapleten lik Cankarjevih številnih »nomadnih junakov«, ker je v dialogu s konkretno ljudsko tradicijo, torej je moral pri oblikovanju lika računati z določenimi omejitvami. Glede na to, da gre za simboličnega junaka, njegova življenjska pot ni tradicionalna razvojna pot, ampak življenjska pot, ki se oblikuje po naravnih ciklih, kar pomeni nenehno vračanje k že preseženim vrednotam.<sup>57</sup>

Matjažev mit kot najbolj arhaičen, najbolj stabilen in zelo priljubljen element slovenskega ljudskega izročila je bil Cankarju primeren za odgovor na številne probleme usodnih vprašanj slovenskega naroda in tudi na aktualne dileme posameznika.

<sup>54</sup> O tem Franc Zdravec, Cankarjevi folklorni junaki, v: Franc Zdravec, *Umetnikovi »črni piruh«*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana, 1981, 17–32; Franc Zdravec, Stikaljšča med Trdinovo in Cankarjevo umetnostjo, v: Franc Zdravec, n. d., 33–55.

<sup>55</sup> Ivan Cankar, n. d., 227.

<sup>56</sup> Ivan Grafenauer, n. d., 227–228.

<sup>57</sup> Marko Juvan, Med identifikacijo in negacijo: Pripovedkovni intertekst v Cankarjevi povesti *Potepuh Marko in kralj Matjaž*, *Slavistična revija* 1989, št. 4, 479.

Zakaj je lahko mit o kralju Matjažu postal tako pomemben del Cankarjevega življenjskega dela? Cankar se je od konca devetdesetih let 19. stoletja soočal z vprašanji, ki se jim ni mogel izogniti kot pisatelj. Eno izmed vprašanj je bila huda obtožba nenarodnosti, torej je moral hitro razčistiti svoj odnos do slovenskega ljudskega izročila. Mit o kralju Matjažu kot živ in neizogiben del te tradicije je – pozneje ob mitu Kurenta – postal osrednji element njegovega razmišljanja, bil je primeren za sprožitev usodnih vprašanj, ki so bila vseskozi prisotna v slovenski zgodovini: izpostavljenost slovenstva skozi stoletja, usodnost zgodovine naroda, nenehna tuja oblast, brez možnosti za razvoj iz družbene nepravilnosti. Mit o kralju Matjažu, ki je vseskozi prisoten v Cankarjevem življenjskem delu, nas podkrepi v tem, da pisatelj z njim ni želel obračunati,<sup>58</sup> ampak ga je hotel aktualizirati in razumovati na stičišču kolektivizma in individualizma.

V slovenskem leposlovju, zlasti v času moderne in umetniškega delovanja Ivana Cankarja, ko je prišla do izraza secesijska občutljivost do evropskih in nacionalnih mitov, so ustvarjalci odgovore na končna vprašanja iskali zunaj empiričnega sveta. Z vključevanjem likov iz mitologije in nacionalne folklore – Dioniz, Orfej, kralj Matjaž, Kurent itn. – na neposreden, včasih pa tudi na izrazito prenesen, prikrit literarni način so nastali neposredni, razrešljivi, razvezljivi, hkrati pa tudi dokaj enigmatični odgovori na bistvena vprašanja določenega zgodovinskega obdobja in na trenutne individualne dvome ustvarjalca. Leposlovje je ljudsko tradicijo včasih uporabljalo namenoma in teatralno, ker je pač moralo izkazovati svojo nacionalno zavezanost, včasih pa jo je naredilo podobno palimpsestu, da bi tako nastalo skrivnostno gradivo naslovnika še bolj omajalo. In res je, kralj Matjaž slovenskega ljudskega izročila in leposlovja nas tudi danes očara s svojo raznovrstnostjo, s plastmi mitološke preteklosti in zgodovinske resničnosti, ki ju je mogoče kdaj pa kdaj prepoznati in razvozlati, kdaj drugič pa nista razrešljivi.

## VII

Ideja odrešitve (posameznika – človeka, skupnosti – slovenstva) je vseskozi prisotna v pripovedkah o kralju Matjažu, tako tudi v zgoraj omenjenih in podrobno analiziranih »dobrih zgodbah«. Na

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<sup>58</sup> Franc Zadavec na podlagi Cankarjevega dela O človeškem napuhu. Gl. Ivan Cankar, *Zbrano delo* 10, Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1959, 435–439; Franc Zadavec, Cankarjevi folklorni junaki, *Slavistična revija* 1980, št. 2, 153–165; gl. še: Franc Zadavec, *Umetnikov »črni piruh«*, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1981, 17–32.

koncu lahko postavimo konkretni vprašanji: Od kod odrešenik kralj Matjaž? Ali obstaja kaka konkretna zgodovinska osnova za razlago tega zelo pomembnega motiva, kompozicijskega elementa, mita v slovenskih pripovedkah o kralju Matjažu?

Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), izjemna osebnost firenškega humanizma, neoplatonist in teolog, ustanovitelj Platonove akademije v Firencah, je tretjo knjigo svojega dela *De triplica vita*, v kateri se ukvarja predvsem z astrologijo, posvetil kralju Matiju Korvinu. Država Matija Korvina je bila prva država, v kateri se je dosledno uveljavil firenški humanizem. V posvetilnem pismu iz leta 1480 beremo, da so filozofi, pesniki, govorniki in zgodovinarji grške antike po toliko letih sijajnega dela in življenja zdaj pod turškim jarmom. V nadaljevanju piše: »In kakor so nekoč v limbu čakajoči stari svetniki klicali Mesija, tako zdaj ti ubobožani modreci glasno kličejo Matjaža kot Matjaža odrešenika, da jih iz pekla popelje na svetlobo in v življenje.«<sup>59</sup> Takoj je treba poudariti, da v tem primeru ne gre le za navadno humanistično laskanje enega od številnih Matjaževih častilcev, za katerim so bili predvsem osebni interesi, ampak za iskrene besede pomembne, celo več, najpomembnejše osebnosti italijanskega humanizma.

Kljub žalostni zaostalosti Srednje Evrope se je proti koncu srednjega veka prav to območje razvijalo najbolj dinamično. Za vlade Matija Korvina kot potencialnega predstavnika močne dinastije se je Ogrsko kraljestvo, tudi iz Italije gledano, štelo za nevarno območje, na katerem se odvija oster in uspešen boj proti Turkom in husitom. Zaradi te dvojne nevarnosti so križarske vojne postale ponovno aktualne, pri čemer so namenili vodilno vlogo prav Matiju Korvinu, ki ga je Antonio Bonfini v delu *De Corvinae domus origine* genealoško povezal z Jupitrom (zaradi delnega romunskega porekla). V Evropi je bilo predvsem po zmagi pri Jajcu (1463) jasno, da lahko Evropa v boju proti Turkom računa le na eno potencialno državo, na Ogrsko kraljestvo. Po letu 1470 je prišlo do resnih sprememb v politiki Matija Korvina. Odnosi s Svetim sedežem so se zaostriili, ker je kralj poskusil ustanoviti nacionalno cerkev in je s tem vedno manj pozornosti posvečal boju proti Turkom. Ideja o križarskem boju je postala manj pomembna. Nova zahodna orientacija in s tem začetek boja proti Frideriku III. ter poroka z Beatrice so bili prvi resni koraki na poti do ustanovitve humanistične monarhije. Po nenadni smrti Matija

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<sup>59</sup> Nav. po: Tibor Klaniczay, *A kereszteshad eszméje és a Mátyás-mítosz*, v: Tibor Klaniczay, *Hagyományok ébresztése*, Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1976, 166.



Korvina leta 1490 pa je zelo hitro prišlo do političnega in gospodar-  
skega zloma države.

V mitu o kralju Matjažu kot odrešeniku se zelo strnjeno odraža,  
da je izjemen vojak, potencialni križarski vodja, ki bo premagal bre-  
zverce in krivoverce, ter postal vladar, ki bo osvobodil ta del Evrope  
barbarstva in razširil humanističnega in renesančnega duha. Prav za-  
radi tega ga ima Marsilio Ficino za odrešenika.

## SUMMARY

### **Three “Good Stories” about King Matthias Corvinus**

The author’s monograph, published in Hungarian in 2001, was  
the first attempt at a synthesis of the topic of King Matthias Corvinus  
in Slovenian folk tradition and literature. This study clearly contin-  
ues a possible expansion of the theme that was sketched out in the  
monograph, primarily moving towards a new interpretation of tra-  
ditional folk texts about King Matthias Corvinus as texts of collec-  
tive memory, collective narrative, and collective identity. The myth  
of King Matthias Corvinus as a savior strongly condenses how this  
exceptional soldier and possible crusader leader, who shall vanquish  
the unbelievers and heretics, became a ruler that liberated this part of  
Europe from barbarism and instilled in it the spirit of humanism and  
the Renaissance.

## ÖSSZEFOGLALÁS

### **Három »jó történet« Mátyás királyról**

A szerző magyar nyelvű monográfiája (2001) az első szintézis  
jellegű kísérlet volt a Mátyás-jelenség megvilágítására a szlovén nép-  
hagyományban és szépirodalomban. A jelen dolgozat a monográfia  
folytatásának is tekinthető. A modern és posztmodern kutatási irány-  
zatok teljes mértékben kikezdték a hagyományos történettudományt.  
Felértékelődtek az olyan narratívák, amelyekkel korábban maga a  
tudomány nem foglalkozott. A Mátyás királyról szóló szövegeket a  
szlovénség évszázadok során emlékezésre méltónak találta, azok  
képesek voltak maguknak helyet találni az események kronologiku-  
san rendezett sorában, továbbá mint az emlékezet helyei jelentős sze-

*Tri »dobre zgodbe« o kralju Matjažu*

repet játszottak a szlovénség kollektív emlékezetének és a kulturális emlékezetének a megszilárdításában.



# *Written With the Body: Emblem books, the gendered body and the codification of the visual idiom (16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries)*

SARA F. MATTHEWS-GRIECO

## **Emblem books and the iconographic idiom**

As authors of books of emblems and devices never tired of pointing out, the primary purpose of the emblem was pedagogical. Both moral and religious commonplaces were conveyed by mythical and allegorical subjects that were simultaneously represented in images and discussed in their accompanying text.<sup>1</sup> The visual references used by the engravers who illustrated these volumes were directly descended from what Michel Foucault has termed “la prose du monde,”<sup>2</sup> a language made up of natural signs – animals, plants, and heavenly bodies – that was given to mankind by God at the moment of the Creation, and that was supposed to have been absolutely transparent (things “said” what they “were”): the lion signified courage and strength, the eagle indicated royalty, the serpent biting its tail represented eternity, and so on. This “natural” and immutable language was believed to have lost its original transparency with the diversification of spoken language consequent upon the hubris of the Tower of Babel. The only one true language – that of God – remained that of natural signs, a language to which humanity had lost the key. Thus one of the primary objectives of encyclopaedic projects in the Middle Ages (such as bestiaries and

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier versions of this essay were presented on a number of different occasions. I would like to thank the following scholarly organisations and university centers for having permitted me to air this material and benefit from audience input: Renaissance Society of America Conference (2001), Historical Seminar ZRC SAZU Ljubljana (2001), Gender Studies Department of the Central European University (2005), Harvard University Humanities Center (2005). The expression “Written with the Body” is taken from a book by Jeanette Winterson (*Written on the Body*, London: Vintage, 1993), wherein the author never identifies by gender the secondary character – the person with whom the first person narrator is in love. I would like to encourage a similar analytical awareness for the early modern period, during which the iconographic gendering of the human body as a semiotic icon was just as consciously constructed as Winterson’s literary ploy.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Foucault, “La prose du monde” in *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris: Gallimard, 1966, pp. 32–59.

cosmographies) was to catalogue and interpret the language of living and inanimate things, thus deciphering the messages hidden in the natural world and revealing, with their meanings, God's purpose for mankind.

In the course of the 16th-century, the tradition of moral and religious exegesis based on the interpretation of natural signs was given an added impetus by books of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs, whose ambitions became increasingly totalitarian in the course of the 17th century: they were to promise the reader a key to the true meaning of the "language" of nature by means of the "language" of pictures.<sup>3</sup> The first emblem authors were relatively modest in their claims, proposing to their readers/viewers "pleasing and useful" volumes<sup>4</sup> which used familiar symbols and well-known iconographic references to stimulate edifying reflections. Comparing themselves to the ancient Egyptians who had once used images of animals and things (hieroglyphs) to communicate, Renaissance and Reformation emblem authors aspired to communicate an ethical and/or religious interpretation of the natural world by means of pictures.<sup>5</sup> By the early decades of the 17th century, authors such as Andreas Friedrich (to cite but one of many examples) were entirely comfortable in asserting the comprehensive semiotic range of their books. Friedrich's *Emblemes Nouveaux: esquels le cours de ce monde est peint et représenté par certaines figures ... pour le bien de la jeunesse, & du simple peuple*,<sup>6</sup> not only blithely embraced

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<sup>3</sup> According to the Jesuit Claude-François Menestrier, "C'est le propre des Emblemes de rendre intelligibles les choses les plus difficiles, parce que c'est le propre des Emblemes d'enseigner [...] Tout Embleme est donc aujourd'hui une espece d'enseignement mis en image, pour regler la conduite des hommes [...] "Les Emblemes sont aussi anciennes que le monde, puisque le monde est pour ainsi dire, une Embleme de la Divinité...les choses que nous voyons, sont à l'homme autant d'images & de figures sensibles qui luy representent la sagesse aussi bien que la puissance de Celuy qui les a faites. Il est vray que les creatures ne sont pas moins destinées par cette sage providence à nostre instruction, qu'à servir nos autres besoins. Et les enseignements de la Morale sont presque tous établis sur les règles de la nature." in *L'Art des Emblemes* (Lyons, 1662), édition augmentée Paris, 1684, Préface. For a quick overview of the eclectic visual and literary sources of emblem books see: Daniel S. Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*, Lexington (Kentucky), 1985, pp. 85, 176–178.

<sup>4</sup> On the Horatian concept of "utile dulce" and its importance in 16<sup>th</sup>-century emblematics and game theory see: Robert J. Clements, *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books*, Rome, 1960.

<sup>5</sup> On this aspect of 16th-century emblems see Richard Cavell, "Representing Writing: the Emblem as (Hiero)Glyph" in Bernard F. Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston (eds.), *The European Emblem. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11–14 August, 1987*, Leiden/New York, 1990, pp. 167–190.

<sup>6</sup> *Emblemes Nouveaux: esquels le cours de ce monde est peint et représenté par certaines figures, desquelles le sens est expliqué par rimes: dressés/ Pour plus*

the entire “world,” but vaunted the transparency of the allegorical images contained therein, supposedly so self-evident as to be understood by the young and by “simple people”. By 1653, the Jesuit Filippo Picinelli was promising his readers an encyclopedic guide to the entire universe in his *Mondo simbolico ... formato d'imprese scelte, spiegate et illustrate consentenze ed eruditioni Sacre, e Profane*.<sup>7</sup> Picinelli's exhaustive key to the symbolic meaning of the material world created by God – where each animal, plant or object was invested with a meaning both moral and religious – contains an ponderous and well-indexed list of hundreds of images, complete with their various interpretations, in which he suggested that orators and preachers, poets and artists might find a “numero infinito di concetti.”

To a certain extent, emblem books succeeded in creating a relatively stable catalogue of current signs, as the range of pictorial signifiers used to convey meanings became fixed through repetition. Each emblem book built on its predecessors, proposing old and familiar motifs with entertaining variants, but seldom deviating from the primary purpose of moral or religious edification *via* entertaining pictures and pleasing poetry. Each emblem book thus comprised a veritable lexicon of images whose meaning could be expected to be understood by a fairly large public, and whose visual *topoi* were often re-used for a variety of purposes, on various supports and occasions.<sup>8</sup>

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*grande incitation au gens de bien & honorables, d'ensuivre la pieté & vertu, &/ Pour sincere instruction & advertissement aux meschans & dissolus de fuir de vice./ Première En Allemand par André Frideric, & maintenant en Francois, pour le bien de la jeunesse, & du simple peuple, Frankfurt am Main, 1617, with 88 copperplates by Jacques de Zetter.*

<sup>7</sup> Filippo Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico o sia Vniuersita' d'imprese scelte, spiegate, ed' illustrate con sentenze, ed eruditioni sacre, e profane. Studiosi diporti dell'abbate D. Filippo Picinelli milanese ... Che somministrano a gli oratori, predicatori, accademici, poeti &c. infinito numero di concetti con indici copiosissimi*, Milan, 1653.

<sup>8</sup> Emblems were much-used in the decorative arts, from the ephemera of ceremonial entries to domestic tableware. A number of books of emblems and devices were printed in reduced versions (mostly pictures) specifically for artisans, such as the *Tetrastiques faictes sur les Devises du Seigneur Paulo Giovio e de Messire Gabriel Simeon Pour server en Verrieres, Chassis, Galeries, et Tableaux ...* (Lyons, 1560). Their pervasiveness was such that a standard course in the curriculum of Jesuit colleges was the “art” of emblematics: see John Manning and Marc van Vaecq, *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, Turnhout, 1999. The success of the emblem had its root in the analogical thought processes and taste for symbolism and moral allegory that characterized this period (see Peter Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem. Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Toronto, 1979). On the cultural resonance and widespread use of the emblem (and the often conflated *genres* of the device and hieroglyph) in 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europe see, amongst the vast bibliography on this subject: John Manning, *The Emblem*, London, 2002; David Russel, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture*, Toronto, 1995; Michael Bath, *Speaking*

Recent work on the use of symbolic images and emblematic constructions for the purpose of religious persuasion and political legitimation provides ample evidence of the levels of visual literacy expected of at least part of the urban population in early modern Europe.<sup>9</sup> Illustrated books of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs may not have been the primary source of iconographic sophistication for the urban public, but they undoubtedly played an important role as a primary *locus* for the compilation of allegorical images, thereby constituting an essential source for the re-use of such images and their vulgarisation in the visual arts (and this long before the development of more specialized iconological “dictionaries”, such as that of Cesare Ripa).<sup>10</sup>

With very few exceptions, the emblem book aspired to provide a collection of images composed of easily recognisable visual commonplaces, often enlivened by a veneer of fashionable stylistic innovation. Emblem anthologies thus provide an essential but as yet under-exploited source for the historian interested in early modern visual communications. Emblem books – and the related and often conflated genres of the device and hieroglyph – permit us to re-trace the introduction, implementation or disappearance of certain images or motifs over time and place. They can thus give us a window onto the representational universe shared by specific social groups: in this case the vaguely literate artisan, merchant and professional classes that composed the bulk of the emblem-making and emblem-consuming public. They can also reveal visual markers to measure sea-chang-

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*Pictures, English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*, London 1994; Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre*, Geneva, 1988; Daniel Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*, Lexington, 1985; Ernst Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik und Emblematik ...*, Nieuwkoop, 1969; Friedrich von Monroy, *Embleme und Emblembücher in den Niederlanden 1530–1630*, Utrecht, 1964.

<sup>9</sup> Roy Strong was one of the first to point out the use of emblems in royal entries: cf. *Art and power: Renaissance festivals 1450–1650*, Woodbridge, 1973. There was an extensive use of easily recognisable personal devices in early modern political iconography in public spaces. See, for example: Matthias Oberli, “*Magnificentia Principis*” *Das Mäzenatentum des Prinzen und Kardinals Maurizio von Savoyen (1593–1657)*, Weimar, 1999; Silvio Leydi, *Sub umbra imperialis aquilae: immagini del potere e consenso politico nella Milano di Carlo V*, Florence, 1999; Allan Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, Oxford, 1998.

<sup>10</sup> The iconographic programs of urban festivities were often assigned to artists and humanists whose libraries contained emblem books (as in the case of the Prior Vincenzo Borghini in Medicean Florence), as well as to renowned emblem authors and theorists (such as the Flemish painter Otto van Veen and the Jesuit theorist Claude-François Menestrier). A little known, early iconological “dictionary” (antedating Cesare Ripa’s celebrated *Iconologia*, Rome, 1593) is that of Cornelis van Kiel, *Prosopografica*, with copperplate illustrations by Philippe Galle, Antwerp, no date (circa 1590).

es in certain cultural concepts (such as the perception of the body and gender) and to better document successive stages in the evolution of the early modern world-view.

For the purpose of this article I have perused some 20 emblem books, including various editions of the same over a period of time ranging from 1531 to 1621, with publications in different languages, but with identical (or quasi identical) vignettes that are often difficult to attribute to a specific engraver.<sup>11</sup> Although the emblem book was initially a French phenomenon, translations into all of the major European languages proliferated as of the 1540s, and new anthologies began to spring up in Italy, Spain, Germany, England and the Netherlands in the course of the second half of the century. Their success, and above all the fidelity of their iconography, testify to the Europe-wide nature of this form of visual reflection.

### **The body as a natural sign**

Given the assertions of 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century emblem-authors about images and the universal language of nature, the first question to be addressed when investigating the representation of the body in early modern Europe is when and where might books of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs have considered the body to be a “natural sign,” comparable to animals, plants and objects? When and where did the body – male or female – appear as a primary signifier in the emblematic interpretation of the natural, moral and religious world ... especially in the first hundred years of the development of this genre, when the opportunities for innovation and codification were most flexible?

Of course the first problem that arises when looking for the body in emblem books is to determine when is it being used as a natural sign as opposed to being used as a personification. The female form dressed *all'antica* and holding a book that represents “Science” in Gilles Corrozet’s *Tableau de Cebes*, (Paris, 1543),<sup>12</sup> is undoubtedly a personification, as is Achille Bocchi’s sophisticated “*Prudentia*”, a naked woman sitting astride a dolphin in the middle of the sea, holding aloft a pair of scales (Bologna, 1555).<sup>13</sup> Often the gendered body

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix for a short title list of emblem books used for this article.

<sup>12</sup> Corrozet, *Les Emblems du Tableau de Cebes*, (Paris, 1543), first emblem. On both the *Hecatographie* and the *Tableau de Cebes* see the Introduction to the facsimile edition edited by Alison Adams, Geneva, 1997, pp. IX–LXVII.

<sup>13</sup> Gilles Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum, De universo genere, quasserio ludebat, libri quinque*, Bologna, (first editon 1555) 1574, illustrated by Giulio Bo-



represents a socio-economic or professional category, as with Andrea Alciati's elite *Astrologer* (Augsburg, 1531) and *Scholar* (Paris, 1536),<sup>14</sup> or Guillaume de La Perrière's more humble *Labourer, Teacher, and Farmwife* (Lyons, 1553).<sup>15</sup> Sometimes the body appears as an anonymous "agent," performing the role of a compositionally important but semantically insignificant support for a pair of scales – as in Gilles Corrozet's allegory "Vertue meilleure que richesse," where a palm branch weighs heavier than a sceptre.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, a human figure can fulfil some sort of function in support of the principle message of the composition: such as a fashionably dressed male figure in an emblem from Guillaume de la Perrière's *Théâtre des Bons Engins* (Paris, 1539), represented energetically whisking flies off a plate of milk (this allegory uses the example of flies drowning in milk to denounce the deadly consequences of "voluptuousness").<sup>17</sup> At other times detached body parts are called upon to represent a variety of moralized concepts: such as the evil tongue commented by both Claude Paradin in his treatise on devices (Lyons, 1551),<sup>18</sup> and by George Wither in his book of emblems (London, 1635).<sup>19</sup> There are also innumerable examples of hands, clasped in love, faith or friendship.<sup>20</sup> Finally, a number of whole bodies – naked or dressed in exotic costumes – are identified as classical gods and heroes by both image and text, such as the omnipresent Hercules, the polyvalent Venus, or the mischievous Cupid.<sup>21</sup>

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nasone, emblem CVIII. See the facsimile reproduction of this elite emblem book in the catalogue of Bonasone's work by Stefania Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, (vol. II) Rome, 1983.

<sup>14</sup> Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata liber* (Augsburg, 1531) *Astrologer* fol. C7 and (Paris, 1536) *Scholar* p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Guillaume de la Perrière, *Morosophie*, Lyons, 1553, emblems 85 and 58 respectively.

<sup>16</sup> Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie*, 1540, fol Oi verso–Oii recto (emblem 98)

<sup>17</sup> Guillaume de la Perrière, *Théâtre des Bons Engins*, Paris, 1539, emblem IIII.

<sup>18</sup> Claude Paradin, *Devises héroïques*, Lyons, 1557 (1st ed. 1551), pp. 109–110.

<sup>19</sup> George Wither, *A collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne, Quickened with metricall illustrations, both Morall and divine: And Disposed into lotteries, that instruction, and good counsell, may bee furthered by an honest and pleasant recreation* (London, 1635, book I, emblem XLII, p. 42). On Wither's emblems, which re-cycle copperplate vignettes by Crispin de Passe already published by Gabriel Rollenhagen in *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Arnheim, 1611) and *Emblematum centuria secunda* (Arnheim, 1613), see the special edition of *Studiolum*, n.3, 2002, edited by Peter M. Daly and Alan R. Young, "The Emblems of Wither & Rollenhagen."

<sup>20</sup> For example, Julius Wilhelm Zinggreff, *Emblematum etico-politicorum centuria*, Heidelberg, 1619, illustrations by Théodor de Bry, emblem n. 85, and George Wither, *A collection of Emblemes* (London, 1635, book 2, emblem XXXVI, pp. 99–100).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1967 (reedited 1997).

Such examples all use the human body as a vehicle of meaning, but not as a natural sign. When and where – if at all – does the human form convey a meaning which translates, as succinctly and immediately as only symbolic images can do, what the gendered body – as an icon – implied for Renaissance viewers? Is the body only a body when it is undressed? And how did emblem illustrators – and by extension their public – view the human body, its “nature” and its significance in a period where high art was proposing new readings of the human form and new conventions for its use? In these anthologies of allegorical images – be they humanist and moralizing or religious and proselytizing – appear two principle uses of the body as a natural sign. These two types of representation exploit what were then considered universal characteristics of the corporeal envelope that housed the soul during its earthly sojourn. The first of these “universal” characteristics used gender to elaborate upon the moral weakness of the human condition. The second addressed the unstable boundary between humanity and the animal world.

### **One body, two genders**

Emblem book illustrations embrace a number of cultural commonplaces that were easily rendered visually. One example is that of the subjection of the human body to the influence of the seven planets, where each part is ruled by a celestial body: the weak and wet stomach is ruled by the Moon, the agile tongue belongs to Mercury, the genitals are governed by Venus, and so on. In a vignette from Johannes Sambucus, entitled “Partes homines” (Antwerp, 1567) the viewer is visually reminded of this universal condition of the human body, a concept that was also widely found in popular medical literature and para-medical practise as well as in learned treatises about the influence of the celestial sphere on the microcosm of the human body [fig. 1]. In this woodcut vignette, the twelve signs of the zodiac that surround a nude male figure were conventional symbols with respect to the influence of heavenly bodies on the lives of mankind.

According to the humanist



Fig. 1: “Partes homines” in Johannes Sambucus, *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp, 1567), p. 101. [H&S]



Fig. 2: “Vertu domine sur les astres” in Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie* (Paris, 1544), woodcut attributed to Jean ‘Mercuré’ Jollat (identical to 1540 edition), n.p. (8th emblem). [AA]

program of emblem authors, the cosmic sway of the stars could nevertheless be offset by the moral fiber of the individual. In Gilles Corrozet’s emblem “Vertu domine sur les astres,” (Paris, 1540) a woman is portrayed in a landscape with a large scorpion in her lap [fig. 2]. Visually reiterating the common assumption that the genitals fall under the sign of Scorpio, the text of the emblem nevertheless affirms that the exercise of virtue can ensure chastity, even in women born under that unfortunate sign.<sup>22</sup> Dating from classical antiquity, this “astrological” vision of the body was to have a long-lived success in the science of physiognomy, as is borne out by Gerolamo Cardano’s *Metoposcopia*. Composed between 1550 and 1555, this con-

troversial work circulated in manuscript form, only to be published in Paris in 1658. The mid 17th-century edition carries illustrations where stylized representations of the human face show “The disposition of moles according to the signs of the zodiac”, and “The forehead subdivided into the zones of influence of the seven planets.”<sup>23</sup>

Inscribed by its subjection to the celestial sphere, the early modern body nonetheless belonged, first and foremost, to the terrestrial sphere. Analogous to the common bramble, all humankind is “rooted” in the

<sup>22</sup> The link between lust and the zodiac sign of scorio is fairly common in 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup>-century iconography. See, for example, Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia ouero Descrittione di diuerse imagini cauate dall’antichita, & di propria inuentione, trouate, & dichiarate da Cesare Ripa perugino ... Di nouuo reuista, & dal medesimo ampliata di 400 & piu imagini, e di figure d’intaglio adornata ...* (first illustrated edition Rome, 1603), where “Libidine” is represented by a woman seated on a ram, holding aloft a scorpion (Padua, 1618, Book IV).

<sup>23</sup> On Cardano see: Nancy Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine*, Princeton, 1997. On art and the history of physiognomy see: Flavio Caroli: *Storia della fisiognomica: arte e psicologia da Leonardo a Freud* (Milan, 1998), as well as the richly illustrated exhibition catalogue by the same author, *L’anima e il volto: ritratto e fisiognomia da Leonardo a Bacon*, (Milan, 1998).



Fig. 3: "Ex Natura" in Georgette De Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571), copperplate by Pierre Woeriot, p. 47. [B.N.F]

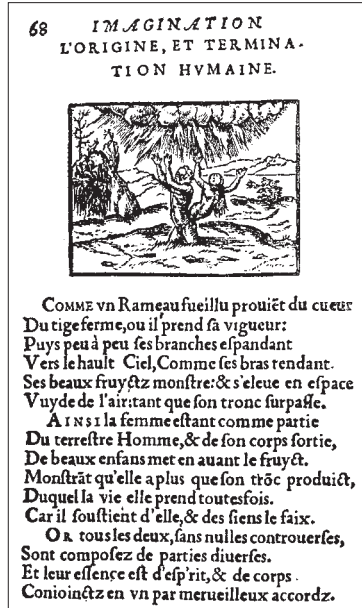


Fig. 4: "L'origine, et termination humaine", emblem n. XX in Barthélemy Aneau, *Imagination Poétique* (Lyons, 1552), p. 68. [B.N.F]

earth, more flesh than spirit, as pointed out in an emblem engraved by Pierre Woeriot for Georgette De Montenay's protestant *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571), entitled "Ex Natura" [fig. 3]. From the earth grows a thorny bramble, striving towards the heavens, only to return inevitably to its earthly origins. So too mankind, being formed of the dust of the earth, cannot escape its earthy nature. Half-buried in the earth under the arch of the branch, a masculine figure provides an easily recognisable reference to Adam, father of all humankind. A similar vegetable analogy for human nature is also to be found in a woodcut illustration to Barthélemy Aneau's *Imagination Poétique* (Lyons, 1552), to which the author gave the title "L'origine, et termination humaine" [fig. 4].<sup>24</sup> Here a woman is shown sprouting from the side of the original Man, the first human body created by God from the mud of the earth. Still half-buried in the soil, they both raise their

<sup>24</sup> Barthélemy Aneau was commissioned by the Lyonnais publisher, Macé Bonhomme, to write verses to accompany a series of 100 woodcut vignettes; the result was the *Imagination poetique, traduicte en vers François, des Latins, & Grecz, par l'auteur memse d'iceux*, Lyons, 1552.



Fig. 5: “Nature foeminine” in Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie* (Paris, 1544), woodcut attributed to Jean ‘Mercure’ Jollat (identical to 1540 edition), n.p. (80th emblem). [AA]

arms and faces to the sky, like the branches of a tree. Rays of divine light shine down from clouds which, by iconographic convention, designate the division between the celestial and terrestrial spheres, and complete the visual allusion to Genesis. In these two examples, we see underscored not only the earthly nature of the human body, but also one of the most pervasive constructions of gender in this period: the generic use of the male body as being representative of the whole of humankind, the androcentric male universal. At the same time emerges the current cultural conviction with respect to the derivative nature of the female body... hardly a surprise in a period where Biblical history was reinforced by vulgarized medical

treatises faithful to Aristotilian monosexism.<sup>25</sup>

In the schematic iconography of emblem illustrations (whose capacity for conveying meaning was curtailed as much by the small dimensions of the pictures as by the didactic and therefore necessarily simplified rhetoric of visual communications), the human body was depicted as having a dual nature: not only terrestrial and spiritual, but also male and female. Developing one side of this basic dichotomy, Gilles Corrozet further explores the possible meanings associated with the female body and its “nature”. An emblem entitled “*Nature foeminine*” depicts as a nude woman wearing a housewife’s coif, running in a landscape after a flock of birds [fig. 5]. She is naked except for her head covering, an attribute which both identifies her as a 16th-century woman and suggests that she is representative of all her contemporaries. The accompanying verses declare that this “natural

<sup>25</sup> On the vulgarization of medical theory at this time see: Rudolph Bell, *How To Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians*, Chicago, 1999. Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, *Un Corps, un destin. La femme dans la médecine de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1994; William Eamon, *Science and the secrets of nature: book of secrets in medieval and early modern culture*, Princeton, 1994; Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge (MA), 1990.



woman” shares the “complexion” or natural characteristics of birds in the wild: women are as foolish, flighty and, by implication, as unchaste as are birds in their natural habitat.<sup>26</sup> In a similar vein, in another emblem of the *Hecatographie* entitled “Complexion de femme,” the “complexion” or character of womankind is depicted as being erratic, alternately quarrelsome and conciliatory: a female figure brandishes a sword in one hand, and the palm of peace in the other [fig. 6]. Again dressed in an 16th-century outfit that suggests to the viewer that this figure represents all contemporary women, Corrozet’s bi-polar depiction of the female sex transmits some of the more current misogynist arguments used to justify the increasing control



Fig. 6: “Complexion de femme” in Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie* (Paris, 1540), woodcut attributed to Jean ‘Mercure’ Jollat (identical to 1540 edition), n.p. (77th emblem). [AA]

of women in society. Both of these emblems emphasize current prejudices with respect to gender that can be found in a variety of other cultural vehicles, from facetious broadsheets and chapbooks to conduct literature and treatises on the government of the household.

The “nature” of woman as a specifically gendered (as opposed to generic or universal) human being is a popular *topos* in emblem books, where the inconstancy attributed to female affections and the “lunatic” reasoning of brainless women provides one of the most consistently represented themes, to be found in the vast majority of moralized literature of this nature. Thus one of Achille Bocchi’s emblems, “*Muliebris Inconstantia*,” engraved by Giulio Bonasone (Bologna, 1555), shows a woman walking away from a renaissance home in the company of a man, at the same time raising a stick to chase away three small children [fig. 7]. Bocchi’s elaboration on this theme derives from Homer, according to whom a woman when widowed cares

<sup>26</sup> On the association of birds with sexual activity in this period see: Allen Grieco, “From Roosters to Cocks: Renaissance Birds and Sexuality”, in Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *The Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy*, Aldershot (forthcoming).

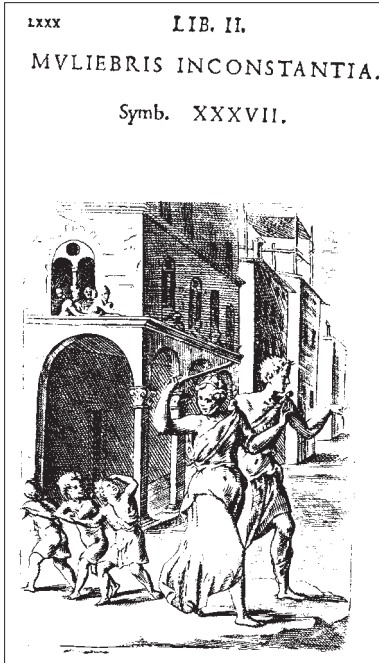


Fig. 7: “Muliebris Inconstantia” in **Achille Bocchi**, *Symbolicarum quaestionum* (Bologna, 1574), copperplate by Giulio Bonasone (identical to 1555 edition), Lib. II, p. Lxxx. [SM]

no longer for her children but thinks only of procuring for herself a new husband. Seeing as widowed women in Italy at this time had no legal right to keep with them the children from a first marriage should they or their families arrange a second marriage, this rather biased accusation of mutable affection is reinforced by the traditional definition of female nature as being unstable, volatile and ever-changing. Numerous other allegories and personifications, such as those in the first illustrated edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603), predictably personify notions such as *Inconstantia* by a female figure: female not only because of the gender of the noun personified, but also in terms of the weight of contemporary expectations and gender-specific associations. In the case of Ripa, for example, *Inconstanza* is shown with a crescent moon in

hand, a heavenly orb specifically associated with women, whose waxing and waning also made it a symbol of mutability.<sup>27</sup>

If the female half of humanity is defined as being flighty, belligerent and hard to control (if not entirely unchaste), what of the male half? There are, in fact, *no* emblems representing “Nature masculine” that would provide a counterpart to Corrozet’s “Nature feminine” and others of similar import. The closest emblem illustrators come to using the male body as a gender-specific sign is in evocations of temperance and self-discipline, two qualities dear to the humanist culture in which these books had their editorial origins, and whose pedagogical precepts emblem authors sought to propagate. In Jacob Kerver’s French edition of the *Horapollo* (1543), a naked man is represented standing in a landscape, holding his private parts, a posture said to denote

<sup>27</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Nuova Iconologia*, Padova, 1618, Book III.

temperance [fig. 8]. In Antwerp in 1567, the Dutch physician Hadrianus Junius (Adrien le Jeune) reproduced this same emblem, adding a second gesture typical of mid-16th-century notions of civility: the naked man (this time identified as the ultimate of legendary savages, the Scythian or Hun) not only holds his “shameful” parts with one hand, but with the other covers his mouth: through the imposition of self-discipline, this wild man of the woods becomes a model of Renaissance decorum, temperate in his carnal appetites and judicious in speech [fig. 9]. The emblematic use of the primitive Sythian or Hun is also to be found in Alciati, based on travel lore which located this original “noble savage” in an icy homeland where neither Ceres nor Bacchus could flourish. Described by Alciati as being without possessions other than the animal skins with which he keeps himself warm, the Sythian is attributed a utopian life as he feels no cold and fears no thieves: having neither natural nor human enemies, the Sythian lives in peace and happiness with his own kind, and thus pleases God.<sup>28</sup>

Whereas Alciati's noble savage is presented as an anthropological model for humanity in general, the temperate variant evoked by the nude bodies of the *Horapollo* and the *Emblemes* of Junius evokes an idealized *male* identity, free from carnal and verbal excesses and living in a state of moral purity. This construction of a kind of primitive



Fig. 8: “Que signifie le membre le l'homme couuert et serre de la main” in *Horapollo, Orus Apollo de Aegypte* (Paris, 1543), anonymous engraving, fol. Fij recto. [B.N.F]



Fig. 9: “Retiens la langue” in *Junius, Hadrianus, Les emblemes* (Antwerp, 1567), unidentified engraver, p. 45. [B.N.F]

<sup>28</sup> This emblem first appeared in the last authorized edition of Alciati (Lyons, 1550).



man – an *ur-mensch* – free from the corruption of urban society and its opportunities for sin, is strikingly different from the construction of female identity. The “natural” woman – the emblematic *ur-frau* – is defined as being far less compatible with 16<sup>th</sup>-century social ideals.

Whereas emblem books might use the male body as a primary sign denoting all of humanity, its subjection of the cosmic laws of the stars and its terrestrial nature, the female body is used as a secondary sign in that its gendering automatically triggers commonplace convictions with respect to sexual characteristics and social roles. The illustrated emblem book conscientiously relayed contemporary medical concepts and the teachings of conduct literature with regard to the “natural” characteristics of womankind and the need for strict social controls to curtail her supposedly innate tendency towards sexual promiscuity.<sup>29</sup> Emblematics thus reinforced the early modern premise according to which the social order was a faithful reflection of the natural order.

### **The unstable boundary between humanity and the animal world**

The second use of the human body as a natural sign in the early modern emblem book is to be found in moralized compositions in which the human body – male or female – appears as a particularly eloquent iconographic signifier: that of the monster. Half-beast, half-human, the monster that appears in books of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs conveys, both visually and semantically, the unstable boundary between humanity and the natural world and, more specifically, the conflict between the animal nature of mankind and man’s more spiritual aspirations. It was “animal nature” from which the 16<sup>th</sup> century was attempting to distance all of humankind, through the trappings of civility, and the discipline of body and mind.

Two of the most popular figures in emblem literature – the siren and the satyr – have a half-human, half-animal physiognomy that acts both as a primary signifier and as a springboard for moral reflections on a number of defects inherent to humanity. How did the 16th century view such mythical creatures? Illustrated bestiaries in the vernacular can help us understand the cultural background emblem authors and illustrators might possess, and which they might presuppose common

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<sup>29</sup> For the 16<sup>th</sup>-century discourse on gender in a nutshell, see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman. A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, Cambridge, 1980.

to their readers and viewers. An example can be found in the 1508 and 1524 chapbook renditions of *Il libro de la Natura deli animali in vulgale & Primo del la Natura de Lomo*,<sup>30</sup> a rather free, reader's digest sort of adaptation of the *De animalibus* of Albertus Magnus and a type of publication that was widely circulated in Western Europe. Here appears the Great Chain of Being in its most schematic form, organised according to a cosmographic hierarchy that begins with man and then moves on to associate animals with the elements in which they are supposed to live: birds-air, quadrupeds-earth, fish-water and reptiles-fire. And here of course we need to remember that, in this period, when the organic world view was still widely embedded, bestiaries were usually "moralized", translating for their readers the meaning of the "natural signs" created by God when he brought into being the beasts of the earth, the birds of the air and the fish of the sea. Particularly powerful and dangerous animals (such as the siren and the satyr) complicated this neat classificatory system in that they are heteromorphous. Belonging simultaneously to two distinct categories – in this case the human and the animal – their dual physiognomy renders them particularly resonant in terms of the divine message to be deduced from their mixed nature.

*Tritons, mermaids and dumb cows*

The heteromorphous monster was generally interpreted in negative terms in the late medieval and Renaissance bestiary, as it was in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century emblem book. Here, however, I would like to begin with a rare exception to this rule. Andrea Alciati's emblem "*Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri*" depicts the notion of immortal fame gained through literary studies by a triton biting his own tail, as seen in a woodcut from the first illustrated edition (Augsburg, 1531) [fig. 10]. This conflation of the circular serpent of eternity and a triton, trumpeteer of the Gods (and thus also an emblem of Fame) was separated out in the very next edition of Alciati's emblems, printed by Chrestien Weschel in Paris in 1534, first in Latin, and quickly thereafter in a number of dual-language editions, all of which used the same series of woodcuts attributed to Jean ("Mercure") Jollat. In the dual-language version of 1542 (Latin-German), the notion of immortality earned by literary studies, translated in German as "Kunst," has been transformed into a mermaid encircled by a snake, although the text still specifically mentions a triton [fig. 11]. To the engraver of this woodcut

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<sup>30</sup> Mondovi 1508 & Savona 1524. Inexpensive and dog-eared, these inexpensive publications are known as "libri di bisaccia" or libri popolari, cf. Paola Navoni in Giorgio Celli, *Le Proprietà degli animali*, Genoa, 1983, pp. 185–186.



Fig. 10: “Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblemata liber* (Augsburg, 1531), anonymous woodcut, fol Ci verso. [HG]

– and most probably for his target audience – the archetypal mer-person was the female siren. The woodcut illustrating this emblem thus adopts an elegant solution, a compromise between the degree of visual literacy expected of a not necessarily very educated viewer and the demands of the text. Assimilated with the God Triton only insofar as she too has a fish’s tail, the mermaid is given a secondary iconographic role with respect to that of the main signifier – the circular serpent. She points to the serpent biting its tail, thus shifting the main focus of the image to a symbol of immortality, and more or less successfully transmitting the intended message.

It is not rare in emblem books for text and image to vary somewhat in their content. On the one hand emblem authors – especially those steeped in Renaissance Humanism – were anxious to proselytize their ethical world view by means of the edifying entertainment of a volume of moralizing verses, sprinkled with *de rigueur* references to classical antiquity. On the other hand, the artisans responsible for engraving the vignettes were all too aware of the limits of their audience’s visual sophistication. It is for this reason that the iconography of emblem illustrations often reverts to a more “popular” and widespread visual culture, catering to the expectations of the viewing (as opposed to the reading) audience.

In the course of the first century in which the vogue for emblems was to reach the farthest outposts of continental Europe, from the first illustrated edition of Alciati’s *Emblemata Liber* in 1531 until the early decades of the 17th century,<sup>31</sup> emblem iconography was in an evolutionary flux. Artists and engravers sought to seduce and

<sup>31</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> century was to attempt to “discipline” emblematics by means of an encyclopedic approach (cf. Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico*, Milan, 1653) and an exhaustive theoretical framework. (cf. Claude François Menestrier *L’art des emblems*, Lyons, 1662).

entertain their viewers/readers with intriguing pictures without, however, alienating the less educated public with images that would have been perceived as being unfamiliar or hermetic. It is for this reason that Alciati's 1542 triton-mermaid – the revised composition, which aimed at a greater transparency for a contemporary audience – was destined to be revised yet again, for sirens were supposed to be bad news, not good news.

Faithful to the zoological literature in which she holds an established and generally nefarious place, the siren will no longer appear in anything resembling a positive light in books of emblems, devices or hieroglyphs. Half beautiful maiden, half fish, she sings sweetly to sailors, luring them to their doom. The “moral meaning” of the mermaid, according to most bestiaries and all emblem books subsequent to the Weschel edition,

was that of the vanities of the world whose sweetness lulls “voluptuous” men to sleep (both literally and spiritually). Some moralized bestiaries even refer indirectly to Homer, suggesting that the only remedy against the seduction of sirens is to stop up one's ears with the “wax” of holy words, good actions and virtue.<sup>32</sup> The “true” nature of the Siren thus imposes itself – in fulfilment of audience expectations – in the very next illustrated edition of Alciati, that of Aldus in Venice in 1546, which features a choice of 86 emblems, some of which entirely new. In this selection of Alciati's emblems, tritons are entirely eliminated in favour of mermaids. Gone is the equivocal emblem on the immortality conferred by literary studies, replaced with one simply entitled “Sirenes” [fig. 12]. In this vignette, the “true” nature of these creatures is rendered explicit by their bipartite tails and gesture



Fig. 11: “Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblematum libellus ...rhythmis Germanicis versus* (Paris, 1542), woodcut attributed to Jean ‘Mercure’ Jollat (identical to 1534 edition). [AB]

<sup>32</sup> Girogio Celli, *Le Proprietà degli animali*, Genoa, 1983, pp. 318–319, 496–497.



Bonhomme, featuring new woodcut illustrations for a selection of 165 of Alciati's 201 emblems to date (Alciati continued to add to his original 100 emblems throughout his lifetime). These woodcuts, engraved most probably by Pierre Eskrich (also known as Pierre Vase), reveal an elegant solution to the problem of a seeming contradiction between a medieval tradition of zoological exegesis and the 16<sup>th</sup>-century vogue for classical legend and mythology, now on the rise all over Europe. In Eskrich's series of vignettes, both male and female sea monsters are definitively separated out, and both are fashionably classicized. On the one hand, Triton is definitively re-instated in his role as the trumpeter



Fig. 14: “Par les estudes des lettres immortalité est acquise” in *Andrea Alciati, Emblemata liber* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut attributed to Pierre Eskrich (Pierre Vase), p. 163. [B.N.F]

of Neptune, his particular physiognomy being described in the text as being as half sea monster, half god – an important detail, for divine descent automatically conferred a more positive valence - while the circular serpent of eternity was left in the foreground, just to keep the less informed viewer on track [fig. 14]. On the other hand, mermaids were updated to a more narrative and historicized context entirely in consonance with audience expectations: they are represented as fish-tailed seductresses singing to sailors. In the accompanying text they are described as signifying “les voluptez de ce monde” (the voluptuous pleasures of the world) and “putains” (whores) [fig. 15]. Only later in the verse exegesis on the moral significance of the emblem (a long text that continues onto the following page) is the man tied to the mast actually identified as being no ordinary sailor, but the Greek hero Ulysses.





Fig. 15: “Les Sirenes” in Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata liber* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut attributed to Pierre Eskrisch (Pierre Vase), p. 142. [B.N.F.]

The assimilation of mermaids with harlots (against whom virtuous men must arm themselves, according to Alciati’s text, with the study of religion, arts and letters), transmits both the prejudice of gender and a deep-rooted fear of serpentine or piscine women. The image of the fish or serpent woman flourished in Renaissance Europe, nourished by representations of the Original Sin which endowed the serpent of the Fall with a female torso. This *topos* was also promoted by popular folk tales, such as that of Mélusine, portrayed in her “true” form as a half-human dragon or mermaid on the title page to the 1529/30 Paris edition of Jean d’Arras’ *Mélusine*.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the

notion that women were a bit fishy was encouraged by medical folklore, according to which serpents dwelt in the uterus.<sup>36</sup> Negatively connotated fish, serpents and dragons were thus more easily “feminine” than masculine, especially when they shared their form with humanity.

The only reason for which the maritime god Triton is interpreted in a positive light in Alciati’s emblems is due to the fact that he represents a specific figure from classical mythology, and as such can constitute one of the very few exceptions to the general rule of negative *exempla* being built upon heteroform bodies in books of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs. And here it should be pointed out that the

<sup>35</sup> Jean d’Arras, *Mélusine nouvellement imprimée*, Paris, 1529/30.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. note 25.



Fig. 16: “La Sapience humaine, est follie envers Dieu” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblemata liber* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut attributed to Pierre Eskrisch (Pierre Vase), p. 22. [B.N.F]

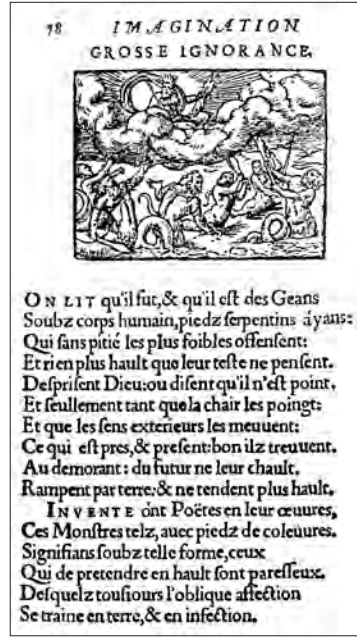


Fig. 17: “Grosse Ignorance” in **Barthélemy Aneau**, *Imagination Poetique* (Lyons, 1552), woodcut attributed to Bernard Salomon, p. 78. [B.N.F]

repeated use of any iconographic composition and its variants can be considered proof of the meaning and resonance attached to such images by contemporary emblem artists and their audiences. Single appearances of any one image can generally be classified as compositional flops or, as we have seen in the case of the Weschel mermaid-as-Triton, as iconographic “mistakes” quickly rectified in the illustrations of successive editions.

The general rule of the negative meaning associated with heteroform bodies is borne out by Alciati’s emblem “Human wisdom is foolishness before God” (Lyons, 1549) [fig. 16]. This composition was soon to inspire other emblem authors, such as Barthélemy Aneau in 1552 [fig. 17]. In both cases “monsters” with a human head and torso, and a serpent’s tail in lieu of legs, supposedly represent a race of giants that once peopled the earth under the reign of King Cecrops of Athens. However, as they loved earthly things more than God, they were destined to extinction. The composite form of these “monsters” conveys a reminder that human, terrestrial knowledge is but folly and





Fig. 18: “Pour Cognitoire un Homme” in Gabriele Simeoni, *Devises Héroiques et Morales* (Lyons, 1559), anonymous woodcut, p. 38. [B.N.F.]



Fig. 19: “Uomo-bue” in Giovanni Battista Della Porta, *Della Fisonomia dell'huomo* (Naples, 1598, here Rouen edition, 1650). [Della Porta]

ignorance when compared with the celestial, divine knowledge imparted by faith and religion: those who look no higher than earthly affairs are condemned to live as half-beasts, crawling on the earth they worship.

The ignorance attributed to animals, who have no religion and whose bestiality is compounded by slavery to their natural appetites, is a recurring theme in emblem books, where the moralized wisdom of medieval bestiaries and Renaissance treatises on physiognomy combine to encourage recurring representations of monsters and heteroform bodies. An entry in Gabriele Simeoni’s *Devises Héroiques et Morales* (Lyons, 1559)<sup>37</sup> reminds us that, according to the science of physiognomy, the wide, bovine shape of a man’s forehead betrays his slow understanding [fig. 18]. A similar observation also appears in Giovanni Battista Della Porta’s treatise, *Della Fisonomia dell’Huomo* (Naples, 1598), along with a graphic comparison in which the broad forehead and large eyes of a man are almost the mirror image of a frontal view of a bull [fig. 19].

Given the generalized consensus of such physiognomic observations, it is hardly surprising that emblems representing human stupidity

<sup>37</sup> The lyonnais publisher Guillaume Rouille published an Italian edition of this book (*Le Imprese Heroiche* [sic] *et Morali*) at the same time, with the same woodcut illustrations. This sort of editorial initiative was entirely typical of the flourishing print trade in the international city of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Lyons, from whence books were distributed through the main trade routes of continental Europe.

or ignorance also use bovine monsters. In Lyons in 1552, Barthélemy Aneau refers to this commonplace conviction in order to interpret an image of a monstrous creature, a cow with a human head. The anonymous woodcut for which Aneau composed a title and an interpretive poem represents a crouching, bovine creature, said to represent “l’homme” (mankind) and “Nature Humaine” (human nature), portrayed looking up at the sky in which (divine) figures appear in the clouds. In the background, tiny figures worship a (pagan) deity on a pedestal [fig. 20]. According to the verbal exegesis developed by the poet, this image represents the bovine ignorance of humanity when it turns away from the light of God, Religion and Reason: it is only when inspired by divine Faith and the faculty of Reason that humanity can retain its true, human form, that

which was given to the first man when he was made in the image of his Creator. The heteroform monster that represents the bestial nature of human ignorance is, however, decidedly feminized insofar as it is endowed with long flowing hair, a physical attribute that pointedly draws upon contemporary notions relative to the mental weakness of women. Human ignorance might be bestial in nature, but it is also unequivocally gendered. One of Pierre Woeriot’s illustrations for Georgette De Montenay’s *Emblemes chrétiennes* (Lyons, 1571) also personifies human ignorance as a bestial woman – she is equipped with prominent donkey’s ears [fig. 21]. Is this figure female simply because of the female gender of the word “ignorance” in French? Or is it the automatic association of women with a lack of judgement and knowledge – and in this case also apostasy – that lies behind this particular composition? In the visual world of emblem books, ignorance is above all a feminine – and bestial – fault.

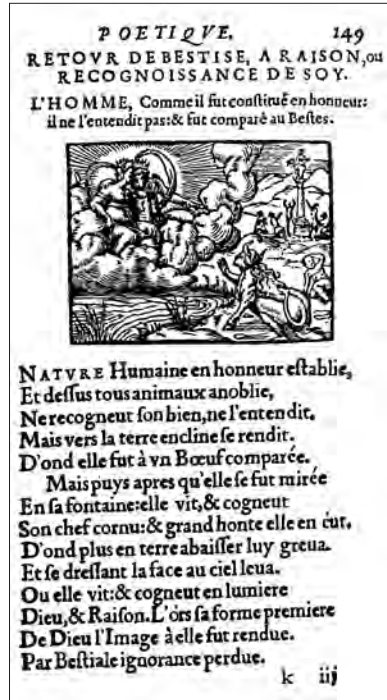


Fig. 20: “Retour de Bestise a Raison” (“Nature Humaine”) in Barthélemy Aneau, *Imagination Poetique* (Lyons, 1552), woodcut attributed to Bernard Salomon, p. 149. [B.N.F]



Fig. 21: “Coinquinat” (“Ignorance”) in **Georgette De Montenay**, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571), copperplate by Pierre Woeriot, p. 22. [B.N.F.]



Fig. 22: “Ignorance” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblemata liber* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut attributed to Pierre Eskrisch (Pierre Vase), p. 232. [B.N.F.]



Besides serpentine creatures, bullish men and bovine or asinine women, there is yet another gendered monster used to convey the notion of human ignorance in emblematics, and that is the legendary sphinx. In early editions of Alciati (Augsburg 1531 & Lyons 1551) it is represented as creature standing upright, with the face of a girl, a feathered torso and the legs of a lion [fig. 22]. According to the text, this tripartite creature represents the three causes of human ignorance: intellect (that is,

Fig. 23: “Submouendam ignorantiam” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblematum liber* (Padua, 1621), unidentified engraver, emblem n° CLXXXVIII. [PD]

the hubris thereof), desire for worldly pleasures, and pride, which corrupts virtue. The pagan, female sphinx had an enduring success in emblematics, although the impact of illustrated travel literature soon brought about a more accurate rendering of the Egyptian monument. Illustrations of later editions of Alciati hastily departed from the “incorrect” depiction of an upright sphinx, restoring to the mythical beast the crouching stance that characterizes the desert sculpture, while at the same time underscoring the creature’s feminine physiognomy [fig. 23]. Nevertheless, no matter how the sphinx was represented, it would seem that emblem authors and, above all, emblem illustrators, felt that the female sex was more than plausibly guilty of intellectual hubris, if not crass ignorance.

Represented by serpentine men and bovine, asinine or leonine women, human ignorance (the type of ignorance which condemns mankind to an animal existence, ignorant of God) is, however, but one of the human failings that gives rise to heteromorphic monsters in allegorical iconography. A second, and equally serious weakness of humanity, one that which turns mankind back into a beast, is lust.

*Satyrs, centaurs and brutish bears*

“Luxuria” becomes a standard emblem as of the 1546 Aldine edition of Alciati, where it is first represented as a man with the lower body of a dragon, said to be a “Faun” in the text [fig. 24]. This sort of iconographic *naiveté* was to be rapidly corrected, however, as mid-16th century editions printed in Lyons restore to the lubricious Faun the horns and goat legs of the classical satyr, as can be seen in a 1549 edition of Alciati, printed by Macé Bonhomme and illustrated by Pierre Eskrisch [fig. 25].<sup>38</sup> Here the composite monster that rep-



Fig. 24: “Luxuria” in **Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum libellus*** (Venice, 1546), anonymous woodcut, p. 34. [HG]

<sup>38</sup> The humanist emblem book tradition enthusiastically embraced the satyr as the emblem of lust: see another example in a Spanish emblem book by Hernando de Soto, *Emblemas Moralizadas*, Madrid, 1599 (emblem 13).





Fig. 25: “Luxuria” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Emblemes* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut by Pierre Eskrich (Pierre Vase), p. 94. [B.N.F]



Fig. 26: “Inescat & perdit” in **Jean Jacques Boissard**, *Emblems latins* (Metz, 1588), copperplate by Théodore de Bry, emblem n° 78, p. 85. [B.N.F]

resents “Luxure” is described in the accompanying verses as a “*beste Bouquine tresluxurieuse*” (a very lustful ram-like beast) and is portrayed wearing a wreath, identified by the text as being a wreath of rocket (*rughetta*), and blowing a ram’s horn.<sup>39</sup>

Bestial lust and the animal passions of man were thereafter to be routinely represented by a satyr-like creature, as can be seen in another example from Jean Jacques Boissard’s bi-lingual *Emblems latins* (Metz, 1588) [fig. 26]. Whereas this particular type of composite monster – half human, half hairy goat – generally acts as a vehicle for reflection on the dangers represented by the sensual side of human nature, the double physiognomy of the faun occasionally lends itself to less negatively connoted evocations, although these tend to be exceptions that confirm the rule. The 1549 edition of Alciati (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme), twice uses the same woodcut representing a satyr. In this first it represents, as we have seen, “Luxuria” [cf. fig. 24]. In the second use of the woodcut, the text identifies the figure as the Greco-roman god Pan, and entitles it “Nature” [fig. 27]. This type of re-cycling of

<sup>39</sup> The peppery taste of rocket was responsible for its classification among a category of “hot” plants and spices that were believed to “heat” the body and thus invite lust. Luca Bonelli Conenna (ed.), *La divina villa di Corniolo della Cornia. Lezioni di agricoltura tra XIV e XV secolo*, Siena, 1982, cf. “Della ruca”, pp. 312–313.



Fig. 27: “Nature” (the God Pan) in Andrea Alciati, *Emblemes* (Lyons, 1549), woodcut by Pierre Eskrisch (Pierre Vase), p. 118. [B.N.F]



Fig. 28: **Giovio, Paolo**, *Dialogo des Devises d'Armes et d'Amours* (Lyons, 1561, anonymous woodcut identical to 1559 Italian edition), p. 95. [B.N.F]

images was not unusual in 16<sup>th</sup>-century editorial practise, in a period where audiences craved pictures more than they demanded originality. The verses commenting this vignette explain that this mythological figure represents the dual nature of all men: reason renders mankind divine, while “animal” desires ensure the necessary reproduction of humanity. Here again we see that it is only when representing a classical divinity that the monstrous body can avoid the explicit moral opprobrium normally assigned to the heteroform body in the early modern emblem book.

One of the reasons that the goat-legged satyr was such a success in illustrated emblem books is that it was considered more or less the equivalent of the legendary wild man, much studied by historians of medieval and early modern folklore. A device discussed by Paolo Giovio in his *Dialogo delle Imprese* (Rome, 1555) represents a wild man whose rough exterior was likened to the rough manners of the bearer of the device, renowned for both his appetite for love and his success with the ladies [fig. 28].<sup>40</sup> In the elite *milieu* of the 16th-cen-

<sup>40</sup> A device attributed to Charles d’Amboise, from Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo delle Imprese*, Rome, 1555.



Fig. 29: "Toucher femme est mauvais" in *Barthélemy Aneau, Imagination poetique* (Lyons, 1552), woodcut attributed to Bernard Salomon, p. 37. [B.N.F.]

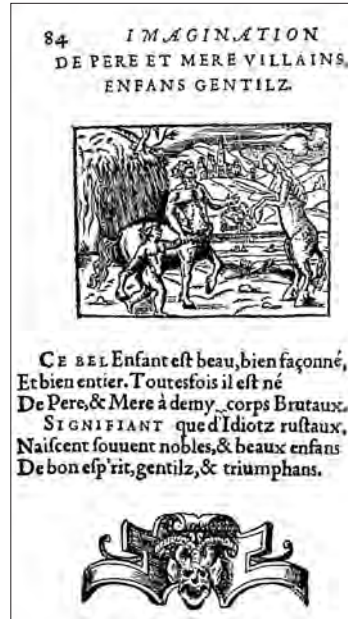


Fig. 30: "De pere et mere villains, enfans gentiliz" in *Barthélemy Aneau, Imagination poetique* (Lyons 1552), woodcut attributed to Bernard Salomon, p. 84. [B.N.F.]

tury Court, where the composition of devices for one's self and others was a fashionable pastime, a somewhat facetious use of the wild man motif was entirely possible. But for the more middle-class audience of the emblem book, authors and artists tended to adopt a more prosaic and pedagogical approach, where the moral message conveyed by a monster or heteromorph figure could not be left in doubt. An example of an emphatic equation between a wild man or satyr and male lust can be found in an emblem from the *Imagination Poétique* (Lyons 1552) entitled "*Toucher femme est mauvais*" (Touching women is bad) [fig. 29]. The woodcut illustration represents what the text calls "Un sauvage home, un Satyr" (A wild man, a satyr), who attempts to embrace a fire but is restrained by a man dressed in the long robes of a sage. The text makes a drawn-out analogy between the damage that would be wrought by embracing a living flame and the damage caused by the venereal flames of passion, especially the embrace of loose women. The moral to be drawn from both image and text is that only "wild" men – half animal, half human – give in to their

bestial passions: those in possession of the ethical values proposed by emblem authors will be capable of the self-restraint considered emblematic of civilised man.

Not only wild and lustful men, but also so-called “rustics” are represented as being half-animal. Considered closer to the animal world as they belong to the lowest level of the social hierarchy and live far from urban civilisation, farmers and peasants can also be represented as part beast. A flagrant example can be found, once again, in the *Imagination Poétique* (Lyons, 1552) in an emblem entitled: “*De pere et mere villains, enfans gentilz*” (From humble parents, genteel children), an emblem whose iconography is predictably zoomorphic in its condescending class-ism [fig. 30]. The title conveys the moral meaning constructed by Barthélemy Aneau from the woodcut vignette furnished to him by his Lyonsnais publisher. Here it is important to remember that the entire volume of Aneau’s *Picta Poesis* or *Imagination Poétique* was a commissioned re-cycling of pre-existing woodcuts, and thus provides us with a key to the level of visual literacy possessed by a 16<sup>th</sup>-century pedagogue, re-packaged for pedagogical purposes. Described by the text as “rustic idiots,” the ill-formed, peasantly parents of a handsome child have the bodies of equine monsters (half-human, half-horse) while their well-formed offspring walks happily beside his centaur-father, perfect in all of his humanity. Barthélemy Aneau’s interpretation of the moral message conveyed by this composition is directly derived from his professional ethic: he was first and foremost a teacher, and wrote a number of treatises on education inspired by Renaissance humanism. Here his interpretation puts forth the rather radical idea (at least for his time period) that education can transform even a child of ignorant peasants into a decent human being, free from the uncouth origins and bestial characteristics of his parents.

The heteromorphic bodies that had such an enduring success in emblem illustrations provided a continual reminder of the highly permeable boundary between human society and the animal world, and continually warned readers and viewers of the dangers incurred by giving in to earthly, animal appetites. According to the zoological code of visual communications, where bestial lust and the animal passions of man were represented by the satyr, human bodies that became enslaved by their baser nature could morph even farther, assuming an entirely animal shape. In the 1621 Padua edition of Alciati, for example, the emblem “*Che l’huom si de[v]e guardar dale meretrice [sic]*” (Men should avoid whores) shows a woman on a throne – the sorceress Circe – surrounded by the companions of Ulysses whom she has already transformed into cowering beasts [fig. 31]. The moral drawn





Fig. 31: “Che l’huom si de[v]e guardar dale meretrice” in **Andrea Alciati**, *Imprese* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme, 1551), anonymous woodcut, emblem 76. [PD]

here is that men lose their “intelletto e la ragione” (intellect and reason) when they frequent prostitutes, thereby abandoning the one faculty that distinguishes man from beast and keeps men human. Reason can be lost by other means, however. Human beings can be reduced to an animal state through ill treatment, be they servants abused by their employers or pupils abused by their teachers. Barthélemy Aneau makes an unusual case against corporal punishment in schools with an emblem he entitles “Abetissement d’Enfans, par tyrannie des Magisters” (Children rendered stupid by the tyranny of teachers) The vignette shows a woman beating her servant until the poor girl is so brutalized she turns

into a bear [fig. 32]. Here the humanist pedagogue makes a poignant statement about the vulnerability of women and children, servants and pupils. Low on the social and educational ladders, domestics and schoolchildren are defenceless against the brutality of their masters, and thus ever at risk of slipping back into the “animal” existence from which renaissance civility aspired to save them.

### Gendered bodies and the codification of the visual idiom

The gendered use of the human body in the figurative vignettes illustrating 16<sup>th</sup>-century emblem books is categorical in its verdict with respect to the faults to be attributed to men as opposed to woman. Although both are human, their “nature” is similar only in that it is terrestrial. Flighty, bird-like housewives and serpentine sirens convey a deep-rooted distrust with respect to female sexuality, while goat-legged men remind the viewer that lust deprives even the more noble sex of his reason and humanity. The ignorance attributed to beasts

– which is seen, alongside of the animal appetites, as being the main difference between the animal world and that of humans – brute ignorance is seen as being a trait attributable above all to the lower social orders and to women, which attribution would hardly have constituted a surprise for any 16<sup>th</sup>-century viewer.

Rendered in a relatively accessible, easily deciphered figurative language, the representational idiom used by emblem illustrators drew upon current gender stereotypes and a common visual culture to both transmit and reinforce an urban, middle-class ethic. The emblem book thus functioned as a tool of 16<sup>th</sup>-century acculturation, carrying the new flavours of humanist ethics and the more familiar wisdom of merchant class morality to a wide (and not necessarily very literate) public.

Finally, what we also see – in this quick look at the gendered body in early modern emblem books – is an increasingly rigorous codification of iconography. Visual compositions that fluctuate in the early years of emblematics (such as the Alciati siren-as-triton) are quickly sorted out into more specific representations whose success can be measured by subsequent imitations on the part of other emblem authors and engravers. The need for an increasingly rigorous codification of emblem iconography – and iconographic language as a whole – was due, above all, to the demands of an international book and print market. The spread of visual literacy throughout Europe, and the development of a large market for mechanically reproduced images, demanded a more uniform figurative language, with fixed meanings and rules of composition, just as the spread of textual literacy in this

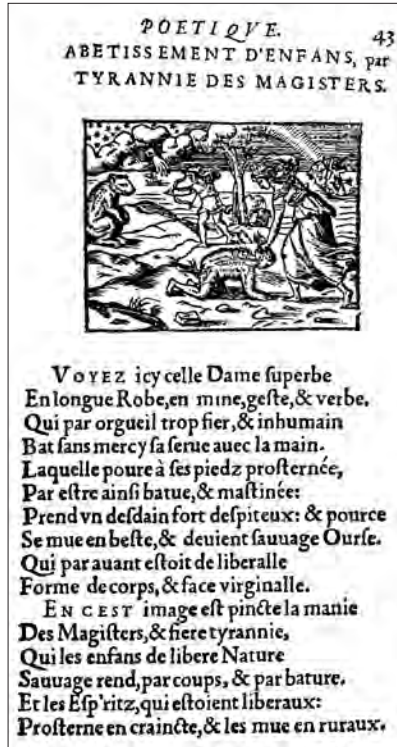


Fig. 32: “Abetissement d’Enfans, par tyrannie des Magisters” in *Barthélemy Aneau, Imagination poetique* (Lyons, 1552), woodcut attributed to Bernard Salomon, p. 43. [B.N.F.]

same period required a more uniform vernacular language, with fixed spelling and rules of grammar.

The human body continued to be used as a primary signifier in the European emblem book up until the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (1620 circa), when it seems to disappear in favour of time-tried personifications, standard allegorical figures (such as Cupid), and heroic and mythical figures easily recognised by the consumers of this eclectic cultural product. On the one hand, the progressive elimination of the human body as a natural sign doubtless has to do with the increasingly rigorous codification of the emblem genre and the development of a more exhaustive theoretical apparatus, complete with rigorous rules for the composition and use of allegorical images of this kind. On the other hand, the market for heterogeneous collections of emblems, devices and hieroglyphs as so many “dictionaries” of natural signs gradually dissipated in favour of more mono-thematic emblem books, such as Otto van Veen’s multi-lingual *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), where Cupid appears in every vignette, or Francis Quarles’ *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes of the life of man* (first edition London, 1635), a collection of religious reflections peopled with human figures representing devout pilgrims and struggling souls. This is not to say that encyclopaedic projects such as Filippo Picinelli’s ponderous *Mondo simbolico* (Milan, 1653) were no longer in demand, but they tended to limit the “natural language” of the world to a long list of animals, plants and objects, while reducing the human body to only a few of its component parts: *Capo, Cuore, Mano, Piede*.

Another possible reason for the progressive disappearance of the human body as a “natural sign” in emblem iconography is the contemporary shift in world view from organic to mechanic.<sup>41</sup> If one can judge by the illustrations of emblem books, by 1610/1620 an image of a naked male body no longer triggered an association with the notion of man as microcosm, while the nude body of both sexes had become something of an aesthetic abstraction, functioning above all as a conventional support for allegorical symbols and the paraphernalia of visual rhetoric.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to this series of hypotheses about the decline in the use of the human body as a natural sign in early modern emblematics, it is worth remembering that heightened controls with respect to sexual practise doubtless influenced emblem authors and illustrators,

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, New York, first edition 1983 and Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature*, San Francisco, first edition 1980.

<sup>42</sup> As is more than evident in Cornelis van Kiel *Prosopografica*, Antwerp, circa 1590, and in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603.

resulting in a more cautious use of a heavily overwritten sign – the naked body. Whatever the causes might have been for the disappearance of the gendered body as a “natural sign”, it is important to recognise that this phenomenon is pan-European in its scope. It demonstrates the extent to which emblem iconography had become a widespread expression of visual culture, easily transcending the borders of language and religion. It also demonstrates the extent to which the emblem book can furnish the historian of today with a kind of litmus paper to measure fundamental shifts in the worldview of the urban, “middling” classes of early modern Europe.

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## POVZETEK

### **Napisano s telesom: knjige emblemov, zmoralizirano telo in kodifikacija vizualnega idioma (od 16. do zgodnjega 17. stoletja)**

Knjige emblemov so bile primarno sredstvo za kodifikacijo ikonografskega izražanja, katerega raba v vizualni komunikaciji je bila močno razširjena v vseh pomembnejših kulturah, ki so proizvajale in uporabljale grafike v zgodnjem obdobju moderne Evrope. Namen tega eseja je prikazati pomen emblemov za rekonstrukcijo široko razširjene urbane vizualne kulture, v kateri lahko s sledenjem

razvoja v ikonografski vzpostavitvi telesa in spola opazimo pomembne premike v kolektivni miselnosti.

Emblemske ilustracije so človeškemu telesu pripisovale vrsto okvirno določenih, a vendar omejenih vlog. Ta ikonografski »katalog« vlog se je pogosto uporabljal tako v moralizirajočih alegorijah humanističnih avtorjev emblemov kot v didaktičnih ilustracijah verskih emblemskih knjig. Ta članek se bo ukvarjal predvsem z vprašanjem, kdaj in kje so knjige emblemov, priprav in hieroglifov imele človeško telo za naravni znak, primerljiv z živalmi, rastlinami in predmeti. Kaj je telo – kot semitoična ikona – pomenilo za avtorje, bralce in ogledovalce knjig emblemov? In predvsem, kako so ilustratorji (in z njimi njihovo urbano in pogosto ne ravno izobraženo občinstvo) videli človeško telo, njegovo »naravo« in njegovo vlogo v materialnem vesoljstvu, ki ga je ustvaril bog – predvsem v obdobju, ko je visoka umetnost izoblikovala novo pojmovanje človeške figure in nove konvencije za njeno rabo. Iz korpusa evropskih knjig emblemov, objavljenih med letoma 1531 in 1633, lahko izluščimo dve glavni rabi telesa kot »naravnega« znaka. Prva definira tako imenovano »naravo« človeka, ki vključuje dodatno artikulacijo v okvirih spola. Druga služi kot pomoč za razmislek o neprijetno prepustni meji med človeštvom in živalskim svetom. V obeh primerih sta moškemu in ženski dodeljeni vedno bolj stereotipni ikonografski identiteti, ki odsevata tako vse bolj utrjeno določeno besedišče vizualnega idioma v zgodnjem obdobju moderne Evrope kot vedno bolj polarizirano predstavo o spolu.

# »Rimanti in pace«: temna stran Arkadije v glasbi Marenzia in Monteverdija

GIUSEPPE GERBINO

Po letu 1570 je težko je najti tiskano knjigo madrigalov, ki ne bi imela več pastoralnih besedil, kot bi jih želeli prebrati. Še težje pa je razumeti, kaj je Arkadijo, njene pastirje, nimfe, satire, razkošne pokrajine in koprneče ljubimce napravilo tako privlačne za renesančno občinstvo. In vendar je pastoralna moda zadnje četrtine 16. stoletja navdihnila osupljivo število novih in povsem raznovrstnih glasbenih slogov. Če nam je prav ali ne, ločnice glasbenega podobja časa so bile v veliki meri določene s konvencijami tega na videz neukrotljivega modnega krika. Povedano z bolj tehničnimi izrazi: skoraj vsaka nova tendenca v hitro spreminjajočem se svetu poznorenesančnega madrigala se zdi na tak ali drugačen način povezana z retoričnim področjem pastore, od lahkega sloga t. i. canzonetta-madrigala do vse bolj čustveno obarvane glasbene avantgarde devetdesetih let 16. stoletja (v katero seveda spada tudi mladi Claudio Monteverdi). Pod vplivom pastoralne tradicije so nastali tudi zgodnji operni libreti.

Mit Arkadije je imel izredno vizualno, skorajda fizično privlačnost. Po humanističnem ponovnem odkritju klasične ekloge v drugi polovici 15. stoletja je bukolični simbolizem, izpeljan iz Vergila in Ovida, našel posebno rodovitna tla v znakovnem sistemu, na katerem je svoje zahteve po kulturni prevladi utemeljevala politična in družbena institucija dvora. Sistematično se je razširil tako v lepih umetnostih in literaturi kakor tudi na hibridnem področju dvornega razvedrila. Postal je subtilno razpršen metajezik, v katerem so nastajale politične, čutne, verske in družbene utopije. Vendar – kot že omenjeno – predvsem vizualni dejavnik te tradicije določa naše razumevanje tega, kar naj bi sanje o pastoralnem življenjskem slogu pomenile za omikano in urbanizirano elito moderne Evrope. Podoba začaranega vrta govori o dobi blaženosti in nedolžnosti, dobi, v kateri sta človek in narava živela v popolni slogi. Velik del madrigalnega repertoarja poznega 16. stoletja se posveča predstavljanju naravnega stanja prvotne blaženosti. Enako pomemben del se ukvarja z življenjem in glasbenim izražanjem prebivalcev tega idealiziranega sveta. In vendar se ti dve

plati iste tradicije le redko ujemata. Ko pastirji ter – v manjši meri – pastirice in nimfe svoj glas napravijo slišen, se to zgodi v visoko stilizirani retoriki tožbe. Ponavadi so zatopljeni v občutja izgube in ločitve. Z drugimi besedami: ko na sredino odra stopi človeška izkušnja, se Arkadija ne zdi vedno srečen bukolični svet.<sup>1</sup>

Pričujoča razprava se osredotoča prav na ta vidik pastoralne tradicije, na temno stran Arkadije, tako rekoč na mračne in žalostne primere pastoralnega madrigala. Taka izbira se morda zdi nekoliko nasprotna intuiciji. Vendar verjamem, da moramo za razumevanje očaranosti poznega 16. stoletja z bukoličnim simbolizmom ponovno razmisliti o predpostavki, da je bilo idealiziranje bistvo renesančne pastorale, in se sprijazniti z dejstvom, da je bil pastoralni patos v tistem času občuten popolnoma drugače. Kakšen je bil ta pastoralni patos? In kako se je razlikoval od npr. tragičnega patosa?

Takšnemu vprašanju se lahko približamo s kratkim povzetkom pogosto navajanega mnenja Marca Antonia Ingegnerija (1550–1613), enega najizvirnejših polemikov in piscev iger svojega časa. V svoji razpravi o »predstavljaajoči poeziji« iz leta 1594 je Ingegneri vprašanja moralnih in slogovnih zakonitosti pastoralnega gledališča obravnaval v navezavi na stvarno gledanje tistih, ki so spoznali, da je na odru zmagala pastoralna tragikomedija. Menil je, da »če ne bi bilo pastoral, bi lahko rekli, da je praksa uprizarjanja iger skoraj popolnoma izgubljena.«<sup>2</sup> Gledališče – nadaljuje Ingegneri – bi moralo izpolniti človekovo potrebo po sprostitvi in razvedrilu. Vendar je v tem spodletelo tako komediji kot tragediji. Komedije niso več cenjene, ker so jih poklicni igralci spremenili v opolzke spektakle. Po drugi strani so tragedije preveč mračne in grozovite. Z eno besedo: po Ingegnerijevem mnenju oblike klasičnega gledališča sodobnemu človeku niso imele povedati ničesar več.

Afektivni in slogovni liricizem arkadijskega ideala se je potem-takem vsiljeval kot edino zdravilo za slabosti sodobnega gledališča:

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<sup>1</sup> O konvenciji tožbe v kontekstu pastoralne poezije govori obsežna literatura – preobsežna, da bi lahko jamčil za izčrpno bibliografijo. Za splošen pregled gl. predvsem Ellen Zetzel Lambert. *Placing Sorrow: A Study of the Pastoral Elegy Convention from Theocritus to Milton*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976; Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975. Pomemben kritičen vpogled lahko najdemo tudi v Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?*, Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> »... se le pastorali non fossero, si potria dire poco men che perduto a fatto l'uso del palco.« Angelo Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, ur. Maria Luisa d'Oglio, Ferrara: Panini, 1989, str. 6. O Ingegnerijevi teoriji pastorale gl. nedavno izšlo knjigo Laure Riccò, *Ben mille pastorali: l'itinerario dell'Ingegneri da Tasso a Guarini e oltre*, Rim: Bulzoni, 2004.



*Kar je ostalo, so pasturale, ki so s svojim podeželskim in zelenečim okoljem bolj ljubke kot razkošne in zelo prijetne za oko, ki so s svojo sladko poezijo in prefinjenim govornim slogom nadvse privlačne za uho, ki, medtem ko niso nezmožne skoraj tragične resnobnosti ..., nadvse spretno prenašajo nekatere komične dovtype, ki z dopuščanjem devic in poštenih žensk na odru – česar komedije ne dovoljujejo – porajajo plemenita čustva, kakršna ne bi učinkovala neprimerno niti v tragedijah.*<sup>3</sup>

Pastoralna konvencija je nastala kot izrazni medij široke rekonceptualizacije dramskih oblik tako v oznakah sloga kot družbene funkcije. Kot pojasnjuje Ingegneri, je 16. stoletje sprejelo novi tragikomični/pastoralni sistem vrednot, ki je vzvišeno in v temelju optimistično zmereno čustvovanje postavil nad skrajnosti tragedije in komedije. Plemenita čustva, na katera je Ingegneri opozarjal v navedenem odlomku, niso bila nič drugega kot konvencije petrarkistične ljubezenske poezije, ki ni vplivala le na literaturo, temveč tudi na družbene norme celotnega stoletja. To trditev lahko še naprej izpeljujemo z domnevo, da je bila ljubezenska bolečina pastoralnega gledališča za družbo 16. stoletja to, kar je herojsko trpljenje tragedije predstavljalo za antično grško in rimsko družbo. To ni bilo le vprašanje teorije. Pastoralna je jasno utelesala duha nove dobe. Ko je Ingegneri priznal nemožnost tragedije, je v pastoralnem etosu svojega časa prepoznal edino obliko dramskega čustvovanja, ki je sodobnemu človeku še preostala.

Ingegnerijeva družbeno-slogovna analiza položaja italijanskega gledališča je zadela v črno. Za naše namene lahko nekoliko preoblikujemo njegovo trditev: pastoralno gledališče se je razvilo kot dramatisacija ideala (ohlapno opredeljene) petrarkistične poezije; do konca stoletja je ta pastoralna dramatisacija ljubezenske izkušnje prevzela isto družbeno in slogovno vlogo, kakršno je imela v antiki tragedija. V nekem smislu je pastoralni madrigal, ki je bil v teh letih moda, odražal natanko ta pastoralni etos in ga hkrati urejal v slogovne hierarhije.

Za primer madrigala, ki je bil razumljen kot dramska projekcija tradicionalno kodirane izkušnje ljubezni v pastoralni preobleki, sem izbral eno najbolj priljubljenih vsakdanjih situacij v madrigalni literaturi: ločitev ljubimcev. Obstaja knjiga madrigalov, ki je zaradi posebno premišljene rabe pastoralnih prizorov vredna preučevanja v

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<sup>3</sup> »Restano dunque le pastorali, le quali, con apparato rustico e di verdura e con abiti più leggiadri che sontuosi, riescono alla vista vaghissime; che co 'l verso soave e colla sentenza delicata sono gratissime agli orecchi e all'intelletto; che, non incapaci di qualche novità quasi tragica ... patiscono acconciissimamente certi ridicoli comici; che, admettendo le vergini in palco e le donne oneste, quello che alle commedie non lice, danno luogo a nobili affetti, non disdicevoli alle tragedie istesse.« Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa*, str. 7.



nekaterih podrobnostih. To je precej dobro znana antologija, ki je leta 1586 izšla pod vablјivim naslovom *I lieti amanti* (Srečni ljubimci).<sup>4</sup>

Knjiga, ki je nastala v Ferrari, prinaša izbor skladb, posvečenih določenim temam v skladu z modelom, ki sta ga nekaj let pred tem slovesno ustoličili dve najslavnejši ferrarski antologiji, *Il lauro secco* (1582) in *Il lauro verde* (1583). Deset od dvajsetih madrigalov, ki so vključeni v *I lieti amanti*, pripoveduje o boleči ločitvi dveh ljubimcev; zanje je po naročilu napisalo glasbo deset ferrarskih skladateljev.<sup>5</sup> V preostalih desetih madrigalih – napisali so jih skladatelji, ki so delovali v drugih italijanskih mestih<sup>6</sup> – nekdanji ljubimec opeva svojo na novo pridobljeno svobodo, dami pa, ki je mislila, da ne more živeti brez nje, namenja zaničljive besede. Za nameček so madrigali razporejeni še v takem zaporedju, da ljubečemu odhodu v uglasbitvi ferrarskega skladatelja vedno sledi pikra ločitev, ki jo je uglasbil njegov neferrarski kolega. Ljubimci desetih ferrarskih skladateljev so pari pastirjev in nimf (ali pastiric). Za ponazoritev naj služita dva primera: dialog, ki ga je uglasbil ferrarski skladatelj Lodovico Agostini, in dialog iz uglasbitve Costanza Porte:

LODOVICO AGOSTINI

»Dolce e vaga mia Clori,  
A dio,« »Silvano, a dio«  
Dicean partendo ne' più freschi albori  
Due boscarecci amanti  
Versando amari pianti.  
Egli dicea: »Il partire  
Qui te lasciando mi farà morire.«  
Ed ella rispondea: »Sarà finita  
Col tuo partir mia vita.«  
Alfin egli partisse e rimase ella,  
Né so ben dir se più dolente o bella.

»Zbogom, moja sladka in lepa Clori.« –  
»Zbogom, Silvano,«  
sta si rekla dva gozdna ljubimca,  
ko sta odhajala proti cvetočim drevesom

<sup>4</sup> *I lieti amanti*, Ferrara: Vincenti e Amadino, 1586. Sodobna izdaja v Marco Giuliani, *I lieti amanti: madrigali di venti musicisti ferraresi e non*, Firenze: Olschki, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Ippolito Fiorini, Orazio Vecchi, Innocenzo Alberti, Alessandro Milleville, Marcello Tosone, Lodovico Agostini, Alberto L'Occa, Paolo Virchi, Paolo Isnardi in Luzzasco Luzzaschi.

<sup>6</sup> Alessandro Striggio, Rinaldo del Mel, Andrea Rota, Luca Marenzio, Alfonso Ganassi, Costanzo Porta, Ruggiero Giovannelli, Giaches de Wert, Andrea Gabrieli in Lelio Bertani.

in točila bridke solze.

On je rekel: »Moj odhod, s katerim te zapuščam,  
mi bo povzročil smrt.«

In ona je odvrnila: »S tvojim odhodom  
se bo končalo moje življenje.«

On je odšel in ona je ostala,  
ne vem povedati, ali bolj žalostna ali lepa.

COSTANZO PORTA

*Donna, ben v'ingannate  
Che di vita i' sia privo,  
Quando a voi mi ritolgo ed a me vivo.*

*Anzi vivo son io  
Dal dì che vi lasciai,  
Però che morto fui mentre v'amai.  
Fu morte il viver mio,  
Che'l vivere al martire  
Un modo veramente è di morire.*

Gospa, popolnoma se motite,  
[če mislite,] da sem izgubil svoje življenje,  
ko sem se ločil od vas in se – še vedno živ – vrnil k sebi.

Nasprotno, vrnil sem se v življenje  
tisti dan, ko sem vas zapustil,  
ker sem bil mrtev, ko sem vas ljubil.  
Moje življenje je bilo kot smrt,  
kajti resnični način umiranja  
je živeti v bolečini.

Tematiko odhoda/ločitve ljubimcev je nedavno raziskoval James Chater.<sup>7</sup> Bila je priljubljena snov velikega dela renesančne poezije, avtoritativni vzori zanjo pa so bili klasični modeli. Vendar je bila v nasprotju s tem postavitev takšne ločitve v popolnoma pastoralno okolje precej neobičajna zamisel. Bralec, seznanjen s pesniškimi konvencijami madrigala, je v tematiki odhoda ljubimcev gotovo že prepoznal eno najbolj priljubljenih tem posvetne glasbe 16. stoletja. Primer, ki nam med prvimi pride na misel, je Anchor che col partire, eden od največkrat uglasbenih, imitiranih in parodiranih madrigalov celega stoletja.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> James Chater, Such Sweet Sorrow: The »dialogo di partenza« in the Italian Madrigal, *Early Music* 27/4, nov. 1999, str. 577–599.

<sup>8</sup> Gl. Chater, Such Sweet Sorrow, str. 584. Chater zasleduje klasično genealogijo tega toposa vse do Ovidove *Heroides* xviii (pismo Hero Leandru). O izjemnem uspehu

*Anchor che col partire  
Io mi sento morire  
Partir vorrei ogn'hor ogni momento  
Tanto è il piacer ch'io sento  
De la vita ch'acquisto nel ritorno.  
E così mille e mille volte il giorno  
Partir da voi vorrei  
Tanto son dolci gli ritorni miei.*

Čeprav ob slovesu  
si želim umreti,  
še vedno rad odšel bi vsako uro, vsak trenutek –  
tolikšna je radost, ki jo čutim  
v življenju, ki ga prejmem ob vrnitvi.  
In tako bi rad od vas odhajal  
tisočkrat in še večkrat na dan,  
tako so sladka moja vračanja.

Temeljna ideja *Anchor che col partire* je drugačna kot tista v pastoralnih madrigalih zbirke *I lieti amanti*. Deset pastoralnih madrigalov v *I lieti amanti* je zagotovo manj optimističnih: namigujejo na dvojno metaforo ločitev/smrt–vrnitev/vstajenje (kakor tudi dvojno seksualno razumevanje), ki se osredotoča izključno na žalostne posledice paradoksa, zajetega v prvih dveh vrsticah. Vendar so prikrite sorodnosti, ki povezujejo *Anchor che col partire* s temo *I lieti amanti*, kljub vsemu jasne. Razlika je ta, da *I lieti amanti* preoblikuje topos, običajen za ljubezensko poezijo, v pastoralno sceno.

Lahko bi razpravljali o tem, da je bil prenos poudarka od neposrednega izražanja čustev k dramski reprezentaciji le-teh eden od odločilnih trenutkov poznorenesančne glasbene estetike. Kljub ozadju te spremembe so se najpozornejši skladatelji obrnili po eni strani k raziskovanju novih slogov glasbene deklamacije, po drugi strani pa k izpopolnjevanju doživetega in izraznega polifonega pisanja. Tu mislim na Giachesa de Werta in mladega Monteverdija, pa tudi na Luca Marenzia, zlasti še Marenzia zadnjih štirih knjig madrigalov. Pastoralne konvencije zbirke *I lieti amanti* so povzročile slogovni odziv, ki je šel prav v to smer – namreč k postopnemu stopnjevanju glasbene retorike. Po mnenju Jamesa Chaterja lahko v lihih madrigalih opazimo dve težnji:

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uglasbitve *Anchor che col partire* Cipriana da Roreja gl. James Haar, Popularity in the Sixteenth-Century Madrigal. A Study of Two Instances, v *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ur. Eugene Wolf in Edward Rie-sener, Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1990, str. 191–212. Topos ločitve ljubimcev v povezavi z Rorejevimi po pravici enako slavnim *Dalle belle contrade d'oriente* raziskuje tudi Stefano La Via. Gl. Stefano La Via, *Il lamento di Venere abbandonata: Tiziano e Cipriano de Rore*, Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994.

prvo k prevzemanju dialoške strukture poezije v glasbi (zaradi česar se drobi tudi glasbena struktura) in drugo k intenzivnejši čustvenosti.<sup>9</sup> Prav ta vidik glasbe je tisti, ki se, če upoštevamo vsa dejstva, izkaže za najbolj razpoznavno slogovno potezo zbirke. Večina skladateljev je strastne okoliščine pastoralnih prizorov interpretirala skozi prizmo nemirnega harmonskega jezika, takšnega, ki je razvijal varljive zveze, kromatične modulacije in nepričakovana harmonska zaporedja.

Znotraj splošnih okvirov je posebej zanimivo opazovati, kako so posamezni skladatelji uporabili homofonijo ali imitacijsko polifonijo, da bi dosegli resnobnost, ki so jo verjetno iskali v teh dialogih. Orazio Vecchi se največkrat zanaša na subtilne spremembe homofone teksture. Vendar je to tip homofonije, ki se značilno razlikuje od prefinjenega deklamacijskega sloga, kakršnega najdemo pri Wertu, in ki je seveda odvisen od harmonskega barvanja na podlagi čustvenega naboja. Začetek madrigala (primer 1), ki se s svojimi zaporedji sorodnih kvint takoj odmakne od tega, kar se zdi transponirani modus na d (sistem z enim nižajem in finalisom na G), proti zvočnosti c-mola, to dobro ponazarja.<sup>10</sup>

»Atmosfera« c-mola dejansko ostaja v ozadju skozi celo skladbo. Obenem z njo prihaja do neprestanega nihanja med h-jem/b-jem in f-om/fis-om (ter s tem med zvočnostmi G-dura/g-mola in D-dura/d-mola). Prav tako je jasno, da se Vecchi tu ne zavzema za realistično razločevanje med glasovoma Tirsija in Dafne: odgovor Dafne (takti 9–13) je zamegljen z basovim vstopom. Vecchi si veliko bolj prizadeva za retorično stopnjevanje govora Dafne z mehanizmom kontrapunkta. Uporaba tega učinka zvočnosti, ki za naša ušesa nenehno nihajo med durom in molom, je ena od glavnih značilnosti madrigala.

Dodatek temu harmonskemu besedišču na melodični ravni predstavlja poudarjeno poltonsko gibanje. Za peto vrstico pesmi (»D'un pallor di viole«) Vecchi napiše drhtečo melodično linijo, ki se razvije iz preproste menjave dveh not v oddaljenosti poltona (primer 2).

Ko se pesem premakne iz neposrednega dvogovora v pripoved, Vecchi razrahlja homofono zgradbo začetka. Tekstura, ki jo privzame tukaj, spominja na slog, povezan z lahkotnejšimi žanri, kakršna sta canzonetta in canzonetta-madrigal. Kratek motiv, podvojen v vzporednih terciah ali sekstah, med petimi glasovi premetava naprej in nazaj, kar ustvarja iluzijo nenehno premikajoče se fasade. Toda kot kaže pri-

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<sup>9</sup> Chater, *Such Sweet Sorrow*, str. 584, 592.

<sup>10</sup> Moja raba iz tonalnosti izpeljane terminologije ima le ta namen, da opredeli vertikalne zvočnosti na primeren in preprost način. Seveda pa nima nikakršnih »tonalnih« implikacij v smislu funkcionalne harmonije.

Giuseppe Gerbino

S. "Ca - ra mia Daf - ne, a di-

Q. "Ca - ra mia Daf - ne, a di-

A. "Ca - ra mia Daf - ne, a di - o"

T. "Ca - ra mia Daf - ne, a di-

B.

5 o" Dis - si par - ten - - - do\_al-

o" Dis - si par - ten - - - do\_al-

Dis - si par - ten - - - do\_al - l'ap - pa-

8 o" Dis - si par - ten - - - do\_al-

B.

10

l'ap - pa - rir del so - le. "A dio, Tir-

l'ap - pa - rir del so - le.

rir del so - le. "A dio, Tir-

l'ap - pa - rir del so - - - le. "A dio, Tir-

"A dio, Tir-

- si mio ca - ro" el - la ri - spo - se E,il

E,il bel co

- si mio ca - ro" el - la ri - spo - se

- si mio ca - ro" el - la ri - spo - se

- si mio ca - ro" el - la ri - spo - se

- si mio ca - ro" el - la ri - spo - se


S.  se


Q.  se D'un pal - lor - di vi - o - le, D'un pal-


A.  D'un pal - lor di vi - o - le Spar - se


T.  8 D'un pal-

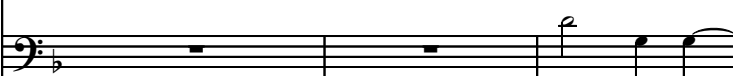
B.  D'un pal - lor di vi - o - le

 Spar - se, D'un - pal - lor - di vi - o - le

 lor di vi - o - le Spar - se spar-

 D'un pal - lor di vi - o - le

 8 lor di vi - o - le D'un



Spar - se, D'un

25

Spar - se, D'un pal - lor - di vi - o - le  
 se D'un pal - lor di vi - o - le  
 di vi - o  
 pal - lor di vi - o - le Spar - se, D'un pal - lor  
 pal - lor di vi - o - le Spar - se,

Primer 2: Vecchi, »Cara mia Dafne, adio«, takti 18–27

mer 2, čustvena narava melodičnega materiala preusmeri govorniško obliko te strukture v bolj afektivno zaznamovan slog.

Podobno harmonsko razpoloženje preveva tudi Agostinijev madrigal. Vendar Agostini uporablja nekoliko drugačno retorično strategijo, saj neposrednega govora Clori in Silvana ne navezuje na akordično deklamacijo, temveč na resnobno imitacijsko pisanje. Silvanove začetne besede uvaja obsežna imitacijska ekspozicija, v kateri si Agostini privoči dvoumne melodične in harmonske stranpoti. Zaključni del madrigala prežema v osnovi homofoni slog. Končna vrstica ponuja še en primer ferrarskega nagnjenja k nenadnim harmonskim kontrastom in kromatiki. Pripovedovalec je uročen od lepote Clorine žalosti (»ostala je, / ne vem povedati, ali bolj žalostna ali lepa«), podoba, ki dobro ponazarja izrazito vizualni značaj pastoralnih prizorov ločitve. Agostini ponovitev zadnje vrstice uglasbi z vzpenjajočo se melodično linijo v sopranu, ki doseže visoki g. Podaljševanje notnih vrednosti v breves in semibreves povzroči učinek *allarganda*, ki – kar je v primerih tega sloga pogosto – služi kot protiutež nenadnemu stopnjevanju harmonskega besedišča. Tukaj grenko-sladko zaporedje nekonvencionalnih zvočno-



sti – prečje na zadržanem a-ju v basu, ki mu neposredno sledi zvečana kvarta med sopranom in altom – podčrtava enako grenko-sladko podobje besedne zveze »dolente o bella« (žalostna ali lepa).

Čeprav zbirka *I lieti amanti* nikoli ni bila ponatisnjena, je prizor ločitve ostal ena najbolj trdno zasidranih konvencij pastoralnega madrigala. Predstavo o njegovi priljubljenosti v zadnjih dveh desetletjih 16. stoletja si lahko ustvarimo iz seznama besedil in uglasbitev, ki ga je v zgoraj omenjeni študiji napravil Chater. Glasbenikom je še naprej nudil priložnost raziskovanja skrajnih meja afektivnega sloga. Sam pa bi rad razpravljal še o zadnjem primeru iz te tradicije, sonetu Angela Grilla (ali Livia Celana), ki sta ga uglasbila in izdala tako Monteverdi kot Marenzio, prvi leta 1592, drugi leta 1594.

*»Rimanti in pace« a la dolente e bella  
Fillida, Tirsi sospirando disse.  
»Rimanti, io me ne vo; tal mi prescisse  
Legge, empio fato, aspra sorte e rubella.«  
Et ella hora da l'una e l'altra stella  
Stilland'amaro humore, i lumi affisse  
Nei lumi del suo Tirsi e gli trafisse  
Il cor di pietosissime quadrella.  
Ond'ei, di morte la sua faccia impressa,  
Disse: »Ahi, come n'andrò senza il mio sole  
Di martir in martir, di doglie in doglie?«  
Ed ella, da singhiozzi e piant'oppressa,  
Fievolmente formò queste parole:  
»Deh, cara anima mia, chi mi ti toglie?«*

»Ostani v miru,« je rekel Tirsi, zdihujoč,  
žalostni in lepi Fillidi.

»Ostani, jaz moram iti; zakaj tako so mi zapovedali  
zakon, kruta usoda ter varljiva in nemila sreča.«

In ona je pogledala v oči  
svojega ljubljenega Tirsija, iz bleščečih oči  
točila grenke solze in prebodla njegovo srce  
z najbolj usmiljenja vrednimi puščicami.

S pečatom smrti na obrazu

je rekel: »Ah, kako bom hodil brez svojega sonca,  
iz bolečine v bolečino, iz žalosti v žalost?«

Pobita od tarnanja in joka  
je slabotno izrekla te besede:

»Kdo te jemlje od mene, moja draga duša?«

Na tem mestu je treba omeniti svojevrstno naravo tega pastoralnega soneta. Grillov literarni vzor za strastni značaj soneta je Tassova epska pesnitev. »Rimanti in pace« so besede, s katerimi se

Tancredi poslovi od Armide. Cela prva kvartina očitno spominja na Tancredijeve zadnje vrstice v XVI. spevu *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Osvobojeni Jeruzalem*).<sup>11</sup> Ni težko uganiti, zakaj je Grillo v začetku soneta namignil na Tancredijeve besede: Armidina epizoda, o kateri pripoveduje XVI. spev, je sama po sebi prizor *partenze* – in povrhu še zelo slaven –, čeprav so čustvene okoliščine slovesa tukaj nekoliko drugačne. Nič manj pa ni glede Grillovega Tirsija/Tancredija zanimivo tole: pokaže nam na pretanjeno sorodstvo med izraznim območjem epike in tistim iz pastorale.

Tako Monteverdi kot Marenzio sta Grillovemu sonetu namenila posebno pozornost. Monteverdi mu je zaupal sklepno mesto v svoji tretji knjigi madrigalov.<sup>12</sup> Pomembno je opozoriti na dejstvo, da je bila to knjiga, ki je po mnenju Garyja Tomlinsona zaznamovala Monteverdijevo odkritje Tassovega epa *Gerusalemme liberata* in Wertovega herojskega sloga.<sup>13</sup> Dve leti zatem je Marenzio vključil svojo uglasbitev soneta *Rimanti in pace* v šesto knjigo petglasnih madrigalov, s tematskega vidika izjemno zgoščeno zbirko in eno od najzgovornejših primerov priljubljenosti, ki jo je emblem pastoralnega življenja užival v teh letih.<sup>14</sup> Pet madrigalov od sedemnajstih obdeluje motiv slovesa ljubimcev, štirje od teh na izrazito pastoralen način. Tako Monteverdi kot Marenzio sta posegla po konvenciji pastoralne *partenze*, da bi preizkusila čustvene skrajnosti glasbenega besedišča in prignala strastno retoriko *I lieti amanti* do najskrajnejših meja. Vendar sta to storila vsak na svoj način. Marenzio je osredotočil svoja prizadevanja na izrazno zmožnost skoraj nepopravljivo izkrivljene modalne harmonije, Monteverdi pa se je posvetil predvsem razvijanju Wertovega deklamacijskega sloga.

Pečat resnobe, ki ga je Marenzio hotel vtisniti svoji uglasbitvi Grillovega soneta, je razviden iz kombinacije menzure in modusa; to sta *misura di breve* in frigijski modus (transponiran na a), tj. modus, ki je bil v opredelitvi Orazia Vecchija povezan s »parole dolorose e piene di pianto« (žalostne in tožeče besede).<sup>15</sup> Frigijski modus je bil nadvse

<sup>11</sup> »Rimanti in pace; i' vado: a te non lice / meco venir; chi mi conduce il vieta. / Rimanti, o va per altra via felice, / e, come saggia, i tuoi consigli acqueta« (XVI, 56).

<sup>12</sup> Claudio Monteverdi, *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Benetke: Amadino, 1592. Sodobna izdaja v *Madrigali a 5 voci, libro terzo*, ur. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani, *Instituta et monumenta: Serie I, Monumenta*, v. 5, t. 4, Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, 1988, str. 195–207.

<sup>13</sup> Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987, str. 59–72.

<sup>14</sup> Luca Marenzio, *Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Benetke: Gardano, 1594. Sodobna izdaja v *The Complete Five Voice Madrigals*, ur. John Steele, New York: Gaudia Music and Arts, 1996.

<sup>15</sup> Orazio Vecchi, *Mostra delli tuoni*, ur. Mariarosa Pollastri, Modena: Aedes mura-

kočljiv. Zdi se, da ni deloval enako kot preostali modusi, posebno še, kar zadeva razmerje do njegove plagalne oblike in opredelitev regularnih in iregularnih tonov v kadencah. Marenzio je zaključil prvi del soneta (takt 37) s pravilno kadenco na kvarti nad finalisom (d), ki jo je Calvisius – sledeč Zarlino – poimenoval »clausula Aeolii«. <sup>16</sup> Toda v začetnih štirih taktih (»Rimanti in pace«) skladatelj glasbeni tok takoj preusmeri v bolj tvegano in rezko področje pete stopnje (e); ta poteza povzroči zvišanje druge stopnje in tako napove kromatično nihanje med h-jem in b-jem, ki je v nadaljevanju skladbe zelo izrazito (primer 3). <sup>17</sup>

Da bi zajel besedno ponavljanje med vrsticama 1 in 3, Marenzio obnovi prvotno kadenčno strukturo modusa tako, da glagol »rimanti« zapre v kadenčno zaporedje d – a – d (takta 11–12 v prvem delu madrigala). Konec obsežnega sklepnega govora učinkuje kot dolgo pričakovani zaključek. Cezuro še bolj poudari nenadna sprememba sloga. Marenzio uporabi visoko triglasno teksturo in deklamacijo v hitrih osminkah, kar spominja na canzonetto-madrigal (»io me ne vo«, takti 11–14). Takoj ko se približamo ključni 4. vrstici (»Legge, empio fato e sorte aspra e rubella«), pa se tekstura spremeni v boleče počasno gibanje in v od zadržkov izmučeni kromatični trio (primer 4).

To je eden najdrznejših delov madrigala. Zgrajen je iz domiselne harmonizacije padajoče melodične figure v sopranu. Trenutek največje zmede v tem zaporedju sovпада z besedami »fato e sorte«, kar seveda ni naključje. Sopran se v svojem sestopu zdaj nekoliko obotavlja ob c-ju, medtem ko se vsi glasovi hkrati spuščajo po poltonih, to pa učinkuje kot neke vrste kromatično drsenje akordov prvega obrata (c<sup>6</sup> – b<sup>6</sup> – C<sup>6</sup>). Marenzio uporabi še eno razširjeno kromatično epizodo,

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toriana, 1987. Renesancna teorija o afektivnem značaju osmih (ali dvanajstih) modusov je značilno nejasna in včasih kontradiktorna. Vecchi si je stalno mesto pri preučevanju Marenzia pridobil zaradi uporabe njegove priljubljene prve knjige petglasnih madrigalov za ponazoritev različnih lastnosti modusov. Gl. razpravo v James Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal: 1577–1593*, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981, str. 40–45; Marco Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio: The Career of a Musician between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*, prev. James Chater, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, str. 308–316. Kakor koli že, o mračnjaškem značaju tretjega modusa je vladalo sorazmerno soglasje. Zarlino je delil v osnovi isto prepričanje, da ima »[frigijski modus] zmožnost, da gane do solz« (Giuseffo Zarlino, *Istituzioni harmoniche* [Benetke: Francesco dei Franceschi Senese, 1573], knjiga 4, poglavje 22).

<sup>16</sup> Seth Calvisius, *Melopoïia*, Erfurt: Baumann, 1592, poglavje 14. Večina nepravilnosti frigijskega modusa (zlasti pogosta raba kadenc na a in c namesto na h) in tudi metode, po katerih so se z njim ukvarjali teoretiki 16. stoletja, je zajeta v Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, prev. Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988), str. 107–108.

<sup>17</sup> Calvisius je v 14. poglavju svoje *Melopoïie* o frigijskem modusu napisal še tole: »Durus est et austerus, nisi frequenter Clausolam Aeolii ... et Jonici adsciscat« (Trd je in rezek, če pogosto ne uporablja klavzule eolskega [na a] in jonskega modusa [na c]). Citirano in prevedeno v Meier, *The Modes*, str. 108, op. 48.

»Rimanti in pace«: temna stran Arkadije v glasbi Marenzia in Monteverdija

S.   
 A. Ri - - - man - ti\_in pa - - - ce   
 Q.   
 T. Ri - - - man - ti\_in pa - - - ce   
 B. Ri - - - -

5   
 S. Ri - - - man - ti\_in pa - - - ce   
 A. Ri - - - man - ti\_in pa - - - ce   
 Q. man - ti\_in pa - - - ce in pa - - - ce   
 T. in pa - - - ce   
 B. man - ti\_in pa - - - ce

Primer 3: Marenzio, »Rimanti in pace«, takti 1–7

30

S. Leg - ge\_em - pio fa - to\_e sor-

A. ge\_em - pio fa - - - - to\_e

Q. Leg - ge\_em - pio fa - to\_e sor-

35

- - te\_a - spra\_e ru - bel - la

sor - te\_a - spra\_e ru - bel - - - - la

te\_a - spra\_e ru - - - - bel - - - - la

Primer 4: Marenzio, »Rimanti in pace«, drugi del, takti 30–39

s katero začne drugi del madrigala (takti 1–12, primer 5). Ta je prav tako pisan le za tri glasove (sopran, alt in tenor), vendar se – v primerjavi s 4. vrstico – razvije v bujno vzpenjajoče se zaporedje.

Tako v razširjenem kromaticizmu, kakršen je ta, kakor tudi na posameznih mestih harmonskih neskladij se zdi, da slog teh pastoralnih uglasbitev izzove – vsaj za moderna ušesa – razbrzdan občutek zvočnega meteža. Marenzиеv vznemirljivi harmonski idiom je nastal kot izraz dvoumnega užitka tožbe, ki je prevzel dvorno kulturo tega časa, užitka, ki so ga moški in ženske poznega 16. stoletja čedalje bolj povezovali s čutnostjo pastoralne bolečine.

Monteverdi je glas pastoralne bolečine našel drugje, v napetem deklamacijskem slogu Wertovih uglasbitev *Liberate*. Njegov madrigal je prav zares prenesel vse poteze Wertovega »herojskega« sloga v Grillov pastoralni sonet. Nastala je najbolj Tantalovih muk polna

5

S. On - d'ei di mor - - - te la sua fac-

A. On - d'ei di mor - te la sua fac-

T. On - d'ei di mor - te la sua fac-

10

S. - cia\_im - pres - sa Dis - - - se

A. cia\_im - pres - sa Dis - - - - - se

T. cia\_im - pres - sa Dis - - - - - se

Primer 5: Marenzio, »Rimanti in pace«, takti 1–12

glasbeno-dramska scena, kar jih je bilo napisanih do današnjih dni. Zanimivo bi bilo pripomniti, da Monteverdi – tako kot Marenzio – začenja svojo skladbo s tožečo padajočo kvarto (d – a). Vendar v nasprotju z Marenziem Monteverdi takoj zamrzne začetni prizor v tipično wertovsko zgradbo: homofono deklamacijo, ki temelji na podaljševanju enega samega akorda (primer 6).

Bolj značilno uporabo te plastične tehnike akordske deklamacije lahko vidimo v drugem delu madrigala (primer 7).

Na tem mestu velja poudariti dve značilnosti obravnavanega afektivnega sloga. Oster harmonski obrat se navsezadnje razreši v utripajočo nepremičnost začetne zvočnosti: v taktu 51 je to zadržek none pred oktavo, kombiniran s kromatično variacijo tretje stopnje akorda nad statičnim c-jem, v taktu 55 pa naletimo na nenaden izmik

Giuseppe Gerbino

S. "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-  
Q. "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-  
A. "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-  
T. "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-  
B. "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-

The first system of the musical score features five vocal parts: Soprano (S.), Alto (Q.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part includes a fermata over the final note, which is marked with a sharp sign and a '5' above it. The lyrics for all parts are "Ri - man - ti\_in pa-".

ce" a la do - len - te\_e bel - la Fil - li - da,  
ce" a la do - len - te\_e bel - la Fil - li - da,  
ce"  
ce"  
ce"

The second system of the musical score continues with the same five vocal parts. The lyrics for the Soprano, Alto (Q.), and Alto (A.) parts are "ce" a la do - len - te\_e bel - la Fil - li - da,". The Tenor (T.) and Bass (B.) parts have the lyrics "ce" and "ce" respectively. The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part includes a fermata over the final note, which is marked with a sharp sign.

Primer 6: Monteverdi, »Rimanti in pace«, takti 1-9

iz B-dura v akord As-dura. Osnovni vzorec, ki je podlaga tega upočasnjevanja, nastaja iz podaljševanja znanih terčno sorodnih zaporedij – značilen obrazec harmonskega besedišča poznega 16. stoletja, ki je največkrat uvajal modusu tuje akcidence v obliki prečij.<sup>18</sup> Iz tega nastane razširjeno prečje, ki se osredotoča na nasprotje dveh harmonskih/deklamacijskih blokov, prvega na akordu G-dura (h v drugem sopranu), drugega na akordu B-dura (b v prvem sopranu in basu). Monteverdi spet doseže občutek strukturne jasnosti tako, da ublaži centrifugalno silo tega harmonskega preobrata z zaključkom epizode v zaokroženem sosledju G – B – G.

Druga tehnika, ki si jo je Monteverdi izposodil od Werta, je uporaba dolgih melodičnih linij, spredeni iz deklamacije na enem tonu. In Monteverdi – kakor Wert – vlije te recitativom podobne melodije v imitacijsko teksturo, pri tem pa v gibanje požene še deklamativni kontrapunkt, ki je po Tomlinsonovem mnenju naraven dodatek upočasnjevanja zgoraj opisanega harmonskega ritma.<sup>19</sup> Kako učinkovit je ta slog v Monteverdijevih rokah, lahko slišimo v tretji vrstici, ko Tirsi povzame svoj poslovilni govor. Kot je bilo predvideti, Monteverdi ne zgreši priložnosti in poudari ponovitev incipita s preusmeritvijo tonalne tirnice, ki jo je začrtal kvartni skok v začetku kompozicije. Padajoča kvarta postane kvinta (d-g), s tem pa ponovno utrdi osnovni kadenčni vzorec modusa (hipodorski modus, transponiran na g).<sup>20</sup> Pričakovali bi zvočnost g-mola, vendar slišimo durov akord. Učinek spremembe v harmonski barvi je osupljiv. Na tej kadenci vstopi drugi sopran in raztrga zvočni prostor z rezko monotono melodično linijo, ki nemudoma odjekne v preostalih glasovih. Izredno velik del temat-

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<sup>18</sup> Oba prehoda (iz G-dura v B-dur in iz B-dura nazaj v G-dur) sta omeščena z vmesnimi akordi. Posebno prvi prehod, v katerem se bas približa zgornji terci preko tona, ki bi ga danes poimenovali kar »nepopoln sosednji ton« (g – c – b), predstavlja povratno harmonsko formulo v afektivnem slogu poznega 16. stoletja, kakršno je pogosto uporabljal tudi Marenzio. Kar je pri Monteverdiju – in tudi pri Wertu – novo, je nenavadna razširitev harmonskega ritma zaporedij, ki so bila prej iztrošena v razmiku treh zlogov (en zlog za vsak akord). Tomlinson opozarja na isti postopek v zvezi z Wertovo rabo harmonskega vzorca *Romanesca* v njegovih uglasbitvah *Liberate* v osemdesetih letih 16. stoletja (*Monteverdi and the End of Renaissance*, str. 64–65).

<sup>19</sup> Prav tam, str. 65.

<sup>20</sup> Zdi se, da Marenzio anticipira to gesto v predhodni epizodi (takti 11–20). Kvinta g-d, ki poskakuje v celinkah v nižjih glasovih, deluje kot temelj ritmično in tekstualno razslojene teksture, kjer se višji glasovi zaženejo v hitro in razdrobljeno osminsko deklamacijo (madrigalizem na besedi »sospirando«). Isti interval – obrnjen v naraščajočo kvarto – prav tako izzove imitacijo in s tem naznači začetek drugega dela. Zelo zanimivo je tudi, da se glasovi hitro približajo homofoni deklamaciji na akordu As-dura, tj. v harmoniji, oddaljeni pol tona od podaljšanega akorda A-dura, s katerim je krenil na pot prvi del madrigala.



46

Ed el - la da sin-ghioz-  
Ed el - la da sin-ghioz-  
Ed el - la da sin-  
Ed el - la da sin-ghioz - zi\_e pian - ti\_op -  
Ed el - la da sin-ghioz-

50

- zi\_e pian-ti\_op - pres - sa, fie - vol - men-  
- zi\_e pian - ti\_op - pres - sa, fie - vol - men-  
ghioz - zi\_e pian - ti\_op - pres - sa, fie - vol - men-  
pres - sa, fie - vol - men - te  
- zi\_e pian - ti\_op - pres - sa, fie - vol - men-

55

te for - mò que - ste pa - ro - le:  
te for - mò que - ste pa - ro - le:  
te for - mò que - ste pa - ro - le:  
for - mò que - ste pa - ro - le:  
te for - mò que - ste pa - ro - le:

Primer 7: Monteverdi, »Rimanti in pace«, drugi del, takti 46–58

skega materiala tega madrigala se zanaša na izrazno moč deklamacije na ponavljajočem se tonu. Znotraj teh presenetljivo ozkih omejitev melodičnega pisanja lahko najdemo pristne bisere glasbene dramaturgije, kakršen je nenadni solo tenorja, s katerim hoče Monteverdi zaustaviti čas ob nimfinem neutolažljivem pogledu (takti 78–80).

Še nekaj zaključnih opazanj. Ideja prvobitne sreče ali izgubljene nedolžnosti je bila postranska, če že ne povsem nasprotna izkušnji, ki so jo izražala pastoralna življenja. Kakšna je bila torej ta izkušnja? Ljubezenske muke. Glasbeni slog se je neizogibno spreminjal. Toda pod površjem je od *I lieti amanti* do Marenzia in Monteverdija vedno trdno veljalo eno. Pastoralna je skladateljem pokazala pot do retoričnega *locusa* lirskega patosa. Na koncu te poti bodo mnogi našli pastoralno igro *Il pastor fido* Giovannija Battista Guarinija, ki je bolj kot katera koli druga potrjevala pastoralnega duha časa kot dramsko projekcijo fenomenologije ljubezni.<sup>21</sup> Družbeni običaji, znotraj katerih je zbirka *I lieti amanti* verjetno nastala – tj. praksa *ragionar d'amore*

<sup>21</sup> Ena od zadnjih ocen izredne glasbene priljubljenosti Guarinijeve igre je bibliografski katalog Jamesa Chaterja v *Guarini, la musica, i musicisti*, ur. Angelo Pompilio (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1997), str. 157–183.

–, nam naslikajo izjemno jasno podobo kulturnega položaja pastorale. S pomočjo te podobe spoznamo, da *locus amoenus*, o katerem so vsi fantazirali, konec koncev ni bil nič drugega kot laboratorij, v katerem je dvor preizkušal svoje nazore o naravi ljubezni. Potemtakem se je poglobljeni afektivni slog teh madrigalov ujemal s predstavo družbe, v katero so sodobniki Vecchija, Marenzija in Monteverdija postavili izrazne norme pastoralne konvencije. V zadnji analizi se lahko iz Monteverdijevega prenosa Wertovega epskega sloga v pastoralni sonet naučimo tole: tam v globini ni bilo več velikih razlik med herojskim in pastoralnim, med Armido in Filido, med Rinaldom in Tirsijem. Pastoralna je v resnici postala nadomestilo za tragični slog, ali, kakor bi dejal Angelo Ingegneri, ena od redkih oblik tragičnega izraza, ki so še (pre)ostale 16. stoletju.

Prevedla Katarina Šter

## SUMMARY

### **“Rimanti in pace”: The Dark Side of Arcadia in Marenzio’s and Monteverdi’s Music**

According to Alfred Einstein, the late sixteenth-century madrigal developed along the lines of a fundamental opposition between two expressive poles: the playful and light-hearted atmosphere of the pastoral madrigal, and the pathos of the heroic style exemplified by the heightened expressionism of Giaches de Wert’s settings from Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that such a view obscures the Renaissance perception of the pastoral code as a form of tragic sensitivity. For us to understand the meaning of the Arcadian fashion of the late Cinquecento, we need to rethink the assumption that idyllicism was the essence of Renaissance pastoral and come to terms with the courtly ideal of pastoral sorrow. Taking as examples Marenzio’s and Monteverdi’s settings of Angelo Grillo’s sonnet *Rimanti in pace*, this paper investigates the use of pastoral style as a substitute for tragic style.

# *Renesančni plesi za lutnjo*

## *Giacoma Gorzanisa*

ALENKA BAGARIČ

Rokopisne in tiskane tabulature za lutnjo iz srede in druge polovice 16. stoletja prinašajo po vsebini in po obsegu najrazličnejše zapise.<sup>1</sup> V rokopisih so se ohranile predvsem zbirke virtuosnih ricercarjev, fantazij in intabulacij oz. lutenjskih priredb večglasnih vokalnih skladb, ki so jih za svoje potrebe sestavljali poklicni glasbeniki, in priročne zbirke manj zahtevnih skladb, ki so jih za razvedrilo igrali ljubiteljski glasbeniki. Tiski iz Italije in Nemčije so povečini knjige cenjenih lutnjistov, v katerih so zabeležene njihove izvirne imitativne ali improvizacijske skladbe, intabulacije mašnih stavkov, motetov, francoskih chanson, madrigalov, frottol in vilianel drugih skladateljev ter plesi.<sup>2</sup> Številne italijanske lutenjske skladbe so, prenesene v nemške ali francoske tabulature, v drugi polovici 16. stoletja podjetni založniki in tiskarji v Nemčiji, Belgiji in na Nizozemskem izdajali v obsežnih antologijah glasbe za lutnjo.

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<sup>1</sup> Viri glasbe za lutnjo so sistematično popisani v Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography*, 2. izdaja, Cambridge (Mass.)–London: Harvard University Press, 2000; Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: beschreibender Katalog*, München: Henle Verlag, 1978 (Répertoire international des sources musicales (oz. RISM) B/7); Dinko Fabris, Prime aggiunte italiane al volume RISM B/VII: intavolature mss. per liuto e chitarra, *Fontes artis musicae* 29 (1982), str. 203–221; Christian Meyer [idr.], *Sources manuscrites en tablature: Luth et théorbe c. 1500–c. 1800: Catalogue descriptif: I. Confoederatio Helvetica, France, II. Bundesrepublik Deutschland, III/1. Österreich, III/2. République tchèque, Hongrie, Lituanie, Pologne, Fédération de Russie, Slovaquie, Ukraine, Baden-Baden – Bouxwiller*: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1991–1999 (Collection d'études musicologiques 82, 87, 90, 93). Gl. tudi Arthur J. Ness, Sources of lute music, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 24, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 39–63, kjer so naštetni pomembnejši rokopisni in tiskani viri, sodobne izdaje ter referenčna literatura.

<sup>2</sup> Splošni glasbeni termin v tej zvezi zaobsega skladbe v plesnem načinu, ki jih najdemo v virih instrumentalne glasbe in niso nujno vezane s plesno umetnostjo oz. dejanskim plesanjem. Prim. Ingrid Brainard, Ballo, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 605–607.

V tiskih tabulatur konkurenčnih beneških tiskarjev Girolama Scotta in Antonia Gardana, natisnjenih med letoma 1546 in 1572, številčno prevladujejo intabulacije, ki so bile osrednji del skoraj vseh tiskanih izdaj tedanjih lutnjistov, z izjemo knjig ricercarjev in fantazij najbolj občudovanega lutnjista dobe Francesca da Milana ter nekaj knjig plesov. Od skupno približno 45 prvotiskov in ponatisov knjig lutnjskih tabulatur jih plese vsebuje polovica (gl. prilogo 1).<sup>3</sup> Natisnjeni so bili kot samostojne skladbe ali kot plesni nizi v zaporedju dveh ali treh plesov, največkrat z dodanimi opisnimi naslovi. Slednji kažejo na glasbene vzorce ali vokalne predloge, ki so služili kot osnova ali model za oblikovanje lutnjske plesne skladbe.

V nadaljevanju bodo podrobneje predstavljeni plesi za šeststrunsko lutnjo Giacoma Gorzanisa, v čigar štirih tiskih tabulatur, izdanih v Benetkah med letoma 1561 in 1579, ter v rokopisu z letnico 1567 se je ohranilo največ tovrstnih avtorskih skladb. Tri Gorzanisove knjige so za zgodovino glasbe na Slovenskem še posebej zanimive, saj jih uvodna posvetila neposredno povezujejo s slovenskimi deželami takratne Notranje Avstrije oz. s Kranjsko in z Goriško. Prvo knjigo je leta 1561 Gorzanis naslovil na Hansa Khisla z gradu Fužine pri Ljubljani, z drugo se je leta 1563 obrnil na radovljjskega graščaka in zakupnika gospostva Pusti grad (Waldenberg) Morica Dietrichsteina, tretjo pa je leta 1564 posvetil goriškemu plemiču in poznejšemu vplivnemu cesarskemu diplomatu Vidu Dornberškemu.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Za podrobnejšo predstavitev vsebine tiskov gl. kataloga Jane A. Bernstein, *Music printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, in Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer 1538–1569: a Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study* 1: 1538–1549 in 2: 1550–1559, New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1988–1997. Gl. tudi Franco Rossi, *Elenco delle edizioni veneziane per liuto*, v: *Il liuto a Venezia dal rinascimento al barocco*, Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 1983, str. 73–105.

<sup>4</sup> Izvirni naslovi se glasijo: *Intabolutvra di livto di messer Iacomo Gorzanis cieco Pugliese, habitante nella citta di Trieste. Nouamente da lui compossto et per Antonio Gardano stampato et dato in Luce. Libro primo*, Benetke: A. Gardano, 1561, *Il secondo libro de intablvatvra di livto, novamente composte per messer Iacomo de Gorzanis Pvgliese habitante nella citta de Trieste. Da lui diligentemente Reuisto et Coretto*, Benetke: G. Scotto, 1564, in *Il terzo libro de intabolutvra di livto di messer Giacomo Gorzanis Pugliese, Habtante nella Citta di Trieste. Nouamente da lui composto et per Antonio Gardano stampato*, Benetke: G. Scotto, 1564. Izvirnika prvih dveh hranita Univerzitetna knjižnica v Genovi in Državna knjižnica v Parizu, tretje pa Avstrijska državna knjižnica na Dunaju in Državna knjižnica v Parizu. Vse tri knjige so izšle v faksimilirani izdaji Giacomo Gorzanis, *Intabolutura di liuto I–III*, Geneve: Minkoff Reprint, 1981. O posvetilih Giacoma Gorzanisa v prvih treh tiskanih knjigah tabulatur za lutnjo gl. Alenka Bagarič, *Posvetila Giacoma Gorzanisa v knjigah glasbe za lutnjo* (Benetke 1561, 1563, 1564), v: *Muzikološke razprave: in memoriam Danilo Pokorn*, ur. N. Cigoj Krstulović – T. Faganel – M. Kokole, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2004, str. 15–26.

Gorzanis je bil, kakor beremo na naslovnica izdaj, slepi lutnjist iz Apulije; v šestdesetih letih 16. stoletja je živel v Trstu in po nekaj letih postal tržaški meščan. O njegovem rodu, glasbenem šolanju in zgodnjem delovanju nimamo pisnih pričevanj, vendar na podlagi nekaterih literarnih in zgodovinskih virov sklepamo na vpetost v glasbeno dogajanje v vojvodini Bari.<sup>5</sup> Igranja na lutnjo bi se lahko naučil na tamkajšnjem dvoru, kjer je v začetku 16. stoletja na pobudo vojvodinje Izabele Aragonske delovala vplivna glasbena šola. Pozneje je morda tako kot mnogi apulijski glasbeniki iskal delo v Neaplju, tedanjem političnem, kulturnem in glasbenem središču neapeljske podkraljevine, še verjetneje pa se zdi, da je sledil Izabelini edini hčerki in dedinji Boni Sforza na dvor v Krakov, kjer so po njeni poroki s poljskim kraljem Sigismundom I. Jagelonskim delovali številni italijanski umetniki.<sup>6</sup> Po kraljevi smrti se je vojvodinja leta 1556 vračala v rojstni Bari, v njenem spremstvu pa bi utegnil biti tudi Gorzanis. Precej verjetno se namreč zdi, da bi glasbenik zaradi boljših možnosti za delo ostal na ozemlju Benečije.<sup>7</sup> Z domnevo časovno sovpada tudi prva omemba Gorzanisa v virih v Trstu.<sup>8</sup> Leta 1558 je kot lutnjist izpričano potoval v Ljubljano, iz posvetil pa sklepamo, da je v naslednjih letih na Kranjskem igral večkrat, predvsem za fužinske Khisle. Po letu 1570 se je vse pogosteje oziral za delom proti Gradcu, upravnem in kulturnem središču tedanje Notranje Avstrije, po marcu 1574 pa se je za njim izgubila vsaka sled.<sup>9</sup> Iz uvodnih strani četrte knjige tabulatur za lutnjo iz leta 1579 izvemo, da je bil že pokojen.

Gorzanis je kot lutnjist nedvomno igral tudi skladbe, ki jih je dal zapisati v tabulaturah. Prve tri knjige imajo enako vsebinsko zasnovo in razporeditev skladb. Po številu in obsegu v njih prevladujejo plesi: v prvi knjigi jih je 23, v drugi 33 in v tretji 40. Zaključujejo jih polifoni ricercarji, vmes pa najdemo do dve intabulaciji vilanel drugih

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<sup>5</sup> Dinko Fabris, *La musica a Bari*, Bari: Levante editori, 1993, str. 32–33. Gl. tudi Giuseppe Radole, Giacomo Gorzanis: leutonista et cittadino della magnifica citta di Trieste, v: *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongres, Wien, Mozartjahr 1956*, Graz, 1958, str. 525–530; Giuseppe Radole, Musicisti a Trieste sul finire del Cinquecento e nei primi del Seicento, *Archeografo triestino* 71 (1959), ser. 4, št. 22, str. 133–138.

<sup>6</sup> Prim. katalog razstave *Bona Sforza, regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari* 1, ur. M. S. Calo Mariani – G. Dibenedetto, Roma: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Dinko Fabris, *La musica a Bari*, Bari: Levante editori, 1993, str. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Gl. Bruno Tonazzi, Il cinquecentista Giacomo Gorzanis liutista e cittadino di Trieste, *Il Fronimo* 1 (1973), št. 3, str. 6–21; Bruno Tonazzi, Notizie biografiche, v: *Giacomo Gorzanis, Libro de intabulatura di liuto (1567)*, ur. B. Tonazzi, Milano: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1975, str. 5–9.

<sup>9</sup> Gl. Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967, str. 238–239.

skladateljjev. Naslovi in njihova sosledja večino plesov združujejo v nize dveh ali treh: prva knjiga prinaša dve plesni trojici passamezzo – padoana – saltarello, tri dvojice passamezzo – padoana in eno passamezzo – saltarello; v drugi knjigi je sedem trojic z enako razporeditvijo stavkov kot v prvi knjigi in dve dvojici passamezzo – saltarello; v tretji knjigi najdemo pet plesnih trojic z razporeditvijo plesov kot v prejšnjih, dve dvojici passamezzo – padoana in eno passamezzo – saltarello. V prvi knjigi je zabeleženih tudi pet samostojnih salterellov, v drugi in tretji pa poleg enega oz. osmih saltarellov še trije oz. dva passamezza in po ena padoana oz. galiarda. V vseh treh knjigah najdemo tudi plese brez izvirne plesne oznake, in sicer različici *La barca del mio amore* v prvih dveh, *Te parti cor mio caro* v prvi ter *L'herba fresca* in *Caccia la vecchia fuori del campo* v tretji, poleg teh pa še bal todesco s poplesom (*suo salto* ali padoana) (gl. prilogo 2).

Plesni nizi in samostojni plesi temeljijo na predobstoječih variacijskih vzorcih – akordskem sosledju ali pesemskem napevu –, ki jih opredeljujejo opisni naslovi prvega stavka plesnega niza ali posameznega plesa, kot so *antico*, *moderno*, *la roca el fuso*, *il Zorzi*, *il poverin*, *ciel turchin*, *il todeschin*, *la cara cosa* in drugi. Nekatero izmed njih najdemo v najrazličnejših obdelavah v številnih italijanskih, pa tudi francoskih in nemških tiskanih in rokopisnih virih lutenjskih tabulatur, tabulatur za inštrumente s tipkami ali glasbe za inštrumentalni ansambel, drugi pa so pod temi naslovi po pregledu vseh razpoložljivih popisov vsebine ohranjenih tiskov in rokopisov iz tega obdobja zabeleženi le pri Gorzanišu.<sup>10</sup>

Začetno in hkrati osrednje mesto v vseh treh obravnavanih Gorzaniševih knjigah pripada plesoma passamezzo s pripadajočima padoano in saltarello oz. dvema plesnima trojicama, ki temeljita na akordskih shemah osmih enakomerno dolgih trizvokov v osnovni obliki, imenovanih passamezzo antico in passamezzo moderno.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Med Gorzaniševimi plesi ne temelji na predobstoječem glasbenem vzorcu le *bal todesco*, za katerega so značilni dvodobnost brez sinkopiranja, homofona zasnova, druženje kratkih motivov ter tonalna in motivična kontrastnost posameznih delov. V italijanskih virih za lutnjo, kitaro in cister druge polovice 16. stoletja so »bal« ali »balletto« imenovali različne tuje plese (npr. bal todesco, bal boemo, ballo francese ali balletto polaco). Gl. Richard Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Richard Hudson, *Balletto, The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 599–602.

<sup>11</sup> Plesa passamezzo antico in passamezzo moderno najdemo v italijanskih tiskih tabulatur za lutnjo od leta 1546, pri A. Rotti in D. Bianchiniju tudi kot vzorca trivstavčnih plesnih nizov, čeprav sprva še brez oznake antico ali moderno. Oba sta bila najprej zabeležena v nemških lutenjskih tabulaturah Hansa Neusidlerja, izdanih v Nürnbergu, in sicer passamezzo antico leta 1536 z naslovom *Ein welscher Tantz Wascha mesa* in passamezzo moderno leta 1540 kot *Passa mesa, ein welscher Tan-*

Tipični vzorec *passamezzo antico* je sestavljen iz štirih različnih akordov oz. trizvkov nad značilno melodijo v najnižjem glasu: osnovni ton drugega akorda leži veliko sekundo pod osnovnim tonom prvega, osnovni ton tretjega je glede na osnovni ton prvega akorda skok za kvarto navzdol, četrtega pa za malo terco navzgor (i-VII-i-V-III-VII-i/V-i).<sup>12</sup> *Passamezzo moderno* je iz treh akordov, glede na izhodišče ležečih na zgornji in spodnji dominantni (I-IV-I-V-I-IV-I/V-I). Intervalni postopi osnovnih tonov akordov vzorca *passamezzo moderno* oz. smer skoka od enega k drugemu glavnemu tonu v najnižjem glasu se prilagaja smeri gibanja skladbe, zato je med prvim in drugim glavnim tonom lahko tako kvartni skok navzdol, kakor tudi kvintni skok navzgor (notni primer 1).

Ponovitve vzorcev *passamezzo antico* in *passamezzo moderno* v posameznem plesu oz. zaporedne variacije vključujejo tudi druge akorde. Glede na zvočni obseg glasbila in lege skladbe v zapisu ter vključevanje drugih akordov sta pri Gorzanisu vzorca praviloma uporabljena na način, da ne nastane melodični ostinato. Prostor med dvema zaporednima akordoma akordske sheme izpolnjuje melodična linija, izpeljana iz lestvičnih prehodov in obigravanja poljubnega akordskega tona, ki prepreda celoten tonski obseg oz. vse glasove v modernem notnem zapisu.

*Passamezzo antico* in *passamezzo moderno* sta harmonska vzorca, ki ju, razen postopa v basu, ne določa posebna melodična linija. Nasprotno so akordske sheme Gorzanisovih vzorcev *il todeschin*, *il poverin* in *el teteme*, katerih osnovni ton se premika za interval kvarte navzdol, vezane s svojstvenim melodičnim postopom v najvišjem glasu. Začetno akordsko sosledje teh plesov (III-VII-i-V-III-VII-i/V-I) zaznamuje padajoča melodija dveh celotonskih in zaključnega poltonskega koraka v obsegu kvarte, izmenjujoč intervala velike terce in kvinte glede na osnovni ton akorda (notni primer 2). Podobno akordsko in melodično zgradbo kaže tudi drugi del vzorca *il Gorzanis*. Prvi del akordske sheme vzorca *la cara cosa* (V-V-i-VII-III-VII-i-V) je zvezan najprej z naraščajočo in potem s padajočo melodično linijo v sekundnem postopu (notni primer 3). Kljub vsemu gre opisane harmonsko-melodične vzorce pri Gorzanisu razumeti bolj kot ogrodje, ki predstavlja melodično in harmonsko zasnovano skladbo in temo za variiranje, in ne kot trdno določen harmonski in melodični potek.

V virih glasbe za lutnjo iz 16. stoletja najdemo enake ali podobne

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tz. Giuseppe Gerbino – Alexander Silbiger, *Passamezzo*, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 19, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 194–196.

<sup>12</sup> Male in velike rimske številke označujejo trizvoke v osnovni obliki z malo ali veliko terco na določeni stopnji tonske lestvice.



akordske sheme v različnih plesih. Isto sosledje akordov imajo passamezzo antico, pavana milanese, *Ballo del fiore*, *Le forze d'Ercole* in *La paganina* (i–VII–i–V–III[ali i]–VII–i/V–i), romanesca, favorita pa tudi *La gasparina*, *La canella*, *La comadrina*, *La desperata* (*La disperata*), *L'erba fresca*, *El poverin*, *Il todeschin* ali *La todeschina* in *Il traditor* (III–VII–i–V–III–VII–i/V–i) ter pavaniglia, *La gamba* in *La cara cosa* (V–V–i–VII–III–VII–i/V–i).<sup>13</sup> Slednja sta zgodnji obliki plesa oz. harmonsko-melodičnega vzorca folie, ki ga pod tem imenom najdemo v virih od konca 16. stoletja.<sup>14</sup> Zaradi ponavljanja istega zaporedja akordov lahko tovrstne sheme v povezavi z renesančnimi plesi imenujemo tudi harmonski ostinati, vendar glasbenih vzorcev plesov renesanse ne določa samo preprosto akordsko sosledje, temveč skuppek raznovrstnih glasbenih prvin. Poleg harmonske sheme jih opredeljujejo metrum, značilno ritmično gibanje (največkrat punktirani ritem ali hemiole), melodični potek v enem od višjih glasov, kadenčne formule in značilnosti, povezane z izvajalsko prakso. Za instrumentalne primere romanesce je npr. v nasprotju z binarnim metrumom passamezza antica značilen ternarni metrum, čeprav se razlikujeta le v začetnem akordu. Enako harmonsko strukturo romanesce in favorite ločijo notne vrednosti, saj akordi vzorca romanesca praviloma obsegajo po dva takta ternarnega metruma, medtem ko akordi vzorca favorita običajno izpolnjujejo samo eno ternarno enoto.<sup>15</sup> Plesa *La gamba* in *La cara cosa* imata enako akordsko sosledje, metrum in prepoznavno melodijo, razlikujeta pa se v ritmični podobi. V prvem delu obeh tridelnih plesov (trikrat zaporedoma ponovljeni vzorec) po-

<sup>13</sup> Richard Hudson, Ground, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 10, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 446–447; Giuseppe Gerbino, Romanesca, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 21, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 577–579. Hudson v plesih za strunska glasbila 16. in prve polovice 17. stoletja razlikuje štiri osnovne akordske sheme oz. akordske vrste (tri za tonski način »per B molle« in enega »per B quadro«), ki so po najpogostejših oblikah vsake izmed njih znane kot romanesca, passamezzo antico, folia in passamezzo moderno. Glede na značilne začetne akorde jih je poimenoval shema III, shema VII, shema V in shema IV. Richard Hudson, Chordal aspects of the Italian dance style 1500–1650, *Journal of Lute Society of America* 3 (1970), str. 35–52, predvsem začetek; Richard Hudson, The Concept of Mode in Italian Guitar Music during the first half of the 17th Century, *Acta musicologica* 42 (1970), str. 163–183.

<sup>14</sup> Za poznejši harmonsko-melodični vzorec folie je značilen harmonski postop i–V–i–VII–III–III–VII–i–V–i. John Griffiths, Folia, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil* 3, 2. izdaja, Kassel [idr.]: Bärenreiter, 1995, stolp. 600–607.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Hudson, Favorita, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 8, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 626.

teka vzorec v enakomernih notnih vrednostih, v nadaljevanju pa se *La gamba* zgosti v hemiolskem ritmu.

Tovrstne vzorce so sredi 16. stoletja navajali in opisovali tudi v teoretičnih razpravah. Diego Ortiz je v priročniku za igranje viole da gamba (Rim, 1553) v poglavju *Recercadas sobre tenores* t. i. italijanske tenorje zabeležil v menzuralni notaciji kot štiriglasni stavek nota proti noti ter jih namenil igranju na glasbilo s tipkami, ki spremlja variacije na violi (med njimi so prepoznavni vzorci *passamezzo antico*, *passamezzo moderno*, *romanesca*, *ruggiero*, *folia* in *La gamba*).<sup>16</sup> Španec Francisco de Salinas je v traktatu *De musica, Liber septem* (Salamanca, 1577) v zvezi s tenorji razložil, da naj bi nekateri od njih še v 16. stoletju služili za petje ljudskih romanc, to je metrično enostavnih kitičnih pesmi pripovedne vsebine, poleg tega pa so služili instrumentalistom za teme improvizacijskih in variacijskih plesov, kot so *passamezzo*, *pavana milanese* in *galiarda*.<sup>17</sup> Predvsem *romanesca* naj bi bila po Salinasovi razlagi v Italiji v prvi vrsti melodija za petje pesmi v oktavah ob spremljavi lutnje ali godala.<sup>18</sup>

Nemalo plesov za lutnjo iz tega časa se kaže v obliki večglasne obdelave tenorskih napevov. Za nekatere izmed njih v muzikološki literaturi zasledimo omembe, da so ljudskega izvora oz. da so jih prepevali na ulicah Padove, Bergama ali Benetk. Razkrivajo jih značilni naslovi kot npr. *Il Zorzi*, v beneškem narečju zapisano ime Giorgio, *El maton* (it. Madonna), ki se posmehuje popačenemu naglasu nemškega vojaka, ali za kraj značilni dogodki, kot je namigovanje na priljubljeno tekmovanje med mestnimi četrtmi v Benetkah v *Le forze d'Hercole*.<sup>19</sup> Večkrat zabeležene so še melodije *La rocha il fuso*, ki naj bi bila izvorno najbolj razširjena italijanska ljudska pesem tega časa, *Meza notte* in *El buratto*, ki sta se prepevali Benetkah, *Tu te parti*, *Ciel turchino* in druge. Iz vokalnih predlog naj bi izhajala tudi že omenjena plesa *La cara cosa* in *La traditora*, katerih melodiji sta

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<sup>16</sup> Diego Ortiz, *El primo libro nel quale si tratta della glose sopra le cadenze et altre sorte de punti in la musica del violone*, Roma 1553, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1984 (Archivum musicum, Collana di testi rari 57), str. 47–61. Knjiga je leta 1553 najprej izšla v španščini z naslovom *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones*.

<sup>17</sup> Francisco Salinas, *De Musica*, Faksimile-Nachdruck, ur. M. S. Kastner, Kassel – Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958 (Documenta musicologica 1/13), str. 384.

<sup>18</sup> Gl. tudi Giuseppe Gerbino, *Romanesca*, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 21, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 577; Elena Ferrari Barassi, *A proposito di alcuni bassi ostinati del periodo rinascimentale e barocco*, *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), str. 347–364.

<sup>19</sup> Prim. Giovanni Toffano, *Danze venete del primo cinquecento dai manoscritti Mus. Ms. 1503(h) della Bayerische Staatsbibliothek di Monaco di Bavaria e Roy. App. 59–62 della British Library di Londra*, spremno besedilo zgoščenke: Consort Veneto, *Danze venete del primo cinquecento*, Tactus, 2000.

sorodni beneškima pesmima *La cara cossa del Berdolin* in *La traditore my fa morir*.<sup>20</sup>

Gorzanis je uporabil tenorske napeve kot melodične vzorce tako v plesnih nizih kot tudi v samostojnih saltarellih. Za uglasbitve melodičnih vzorcev so značilni predvsem razmeroma hiter harmonski tok, punktirani ritem in razgibana melodija, ki vključuje tudi večje intervalne skoke. Zaradi stalnega okraševanja in prepletanja glasov se izvirne melodije napeva v večini primerov ne da nedvoumno določiti, v nekaj primerih pa ji lahko sledimo primerjalno z drugimi zapisi v sodobnih virih. Za ilustracijo različic ritmiziranja, harmonizacije in okraševanja istega melodičnega vzorca je v sledečem notnem primeru Gorzanisov *Saltarello il Zorzi* zapisan vzporedno s saltarello Giulia Abondanteja in neznanega avtorja (notni primer 4).<sup>21</sup>

Za osnovo svojih plesov je Gorzanis jemal tudi večglasne vokalne predloge, ki se, prenesene v tabulturni zapis in prirejene za igranje na lutnjo, kitaro, cister ali orgle, v inštrumentalni glasbi srede 16. stoletja kažejo kot posebna vrsta glasbenih vzorcev. Gorzanis je poleg intabulacij štiriglasnih napolitan iz večkrat ponatisnjene zbirke Baldassarja Donata, katerih ni preoblikoval in spreminjal, temveč jim je na koncu odsekov dodal le običajne lutenjske okraske, v drugi knjigi objavil tudi intabulacijo priljubljene štiriglasne villote *Chi passa per questa strada*, ki ji je zaradi metrične spremembe dodal oznako padoana. Skladba je bila prvič objavljena v zbirki Fillipa Azzaiole leta 1557, vendar ni intabulirana po tej predlogi.<sup>22</sup> Gorzanisova padoana *Chi passa per questa strada* je skoraj identična padoani plesnega niza *O perfida che sei* iz iste knjige, kar dokazuje, da je oblikoval zaporedje treh plesov tudi na večglasnem melodičnem vzorcu.<sup>23</sup>

Oblikovno načelo Gorzanisovih plesov je torej glasbeni vzorec, osnovno načelo kompozicijskega dela pa je variiranje. Plesi z zaporednimi ponovitvami glasbenega vzorca, ki je v tem primeru tema za

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<sup>20</sup> Prim. Caroline M. Cunningham, Ensemble dances in early sixteenth-century Italy: Relationships with vilotte and Franco-Flemish dancieries, *Musica disciplina* 34 (1980), 159–203.

<sup>21</sup> Zanimiv je tudi primer vzorca *Ciel Turchin*, ki je pri Gorzanisu ritmično oblikovan kot saltarello, pri Abondanteju pa kot galiarda. Gorzanisova izdelava je v primerjavi z Abondantejevo močno okrašena.

<sup>22</sup> Zbirko pesmi v padovskem in beneškem narečju Filippa Azzaiole je prvič izdal Garadno leta 1557 z naslovom *Primo libro de vilotte alla padoana a quattro voci*. Doživela je več ponatisov. Jane A. Bernstein, *Music printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, str. 557–558.

<sup>23</sup> Sibylle Dahms, Passamezzo, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil* 7, 2. izdaja, Kassel [itd.]: Bärenreiter, 1997, stolp. 1447.

variacije, in zaporedja dveh ali treh plesov z istim glasbenim vzorcem tvorijo hkrati oblikovni (formalni) tip variacij.<sup>24</sup> Glede na zgradbo samega vzorca se lahko tema variacij ponovi večkrat zaporedoma ali se kot celota izgrajuje postopno in se dokončno izoblikuje šele na koncu plesa.<sup>25</sup>

Obdelave enodelnih harmonskih vzorcev *passamezzo antico* in *passamezzo moderno* v Gorzanisovih tabulaturah so po obliki stavčne variacije, v katerih začetni predstavitvi teme sledi do šest variiranih ponovitev, označenih kot *seconda parte*, *terza parte* itd. Nasprotno so plesi večdelnih melodičnih vzorcev, kot so *la dura partita*, *la roca el fuso*, *o perfida che sei* in *caro fier homo*, zgrajeni iz zaporednih variiranih ponovitev posameznih odsekov vzorca. V zapisu praviloma ne tvorijo oblike variacij v ožjem pomenu besede, saj se tema – spevna melodija – ne ponavlja v celoti, temveč je razčlenjena in se kot celota izoblikuje šele na koncu stavka. Oba načina oblikovanja variacijske vrste se tudi prepletata.

Zaporedne ponovitve variirane melodije in variacijsko nizanje melodičnih odsekov najdemo že v prvem italijanskem tisku plesov za lutnjo Joana Ambrosia Dalze z začetka 16. stoletja.<sup>26</sup> Dalzove pavane *alla venetiana* in *pavane alla ferrarese* napovedujejo dva osnovna načina variacijskega izgrajevanja plesnih oblik, ki jima lahko sledimo skozi celo stoletje in še pozneje. V prvem načinu sledi nekoliko daljši zaključeni temi niz variiranih ponovitev, v drugem pa se celota izgrajuje z nizanjem zaporednih variiranih ponovitev krajših tem. V obeh primerih gre primarno za variiranje harmonskega glasbenega vzorca.<sup>27</sup> Tiski plesov Giulia Abondanteja, Domenica Bianchinija in Antonia Rotte iz leta 1546 so prav tako vključevali plesne z variiranimi odseki in z zaporednimi variacijami glasbenih vzorcev, predvsem *passamezze*, vendar so glasbeni vzorci v skladbah običajno oblikovani na način, da se ponovitve ne ločijo z zastojem, kot sta pavza ali kadenčni zaključek.

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<sup>24</sup> Za razlago pojma variacije gl. Stefan Drees, Variation, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil 9*, Kassel [itd.]: Bärenreiter, 1998, stolp. 1238–1246.

<sup>25</sup> Vsi Gorzanisovi plesni vzorci so sestavljeni iz sodega števila metričnih enot, ustrežajočih taktu v sodobni notaciji, glede na kadenčne zaključke pa so eno-, dvo-, tri- ali štiridelni. Večdelne vzorce sestavljajo deli dolžine dva, štiri, šest ali osem taktov, ki se navadno ponovijo. Ponovitve ohranjajo harmonska zaporedja in osnovno melodično izpeljavo, slednja pa doživlja določeno variiranje in okraševanje.

<sup>26</sup> Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabulatura de Lauto, Libro Quarto. Padoane diverse, calate a la spagnola, calate a la taliana, tastar de corde con li soi recercar dietro, frottole*, Venezia: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508.

<sup>27</sup> Imogene Horsley, The 16th-century variation: a new historical survey, *Journal of American Musicological Society* 12 (1959), str. 118–132, predvsem 120.

Gorzanisovi nizi plesov na istem glasbenem vzorcu so po obliki plesne variacije. Kot konstanta plesnega niza se vselej ohranja glasbeni vzorec, ključni spremenljivi element pa je mera. Metrične spremembe dopolnjujejo ustrezni novi ritmični obrazci, razširjene harmonije ter diminuirana ali okrašena melodična linija. Referenčna muzikološka literatura tako variacijsko vrsto označuje kot primarno oz. organsko. V primerjavi s sekundarno ali naključno variacijsko vrsto, ki nastane s spojitvijo različnih oblikovnih delov (variacijska canzona, variacijska suita), izhaja iz potrebe po vsakokratni spremembi ponovitve, pri čemer je variacija oblikovni potek.<sup>28</sup> V italijanskih tiskih lutenjskih plesov iz srede in druge polovice 16. stoletja so plesni nizi na istem glasbenem vzorcu predvsem metrično-ritmične variacije z zaporedji plesov pavana – saltarello, passamezzo – saltarello, passamezzo – galiarda, passamezzo – padoana – saltarello in passamezzo – galiarda – padoana, najdemo pa tudi druge povezave. Stavku v dvodobni meri vselej sledi stavek v tridobni.<sup>29</sup>

Menzurne oznake v Gorzanisovih tabulaturah niso zabeležene, zato je treba metrični pulz vsakega plesa razbrati iz glasbenega poteka oz. primerjalno z drugimi viri. Za plese passamezzo nasploh je značilna dvodobna mera oz. t. i. imperfektna menzura *tactus alla breve*.<sup>30</sup> Gorzanisovi passamezzi s harmonskimi in melodičnimi vzorci v izvirniku s tabulturnimi črtami nakazujejo členitev na enote štirih minim oz. štirih polovink v sodobni notaciji. V zapisu padoane in saltarella ritmični pulz sledi perfektni semibrevis oz. enotam treh minim, vendar je sama ritmična členitev veliko bolj zapletena. Čeprav se padoana giblje pretežno v tridobnem metru, se zaradi sinkopiranja

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<sup>28</sup> Stefan Drees, Variation, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil* 9, Kassel [itd.]: Bärenreiter, 1998, stolp. 1239.

<sup>29</sup> Najzgodnejši ohranjeni zapisi variacijskih plesnih dvojic v Italiji so iz že omenjene knjige plesov za lutnjo J. A. Dalze, vendar povezovanje plesnih stavkov v 16. stoletju ni bila novost. V rokopisnih plesnih traktatih s konca 15. stoletja so zapisana navodila, kako iz enoglasne tenorske melodije oz. cantus firmusa bassadanze dobiti štiri zaporedno hitreje plese. Na splošno je bil *cantus firmus* zabeležen s črnimi notami breves ali semibreves, kar nima menzuralnega pomena. Glasbeniki so predlogo ritmizirali glede na zahteve plesa, obenem pa improvizirali dva ali več partov okrog tenorja. Brown trdi, da nizi variacij z razmeroma kratkimi samostojnimi plesi, v katerih se nekateri elementi skozi številne ponovitve ohranjajo, medtem ko se drugi menjajo, pred 16. stoletjem niso obstajali. Howard Mayer Brown – Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 2. izdaja, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999 (Prentice Hall history of music series), str. 259–262.

<sup>30</sup> *Tactus* je časovna enota enaka udarcu oz. taktu v sodobnem notnem zapisu. Prim. Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Tactus- und Proportionenlehre des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, v: *Hören, Messen und Rechnen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987 (Geschichte der Musiktheorie 6), str. 333–362, predvsem 245–349.

v basu in delitve taktusa na dve punktirani minimi pogosto kaže kot dvodobna.<sup>31</sup> Nasproti padoani je ritmično gibanje saltarella v zapisu v najnižjem glasu členjeno v enote šestih minim, treh semibreves ali dveh punktiranih semibreves, med katerima pa pogosto nastopi hemiola.<sup>32</sup>

Pri variiranju kot načelu skladanja lutenjskih plesov se Gorzanis opira na variiranje s spreminjanjem prvotnega oz. menjavanje melodičnega poteka nad stalnim ostinatom, katerega posamezni toni so prav tako bolj ali manj izrazito variirani, ter na variiranje z dodajanjem k prvotnemu oz. zamenjevanje daljših melodičnih tonov z ustaljenimi melodičnimi formulami – t. i. diminucijo ali okraševanje.<sup>33</sup> Načini krajšanja posameznih tonov in intervalov so obigravanje glavnega tona ali intervala, odmik od glavnega tona s terčnim, kvartnim, kvintnim, sekstnim ali oktavnim skokom in približevanje istemu tonu ali melodičnemu intervalu v sekundnem protipostopu ter hitri lestvič-

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<sup>31</sup> V virih italijanske lutenjske glasbe zgodnjega 16. stoletja sta bili pavana in padoana zamenljivi oznaki za ples v dvodobnem metru, že v lutenjskih tabulaturah D. Bianchinija in A. Rotte pa je bila oznaka uporabljena za prvi ali drugi metrično spremenjeni poples passamezza v plesnem nizu. Padoana naj bi bila nasproti prvotni oznaki za vrsto plesa pavana–passamezzo proti sredi in v drugi polovici stoletja oznaka za hitri ples v štiridobnem ali dvodobnem sestavljenem metrumu, notiranem v zanje značilnem *proportio dupla*, vendar ohranjeni primeri ne soglašajo popolnoma s to trditvijo. Lawrence Moe, Pavane, II. Padoana, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil 7, 2.* izdaja, Kassel [itd.]: Bärenreiter, 1997, stolp. 1540–1542. Gl. tudi Rainer Gstrein, Pavane, *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, Auslieferung 31, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001, loč. pag., str. 5; Charles P. Coldwell, Angelo Gardano's Balletti moderni and its Relation to Cesare Negri's Le Gratie d'Amore, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 16 (1983), str. 57–102, predvsem 67. O ritmu in koreografskih modelih tridobnih plesov tipa pavana gl. Julia Sutton, Triple pavans: clues to some mysteries in 16th-century dance, *Early music* 14 (1986), str. 175–181.

<sup>32</sup> Gorzanisovi saltarelli glede ritma vzbujajo precej pomislekov. V primeru, da je v tabulaturi nakazana členitev na *tactus*, je v gibanju treh imperfektnih semibreves dosežen termarni meter, vendar bi bil tempo skladbe nemogoče hiter (32 tonov na en udarec). *Tactus* je zato lahko le perfektna oziroma punktirana semibrevis, ki je podkrepljena tudi z značilnim ritmičnim obrazcem saltarella v basu. Tempo je tudi v tem primeru precej hiter, kar bi utegnilo nakazovati ritmično svobodnejše izvajanje najhitrejših pasaž. Tudi v drugih lutenjskih zbirkah 16. stoletja je meter saltarellov zaradi členitve s tabulaturnimi črtami na *tactus* pogosto nejasen in niha med dvodobno in tridobno mero. Čeprav zapisi dopuščajo različne možnosti interpretacije, naj bi bili vsi saltarelli tega časa v tridelni meri. Meredith Ellis Little, Saltarello, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 22, 2. izdaja, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, str. 176–178; Ingrid Brainard, Saltarello, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik: Sachteil 8, 2.* izdaja, Kassel [itd.]: Bärenreiter, 1998, stolp. 874–877.

<sup>33</sup> O diminuciji kot melodičnem okraševanju v 16. stoletju gl. Michael Beiche, Diminutio / Diminution, *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, Auslieferung 17, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989/90, loč. pag., str. 6–10.

ni prehodi, ki pripeljejo v oktavno ponovitev glavnega tona ali izpolnijo interval med dvema tonoma.

Najbolj izdelana, a hkrati zaradi različnih možnosti interpretacije najtežje natančno določljiva je pri Gorzanisu diminucija akordskih tonov harmonskih in harmonsko-melodičnih vzorcev, s katero izgraja melodični potek plesa. V tabulaturi kaže na drobljenje daljšega tona vzorca – praviloma terce ali prime akorda – ritmično razgibana enoglasna linija med dvema ponovljenima ali zaporednima akordoma. V 16. stoletju je načine inštrumentalnega okraševanja *cantus firmusa* in daljših not polifonih kompozicij z ustaljenimi melodičnimi formulami (t. i. *passaggi*) opisovalo več teoretičnih razprav in priročnikov za igranje na različna glasbila. Skoraj vsi so podajali sistematične preglednice, ki so prikazovale izbirne melodične formule za vsakega od najbolj običajnih intervalov: prime, dvigajoče in spuščajoče se sekunde, terce, kvarte, kvinte in proti koncu stoletja tudi sekste, septime in oktave. Silvestro Ganassi je v pripočniku za igranje prečne flavte *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Benetke, 1535) zapisal vse osnovne intervale kot semibreves s pojasnilom za igranje, če so note breves, minime ali v ternarnem metru, medtem ko je Diego Ortiz v *Tratado de glosas* za violo podal tri ločene tabele za vsak interval, odvisno od tega, ali sta noti breves, semibreves ali minimi.<sup>34</sup>

Pri Gorzanisu se melodično krajšanje ponovljenega tona lahko začne in konča na prvo taktovo dobo, medtem ko so lestvične pasaže, ki pripeljejo v zgornjo ali spodnjo oktavno ponovitev diminuiranega tona, omejene na obseg takta. Poteku melodične linije z začetkom in koncem na istem akordskem tonu lahko sledimo tudi preko dveh taktov istega akorda vzorca, nakar se sklene na zadnjem tonu takta. Prehodi med zaporednimi akordi vzorca so melodično večinoma izpeljani kot sekundni postopi, ki se zaključijo na prvo dobo takta. Melodija se neredko ne nadaljuje s tonom, v katerega se je prehod razrešil, ampak je poljubno prestavljena v drug akordski ton, ki je do izhodiščnega v oktavnem, terčnem ali kvintnem intervalu. Z okraševanjem osnovnih intervalov melodičnih glasbenih vzorcev se ohranja osnovni obris melodije, metrum in izvirna členitev. Za ilustracije okraševanja melodije v najvišjem glaslu so vzporedno prikazane

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<sup>34</sup> Diego Ortiz, *El primo libro nel quale si tratta della glose sopra le cadenze et altre sorte de punti in la musica del violone, Roma 1553*, Firenze: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1984 (Archivum musicum, Collana di testi rari 57); Silvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, Venezia 1535, Ristampa anastatica, Sala Bolognese: Arnaldo Forni editore, 1980 (Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/18). Osnovna tehnika prilagajanja v naprej oblikovanih figurativnih vzorcev (*passaggi*) obstoječi melodiji se skozi stoletje ni spreminjala. Gl. Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing sixteenth-century music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, str. 17–30.



Gorzanisova in Abondantejeva izdelava priljubljenega napeva *Tu te parti cor mio caro* in Azzaiolova štiriglasna vokalna villota iz leta 1557 (notni primer 5).<sup>35</sup>

Vsi avtorji traktatov o okraševanju iz 16. stoletja so razlikovali med daljšimi svobodnimi tekočimi pasažami, ki so zamenjevale počasnejše gibajoče se osnovne intervale melodije (*passaggi*), in specifičnimi okraski za posamezne note, kot sta *tremolo*, stalno menjavanje med glavnim tonom in njegovo spodnjo ali zgornjo sekundo ali terco, in *grosso*, kadenčni trilček na spodnjem poltonu z začetkom na glavnem tonu, ki se navadno konča s spodnjo terco.<sup>36</sup> Gorzanis je tovrstne okraske izpisoval predvsem na zaključkih skladb ali delov vzorca.

Gorzanisovi plesi obravnavanih knjig kažejo skladateljev metje komponiranja glasbe na lutnji oz. spretnost diminuiranja in okraševanja predobstojećih glasbenih vzorcev. V načinu oblikovanja instrumentalnega lutenjskega stavka se od sorodnih plesov v večkrat ponatisnjenih beneških izdajah iz štiridesetih let 16. stoletja razlikujejo predvsem v tem, da je glasbeni vzorec v izbranem metrumu in prirejen posebnostim igranja na strunsko glasbilo do potankosti izdelan: izpisano je glasbilo lastno sozvenenje akordskih tonov (npr. skoraj stalno sozvenenje oktavo višjega tona dveh praznih strun), krajšanje tonov in sprecifično okrasje, ki so ga glasbeniki pri igranju dodajali na ustreznih mestih sproti. Z izpisom praviloma improvizirano dodanih tonov iz zaloge znanih obrazcev za diminucijo in okraševanje slednji niso več poljudno izbrani, ampak jih je treba igrati tako, kot je določeno v notah. Glasbeni vzorec potemtakem ni več zgolj predloga za živo izvedbo, ampak prepoznavna avtorska skladba, temelječa na glasbenem vzorcu, oz. njegova umetniška izdelava.

## NOTNI PRIMERI

### Notni primer 1:

Akordska shema vzorca *passamezzo antico* iz Giacomo Gorzanis, *Passamezzo antico (Secondo libro de intabulatura di liuto, 1563)*, t. 2–17



<sup>35</sup> Prim. op. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing sixteenth-century music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, str. 1–16.



Akordska shema vzorca passamezzo moderno iz Giacomo Gorzanis, *Passamezzo moderno (Secondo libro de intabulatura di liuto, 1563)*, t. 2–17



**Notni primer 2:**

Melodično-harmonska shema vzorca *il todeschin* iz Giacomo Gorzanis, *Il Todischino (Intabolutura di liuto, Libro primo, 1561)*, t. 1–8, 17–20



**Notni primer 3:**

Melodično-harmonska shema vzorca *la cara cosa* iz Giacomo Gorzanis, *Padoana dell detto (Secondo libro de intabulatura di liuto, 1563)*, t. 1–8, 25–32



**Notni primer 4:**

Giacomo Gorzanis, *Saltarello il Zorzi (Intabolutura di liuto, Libro primo, 1561)*, t. 1–17 (*prima parte*)



*Renesančni plesi za lutnjo Giacomina Gorzanisa*

Giulio Abondante, Zorzi gagliarda (*Intabolatura sopra el lauto de ogni sorte de balli*, 1546)

Three systems of musical notation for the piece 'Zorzi gagliarda'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with a '1' and a '2' above the treble staff. The second system is marked with a '3' and a '4' above the treble staff. The third system is marked with a '5' and a '6' above the treble staff. The music is written in a style characteristic of early 16th-century lute tablature transcriptions.

Neznani avtor, Zorzi saltarello (rkp. iz ok. 1580)

Two systems of musical notation for the piece 'Zorzi saltarello'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with an 'a' above the treble staff. The second system is marked with a 'b' above the treble staff. The music is written in a style characteristic of early 16th-century lute tablature transcriptions.

**Notni primer 5:**

Giacomo Gorzanis, Te parti cor mio caro (*Intabolatura di liuto, Libro primo*, 1561)

Three systems of musical notation for the piece 'Te parti cor mio caro'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with a '1' above the treble staff. The second system is marked with a '2' above the treble staff. The third system is marked with a '3' above the treble staff. The music is written in a style characteristic of early 16th-century lute tablature transcriptions.

Giulio Abondante, Tu te parti cor mio charo (*Intabolatura sopra el lauto de ogni sorte de balli*, 1546)



### PRILOGA 1

Knjige plesov v tabulaturah za lutnjo, ki sta jih natisnila Antonio Gardano (\*) in Girolamo Scotto (\*\*).

1546

Giulio Abondante, *Intabolatura sopra el lauto de ogni sorte de balli*, *Libro primo*\* (BR 1546<sub>1</sub>)<sup>37</sup>

Domenico Bianchini, *Intabolatura de lauto di ricercari, motetti, madrigali, canzon francese, napolitane et balli*, *Libro primo*\* (BR 1546<sub>5</sub>)

Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Intabolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell' eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono*, *Libro secondo*\*\* (BR 1546<sub>8</sub>)

Giovanni Maria da Crema, *Intabolatura de lauto di ricercari, canzon francese, motetti, madrigali, padoane e saltarelli*, *Libro primo*\* (BR 1546<sub>10</sub>)

Giovanni Maria da Crema, *Intabolatura de lauto di ricercari, canzon francese, motetti, madrigali, padoane e saltarelli*, *Libro terzo*\*\* (BR 1546<sub>11</sub>) = *Libro primo*, 1546

Marcantonio del Pifaro, *Intabolatura de lauto de ogni sorte de balli*, *Libro primo*\* (BR 1546<sub>13</sub>)

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<sup>37</sup> Bibliografska oznaka po Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography*, 2. izdaja, Cambridge (Mass.) – London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

- Antonio Rotta, *Intabolatura de lauto di recercari motetti, balli, madrigali, canzon francese, Libro primo\** (BR 1546<sub>15</sub>)  
1548
- Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Intavolatura di lauto, Libro ottavo\*\** (BR 1548<sub>2</sub>)
- Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Intavolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano, et dell' eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono, Libro secondo* (BR 1548<sub>3</sub>) = *Libro ottavo*, 1548  
1549
- Melchior de Barberiis, *Intabolatura di lauto di fantasie, balli, passi e mezi, e padoane gagliarde, Libro nono intitolato il Bembo\*\** (BR 1549<sub>1</sub>)  
1554
- Bernardino Balletti, *Intabolatura de lauto di varie sorte de balli, Libro primo\** (BR 1554<sub>1</sub>)
- Domenico Bianchini, *Libro primo\** (BR 1554<sub>2</sub>) = 1546  
1561
- Giacomo Gorzanis, *Intabolatura di liuto, Libro primo\** (BR 1561<sub>2</sub>)  
1563
- Giulio Abondante, *Intabolatura di liuto de ogni sorte de balli, Libro primo\** (BR 1563<sub>1</sub>) = 1546
- Domenico Bianchini, *La intabolatura de lauto di recercari, motetti, madrigali, canzon francese, napolitane, et balli, Libro primo\*\** (BR 1563<sub>2</sub>) = 1546
- Pietro Paolo Borrono, *La intabolatura de lauto di saltarelli, padovane, balli, fantasie, et canzon francese\*\** (BR 1563<sub>3</sub>) = 1548
- Giacomo Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro de intabolatura di liuto\*\** (BR 1563<sub>8</sub>)
- Pietro Paolo Borrono, *La intabolatura de lauto de diversi autori\*\** (BR 1563<sub>11</sub>)  
1564
- Giacomo Gorzanis, *Il terzo libro de intabolatura di liuto\** (BR 1564<sub>4</sub>)  
1565
- Giacomo Gorzanis, *Il secondo libro de intabolatura di liuto\** (BR 1565<sub>2</sub>) = 1563  
1566
- Melchior Neusidler, *Il primo libro intabolatura di liuto ove sono madrigali, canzon francesi, pass'e mezi, saltarelli et alcuni suoi ricercari\** (BR 1566<sub>2</sub>)
- Melchior Neusidler, *Il secondo libro intabolatura di liuto ove sono motetti, canzon francesi, pas'e mezi, saltarelli et alcuni suoi ricercari\** (BR 1566<sub>3</sub>)

1568

Marc'Antonio di Becchi, *Libro primo d'intabolatura da leuto con alcuni balli, napolitane, madrigali, canzon francese, fantasie, ricercari\*\** (BR 1568<sub>1</sub>)

## PRILOGA 2

Plesi v treh tiskih Giacoma Gorzanisa.

### ***Intabolatura di liuto, Libro primo, 1561***

passamezzo – padoana – saltarello (2): antico, moderno;

passamezzo *il Gorzanis* – saltarello;

passamezzo – padoana (3): *Todeschino, La dura partita, La roca el fuso*;

bal todescho – salto;

saltarello (5): *Il Zorzi, El teteme, Il poverin, Sona Baloni, Ciel turchin*;

*La barca del mio amor, Te parti cor mio caro.*

### ***Il secondo libro de intabolatura di liuto, 1563***

passamezzo – padoana – saltarello (7): antico, moderno, *Il Gorzanis, O perfida che sei, Il Todeschin, La cara cosa, La pigna*;

passamezzo – saltarello (2): *Caro fier homo, bellissimo*;

bal todesco – la sua padoana;

passamezzo *bellissimo* (3);

saltarello *il Philipin*;

padoana *Chi passa per questa strada*;

*La barca del mio amore.*

### ***Il terzo libro de intabolatura di liuto, 1564***

passamezzo – padoana – saltarello (5): 3 antico, moderno, *La battaglia*;

passamezzo – padoana (2): moderno, *Il Todeschin*;

passamezzo *Il cavalier* – saltarello;

bal boemo *La Filippina* – padoana;

bal todescho – padoana (2);

passamezzo (2): *Il Imperator, Il Gorzanis*;

galiarda *alla Milanesa*;

saltarello (8): *Il palvelo, Dimel su presto, Il mal contento, Il bergamasco, Amor mio bello, L'imperial, Tantara, Il Giordano*;

*L'erba fresca, Caccia la vechia fuora del campo.*

SUMMARY

**Renaissance dances in the lute books by Giacomo Gorzanis**

Italian printed sources of lute music from the 16th century contain individual dances and pairs or suites of dances in duple and triple metre. The descriptive titles of the familiar dance forms of *passamezzo*, *padoana*, *saltarello*, *galiarda*, *bal tedesco*, and others indicate various musical patterns – cord progressions, song melodies or vocal compositions – that served as model for their forming.

The dances from the three lute books (Venice, 1561, 1563 and 1564) by the blind lutenist and citizen of Trieste Giacomo Gorzanis (fl. 1558–1574) all base on such models. Those are series of successive repetitions of a varied model as well as suites of dances draw on the same musical model.

Gorzanis composed on his instrument, hence his dances reveal all of its instrumental characteristics. The pieces with precisely written out variations represent unique examples of performance practice regarding improvisation and ornamentation of that time.



# *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck – Humanist Composer*

PIETER DIRKSEN

As Slovenia until recently had it in the form of one of their tolar notes with the portrait of Jacobus Gallus, the Netherlands also harked back to a decidedly ‘early’ composer to embellish one of their bank notes. For many years the portrait of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) could be found on the Dutch 25 guilders note which made use of a posthumous engraving from 1624 (Plate 1). On this engraving one sees a rather austere man, a depiction so it seems of the ‘vaderlandsche toondichter’ (‘composer of our fatherland’) under which flag he was rediscovered in the nineteenth century – and not without nationalist overtones. The impression of a severe and austere man was increased still further on the bank note by the complete loss of any expression in the eyes as is visible in the 1624 engraving. It is this kind of image which, consciously but above all unconsciously, has firmly established the idea of Sweelinck as having been a stiff calvinist, whose music was expected to be of similar character and which would never return to becoming part of a living repertoire again. Given this state of affairs, it is very fortunate that we have a second, painted image (Plate 2) which shows us an entirely different Sweelinck – and to which we will return later on – and of course there is the music itself which on closer scrutiny is able to invalidate all prejudice.

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck died on 16 October 1621, only 59 years of age. The cause of death is not known, but it appears that his passing-away occurred rather



Plate 1: Engraving from 1624  
(Johan Muller)



suddenly. At the time he was still busy with composition and revision work on the concluding, fourth volume of Psalm settings. This volume appeared still in the year 1621, some weeks after the composer's death. From a recently discovered document it emerges that Sweelinck travelled to Enkhuizen (a town about 40 kilometers north of Amsterdam) to test an organ on 5 September 1621,<sup>1</sup> that is less than six weeks before his death. Such a travel was not undertaken when he did not still have his full health then.

Thus ended an unadventurous life. Biographical material as a rule flows richly in the case of change of habitat and work, travels and conflicts, but about the latter we do know of anything in Sweelinck's case. Born in Deventer (a town about 110 kilometers east of Amsterdam) he was his whole life attached to Amsterdam, where the family moved in 1564. From 1577 to his death he was organist at the Amsterdam Oude Kerk. His wanderlust was rather limited and he seems to have gone outside the boundaries of the Dutch republic only once – to Antwerp in 1604, in order to buy a harpsichord; otherwise we know only about travels to a number of Dutch towns for organ examinations.<sup>2</sup> In all an artist with little appeal to the historical imagination and whose biography can in fact not be written, Sweelinck clearly belongs to the most elusive of the great composers.

This makes the marvellous 1606 portrait (Plate 2) all the more precious. It certainly forms one of the most probing composer's portraits we know from anytime, and in my view it provides the best opportunity to get to know Sweelinck – of course apart from his music. It is unfortunately unsigned, but it is traditionally attributed to his brother, the painter Gerrit Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1566–1628). As obvious as this seems, the problem is that no painting by Gerrit survives which equals this one in quality. Another contender could be the official town painter Pieter Isaakszoon, who in that very same year (1606) painted the inside of the lid of the harpsichord personally bought two years earlier by Sweelinck in Antwerp from the famous Ruckers workshop. This lid painting (forever divorced from the instrument to which it belonged and which has been lost) consists of an elaborate allegorical depiction of Amsterdam as ruler of the world seas; the panel now hangs in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.<sup>3</sup> The dating also reminds of Mattheson's statement that one of Sweelinck's earliest and most important pupils, Jacob Praetorius (1586–1651), took

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Jongepier, *Het organ in de Zuider- of St. Pancraskerk te Enkhuizen* (Enkhuizen, 1991), 12.

<sup>2</sup> Maarten Albert Vente, 'Sweelincks Orgelreizen', *TVNM* 22/2 (1971), 126–137.

<sup>3</sup> Hessel Miedema, 'The City Harpsichord of Amsterdam', in *Sweelinck Studies*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht, 2002), 225–247.

a ‘gemahltes Ebenbild’ (‘painted image’) with him back to Hamburg<sup>4</sup> and in this way had his revered master always near him; Praetorius studied from 1606 to 1608 in Amsterdam.

However, the importance of this portrait goes much further. The left hand painted with such emphasis and spotlighted in an almost Rembrandt-like way stretches beyond the painted frame in a *trompe d’oeil*-like fashion. It does so with a striking gesture which at the time was undoubtedly understood as a rhetorical one: The two smallest fingers (ring finger and little finger) are pulled inwards while the other three are stretched out in a conspicuous way. In the rhetorical language this has a very specific meaning: ‘The two *Fingers* shut, and the other three presented in an eminent posture in the extended Hand, is a speaking Action, significant to *demand silence*, and *procure audience*’.<sup>5</sup> It was thus an emphatic gesture made before the beginning of a speech – and with Sweelinck it of course concerned a musical performance rather than a spoken speech. With this portrait he thus placed himself expressly in the humanistic-rhetorical tradition, and the principles of the rhetoric indeed forms the firm basis of his compositional outlook.

An important principle of this rhetorical tradition consists of the fact that ‘elaboratio’ is more important than ‘inventio’: The orator or musician was not merely allowed to use extant material or motives, it was rather *expected* from him to proceed this way; compositional ingenuity and prowess was simply more evident and easier to ascertain when he used familiar material. Sweelinck’s large oeuvre must not least be seen in the light of these decidedly non-modernist ideas. His main work, the polyphonic setting of all 150 Psalms (published in four hefty volumes in 1604, 1613, 1614 and 1621), is melodically dominated by the Genevan melodies, several of the *Rimes Françaises et Italiennes* from 1612 form arrangements of well-known madrigals and chansons from the sixteenth century, and some of the 1619 *Cantiones sacrae* are based on traditional Gregorian chant.

For his setting of the Psalter he ignored the less felicitous translation by Petrus Datheen from 1568 or some other Dutch versification, but instead opted for the original French version, which incidentally was completed in Geneva in his year of birth, 1562. This latter versification is not only literary of a much higher quality than its Dutch emulations, its symbiosis with the accompanying melodi-

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<sup>4</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740); new edition by Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910), 328–329.

<sup>5</sup> John Bulwer, *Chironomia: or, The Art of manuell Rhetorique* (London, 1644), 67; see also Willem Elders, *Composers of the Low Countries* (Oxford, 1991), 177.

es (which Sweelinck uses so extensively in his settings) is ideal. The Genevan Psalter was a monument in Holland which had just turned to Protestantism and which Sweelinck clearly could and did not wish to ignore. By keeping to the original in respect to both melodies and texts he ensured himself of a solid artistic foundation. The sophisticated polyphony of these Psalms was in any case the realm of the higher echelons of (Dutch) society, and here French conversation was strongly cultivated. It is known that Sweelinck performed them with a collegium musicum consisting of members of these higher classes as chamber music and as food for thought amongst kindred spirits. The young Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the brilliant patrician who excelled in all arts as well in politics, participated in these meetings with his viola da gamba.<sup>6</sup>

Huygens also mentions that these sessions took place at the house of Jean (Giovanni) Calandrini, an Italian merchant, banker and friend of Sweelinck, who dedicated the 1612 Rimes to him. Indeed, a closer scrutiny of Sweelinck's acquaintances reveals how mixed these were: Among them we find the Catholic poet and lawyer Cornelis Gijsbertszoon Plemp, the calvinist poet and politician Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (his first wife Christina van Erp was a harpsichord pupil of Sweelinck), the calvinist council and state historian Willem Baudartius as well as the Antwerps Catholic merchant Frans Sweerts.<sup>7</sup>

This attitude averse to any partiality is connected to the peculiar period in Dutch history in which Sweelinck lived. After the Alteration (the change from Roman Catholicism into Protestantism as the official faith), which occurred in Amsterdam in 1578, a strict Calvinist regime was not immediately implemented. Instead an 'open' church existed for several decades in which many elements of the old rites persisted, enabling the people to make the change to the new faith in some sort of continuity.<sup>8</sup> This was supported by a very moderate first generation of Protestant Amsterdam church fathers. It was only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that the orthodox direction of Calvinism started to become stronger, culminating in the battle between remonstrants (the 'liberals') and counter-remonstrants (the orthodox direction), and finally in the victory of orthodoxy at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619.

Sweelinck had been raised in the rich Roman Catholic organ tra-

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<sup>6</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn Jeugd*, translated by C.L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam, 1987), 25f.

<sup>7</sup> More information on these contacts and corresponding documentation can be found in Pieter Dirksen, *Sweelinck Compendium*, Opera Omnia vol. 9 (in preparation).

<sup>8</sup> Jurjen Vis, 'Sweelinck and the Reformation', in *Sweelinck Studies* (see Note 3), 39–54.

dition of the sixteenth century and even started his career in 1577 as an organist in the old faith. (From 1578 onwards he was in the direct service of the town rather than the church). He thus was doubtlessly strongly opposed to orthodoxy which banned organ playing from the service and even tried to have the organs removed from the churches (this latter was usually prevented by the town magistrates, the owners of these usually very costly instruments). He must have remained close to the Catholic faith but was otherwise a liberal man. He therefore was receptive to the Calvinist Psalms but clearly



Plate 2: Portrait of 1606 (Gerrit Pieterszoon Sweelinck?); Amsterdam, Historisch Museum

not in the translation of Dutch Calvinist fanatics. He also stood open for secular poetry, both French and Italian, and published a volume of Latin motets, the *Cantiones sacrae*, some of its texts which are of unmistakable Roman Catholic pedigree. This latter publication appeared in 1619 in the Catholic city of Antwerp: It clearly concerns a deed of protest against the Synod of Dordrecht held in the same year and which was such a disaster for the liberal faction to which Sweelinck belonged.

In his keyboard music – for organ and harpsichord – we see the same open-mindedness as well as the principle of ‘elaboratio’ side-by-side.<sup>9</sup> As a natural consequence variation sets predominate, and in this field Sweelinck appears particularly receptive to differing European traditions. We here thus find variations on Genevan Psalms, on Gregorian hymnes as well as on Lutheran chorales – the latter of which undoubtedly are connected to his many North German pupils – but also the most popular secular tunes of the day. What is more, most if not all of his great fantasias are based on themes which circulated

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<sup>9</sup> For some compelling thoughts on this topic see Gustav Leonhardt, ‘The Principle of *Varietas* in Sweelinck’s Variation Works’, in *Sweelinck Studies* (see Note 3), 57–64.

all over Europe amongst musicians, as material for improvisation and composition.

Sweelinck's oeuvre is like a mirror of the European music of the day, unparalleled in versatility and ingenuity in the elaboration of the chosen models, melodies and subjects. An important if not decisive role was played by the fact that in a certain respect he can be considered a 'free' artist in the modern sense. He never played the organ during service, only before and afterwards and during specific times of the week and according to season, and was thus never bound to any liturgical delimitation or other artistic restriction. To put it anachronistically: Sweelinck can be considered an autonomous artist. His mastery is evident in both his vocal and instrumental music. He had a virtuoso command of the vocal polyphony that had been developed in the sixteenth century on such a grandiose scale, and his Psalms, motets, madrigals and chansons do fit in seamlessly into the so-called 'Netherlands' polyphonic tradition which reaches back to Josquin des Prez – the composer so much admired by the great Dutch humanist Erasmus. Much less logical is that Sweelinck seriously devoted himself to keyboard music as well. As a keyboard player he was foremostly (and for a long time exclusively, it seems) a brilliant improvisator.

But after 1600 he was increasingly exposed to keyboard traditions in which composition had become an integral part: This concerned in particular the traditions of the cities of Venice, London, Brussels and Hamburg. Sweelinck slowly started to realize that the contrapuntal sophistication of his vocal technique was also attainable in keyboard music. On the basis of these pan-European influences he developed an entirely new species of instrumental polyphony which was completely adjusted to the exigencies of two hands on a keyboard but in which at the same time strict voice leading is observed. Also very 'humanistic' is the principle that this new polyphony is used indiscriminately over all genres. These genres are thus not strictly distinguished from each other. For example, typical toccata elements may crop up in a fantasia, while a fantasia theme may be treated in variation-like fashion. Sweelinck's keyboard music originated in all likelihood in the last fifteen, at most twenty years of his life – a unique fact in the history of Western music – and in this field he thus was a pronounced late-bloomer. That his surviving keyboard oeuvre still amounts to about 70 often very extensive pieces clearly points to a great productivity.<sup>10</sup>

It is above all the *fantasia* which can be considered a supremely

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<sup>10</sup> An exhaustive treatment of this part of Sweelinck's oeuvre can be found in Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence* (Utrecht, 1997).

humanist invention. It is a concept derived from Greek ancient thought which the humanists at the end of the fifteenth century brought into connection with contemporary art. It comprehended a rather abstract concept which stood for the ‘highest’ an artist could achieve as an individual.<sup>11</sup> It was gratefully adopted for the ‘new’ instrumental music of the sixteenth century: Broken free from the realm of vocal polyphony and the traditional footing of a text, it was in dire need of appropriate concepts and novel terminology. The aspect of the ‘highest’ was naturally coupled to the most artful music of the day, namely the imitative polyphony of the ‘Netherlands’ tradition (Josquin!). The aspect of artistic individuality implied a distinctly personal approach on the part of the musician or composer: It was more-or-less expected that he created his own fantasia type.

With no other composer of the humanist fantasia tradition this individuality comes as strongly to the fore as with Sweelinck, and his about twenty surviving specimens of the genre thus not only form the high-point of his oeuvre but also form the pinnacle of that tradition as a whole. Here he systematically exhausts all possibilities of contemporary counterpoint, both in long monothematic pieces as well as in polythematic echo fantasias. Under the guise of the echo – at the time a very popular technique, not only amongst musicians but also amongst poets – he also explores canonic writing and other sophisticated contrapuntal techniques, and as a result these pieces are never as straightforward or simple as they might appear on first hearing. The large group of monothematic fantasias show an all-encompassing rhetorical design. Their ‘forma’ is analogous to that of a classical three-part speech, with the subdivision ‘exordium’, ‘medium’ and ‘finis’, and usually with meticulous proportioning in which the so-called Fibonacci numbers appear to play an important role as well. The aspect of ‘elaboratio’ is above all expressed in an exhaustive application of all those ideas which are translatable from rhetoric into counterpoint, such as ‘augmentatio’, ‘diminutio’, ‘syncope’ and ‘inversio’. Unity is guaranteed by the use of a single subject which is used throughout the fantasia in multifarious ways. This subject is as a rule a borrowed one, and a few go even further by using a very elementary musical idea, such as the six-note scale of the hexachord or the chromatically descending fourth. It is certainly no coincidence that it were exactly these two musical archetypes which led to two absolute masterpieces: The Hexachord Fantasia and the Fantasia Cromatica. With these two works Sweelinck achieved compositions – apparently for the first time in Western music

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<sup>11</sup> Arnfried Edler, ‘Fantasia and Choralfantasie: on the problematic Nature of a Genre of Seventeenth-Century Organ Music’, in *The Organ Yearbook* 19 (1988), 53–66.

history – in which, without the support of a text, extensive and completely thought-out and planned musical structures have been realized.<sup>12</sup> Their inner logic, dynamic control and consummate craftsmanship are such that this can be immediately noticed and admired by any listener familiar with the instrumental masterpieces of much later periods.

For Sweelinck the humanist tradition was the obvious base for his composing and for pursuing the Renaissance ideal of the creation of an *opus perfectum et absolutum* which would survive after his death. He doubtlessly succeeded in achieving this goal, and the ‘manual’ hint on his portrait has certainly found an ear: His music remained performed and studied until several decades after his death – which was rather unusual in the era, not least also in view of the strongly traditionalist aspect of Sweelinck’s compositions – in spite of the fact that the seventeenth century developed an entirely different aesthetics and world picture. It was the sheer quality, the craftsmanship and not least the eloquence of his compositions which made him into an *autor classicum* and which at the present forms the firm basis of a true revival of his music

## POVZETEK

### Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck – humanistični skladatelj

Čeprav je Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621) komajda kaj potoval, velja za enega najbolj kozmopolitskih skladateljev svojega časa. Kot organist amsterdamske Oude Kerk je bil v mestni in ne cerkveni službi, saj so kalvinisti leta 1578 prepovedali orgle v cerkvah. Sweelinck je bil zadolžen predvsem za reprezentančno glasbo, kar mu je dejansko puščalo veliko umetniške svobode. Kot je bil Amsterdam na prehodu v 17. stoletje cvetoče mesto, povezano z večino evropskih kulturnih središč, tako je tudi Sweelinckova glasba izraz tega vzdušja in odsev siceršnjih evropskih glasbenih tokov, hkrati pa je neprekosljivo izvirna v načinih uglasbitve besedil, rabi znanih melodij in oblikovanju večjih glasbenih oblik. Skladatelj se je sprva osredotočil na vokalno polifonijo; njegova tovrstna prizadevanja so dosegla vrhunec v uglasbitvi celotnega *Ženevskega psalterja* (1604–1621) in z zbirko *Cantiones sacrae* iz leta 1629. Sweelinck je v svetu zaslovel predvsem s svojim poznejšim monumentalnim opusom del za glasbila s tipkami.

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<sup>12</sup> On the Hexachord Fantasia and its background see the special study by the author, ‘The Sweelinck Paradox: Researching, Analysing and Playing the Keyboard Music Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck’, in *Sweelinck Studies* (see Note 3), 93–113.

# *Figurative Writing in Mozart's Clavier Music\**

MARINA ČERNA

Mozart's music, known and unknown at the same time, has always been a popular object of interpretation, in both the theoretical and practical senses. However, Mozart's figurative writing has only rarely been the focus of research interest and therefore has not been sufficiently examined. Some authors have expressed their opinions of the potential fruitfulness of exploring this area, but this has been made possible only recently, thanks to the development of textural theory and new, more effective methods of textural analysis, which are able to begin solving the "enigma" of Mozart's writing.

Alexander Tchugayev, one of the greatest Russian theorists, often told his students: "*Something* is taking place constantly in Mozart's music – something other than what you are able to see while playing or listening to it." This mysterious "something" is partially connected with the activity of figures in Mozart's texture.

"Figuration" is taken to be a texture phenomenon connected with the saturation of the musical texture with melodic or rhythmic elements that are repeated periodically or organized in a specific system.

Mozart's figuration in piano pieces was based on "hiding" longer notes within smaller patterns, filling in broad melodic intervals, transforming chords, and so on; in many senses it was an outgrowth of his predecessors' art. He used traditional ornamental figures such as various trills, gruppetti, and combinations of these, which could make chains of similar figures or couplets with tetrachords and arpeggios. The role of ornamental figures in Mozart's texture was to reinforce the main melodic outlines. His figurative insertions were like orna-

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\* The original term *clavier* music, used in this article by the author, was editorially replaced by a modern word "piano". However, the reader has to bear in mind the fact that in Mozart's time piano or piano-forte was not yet a monopolist among keyboard instruments. It was in fact a rather weak instrument, but its mechanism developed rapidly so that by around 1800 the piano took over harpsichord the primacy among keyboard instruments. In Mozart's time piano and harpsichord co-existed on an equal level and he played both instruments.



ments in Classical painting. In some cases, the melody is “hidden” in *gruppetto* (ex. 1), or *gruppetto*-like figures are inserted organically in a melodic phrase (ex. 2). It is possible to find traces of diminution in Mozart’s texture as well, especially in slow movements of sonatas or in sets of variations.

The texture of piano pieces by Viennese classical composers, particularly Mozart, is full of discoveries made in the previous era in connection with continuo practice, too. This concerns the role of harmonic figuration in typical accompaniment formulas (such as Alberti bass, combinations of a trill or a *gruppetto* with moving bass, chord tone motions, and so on) in constructing long melodic lines, and the broad use of arpeggio figures in different passages. The chord tone motion is not usually connected with the insertion of non-chord tones; harmonies are outlined clearly and in accordance with traditional construction by thirds.

In pieces by Viennese classical composers, harmonic figuration is given melodic power and meaning. In Mozart’s piano sonatas this may be seen in the *fanfare style* in sonatas such as K. 280, K. 284, K. 330, K. 533, K. 545, K. 547a, and K. 576 (see ex. 3).

Two types of figuration – rhythmic and mixed (rhythmic-harmonic) – take on increasing importance in Mozart’s pieces. Mozart interprets the well-known and widely used formulas of drum bass, “murky” bass, and tremolo bass in a particular and highly artificial style. The composer uses various drum bass formulas in accompaniment figures. In major-key pieces this helps to create a light, lively background (ex. 4) and in minor-key music its main function is to outline an atmosphere of anxiety (ex. 5). The fast drum bass in the low register in the first movement of K. 457 (in C minor), where it gives the feeling of agitation, is a special case.

This interpretation of the most widespread devices for creating texture served as a model for many contemporary composers. Beethoven followed Mozart and used a fast drum bass in the low register to form dynamic, aggressive figuration (see the beginning of his Piano Sonata No. 4). He used broken octaves (tremolo bass formula) in the same conditions as Mozart did (low register, fast tempo) in the famous “Pathétique” Sonata, also in C minor. The special character of decorated drum bass in the “Rondo alla Turka” is determined by the role of the background used in the piece: the “Turkish style” here is connected with an imitation of the noise and commotion of oriental instruments, and the special rhythmic figuration functions to bring this image to mind (ex. 6).

The repeated ostinato rhythmic figuration in the accompaniment to the main subject in Sonata K. 310 creates a sort of thundering effect

(ex. 7). Here it is part of a dramatic semantic complex. An interval of a second is built into the chord structure. In Mozart's minor-key music, this interval usually signifies the "death interval."

The influence of thick dissonant harmonies (like clusters) is strengthened by rhythmic figuration in "hammer rhythm." In the development section of this sonata, persistent repetitions of two melodic-rhythmic figures and dominant pedal points create the atmosphere of foreboding: the world is crashing into pieces right before the eyes of the drama's protagonist (ex. 8). It is known that this sonata is autobiographical and is connected with the death of Mozart's beloved mother in Paris. The composer therefore turns to symbolic use of expressive means.

Mozartean figuration is connected with hidden voices in passages with "singing" sounds, which may be outlined in all genres of his piano music. The structure he frequently uses is the following: one of the voices maintains a trill or a gruppetto-like figure, while another voice (in the upper or the lower part of the score) creates independent motion based on melodic figuration (ex. 1). Mozart's Fantasy K. 475 in C minor offers a very interesting example of singing figuration, where the rapid figuration bears a long melody coming downwards in sequence (ex. 9 a, b). This type of figuration is quite special, though examples of this sort are typical in Mozart's piano concertos – compare examples 9 and 10. In both examples, figuration plays a very important role because the character of the piece depends on it. The rhythmic ostinato in figurative passages and the free melodic lines hidden inside them form a musical complex of great tension.

Mozart's piano concertos offer many examples of constructing figurative blocks as well. As a rule, two figurative layers form such blocks. For example, differently shaped figures are chosen by the composer in special manner – to make the texture sound astringent (vertical dissonances are formed in a fast tempo), tight configuration of notes gives density and saturation to the music (see ex. 11a). Analysis shows Mozart's use of ninths and sevenths, which themselves were then considered to be the most strained harmonic intervals. Strengthening here, in the functional harmonic system of the classical style, depends on ellipsis, though the configuration of moving voices and density of duplications are also important (see the scheme in ex. 11 b).

It is hard to find symmetry in Mozart's figurative blocks, unlike Beethoven's blocks. There are short segments of texture in mirror symmetry in the three last bars of example 11, but this may happen only in passage like partitions of the whole structure. In fact, external constructiveness is not peculiar to Mozart, but the constructive approach is very characteristic to Beethoven's texture.

Understanding the various aspects of 18th-century music, to which Mozart's work belongs, is impossible without considering the principles of *ars combinatoria* (AC), especially the part of the teaching dealing with different figurative devices.

AC principles are found throughout the 18th-century treatises that discuss composition problems and techniques. The English scholar Leonard Ratner reintroduced these principles to the musical world in the second half of the 20th century. This gave a new impulse to studying the peculiarities of texture creation in the compositions of Viennese classical composers.

The term "combinatorial" was taken from mathematics, in which it referred to various devices used to systematically organize and display a set of objects in a certain order. Two types of influence upon objects were outlined: permutation, in which objects were rearranged, and combination, in which objects were replaced. Sets of possible variants formed in musical combinatorial series become endless in certain conditions.

Mozart is a genius of musical combinatorial art. In his early youth, he created paraphrases, rearranging sonatas by different composers such as Honauer, Eccert, Schobert, J. C. Bach, and others as concertos. Later he paid homage to the invention of musical games. His *Anleitung zur Componiren von Walzern...* was written in keeping with Johann Philipp Kirnberger's *Der allezeit fertige Menuetten- und Polonaisenkomponist*.

However, a traditional approach to AC forms only a superficial layer of the significant phenomenon of Mozart's musical art. Mozart's virtuoso combinatorial technique is truly unique, and must be considered one of the most impressive attributes of his individual style. The seeming "simplicity" here revolves around a complicated and multifaceted shaping of texture. Moreover, every single piece by Mozart bears its own combinatorial idea.

Widespread formulas introduced by diminution practice and known since the time of the English virginalists predominate in the figurative writing of Mozart's period. The length of each figure is equivalent to a beat, and each may be transformed (every figure may appear in inversion, in retrograde motion, or inverted retrograde motion) or replaced by a new one. Compositions by the English virginalists (just like compositions by composers that lived later and used AC in their work – J. S. Bach, Domenico Scarlatti, and others) give us examples of figures used along horizontal and vertical lines. Mozart's texture shows the use of all three coordinates: horizontal, vertical, and even diagonal (in ensemble pieces). However, no wonderful mu-

sic comes from construction elements without also being humanized through the composer's genius.

Mozart's compositions give examples of dizzying transformations of a limited amount of elements and splendid combinatorial ideas. Although the mechanisms giving rise to a musical setting are universal, the actual creation of texture is new in each case.

AC may be found in Mozart's pieces in different genres. Usually, if figurative writing plays a significant role in the musical setting of a sonata, it is clear that a definitive and original combinatorial idea is being realized in it. The mechanisms of creating musical texture used in such sonatas, however, are universal in many senses. Sonatas K. 279, K. 311, K. 330 and K. 333 must be considered first.

In Sonata K. 330 in C major, Mozart outlined the similarity of its subjects both in the first movement and the third and final one (see ex. 12). It is easy to see that all the themes in the third movement begin with the same tones – *mi, fa, sol* (ex. 13). The scale wise motion predominates in melodic outlines: their construction is “as clear as a plain scale.”<sup>1</sup> This simplicity may create the illusion of an ordinary way of looking for the idea of the piece. However, such “simple” compositions turn out to be the most enigmatic in Mozart's case. The quiet sparkling of magically similar tones in the music does not reveal what really happens. In order to understand the nature of this quietude and hidden inner motion we have to discover the smallest elements of the musical material – figures. Repetition of the same notes, especially *sol*, gives the music a bell-like character, while the other characteristic color depends on a fanfare-like figuration based on small arpeggio patterns.

The construction syntax in the first part of the sonata depends on the combinatorial idea, and is created by the interplay between coupled units and those that are not coupled. There are repetitions not only of single measures or couplets of certain measures, but also of half-measures (see m. 19).

Each cascade of coupled repetitions of the motives and phrases in the subjects has a non-repeated closing of its own. Sometimes cadences are involved in the following constructions and this creates irregular use of the repeated elements, which becomes obvious when seen against the background of the general clarity and regularity of repetitions. For example, the play with elements in the main subject of the first part deals with the variant repetition of mm. 5–8 in the subsequent mm. 9–12, with resolution of the cadence formula in mm. 7–8 and 11–12. However, suddenly the cadence turn is repeated and,

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<sup>1</sup> This is a quotation from Pushkin's *Little Tragedies* (“Mozart and Salieri”).

as a result, the value of the final (twelfth) measure is not definitive. Therefore, in the row of repeated measures it is possible to hear groupings of mm. 11–12, 13–14, and 15–16, or possibly even 12–13 and 14–15.

The syntactic play of regular and irregular, as well as combinations of the very smallest patterns, form the inner layer of what proceeded it in the Allegro first movement.

Sonatas are not the only sites of wonderful examples of figurative activity in Mozart's texture. Combinations of the smallest melodic units – such as motives and figures (generally connected with AC ideas) – are represented in Mozart's fugues as well, with K. 426 for two pianos being the most characterized by this. It can be demanding to discover the combinatorial play taking place in a strict genre like fugue.

All the main elements are represented in the entrance of the fugue's subject (ex. 14). Figure *a* represents "strict order," and following it comes the "sighing" of figure *b*. Figure *c* is like a reply, after which motives *d* and *e* are united in a single phrase. Motive *e* is the least individualized element in the dictionary of this piece because it is introduced last. It is like a transformed variant of a scale wise figure that was introduced for the first time in the initial motive: compare *a* and *e* in example 15. The other types of scale wise motion have some rhythmic variants – see example 16 (a, b, c, d, and e). As the fugue unfolds, many combinations of the elements mentioned above appear in both horizontal and vertical lines of the texture.

Element *d* is very active in horizontal combinations, in many cases taking the role of a beginning figure. A new result is achieved by the means of sequential multiplication of both *d* and *e* (ex. 17). Then *d* is separated from *e* and is further connected with modifications of small patterns from *b* or with the inverted *a* motive (ex. 18).

Main melodic elements may change their position. For example, the trill that closes motive *d* becomes the beginning of *c* (compare ex. 19 a and b), while the doubling of the small sixteenth-note pattern becomes the continuation of the two initial quarter notes of the subject's kernel (ex. 19 c).

The vertical play within the score is no less intensive. The first combination of the motives shown in example 20 is not continued further:

*a* *b*  
*cd* *e*

A new counterpart is introduced whose melody depends on *e*, while combinations of *a* and *b* appear in the vertical lines (ex. 21). The

combination in coupled imitations is also very similar (see mm. 39–41 and mm. 91–95). In the last variant, motive *d* gets involved in the game, giving the following scheme:

*a bb*  
*a bd*  
*a b*  
*a bd*

An interesting combination of motives *a*, *d*, *e* is taking form, as shown in example 22 and the following scheme:

*eee*  
*dde*  
*a*  
*aaad*

There are several phases of this combinatorial game in the fugue. During the second entry, the maximum number of motives is involved in the game. In contrast, during the third entry, the counterpart motives do not appear at all. At this point, only three of the five initial elements remain: *a*, *b*, and *d*. During this phase stretto principle comes to the fore, so the counterpart motives leave the stage because their significance is diminished. Even the ever-present element *d* is absent in mm. 36–54. The most significant interactions here concern motives of the subject.

Although this fugue is oversaturated with compound contrapuntal devices, its texture creation depends on AC as well. There is tremendous energy in the figurative activity here; an inner layer of intonation process is formed in this piece through a special combinatorial game.

On the whole, Mozart's work with figures prompts a peculiar trend in analysis of his compositions. The composer's motive technique is original and highly skilled. Analyzing them in this way aids understanding of the inner life of the pieces, which may lead to better explanations of texture creation details and help solve performance problems.

Analysis of Mozart's texture shows that figuration in his piano pieces is both traditional for his time and original. It is masterfully designed and sometimes has unique features with regard to Mozart's technique of working with small units. The composer exercises his freedom within his chosen genre in order to create a very special texture.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

1. Mozart. Piano Concerto K. 466 in D minor, I



2. Mozart. Rondo K. 511 in A minor



3. Mozart. Sonata K. 545 in C major, I



4. Mozart. Sonata K. 283, III



5. Mozart. Sonata K. 330, II



6. Mozart. Sonata K. 331, III





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7. Mozart. Sonata K. 310, I



8. Mozart. Sonata K. 310, I



9. Mozart. Fantasy K. 475

a



b



10. Mozart. Piano Concerto K. 491

a



b





11. Mozart. Piano Concerto K. 467, I

a

Br. Basso

Fig. II

Fig. I

Str.

This musical score is for the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 467. It is divided into three systems. The first system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a bass line. The grand staff contains a complex, fast-moving melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The bass line is marked 'Br. Basso' and contains two figures: 'Fig. II' and 'Fig. I'. The second system continues the grand staff and bass line. The third system features a grand staff with a 'Str.' (string) marking in the bass line, indicating the entry of the strings. The notation includes various ornaments and dynamic markings.

b

This musical score is a single staff in treble clef. It contains a series of chords and melodic fragments, likely representing a specific passage or ornament from the first movement. The notation includes various ornaments and dynamic markings.

12. Mozart. Sonata K. 330, I

a

(mf)

This musical score is for the first movement of Mozart's Sonata K. 330. It consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The right hand part features a melodic line with various ornaments and dynamic markings, including '(mf)'. The left hand part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with a steady eighth-note pattern.

*Figurative Writing in Mozart's Clavier Music*

b



13. Mozart. Sonata K. 330, III

a



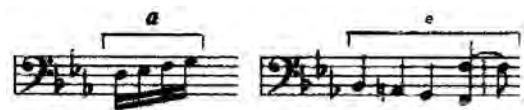
b



14. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426



15. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426



16. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426

Measures 1-4 of the fugue. Measure 1 (a) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3. Measure 2 (b) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 3 (c) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 4 (d) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 5 (e) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5.

17. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426

Measures 5-8 of the fugue. Measure 5 (d x 2) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 6 (star) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 7 (star) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 8 (e x 2) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5.

18. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426

Measures 9-12 of the fugue. Measure 9 (d) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3. Measure 10 (star) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3. Measure 11 (a with arrow) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3. Measure 12 is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3.

19. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426

Measures 13-15 of the fugue. Measure 13 (a) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3. Measure 14 (b) is the treble clef part starting with a half note G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, and quarter note C5. Measure 15 (c) is the bass clef part starting with a half note G2, quarter note A2, quarter note B2, and quarter note C3.

20. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426



21. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426



22. Mozart. Fugue for Two Pianos, K. 426



### **Figuracija v Mozartovi klavirski glasbi**

Glasba Wolfganga Amadeusa Mozarta, vsem znana, a hkrati polna neznank, je vedno zanimiva, pa naj bo kot izziv interpretom ali kot predmet muzikološkega študija. Mozartov figurativni slog je po eni strani tradicionalen, po drugi pa močno individualen. Njegova klavirska figuracija temelji na umetnosti drobljenja daljših notnih vrednosti v manjše figure, ki izpolnjujejo prostor v razponu velikih intervalov in hkrati spreminjajo strukturo akordov. Uporabljal je že znane okraševalne figure, pa tudi kombinacije več melodičnih ravni oz. skritih glasov, kar najdemo v vseh zvrsteh njegove glasbe. Po drugi strani prav v klavirskih delih morda najmočneje zaznamo njegovo osebno tehniko motivične gradnje, pri čemer ima pomembno vlogo t. i. »ars combinatoria«, ki jo je mojstrsko obvladal v vseh odtenkih in možnostih. Najočitnejši primeri so nedvomno Mozartove sonate K 279, K 311, K 330 ali K 333.

# ***Zgodovina kot izkušnja ali biografija kot sodobna historiografska metoda***

CIRILA TOPLAK

Zdi se, kot da slovenski zgodovinarji biografije kot historiografske metode dolgo časa niso posebej čislali. V tem in o tem strokovnem pristopu se je malo pisalo; navsezadnje pa imamo tudi teoretikov zgodovinopisja malo. Andrej Rahten v intervjuju, naslovljenem z V vsakem zgodovinarju tiči prikrit biograf, v Književnih listih 3. marca 2003 pojasnjuje pičlo bero biografike na Slovenskem z zgodovino slovenskega zgodovinopisja po eni strani in pomanjkanjem primarnih virov po drugi strani. Pred drugo svetovno vojno se je tedaj komaj nekaj desetletij »staro« slovensko zgodovinopisje šele začelo zanimati za biografijo – npr. življenjepis Valentina Zarnika izpod peresa Miroslava Goršeta, ki je izšel leta 1940 –, potem pa se je splošno zanimanje pod vplivom staroste slovenskih zgodovinarjev Frana Zwittera, ki je usmeril slovensko zgodovinopisje v objektivistični pristop, značilen za francoske *Anale*, odvrnilo od zgodovinskega subjekta. Tudi v času socializma je zgodovinopisje ostajalo trdno zasidrano v objektiviziranju zgodovinske snovi. Večino 20. stoletja so slovenski zgodovinarji zasledovali »veliko sliko«, sliko kolektivne preteklosti na raznih področjih, z redkimi izjemami hvalnic ljubljenih socialističnih vodij. Zanimanje za subjektivitete, ali z drugimi besedami, skrajno objektiviziranje je bilo nasploh značilno za marksistično koncepcijo družboslovja.

Ker je v nemškem prostoru v tem času biografika pridobila bogato tradicijo, ni presenetljivo, da so v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja koroški Slovenci prevzeli pobudo za ponovno uveljavljanje te zgodovinopisne zvrsti. Izpostaviti kaže biografijo *Anton Korošec, državnozbornski poslanec na Dunaju*, ki jo je leta 1992 izdal Feliks Bister. Tudi vzrok za v začetku omenjeni Rahtenov intervju je bila objava biografije v Rahtenovem avtorstvu, in sicer o življenju in delu Janka Brejca, prav tako pomembnega predvojnega slovenskega politika, ki se ga je Rahten trudil naslikati v dvosmernem procesu: »Z opisom poti družbeno angažiranega protagonista, ki mu ni vseeno, je mogoče približati duh njegovega časa. Obenem pa je s preučevanji družbe

mogoče spoznati njega kot navadnega državljana.« Rahten se je pri pisanju soočil tudi z drugim velikim problemom slovenske biografike: pomanjkanjem primarnih virov, saj Brejc ni zapustil osebnega arhiva, in ga je Rahten nato »iskal« v spominih njegovih sodobnikov in razpršeni dokumentaciji po številnih arhivih v Sloveniji in tujini. Morda se bodo z boljšo osveščenostjo o pomembnosti ohranjanja uradnih in osebnih dokumentov vremena slovenski biografiki zjasnila vsaj v prihodnje.

V zadnjem desetletju lahko hitro preštejemo znanstvene monografije z biografsko vsebino:

1993: Damjan Prelovšek: *Jože Plečnik*; France Dolinar: *Prošti novomeškega kapitlja*;

1995: Zmago Šmitek: *Srečevanje z drugačnostjo – slovenska izkustva eksotike*;

1997: Dušan Kos: *Turnirska knjiga Gašperja Lambergreja*;

1998: Janko Pleterski: *Dr. Ivan Šušteršič*;

1999: Damjan Prelovšek: *Plečnikova sakralna umetnost*; Igor Grdina: *Od rodoljuba z dežele do meščana*;

2001: Igor Grdina: *Ipavci – zgodovina slovenske meščanske dinastije*.

In to je skoraj že vse, če ne štejemo številnih zavedenih diplomskih del z biografsko vsebino. Nasploh vsebinsko po številu izstopajo biografske publikacije ob raznih obletnicah rojstva ali smrti pomembnih Slovencev. Slovenska Cerkev še zlasti skrbno pokriva tovrstno objavljanje o svojih dostojanstvenikih.

Še manj je najti refleksije o biografiki. Pravzaprav je v zadnjem desetletju o tem v slovenskem zgodovinoписju poglobljeno teoretiziral samo Oto Luthar. V preglednem delu z naslovom *Med kronologijo in fikcijo* iz leta 1993 se je med drugim v samostojnem podpoglavju o biografiki vprašal, ali kaže biografijo šteti za novo metodološko načelo; gre za razmislek, ki ga je napovedal že v zgodnejšem prispevku, leta 1989, za *Zgodovinski časopis* z naslovom *Nove metode v zgodovinoписju ali po sol na Solnograško*. V delu *Med kronologijo in fikcijo* Luthar navaja precej referenc s področja refleksije biografike, zlasti, kar nas zdaj ne more več presenetiti, iz nemškega prostora. Ker v naših knjižnicah te referenčne literature skoraj ni najti in ker štejem Lutharjevo razmišljanje o biografiki za pregledno in poglobljeno, bom po njem na kratko povzela, kako je biografika umeščena v okvir sodobnega evropskega zgodovinoписja.

O biografiji kot dodatnem modelu za preučevanje preteklosti so prvi začeli razmišljati nemški sociologi v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, pridružili pa so se jim sčasoma tudi zgodovinarji, psihologi in drugi družboslovci tudi iz drugih držav in z drugih celin. Seveda



ne gre za odkrivanje Amerike, kvečjemu za pogrevanje tople vode, saj je biografija kot tematizacija struktur življenjske zgodbe in s tem družbenih struktur že dolgo prisotna vsaj v sociološki teoriji, zlasti pa je ljuba fenomenologom. Objave znanstvenih monografij z biografsko vsebino so se torej vsaj zunaj naših meja množile in zanikale prehodnost ali modnost tega metodološkega načela. Še zlasti pa sta k uveljavitvi biografike pripomogli dve sodobni spoznanji:

- tematizacija biografije pojasnjuje pretekle in sedanje razsežnosti družbe in
- predmet biografike ni posameznik, temveč biografija sama kot družbeni konstrukt, kot orientacijski instrument za prepoznavanje širših družbenih vzorcev – nekakšna metabiografika torej.

Opazovanje zgodovinskih procesov skozi t. i. »institucionalizacijo življenjske zgodbe«, tj. Zgodbo z velikim Z, ki je časovno razmejena in strukturirana kot socialna ustanova, omogoča med drugim časovno umeščanje oz. kronološko standardiziranje običajnega poteka življenjske zgodbe. Skozi časovno umeščanje pa lažje dojemamo individualizacijo posameznika kot skozi stanovsko ali lokalno kategoriziranje. Običajna življenjska zgodba ima potemtakem faze, definirane s pridobitništvom: otroštvo/mladost ali pripravljalno fazo, aktivno odraslo življenje in mirujočo (ali mirnejšo) starost. Iz takšne delitve pa izhajajo predvidljivi cilji posameznika, ki so zamejeni z njegovim starostnim obzorjem in možnostmi v življenju nasploh.

Našteta biografska obdobja so bistveni del normalnega življenja in jih lahko analiziramo kot socialne strukture. A na posameznikovo življenje bistveno vplivajo tudi zgodovinske spremembe in dogajanja, ki od generacije do generacije spreminjajo razmere, v katerih posamezniki poskušajo realizirati »normalno« biografijo.

Nasproti opisanemu dolgoročno veljavnemu biografskemu vzorcu stoji še druge vrste individualizacija: zavestno zavračanje socialnih ustanov, navsezadnje same institucionalizacije biografije. Toda stremljenje za konstituiranjem življenjske zgodbe za večino ostaja »koda« za organizacijo delovanja, in zgodovinarjem proces izoblikovanja te kode zastavlja vsaj eno vprašanje: po prvi zlati dobi biografike v antiki nastane več stoletij premora, v katerih z izjemo življenjepisov svetnikov in vladarjev biografizacija bivanja ni pomembna. Znova pa se pojavi s prevlado kolektivnega, ki se izraža s pismenostjo in obveznim šolstvom, nacionalno idejo in identiteto in množično kulturo. Zakaj pride do začasnega umanjkanja biografizacijske kode? Morda v času med razpadom rimskega imperija in približno 15. stoletjem v odsotnosti pojavnosti množičnosti umanjka tudi potreba po mukah in veselju medsebojnega primerjanja. Ko pa se človekova zavest znova osredotoči na tostransko in pridobitno, s čimer se vrnemo na osnov-



no merilo sekvenčnosti biografizacijske kode, slednja znova pridobi smisel.

Za zgodvinopisje zahtevna, a ne neizvedljiva naloga bi torej lahko bila tematizacija tipičnih biografizacijskih vzgibov posameznikov v zgodovinskih obdobjih in njihova časovna in prostorska umestitev.

Nanizala sem nekaj možnosti biografske historiografske metode za sklepanje iz posameznega na splošno, a biografija sama po sebi je izrazit primer individualne družbenosti, ki je šele v zadnjih dveh desetletjih postala zanimiv koncept. V ta »antiobjektivistični obrat« tiptično sodi tudi ustna zgodovina in nekateri vidiki zgodovine vsakdanjega življenja, ki so prispevali k razvoju »kritične teorije subjekta«.

Naj še na konkretnem primeru raziskave, ki jo zdaj opravljam že eno leto, pokažem, kako se je v skladu z doslej povedanim mogoče smiselno znova vračati k splošnemu. Gre torej za, poudarjam, delne in začasne rezultate.

Pred več kot letom dni sem se s kolegom Igorjem Grdino pogovarjala o tem, da se v Sloveniji malokdo ukvarja z evropsko zgodovino, obenem pa ostajajo bele lise tudi v nacionalni zgodovini, čeprav se zdi, da so vsi zgodovinarji zazrti prav vanjo. Igor je omenil nekaj Slovencev, ki so bili v svojem času znani tudi širše v Evropi, pa jih Slovenci sploh ne poznamo, med njimi Alojza Dobravca. Ne vem, zakaj sem si zapomnila prav njega, morda zato, ker je večino svojega življenja preživel v Parizu, kjer sem tudi sama živela več let. V *Enciklopediji Slovenije* sem našla o njem dva odstavka: Tržačan, ljubljanski gimnazijec, doktor prava, diplomat, publicist in pisatelj, njegovo življenje pa so geografsko najbolj zaznamovali Dunaj, Italija in Pariz.

Na spletnih straneh Francoske nacionalne knjižnice sem našla 10 knjig, ki jih je napisal Dobravec, večinoma z diplomatsko in politično vsebino, vmes pa je bil tudi predlog reforme pravnih fakultet in biografija Napoleona III. *Slovenski biografski leksikon* je vseboval že tri strani o Dobravcu, Wurzbachov *Biografski leksikon* pa še nekaj več, a v glavnem je bil biografski opis v obeh identičen, skopih informacij pa vendarle dovolj za konkuriranje za skromno štipendijo francoske vlade. Junija 2003 sem šla torej prvič v Pariz s ciljem, da preučim Dobravčeve knjige in ... nadaljujem od tam.

Trije tedni bivanja v Parizu so komaj zadoščali, da sem obiskala pomembne arhive in v knjižnici prelistala vsa dostopna Dobravčeva dela. Za Napoleonovo biografijo izpod Dobravčevega peresa se je izkazalo, da jo je Dobravec spisal v letu, ko je Napoleon šele prišel na prestol (1853), in anekdote iz Napoleonove mladosti niso bile nato povzete v nobeni poznejši biografiji, s katerimi sem jo primerjala. Si

je Dobravec izmišljal ali pa je bil res Napoleonov zaupnik, kot trdi biografski leksikon, in kako je to mogoče?

V arhivih sem našla Dobravčev poročni in mrliški list ter potrdilo o dediščini in o prodaji njegovega časopisa *Journal diplomatique* na dražbi. Vse kraje, kjer je v Parizu bival in delal, sem obiskala in fotografirala. Medtem sem na spletu našla nemške knjižne antikvariate, ki so imeli naprodaj njegove tiskane knjige, eden pa je ponujal celo Dobravčev rokopisni popotni dnevnik iz leta 1845. Ob srečanju v Parizu mi ga je antikvarka zaupala in čez poletje sem ga prepisala.

Čaka me pot na Dunaj, da raziščem univerzitetne in diplomatske arhive ter najdem morebitni Dobravčev zunanji opis v kaki personalni mapi avstrijskega zunanjega ministrstva. Čaka me še pot v Trst in iskanje Dobravčevega potrdila o rojstvu po krstnih knjigah tamkajšnjih cerkva. Nato se bom znova podala v Pariz in med drugim iskala Dobravčeve dediče, saj sem medtem našla tudi podatek, kdaj je umrla njegova vdova.

Menim, da že navedeno opravičuje »izkustveni« pristop k pisanju biografije, torej pristop, v katerem sta pot/raziskava in cilj/biografski zapis neločljiva, naracija pa je sestavljena iz več »glasov«, biografovega in biografirančevega, ki sta ločena v času. Dobravčev dnevnik ali Dobravčev lastni »glas« ima petdeset strani in je že sam po sebi prepričljiv in zanimiv. Moje raziskovanje Dobravca bi lahko bil drugi, narativni »glas«, tretji, najmanj osebni, čeprav seveda tudi moj, pa bi analiziral konstrukcijo Dobravčeve življenjske zgodbe ob upoštevanju individualizacije biografske kode na ozadju zgodovinskih procesov, ki so zaznamovali Dobravčev čas in prostor, torej Evropo sredi 19. stoletja.

Seveda ne gre za kaj prav posebno novega v biografiki nasploh: Golo Mann, sin Thomasa Manna, je že leta 1971 izdal zanimivo biografijo novoveškega »biča božjega« srednjeevropskih protestantov, vojskovodje Albrechta Wallensteina, ki je bila napisana s precej podobnim prepletom vsebin oz. »glasov«. Moj nekdanji mentor in do pred kratkim raziskovalni sodelavec, prof. Bernard Michel s Sorbone, mi piše, da je v zadnjih letih uveljavljen pristop v zgodovinopisju nasploh t. i. »egozgodovina« (*ego-histoire*), kar konkretno pomeni dodatek, po navadi uvod k doktorskim disertacijam ali znanstvenim monografijam, v katerem je popisano avtorjevo iskanje in preučevanje virov. Vendar pa gre pri ego-zgodovini vendarle za del, ki je ločen od biografije, medtem ko sama vidim prednost v priznanju tako in tako neogibnega vpletanja avtorja biografije v biografijo samo. To namreč določa biografova doslednost pri raziskovanju virov in njegov pogled na biografirančev čas, ki ga biograf lahko opazuje seveda samo iz

svoje sedanjosti, ne pa da v uvodu »prizna« svoje omejitve, biografijo pa nato poda v tonu vsevednega pripovedovalca.

Tretji »glas« iz prej omenjenega trizvočja Dobravčeve biografije bo zajel tudi razmislek, v čem in zakaj je bil Dobravec podrejen konvenciji življenjske zgodbe svojega okolja in kje je odstopal od te konvencije. Ta razmislek si zamišljam kot nekakšno asociacijsko razbiranje oz. primerjanje individualnih informacij o Dobravcu, ki segajo od vseh njegovih dokumentov, šolskih ocen, seveda dnevniških intimnih zapiskov in morebitne zdaj še neodkrita korespondence (ko je rokopisna zbirka NUK z mojim posredovanjem nedavno odkupila omenjeni Dobravčev dnevnik, so v zbirki našli tudi dve Dobravčevi pismi Matiji Čopu!) do vseh njegovih natisnjenih del in časopisnih člankov, pa tudi grafološke analize; vse to bi želela vzporejati s splošnostmi Dobravčevega časa in prostora, ki so popisane v precej številnih delih na temo vsakdanjega življenja meščanstva pod drugim cesarstvom, v spominih Dobravčevih sodobnikov in nasploh v zgodovini tega obdobja.

Že v samem Dobravčevem dnevniku ogromno informacij zahteva preveritev skladnosti ali odstopanja od konvencije, saj se zdijo nenavadne in celo presenetljive, npr. Dobravčev spoštljivi, a nehierarhični način komunikacije, njegov izraziti občutek za čast in dostojanstvo, zmožnost hvaležnosti brez klečeplazenja, vera v idealno socialno mobilnost, katere dokaz je bil sam Dobravec, obsedeno opisovanje vsakdanjih rutin, namigi na seksualnost itd.

Ker sem že nasloвила to predavanje Zgodovina kot izkušnja, naj navedem primer »izkustvenega« ugotavljanja pokrivanja individualizacije s konvencijo: prvo Dobravčevo stanovanje je bilo v samem središču Pariza, starši njegove mladoletne neveste pa so živeli v sosednji ulici. Če Pariza ne bi tako dobro poznala oz. če ne bi stopila do ene in druge stanovanjske stavbe, se tega najbrž ne bi zavedela. Zagotovo ne bi vedela, da točno nasproti prvega Dobravčevega stanovanja stoji kavarna, ki je odprta že od leta 1823, in ker je Dobravec v popotnem dnevniku veliko presenjal o neprekosljivi francoski kavi, je precej verjetno obiskoval to kavarno. Ena izmed splošno razširjenih meščanskih navad je bilo tudi sprehajanje po parku Tuilerije, ki je čez cesto in kjer se je s svojo Evgenijo precej verjetno tudi seznanil.

Primer izrazitega odklona od konvencije pa je Dobravčeva opustitev zagotovljene diplomatske kariere za finančno veliko manj varno objavlanje – dejansko ni zapustil omembe vrednega premoženja. Dobravčevo življenje megli veliko takih nepojasnjenih dejstev – kako je lahko bil zaupnik Napoleona III., ko pa se zdi, da Dobravec za francosko zgodovino sploh ne obstaja!? Po drugi strani pa je napisal cesarjevo intimno biografijo in francoska mornarica ga je z vojaško

fregato vozila na diplomatska odposlanstva za Avstrijo (!), sodeloval pa je tudi v političnih prevratih, ki so majali vlade in odplavljali ministre (Thiersa), odlikovan naj bi bil za podporo Avstriji leta 1848, pa še nisem našla njegovih člankov, ki naj bi takrat tako vplivali na evropsko javno mnenje, in nobenega dokaza o odlikovanjih in plemiškem nazivu, Habsburžana Maksimilijana naj bi prepričal, da se polasti mehiške krone, pa o tem znova ni nobenih drugih pričevanj razen trditev v *Slovenskem biografskem leksikonu*. (Kar malo simptomatično se zdi, da je Dobravec v času svojega življenja le nekajkrat omenjen v slovenskem časopisju, in to bolj ali manj kot tarča zlobnega opravljanja zaradi plemiškega naziva baron de Saldapenna, ki si ga je izbral in ki so ga nekateri prevajali kot »prodano pero«). Dobravčev popotni dnevnik se konča z desetimi praznimi stranmi – sredi potovanja, dan pred tem, ko naj bi ga sprejel Metternich!

Čaka me torej še veliko dela. Direkcija pariških pokopališč mi je na pisno zahtevo sporočila, da Dobravčevega groba ni nikjer v Parizu. Bi lahko bil zaradi vojne 1870/71 pokopan v skupnem grobu? To se mi glede na njegov zadnji naslov v razkošnem 9. okrožju in dejstvo, da ga je ljubljena žena preživela, zdi manj verjetno. Prošnja, naslovljena na glavni urad Francoske častne legije, je obrodila več sadov. Dobravčev tast Pierre Sigfeldt ima dosje v Nacionalnih arhivih in njegova vsebina me zelo zanima.

Iz arhiva uprave Palais Royal, kjer je bila rezidenca Sigfeldtovih (tam so zdaj uradi ministrstva za kulturo), še nisem prejela odgovora. Skratka, iskati je treba v vse možne smeri, se spopasti in sprijazniti s slepimi ulicami.

Seveda pri tovrstnem raziskovanju ne gre brez muk: ena izmed večjih pri tej raziskavi je bilo zagotovo razbiranje Dobravčeve nepopisno neberljive pisave, ki sem se ji počasi privajala, tako kot sem se ob prepisovanju dnevnika tudi vse bolj vživljala v piščevo življenje. Bila sem tudi neprijetno presenečena, da so bili potrebni trije tedni policijskega preverjanja, da sem smela stopiti v francoske diplomatske arhive, potem pa tam nisem našla ničesar. Ne vem, ali bom kdaj našla Dobravčevo delo *La question italienne* iz leta 1849, v katerem je objavil izbor svojih člankov iz leta 1848, ki naj bi zelo vplivali na politične kroge in javno mnenje v Evropi sredi »pomladi narodov«, pravzaprav tako zelo, da Francija takrat ni podprla italijanskih in nemških zahtev po lastni nacionalni državi. Za zdaj Dobravčev silni politični vpliv navajajo zgolj biografski leksikoni. In kje sploh iskati morebitne dokaze o tem, da je Dobravec vplival tudi na avstrijskega vojvodo Maksimilijana glede Mehike?

Biografika se mi zdi dober pristop k rekonstrukciji preteklosti, ker je raziskovalni del tako dinamičen, da je že skoraj detektivski.

Omogoča toliko fizičnega stika s predmetom preučevanja, kot je sploh mogoče, saj imamo opraviti z raznovrstnimi in zgovornimi primarnimi viri, le preceniti moramo, ali jih je dovolj, da bo rekonstrukcija življenjske zgodbe posameznika dovolj celovita.

Tudi nekonvencionalne metode, kot je grafološka analiza (priznani slovenski grafolog je ob prvem pogledu na Dobravčevo pisavo izjavil, da gre za skrajno povzpetniškega človeka, ob primerjavi moje in Dobravčeve pisave pa postavil zabavno hipotezo, da sem Dobravčeva reinkarnacija!), lahko prispevajo k boljšim rezultatom, še zlasti če cilj ni zgolj čim objektivnejša rekonstrukcija posameznikovega življenja, ampak tudi zanimiva zgodba. Prav s tem namenom tudi zagovarjam zlitje raziskave in rezultatov raziskave v biografiji.

## SUMMARY

### **History as Experience i.e. Biography as Contemporary Historiographic Method**

Lecture addresses a methodological issue by describing a case study of a biographic research still in course. Context is given by an assessment of the status of biography as historiographic method in Slovene historiography, including a short review of biographic writing in modern Slovene historiography, major influences from abroad and a (non-exhaustive) list of principal publications in this subfield in Slovenia for the 1990s. A general issue is emphasized of lack of theory on biographic research and writing and recent theoretisation is summarized, primarily produced by contemporary German historiographers.

Lecturer presents in detail a case study of biography of a Slovene diplomat and writer Alojz Dobravec alias Louis Debrauz that was born in Trieste in 1811 but lived mostly in Paris, France, until his death in 1871. Reconstruction of Dobravec's life-story focuses on a great variety of (sometimes less conventional) historical sources, including Dobravec's personal diary.

Case study demonstrates several general issues related to biographic research such as confusion of data in various written sources, limited access to archives, construction of a life-story between collective conventions of a period and biographee's individualism, biographer's objectivisation of data and limitations to it (the so-called *ego-histoire*), importance of personal "experiencing" of various material sources for the completion of a convincing life-story etc.

# *Kam z življenjskimi zgodbami? Mali praktikum o kritiki ustnih virov*

MOJCA RAMŠAK

## **Skoraj spregledani viri se rokujejo s sramežljivimi aplikativnimi učinki**

Z izključevanjem osebnih tematik iz raziskovalnega procesa ali z označevanjem le-teh kot nepomembnih se izloči tudi veliko izraznih oblik in njihovih vplivov v socialnih skupinah in med njimi, med posamezniki in med raziskovalci. Zapostavljanje subjektivnega pogleda je prežitek stališča, ki je vdor subjektivnosti v humanistiko označeval kot nezanimivo in nedostopno njenim disciplinarnim metodološkim dometom.

Taka stališča so se v zadnjih dvajsetih letih 20. stoletja temeljito popravila. K temu je v Evropi precej pripomogel tudi prodor nove discipline ustne zgodovine,<sup>1</sup> ki si je status samostojne vede pridobival v povezavi z zgodovino, etnologijo, folkloristiko, antropologijo in psihologijo. Ustna zgodovina prvenstveno pomeni zbiranje govorjenih in zapisanih spominov na ravni vsakdanjega življenja, ki evidentirajo pretekle dogodke zgodovinskega pomena in posameznikov odnos do njih. V nasprotju z ustno tradicijo, ki se posveča predvsem prenosu spominov skozi generacije, se ustna zgodovina posveča izkušnjam posameznikov v bližnji preteklosti. Pripovedi in izpovedi vseh vrst so glavno gradivo, biografski pristop pa glavno gibalno ustne zgodovine.

Zapisovanje biografij ali avtobiografij ima pri Slovencih že več kot stoletno tradicijo, zapisano predvsem v literarnih delih. Življenjske zgodbe neznanih, nepopularnih ljudi pa imajo v slovenski etnologiji kratko zgodovino, razen če upoštevamo, da so pogosto služile zgolj kot pomožni vir. Slovenski etnologi so doslej zbrali in objavili že precej življenjskih zgodb, toda o možnostih njihove uporabe, o (avto)biografski metodi, njenih značilnostih in ciljih niso dosti

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<sup>1</sup> Angleško *oral history*, nemško *Mundgeschichte*, italijansko *storia orale*, francosko *histoire orale*.

razmišljali. Doslej imamo v etnologiji razvite dokaj ustrezne tehnike zapisovanja življenjskih zgodb, teoretska podlaga pa je šibka.

O biografski metodi je do sredine sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja le nekaj omemb, več pa je raziskav, kjer so se biografije ali avtobiografije pojavile med raziskavo, torej kot eden od ustnih ali pisnih virov, ki jih je stroka uporabila pri raziskovanju načina življenja. Življenjske zgodbe kot posebna vrsta gradiva, ki ilustrira potek posameznikovega življenja in njegov odnos do sveta, so bile deležne pozornosti šele od osemdesetih let pri redkih slovenskih etnologih. V osemdesetih in začetku devetdesetih let je prišlo do objav življenjepisov pripovedovalcev v celoti. Ti so bili jezikovno korigirani, vsebinsko skrčeni in delno interpretirani s strani raziskovalcev. O kontinuiteti zanimanja za biografsko metodo v slovenski etnologiji lahko govorimo od začetka devetdesetih let, ko so začele izhajati zbirke ali posamezne knjige življenjepisov Slovencev. Do devetdesetih let so se redki etnologi za življenjepise zanimali zgolj kot za sekundarni vir, v devetdesetih so se ob njih začeli spraševati tudi o mejah interpretacije in o etičnih dilemah. Še vedno pa smo, kljub nekaj solidnim znanstvenim interpretacijam, daleč od aplikacije spoznanj za potrebe lokalnih skupnosti.

### **Raba življenjskih zgodb v etnologiji**

Najožja opredelitev življenjske zgodbe pravi, da je to pripoved posameznika o dogodkih in doživljanjih iz njegovega življenja. V strokovni etnološki literaturi življenjske zgodbe pogosto imenujemo tudi življenjska pripoved, življenjepis, biografija, življenjska zgodovina, osebna pripoved. Življenjska zgodba je zgodba osebe, ki se odloči, največkrat ob intervjuju, da bo pripovedovala o svojem življenju kar se da popolno in stvarno, kolikor se ga spomni, oz. o tistem delu življenja, za katerega meni, da je dobro, da ga poznajo tudi drugi. Življenjska zgodba naj bi bila dokaj popolna pripoved o vseh izkušnjah življenja kot celote in naj bi osvetlila njegove najpomembnejše točke ter povzela, kar se je komu zgodilo. Ker pripoveduje o času od rojstva do časa pripovedovanja, iz tega obdobja poudarja pomembne življenjske dogodke, izkušnje in doživljanje. Od literarnih biografij se loči po izbiri subjekta. V življenjski zgodbi nastopa navaden človek namesto javne osebe, neliterarni predstavnik tradicionalne družbe, etnične manjšine ali urbane podkulture.

Pomembna razlika je tudi metodična. Življenjska zgodba nastane ob terenskem delu, ki vključuje pogovor med raziskovalcem in pripovedovalcem; pri tem so intervjuji največkrat posneti in transkribirani, pogovore spremljata opazovanje in pogosto uporaba osebnih doku-



mentov, kot so dnevniki, pisma idr. zapisi ter fotografije. Življenjsko zgodbo je možno zapisati tudi simultano, med samim pripovedovanjem, ali pa ubeseditev prepustiti pripovedovalcu oziroma zapisovalcu. V slednjem primeru govorimo o avtobiografski življenjski zgodbi. Življenjska zgodba se od literarnih ubeseditev življenjskih dogodkov in izkušenj loči tudi po pozornosti na določene teme (npr. kako posamezniki dosegajo ali pridobivajo določeno kulturno, spolno ali politično identiteto). Metoda, ki jo uporabljamo za zbiranje in študij gradiva o življenjskih izkušnjah posameznika ali skupine, se imenuje biografska metoda. Zbrano gradivo obsega avtobiografije, biografije, dnevnike, pisma, nekrologe, življenjske zgodbe, spomine idr. Predmet biografske metode so življenjske izkušnje posameznika, pri čemer se metodično ločita subjektivno (avtobiografsko) in objektivno (biografsko) zapisovanje življenjskega poteka in njegovih mejnikov. Pri zbiranju gradiva z biografsko metodo so pomembni tile metodični koraki: izbira pripovedovalca, strukturiranje intervjuja, snemanje in transkripcija posnetkov.

V slovenski etnologiji je bila biografska metoda sprva uporabljena predvsem pri zbiranju življenjepisov ljudskih pevcev, godcev, pravljničarjev, v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja pa avstralskih in koroških Slovencev, kmetov in delavcev s slovenskega podeželja. Biografska metoda se kot način zbiranja gradiva v Sloveniji uporablja pri zapisovanju in zbiranju življenjepisov od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja. Življenjske zgodbe sta med slovenskimi etnologi zbirali in objavljali Marija Makarovič (1993–2004; 1996; 1996a; 1999; 2000; 2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2002; 2002a; 2003; 2004), Ivanka Počkar (1998) in Tita Porenta (2006), zbirale in preučevale pa Breda Čebulj Sajko (1992; 2000), Marija Makarovič (2006) in Mojca Ramšak (2003, 2006). Večina teh zapisanih zgodb se nanaša na podeželje in je zbrana s klasičnimi intervjuji. V zadnjem času pa se zbirajo tudi različne zgodbe iz urbanega okolja in pri tem se uporabljajo tudi pristopi spletne etnologije (npr. Ramšak 2006). Spletna etnologija je nov kvalitativni metodološki pristop, ki prenaša tradicionalne raziskovalne tehnike in metode v virtualni svet, v računalniško podprto komunikacijo in raziskuje njene epistemološke prednosti ter omejitve. Ta kvalitativna metoda, ki ni lastna le etnologiji in antropologiji in ima svoje začetke sredi devetdesetih let 20. stoletja, nas na neki način prisili, da se ob virtualnem terenskem delu spustimo v ponoven premislek o tradicionalnih etnoloških raziskovalnih kategorijah v drugačnem, računalniško posredovanem okolju. Pri zbiranju življenjskih zgodb to pomeni, da kot vir izrabljamo tudi v medmrežju pridobljeno gradivo (npr. z list oz. dopisovalnih seznamov, oglasnih desk, forumov, klepetalnic, spletnih dnevnikov, osebnih spletnih strani).



## Metodološka konsistentnost knjižne zbirke *Tako smo živeli, življenjepisi koroških Slovencev*

Prva slovenska zbirka življenjskih zgodb je *Tako smo živeli, življenjepisi koroških Slovencev*, ki je izšla v dvanajstih knjigah v Celovcu (1993–2004). V tej knjižni zbirki so zbrane pripovedi ljudi kmečkega ali delavskega izvira iz Roža, Podjune in Zilje. Življenjepisi so bili zapisani po pripovedovanju ali pa so avtobiografski; približno tretjina je moških, dve tretjini ženskih, nekaj je anonimnih. Pomen te zbirke je v primerljivosti gradiva, saj so bile življenjske zgodbe zapisane po vprašalniku in govorijo o spominih na otroštvo, mladost, življenjskega sopotnika, otroke, spremembe, podedovana sporočila, domačijo, prosti čas, delo, razmerje do narave, vere in razmerje do slovenstva.

Vprašalnik s trinajstimi vsebinskimi sklopi, ki ga je sestavila Marija Makarovič, se osredotoča na dom, delo, družino, prosti čas, narodno zavest in spremembe v življenju. Pri izboru pripovedovalcev so bili pomembni naslednji dejavniki:

- da je izbrana oseba Slovenec ali Slovenka,
- da je rojena do konca druge svetovne vojne (v dvanajstih knjigah najstarejša pripovedovalka je rojena leta 1896, najmlajša leta 1943)
- in da je s podeželja.

Kmečki stan pripovedovalcev ni bil posledica zavestne metodološke izbire, ampak nuje, saj je bilo slovensko prebivalstvo na avstrijskem Koroškem v prvi polovici 20. stoletja v veliki večini kmečko. Ta slovenska kmečka struktura podeželja ni imela slovenskega dopolnila v meščanski strukturi mest in trgov. Edini slovenski sloj izobraženstva je bila v bistvu katoliška duhovščina, ki je bila povezana z vaškim življenjem in je usmerjala tudi kulturo, politiko in gospodarstvo koroških Slovencev. Zavednih slovenskih učiteljev, uradnikov, advokatov in zdravnikov je bilo na Koroškem malo. Meščanstvo je imelo v slovenskem delu Koroške izrazito nemški značaj. Nemško govoreči so-deželani so obvladovali trgovino, večjo obrt, promet, tudi naraščajoči turizem, industrijo in deželno upravo. Redki Slovenci, ki so se uveljavili v meščanski družbi, so stali vedno na pragu asimilacije. Tudi to zgodovinsko dejstvo je odločalo, da je bilo zbiranje življenjepisov koroških Slovencev usmerjeno na podeželje. Intervjuji s pripovedovalci so se v vseh primerih odvijali v slovenščini oz. v pogovornem jeziku ali domačem narečju, pripovedovalci pa so v večji ali manjši meri znali tudi nemško.

## **Kritika virov: izbira pripovedovalca**

Vzpostavljanje stikov je ključ pri uspešnem terenskem delu in zapisovanju življenjskih zgodb. Pri načinih vzpostavljanja stikov v intervjujskih položajih so ključni dobro poznavanje, predvidevanje in obvladovanje reakcij sogovornika in navsezadnje samega sebe. Prvo srečanje je velikokrat težavno, predvsem zato, ker je hkrati treba biti previden, odločen in drzen, pa tudi zato, ker so vsi poznejši uspehi ali neuspehi odvisni prav od prvega vtisa. Dobro je, da raziskovalec, še preden mu pravzaprav morebitni sogovorniki dajo dovoljenje in pristanelek za intervju, takoj jasno pokaže, kaj želi. Previdnost, diplomacija, vztrajnost in potrpežljivost so skupaj z zaupanjem odločilnega pomena.

Pripovedovalce lahko izberemo na dva načina.

1. Po prvem se že vnaprej odločimo, kakšen položaj, pripadnost določeni skupini, znanje, izkušnost in sposobnosti naj ima potencialni sogovornik. Ker pa so ta merila zavestno omejena, največkrat uporabljamo drugi način,

2. pri katerem najprej naredimo sondažno raziskavo na terenu in potem na podlagi dobljenih podatkov izberemo primerne kandidata. V tem primeru razsežnosti sposobnosti in pripadnosti določimo šele po začetku raziskovanja.

Vrsto reprezentativnih sogovornikov identificiramo s prvim načinom, dokončna izbira pa je odvisna od drugega, saj se šele po vzpostavitvi odnosa, ki temelji na zaupanju, lahko lažje odločimo (Johnson 1990).

Najboljša metoda je vsekakor osebno priporočilo. Kadar pripovedovalce sprašujemo, kdo bi bil še primeren in zainteresiran za intervju, se to imenuje *vzorčenje pripovedovalcev po načelu snežne kepe*. Na naslednji stopnji sestavimo *poskusni spisec pripovedovalcev*. Poskusni zato, ker se med delom pokaže, koga še izbrati ali morda izločiti s seznama. Vsekakor si želimo dobiti take pripovedovalce, ki imajo kaj povedati. Če npr. sprašujemo o zgodovini kraja, izberemo pripovedovalce, ki so v njem živeli ali še živijo najdlje časa, pri družinskih zgodovinah intervjujamo vsakega člana družine, pri biografiji sprašujemo še pripovedovalčeve družabnike, sorodnike, prijatelje in tudi kritike. Na teh področjih intervjuvanja so informacije odvisne od izbranih oseb. Način vzorčenja izbire pripovedovalcev je načrt, po katerem raziskovalec izbira svoje študijske primere, intervjuvance. Pri kvantitativnih raziskavah bi npr. vzorec predstavljal deset odstotkov populacije ali denimo vsako deseto ime na abecednem seznamu. Toda tak vzorec na slepo ni preveč uporaben pri zgodovinsko usmerjenih raziskavah, saj nas tu zanimajo določeni dogodki in procesi. Deset

odstotkov intervjuvanih bi zgodovinarju (in etnologu) pomenilo le splošno mnenje o neki zadevi. Zato je pri kvalitativnih raziskavah nujen drugačen pristop. Če nas recimo zanimajo spremembe v neki skupnosti, bomo intervjuvali tiste ljudi, ki so odločali o teh spremembah. Toda tudi teh nekaj ljudi z vrha hierarhije še ne predstavljajo skupnosti same. Zato je treba intervjuvati vse sloje prebivalcev, da bi ugotovili, kakšni so bili učinki sprememb, kako so bile spremembe izvedene ipd. Treba je pridobiti različna mnenja o raziskovani temi, in tu uporabljamo *ciljno vzorčenje*. Lahko pa uporabimo tudi *vzorčenje glede na kvoto*, kjer izberemo določeno število oseb, katerih vzorec je sorazmeren glede na spol, kraj bivanja, družbeni stan in podobno. Pogosto se raziskovalci tudi vprašamo, koliko pripovedovalcev je dovolj. Kadar vidimo, da se pripovedovalci dvajsetkrat ali tridesetkrat ponavljajo, kar se tiče perspektive, enakih informacij ipd., takrat vemo, da je vzorec dovolj velik. To se imenuje *nasičenost vzorca*. Treba pa je tudi poudariti, da se v ustni zgodovini kot intervjuvanci ne pojavljajo prav pogosto redkobesedni, izolirani ali vase zaprti pripovedovalci. Kljub temu pa jih je treba spodbujati k intervjuju, ker so pogosto prav taki ljudje ključne priče nekega dogajanja. Prednost na seznamu morebitnih pripovedovalcev pa naj imajo posamezniki, ki so najbolj povezani z določenimi dogodki ali procesi, ki nas zanimajo, ki so bili najbolj aktivni in neposredno vpleteni vanje ter najstarejši ali bolni pripovedovalci (Yow 1994: 45–48).

### **Kritika virov: tipični in atipični pripovedovalci**

Včasih se zdi intervjujska situacija naporna, saj je nekakšen razpon med raziskovalčevo zamisljivo in pripovedovalcem, ki ves čas zgublja nit in se oddaljuje s pripovedovanjem zgodbic, za katere se zdi, da nimajo nobene povezave z raziskovano materijo. Tu obstaja nevarnost, da postane spraševalec preozek, saj zavestno izbere teme, pri katerih bo spraševal v globino, obenem pa s to selekcijo izloči druge. Nevarnost te izbire je, da spraševalec izloči tiste stvari, za katere pripovedovalec misli, da so dovolj zabavne, da jih pove, in se imenujejo »biografske lahkomiselnosti«. Taka izbira lahko pripelje do izgube relevantnih informacij. Raziskovalčevo vrednotenje tipičnega nasproti atipičnemu zato ne pripelje zmeraj do pomembnih elementov. Mnogokrat se raziskovalci bojijo atipičnega, ker jim to povzroča nejasnost vzorca. Ko raziskovalec zbira svoje vire, obstaja nevarnost, da bi z izločanjem izgubil nekatere informacije že v temeljni fazi dela. Spraševalci bi zato morali biti odprti tudi za kaos. Če se ne bi bili pripravljene odpreti kaotičnemu, bi od našega spoznanja odreza-

li razumevanje ne samo nevarnega, pač pa tudi trpljenje, veselje in ljubezen. Če posebno izraža tudi splošno, je pri ustnih virih včasih treba izbrati tudi takega pripovedovalca, ki je netipičen glede na svoje okolje, saj nam taki iz celote štrleči posamezniki lahko dajejo vpogled v družbeno strukturo vrednot in mišljenja. Nenavadno in netipično lahko interpretiramo na več načinov. Netipično lahko pomeni skrajni pojav, lahko je tudi pokazatelj preloma s tradicijo in lahko kaže na nekaj novega ali pa predstavlja staromodni vidik, ki je sicer že izginil. Kar je bilo nenavadno v prejšnji kulturi, je lahko običajno v sedanjosti. Nenavadno in edinstveno nas opozarjata, da kultura ni statična, ampak se stalno spreminja. V kulturnozgodovinskih raziskavah bi raziskovalčev cilj moral biti napredek v vključevanju nenavadnosti in edinstvenosti v zaporedje nasprotij, hkrati pa bi moral usmeriti pogled na to, kar velja za običajno. To, kar pogosto zavrnamo kot nenavadno, zadeva pogosto tudi vsakdanje življenje. Nenavadno dokazuje, da človeško bitje prestopa meje, in ima zato vlogo spreminjanja okolja (Thorsen 1990: 71–75).

ATIPIČNI  
PRIPOVEDOVALEC



1.

Predstavlja staromodni vidik,  
ki je že izginil ali izgineva.

2.

Predstavlja prelom s tradicijo.

Model ponazarja, kakšne vzorce obnašanja nam lahko prinašajo atipični pripovedovalci.

### **Kritika virov: avtentičnost**

Pri analizi življenjepisov gradivo preverjamo vsaj s treh vidikov (prim. Gerndt 1992: 48; Hoffman 1996: 87–93; Hammersley – Atkinson 1995: 227–232; Grafenauer 1980: 395–403; Lehmann 1983: 27–31). Najprej preverjamo *avtentičnost*. Tu kontroliramo, v kolikšni meri je gradivo res takšno, kakršno se nam kaže v svoji zapisani obliki. Ta nadzor poteka že med intervjujem z dodatnimi podvprašanji. Če dobimo življenjsko zgodbo že zapisano, avtentičnost nadzorujemo naknadno. Seveda pa pri upoštevanju osnovnega okvira najdemo bistvene razlike prav na ravni biografskega žanra (= avtobiografij, biografij).

Skozi pripovedovanje zgodbe pripovedovalec prevzame odgovornost za pomembnost jasnega pripovedovanja. Če želimo raje sli-

šati zgodbe kot poročila, potem moramo med intervjujem povabiti pripovedovalca, da pove zgodbo, in ga spodbuditi, da prevzame odgovornost za pomen svojih besed. Uspešen spraševalec uspe premakniti težo odgovornosti na pripovedovalca na tak način, da jo ta rade volje sprejme. Toda kako se to prenašanje odgovornosti zgodi (ali se ne zgodi) med samim intervjujem? Kako povabimo pripovedovalca, da pove svojo zgodbo? Odgovor se skriva v vprašanjih, ki jih postavljamo, in v naši orientaciji do pripovedovalca, ki se kaže v vprašanjih. Vprašanja, ki jih postavljamo, so pomembna za kakovost odgovorov, ki jih dobimo. Vprašanja naj bodo oblikovana v pogovornem jeziku, pripovedovalca je treba spraševati o njegovih lastnih izkušnjah, mislih in čustvih, da bi dobili dovolj zgoščene informacije. Odnosi, ki jih vzpostavimo s pripovedovalcem, vplivajo na kakovost njihovih odgovorov na naša vprašanja.

### **Kritika virov: objektivnost**

V življenjepisih kot drugo preverjamo *objektivnost*. Ker gre pri življenjskih zgodbah za subjektivni spomin, ki je vpet v kolektivnega, bi pri objektivnosti težko nadzorovali, v kolikšni meri je kako posredovano stanje pod vplivom specifičnega duha časa. Zato kontroliramo, kaj vse vpliva na to, da je subjektivni spomin takšen, kot je. Ta vrsta nadzora ne poteka nujno le na besedni ravni, čeprav jo je mogoče med intervjujem izluščiti tudi samo na podlagi ponavljajočih se vprašanj, opazovanja pripovedovalčevih reakcij, mimike, gestikulacije, premolkov, smeha v zadregi ipd. Pri že zapisanem avtobiografskem gradivu so povedni npr. tudi odsotnost ali prisotnost določenih znakov, povezovanje povedi, tematski preskoki ...

Na osebne interpretacije dogodkov vplivajo tudi fiziološki in socialni procesi staranja. Kadar starejši pripovedovalci npr. govorijo, da je bilo »včasih« več prijaznosti, pozornosti ipd., je to lahko posledica upadajočih fizičnih zmožnosti in družbene izolacije starostnikov, ne pa toliko dejanskih razlik v nekem socialnem okolju. Pripovedovalčeva interpretacija stopnje družbenih sprememb je tako določena z njihovim trenutnim psihosocialnim stanjem in telesnimi zmožnostmi.

Kritika ustnih virov se nanaša tudi na dejstvo, da pripovedovalci včasih ne morejo popolnoma razlikovati med svojimi trenutnimi in preteklimi idejami. To lahko do neke mere reguliramo, če vrednotimo strukturirane intervjuje in na ta način vidimo, kako skrbno so bile informacije zbrane in posredovane.

### **Kritika virov: reprezentativnost**

Navsezadnje moramo kontrolirati še *reprezentativnost* oz. v kolikšni meri so pojavi, ki se jih pripovedovalci spominjajo, splošno razširjeni in v navadi oz. so izjemni za geografske enote, družbene sloje, starostne, poklicne in druge skupine. Šele ko zadostimo tej osnovni kritiki življenjepisnih virov, ko nezanesljive dele izločimo, šele tedaj jih lahko vzorčimo po tipoloških in klasifikacijskih sistemih, ki jih uporablja etnologija kot znanstvena disciplina, in med seboj zadovoljivo primerjamo.

Kritiki so ustni zgodovini najpogosteje očitali omejenost kronološkega dometa, saj je evidenca dogodkov časovno omejena. Skeptiki tudi trdijo, da je metoda ustne zgodovine teleološka, ker pripovedovalci govorijo o preteklosti skozi sedanje izkušnje. Druge skrbi zanesljivost, saj je med dogodkom, ki ga pripovedovalci opisujejo, in časom, v katerem to počnejo, lahko razmik tudi sedemdesetih let. Majhen časovni domet, ki preučuje mikrosfero posameznikov, dejansko ni vprašanje dometa, pač pa načelne omejitve. Območje individualnega mikrosveta je tisto, ki ga posameznik po navadi bolje uspe obvladati kakor območje makrosveta medsebojnih sistemov družbe, kot so država in njene ustanove, ideološki aparati družbe, ekonomska in razredna razmerja.

### **Kritika virov: zanesljivost in veljavnost**

*Zanesljivost* je čvrstost, s katero posameznik pove zgodbo o istih dogodkih v različnih situacijah. *Veljavnost* se nanaša na stopnjo sovpadanja med poročilom o dogodku in dogodkom samim, kot ju lahko primerjamo iz drugih virov, dokumentov, fotografij, dnevnikov in pisem. Brez te primerjave je izolirani opis dogodka lahko le ezoterični košček, ki ga ne moremo pravilno vrednotiti. Če s ponovljenimi intervjuji ne moremo potrditi zanesljivosti pripovedi, potem podvomimo tudi v veljavnost in iščemo druge vire, ki nam dogodek ovržejo ali potrdijo (prim. Hoffman 1996: 89, 90). Pri pripovedovalcih moramo paziti na zgodovinsko zanesljivost, ki jo preverjamo z ugotavljanjem prekrivanja subjektivnega spomina z zgodovinskim, in na psihološko zanesljivost, ki jo preverjamo s ponovljivimi intervjuji. Seveda pa je resnici na ljubo treba priznati, da vsak intervju v tem podvigu ne more biti popolnoma uspešen. V tem smislu pa imajo zvočni in vizualni posnetki prednost pred zgolj na papirju zabeleženimi spomini, saj ne moremo podvomiti o njihovem avtorstvu. Druga prednost posnetkov je njihova svežina, ki izhaja iz neposrednega pogovora. Ne nazadnje

pa ustna zgodovina omogoča, da se ohranijo spomini tistih ljudi, ki sami nikoli ne bi bili pripravljene – bodisi zaradi pomanjkanja talenta ali bojazni pred posmehom zaradi uporabe narečja in starinskih izrazov bodisi kratko malo zaradi lenobe – vzeti peresa v roke in pisati o svojem življenju.

Ljudje se pogosto spominjajo dogodkov v obliki pogovora («... in potem mi je rekel ...»). Spominjajo se besed znamenitih ali pomembnih ljudi, ki so jih srečali, spominjajo se utemeljitev, opozoril, smešnih in ironičnih pripomb ter lepo oblikovanih povedi. Dialoge rekonstruirajo ne samo v intervjujih, pač pa tudi v pismih in dnevnikih, rezultat tega pa je pisana, a nezanesljiva informacija. Spraševalci tako dobijo samo eno plat pogovora, po navadi leta po njegovem nastanku. Da bi lahko ovrednotili te podatke, je treba pomisliti, če so komentarji značilni in upravičeni in če so smiselni glede na kraj in čas dogajanja. Spraševalec mora biti nezaupljiv do pripovedovalca, ki želi zmeraj imeti zadnjo besedo ali se ves čas pritožuje. Taki pripovedovalci se lahko spominjajo tega, kar so si v določenem položaju želeli reči, in ne tega, kar so zares rekli. Izrečeno mora biti verjetno v kontekstu drugih podatkov, zato mora biti kritična distanca do ustnih virov konvencija (Ritchie 1995: 99–100).

### **Kritika virov: miti v življenjskih zgodbah kot odraz samocenzure**

Miti in ljudske zgodbe imajo tradicionalno štiri osnovne funkcije: 1. vodijo nas v soglasje s samim seboj, 2. z drugimi, 3. z misterijem življenja in 4. s svetom okrog nas. Žive mitologije vsebujejo simbole, motive in arhetipe, ki nas nagovarjajo na zelo osnovni človeški ravni in odsevajo osebno sfero v kolektivno. Vsebujejo moč, ki nas povezuje z najglobljimi deli samih sebe. Tudi življenjske zgodbe imajo enake klasične funkcije, ker so nosilke nadčasovnih tematik in motivov, ki jih najdemo v živi mitologiji. Življenjske zgodbe ustrezajo tem klasičnim funkcijam na štirih področjih: psihološkem, družbenem, mistično-religioznem in kozmološko-filozofskem (Atkinson 1998: 9–10).

Prisotnost nekaterih mitskih sestavin v življenjskih zgodbah ima zasnovo okvira, znotraj katerega posamezni pripovedovalci razlagajo svojo osebno življenjsko zgodbo. Miselno oblikovanje zgodbe se začne pri individualnih dejstvih, ki bi se sicer lahko pojavljala poljubno nepovezana med seboj. Miselni tok se nadaljuje z razvrstitvijo in interpretacijo teh dejstev, ki se končno spremenijo v biografske dogodke. Ti mitski okviri so splošni v vseh družbah, še posebej pa so razširjeni tam, kjer se dogajajo hitre razvojne spremembe, kjer posa-

mezniki pripovedujejo svoje zgodbe kot obliko napredka ali potovanja skozi čas. V življenjskih zgodbah s tipičnimi značilnostmi mitologiziranja lastnega življenja najdemo take, ki se z malenkostnimi odstopanji pojavljajo pri večini pripovedovalcev. Najprej se srečamo z nasprotjem med »nekoč« in »danes«. To nasprotje razmejujejo eden ali več dogodkov, ki so življenje posameznika usmerili na novo. Drugič srečamo nagnjenje, ko pripovedovalec želi prikriti ugodne družbene okoliščine s tem, ko iz pripovedi odstrani osebno zgodbo. Zgodbe manjših kmetov npr. nikoli ne omenjajo, da so do denarja med vojno prišli tudi s prodajo dobrin vojski ali na črnem trgu. Ne nazadnje srečamo tudi mit o uspehu kot posledici zgolj lastnih prizadevanj in minimaliziranje pomoči, družinske, rodbinske ali druge skupnosti, mit o nesrečnem otroštvu in druge. Načelo, na katerem temeljijo ti miti, je prikazovanje uspešnega vključevanja v krut svet. Na ta način miti pomagajo pri razumevanju načinov racionaliziranja in interpretiranja preteklosti. Nekatere življenjske zgodbe skozi to perspektivo postanejo apologije. Pri mitih v življenjskih zgodbah delujejo intelektualni mehanizmi reflektiranja podob iz preteklosti: idealiziranje, pretiravanje, skrivanje, stopnjevanje, potlačitev, delno spreminjanje, popoln obrat in podobno (Peneff 1990: 36, 37–38, 41, 45). Zato je potrebno poznavanje teh navidez nepomembnih mitskih mrež, predvsem pa je treba med intervjujem samim čim bolj zmanjšati njihovo prisotnost. Tako lažje ločimo, kaj so predstave, domišljija in kaj je opažanje. Od izkušenj in od intuicije poslušalca je potem odvisno, kako izbere tiste teme, kjer je pripovedovalec zanesljiv vir, in druge, kjer so podatki prilagojeni.

### **Kritika virov: dopolnilni viri**

Pri kvalitativni raziskavi zbiramo podatke raznih vrst, iz raznih virov, uporabljamo različne metode in različne opazovalce in pripovedovalce. Poleg podatkov iz intervjujev in opazovanja uporabljamo kot vire podatkov osebne in uradne dokumente, pisma, dnevnike, dosjeje primerov (Mesec 1998: 39). Vsi podatki o pripovedovalcu so del njegove življenjske zgodbe. Pod dopolnilne vire uvrščamo vse tiste informacije, ki jih ne pridobimo z ustnim spraševanjem, ki največkrat poteka med dvema oseba. Dopolnilni viri so poročila o pripovedovalcu, ki jih napiše tretja oseba, genealogije, fotografije, avdiovizualni posnetki itd. (prim. Langness – Gelya 1981: 53–57).

Biografske podatke zbirajo tudi uradi, zavodi, društva, stranke, zdravniki. Različne vrste kakovostnih biografskih podatkov, ki so odlični dopolnilni viri za življenjsko zgodbo, zbirajo:



- delodajalci zbirajo v osebnih aktih zaposlenih podatke o napredovanju, spremembah plače, posebnih dosežkih, napredovanju, nagradah, prestopkih;
- šolska uprava zbira podatke o dosežkih svojih učencev (spričevala), prestopke;
- zdravniki zbirajo poleg osebnih podatkov (ime, starost, spol, naslov) tudi zgodovino bolezni in postopke zdravljenja pacienta;
- matični uradi zbirajo podatke o spremembi bivališča, družine;
- davčna uprava zbira podatke o zgodovini naših prejemkov, davčnih olajšav in plačilu davkov;
- zdravstvene zavarovalnice zbirajo podatke o receptih, obolenjih, zdraviliških zdravljenih, katerih stroške pokrivajo;
- banke zbirajo podatke o kreditnih sposobnostih in plačilni moralii;
- cerkvene skupnosti zbirajo podatke o posameznikovih korakih v cerkvenem življenju od krsta do maziljenja trupla
- zavodi za socialno delo zbirajo podatke o ljudeh, ki prosijo za pomoč, o rasti ali padcu njihovega življenjskega standarda;
- prevzgojni domovi za mladostnike zbirajo podatke psiholoških in pedagoških izvedencev o vedenjskih problemih, opise prestopkov, kazni, poročila inšpekcij, vzgojno prakso in način življenja ter medsebojne odnose staršev;
- policija zbira informacije o storilcih kaznivih dejanj in njihovih motivih;
- sodišča zbirajo akte o kazenskem postopku, izvedenska mnenja psihologov, spričevala, sezname prekrškov in kazni, psihiatrične anamneze;
- tajne službe imajo podatke o domačih in tujih državnih sovražnikih, sumljivih osebah, sovražnih agentih ...

Tu seznam ustanov, ki zbirajo biografske podatke, ni popoln in v večini naštetih primerov ne gre za prave življenjske zgodbe, pač pa za administrativne oz. take, katerih vir ni obravnavana oseba sama (prim. Fuchs 1984: 28–30). Danes je dostop do teh podatkov skoraj onemogočen, tu je pomembna pravna regulacija z zakonom o varovanju osebnih podatkov.

### **Kritika virov: zgodovinska vrednost**

Problem zgodovinske vrednosti ustne zgodovine, omejene uporabe biografskega gradiva in kritike teh virov je ubesedil v obliki konkretnih vprašanj Albrecht Lehmann, ki pravi, da so osebne zgodbe ter širše politično, družbeno in gospodarsko življenje v nenehnem pre-

pletanju, v dialektičnem razmerju. Zgodovinskost osebnih zgodb se kaže ravno v neizključljivem vplivu zgodovinskega razvoja na posameznikovo zavest. Zgodovina se kaže v življenjskih zgodbah. Iz tega lahko oblikujemo konkretna vprašanja, ki so bistvena za raziskovanje (avto)biografij in se kot problemi pojavljajo med znanstvenim procesom:

- Kako reagirajo ljudje enake starosti in spola na isto zgodovinsko situacijo?
- Kateri zgodovinski dogodki se zdijo posameznikom vredni pripovedovanja, kadar pripovedujejo o svojem življenju?
- Kako se razlikujejo subjektivni dogodki od dogodkov politične in družbene zgodovine?
- Kateri pripetljaji in obdobja iz individualne življenjske zgodbe se ohranijo v spominu? Kako jih pripovedovalec razvrsti, razlaga in obdela?
- Ali se posamezne pripovedovane zgodbe skladajo z ustaljenimi oblikami obredov prehoda ali pa prevladujejo drugačni življenjski dogodki?
- Kako ocenjujejo pripovedovalci svoje življenje kot fenomen?
- Kako vidijo lastno vlogo v zgodovinskem procesu? (Lehmann 1983: 16–17)

V zadnjih desetletjih zagovorniki ustne zgodovine namesto enakovrednosti med pisnimi in ustnimi viri raje poudarjajo pomen govora kot načina predstavljanja preteklosti. Namesto zamolčanih spominov osvetljujejo razloge, zaradi katerih se pripovedovalci napačno ali sploh ne spominjajo določenih dogodkov, izpuščajo datume ali potlačijo spomine. Psihološka ali afektivna resnica, ki je tako trdno stala nasproti zgodovinski, je postala objekt analize. Individualne in družinske mite so interpretirali tudi skozi psihične funkcije, ki so jim služili. V teh pristopih je postal pogost poudarek na jeziku in pripovednih oblikah. Spremembe pripovedovalčevega tona in vzorci govora, premori in tišine ter interakcija med spraševalcem in izprašanim so tudi postali objekti analize. Ustna pričevanja so interpretirali kot trenutne kulturne artefakte, ne da bi v njih iskali nesporočene odseve preteklih izkušenj. Ustna zgodovina mlajšega datuma poudarja posebne odlike govorjenih pričevanj, tako kot na primer pogled v preteklost, spomin in simbiozni odnos med virom in interpretatorjem. Interpretativno središče se je premaknilo od preteklosti, ki so jo pripovedovalci živeli, k preteklosti, kot jo predstavljajo v trenutku pričevanja. To pa je omogočilo bolj interdisciplinarni pristop k ustni zgodovini, ki danes poleg družboslovja vključuje tudi feministične študije, psihoanalizo, literarne študije, antropologijo in kulturologijo (Roper 1996).

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## SUMMARY

### **Whither Life Stories? A Brief Practicum on the Critique of Oral Sources**

Oral history represents the collection of spoken and written memories at the level of everyday life that have recorded historically significant events and individuals' relationships to them. Through narratives of all kinds, oral history is devoted to individuals' experiences in the recent past.

The tradition of writing biographies and autobiographies goes back more than a century in Slovenia, and these have primarily appeared in works of literature. However, life stories of unknown, ordinary people that were not celebrities have a short history in Slovenian ethnology.

Up until the mid-1970s there were only a few mentions of the biographical method, but there were a number of studies in which biographies and autobiographies served as secondary sources. As a special type of material illustrating the course of an individual's life and his relationship to the world, it was only in the 1980s that life stories attracted the attention of a few Slovenian ethnologists. Complete biographies of storytellers appeared in the 1980s and the early 1990s. One can speak of a continuity of interest in the biographical method in Slovenian ethnology from the beginning of the 1990s onwards, when collections or individual volumes of Slovenian biographies began to appear.

# *Historical Anthropology – A revolutionary has aged very much*

KARL KASER

Although Historical Anthropology goes back to the seventies of the 20th century, in Austria it is still a fledgling project and there is no common understanding on what makes up its aims, methods and foci of interest.<sup>1</sup> Historical-anthropological scientific work relating to early modern Germany, for example, is conceived in a different way and has priorities and research possibilities that diverge from projects dealing with South-eastern Europe. There is also no unanimous agreement on the view taken here that Historical Anthropology is not a new scientific discipline but rather represents a modified scientific approach with emphasis on transdisciplinary method. This standpoint is in no way concerned with questioning established disciplines such as history, but with placing people in their entire historical complexities – that is in relation to time, change and cultural diversity – in the centre of teaching and research. However, as the dimension of time plays a primary role, anthropologically-oriented history is naturally granted a vital position in the study of history. Historical Anthropology is understood here as a project that seeks to integrate and encourage cooperation among the sciences of the human being.

## **I. European Dimensions**

One of the crucial issues is how to describe our area of research. Terms such as “South-East Europe” or “the Balkans” are options, and offer a more or less distinct demarcation from “Europe”, the “West” or “Central Europe”. But today this approach is no longer appropriate. While we acquire our empirical material mainly in South-eastern

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<sup>1</sup> This contribution is based on the introductory chapter by Hannes Grandits and Karl Kaser “Historische Anthropologie im südöstlichen Europa – Aufgaben, Methoden, Theorien, Themen”, in: Karl Kaser – Siegfried Gruber – Robert Pichler (Eds.), *Historische Anthropologie im südöstlichen Europa. Eine Einführung*, Böhlau: Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2003, 13–39.

Europe, this is because we are doing European history and anthropology *in* and not *about* this region – with our whole range of specific linguistic and other specialist skills. To put it plainly: we must become familiar with the idea that it is not the region that directs research, but rather our tasks, research topics and scientific approaches.

This new conceptualization of Historical Anthropology exists in a *wider* sense, for example as a forum of exchange between the different problems and approaches specific to various disciplines, although always with the basic intention of focusing on people as active, culturally, socially and politically moulded subjects. Historical Anthropology may also be understood in a *narrower* sense: in the implementation of the methodological product of the confrontation between the historical and anthropological disciplines in dealing with a particular research task.

When taking a historical anthropological approach to South-eastern Europe, present and historical inner-European power relations cannot be ignored. The identification of Western Europe and more recently of the European Union with Europe as such is evidently linked to the fact that the capitalist economy developed in this part of the continent and that wealth and capital were accumulated here over centuries. Eastern and South-eastern Europe slipped into the periphery of this European economic nucleus for several reasons that will be examined more closely further down. Nevertheless, one result of this development is that today Western Europe disposes of adequate resources to enable it to mirror its own glorious history, while the countries of the periphery are unable to compete on such a grandiose scale. And if that were not enough in itself: this act of self-styling tempts comparison, the results of which often lead to the reinforcement of particular stereotype images of and discourses on the peripheral regions: the image of the Balkans as the powder keg of Europe; as a European ethnological museum; as a territory of peoples caught in eternal dispute and where war never ends; of war heroes, political despots and infinitely hospitable hosts.

We are faced with a formidable obstacle: with the problem of “translating” between European cultures, a problem that in the light of post-colonialism has already developed into a lengthy discussion. Europe did not experience colonialism and imperialism in their classic forms, yet cultural differences exist in Europe and power relations contribute to shaping them and their perception. A range of tools for translating between European cultures within the framework of existing power relations has not yet been developed, despite its obvious necessity. The United Nation’s – or Nato’s – imposition of the condi-

on of a protectorate over parts of South-eastern Europe has drastically made this clear.

## **II. Methodological Perspectives**

The most prominent feature of the future prospect of Historical Anthropology in South-eastern Europe is the pluralism of methods and themes. It would be entirely unfounded to defend a single method as *the* method. Instead, concrete research projects enable a diversity of interesting methodological approaches. While research institutions generally appear to promote transdisciplinary work, this is seldom actually put into practice.

### *Historical Anthropology in a wider sense: a transdisciplinary forum of exchange*

If we attempt to delineate the field in which transdisciplinary exchange within the framework of Historical Anthropology has so far taken place in regard to South-eastern Europe, we can discern a number of coordinates:

1. The first concerns research work that deals with the problems of the subjective perspectives, interpretations and rules of people and societies, and which attempts to comprehend and to “translate” them. Historical-anthropological research on people in a particular place and time cannot avoid examining the self-perception of individual actors, the motivation behind individual and collective action and the social norms governing the actors now and in the past. Comprehending the full range of people’s behaviour, irrelevant of which class or other social group they belong to, plays a pivotal role. In this actor-oriented view, knowledge of the understanding of social and cultural realities valid in the society under investigation is therefore essential.

2. Interest and an examination of the historical unfolding of these realities represent a second major coordinate. Much ethnological, anthropological and other research underestimates the significance of the dynamics of history and the continuing processes of transformation over time. This includes not only historical or cultural continuities but also breaks discontinuities that have become shaping factors.

3. A further prominent aspect is a conscious effort not to treat research problems in an isolated manner but to integrate them, explicitly or implicitly, into a wider regional and comparative theoretical context. Although one must be aware of limitations and the fact that not everything that is compared in everyday research practice is methodologically permissible (particularly when this is undertaken without an



adequate theoretical basis), various historical and social developments as well as complex human action in given historical constellations can only be investigated by systematic comparison. In order to arrive at results enabling general statements on historical, social and cultural phenomena in South-eastern Europe, these must be seen in regional, national and, if possible, global comparison.

4. A fourth coordinate derives from the challenge of pursuing scientific projects and scientific research additionally, and above all, with regard to present developments. In the case of South-eastern Europe, it is of vital importance to gain insight into current problems and to attempt to answer the open questions that concern us today. Historical-anthropological research must rise to specific socio-political challenges and should not be solely absorbed with recreating historical micro-worlds. This is maintained despite the fact that history is conceived of in the plural, as “histories” that run their parallel courses in multiple contexts and form diverse perspectives for people acting in a variety of social and cultural circumstances. However, these histories are seen in more or less vigorous relation to each other, for example in existing power relations between social groups along with the historical, cultural and social consequences this entails.

This approach to scientific problems is familiar to all disciplines of the social and cultural sciences and does not claim to be a “discovery” of Historical Anthropology. However, in actual research practice it often seems to lack a decisive role or even to be relegated to the sidelines. In contrast, Historical Anthropology based on the principles developed above takes this approach as the core of research via its affirmation of transdisciplinary exchange.

To sum up, the different points of departure represented by individual disciplines are extremely interesting and have their strengths. But at the same time, cooperation between the disciplines must be fortified and be given a solid theoretical base. Borders between subjects should not be decisive in answering scientific problems and it is necessary to overcome the absolute formulation of scientific approaches to the exclusion of others. If we agree that this can be achieved by focussing on people as structured and structuring actors in a diachronic perspective and with life worlds connected to a regional, continental or even global context, Historical Anthropology may become a field for a history-oriented science of the human being.

*Historical Anthropology in a narrow sense: consciously linking anthropological and historical research*

In addition to the above concept of Historical Anthropology as a transdisciplinary, integrating research approach as well as the

practice of an organized field of communication between disciplines, Historical Anthropology should also be discussed as a very real framework for the implementation of research projects. This is not new, and excellent examples already exist for other parts of Europe that demonstrate how such work can be achieved.

The two examples selected here concern cultures in the High Alps. Cole and Wolf carried out cultural-anthropological research based on ethnicity and ecology in two villages in an Alpine valley in South Tyrol/Trentino. The anthropologists realized that without a thorough reconstruction of the history of the two villages and their regional context they would lack the decisive knowledge to answer their questions. This caused them to undertake intensive historical research and comprehensive work in local archives. The two anthropologists expected criticism, on the one hand, from historians who were likely to expose their historical analysis to scrutiny, and on the other, from colleagues from their own discipline who would question their claim to “merge history and anthropology”. The second example: what Cole and Wolf attempted in a micro context, Viazzo ventured in a macro context. In the studies that flowed into his book *Environment, population and social structure in the Alps since the sixteenth century*, and in which he investigated the question of “open” and “closed” mountain societies, as well as their “backwardness” or “progressiveness”, Viazzo attempted to integrate his own extensive field research findings and those of other anthropologists into a protracted process of historical development. Following his fieldwork in the Alps, he spent a long time working in the archives. In a first step, he directed his attention to reconstructing relevant and changing demographic structures over the centuries. Subsequently, he investigated the history of the societies under study in a historical long-term perspective.

These briefly sketched models from the Alps could serve as maps for the course of historical-anthropological research projects in South-eastern Europe. As specifically planned phases, fieldwork and archival research must form a whole, whereby it is crucial to take the experiences and open problems in a particular present societal context as a starting point.

#### *Practical Realization: Data, Information, Sources*

What does this mean for practical research work in relation to particular categories of sources and methods? As always, the research problem precedes all further thought. It undoubtedly determines the sources sought to investigate it. To restrict the spectrum of used or generated sources *a priori* appears unjustified. All sources that can contribute to answering a question must be identified and evaluated.

Naturally, priorities will evolve based on content or simple reasons of work economy.

Those types of sources that reflect the subjective perspectives and interpretations of actors in regional communities or social groups have special importance in historical-anthropological research. Depending how strongly research is focused on questions relating to the past or the present, the data base will be structured as follows:

Either it will be generated to a larger part in the field, or archival sources will be more prominent. In the first case, interviews and other material generated through interaction will tend to dominate. In the latter, autobiographies, diaries, testimonies, letters and other types of sources that reflect the perspectives of historical actors may be selected from the broad range of potential sources. However, when researching more distant ages or societies in which the majority of the population was illiterate – as was the case for the large part of the rural societies of South-eastern Europe well into the 20th century – often no or only few records written by local people exist. In order to be able to investigate particular questions posed by Historical Anthropology – such as past forms of the family organization of labour – fieldwork constitutes a vital alternative to the analysis and evaluation of archival materials. The orally passed on memories of regional societies can hold decisive meaning for research, just as personal experience of the spatial context in which historical actors moved can contribute to the picture.

Fieldwork therefore plays a crucial role, along with the analysis of autobiographical and other self-generated reports. A prolonged debate exists on methodological aspects of fieldwork especially in ethnological and anthropological literature, which will not be discussed here. Nevertheless, the methods and techniques of qualitative social research are also applied by adjacent disciplines. The spectrum ranges from individual case studies to participant observation, narrative interviews, analysis of various forms of everyday life, oral history or biographic methods. The latter demonstrates in an exemplary way how various traditions specific to single disciplines can develop into transdisciplinary cooperation via a common dialogue on theory and method.

In problems of Historical Anthropology, the reconstruction of the diachronic is and remains the fundamental research step. This cannot be emphasized enough. Methods of source research and criticism are elementary to the formulation of questions in Historical Anthropology. This has far-reaching consequences. Text analysis and the study of archival material can also play an important role in anchoring contemporary self-generated reports in historical ground. All

in all, the exploration of the structural frame on which the everyday reality under investigation rests constitutes a vital necessity to a historical-anthropological approach based on an explicit interest in the changing historical conditions of cultural behaviour.

### **III. The Theoretical Framework**

#### *The Theoretical Framework of General Historical Anthropology*

In Austria it is still basic to Historical Anthropology's conception of itself to regard itself as an open project, also in relation to theory. But the motto is not "anything goes". There is agreement on the necessity to sketch a framework positioning the project in the world of science.

1. "Culture" is a key term in Historical Anthropology. For the purpose of this text, it is unnecessary to base Historical Anthropology on a specific definition of culture. Instead, we refer to the definition: the understanding of cultures in the broadest sense as sign systems seen in a cultural context and contributing to the circumstances of people's behaviour. Besides the analytical-methodological range of tools available for the analysis of cultural processes, the material expression of cultures (that can be explored with empirical methods and distinctly described) also represents a vital dimension. Both together enable us to link historical and contemporary cultures in the three dimensions most relevant to us: the symbolic, the social and the individual. The first dimension, the symbolic, is understood as that of the production of ideas (the cultural); the second dimension is that of the level of empirically ascertainable phenomena (the social). The third dimension is that of the subjects, who through interpretation of their environment and via their action produce cultural reality (the individual); they do this in a given historical context, transforming it in the course of their action. Generally, Historical Anthropology gives special attention to the dimension of the individual, although the dimensions of the social and the cultural are always considered relevant and should therefore not be omitted from analysis.

2. Historical Anthropology, correctly understood, seeks to permanently review its scientific practice, a process which in its own right becomes part of scientific practice as a whole. Reflective Historical Anthropology includes the subjective standpoints, intentions and identities of researchers. It also assumes that while there may be such a thing as an "objectifiable" scientific account, an "objective" one is impossible as the author is always, consciously or unconsciously, an

actor led by his or her interests whether during the research process or in analysis. Researchers may also be said to be taking a reflective approach when they clarify pragmatic considerations in relation to research strategies, for example by explaining that they selected a particular place of study because it was geographically reachable but at the same time at a great enough distance from home to enable them to recognize difference. In the process of mediation, history, culture and society do not evolve out of themselves. Researchers are involved in events and therefore become part of that history. In addition, it is important to reflect those factors that influence one's own scientific practice from the outside and at the same time to explain the biographical and subjective conditions of the investigation of the subjects or objects under study.

3. In stressing the dimension of the individual, Historical Anthropology pursues a praxeological scientific interest: it understands people as subjects and historical actors. Historical social reality is seen as doubly constituted: history is shaped in a complex interplay of supra-subjective structural conditions (life circumstances, production and power relations) and the structuring practice of actors in their judgements and interpretations as well as in their behaviour and the signs derived from these. We are therefore talking about people's scope for action, their perceptions and limitations.

4. In the eternal discussion on how large a share biology or culture take in determining human behaviour and the *conditio humana*, Historical Anthropology takes a radical standpoint. It emphasizes culturally acquired knowledge. The fact that women bear children does not mean that all women conceptualise and experience pregnancy and birth in the same way, and it also does not follow that all women share maternal instinct to the same degree. "The" woman with particular "natural" attributes is just as non-existent as "the" man with his inherent "impulses". The *conditio humana* is subject to the dynamics of history and is not genetically determined. This even applies to apparently definite biological processes such as death. Some pre-industrial societies, for example, declared the old or sick as socially dead long before breathing stopped. Concerning the category of "illness", medical-anthropological research has discovered a considerable number of imaginations of the state of sickness.

5. However, Historical Anthropology's special focus on culture should not lead to its losing sight of social power relations. To give an example: (violent) conflicts are often triggered by social friction but are increasingly carried out under the cover of "culture". Historical Anthropology must be prepared to vigorously explore the double constitution of social reality mentioned above. Cultural elements are in-

struments that are consciously employed to construct public opinion and also to justify and secure dependencies and inequality. It is essential to reveal and make visible exactly how social conflicts are carried out in the realm of the cultural. Historical Anthropology is therefore not concerned with exchanging the social label for a cultural one, but with understanding the social in the guise of culture.

6. Historical Anthropology, as it is largely understood in Central Europe, focuses on reasonably small areas, or micro worlds. It gives priority to micro history over macro history and models embracing both. Looking at the journal “Historical Anthropology”, this approach can even be said to form the publication’s programme, although at the same time the journal emphasizes the value of cultural comparison. Despite the fact that this practice does not dismiss macro-historical contexts, it gives special importance to their details and distinctive features. This emphasis makes sense in so far as it serves to rehabilitate the individual as a subject in history. The price paid for this approach, however, is high, as it goes hand in hand with an extensive lack of theory that impedes the prospect of linking the individual to a more global context.

### **The Theoretical Framework for Historical Anthropology in South-Eastern Europe**

If we understand theories as explicit or implicit models of explanation that are not immediately accessible via sources and documents, but that stand on a higher level and help to connect these to a larger context and to enable elucidation of questions, theories are crucial both for the analysis of micro-worlds and for the observation of the prevailing macro-structural conditions of the lives of historical actors.

The following passage will discuss a number of theoretical approaches that can be applied to South-eastern Europe and could be pivotal to the formation of a historical-anthropological perspective:

1. The hermeneutics of difference, implying a comparative approach to culture, must be given a key role in the theoretical framework of Historical Anthropology in South-eastern Europe. This applies to comparative studies within South-eastern Europe, as well as to those in a European context or that go beyond Europe. “Sensitive understanding” – the process by which historians translate written information from the past into the present – is as a rule based on the idea of a constancy of feelings, motivations, perspectives and generally supposed historical and universal factors that enable the historian

to immerse him or herself in the intellectual world of historical actors. However, anthropologists' experience with cultural differences has taught us to be cautious. The historical-anthropological approach assumes that the object of study constitutes a foreign world to the researcher, or a distinctly different world of historical cultures and signs. The question that repeatedly poses itself is whether time has already put so much distance between us and these systems that we are unable to decode them. Pragmatic reasons do not allow us to pursue the hermeneutics of difference to its full potential. But it is essential to consciously assume this outside stance to protect oneself from "acquiring" the "different" during research, a process that can all too easily lead to inappropriate de-alienation.

2. European cultural comparison (as well as comparison with non-European cultures) is a sensitive issue in that it usually assumes a dichotomical point of departure in the sense of an East/West contrast. Any objections to this are perfectly justified, particularly since it goes hand in hand with implicit or explicit judgements derived from the presupposition of the European West as the standard of measurement against which historical phenomena and developments in East and South-eastern Europe are gauged. Eastern events or circumstances are all too quickly degraded to imperfect phenomena, unequal to those found in the West. Such attitudes are difficult to avoid without taking a conscious stand against them. We researchers are also susceptible to such dichotomies as we work in particular scientific traditions and therefore survey Europe and the world from certain cultural viewpoints. The predominance of one-sided East/West constructions also has a material background, due to the fact that research resources in Europe are unequally distributed.

3. Such dichotomies are also wrong for several other reasons. One of them is that it is possible to divide Europe from a historical-anthropological perspective – and for the purpose of theoretical orientation – into more than two dominant cultures or civilizations. We assume at least three, whereby none of them represents Europe to a larger degree than the others. The European trilogy proposed here from a macro-perspective is not valid for all levels of historical events, but primarily for the level of micro-worlds, of the individual and the realm of interaction between the individual and society. These three zones do not have clear boundaries and have certainly not existed unchanged over the ages. We are dealing with shifting transitional zones in which an eastern moves into a western or the eastern and western flow into a Mediterranean civilization. To paint a rough picture that spans the ages: the Mediterranean civilization is influenced by the Greco-Roman tradition while primarily Germanic traditions shaped

the western regions of Europe and the eastern were determined by Eurasian migratory cultures, whereby the latter two integrated significant elements of the Mediterranean civilization. This relates to social aspects of life worlds such as: family and family ideology, household formation, kinship and marriage patterns, youth, the social position of old people, gender relations, the rural organization of labour and strategies for extending the family work unit, social networks, patterns of inheritance, power and power relations between feudal lords or the landed aristocracy and peasant families, and village organization and forms of dividing and working the land.

The theoretical assumption of three civilizations represents no more than an interpretative framework. All three display multiple variations within themselves.

4. The economic peripherilization of South-eastern Europe in the course of capitalist trade relations over the past half a millennium not only had consequences on an economic level but also significantly effected the level of micro-worlds. In order to categorize and better understand how South-eastern Europe was pushed to the economic periphery it is necessary to take a wider view. The regions of South-eastern Europe have neither displayed an economic disparity with Western Europe since time eternal, nor simply as a result of Socialism. Until the 11th century, the economic imbalance in Europe leaned in favour of the South East. This was due to the economic and political strength of the Byzantine Empire that encompassed South-eastern Europe, while its cultural influence extended over most of Eastern Europe. Although Northern and North-western Europe were not situated on the periphery of the Byzantine economic system, they were economically underdeveloped in comparison.

The political, economic, cultural and social demise of the Byzantine Empire began in the 11th century. Despite all efforts and brief bright moments, the decline could not be stopped. The Byzantine Empire, which had so powerfully illuminated the adjoining regions, did not pull these down with it but the radiant centre was lost. None of the states that emerged during this time was able to substitute the ailing Byzantine Empire. This process of decline and the diminishing political, economic, cultural and social power of integration had two crucial long-term consequences: Firstly, the European centre of gravity began to wander towards the North West. Secondly, parallel with this global re-orientation, South-eastern Europe was incorporated in the new global constellation. The former configuration of power in South-eastern Europe that had clearly gravitated towards the South East with Constantinople at its centre, reversed in favour of the North



West. This shift was accelerated by the Ottoman conquests and ultimately became fixed in place.

5. The concept of the simultaneity of the unsimultaneous, i.e. the parallel existence of regional or micro-world stages and tempi of development that apparently belong to different times, represents a further useful theoretical approach. The economic peripheralization discussed above not least contributed to the moulding of a distinct simultaneity of the unsimultaneous. This was particularly pronounced in the territories that made up the periphery of the Ottoman Empire – the periphery of the periphery – as was especially the case in the mountainous western and central regions of South-eastern Europe. It is interesting to observe how social forms unfolded up into the beginning of the 20th century at a certain distance from the capital Istanbul, predominantly in mountainous regions but also partly in the plains, distinct from those in the vicinity of the capital.

6. The discontinuity of social elites. Regions in South-eastern Europe are often portrayed as archaic. This has reasons that will not be discussed here. Nevertheless, this image presumes that social elites did not exist and obscures the fact that in the 19th and 20th centuries the existing elite was several times forced to step down and was replaced by a new one. With the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from Europe and the evolution of a cluster of new, Christian states, the Muslim elite was radically driven out; its orientation no longer corresponded to the demands of an age in which the West had become the ultimate standard for most things. The creation and education of new national middle-class elites was a protracted process. The communist rise to power in many countries of South-eastern Europe destroyed these efforts by forcing out the bourgeois establishment. At this time a Socialist elite was built up, which lost legitimacy after 1989. Since then, an contemporary elite has been struggling to form.

This discontinuity in the formation of elites (which does not exclude individual continuities) has indispensable explanatory value. It explains, among other things, the superficial nature of civil societies in South-eastern Europe. The process of the establishment of civil society is understood here as the creation of a strong network of civil organizations able to withstand and monitor changes in government. Such networks require a long period of construction and stability – and they must be desired and supported by the elite. The discontinuity of elites also had a drastic effect in so far as it destroyed the basis for a long-term formation of the structures of civil society in today's "transition" countries. This situation is also complicated by the fact that many citizens are extremely sceptical towards the state and have problems identifying with it or placing confidence in it. To a certain

extent, this attitude has its roots in history and is also partly nourished by current negative experiences, which in turn are partially connected to the discontinuity of elites.

To sum up: this concept of Historical Anthropology is concerned with building an integrating theoretical platform based on aiming the research focus on people with their synchronic and diachronic cultural (individual, social, symbolic) differences and common characteristics. Secondly, it gives priority to the scientific question rather than the scientific discipline. In regard to South-eastern Europe, further specifying theoretical aspects must be incorporated, such as the comparative study of cultures under the conditions of certain historical and current political and economic power structures, or the problem of the centre and the periphery and that of the discontinuity of social elites.

We now stand at the beginning. The future will show whether this concept of interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary research can be developed in such a way that its ambitious goals may be achieved.

## POVZETEK

### **Historična antropologija – mlada revolucionarka je prišla v leta**

Ko smo se kot mlada in majhna raziskovalna skupina na Oddelku za zgodovino jugovzhodne Evrope pred dobrimi desetimi leti začeli posvečati historičnoantropološkemu vprašanju, so nas kolegi in kolegice precej grobo napadali. Nismo imeli slabih namenov, temveč smo želeli potegniti nujne posledice iz političnih sprememb med letoma 1989 in 1991 in vplivov teh posledic na naš poklic. Z uspehi se je sovraštvo spremenilo v prijateljstvo. Tako se je medtem historična antropologija spremenila v ugledno smer v okviru zgodovinskih študij. Zdi se, da je prišla mlada revolucionarka v leta.



## *Podatki o avtorjih*

**Alenka Bagarič** je mlada raziskovalka na Muzikološkem inštitutu Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti. Magistrirala je s področja historične muzikologije na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani leta 2003. Študijsko se je izpopolnjevala iz glasbene notacije na Univerzi v Bariju ter v igranju na renesančno lutnjo in poznavanju renesančnih plesov na več mednarodnih tečajih stare glasbe v Italiji in v Nemčiji. Ožji področji njenega raziskovalnega dela sta glasba za lutnjo in posvetne italijanske vokalne oblike 16. stoletja, predvsem napolitane oz. neapeljske vilanele skladatelja Giacoma Gorzanisa, ki so tudi naslovna tema njene disertacije. V zadnjem času objavlja članke v muzikološki znanstveni reviji *De musica disserenda*.

**Marina Černa** je profesorica glasbe, pianistka in muzikologinja. Študirala je klavirsko igro na Konservatoriju Gorkega v Moskvi pri profesorih Berti Marantz in Nonni Buslajevi. Pozneje se je začela ukvarjati tudi s preučevanjem glasbe, pri čemer se je posvetila predvsem polifoniji v glasbi W. A. Mozarta, t. i. »ars combinatoria«, zgodovini zahodne in ruske glasbe ter sredstvom učenja v glasbenih disciplinah. V zadnjem času se ukvarja predvsem z raziskavami figurativne glasbe v zahodnoevropski in ruski glasbi, iz česar je 2005 tudi doktorirala na moskovskem konservatoriju. Svoje raziskave objavlja v člankih in monografijah že od leta 1988. Kot poklicna pianistka nastopa na številnih glasbenih festivalih po vsej Rusiji, kot predavateljica pa je v zadnjih letih sodelovala tudi na mnogih znanstvenih simpozijih doma in v tujini.

**Pieter Dirksen** je leta 1996 doktoriral s temo o nizozemskem skladatelju Janu Pieterszoonu Sweelincku in njegovih delih za glasbila s tipkami. Za svojo disertacijo je 1997 prejel elitno nizozemsko nagrado Praemium Erasmianum. Pieter Dirksen je tudi glasbenik solist (organist in čembalist) ter član številnih najboljših evropskih skupin za staro glasbo, na primer Combattimento Consort iz Amsterdama in Cappella Figuralis Consort. Je tudi vodja skupine Poglietti Consort. Kot solist in v skupinah nastopa po vsej Evropi, v Združenih državah Amerike in v Kanadi. Je redni predavatelj in specialist za severnoevropsko glasbo 17. stoletja ter orgelska dela J. S. Bacha. Je avtor več člankov in gesla Sweelinck v glasbeni enciklopediji *The New*

*Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Za svoje posnetke in notne izdaje Sweelinckovih del za glasbila s tipkami je prejel tudi najvišje nizozemsko priznanje Edison.

**Giuseppe Gerbino** je profesor glasbene zgodovine na Univerzi Columbia v New Yorku in specialist za renesančno in zgodnjebaročno glasbo. Njegova monografija o kanonih in glasbenih enigmah v prvi polovici 17. stoletja *Canoni ed enigmi: Pier Francesco Valentini e l'artificio canonico nella prima metà del Seicento* je izšla leta 1995 pri založbi Torre d'Orfeo v Rimu. Gerbino je avtor več gesel v glasbeni enciklopediji *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, med njegovimi članki pa izstopata »The Madrigal and its Outcasts: Marenzio, Giovanelli, and the Revival of Sannazaro's Arcadia« v reviji *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004) in »The Quest for the Soprano Voice: Castrati in Sixteenth-Century Italy« v *Studi Musicali* 33 (2004). V akademskem letu 2004–2005 je bil štipendist Harvardskega univerzitetnega centra za renesančne študije v Firencah; rezultat njegovega študija bo monografija o glasbi in mitu Arkadije v Italiji 16. stoletja, ki jo pripravlja.

**Zdenka Janeković Römer** je zaposlena na Zavodu za zgodovinske vede Hrvaške akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Dubrovniku. Pri raziskovalnem delu se osredotoča na fenomen plemstva, družinske odnose in mentalitete predvsem v Dalmaciji in Dubrovniku. Njena bibliografija obsega okoli petdeset člankov in nekaj knjižnih objav, med katerimi omenimo *Rod i grad: Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik, 1994), *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovekovlja i humanizma* (Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 1999) in *Višegradski ugovor – temelj Dubrovačke Republike* (Zagreb, 2003). Je tudi urednica izdaje *Filip de Diversis, Dubrovački govori u slavu ugarskih kraljeva Sigismunda i Alberta* (Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 2000). Leta 2000 je za svojo knjigo *Okvir slobode* prejela nagrado Matice hrvatske za znanost.

**Karl Kaser** je redni profesor na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Gradcu. Ukvarja se predvsem s historično antropologijo, zgodovino družine in razmerij med spoloma v vzhodni in jugovzhodni Evropi v 19. in 20. stoletju. Posebno pozornost posveča zgodovini balkanskega prostora, bivših južnih jugoslovanskih republik, Kosova in Albanije. Od leta 1998 je tudi direktor Centra za balkanske družbe in kulture na Univerzi v Gradcu. Kaser je sourednik publikacije *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas* in avtor številnih zgodovinskih gesel, ki obravnavajo vzhodno in jugovzhodno Evropo, Balkan in zgodovinske probleme tega prostora. Poleg tega je avtor številnih znanstvenih člankov, njegova zadnja monografija, ki jo je napisal skupaj z D. Grafom in se ukvarja z vprašanji širjenja Evropske skupnosti, pa je *Vision Europa. Vom Nationalstaat zum Europäischen Gemeinwesen* (Dunaj, 2004).

**István Lukács** je v letih 1979–1983 študiral madžarski jezik in književnost ter hrvaškosrbski jezik in književnost na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze Loránda Eötvösa (ELTE) v Budimpešti. V letih 1988–1992 je bil lektor za madžarski

jezik na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. Leta 1993 se je kot asistent zaposlil na Oddelku za slovansko filologijo Filozofske fakultete ELTE, na katerem je od leta 2003 predstojnik. Njegovo znanstveno zanimanje je usmerjeno predvsem v primerjavo refleksivne hrvaške, slovenske in madžarske lirike v 19. stoletju. Leta 2000 je izšla njegova dvojezična knjiga *Dramatizirani kajkavski Marijin plač iz Erdelja 1626*, leto pozneje pa v madžarščini knjiga *Preobrazba odrešenika kralja Matjaža v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu in leposlovju*, ki je prvi poskus sinteze matjaževske problematike v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu in leposlovju.

**Arnaldo Marcone** je študiral v Pisi na Scola Normale Superiore. Od leta 2001 na Univerzi v Vidmu predava rimsko zgodovino in je predstojnik Oddelka za zgodovino in kulturno dediščino. Arnaldo Marcone je predvsem strokovnjak za poznoantično obdobje. Je avtor komentiranih izdaj antičnih zgodovinarjev ter številnih člankov in razprav, objavljenih v mednarodni strokovni periodiki in antologijah. V zadnjem času je objavil tudi več monografij z antično tematiko, med katerimi naj navedemo: *Pagano e cristiano. Vita e mito di Costantino* (Rim – Bari, 2002) in *Storia dell'agricoltura romana* (Rim 2004), *Medicino, medico e società nel mondo antico* (2004), *Storia romana* (2004) ter *Democrazie antiche. Istituzioni e pensiero politico* (2006).

**Sara F. Matthews-Grieco** je profesorica zgodovine in koordinatorka študija žensk in spolov na Syracuse University v Firencah. Doktorirala je na École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales v Parizu. Raziskovalno se usmerja na dve področji historičnega preučevanja: a) zgodovino žensk, družine in seksualnosti in b) vizualne prepoznavnosti in ikonografske konstrukcije identitete. Je avtorica knjige *Ange ou diablesse. La représentation de la femme au XVIe siècle* (1991), sourednica in soavtorica knjig: *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (1997), *Monaca, moglie, serva, cortigiana*. (2000), *The Art Market in Italy, 15th-17th centuries* (2001). Objavlja članke v revijah: *Renaissance Quarterly*, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*. Sodelovala je tudi v zbornikih: *Histoire du corps* (2005), *Women and Faith* (1999), *Storia del matrimonio* (1996), *A History of Women in the West* (vol. 3, 1993).

**Marie L. Neudorflová** je diplomirala na Karlovi univerzi v Pragi, magistrirala in doktorirala pa na Univerzi Alberta v Ottawi, Kanada. Specializirala se je za moderno evropsko zgodovino in za zgodovino Češke s posebnim poudarkom na demokratizaciji, na Masarykovem razumevanju demokracije in na češkem ženskem gibanju do leta 1914. Njena bibliografija obsega številne razprave in monografska dela, objavlja pa predvsem na Češkem. V Kanadi je predavala na različnih univerzah, delala v National Archives of Canada, leta 1990 pa je začela predavati na Karlovi univerzi v Pragi. Na Masarykovem inštitutu Češke akademije znanosti dela kot višja znanstvena sodelavka.

**Mojca Ramšak** je koordinatorka Antropologije vsakdanjega življenja in predavateljica Biografije v mikrozgodovinski perspektivi na ISH, Fakulteti za podiplomski humanistični študij ter direktorica neprofitnega Zavoda – Center

za biografske raziskave v Ljubljani. Raziskuje v etnologiji, folkloristiki in kulturni antropologiji. Poleg dveh znanstvenih monografij (*Portret glasov: raziskave življenjskih zgodb v etnologiji – na primeru koroških Slovencev*, Ljubljana, 2003; *Žrtvovanje resnice: opoj zmuzljivih diskretnih nediskretnosti*, Maribor, 2006) je napisala tudi mnoge prispevke o ustni zgodovini, etiki, etnološki leksikografiji v Evropi, zgodovini etnologije, metodologiji, marginaliziranih skupinah, časti in dobrem imenu, aplikativni medicinski antropologiji idr. Bila je urednica številnih etnoloških publikacij, od leta 2001 do 2004 je bila nosilka aplikativnega raziskovalnega projekta »Leksikon etnologije Slovencev«, od leta 2005 je sodelavka enciklopedičnega programa s področja folkloristike pri ameriški založbi Greenwood Press. V letu 2007 izide njena tretja knjiga *Družbeno-kulturne podobe raka dojk*.

**Cirila Toplak** je doktorirala iz moderne politične zgodovine na pariški univerzi Sorboni leta 1995. Od leta 2001 je zaposlena na Katedri za teoretsko analitsko politologijo Fakultete za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani, kjer je nosilka ali sodelavka pri predmetih moderna zgodovina in zgodovina evropske ideje, politična kultura in komunikacija v skupini. Objavila je številne članke s področja politične in kulturne zgodovine ter zgodovine medicine. Pri Založbi Fakultete za družbene vede sta izšli tudi obe njeni znanstveni monografiji *Združene države Evrope – zgodovina evropske ideje* (2003) ter *Parlamentarna izkušnja Slovencev* (2005; v sodelovanju z Jankom Prunkom).

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