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University of Kent

# THESIS DETAILS.

Title of Thesis : THE BAKHTINIAN CHRONOTOPE: ORIGINS,
MODIFICATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Name of Candidate: MR. MICHAEL DAVID HARRINGTON LARSEN.

Degree for which Submitted: Doctorate of Philosophy.

Year in Which Submitted : 1997/98.

# THESIS ABSTRACT.

NAME OF CANDIDATE: MR. M.D.H.LARSEN.
DEGREE FOR WHICH SUBMITTED : DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY.
TITLE OF THESIS: THE BAKHTINIAN CHRONOTOPE: ORIGINS, MODIFICATIONS, AND ADDITIONS.
YEAR OF SUBMISSION: 1997/98.

This thesis is concerned with the nature of the Chronotope (Time/Space Relativity) in the novel, as defined and illustrated by Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, in his two papers, 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel' in The Dialogic Imagination, Austin, Univ. of Texas, 1981, and 'The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism' in Speech Genres and Other Essays, Austin, Univ. of Texas, 1986.

The purposes of this thesis are as follows:

To examine the nature of Bakhtin's concept of the Chronotope, particularly in the novel, and to trace its conceptual origins in literature, in other branches of the Humanities, and in the Exact Sciences.

To modify Bakhtin's application of Chronotope theory to certain classes of literature, and certain specific examples of the novel and epic genres, where, in my opinion, these methods have been wrongly or insufficiently applied.

To trace the History of the Chronotope in literature from the time of Homer to that of Balzac, using information drawn from Bakhtin's essays, and additionally supplemented by material of my own inclusion. These inclusions are sometimes necessary either to bridge hiatus in Bakhtin's textual sequentiality, or to supplement the range of illustrative material to which he was confined by the dictates of Russian communist bureaucracy.

In order to facilitate the retrieval of information from this thesis and from this abstract by means of electronic search engines, I append the following Keywords:

BAKHTIN, CHRONOTOPE, NOVEL, EPIC, SAINT PETERSBURG, UKHTOMSKY, SIMMEL, HOMER, CHARITON, ROLAND, DANTE, RABELAIS, CELESTINA, CLEVES, DEFOE, LESAGE, BALZAC, DOSTOEVSKY, TOLSTOY, BELY.

2nd. February 1998.

FRONTISPIECE.
"SATAN'S MOUTH"
Attributed to Jan Wellens de Cock (Active in Antwerp c. 1480-1526)
Please Refer to page 213.

# The Bakhtinian Chronotope:

# Origins, Modifications, and Additions.

M.D.H. LARSEN

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## CONVENTIONS CONFORMED TO IN THIS THESIS.

### Abbreviations of M.M.Bakhtin's Book Titles Employed in the Text.

1. BSHR: 'The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism (Towards a Historical Typology of the Novel)', in Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, Ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Trans. V. W. McGee. Austin, The University of Texas Press, 1986. pp. 10-59

2. DN: 'Discourse in the Novel' in: The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M.Bakhtin. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin, Univ. of Texas Press. 1981, pp. 259-422.

3. EN: 'Epic and Novel' in The Dialogic Imagination, Op. Cit., *Supra.*, pp. 3-40.

4. FTC: 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Towards a Historical Poetics' in The Dialogic Imagination, Op. Cit., *Supra*, pp. 84-258.

5. PDP: Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, Ed. and Trans. Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

6. PND: 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse' from The Dialogic Imagination, Op. Cit. *Supra*, pp. 41-83.

7. RAHW: Rabelais and His World, Trans Hélène Iswolsky, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T., 1968.

### Presentation of Book Titles.

1. Every book title mentioned in the Text or in the foot-notes is underlined. All titles of books in a language other than English are italicised.

2. The title of a paper forming part of a book, and which is mentioned in the Text or in the foot-notes, is enclosed in single quotation marks. In these circumstances, the title of the book follows the title of the paper.

## Presentation of Quotations.

1. Quotations from the works of M.M.Bakhtin are acknowledged immediately after each quotation, and in abbreviated form.

2. All other quotations are denoted by foot-note reference numbers in the text immediately preceding the quotation in question.

## Translation of Quotations.

1. Quotations from books originally written in languages other than English are quoted either in their languages of origin, or in translation. I have translated certain texts myself, where either the "standard" translation of the work into English has not seemed to me to bear out entirely the meaning of the original text, or where the work concerned has never previously been translated into English.

## The Ordering of Text.

In general, I have addressed problems and subject-areas arising in Bakhtin's texts in the order in which they occur in his texts. There are, however, instances in which to do so would involve disfiguring the continuity of my own text. In such cases, I have re-ordered the sequence of the subject-matter with which I have dealt.

## Other Abbreviations.

In circumstances in which the date of first publication of a work cited in my text may be considered significant, the date of the *editio princeps* is indicated by the letters "e.p."

## A CONCISE BIOGRAPHY OF MIKHAIL BAKHTIN.

| | |
|---|---|
| **1895** (November 16, New Calendar) | Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin born at Orel, south of Moscow, of a family of the minor aristocracy, one of five children of Mikhail Fedorovich Bakhtin. |
| **1904 (Age 9)** | The family moved to Vilnius, in Russian Lithuania. Bakhtin attended the First Vilnius Gymnasium, though he commenced his studies of the classics with a private tutor. |
| **1910 (15)** | The family moved to Odessa, his father having been posted to a banking appointment there. Mikhail attended a local *gymnasium*. |
| **1913 (18)** | Bakhtin attended the University of Odessa. |
| **1914 (19)** | Moved to the University of St. Petersburg, and was registered in the classics department of the historico-philological faculty. Studied under Zielinsky. |
| **1918 (23)** | Bakhtin moved to Nevel, to escape from the post-revolutionary atmosphere of St. Petersburg, and, in 1920, to Vitebsk. During a period of six years he came into contact with, amongst many others, Matvei Kagan, a Russian Physicist who had studied Philosophy under Hermann Cohen at Marburg before returning to Vitebsk in 1918. It was Kagan who greatly developed Bakhtin's interest in the relationship between Philosophy and the Natural sciences. |
| **1921 (26)** | Bakhtin married Elena Alexandrovna Okolovich, an employee at the public library in Vitebsk, aged 21. |
| **1924 (29)** | Bakhtin returned to St. Petersburg, unable to work on account of osteomyelitis and the after-effects of Typhoid. The permanent effects of osteomyelitis were to cripple Bakhtin permanently. At this time he and his wife were offered accommodation by Ivan Kanaev, a neuro - physiologist, through whom Bakhtin met Alexander Ukhtomsky. It was at this time that Bakhtin |

| | |
|---|---|
| | began work on *Problemy tvorchestva Dostoevskogo,* the first (1929) version of PDP (Russian Edition 1963). |
| **1929 (34)** | Bakhtin was arrested on spurious charges of anti-Government activity. Initially condemned to ten years' imprisonment on the Solovetsky Islands, his sentence was commuted on health grounds to six years in exile at Kustenai in Kazakhstan. |
| **1930 (35)** | During his period of exile, Bakhtin furthered his interest in the theory of the novel. During the 1930s, EN, DN, PND, FTC, and BSHR were written. Work on RAHW was begun towards the end of the decade, but not completed until 1941. These works account for the majority of Bakhtin's most important contributions to the theory of the novel, with the exception of PDP, which he re-wrote for publication in 1965. In 1975, he completed the 'Concluding Remarks' to FTC. |
| **1936 (41)** | After remaining in Kustenai for two years longer than necessary, for he had been granted leave to return to "Leningrad" in 1934, Bakhtin moved to Saransk in Moldova, which he considered to be a safer haven from re-arrest. He escaped Stalin's purge of 1937 by moving to Savelovo, a small town on the Volga, where he subsequently taught at the *gymnasium.* |
| **1945 (50)** | At the end of the Second World War, Bakhtin was recalled to Saransk where he was appointed to head the department of Russian and World Literature. He was appointed professor when the Institute at Saransk was upgraded to University status in 1957. From the conclusion of the War until 1972, Bakhtin was concerned primarily with teaching, though the publication of PDP in 1963 and of RAHW in 1965 accorded him a measure of recognition in academic circles which he had not enjoyed since before his years of exile. |
| **1971 (76)** | Bakhtin's wife dies. |
| **1972 (77)** | Bakhtin allowed to retire to a flat in Moscow. |
| **1975 (80)** | Dies of chronic lung failure. |

# Introduction

Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895-1975) was amongst the first European literary critics to recognise the significance of placing the plain text and verbal dialogue of fictional prose, and especially of the novel, within an organisational framework based on the novel's own historical time and geographical space. Within such a framework, which necessarily encompasses the entirety of any novelistic text, all activity, whether verbal, mechanical, human, supernatural or natural-scientific, is amenable to classification into what Bakhtin has described as chronotopes or time/space relationships. Every event which occurs, every word which is spoken, is chronotopic, in that it occupies its own place in the spatio-temporal matrix of its own work of literature. In this way such events are contextualised by their authors within the totality of history, or that representation of history which an author presents to the reader as the "real" basis to which events are related in space and time.

In the previous paragraph, I have described the chronotope in its most fundamental or elementary form, for Bakhtin, like any other literary critic or theorist, is not equally interested in every event, choice of word, sign or signal used by an author in the text of a novel. Where specifically the chronotope is concerned, he is interested primarily in the patterns of formation presented by all these individual events when, in combination, they show signs of representing a definite unifying or unified characteristic. These patterns are identified by their respective chronotopes.

It must be stated clearly at this early stage that this thesis not mainly concerned with those aspects of literary criticism and the theory for which

Bakhtin is most rightly famous – the area of the nature and analysis of dialogue and inter-personal communication, principally as demonstrated in the history of fiction: rather, it is concerned solely with the chronotope of the novel and its various connotations. This thesis, therefore, constitutes an enquiry not in literary criticism, but into certain aspects of literary history, and into certain theoretical formulations which, in Bakhtin's opinion, govern the nature of specific aspects of the novel at any particular period (and sometimes place or theatre of authorship).

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. First to trace and examine Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope in the history of literature from classical times to the age of the "mature" novel. Secondly to suggest, where it has appeared necessary, certain expansions and modifications to Bakhtin's existing teaching in matters of the chronotope, by the addition of supplementary explanatory material, and, thirdly, where necessary, to clarify sections of Bakhtin's teaching, in the area of Chronotope studies, where his meaning is unclear or ambiguous. Thus it is my purpose to examine and define, correct and further explain, and additionally supplement, Bakhtin's published work in this field. Only in the most all-embracing meaning of the term, can this thesis be deemed to constitute literary criticism. It is, rather, an example of the criticism of a critical method, and its fundamental purpose is to continue, and in places commence, the process of developing the rich seam of valuable ideas which are to be found in Mikhail Bakhtin's work – specifically in two essays which are concerned with the chronotope.

There is every reason to believe that Bakhtin, throughout his life, under-estimated the value of the entirety of his work, and he died (in 1975) with only the beginning of an idea that his published output might be of more than limited

or local interest. At the time of his death, some of his most valuable work was still in manuscript: other manuscripts had already been used as tapers for lighting interminable cigarettes, and yet others are said to have been eaten by rats in a damp potting shed at Saransk in Moldova. This was reputedly the fate of the second (missing) part of his essay : The *Bildungsroman* and its Significance in the History of Realism (c.1938), a document which is vital to our understanding of Bakhtin's teaching in chronotopic matters, in respect of the period from the sixteenth century to the age of Goethe.

I devote the first chapter of this thesis to a precise definition of the chronotope, and to an examination of the means whereby the concept of the chronotope unfolded within Bakhtin's mind. I have suggested, furthermore, that in addition to the abrupt advancement in scientific methodology characteristic of the first years of this century, the influence of four influential novelists – Stendhal, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Bugayev (Bely) – were, in their respective ways, partly responsible for the development of Bakhtin's concept of the Chronotope as a "working tool". The ontological nature of this enquiry enables me, in the same chapter, to examine in considerable detail the nature of the chronotope, the definition of which is, to some degree, variable in accordance with the circumstances and contexts in which it is used. Bakhtin himself uses the word "chronotope", particularly in its broader meanings, in a wide range of ways, a matter to which I made preliminary reference above.

The narrowest concept of the Chronotope is that which I have used at the beginning of this introductory section: the broader uses of the term are those which are defined, and, in some respects, define themselves in usage. These broader uses of the term include the generic 'novelistic chronotope', 'the chronotope of a period of literature', the chronotope of a specific genre of novel

within any one of these broader categories, or a chronotope which is characteristic of the writings of one author (e.g. The Rabelaisian Chronotope), or of a group of authors, (such as the English Gothick novelists of the eighteenth century, whose works share extensive common denominators). In his later writing, when he had become more accustomed to using the word "Chronotope", Bakhtin uses it more freely, sometimes even in a metaphorical sense. Thus, with special reference to the profound significance which the City of Rome held for Goethe, particularly in the *Italienische Reise*, Bakhtin writes: 'It is as though the essence of historical time in that small section of the earth in Rome, the *visible* co-existence of various epochs in it, allows the person who contemplates it to participate in the great council of world destinies: Rome is the great chronotope of human history'.[1] Similarly, in the same essay, Bakhtin expresses the opinion that: 'Everything in this world is a *time-space*, a true *chronotope*'. (BSHR 42). Thus, in these later usages, there is no defining or outer limit to the meaning of the word, though, in Bakhtin's hands, its meaning is seldom unclear.

The second and third chapters of this thesis are devoted to an examination of the methods Bakhtin employs in Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel[2] , and in its related work, The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism (Towards a Historical Typology of the Novel). The

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1 See M.M. Bakhtin: BSHR, p. 40, from Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Eds.), Trans. V.W.McGee: M.M.Bakhtin: Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, p. xiii-xv, quoting S.S.Konkin: *'Mixail Baxtin: Kritiko-biograficeskij ocerk'* in *Problemy naucnogo nasledija M.M.Baxtina'*, Saransk, University of Moldova, 1985, p. 14.

2 From *'Formy Estetiki i Xronotope v romance'* in*Voprosy Literatury i estetiki*, published in translation as one of four monographs in The Dialogic Imagination, Austin, University of Texas Press, pp. 84-258, and thought to have been written in 1937 - 1938.

latter essay in many ways serves as a continuation of the work begun in FTC.[3] Also, where appropriate, Bakhtin's other writings are considered, in the course of tracing the 'novelistic chronotope' from the Classical Novel to the realist novel of the nineteenth century. The function which this thesis performs in relation to this critique of FTC and BSHR is as a monitor: to make additions where Bakhtin has failed to provide his reader with information pertinent and necessary to a discussion of the subject matter under debate. It is with this purpose in mind that, for example, I have suggested ways in which it <u>is</u> necessary for the student of the novel to be conversant with the content and influence of Greek Epic poetry as one precursor of the Greek novel of adventure. This is despite Bakhtin having

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[3] Considerable debate surrounds the question of whether BSHR was designed by Bakhtin specifically as a continuation of FTC, and might therefore be regarded as intended as a sequel to his chronotope enquiries in that essay. I think that, on a balance of probabilities, it is, and mainly for the reason that their subject matters are contiguous in terms of historical sequence, and that in BSHR, Bakhtin uses the word 'Chronotope' without explaining its meaning, thereby assuming that the "reader" requires no <u>further</u> assistance. Konkin, in Op. Cit. *supra* , however, maintains that BSHR (he does not refer to FTC) is part of the manuscript of Bakhtin's <u>The Novel of Education and Its Significance in the History of Realism</u>, which remained unpublished because the finished manuscript was destroyed in the German invasion of Russia in 1938. BSHR is alleged to constitute 'a small portion of its opening section, primarily about Goethe'. The remainder of the notes which Bakhtin had retained, were, we are told, used to make wrappers for his cigarettes during a paper shortage at Saransk. Konkin's argument that BSHR was not designed specifically by Bakhtin to be a contiguous sequel to FTC does, however, have the following merits: it appears, more than FTC, to have been written, in many places, in note form. It would not, for example, have been possible for the first paragraph of the monograph to have formed part of the text of a published work; it is purely a sequence of *aides mémoires,* of subject categories listed without the use of verbs. It was clearly designed for future elaboration. The following sequence also is typical of the form of BSHR: 'Petronius, Apuleius, the wanderings of Encolpius and others, the wanderings of Lucius the Ass'. I would maintain that, for presentation in a "finished" document, Bakhtin would have re-ordered these examples to associate each author with the character of his respective work: Bakhtin's ordering of prose sequence here, as in many other places, has all the characteristics of an author thinking aloud.

As the document progresses, however, it becomes more "textual", though there are still entire areas of text, which, it is difficult to believe, were not due for further expansion. This matter is of importance because it controls, to a very considerable extent, the degree of reliance which it is justifiable to place on the exact <u>words</u> of Bakhtin's usage in BSHR: in a final and more expanded version of that document, which I believe it to have been Bakhtin's intention to produce, a different complexion might well in certain places have been justifiable. I will, therefore, exercise extreme caution in placing too great a degree of reliance on the exact wording of sections of the text of BSHR which appear to be "unfinished", and confine myself to the overall sense of passages.

stated that 'We will bypass all questions dealing with the origin of these types [of novel] in history'. (FTC 86). Again, in the context of what Bakhtin has identified as the "vertical chronotope" in, *inter alia*, the Divina Commedia of Dante (FTC 155-158), I have been able to supplement Bakhtin's observations, by reference to other aspects of the "appreciation" of the passage of time in the Middle Ages drawn from a wide diversity of alternative sources.

It will be seen that my own appreciation of the definition of a "chronotope of a period of literature" by Bakhtin is invariably conditioned by an examination of contemporaneous concepts of chronology and prevailing attitudes towards the significance of the passage of time in both its religious and socio-political contexts. References to literary sources not used by Bakhtin in his determinations, and to sources drawn from *genres* other than the novel are usually introduced either to provide comparative material necessary for the greater elucidation of Bakhtin's existing arguments, or to contribute towards the construction of a literary "framework" where none exists in Bakhtin's writings. My use of the New Testament in Chapter Two is an example of this latter usage. In general, Bakhtin is remiss in exposing his reader to long periods of historical time, during which there would seem to be no literary activity worthy of, or appropriate to, his (Bakhtin's) attention. Both FTC and BSHR take the form of a series of highlights rather than of an historical continuum, and it is essential that these highlights or high-points be connected by the consideration of intervening literary works which may act as links between them. Where I have deemed it necessary, I have provided these.

It is perhaps appropriate that I should draw attention to one cause for disagreement with Bakhtin at this early stage of exposition, in order to explain my own attitude to his isolation of the novel as distinct from all other literary

genres, as the generic category which is most capable of carrying the history of the chronotope in literature on its pages. It may seem both curious and ungrateful to take the concept of the chronotope from Bakhtin's writings, for, without Bakhtin, we would probably not have that concept readily at our disposition, only to turn his writings inside out and tell him, so to speak, that his work could have been performed in a much better and more thorough way than that in which we now have it. My feelings of guilt are modified greatly, however, by my belief that Bakhtin never originally intended FTC or BSHR as finished works – rather as notes for his own use. Neither is it my contention that any omission on Bakhtin's part[4] is made through ignorance: that would be a very dangerous assumption indeed!! Similarly, it is seldom that I contend that a work has been cited by Bakhtin for wrong or misinterpreted reasons. My criticism of Bakhtin's selection of the novel as the one genre appropriate to the exposition of a theoretical system which transcends generic considerations, however, is of a different order, and is based on the following beliefs.

I would submit that the novel is but one of several categories of literary history, which, when written, uses the contemporaneous "values" of space and time, of the time. The two categories are the historian's history, which is factual history, and the novelist's history, which is non-deceptive fictitious history. Novels frequently reflect aspects of, mainly, contemporaneous historical reality, and all novels, even historical novels, bear the hallmarks of their time of authorship. A novel reflects the factual historical *status quo* of its time. This it must reflect; it need not furnish a mirror image of its times, but sometimes, especially in the age of naturalist realism, it does.

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[4] Other than in the matter of Bakhtin's unawareness of certain texts which had never been available to him in the Soviet Union.

The substance of this matter appears to have occurred to Bakhtin, and then only incidentally, when, in BSHR, having observed the valid relationship of fictional and historically reported time/space relationships in the writings of Goethe, he is forced to see a resemblance between the reflection and the mirror image. At this point, he detects "realism": my own point of view is simply that we could find this same "realism" as easily in the *'Cena Trimalchionis'* in Petronius' *Satyricon* as in the monastic luncheon party in The Brothers Karamazov: the truth of the novel touches reality in very many places, and in all epochs of history. We do not need to wait for the era of the enlightenment to realise this. Bakhtin would probably have attempted, in these circumstances as he does elsewhere, to justify the special status he accords the novel on the grounds that the novel has an unfinalisible life of its own, whereas the historian's history (like, as we shall see in due course, the Epic form also) is, in Bakhtin's view, closed and walled off from the immediacy of our experience. Even if Bakhtin were to have taken this position, I would still maintain that, on its own, the novel is an inadequate medium for his purpose. It is necessary to take account of the chronicle, the official history, and so forth, with the novel, to fulfil the task of framing the histories and qualities of time and space in their own rights.

At this introductory stage, I am forced to use the notion of realism in ways which do not reflect the "technical" meaning of that term as applied to the "realist" novel of the nineteenth century. There is, however, no satisfactory alternative way of referring to the process whereby, throughout literary history, the tendency of fiction has been to move towards this "technical" realism – to move towards the reflection of the mirror image in the process which reaches its climax in the determinism of, for example, Balzac and Zola.

The novel, therefore, is not a privileged medium for the transmission of theories of time and space; these categories belong to the universality of reality, to the generality of the overall progress of European cultural development, in the widest meaning of the word "cultural" - namely, to encompass the social, artistic, economic, and administrative histories of Europe as a whole. Accordingly, I shall have no hesitation in drawing upon as wide and various a range of literary forms, whether novelistic or not, and artistic references in addition, as is necessary to assist me in my task. At all times in the history of our civilisation, there has been a close correspondence between "letters" and the visual arts: each is able to illuminate the other, at some times more usefully than at others. For my purposes in this thesis, an in-depth knowledge of Roman Imperial social history is unnecessary for me to know that Petronius' *'Cena Trimalchionis '*, to use the same example again, is parodic of the behaviour of the newly rich in Nero's Rome. By contrast, a knowledge of the visual arts of the Northern Renaissance is of considerable assistance in explaining the grotesque qualities of Rabelais' iconography in the Four Books. As a result, the latter appear less isolated from related cultural norms, and more consonant with the methods of polemical argument and satire in use in the early sixteenth century. In such circumstances as those, therefore, I shall place corroborative reliance on evidence provided by cultural "information" of all kinds.

When the totality of history, whether reported or fictitious, is investigated in the light of the inter-relativity of time/space relationships, a very specific conclusion rapidly emerges. This is to the effect that, from the era of our earliest surviving literature in the West, that of the Greek epic poetry of Homer, the classical chronotope of unlimited space and time creating one another, has been usurped by a progressive scarcity of space and increased demands on human time. The availability of both time and space has diminished, and the demands

of chronological commitments and the increasingly finite demarcation of space have conspired to reconfirm, even to some extent redetermine, the shape of our civilisation. We are fortunate in one sense, however, (if not in the shortages of space and time available to us all!), namely, that this redetermination can be charted with the greatest accuracy through a study of the dominant spatio-temporal concerns of the novel throughout history: this is what is meant by the generic term 'the novelistic chronotope'. The identification of a chronotopic concept as broad as this might be regarded as no more than another way of saying that "the world is getting smaller" or that an ever-increasing population is bound to create pressures within the totality of European society which are bound to have their own effects upon changing perceptions of the relativity of time and space throughout the course of history. It is right of course to regard these socio-historical truths as largely causative of what has happened to the spatio-temporal dominant within the 'novelistic chronotope', but the reflection of this changing priority in the history of our fictive literature is nevertheless of great importance in terms of the study of the history of that literature itself. The relativity of time and space in the history of the novel and its related literatures has, therefore, been kept under surveillance throughout Chapters Two and Three of this thesis.

The fact that this thesis is concerned not with the examination of one small, well-defined area of literary research has had profound consequences for the form in which it is presented. It is encyclopaedic because my subject matter is spread over a period of over two and a half thousand years: it necessarily involves the examination of numerous texts from throughout that period, and in a variety of ancient and modern languages; lastly, it draws upon the resources of numerous other disciplines to substantiate the arguments which it contains. It both supplements Bakhtin's own text, whilst eliciting from literary history a wide variety of additional material to sustain its subsidiary thesis, implicit in Bakhtin's

own, charting the changing status, availability and human perceptions of space and time through two and a half millennia. The very nature of the research undertaken has lent the text of this thesis a centrifugal, as distinct from the customarily centripetal, format of most doctoral theses. I would maintain, however, that this expansive format responds to the nature of Bakhtin: he is classicist, historian, philologist, linguist, political scientist and philosopher, and his interests range polymathically over vast expanses of academic territory. In the course of one monograph, he will address his subject matter both in the broadest terms and in the minutest detail: in the middle of a loose generalisation, he will, suddenly and without warning so to speak, attack the coalfaces of scholarship in a dozen places, usually by reference to obscure works of long-forgotten authors. His work displays both a rambling prolixity and pin-point accuracy. In all these circumstances, how is it possible to edit and augment, where necessary, the materials with which Bakhtin deals, without, in a comparable manner, following in his tracks?

This problem is not new to doctoral theses in Bakhtinian studies: in 1994, Arthur John Sabatini, a candidate for the Doctorate of Philosophy at New York University, submitted a thesis entitled Mikhail Bakhtin and Performance.[5] Sabatini's principle argument is that certain key concepts of Bakhtin's are relevant to the study of cultural and aesthetic performance, particularly in the avant-garde and experimental traditions. The final part of his thesis is devoted to an in-depth examination of 'The Architectonics of Robert Ashley's Perfect Lives', and ends with the creation by Sabatini of yet one more generic category of novel, the 'Performance Novel'. The entire central section of the thesis, however, is

5 See A. J. Sabatini: Bakhtin and Performance, Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1994. (Dissertation Abstracts International. Volume: 55-09, Section: A. p. 2646. Dissertation Order No. AA19502292.)

taken up with an assessment of Bakhtin as a total "systematic" theorist: Sabatini examines Bakhtin's position with regard to translinguistics, utterance, texts, chronotopes, polyglossia and heteroglossia, event of being, exotopy, transgredience, the hero, consummation and unfinalizability: in fact, Part II (the central section of the thesis) is devoted to validating Bakhtin's overall philosophical positions in terms of concepts largely defined by Bakhtin himself, before he is able to declare Bakhtin to be 'a comprehensive and exemplary performance theorist'. It is clear to me that Sabatini has encountered the same problems with form and format that I have encountered in the presentation of my thesis: it is almost a truism that Bakhtin, by opening up fields of vision and novel ways of looking at issues which encourage further debate, stimulates that debate and provokes it. The student of Bakhtin's literary philosophy and its adjacent disciplines is constantly forced to digress from the core of his studies into the narrower galleries, to continue the mining analogy, into which they so often lead. In short, almost any central area of Bakhtinian dogma, including that of the chronotope, is capable, on close examination, of being drawn into other and related areas of enquiry: it is this which Sabatini implies by the words 'systematic' and 'total', and will become manifest in my first chapter, for example, when I consider the possible formative influence of the neuro-physiologist, Ukhtomsky, upon Bakhtin's formulation of the concept of the chronotope.

If my thesis achieves its purpose, it will have attempted to clarify certain areas of Bakhtin's writing on the subject of the chronotope, especially in places where it seems to be unclear. Similarly, it attempts the completion of Bakhtin's work on those occasions when, instead of considering a matter from its beginnings, he chooses to enter the matter at some mid point: he has, on occasion, ruined his own case by failing to consider the influential significance of literature antecedent to that which he proposes to discuss. He admits to doing

this in, for example, his refusal to consider those literary elements which led to the creation of the Classical novel.[6] We can, however, account for such omissions largely in terms of his academic upbringing. His Russian Formalist leanings, which were more part of this upbringing than a proclivity which he actively encouraged, predisposed him towards examining literary works primarily from within their texts. This is the case even when the reason for the existence of a text is to be found in a rich context of largely historical or biographical causes. Thus even Bakhtin's attempt to explain what he calls "The Rabelaisian Chronotope" in Rabelais and His World (subsequent references to RAHW), and in FTC, is over-dependent on the folkloric and "life-cyclical" characteristics of Gargantua and Pantagruel, and insufficiently attentive to the cultural-historical motives of Rabelais as author – by no means does he ignore the cultural-historical aspects of the matter (especially in RAHW), but he omits to emphasise some of their most important manifestations in the text of the novel. This is but one example of a misalignment of emphasis which I shall attempt to redress: expressed in another way, perhaps Bakhtin should have regarded Rabelais, like Erasmus, Brandt, Villon, Bosch, Breughel and many others, primarily as exemplary of the transition from a "mediaeval chronotope" to a "renaissance chronotope" to use the word "chronotope" in a relatively broad sense.

Similarly, this thesis serves to justify Bakhtin's original transference of the concept of the chronotope to the study of literature, partly by identifying ways in which his teaching so often comes within an iota of linkage with the work of others in other academic disciplines. Just as Alfred Adler, on his own admission, derived colossal insight into, specifically, motivation in human nature, from his

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[6] See FTC p. 86.

study of Dostoevsky, so it would seem that others, (the Lund-School sociologist Hägerstrand for example), drank in the essence of Bakhtin's thought in the area of the chronotope as an organising method in the analysis of time-usage in the Social Sciences. Bakhtin's own derivation of the concept of the chronotope from its original and collateral usage in Einsteinian physics will receive proper recognition as part of a wider realisation that in the particular nexus of disciplines which surround Bakhtin – linguistics, mathematics, logic, cerebral physiology, neuro-sciences *et al.*, – there exists no hard and fast division between art (the manner of doing) and science (the system by which it is done).

I have referred above to areas of explanation in which Bakhtin's teaching has been found to be unclear: this is indeed a criticism of Bakhtin's own clarity, and does not arise from any inability of my own to understand the force of Bakhtin's language on account of any marginal loss or change of meaning which might have occurred in the course of translation from the Russian. One cause of these difficulties is hinted at very powerfully by Caryl Emerson in the preface to her translation of Bakhtin's Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics (1929). Emerson attributes the vagueness which Bakhtin so often displays in his writing to the fact that the concepts which he presents to the reader are sometimes so novel and complex, that he is sometimes reduced to a relatively small basic conceptual vocabulary. This vocabulary is then, according to Emerson, augmented by numerous neologisms. I concur with Emerson's inference that what seems like a weakness arises from the complex of novelty and strength in what Bakhtin has to say – in some respects, he needs a language entirely of his own in order to express, with the accuracy he requires, the substance of concepts which are entirely new, and have no pre-existent *terminus technicus*. We should never forget that the word "chronotope" is a borrowing from the world of the physical sciences – and it was, at that time, a neologism for the physicist as well!

There are, however, two other large contributory causes for these difficulties which must be mentioned: the first is that Bakhtin's work, and FTC (with which, in this thesis, I am concerned in particular) is utterly lacking in formal construction and balance. The structure of FTC, in which he traces the basic chronotope of the novel from the classical Greek romance to the novel of the present day, is distorted by an enormous central section which, whilst of very great importance in itself, accounts for no less than 34% of the entire text of the monograph and is devoted entirely to the specific chronotope of Rabelais. This central section, despite its value in relation to Rabelaisian studies in general, prevents due weight from being assigned to matters which are of equally important substance, but which are denied adequate treatment. Thus, for example, Bakhtin is at his most observant in his isolation of the 'Threshold Chronotope', an area of debate, of encyclopaedic dimensions (and with implications for disciplines ranging from Town Planning to psycho-therapy), but which is allocated only a few paragraphs in his 'Concluding Remarks' to FTC. I sense that Bakhtin's lack of proportion in matters such as this arises from the fact that he never saw himself as an author whose works were destined for eventual publication, but as a teacher whose work, much of it in note form, was essentially for his own use; he was an inveterate talker, not a born writer. He published relatively little, his re-worked doctoral thesis (RAHW) and PDP being the most important exceptions. Writing he left to those authors whom he most admired – Dostoevsky, Pushkin, Rabelais and Cervantes. It should be added that much of what he did write, as has been confirmed by numerous eye-witnesses, was wrung from him by the persuasion of others.

The second major cause for difficulty was that Bakhtin's career as an academic began almost simultaneously with the Russian Revolution and he died only fifteen years before the advent of *perestroika* . Thus his entire professional

life was lived under a cloudy canopy of official lines, acceptable attitudes, purges of cultural heretics, and the repression of free speech. The fact that Bakhtin wrote almost nothing for almost a quarter of a century (from 1940 to 1965; from age 45 to 70, a time of life when the majority of writers are at their most maturely productive) can be attributed in large part to the restrictions imposed by communist authority on his cultural environment. One need only point to the lack of stress in his work on the part played by the literature of Christianity – the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, the works of the Church Fathers, the hagiographies, – in the overall development of European literature, to realise that he has been subject to the suppression of free speech.

I mention these matters, but I am not going to spill any more ink on (amongst other matters) purely technical defects in the work of a scholar whose work I find sufficiently impressive to warrant the expenditure of several years of close examination.

To date, literary criticism has paid little attention to Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope and its applications to literature and related disciplines. There are, however, two exceptions: Michael Holquist's: Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World,[7] and Gary Morson and Caryl Emerson's Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics.[8] Holquist's comments on the chronotope are not detailed, though his basic definition of, and commentary on, the chronotope as an "idea", is excellent. Morson and Emerson, however, make a more sustained attempt to examine Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope, their efforts being in the main directed at

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[7] See Michael Holquist: Dialogism, Bakhtin and His World, London, Routledge, 1990, pp. 107-48.

[8] See G. S. Morson and C. Emerson: Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics, Stanford Univ. Press, 1990, p. 366-432.

interpreting the meaning of Bakhtin's texts. I have paid particular attention in my own thesis to the elucidation of matters which Morson and Emerson have regarded as particularly difficult to interpret, or as presented obtusely by Bakhtin.

The overwhelming preponderance of Bakhtinian criticism has, up to now, been confined to matters which arise from his teaching in the area of Discourse, in particular his theory of "polyphony" in the novels of specific authors - notably Dostoevsky. In this thesis, I hope in some measure to redress this imbalance, by contributing to an, arguably, equally important aspect of his work.

## Chapter One – M.M.Bakhtin – An Application of the Relativity of Space and Time to literature.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was probably the last philosopher who could attempt, however incompletely in some respects, to embrace contemporaneous resolutions in the (hard) scientific disciplines within the compass of one literary endeavour. Within Spencer's critique of existing philosophies were some, including his own, and those of Lamarck, Malthus and Darwin amongst many others, which enabled him to present an up-to-date picture of the sciences in relation to the potentialities of various and separate creeds of philosophy at that time. At no later date, however, has it been possible for a philosopher even to attempt an achievement of this magnitude, for each of the exact sciences since the days of Spencer has advanced along its own lines, and achieved so great a degree of "exclusivity" in its specialisation that the scientific world as a whole has become a world of fragmentary studies. It is not, however, "lightly" that I use the term "scientific world as a whole", because it is often obvious to all but the specialist in his own "hard" scientific field, that there appears to exist (as exactitude in these scientific fields becomes more finite) a progressively more persuasive case for regarding the actual finiteness of the qualities of scientific truth as tending towards one overarching conclusion: that there exists a uniformity of scientific theory binding all "hard" scientific disciplines together. Recent research in the field of astronomy, which, in this day and age, almost invariably excludes the pure philosopher from its "finer points", tends to imply, in its very generality, the existence of innumerable partially separate but inter-

dependent self-regulatory systems, whose very complexity of inter-relation tends to confirm their self-regulatory natures[9].

If these observations are applied, not to the immensity of galaxies which obey their own systematic rules, but to an examination of minuscule forms of terrestrial life, comparable conclusions can be drawn. If, for example, humanity observes closely the sociology of the ant or the bee, and finds in their complex behaviours a degree of uniformity sufficiently clearly to identify rules of behaviour, might not humanity also be subject to comparable rules ? Might not the science of human behaviour (sociology), however complex it may be, be subject to "exact" rules which we can identify from within humanity ? Does the human capacity for speech render the human race so different in terms of behavioural consistency, from that of the ant or the bee ? Humanity, through its development of the power of speech, and its use of speech for establishing more permanent forms of communication and more durable cultural institutions, has drawn away, in sociological terms, from the generality of the animal world. But should humanity grant itself this privilege, and should it not still have retained an exactitude of behavioural pattern more comparable with those seen in lower forms of animal life ?

I ask these questions for the reason that Mikhail Bakhtin, in the course of his philosophical and literary enquiries, investigates the history of literature most thoroughly in the two areas of enquiry which have most bearing on the nature of human behavioural patterns – the area of human dialogue (without

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[9] Since work on this thesis began, several works in the field of the Philosophy of Science, which tend towards this conclusion, have been published, and, in the interim period, the term "Complexity Theory" to denote attempts to re-integrate the sciences with, selectively, the humanities, has become much more widespread. Perhaps the most thorough of these works is that of Coveney and Highfield: The Frontiers of Complexity, London, Faber and Faber, 1995.

which there can be no human society), and the physical intersection of time and space (without which there can be no meaningful human life). In these circumstances, I would imagine that it is reasonable to ask whether Bakhtin in the course of his enquiries, shows us any uniformity of behavioural pattern encoded in our recorded literature. The historian, the novelist and the sociologist, of course, have accepted responsibility for demonstrating human behavioural patterns in the past and present for the benefit of posterity; but the type of observation contained in Bakhtin's work on the chronotope, which goes well beyond the frontiers of "routine" literary theory, might, it may be alleged, form the basis for the demonstration of supplementary patterns, tangential to those derived from fact, but rather from the distillation of patterns of event contained in the history of the world's fictive literature.

In the matter of Bakhtin's own beliefs concerning the status of man in the universal order, it is doubtful whether any satisfactory conclusions can be drawn. He approaches the matter cautiously throughout his writings, in the course of debating, for example, the relationship between the self and those other selves which form the environment of one's own self, and to which the personal self responds (answers), and with which it interacts by means of utterances and actions (man's basic actual potentials). Holquist and Clark, in their commentary on Bakhtin's overall epistemological position(s), put the matter in the following way; but it is doubtful if it represents a complete picture of Bakhtin's views on the essential differentiating nature of man as species:[10]

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[10] See Michael Holquist and Katerina Clark: Mikhail Bakhtin, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, (Belknap), 1984, p. 67-68.

> In Bakhtin, the difference between human and other forms of life is a form of authorship, since the means by which a sufficient ratio of self-to-other responsibility is achieved in any given action – a deed being understood as an answer – comes about as the efforts by the self to shape a meaning out of an encounter with them .... Self creates itself in crafting an architectonic relation between the unique locus of life activity which the individual human organism constitutes, and the constantly changing natural and cultural environment which surrounds it.

In matters of personal belief, Bakhtin is often elusive, a matter which introduces us to an aspect of his writing of which we must be constantly aware. Not only was he a man of a retiring and unassuming disposition, but the whole of his life was led under the shadow of censorship: Bakhtin, the man, is not always visible behind Bakhtin the literary philosopher.

## FORMS OF TIME AND CHRONOTOPE IN THE NOVEL

The most important of Bakhtin's writings with which this thesis is concerned are FTC and BSHR. In FTC, Bakhtin advances a premise which implies that in the novel, as in the passage of historical time, all narrative activity and utterance take place within a three-dimensional matrix, two of the faces of the matrix representing [for the sake of simplification] the longitudinal and latitudinal qualities of space, and the third face representing time. The resultant container, within which all novelistic action is contained, is therefore in Bakhtin's geometrical imagery akin to a cuboid or prism. All action is deemed to be represented within time moving away from (out of) the spatial base of the

prism and moving chronologically along the face of the matrix which represents time. It is necessary, however, to clarify the nature of the chronotope more thoroughly than has been attempted by use of the prism analogy, which, on its own, might give the impression, (as Bakhtin sometimes does), that it is only a novel which has a chronotope: it has, of course, in the sense that, as we are about to see, Dostoevsky's novelistic chronotope can be compared with Tolstoy's, and the chronotope of the "Gothick" novel can be differentiated from, for example, the chronotope of the "novel of provincial life", to select at random two categories of novelistic chronotope used by Bakhtin himself (FTC pp. 245-246 and 247 respectively). What must be remembered is that a novel is composed of personal biographies. Each of these biographies arises from the space which it occupies at the base of the prism, (Einstein has conveniently established that two people cannot occupy the same space!), and that the chronotope occurs or may be identified when one or more biographies or complex states of affairs, arising ultimately and progressively from the inter-association of biographies, group of people, factions, nationalities, ideological groupings etc., intersect or coalesce. The same applies where natural phenomena, which occur without human intervention, are concerned : e.g. in von Kleist's Earthquake in Chile, (1807), or in the loss of Gabriel Oak's flock in Far From the Madding Crowd (1874). The chronotope of a novel which belongs to a category of novel whose chronotopic nature is distinct in relation to contemporaneous historical reality (e.g. The Greek Novel of Adventure) or whose chronotope is anachronistic (e.g. The "Gothick" novel) may be said, in a broad usage of the term "chronotope", to envelop that novel, and category of novels, generically. It is arguable that there is no such thing as the chronotope of a character in fiction, for a character cannot interact with itself, and a chronotopic interstice is by definition an interaction. What may determine the chronotope of a novel (or aggregation of characters), however, are the nature, frequency (and extent), in relation to time, with which

the novelistic biographies of its characters and factions are bisected by, or form part of, chronotopic interstices, and with which the nature of time within the novel, and the appreciation of the passage of time by the novel's original readership, relates to contemporaneous historical time. It cannot be stressed too forcibly that a Chronotope is an event, a state, a complex state of affairs, or an historical, (factual or literary), syndrome. It may also be a concept or mental condition, not in the abstract, but in the actuality of its adoption by a novelistic character: a concept or idea cannot be "chronotopic" unless it belongs to someone.

Although all aspects of 'Bakhtin's' time are ultimately relative to clock time, not all sequences of events are deemed to appear to readers of the novel to move at the perceived speed of clock time. The example which Bakhtin selects to demonstrate the variable element in the speed of time is the difference between narrative speed in Dostoevsky, in certain rapid sequences where 'time is essentially instantaneous; it is as if it has no duration and falls out of the normal course of biographical time' (FTC 248). By comparison, Bakhtin cites the opposite extreme in Tolstoy, 'in whose writing the fundamental chronotope is biographical time, which flows smoothly in the spaces – the interior spaces – of town-houses and the estates of the nobility'(FTC 249). We will observe later in this chapter, when considering certain works which themselves may be thought to have influenced Bakhtin's thinking, the rapid variations in the speed of the perceived passage of time, corresponding with the variable speed of narrative action in successive episodes, in Andrey Bely's Petersburg, by contrast with the uniformity of chronotopic speed, whether fast or slow, which we find in the generality of Dostoevsky's and Tolstoy's works.

It is significant that Bakhtin's application of chronotope methodology to the analysis of fiction antedates by several decades the almost identical use to which the concept of the chronotope has been put by practitioners of the sociological disciplines, especially Hägerstrand.[11] His basic methodology is to chart the nature of typical human existences in space and time using a three dimensional matrix very similar to the Bakhtinian chronotope matrix described above. Hägerstrand's matrix, however, in so far as it deals only with the expenditure of time by "typical" and somewhat predictable individuals, can, with great clarity, initiate distinctions between the generic categories of space found at the base of the prism, and into and out of which his individual biographies can and do move. His primary generic distinction, as we have seen, is between space which is used for communal interaction, the "Station", and the "Domain", which is essentially private space used for eating and sleeping and for personal, social and familial activity. Social activity can occur in both "Stations" and "Domains" depending on individual circumstances and the nature of the social interaction in question. In creating this distinction, Hägerstrand comes close to effecting a finite (perhaps almost too finite) distinction between public and private space. I mention this aspect of the matter at this stage, however, because Hägerstrand's distinction goes a long way towards identifying the variously different chronotopic speeds which Bakhtin finds in the works of Dostoevsky, for example, whose narratives are sited mainly in "Station" space, and Tolstoy, whose narratives are sited principally in the "Domain". Hägerstrand, however,

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11 See Alfred Gell: The Anthropology of Time, 'Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images', Oxford and Providence, Rhode Island, Berg, 1992, p. 190 ff, for an assessment of the Lund School of "time geographers": see also, T. Hägerstrand: 'Survival and Arena: On the Life History of Individuals in Relation to their Geographical Environments' in Carlstein, Parkes and Thrift: Activity and Time Geography, Vol. 2., London, 1975: See also David Harvey: The Condition of Post-modernity, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990, p. 211 ff ('Individual Spaces and Times in Social Life') on Hägerstrand on human beings as 'purposeful agents engaged in projects that take up time through movement in space'.

does not explain why activity which takes place within "Station" or public space creates a perception of greater chronotopic speed than events occurring within the "Domain": I believe that the nature of the difference is to be found in the distinction between the rapidity of Business and Transaction time as distinct from familiar domestic routine, familial interaction time and relaxation time. Business and transaction time is comprised of many, short, completed, different, variegated sections of time, whereas domestic time carries with it connotations of continuity, repetition, and possibly monotony without numerous, rapid, identifiable completions.[12] Such a distinction is quite in keeping, in practice, with the different respective natures of personal interaction which we find in the novels of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy in their generalities. The distinction is also to be found in the "Station" speed of interaction in the _Iliad_, which treats of war, by comparison with the slower overall speed to be found in the _Odyssey_, which recounts a peacetime epic, "basically" in "Domain" time.[13]

It is perhaps a coincidence, or merely indicative of an uniform movement in the development of literary theory, that in the area of the

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[12] There is, of course, a chronotope of the repetitive and monotonous in "Transaction Time": any of Gogol's or Dostoevsky's clerks will attest to this!

[13] The distinction is additionally capable of deduction by means of semantic analysis - in the nature of the word "business" and of being "busy": the adjective "busy", from the OE *bisig*, is used in the Middle Ages, prior to the explosion of Renaissance mercantilism, to denote an adjectival sense of being fully occupied whether in the home or elsewhere (see SOED, 'Busy', Meaning 3., and to a lesser extent, meaning 1). It is not until around 1719 that the word business, from the same stem *bisig(nis)* ( see SOED 'Business', meaning 18.), begins to refer to transactions which are mainly mercantile. The transition in meaning would seem to date from the upturn in mercantile activity at the time of the Restoration. The movement in the meaning of the stem would seem to imply that the "busy-ness" of the domain was "consistently" domestic and pre-mercantile, and "business' as being associated with mercantile activity outside the domain. Significantly, this movement in meaning takes place during the period in which it became more customary for remunerative work to be performed away from the domain, at a "station".

chronotopic relationship, Spitzer [14], Muir[15] and Bakhtin in FTC, independently and nearly simultaneously recognised the importance, to the analysis of literary texts, of time as a specific area of enquiry; but it was only Bakhtin who was to make an in-depth study of space/time relationships in narrative fiction. All three are fundamentally indebted to the definition of time proposed by Henri Bergson, as a succession of instants which are carried continuously forward from the past into the present, thereby creating an unbroken continuum of time along which events are strung in an objective (and historical) sequence.[16] It was generally appreciated that the most widely accepted alternative definition of time, the "subjective" definition of Heidegger, was largely inappropriate to the demands of textual analysis. Spitzer must be granted the distinction of having anticipated FTC, in his differentiation in *Stilsprachen*, of *Erzahlungszeit* (Elapsed Time {ET}) and *Beschreibene Zeit* (Narrative Time {NT}). After all, it is the crude relativity of these differentially related times (inspired no doubt by the tenets of Russian Formalism), which can, without any assistance from Bakhtin's subsequent formulations, explain the difference in chronotopic speed which Bakhtin has, as we have seen, detected in the oeuvres of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy.

A variant category of distinction between ET and NT is sometimes to be found in the visionary perception of a novelistic character in whom a chronotopic relationship has become dislocated in the imagination: it can apply only to dreams, visions, forebodings, and other comparable types of eidetic transposition. I can think of no better example than the passage in the

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14 See Leo Spitzer: *Stilsprachen* II, Munich, I928.

15 See Muir: The Structure of the Novel, London, Chatto and Windus, 1928.

16 See Henri Bergson: Esp. *Essai sur les Données*.... , Paris, Felix Alcan, 1908, Ch. 2. *passim.*

Argonautica (mid Third century b.c.) of Apollonius of Rhodes when Pallas Athene descends onto the coast of Thrynia:[17]

> There comes a moment to the patient traveller (and there are many such that wander far afield) when the road ahead of him is clear and the distance so foreshortened that he has a vision of his home, he sees his way to it over land and sea, and in his fancy travels there and back so quickly that it seems to stand before his eager eyes.

One additional example should suffice to demonstrate this variant form of temporal inter-relationship; the occasion upon which Rabelais induces Pantagruel to advise Panurge to look for omens for the future happiness of his intended marriage by the analysis of his dreams, and, in so doing, effectively defines the nature of the dream *per se*. Rabelais is in no doubt as to the atemporality of the dream as an entity:[18]

> In the same way, once our body is sleeping . . . . nothing more being necessary till it awakes, the soul enjoys itself and revisits its own country, which is the heavens. There it receives intimations of its first and divine origins. There it contemplates that infinite intellectual sphere, the centre of which is at all points of the Universe and the circumference nowhere – which

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[17] Apollonius of Rhodes, The Voyage of Argo, Trans. E.V.Rieu, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1959, p. 88.

[18] See François Rabelais: Gargantua and Pantagruel, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1955, p. 321. (Book Three, Chapter 13).

> sphere .... is God. Nothing new befalls the soul, nothing in the past escapes it, it suffers no diminution. To it, all time is present.

It should be mentioned that Bakhtin was familiar with Spitzer's *Stilsprachen*, and alludes to the work in his essay 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse' (hereafter PND).[19] Bakhtin was also familiar with other works of Spitzer's, notably his *Italienische Umgangssprache*,[20] which he acknowledges in PDP (p. 194), in the course of his discussion of the ironic use by one person of the language of the person with whom he is discoursing, by repeating the latter's speech with ridicule, exaggeration or mockery. Spitzer, in the passage referred to above, shows signs of ideological compatibility with Bakhtin which might justifiably solicit questions about the extent of Spitzer's influence on Bakhtin. The suggestion has in fact been made by Alban Forcione, *et al..*, in their commentary on Spitzer's paper 'Pseudo-Objective Motivation in Charles-Louis Philippe', in which, in referring to Eugen Lerch, Jean Etienne Lorck as well as to Leo Spitzer, it is maintained that: 'The work of these narrative analysts, and of Spitzer in particular, exercised a strong influence on the Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin, who extended their methods to create his concept of "dialogic" discourse.'[21]

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19 See The Dialogic Imagination, Op.Cit. p. 42 n.

20 e.p. Leipzig, 1922.

21 See Alban Forcione, Herbert Lindenberger and Madeline Sutherland: Essay in Leo Spitzer: Representative Essays, Stanford University Press, 1988, p. 41. This Essay, which is a study of Charles-Louis Philippe's novel *Bubu de Montparnasse*, Paris, 1905, is translated from Spitzer's *Psycho-objective Motivierung bei Charles-Louis Philippe*, which, in common with his distinction between *Erzählungszeit* and *Beschreibene Zeit*, which I discuss above, appeared in *Stilsprachen 2*, Op. Cit. pp. 166-207. *Stilsprachen 2* appeared one year *before* the publication of Bakhtin's *Problemy Tvorchestva Dostoevskogo*, [the fore-runner of PDP], Leningrad, Priboi, 1929, at a time when Bakhtin's concepts of dialogistics were approaching their maturity.

It is also necessary to credit Ferdinand Junghans with his early (1931) analysis of the inter-relationships of categories of time specifically in Drama. Junghans, whose work was probably known to Bakhtin (though there is a lack of evidence to support the suggestion), distinguishes three categories of time moving forward simultaneously in (theatrical) drama: his distinctions are a development of Spitzer's, and are similarly Bergsonian in ultimate origin.[22]

Mention must also be made of G. Gurvich[23], who has maintained that the duration of time varies in relation to clock time, and that certain categories of time [as is suggested in his Classification of time below] are not even progressive. As, however, Gurvich's classification will assist our understanding of the awareness of time in different historical eras and cultural circumstances, as well as in our examination of Bakhtin's "vertical chronotope" in Chapter Two, I give the classification in its entirety. I have adapted the notes in parentheses from those of Gell:[24]

1 Enduring time of slow duration (slowed-down time).
2 Deceptive time (slowed time with irregular and unexpected speeded-up stretches).
3 Erratic time (slowed-down and speeded-up in turns, neither predominating, without predictable rhythms).

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22 The importance of Junghans rests principally in his having, like Bergson, laid the foundation for subsequent studies of time in relation to literature by, amongst others, Hans Meyerhoff: Time in Literature, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1955 (California Univ. Press, 1960), and Peter Putz: *Die Zeit in Drama*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1970.

23 See G. Gurvich: Spectrum of Social Time, Dordrecht, Reidel Verlag, 1961. The author should not be confused with Aaron Gurevich, the Russian mediaevalist who is similarly concerned with matters of time in literature.

24 See Gell: Op. Cit. p. 61 ff.

4 Cyclical time (Gurvich equates cyclical time with 'motionless' and 'static' time.
5 Retarded time (in which a given moment T(1) equals a later moment in non-retarded time { T(1+n) }.
6 Time in advance (the inverse of retarded time).
7 Alternating time (Time Alternating between classifications 5. and 6.).
8 Explosive Time (time very much advanced and also speeded up).

The interest in Gurvich's classification, for us, is the fact that he attaches certain categories of time to certain types of socio-historical period: e.g. Cyclical time for basically agrarian societies, and explosive time for modern metropolitan society. This can be meaningful in relation to, for example, Virginia Woolf's dramatic observation that 'about December 1910, human character changed'.[25] One slight defect in the application of Gurvich's time classifications might seem to arise from the fact that, for all practical purposes, not all manifestations of an historical period are characteristic of the whole. In allocating predominantly Class 4 time to the Middle Ages, he ignores the concerns of the historian for the fact that there may have been more than one prominent temporal 'speed' appreciable in that period. In the view of several distinguished historians, including Oexle, the Middle Ages were composed of several simultaneous societies, and the agrarian society of Class 4 time was only one of them.[26] Gurvich may well have placed too much reliance, in some respects, on the classic dictum of Emil Durkheim: 'Car une Société ... est constituée ... , avant tout, par

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[25] See Viginia Woolf: Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown, in The Captain's Deathbed and Other Essays, New York, Harcourt, 1950, p. 96 ff.

[26] See Otto Oexle: 'Le Travail au XIe. Siècle: *'Réalités et Mentalités'* in *Le Travail au Moyen Age*, Louvain, Louvain University Press, 1991, p. 49-60.

l'idée qu'elle se fait d'elle même'.[27] The 'idée', of course, is really our idea,[28] not the contemporaneous one, and the Bakhtinian scholar will assure himself that it is possible to assign a chronotopic category or denomination to the sociological structure of an historical period, not only to characteristic forms of its literature, retrospectively. We, too, will in due course demonstrate that the entire classical world was subject to one overarching chronotope, namely the notion of space and time creating one another in great abundance. First, however, that chronotope will be allocated retrospectively, using modern historiographical concepts to establish our conceptualisation of the Classical world, and at any moment those concepts are, in theory, capable of redefinition. Secondly, within the sub-frame of that over-arching chronotope, there may exist other chronotopes which do not characterise the whole of classical life – not everything which occurred in the ancient world is born of excesses of time and space, punctuated with intromissions of rapid activity. In the same way, we will be able to distinguish between the chronotope which characterises the pattern of interstitial communication common to the claustral monks, scribes, ploughmen and daily labourers of the Middle Ages, from that which, in the next Chapter, we

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27 See Emil Durkheim: *Les Formes Elémentaires de la Vie Réligieuse*, Paris, 1979, p. 603 ff.

28 It is interesting in this context to bear in mind that it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that the concept of the *media tempestas* was first recorded. David Herlihy: Mediaeval Culture and Society, London, Macmillan, 1967, p. xi, maintains that the precise words *media tempestas* were first used by Giovanni Andrea, Bishop of Aleria in Corsica, in a history of Latin poetry written by him in 1469. It would seem that those people who lived during the *media tempestas* would not have been conscious of living in a period of time designated by any specific nomenclature. The notion of a sequence of historical time being anything more than a Bergsonian continuum in this respect i.e. a continuity of time punctuated by events as opposed to changes in civilisational or administrative periodicity, would seem to be of fairly recent origin. Thus, where England is concerned, 1548 for 'Lancastrian', 1779 for 'Tudor', and 1817 for 'Elizabethan'. (see SOED for all references). In the English language, it was not until 1621 that the 'Middle Age' was used to denote the period intermediate between 'ancient' and 'modern' times. The word 'Mediaeval' is not found in use until 1827. For both words, v. SOED s.v.v.

shall see as the tempestuous life of *El Cid* (1201-1207), and of Gunther in the *Niebelungenlied*. (c.1200).

Bakhtin identifies many additional characteristics of time, and categories of chronotope, encountered at different stages in the development of the novel in Western literature. As two chapters of this thesis are to be devoted to a criticism of these successive categories of time usage, only a few words need be allocated to them at this juncture. It will be maintained that in the first of the historical schools into which fictive narrative can be divided, the Greek, Roman and Graeco-Roman, time, in terms of duration in relation to completed action, elapse and interval, is of little importance. During these periods, it is subsidiary to a simple ordering of narrative sequence, in which time and space are counterparts, extended as an essentially linear progression in the manner of a travelogue and act as a progressive line along which narrative events are strung in sequence. Later the representation of inter-related events in quadrilateral environments which permit the free association of characters without the necessity to traverse oceans of linear space in order to do so, represents an important advance in the form of the novel. In our investigation of the dominant chronotope of classical society, however, we shall approach the literature of the classical world from a much broader base than used by Bakhtin for the same purpose. In the succeeding period, that of the transition from mediaeval epic to mediaeval chivalric romance, a comparable chronotope to the Classical can be detected, in a way which still gives priority to space, whilst ensuring, however, that through the use of the sub-plot and other narrative devices, the priority allocated to time, as distinct from purely linear sequentiality, begins to adopt a heightened importance of its own. In the Third period which we will consider, the period of the renaissance and baroque novel, time begins to assume greater importance through additional thickening of plot. In the final

period with which this thesis is concerned, that of the modern novel, time assumes a much greater importance in the organisation of narrative, through the thickening of plot, and further through the diminution of spatial area used as the novelistic *locus*. As, however, the first section of Chapter Three will be concerned with the complexities of the 'Rabelaisian chronotope', there will be a temporary digression from matters concerning the basic time/place relationship, while the entire (and problematical) area of the use of Satire, Irony and "Inversion" in the literature of the sixteenth century is examined. In the period of the Bourgeois novel, which may be said to commence with the Spanish picaresque novella of the early sixteenth century, and to move towards the works of Lesage (1668-1747) and Defoe (1660-1731), time progressively assumes an ascendancy in the space/time relationship, until, at the summit of its complexity, in the nineteenth century, it tends to dominate the novel and to confine its workings to smaller, and very much more finitely demarcated, spaces: the *apogée* of this development may be found in the naturalistic novels of, *inter alios*, Balzac and Zola.

## RELATED ACADEMIC ADVANCEMENT IN OTHER DISCIPLINES.

Bakhtin's adoption of the Chronotope as a yardstick by which to measure the inter-relatedness of time and space in narrative fiction must be seen in the context of the rationalisation of the study of the Fine Arts in the first years of this century. In the nineteenth century, appreciation, judgement and criticism of works of art and architecture had been based largely on subjective appraisal, and literary criticism, similarly, had been concerned with the judgement of the merits, rather than with the analysis of the natures of, individual works of literature. The historiography of all areas of the liberal arts, however, was to

change dramatically in the first thirty years of the twentieth century. In painting, great achievements were made in the field of art historical bibliography, characterised by one feature: the partial substitution of the subjectivism of the previous century, and a simultaneous emergence of works characterised by rigid systems of classification and comprehensive listing, a much more schematised approach to the history of the Fine Arts in general.

The codex of Cornelis Hofstede de Groot[29], who first attempted the rigid division of *Catalogues Raisonées* into Masterworks and Copies (1907), and Raimond van Marle[30], whose massive division of Italian painting into local schools was published by Martinus Nijhoff in the Hague from 1923 onwards, are probably the most important from this period. Equally important was the emergence of the (academic) art historian with inter-disciplinary interests; undoubtedly the most influential of these was Erwin Panofsky, who, maintained that 'the cosmos of culture, like the cosmos of nature, is a spatio-temporal structure'.[31] This is in itself a remarkably similar formulation to that of Bakhtin in BSHR, in which, he stated that: 'Everything in this world is a *time-space, a true chronotope'*.[32] Herbert Read, also, as well known for his Collected Essays in Literary Criticism (1938) as for his deep understanding of the arts of the Italian renaissance, wrote, as the opening lines of his introduction to Heinrich Wölfflin's Classic Art:[33] 'When Heinrich Wolffllin died in 1945 at the age of

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[29] Dr. Cornelis Hofstede de Groot: *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der Hervorragendsten Holländischen Maler des XVII Jahrhunderts*, Paris, Paul Neff Verlag, and Esslingen, Kleinberger, 9 Vols, from 1907.

[30] Raimond van Marle: The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, 19 Volumes, Den Haag, Martinus Nijhoff, from 1923.

[31] See Erwin Panowsky: Meaning in the Visual Arts, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1970, p. 29.

[32] BSHR p. 42.

eighty-one, it could be said of him that he had found art criticism a subjective chaos and left it a science'. Hans Storost also took the view that 'a work of art is first of all an artistic achievement (an event) and hence historic, like the Battle of Isos'.[34]

Historiography, the theory of the study of history, had also undergone substantive changes in the nineteenth century, and many issues, which had arisen in the cause of creating a framework for the philosophy of history, had moved into the province of metaphysics: increased interest in matters relating to causation had emulated contemporaneous concerns in the field of the Natural Sciences. (We shall encounter certain aspects of this development in our examination of Tolstoy's role in the moulding of an academic climate conducive to Bakhtin's development of Chronotope theory). In drawing attention to the subjective nature of literary and artistic criticism in general in the nineteenth century, I am aware that I am not paying appropriate tribute to the excellence of Classical scholarship throughout that period. in Chapter Two, we will have cause to consider the contribution of Erwin Rohde[35] to the study of the novel in late antiquity, and to this day would be hard pressed to find a work of as exhaustive thoroughness: in the same connection, the '*Real Enzyklopädie*' of Pauly and later Wissowa[36] should also be mentioned, as should the *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* and *Series Graeca* of J. P. Migne.[37] The thoroughness of

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33 See Sir Herbert Read in Heinrich Wöllflin: Classic Art, London, Phaidon Press, 1952, intro. p. v.

34 See Hans Storost: '*Das Problem der Literaturgeschichte*' in Dante-Jahrbuch, XXXVIII, (1960), p. 1-17.

35 See Erwin Rohde: *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, e.p.Leipzig, 1876.

36 Stuttgart, from 1893 onwards.

37 Paris, from 1844 and 1857 onwards, respectively.

scholarship demonstrated in the works of these authors and editors set to a considerable extent, by their example, the standards of precision adopted later in other fields of academic enquiry in the Humanities.

## THE CHRONOTOPE AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The use of critical systems arising from the concept of the chronotope, which was borrowed by Bakhtin from Einstein[38] was to contribute much to the organisation of the study of literature, in much the same way that we have seen the occurrence of a comparable development in the study of the visual arts. By using a quasi-mechanical "device" for examining the internal workings of a work of literature, conclusions of a more objective nature could be drawn than had been possible when qualities rather than the nature of classifiable characteristics had been under examination. The fact of the matter was that literary criticism, as we know it today, did not exist until the early years of this century, and then usually in works of literary history accompanied by a simple qualitative evaluation: Georg Brandes' six-volume Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature is an exception to this generalisation: in the introduction to this seminal work of literary criticism, he declares his intention to be: 'to trace the outlines of a psychology of the first half of the nineteenth century by means of the study of certain main groups and movements in European Literature', and,

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[38] See D. P. Gribanov: Albert Einstein's Philosophical Views and the Theory of Relativity, Mocow, Progress Press, 1987, pp. 178 ff

by so doing, initiates a broader approach to literature as a discipline in its own right.[39]

Shortly before the Russian Revolution of 1917, however, two groups of Russian intellectuals, the Moscow Linguistic Circle and the *Opojaz* based in St. Petersburg, began to examine works of literature in an entirely "revolutionary" way. With a degree of objectivity which subsequently came to be regarded as excessive, these two groups of (mainly linguistic) scholars (now known as the Russian Formalists) had begun to examine works of literature in isolation from their formative circumstances.[40]

Russian Formalism was concerned essentially with determining the classifiable characteristics of a work of literature, and its methods depended initially on a *schema* for determining the "literariness" of a work of (mainly poetic) literature from within the text. Formalists, however, excluded from consideration any reference to authorial biography, circumstances of origin, and political background: the written word now stood, like a specimen on a dissecting table, entirely unsupported by any inter-disciplinary considerations. The analysis of works of narrative prose, as distinct from poetry, resulted in the drawing of a distinction between the crude materials of plot (the *fabula)* and the method of its textual presentation (the *sujhet)*. What is significant for us in this distinction is not simply that it arises from an analytical method entirely in keeping with the

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[39] See George Brandes: Op. Cit., London, Heinemann, 6 Vols., 1901-1905, Vol.1., p. vii.

[40] What now seems to be the absurdity of this approach to literature is perhaps best summed up by Erich Auerbach: 'The simple fact that a man's work stems from his existence and that consequently everything that we can find out about his life serves to interpret the work, loses none of its relevance because inexperienced scholars have drawn ridiculous inferences from it'. See Auerbach: Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity etc., Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, p. 12.

new quasi-scientific objective methodology of the day, but that the distinction "requires" the chronotope. For the chronotope represents, in theory, the only device which can relate a *sujhet* to its *fabula* in terms of spatio-temporal ratiocination- i.e. for the re-formulation of the *fabula*. And yet there is an anomaly here, because Bakhtin developed his theories of the novel partly in order to counter the influence of the Russian Formalists, whom he regarded as insufficiently considerate of the social *milieux* of the works they took into account;[41] but Bakhtin, whilst advocating the study of literature on historical principles, is essentially a textual critic with only a passing regard for the implications to text of authorial biography. It is true that he compensates for this in his formation of linkages between characteristics of literary form common to different periods of literary history, but the text is everything to Bakhtin: and, as René Wellek maintains, this is surely because of the influence of Russian Formalism. In Wellek's own words: 'Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin was deeply influenced by formalist methodology, though he tried to distance himself from the formalists quite sharply'.[42] Bakhtin, in PDP for example, makes little mention of many biographical and historical events which are of basic importance to the composition of Dostoevsky's novels: on pages 59-61, I shall have need to refer to the quasi-proscenium quality of the spatial environment of St. Petersburg in Crime and Punishment: Bakhtin deals with the spatial environment of St. Petersburg in PDP and FTC, but nowhere in these works does he mention that the complete lack of privacy which Dostoevsky accords his characters in that city's environment may be a legacy of his own period of imprisonment: similarly, there are issues arising from the dramatic qualities of

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[41] See G.S. Morson in 'Commentary: Chronotopes and Anachronism' in Literature and History: Theoretical Problems and Russian Case Studies, Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 264.

[42] See R.Wellek: 'Russian Formalism' in The Attack on Literature, The Harvester Press, Brighton, 1982, p. 125.

all Dostoevsky's work, (those in fact which have been identified by Alexis de Jongh[43] as symptomatic of structural changes, in the form of 'romanticism', in the nature of human consciousness in Europe as a whole in the nineteenth century), and which find their most eloquent expression in the works of Dostoevsky, but with which Bakhtin remains, throughout his career, resolutely or negligently, unconcerned. As we shall see, the lack of this type of speculation based on reliable authorial biography and reliance on the messages of contemporaneous history, is a legacy from the practices of Russian Formalism. This failure on the part of Bakhtin to assign to his examination of works of literature a balance between content and context[44] will present an obstacle to our assessment of the changing nature of the chronotope in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, but it is an obstacle which will be overcome, by selective widening of this over-narrow remit within which Bakhtin chooses to constrain himself.

Bakhtin's interest in the chronotope stemmed from a multiplicity of additional sources which need to be outlined here. At the root of this interest lay the factors which determined so much of the revolution in the exact sciences in the first quarter of the century, the most important of which was the Special Theory of Relativity of Einstein, whose works were of almost as great a significance for the philosopher as the scientist, (if the two were amenable to distinction). From the commencement of his studies at the University of St. Petersburg in 1914, Bakhtin mixed freely with academics teaching in the Faculties of the exact sciences as well as in his own faculty of Classics. Three years after his admission, the direction and progress of scientific enquiry were altered, though

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[43] See Alexis de Jongh: Dostoevsky and the Age of Intensity, London, Secker and Warburg, 1975, *passim*.

[44] This will manifest itself most forcibly in, respectively, my study of the Rabelaisian Chronotope and RAHW. Please refer pp. 203 ff. *infra*.

not immediately, by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, to which Bakhtin (in common with many intellectuals, and members of the Academy of Sciences in particular) was not radically averse. Marxism had its priorities, and prominent amongst these was an atheism based on a firm foundation of the architectonic philosophy of dialectical materialism. The latter espouses the belief that all natural phenomena, of whatever order, can be explained essentially in terms of the elemental or elementary interaction of physical matter. Politico-Revolutionary aspiration amongst scientists in Russia was fortunate in that Einsteinian Relativist theory, and especially the Special Theory of Relativity, together with (later) the development of Quantum Mechanics as a mechanistic discipline, both operated favourably in the direction of Marxist political theory. Both tended towards an entirely mechanistic explanation of the interaction of energy and matter. Similarly important from an ideological point of view, it was highly convenient for Marxist theory that Einstein had severed the classical Newtonian relationship between time and space. and it was also to be important for Bakhtin in a literary context, especially in the matter of the development of the theory of the chronotope. In this general context, it is interesting to note that a leading Marxist physicist, Zakhar Aronovich Tseitlin, went so far as to say that 'theoretically, in principle, it was not impossible for "a super genius of a mathematician" to express in quantitative mathematical form the complex material motion which we call Tolstoy's War and Peace'. Zakhar Tseitlin did not volunteer to undertake this reduction; he only maintained that it was a theoretical possibility![45] It is interesting to note, in terms of Marxist Philosophy, the juxtaposition of the terms "material" and "motion" in this context. We can readily observe that developments in the exact sciences acted as formative

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[45] See Z.A.Tseitlin in 'O Matematicheskom' in *Vestnik Kommunisticheskoi Akademii*, 1927, Kn. 23, p. 164. See Also David Joravsky: Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, London, Routledge, 1961, p. 163.

influences upon, and were wholly commensurate with, Bakhtin's concept of the literary chronotope as representative of the interaction of people, places and things, of whatever kind, in elemental relationships, even only by way of 'artistic comparison'.

Equally important are Bakhtin's connections at that time in the Department of medicine: with effect from 1924, the Bakhtins shared an apartment in St. Petersburg with Ivan Kanaev, a research biologist in the field of neuro-physiology and a well known scientific historian. At this time, also, Bakhtin made the acquaintance of the work of Alexander Ukhtomsky, a biologist who, in his former vocation as a seminarian for the Orthodox priesthood, had written a philosophical dissertation on differing theories of time. Michael Holquist has summarised the nature of Ukhtomsky's enquiries in the following way:[46]

> It was not surprising, then, that in his work on the human nervous system he should have been attracted to the idea that time played a role in efforts made by the individual organism to arrange priorities among the various stimuli competing for its attention. His concern for how time/space categories served to govern relations among sensory and motor nerves was tied to another of his research interests: the quest for a cortical "system of systems", or the "dominant", as he called it: the faculty that was able to select from the many responses a human body *might* make in a particular situation the *one* response that would actually be

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[46] See M. Holquist: Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World, London, Routledge, 1990, pp. 7. and 153-54.

chosen. The dominant, in other words, was posited as the form taken by the organism's most *responsible* response.

The nature of Ukhtomsky's research clearly presupposes that in the human decision-making process there exists a system of hierarchical ordering, which calibrates the input values of information entering the neural network of the brain and provokes responses based on the processing of these calibrated values. It is this aspect of Ukhtomsky's research which can be seen to have had implications for Bakhtin, both in the development of the theory of the Chronotope, and in relation to his enquiries in dialogics and the nature of discourse generally. The researches of Ukhtomsky, from whom, incidentally, Bakhtin appropriated the word "chronotope", must be seen as of very considerable importance amongst the multifarious influences, both philosophical and purely scientific, which, in a sense, became "available" in the decade following the revolution of 1917. I feel certain that the research which has been carried out in recent years in the field of cerebral chemistry, by confirming in bio-chemical terms what earlier researchers of Ukhtomsky's generation adduced by a combination of speculation and logic, has been operating in parallel with an increase in interest in Bakhtin's work. Even at the micro-biological level, there is a schematic correspondence between the chronotope (per interstice) and a corresponding activity within the neurons, or nerve cells, of the human brain, both individually (separately) and operating sequentially. It is now known that every individual neuron possesses numerous facilities for the acquisition of information from other neurons, through a multiplicity of inlet-ports, or *synapses (dendrites)*, and that the process of processing this input information received by any one neuron, in the form of electro-chemical impulses, is facilitated by the fact that the neuron has only one outlet (*axon*) by which it can discharge its response. The single *axon* transmits its response, arrived at on the

strength of "evidence" received by the neuron's multiple *synapses,* on an effectively binary basis: effectively, it has the option to act or not to act, but no other options are open to it. In this way, the neuron, and (by extension) the neurons of the brain in their totality, for at any one time enormous numbers of neurons will be engaged in decision-making collectively, makes a decision and forms part of the process of triggering (or not triggering) an action by the body's motor neuron system to which instructions to "act" are passed or not, as the case may be.[47] It is not necessary , however, to appreciate the quantitative complexity of the brain's neuronic activity, because the micrological picture, that of the individual neuron, is adequate for our purpose.[48] It can be seen clearly from the function of each individual neuron that each inter-neuronal process which contributes to the making of a decision prefigures the chronotopic interstice in miniature: the human body will respond to cerebral directives which are both instinctive and/or preferred (and inter-related in a personal *Calculus* operating at each axon), and will be propelled in a newly oriented direction as a result. The chronotope in miniature, therefore, may be related to the behavioural interstice which occurs extra-corporeally as the result of the mind's decision-making process. It would be unrealistic to regard the relationship between axonic determinations by the brain and resultant human actions as a significant factor in the formation of Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope, but the significance of their relationship for the nature of the chronotope itself cannot be over-estimated.

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47 In the case of this being a movemental action, it would be the motor neurons which would be activated.

48 See J. Z. Young: Programs of the Brain, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1978, esp. pp. 40-58.

The way in which Bakhtin's theories of the relationship between the nature of dialogue, and the manner in which the dominant concerns of the individual are transmuted/transmitted into forms of verbal and other physical, muscular, action by neuro-chemical processes, may in some ways have been causative of an extension of his overall position in linguistic theory. This potentially enlarged subject-matter, though of interest to us in the broader context of the general nature of Bakhtin's approach to literature *vis à vis* human social interaction, inter-personal communication, and psychology in general, does not, however, lie in the mainstream of our own concerns; it belongs more to DN ,written in 1934-35, but not published until 1975, and to PDP, than to EN, (PND) and FTC. I mention it here in the interests of completeness, and to stress once again that we are in this thesis concerned only with one of many issues with which Bakhtin is concerned.

It would be safe to say that Bakhtin's own personal philosophy lies mainly in the direction of a mainly mechanist cosmology largely in tune with the tenets of dialectical materialism, but nevertheless stressing the "vitality" of the social complex, rather than of the individual alone, as the most advanced cultural unit. This would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the times, seen against the background of the Bolshevist belief, (the development of which was undertaken substantially by the sociologist, Lev Semenovich Vygotsky), that the creation of "The New Soviet Man" would only be possible in an unified socio-cultural environment. Indeed, Loren Graham has stated that: 'In order to understand better the way in which thought and language interact in the most advanced stage [adulthood] of the adult in modern society, Vygotsky paid much attention to literary analysis, semiotics and linguistics. His early work was known

to the great Soviet linguist, Mikhail Bakhtin, who similarly emphasised the influence of society on modes of thought'.[49] There is no suggestion here of any specific collusion between Bakhtin and Bolshevist ideology: what Bakhtin and Vygotsky have in common is a mutual interest at an essentially academic level; it is the interest which gives rise, eventually and amongst other concerns, to Bakhtin's theories of *heteroglossia.*

In the interests of throwing light on Bakhtin's overall epistemological position, it should be stated that not infrequently the sense of scientificism in Bakhtin's terms of reference, and in this context the Einsteinian cosmological content in his overall mode of thought as well, can be found fairly near the surface of his consciousness. Thus, in PDP, in the course of demonstrating how, in a world in which, despite the fact that Ivan Karamazov, Dimitry Karamazov, and Smerdyakov each occupies his own personal world, they can nevertheless develop 'a complex unity' of purpose, Bakhtin discloses the extent of his debt to Einstein:

> The world of the ditty combines with the world of the Schillerian dithyramb [50], Smerdyakov's vision combines with Dimitry's and

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[49] See Loren Graham: Science in Russia and the Soviet Union, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992, p. 107.

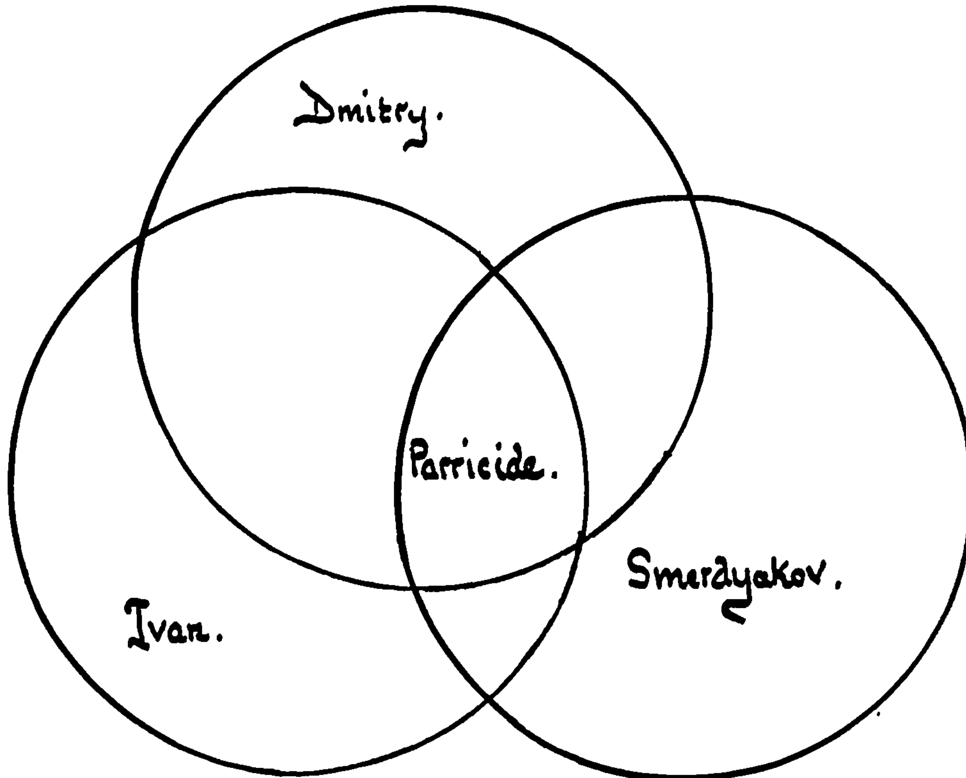
[50] This is a reference to the "carousal" qualities of the Moor Brothers in Schiller's drama *Die Rauber* in which Schiller creates a protagonist who does not acknowledge any higher form of authority than the self: it is a theme which fascinated Dostoevsky and was partly responsible for his formation of the notion of the distinction between the "ordinary" and the "exceptional" man , the latter category including, in particular, Raskolnikov and Stavrogin. The relevance here is to the taking of the law into their own hands by Ivan and Dimitri Karamazov and Smerdyakov. The distinction between the "ordinary" and the "exceptional" man was also paraded in 1865 in the Russian translation of the Emperor Napoleon III's History of Julius Caesar, in which the suggestion is made that humanity is divided into "ordinary people" and "heroes". See Joseph Frank: Dostoevsky: The Miraculous Years, London, Robson Books, 1995, p. 74. See also F. I. Evnin in 'Raskolnikov's Theory on the "Rights" of Great Men' in Twentieth Century interpretations of "Crime and Punishment", Ed. R. L. Jackson, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall Inc., Spectrum

> Ivan's. Thanks to these *various worlds*, the material can develop to the furthest extent what is most original and peculiar in it, without disturbing the unity of the whole and without mechanising it. It is as if varying systems of calculation were united here in the complex unity of the Einsteinian universe (although the juxtaposition of Dostoevsky's world with Einstein's world is, of course, only an artistic comparison and not a scientific analogy)'. [The italics and parentheses are Bakhtin's]. (PDP 16)

Even as an artistic comparison, the use here of the Einsteinian universe as the material of metaphor is significant: it draws into the wider field of literary criticism the notion, in this instance (which we may regard as typical) of human groupings, human associations and human contact as visible in complete universal systems, which, in their invisible autonomy and individuality, transcend an author's necessity to describe their inter-associations, for they are already implicitly fully formed in the text within the totality of the novelistic environment. Bakhtin, early in his career, would almost certainly have ascribed the power to create such overlapping, intercommunicative worlds only to Dostoevsky, whom he held to be uniquely capable of expressing the unspoken word by the agency of "polyphonic" discourse (as descriptive of both written and unwritten states of communication arising from states of mutual intuition rather than from "stated" discourse or textual exposition). In later years, he extended his ascription of "polyphonic" discourse to whatever, and in

Books, 1974, p. 91-93. Evnin refers in this paper to the publication of Napoleon III's work, and also to a number of other fictional heroes of the nineteenth century who, in his opinion, anticipate aspects of Raskolnikov's distinction: Balzac's Vautrin, Rastignac and Lucien de Rubempré; also Bulwer-Lytton's Eugène Aram, *inter alios*. It is quite possible that the entire "idea" of Raskolnikov might well have been derived from Balzac's Rastignac in *Le Père Goriot* , Paris, Rive Gauche, 1980, p. 34., the mid-paragraph sentence beginning: ' Son père, sa mère, ses deux frères, ses deux soeurs .... '.

whomsoever's work, it was to be found. We found in the overlapping worlds of Ivan, Dimitry, and Smerdyakov mentioned above, the following inter-communicative nexus:




So, later in this chapter, for example, in our examination of Andrey Bely's Petersburg, we will find other examples of worlds within worlds: other examples of mutual relationships/collusions arising from unwritten states of association: of interaction about which we know, but about which we have not been informed.

## OTHER INTER-DISCIPLINARY INFLUENCES.

The part played by the writings of the Berlin sociologist Georg Simmel (1858-1918) in the formation of Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope was first noticed by Stephen Gilman. In seeking to identify 'the difference between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza exposed to the world they live in, and Amadis and

Gandalin encased unproblematically in theirs',[51] Gilman attempts an explanation based 'on the distinction between adventure and experience suggested in an essay by the Austrian philosopher, sociologist ... Georg Simmel'.[52] He then quotes from Simmel's paper 'The Adventure':[53]

> The most general form of adventure is the dropping out of the continuity of life. . . . An adventure is certainly part of our existence, directly contiguous with other parts which precede or follow it; at the same time, however, in its deeper meaning, it occurs outside the continuity of this life.... We ascribe to an adventure a beginning and end much sharper than those to be discovered in other forms of experience.... The adventure lacks that reciprocal inter-penetration with adjacent parts of life which constitute "life-as-a-whole". It is like an island in life which determines its beginning and end according to its own formative powers.

Simmel's identification of the characteristics of adventure time is so similar to Bakhtin's definition of the Chronotope of the Greek novel of adventure (with which I will be concerned in Chapter Two), that I have included Bakhtin's definition below, for purposes of comparison:

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[51] See Stephen Gilman: The Novel According to Cervantes, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1988, p. 23. In a matter of detail, Gilman is incorrect in thinking that Simmel was Austrian: he was the son of a chocolate manufacturer from Berlin.

[52] See Georg Simmel: '*Das Abenteur*' in *Philosophische Kultur: Gessamelte Essays*, Leipzig, Klinckhardt, 1911, pp. 11-28. This paper is considered in additional contexts by W.W. Holdheim in: The Hermeneutic Mode: Essays on Time in Literature ... , Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1984, p. 246ff.

[53] Quoted in Kurt H. Wolff (Ed.): Georg Simmel, Columbus, Univ. of Ohio Press, 1959, pp. 243-44.

> Two adjacent moments [those at which the problems which generally beset the hero and heroine of the novel are respectively encountered and resolved, and permit their marriage], one of biographical life, one of biographical time, are directly conjoined. The gap, the pause, the hiatus which appears between these strictly adjacent biographical moments and in which, as it were, the entire novel is constructed, is not contained in the biographical time-sequence. It lies outside biographical time; it changes nothing in the life of the heroes, and introduces nothing into their life. It is, precisely, an extra-temporal hiatus between two moments of biographical time. (FTC 89-90).

Gilman further makes the following observation, in a footnote to the same text: 'As for Bakhtin, his discussion of "adventure time" as a distinct temporal phenomenon is equally pertinent'.[54] Gilman does not, however, appreciate the pertinence of these two definitions of adventure time from the standpoint of Bakhtinian studies, for the closeness of these two definitions forces one to raise the possibility that Bakhtin had adduced the concept from Simmel; not just the concept of the chronotope of adventure in the Greek novel, but the concept of the chronotope in general. (It must not be forgotten that Simmel's paper, written at the turn of the century, antedates FTC by over thirty years). I do not wish to state with certainty that Bakhtin owes the idea of the definition of categories of time to Simmel; it is always possible that the two passages which I have quoted above arose independently in the minds of their respective authors, or were the product of inter-current resonance. My reasons for suggesting the possibility of a derivative connection, however, are based not least on the

54 See Gilman: Ibid.

rapidity with which Bakhtin reaches the topic of Adventure Time in the Greek Novel in FTC.[55] After a very brief, and arguably inadequate, introduction of only seven paragraphs, Bakhtin begins his analysis of the chronotope of the Greek novel, in a section of 25 pages (of a total of 175), much of which constitutes a series of elaborations of what might well be adduced from Simmel.[56] I would maintain that there is at least a moderately secure case to be made for inferring that Bakhtin's idea of using the chronotope as a diagnostic instrument in literary biopsy arose subsequently to his realisation first, that Simmel's definition of Adventure Time was appropriate to the definition of time in the Greek novel of Adventure, and secondly, that, if a categorical definition of time could be assigned to that genre, then comparable definitions could be allocated to other, and later, forms of the novel. From these two realisations, FTC could have flowed quite naturally.

It is perhaps surprising that nowhere in Bakhtin's writings is there any mention of Simmel,[57] despite the fact that the latter was the leading exponent of the German school of Sociology in the early years of the century, and Bakhtin's self-evident interest in sociological matters. Simmel's works were readily

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55 This rapidity is responsible for Bakhtin's decision not to concern himself (in FTC) with the chronotopicity of literary forms antecedent to the Greek novel of the Roman Imperial period, and with which I deal at length in the next Chapter.

56 It is perhaps co-incidental, or perhaps symptomatic of Bakhtin's own priorities, that the rapidity with which FTC reaches the subject area with which it is to be concerned in most detail, is to be encountered again in BSHR, in which the matter of the division of the novel into its various sub-genres is addressed at enormous ( and totally inadequate) speed, in order to reach more rapidly the section in which he deals with the chronotopic implications of Goethe's world-view.

57 The only members of the Berlin School to whom Bakhtin refers are Heymann Steinthal (1823-1899) in DN 369n, in connection with the relationship of language and myth, and Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903) and Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1875). Simmel studied under both Steinthal and Lazarus, to both of whom he recorded his deep indebtedness (see K.H.Wolff: The Sociology of Georg Simmel, New York, The Free Press, 1950, p. xviii.), as well as Mommsen, Bastian, Zeller and Sybel.

available in Russia, in translation,[58] though Bakhtin, of course, spoke and read German fluently anyway. Perhaps the explanation for Bakhtin's apparent failure to engage critically in issues raised in contemporaneous sociology (for it is not only Simmel, but Tönnies, Weber, Durkheim, and the Russians Kovalevsky, Danilevsky and Sorokin) whose works remained un-noticed in Bakhtin's writings) is to be found in essence in an observation made by Igor Golosenko:[59]

> Georg Simmel considered it was inevitable, in the initial period of the forming of the new science [sociology], for a kind of "scientific adventurism" to appear. The fashionable label "sociology" was stuck onto whatever one liked; tense, hostile relations built up between devotees of the new science and spokesmen of the other humanitarian sciences (history, jurisprudence, political economy, etc.). That is why sociology, a Cinderella in the State universities of Russia, migrated into journalism and into publicist activity.

The implication here is simply that sociology was not taken seriously by members of more "established" faculties, but I cannot believe, for a variety of reasons additional to those I have already considered, that Bakhtin was either unfamiliar with the works of Simmel, or totally unaffected by them either.[60]

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58 See Leonid Ionin: 'Georg Simmel's Sociology', in I. S .Kon (Ed.): A History of Classical Sociology, trans. H. Campbell Crighton, Moscow, Progress Press, 1989, pp. 189-205. See also Kon in Op. Cit. p. 363. n.8.

59 See Igor Golosenko in I.S.Kon: Op. Cit. p. 340.

60 Simmel's researches into the nature of human behaviour touch upon areas of academic interest of concern to Bakhtin in numerous places. Bakhtin could not have read Simmel's *Untersuchungen über die Formen der Gesellschaftung* (1908), for example, without immediately recognising the significance of Simmel's contra-distinctions between behaviour in the Dyad and Triad respectively, on the one hand, and the nature of Dostoevsky's conspiratorial relationships in

## THE INFLUENCE OF FEODOR DOSTOEVSKY.

We must, I think, acknowledge Bakhtin's very considerable reliance on contemporaneous developments in scientific and humanistic thought, and that these provided the catalyst which underlay the generality of his approach to the study of literature. It is my firm belief, however, that equally primary influences formative of his thinking in relation to matters of time and place in literature are to be found in the mainstream of European (and especially Russian) literary fiction, and in three dis-similar but equally important respects, in the works of Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Bely. In general terms, Bakhtin's primary and abiding interest was in the work of Dostoevsky – *PDP* is an extraordinarily forceful testimony to this fact. It would seem that, in the course of his classical studies, he encountered the works not only of the major authors of antiquity but also those of Plautus, Lucian, Varro, Petronius and Apuleius. From his encounters with the satirists of the ancient world, it seems that he drew the conclusion that their combined influence was to be found throughout the history of Western literature (and with particular effect at the time of the renaissance), but had re-occurred with particular force in the work of Dostoevsky. Bakhtin devotes much effort to the establishment of this link, a link forged in the context of the fact that, invariably in all cultures, there exists a serio-comic counterpart to official, or

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The Brothers Karamazov, on the other. There exists a possible indication that Bakhtin uses this distinction in RAHW p.16, in the following context: 'A new type of communication always creates new forms of speech or a new meaning given to the old forms. For instance, when two persons establish friendly relations, the form of their verbal intercourse also changes abruptly; they address each other informally, abusive words are used affectionately, and mutual mockery is permitted. (In formal intercourse, only a third person can be mocked)' [My underlining]. In another instance, I would maintain that Bakhtin shared with Simmel a profound interest in the nature of the interaction of the Metropolis on mental and social life. The effects of metropolitan life on Gogol's and Dostoevsky's characters (especially in Crime and Punishment) act as the perfect exemplars for Simmel's paper *'Die Grosstädte und das Geistesleben'*, in which Simmel demarcates the different influences which act on individuals in Metropolitan, as opposed to country or small-town, societies. These are but two potential points of contact with Simmel.

hierarchically-organised, or privileged, states of authority: after all, Hogarth and Giles are absolutely in one tradition, and it might be said that the expression of satirical and carnivalistic inversions of authority as a form of tacit criticism of the *status quo* in society, whether in writing or in the form of revolution and social unrest, have been common to the whole of humanity, in all literature and schools of the visual arts. From a careful examination of PDP, it would appear that it was Crime and Punishment (and his short story 'Bobok' in particular) which convinced Bakhtin that an influential nexus between Dostoevsky and [especially] "Menippean" satire actually existed. It must be presumed, however, that Dostoevsky inherited the satire of the classical world both through direct channels (his study of the classics) and indirect channels (in particular his study of the novel). It cannot be a co-incidence that those other renaissance and modern authors in whom he took an especial interest – Cervantes in particular - were the very same authors who constituted, in his opinion, the connecting link between Dostoevsky and the classical world. Holquist, in talking about the difficulties the reader of Bakhtin's work experiences in understanding how, for example, "Menippean" satirical forms re-occur many centuries later, draws long comparisons with "preadaptation" in organic marine biology, but, in my view, this is quite un-necessary – syndromes can recur autonomically when prevailing circumstances are conducive to their recurrence and/or when they have ample precedents at whatever distance or remove. It is my opinion that Bakhtin's theories of polyphonic discourse, and the nature of discourse in the novel, for which he is now best known, were primary for him, though it may well have been that he was led to the area of discourse from an antecedent interest in classical satire arising in the course of his university studies. The area of enquiry with which we are concerned, however, the area of the chronotope, almost certainly arose from his deep envelopment in the study of the novel, which, throughout, had provided the raw materials for almost the totality of his work: it

may also have stemmed co-evally from his interest in the work of Ukhtomsky, and been triggered additionally, in the manner which I have discussed above, by his knowledge of the work of Simmel. Despite this, the chronotope was not, and never was, of foremost interest to Bakhtin – it is almost certainly for this reason that his two monographs on the subject of the chronotope are more concerned, respectively, with the 'Rabelaisian Chronotope' and the 'Goethean Chronotope' than with the chronotope consistently throughout literary history. The subject of the chronotope in relation to the *bourgeois* novel of the nineteenth century – to which it relates most closely in terms of topicality (literary-historically and sociologically), is scarcely dealt with in FTC, and it is for this reason, and similarly with regard to many other areas of omission, that many matters with which this thesis is concerned, are additional to the areas of enquiry already dealt with by Bakhtin.

It was in the novelistic technique of Dostoevsky, however, that Bakhtin was able to perceive most clearly not only a remarkable renaissance of Classical satire and the most extreme examples of hierarchical inversion in modern literature, but also the workings of time/space relationships in more openly, projected and obvious forms than had been visible in the work of any other modern writer. Even a cursory examination of *PDP* will attest to the fact that it was the first of Dostoevsky's great novels, Crime and Punishment, which gave Bakhtin most food for thought in the construction of a poetics of novelistic space and time. For this reason, therefore, I will use Crime and Punishment as exemplary of all I have to say in the matter of Dostoevsky's formative influence on Bakhtin's thought. Crime and Punishment's distinction of being the most hierarchically inverting of Dostoevsky's novels is, however, of significance to us as well, for the inversion of the *status quo*. To create a new (inverted) social order within the limits of one novel is the achievement of Crime and Punishment: the

use of chronotopic "systems" is largely the means whereby this achievement is accomplished.

In the course of Crime and Punishment's novelistic time, calculated by A. Tseitlin at 9 1/2 days, [61] the following events take place: Raskolnikov is driven to desperation by his own and his family's poverty, murders two women, falls in love with Sonya Marmeladova, a prostitute, confesses to his crime, and arranges to marry Sonya after his release from imprisonment; Sonya's father, Marmeladov, is killed in a carriage accident, and her mother dies of consumption; Svidrigailov commits suicide through feelings of guilt, traumatic shock and nihilistic tendencies; Luzhin ceases to be engaged to Raskolnikov's sister, Dunya, and after a matter of a few days, she agrees to marry Raskolnikov's friend, Razumikhin. The speed with which all these inversions take place – to the disadvantage of Svidrigailov, Marmeladov, Marmeladova and Luzhin, and to the advantage of Raskolnikov, Sonya, Dunya and Razumikhin – is of enormous velocity, but the perceived speed at which incident follows incident does not seem so "unreasonably" great as to damage the credibility of Dostoevsky's narrative.[62] I would maintain that Dostoevsky achieves this sense of credibility by the allocation of sequential time to immediately available

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61 See F. I. Evnin, who quotes A. G. Tseitlin in Dostoevsky: Crime and Punishment, Ed. Gibian, New York, Norton, 1989, p. 637ff.

62 In this connection, it is appropriate to determine Dostoevsky's own views on what constitutes reality in the novel. The following is an extract from a letter, dated Florence, 26. February 1869, to his publisher, Nikolai Strakhov : 'I have my own idea about art, and it is this: What most people regard as fantastic and lacking in originality, I hold to be the inmost essence of truth. Arid observation of everyday trivialities I have long ceased to regard as realism - it is quite the reverse. In any newspaper one takes up, one comes across reports of wholly authentic facts, which nevertheless strike one as extraordinary. Our writers regard them as fantastic, and take no account of them; and yet they are the truth, for they are facts. But who troubles to observe, record, describe them ? They happen every day and every moment, therefore, they are not "exceptional"....' See Avrahm Yarmolinsky (Ed.): Letters of Fyodor Dostoevsky, London, Peter Owen, 1962, p. 165-168 [Letter No. XLVII].

characters acting within immediately accessible spaces. Nothing, in my opinion, could have alerted Bakhtin to the subject area of the chronotope in literature more forcibly than the dexterity with which space and time are interwoven in Crime and Punishment.

In the first place, the topographical environment of Crime and Punishment contains virtually no private space. In complete contra-distinction to Tolstoy's enclosed drawing-rooms to which (quoting Bakhtin) I made reference earlier, space in Dostoevsky's novels, and in Crime and Punishment in particular, is open. Every inhabited corner of novelistic space is visitable by anyone at almost any time. Raskolnikov's room does not even have a lock, only a catch which is only known to have been fastened once throughout the duration of the novel, and not closed at any time when the novel "requires" it to be open.[63] During the period of his unconsciousness, Raskolnikov's room is visited, by his landlady Pashenka, her servant Nastasya, by Razumikhin, by two messengers of the merchant Vakrushin, by Zosimov (his doctor), and by Zamyotov from the police department. Raskolnikov is almost invariably available, and not the least reason for this is that he is socially alone, and not a member of a cohesive family united under one roof. The same observation applies to Razumikhin, who occupies lodgings on Vassilievsky Island, at the other end of the City. Svidrigailov, Luzhin and Lebezyatnikov are all visitors to St. Petersburg and, like Raskolnikov's mother and sister, occupy rented rooms in boarding houses. The Marmeladov family occupies rented accommodation in the house of Mrs. Lippewechsel, but they are afforded so little privacy that they live almost in public space; their daughter, because she earns her living as a

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63 See Dostoevsky: Crime and Punishment, trans. David McDuff, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1989, p. 300.

prostitute, occupies her own rented room at what one critic has euphemistically called the Hotel Resslich. Even Porphiry Petrovich, the Examining Magistrate, is no less available, and has a service apartment attached to the Haymarket police station: this renders his own personal environment permanently available to Raskolnikov (in the manner of a confessional) and, additionally, available to Zamyotov and Ilya Petrovich. Each character in the novel makes his appearance unencumbered by familial or professional commitments. Only the representatives of the law, Porphiry Petrovich, Zamyotov and Ilya Petrovich, who represent and officially determine a sense of order in society and hence fall outside the sequences of rises and falls experienced by the other characters, are gainfully employed. All other characters in Crime and Punishment are free to be where they like precisely when they like, and have an unencumbered ability to step onto the stage of the novel instantaneously at Dostoevsky's behest.

The architecture of St. Petersburg in Crime and Punishment occupies space which is essentially theatrical: the City is an open proscenium which is unceasingly occupied, and it is in this respect that, in the words of Bakhtin, the sense of time in Dostoevsky falls outside biographical time. It is a novel which has no external time markers, no internal time limitations, and no extra-novelistic circumstances which might stand in the way of narrative progress: there is no significant world outside the novel (except, of course the world of which Dostoevsky is so critical in the novel!). Narrative credibility is not lost through excessive chronotopic speed for the same reason that in almost any theatrical production, compressions and distortions of time sequence are subject to theatrical convention.[64] Joseph Frank in the recently published fourth

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64 A useful comparison would be the use of the curtain ( and a chorus of 53 lines) in Shakespeare's Henry V to denote the passage of the night before the Battle of Agincourt).

Volume of his critical biography of Dostoevsky, also acknowledges the theatrical element in the structure of Crime and Punishment, in his reference to 'the use of tightly plotted form, full of unexpected surprises and sharp reversals of situation, typical of the mid- nineteenth century stage, and still favoured by Ibsen'.[65]

It is highly probable that Dostoevsky, in the writing of Crime and Punishment, was not unaware of the theatrical qualities which the novel possessed. In a significant passage in which Zosimov and Razumikhin discuss the manner in which the murderer of the pawnbroker avoided detection immediately after the crime, we read the following exchange:[66]

> '... but the box offers clear proof that it was precisely there that he stood. There you have it!'
> 'Clever! Yes, brother, but it won't do. It's just a little too clever!'
> 'Why do you say that ?'
> 'Because it all fits together too well. . . it's too neat. . . like something out of a play'.
> 'You really are the most. . .' Razumikhin began to explain, but at that moment the door opened, and there entered a new *dramatis persona* who was not familiar to a single one of those present.

In this one passage, there are two references to the theatre, and I do not find it difficult to suppose that Dostoevsky was only too aware that the narrative of the novel at this point, at which Razumikhim attempts to reconstruct the

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65 See Joseph Frank: Dostoevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865-1871, London, Robson Books, 1995, p. 96.

66 See Dostoevsky: Crime and Punishment, Op. Cit, p. 186.

movements of Koch, Pestryakov, Nikolai, Dmitri, two yardkeepers and the murderer each in relation to one another, had begun to resemble an extract from a French farce: Dostoevsky's response to this awareness of his own theatricality was to cause Razumikhin to use a system of linguistic reference to the theatre in his own speech.

It is useful also, I think, to draw a comparison between Dostoevsky's inter-relation of time and space, again with particular reference to Crime and Punishment, with their comparable use in the *modus operandi* of the *Commedia dell' Arte,* where we encounter the same elements of fall and resurrection, coronation and de-crowning, within an environment in which characters are free from external restraint and are invariably available.

## THE INFLUENCE OF COUNT LEO TOLSTOY AND THE THEORY OF HISTORY

The influence of Tolstoy on Bakhtin in the matter of Chronotope theory is in part indirect, but none the less important for that circumstance. Tolstoy's enquiries into the matter of historical causation forced him, also, to the conclusion that any historical event must have an effect, and must, therefore, be nothing less than a chronotopic interstice. For Tolstoy, the problem, which was to be debated in the area of historiography and which was to colour the nature of subsequent thinking in terms of the nature of historical causes and effects, arose before and during the writing of War and Peace. Originally the latter was to have been a familial novel, predominantly tracing the interaction of four families of the landed aristocracy, the Rostovs, Bolkonskis, Kuragins and Buzukhovs. Their familial inter-connections were to have been seen against the broad background

of the Napoleonic invasion of Russia. As the idea for the novel progressed, however, so the Napoleonic invasion began to assume a more central role in Tolstoy's plot development than he had originally anticipated. Progressively, Tolstoy became convinced that historical, and especially military, events could no longer be understood in terms of conventional theoretical historiography. The causes of this questioning, and of his ultimate rejection, of the stylised hierarchically-organised history of the type which we find, for example, in Gibbon, were first the French Revolution, and then the rise of Napoleon, both as man and Emperor. The French Revolution had, seemingly through an unheralded demonstration of popular power (which was probably more inexplicable to a Russian than to anyone else), literally inverted the governmental and social hierarchies of France. Almost for the first time since the advent of feudalism, ruling power was now drawn from the man in the street, and the king had been decrowned in the gory Parisian carnival of 1792. Previously, the historian had almost invariably been in a position to identify an usurper of power in person: now, however, it was not possible: because the French Revolution was not the work of an individual at whom an identifying finger could be pointed. Whereas even in Gibbon's history, every barbarian tribe had had its single leader and driving force by which it could be identified, be it Alaric, Attila or Genseric, now it was a matter of factions, of parties, loose allegiances and crowds of people: and Tolstoy asks: 'What did it all mean? Whence did it arise? What moved those men to burn houses and kill men like themselves? What were the first causes of those events? What was the force which compelled those men to act after such a fashion?' [67] In consequence of the French revolution, this type of question had become rhetorical.

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[67] Leo Tolstoy: War and Peace, London, Dent, Dutton, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 425.

Then it was Napoleon who had broken the mould of history for the second time in a generation. By a series of wars more reminiscent of the predatory wars of Alexander the Great or Tamerlaine, he had appeared to rise from nowhere and transform the new Republic into an Empire, a colossal achievement in itself, but, asks Tolstoy: 'Why Napoleon?' By what causes and effects did history select this individual and elevate him, albeit briefly, to political supremacy? Tolstoy was not alone in questioning the validity of established historiographical methods, in the light of these new and unprecedented historical developments, for he found as allies, two writers, both with first-hand experience of the Napoleonic wars, who shared and helped to mould his views in the field of military historiography.

The first of these fellow-thinkers was Stendhal, who had accompanied Napoleon to Moscow in 1812 as auditor of the Conseil d'Etat, but who, in La Chartreuse de Parme, had expressed grave doubts about the nature of historiographical cognition, particularly in the context of Fabrizio del Dongo's experiences at the Battle of Waterloo. Fabrizio voluntarily engages in the Battle, understanding nothing of its progress, belonging to no regiment but wearing the uniform of the 4th. Regiment of Hussars. He succeeds only in selling one horse and buying two others in the course of forty eight hours. He survives in battle mainly by accident, spends long hours talking with the *cantinières* and is wounded more by chance than by act of war. Stendhal describes the Battle of Waterloo with colossal irony and tragic humour, as an utterly meaningless war-game, only minute parts of which are visible to any one man (in this case Fabrizio) at any one time : the wider criticism, which remains unstated because it is obvious, is that the Generals whom Fabrizio accompanies for part of the battle, mainly out of a sense of curiosity, are equally ignorant of the overall picture, because they can observe no more than he can. In consequence, their

ability/power to control the progress of the battle is negligible: Tolstoy acknowledges his indebtedness to Stendhal in this context in his interview with Paul Boyer in 1901.[68]

Tolstoy's second ally was Count Jacques de Maîstre, who, in Les Soirées de St. Petersbourg,[69] touched directly on the issues of power, inversion of power, and especially on cognition in general, in relation to the nature of the cognition of the individual on the battlefield. In the words of Sir Isaiah Berlin: 'Maîstre regarded the battlefield as typical of life in all its aspects, and derided the generals who thought that they were in fact controlling the movements of their troops and directing the course of the battle'. [70] It was de Maîstre's view that a general lost control of a battle as soon as it had begun, and that it was the acts of individual soldiers which were at the decisive and cutting edge of success or failure in battle.[71] Once again, having regard to the new order established in France, we can witness the ease with which established assumptions in matters of historiographical causation are capable of complete inversion. Tolstoy's diary entry for 1. November 1865 reads 'I am reading Maîstre'; and in November 1865, Tolstoy was in the course of writing War and Peace.

Stendhal's creation of Fabrizio clearly had a profound effect on Tolstoy, for, in his depiction of Pierre Bezhukov on the eve of the Battle of Borodino in

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68 See Paul Boyer (1864-1949): *Chez Tolstoi,* Paris, 1950, p. 40.

69 Republished in French translation, Paris, 1960.

70 See Sir Isaiah Berlin: 'The Hedgehog and the Fox' in Russian Thinkers, London, Hogarth Press, 1978, p. 60.

71 *Les Soirées de St. Petersburg,* Paris, 1960, entretien 7, p. 224-29. See also Note. 73 *infra.*

War and Peace, we find Stendhal's inimitable character once again, in all but name:

> The road presently cleared; Pierre went down the hill and got into his carriage again. As he drove on, he looked out on both sides of the road for someone he knew, but he saw none but strangers, and all stared in astonishment at his white hat and green coat. After travelling about four versts, he at last saw a face he recognised, and at once hailed it: it was one of the physicians to the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by a young doctor; his britzka met Pierre's: he knew him at once....
> '"You, Count ! What brings you here, excellency ?"
> "A wish to see what is going on, that is all."
> "Aye, Aye ! Well, you will see plenty to satisfy your curiosity"....
> Pierre got out to talk more at his ease, and expressed his intention to take part in the battle. The Doctor recommended him to speak to the Commander-in-chief:
> "Otherwise you will not be recognised, and get put God knows where....
> "Do you think so ?", said Pierre, "Tell me how our position lies".
> "Our position. Oh, that is not my line; when you have passed Tatarinovo you will see.... Go up the hill and you will have a view of the whole plain".[72]

As in the case of Fabrizio, it is curiosity which acts as the principal incentive for becoming involved in battle. In Pierre's case, there is no conviction,

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72 War and Peace, Op.Cit. Vol. 3 , p. 6-7.

no knowledge of the terrain, no membership of a regiment, no uniform and presumably no arms: Pierre, like Fabrizio, is totally unprepared for the battle and for the experience of the battle when it takes place. Pierre is similarly used by Tolstoy to underline his feelings about war in general: his experiences reveal a total lack of hierarchical control once hostilities have begun. Tolstoy does not maintain, however, that a man cannot act in a meaningful way in battle: his description of the conduct of Nikolai Rostov at the battle of Schöngraben is one of an officer who, largely through his experience as a huntsman, is able to judge the progress of battle by a kind of instinct which is drawn from an on-going appraisal of events, not from a pre-ordained battle-plan. Bakhtin, of course, was familiar with the roles played by Fabrizio at Waterloo and Pierre at Borodino, but identifies their importance in their use by Stendhal and Tolstoy as *ingénues* commenting on the futility of war, whilst in ignorance of their wider politico-military surroundings.[73] He sees them within the framework of his own poetics of the novel only as examples of "not (non) – understanding" characters, fundamentally akin to the fools, idiots, clowns and other "outsiders" of literary history who comment, usually adversely and with enhanced precision, on the futility of (mainly) the established order of things, because, in their ignorance, they stand outside the hierarchical structures which they identify as defective. Bakhtin makes mention, in a similar context, of the comparable effectiveness of Gulliver's criticisms of English society, and Montesquieu's criticisms of French society in Les Lettres Persanes (FTC 164). He does not, however, in the instances of Fabrizio and Pierre, identify their roles as expressive of authorial comment in matters relating to the arbitrary nature of causation which, of itself, may be seen

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[73] See General Mikhail Ivanovich Dragomirov: Etude du Roman "La Guerre et La Paix ", Paris, 1896, pp. 94-100, who criticises Tolstoy for regarding the whole of a battle to be constantly under the direct command of Generals. Dragomirov stresses the point that the advance planning of a battle is directed by generals, who subsequently hand over the actual fighting of the battle to subordinate officers, who often act independently of one another and may be expected to.

to have acted as a causative influence on the formation of Bakhtin's own concept of the chronotope as a series of interstices provoking other interstitial events.

More and more frequently as the text of War and Peace progresses, we are alerted to the nature of Tolstoy's doubts about the nature of causation *per se*. The following passage, tinged with a dry and sardonic humour, may serve as an example:[74]

> Several historians have asserted that the Russians won the day at Borodino because Napoleon was suffering from a cold. But for that cold, his combinations would have borne the stamp of genius throughout, Russia would have lost, and the face of the world would have been changed. Such a conclusion, namely that Russia remained great because Napoleon had a cold in his head on the 6th. may be held indisputable by writers who can maintain that the mere sovereign will of Peter the Great transformed Russia; or that the will of Napoleon alone metamorphosed the French Republic into an empire, and bore the arms of France onto Russian soil.

Later, almost pleading with his reader to explain how it was possible that, after the Battle of Borodino, the Russians were unable to cut off the French retreat, he is still lost for an answer, and in desperation merely poses the

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[74] See Tolstoy: War and Peace, Vol. 3, p. 32.

question: 'How could this have happened?'[75] He does, however, pinpoint what he suspects to be a fault in the way in which history is reported:[76]

> The fallacy lies in the circumstance that historians have been content to study events in the letters of emperors and marshals, and in official reports and narratives, and have falsely concluded that there was, in fact, a plan for cutting off Napoleon's retreat and making vast numbers of prisoners. But such a plan never was made...'

In his celebrated epilogue to War and Peace, Tolstoy once again questions the methods of these historians of official history, as he maintains that there is no guarantee that they have had access to the same or similarly appropriate source material:[77]

> Thus historians of this species, by mutually annihilating one another's positions, annihilate any definite idea of the force which produces events, and so return no answer to the essential question of history.

Undaunted, therefore, Tolstoy sets out to formulate the nature of what actually constitutes causal forces:[78]

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75 Ibid, Vol .3., p. 309.

76 Ibid, Vol. 3., p. 309-310.

77 Ibid, Vol. 3., p. 429.

78 Ibid, p. 430.

> To find out what are the constituent forces which are equivalent to an integral, a co-efficient, force it is necessary to make the sum of the constituent forces coincide with the integral force of which they form the component parts. This condition we never find observed by general historians. The result is that, to explain what the co-efficient force is, they are driven also to concede (to make good the deficiency of constituent forces) the existence of another and unexplained force which acts in accordance with the integral one.

Needless to say, there is only one way in which Tolstoy's requirement for accuracy in historical reporting can be satisfied; namely, to regard every contingent circumstance affecting anybody or everything concerned with an event, whether marshal or private soldier, prince or pauper, field gun or pistol, as differentially creative of this (Tolstoy's definition of) co-efficient force. It goes without saying that, in practice, such an approach cannot be applied to the production of written accounts of history: Tolstoy has virtually fallen back upon the Classical "atomist" position of Epicurus' understanding of Demokritos, (and as this not so primitive atomic theory is found in Lucretius):[79]

> It is no wonder that man cannot follow the individual atoms, so as to discover the agency by which everything is brought about.

Sir Isaiah Berlin goes so far as to say that concepts of causation in history are notionally inverted by Tolstoy in the sense that:[80]

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79 Lucretius: De Nat Deor: 2. 196.

80 Berlin, Op. Cit. p. 34.

> The higher soldiers or statesmen are in the pyramid of authority, the farther they must be from its base, which consists of those ordinary men and women whose lives are the actual stuff of history.

Berlin, however, takes the consequences of Tolstoy's position further, in examining the correlation between the infinitesimal nature of the constituent elements of causation, on the one hand, and the nature of man's free will, on the other:[81]

> This terrible dilemma is never finally resolved. Sometimes, as in the explanation of his intentions which he published before the final part of War and Peace had appeared, Tolstoy vacillates; the individual is 'in some sense' free when he alone is involved: thus, when raising his arm, he is free within physical limits. But once he is involved in relationships with others, he is no longer free, he is part of the inexorable stream. Freedom is real, but it is confined to trivial acts. At other times even this feeble ray of hope is extinguished: Tolstoy declares that he cannot admit even small exceptions to the universal law; causal determinism is either wholly pervasive or it is nothing and chaos reigns.

We must, I think, concur with Berlin's conclusions in this manner, which is of essential significance to us in terms of the development of the intellectual climate which gave rise to the study of time/space relationships (chronotopes) as causative inter-linkages of an historical nature, but which are,

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81 Ibid. p. 44.

in Bakhtin's case, the property of the novelistic text: in *ethos* they prefigure much of what was to be determined in the exact sciences in, for example, the nature of causation in the light of Einstein's research. In this emotive environment, Berlin's 'inexorable stream' easily becomes an endless flow of chronotopic interstices (or, for that matter) Lucretian atomic collisions. (Simplicius reports Leukippos as maintaining that atoms could come together only by direct contact, collision or interlocking).[82] Berlin, further, expresses Tolstoy's vision of 'events' in the following way: [83]

> Both Tolstoy and Maistre think of what occurs as a thick, opaque, inextricably complex web of events, objects, characteristics, connected and divided by literally innumerable and unidentifiable links – and gaps, and sudden dis-continuities too, visible and invisible.

From the point of view of the emergence of Bakhtin's works of criticism, the currency of so fluid an exposition of the general principles of historiography was convenient in terms of timing. Almost simultaneously, the Idealist physicist, A. I. Bachinsky, argued, perhaps somewhat circuitously, that: [84]

> The integral and differential calculus supported a mechanistic world view that treated all natural phenomena as parts of one continuous process, expressed all natural processes in terms of

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82 See S. Toulmin and J. Goodfield: The Architecture of Matter, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 60-63.

83 Berlin, Op. Cit. p. 68.

84 See A.Vucinich: Science in Russian Culture: 1861-1917, Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 352.

uniform causal relationships, and dealt far too much with infinitesimally small phenomena.

Bachinsky, in 1906, attacked Tolstoy 'for describing human history as a mass of incidents from which calculus could deduce a single, continuous process'.[85] It should be noted that a position similar to Tolstoy's had already been adopted by Carlyle (another historian of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars!) in On History.[86] Early, however, in the period of Bakhtin's immersion in the works of the Russian novelists, and in the works of Dostoevsky in particular (circa 1918), there had taken place another, and far more cataclysmic war, the First World War, in which, for the second time in modern European history, the hierarchical social order had been radically inverted: once again, in much the same way that the inversion (in terms of rank in terms of importance) of the causation of events on the battlefield, postulated by Tolstoy and de Maîstre with reference to the Napoleonic Wars, implied a powerful sense of personal equality, so the First World War provided a repetition and continuation of the same syndrome. Neither must we forget that, on the Russian front in 1917, private soldiers had torn officers of the Imperial cavalry from their horses and murdered them, in a state of chaos, which Tolstoy had (at least in theory) anticipated, in circumstances which had arisen from paradoxes stemming from his deliberations in War and Peace. The continuance of this chaos took the form of the Russian revolution, the Godless nature of which encouraged the very sense of mechanistic exposition of every category of explanation, political, "religious" or otherwise, which flowed logically from the type of historiological

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85 Quoted by E. Mossmann in G. S. Morson [Ed.]: Literature and History: Theoretical Problems and Russian Case Studies, Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 253.

86 Fraser's Magazine No.10, [1830], reprinted in Carlyle: Essays, London, Dent, Dutton, 1915, Vol. 2., p. 80.

position held by Tolstoy. It is my contention that in FTC Bakhtin devises a comparable and equally mechanistic, formulaic system which enables the 'thick, opaque, inextricably complex web' to which Berlin refers, to be applied to the definition of novelistic texts, in the form of the chronotope; in part subconsciously, but partly also as a response to the inexplicability of so much that had happened in the period 1914-18 (arguably Bakhtin's most formative years).

At this juncture, it would be remiss of me, I think, not to relate the successive hierarchical inversions in history to which I have referred (and of which Bakhtin will have been aware both from history directly, and, from a theoretical point of view, from the issues raised in Tolstoy's criticisms of conventional historiographical method) to Bakhtin's own recognition of the inter-relatedness of the inversion of hierarchies to satire, carnival and carnivalisation in the novel, and in the novels of Dostoevsky in particular. One has only to compare Raskolnikov's futile attempts at self-justification, in comparing his own act of murder with Napoleon's first crime against the "old" law of France, with Tolstoy's questioning doubt of Napoleon's accepted status as a "great man" to infer the separate and very different influences of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky upon Bakhtin.[87]

It now remains for me to consider the influence of Andrey Bugayev (Bely), upon the formation of Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope.

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[87] See Dostoevsky: Crime and Punishment, trans. MacDuff, Op. Cit. p. 312, and Tolstoy War and Peace, Op. Cit. Vol. 3., p. 426 and Ch. CLII, *passim*.

## THE INFLUENCE OF ANDREY BELY (BUGAYEV).

Andrey Bely's novel, Petersburg, (1913), was an immediate success. It deals with the history of the City in the course of exactly forty eight hours, of which twenty four are measured by the elapsed time of a detonator attached to a bomb, with which Nikolai, the frustrated protagonist of the novel, has been persuaded to kill his father, a government Senator. It is a novel in which, in Spitzer's terms, the lability of the perceived speed of time is either much greater or much less than the constant speed of elapsed time (as measured by the detonator). The idea of the constant time marker in the background of the narrative is a purely Einsteinian device, associated with the Relativity of Simultaneity.[88] This factor alone transforms the nature of Petersburg at least partly into an experiment in time, (and it would give this impression if it were written by an author who did not have a special interest in matters of this kind). The experimental nature of Bely's writing, and the almost angular geometry quality of his presentation of the City in Petersburg should come as no surprise , for he was the son of an eminent mathematician, who was also Dean of the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Moscow. Andrey also read Mathematics and was, reputedly, a brilliant student. It is not surprising therefore, that he brings to the novel a perfectly formed mathematical symbolism with which to denote, amongst other things, the impersonal nature of life in the City in the last days of Imperial power (the novel actually forecasts the end of the Empire). Whereas authors writing in the classical idiom of the nineteenth century (and in this context I am referring especially to Pushkin, Gogol, Custine, and Dostoevsky) had presented their respective impressions of St. Petersburg as an unstable and

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88 See Albert Einstein: Relativity: The Special and the General Theory, London, Methuen, 1920, p. 20-26.

artificial city by means of literal description and evocative comment, Bely reduces the capital of the Empire to putative insignificance by allocating to it only a map reference, a merely conventional concept of space. After all, the area occupied by a point is 'nil', and in this way, St. Petersburg's position is made to contain the sense of its non-existence: [89]

> However that may be [the fact that St. Petersburg only appears to exist], Petersburg not only appears to us, but actually does appear-on maps: in the form of two small circles, one set inside the other, with a black dot in the centre; and from precisely this mathematical point, which has no dimension, it proclaims forcefully that it exists: from here, from this very point surges and swarms the printed book: from this invisible point speeds the invisible circular.

Similarly, in the following passage, Bely describes the state of mind of the Senator, Apollo Apollonovich Ableukhov, as he surveys, from the comfort of his own coach, the Nevsky Prospekt, and the straight, rigidly geometric forms of Peter the Great's planned city:[90]

> Proportionality and symmetry soothed the Senator's nerves, which had been irritated both by the irregularity of his domestic life and by the futile rotation of our wheel of state.

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89 See Andrey Bely: Petersburg, (trans. Maguire and Malmstad), Hassocks, Harvester Press, 1978, p. 2.

90 Ibid. p. 10-11.

His tastes were distinguished by their harmonious simplicity.

And he wanted the carriage to fly forward, the prospects to fly to meet him – . . . . ; so that all the earth crushed by prospects, in its lineal cosmic flight should intersect, with its rectilineal principle, unembraceable infinity; . . . .

Most of all he loved the rectilineal prospect; this prospect [This is in its major sense a reference to the Nevsky Prospekt] reminded him of the flow of time between the two points of life.

While dwelling in the centre of the black, perfect, satin-lined cube [his coach], Apollon Apollonovich revelled at length in the quadrangular walls. Apollon Apollonovich was born for solitary confinement. Only his love of the plane geometry of the state had invested him in the polyhedrality of a responsible position.

In the passages quoted above we can observe the order within the disorder of Bely's "impressionism", the calculated use of geometrical symbolism reliant upon a very up-to-date appreciation of (once again) Einstein's Special Theory, and also on non- [post-] Euclidian geometry.[91] There is also a strong

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91 Bely is here attempting to apply the patterns generated in the Senator's imagination to the concept represented in a modification of Euclid's Geometry by Nikolai Lobatchewski (1793-1856), and simultaneously but independently by Janos Bolyai (1802-1860), to the effect that it may be possible after all, for two parallel lines to intersect in infinity. Euclid had postulated that, if the world were reduced to a planisphere, as encoded in Bely's 'so that all the world crushed by prospects' (*supra*) , parallel lines could never meet in infinity. (It is this Euclidian postulate, incidentally, which provided Andrew Marvell with his paradox in 'The Definition of Love', in which the love of two lovers is so perfectly in parallel that it can, paradoxically, never meet in the next world!) There is also a *double entendre* here on 'prospect', as a vision of the future, and *Prospekt* [in transliteration] as the planispherically arranged Boulevards which in the planned City of St.Petersburg are constructed in parallel e.g. The Nevsky Prospekt.

Plate No. 2.
The Polyhedronic Fortress Complex of Peter the Great
at St. Petersburg.
From the Atlas of M.I.Makhaev (1753)
Please refer to page 75. n. 92.

element of *analytical* (co-ordinate) geometrical thinking in the metaphor of Bely's geometry. This side of Bely, as seen in Petersburg, would have passed on a whole systematics of space in prose fiction to Bakhtin: in the notes to my text, I have attempted to show the degree of sinuous complexity by which Bely symbolically encodes meaning, very often by endowing spatial and temporal co-ordinates with secondary and/or multiple significances. One might cite, for example, the *double entendre* on "polyhedrality", as many-sided and firmly positioned on a triangular base, as against many-faced and, consequently unreliable, as an example of this technique.[92]

In addition, there are certain characteristics of Bely's thinking, often absorptions from Einstein, which are anticipatory of Bakhtin's later positions: in the course of Petersburg, for example, the house of Senator Ableukhov, to which the author never ascribes a postal address, moves from one location in the City to another, a fact of which we become aware only by charting the routes taken by characters arriving at, or leaving, Ableukhov's house in whichever position it is at any given time. At the beginning of the novel, the house is clearly situated on the English Embankment, over-looking the relatively prosperous suburb of

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[92] The juxtaposition of the concept of 'polyhedrality' with that of 'a responsible position' (in the final line quoted above), following on from the juxtaposition of 'plane geometry' and the 'state', is yet another *double entendre* . The original seat of responsibility in St. Petersburg, and the first palace of Czar Peter the Great, had been the Peter and Paul fortress, which is very prominently situated on an artificial island in the River Neva, and built in the form of a polyhedron of the fortress type developed originally by Filarete and improved later by Sebastian van Noyen. The Peter and Paul Fortress complex, when viewed cartographically (Please see Plate No. 2), appears first and foremost as polyhedronic. Bely would undoubtedly have been acquainted with the City maps of Homann (1719), Makhaev (1753), and countless later examples. Bely here equates polyhedrality with Imperial power, as well as with many-facedness or duplicity. The shape of the Imperial fortress would have been of particular interest to Bely as it does not conform to any regular complex formation of Platonic solids, Kepler-Poinsot polyhedra etc. (see H.M.Cundy and A.P.Rollett: Mathematical Models, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1961, p. 76ff.), and is a mathematical 'curiosity'. See also Maguire and Malmstad for: 'At times, for hours on end, he [the Senator] would lapse into an unthinking contemplation of pyramids, triangles, parallel-epipeds, cubes and trapezoids' (p. 11).

Vassilievsky Island on the other side of the River Neva: later it moves to the French Embankment, which overlooks the manual-labouring suburb known as the Vyborg quarter. Bely does not inform the reader of its transposition. The position of the house is moved for purposes of social comment, but, once again, the underlying thinking is both Einsteinian and Bakhtinian. The point that Bely is making is that the exact position of the house is not "material" (in either sense of the word) to the narrative: what does matter is the position of the house in relation to what can be seen from, adduced from or interpreted from its position: it is a question of standpoints. Clark and Holquist, without any reliance on, or reference to, Bely, have put the matter very succinctly:[93]

> Bakhtin, in arguing that the particular place from which something is perceived determines the meaning of what is observed, was attempting to do for conscious mind what Einstein was seeking to do for the physical universe when he too, at almost the same time, emphasised the determining role played by the locus from which phenomena are observed.

The other "side" of Bely in Petersburg is that which concerns the actual phenomenal contacts (interstices) of everyday life, which, within the ghostly matrix of parallelograms which we have seen passing through the Senator's consciousness, are perceived as chaotic. Thus, as the Senator's coach moves forward along the Nevsky Prospekt, Bely attributes to him a myriad confused thoughts, elements of which are to be found in the exactness of geometry, astronomy, particle physics and wireless telegraphy: the Senator's thought processes, whilst conveyed as perfectly normal, are nevertheless broken down

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93 See Clark and Holquist, Op. Cit. p. 69.

into what can only be described as constituent parts or elements, which then flow together again, as in a stream of consciousness:[94]

> The aged senator communicated with the crowd that flowed in front of him by means of wires (telegraph and telephone). The shadowy stream seemed to him like the calmly current news of the world. Apollo Apollonovich was thinking: about the stars. Rocking on the black cushions, he was calculating the power of the light perceived from Saturn.
>
> Suddenly – his face grimaced and began to twitch. His blue-rimmed eyes rolled back convulsively. His hands flew up to his chest. And his torso reeled back, while the top hat struck the wall [of the coach] and fell on his lap.
> The involuntary nature of his movement was not subject to explanation. The senator's code of rules had not foreseen. . .
>
> Contemplating the flowing silhouettes, Apollo Apollonovich likened them to shining dots. One of these dots broke loose from its orbit and hurtled at him with dizzying speed, taking the form of an immense crimson sphere. . . .

These sudden temporal events, which cut across the straight line of the Nevsky, are representative of the disorganised side of Andrei Bely's novel: they are the indeterminate elements in life which, as time, which is represented by Saturn, unrolls, impose themselves like so many markers or notches on the

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94 See Bely: Op. Cit., p. 13-14.

route of life. Maintaining the sense of circulinear imagery which informed Bely's description of the City, the point on the map from which all else radiates, the images moving at a slower speed than the Senator's coach are also perceived as rounded – they are part of the great universe outside the coach, the "space capsule" which alone has stability in its direct transit along the broad Nevsky Prospekt. Then, suddenly, one image from the infinity of circulinear images on the sidewalk establishes contact with the Senator – an eye-contact which immediately transforms that image, conceptually, into a larger circular image. The dot which breaks loose from its orbit and hurtles at the Senator with dizzying speed has concomitantly established a connective event which answers to Bakhtin's definition of the basic chronotope. In fact, Dudkin, the supplier of the bomb, has recognised the Senator.

The Senator's outlook on life, his insistence on formal shape, regularity and predictability, are presented with considerable humour and irony. So wedded is the Senator to the automatism of his daily life, represented by an invariable geometrical imagery, that he cannot operate outside the squares, parallelograms, and circles within which Bely has confined him. He has developed the same symptoms of agoraphobia, arising from an habitual acquiescence in the centripetal forces of the constructed environment of St. Petersburg, that Raskolnikov (and Ordynov in Dostoevsky's 'The Landlady') develop in comparable circumstances. The Senator cannot think outside the space which he has been allotted:[95]

The landscape of the countryside actually frightened him.

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95 See Bely, Op. Cit. p. 52-53.

> Apollo Apollonovich Ableukhov ensconced himself behind city walls for many years, hating the orphaned distances of the provinces, the wisps of smoke from tiny villages, and the jackdaw. Only once had he risked transsecting these distances by express train: on an official mission from St. Petersburg to Tokyo.
>
> Undoubtedly the Senator had been developing a fear of space.

Dudkin and the Senator, together with the Senator's son Nikolai, who is to plant the bomb (supplied by Dudkin) in his father's house, provide another example of a triumvirate, similar in many ways to the tacit inter-communicative nexus which we encountered in the relationship of Dimitry and Ivan Karamazov and Smerdyakov. This time, however, it is the association of three people whose intentions are antagonistic towards one another, so that the inter-communication is one of suspicion, a state of mistrust which arises almost spontaneously from an atmosphere of "dis-ease". Nikolai introduces Dudkin to his father at his father's house, and it becomes immediately obvious that there is something irregular in their meeting. As far as Dudkin is concerned, it is the manner in which Apollo will interpret the way in which he is dressed, nervousness about his mission, the possibility that the Senator has recognised him from their eye-contact encounter in the morning, and the feeling that he is out of place in the Senator's house: from Nikolai's point of view it is a matter of guilt, diffidence, and surprise at the sudden appearance of his father. Apollo is concerned too because of the untidy appearance of one of his son's friends, and by the fact that he suspects that he has recognised the eyes of the man with whom

he had made eye-contact in the morning. From these points of view a triangulation of tension arises immediately :[96]

> '"Papa, this is a university friend, Alexander Ivanovich Dudkin".
> "My pleasure, Sir."
> Apollon Apollonovich saw before him only someone timid and beaten down by poverty.
>
> Alexander Ivanovich saw before him merely a pathetic old man.
> Nikolai Apollonovich. . . but he too calmed down.
>
> Apollon Apollonovich entered the conversation. Alexander Ivanovich answered disconnectedly. He kept blushing and his replies were beside the point. He paid attention only to the last word of each sentence, and thus caught a string of disjointed exclamations. . . . '
>
> Apollon Apollonovich thought to himself: "Oh well, perhaps it [his son's friendship with Dudkin] is all for the best. As for the *eyes* – I must have imagined it. Apollon Apollonovich thought: "poverty is no crime. . . . ".
>
> After they had opened the door and begun to walk along the hollow-sounding corridor, the small figure of Apollo Apollonovich appeared behind them, in the half-twilight of the corridor.

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96 Ibid, p. 61-62.

> And as they walked along in the half-twilight of the corridor,
> there stood Apollo Apollonovich. Neck outstretched, his eyes
> followed the pair with curiosity:
> "Alexander Ivanovich Dudkin, . . A student at the University." '

The state of mutual distrust which exists between the three characters in this association is not presented by Bely with the same degree or kind of inter-connectedness as we find in the works of Dostoevsky, whose establishments of such states of mutual intuition is more fundamental to the "idea" of the novel. In Bely these inter-communicative states are more incidental than essential to plot, but are, in my opinion partly an inheritance from the precedent set by Dostoevsky, and partly a result of experimentation with symbolistic "effects". From the very beginning of his career as an author (1899), Bely had aimed, initially in the Dramatic Symphony, at the development of an "idea" by presenting it over and over again, each time from a different perspective and in a different context. Ideas are repeatedly picked up and dropped, and made to represent an impressionistic concept of an idea, much in the manner of the graphic art of the post-impressionists, or the musical works of Scriabin or Debussy. Music, with its base in Mathematics, was Bely's first love, and his "symphonies" in verse and prose are an attempt to transfer the polyphonic sound and multiplicity of effect from the concert orchestra to the printed page: 'For in a symphony we contemplate the sum total of all possible images in a given connection, all possible combinations of events which come together to form a vast and fathomless symbol'. [97]

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[97] See Bely: The Dramatic Symphony, trans. R. and A. Keys, Edinburgh, Polygon Press, 1986, p. 5. In 1910, Bely published his major work of literary theory, *Symvolizm*, in which, with characteristic mathematical rigour, he included statistical studies of contemporary Russian versification. Even though the Formalists had little sympathy with Russian symbolist stylistics, it is highly probable that Bely's methods in *Symvolizm* were in part conducive to the

There is, then, a similarity between the "idea" in Dostoevsky and the "idea" in Bely, though the latter plays with rather than uses it, as Dostoevsky does, as the basic driving force of a novel.

Bakhtin is known to have been an enthusiastic reader of the Russian symbolist novel in his student days, and it is highly unlikely that he would have been unfamiliar with Bely's Petersburg or with the Symphonies. Petersburg, at the time of its publication, was the most highly regarded Russian symbolist novel of the century, and was almost certainly read by anyone who aspired to an interest in contemporary literature. Secondly, Bely's novel is in a very real sense a symbolist successor to the "St. Petersburg poem", a well-recognised *genre* in Russian fiction, and represented by novels, short stories and poems by Pushkin, Gogol, Butkov, Kravchenko, Nekrasov, but particularly Dostoevsky: Bakhtin had already commenced work on Problems of Dostoevsky's Written Work (the precursor of PDP) in about 1920. This is not the appropriate place in which to effect a comparison between Dostoevsky's and Bely's respective poetic views of St. Petersburg, but they are very marked, and it is scarcely thinkable that an expert in the writings of the former would not have been familiar with the work of the latter. Other connecting links between Bely and Bakhtin have already been the subject of comment above. What I am postulating is a much greater degree of influence of Bely's writings, and especially Petersburg, on Bakhtin, than is ordinarily maintained. I would advance the view that Bakhtin, in his

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development of Formalism itself. This one work constituted a bridge between the turn of the century symbolism of Valeri Briusov and the contra-distinct mechanics of Viktor Shklovski, Osip Brik and those other Formalists for whom each author can be seen as a distinct language system to be viewed in relation to the language of everyday speech. Here again, we may detect a point of contact between Bakhtin and the Formalists with whom, in so many other respects, he wished to dissociate himself.

development of chronotope theory, was to no small extent influenced by the extra-ordinary, almost provocative use of time and space in Bely's Petersburg.

I will now examine the significance of the novel, as the literary *genre* chosen by Bakhtin (almost exclusively of any other: of all poetry, only *Eugène Onegin* was admitted!) as appropriate to the application of the chronotope to the examination of works of literary fiction throughout those periods with which FTC and BSHR are concerned.

# Chapter Two - A Study of Time and Space in the Thematic History of the Novel.

## Part I - The Classical and mediaeval Periods.

In this chapter, I will begin to identify the nature of the changes in the relationship between Spatial and Temporal priorities encountered in the history of the novel. It is my intention to demonstrate, tangentially to and partly as an extension of Mikhail Bakhtin's exposition of the nature of the chronotope itself within its spatio/temporal matrix, how the nature of the matter with which the chronotope is concerned, the circumstances of its occurrence and usage in the novel, will be found, as the history of the novel progresses, to become less geographically centred and, simultaneously, more rigidly bound within increasingly tight temporal controls. To its broadest parametric extent, this progression leads us from one extreme to another. It leads at one extreme from a sparsely-populated classical Mediterranean society in which characters have few advance chrono-locative commitments or opportunities for meeting (the main exceptions being festivals and other ritualistic meetings, and [later] temple- or church-located worship and the recurrent *Mittwoch* market, and the carnival which is chronotopically related to them both). At the other extreme is the hyper-administrated but socially fragmented society of the type which we encounter, for example, in John Dos Passos' Manhatten Transfer, or, in cinema, in Wim Wenders' *Himmel über Berlin*, The progression from spatially-dominated narrative fiction to its modern equivalent, in which space has contracted and become subservient to the requirements of the historical chronotope, is a geometrical progression, not in the strict mathematical sense of that term, but in

the sense that the transition is progressively cumulative: as in the graph of x = y 2, in which the progression is slowest at the commencement of the development, gathering momentum in the course of time. It will be found that, when change does occur, the manifestation of that change in literature is represented by a sudden alteration in stylistic norms, arising from the manifestation of a previously concealed momentum. The momentum may be said to derive from the general broadening of the personal *Weltbild* of individual members of society, these broadenings taking the form of ideas of broader spatial horizons becoming fact; of *terra incognita* becoming accessible space, in a continuum which produces an ostensibly smaller world, and in which temporal commitments or "appointments", have to be made and met by the imposition of standard, universally-accepted time schedules. In effect, we move from a situation in which a tryst is to be made at the next Dionysian Festival, whenever and wherever that shall be, to a situation in which arrangements are made to meet at 15. 36 hrs. on Platform 3 at Waterloo Station in London on 30. September 1997.

An attempt has been made by Reinhart Koselleck to locate the transition from a generally topological world to an "overwhelmingly" chronological one, to the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.[98] He argues that during that period the notion of time as the (temporal) outer framework of human experience became apparent to the Western mind. Koselleck, in effect, abstracts from the geometrical progression to which I refer above the two adjacent half-centuries which might be said to have shown the

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[98] See Reinhart Koselleck:*Vergenene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Frankfurt, 1984, translated as: Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1985, quoted by Bender and Wellbery: Chronotypes, Stanford Univ. Press, 1991, p. 1., and by Johannes Fabian in 'Of Dogs alive, Birds dead, and Time to Tell a Story', in Bender and Wellbery, Op. Cit. p. 246n.

highest rates of acceleration within that progression. I do not question his right to do this, and his thesis, taken on its own, is not actually incorrect, in that, as I shall demonstrate in due course, the chronotope in the novel hastens towards its eventual maturity in the era of Goethe and Balzac. We will, however, observe the dawning of this general realisation of the significance of time more efficiently, and in its relationship to spatial considerations, by tracing it all the way from achronism to modernity, from the ancient world to the modern.

In the previous paragraph I referred to classical Mediterranean societies in relation to the novel, but there are those who would say that I should not have done this without stating my reasons for including the narrative fiction of the Classical world within the scope of the novel as we ordinarily use that word today. For in so far as what is customarily included and excluded within the novelistic genre on the basis of date of composition, there existed, until very recently, two entirely separate schools of thought: one which excluded the classical novel from the history of the genre altogether, and the other which could not envisage any novelistic genre whose history did not have its beginnings in the traditions of Hellenistic Greece, or even, in the case of the writer, in the traditions (not the texts) of a very much earlier Greek society. I refer respectively to the modern school of European literary criticism, and the Faculties of Classics generally: their differences were easily explicable in historiographical terms; the modern critic did not need the classical novel or its antecedents for retrospective historiographical purposes, whereas the classicist, being already in possession of the classical novel, was and is almost bound to use it (and make claims for it) in any progressive literary historiography.

Modern literary criticism had been inclined to regard the history of the novel as beginning with the development of narrative prose fiction in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in such a way that Cervantes was sometimes regarded as the father of the novel, and sometimes Defoe, Lesage, or one of their contemporaries. Marthe Robert regards *Don Quixote* as the first modern novel, though she defines the word 'modernity' in this context only as what 'is understood as the self-searching, self-questioning literary movement which uses as subject matter its own doubt and belief in the value of its message':[99] the very real sense of didactic message contained in the Greek novel, though a different message, would not seem to disqualify it under the terms of Mme. Robert's definition: neither does she seem to believe that any definition of the novel, per *genre,* is theoretically possible.[100] Ian Watt asks the rhetorical question:[101]

> Is the novel a new literary form? And if we assume, as is commonly done, that it is, and that it was begun by Defoe, Richardson and Fielding, how does it differ from the prose fiction of the past, from that of Greece, for example, or that of the Middle Ages, or of seventeenth century France? And is there any reason why these differences appeared when and where they did ?[102]

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99 See Marthe Robert: Origins of the Novel, Brighton, Harvester Press, 1980, p. 19, n.1.

100 Ibid, p. 20., n. 3.

101 See Ian Watt: The Rise of the Novel, Harmondsworth, Peregrine Books, e.p. 1957, p. 9.

102 See also Margaret Schlauch: Antecedents of the English Novel 1400-1600, Warsaw, P.W.N., and London, The Clarendon Press, 1963. Schlauch traces the history of the English novel from the time of Chaucer to the end of the Elizabethan period, omitting the seventeenth century 'as requiring a separate study'. From her formulation, it would be clear that the history of the English novel is uninterruptedly continuous, though this by no means reduces the special significance of Defoe and, to a lesser extent, his contemporaries: Defoe, as an economic journalist and sociologist, aims at an innovatively complete rendering of minutely observed detail, within, it should be added, a framework of chronotopically accurate biographical interlinkage. I am thinking in particular of Moll Flanders. Defoe will be seen as amongst the most influential authors in the evolutionary development of the English novel.

Watt never really attempts to answer these questions in terms of the Greek novel, preferring to depend on a *de novo* formulation, that of positing 'formal realism' as the defining characteristic of the novel, and with a certain deftness, opts for Defoe as the first 'realist' novelist. He does, however, admit that:[103]

> In the strictest sense, of course, formal realism was not discovered by Defoe and Richardson; they only applied it much more completely than had been done before. Homer, for example, as Carlyle pointed out, shared with them that outstanding "clearness of sight" which is manifested in the "detailed, ample and lovingly exact" descriptions that abound in their works.'[104]

Watt, however, continues by asserting that "realistic" passages are in the minority in Homer, and that it is this lack of consistency which finally debars him from the epithet of "Realist". Some modern critics deliberately ignore the existence of the classical novel altogether: for example, in the course of eleven papers comprising The First English Novelists, the findings of a learned symposium on the development of the English novel in the eighteenth century, there is not one reference to any classical novelist or novel.[105] English literary criticism was slow and irregular in its acceptance of the classical novel as a forerunner of its genre. J. C. Dunlop[106] in his History of Fiction... (1814) was the first

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[103] See Watt: Op. Cit, p. 34.

[104] See Thomas Carlyle: 'Burns' in Essays, London, Dent, Dutton, 1915, Vol.1., p.17. See also Carlyle on 'Biography': Fraser's Magazine, No. 27. (for April 1832), as it is equally relevant.

[105] See J. M. Armistead (Ed.): The First English Novelists: Essays In Understanding, Knoxville, Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1985.

[106] J.C.Dunlop (c.1775-1842) was a member of the Scottish Bar, and a classical scholar of note. His History of Fiction from the earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age was republished in 1814, 1816, 1845, and finally, newly edited by H.Wilson, in 1888. A German edition

to appreciate the role of the classical novel, and it was his example which led to the more comprehensive work of Woolf (1912).[107]

The revival of interest in the classical novel in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was rapid across the entire length of Europe. In terms of numbers, there were very many more copies of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* than of any other ancient novel at the advent of printing, and for that reason I shall, for the moment, take that novel as exemplary of the *genre*. The first printed edition of Heliodorus was that of Vincentius Obsopaeus (Basle, Hervagius, 1534), translated from a late Byzantine manuscript in the Corvinian library.[108] It was subsequently translated into Latin, from the same Corvinian text, by Stanislaw Warschewiczki in 1552, and published by a different house in Basle (Oporinus). Subsequently, the *Aethiopica* was translated into Italian (1560), French (the influential translation of Amyot, 1547), and English (Underdown, 1577).

In seeking to establish a generic continuity between the classical novel and the novel of the renaissance, it is necessary first to distinguish between general and specific spheres of influence. Let it be affirmed immediately that there is no single novel of the renaissance period which resembles any individual novel of antiquity substantially in style or content. This is not to say, however, that renaissance literature failed to benefit from what it learned from the classical novel. The influence of Heliodorus is to be found in Sidney's

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was published in Berlin in 1851. Significantly, Dunlop's History of Fiction was followed in 1823 by his History of Roman Literature.

107 See S. L. Woolf: The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, New York, 1912. Reprinted New York, B. Franklin, 1961, *passim*.

108 See Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Budapest, Corvina Press, 1969, p. 60., and H. Simonsfeld: *'Eine Kunst- und Literaturgeschichtliche Funde'* in Sitzungsberichte der *Academie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1902, pp. 521-68., for the identification of this MS.

Arcadia (1580), providing Sidney with material for both plot and "background".[109]It was Heliodorus in particular who revealed new horizons to the aspiring author in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not least in drawing attention to the vastly increased potential for plot complexity which the *Aethiopica* offered. It is for this aspect of the novelistic chronotope, namely the greatly increased facility for denser and more rapid sequences of interstices, that the renaissance stands most indebted to its classical predecessor: in other aspects of chronotopic comparability, the inheritance, as will be shown in due course, was less pronounced. Mention should also be made of John Barclay's *Euphormionis Satyricon* (1603 and 1607), an example of the use for satirical purposes of the style of Petronius' *Satyricon*, which Barclay assimilated with considerable success. Barclay's strength lies in the incisiveness of his satire, his weakness perhaps in the extent of his attack.

I am indebted to Margaret Doody for underlining the importance of the following observations of the French literary critic Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653) (Salmasius) in his comparison of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius (the author of Leucippe and Clitophon) :[110]

> The variety of plot situations and turns of events are more wonderful in Heliodorus, although Achilles [Tatius] is not defective in that respect. Our author intermixes some episodes

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[109] Sidney acknowledges Heliodorus in The Apology for Poetry, by reference to 'his [Heliodorus'] sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea'. He mentions Heliodorus in the same context in which he mentions Xenophon ( of *Cyropaedia* fame), implying that both, though writing in prose, are excellent 'poets'. (see Sir Philip Sidney: An Apology for Poetry), Ed. Shepherd, Manchester Univ. Press, 1965, p. 103.)

[110] See Margaret Anne Doody: The True Story of the Novel, London, Harper/Collins, 1997, p. 259., quoting de Saumaise: *Leucippe et Clitophon*, (Preface to), Leiden, 1640, p. 8v - 9r.

which are a bit more lascivious, whereas Heliodorus is always chaste. This kind of writing was altogether ancient; and further it has been popular with many of the politer peoples formerly, as it is today.

The only novel of the renaissance to be written deliberately to compete with the literary style of Heliodorus, Cervantes' *Persiles e Sigismunda*, demonstrates certain qualities which we will detect in the plot structure of the Spanish *picaro* novels of the renaissance, but differs utterly from them in a plethora of other ways.[111] The influence of Heliodorus is general rather than specific, and if we can detect this generality with any clarity, it is in the French historical novels of the seventeenth century - those of Honoré d'Urfé (1567-1625) and Madeleine de Scudéry (1608-1701).

What we must seek in the effects of the revival of classical learning on the development of the modern novel is not the chronotopic structure of the classical novel, but the full weight of classical learning in all its forms - the chronotope of the classical novel does not account for one per cent of this.

The canon of the Greek novel, as noted by Bakhtin in FTC, has remained unaltered and unaugmented by discoveries since the time of Erwin Rohde[112] onwards, to include, in addition to the works of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius mentioned above, the following three major works: Chariton's Chaereas and

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[111] See Miguel de Cervantes: *Novelas Ejemplares*, ( Ed. Fernandez), Mexico City, Editorial Porrúa, 1971, p. 2. (Cervantes' Prologue), for: ' ... te ofrezco los *Trabajos de Persiles* , libro que atreve a competir con Heliodoro, ...'. Trans. as: ' ... I offer you *Persiles and Sigismunda*, which is designed to compete with Heliodorus ... '[ My Trans.]

[112] Erwin Rohde: *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, e.p. Leipzig, 1876.

Callirhoë, Longus' Daphnis and Chloë, and Xenophon of Ephesus' An Ephesian Tale. Additionally we must consider Apuleius' The Golden Ass and the surviving chapters of Petronius' *Satyricon*, from Roman Imperial literature. There are, furthermore, a number of surviving fragments of other novelistic texts from the late classical period.[113] In addition, Classicists have a working knowledge of certain incomplete or lost works (notably Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca* and Antonius Diogenes' The Wonders Beyond Thule), thanks to synoptic accounts of their respective texts preserved by the Byzantine encyclopaedist, Photius.[114] The latter was entrusted in the mid ninth century with the codification of much late Hellenistic literature by Caesar Bardas in connection with the re-foundation of the University of Constantinople,[115] and it is with gratitude to him that we are in possession of synoptic accounts of a number of texts which would otherwise have been lost in their entirety.

Mention must be made of an intermediate school of literary-historical criticism which includes Vinaver and Jodogne, which places the origin of the novel in the twelfth century renaissance in France. They argue that the early mediaeval epic, *Le Chanson de Roland*,(between 1187 and 1207) for example, constitutes a fact-recounting *genre* only; the author asks no questions, does not attempt to reconcile narrative contradictions, and gives no reasons for actions, only factual accounts of actions. Thus the reader of the *Chanson de Roland* is not told why Roland fails to summon assistance at Roncevalles or why Ganelon

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113 B. P. Reardon: Collected Ancient Greek Novels , Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989.

114 For a detailed account of the work of Photius (and Arethas), see H. W. Haussig: *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz*, Stuttgart, Kröner Verlag, 1966, p. 320-323. See also H. G. Beck: *Kirche und Theolögische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, Beck'sche Verlag, 1970, (HAW., Vol. 12., Part 2), Vol. 1., p. 520ff.

anticipates a hostile reception at Saragossa – when he is travelling to Arab Spain with the offer of a generous peace-treaty. Rationalised texts, by contrast, texts in which explanations, interpretations and rationalisations welded a narrative into a well-argued and coherent entity, appeared simultaneously with the re-introduction, in the renaissance of the twelfth century, of the art of Grammar as the first third (and rhetoric as the second third) of the *trivium*. The subtlety of a grammar habitually used to transmit finer shades of meaning, promoted exegesis, which promoted argument, theses and antitheses. Thus Chrétien de Troyes states explicitly in *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* (1175) that his story contained both *matière* (subject-matter) and *sen* (meaning or purpose), the implication being that the subject matter had been presented with full scholastic discipline (a quality allegedly lacking in the antecedent epic form). Chrétien further advocates, in *Erec et Enide*, (1169), that meaningful literary accounts should be presented with *'bele conjoncture'* or good narrative sequentiality.[116] With regard to this development in general but in particular to Benoit de St. Maure's Aeneus (c.1170), Jodogne states:[117]

> Par cette découverte d'une forme heureuse de l'analyse, l'auteur de l'*Eneas*, du début à la fin de son oeuvre, a fait fraichir au roman une étape decisive. Je crois que c'est nôtre écrivain qu'on pourrait

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[116] See Eugène Vinaver: The Rise of Romance, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 23, for references to *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*.. See Diana L. Paxson: Chrétien de Troyes and the Cauldron of Story, in John Matthews (Ed.): The Household of the Grail, Wellingborough, The Aquarian Press, 1990, p. 42., in connection with my reference to *Erec et Enide*, v.14.

[117] See Omer Jodogne:*'Le Caractère des oeuvres antiques aux XIIme et XIIIe siècles'* in *L'Humanisme mediaeval dans les littératures Romanes du XIIe au XIV siècles*, Paris, 1964, quoted by Vinaver: Op. Cit. *supra*, p. 24: 'Through this discovery, of a [literary] form favourable to analysis, the author of Aeneas , from the beginning to the end of his work, took a decisive step for the novel. I believe it to be this author of ours who can be called the creator of the French novel. From being a narrator, he became a novelist'. My Trans.

> appeler le créateur du roman français. De narrateur, il est devenu romancier.

Bakhtin's position is, of course, that of the classical scholar. He maintains consistently that the classical novel (and certain aspects of Roman autobiography and biography) is partly responsible for the formation of the renaissance novelistic chronotope: partly, yes; but only, I will maintain, to a limited extent. Bakhtin must acknowledge that even to establish the chronotopic similarity between two worlds over a thousand years apart, it would first be necessary for him to have considered the basic unalterable chronotopes of the ancient world in their totality, and not in an isolated examination only of the classical novel. He does not see the necessity for investigating these matters, merely stating that: 'we will bypass all questions dealing with the origins of these types [of classical novel] in history' (FTC 86). Bakhtin, in EN, attempts to divorce the novel from its epic antecedents [and all other pertinent literature of the ancient world as well], by attempting to demonstrate that epic is a closed or completed literary genre which cannot run on into an open, living novelistic form: the epic is closed, an antiquarian survival, whereas the novel is still alive and receptive to contemporaneous concerns to the present day. I shall maintain in due course that this argument carries only a 'notional' weight: it is, in any case, informed heavily by the forces of categorisation which Bakhtin inherited from Russian Formalism, but not with the same respect for the "objective" status of the text, which is also part of the Formalist's equipment. It is his case that:

> The Epic past is called "the absolute past" for good reason: it is both monochromatic and valorised (hierarchical): it lacks any relativity; that is, any gradual purely temporal progressions that might connect it with the present. It is walled off absolutely from

> those times in which the singer and his listeners are located. The boundary, consequently, is immanent in the form of the epic, and is felt and heard in its every word. (EN 16).

There is a sense in which Bakhtin, in order to preserve order amongst the genres, must dissociate the novel from its epic predecessor, but it is not at all clear that he is able to do this; merely to say that he has effected this dissociation is another matter. In the first place, it would be difficult to imagine an "imaginary" text, as we will provisionally designate it, which passed through such a rigorous process of upgrading, modernisation and contemporisation whilst in its "sung" stage, to satisfy the requirement of the singer's listeners for a topical discourse, than the Odyssey. The 'gradual purely temporal progressions that might connect it to the present' (Ibid) are nowhere more moulded into the eventual written form with greater topical flexibility than that which governs the form in which we now possess that poem. In other words, the poem which we have is neither dead, nor archaic, nor irrelevant to our own "modernity".[118]

Those who would sever the Greek novel from the Epic tradition have invariably relied upon the assumption that Homeric epic is in some way a "given" genre, and that Homer had very little choice in his selection of material, and that his scope for invention was limited by a convention which did not differentiate between a novelistic invention and a lie. This is not, however, an acceptable point of view. It is highly probable that the basic narrative of the

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118 See Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist: Mikhail Bakhtin, Op.Cit. p. 273: ' By the time of Bakhtin's essay 'Epic and Novel' in 1941, the absence of overt references to socialist realism seems odd, for in this piece he systematises the doubts about the socialist realist novel merely alluded to earlier and evolves a comprehensive account of the true essence of the novel, to which he counterposes what he labels the "epic". Although Bakhtin maintains that the spirit of the novel is irreconcilable with the spirit of the epic, he describes the epic in terms that are patently applicable to the socialist realist novel'.

Odyssey is historical or mythological and that Homer enlivened his narrative with fictions in the form of folkloristic nature adapted to his basic story. Why should the privilege to do this be denied to Homer when it passes as unquestioned in Herodotus' History ? Such enlivenment of the story would include, for example, the divine Mentor arriving post-haste to the assistance of Telemachus, the Circe episode and numerous other events which are as obviously determinable as fiction to the modern reader as they would have been in the ancient world. The apposition of fact and fiction was obviously not a matter which the original audiences of Homer and Herodotus found incongruent.[119]

To revert to the matter of Homer, however, Strabo is very informative on the subject of the mixture of fact and fiction:[120]

> Since Homer devoted his stories to the principle of education, he largely occupied his mind with facts; "but he set therein" fiction (*pseudos* = inventions) as well, using the latter to win popularity and marshal the masses while still giving sanction to the former.

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119 With specific regard to the admixture of fact and fiction in the Odyssey, W. K. C. Guthrie: 'Gods and Men in Homer' in Essays on the Odyssey, Ed. C.H.Taylor jr., Bloomington, University of Indiana Press, 1963, pp. 1-10, advances the view that in the days of Homer there was no clear distinction between divine and mundane fact, and that 'in the eyes of the warlike aristocracy gods and men together formed one society, organised on a basis of strongly marked class-distinctions, as was society itself'. This position, if accepted in the terms in which Guthrie expresses it, would go far towards explaining the status of *pseudos* in the Odyssey, but would present other problems of a purely historico-philosophical nature with regard to differing concepts of reality in the ancient world.

120 See Strabo: *Geographia* : I. 2. 9.

Elsewhere, Strabo reports Eratosthenes [whose text in this instance is lost] as saying that:[121]

> One might suppose Homer had wanted to place the wanderings of Odysseus in the Western Mediterranean region, but held off from this plan both because he did not know the area in any detail, and because he preferred to push his episodes outward toward the more striking and the more fabulous.

There is strong reason to suppose, in any case, that Bakhtin was just as aware as most classicists that the ligaments tying the epic to the Greek novel are obvious and strong.[122] We can detect this in Bakhtin's selection of The Iliad (as opposed to the Odyssey) in the following passage:

> One cannot embrace, in a single epic, the entire world of the absolute past (although it is unified from a plot standpoint) – to do so would mean a retelling of the whole of national tradition, and it is significantly difficult to embrace even a significant portion of it. But this is no great loss, because the structure of the whole is repeated in each part, and each part is complete and circular like the whole. One may begin the story at any moment, and finish at almost any moment. The Iliad is a random excerpt from the Trojan cycle. Its ending [the burial of Hector] could not possibly be the ending from a novelistic point of view. But epic

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[121] Ibid: I. 2. 19. See also James Romm: The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought, Princeton University Press, 1992, pp. 172-214. Fragments of Eratosthenes' geographical writings are contained in Hugo Berger: *Die Geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* , Leipzig, 1880.

> completedness suffers not the slightest as a result. The specific "impulse to end" – How does the war end ? Who wins ? What will happen to Achilles ? and so forth – is absolutely excluded from the epic by both internal and external motifs (the plot-line of the tradition was already known to everyone). This specific "impulse to continue" (what will happen next ?) and the "impulse to end" (how will it end ?) are characteristic only for the novel and are possible only in a zone where there is proximity and contact; in a zone of distanced images they are impossible. (EN 31-32).

I would contend that these observations are probably appropriate to an assessment of the nature of The Iliad, but utterly inappropriate to a consideration of the Odyssey, for in the latter work we can detect without difficulty not only a concern for the ordering of plot, sufficiently organised as to material content and chronotopic scheduling, to satisfy the most demanding requirements of the novelist, and, additionally, a lively concern in the order of priorities of the "Singer" for those matters of most abiding interest to the generality of archaic Greek man. Similarly, we are about to find a remarkable similarity in the internal workings of these characteristics both to the Odyssey and the Greek novel of adventure of almost a thousand years later.

It is with the Odyssey, therefore, that we should begin our investigation into the nature of the chronotope in classical literature and in the novel. In so doing, I am not entering the fraught area of the taxonomy of the Greek novel in relation to all antecedent literary forms. Suffice it to say that attempts have been

made in the quite recent past to regard the Greek novel as a derivative of (especially) Homeric epic[123], an unsustainable thesis when we consider the enormous range of additional literature (much of it of Middle Eastern origin) upon which the Greek novel was able to, and did, draw, and which may have come to the fore```` in the lengthy interim between Homer and Chariton. Far more attractive is the original formulation of Erwin Rohde, who specifies The Odyssey in particular as a formulative influence on the Greek novel, but only as one powerful contributory element amongst others:[124]

> Sie [the classical novel] hatte ihren ersten Ursprung in der leichtgeweblichen Phantasie griechischer Seefahrer, welche, von weiten und gefährlichen Reisen heimgekehrt, in ihren sagen und Erzählungen einen kleinen hellen und menschlichen Kreis, den wohlbekannten Winkel des Mittelmeeres, von einen wilden und nebelhaften Welt voll aller Schreckbilder und zauberhafter Ungetume umlagert zeigten. Diese Schiffersagen bildeten sich du einem künstlerischen Ganzen aus namentlich [the underlining is mine] in der Sagenkreisen von der Heimfahrt des Odysseus, und von der zügen der Argonauten.

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123 See Otto Weinreich: *Die Griechische Liebesroman* , Zurich, Artemis Verlag, 1962.

124 See Erwin Rohde: Op.Cit.p. 172-173 in e.p. 1876 [ p.184 in Fourth Edition, Hildesheim, Geo. Olms Verlag, 1960], trans as: 'They had their first beginnings in the easily changeable fantasies of Greek seafarers, who, returning home from distant and dangerous voyages, represented in their stories and accounts of one small, clear and familiar region, their own familiar corner of the Mediterranean, a wild and nebulous world full of depictions of horror, and surrounded on all sides by imaginary monsters. These tales of the sea formed themselves into an artistic whole, notably in the legendary cycle of the homecoming of Odysseus and in the voyages of the Argonauts'. My Trans.

Bakhtin takes the availability of the classical texts which he specifies with such precision in FTC for granted, but it cannot be merely assumed that the works of minor authors of late Greek and Roman fiction would be readily available or adequately known many centuries later. It is perhaps hardly surprising that, quite apart from the importance which Bakhtin ascribes to the late Classical novel in its own right, it has sometimes been alleged, somewhat arrogantly, that the genre as a whole is in some way a tarnished product of the Silver Age and not deserving of a position in the mainstream of classical literature. In the words of Graham Anderson:[125]

> Many classical scholars have set out with the same assumptions as some of their counterparts in antiquity: that the novel represents a cheap and trivial romanticism incompatible with the world of Plato and Demosthenes, admissible in academic verse but unworthy in extended prose.

Later, we will have cause to see how, many centuries after they were written, the Greek novels were regarded as worthy of copying and re-copying, not only, one presumes for their value as entertainment, but for their didactic values as well: the fact that they were used in the training of priests at Chârtres by Bishop John of Salisbury should lend them the moral support they require!

David Konstan, who has investigated the classical novel specifically from the point of view of gender studies, interestingly highlights one conspicuous difference between the treatment of the theme of love in the Greek novel, and

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125 See Graham Anderson: The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World, London, Croom Helm, 1984, p. 1.

generally throughout classical literature: Konstan's observation which follows may suggest that the Greek novel was written primarily for a female readership, which would not have wished female characters to be seen as objects of the chase:[126]

> It is important to review the narrative structure of the Greek romantic novels. Uniquely in classical love literature, the novels as a genre portray *erōs* as a fully reciprocated passion between equals. The primary couple, invariably heterosexual, are either fellow citizens or members of the same social class and are of more or less the same age - very young. They fall in love mutually and simultaneously at the beginning of the story, and they take pleasure equally in the consummation of their passion. Thus both Chariton and Xenophon mention that each partner shared equally in the ardour of the first night . . . .

If we are to find a reason for the fact, which cannot seriously be questioned, that in the Greek novel there is an established state of love between the two parties from the outset, and that the excitement of the novel does not arise initially from the winning of the woman by the man, but from the determination of both to lead a complete life, and overcome the intervention of misfortunes, it is, I think, reasonable to suggest that the purpose of the new narrative device is the lowering of tension at the outset of the novel. In other words, the novel opens in a state of happiness, which is pleasing to the reader, and that happiness is subsequently disrupted by circumstances beyond the control

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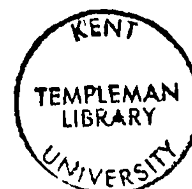
[126] See David Konstan: Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres, Princeton Univ. Press, 1994. pp. 33 - 4.



of the lovers: then follow the misfortunes which separate the lovers and the narrative devices which re-unite them, and the eventual, happy conclusion. The overall effect of the device is, of course, to reduce the tension of the plot from the outset - and to create what today might be termed an "easier read". Such an explanation, which would render Konstan's distinction a categorical determinant of the classical novel, would go some way towards placating the viewpoint of those who wish us to regard the Greek novel as the light reading of the ancient world.[127]

The celebrated French mediaevalist, Ferdinand Lot, referring to the classical novel in the course of a chapter entitled 'Décadence de la Littérature', writes:[128]

> Un Genre nouveau commence à fleurir, le Roman: ... Artificiels, fades, diffus, ces Romans ont exercé une réelle influence sur la littérature du moyen âge et même des temps modernes.

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127 David Konstan's comments on the matter of female equality in the classical novel must be seen against the greatly increased prominence held by female members of the Imperial Families at the very time when the classical novel is held to have been at its most popular. The numismatic evidence is very suggestive of the fact that the wives and even more distant relations of Emperors were able to act in a prominent public relations capacity. Coins of the Empresses Faustina, Sabina, Plotina, Julia Severa, Julia Maesa, Julia Soemias and many others were represented throughout all denominations of the Roman coinage, not in the form of medallions as might be expected of persons whose functions were only ceremonial. The case of Faustina may serve to exemplify the role of the Imperial woman at the height of Rome's Imperial powers. The daughter of Antoninus Pius, she was given in marriage to Marcus Aurelius who succeeded him in consequence of the marriage, thereby disinheriting the two sons of Antoninus. Her role in marriage cemented the security of Roman politics at its greatest and most peaceful period. The role of the high born woman in Imperial Rome is quite in accord with the heightened status of women in the classical novel as observed by Doody and Konstan.

128 See Ferdinand Lot: La Fin du Monde Antique et le Début du Moyen Âge, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1951, p. 174 : 'A new *genre* starts to flourish, the novel, ... artificial, insipid and rambling, these novels exercised a real influence on the literature of the Middle Ages and even in more modern times'. My Trans.

Lot, however, whilst referring to the classical novel as a source of influence on the novel in the Middle Ages and after ( in *'des temps modernes'*), still refers first to their artificial and insipid qualities, those which we would quite naturally associate with light (non-serious) reading. Lot, however, raises another issue entirely: namely, what means of transmission of the genre may we suppose to have taken place, if we were, in fact, to be concerned only with a species of second-rate ephemeral literature? By what means would renaissance culture have been aware of its existence, other than perhaps from the existence of an isolated papyrus or a knowledge of the works of Photius and other encyclopaedists of the Eastern empire. The reality would seem to be that, of the Greek novelists, renaissance Europe was familiar with the novels of Heliodorus, Longus and Achilles Tatius.

Heliodorus' *Aetheöpica* was, as we have seen, the most popular Greek novel, with two copies in the library of Pope Nicolas the Fifth[129] and three copies in Cardinal Bessarion's bequest to St. Mark's Cathedral library in Venice.[130] Copies of Achilles Tatius' novel and Longus' Daphnis and Chloë are recorded in the *Codex Laurentianus* in 1425.[131] It must be pointed out that the Vatican Library and the Library of Cardinal Bessarion were both in receipt of numerous works of Greek literature in manuscript, salvaged from Constantinople both before and after the sack of the city by Mehmet II: both Popes

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129 See Müntz et Fabre: *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe Siècle*, Paris, 1887.

130 See David Englander et al.: Culture and Belief in Europe 1450-1600, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990, p.146-156 for an English translation of Bessarion's Act of Donation , The Papal Bull authorising the donation, and extracts from a catalogue of the donated portion of the Library, trans. Francis Clark from L. Labowsky, Bessarion's Library and the Bibliotheca Marciana, Rome, Sussidi Eruditi 31, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979, pp. 41-2 and 191-243.

131 Codex Laurentianus, Conventi Soppressi 627: this document is shelved together with the only surviving copy of Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoë. See also R. Blum: *La Bibliothéca de la Badia Fiorentina* , Studi e Testi, no. 155, Vatican Press, 1951.

Eugenius IV and Nicolas V sent emissaries to the court of Constantinople for the purpose of acquiring classical manuscripts.[132] The popularity of both Petronius' and Apuleius' works in the Middle Ages is perhaps a matter of even greater surprise, when we learn that the novels of both authors were the prescribed reading of John of Salisbury, educated at Paris under Abelard and subsequently appointed to the see of Chartres, where he was known as an ultra-"conservative" bishop.[133] Apuleius' Golden Ass was translated into the Italian vernacular in the fifteenth century, together with the works of Plautus and Herodotus, and was one of the first classical works to be printed in the 1460s (together with, *inter alios*, works of Caesar, Pliny the Elder, Lucan [the *Pharsalia* ], Gellius and St. Augustine). Apuleius' novel, of course, was well known to Sidney, who mentions it in The Apology for Poetry.[134] Of the two other novels which Bakhtin cites in FTC, Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoë, and Xenophon of Ephesus' An Ephesian Tale, each is known only from one manuscript, and both have come to light comparatively recently.[135]

My intention at this juncture is to examine those basic types of classical literature which Mikhail Bakhtin claims to be the novelistic forms which gave rise to the modern novel: this examination will classify those characteristics of the Greek Novel of Adventure, the Roman novels of Petronius and Apuleius, and those classes of Latin biography and autobiography concerned in Bakhtin's formulation. At the conclusion of the first section, that of the Greek Novel of Adventure, I revert to an examination of the Odyssey, and those other works, of

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132 See H. G. Beck: Op. Cit., Part 1., p. 767 ff .

133 See M. Manitius: *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1931, Vol. 3. p. 225.

134 See Sidney: Apology for Poetry, Ed. Geoffrey Shepherd, Manchester Univ. Press, 1973, p. 135.

135 See Reardon, Op. Cit. p. 19.

Herodotus and Apollonius Rhodios, which relate to the environment of the so-called "epic" form, to determine the nature and extent of the chronotope which binds these two literary forms together. It is my belief that, by so doing, it will be shown that the corpus of Greek novelistic literature indicated by Bakhtin is but one manifestation of a classical literary transmission, which has contributed to the formation of renaissance and subsequent novelistic forms; not the solitary contributions of the classical world to their formation. We will find that the chronotope of the classical novel is not specifically the chronotope of the novel as such, but essentially that of a much earlier, and more comprehensive, Attic/Hellenistic tradition, the tradition which begins with Homer. This is, as we have seen, analogous to the conclusion drawn by Carlisle.

It is Bakhtin's opinion that:

> Three basic types of novels developed in ancient times, and there are consequently three corresponding methods for artistically fixing time and space in these novels – in short, there were three different novelistic chronotopes. (FTC 86).

The following are the characteristics of each of the three novelistic chronotopes concerned:

## THE GREEK NOVEL OF ADVENTURE.

1 The Greek Novel of adventure takes place in an 'adventure time' which is not related to any historical time "markers": this explains the enormous difficulties experienced by classical scholarship in placing even approximate dates of composition on any of the works in question.

2 There is a remarkable uniformity of plot between one novel and another. Essentially, the plot is formed from events occurring in the following sequence:

a An eligible boy meets an eligible girl, and the two fall in love instantaneously and irrevocably.[136]

b. The lovers are separated by chance circumstances, are forced by similarly inconvenient circumstances to travel the length and breadth of the known world, whilst constantly undergoing tests of their constancy towards one another. During this period, neither the boy nor the girl

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136 Bakhtin, maintains that '[The] *distinctive correspondence of an identity with a particular self* is the organising centre of the human image in the Greek romance. And one must not underestimate the significance, the profound ideological implications raised by this factor of human identity. In this way the Greek romance reveals its strong ties with a *folklore that predates class distinctions,* assimilating one of the essential elements in the folkloric concept of a man, one that survives to the present in various aspects of folklore, especially in folktales'. (FTC 105). Invariably, however, the authors of Greek romances make it deliberately clear that the lovers characterised in their novels are of high birth. The earliest novelist of the group, Chariton, at the very beginning of *Chaereas and Callirhoë,* describes Chaereas as 'the son of Ariston, second only to Hermocrates in Syracuse', and *Callirhoë* as the daughter of Hermocrates, who is a general. Even in Longus's Daphnis and Chloë, the hero and heroine only appear to be (only) shepherds and goatherds: Longus employs the Moses Basket Syndrome to establish, in the final analysis, that both are of aristocratic birth. I can only assume that Bakhtin's motive for deliberately lowering the class status of these characters was political. It is reasonable to suppose that in 1937, it might have been impossible for Bakhtin to refer, even in an historical context, to members of an élite social class unless in condemnation of it. See also Note 146, *infra.*

appears to experience any advancement of biographical time. Eventually, the lovers are re-united and married, if not already wed.

3 Plot sequences are overwhelmed by chance encounters, co-incidences, and misfortunes, the most frequently encountered being abduction, storms, ship-wrecks, attack by pirates, one or other of the parties being assumed to be dead (*Scheintod)*, the sale of the girl into slavery and so forth. Mistaken identities are also frequently encountered.

4 'Natural, everyday cyclicity' (Bakhtin's words) is totally absent from the temporal chronotopicity of the narrative, which is reported in Gurvich Class 2 and 3 times.

5 Events which are not concerned with the progress of the narrative are very few, though there is no lack of objective detail and "enlivening" description.

6 Bakhtin defines the 'adventure time' of the Greek Ideal Novel as being 'composed of short segments that correspond to separate adventures; within each such adventure, time is organised from without, technically. What is important is to be able to escape, to catch up, to outstrip, to be or not be in a given place at a given moment, to meet and not to meet and so forth. Within the limits of a given adventure, days, nights, hours, even minutes add up, as they would in any struggle or any active external undertaking. These time segments are introduced and intersect with specific link-words: "suddenly" and "at just that moment" '(FTC 92).

7 A wide variety of locations is a pre-requisite of this category of novel, with a preference for the African and Asian seaboards of the Mediterranean, at the expense of the Italian peninsula. The possibility that Italy as the seat of power of the dominant political entity in the Mediterranean world was unpopular in the majority of regions lying to its East, cannot be excluded: the city of Rome is not mentioned in any one of the five complete Ideal Greek novels. Certain cities in particular are popular to the exclusion of others: the love affair between Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoë begins in Syracuse and proceeds to Babylon *via* an unidentified location near Athens. Habrocomes, comparably, in Xenophon of Ephesus' Ephesian Tale, leaves Ephesus and passes through Tyre (where he is parted from his beloved Anthia), then Tarsus, Alexandria, Syracuse, Crete and Cyprus. He is eventually reunited with Anthia on Rhodes. By far the most popular geographical 'siting' of the classical novel is Egypt, and the most popular city Alexandria.[137] Suzanne Saïd, in her recent study of the city in the ancient novel, referring to Alexandria as *metropolis,* says: '... with its regular layout and monumental structures, Alexandria embodies the wonders of the modern city, which stands in utter contrast to the disorder of "old" cities like Athens'.[138]

Of the five Greek novels cited by Bakhtin, only Daphnis and Chloë differs in type from the Greek Ideal mould in that it is almost entirely land-based, and the lovers are separated only for a very short period. For the most part, the action of the novel takes place in a feudal, (arable/pastoral), environment on the coast of Lesbos. It is to all intents and purposes a precursor of the *Bildungsroman,* in that

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137 See Suzanne Saïd: ' The City in the Greek Novel' in The Search for the Ancient Novel, Ed. James Tatum, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p. 230 ff.

138 Ibid.

both protagonists are seen to benefit consistently from experience and to mature in the most natural and desirable ways. Neither does Daphnis and Chloë comply with the sixth category of denotation above, for it is not composed, as Bakhtin himself acknowledges, of 'a series of short segments that correspond to separate adventures'. Bruce MacQueen, however, attempts to show that Daphnis and Chloë does in fact fulfil the basic requirements of the Greek novel of adventure even if it does not immediately seem to do so: his grounds are simply that most of the basic ingredients of the plot-archetype are present but in different proportions. Daphnis and Chloë should perhaps be classified as an Idyll, not as a novel of adventure within the ordinary meaning of that term.

## THE GREEK NOVEL OF ADVENTURE AND THE EPIC CHRONOTOPE

It is difficult for us, in the twentieth century, equipped as we are with clocks, maps, compasses and sophisticated navigational equipment, to put ourselves in the position of a Mediterranean people, about whom Homer and Herodotus wrote nearly two and a half millennia ago. These people were not, as is generally imagined, people of the sea, and maritime voyages were both feared and undertaken only in the face of necessity. In the Second Book of the Odyssey,[139] the reader is informed indirectly that the house of Ithaca, the family of Odysseus, Telemachus and Penelope, does not even own a vessel capable of undertaking an overnight voyage to the neighbouring island of Pylos: it has to be borrowed from Nöemon, son of Phronios. Almost immediately afterwards, it is disclosed that Telemachus had never previously visited Pylos, and never met its ruler, Nestor. Furthermore, Telemachus, the Heir Apparent to the House of Ithaca, is lacking in the social skills required to appear in the presence of Nestor for the purpose of enquiring about the fate of his father:[140]

> 'Mentor, how then shall I go ? How shall I approach him?
> For in quick responses I have no experience.
> Modesty becomes a young man addressing an elder.'

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139 II. 386-388.

140 III. 22-25.

This would not point to the existence in the Odyssey of an active, inter-island society: in fact, what is often forgotten is that, compressed between the lines of the Odyssey, mention is made of a considerable number of fairly large towns, and a pre-occupation with the rearing of cattle and horses. The norm is the island life of agriculture: maritime travel is very much the exception to the rule; and it was precisely because voyages by sea were dangerous that they formed the basis of so much of the literature of adventure from the very earliest classical narratives onwards.

The Greek island dweller of the Homeric period was completely without knowledge of what we would loosely call Geography; knowledge of one's surroundings or familiarity with the lie of the land, as distinct from geographical science. In Homer's time, there was no means whereby any attempt could be made at mental mapping, the gaining of any idea of where one island lay in relation to another, where the sun set or rose, where the world ended, if indeed it ended at all, or where the individual stood (literally) in relation to the rest of the world. Every man's *Weltansicht* was different from that of the next man's. It was determined by his own experience and his second-hand knowledge, derived in part from poetic recital, which could render an account of distant places, but which could not relate them to one another cartographically. In consequence of this, the further a location lay from the personal (hearsay) experience of the listener (and later the reader), the more exciting the concept of that place became, because the dangers inherent in the return journey from that place became greater: similarly, the further the destination lay from the *oikoumenē* (the generally known world), the more mysterious it became, being associated in the mind of the reader with the edges of the earth, and of strange people, such as those of whom we read in the *pseudos*, or falsely and fantastically created, sections of the Odyssey. We know that the ancient Greek mariner was

apprehensive of the prospect of continuing a journey over one night, as he would not have been able to sleep *en voyage*[141], and consequently it was usual for ships on long voyages to cling to the coastline. This is the historical significance which, for example, lies behind the wonder which would have been expressed at the nine day journey "undertaken" by Odysseus on his way from Ismarus to the Land of the Lotus Eaters: in reality, a journey of this type, if unbroken, would have been almost impossible. What emerges from Homeric narrative is simply that long distances accomplished by crossing the open seas was the stuff of adventure: sailing close to shore for protection and navigational purposes, in the interests of inter-island trade and fishing, was the stuff of reality. In the classical Greek period, even battles were often fought close to land, in order to provide an alternative to death by drowning in the event of defeat.

Homer, in the Odyssey, was the inaugurator of a tradition that survived throughout the literary history of the classical world. He exploited a thirst for knowledge of the *oikoumenē* which could never be satisfied in the absence of maps. Herodotus strove to satisfy this demand for knowledge in his History, interweaving a substantial quantity of "geographical" material into the opening chapters of his work.[142] It should be borne in mind that the Greek term "history" equates to our word "knowledge". Lesser authors built on the achievement of both Homer and Herodotus in opening up new geographical areas for the titillation of their readers: thus Apollonius of Rhodes sought popularity for the *Argonautica*, by dogging the footsteps of Odysseus for much of his narrative, and then entering the Black Sea precisely where Odysseus had fought at Troy. The *Argo* then entered mainland Europe via the Danube, engaging in a variety of

141 See J. S. Romm, Op. Cit. p. 16.

142 See Chapters 2. and 4. in particular for his descriptions of Egypt and surrounding regions.

adventures (portage of boats etc.) in parts of central Europe, Switzerland and France, which were literally at the other end of the world in the mind of an Alexandrian audience. In the course of time, and most specifically as a consequence of the expansion of Roman military and administrative power in the Mediterranean basin, knowledge of Mediterranean topography improved. In the First Century a.d., Seneca, referring to Odysseus' passage through the Straits of Messina (Scylla and Charybdis), comments somewhat world-wearily: 'You ask where Ulysses will have wandered instead of acting so as to keep us from also wandering? There is no time to listen to whether he was tossed between Italy and Sicily or outside the world known to us, nor could he have wandered for so long in a space so narrow'.[143] Clearly Seneca, who was born in Spain and lived in Rome, knew his Western Mediterranean intimately. Similarly, the modern reader may be surprised by the long distances covered in the itinerary of St. Paul as recounted in the Acts of the Apostles: such distances would have been deemed miraculous for one vessel in the days of Homer. As, in the course of centuries, the centre of the *oikoumenē* began seemingly to contract through familiarity, it became necessary for more ambitious authors to take their readers to even more remote and sometimes non-existent destinations. Perhaps the most far-fetched of these was The Wonders Beyond Thule, by Antonius Diogenes and probably written in the first century a.d. In this seemingly improbable travelogue, though one's judgement of it is restricted by the fact that only Photius' Byzantine synopsis and a few fragments have survived, the "hero" Deinias, who has left Arcadia in search of knowledge, travels north across the Black and Caspian seas, and reaches the source of the River Tanaïs (The Don). They are now presumably

143 Seneca: Epistolae, LXXXVIII, 7-8.

at (the modern) Rostov. 'There, because of the extreme cold, they turned back[144] towards the Scythian Sea and then struck out in the direction of the East to the quarter of the rising sun, skirting the exterior sea for a long time in complicated wanderings ... They reach the Island of Thule and use it as a place of rest ... .'[145] The significance of Antonius Diogenes' text, however, lies in the fact that Deinias' journey is undertaken voluntarily in the quest for knowledge, and its purpose, therefore, differs from that of the texts which we have discussed so far: from the Greek novel of adventure, for example, in which the heroes are forced to undertake their voyages, usually in search of their loved ones. The Wonders Beyond Thule does, however, share with the Greek novel of adventure the common preoccupation with extensive distances, and exploitation, for the wonderment of the reader, of unfamiliar parts of the *oikoumenē*.

The temporal chronotope in the Odyssey is highly developed. Both the quest of Telemachus and the return voyage of Odysseus are organised in such a way that the re-uniting of Odysseus and Penelope can be synchronised with cunning exactitude, despite the vagaries of Odysseus' intervening adventures. In this way, two lengthy elasticated panels of time are inserted into the story of the Odyssey, in order to commence the re-organisation of time necessary to enable the near simultaneity of the arrivals of Telemachus and Odysseus at Eumaeus' hut, at which the *denouément* of the epic commences. In the first place, Telemachus must wait for about eight years before he is old enough to commence his quest for his father: on the other side of this equation is the "detention" of Odysseus by Circe for upwards of seven years. In the final analysis,

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144 This would seem to be the wrong direction, but there is a possibility that Photius' ( or Antonius Diogenes') mental mapping may be inverted.

145 Trans. G. N. Sandy in B. P. Reardon, Op. Cit. p. 775-776, of Photius, *Bibliotheca* 166, Ed. R. Henry, Paris, 1960, Vol. 2., p. 140-49.

the ordering of the temporal chronotope of the Odyssey is largely in the hands of the Gods, though this is of no special significance to our examination of the nature of Homer's chronotopicity.

Homer's basic chronotopic ingredient is time manufactured by the ostensible elongation of distance: it follows that it takes a long time to travel from a place which is very distant in the mind of the listener. Similarly, distance is created by the extremely long time (eighteen years) which it takes for Odysseus to return to Ithaca. Thus time and distance multiply one another in degrees of epic proportion. Additionally, Homer employs artificial ways of manufacturing time: Penelope, for example, "buys" time, with which to keep the suitors at bay, by unravelling the shroud that she is knitting for Laërtes, thereby making time expandable. Speed, too, is generated in relation to distance in many ways, by the implied velocity of Pallas Athene, for example, whose sandals enable her to travel at super-human speed. In this way, the spatial dimension Heaven -> Ithaca is introduced into the overall chronotopic space of the Odyssey, expanding the arena in which the action takes place, by a process of what may seem to be the manufacture of an additional dimension.

I have described the spatial dimension of the Homeric chronotope as a series of linear progressions which have been seen, by no less than James Joyce and probably the majority of other readers, as circulinear in that the beginning and end of the narrative, the outward journey of Telemachus, and the inward journey of Odysseus, resulting in the re-uniting of Odysseus and Penelope, are confined to one location. The temporal chronotope, also, is static: nothing essential changes in the absence of Odysseus: this is underlined by Homer who ensures that Läertes is still alive on Odysseus' return; this, in turn, underlines the stability of Odysseus' feudal position, maintaining his unchanged primacy in

the Ithacan hierarchy. His primacy is also maintained by Penelope, who rejects the advances of the suitors until Odysseus' return, thereby being seen to retain him as her consort.

All these considerations, I think, establish that there is, in the generality of things, one basic chronotope of Greek fiction, for we will find that the basic characteristics of the Greek novel of Adventure are anticipated in the works of Homer, and by those authors who lie in direct succession to him. There are, needless to say, enormous differences between Homer's epic poetry and the novels of Chariton and his successors: that is the effect of the passage of a thousand years, but, in terms of basic chronotopicity, the similarities are there for all to see – the themes of love and travel, the use of "Adventure Time", the delay before reunion, the intervening hazards of travel and the intervention of chance events and misfortunes, the use of numerous scenes of action and (frequently) the short sections of time separating them, the long distances traversed, the extended times required to accomplish them – these are, in the main, common priorities – they continue, across the historical interval separating them, to be the matters with which the Greek reader chooses to be concerned, and to reflect the manner in which he most appreciated their reception in fictive narrative.

A significant insight into the spatio/temporal priorities of the Greeks in the intervening period can be gained from an examination of the works of Euripides and other dramatists. Sophie Trenkner places Euripides in what is for us a very telling context indeed:[146]

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146 See Sophie Trenkner: The Greek Novella, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958, pp. 32-33.

> As a result of the same tendency towards prolonging and renewing the dramatic tension, the action in Euripides sometimes has a twofold crisis. For example, in the Iphigenia in Tauris and the Helen, after a successful escape by his heroes, he makes them fall once more into danger only to save them through divine intervention. In this way, Euripides aimed at producing a wealth of impressions of an epic character. This same purpose is to be seen in the frequent use he makes of plots in which the hero is driven by fate into wanderings, whether in flight from danger, or in search of safety or a kinsman. The epic theme of the voyage is essential to Greek romance.

I find it difficult, having regard to all the circumstances involved, to dissociate the Greek novel of adventure from the traditions of Greek epic.

## THE ROMAN IMPERIAL NOVEL

Only two novels of the Roman Imperial period, those of Apuleius and Petronius, have come down to us, and both are quite rightly considered to be vital to the development of the European novel. I shall examine both in some detail, in order to assess their importance to us in this study:

### Petronius: The *Satyricon*:

It has been estimated that less than one fifth of the total text of the *Satyricon* has come down to us: this takes the form of one main section of text together with a group of fragments which have been integrated, as far as is

possible, into the main text. It is probable that all that we possess are fragments from the fifteenth and sixteenth books of a probable total of twenty-four. Needless to say, if this is the case, the original *Satyricon* must have been of enormous length. For this reason it is not possible to attempt to determine what the direction or nature of its overall subject matter may have been. The pattern established by that part of the book which we possess might imply that it is a series of inter-related incidents drawn from different aspects of provincial social life, in a somewhat similar manner to that adopted later by Charles Dickens in the Pickwick Papers (1836-7). The text of the Satyricon is in both prose and verse. The narrative commences at Puteoli, a small provincial town in Campania, in the vicinity of Naples. The action of the novel then moves aboard ship, to be wrecked in the Bay of Tarentum, and ends at the town of Croton. It may be inferred that so many changes of location in the course of such a small sample of text might well infer a pattern of considerably `more in the work as a whole.

The significance of the Satyricon for us lies in the fact that this is the first novel in any Western language in which much of the main action takes place in circumstances of well-defined urban space. Characters are no longer forced to meet almost invariably by accident, or by the intervention of the "fates", because, for the first time in the history of fiction, there is a very real chance of their meeting by design or by appointment, and without the necessity to traverse enormous distances in order to do so. Some of Petronius' characters are engaged, at times, in a constant round of social interaction, and are able to converse freely without restraint or constraint. The novel, therefore, acts as a complete contrast to those Greek novels in which distance *per se* was an essential element in the construction of plot.

Apuleius – The Golden Ass.

The importance of The Golden Ass lies in its being the first novel which presents a single protagonist as the subject of biography. Lucius is an adult when the story commences, and the narrative of the novel traces his life through three clearly distinct phases of his adult life – the period preceding his transformation, the period during which he is able to perceive others through his identity as an ass, and the period after his re-conversion into human form. It is the fact that these three phases in the life of Lucius are combined consecutively and consequentially, a fact which is significant in the terms of the development of the novel. Bakhtin is fully aware of the importance of Apuleius' novel, though he omits to comment on one aspect of the work which is new to the *genre*, namely the decision of the author to lead the protagonist of the novel into the location of the plot from an initial place of origin in the provinces. All that happens to Lucius takes place after his arrival in Hypata. He is a traveller who stumbles upon the subject matter of his novel in much the same way as many protagonists of the mature "modern" novel: Moll Flanders in Defoe's eponymous novel, Oliver Twist in Dickens', Henchard in The Mayor of Casterbridge, and 'K' in Kafka's Castle, to name only a few. In the following section of this chapter, we will see that Christ's entry into Jerusalem, also, exemplifies this syndrome. In terms of Apuleius' novel, derivative influence cannot be imputed in this context, though we can, I imagine, already think in terms of a characteristic common within the subsequent novel form: the theme of the protagonist arriving within a ready-made social connurbation, or other form of complex social environment, to seek his fortune or destiny.

## CLASSICAL BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

This part of FTC must, section by section, undoubtedly rank as the most variable in terms of usefulness. It is not that Bakhtin states anything with which it is not possible to agree, for what he says is seldom lacking in factual accuracy; but the importance which he attributes to various forms of classical biography and autobiography, in terms of their influence on the subsequent development of the novel, can only be described as very variable. Additionally, it is possible to identify alternative genres of classical literature (The New Testament for example), which have far better claims to be regarded as formative of the subsequent history of the novel (and of many other literary genres in addition), than those identified by Bakhtin. It is, therefore, necessary to add one series of formative influences to another, (though Bakhtin nowhere claims the content of his thesis to be exhaustive). Bakhtin's position, however, must be clarified, and this can best be effected by allowing him to speak for himself:

> Moving on to the third type of ancient novel, we must from the outset make one crucial reservation. By this third type we have in mind a *biographical* novel, although antiquity did not produce the type of novel that we (in our terminology) would call a "novel", that is, a large fiction influenced by biographical models. Nevertheless a series of autobiographical and biographical forms was worked out in ancient times that had a profound influence not only on the development of European biography, but also on the development of the European novel as a whole. At the heart of these ancient forms lies a new type of *biographical time* and a human image constructed to new specifications, that of an

> individual who passes through the course of a whole life.' (FTC 130).

The series of autobiographical and biographical forms to which Bakhtin refers are as follows:

> 1 *Platonic* autobiography, as found in the quest for autobiographical self-consciousness, the quest for self-knowledge, as found in the *Apology* of Socrates and the *Phaedo*. In this chronotopic pattern, the life of the seeker breaks down into periods of time corresponding to stages in the personal quest for truth: the passage through a number of philosophical schools, for example. The subject is changed by the experiences which he undergoes.
>
> 2 The "encomium" – 'the civil funeral and memorial speech that had replaced the ancient lament (*threnos*): 'This real-life chronotope is constituted by the public square (the *agora*). In ancient times the autobiographical and biographical self-consciousness of an individual and his life was first laid bare and shaped in the public square'. (FTC 131).

It is quite reasonable to regard the practice of delivering a funeral oration, in which the qualities of the deceased person are enumerated with eloquence and with rhetorical skill as an antecedent influence on any later form of written biographical document. Throughout history, it has been quite natural to consolidate the biography of a distinguished member of the community into the public necrology of the society in which he lived. All societies grant priority to

the recording of distinguished biographies (we see this, after all, in the spontaneous formation of epic histories which have one individual as their focus): it is the essence of the community's communal history, and represents the public genealogy of the people.[147]

This point can be demonstrated by reference to obituaries separated by two millennia: Lucan's encomium over Pompey, for example, and any 'Daily Telegraph' or 'Times' obituary of a senior member of the armed services published in the present century.[148] Both will frequently be seen to fulfil the following defining characteristics specified by Bakhtin:

a. In the encomium the image of the man is extremely simple and pre-formed.
b. The starting point for an encomium is the idealised image of a definite life type.

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147 The amount of detail accorded to the precise genealogies of (especially) Augustus and Tiberius by Suetonius in The Twelve Caesars (see Suetonius: Op. Cit., Trans. Robert Graves, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1957, p. 51-53 and p. 109-12) leads me to the conclusion that the identity/status of the Roman citizen was established by reference to the celebrity of (and extent of detailed knowledge of) his forbears. The same trait is discernible in much of early mediaeval European epic, but becomes functionally un-necessary when the status of an individual could be established by reference to an hereditary title, or by biographical (literary) reference to the family in question.

148 In this connection , I have selected the example of a recent obituary of a member of the British armed forces, Lt.-Col. Alexander Brodie's, published in the Daily Telegraph of 27. November 1995. Brodie's obituary is divided into twenty-two paragraphs, eleven of which are devoted to descriptions of two events in which he distinguished himself with outstanding gallantry. Six further paragraphs are devoted to a chronological account of his military career, one to a summary of his military attainments, one to an outline of his place of origin, parentage and education, one to an assessment of his character (as a man, rather than as a soldier), and the final paragraph, extends only to the three words: ' He never married'. It is not difficult for the reader to appreciate that Brodie would not have been celebrated in the obituary columns of The Daily Telegraph at all, if he had not been awarded the Military Cross at Colombelles in 1944, and the Distinguished Service Order at Goch in the following year, both under exceptional circumstances. Brodie obituary may be thought to conform, to the letter, with the characteristics of classical encomium specified by Bakhtin.

c. All these idealised qualities and virtues are then discovered in the life of the man being eulogised.

d. The figure is usually given us at the moment of its greatest maturity and fullness of life.

e. A vast number of new spheres of consciousness and objects appear in the private life of the private individual which are not, in general, subject to be being made public (the sexual sphere and others), or are subject to an intimate, conditional, closeted expression. (FTC 136).

It would be difficult to contradict an assertion that the form of the obituary has influenced the form of the novel at any time, but it is probably equally difficult to demonstrate ways in which it has done so. In any case of alleged literary influence where there exists an element of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, (as we have seen in the case of Weinreich in the matter of the derivation of the Greek novel from epic), the dimension of indirect influence always remains to be examined. In this context, would we be entitled to suggest, for example, that it is the type of person over whose body the encomium is recited, or about whom the Times or Daily Telegraph obituary is written, who is the person of extraordinary qualities most suited to exemplify traits of personality and behaviour in the novel? Or has our civilisation, for example, filled a common ideological storehouse of exceptional personages from its ancestral records, from which the novelist can draw inspiration for the creation of novelistic characters in their entirety or in part? Could this storehouse be filled only with the exemplary characteristics of those distinguished dead, in such a way that the novelistic character is wholly or in part based only upon prototypical antecedents? If the answer to these questions is in the affirmative, and this is the skein of connective fibre which can attach the encomium, as observed by Bakhtin, to the generality of the subsequent novel, then the encomium must be

seen as part of biographical history's legacy to subsequent moments in the process of literary creation. It would in any case be a somewhat abstract and indirect connection if it were to be established, and it is doubtful if Bakhtin should have selected the encomium (from the multiplicity of alternative potential sources from which the inspiration for the creation of novelistic characters could have been drawn) as so fundamentally important to his thesis. It is surely only *unum inter pares* ?

Importance, however, must be attached to Bakhtin's identification of Roman biography and autobiography as a powerful influence on the formation of the novelistic character. In the biographies of Plutarch and Suetonius, to take two conspicuous examples, we encounter detailed accounts of distinguished lives, details of a subject's genealogical origins, (in Suetonius especially), of his inter-personal connections, his successes and failures, and attempts at psychological insight. Plutarch, additionally, provides his reader with critical biographies, in which each of his pairs of two subjects - Philopoemon and Titus, Lysander and Sulla, for example - are compared in terms of their public and personal qualities. Assessments are, (unlike those of the encomium), objectively drawn, thereby imparting to the character a multi-sidedness and a patterned contextualisation of the type which the subsequent novel gives us in profusion: must, in fact, give us, if the novel is to succeed. Also in the area of secular biography, mention should be made of the fascination with which Alexander of Macedon was regarded throughout classical civilisation, his biography having been written by Quintus Curtius Rufus and Arrian in addition to Plutarch, who pairs him with Julius Caesar. Fascination with the life and exploits of Alexander lasted well into the Middle Ages, surviving in the form of the Alexander Romance. Mention must also be made of Philostratus' biography of Apollonius of Tyana, a man of saintly character who departed this life '(without definitely

dying) at some time in or after the reign of Nerva (AD 96-8)'.[149] Apollonius was revered during his lifetime as a sage, and his memory subsequently enjoyed popularity at the Court of the Roman Empress, Julia Domna, second wife of Septimius Severus. It was Julia Domna who inspired Philostratus to write his massive biography of Apollonius, which was completed after Julia's suicide in 217. [150] The biography of Apollonius is that of a Christ-like figure who, in word and deed, stands as an impressive example to be emulated. His life possesses an independent quality which Bakhtin would have seen as capable of furthering the development of the single, heroic protagonist of the later novel.[151]

In the area of autobiography, Bakhtin's identification of the importance of St. Augustine's *Confessiones* as an influence on the development of the novel form is entirely justified. Augustine presents the reader with a different type of life, one which is not concerned with factional (but only counter-heretical!) politics and the broad sweep of governmental matters, but one which, similar to a characteristic which we will encounter in the Four Gospels, accentuates the humble and fallible qualities in man's nature. The *Confessiones*, however, is one of only a few points at which the Classical literature of the Church enters, in Bakhtin's canon, the category of classical literature relevant to the later development of the novel. [152]

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149 See Graham Anderson: Philostratus, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1986, p. 123.

150 Ibid, p. 121, in which Anderson states that Julia Domna apparently did not live to receive the dedication of Apollonius' biography.

151 See Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Trans. and Ed. F.C. Conybeare, 2 Vols., Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, e.p. 1912, New Edition 1960.

152 I have not stressed in this context the influence of the earliest Christian hagiographical biographies to which Bakhtin ascribes a certain degree of importance, as there is no extant evidence to the effect that these were ever available in sufficient quantities to influence any other branch of ecclesiastical or secular literature. Additionally, reputedly the most widely circulated hagiographical biography to survive, that of Saint Alexius, recounts the life of a decidedly monomaniacal Saint, even by the standards of the early church, and it is doubtful if his example could conceivably have been influential in the formation of the later *selbstständig*

In PND (69-70), Bakhtin does in fact make reference to the uses to which scriptural language was put in the Middle Ages, specifying a range of uses from the high ceremonial to the parodying of the same, but this is of little concern to us in our present debate. This may be thought to represent an almost certainly involuntary denial of the colossal influence of the biographical material contained in the Old and New Testaments, in The Acts of the Apostles, in the Apocrypha, to a very limited extent in the hagiographies, and even, in ultra-compressed form, in the Nicene Creed.[153]

## THE NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

Of the forementioned categories of Christian literature mentioned above, undoubtedly the greatest influence has been rendered by the New Testament.

novelistic hero. Mention should also be made of St. Athanasius of Alexandria's biography of St. Antony, as Athanasius' works were as well known in the Western church as in the East. Athanasius, who in his own youth had led the life of a hermit for limited periods, was a frequent visitor to the cell of Antony, who became accredited with the foundation of monasticism. Antony subsequently visited Alexandria to satisfy public curiosity in the reputation for sanctity which Athanasius had afforded him. The life of the Irish Benedictine monk, St. Brendan, so popular in the literature of France in the Middle Ages, should also be mentioned, as the life of a *selbtständig* hero and explorer. St. Brendan is best known for his travels, mainly in the Atlantic Ocean (beyond the Pillars of Hercules). The fact that hagiographical biographies were, in general, more available in the Eastern church that in the West, may account for an element of Russocentrism in Bakhtin's insistence on their inclusion in his identification of biographical materials formative of the later novel.

153 The real reason for the 'soft-pedalling' of Christian topics in FTC, bearing in mind the date of its composition (1937-38), may well have been the state of domestic politics in Russia at the time. Early in 1937, Stalin waged a new offensive against prominent officials who were suspected of ideological deviation, and thirteen, including Piatakov and Radek, were executed. Gamarnik committed suicide. In June, eight senior army officers, including Tukharchevsk were executed, and in March 1938, Bukharin, Rykov and Yagoda were executed for "espousing bourgeois capitalism." Throughout this period, the slightest deviation from Stalin's concept of pure communism was sufficient reason for disciplinary action, and, in these circumstances, it would probably have been dangerous to deal in detail with any religious matter without first condemning the religion. Bakhtin is not known to have mentioned this matter, and was probably still unable to do so at the time when he appended the 'Concluding Remarks' to FTC in 1973.

The Old Testament is so concerned with the 'Universal', the colossal and the original that it is further removed, in terms of time/space co-ordinates than almost any secular or semi-secular (= god-assisted) epic of antiquity. It is the New Testament, furthermore, and especially episodes from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, which engaged the vast majority of the peoples of Europe on a weekly basis, through the Gospels and Epistles of the Mass, until at least the close of the middle ages.

The New Testament, therefore, in ways which Bakhtin could not, and did not, engage, has influenced the chronotopic structures of European narrative throughout the duration of Christian civilisation, severally or conjointly in many ways: I divide these areas of influence into six main categories:

1. The exposure of the Christian public to the material content of the New Testament for so long a period must necessarily lend its influence a quantitative and cumulative dimension un-paralleled in European history.

The quantitative element in artistic influence of any kind is often under-rated in favour of concentration on the quality demonstrated in individual works, whether of literature, music or art. Much "popular" literature has become lost for this very reason (in the middle ages, the *fabliaux*), and nearer our own times, the best-selling novels of the nineteenth century, perhaps those of Reynolds, Ainsworth, Bulwer-Lytton, Mrs. Marsh and Mrs. Gore. The study of literature as the study of the (aesthetically) best can sometimes mask the true habits of the reading public.

2. The evangelical gospels are the first complex of democratic texts in the history of Western literature. In contra-distinction to almost everything written

in the Graeco-Roman world in the Roman Imperial period, the Gospels are addressed to everybody without regard to social status, whilst maintaining mention of persons of all stations in life from the feudal powers (Herod), the ecclesiastical authorities (Ciaphas, Annas), the Roman administrative and military authorities, the professional classes (Luke), fishermen (Peter and Andrew), a reformed prostitute (Mary Magdalene), the (previously) incurably ill, and a tax collector (Matthew) . This breadth of social spectrum was unusual in classical literature: we encounter it in the *satyricon* , written in the same century, but it is exceptional. Demonax, whose life is known almost entirely through Lucian's biography of him, is a noteworthy exception, and is shown as keeping the company of members of all orders of society.[154]

3. Bakhtin's inability to give proper weight to the importance of the New Testament robbed him of a wonderful opportunity to contextualise the development of his theories of hierarchical inversion. It was amongst Christ's purposes in "giving rise" to the New Testament to invert the existing order whereby, in the Old Testament, the records of the Israelites were maintained for a privileged hierarchy, and dealt with the affairs of a ruling class, the genealogy of one branch of which is spelled out with great precision in the introduction to St. Matthew's gospel. The hierarchical inversion which follows in the New Testament, and which leads to the democratisation of the faith, makes salvation equally available to everybody, but more equally to the poor, for 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven.' It is Christ who initiates the inversion, and establishes the ethos of popular

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[154] See A.M.Harmon, *et al*: Lucian: Works, Op. Cit. Vol. 1., p. 163, for the contrasting apposition of Demonax's encounters with members of different orders of society : ' ... Polybius, quite uneducated and ungrammatical,' and ' ... an aristocrat who set great store on the breadth of his purple band ... ' , and Ibid. p. 149., for further evidence of Demonax' egalitarian, all-embracing, attitude to his fellow man: 'there was no human being whom he did not include among his affections'.

Christianity for posterity – simply by being born in a stable and not aspiring to the life-style of a member of the secular ruling class. The manifestations of hierarchical inversion to which Bakhtin pays so much attention in FTC – in his comments on the Missa Asinorum, the Cena Cypriani, and so forth – those literary-dramatic rituals which hold the peace between the solemnity of the liturgy and the carnivalistic properties of man's natural exuberance – all these are referable to the new order established by Christ, and recorded with such amazing comprehensiveness in the New Testament.[155]

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155 It may be considered by those who are familiar with the conditions of everyday life in Europe in the Middle Ages that the matter of hierarchical inversion which occupies the attentions of Bakhtin to such a considerable extent may appear to be no more than a reflection of the obvious. The statements of Christ to the effect that ' So shall the last be first and the first last, for many are called but few chosen' ( Matthew XX, 16) and '. . . and I say to you " It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew XIX, 23-24) anticipate this common denominator of the human condition. Bakhtin's purpose is to highlight the inevitability of parodic versions of serious themes, of carnivalised versions of religious liturgy, in order to prepare the reader for the new renaissance prose styles of Calvin and Rabelais, but he fails to notice that the mediaeval mentality had, of its own accord, taken stock of the part played by "Fortuna" in the disordering of human destinies. I know of no better example of this acknowledgment than that of the author of Le Roman de Renart, at the beginning of Branche VII. See the modern translation of Le Roman de Renart of Dufournet and Meline, Paris, Editions Flammarion, 1985, Vol. 2. p. 9: 'Il faut être fou pour suivre ses folles espérences,// car le monde entier vit dans l'instabilité, // Fortune se joue des gens: // les uns montent, les autres déscendent, // elle élève celui-ci, abaisse celui-là, // elle appaurvrit l'un, enrichit l'autre, // Les manières de Fortune // font qu'elle aime l'un et se fache contre l'autre; // elle n'est pas l'ami de tous, // elle place l'un au-dessus et l'autre au-dessous, // et à celui qu'elle met à la plus haute place, // au plus sage, au plus valeureux, // et fait un croc-en-jambe, // un jour ou l'autre'. [ It would be mad to place hope in false anticipations, for the whole world lives in a state of instability. Fortune plays with human beings, raising some up and throwing others down, lifting one up and hurling another to the ground. The manner of Fortune is to like one and to act against the interests of another; she is not the friend of all: she places one above and one below, and for that person whom she has raised to the highest place, or the wisest or the most valiant, she will organise an about-turn, one day or another. [My Trans.] The entire cycle of Renart literature is concerned with inversion in the form of criticism of feudal and ecclesiastical authority, and it may seem surprising that Bakhtin ignores Renart and his associated characters altogether. In the words of Patricia Terry: Renard the Fox, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, p. 3.: 'The authors were anything but pedantic; nor were they out to write the simple tales for children extracted from their later work by bowdlerises. They attacked, with gusto and a subterranean idealism, the government of their country, its legal system, its Church, the formalities of feudalism, the hollow protection offered the under-privileged, and the unredeemed brutality of peasants'. Bakhtin's apparent failure to discover the literature of the Renart legend is surprising in itself. It is even more surprising when its concerns with Fortuna, Chance and generally "Lucianic" characteristics are taken into account: see, for example, the passage in which Menippus, looking at the bodies of the dead, compares

4. The Gospels introduce to classical literature a new sense of realism which has at its core an entire biography: that of Christ from the anticipation of his birth to his death on the cross, with a strong supporting familial structure (Mary is present at the crucifixion); similarly Christ's disciples and apostles, with one exception, act as an unified support to Christ's mission. There is in the Gospels, additionally, a simple humanity of ordinary reactions and normal feelings. This last characteristic is that singled out by Erich Auerbach in Mimesis as the most remarkable, and important, contribution of the New Testament to classical literature.[156] Auerbach, similarly, with an amazing command of Migne, exemplifies, mainly by reference to the rhetorical styles of St. Augustine and St. Jerome as teachers of a simple faith by means of a simple rhetoric (by comparison with the antecedent rhetorical *timbre* of Cicero, *et al,*) the manner in which the Christian sermon became accepted by the whole of Western Christianity, educated and uneducated alike.[157]

The fact that the secular literature of the Christian era was slow to reflect both the new *humilitas* and the simplicity of the presentation of the new faith in a

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human life to a pageant, virtually organised by Fortune. (see Lucian, Loeb Classical Library, trans. A. M. Harmon, Vol. iv. pp. 99-101.

156 See Erich Auerbach: Mimesis, e.p. Berne, Franke and Co.,1946. English edition, Trans. Willard Trask, Princeton, N.J., Princeton Univ. Press, 1953, p. 40-46.

157 See Erich Auerbach: Literary Language and its Public in Late Roman Antiquity etc., Op. Cit. p. 53: 'As we have seen, the common people were great lovers of Rhetoric. But under their influence a more popular rhetoric developed, paving the way for a more specifically Christian style of oratory. It is no exaggeration to say that such a rhetoric was first made possible by the Christian spirit and by Christian themes. For what with the political stagnation of the declining Roman Empire, pagan rhetoric had long been deprived of the themes which gave it vitality. Drained of its life blood, it had succumbed to a rigid formalism. Christianity gave it new life, at the same time changing its character. The keynote now was *humilitas....*'. In other words, a new simplicity became the norm for everyone, from the Fathers of the Church to the Parish Priest, to make the complicated mysteries of the Faith intelligible to the masses of the Church membership, in as far as it was possible to do so.

democratised church in which all were equal in the eyes of God, was largely due to the fact that secular literature in the closing centuries of Roman rule was the product of members of Senatorial families which had retained a considerable measure of power in the (especially Gallic) provinces, and abandoned Rome as the centre of their cultural life. Fortunately, a very clear picture of this cultural life has been made available, thanks more to the efforts of French and German historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, to the task of plumbing the obscure depths of Dark Age history. Bakhtin does not concern himself with these matters. I am speaking of the writings of Symmachus, Ausonius, Apollinaris Sidonius and Paulinus, all members of the Roman provincial landed gentry, who wrote for a privileged order of readership, antecedents, no doubt, of the knightly orders of the middle ages.[158]

5. The history of the life of Christ in the New Testament takes place, of necessity, within fairly narrow confines of space. With the exception of the Flight into Egypt, the gospel narratives confine themselves to several towns in Judaea, and a large number of villages mentioned incidentally in the account of Christ's mission. In this relatively close-hauled environment, human contact is easily achieved: the number of persons with whom Christ comes into contact is testimony to this. By the time of Christ's arrival in Jerusalem (and taking the several Gospels together in this instance) we can already envisage the events of

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158 See Samuel Dill: Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire, e.p. London 1899; edition consulted, New York, Meridian Books, 1965. Dill recounts a picture of extensive inter-association between members of the Roman landed gentry in the provinces and members of the ruling classes of barbarian invader. See, for example, his comments on Syragius 'who thought his energy might be more usefully expended in cultivating the friendship of his German neighbours , and in the management of a great estate ... 'See Dill, Op. Cit. p. 201. Dill affords a picture of provincial life which, if evidence were available, would probably reveal a strong element of continuity of mixed-race familial association and a corresponding continuity of Roman institutional practices. It is this merging of interests which I have referred to as creating the "Quadrilateral" space of the Western provinces, which provided a continuity of great solidity from the remains of the Roman Empire.

Passion Week on a basis of quadrilateral space. This four-square environment is clearly visible, for example, in the forecourt of the Palace of the High Priest, when Peter "denies" Christ three times: this is in fact the passage which Auerbach quotes as the passage most exemplary of the "intimate" or non-official quality of the New Testament.[159] This is quadrilateral environmental space comparable to that which we find in the *Satyricon* of Petronius.

6. In The Acts of the Apostles, Christianity takes its first tentative steps outwards from the relatively circumscribed arena of the Gospel narratives. The remit of the Petrine Commission was to spread the Gospel universally, and work began almost without delay. Within a few years of the crucifixion, Paul had visited Damascus, Peter had visited Lydda, Joppa and Caesarea, and Philip the Evangelist had travelled as far south-west as Gaza. Whereas, however, these initial missionary visits occurred within the same territorial limits which had been the 'space' of the Gospel narratives, the subsequent journeys of Paul were to cover a much wider geographical area: in his first missionary journey to the East, he was to visit all the major cities of Cappadocia, Pisidia and Syria, the whole of what we would now describe as South-Central Turkey, and the land to the East, as far as Antioch. In his second missionary journey, he was to retrace much of his former itinerary, but included in addition most of the largest cities of the "old" Athenian mainland (Athens, Corinth, Apollonia, Neapolis, Philippi, Methone, Beroea and Thessalonika), before returning to Jerusalem via Ephesus and Caesarea.

From the point of view of the effect of this widening spatial dimension in the spreading of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean upon the form of

159 See Erich Auerbach: Mimesis, Op.Cit., p. 40-42.

subsequent secular literature, the significant features of the Pauline (and other) missions were as follows:

i. Missionary journeys were carried out for entirely peaceful purposes, and in this respect the early missions of the Church Fathers were unique in that they were not concerned with secular-political or military matters.

ii. Despite the remote destinations visited by Paul and other missionaries, communication between themselves, and with the civil authorities and with members of the local population, were effected without difficulty. As in the Gospel narratives, we find in the Acts of the Apostles a high degree of free association between large numbers of people, an example of a type of inter-active social complex not previously found in classical literature, and ignored by Bakhtin. Additionally there is in the Acts of the Apostles a very finite demarcation of space, often having the quadrilateral quality so essential to the development of novelistic space: the terse narrative style of St. Luke, which admits of nothing extraneous to the import of the Acts, is ideally suited to the presentation of complex (involving numerous people) action within a quadrilateral environment, and demonstrates a heightened degree of solidity in the description of activity within a given space, by comparison with the Gospel narratives. I shall demonstrate this trend by reference to the St. Luke's account of the riot in the temple:[160]

> Before the seven days were ended the Jews from Asia, catching sight of him in the temple, stirred the crowd to a frenzy and seized him, shouting out: ' Men of Israel, come and help! This is the

160 See St. Luke: Acts of the Apostles, Ch. 23, ll. 27-42.

man who everywhere talks treason against Israel, the Law and this Temple. And now he has even brought Greeks into the Temple, and defiled the Holy Place'. The whole city was roused. The Jews ran to the spot, caught Paul and dragged him outside the Temple. Immediately the gates were shut behind them. While they set about killing him, a report was taken up to the military tribune in command of the cohort that the whole of Jerusalem was in riot. He immediately rushed centurions and soldiers to the spot. At the sight of the tribune and the soldiers, they stopped hitting Paul. When the tribune had come near, he took hold of Paul and gave orders for him to be handcuffed on both sides, and inquired who he was and what he had done. The crowd started shouting out, some one thing some another, so unable to learn the facts, because of the hubbub, that he ordered him to be taken into the fort. When he reached the flight of steps Pàul had to be carried by the soldiers because of the violence of the mob, for the Jews were following him in a crowd, yelling out: 'Kill him! Paul was just about to be taken into the fort when he said to the tribune: 'May I speak to you?'. 'So you can talk Greek', he exclaimed. 'Then you are not the Egyptian who recently stirred up the 4000 "assassins" and led them into the desert?' 'I am a Jew", Paul replied, 'from Tarsus in Cicilia, and a citizen of that by no means insignificant city. Will you please allow me to speak to the people?'. Paul's request was granted, and standing on the steps, he made a gesture for silence. A great hush fell, and he addressed them, in Aramaic'.

There is a certain resemblance between this passage and the account, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, of the events leading to the crucifixion, but from the narrative point of view there is one essential difference between these two texts which, in the latter, creates an entirely different chronotope: namely, that in the mission of St. Paul in the Acts, he is pro-active, whereas Christ in Jerusalem in the Gospel narratives offers no resistance to the captors to whom he surrenders, and is entirely passive. In the account of The Riot in the Temple, therefore, there is a clear confrontation between protagonist and antagonist which results in a type of personal interaction largely but not entirely absent in the Gospel narratives (Christ disputes, but does not retaliate). I think, therefore, that in the Acts of the Apostles, we first encounter the type of interpersonal contact (both deliberate and accidental) and the tensions of plot (perhaps narrative exposition would be more appropriate to the circumstances of the Acts), and the quadrilateral space and solidity of the constructed environment, all of which qualities and quantities are required by the modern novel.

iii. The Acts of the Apostles, however, recount the exploits of the disciples across wide expanses of the Eastern Mediterranean, and it would probably be unwise to disregard the attractions of the topographical and travel elements of St. Luke's text to the contemporaneous reader, if only as matters of secondary importance.

There is, additionally, a vast collection of apocryphal works which surround the canonical literature of the New Testament, and which, *inter alia,* recount the mission of St. Thomas to India in the company of Abbanes. Consider, for example, The Apostolic History of Abdias, which extends the disciples missionary activities across the greater part of the modern Middle East, and numerous other works which expand the *oikoumenē* of Christian literature. It

is not my intention, however, to take these works into account in the course of this thesis, simply for the reason that their currency was almost entirely confined to the Eastern Church even before they were proscribed with effect from the codification of the canonical New Testament, a task which was effectively completed by the time of Irenaeus (c.190), and certainly, with specific (mainly Arian) dissentions, with effect from the Council of Nicaea (325). The canon of the Christian church, as Henry Chadwick has pointed out, was codified with remarkable speed, and the liturgy of the mass standardised (albeit with local variations) at a very early date: in Chadwick's own words: 'The truly astonishing thing is that so great a measure of agreement was reached so quickly'.[161] Thus the totality of Western Christendom would have lived in almost complete ignorance of the overwhelming majority of the apocryphon, to which, in any event, it would have been permitted no exposure.

The Old and New Testaments are, without any doubt whatsoever, the documents which have exerted the greatest influence over the nature of philosophical thought in the course of the past two thousand years. They have been varied little, other than in matters of minuscule detail, in the religious disputes which have divided, and divide, the various denominations of Christianity. All European civilisation, both Western and Eastern, has been exposed to (especially) The New Testament without interval, since not long after the time of Christ. Given this measure of exposure, is it surprising that, in The New Testament, we should detect new forms of narration which have endured throughout the history of European literature, those, *inter alia,* which I have indentified in ii. above? Is it not almost inevitable that a document of such immense influence, which presented a comprehensive re-ordering of values

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161 See Henry Chadwick: The Early Church, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967, p. 44.

and priorities in the daily lives of the entire population (originally to the entirety of the newly Christianised world), should have imparted to the literature of the Western world, saturated as it is with the Christian *modus vivendi*, a continuously re-interpreted picture of how the individual sees his environment.

## THE LATE CLASSICAL AND MEDIAEVAL CHRONOTOPE. – THE PREDOMINANCE OF ANACHRONISM.

Late classical and early mediaeval concepts of time are of a different order from those to which the modern mind is accustomed, and a secure understanding of the ways in which time and its passage were perceived in these eras is essential to an understanding of the nature of the pre-modern chronotope. These periods are, additionally, not well served by Bakhtin, whose interest in the mediaeval chronotope does not re-surface until he shows concern for the chronotope of Chivalric Romance nearly one thousand years after the appearance of the first Greek novel. In addition to identifying the chronotope of the dark and early middle ages, therefore, I will account for a number of conceptual changes concerned both with contemporaneous systems of chronology, and with the development of thinking (as demonstrated in literature) in terms of quadrilateral environmental space in place of the linear spatial concepts of antiquity. This section of Chapter Two, therefore, is largely supplementary to Bakhtin's determinations.

To modern man, surrounded as he is with mechanical devices designed to ensure his adherence to a calendrical routine, it is difficult to comprehend man's understanding of the nature of time in ages which antedated the calendar, the clock and the time-table. Yet such a comprehension is vital to an

understanding of certain literary genres, from late classical antiquity to the late Middle Ages, specifically those centuries preceeding the fourteenth which saw the invention of the mechanical clock,[162] and the widespread introduction of factory systems of production,[163] both of which conjointly encouraged the systematic chronological regulation of the (essentially urban) human being.

Throughout the passage of classical antiquity and well into the early middle ages, time was envisaged in two distinctly different but essentially reconcilable ways. In the first place, time was seen by the vast majority as rotational and cyclical, a continuous series of religious feast days occurring within a recurrent cycle of crop and livestock renewal. Temporal progression within this cyclical view of the passage of time was evinced in the ageing of the individual and in the sequence of generations . Herein originates the importance which primitive societies attached to matters of genealogy: this was their inheritance, their tradition, and contained their awareness of the past. This observation is as valid for the 'Book of Genesis' as for the Odyssey or the Norse Sagas. Time, for the majority – those who were not concerned with the management of public affairs, was seen in terms of Gurvich's Classifications 1 and 4, from the earliest times at least until the chronographic revolution of the fourteenth century. For the majority of Europe's population, including that of the Mediterranean basin, the way in which the passage of time was perceived would not would not have been modified in any way, as a result of Greek or Roman cultural influence. This, as we are about to see, is itself a result of the low

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162 See T. P. Camerer Cuss: The History of Watches, London, Macgibbon and Key, 1952, p. 26 ff.

163 See M. Postan and E. E. Rich: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages, being Volume 2 of The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Cam bridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1952, p. 398 ff.

priority accorded, by the Roman authorities in particular, to matters of chronological calculation.

In the second place, and essentially for the minority of literate and numerate citizens living close to the centres of essentially Roman, and subsequently mediaeval civilisation (and this minority necessarily includes all those who aspired to authorship), there existed alternative means whereby time could be measured: in the first place, it was always possible to relate short periods of time (those separated by one or two years at the most) by reference to the interval between religious feasts, and/or reference to the Roman calendrical system of calculating the number of days preceding the kalends, ides and nones of any of the twelve months which constituted the year. For longer periods of time, those, for example, which determined the length of a life, the number of years which had elapsed since an historical event took place, reference could be made to one of two chronological systems. First there was the sÿstem of regnal years instituted by the Roman authorities, first under the Republic, and with more precision under the Empire, after the introduction of the Julian calendar. Secondly, there was the chronological system which demarcated the elapse of time from the year of the foundation of Rome, the *anno urbis conditae*, or A.U.C. This was calculated by Terrentius Varro in the first century B.C., as having taken place in 753 B.C. This system of dating, however, was seldom used, and is not found at all in numismatic usage.[164]

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[164] It is interesting to note that the A.U.C. dating system was occasionally used quite late in the Middle Ages in Holy Roman Imperial historical chronicles and documents in which the author wished to stress the dual nature of the Holy Roman Empire's twin civil and religious authorities. The following passage, describing the Election and Coronation of the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), is typical: 'In the year 1800 from the founding of the City [Rome], in truth from the Incarnation of Our Lord 1152, after the most pious King Conrad had died in the spring ...'. See Otto von Freising in *Gesta Frederici 1 Imperatoris*, Ed. G.Waitz, Hanover, 1884, quoted by and trans. J. B. Ross in 'The Christian Commonwealth' in The Portable Mediaeval Reader, Viking Press, New York, 1949, p. 262.

To illustrate the complexity, – and, for personal purposes, uselessness, – of the Roman regnal system of chronology, I shall quote two instances of its usage, from the concordance of A. H. M. Jones: it will become immediately apparent that this cumbersome system could only be used for the official recording of a particular moment for official purposes, and not for casual use by which to assess the length of elapsed time between two events. [165] Jones cites the following prologue to a form of oath taken by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia on the annexation of that territory in 3 B.C.: [166]

> In the third year and the twelfth consulship of *Imperator* Caesar, son of the God, Augustus, on the day before the nones of March at Gangra in the market place, this oath was sworn by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the Romans who do business in the country.

Again Jones cites the military record of a soldier, Macrinus, giving details of his promotion from Ordinary Clerk to centurion: (for ease of interpretation, the equivalent dates in the subsequent Christian calendar are inserted in square brackets): [167]

> Marcus Carantius Macrinus, centurion of the First Urban Cohort, enlisted in the same cohort in the second consulship of Domitian [A.D.73], clerk of Tettienus Serenus, legate of Augustus in the

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165 See A. H. M. Jones: A History of Rome Through the Fifth Century, London, Macmillan, 1970, p. 43 and 143 respectively.

166 Trans. Jones (*Supra*) of Dittenberger: OGIS. 532.

167 Trans Jones (Supra) of Dessau: ILS. 2118.

tenth [this must be the ninth] consulship of Vespasian [A.D. 79], chief clerk of Cornelius Gallicanus, legate of Augustus, with trooper's pay, in the ninth consulship of Domitian [A.D.83], also under Minicius Rufus, legate of Augustus, recalled to the colours in the fourteenth consulship of Domitian [A.D.88], centurion in the second consulship of the Emperor Nerva [A.D.90].

It must be remembered that, at the time from which these two illustrations originate, there would have been little appreciation in the mind of the man in the street of any concept of the century or the decade, and little appreciation of what we would describe as a new year which separated two consecutive periods of time by a numerical distinction. We are even in possession of the example of a Christian Bishop, Martin of Braga,[168] in the late

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168 See Martin of Braga: *De Correctione Rusticorum* in *Martini Episcopi Bracaransis Opera Omnia*, Ed. C.W.Barlow, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, for the American Academy in Rome, 1950, p.159ff. Martin of Braga would seem here virtually to necessitate the divorce of the New Year from the Church Calendar, and bears out the substance of an observation of C.G.Jung : 'on the Psychology of the Trickster Figure' reprinted in: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, London, Routledge, 1991, p. 257 n. 3.:' These customs [witches sabbaths] seem to be directly modelled on the pagan feast known as "Cervula" or "Cervulus". It took place on the kalends of January and was a kind of New Year's festival, at which people exchanged *strenae* (*étrennes*, gifts), dressed up as animals or old women, and danced through the streets singing to the applause of the populace. According to Du Cange (s.v. Cervulus) [Charles du Cange: *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infirmae latinitatis*, e.p. Paris, 1733-36, repr. Graz, 1954.], sacriligious songs were sung. This happened even in the immediate vicinity of St. Peter's in Rome. See also Du Cange (s.v. "Kalendae"), in Op. Cit. *Supra*. Bakhtin's references to the parodying of Christian ceremonial in the *Missa Asinorum* and the *Cena Cypriani*, (PND 68ff, and FTC 184), and the references which I make to them *infra*, are relevant in this context. On the subject of the celebration of the New Year, Emmanuel Le Roi Ladurie: Carnival, trans. Mary Feeney, London, Scolar Press, 1980, p.305, quoting A. Prudhomme: *Du Commencement de l'Année en Dauphiné*, Bulletin historique et philosophique (1898), p. 279ff., reports that: 'During the Middle Ages and in some cases as late as the sixteenth century, Dauphiné started the year either on September 25., December 25., or March 25. Carnival was thus one of the periods demarcating the end of one annual cycle and the beginning of the next'. A full account of the New Year as a time of festivity in Rome in ancient times is provided by E.Caetani-Lovatelli:*Varia*, Rome, Ermanno Löscher, and Regensburg, Bretschneider, 1905, pp. 151-166, in his paper: '*Kalendae Januariae*'. Caetani-Lovatelli confirms much that we have established from alternative sources above: additionally, he cites examples of prohibitions placed by certain Fathers of the Church, including John Chrysostom, upon the celebration of the New Year with ritual ceremonies involving the sacrifice of animals. He quotes a Roman proverb of the early years of the Church,

Sixth century, advising the peasants (*Rustici*) of his diocese that it was a pagan practice to begin the new year on Ist. January; simply because it was traditionally the date of a prominent pagan festival. In any case, the celebration of the New Year, *per se*, was not considered essential to the requirements of the Church.

It was also with a view to altering the way in which the nature of the elapse of time was perceived by the majority of people, that St. Augustine in the Confessiones advanced his thesis as a straight-line continuum tending towards eternity, thereby substituting a philosophy of chronology which was acceptable to the teachings of Christianity. The very promise of eternal life made by Christ in the New Testament necessitated an appreciation of time as non-cyclical. It was not, however, only the primitive concept of time as cyclical which had to be countered, for, in furtherance of his war against heresies which drew their ideologies largely from the teachings of Greek philosophy, Plato's definition of time had also to be rejected, and his definition of time was very similar (though for entirely different reasons) to the primitive or rustic concept. Thus it was very largely as a result of St. Augustine's teaching in the matter, that the necessity to demarcate the passage of time by a regular system of notation (in the form of dating) came about, albeit slowly.

Not until long after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, at which time the affairs of the Roman Empire could, in theory, be synchronised with the historical chronography of the Vatican authorities, did the concept of the *Anno Domini* arise – no Roman of classical antiquity ever knew that on a certain day, he was moving from B.C. to A.D. or had ever known that he had done so ! The

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but regrettably does not state its textual origin:' ... *non licet Kalendis Januarii ... strenas diabolicas observare'*.

concept of *anno Domini* dates from c.533 a.d.: it arose from the belief of the Western monk, Dionysius Exigüus, expressed in his *Cyclus Paschalis*, that time should be measured from the Annunciation of the birth of Christ, but the system of dating by means of the *anno Domini* was also slow to be accepted. It is perhaps significant that one of the most important documents illustrative of the nature of Carolingian feudalism, the cartulary *'De Villis'* bears no annual date whatsoever, referring only to the feasts of Saints Martin and Matthew. If an order concerning the administration of the Imperial estates could be issued without any annotation of the year in which it was promulgated, it is quite clear that chronology as such still remained a matter of little importance to the early mediaeval mentality. Where we do find a close attention to the dating of events, as we will have cause to observe throughout the Middle Ages, is in the work of the chroniclers. In this context, Bede's History of the English Church and People is most remarkable: for a document of the early eighth century, it is unusually accurate in matters of chronology, and represents an exceptionally early instance of the combined uses of the A.U.C. and the A.D. systems of dating. Consider, for example, the following:[169]

> Britain remained unknown and unvisited by the Romans until the time of Caius Julius Caesar, who became consul with Lucius Bibulus 693 years after the founding of Rome, and sixty years before the birth of Our Lord.

Later chroniclers, and I have in mind especially Froissart's account of the Hundred Years' War and of northern European *mores* in general, and de

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169 See The Venerable Bede: A History of the English Church and People, Trans. and Ed. Leo Sherley-Price, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1955, p. 42.

Joinville's and de Villehardouin's histories of the crusades, are possibly rather less punctilious than Bede in terms of their attempts at historical accuracy. But as strict an adherence to chronological order as was possible, in an age of restricted communications, was normally achieved in the mediaeval chronicle, because the chronicle was the appropriate place for a sequential narrative account. The same, however, cannot be claimed for the literature of the imagination where the ordering of plot could not be seen to be governed by a particular form of protocol. Mediaeval chivalric romance, which is the object of much critical attention by Bakhtin, is, especially in its frequent development into "cyclical" literature, a victim of the contingency which Bakhtin himself detects in the chronotope of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante: 'the simultaneity of all things in eternity', which gives licence to a world outside time in which the rotational can become historical. Thus in an era when life and literature in their generality were moving towards a more ordered appreciation of sequence, we find that (essentially) Christian history, tradition and myth have sanctioned the permissibility of its categorical opposite –achronism. The causes of, or perhaps more accurately the attractions of, this achronism and of the "cycle" must be understood if, contrary to Bakhtin's suggestion, the chronotope of the chivalric romance is to be differentiated from that of the Greek novel of adventure.

My case concerning the general perception of both achronism and anachronism in Western Culture at this time is supported by von den Brincken: his observations have the added advantage of combining the sense of anachronism in an entirely temporal context, with its extension into the representation of space:[170]

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[170] See A.-D. von den Brincken:' *"Ut discriberetur Universus Orbis": Zur Universal-Kartographie des Mittelalters'* in *Methöden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1970, p. 113.

> "As Handmaid of Theology", the allegorical geography of the Middle Ages combined biblical story and earthly history on one and the same plane. "Maps of the World" show paradise with Adam and Eve, the great figures of the Bible, Troy, the campaigns of Alexander, the Roman Provinces, the Holy Places, the Christian State and the Last Judgment.

Our familiarity with the literature of the Middle Ages does nothing to alter the inevitable conclusion that the ancient and early mediaeval worlds were not concerned with matters relating to chronological order as such. Bakhtin, himself, provides an excellent example of Mediaeval achronism in the form of the *Cena Cypriani* :[171]

> a fascinating gothic symposium. But how was it constituted? The entire Bible, the entire Gospel was, as it were, cut up into little scraps, and these scraps were then arranged in such a way that a picture emerged of a grand feast at which all the personages of sacred history from Adam and Eve to Christ and his apostles eat, drink and make merry (PND 70).

Bakhtin mentions the *Cena Cypriani* solely because it is an excellent example of mediaeval parody, and, despite its irreverent qualities, it was popular throughout the Church in the Middle Ages as an easily-digested method of instructing clerks in holy orders in the fundamental beliefs of the Church. Our purpose, here, in citing the *Cena Cypriani* , however, is to draw attention to its similarity to a jigsaw puzzle composed of religious icons which were clearly not

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171 Please refer also to PND, p. 70. n. dd.

seen as essentially belonging to a unalterable sequence of religious/historical events. (Such a method of instruction would have appeared idiotic against a background of well-known historical chronotopicity, a system which the mediaeval world lacked).

Equally anachronistic in its own way is the *Pala d'oro*, that epitome of the iconic representation of Christian hierarchical systems, which represents a vast number of saints, apostles and angels randomly interspersed with scenes from the New Testament without any sense of chronological order.[172]

What I have attempted to establish above, perhaps with the assistance of some rather extreme examples, is that until well into the Middle Ages, it was not amongst the priorities of the average man to think in terms of historical chronology, and that concepts of past time, beyond concepts which referred to matters of present or routinely future concern, (what we might refer to as on-going matters), were of little significance to him.

For the vast majority, the inside world of the middle ages was the world of the parish and the provincial town and village: the *materia* of this inside world was the land to which the population was tied, and which, indirectly, controlled the chronological element of the mediaeval chronotope. This confined agrarian world, whose co-ordinates stretched for only a matter of miles in any one direction, and to which the population was seamlessly attached by

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172 See W. Felicetti-Liebenfels: *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Ikonenmalerei*, Olten and Lucerne, Urs Graf Verlag, 1956, p. 74. and Pls. 22 and 23. The Pala d'Oro is a bronze-gilt and enamelled *tableau* of 111 representations of Biblical and ecclesiastical characters; Saints, Evangelists and other Fathers of the Church, Angels, Archangels and others, with little regard for hierarchical ordering or chronology or function within the hierarchy of the Church. It is the altar-piece of the High Altar of St. Mark's cathedral in Venice, and was executed in Constantinople in 1105.

self-identification with the realities of day to day agricultural life, the harsh realities of weather, pestilence, tribal invasion and so forth, afforded, in all probability, little room for any exercise of the cultural imagination beyond a rudimentary appreciation of the "ordinary" of the mass. The other temporal chronotope of the middle ages was determined by those who, in the view of several distinguished historians, constituted what was in effect an alternative society – the society of the court, of the monastic institutions and of regional ecclesiastical administration. This new, and, in the eleventh century, ever growing new upper class, whilst related socio-economically by feudal and contractual ties to the farmer, the labourer, and the tradesman, was nevertheless as far distant in terms of *mores* and material standards as subjects have ever been from their masters. The literary demands of this courtly and clerical society were consequently the unique literary products of their age, and reflected the requirements of an élite thirst for an understanding of their own cultural and historical heritages. This was accompanied by a comparable thirst for knowledge of the (then) known world, but not to the extent which we have seen to be the norm in classical antiquity.

## THE GREEK NOVEL OF ADVENTURE AND THE MEDIAEVAL CHIVALRIC ROMANCE.

Bakhtin alleges (FTC 151) that there exists a close correspondence between the chronotopes of the Greek novel of adventure and the mediaeval Chivalric romance: 'The chronotope of this novel [the mediaeval chivalric romance] is also close to Greek romance – the "otherness" of its world is portrayed in a variety of ways and has a somewhat abstract character.' Essentially, the ground upon which Bakhtin associates these two literary forms is his

identification of "adventure time" as the common denominator which links these two forms of narrative. "Adventure Time" as we have seen in the definitions of both Bakhtin and Gilman, is the essentially episodic time which, because of the self-contained nature of the adventure in question, is not seen as part of the general biographies of the characters concerned, but as occurring in an extra-temporal hiatus between two moments of biographical time.

The "otherness" of the world(s) which the characters of the Greek novel inhabit, usually comes about through a lack of familiarity on the part of the author with the locations described, and because the nature of those locations played an inessential part in the unfolding of the hero's or heroine's quests and experiences. The distant locations invariably used by the Greek novelist are inserted, not only to make the adventure less liable to result in a successful outcome (though it invariably does), but also to excite the reader's interest in distant parts of the *oikoumenē* which he, the reader, also knows only by repute. In this way, the spaces between destinations in the Greek novel are comprised of linear space of a type which lacks any quadrilateral dimension.[173] This linearity is characteristic of Greek prose narrative in general, and may be deemed an inheritance from the way in which the Greek mind appreciated the concept of territory. Essentially, this was an understanding of "national" space or distant territory as the land-surface surrounding a city-state, or the capital or major city of a foreign power. Thus, when Alexander of Macedon embarked on his military expeditions, it was not with the primary view of annexing and governing additional territory, but of subjugating threatening powers by battle, and the recognition of overlordship by the acceptance of a subsequent submission: the

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173 This observation does not, needless to say, apply to *Daphnis and Chloë* which, as we have seen, falls outside the defining lines of the Greek novel of Adventure as defined by Bakhtin himself.

land-surface then became nominally Greek, but in the Greek mind, it was the City which represented the conquest. There was, for example, no depth of cultural or administrative penetration to accompany the military prowess of Macedon.[174] The Greek concept of territorial annexation was totally different from that of the Roman, from which the modern concepts of efficient colonisation, provincial government, and in the middle ages, the nation state, were ultimately derived. Neither, in those parts of the Roman Empire which had been part of the Greek Empire(s), and which lay predominantly to the East of the Adriatic, was the efficacy of Roman administration as efficient as it was to be in Western Europe. There is an essential difference between the nature and depth of territorial colonisation in the Eastern and Western wings of the Empire respectively. Bakhtin, from his position of Russocentric familiarity with the post-Roman Imperial history of the Eastern Empire, possibly at the expense of an equivalent knowledge of comparative developments in the West, would seem to underestimate the enormous degree of continuity which characterised the movement of Roman ways of life and cultural norms into the Dark Ages and beyond.

It is precisely from the disintegration of the Roman Empire, and from the same geographical space which it had occupied, that the epic/historical origins of the mediaeval chivalric romance arose. Additionally, the depth of penetration of Roman cultural and institutional influences on its territory was sufficient to "carry over" the longer-established portions of the Empire into eras in which their own indigenous or invading rulers could re-establish order. To whatever

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174 See Perry Anderson: Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism, London, NLB, 1974, p. 46: 'The unitary Macedonian Empire which emerged after Gaugamela [where Alexander the Great achieved his third victory over Darius], stretching from the Adriatic to the Indian Ocean, did not survive Alexander himself, who died before any coherent administrative framework could be given to it'.

extent we see the successive sacks of Rome as somehow the end of the Empire, we are not prevented from seeing in the work of Charles the Great, for example, in his repelling of the Saracens (the subject matter of the *Chanson de Roland*), or in the repelling of the Moors (the subject matter of the *Poema del mia Cid*), a continuation of the work which the Romans had undertaken for over a thousand years. The element of continuity, especially in Western Europe, is an almost unbroken one, and it is mainly for this reason that the space of mediaeval literature is essentially quadrilateral, resting four-square on the long-standing and solid foundations of Roman Imperial administration. The literature of the middle ages acquired an additional dimension to that of the Greek novel, and by dint of its rectilinearity (which we have previously encountered only in The New Testament and in the Graeco-Roman *Satyricon* of Petronius), distances are shorter, and are confined to well-defined, (mainly) northern European, parameters. If we rely on the earliest mediaeval texts, Beowulf (c.750), for example, we are introduced almost immediately to the genealogical history of the House of Scylding and to a description of its power-base, the focal point around which its territory is arraigned. We are told that:[175]

> Beowulf is the beloved King of the people, was famed among peoples long time in the strongholds – his father had passed hence, the prince from his own home – until noble Halfdene was born to him: aged and fierce in fight, he ruled the Scyldings while he lived.

Even from this contracted account, we can immediately derive a mental picture of a well-established community which, unlike that of the Greek novel, is

175 See R.K.Gordon (Ed.): Anglo-Saxon Poetry, London, Dent, Dutton, 1970, p. 3.

to be the central and focal point of subsequent narrative development, however many excursions are to be made from its central locus. Significantly, this introductory account is followed immediately by Beowulf's decision to construct a power-base at the centre of his domain – an additional show of consolidation:[176]

> It came into his [Beowulf's] mind that he would order men to make a hall building, a mighty mead dwelling, greater than ever the children of men had heard of; and therein that he should part among young and old all which God gave up to him except the nation and the lives of men. Then I heard far and wide of work laid upon many a tribe throughout this world, the task of adorning the place of assembly.

This is the epicentre of a fledgling mediaeval community – a multi-purpose social and presumably parliamentary headquarters at the hub of regional space. Whatever happens within that space happens within an historical space which anticipates future historical time. The linear space of the Greek novel, by contrast, disappears, because it is a route and has no substance.

Bakhtin states: 'In contrast to the heroes of Greek romance, the heroes of chivalric romance are individualised, yet at the same time symbolic. The heroes of different Greek romances resemble each other, although they bear different

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[176] Ibid, p. 4. See also Edward B. Irving Jr.: 'The Hall as Image and Character' in Rereading Beowulf, Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1989, pp. 133-167. I will quote only a short passage from Irving in order to corroborate my own belief: 'In *Beowulf*, there seems little doubt that the main controlling image throughout the poem from beginning to end is the hall. To trace the ways this centred symbol shimmers in the imagination in various changing lights, as halls are built, attacked, restored, abandoned, laid waste, is to gain sharper understanding of the poem's larger meanings .... A Hall is a mental construct.' (Op. Cit. p. 133-34).

names: only one novel can be written about each such hero; cycles, variants, series of novels by different authors cannot be created around such heroes'. Referring to Lancelot, Tristan and Percival, he adds: ' But several novels have been created around each of these figures. Strictly speaking, these are not heroes of individual novels. . . . – what we get is heroes of *cycles* . . . . – like epic heroes they belong to a common storehouse of images'. (FTC 153). Bakhtin does not attempt to identify the reasons why the roles which the heroes of Greek Romance and Western European Chivalric romance perform in their respective literatures are so markedly different. He is content to point to their essential differences in characteristic terms, but does not take the matter any further.

If there is one characteristic which separates the nature of a Lancelot, a Tristan or a Percival from a hero of Greek romance, it is the roles which they perform in relation to the societies in which they figure. The essential difference is that of private necessity and public performance. The purpose of the adventure of a Greek novelistic hero is to redress a sense of personal grief, 'to return his world to a state of "systematicalness"' (FTC 152), usually after having been separated from his loved one. He undertakes arduous quests and long voyages, endures hardships for unbelievably long periods of time, demonstrates the virtues of constancy, determination and perseverance, and continues to pursue his objective until it is achieved. But, and this is the distinguishing characteristic of his conduct, none of this has any significance beyond the satisfaction of the hero's own private necessity.[177] I would maintain that once the hero and his

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[177] A related opinion of co-lateral significance is expressed by Diana de Armas Wilson: Allegories of Love: Cervantes's "Persiles and Sigismunda": 'In Greek Romance, by contrast, honour is a more private affair.: readers are often made privy to dishonours known only to the sufferer, unknown to the other characters in the narrative. When, in the *Ephesiaca* [of Xenophon of Ephesus] , Anthia is exposed to customers in the brothel, she does not worry about her public humiliation, her loss of honor, as much as about the shame of being forced to transgress her marital vows.

loved one have been re-united, there is nothing further to be done or said: the book is (literally) closed, and from a novelistic point of view, the hero's biography is exhausted, and is of no further consequence. By contrast, the hero of chivalric romance is drawn ultimately either from the *ursprunglich* epic of the establishment of mediaeval territorial settlement, or, in other instances, of the establishment of mediaeval northern European Christianity. Every deed of a Lancelot, a Tristan or a Percival (and these are the three whom Bakhtin names) relates back to a deed performed for the common good, for the benefit of the settlement, the community, or the kingdom. In the absence of clearly defined territorial frontiers in the early "Dark Ages", each forest clearing and tract of fertile land had to be colonised and subsequently defended from predators. The chivalric romances arose out of the epic history of these early years of settlement, and they recount heroic deeds essentially of a type performed originally in the service of the public: they are the direct successors by development of epic literature, specifically public political (international) epic, as in the cases of El Cid (Ruy Diaz), Roland, Marko and so forth. We have seen in Vinaver's and Jodogne's claims relating to the origin of the novel in France, furthermore, how the factual form of the epic gave way to a more imaginative and "romanticised" form of chivalric romance, which was no longer so much concerned with national preservation as with adventure even, I would contend, if the end purpose of this adventure had its roots partly in a form of military training. The immediacy and urgency of Dark Age, historically necessitated,*Volksepos* had slackened by the twelfth century, and members of the leisured classes could now indulge in more relaxed pursuits when in familiar territory, or in exploration of adjacent lands. The constant departures of a knight in chivalric romance from

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Private issues of shame (Gk. *Aidos*) in Greek romance seem to take precedence over private notions of what is and what is not honourable'. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1991, p. 17.)

the epicentre of his known world in search of adventure, however, is not in itself evidence of the lack of necessary military or defensive commitment for which he was responsible to his *Seigneur:* no knight was permitted to cease his chivalric activities through laziness or pre-occupation with other matters; Chrétien de Troyes makes this quite clear in Erec et Enide, when Erec, besotted with the beauty and charm of his wife (whom, it is implied, he has married belatedly) loses all interest in chivalric pursuits:[178]

> But Erec was so in love with her that he cared no more for arms, nor did he go to tournaments. He no longer cared for tourneying; he wanted to enjoy his wife's company, and he made her his lady and his mistress. He turned all his attention to embracing and kissing her; he pursued no other delight. . . . All the nobles said that it was a great shame that a lord such as he once was no longer wished to bear arms. . . . ....Enide heard them say among themselves that her lord was becoming recreant with respect to arms and knighthood, because he had profoundly changed his way of life. This weighed on her, but she dared not show it, for her husband might have taken it ill if she had mentioned it.

This criticism on the part of Erec's peers is not merely a registration of regret: it is a damning criticism of Erec's abandonment of his primary purpose as a member of the "army reserve":[179] after all the trust and expectations that had

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178 See Chrétien de Troyes : Arthurian Romances, Trans. and Ed. W. W. Kibler, (Erec et Enide Trans. C.W. Carroll), Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1991, p.67

179 A more recent example of a comparable practice is that of many cavalry officers of the British Raj, who, especially in intervals of leisure between the wars in Waziristan and on the North West Frontier at the end of the nineteenth century, enjoyed the sport of pig-sticking as a means of maintaining their proficiency in the use of the lance.

been shown to him by the king in the arrangements for his marriage which was (exceptionally) conducted with full courtly honours, and by the queen who gave Enide clothes which she was actually wearing (to replace the poor garments in which she first appeared at court), Erec failed to live up to his knightly commitments. The serious nature of this dereliction of duty was registered also by Enide who, on hearing of her husband's abandonment of chivalric pursuits, says: ' The earth should truly swallow me up, since the very best of knights - the boldest and the bravest, the most loyal, the most courteous that was ever count or king - has completely abandoned all chivalry because of me'.[180] By the use of this example, I have endeavoured to stress the important and functional aspects of a knight's role in relation to the court in whose service he lives and works.

It is surely not difficult to imagine that the *dramatis personae* of such recorded adventures would, over a period of several hundred years, have acquired exaggerated or enhanced reputations for gallantry, valour or any other personal quality which the reader would be liable to admire in a hero; and that that hero will, by distinguishing himself, (and this, after all, was part and parcel of the world of chivalry) achieve a certain glorification and a measure of legendary immortality. Bakhtin comments with surprise (FTC 153) that the heroes of Chivalric Romance glorify themselves and glorify others. Self-adulation, and adulation of the idea of the knight's lover, had become, originally for the best Christian motives, part of the civilising process to which all members of the knightly classes of mediaeval society aspired. Bakhtin fails to realise that, just as fame for evil constitutes notoriety, fame in the service of good breeds adulation, and such fame tends to be perpetuated in the earlier literature of any society. Later in this thesis I shall have cause to refer to the patriotic military

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180 See Chrétien de Troyes: Arthurian Romances, Op. Cit. *Supra*, p. 68.

exploits of Prince Sviatoslav of Rylsk, the earliest Russian warrior to find a place in the chronicles of that nation. Disastrous as Prince Sviatoslav's attempts to secure the frontiers of the state proved to be, his memory has been venerated ever since -- simply because his efforts were directed at the furtherance of the public good: no Anthia or Callirhoë awaited his return from battle.

## CYCLICITY AND MEDIAEVAL FICTION.

It is in the context of the previous paragraphs that it becomes necessary to examine Bakhtin's assertion that 'several novels have been created around each of these figures [he is referring specifically to Lancelot, Tristan and Percival]. What we get is the heroes of *cycles*'. (FTC 153). A literary cycle cannot be constructed around any character in literature or history: as the reader, or readership, needs to be prepared to accept the cyclical re-appearance of a hero (or subsidiary character), the hero of the cycle must fulfil certain objective requirements. As I am not aware that these requirements have even been determined categorically,[181] I shall take this opportunity to suggest the most necessary characteristics which a cyclical/reoccurring character might be deemed to require, as such a definition is pertinent to the matter of the historico-literary status of certain characters whom I discussed in my previous section. In the previous paragraph, I paved the way for the outline of a definition in my reference to:

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[181] See Alastair Fowler: Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 69, begins to address the subject under the heading of "literary character types", but, after an apposite mention of the *commedia dell'arte*, does not pursue the topic further.

1. "Legendary Immortality". It might be considered probable that the memory of a character who is representative of a "quality" or of an archetype of character, and who is associated with that quality by a long-established conjunction of ideas, is unlikely to be permitted to fade from the memory, especially if their associated quality or archetypal characteristic is an essential one: thus Arthur, El Cid and Roland are essential as defenders of the realm and acquire their immortality mainly through this characteristic. Further, if the character in question has demonstrated qualities to the listener/reader of which he wishes to learn more, then a cyclical re-appearance of that character is seemingly sanctioned, but there must have been established additionally a "legend", a knowledge of the character by repute which does not tie the character to any specific chronotopic matrix of time or place. In the Middle Ages, as we have already seen, there existed a state of anachronism which was ideally suited to the mobility of time and place as variable characteristics in the organisation of legend. Thus the idea of Arthur as King, defender and wise, the idea of Gawain as devout, the idea of Percival as the seeker after truth and so forth does not have to be demonstrated within any particular spatio-temporal matrix: Percival can appear as a hero of Chrétien de Troyes just as easily as a hero of Wolfram von Eschenbach. Times and places are entirely different, but there is no conflict in the mind of the reader, who will interpret the identities of such heroes as (and quite properly) of basically historical significance.

2. The character must be available, in the sense that his biography must not be exhausted. If Bill Sykes, in Dickens' novel Oliver Twist, for example, were to make another appearance in a subsequent novel by the same author, the reader would not accept his re-appearance, because his

biographical life in the author's fiction has been, so to speak, emptied by his death. (This point can be emphasised by reference to the astonishment shown by the reading public at the resurrection of Moriarty by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, after Moriarty had fallen to his death at the Reichenbach Falls). By contrast, there is no limit to the number of re-appearances that can be made by, for example, Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot, because he is chronotopically available to solve any crime as long as he is not simultaneously engaged in solving another. His temporal chronotope, however, is governed by the fact that his creator located him in the 1920s and 1930s, thereby locating him in an era of rigid chronotopical demarcation. Poirot, therefore, cannot re-appear outside these temporal boundaries, though spatially he can appear anywhere – on the Simplon-Orient Express, on the Nile or at any one of a number of English country houses. We encounter cyclical re-appearances in Balzac's novels of the Comédie humaine, in the re-cycling of (*inter alios* ) Rastignac, Nucingen and Derville, just as long as they re-appear in the France of circa 1830. Their mediaeval counterparts, however, are free to make cyclical re-appearances at any time because they stem from an era of anachronism which, if it can accept the incongruities of the Cena Cypriani and the *Pala d'Oro*, can similarly escort King Arthur through time from Mons Badonicus to Malory without reservations.

3 It would seem that, in theory, a quality possessed by a character in cyclical literature need not be a "good" quality. If a character is, for sufficiently long and for an adequate and consistent reason, associated with evil, he too can be permitted to re-appear in cyclical form as an evil-doer. I would mention Faust in this negative capacity – the Faust of the Faustbuch, the Faust of Marlowe, of Goethe, of Liszt (in the Mephisto Waltzes) and the

Faust of Lenau. The Renart cycle, also, is concerned furthermore with the antics of (predominantly) Renart and Isengrim, who are represented in animal form in order to dissociate humanity from their mainly disgraceful behaviour. Incidents such as the occasion on which Renart takes full advantage of Isengrim's wife whilst the latter's head is trapped in a fox-hole[182] could not have achieved any wider circulation than the most disreputable *fabliaux* if the protagonists had been depicted as human beings. As it was, the cycle of Renart literature, thanks to its anthropomorphism, enjoyed a popular life of well over two hundred years.

4. There is, as intimated above, in these categories of requirement for what I shall term "cyclical status", an element of Archetypal status as well (Faust, The Wandering Scholar and variations on Jung's Mercurial or "Trickster" Figure, for example), but such a comparison of these respective status lies outside the terms of reference of this thesis.

An attempt was made by Eugène Vinaver to link the nature of the cyclicity of the chivalric romance with the cyclically endless nature of interlace ornamentation in the mediaeval manuscript. This theory, based on observations by Henri Foçillon[183] to the effect that the nature of interlace was no mere accident of design but somehow effervescent with life forces, was fairly recently extended into the field of literary-artistic comparative iconography by Vinaver in

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182 Op. Cit. ll. 5959ff.

183 See Henri Foçillon: La Vie des Formes, Paris, 1923, p. 31ff.

the 1970s.[184] It was his contention that the romantic chivalric cycle shared with the nature of interlace ornament in mediaeval manuscript ornamentation the common characteristic of resemblance to 'threads in a woven fabric, one theme interrupting another and again another'. The cyclicity of the cyclical romance and the unending nature of the inter-twined "stringing" of interlace ornament both admit of a kind of rotational anachronism, but this coincidence, (in the strictest meaning of that word) cannot be interpreted as implying the existence of parallel iconographies in literary and artistic usage respectively.

This excursus into the matter of cyclicity now necessitates a return to my consideration of the essential differences between the chronotope of Chivalric Romance and that of the Greek novel. It is necessary to distinguish the reasons why we encounter cyclical immortalisation in the former and not in the latter: who, after all, is going to immortalise Habracomes for finding Anthia in Xenophon of Ephesus' Ephesian Tale, when it is only Habracomes, and not the whole of humanity as demonstrated in the qualities of immortal characters, who stands to benefit? None of the young protagonists of the Greek novel was a real historical character of importance: how does Bakhtin propose that such

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184 See Eugène Vinaver: The Rise of Romance, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1971, *passim*, but especially p. 68-98. It was Vinaver's contention that the romantic chivalric cycle shared with the nature of interlace ornament the common characteristic of resemblance to 'threads in a woven fabric, one theme interrupting another and another'. The cyclicity of the cyclical romance and the seamless nature of the "stringing" of interlace both admit of a kind of rotational quality, in the sense that neither has any obvious beginning or end: but, regretfully, this is as far as the case for a direct iconographical association can be taken. Extensive research into the nature of interlace ornament, especially as seen in the manuscript illumination of the Insular school [the Books of Kells, Durrow, Bodleian Lib. MS. Auct. D. II. 19. etc.], the German School [the Echternach Gospels, the Maihingen Gospels], the Milan 'Orosius', the Vatican Library [ms. Barberini Lat. 570.], and the Eastern Schools, has led me to the conclusion that interlace ornament is none other than symbolic of the need for close personal association and unity of purpose in early and often harassed Christian communities. The meaning of interlace as symbolic of holding matter or matters together is nowhere more obvious than in the example of the "wrapped parcels" in the portrait plate of St. Luke in the late 13th. Century evangeliary in the Lenin Library in St. Petersburg. (Illus: Graber, Kemenov and Lazarew, Op. Cit.,Vol. 3, p. 67).

characters should begin to immortalise themselves? In a sense of course they do glorify the object of their respective quests, but this is subsidiary to personal gain: in the chivalric romance, personal gain accrues to characters the reputations of whose *names* have been earned *iconically*, in the minds of successive generations of listener/readership, as representing the cause of the common or public or political good.

In selecting Lancelot, Percival and Tristan as exemplary of the heros of Chivalric Romance, Bakhtin failed to realise that the rise of that literary genre, immediately in succession to the codification of the mediaeval epics of settlement, was not confined to the relatively settled heartlands of west-central Europe, but constituted a trans-European phenomenon. Extensive, essentially regional variations between the chronotopes of both mediaeval European epic and Courtly Romance can be associated with varying degrees of political security/insecurity and tension in different geographical theatres at different times. Bakhtin, in a manner arising from his Russocentric view of the West, tends to treat the entirety of Western Europe as if it were one entity for purposes of cultural commentary: the differences in chronotopicity between various national and regional political circumstances, however, may be seen to have enormous effects on their respective literatures. Thus the spatial and temporal priorities of the mediaeval epic or courtly romance are determined, with a remarkable degree of accuracy, by the security of location, and freedom from threat of invasion or internecine activity, within the social and political ambit of the author. The tensions present in the subject of any particular narrative determine the speed of personal interactions and responses (and the speed of inter-personal activity) in respective texts. For this reason, it is not possible to view the heroic narratives of all nationalities at this crucial moment in the history of Western European historical development as conforming to one

chronotope: the differences which separate the chronotopic characteristics of each political theatre are too great. I will, therefore, effect in outline the necessary distinctions between the most notable national schools of heroic narrative, never forgetting that it is the Plantagenet Courtly Romances which Bakhtin, in FTC, has chosen to cite as characteristic of European Courtly Romance in general. The following paragraphs, therefore, constitute an extension to Bakhtin's references to the Courtly Romance in FTC.

The Anglo-French Courtly Romance is unique at this period simply because it constitutes a record of some aspects of the social and military activities of a nation benefiting to a considerable extent from the protection arising from its own relatively safe geographical position, and from the strength afforded by the union of France and England through the marriage of Henry II and Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152. Military activity in this somewhat peaceful environment was largely confined to preparations for the Crúsades: in these circumstances, knowledge of actual warfare was obtainable in the main from acquaintance with the works of the Chroniclers. Where, on the other hand, a country such as Spain or Russia was divided down the middle by a frontier manned constantly in the defence of the realm, the first manifestations of Chivalric Romance were delayed and the domestic chronicle, often in the form of the Epic, continued to be written, as if of an underlying national necessity.

## NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CHRONOTOPES OF MEDIAEVAL EPIC TEXTS.

Perhaps the least glorious knight in the mediaeval literary canon is El Cid, at least in the sense that he is the most acquisitive and the most personally

ambitious, and in any examination of his character, Bakhtin, who never took the Poema de mia Cid into account in his writings, would have found ample evidence for his accusations of self-glorification which he levels at the Arthurian confraternity with much less justification.[185] El Cid, in the "Poema", starts on the wrong foot, in that the narrative of the poem commences simultaneously with his expulsion from the court of King Alfonso of Castile. He is, therefore, not a member of the Castilian establishment at the outset, and the poem is concerned with his urgent efforts towards, (and eventual achievement of), political and social rehabilitation. This takes the form of a flurry of activity against the Moors which creates an extremely rapid temporal chronotope with little relaxation of "tempo". The space of the poem is concerned with what I estimate to be about eight to ten per cent of the Iberian landmass, and the poet is both punctilious in his determination to mention every place of importance to the narrative[186] and further to give, where appropriate, a real sense of the distances involved in The Cid's travels:[187]

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[185] El Cid's behaviour is sometimes reprehensible, and technically constructed excuses made on his behalf can only partially exonerate him from the utterly unchivalrous way in which he robs Rachel and Vidas. (PDMC. 89-208). Robbery and plundering are amongst El Cid's top priorities: the account of the distribution of booty (PDMC. 506-29) reads like the work of a Spanish chartered accountant of the period ! Roland, or Gawain, would have found all this exceptionally vulgar. The case can be made, however, that it is material success that El Cid must obtain in order to reconcile his fortunes with the Castilian court, and that chivalric behaviour may have to be foregone on some occasions in order to achieve this.

[186] The geographical accuracy of the author of the Poema del mia Cid has often been called into question. The consensus of opinion maintains that he was a Mozarabe (a Christian born in Moorish territory) and that he is at his most accurate when recounting events which occurred on the borders of Christian and Arab territory - i.e. in the triangle between Siguenza, Burgos and Saragossa. Further afield, he is less accurate.

[187] See Ian Michael (Ed.): The Poem of the Cid, (trans. Hamilton and Perry), Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1975, p. 119 for a translation of this extract: 'They left Valencia and began their journey, taking care to guard the valuable booty. They travelled night and day without stopping and crossed the mountain range which separates the two regions . . . . They went on crossing mountains, woods and rivers, until they reached Valladolid, where the king was staying at that time. Pedro Bermudez and Minaya sent him a message asking if he would be pleased to receive this deputation from the Cid of Valencia, who was sending him a present.'

Salidos son de Valencia e piensan de andar,
tales ganancias traen que son a aguardar

Andan los dias e las noches. . . . . .
e passada han la sierra que las otras tierras parte.
Por el rrey [Sic] don Alfonso tomanse a preguntar.

. . . .

Passando van las sierras e los montes e las aguas
llegan a Valladolid do el rrey [sic] Alfonso estava;
enviavanle mandado Per Vermuez e Minaya
qure mandasse rrecebir a esta conpana;
Mio Cid el de Valencia enbia su presentaja
*La Poema de mia Cid*, ll. 1821 – 1830.[188]

The poetry of the "*Poema*" is terse and factual: it is without many flourishes of the imagination, but these are features of the work often turned to great positive advantage by the poet: in the example which I quote below, we are so close to the actuality of El Cid in his battle charge at Alcocer that the reader seems to ride into battle with him, the speed and tension of the action rising to fever pitch in the last two lines of the *laisse* (35), assisted by the powerful alliteration of the Cid's incitement to action:

Enbracan los escudos delant los coracones
abaxan las lancas abueltas de los pendones,
enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,
ibanlos ferir de fuertes coracones.
A grandes voces llama el que en buen ora nacio:
' ! Feridlos, caballeros, por amor del Criador!
! Yo so Roy Diaz, el cid de Bivar Campeador!'.

La Poema de mia Cid, ll. 715 - 21.[189]

The date of composition of La Poema de mia Cid is generally acknowledged to be around 1140, and it is commonly accepted that the author of the poem had read Le Chanson de Roland, which is of fractionally earlier date.[190] From the subject matter of the Chanson de Roland, it would be easy to imagine that the problems of the Empire on its Spanish frontier were the most pressing which faced Charlemagne at the time in question (the 770s). This, however, is not the case, as is made clear from a reading of Einhard's Vita Caroli Magni . In this document, Einhard's official Imperial chronicle, the campaign against the Moors on the Spanish frontier took place in a hurried interlude

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189 See Ian Michael (Ed.), Op. Cit. p. 59. for a translation of this passage: 'The men clasped their shields to their hearts and lowered their lances, each with its pennon flying. With heads bent down over their saddle-bows, they dashed to the attack courageously. The Cid, sure of success.... shouted his battle-cry: 'Attack them, my knights, for the love of God! I am Ruy Diaz of Vivar, the Cid Campeador!'.

190 The dating of Le Chanson de Roland has been made considerably easier by the discovery of carvings over the west door of the Cathedral of Angoulême depicting Roland and Ganelon: the carvings have been dated with accuracy to the period 1120-30: see R. Lejeune and J. Stiennon: La Légende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen Age, Brussels, 2 Vols, 1966, Vol I, p. 402. Additionally, I attach a certain importance to the mention of Count Aton in *laisse* 64 and the almost random mention of Carcasonne in *laisse* 29. Turold had probably heard of Carcasonne in connection with its greatly improved fortifications by Aton, a hero of the Crusades. The construction of Aton's defences at Carcasonne also took place c. 1130. See Baedeker: Southern France, Sixth Edition, Leipzig, 1914, p. 102.

between Charlemagne's war against the Saxons and his invasion of Italy.[191] The reader of the Chanson de Roland, however, is unlikely to realise this, because any awareness of the political circumstances in which it was written would question the effectiveness of the purpose for which the Chanson de Roland was originally composed: as an advertisement for the sense of unswerving rectitude, honour, nobility, rightfulness and necessity which attached to the obligation of all members of the knightly classes to answer a call to the crusades, i.e. not against just any enemy of the Empire, but specifically against the threat posed by the Arabs: Charlemagne's visit to the Spanish marches to allay the threat from Marsile was a crusade against Islam on its Western front, and the Chanson de Roland, which confines its narrative to the events surrounding this campaign, is a handbook of what constitutes gallantry, valour, and, of course, their opposites, treachery and cowardice.[192]

It has often been maintained that the style of the Chanson de Roland is rough and primitive in its delivery, and that it is a product of an age of unpolished, Carolingian epic; but we must never forget that the Chanson de Roland is an historical epic poem recounting events which took place 350 years before the time of writing:[193] to the author of the Oxford manuscript, the events

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191 See Einhard: Vita Caroli Magni, trans. and Ed. Lewis Thorpe, London, The Folio Society, 1970, p. 40.: 'At the time when this war against the Saxons was being waged constantly and with hardly an intermission at all, Charlemagne left garrisons at strategic points along the frontier and went off himself with the largest force he could muster to invade Spain'. Previously Einhard had stated: 'This particular war against the Saxons began two years before the Italian campaign'.

192 In historical reality, the attack on the rearguard of Charlemagne's army at Roncevalles (778) was carried out by the Christian Basques who were enemies of the Emperor, and not through Ganelon's treachery which Turold uses as an exemplar of vindictive cowardice; see Einhard: Ibid.

193 By comparison, La Poema del mia Cid was written only 51 years after the commencement of the historical events which it narrates: it has a different relationship to past time.

of the poem would have seemed "prehistoric", and the style of the poem's presentation reflects this, not least in his selective attitude towards inclusion and exclusion of matters of detail.[194] This must, I think, go some way towards explaining why it is so often maintained that the Chanson is "primitive" by comparison with the sophistication of the Poema del mia Cid on account of the relatively greater degree of literary excellence attained by the Court of Castile at the time. The subtlety of the plot of the Chanson de Roland with its questions of moral right and wrong, its representation of Charlemagne's intentions before Roncevalles as equivocal – these are states of psychological complexity out of keeping with the codification of a series of Rolandic "sagas" collected together from an extensive and expansive verbal tradition. In any event, we are dealing, in the Oxford manuscript, with the work of only one poet: Bédier's thesis seems to me unassailable.[195]

The spatial chronotope of the Chanson de Roland divides the operational area of the poem between the Spanish marches in the west and the capital of the Empire at Aix in the east. There is no intervening territory, and the sense of urgency in getting from one place to another which we encounter in the Poema del mia Cid is totally absent: historically, the urgency to return to the war with the Saxons would have been very considerable.[196] The Moors with whom Charlemagne has to deal are far too "knightly" in their deportment and

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194 One example of this selectivity on the part of the author of the Poem (Turold?) is the complete absence of any mention of foot soldiers as part of the Imperial army. Though foot soldiers would undoubtedly have outnumbered the cavalry many times over, the Poem is not addressed to the foot soldier, but to members of the Officer, and hence equestrian, *cadre*.

195 See J. Bédier: Les Légendes Epiques, Paris, 1908-13. Bédier was the first to maintain that the Chanson de Roland was from the pen of one poet and not derived from the remains of a cycle of orally transmitted tales from a Rolandic cycle.

196 See my reference to Einhard: Vita Caroli Magni, Ed. Cit. p. 40., *supra*.

behaviour (*pace* Ganelon) to create the sense of urgency which drives the Cid from one blood-thirsty encounter to another. Turold, in order to create quadrilateral space for the narrative of the poem, inserts the names of many towns and other places (monasteries and the sites of other battles) which have nothing to do with the progress of the poem: even allowing for the fact that it is the Moor, Blancandrin, who says (*laisse* 28): 'A wondrous man is Charles, who conquered Puglia, all Calabria, and crossed the salt sea on his way to England, where he exacted tribute for Saint Peter': wondrous and nonsensical! Is it Blancandrin or Turold who has his facts wrong? The poem has twin *loci* which are seen in realistic relation to one another, one is the hub of Charlemagne's authority and the other is, mainly, the scene of the action. The temporal chronotope is, taken overall, leisurely: there is a curiously slow elegance in the movement of the principal characters, (needless to say when not in battle) which would presumably enhance their dignity in the eyes of the reader:

> Beneath tall olive trees rides Ganelon
> to join the Saracen ambassadors
> now Blancandrin falls back in line with him
> they talk to one another with great cunning.[197]
> *Le Chanson de Roland*, ll. 366-369.

It is clear that, even though we know it to be the case with the benefit of hindsight, we are within only a few years of Chrétien de Troyes' declared discrimination between *sens* and *matière* which we may justifiably associate with the renaissance of the twelfth century, and with the age of Chivalric Romance.

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197 See Robert Harrison (Trans. and Ed.): The Song of Roland, New York and Toronto, The New English Library, 1970, (*laisse 28*) , p. 63.

Before considering the import of this generic development, however, it is necessary to continue our brief examination of the national characteristics of earlier *volksepos* to the east of Charlemagne's territories, for it is here that we encounter the special differences which exist to this day between the cultures of the Gallic communities to the West of the Rhine and the politico-geographically unstable communities which, still disorganised in the nineteenth century, arose from the piecemeal tribal settlements of the Dark Ages between the Rhine and the Slav territories further to the East.

In terms of epic, the Germanic communities are best represented by the *Niebelungenlied* (c.1200), the most important distinguishing feature of which, by comparison with *Le Chanson de Roland*, is its utterly secular nature. It is driven by amorous and secular military priorities, as against the mainly religious and territorial imperatives of Turold's (?) poem. The background against which this epic was drawn together is one of political confusion, a vast geographical area in which hundreds of powerful fiefdoms, warring amongst themselves since the days of the early tribal settlements, exercised as much authority as the central powers of the Hohenstaufen emperors. There was additionally as great a threat of military attack from the Lombard Communes and from the princely house of Welf, as from a lack of administrative co-ordination within the Imperial land-holdings. This untidy political state, which accounts for the rather rambling spatial chronotope of the entire work, can be seen to good advantage at the beginning of Chapter Four:[198]

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[198] See A.T.Hatto (Trans. and Ed.): The *Niebelungenlied*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965, p. 33.

> Strange tidings were on their way to Gunther's country, borne by envoys that had been sent to the Burgundians from afar by unknown warriors who nevertheless were their enemies. I shall name these warriors for you. . .

This type of military threat from unknown assailants with no declared reasons for their hostility lends an atmosphere of menace and instability to the whole of the *Niebelungenlied.* Actions are carried out on the spur of the moment (Siegfried's sudden departure from Xanten to Gunther's castle in Burgundy, a journey of two hundred miles, because he has heard of the great beauty of Kriemhild, is a case in point). The sudden departure for Iceland, in order that Gunther, Kriemhild's brother, can pay court to Prunhilt (Brunhilde) who is a princess of that island, is another.[199] The spatial chronotope of the epic, as has already been implied, is more dispersed than in the case of its Gallic counterpart: in the second half of the epic, when the widowed Kriemhild receives an offer of marriage from Etzel (the historical Attila), much of the subsequent narrative is devoted to activities in Hungary (foreign territory adjacent to the March of Carniola, now Slovenia), which the poet interprets as the land of the Huns.[200] The course of the drama sees a movement from one end of the empire to the other, and it is all to no end: all that is achieved in the course of this drama is Kriemhild's avenging of Siegfried's murder by Hagen, by her killing him, and her subsequent murder by Hildebrand. The poet seems to have been hampered by a desire to anneal several traditional tales drawn from the early days of tribal settlement in Germanic territory within the compass of

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199 These rapid movements are exemplary of the Bakhtin/Simmel definitions of Adventure Time in the suddenness with which Adventure "breaks in upon" ordinary everyday activities.

200 See Donald Matthew: Atlas of Mediaeval Europe, Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1983, p. 94.

one epic poem, and for this reason it would perhaps be too ambitious to expect an uniformity and compactness of narrative exposition similar to that which we have found in France and Spain. This is, I think, in the essence of the Niebelungenlied:. It is a poem which lacks purpose and direction; the narrative action flows with great swiftness at a moment's notice. It exploits, in addition, for purely sensational purposes the attractions of *terra incognita.* The latter includes, for example, Iceland which had been the furthest-known European territory since Antonius Diogenes' Wonders Beyond Thule, and, later, the Laxdaela Saga.[201] Similarly, in the opposite direction, the little-known Hungarian march-lands to the South East are exploited. Neither has the Niebelungenlied any wider historical dimension into which it can be contextualised, and it has no moral mission. This reading of the spatial (and organisational) chronotope of the German epic in the twelfth century is supported by Blamires in his examination of the circumstances surrounding the composition of the Herzog Ernst epic (c.1210) in the same political environment: 'It tells a story that is firmly based in the political realities of twelfth-century Germany, where factions and hostility between the princes loom large, and tensions between Emperor and vassals are easily provoked or exploited'.[202] Interestingly, the (historical) thematic material of the Herzog Ernst, which achieves approximately the same length of historical time-elapse as Le Chanson de Roland (about 350 years), is equally disorganised thematically, and is created from the conflation of events which occurred in two separate Imperial reigns,

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201 See also the Vinland map in R. A. Skelton et al.: The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation, New Haven and London, Yale Univ. Press, 1996, which shows the prominence attached to Iceland, and the Islands of the Atlantic in general, in a late mediaeval imaginary perspective. From the Vinland map, it is possible to detect the then surviving legacy of the importance attached in the classical world to any lands lying outside the *terra incognita* beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

202 See David Blamires: Herzog Ernst and the Otherworld Voyage, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1979, p. 2.

those of Otto I and Conrad II.[203] The element of *terra incognita* in the Herzog Ernst epic, however, is satisfied by the use of a wide range of Eastern destinations, some imaginary (there is a voyage to the Underworld) and some real (there is a six year sojourn in China), but ultimately related to the conquest of the heathen by the Christian.

I will touch very briefly on the epic literature of Kievan Russia at the same period, as it has a bearing on our enquiry. Its importance for us lies in the wider context of mediaeval European epic; in the significance of the epic form which corresponds to indefensible political frontiers of great length, of the type we have already encountered in Spain. I will confine my observations to The Lay of Igor's Host, from the end of the Twelfth century, a prose chronicle concerned with the military campaign of Prince Igor of Novgorod Seversky, his son, Vladimir, and his nephew, Sviatoslav of Rylsk, against the 'Polovtsians'. Riding towards the 'Polovtsian' encampments, they unwisely ignore bad omens and continue their campaign. Initially successful, they rest after the initial battle, but wake to find themselves surrounded by Polovtsian forces. In their subsequent encounter, the entire Russian army is wiped out, and only fifteen men manage to return to Russia. They are pursued by the Polovtsians, who devastate the left bank of the Dneiper and capture three Russian frontier towns – Putivl, Rimov and Pereslavl-Yuzhny. From the Russian point of view, the Lay of Prince Igor's Host is a complete disaster. It is important, however, to take account of the reason why this depressing and rather inglorious document was produced in the first place: in the opinion of Dmitry Likhachev, its purpose was to cast doubt on the wisdom of Slav fighting Slav in the West, when the Russian world

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203 Ibid. p. 7-8.

had a common enemy in the Tatars. The author of the Lay, therefore, advocates racial and nationalistic unity in the presence of an enormous undefended frontier to the East.[204]

The narrative of the Lay of Prince Igor's Host is concerned only with the practicalities of war. The chronotope is fast and confined only to essentials. The naming of locations in the text is similarly dictated by what is necessary to a proper account of the campaign. In this respect, it has a common denominator with *La Poema del mia Cid*, where once again we are confronted with an open frontier and a common enemy, this time to the West.[205] I detect in these two epics a certain similarity – in the *Poema*, the beginnings of a "wild west" with untold bravery manifested in the face of a limitless enemy arrayed along a frontier of almost interminable length, and in the Lay, a "wild east" which is similarly indefensible on account of its enormous size: in the words of

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[204] The reference to the Polovtsians throughout this text is confusing as the author of the Lay in fact refers to the Tatars in this context. André Mazon is in no doubt about this whatsoever, and mentions that 'L'emploi de *Polovstski* pour *Tatarski* est fréquent dans les documents vieux-russes: voir *Index des Chroniques publié par la commission archeographique*, p. 35.' See Mazon: Le Slovo D'Igor, Paris, Droz, 1940, p. 21 and Ibid n.1. Dmitry Likatchev: 'The Poetics of the Lay' in A History of Russian Literature 11th.-17th. Centuries, trans. K. M. Cook-Horujy, Moscow, Raduga Publishers, 1989, retains the reference to the Polovtsians, despite mentioning that Khan Kobyak (a Tatar) was captured in the battle, but appends a telling note (Op. Cit. p.173 n.138) from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Collected Works, Vol. 40., Moscow, 1983, p. 19, to the effect that 'in essence the poem [The Lay] is a call for unity on the part of the Russian princes just before the invasion of the Mongol hordes proper', thereby implying a Tatar context for the Lay. The matter is of importance as the Tatar threat was a trans-continental threat from the East, and the Polovtsian threat was to supremacy within the Slav world: the Tatar threat left the princedoms of Russia with an exposed flank which it required the entire resources of the nation to defend. I should perhaps mention that Likatchev's scholarship was much admired by Bakhtin. He is one of the very few literary critics whom he mentions by name: see Bakhtin: Responses to a Question from the *Novy Mir* Editorial Staff, trans. V. W. McGee, in M.M.Bakhtin: Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, Ed. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, p. 3. and see also p. 8., n. 2.

[205] The comparable conditions of Russia and Spain in the Middle Ages have been the subject of comment in the areas of their respective economic histories, in relation their concerns with distant as opposed to "domestic" markets. See Fernand Braudel: 'On a Concept of Social History' in On History, trans. Sarah Matthews, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, p. 125- 28.

Likhachev: 'The action of the Lay unfolds against vast distances. The narrator seems to encompass at a glance all the territory from Novgorod the Great in the North to Tmutorokan (on the Taman Peninsula) in the south'.[206] Can we not still detect a "wild east" in the nineteenth century in the seemingly ungovernable space of Bestuzhev-Marlinsky's Ammalet-Beg (1832), Lermontov's and Tolstoy's Caucasus, and Pushkin's Dubrovsky (1834). Similarly in both the Lay and the *Poema*, there is a background of internal dissent – the banishment of Ruy Diaz from the Court of the King of Aragon, and the Russians' lack of unity in their common purpose in keeping the Steppe Nomads at bay.[207]

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[206] See Likatchev, Op. Cit., p. 149ff.

[207] The problems of political stability in the Middle Ages were so closely related to the matter of the security of Christian frontiers and the constant threat of invasion, that a recurrent theme in European epic is that which identifies the official entrusted with special responsibility for the security of frontiers or marchlands as a man of exceptional powers and heroism. In the *Chanson de Roland*, this is Roland himself, and he is specifically described as the Count of the Breton Marches (see *Laisse* 20 for example). In the *Niebelungenlied*, also, we find Austria and Hungary, which were the marchlands of the Hohenstaufen Empire as the *terra incognita* of the epic. The pattern is repeated in The Lay of Prince Igor's Host, where frontier defence is defined as Prince Igor's primary duty. We find the same role given to the hero of the Mediaeval Greek novel, *Digenes Akritas*. Basil, who is Warden of the Marches of the Euphrates. In the British feudal tradition, an Earldom close to a frontier was usually a Marquisate: in Germany, a *Grafschaft* in comparable circumstances, was a *Markgrafschaft* and its incumbent a *Markgraf* or Margrave. The higher rank reflected the additional responsibilities involved in manning a frontier territory. In literature of all periods, frontier territory usually possesses the special spatial chronotopicity of *terra incognita*.

## THE CHRONOTOPES OF MEDIAEVAL EPIC AND COURTLY ROMANCE.

The subject matter of mediaeval epic is, in essence, historical, and it may be thought that the backcloth against which its related courtly romantic literature was drawn is rather more securely embedded in historical reality (in its totality if not in its detail) than might be adduced from many modern readings of its texts: I have attempted to establish this, with particular reference to the crisis which occurs between Erec and Enide. It is not possible to effect a complete comparison between the respective epic and chivalric literatures of the four nations whose epic literature we have recently examined. The reason for this is the absence of the courtly romance from the literatures of Spain and Russia in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries: their "equivalent" literature was substantially delayed, largely by the pressing political priorities of their times and "places". It must be borne in mind, furthermore, that, of the four works which we have considered, three, the earlier exception being the Chanson de Roland) were written in the twenty-year period between 1187 and 1207, whereas the chivalric romances of Chrétien de Troyes, for example, date from between 1169 and 1181-85, and the Parzival of Wolfram von Eschenbach from 1200-1210. Thus, the two genres, whilst in so many ways sequential in form (and sometimes very largely in content), were, in the final analysis, the subject of almost simultaneous composition. It was the popularity of the courtly romance, however, which initially perpetuated its survival, and subsequently was to play so decisive a part in the formation of the later novel.

In so far as it is possible to compare the chronotopes of the courtly romantic literature of France and Germany, in relation to their respective/comparative epic literatures, certain similarities and differences are noticeable, and for the same historical reasons which differentiated those two literary traditions in the days of Epic. In France, the courtly romances of Chrétien de Troyes were written against the relatively stable political background of a Plantagenet kingdom which stretched uninterruptedly from Berwick-on-Tweed to the Pyrenees. The unity of what had been the separate kingdoms of France and England is reflected in the spatial chronotope of *Percival*, the action of which takes place in the British Isles, the majority of the Romance being located in Scotland, the North of England and Wales. The identities of Chrétien's characters are, nevertheless, mainly French, and references to (in the main) non-urban locations – castles, heaths and so forth, are also linguistically French. In essence, however, the spatial chronotope of the Romance is English, and hence, from the point of view of its French readership, its action takes place largely within *terra incognita*. It would seem that the wild mountainous scenery of Scotland and Wales exercised a romantic fascination in the minds of the French in the Middle Ages, much as Scotland did also (though much more recently) in Germany.[208] From the standpoint of the court of Marie de Champagne, however, the setting of Chrétien's *Percival* would have appeared as *terra incognita*, and in this respect the differentiation from the automatically familiar or "domestic" location of epic could not be more marked.

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[208] Wace, in the Roman de Brut, presents his reader with an amusing view of Wales: 'He [Arthur] desired to be crowned at Caerleon, because it was rich beyond other cities. Pilgrims told in those days that the mansions of Caerleon were more desirable than the palaces of Rome'. (Wace and Layamon: Arthurian Chronicles: Trans. Eugene Mason, London, Dent, Dutton, 1962, p. 63.). Even in England, Wales was seen as a place of wild ruggedness and high adventure. See, for example, The Gawain Poet: Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, especially verses 31 and 32. With regard to the Celtic regions of the British Isles, as late as the 18th. and early 19th. centuries, the works of Sir Walter Scott and "Ossian" were considered in Germany to be situated in "Terra Incognita".

The observations which I have made above with regard to Chrétien's Percival may be applied to the Parzival of Wolfram von Eschenbach with even more force. Wolfram even goes out of his way to detach the origins of the Percival legend from German antecedents. He effects this in the main by prefixing the essential narrative core of the Romance (which he has, of course, borrowed from Chrétien de Troyes) with a convoluted history of Parzival's ancestry. It seems designed to fascinate his readership as it draws on elements of *terra incognita,* establishing him as the son of Gamuret, son of the King of Anjou, who has previously married (whilst in the service of the Caliph of Baghdad) an Arab queen, Belakane of Zaramanc, and of Queen Herzeloïde of Wales.[209] Neither does Wolfram admit that the romance is of local or even European origin: it is attributed to a Provençal poet named Kyot, who had read the original tale in Arabic.[210] The spatial chronotope of Parzival is as widespread as that of the Niebelungenlied, characters and places being drawn from virtually the whole of Europe: the nomenclature of Parzival has a distinctly oriental ring to it, and in this respect equates somewhat to the Eastern *timbre* of the Herzog Ernst epic. The text of the Romance is packed with detail, but what Parzival gains in detail it sacrifices in compactness, the narrative demonstrating a disjointedness throughout.

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209 Presumably also for the sake of effect, there are a large number of characters in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival who have names which sound as if they are of Arabic and a variety of near-Eastern derivations. In the matter of the attractions of Arab and Middle Eastern*terrae incognitae* to the readers of Mediaeval German Epic, see David Blamires: Op. Cit. *passim* .

210 See A. T. Hatto (trans. and Ed.): Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival , Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980, p. 213-4: 'Now Kyot laschantiure was the name of one whose art compelled him to tell what shall gladden no few. Kyot is that noted Provencal who saw this tale of Parzival written in the heathenish tongue, [it is Hatto who suggests that this is Arabic.] and what he retold in French I shall not be too dull to recount in German'.

The spatial chronotopes of both Romances are in accordance with what Bakhtin designates topographical "otherness", but there is an essential difference between the "otherness" of French and German courtly topographical organisation, and the organisation of space in the Greek novel, for this is where Bakhtin has detected a similarity which he sees as one of a continuity of the same chronotope. In the majority of Greek novels, characters do not seek to effect their quests in worlds with which they are familiar, whereas, in the courtly romance, they are to a much greater extent "home-territory" for the characters who inhabit the author's space. This difference in effect once again comes about, in the case of the Greek novel, through the use of linear space, and, in the case of the courtly romance, the use of quadrilateral space. Only when moving out of familiar space, as in the instances cited in the previous paragraph, does Western European territory cease to be familiar, but even then it retains its forms and customs and institutions.

My survey, therefore, has established that Bakhtin is wrong to identify closely the chronotopes of the Greek novel of adventure and the Chivalric romance of the Middle Ages. He has taken the concept of the chronotope to be a determinant in the inter-association of two literary *genres* which, in the generality of their natures, have little in common, except that both are subject to the unlimited availability of time, and are subject to some of the characteristics of narrative common to all stories of adventure. I have, however, of necessity, surveyed some of the more "obvious" spaces left by Bakhtin's disregard for much of the most relevant literature written in the eight hundred years which followed in the wake of Heliodorus and his classical contemporaries.

I shall now deal with the chronotope of a tale which, despite everything which I have said about the failure of the Greek novel of adventure to determine

the form of the chronotope of the Chivalric romance of the middle ages, appears to have clung to that novelistic type with a very considerable measure of adhesion. I refer to Aucassin et Nicolette of the early thirteenth century, with which I shall deal at some length.[211] The plot of this *"chante-fable"* is in itself significant: Aucassin, the son of Count Garin de Beaucaire, falls in love with Nicolette, a Saracen slave-girl, who had been purchased by the viscount of the town of which Beaucaire is overlord; she is baptised, and adopted as his daughter. Beaucaire rules out any question of marriage, and Aucassin, out of spite, refuses to assist his father in his war with Count Bougars de Valence. Eventually, Aucassin agrees to lead his father's army if his father makes arrangements for him to meet Nicolette. Aucassin is surrounded by greater force of numbers in the battle which follows, as his vitality has been sapped by apathy, but the sudden realisation that he will never see Nicolette again if he does not survive the battle, drives him to outstanding feats of gallantry. Subsequently, Beaucaire fails to keep his promise, and imprisons his son to prevent him from meeting Nicolette, who is similarly imprisoned. Both escape from their prisons, set sail with merchants, and are driven by a storm to the land of Torelore, where they remain for three years. They are then carried off by Saracens, Aucassin's boat being wrecked near Beaucaire where, his father having died, he becomes feudal lord of his estates. Nicolette lands in Carthage, whereupon she immediately recognises the walls and mansions of the city as those of the town of which she is the crown princess.

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211 Pauline Matarasso: Op. Cit. Supra, p. 23, draws attention to the fact that Jodogne (*'La Parodie et le Pastiche dans Aucassin et Nicolette'* in Cahiers de l'Association internationale des lettres françaises, XII, Paris, 1960), has advanced the opinion, with which I concur, that this novella is, at least in part, a parody of its own genre (the tale of *courtoisie* ), the characteristics of which it manifests somewhat too blatantly. The parodic nature of this novella must be borne in mind, however, having regard to the similarities which I draw between this novella and the generality of Greek novels of adventure. It is just possible that we could also be dealing here with a parody of the ancient Greek novel itself.

She then travels to Beaucaire, disguised as a strolling player, is eventually re-united with Aucassin, and marries him.

In the plot of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, therefore, we find in close succession, the following characteristics that are analogous to those of one or more of the Greek novels of adventure of the Roman Imperial period: the separation of the lovers, the possibility of the lovers being re-united, their separate imprisonments and senses of hopelessness, their escape by sea where they are driven ashore by a storm, the travelling of long distances, the expenditure of an inordinate length of time at an intermediate destination, the wrecking of Aucassin's boat, Nicolette's sudden realisation that she is of royal blood and not the daughter of a slave, her journey to Beaucaire, and the eventual marriage of the lovers. Additionally, there is the same "engineering" of time which we have found in Greek prose from the Odyssey to the Greek novel.[212] It would be foolish to maintain that there exists any direct connection between this fable and any individual Greek novel, but the similarity of chronotopic form and comparability of subject matter must surely raise the question of whether the two literary forms are derived

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212 The probability that the thematic material of *Aucassin et Nicolette* is drawn, in part, from classical sources is heightened by the fact that it is the splendid architecture of Carthage and the countryside surrounding its walls that remind Nicolette of her royal origins. The city and walls of Carthage had been almost completely destroyed by Scipio Africanus in 147 B.C. during the Third Punic War, and the walls were not rebuilt when the city was partially reconstructed by Hadrian. The City was subsequently occupied by the Vandals under Genseric, Huneric *et al.* It is likely that the source materials of the novella are drawn from a combination of Provencal-French littoral folk history with the addition of an account of the walls of Carthage drawn possibly from a classical account . In the matter of Southern French traditional drama in relation to the Mediterranean and the literature of the Byzantine empire, see Ford Madox Ford in The March of Literature, London, Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1938, p. 348 ff., who finds a connection in these contexts with the origins of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, with which I do not agree. It is probable, on the strength of evidence based on the large quantity of surviving Latin manuscripts, that, contemporaneously with *Aucassin and Nicolette* , another Greek novel would have been in circulation in Latin translation, namely the Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre, but the fact that there exists so little similarity or connection between the two novels only adds to the unique position which *Aucassin et Nicolette* holds in the mediaeval literary canon.

from a common ideational source possessing common characteristics and a similarly predominant combination of Gurvich's Time Classes 3. and 4.

David Rollo has recently noticed somewhat analogous similarities between Apuleius' tale of Cupid and Psyche in the *Asinus Aureus* and Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*, and accordingly it is necessary for Rollo to explain how the text of the former might have become available to the author of the latter, when it is his belief that the only available copy of Apuleius' work was in the monastic library at Monte Cassino. His explanation is to the effect that, at a time when the Normans were consolidating their political power in southern Italy and Sicily, there is every likelihood that Northern scribes would have travelled to Monte Cassino:[213]

> Although geographically distant from the Francophone kingdoms of the north, Monte Cassino became culturally central to a northern expansionism that, by the second half of the twelfth century, had led to the creation of a Norman kingdom straddling Southern Italy and Sicily ... Monte Cassino had by this time been visited by scholars from elsewhere in Europe for well over one hundred years.

If we are to pre-suppose a free availability of texts from the south, as suggested here by Rollo, there is possibly no reason to look further for the

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213 Ibid: p. 348. Rollo argues that the existence of a copy of the *Asinus Aureus* north of the Alps was unlikely because 'it does not seem to have influenced, directly or indirectly, the Latin works emanating from the School of Chartres'. Whether or not the only available copy of the work was to be found in the library at Monte Cassino, however, is, in my view, less important than the suggestion that the library of that monastery had been habitually visited by members of the northern schools for a very substantial period of time.

Francophone source of the tale of _Aucassin et Nicolette_ . There is, however, no supporting evidence to verify such a suggestion; but a southern origin would, in any event, seem more likely than that there existed a source for this novella in the North. There is no reason or textual evidence to suggest that Bakhtin was familiar with this novella, which is considered here as additional to his contribution to the study of the Greek novel and to the extent of its subsequent influence.

One additional novella, possessing all the characteristics which we have come to associate with the Greek novel, makes its appearance in European literature, and it would seem, from the obscurity in which it appears always to have existed, and the infrequency with which it has been reprinted, that its popularity was probably very limited. I refer to The Fountain of Youth of Antonio de Eslava, published in Spain towards the end of the sixteenth century.[214] The chronotope of this novella follows the pattern established by Greek authors from Chariton onwards. Two lovers, Justino and Libia, are separated, Justino having been taken prisoner in the defence of his city (Palmyrina). Libia leaves the city in search of him, and finds him in the service of King Odinatus at Nisia. After a number of coincidences, they are reunited. From various aspects of the nomenclature and from iconographical references employed by the author, I am of the opinion that this work is a fifteenth or sixteenth century product of the Italian peninsula, and that the work attributed to de Eslava was not derived directly from a classical source. It is a late flowering of the genre, and of little literary merit. I have drawn attention to it here for the

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[214] See Antonio de Eslava: The Fountain of Truth, in Thomas Roscoe (Ed.): The Spanish Novelists, London, Frederick Warne and Co. n.d. (c.1900), pp. 317-30. Roscoe cannot provide any biographical information relating to de Eslava, and no information relating specifically to this novella. There would not seem to be, however, any reason to suppose that The Fountain of Truth is anything other than a late experiment in the manner of the Greek novel of antiquity.

sake of completeness It would seem that, of all works of fiction of classical antiquity, it is only Daphnis and Chloë which has possessed the qualities of enduring charm and universal appeal adequate to ensure survival to the present day.

Mention should be made, additionally, of the use made of aspects of the Greek novelistic chronotope by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*. Boccaccio's tales are located historically mainly in contemporaneous Italy. It is clear, however, that, in his construction of plot, he frequently has recourse to devices which are chronotopically typical of the Greek novel of antiquity. By way of example, I shall consider the story of Madonna Beritola Caracciolo,[215] which recounts the terrible sufferings of a mother who is separated from her husband and children, but is eventually re-united with them. The heroine's husband, Arrighetto Capece, is taken prisoner at the battle of Benevento, and Madonna, with her two children and a nurse, flees by boat in fear of her own life. The boat, however, is driven off course by powerful winds and lands at a remote cove on the Island of Ponza. Shortly afterwards, the stranded ship is stolen by pirates. Some while later, her children and their nurse, unaccompanied on an isolated beach, are snatched from the shore by another pirate ship, leaving Madonna entirely isolated and living on the island in the wild. Her salvation and the restoration of her identity initially take the form of yet another maritime coincidence:[216]

> As a result of leading this sort of life, the gentle woman had turned quite wild when, a few months later, a small Pisan ship

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[215] Giovanni Boccaccio: *Decameron*, trans. G.H. McWilliam, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1972, pp. 155- 168. (Second Day, Sixth Story).

[216] Ibid. p. 157.

> happened to be driven in by a storm, casting anchor in the same little bay where she herself had arrived, and lying there for several days.

The subsequent narrative, by compounding the effects of numerous co-incidences, leads eventually to the reunification of the entire family and the restoration of its fortunes in Sicily. Except that the several members of the family have grown older, nothing has changed, and the Bakhtin/ Gilman definition of adventure time is satisfied in full. Similarly, plot sequences are overwhelmed by chance encounters, co-incidences and other misfortunes. The storms, ship-wrecks and invasions of pirates, which we encountered in the Greek novel of adventure, are there in plenty. Mistaken identity lies at the heart of the long delay in reconciling the family, all the female members of which are sold into slavery. This story is totally devoid of Bakhtin's 'Natural, everyday cyclicity', and is recounted in Gurvich Times 2. and 3. The similarities between the chronotope of this story and of the Greek novel of adventure are very considerable. It would be wrong to infer from this, however, that Boccaccio has relied on any one ancient text in particular: the story is consonant to a very considerable extent with the chronotope and surviving conventions of the Graeco-Roman novel-istic genre as a whole. [217]

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[217] Vittore Branca: Giovanni Boccaccio: *Decameron*, Turin, Einaudi Tascibili, 1992, Vol. 1., p. 200., provides a summary of the works which have, since the middle of the nineteenth century, been thought to have influenced the creation of this story. No Greek novel of adventure is cited, other than a brief mention of The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre by Rajna, the editor of the *Decameron*, Bologna, 1873. The specific connection between these two stories lies in the co-incidence that, in each tale, a child is born to its mother whilst travelling by sea. Of the sources cited by Branca, many are of oriental origin.

## BAKHTIN AND THE FOLKLORIC HERO.

In the course of FTC, Bakhtin introduces the topic of the Folkloric Hero. This diversion is unquestionably designed to establish the manner by which the identity of the "hero" is formed. I am still uncertain whether Bakhtin's purpose in introducing this subject for discussion was motivated entirely by literary purposes or whether, as seems possible, there is an attempt here to placate the demands of censorship. It is not difficult to see, however, in his short appraisal of the characteristics of the Folkloric Hero a continuation of the thinking which inspires Bakhtin's observations on the origins of the biographical/ autobiographical novel, which it follows in sequence.

Of the Folkloric hero, Bakhtin says: ' ... symbolic size, strength and a man's symbolic significance were never separated from spatial dimensions and temporal duration. A great man was physically a big man as well, with a huge stride, requiring an enormity of space and living a long time over the course of a real physical lifespan'. (FTC 149). In other words, the Folkloric (or epic, or chivalric) hero is larger than life, is 'better' and fitter than his peers, and invariably takes centre stage. What Bakhtin omits to mention is that literary historiography demands that his peers diminish in significance, and then vanish altogether, in the oral tradition stage, and that the hero occupies their "space" as well: he stands for the entire cast of the drama, and is accordingly magnified in every way. The identities of the remainder are released, because, to use Ukhtomsky's term, they are not the Dominant: we simply do not need to know

the names of all Roland's lieutenants or even of all the knights of the Round Table, though we would have done contemporaneously, for they would then` have been courtly or household names. From the inception of the historical action upon which a recorded romance is based, detail un-necessary to the recitation of the essence of the narrative will have been progressively discarded. Just as we have seen that, in the individual human brain, potential courses of action are systematically narrowed down by resolution of data between the synapses and axons of brain cells in proto-chronotopic collisions, retaining what is essential, and releasing what is not, so in the transmission of oral narrative, the identities of minor protagonists who only support the force of the main protagonist, but are of no further significance, will be rejected from the narrative altogether, and the protagonist whose name ordinarily lends itself to the nomenclature of the romance will take the place of them all. This should not surprise us because it is illustrative of a recurrent phenomenon: during the past fifty years, Hitler has come to stand for the force which attempted to overtake Europe in the Second World War, but, as fifty years is not beyond living memory in historical terms, the names of his lieutenants – Goering, Goebbels, Hess, Himmler, etc – are still clearly remembered. If, however, we revert to the First World War, which is beyond living memory, the name of the Kaiser still stands for the power of Germany, but the names of his lieutenants – Möltke, Bulow, Kluck, Ludendorff, Prittwitz – have now been lost to the public memory – and we are not dependent on an oral tradition which relies on memory for transmission.

We have observed, too, in the chronological advance from the ancient Greek world to the mediaeval European world, a diminution in the actual extent of the physical movement of protagonists in relation to the entire space of the known world: whereas in Greek epic, movement is across the whole of the

*oikoumenē*, in mediaeval epic movement becomes circumscribed to within specific sections of the known world, and national heroes remain, for the most part, within their own national, traditional or associated boundaries. As we have seen in our brief examination of the most widely circulated epic poetry of the middle ages, it is rare for the hero of such poetry to play a significant part in events outside the borders of his familiar territory, other than for brief periods of time, and for specific purposes related to his familiar environment.

## BAKHTIN'S 'VERTICAL CHRONOTOPE' AND ITS POSSIBLE PRESENCE IN DANTE'S *DIVINA COMMEDIA*.

Bakhtin identifies 'towards the end of the Middle Ages', 'a special sort of work' which is 'encyclopaedic in content' and structured as a 'vision'. (FTC 155ff). He cites as examples of this group of works *Le Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris (1237) and Jean de Meun (c.1277), The Vision of Piers Plowman (c.1377) of William Langland, and the *Divina Commedia* (begun 1307) of Dante. In the interests of brevity, and because this one work speaks, in many ways, also for the other two, I shall confine my observations to the *Divina Commedia* . It is also the work in which Bakhtin's postulation of the "Vertical Chronotope", which is an identifying characteristic of this category of text, is seen to best advantage: 'In [this] work the entire spatial and temporal world is subject to symbolic interpretation. One might even say that in such works time is utterly excluded from action'.(FTC 156f). Bakhtin maintains that the value of time in such works is not accommodated along the horizontal axis of historical time: it intersects this axis at right angles, thereby placing the whole of the *Divina Commedia* at one interstitial moment on the horizontal axis of history, simultaneously creating a vertical axis from which a new series of horizontal histories, those of the

narratives of inmates of the Inferno and Purgatorio, each with its own internal chronotopicity, move forward independently:

> Literally, and with the consistency and force of genius, Dante realises this stretching out of the world – a historical world in essence – along a vertical axis ... He structures a picture of the world remarkable for its architectonics – a world that has its life and movement tensely strung along a vertical axis: nine circles of hell beneath the earth, seven circles of purgatory above them, and above that ten circles of paradise: below, a crude materiality of people and things, above, only the Light and the Voice. The temporal logic of this vertical world consists in the sheer simultaneity of all that occurs [or "the co-existence of everything in eternity"]. (FTC 156f.)

Dante appears to use (and "appears" is the strongest verb that one can use in the circumstances), for the overall construction of the *Divina Commedia*, a geometric form which had made its earliest appearance in the primitive church in the form of the *De Coelesti Hierarchia* of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, in which every category of celestial being had been allocated his relative rank in vertical order of hierarchy. The *De Coelesti Hierarchia* had been translated into Latin by Johannes Scotus Eriugena at the Court of Charlemagne in the middle of the ninth century, and had, with its overtone of regimentation, been a popular and powerful influence on thinking within the Church throughout Europe. A. J. Gurevich is especially informative on the subject of verticality in the mediaeval church:

> With the transition from paganism to Christianity, mediaeval man's conception of space underwent a radical structural transformation. Cosmic space, social space, and ideological space were all given hierarchic structure. The earthly feudal system is an isomorph of the hierarchy of God's creatures and the ranks of the angels ... All relationships are vertical, running from above to below; all beings are distributed on various planes according to their degree of perfection which depends on their relative proximity to God.[218]

Similarly, the mediaeval cathedral was seen as a system of vertical co-ordinates which corresponded to the hierarchical structure of the Church, with God at the summit of the architectural construct, with the portals of the Cathedral as the entrances to the Kingdom of Heaven, and the brachial descent of supporting arches and buttresses envisaged as the genealogical divisíons of rank falling from heaven to the ground. Sauer has given a detailed account of the way in which this eccclesiastical symbolism became translated into architectural reality in the Middle Ages.[219] Occasionally, in addition, within the church or cathedral, is to be found an exemplar of the vertically and rectilinearly ordered artifact which demonstrates the relative importance of ranks and categories and/or sanctity within the church hierarchy. Perhaps the most important of

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218 See Aaron Gurevich: Op. Cit. p. 70.

219 See J. Sauer: *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstättung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, 1924. A very similar account of the inter-relation of ecclesiastical forms and the hierarchy of the Church is provided by Otto von Simson: The Gothic Cathedral:The Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Mediaeval Concept of Order, London, Routledge, 1956, *passim*.

these is the *Pala d'Oro* in St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice, to which I had reason to refer in my discussion of mediaeval achronism.[220]

The need for a system of authority based on precise or vertical ranking was unquestionably necessary for the administration of the "Church Militant", but Bakhtin sees in the vertical chronotopicity of the *Divina Commedia* a religious-historical cause of a different type – a need on the part of late mediaeval man to dam up the whole of history, and present it to the world as if from one chronological moment. Bakhtin expresses this feeling in the following way (FTC 156):

> What is most remarkable in these works [here Bakhtin includes Piers Plowman and *Le Roman de la Rose*] ... there lies at their heart an acute feeling for the epoch's contradictions, long overripe; that is, in essence, a feeling for the end of an epoch. And the manifold contradictions must be posited and portrayed by means of a single feature.

Others too have seen in the *Divina Commedia* a summation of mediaeval Christian thought, and its presentation in this one comprehensive work of ecclesiastical conservatism, before the same conservatism was overtaken

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[220] See John Demaray: The Invention of Dante's *Commedia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1974, p. 21-47, for the suggestion that Dante may well have perceived Purgatory as existing at one precise geographical location, based on its position in relation to Jerusalem, Rome, the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, and the Antipodes. This suggestion is based on an intricate study of mediaeval cartography, specifically of maps of the Sallust and Beatus type. This perception of Purgatory occupying a position in world geography which would seem to have no longitudinal or latitudinal values might equally have created in Dante's imagination a concept of the Paradiso - Purgatorio - Inferno construct as being vertical, in that it would have been unable to occupy quadrilateral space. In this way, Bakhtin's 'vertical chronotope' may have been as spatial in character as it was temporal.

by the humanistic and liberal attitudes of Petrarch, Boccaccio and the Provençal Poets. D. H. Lawrence, in The Study of Thomas Hardy,[221] wrote, somewhat sweepingly but not without a certain insight: 'Just as after Plato, after Dante, after Raphael, there was no further utterance of the Absoluteness of the Law, of the Immutability of the Divine Conception', implying the incidence in history of "key" cultural iconic figures, after whose appearance there is a prolonged period of cultural reflection and realignment. The cultural celebrity, in this case Dante, follows the greatness of his epoch; he does not preside over its initiation. This, however, is 'the end of [the] epoch': what of Bakhtin's reference to 'the epoch's contradictions'?

It must be appreciated that Dante was the first to realise that his own Christian beliefs and the Classical foundations upon which they were partly constructed were not capable of any further extenuation. I also believe that Dante uses the *Divina Commedia*, amongst other purposes, to draw attention to certain non-sequiturs in this collision of ideologies. In this thesis, I shall draw attention to only one of these anomalous situations which Dante highlights "across" the texts of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, that of the consignment of the poet Statius to purgatory.

Statius, who died after the birth of Christ, is consigned to purgatory, on his own admission, because he was classified as a prodigal, bent on dissipating his fortune recklessly. Quite by coincidence, however, he repented of his extravagant ways through the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid* ,[222] without the benefit of which

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221 First published in Phoenix, but now available in Selected Literary Criticism, London, Heinemann, 1955, p. 225.

222 Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii, 56.

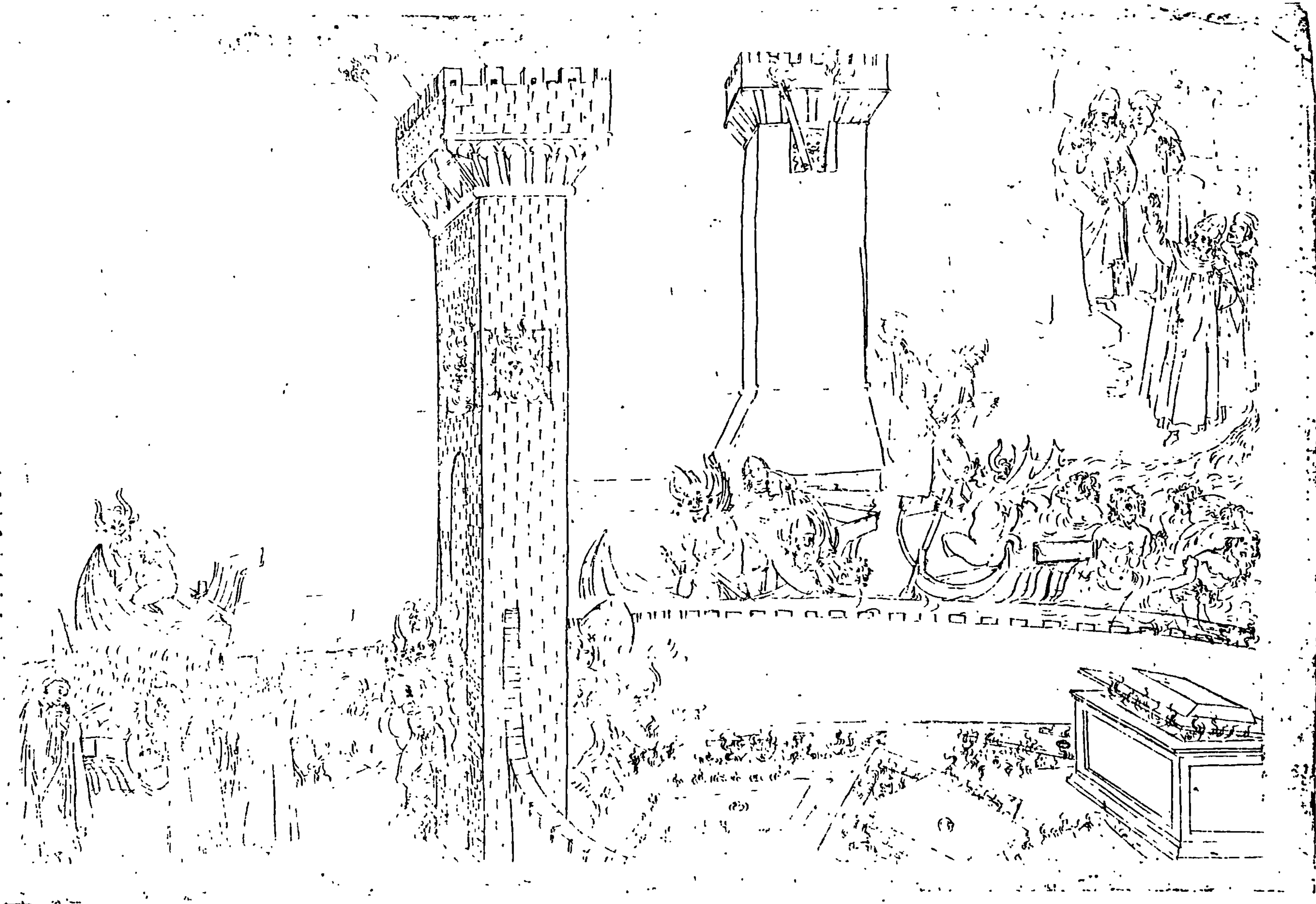

Plate No. 3.
Sandro Botticelli: Illustration for Dante's "Divina Commedia", Inferno, Canto 8, from a MS. written for Lorenzo de'Medici (redrawn). Please refer to page 192.

he would have been consigned, not to Purgatory, but to hell. Virgil, on the other hand, the cause of Statius' repentance, is confined to Hell, through having died before the birth of Christ, and not, in consequence, enabled to enter the Kingdom of Heaven under any circumstances.[223] The fact that Dante chose Virgil as his guide only underlines the obvious inequity of this situation.

Amongst those others who have, in their several ways, observed an element of verticality in the Divina Commedia of Dante is one contemporaneous witness who incorporated this verticality into the very methods he employed to convey the narrative of the poem. I refer to the unfinished manuscript of Dante's Divina Commedia, and its accompanying illustrative drawings, written and drawn for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici by Sandro Botticelli.[224] The remarkable evidence which this document discloses is nowhere more apparent than in Botticelli's illustration to 'The Inferno', Canto 8. (Please refer to Plate No. 3.). The following is Dante's own account of the events which are displayed in this illustration:[225]

> THE STORY. From the watch tower on the edge of the marsh a beacon signals to the garrison of the City of Dis that Dante and Virgil are approaching, and a boat is sent to fetch them. Phlegyas

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[223] For Dante and the concept of Limbo, see Rev. Kenelm Foster: The Two Dantes and other Studies, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977, *passim*. but especially pp. 169-80, 190-95, 208-12, 219-26 and 244-53.

[224] For illustrations of Botticelli's drawings to the Medici Dante, I have used the edition of Emil Schaeffer: *Sandro Botticelli, Ein Profil* , Berlin, Julius Held Verlag, 1921, as they are ideally suited to transposition into my text, (as, on account of their having been re-drawn, they are of exceptional clarity): the original illustrations in Botticelli's own hand are in a very poor state of preservation. They are reproduced in their entirety by Miss B. J. Watts in her doctoral dissertation, to which I refer in my n. 226 *infra*.

[225] Dante: La Divina Commedia: *'L' Inferno'*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1976, p. 116.

> ferries them across Styx. On the way they encounter Filippo, one of the Wrathful, who is recognised by Dante and tries to attack him. They draw near to the red-hot walls of the City and after a long circuit disembark at the gate. Virgil parleys with the fallen angels who are on guard there, but they slam the gate in his face. The two poets are obliged to wait for divine assistance.

In total, Virgil and Dante are depicted five times in the accompanying drawing. In artistic terms, they move from the top right hand corner of the composition, in a parabolic movement, to the bottom left. Effectively they move from right to left, with the intention of returning to the right through the gates of the City. This movement is in horizontal time, a category which it is only they who are free to use. Phlegyas's ferrying of Virgil and Dante over the Styx does not achieve the same movement, for he can only cross the river and does not achieve any sense of progressive movement. He discharges his duties in Vertical time, plying between, in Botticelli's interpretation of the text, the watch-tower on the edge of the marsh and the City gates, the two massive verticals which intersect the structure of the composition. For the damned, condemnation is tantamount to a restriction to existence within vertical time and, in consequence, without freedom of movement within horizontal, or historical, time. On numerous occasions, the inhabitants of Hell and Purgatory attempt to follow Dante and Virgil along their own historical path through the towering construct of the *Divina Commedia* but are unable to -- they are stuck fast to the positions allotted to them. In Dante's ideology and in that of the Church, the damned and indicted have had their opportunities in the historical world, the proving ground of

souls, and have not taken their chance of reaching directly for the Celestial condition.[226]

There is, however, an additional factor, which may be said to act as a contributory explanation of the concept of the Vertical chronotope which Bakhtin detects in the *Divina Commedia*: I would suggest that it is possible that the age which witnessed the authorship of the *Divina Commedia* was an age in which the categorical definitions which we might ordinarily associate with Thomism spill over into the forms taken by secular literature. Is it not possible to regard the individual auto-biographies and biographies contained in the *Divina Commedia*, as a form of proto-anthology, and not solely as elements forming part of Dante's vertical construct -- even if Bakhtin may be perfectly correct in seeing Dante's individual biographies in the *Divina Commedia* as having one co-existence in eternity, which does indeed create a vertical intersection of the horizontality of history. Perhaps, then, we are concerned, in this stage in the literary development of the Middle Ages, and in the *Divina Commedia* in particular, with the birth of the modern anthology.

It is, in fact, not long after Bakhtin detects the Vertical chronotope in European literature that it becomes quite normal for lengthy works to be written in the form of anthologies, and for long, diverse texts to be divided into sections of more compact proportion – the *Decameron* of Boccaccio (1348), the Prologue to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (c.1387), and the later the *Heptameron* of Marguerite de Navarre (1558) and so forth, are all examples of sub-divided texts. After all, we are about to enter a period in which time, as measured chronologically, becomes

[226] A detailed study of the inter-relation of Dante's text and the manuscript illustrations of Botticelli has been carried out by Barbara Jane Watts: Studies in Sandro Botticelli's Drawings for Dante's "Inferno", Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Virginia, 1989.

more demarcated, and the concept of "working hours" in relation to new systems of production, makes times more valuable: time becomes a commodity with the invention of the mechanical clock. I would suggest that a universal awareness of this growing importance of the "chronotopicity of time" places time at a premium, and that a diminution in the incidence of periods of uninterruptedly available time, even in the lives of the most leisured sections of society, would have led naturally to a heightened demand for shorter works of literature, which, even though forming part of longer literary compositions, were essentially complete in themselves. In other words, the story of Count Ugolino or of Francesca da Rimini, for example, could be read on its own: it would have been possible to "dip into" the *Divina Commedia*. Such a possibility is familiar to literary history: from the recitation of parts of ancient Epics, to the publication of the novels of Dickens and Dostoevsky in serialised instalments, there had been, from time to time, good reason to fragment literary works of great length.

It should perhaps be mentioned also that Dante's pre-occupation with the symbolism of the cross is also well-known, and the vertical intersection of horizontal time does, in fact, create the pattern of a cross.[227] This might take the form of a mental picture of restricted vertical movement within the architectural construct of Heaven, purgatory, and hell in the *Divina Commedia* crossing at right angles the horizontal freedom of movement permissible to the living, just as Botticelli has acquired a mental picture of the Styx flowing across his drawing, whilst Phlegyas is shown moving only across the Styx, and the Fallen Angels are depicted only on either side of the City Gate, and the dead confined to their sepulchral vaults below ground. It is possible for such a eidetic conformation to

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[227] See Jeffrey T. Schnapp: The Transfiguration of History at the Centre of Dante's Paradise, Princeton, Princeton Univ.Press, *passim*, but especially pp. 231-38.

create a sense of pattern of this type in the mind, but to allege it would require textual support.

Later, Bakhtin, in considering the role of the rogue, clown and fool in the formation of the novel, once again refers to the concept of the vertical chronotope which, as we have seen, he associated exclusively with the works of Dante, Langland and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung. Now, however, he seems to regard the vertical chronotope as a convenient method of differentiation of time/space in the Middle Ages vis à vis the Renaissance, and he therefore widens his application of the concept:

> In the renaissance, the above-mentioned forms of the novel [the Rabelaisian form being the first mentioned] violated that other-worldly vertical axis along which the categories of a spatial and temporal world had been distributed and had given value to its living content. Novels of this kind paved the way for a restoration of the spatial and temporal material wholeness of the world on a new, more profound and more complex level of development. They paved the way for the novel's appropriation of that world, a world in which simultaneously America was being discovered, a sea route to India was being opened up, new fields in natural science and mathematics were being established. And the way was prepared for an utterly new way of seeing and of portraying time in the novel'. (FTC 166).

Bakhtin here uses a convenient shorthand method of explaining how a vertical mediaeval world was transformed into a horizontal renaissance world; for

Bakhtin, the latter was to be the world of Rabelais and his successors, whom we are to consider in due course.

## BAKHTIN AND THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL INVERSION.

If there is any section of FTC in which Bakhtin's meaning is unclear through lack of specific illustrations with which to clarify the import of his text, it is the section which he devotes to the 'The Problem of Historical Inversion and The Folkloric Chronotope'. (FTC 146-58). He argues that:

> ... the essence of this inversion is found in the fact that mythological and artistic thinking locates such categories as purpose, ideal, justice, perfection, the harmonious condition of man and society and the like, in the past. Myths about paradise, a Golden age, an ancient truth, as well as the later concepts of "a state of nature," of natural, innate rights and so on, are all expressions of this historical inversion. (FTC 146).

Bakhtin regards the effect of this inversion as 'enriching' the present, and even more so the past, 'at the expense of the future' (FTC 146-51). In all probability we have stumbled upon one of those instances in which Bakhtin has deliberately appeared to comply with the requirements of Marxist revisionism. He has stated the obvious in order to give the impression that he is in tune with revisionist doctrine: namely, that the future does not depend upon the veneration of exemplars from the past, but lies in a maximal use of the present. Pre-revolutionary literature had been much concerned with emphasis on the sanctity of Ancient Rus, and the historically-based myth of a Christian Russia, whereas

the politics of Lenin and Stalin were directed towards five and ten year plans, based on the unlovely Magnetogorsk, commencing in the present and continuing into the future: the past was of no positive significance to the soviet authorities: it had, so it was thought, died with the White army.

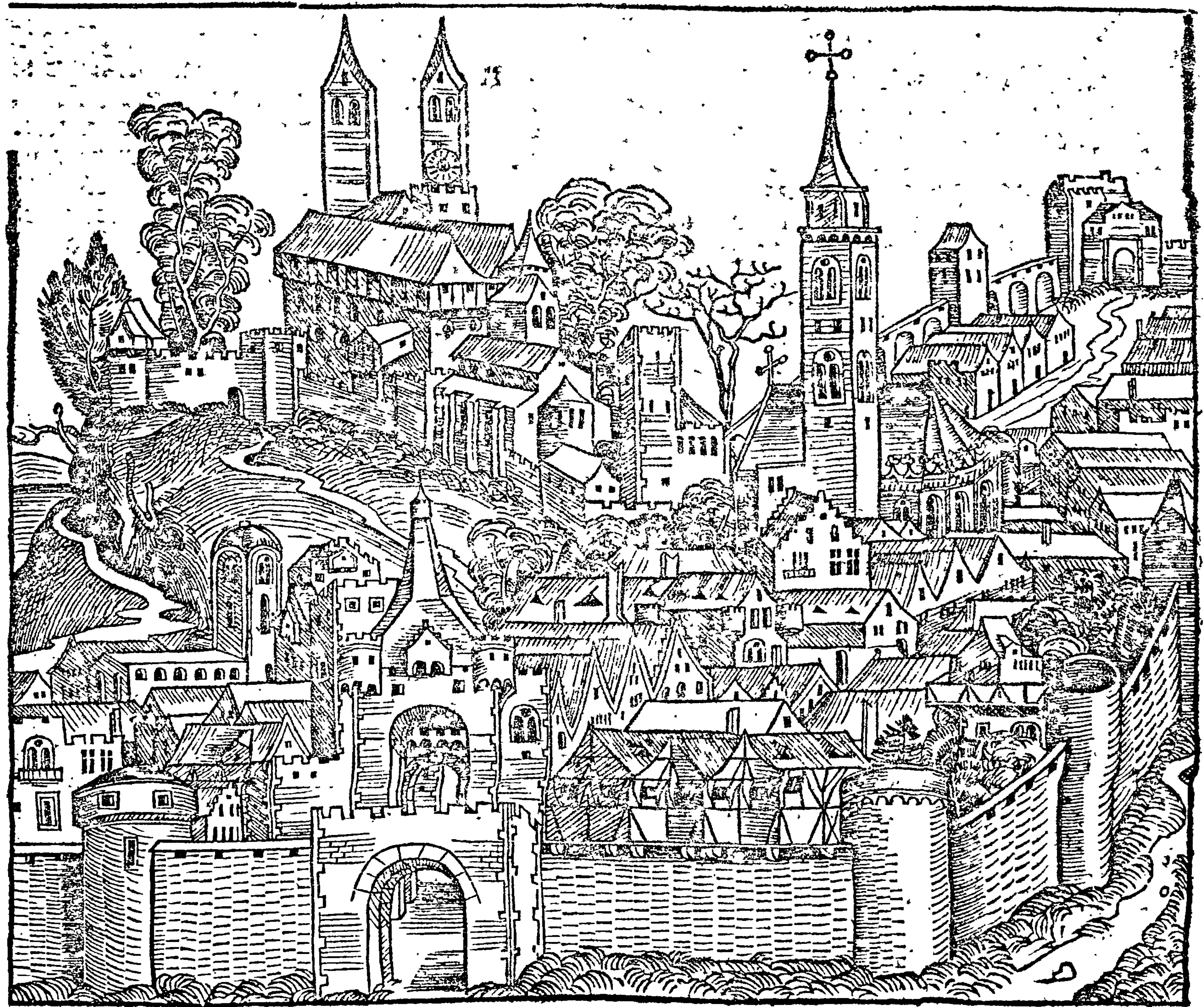
## CONCLUSION TO THE SECOND CHAPTER

This chapter has been devoted in the main to the resolution of certain predominant concerns. The first of these has been to provide that section of Bakhtin's text in FTC, which deals with the classical and mediaeval periods, with the necessary historical backgrounds against which some of the matters which Bakhtin addresses in most detail are dealt. It has been necessary for me, for example, to show that, whereas the life of the ancient world was to manifest itself vigourously and naturally in the literature of the Middle Ages, the intervention of Christianity and the settlement of new peoples in what had been the North Western and Northern territories of the Roman Empire similarly gave birth to a new order with its own priorities and pre-occupations. These are the subject-matter of the Mediaeval Epic and the Mediaeval Chivalric Romance.

Any approach to the chronotope in literature which sees an organic development in the relationship between the inter-relation of time and space in novelistic literature must necessarily pay adequate attention to the historical background against which that literature was written. Accordingly, I have sometimes sketched in lightly behind the foreground figures of Bakhtin's canvas, a picture of historical realities, sometimes not entirely clear to Bakhtin from his occasionally Russocentric viewpoint.

Veronam pulchram et preclaram venetie vrbem alpibus finitimam. Quā athesis fluuius diuidit Auctor est ex trogo pompeyo iustinꝰ. Gallos qui vrbem romā ceperūt ⁊ pariter Mediolanū: brixiam et bergomū edificasse. Licet alij sicardi Cremonensis epī sententie inherentes: post Troye excidium constructā asserunt. Nec tamen minꝰ cingit q̄ diuidit veronā Athesis vt custodie simul ornamētoq̄ꝫ subuehēdis reuehendisq̄ꝫ mercibꝰ et frugibꝰ magno sit vsui veronēsibus: quandoquidē supra infraq̄ꝫ circum ager est precipue bonitatis multa gignēs in vrbē conuehenda: olei vim maximam: frumēta incolis in mercaturā supabundantiā: vinorū varietatē atq̄ꝫ p̄stantiam: pomorꝫ omnis generis copiam. Et lanam ceteras ytalie subtilitate superantem de qua subtilissimi efficiunt̄ panni. Lane p̄stantiam greges ⁊ armenta a pascuis proprietate accipiunt. Quā prata campiq̄ꝫ, pspectu quoq̄ꝫ amenissimi naturaliter p̄stant. Quū tamen mons altissimꝰ orbi supeminēs Balbus nomīe: et candē herbis suis ingenitam et multo maiorē virtutem prestet. q̄ herbilogi vndiq̄ꝫ confluentes multa herbarū radicūq̄ꝫ genera animantiū saluti opitulantia inde legant: diuerse etiam p agrū veronensem scaturiūt aque non minus ornamento a natura q̄ vsui attribute. Hec ciuitas ita romanis principibꝰ grata extitit: vt in ea amphiteatrū romano more nō nullaq̄ꝫ alia costructa sint edificia. Ibiq̄ꝫ deinde a Gottis longobardisq̄ꝫ regibꝰ: nec nō et ab alijs principibꝰ domus excelse ⁊ alta palatia, pulcherrima templa. inexpugnabiles arces et castella fuerūt constructa. Vinorꝫ prestantia vno extollitur argumēto. Theodericus ostrogothorꝫ rex terciꝰ: quū sciret in veronēsi agro esse vinū sicut Cassiodorus appellat acinatiī odoris saporisq̄ꝫ suauissimi. illud romā nauibꝰ Athesi in superū mare delapsis comportari curauit. Vrbis huiꝰ gesta sub vario fuerūt euentu. Attila eīn Gottorꝫ rex eam euertit ⁊ incēdit. Alboinus p̄mus longobardorum rex ibidem Ro[illegible] vxoris insidijs occisus fuit. Ibi Rudolphus imperator berengariū imperatorem superauit ⁊ occidit. Nobilissima scaligeorū familia ⁊ [illegible] veronensis tyrannidem occupauit. et p. 70. annos cū maximo splendore verone dominata est. Tandem ea vrbs in venetorum manus deuenit: sed tam solidiora veron[illegible] sicut ⁊ ceteris vrbibꝰ ornamēta viros om̄is etatis p̄stantes attingamus. Zenoq̄ꝫ sicut religionē xp̄ianam ⁊ suam ipsius dei sanctitatē p̄imꝰ erit qui verone presul multa sere p̄sit extantia sacras vtriusq̄ꝫ testamēti litteras declarantia. Emiliū marcū vero[illegible]ensem poetā. Eusebiꝰ in asia obijsse asserit: paulo post. Catullus poeta. subinde vterq̄ꝫ Plinius. genuit ⁊ Guarinum oratorem ornatissimum et alios.

Verona



Secondly, I have modified Bakhtin's attitude towards the relationship between the respective chronotopes of Homeric Epic and that of the Greek novel of adventure, between the latter and the Mediaeval Chivalric Romance, and in the matter of the Vertical Chronotope which Bakhtin has discerned in the works of Dante and others. Thirdly, I have taken the opportunity, impossible for Bakhtin, to add to FTC an account of the New Testament in terms of literary chronotopicity.

It is manifest from the nature of the works which have been examined in this chapter that, though knowledge of the *oikoumenē* had (generally) begun to increase with time, across the partial divide between the classical and mediaeval worlds, there was never a time, during the period under review, when interest in *Terra Incognita* declined. Greater ease of travel and improved means of communication in the later Middle Ages, however, combined with a widespread knowledge of the works of the chroniclers (Villehardouin, de Joinville and Froissart in particular), led to a heightened interest in the destination of travel at the expense of interest in the journey itself, though both destination and journey are found in equal strength in the mediaeval "Quest".

Topography for its own sake was not a matter of interest in these periods, though there is evidence that the sense of wonder aroused by the concept of distant cities was considerable in the ancient world, a matter to which Suzanne Saïd's paper, which exalts the "modern" beauty of Alexandria, and which I quoted earlier, attests. A more dedicated interest in topography for its own sake, is not encountered until the publication of Hartman Schedel's *Weltcronik*, [228]

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[228] Nürnberg, Koberger, 1493. I have provided (Please see Plate No. 4.) the page from the *Welt-cronik* which illustrates the City of Verona. The artist responsible for the woodcut of the City had clearly never visited Verona, the representation of which is largely of his own imagination:

and, for ease of mental mapping in the mind of the educated man, until Daniel Defoe's Tour through England and Wales, (London 1724-26), and Lasor a Varéa's *Universus Terrarum Orbis* (Padua 1719). The two works last mentioned are very dissimilar in type, but they seem to me to register a sharp upturn in interest in topographical matters, and a significant advance over the rather antiquarian character of Camden's Britannia (1586) and Drayton's Polyolbion (1613-22). It was at this time, furthermore, that Defoe was to contribute his formidable knowledge of economic geography to the furtherance of the English picaresque novel. [229]

So far, I have had no immediate cause to refer to the issue which I broached at the outset of Chapter One: the unity of man's "science", the service to which he has placed his accumulated knowledge, and the problems relating to the identity of man which arise from the findings of this "science". We have not yet seen how man's art (his method of doing things) develops within the complexity of his scientific knowledge. Why, it may be asked, is this an issue? It is an issue precisely because the nature of the development of human scientific systems, on the occasion of its progressive acceleration in the era of the Industrial Revolution began to alter the nature of society and the form taken by society's literature after the period with which this Chapter is concerned. The problems of modernity in this sense, begin for me with the invention of the mechanical clock (and the introduction of "working hours" in the fourteenth century), for the

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hence the inclusion of Netherlandish stepped roofs and the inclusion of Nürnberg's Alt Spital in the composition. The lack of accuracy is significant in two respects: namely, that it is the idea of the distant city and not its topography which is of interest to the reader; and that the accuracy of the description could not be verified by reference to alternative sources of information.

[229] It must not be forgotten that, by the time of Defoe, not only were national and county maps {of Speed (1610), Blaeu (1645), Jannsson (1646), Blome (1673), and Morden (1695) and others} readily accessible, but coaching maps complete with strip-mapped routes, such as those of John Ogilby (1675) were also available. In other parts of Europe, similar developments had taken place in the seventeenth century. See R.V.Tooley: Maps and Map Makers, London, Batsford, 1949, pp. 19-46 and 65-72.

literary historian often with the writings of Daniel Defoe, and for the Art historian with the blast-furnaces of Joseph Wright of Derby[230] and Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg.[231] Whenever the Industrial Revolution is alleged to have "begun", however, it has been in course of development with the same relentless geometrical progression since the beginning of time, but only noticeably since this progression became a recognisable agent, causative of social fragmentation and other ills.[232] Thus these issues, far from being only historical for us, are still active and accelerating at cumulative rates of velocity as I write. My pen, however, must cut incisively into this combined human-mechanical process somewhere, and that will be in the early nineteenth century, at the advent of the modern era, at a time when many aspects of the cultural conformation of the modern world with which we, today, are familiar, had already begun to be anticipated or realised.

In Chapter Three of this thesis I trace the diminution of available time and space, freely available for discretionary human use, in the period from the end of the Middle Ages to the advent of the modern age, having regard to the works of Mikhail Bakhtin, and in accordance with my reading of his theory/theories of the chronotope in literature.

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230 See Benedict Nicolson, Joseph Wright of Derby, 2 Vols., London, Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1968.

231 See P. J. de Loutherbourg: (Painting) Coalbrookdale by Night, London, National Gallery.

232 For a picture of pre-industrial revolution industrialism and its organisation in Britain, see : Maxine Berg: The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820, Oxford, Blackwell, 1985. This work is highly supportive of a back-dating of "historical modernism" to the time of the upsurge in industrial activity to which the London novels of Daniel Defoe bear witness. Interestingly, Berg (Ibid, p.50) cites Defoe, though without an appropriate reference, as maintaining the period since 1680 as 'a projective age when men set their heads to designing Engines and Mechanical Motion'.

# Chapter 3 - A Study of Time and Space in the Thematic History of The Novel.

## Part II - The Renaissance and Modern Novel.

The third chapter of this thesis takes us from the conclusion of the Middle Ages to the Determinist novels of Honoré de Balzac and Emile Zola. It is a chapter which, in the main, constitutes a progression from the beginnings of what I am inclined to regard as "realism", in the non-technical sense of the word, as descriptive of sequential narratives of everyday life; from the "drama" of de Royos' *La Celestina* and the novellas of the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century, to the novels of Daniel Defoe and his fellow didactic novelists in France: then to the pleasures and elegance of the Enlightenment. And then we plunge into the worst and most manifest horrors of the Industrial Revolution, and the advent of mass production in the nineteenth century. We will have every opportunity to observe the increased rapidity with which the demarcation of time becomes more finite, and how less of that increasingly precious commodity is expended in freedom of movement. We shall see how urban communities, such as the Paris of Balzac's *Le Père Goriot,* are forced to strive within unyielding acres of constructed environment. These will be seen to make their own demands and exert their own forces on the human being. From these pictures of social compression, the nature of institutionalised life in the twentieth century becomes easier to anticipate.

At this point, we have reached either the end of the civilisation with which we are familiar or, perhaps, the beginnings of another renaissance: at the conclusion of this chapter, however, it will still be unclear which it is that we

have encountered. Such a lack of clarity, however, is excusable, if we consider the circumstances in which the first author with whose work we are concerned in this chapter – François Rabelais – wrote. For Rabelais is not to be found in the mainstream of the novel: as a polemicist, as a scientist, theologian, classicist, Benedictine (formerly Franciscan) monk and religious reformer, he writes with a specific message, no less highly specific a message than that delivered by those other of his contemporaries who preached in comparable, if rather different, ways – Erasmus, Brandt, Murner, Sachs, and the artists Bosch and the Elder Brueghel. Perhaps a member of the long-established ecclesiastical hierarchy which Rabelais sought to reform, on reading Rabelais' Four Books, and particularly on reading of the iconoclastic adventures of Gargantua and Pantagruel, and the borderline heresies of Panurge, might also have thought that the end of his civilisation was at hand. Perhaps, on the other hand, he, like Erasmus, saw even more clearly the first appearance of a renewed Christian civilisation. That is why it will be too early, even at the end of the twentieth century, to determine what order of civilisational process we entered at its beginning.

Sadly, from our consideration of the works of Goethe onwards, we shall not have Bakhtin as our guide in the form of the chronotope essays, for the text of BSHR concludes with the era of Goethe. Although Bakhtin, especially in the 'concluding remarks' to FTC, makes certain specific observations relating to the development of the nineteenth century novel, he failed to undertake a detailed reading of the novel subsequent to the age of Goethe. Some help is afforded by a reading of PDP and DN, but these are works of a highly specialised nature. In general, Bakhtin was sparing in his comment on the mature novel, and it may well be that this omission was deliberate: once again, one can see the hand of

Communist officialdom acting as a deterrent to too close an engagement with a period which, for him, would have entailed the discussion of sociological issues.

THE RABELAISIAN CHRONOTOPE.

The Four Books, the authorship of which can be assigned with certainty and in their entireties to François Rabelais, The Great Gargantua, Pantagruel, Le Tiers Livre and Le Quart Livre, are the object of Bakhtin's attention in both FTC, and in Rabelais and his World, (hereafter RAHW). The latter is a monograph of book-length which Bakhtin compiled in sections in the late 1930s and submitted in composite form, as a doctoral thesis, to the Gorky Institute of World Literature in 1940.

The four books of Rabelais may be seen with complete justification as the first renaissance novels, in the sense of the word "renaissance" which implies the substitution of a single (Roman) Christian church by a pluralist Christianity, the discovery of new worlds both to East and West by exploration, the unexpectedly rapid dissemination of (especially Classical) learning which arose largely from the invention of printing, and the equally rapid growth of urbanisation which arose from the centralisation of manufacturing, banking, trading and warehousing services.[233] These characteristics of the renaissance

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[233] This is not a mere truism, as the speed of publication of successive translations of the same scholastic book was a contributory factor in the loss of control over doctrinal matters by the Vatican authorities at the beginning of the Sixteenth century. The following extract from a letter from Desiderius Erasmus to Henry Bullock, a fellow of the Queen's College, Cambridge, signed and dated Rochester, August 1516, though not dealing strictly with scholastic books in this instance, is extremely informative about the consequences of the too rapid succession of editions of doctrinal and philosophical works: 'What have the Aristotelians lost, since Argropoulos, Leonardus Aretinus, and Theodore Gaza brought out a new edition [of certain philosophical works of Aristotle] ? Will it be held [ by the Vatican] that their version ought to be suppressed or

world brought with them as their common denominator the notion that man was no longer confined by and within the restraints of mediaeval social conditions, and was capable of achieving much more on his own initiative than had ever been achieved in the shadow of a church primarily concerned with the preparation of the living for death. The idea grew rapidly that man was destined for a fullness of life, that human potential was unlimited, and that the "individual" possessed an importance in his own right. This is the position of the Rabelais of the renaissance as envisaged by Bakhtin in FTC, a Rabelais who substitutes the horizontality of human endeavour for the vertical chronotope of late mediaeval life. Bakhtin defines the Rabelaisian chronotope as the new parametric organisation of space and time necessary to accommodate the new man of the renaissance. In Bakhtin's own words:

> This direct proportionality [the condition in which the great and the good flourish, and the weak withers and dies, in contradistinction to the mediaeval world view in which the meek inherited the earth and the quest for worldly wealth was seen as sinful] is responsible for that extraordinary faith in earthly space

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abolished, to save those earlier professors of Aristotelian philosophy from the appearance of being ignorant of some particulars ? Or is William Cop prevented from translating the books of Galen and Hippocrates by the fear of letting the world know that former physicians have put a false interpretation on many passages'. The relevance of this passage to the issue of the principles of Papal authority is very significant.

This issue was also of relevance to Rabelais, for Erasmus' reference to Hippocrates is further significant in another respect; that of the importance which Rabelais attaches discreetly throughout the Four Books to the promotion of medical knowledge, which he would seem to have regarded as having been undervalued in the earlier years of the revival of Classical learning. R.R.Bolgar (The Classical Heritage, New York, Harper and Row, 1964, pp. 290-291) informs us that Rabelais went to Montpellier in 1531, where he lectured on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, which he corrected from a very ancient copy in his possession: Rabelais' amended "Hippocrates" was subsequently printed by Gryphius at Lyons in 1532, being described in Rabelais' preface to the work as 'a serious contribution to the advance in Medicine'. Bolgar deals with this matter and the matter of Rabelais' contribution to the study of medicine in much greater detail in: 'Rabelais' Edition of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates' in The Modern Language Review, January, 1940.

> and time, that passion for spatial and temporal distances and expanses that is so typical of Rabelais, as well as other great renaissance figures (Shakespeare, Camoens, Cervantes). . . . But this passion for spatial and temporal equivalence in Rabelais is far from naive – as it was in ancient epic and in folklore. As we have already suggested, equivalence is specifically contrasted with mediaeval verticality, and this polemical opposition receives a special emphasis. Rabelais' task is to purge the spatial and temporal world of those remnants of a transcendental world view [that of the omnipotence of the Church.] still present in it, to clean away symbolic and hierarchical interpretations still clinging to this vertical world, to purge it of the contagion of "antiphysis" that had infected it. In Rabelais, this polemical task is fused with a more affirmative one: the re-creation of a spatially and temporally more adequate world able to provide a new chronotope for a new, whole and harmonious man, and for new forms of human communication. (FTC 168).

Above all else, Rabelais is concerned with the substitution of one world for another; but whereas it might appear an impossible task for one liberal humanist to achieve so vast an objective by means of an entirely new form of novel, politico-religious conditions had, in fact, already prepared the ground for change. In the first place, the supremacy of the Church had already come under attack from several quarters. After the initial assaults of Wycliffe and Hus, Erasmus, at the end of the fifteenth century, had started in a mild and conciliatory manner to bring many long-established tenets of the Church into question, and within thirty years, Martin Luther had effectively divided Christendom down the middle. In

France, however, the reformation of the Church had not taken place, though it would appear from the attitudes of French humanists such as Guillaume Budé (1467-1540) that liberal sympathies, such as those previously expressed by François Villon, of whom Rabelais was an ardent admirer, were commonplace by the beginning of the sixteenth century, especially in Paris.[234] It remained for Rabelais to select the medium for expressing his own opinions in a manner which would have the greatest effect. His chosen manner was parody, and it is in the nature of Rabelais' parodic "system" that the twin distortions of reality upon which the Four Books are constructed, namely the aggrandisement of the secular renaissance Giants (Gargantua, Garmamelle, Pantagruel) and the dismissal by humorous invective of their mediaeval (almost exclusively ecclesiastical) antecedent counterparts – are effected. Thus, what Bakhtin describes as "The Rabelaisian Chronotope" is in fact two chronotopes, the old and the new, or the Vertical (which we encountered in the *Divina Commedia* of Dante), and the Horizontal, in which man, with his newly liberated powers, can build on the achievements of his forebears in a temporally extended (horizontal) manner. These two chronotopes separately or in juxtaposition provide the "direct proportionality" which we find, not only in the Four Books, but, as we shall see, in the works of Erasmus, Bosch, and many of their contemporaries.

That Rabelais chose parodic allegory[235] as the appropriate method of accentuating the very numerous observations and criticisms contained in the

[234] For the contribution of Budé, who was a close friend of François I, to the introduction of liberal ideas to Parisian thought, see F. W. A. George in Anthony Thorlby (Ed.): European Literature, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969, Vol. 2., p. 147.

[235] See C. S.Lewis: The Allegory of Love, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, e.p.1936, p. 232, for a telling comment regarding Allegory as the "dominant" in English literature from Chaucer onwards: ' In many periods, the Historian of Literature discovers a dominant literary form, such as the Blood Tragedy among the Elizabethans, of satire in the eighteenth century or the comedy of sentiment or manners in the last century or in our own. During the years between Chaucer's

Four Books should come as no surprise, for the indirect, subversive and cryptic methods of drawing attention to matters of importance were a hallmark of the literature (and certain areas of the Fine Arts) of the period.

The cryptic element characteristic of so many forms of expression in subversive literature, and in works in any way critical of established politico-religious systems at this time, might be thought to arise from its tentative nature: the New Man of the renaissance was still unsure of himself, (though Rabelais would seem to be an exception to this rule): the new cultural order was fully cognisant of having assisted in the undermining of a system which had reigned supreme in the Western world for nearly 1200 years, and this awareness created a feeling of instability in the face of an unknown future. The supremacy of Christianity in the Western world for so long and uninterrupted a period, however, would not have been possible had it not been for the existence, throughout the Middle Ages, of an unofficial species of parodic and satirical humour, exemplified, as we have seen, in carnivalistically inverted works and practices, such as the Missa Asinorum, the Carmina Burana, and incidences of *risus paschalis*, to mention some of the best known examples of the genre. It would seem that for every orthodox ecclesiastical (and many secular) celebrations, there existed an unorthodox counterpart; a jocular but necessarily rebellious counter-reaction to the seriousness of the liturgy; the inconvenience of adhering to oppressive codes of moral conduct; the interminable condition of subservience to sometimes oppressive forms of secular authority; a hopelessness stemming in part from the fact of short life-expectancy, and an endless string of

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death and the poetry of Wyatt, Allegory become such ... '. It will become clear from the nature of comparable developments in Continental Europe, that Allegory as the "dominant" was more international than Lewis allows.

natural calamities, the Black Death and the terrible weather conditions of the Fourteenth Century being not the least of these.

Bakhtin, in FTC and RAHW, expresses in great detail the view that the unorthodox humour of the Middle Ages was in parallel with the wider celebration of Carnival, for which it was customary for the authorities, ecclesiastical and secular alike, to make provision – to allocate specific times for Carnival within the calendar year, and to turn a blind eye to the excesses of these temporary liberations from the supervision of authority. In the words of Bakhtin: 'The men of the Middle Ages participated in two lives: the official and the carnival life. Two aspects of the world, the serious and the laughing aspect, coexisted in their consciousness.'[236] Similarly, in the view of Bakhtin, the Carnivalistic sub-civilisation, lying beneath the surface of the orthodox and official civilisation of the Middle Ages, possesses its own diverse and complicated repertoire of literary forms, aphorisms, sayings, references and eidetic nuance: much of RAHW is devoted to an examination of Rabelais' novels in terms of what Bakhtin considers to be their interrelationship with the unofficial cultural traditions upon which he drew in the Four Books. I would maintain, however, that there are very strong grounds for believing that the supposed difference between official and unofficial language in France in the sixteenth century alerts us to conditions prevailing not at that time, but in the Russia of Bakhtin's own experience, and that these have deceived Bakhtin into imagining the existence of a gulf between literatures at two levels in the age of Rabelais:[237] despite the fact

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[236] RAHW 96.

[237] Bakhtin concedes that: 'By the end of the Middle Ages a gradual disappearance of the dividing line between humour and great literature can be observed. The lower genres begin to penetrate the higher levels of literature' (RAHW 97). He fails, however, to specify exactly what form the lower genres took, making specific reference only to The Kingdom of Basoche, 'a society for the production of morality plays. It was composed of the secretaries of parliamentary

that, in the sixteenth century, only the highly educated were literate. I highlight this anomaly, because it has a bearing upon the extent to which Rabelais did write basically in conformity with the previously established literary conventions of his day. This is not to deny that the chronotopic structure of the Four Books, basically the manifestation of "Direct Proportionality" through the use of (sometimes extreme) exaggeration, is similar to the work of any other author: I maintain only that the technique of presenting polemical argument by means of contrast, hyperbole and exaggeration, often to the point of excess or absurdity (rather in the manner of the distortion of caricature), was very much in the order of Rabelais' day. This issue is also important because it throws light on the origins of the Four Books. It shows them to relate more to the overall context of renaissance literary development, rather than, as Bakhtin suggests, as examples of (specifically) folklorically-inspired literature.[238] I have therefore provided appropriate evidence to clarify the matter in the form of a note to this text, for, as a matter which is dealt with at length in FTC, it is one which deserves to be elucidated here.[239] Rabelais' artistic method is not so different in style, within

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attorneys... Later the *basochiens* organised a special game, the "parades", which widely used the privileges of libertinism and impropriety'. In due course we will see that, far from being confined to debased productions of morality plays produced by attorneys' secretaries, comic libertinism (and pornography) were available in the form of earlier *fabliaux*, not as might be expected, in the form of *Sub Rosa* documents, but produced in elegant ecclesiastical gothic and batard hands and with fully historiated initials. They are undoubtedly the products of monastic scriptoria, and designed to be read by the more elegant sections of society in the Late Middle Ages. See, for example, Kathryn Gravdal: Vilain and Courtois, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1989, p. 86, 88, 94, 115, 116 and 118, for finely illuminated manuscripts of *Trubert*, Paris, BN. MS.Fr. 2188, , and of *Le Roman de Renart*, Paris, BN. MS. Fr. 12584.

[238] This is not a criticism of Bakhtin in the aggressive meaning of the word, but I suspect that the texts of parodic works such as Audigier (c. 1120), and possibly even of Renart, may not have been available to Bakhtin. Such is the colossal scale of Bakhtin's erudition that it is easy to forget that he may have been without the use of certain texts which the reader of his works then assumes him to have neglected deliberately. Neither of the works mentioned in this note is to be found in either FTC or RAHW.

[239] It is Bakhtin's contention that in the Four Books, Rabelais enables the popular speech of the day to merge with the official language of the reading public: 'this [Rabelais' novelistic] profanity was widespread in "unofficial" everyday speech and gives rise to the stylistic and ideological idiosyncrasies of "unofficial" everyday speech ( most especially in the lower social

the context of its comparative literary and cultural framework, as the reader may be led initially to suspect. I will, therefore, draw attention to the work of those writers and artists to whom I referred above as exemplifying the contemporaneous popularity of parody and satire: Rabelais is, after all, among the most distinguished of their number. This should, in my opinion, have been Bakhtin's first priority in the organisation of RAHW, but it was not.

It is perhaps significant that Hieronymus Bosch, who, in common with Rabelais was a member of a religious order, chose the same parodic route to the truth, equally dependent on concepts of "direct Proportionality" in his depictions of good and evil, whilst his good intentions can no longer be brought into

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classes). Witchcraft-Magical formulas ( including obscenity) and everyday billingsgate (Sic) are themselves related to each other, being in fact two branches of the same tree, whose roots go deep into pre-class folklore' (FTC 184). It has been argued forcefully by, amongst others, Richard Berrong: Rabelais and Bakhtin: Popular Culture in "Gargantua and Pantagruel", Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1986, that "official" language in Rabelais' France was bi-cultural and that all classes of society were fully conversant with the scatological language used by Rabelais. I would uphold this view, and maintain that Rabelais is indebted to some of the most scatological literature of the Middle Ages. I will cite one example, from numerous available examples (an episode from *Audigier*, a particularly explicit *fabliaux*) as the original inspiration for the birth of Pantagruel. In the events leading up to the birth of Pantagruel, we read that his mother, Gargamelle, is forced to squat on the ground, due to the collapse of her anal sphincter, caused by over-eating whilst pregnant. Almost immediately, Pantagruel is born, shouting 'not like other children "Mies","Mies", but "Drink!Drink!Drink!"' (Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 51-52). In *Audigier* (ll. 344-47), we read: 'Ausi le tranglouti com une oublee. Et quant ele senti qu'el fu enflee, a terre s'acroupi, li cus li bee. Audigier s'en oissi, criant: "Outree"!.': trans. Kathryn Gravdal: Op. Cit., p.79, as: 'Then she gobbles him up as a pastry. When she feels herself swell up, she squats down on the ground, her ass wide open. Out comes Audigier, crying: "Over There!". The content of these two passages is sufficiently close as to leave little doubt as to common origin. See also Gravdal, where we find that, (despite the transgressive nature of the scatology of *Audigier*), in Doon de Nanteuil, a romance of the late twelfth century: 'Nowadays, there is not a single boy who, if he knows a song, has a clear voice, and gets a little carried away, will not sing to you of Audigier, who was [a] count' (Op. Cit. p. 76.). It is clear that scatology was not foreign to the literate classes, who were, of course, in the minority. *A Propos* the circa one hundred and fifty surviving *fabliaux*, John Fox states: 'That the courtly *milieux* were able on occasions to relax over a bawdy joke, or to poke fun at the foibles of human nature, is significant, for it betokens a society a good deal more healthy and open-minded than is sometimes supposed.' (A Literary History of France: The Middle Ages, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1974, p. 232). It would seem, therefore, that Rabelais in the Four Books was working with very much more well-worn materials than Bakhtin is inclined to countenance. See also the racy, and often scatological and lavatorial stories of the *Heptameron* of Marguerite of Navarre.

doubt.[240] Bosch, furthermore, established a very considerable demand (which continued long after his death), for polemical works of the type which he himself had popularised, namely works which illustrated in disturbing ways the ultimate consequences of sin in ways which were easily understood by the viewer. It would be no exaggeration to maintain that those artists who satisfied this demand, such as Jan Mandyn (Antwerp c.1500-1560), Peter Huys 1519-1581), Herri met de Bles (1500-1550), and The Putative Jan Wellens de Cock (working between 1480-1526) form a distinct school of "Hell and Damnation" painters operating in Antwerp in the first half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, prominent among the common characteristics of the works of these artists are distortions of the human physical form, and a selective variegation in the size of individual characters depicted in their paintings. These similarities constitute a much more substantial link with the methods of Rabelais than the endless attempts made by historians to unite the ideologies of Rabelais and the School of Bosch under one mantle, (an impossibility as Bosch is a wholly orthodox pre-reformation Catholic). Neither must it be forgotten that, nearly a century later, Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1510?- 1567) employed the same distortionist techniques in many of his own works. Thus, having regard to the common ground which he shares with Rabelais, it is more appropriate to draw attention to the similarities of import in Brueghel's "diabolical" engravings, especially the close iconographical relationship between Rabelais' description of King Lent and

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[240] The extremely devout King Philip II of Spain acquired a large number of paintings by Bosch, some of which are still in the Collections of the Escorial and the Prado. It is said that Philip slept with a painting by Bosch in his bedroom at the Escorial, in order to remind him of the ultimate consequences of evil, despite accusations that the content of Bosch's work was heretical; accusations which were countered by Fr. Jose de Siguenza, librarian of the Escorial until 1605. See R.H.Wilenski: Flemish Painters, London, Faber and Faber, 1960, Vol. I, p. 502-03. An attempt has recently been made to show that Bosch's heretical persuasion, which it was necessary for Fr. de Siguenza to counter, was Gnosticism: See Lynda Harris, Bosch, Edinburgh, Floris Books, 1995, p. 51.

Brueghel's depiction of "The Alchemist" (in the plate of that name).[241] Brueghel's oil painting, The Battle of Carnival and Lent, the subject matter of which is identical to that of the enmity of King Lent and the Chitterlings, also bears many of the identifying characteristics of Rabelais' iconology, especially once again in matters of bodily and facial distortion.[242] Examples of the usage of Bakhtin's "direct proportionality" abound in the iconographies of the Northern Schools of painting. In one of Pieter Brueghel the Elder's best known works, "The Childrens' Games", furthermore, we can see a wholesale reduction in the size of the human race – the depiction of the entire population as children in a parodic representation of the humiliation of Flanders under the rule of Spain – the message is different, but the artistic method is the same. In another example which has a direct correspondence with Rabelais' text, in the depiction of Hell by the master now known as The Putative Jan Wellens de Cock (painting between 1480-1526) (Please see Frontispiece)[243], an entire world of minuscule people and objects is to be found in the mouth of Satan, an iconographical motif which corresponds iconologically closely with Rabelais' description of the "Dental Mountains" in the mouth of Pantagruel:[244]

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241 See Jacques Lavalleye: Brueghel and Lucas Van Leyden: Complete Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, London, Thames and Hudson, 1967, plate 50 (Brueghel). This is R. van Bastelaer's Plate No. 197 (*Les Estampes de Pieter Brueghel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1908). The metallic objects depicted in this plate are so similar in kind to the metallic and emaciated tone of Brueghel's description of King Lent, and the catalogue of metallic objects associated with him, that it is perhaps remarkable that Rabelais could not have seen Brueghel's work for chronological reasons: Rabelais had died before the issue of this plate by Theodor Galle from the House of the Four Winds.

242 See François Rabelais: Gargantua and Pantagruel, trans. J. M. Cohen, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1955, pp. 512 ff. ( Book 4, Chapter 29 et seq. )

243 See also M. J. Friedländer: Early Netherlandish Painting, London, Vol. XI, p. 79, no. 121, Plate 98.

244 See Rabelais, Op. Cit., p. 272. ( Book 2, Chapter 32 ). There is every possibility that the origin both of Rabelais' description and Wellens de Cock's image is to be found in Lucian: *Vera Historia*, in the passage describing life within the whale: 'At first it was so dark inside that we could not see a thing, but after a while he opened his mouth again and we saw that we were in a sort of cave, which stretched away to an enormous distance in every direction and would have been quite capable of accommodating a town with a population of anything up to ten thousand.

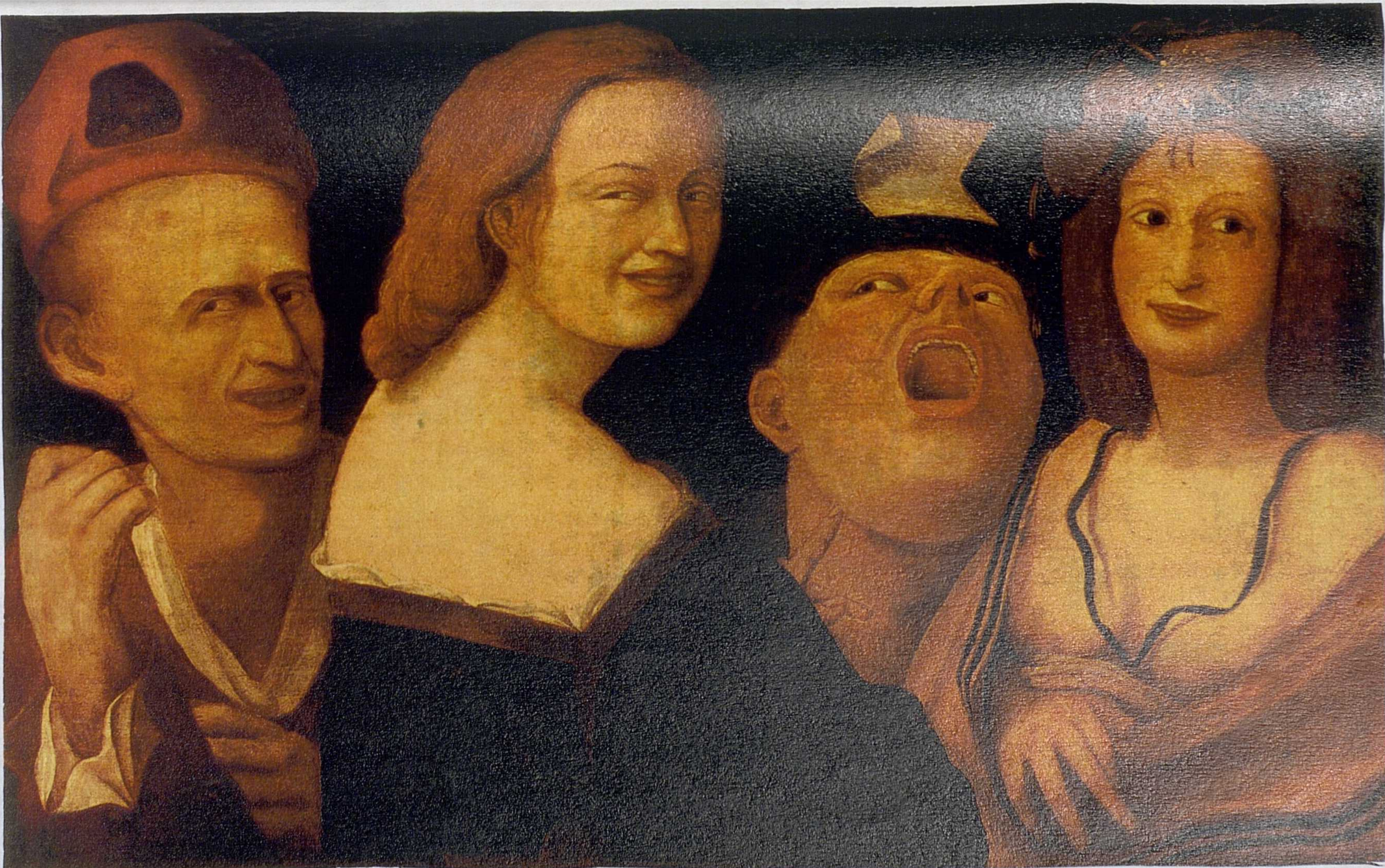

Plate No. 5.
"A Conversation By Sign and Signal."
Attributed to Bartolomeo Veneto (active 1502-1531).
Formerly Collection Marquis de Migliorati, Locarno.
Please refer to page 215.

> So I clambered onto his tongue as best I could, and travelled for quite six miles over it before I came to his mouth. But, oh ye Gods and Godesses, what did I see there ? Jupiter confound me with his three-forked lightning if I lie. I walked over it as one does in Santa Sophia in Constantinople, and there I saw huge rocks like the dental mountains - I think they must have been his teeth - and large meadows, wide forests and great, strong cities, every bit as large as Lyons or Poitiers'.

The shape, form, and definition of the features of the human face presented the renaissance mind with considerable food for thought: this new, enquiring intellect that no longer took anything for granted, paid considerable attention especially to the form of the nose, and the possibility of distorting it in verbal and literary description.[245] Neither, in the Fine Arts, is this distortive parody of the human condition confined to a single school of artists in the North: I have included in the plates to this thesis an illustration (Please see Plate

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.... ,and in the middle of it was a tract of land which rose into a range of low hills. .... Next morning we spent the first few hours admiring the view through the monster's mouth, whenever he happened to open it. One moment we would catch sight of some land, the next of some mountains. (see Lucian: Satirical Sketches, Trans. and Ed. P. Turner, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1961, pp. 264 - 65. See also A.R.Harmon: Lucian: Works, Op. Cit. Vol. 1., p. 285ff.

[245] There is the instance of Rabelais' Friar John of the Hashes, 'a young gallant, sprightly, jovial, resourceful, bold, adventurous, tall and thin fellow with a great gaping mouth, and a fine outstanding nose' ( Rabelais, Op. Cit. p. 98. Book One, Chapter 27). Then there is Cocles' nose in Erasmus' *De Copia*, in which a discussion between Pamphagus and Cocles attempts to find a use for it. Then there was the practice common amongst German artists of depicting the man in portraits of the "Misaligned Couple" invariably as having an enlarged nose, as a sign of his boorishness. Such is the power of the iconographical "system" of which this instance of nasal distortion constitutes an example, that, in the serious painting of the day, faces are found to take on characteristics of the qualities of the people depicted: The avaricious faces of The Tax Collectors by Marinus van Roemersvaele of c. 1538 (London, National Gallery) are yet further evidence of man's new awareness of his own physical constitution, and this is the background to, amongst other matters, Rabelais' choice of subject area for his distortions - in the form of the human being, all or part of it.

No. 5) of a painting attributed to Bartolomeo Veneto[246] (active 1502-1531), the iconography of which, both in matters of distortion and digital sign language, reflects with astonishing accuracy the metaphors of Rabelais in the incident in which Goatsnose answers Panurge by signs, in *Le Tiers Livre*.[247]

Just as we find the widespread achievement of didactic objectives by means of parody in the visual arts of the period, so we find that parody constitutes the most frequent method chosen by Rabelais' contemporaries in order to comment upon the ecclesiastical and moral issues of the day. Already, one century earlier, considerable disquiet about the true motives for the crusades had been expressed throughout Europe, and it was a disquiet which could not be expressed openly: it necessitated a form of criticism which presented a picture of crusading activity as noble and unsullied by any form of secular interest, whilst at the same time implying the opposite. The entire force of Terry Jones' Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Mediaeval Mercenary is directed at separating and elucidating the text and subversive sub-text of Chaucer's Knight's Prologue and his related Tale.[248] Needless to say it was seldom prudent to express opinions critical of the established order in an open and unequivocal manner, and from this necessity arose the need to write obliquely about politically sensitive matters: hence the need for the parody, satire, irony, mock-humour and innuendo which characterises the "unofficial" didactic writing of the era of pre-reformation Europe.

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246 Sold by Sotheby's, New York, 20. May. 1993, Lot No. 12.

247 See Rabelais: Op.Cit. pp. 342, 344, and 357. (Book Three, Chapters 20 and 25 ).

248 See T. Jones: Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Mediaeval Mercenary, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, especially p. 18 ff., for a discussion of contemporaneous attitudes to mercenary officers of the type represented by Chaucer's Knight.

The inspiration for much of this literary genre is to be found in a wide range of classical, mediaeval and "modern" prototypes. Bakhtin is most interested in the comic aspects of satire in the novels of Rabelais and might well have regarded the writings of Lucian (c.120-c.190) as the most important of Rabelais progenitors.[249] Lucian's Menippus, who descends into Hades and finds life in the underworld to be a source of unceasing amusement, is of particular interest to Bakhtin as he undoubtedly informs the entirety of Dostoevsky's writing, by the injection of an all-pervading grotesque element into the latter's plots and characters, and in particular inspires Dostoevsky's short story 'Bobok', in which several "inhabitants" of a cemetery enter into a highly comic discussion, *post mortem*. The majority of Lucian's works were available in manuscript in Paris in the fifteenth century, having reached France, via Italy, from Constantinople where they had been exceptionally popular in post-classical times. Three of Lucian's most important works (The *Dialogi*, The *Opuscula*, and The *de non credendo calumniae*) first appeared in the French vernacular almost simultaneously, in 1529, implying a sudden interest in his work in that year.[250]

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[249] Bakhtin describes Lucian as the 'third source of the Renaissance philosophy of laughter' (RAHW 69), though this designation does not imply a specific order of importance. Bakhtin identifies the other sources of renaissance laughter as (I). The saying of Aristotle (*De Anima*, Book 3, Chapter 10) to the effect that 'of all living creatures it is only man who is endowed with laughter', an aphorism which concludes Rabelais' introductory poem to *Gargantua*. (2). The publications, after the death of Rabelais, though based on ideas current during his lifetime, of two works by Laurent Joubert, [ a member of the Montpellier Medical School, of which Rabelais had himself been a member], entitled '*Traite du Ris, contenant son essence, ses causes et ses merveiheus effeis , curieusement recherches , raisonnes et observees* (1560) and *La Cause morale de ris, de l'excellent et tres renomme Democrite, expliquee et temoignee par ce divin Hippocrate en ses epitres'* (1579). These two works were concerned with the Hippocratic "Novel", better known as the *Aphorisms*:. In Bakhtin's words: 'In the "Hippocratic Novel" the laughter of Democritus had a philosophical character, being directed at the life of man and at all the vain fears and hopes related to the Gods and to life after death. Democritus here made his laughter a whole philosophy, a certain spiritual premise of the awakened man who has attained virility'. As we have seen, Rabelais had already re-edited Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* when at Montpellier.

[250] Lucian's *Muscae Encomium* may be thought to have been translated ( by Geoffroy Tory [MS. in B. N.] ) in the same year. The B.N. MS., however, is undated.

The direct influence of Lucian on Rabelais is very considerable, not only in the matter of laughter to which Bakhtin pays so much attention, but in the overall content of the Four Books. Most conspicuous is Epistemon's descent into Hell, which exactly corresponds with Menippus' journey to the same destination, though Epistemon, unlike Menippus, also visits the Elysian Fields. Epistemon, who has been given up for dead because his head was found lying between his arms, is "miraculously" resuscitated by Panurge, Eusthenes and Carpalim. On regaining consciousness, he begins to speak:[251]

> . . . saying that he had seen the devils, and held intimate conversation with Lucifer, and feasted both in Hell and in the Elysian Fields. He swore to them all that the devils were good fellows; and, as for the damned, he said that he was quite sorry that Panurge had called him back to life so promptly. 'For', he said, 'I was taking a singular pleasure in seeing them'.

What fascinates Epistemon is the fate of the numerous deceased celebrities whom he has seen in the underworld, and his report of their current activities is the real purpose of Rabelais' despatch of Epistemon to Hell. This takes the form of a parody of Dante's *Divina Commedia*: Rabelais saw Dante, as we have seen in the previous chapter, as a member of the outmoded "vertical" mediaeval order which the renaissance is destined to supplant, and it is surprising, therefore, that Bakhtin, in citing the episode of Epistemon's descent into hell, does not allude to Rabelais' parodying of Dante in Epistemon's report of the activities of the damned in the underworld. (I shall deal with the matter of Rabelais' attitude to

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[251] Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 265-66 (Book Two, Chapter 30)

Dante, in due course, in my comments on "the sub-chronotope of the list" in the works of Rabelais).

Examples of Lucian's direct influence on Rabelais are very numerous, and in general have been recognised by Bakhtin as having exerted a formidable influence upon him. We shall have cause to examine one additional example of this direct influence, again in my analysis of "the sub-chronotope of the List", in due course; namely, Rabelais' itemisation of the imaginary conquests of Picrochole (the inspiration for which derives from both Lucian and Plutarch).

Needless to say, Rabelais sources of influence are complex and drawn from a multiplicity of literatures in addition to Lucian and other classical authors: the creation of the character of the enigmatic, brilliant, mercurial Panurge, who in many ways is representative of Rabelais' presentation of the renaissance mind (in contra-distinction to renaissance energy and achievements), is a case in point. A.J. Krailsheimer has attempted a dissection of the origins of Panurge in some detail:[252]

> In Chapter ix [of Book Two] we meet the character who, after the giants, is to play the principal role: the immortal and ingenious Panurge. The Mercury of, for example, Lucian's satire somewhat resembles Panurge, perpetual trickster and artful dodger, but more recent figures like the apocryphal Villon of many oral tales, or Eulenspiegel, or local rascals like Pierre Farfeu of Angers and similar popular anti-heroes all contribute their part, though

[252] See A.J.Krailsheimer: The Continental Renaissance, Harmondsworth, Pelican Books, 1971, p. 303.

perhaps the closest model is Cingar in Folengo's remarkable mock-epic of Balbus.

It is interesting to note that in Krailsheimer's dissection of the influences which went into the making of Panurge, all are drawn from ephemeral and local, as opposed to classical and historical, sources. Villon, of course, by dint of his very perversity is a "Lucianic" character, *par excellence* . Essentially, there is very little similarity between Krailsheimer's terms of reference and Bakhtin's comparable account in RAHW: their only common denominator is Villon.

The indirect influence of Lucian in the Four Books, and the use by Rabelais of contrast, satire, parody and paradox, derive in particular from the works of Erasmus, particularly from the *Moriae Encomium* (translated as In Praise of Folly), and to a lesser extent one of the Colloquies, namely 'The Shipwreck' (1523).[253] Erasmus must, however, be seen mainly as a general source of influence upon Rabelais, who admired and followed closely the former's feelings in matters of ecclesiastical reform.

Comparable works, in which the use of satire or parody predominates are to be found in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494), Thomas Murner's *Narrenbeschwerung* (1512), and Hans Sachs' enormous output of religious polemical literature in the 1520s. Similarly, on Italian soil, the serio-comic dramas of Giovan Maria Cecchi are conceived in the same vein.[254] All these works are the

[253] See Sister Geraldine Thompson: Under Pretext of Praise: Satiric Mode in Erasmus' Fiction, University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. 113-15, for an assessment of the influence of 'The Shipwreck' on Rabelais novels, and on the work of other authors including Shakespeare.

[254] I would mention in particular the *Lezione o vero Cicalamento di Maestro Bartolino* (1582). This is a work of burlesque in the form of an erudite commentary on a poem of Berni. See Douglas

product of the same tradition of indirect allusion and ideological metaphor which inform the various stylistic methods of Rabelais.

Bakhtin's two chronotopes, of the old and the new, of the mediaeval and the renaissance, are juxtaposed by Rabelais in a random and alternating manner which is designed to provide continuous contrasts between the freedom of movement and conspicuous consumption associated with the "new order" of the renaissance and the hyperstatic ecclesiastical literature which he derided to such a virulent extent. In Rabelais' parodic system, the pre-existent mediaeval order is presented as small, cold, dry, acrid, and specifically lacking in liquid (it is not lubricated, and hence lacks flexibility); the renaissance order, by contrast, is characterised by enormous size, a high level of physical activity, and the omnipresence of food and drink (specifically alcohol). The latter renders the new order articulate in thought, speech and movement. Accordingly, mention of mediaeval practices, and of those aspects of the Church of which he disapproves in particular, is frequently dependent upon a complex of metaphorical references which draws upon dryness and its associated ideological relationship with asceticism, and it is with these that I will deal first.

Rabelais' mediaeval chronotope is identifiable only in terms of content: the form in which this world is described and referred to is of so various a nature, and his modes of parody, humour, invective and arcane reference are so varied, that the reader is presented with an almost endless variety of narrative stylistic techniques. The sense of disorganisation in the narrative is, of course, deliberate: Rabelais must demolish the old order – and this is mirrored very

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Radcliff-Umstead: Carnival, Comedy and Sacred Play , Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1986, p. 23.

adequately in the lack of sequentiality which characterises the structure of the Four Books – before instating the new.

Rabelais' demolition and dismissal of the mediaeval chronotope is effected with comic ruthlessness. If examples whereby we may examine this dismissal of the mediaeval world order are selected from the Four Books solely on their associations with the characteristics of coldness, dryness, hermetical starvation and arcane forms of liturgical linguistic usage which inform them, a few will suffice simultaneously to illumine and deride everything that this obsolete "vertical" world stands for. Close to the beginning of Book One, Rabelais introduces us to 'the antiquity and genealogy of Gargantua', explaining that both are confirmed by the discovery of a tomb, near which was found a mouldy book partly eaten away by vermin: at the end of the book is some poetry ('The Corrective Conundrums') which, though largely and tediously macaronic (and inserted deliberately to "disorganise" the narrative of Book One from the outset), nevertheless contains a number of disconnected references to various forms of what Rabelais regarded as ecclesiastical malpractice. In his reference to the Bishop, there is to be found a clear example of Rabelais' association of the Church with a certain coldness of mind:[255]

> When he was just about to read the chapter
> Nothing was found in it but a calf's horns.
> 'I feel', he said, ' the bottom of my mitre,
> So that round it my whole brain is chilled'.

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[255] Ibid. p. 43. (Book One, Chapter 2.)

Coldness also informs the spirit of Rabelais' substitute for the ascetic monastic institutions of the Middle Ages; the "libertine" monastery of Thélème, a monastic foundation, built on the banks of the Loire, to rival the luxury of the most extravagant château, and where, in contradistinction to the rules of every established monastic order, 'because ordinarily monks and nuns made three vows, that is of chastity, poverty and obedience, it was decreed that there anyone could be regularly married, could become rich, and could live at liberty'.[256] Rabelais, however, is not content just to establish a new concept of monastic rule, but deliberately builds into his description of Thélème some reference to the type of monasticism which he is decrying. He does this by reference to the intellectual "coldness" of the library of his new monastery, and thereby implies that it is not to be regulated by the dictates of the written word. The architectural plan of Thélème is hexagonal, its six sides separated by six towers: the Arctic (Northern), the Caläer (Airy), the Anatole (Eastern), the Mesembrine (Southern), the Hesperie (Western) and the Cryere (Glacial). With characteristic sarcasm, Rabelais informs us that: 'From the Arctic to the Cryene tower ran the fine great libraries of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian and Spanish books.'[257] In short, the library is situated in the coldest part of the monastery, between the arctic and glacial towers. It is by the continuous use of somewhat obscure references of this kind that Rabelais gains ground in his verbal wars.

Rabelais demonstrates less subtlety when Pantagruel, in conversation with Panurge, informs the latter that: 'You may easily remember how my father Gargantua, whom I mention in all honour, has often told us that the writings of the fasting hermits are as flat, meagre, and sour-spittled as were their bodies

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256 Ibid. p. 151. (Book One, Chapter 53).
257 Ibid.

when they composed them: and that it is difficult to keep the spirits sound and serene while the body is in a state of inanition: . . .'[258] In this outright attack on hermeticism, Rabelais, whilst protecting himself from charges of heresy by relying on the use of reported speech, (it is not Rabelais who speaks, but Pantagruel quoting Gargantua!), demolishes entirely the connecting link between sanctity and isolation which had for so long been seen in association with one another, ever since, in fact, Christ had spent forty days fasting in the wilderness.

The language of the mediaeval church, and in particular the use of Latin in the liturgy, comes in for special attack from Rabelais: in a passage in which he elevates parody to the status of a fine art, he makes nonsense of the seemingly unintelligible sound of a priest muttering to himself in the *Ordo* of the Canon of the Mass, in the prayers preparatory to the "Priest's Communion": 'Omnis clocha clochabilis, in clocherio clochando clochans clochative clochare facit clochabiliter clochantes. Parisius habet clochas. Ergo Gluc.' [259] The continuous reference to bells in this passage of onomatopoeic parody refers both to the fact that Gargantua had, single handed, stolen the bells from the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, and to the celebration of the communion of the Mass by the ringing of bells. The final utterance: 'Ergo Gluc' is imitative of the consumption of wine by the priest in the *ordo* of the "Priest's Communion".

The "abuse" of language in a somewhat different form, namely the adoption for everyday use of an absurdly latinised French, by members of the theological faculty of the University of Paris, is the butt of Rabelais' attack in another episode in the Four Books which J. M. Cohen translates as 'How

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[258] Ibid. p. 322. ( Book Three, Chapter 13).

[259] Ibid. p. 78 . ( Book One, Chapter 19).

Pantagruel met a Limousin who murdered the French Language'. Explaining to Pantagruel how he and other members of the Faculty spent their evenings, the Limousin scholar informs Pantagruel that 'we transferate the Sequana at the dilucule and crepuscule; we deambulate through the compites and quadrives of the urb; we despuminate the Latin verbocination and, as verisimile amoribunds, we captate the benevolence of the omnijugal, omniform, and omnigenous feminine sex.'[260] In other words, they seek the company of loose women ! The deliberate artificiality of this latinisation of the French language is underscored when Pantagruel informs the Limousin scholar that: [261]

> 'You murder Latin, by Saint John, I'll make you skin the fox. I'll skin you alive', and the scholar replies: 'Haw, guid master! Haw, lordie! Help me, St. Marshaw. Ho, let me alane, for Gaud's sake, and dinna hairm me!'

All the examples I have quoted of the minimal category of Bakhtin's "Direct Proportionality" have one characteristic in common: namely, the belittlement and inefficacy of those aspects of the mediaeval religious world which Rabelais derides. They are made to appear smaller than in reality and

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[260] Ibid. p. 168. ( Book Two, Chapter 6). The mutilation of the French language by the Limousin scholar, by means of Latinising the vernacular, bears a certain resemblance to the diction of Lexiphanes in Lucian's parody of him: See A.R.Harmon *et al*: Lucian: Works, Op. Cit., Vol. 5., p.291ff. Harmon's account of the nature of Lucian's satire is extremely succinct: 'A conspicuous feature of Lucian's parody of Lexiphanes is the use of words no longer generally employed in the old sense but in a new and very different one, so that double meanings result. Adequate translation, therefore, is often quite impossible, for the lack of an equivalent expression'. The Limousin scholar, on the other hand, uses a latinised French vernacular for the specific purpose of creating an "ecclesiastical" French form which had never actually existed: it can, however, be loosely translated. The general, parallel similarities with the diction of Lexiphanes, however, are sufficiently strong to warrant the surmise that Rabelais is here parodying Lucian's parody of Lexiphanes. This matter is not, however, considered by Bakhtin.

[261] Ibid.

proportionally meagre and useless. By contrast, examples of the maximal category, which are the objects of Rabelais approbation, are gigantic, both in size and in their ability to achieve superhuman objectives, even if some of the latter are somewhat purposeless, i.e. Gargantua's removal of the Bells from the Belfry of Nôtre Dame. The very concept of the gigantic in the Four Books is made to correspond with the aggrandisement of Renaissance Man. Thus, every action performed by Gargantua, Gargamelle, or Pantagruel is effected on an enormous scale, and it is with these characteristics of enormousness that the idea of Rabelais as author is predominantly associated in the mind of the reader.

It is not, however, solely in the matter of abnormal size and conspicuous consumption (the maximal aspects of "Direct Proportionality") that the character, or indeed chronotope, of renaissance man is to be found in the works of Rabelais. It is to be located also in the distinction which Rabelais draws between the essential differences between mediaeval man as a closed organism, seemingly wizened and incommunicative with the outside world, and renaissance man whose body is wide open and whose physical apertures, ears, mouth, eyes, nose, penis, vagina and back passage, are always seen as "working" and in inter-communication. The sensory organs are seen in the continuous absorption and dissemination of information and ideas, and in enquiry about those matters which perplex it. Similarly, the organs of eating and drinking, defecation and urination, copulation and childbirth, are given pride of place, and often magnitude, in Rabelais' new world. Bakhtin pays enormous attention to the inter-relationship by Rabelais of the potentiality of the organs of the body, which he arranges in series: 1. The human body series in its anatomical and physiological aspects. 2. The human clothing series. 3. The food series. 4. The

drink and drunkenness series. 5. The sexual (copulation) series. 6, The death series. 7. The defecation series.[262] Bakhtin is above all concerned with the ways in which Rabelais combines these series in order to endow the human being with a new quality which it was denied in the middle ages – a self-sufficiency in natural-philosophical terms, a oneness with the earth and its produce, of which the human being is a privileged example. Many pages of FTC are devoted to the establishment of linkages between Bakhtin's seven series of bodily function (later he adds the 'grotesque' series), for the purpose of demonstrating the inter-dependence of the totality of the functions of the human being, and reinstating the importance of simple bodily functions such as eating and drinking, which 'the transcendental ascetic world view had deprived. . . of any affirmative value, had taken them as a sad necessity of the sinful flesh.'[263]

Bakhtin's analytical reconstruction of the complete *new man* by means of cross-referencing the series of bodily functions which he identifies in man *per species*, is effected with a thoroughness which threatens to digress from the matter of the chronotope, for it is precisely through the same apertures of the body, and in no other way, that the human being communicates with other human beings, and creates those connections in space-time which are the essence of the chronotope. Given Bakhtin's paramount interest in matters of human communication, it is surprising perhaps that the linkage of physiological series is developed by Bakhtin (in terms of emphasis, and with regard to the first two books in particular), somewhat at the expense of an examination of the new intellectual freedoms bestowed on man by the newly revitalised sensory organs. Freedom of movement and particularly of expression are, in the final analysis,

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[262] FTC 170.

[263] Ibid 185.

the most definitive characteristics of the renaissance, and Rabelais is fully aware of this.

Rabelais' acknowledgement of intellectual enquiry as typical of the activities of renaissance man, however, is also addressed in the Four Books; and the very substantial portion of *Le Tiers Livre*, for example, which is dedicated to Panurge's enquiry into the desirability/undesirability of marriage, may be interpreted in this context. In the course of his enquiry, Panurge seeks the advice of Pantagruel;[264] he investigates the possibility of divining by dice and by means of the *sortes Virgilianae;* he seeks the advice of, *inter alios,* the Sibyl of Panzoust,[265] the poet Raminagrobis,[266] Epistemon (the friend of Pantagruel, whom we have already encountered in connection with his visit to Hell), Herr Trippa,[267] and Friar John (the only monk of whom Rabelais does approve). The intricate arguments and distinctions drawn in discussion between the highly intelligent Panurge and the largely eccentric characters whom he consults, is, simultaneously, an extended parody of an academic *disputatio*,[268] but also (and

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264 Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 310. (Book Three, Chapter 9)

265 Ibid. p. 333. (Book Three, Chapter 17)

266 Ibid. p. 345. (Book 3, Chapter 21). It is Possible that Raminagrobis is Ramus, who did more than anybody else to reduce the influence of Greek philosophy in the Schools at Paris. For a very telling implication attaching to this possibility, see Hastings Rashdall: 'In the School of Padua, an Averroistic scholasticism of the driest and most pedantic type lasted ... into the seventeenth century, even after the reign of scholasticism had been substantially overthrown in the Schools of Paris, of Germany, and of England, by Ramus, by Descartes, by the humanists, and by the Reformation'. (One might almost add Rabelais' name to this list!) , The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, e.p. 1895, Vol. I., p. 265.

267 This is a reference to Agrippa Von Nettesheim, author of the *Occulta philosophia* (1533).

268 The *disputatio* was the method of circular, highly detailed and often over-ornamented argument at which candidates for the Licentiate in Theology (at Paris and elsewhere) had to become expert before graduation. Rabelais would have been personally familiar with the methods of the *disputatio* which are extremely well documented by Hastings Rashdall, Op. Cit. Vol. I. p. 450- 62, and Jacques Le Goff: *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Editions de Seuil, e.p. 1957, edition quoted 1985, p. 82 ff. and illustration p. 127.

somewhat perversely) intended by Rabelais as exemplary of "modern" humanistic enquiry. The *disputatio* was considered necessary to satisfy the requirement for absolute truth in theological and doctrinal discussion, and for the elimination of doubts (*dubitae*), however small. It was also responsible for the interminable "glosses", the adding of commentary upon commentary to the texts of working copies of (mainly theological) works. Rabelais refers to these elsewhere.[269] Panurge's enquiry may, therefore, be seen as serving two literary purposes, in the "interests" of both of Bakhtin's Rabelaisian chronotopes, the old (Asketic) and the new (Renaissance).

## THE SUB-CHRONOTOPE OF THE 'LIST' IN THE NOVELS OF RABELAIS.

There is, however, in Rabelais' novels, one form of recurrent literary device which I regard as constituting a species of sub-chronotope, namely the use of the "List" or "Catalogue".[270] In the sub-chronotope of the "List", Rabelais employs sequences of names, usually of people and places but sometimes of objects, to create meaningful vehicles for carrying some extremely subtle, cryptic, and sometimes quasi-heretical references.[271] Bakhtin makes no special reference

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269 See Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 183, (Book Two, Chapter 5), on the "glossing" of legal texts at Bourges.

270 The use of the list had previously been employed on occasion by Petrarch who, in this respect, may have been a source of influence upon, or a butt for parody for, Rabelais. It is to be found, for example, in the opening lines of Sonnet 148: 'Non Tesin, Po, Varo, Arno, Adige et Tebro,// Eufrate, Tigre, Nilo, Ermo, Indo et Gange// Tana, Istro, Alfeo, Garona, e 'l mar che frange,//Rodano, Ibero, Ren, Sena, Albia, Era, Ebro-...' See Sara Sturm-Maddox: Petrarch's Laurels, Philadelphia, Penn State Univ. Press, 1992, p, 65. n. 8., for a thorough examination of Petrarch's use of topographical allusion.

271 Rabelais is prepared to fly very close to the wind in matters of religious orthodoxy: in his own words, he implies that he will maintain a belief 'to any point short of the stake'. See Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 168. (in 'The Author's Prologue' to Book Two ).

to Rabelais' use of the list as a device for compressing space, but, in my opinion, ought at least to have made mention of Rabelais' geographical lists.

The uses of the "List" are divided between the "interests" of both chronotopes, but more noticeably in the renaissance chronotope than in the mediaeval, for the rather straight-forward reason that a sequence of (especially) names, particularly when in chronological order, is able to provide a sense of continuity, expansion and development, which Rabelais associates with the widening *weltansicht* of the renaissance, in contra-distinction to that of the Middle Ages which is characterised by stasis. For Rabelais, the problem of continuity was a very real one, for the one attribute which he was unable to ascribe to his superhuman renaissance creations was immortality. I will, however, address the matter of Rabelais' "lists" in sequential order, and deal, in the first instance, with those of the mediaeval chronotope.

The use of the "list" in Rabelais' exposition of the mediaeval, static chronotope is perhaps seen to best advantage when it is seen to represent, in its own form, one of the ecclesiastical forms which it parodies: the liturgical calendars of the Church, the litanies of the Saints, the schedules of indulgences, the narrow and columnar appearance of most canon legal codices, and so forth. Listings are made by Rabelais either in a specific order which makes a statement in itself, or by means of aggregating a number of people or objects, only some of whom or which are of significance (and then of self-evident significance), or by listing large numbers of objects, places or names of persons grouped for a specific reason.[272]

[272] In some instances, (that of the library catalogue of St. Victor's, for example), it is likely that Rabelais inserted large numbers of meaningless entries in order to appear to dilute the force of the heresies which he was propounding in the meaningful entries (which are in the minority).

One aggregation of objects in particular, the catalogue of books in the library of St. Victor's, gave Rabelais a wonderful opportunity to exploit the potential use of the list. Pantagruel, at the conclusion of his studies at Orléans, travels to Paris to continue his studies at the University, where he marvels at the contents of the library of Saint Victor's, thoughtfully supplying the reader with a catalogue of about one hundred and eighty of the books which it contains.[273] The vast majority of the book titles, however, are absolutely meaningless:[274] 'The Cuckold at Court', 'The Old Shoe of Humility', 'The Teeth-Chatter of the Oafs', for example, are inserted for the sake of producing a list of a length compatible with that of a library catalogue. There are, however, a number of book-titles which are inserted, seemingly inconspicuously, for the purpose of expressing a specific point of view at variance with established ecclesiastical beliefs. Conspicuous amongst these is The Invention of the Holy Cross, for Six Actors, performed by the Clerks of Sharp Practice. This is a reference to the discovery of the true cross by Saint Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, who, as the first Roman Emperor to be converted to Christianity, had often been suspected of embracing Christianity only as a means of instilling discipline into an ever increasingly demoralised Roman army – not because he had been converted to the teachings of Christianity through the finding of the remains of the true cross by his mother. This position was, needless to say, always denied vociferously by the Church, (and efficiently dismissed on sound academic grounds in recent times);[275] but, as rumour, it has persisted on and off throughout the ages. We may assume, from the presence of this book title in the

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273 The Church of St. Victor was the University church of the Sorbonne.

274 It is, of course, possible that many of Rabelais' book titles refer to topical matters of limited significance, the meanings of which are no longer retrievable.

275 See A. Alföldi: The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome, trans. H. Mattingly, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1948, *passim*.

Catalogue of the Library of St. Victor's, that Rabelais is here giving vent to this heretical theory of the origin of the historical association of Church and Empire. Another significant book-title in the St. Victor's library catalogue is The List of Candidates and Graduates, by which Rabelais refers surreptitiously to the fact that, in the faculty of Arts at Paris, the lists of Candidates for examination and the list of Graduates were almost invariably identical, and it was unknown for a rich candidate to fail an examination. The implication is that academic standards were low, and corruption rife.[276] Then there is the *Questio subtilissima, utrum Chimera, in vacuo bombinans, possit comedere secundas intentiones, et fuit debatuta per decem hebdomidas in concilio Constantiensi* (The most subtle question, whether a chimera, bombinating in the void, can be nourished on secondary intentions: one which was debated for ten weeks before the Council of Constance !). This is a parodic reference to the amount of time devoted by the ecclesiastical authorities to the discussion of trivial and useless matters in the councils of the Church. This point is virtually made by the title of the book, though it can scarcely be seen as heretical in the comic wording in which it appears here.

The last book title from the St. Victor's catalogue which I shall cite is the Iabolenus: *de cosmographis purgatorii*, a clear reference to Dante's *Divina Commedia*,[277] a work which Rabelais considers again in a completely different

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[276] See Hastings Rashdall: Op.Cit., Vol. 1., p. 467-68: 'When we turn to the latter half of our period, the case is by no means equally clear; but the evidence obtainable both from the registers of Paris and from the records of the German imitations of Paris make it tolerably certain that the actual rejection of a rich candidate must have been a matter of the rarest possible occurrence.' Failures amongst other candidates were exceedingly rare. Rashdall continues with an observation to the effect that, at Greifswald, there were no failures from 1456 to 1478.

[277] Modern critics of Rabelais have been reluctant to form a connection between Epistemon's visit to the underworld and Dante's and Virgil's visit to the underworld in the *Divina Commedia*, though there has been general agreement that the passage is inspired by the metaphorical methods of Lucian, (especially the associative connections Earth-Heaven [ as used by Erasmus in

context on the occasion when Epistemon visits Hell, and observes the activities of its inhabitants. The opening extract from Epistemon's observations requires quotation:[278]

> 'They don't treat them as badly as you'd think', said Epistemon. 'But their way of life is most strangely altered. For I saw Alexander the Great darning breeches for a miserable livelihood.
> Xerxes was hawking mustard.
> Romulus sold taxed salt.
> Numa sold nails.
> Tarquin was a miser. . . .
>
> All the knights of the round table were poor starvelings, who tugged an oar on the Rivers Cocytus, Phlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Lethe. . . .'
>
> Thus did those who had been great lords in this world here gain their poor, miserable, scurvy livelihood down there. On the other hand, the philosophers and those who had been penurious in this world, had their turn at being great lords down below.

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his *Julius Exclusus]* and Earth-Underworld [as evinced here], and which are derived in the main from Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead). Neither Christiane Lauvergnat-Gagnière: *Lucien de Samosate et le Lucianisme en France au XVIe Siècle*, Geneva, Droz, 1988, (Chapter VII *passim* and especially pp. 245-246 and p. 248), nor Manfred Bambeck: 'Epistemon's Unterweltsbericht im 30. Kap. des "Pantagruel"' in *Etudes rabelaisiennes*, I, Geneva, 1956, p. 29-47, have found it necessary to comment on the seemingly obvious correspondence between the missions of Dante/Virgil and Epistemon, though Howard Williams (Ed.): Lucian's Dialogues, London, Bell (Bohn's Classical Library), 1913, p. 86n, refers to the possibility that The Dialogues of the Dead 'might well have given Dante hints for his *Inferno*'. It is my opinion that Rabelais is indebted both to Lucian, directly and indirectly, and Dante, directly, for the subject matter of the "Epistemon in the Underworld" episode.

[278] See Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 266. (Book Two, Chapter 30).

Rabelais' attitude towards the proper destiny of the damned is clearly one of equivalence: unlike the account of the damned in the *Divina Commedia*, his damned are not permitted to remain idle for eternity: on the contrary, they are given demeaning work to perform. Of the eighty members of Hell's community cited by Epistemon, the vast majority are actively employed in some form of useful task; only Tarquin, who is described simply as 'a miser', Lancelot of the Lake, who is 'a flayer of dead horses', and Paris, who is described as 'a poor ragged fellow', are not described as performing useful work. In the mediaeval view espoused by Dante, it was sufficient for the damned to be denied access to heaven: they are, additionally, made to suffer, but not to rectify their ways of life on earth by any equivalent way of life in Hell. Rabelais' viewpoint is here more practical and somewhat less "spiritual" than that of Dante, and well represents the sense of renaissance practicality and scepticism which informs the Four Books.

Rabelais' response to the attitudes of Dante is related additionally to another instance in the Four Books, in which the use of the list is made to underscore the need for practicality (as distinct from purely academic wisdom). On one occasion, Pantagruel and his attendants, walking through a grassy meadow:[279]

> examined the trees and the plants, comparing them with the descriptions in the books of such ancients as Discoriades, Marinus, Pliny, Nicander, Macer, and Galen, and they brought back whole handfuls to the house. These were in charge of a young page called Rhizotome, who also looked after the mattocks, grubbing-

[279] See Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 91. (Book One, Chapter 23).

> hooks, spades, pruning-knives, and other necessary implements for efficient gardening.

In this passage, Rabelais employs the list on two occasions, placing his classical naturalists in their correct chronological order, and itemising the gardening implements in the keeping of Rhizotome for the sake of emphasis. The passage is important, however, in that Rabelais uses it to demonstrate, once again, one of the most cautionary caveats attaching to the "new" learning, namely that it must be useful: of all the naturalists of the ancient world, Rabelais has selected only those whose contribution to natural science was in the field of medicine. In other words, Pantagruel, and presumably Rhizotome, are not going to use Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* or Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* as textbooks of ornamental gardening: they must be used for the advancement of science. In this passage, therefore, the wider chronotope, that which Bakhtin identifies as carrying the dominant chronotopic distinction between the mediaeval and renaissance worlds, is contained within the more precise "textual", and narrower, sub-chronotope of the lists.

Rabelais' use of Historiological and Topographical lists is one of the most effective uses of prosody which he employs to attempt a resolution of the problem of continuity and succession which his godlike giants (who in an ideal world would have been born immortal) are made to face. Rabelais' problem lay in the fact that however much a man was enabled to achieve, in the new and "unlimited" environments of the renaissance, he was still bounded by the limitations of his own mortality, just as his ancestors had been in the Middle Ages. For this reason, Rabelais had to find a compromise method of enabling a sense of continuous achievement to develop between generations. We will find this sense of continuity in certain examples of the "List", but its most

unequivocal statement is to be found in the letter from Gargantua to Pantagruel in Book Two:[280]

> Among the gifts, graces and prerogatives with which the Sovereign Creator, God Almighty, endowed and embellished human nature in the beginning, one seems to me to stand alone, and to excel all others; that is the one by which we can, in this mortal state, acquire a kind of immortality and, in the course of this transitory life, perpetuate our name and seed; which we do by lineage sprung from us by lawful marriage. By this means there is in some sort restored to us what was taken from us by the sin of our first parents, who were told that, because they had not been obedient to the command of God the Creator, they would die, and that by death would be brought to nothing that magnificent form in which man has been created. By this method of seminal propagation, there remains in the children what has perished in the parents, and in the grandchildren what has perished in the children, and so on in succession till the hour of the Last Judgment.

This is the nearest that Rabelais can get to immortalising his "super-human" creations, and he builds on the theme of the succession of generations, in what is one of the finest examples of the sub-chronotope of the chronological list, in an amusing and ingenious parody of the lineage of David in the Book of

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280 Ibid. p. 193 (Book Two, Chapter 8 )

Genesis, in which he traces the lineage of Pantagruel from a simulacrum of earliest recorded antiquity to the then present day:[281]

> Others grew in the length of their bodies, from whom came giants, and from them Pantagruel. The first was Chalbroth, who begat Sarabroth, who begat Faribroth, who begat Hurtali – who was a greater consumer of soups and reigned at the time of the Flood – who begat Nimrod, who begat Atlas – who with his shoulders kept the heavens from falling – who begat Goliath, who begat Eryx – who was the inventor of the game of thimble-rigging, who begat Titus. . . . who begat Grandgousier, who begat Gargantua, who begat Pantagruel, my master.'

The chronological list is used by Rabelais for a wide variety of purposes, and I shall cite one additional example as typical of a sequential list used to establish a sense of continuity. Once again, in this example, Rabelais is making a religio-historical point in a very indirect way:[282]

> as . . . on the contrary, there are many almshouse beggars – poor, suffering wretches – who are descended from the blood and lineage of great Kings and Emperors; which seems likely enough when we consider the amazing transferences of crowns and empires from the Assyrians to the Medes, from the Medes to the Persians, from the Persians to the Macedonians, from the

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281 Ibid. p. 173. (Book Two, Chapter 1)

282 Ibid. p. 41. (Book One, Chapter 1)

> Macedonians to the Romans, from the Romans to the Greeks, from the Greeks to the French.

This seemingly innocuous list of transferences of power, in a paragraph which had already made mention of 'Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes and Popes', is a deliberate attempt to exclude the post-Constantinian Roman empire, and hence the Papacy, from automatic succession to the Primacy of the Church. By the use of the phrase 'from the Romans to the Greeks' Rabelais implies that the transfer of Imperial power from Rome to Constantinople in the fourth century also involved the transfer of the government of the Church to the metropolitan of the Eastern Empire: this is Rabelais' way of drawing attention to the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches, and of eliminating the papacy (though not the Church as such) from its unquestioned position of supreme authority. It is an extremely cunning and cleverly articulated use of the list for an underhand purpose.[283]

Topographical lists are usually aimed at imparting, mainly to members of the Houses of Gargantua and Picrochole, a spurious sense of familiarity with world events and far-away places, thereby lending the narrative a worldly-wise character consistent with the enlarged world-view of an age of exploration and expansion. Occasionally, historiologically and topographically ordered sequences are combined, thereby transposing the inter-relatedness of temporal and spatial relationships, sometimes from earlier times or more distant locations, into the currency of the specifically French *seizeième* text. A typical example of this is the

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[283] It must also be seen in relation to Rabelais' reference to The Invention of the Holy Cross etc., with which I dealt *supra*.

imaginary military prowess of Picrochole,[284] to which I made mention previously, and from which the following extract may serve as an example:[285]

> 'We thank you', they [Picrochole's military advisers] said. 'Sire, we offer you our humble duty. This is the plan. . . One division will go and fall on this Grandgoussier and his men; and they will easily overthrow him at the first attack. . . Meanwhile the other division will make for Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Gascony, also for Perigord, Medoc, and the Landes. Cities, castles and fortresses will fall to them without resistance. At Bayonne, Saint-Jean-de Luz and Fuenterabia you will seize all the shipping; and, coasting towards Galicia and Portugal, you will pillage every seaboard town as far as Lisbon. . . Spain will surrender. . .You will cross the Straits of Seville, and there you will erect two columns, grander than the columns of Hercules as a perpetual memorial to

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[284] See Gilbert Highet: The Classical Tradition, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1949, pp. 184-85, n. 14. for the suggestion that the imaginary victories of Picrochole are derived from Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, c.14., and from Lucian's The Ship. The former suggestion seems undeniable, though it is perhaps only right to observe that the discussion between Pyrrhus and Kineas is not peppered with the lists of place-names which we find in the plans of Picrochole's military advisers. The list, however, is Rabelais' speciality, and it is by its use that the scale of Kineas' and Pyrrhus' ambitions are made absurdly specific, in the plans for the Picrocholine wars. Additionally, it should be noted that Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus is unusually laden with proper names, whether of people or places. After taking Rabelais' almost certain usage of this passage into account, the possibility that Lucian's Ship was also used by Rabelais in this context becomes less probable. Samippus' dream of conquest on a small boat with three friends lacks the initial dimensions of vast numbers and innumerable places which characterise the texts of Plutarch and Rabelais. It should be noted also that it is only Samippus who dreams of military power, whilst Adimantus and Timolaus have totally different ambitions. Lycinus, in his turn, does not intend to day-dream at all, preferring ' ... what is enough for me - a good laugh at the sort of thing that you have asked for'. Each of the four characters on the "Isis" knows that he is dreaming, and the text of the Ship is no more than a satire on the folly of human wishes designed as a word-game to pass the time of day between The Piraeus and Athens. Lucian's text might well, in these circumstances, be regarded as superfluous to Rabelais' requirements: these have already been satisfied by Plutarch.

[285] Rabelais: Op. Cit. p. 109 f. (Book One, Chapter 32).

> your name. This strait shall be called the Picrocholine sea. Barbarossa himself will yield himself as your slave. . . Then you will storm the kingdoms of Tunis, Hippo, Algiers, Bone, Cyrene, and in fact all Barbary. . . Advancing further you will lay your hands on. . .' [here follows another list of Mediterranean seaports].

This is Rabelais at his most expansive. The spatial chronotope of the Four Books is extended to gain equivalence with the gigantic stature of his human creations and the widened view of a world made bigger by exploration and commerce and warfare[286]. Such passages are frequently encountered in the Four Books, and in their various ways they have as their common denominator the continuous enlargement of the spatial chronotope of the world which radiates, so to speak, from a perceptional Parisian epicentre. Rabelais needs little or no excuse for the production of a topographical list: on the occasion when Pantagruel, Panurge and Epistemon, Eusthenes and Carpalim sail for Africa, Rabelais takes the reader on a lengthy voyage of discovery and colonisation just in order to inform us (indirectly of course) that Sir Thomas More's Utopia is an unattainable dream:[287]

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[286] See Yefim Chernyak: Ambient Conflicts: Chapters from the History of Relations between countries with Different Social Systems, Moscow, Progress Press, 1989, p. 39, for historical contextualisation of the Picrocholine Wars: 'François Rabelais, setting forth Picrochole's programme of conquests in Gargantua and Pantagruel, actually reproduced to the last detail the predatory plans of Charles V in Europe and on other continents, up to and including the occupation of Algiers and Tunis'. Bakhtin does not maintain this historical accuracy on Rabelais' behalf. See Bakhtin: RAHW, p. 446: 'The first three books (especially Gargantua), reflect France's struggle against Charles V... For instance, in the striking picture of Picrochole's council of war there is an element of straight satire against the Emperor's aggressive policy'. Bakhtin maintains that in this passage, Rabelais readdresses to Charles V a comparable accusation made against Francis I by Thomas More in his Utopia.

[287] Ibid, p. 247. (Book Two, Chapter 24 )

> .... and in a few days, passing Porto Santo and Madeira, they landed on the Canary Islands. Leaving there, they passed the Cape Blanco, Senegal, Cape Verde, Gambia, Sagres, Melli, and the Cape of Good Hope, and disembarked in the Kingdom of Melinda. Setting out from that place with a northerly wind and passing by Meden, Uti, Udem Gelasim, and the Fairy Isle, and along the coast of the kingdom of Achoria, they finally arrived at the port of Utopia....

So far, I have ignored the fact that the entire Quart Livre has a voyage of exploration as its central theme. Once again, this fourth book abounds with lists of every type, a point made by Dorothy Coleman in her definitive study of Rabelais:[288]

> But even in this *Quart Livre* there is a thick mixture of satire, of long lists, of erudition and accumulation: for instance, the description of Quaresmeprenant [The figure of Lent] by Xenomanes (chapters 30-32) is a list of his external anatomical features and behaviour; the list of cooks by frère Jan in Chapter 40 could well have been in *Gargantua*; the banquets and sacrifices of the Gastrolatres (Chapters 59 and 60) could have been in any of the previous books; and finally the long zoological list spewed forth by Eusthenes in Chapter 64 takes us back to the lists of *Pantagruel* .

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[288] See Dorothy Gabe Coleman: Rabelais: A Critical Study in Prose Fiction, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971, p. 84.

The sub-chronotope of the list, therefore, plays a very considerable part in enabling Rabelais to achieve a wide range of narrative objectives: I have paid particular attention to this narrative device, because it makes use of concepts of time sequences and topographical lists to an extent which is largely responsible for opening out the milieu of the Four Books from a Parisian scale to an almost global dimension. And to a considerable extent, this is achieved by an ingenious use of the chronotopic sequence.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude this section without re-iterating the fact that the sub-chronotope of the list in Rabelais' writing is secondary to the main chronotope of "Direct Proportionality". The use of the latter by Rabelais enables him, as we have seen, to highlight the primary distinctions between mediaeval and renaissance priorities which Bakhtin, similarly, has established.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN NOVEL

My examination of the Rabelaisian Chronotope has constituted a digression, not from my task of monitoring Bakhtin's reading of the novel in FTC, but from the arterial mainstream of novelistic history, and it is now necessary to revert to the beginnings of the modern novel, in so far as that beginning can be ascertained. The horizontalisation of the temporal chronotope in literature which accompanied and provoked the religious reforms of the sixteenth century, and which, as we have witnessed in the liberation of man's nature in the novels of Rabelais, might expect the advent of the modern novel to be located in the same historical era. It is also the age in which the prowess of renaissance man is first measured predominantly by secular concerns. Bakhtin, in FTC, locates by implication the first of his modern novelistic heroes who are

driven almost exclusively by materialistic motives (as opposed to primarily spiritual ones) in the picaresque novellas of the Iberian peninsula in the sixteenth century: he draws attention, in particular, to the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1550) and to Francisco Quevedo y Villegas' *El Buscon* (1626). Perhaps unknown to Bakhtin, however, or ignored by him for purely technical reasons,[289] there exists a work - Fernando de Royas' (c.1465-1525) *La Tragi-Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (*La Celestina*) (1502) - in every way more informative of the literary chronotope of the period in its historical context than the monothematic, linearly-progressive novellas which Bakhtin cites. We will observe in due course, however, that, whereas the *Lazarillo de Tormes* in particular (and the Spanish picaresque novella in general), make their own contribution to the development of the novel, it is to *La Celestina* that we are indebted to a very considerable extent for the origin of the familial novel or novel of social community: this is, after all, the direction in which the form of the novel has moved in subsequent centuries. This fact takes on additional significance when it is realised that De Royas' work was known in England and France well before the end of the sixteenth century, and, as we shall see in due course, influenced the work of a number of English playwrights, perhaps even the course of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet.

*La Celestina* recounts the history of a young nobleman, Calisto, who meets Melibea, the daughter of a neighbouring noble family, in his attempt to

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[289] De Royas' *La Celestina* is written in the form of prose dialogue without narrative in a form which might be confused, on very superficial examination, with a work of drama. As, however, the work extends to twenty-one chapters, and to a total of approximately 7700 lines of dialogue without stage directions, it has customarily been regarded as a novel. The first act of *La Celestina* is by another author writing circa twenty five years before de Royas undertook its continuation: it is therefore possible that the original author had intended the first chapter as the first act of a work for theatrical performance, and that its form was so radically altered, and its originally intended length so greatly extended by de Royas, that it moved across generic boundaries into the category of the novel.

retrieve a lost falcon which has flown into their garden. Calisto falls in love with Melibea at first sight, and immediately declares his love for her, instead of paying court to her in the only acceptable manner (by means of a serenade under her balcony at dusk); and for his impatient rudeness he is ordered to leave her garden without delay. Calisto is heartbroken, and, after lengthy consultations with his servants, Sempronio and Parmeno, it is agreed that Sempronio should visit the house of a well-known procuress, (la Celestina) who is to assist in arranging a meeting between the lovers and in winning over Melibea's affections. With great difficulty, and considerable good fortune, Celestina gains access to Melibea's household, and, by skilful advocacy, arranges the desired meeting. Calisto, as a direct result of Celestina's machinations, seduces Melibea, but on a subsequent visit to her house, he falls from the ladder by which he has gained access to her house, and is killed. Melibea, herself heartbroken, throws herself from a tower and is also killed. Celestina, however, has already been paid extremely generously by Calisto for her services as intermediary, and is approached by Sempronio and Parmeno with a demand for their share of her reward. She refuses to part with any of her payment and is stabbed to death for what they perceive to be her meanness. They in turn are killed by the police for the murder of Celestina. Thus, by the conclusion of the novel, most characters of importance are dead: only Melibea's parents, Pleberio and Alisa, survive to grieve over the loss of their daughter.

*La Celestina* contains a total of fourteen characters, all of whom, with the sole exception of Pleberio, the reader has met within the first quarter of novelistic time. Accordingly, with very few exceptions, all characters are known to all others, in such a way as to create the sense of community which binds the entire *dramatis personae* together. The central figure, Celestina, from whom the novel takes its popular name, on account of her numerous occupations (as a

retired prostitute, too old to practice, she acts as a repairer of maidenheads, a procuress of girls for members of the clergy, and as an itinerant seller of materials for dressmaking and embroidery) is known, for one reason or another, to (seemingly) almost every house in the city.[290] In this way, she acts as a connecting link between everyone involved. The only accidental encounter in the entire novel is the initial meeting between Calisto and Melibea: all other meetings are planned or provoked, mainly by Celestina. Subsidiary connecting links are established by the introduction of several minor characters: Celestina has two young prostitutes, Elicia and Areusa, under her protection, and we are introduced to one of their customers, Crito: Calisto has other servants, Tristan and Sosia: and there is a pimp, Centurio. Additionally, we hear of several members of the clergy who take advantage of Celestina's protegées. Significantly, these minor characters appear to have been introduced by de Royas for the singular purpose of providing the scenario of the novel with a realistically large community of people, and to a limited extent, the inter-association of these minor characters enables the formation of sub-plots in a manner which we do not find, for example, in the novellas of Boccaccio or in the Heptameron.

Here we encounter the first respect in which de Royas breaks, in a developmental way, with the established norms of plot formation. The sub-plots to which I refer are not of main importance to the progress of the main plot of the novel: but they convey the impression of a busy, interactive community. Thus, there is a sexual liaison between Sempronio and Elicia: and Celestina induces Areusa to sleep with Parmeno in the absence of her habitual lover. Other links are established by the fact that Celestina has acted as midwife at Parmeno's birth, and by her familiarity with Melibea's household on account of Lucrecia,

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[290] Presumably the City of Talavera, where de Royas practised Law.

Alisa's maid, recognising Celestina as someone who had been placed in the stocks as a witch many years previously. All these interconnections impart a considerable solidity of form to the novel, a solidity which is reflected in the environment of the novel in such a way that it is possible for the reader to achieve a certain degree of mental mapping of the novel's geography: indeed, the inter-relativity of the positions of locations can be made the subject of an imaginative process on the part of the reader for the first time in novelistic history.

It was certainly never amongst de Royas' primary intentions to present his reader with a picture of contemporaneous urban life, but the text of *La Celestina* contains ample evidence of the transition from mediaeval to Renaissance social and aesthetic conditions, a transition which is more visible to the reader by dint of the exclusively urban nature of the community depicted by the author. Much in the same way as the transition from a predominantly religious to a more secular environment (specifically in Paris) can be discerned in the Four Books of Rabelais , so in de Royas' *La Celestina* a somewhat similar, if less didactically motivated, trend can be identified, though the motivations of their respective authors could not have been more different.

In the course of *La Celestina*, de Royas provides the reader with a significant, if not very detailed, picture of the new bourgeois (in the sense of *bürgerlich)* society which accompanied the expansion of mercantile activity in Spain at the time. The two noble families of the novel, those of Calisto and Melibea respectively, are seen to occupy substantial houses in the same part of

the City, and the families concerned are known to one another.[291] It is implied throughout the novel that Calisto is of independent means and probably of the Old Catalan Nobility, whereas Melibea's family would seem to have prospered in the new mercantile environment of the late fifteenth century, in commercial forestry and shipbuilding on the Tagus.[292]

By contrast, it is implied in several contexts that the house (or brothel) in which Celestina lives is in a different part of the City and relatively distant from the affluent district in which Calisto and Melibea live. It is described by Sempronio as being on the 'edge of the town'.[293] We know, additionally, from Parmeno, that she previously 'had a house on the edge of the town. It stands a bit back from the road, near the tanneries and beside the river',[294] and that Celestina had once borrowed Parmeno, when he was a boy, from his mother as a servant. Here Parmeno's mother is described as Celestina's neighbour.[295] Then we have the evidence of Celestina, who suggests to Parmeno, who wishes to visit Areusa for a sexual purpose, that . . . 'If we go along to her house now,'. . . [296] thereby suggesting that it is within easy walking distance of her own home. We know that Areusa lives in a densely populated area of the City, from Celestina's '... let's enter quietly so that the neighbours don't hear us'.[297] Compositely, we

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[291] See Fernando de Royas: The Spanish Bawd, trans. J.M.Cohen, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1964, for Melibea's statement to her father that: 'Many days ago, Father, a knight named Calisto, whom you knew well, was grieving for love of me. You knew his parents also, and his noble descent; ...' (p. 240).

[292] Ibid., p. 243, for Pleberio, in his lament for the death of Melibea: ' For whom did I build towers? For whom did I acquire honours ? For whom did I plant trees ? For whom construct ships? ... '

[293] Ibid., p. 31.

[294] Ibid. p. 45.

[295] Ibid. p. 36.

[296] Ibid. p. 116.

[297] Ibid.

have here a picture of a poor area, combined with the "Red Light Area", in the neighbourhood of the river. In this way a duality between two separate socio-economically distinct areas of the City is sketched. It is most improbable that a comparable distinction is discernible in the writing of any other author of this period.

If *La Celestina* is an early work of humanistic literature, it is not, by any stretch of the imagination, a work in which the humanity in mankind is seen to best advantage, and, to the twentieth century reader, it is liable to appear only as tragic rather than as tragi-comedy. With the sole exceptions of Melibea and her parents, (significantly Pleberio has the "last word" - his lament occupies the whole of the last chapter of the novel) - all the characters of the novel are shown in their worst lights. Even Calisto, who declares undying love for Melibea, is shown eventually to be motivated only by an uncontrollable lust: his seduction of Melibea is rapid, violent, performed standing up and in the presence of his servants. Subsequent seductions are carried out against Melibea's wishes: there is absolutely nothing "cerebral" about Calisto's "love" of Melibea, rather it is brutally physical. In these circumstances, it seems somehow natural that Calisto's prowess has been achieved by underhand means, for what we see in *La Celestina* is the underhand of society, the destruction with the aid of a procuress of the virginity of an innocent girl by a heartless bachelor. Even Pleberio, when mourning the death of his daughter, refrains from referring to the circumstances in which she has died. He is not concerned for the moral catastrophe which is the cause of her death, nor does he reserve any word of criticism for Calisto who has been the direct cause of her death. Pleberio is concerned only with his loss of his daughter, not with the tragedy which has befallen her: he is, admittedly, critical of the activities of Celestina, but it was not Celestina who caused Calisto to fall

from his ladder or Melibea to decide to sacrifice her life voluntarily. In this novel, there is no moral redemption.

It has been suggested that the lack of humanity which informs La Celestina is a direct outcome of a reaction against established religious teachings,[298] whether Catholic, Jewish or Arab, which arose out of the tensions and uncertainties which accompanied the Spanish Inquisitions, which made life unendurable for families whose religious credentials were in doubt - as in the case of de Royas, whose family had recently converted from Judaism to Catholicism. Stephen Gilman has argued, with the assistance of much supporting material, that *converso* families, such as de Royas', were forced as if by necessity to avow a neo-stoic philosophy which accepted unquestioningly the cruelties and uncertainties of life, and dealt with practicalities at the expense of a consideration of moral issues.[299]

I have attempted above to explain the reason why La Celestina emerges, from an essentially Catholic Spain at a time of great national optimism, as a work of virtually unremitting pessimism. We will observe a similar tendency to pessimism, with an opportunistic, hyper-realist and anti-romantic bias, in many

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298 It is perhaps significant that where, in La Celestina, de Royas makes mention of members of the religious profession, they are invariably depicted only as clients of Celestina's subordinate prostitutes.

299 See Stephen Gilman: The Spain of Fernando de Royas, Princeton University Press, 1972, *passim*. It is Gilman's case that *converso* philosophy abandoned established religious teaching in favour of a system of thought heavily reliant on the classical concept of expediency in the form of *Fortuna*, (whom we have already encountered in connection with the Renart cycle in mediaeval France). Gilman maintains that *converso* thinking was heavily influenced by a fascination for the works of Petrarch, particularly the De Remediis utriusque fortunae, though he admits that the text of the De Remediis would not have been available to de Royas in translation before 1510. Furthermore, Marcel Bataillon: La Celestine, Paris, 1961, fails to make a connection between De Royas and Fortuna, though de Royas' Petrarchian indebtedness is dealt with fully by A. D. Deyermond: The Petrarchian Sources of "La Celestina", Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1961.

of the later Spanish picaresque novellas of the sixteenth centuries, which rely heavily on La Celestina , but which, by dint of tracing the activities of members of the *picaro* classes, are narratives of linear activity, as opposed to possessing the qualities of urban and residential stasis of De Royas' novel. It will be my purpose to show that, in the chronotope of the European novel to the time of Daniel Defoe, we encounter in general, to a greater or lesser extent, a combination of these two chronotopes, the static and the linear movemental. [We shall also observe, though incidentally, that the modern novel, as the literary genre most appropriate for, and most frequently employed for, the criticism of the social *status quo* , habitually presents its reader with an account of the misfortunes of life, whether on account of such misfortunes being of greater interest to the reader by virtue of being more exceptional and thus less pedestrian, or, in the instances of de Royas' La Celestina or Gustave Flaubert's Madame Bovary, with the purpose of presenting life as a reality beyond popularly-perceived reality. This enormous topic, it need scarcely be added, falls outside the scope of an examination of the chronotope].

My examination of the *picaro* novel will commence with an examination of several examples already mentioned by Bakhtin: the anonymous Lazarillo de Tormes, Quevedo's El Buscar, and the Guzman de Alfarache (1599-1604) of Mateo Aleman. It so happens, however, that the advent of the picaresque novella in Spain coincides with the moment at which Bakhtin, faced with the entire range of the modern novel before him in BSHR, chooses to classify the novel as a literary genre into certain categories, which, on account of the virtual impossibility of defining them as categories rather than loosely defined groups, require my close examination. In these circumstances much of what I have to say on the subject of the picaresque novella will be subsumed into my examination of Bakhtin's categorisation of the novel in BSHR. This is also an appropriate

moment to deal with yet another topic, mental mapping, the history of which I have not yet traced from the earliest periods of classical literature with which we are concerned, to the time of Renaissance mercantile expansion and the concomitant improvement in standards of cartographical accuracy.

## MENTAL MAPPING AND THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

The modern reader may be inclined to take the ability to achieve a sense of mental locative inter-relativity for granted, and it is for this reason that I have chosen this moment, (the moment at which de Royas goes some way towards assisting the reader in this respect), to trace man's growing ability to achieve a limited dexterity in mental mapping throughout the history of literature to the time of the Renaissance. The importance of the specific, (as distinct from the arbitrary) place, in the presentation of narrative accounts, in the novel, is vital to the historiography of the novelistic chronotope. The sense of the inter-relativity of place was subsequently to become so highly developed in the hands of Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Leo Tolstoy, Theodor Fontane and Emile Zola, to name only several of the most topographically-minded novelists of later centuries, that many of their more involved works would be incomprehensible without the payment of great attention by their respective authors to the demarcation of specific space for the benefit of the reader. (The increasingly finite nature of this inter-relativity is made nowhere more manifest than in the writings of the crime novelists of the twentieth century).

The process of mental mapping is not easily achieved by an author who is writing of an environment totally unfamiliar to the reader: this observation is meant in the sense that the modern reader will, for example, in interpreting the

geographical plan of Homer's Odyssey, be assisted to a considerable extent by his (the reader's) existing knowledge of the shape and size of the Mediterranean. At a somewhat later date, readers and students attending lectures in the ancient world will have been assisted in their historical studies by their knowledge of Herodotus' History in which descriptions of individual countries, regions and locations are linked together by a loose connective tissue of references to adjacency, proximity, distance, and linear measurement. Later, in the hands of Strabo, geographical knowledge was to become considerably more precise, and, as we have already observed by reference to the *Epistolae* of Seneca, an "adequate" general sense of geographical awareness was obtainable probably from around the beginning of the first millennium. The more finite topography of place, however, was not regarded with the same importance, and even the most thorough textbook of Greek topography, Pausanias' Guide to Greece from the Second Century a.d., makes mental mapping possible only in its wider geographical parameters: towns and cities can, in Pausanias' description, be seen in relation to one another, and the declared distances and directions between them are substantially accurate, but the internal descriptions of cities confine themselves to the central hub of the conurbation, usually to the market square, or *Agora*, followed by extremely thorough accounts, both architectural and historical, of temples and funerary monuments visible along the roads and streets which led out of the town.[300] Occasionally streets are given names, as in the instance of the "Tripods" in Athens,[301] and exceptionally reference is made to

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300 The function, in Classical social geography, of the *Agora* as the sole hub of urban society would appear to have diminished during the Roman Imperial period. Suzanne Saïd, Op. Cit. p. 221-24, outlines the diminishing significance of the *Agora* in favour of the Theatre between the times of Chariton and Heliodorus.

301 See Pausanias: Guide to Greece, trans. P.Levi, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, e.p. 1971, edition quoted 1984, Vol. I, p. 56: ' A road leading from the *Prytaneion* is called the Tripods; the place gets its name from the temples built in proportion to support a series of bronze tripods'.

important incidences of economic activity (but only when they are of public significance).[302] Gymnasia, racecourses and public baths as places of extensive use are frequently mentioned. Never is there any reference to the special characteristics of districts within a conurbation: there are no indications of residential suburbs, all references to mundane or unexceptional matters being taken for granted. A limited sense of orientation is sometimes built, almost by accident, into the description of a smaller conurbation.[303] Only, occasionally, is reference made to an official residence, and then usually when it is used for a public purpose.[304] In the classical novel, private houses are described as necessary, usually in order to stress their magnificence, but their topographical positions within a conurbation are not considered worthy of report. The house, and especially the garden, of Clitophon's father at Tyre is a case in point.[305]

During the Dark Ages and the Early Middle Ages, there seems to have been no necessity to improve upon the amount of detail seen to be appropriate to the work of Pausanias. It was not until the very last years of the Middle Ages when the volume of mercantile traffic on the roads increased sharply, and inter-urban travel became more frequent, that detailed maps defining the position of buildings and the inter-relation of streets within connurbations were found to be necessary. The beginning of the sixteenth century witnessed the production of

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302 See Pausanias: Ibid, Vol. I. p. 10, who says, in connection with the siting of the dockyards at the Piraeus: 'When Themistokles came to power he made Piraeus the port as he thought it better sited for shipping, and because it had three harbours as opposed to the one at Phaleron. Down to my time the boat sheds were still standing there ...'

303 See Pausanias: Ibid, Vol 2., p. 447, for his description of Megalopolis: 'The River Helisson divides [the] Great City ... The market-place is in the Northern part which is on the right bank of the river'.

304 As, for example, the Royal Palace of the King at Babylon, in Chariton: Chaereas and Callirhoë.

305 See B. P. Reardon: Op. Cit. p. 186., for Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon, (1. 15.).

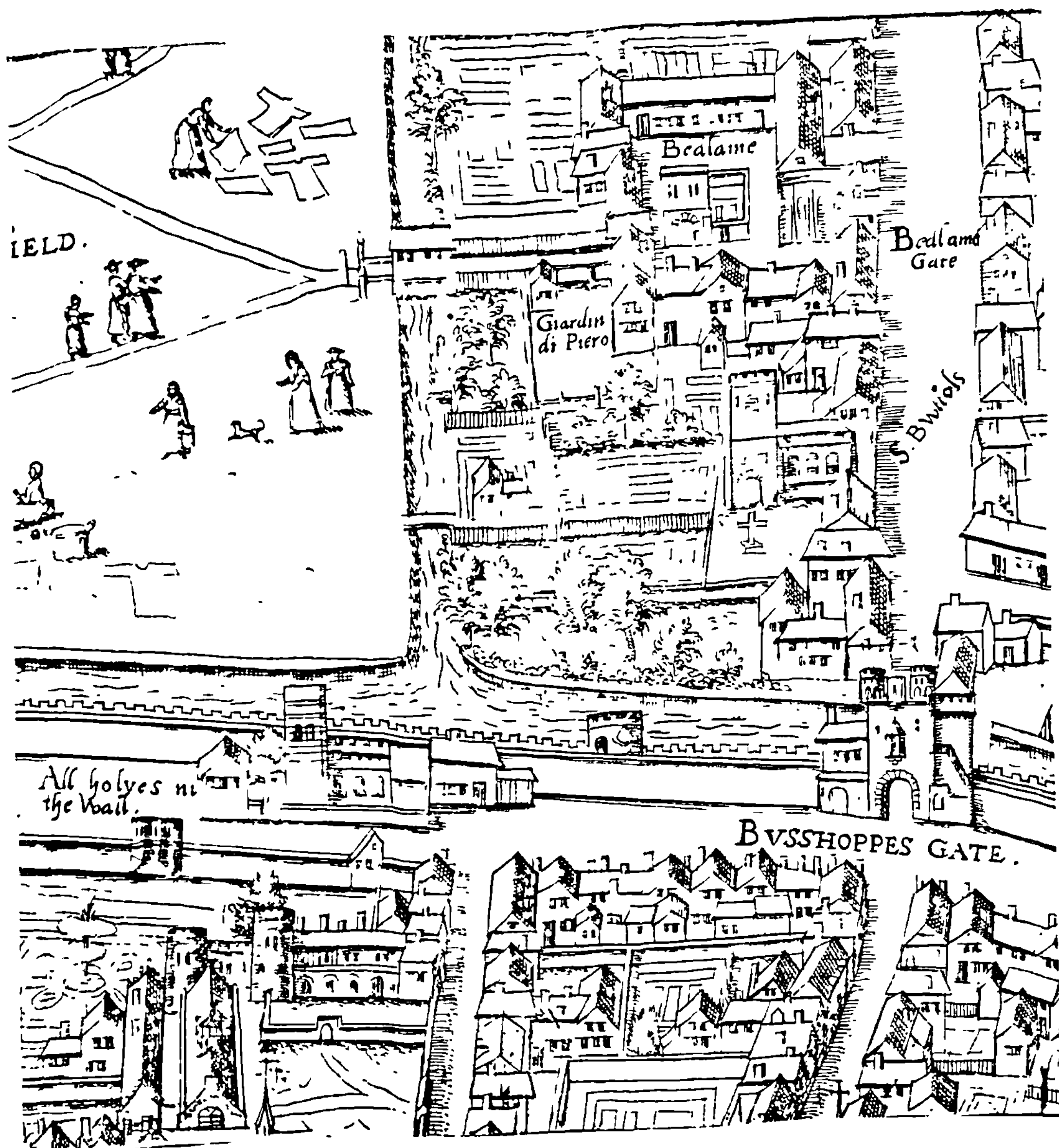


**Plate No. 6.**
**Detail of Street Plan of the City of London,**
**Antonis van den Wyngaerde. c. 1553.**
**Please refer to page 253, n. 306.**

the first highly detailed street maps of sections of Europe's major cities,[306] and these would appear to coincide with the increased awareness of topographical matters by contemporaneous novelists such as Fernando de Royas. Thus, the new interest in topography, almost certainly induced by the needs of commerce, travel and for the delivery of goods to specific residential and mercantile premises, is represented by the first major development in urban cartography since ancient times. (The history of urban cartography, and in geographical knowledge in general since the sixteeenth century, is sufficiently well documented by others to require no further comment in the course of this thesis).

There is, however, one aspect of the assimilation of geographical and spatial orientation in the ancient and mediaeval worlds which is worthy of specific mention, and I shall designate it "subjective projection". In the course of my comments on the spatial chronotope of The Wonders Beyond Thule in Chapter Two, I had cause to comment on the possibility that, as the hero Deinias had arrived at Iceland from Greece by turning to the north-east at the mouth of the River Tanaïs (a change of direction which would ordinarily have taken him to Siberia) that Photius' summary of the plot may have relied on mental mapping which was inverted in relation to modern geographical projections. Another notable example of "subjective projection", this time from the late middle ages, is the case of the Vinland Map, from the middle of the fifteenth

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[306] Two maps in particular would seem to be worthy of attention. First, the *Plan de Bâle* illustrating the part of the South Bank of the Seine in Paris in the region of the Sorbonne, and which is preserved in the Bibliothèque de La Sorbonne. This shows in graphic outline (linear) detail every building in the neighbourhood of the Sorbonne between the Cour de Justice and the Lagrant.R.S. Iaqvues (Sic!). Secondly, the sectional maps of the City of London engraved by Antonis van den Wyngaerde (1553), the original plate for the south east section of which, together with an impression taken from it, is to be seen in the Museum of London. A photo-lithographic impression of a detail of this map is included here as Plate No. 6.

century, which depicts all the islands lying to the west and north of the main European landmass - The Azores, The Canary Islands, Madeira, The British Isles, The Orkneys, The Shetland Islands, Scandinavia (identified as Norway), Iceland and Greenland - as forming a continuous succession of territories lying within reach of a considerably widened Straits of Gibraltar, or, in classical terminology, The Pillars of Hercules. The fact that the Vinland Map appears to have been bound in originally with an account of Giovanni da Piano di Carpine's visit to the court of the Mongols (1245-47)[307] might imply that the Vinland Map illustrated the other "end" of the world, the cold or "northern" end, as opposed to the warm or "southern" end represented by "Tartary".[308] This reading of the Vinland Map would pre-suppose a "subjective projection" distorted by an anti-clockwise rotation of 90 degrees by comparison with modern projections. It is interesting, perhaps, to note that in modern Germany, Obersachsen and Niedersachsen, and in Austria, Ober- and Nieder- Osterreich, are still inverted through 180 degrees, their points of reference being Rome.

Examples of mediaeval cartography are seldom encountered, and the few examples of maps of land or territory in the Middle Ages were drawn for the practical purpose of acting as evidence in disputes over land tenure or for other practical purposes: they are generally drawn on a very small scale. Mention may be made of the Inglemoor map[309] of 1405-8 drawn to demarcate rights of peat-

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[307] For a history and assessment of the cartographical significance of the Vinland Map, see R.A.Skelton et al: The Vinland Map, Yale Univ. Press, 1996, *passim.*

[308] For an account of the travels of Giovanni di Carpine, see C. R. Beazley: Op. Cit. Vol. 2., p. 48 ff. It is of importance to note that Carpine started his journey from one end of the known world to the other from Lyons on 16. April 1245, and travelled eastwards through Bohemia, Poland and Russia. He probably "saw himself", however, as travelling from North to South.

[309] There is a good illustration of the Inglemoor Map in Donald Matthew: An Atlas of Mediaeval Europe, Oxford, Phaidon Press (for Time Life Books), 1983, p. 220.

cutting, and the diagram of the water-system of Christchurch, Canterbury,[310] probably the finest and most detailed example of mediaeval cartographical draughtsmanship of the entire Middle Ages. Large scale works, such as the Mappa Mundi, formerly in Hereford Cathedral, are the rarest exceptions to the rule.

## BAKHTIN, AND THE CATEGORISATION OF THE NOVEL FROM THE PICARESQUE TO THE PICTURESQUE - FROM LAZARILLO DE TORMES TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT.

At the beginning of BSHR, Bakhtin canvasses: 'The need for a historical investigation into the novel genre (one that would not be statically formal or normative)'.(BSHR 10). He then indicates that the resultant investigation would require the novelistic genre to be divided into sub-categories, and refers to the concept of 'the diverse sub-categories of the genre'. Immediately following this reference to sub-categories, he states:

> An attempt at a historical classification of these sub-categories. Classification according to how the image of the main hero is constructed: the travel novel, the novel of ordeal, the biographical (autobiographical) novel, the *Bildungsroman*. (Ibid).

I have already mentioned that the notes that form the preface to BSHR are written in the form of an *aide mémoire*, but in this instance it is not necessary to be wary of contravening Bakhtin's intentions by regarding them

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[310] Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, bound in with MS. R. 17. I.

only as preparatory thoughts, as the first three of the four sub-categories of the novel are subsequently analysed, (the *Bildungsroman*, which is the fourth category, being, it is implied, a subsequent or later category of novel owing its form to the earlier development of the other three). The *Bildungsroman* leads us, in Bakhtin's typography of the novel, into the era in which the thematology of the novel absorbs, and lives within, real historical time, as opposed to existing purely within historical time without being in any substantive way linked to its historical complexus of time and place. In terms of the definition of the social novel of the nineteenth century which I postulated in the introduction to this thesis, it would be possible to equate Bakhtin's 'absorption of real historical time' by the characters of a novel, with the eventual achievement of the mirror image of society which the novel sometimes achieves in the era of naturalist realism. This is significant in that it is partly the purpose of this thesis to trace the achievement of this development of the inter-relationship of time and place within the history of the novel. Broadly speaking, Bakhtin, in BSHR, identifies the era of Goethe, which we, from an Anglophone perspective, might be more inclined to associate with the Enlightenment generally, as the period in which the concept of time in its inter-relation of past, present and future potential qualities, was first fully appreciated and understood. This, however, is a matter to which I shall return in due course, at the appropriate time: it is first necessary to examine the methodology by which Bakhtin, by the division of the novel into the sub-categories which he designates in BSHR, effects to reach this most important watershed in the history of the novel. Regrettably, the operation of this methodology is not at all clear.

The more carefully an attempt is made to distinguish between Bakhtin's sub-categories of the novel, the more convinced one becomes that the sub-categories he determines are neither historically typological, nor (and I have

allowed for his use of the phrase 'not statically formal or normative') mutually exclusive. Nor would there seem to be an historical typology discernible within any one sub-category, which is in any way developmental, or which enables an historical poetics of any one sub-category of novel to be constructed by means of plotting the course of any sequentially developmental characteristics which it (the sub-category) manifests within itself. Types of novel, when organised in the manner which Bakhtin determines, overlap and rarely meet more than a limited proportion of the requirements which he sees as intrinsic to the type. Conversely, some novels meet the requirements of more than one sub-category of the novel. Taking every aspect of Bakhtin's classification of the sub-categories of the novel into account, I am forced to postulate the existence of a serious structural flaw in his methodology.

Bakhtin attempts to divide the novelistic genre into sub-divisions which lie in parallel with the time-line along which the history of the sub-division is arraigned: it is possible rather to envisage the histories of these sub-divisions as each tending from the past towards the present in parallel with each other. In this way, the characteristics of each sub-division are not seen to bear any inter-relation to the characteristics of any other: each, having its own defining qualities, is a closely defined entity which acknowledges only its own qualities. This ontological schema must, I think, be viewed as defective, if solely on the ground that, as all literary and artistic forces are interactive, no literary form can develop solely within its own defining boundaries. This problem is best illustrated by means of Alain Lesage's _Gil Blas de Santillane_ (1715-1735).

Bakhtin places Lesage's _Gil Blas de Santillane_ firmly in the category of Travel Novels, for it is a novel of the picaresque, and in common with all novels of the picaresque, moves with its hero or principal character from one location to

another in order to exploit the readers' interest in many, mainly disreputable, types of event. Lesage's novel, however, is also, and without doubt, a novel of ordeal, and possesses the defining characteristic applied to the novel of ordeal that it should test the "hero". Gil Blas is unquestionably an ambitious and artful opportunist, who rises from disrepute as a homeless footpad to become, by manipulative means, secretary to the Prime Minister of Spain: in Bakhtin's terms, therefore, it cannot fail to qualify as a novel of ordeal. *Gil Blas de Santillane* is, moreover, also an autobiographical novel, in that the "hero" recounts his fortunes consistently from his childhood to his retirement from public life. It would be no exaggeration to maintain that this novel is additionally one in which we can see clearly the emergence of the hero into public historical time: in fact, so faithful is Lesage to the letter of Spain's chronicled history that only rare and minimal departures from fact can be identified by the closest examination of the text.[311] Clearly, a system of categorisation which can accommodate major works which possess all the principle defining characteristics which Bakhtin attempts to identify as essentially distinct from one another, must be discarded in favour of a more workable methodology.

I would propose, therefore, that Bakhtin's attempt at sub-division of the novelistic genre be rejected, and that it be replaced with a continuation of the method which has been employed so far in this thesis; namely, the retention of a primarily chronological, but purely chronotopic, ordering of the novel which admits of the "legitimate" overlapping of the characteristics of one sub-division

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311 See Alain Lesage: *Gil Blas de Santillane*, Paris, Charpentier, 1843. The only departures from fact in the historical background against which the action of the novel is set would seem to have been Lesage's belief that the Donna Maria married and gave birth to a daughter, when in fact she died unmarried (after, however, having been betrothed to Raimondo de Guzman, Marques de Toral) (see Op. Cit. pp. 684-85); also his belief that the Count-Duke d'Olivarez died at Loeches, and not at Toro in Castile (see Ibid. pp. 737-8).

of novel type (or for that matter any other literary genre) into any other, either in the case of one work or group of works, or sub-genre of works which is related to any other sub-genre. This alternative ordering would reorder the salient divisions of the novelistic genre by intersections of the time-line at right angles to those which Bakhtin has arranged in parallel: we would then be concerned, and only where appropriate, with matters of the travel novel, the novel of ordeal and the biographical novel, as subsidiary to the main chronological novelistic groupings which we have postulated as primary. It would follow, additionally, that Bakhtin's sub-divisions as declared in BSHR are not, in their collective totality, fundamentally chronotopic, for they do not uphold the primacy of the chronotope as a determinant of the novel's emergent maturity.

The problems addressed in the previous paragraph have been appreciated, also, by Gary Morson and Caryl Emerson. Confronted by a bewildering array of sub-categories of the novel, which they arranged in tabular order, they make some general observations on the subject of Bakhtin's concept of "category":[312]

> In the course of his analysis, Bakhtin continually qualifies his characterisations and subdivides his categories to the point where it is not entirely clear whether he is speaking of a single phenomenon or even of a relatively unified group of texts. In general it might be said that for Bakhtin elaborate classifications were a mental habit ... that proved more or less successful in varying circumstances.

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[312] See Gary Morson and Caryl Emerson: Mikhail Bakhtin, Creation of a Prosaics, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990, p. 392.

The preceding paragraphs raise matters of genre theory, but I cannot stress too forcibly the importance of ensuring that the ordering of the works representative of a genre or sub-genre are determined in the most meaningful way: even at the expense of re-stating the obvious, primary and secondary priorities employed in matters of definition cannot be alternated in the manner in which Bakhtin has attempted in the matter of his suggested sub-categories of the post-renaissance novel.

With regard only to the biographical novel, Bakhtin states in BSHR (16-17) that it did not itself exist in antiquity, despite the fact that the form of such a novel, (the formative influences which were available for its creation if they had been used for that purpose), is to be found in the post-renaissance biographical novel. This matter, also, is one which perplexes Morson and Emerson, though, in my judgement, unnecessarily: in these circumstances, I can appreciate the idea which Bakhtin, only apparently paradoxically, aims to express, namely that the totality of the parts of a biographical form arising in antiquity were capable of being moulded into a composite whole at the time of the revival of classical learning. The point which must be made, however, is simply that the component parts of the potential classical biographical novel were only to a very limited extent drawn from the example of the classical novel: in addition to the Greek and Roman novels of the Roman Imperial period (to include the Alexander Legend), classical biography was able notionally to draw upon vast tracts of literature and tradition; from Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus in the most ancient Hellenistic world, to the more recent histories of Thucydides, Livy, Julius Caesar,

Plutarch, Arrian, Tacitus and many others: from the New Testament, the Apocrypha and the *Confessiones* of St. Augustine, in Christian times.[313]

The biographical heritage of the renaissance, furthermore, was not solely dependent on classical sources: the addition of the whole of mediaeval literature to the heritage bequeathed by antiquity provided all the "raw materials" required as the creative ingredients of the biographical novel in more modern times. I will, however, differ from Bakhtin in one small respect; namely that he would seem to have attributed an importance to the influential qualities of the early Christian hagiographies at the time of the renaissance, out of all proportion to their number, importance and availability. Even the most popular hagiography current within the traditions of the early church, the life of Saint Alexis,[314] though well known in the Middle Ages, probably did not survive them in any

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[313] We have already seen, in FTC 130-46, how Bakhtin finds, in the Classical encomium and elsewhere, the foundations of a biographical and autobiographical "frame" for the later biography, though the range of literary forms which he identifies as contributory to its formation is far too restricted.

[314] The mediaeval hagiographies of Western Europe are, generally speaking, a French phenomenon. The earliest surviving example of the genre is the Cantilena of Sain Eulalia dating from the end of the ninth century and extolling the constancy of a Spanish martyr at the hands of the Roman militia. There is additionally, and of somewhat later date, a life of St. Leger, a work of little literary merit. The first hagiographical work to coincide approximately with the date of the *Chanson de Roland* is the Song of St. Foy, which is almost certainly another import from Spain and is of little literary merit.

The Life of Saint Alexis was imported from the Eastern Church in the tenth century and became known extensively throughout the Christian world despite the highly eccentric, and seemingly unchristian behaviour of the unquestionably devout Saint whose life it recounts. Alexis, the scion of a wealthy Roman Christian family in the days of the early Empire, abandons his wife on their wedding night in the interests of seeking a miraculous statue of the Virgin in the Syrian city of Edessa. Having abrogated his marital duties, he then remains a beggar for the rest of his life, never returning to his wife, who is forced to remain permanently celibate. Having made everybody concerned thoroughly miserable, he dies, and miracles are subsequently performed in his name. The story of his life is one which was designed, (perhaps not very well by our modern standards !), to extol the virtues of poverty vis à vis riches, and saintliness vis à vis the "things of this world". The fact that the life of Saint Alexis was well known in mediaeval Europe is of considerable literary significance, as it is stylistically related to the poetic form of, *inter alios*, the *Chanson de Roland*, but its contribution to the formation of the later novelistic hero, in Bakhtinian terms, would seem to be decidedly limited.

significant number. It is my opinion, having taken notice of the very large number of surviving manuscripts and paper copies from the earliest years of printing, that the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine[315] was a more influential hagiography than all the lives of the minor saints of France and Spain placed together.

Of considerable importance to the eventual structure of the auto-biography is Bakhtin's identification of the exteriorisation of the inner man in certain literary works of the Roman Imperial period. The idea of laying the soul bare,[316] in the manner of Marcus Aurelius in the Meditations, and St. Augustine in the Confessions, creates a new acknowledgement of the self in the form of the soliloquy. The newly found ability of man to see and judge himself as if from an external position, will have gone a long way towards establishing the form of future autobiographical narrative, though Bakhtin concedes that:[317]

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315 Jacobus de Voragine (c.1230-1292), Archbishop of Genoa and a Dominican, wrote the *Legenda Aurea*, a hagiography of the Western Church, in 183 chapters. Caxton produced an English version in 1483. The standard critical edition is that of Grasse (Dresden, 1846).

316 Bakhtin draws attention also to the intimacy of Cicero in the *Consolatio*, but I detect throughout later Roman literature a tendency for writers to adopt a more open and personal attitude to the addressee. This, I would maintain, is as visible in the confiding tone of Julius Caesar's official account of his military campaigns in the *De Bello Gallico*, as in entirely private musings: for example, the opening self-conscious stanzas of Horace: Odes, III, 8: 'You wonder what I, a bachelor, am about on the Kalends of March; what is the meaning of these flowers, this box of incense, these coals placed on fresh turf - you, so versed in Greek and Latin customs? Well, when I was nearly killed by that falling tree, I vowed to Bacchus a tasty dinner with a white goat. Each year when this day comes round I'll draw the well-sealed pitchy cork from a jar put up to bask in smoke when Tullus was consul'. In these few lines, Horace offers a complete explanation of himself in reply to the anticipated question of an imaginary listener: this is a tête à tête between Horace and one other person: there is no public utterance here. (cf. Odes, IV. II., 'The Hymn to Phyllis').

317 Mediaeval man as public confidant is seen also, but seemingly not by Bakhtin, in the works of the Chroniclers, who, as eye witnesses of much of what they reported, were often participants as well. The obvious example is the autobiographical (first person narrational) content of the chronicle of Jean, Sieur de Joinville. See Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967, especially pp. 195 ff.

> There is, as yet, nothing of that authentically solitary individual who makes his appearance only in the Middle Ages and henceforth plays such an enormous role in the European novel. (FTC 145).

## THE PICARESQUE NOVEL IN THE 16th. AND 17th. CENTURIES.

The earliest modern novels of the renaissance, with the exception of La Celestina, which I have considered above, are those, mainly short, episodic works of social comment, and perhaps also of grievance or *Schadenfreude*, known collectively as novels of the picaresque, and published in Spain between the middle of the sixteenth and the second quarter of the seventeenth centuries. They are not numerous, but bear a remarkable degree of similarity to one another. I will commence my examination of the genre with an anonymous novella from the middle of the sixteenth century, the *Lazarillo de Tormes*.[318]

Lazaro, from whom the novella takes its name, is the son of a miller, who lived and worked at the village of Tejares near Salamanca. Lazaro tells us that his father had been there 'for fifteen years', prior to being arrested and convicted of bleeding sacks of grain, when Lazaro was 'about eight years old'. Lazaro's mother, now alone, 'came to live in the city' (which we may take to be Salamanca), and obtains work as a cook and washerperson. A negro whom she befriended 'used to come to our house occasionally and leave in the morning. Sometimes he came to the door during the day . . . and came into the house'.[319]

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[318] See Michael Alpert (Trans. and Ed.) : '*Lazarillo de Tormes*' in: Two Spanish Picaresque Novels , Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973, p. 25 ff.

[319] Ibid. All quotations in this paragraph are from page 25.

Lazaro, dissatisfied with his reduced circumstances and influenced by his mother's bad example, leaves home and becomes a servant to an impecunious blind man as his servant. They stay in Salamanca 'for a few days' before leaving for what they perceive to be more profitable "pastures" for begging. Lazaro has a disagreement with the blind man and leaves him without notice: He informs us that: ' before nightfall, I was in Torrijos',[320] and that 'the next day I went to a place called Maqueda'.[321] Later, alone after another contretemps with an employer and wounded by being hit over the head in error for a snake, he 'ended up in this noble City of Toledo. Here, thank God, after a fortnight my wound healed'.[322] Later, Lazaro is employed by an artist to mix colours, but the work proves boring and repetitive, and 'after four years', he leaves his employment.[323] Eventually, whilst in the service of the arch-priest of St. Salvador's at Toledo, he marries:[324]

> We got married and I've never been sorry, besides her being a good and attentive girl, the priest is always very kind to me. Every year I get a whole load of corn. I get my meat at Christmas and Easter ... Mind you, at the time, I always had a nagging little suspicion [ about the fidelity of his wife when in the company of the arch-priest ], because some nights I waited for her until Lauds or even later.

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[320] Ibid. p. 37.
[321] Ibid. p. 38.
[322] Ibid. p. 49.
[323] Ibid. p. 76.
[324] Ibid. p. 78.

There are several respects in which I would maintain that the characteristics of this most typical of picaresque novels differ from those specified by Bakhtin in BSHR.

Bakhtin informs us that the temporal chronotope of the picaresque novel is ill-defined, and implies strongly that the movement of the hero through life is articulated by means of non-temporally-specific denotations of interval which do not position the hero concretely within his spatial chronotope. Using the text of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* as a typical example of the genre, however, I would maintain that the reader is furnished with all the information he requires to determine the relativity of temporal intervals within the story. Where appropriate, we are provided with denotations of intervallic time to the nearest year: Lazaro is eight when he and his mother leave Tejares, seven years after his father established his business there: from this we can surmise that his mother is probably in her middle to late thirties. We do not need to know more than this. Lazaro's time spent in the service of the artist is denoted at four years, because it is intervallically important: a relatively long period during which Lazaro is saving money to afford his marriage. Shorter intervals, to denote, for example, the length of time spent by Lazaro with one of his employers who lives by begging or selling indulgences, are denoted as deliberately short: this is to inform us of the difficulty involved in earning a living by begging in successive cities in a country in which the vast majority of people were poor ( and a very small minority extremely rich through trade with northern Europe and the Americas). For the original readership of the *Lazarillo de Tormes,* the intervallic information which governs the temporal chronotope of the novel would have held a socio-economic significance of its own, which is now only indistinctly discernible from within the text of the novel. The *Lazarillo de Tormes* was in all probability written as a work of social criticism designed to place the worst

complexion on contemporaneous poverty, which neither the Church nor the State did anything to alleviate: it is perhaps for this reason, and for its anti-clericalism, that this novella was published anonymously.[325]

I must now consider the Position of the Hero in the Travel Novel, in the light of Bakhtin's observations in BSHR. Bakhtin's comment that 'his [the hero's] movement in space ... enables the artist to develop and demonstrate the spatial and static social diversity of the world' may be thought to imply, in Bakhtin's mind at any rate, a separation of the respective roles of the hero and the world through which he passes: here the suggestion is made that the hero of the travel novel, far from being the effective prime mover of the novel, is somehow depicted in parallel with it, and "exists" solely in order to throw light on the evil conditions of his environment, whereas the *picaro* is indeed an evil of his own environment, and utterly inseparable from it. Bakhtin's criticism is in part justified, but it must be pointed out that there are few novels, except perhaps certain "psychological" novels of Hoffmann, Gogol or Dostoevsky, which create a more efficient fusion between hero and environment than the Travel, or picaresque, novel. So dependent is the *picaro* on his surroundings that he is never seen in isolation from them: both he and his author's supporting characters, together with the environment in which they jostle (for the rarely available crust of bread), are moved by a single articulating force, the need for survival. Only in the early seventeenth century, when the picaresque genre was well over fifty years old, do we encounter a broadening at the base of the picaresque novel to accommodate the possibility of introducing additional plot

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[325] It is perhaps significant in this respect that the Lazarillo de Tormes, which can hardly have been regarded as important from a literary point of view, was published simultaneously in Alcala, Burgos, and Antwerp in 1554. In Antwerp, in the Spanish Netherlands, its anti-clericalism would have been regarded as subversive if read by members of the Spanish armed forces of occupation in Flanders.

material. I would cite in this context the Rinconete y Cortadillo (1613) of Cervantes, in which two *picaros,* Rincon and Cordato, set out for Seville from the "Little Windmill" public house near Alcudía, where they have been trying to earn a living. [326] In Seville, they fall in with a gang of thieves without realising that the "theft industry" in Seville is organised along strictly "territorial" lines, and that here the *picaro* is, in a comparable manner to Fagin's employees in Oliver Twist, responsible to an adult thief, Monipodio, who has assumed authority over them all. Cervantes does not continue this novella beyond the point at which Rincon and Cordato make this discovery, but potentially this novel opens the way for a greatly increased degree of plot complexity - the *picaro* would have been seen in his relationships with other *picaros* in adjacent "territories," as well as their dealings with Monipodio, and, of course, their victims. In the earlier picaresque novel, however, the scope for this variety and broadening of aspect does not exist: the action is seen in its entirety through the eyes of the *picaro* hero, which act as the lenses of each picaresque novella - very little can happen without the *picaro's* knowledge.

It may be thought that Bakhtin fails, in his assessment of the temporal chronotope in the picaresque novel, to take into account the fact that accurate demarcations of time were not possible or even required, in the eras in which the early Spanish picaresque novel was written. When the Lazarillo de Tormes was written (1554), the pocket or portable watch had not been invented, and in the days of Cervantes, only the extremely rich owned a pocket watch, and this would have had only a short hour hand and no minute hand. Urban time was still largely dependent upon church bells until the middle of the seventeenth century, when there was a dramatic increase in the number of public clocks

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[326] See Roscoe: Op.Cit. pp. 126- 42.

visible from the street and in the number of watches owned by members of the public. Cervantes, in *Rinconete and Cordatillo,* throws interesting light upon this aspect of historical chronotopicity, when the young thief, Cordato:[327]

> was not able to resist the temptation of cutting open the portmanteau of a Frenchman ... ; he inflicted so grievous a wound on the valise, that he presently discovered its contents, and selected from them two shirts, a small sun-dial, and a memorandum book.

If sun-dials had to be carried from place to place at the beginning of the seventeenth century, how can we expect chronological exactitude from novelists of the period ?

In the only picaresque novella of any importance to be published subsequent to the reduction of this sordid literary genre to tatters and ridicule at the hands of Miguel de Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, namely the *Historia de la Vida del Buscon* (1626) of Francisco de Quevedo, both a heightened sense of chronological fidelity, and an appreciation of the need for spatial organisation, are clearly visible.

Quevedo, a highly educated man of letters whose entire life was concerned with literary creativity and with political negotiation (at a considerable political altitude), attained a mastery of prose narrative well in excess of that which we find in the work of his predecessors, with the sole exceptions of Cervantes and Montemajor. The *Buscon* is similarly attuned to the realities of

[327] Ibid. p. 130.

contemporaneous Spain, though the excesses of violence and gratuitous ill-will demonstrated by the majority of his characters may still appear disgusting even in an exposition of the worst aspects of the everyday life of that time.[328] It is the chronotopicity of Quevedo's narrative, however, not just his verisimilitude as a realist, which is of concern to this thesis; but the point must be made that Quevedo, whether exaggerator or conscientious documentor, is a writer of considerable powers of observation of detail. Thus, at the Academy of Dr. Goat, where the hero of the novella, Clemente Pablo (Pablos), is simultaneously studying and acting as valet to a young nobleman of the same age, we encounter what is perhaps the first instance of a striking clock in the history of modern fiction:[329]

> We talked a slept fitfully and it was soon time to get up. The clock struck six and Goat called us to class. We all attended it.

The fact that Pablos frequently reports the time of the day to the reader, and always to the nearest hour, helps to place Quevedo's narrative within a more rigid temporal framework than we have been accustomed to.[330] Spatially also, Quevedo, presumably out of a sense of establishing a feeling of verisimilitude, frequently uses numeral-denominated intervals. Thus, exact mileages[331] from destinations are reported, and occasionally the reader is provided with seemingly

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[328] It is quite possible that, subsequent to the transformation of the picaro into a character of comedy by Cervantes in _Don Quixote_, only a particularly disgusting picaresque novella would have found a wide, if scatological, readership. Perhaps Quevedo is reminding his reader that the lot of the minor nobleman was a serious, and not a comic, Quixotic, one.

[329] See Alpert: Op. Cit. p. 96.

[330] Op. Cit. p. 116, 136, etc.

[331] Ibid, p. 129 etc.

un-necessary denotations of interval.[332] Quevedo, however, never quite creates an urban environment within which the reader can move eidetically, and in this respect his sense of spatial organisation is not much further advanced than that of de Royas. He does, however, attempt a more explicit sense of locative notation: names of streets are given, and on one occasion an intersection of two streets.[333] The importance of this novella is to be found, additionally, in a large number of details which are not, in the main, the province of this thesis, except in so far that they often confirm the substance of matters which have been mentioned earlier in my text.[334]

Bakhtin's assertion that time in the Travel Novel lacks any 'historical colouring' is only partly true, and then only because the scale of most of the novels in question is miniaturesque: the earlier picaresque novellas are concerned only with day to day life eked out from one meal to the next, not with affairs of state, or public or military concerns. The historicity of the picaresque novella is to be found in the way in which the effects of historical change are evident in the misfortunes of many classes and categories of individual: the impoverished Knight of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* is the same character whom we encounter fifty years later in Cervantes, not least in the *Don Quixote*. We find him too as Don Martin, the subject matter of The Miser Chastised, (c.1600)

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[332] Ibid. p. 117 for: ' I went up [ to a shopkeeper from whom Pablos is about to steal some fruit] and, twelve steps before I got there, I unsheathed my sword. . .' [ My underlining ]

[333] Ibid. p. 165.

[334] For a poem which illustrates the continuation of the mock-ecclesiastical poem of the Middle Ages, see Alpert, Op. Cit. p. 130., for Quevedo's poem: 'Shepherds, isn't it very funny. Today is Saint Corpus Christi'. In a comparable vein, Quevedo indulges in liturgical jokes of the kind which we have encountered in Rabelais (*'Conquibus'* for *'Con Quibus'* and *'Salve Retina'* for *'Salve Regina'*). See Ibid. p.159, for a reference to Bosch, in confirmation of the profound effect achieved by this artist in Spain at that time, on account of his patronage by Philip 11. Cervantes is acknowledged (p.147) with a single reference to Sancho Panza. Confirmation of the existence of schools of thieves, of the type we encountered in *'Rinconete and Cordatillo'* is to be found, (p. 170).

perhaps the best-known novella of Doña Maria de Zayas y Soto Mayor.[335] Perhaps the most highly developed example of the impoverished hidalgo, always with the exception of the atypical Don Quixote, is Don Lorenzo Iníguez del Pedroso in Quevedo's Buscon:: the latter is forced to spend a fortnight in bed because he lacked clothes to wear![336] The dishonest seller of indulgences is another class of character common to many of the early Spanish novellas, and the female go-between, exemplified by La Celestina and by Scintilla in Aleman's Guzman Alfarache, is to be found widely throughout the genre.[337] There is, in any case, no class of rogue who escapes the author of the Guzman Alfarache.[338]

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPANISH PICARESQUE NOVEL TO THE LATER EUROPEAN NOVEL.

I have already had cause to mention Lesage's novel Gil Blas de Santillane in another capacity, namely in my examination of the validity of Bakhtin's methodology for dividing the modern novel into sub-divisions *per genre*. It is now necessary to examine the significance of this novel for an entirely different purpose; it will be shown that the development of the modern novel in northern Europe, and in France and England in particular, in the eighteenth century, was in part the legacy of Lesage's adaptation in Gil Blas of the Spanish

335 See Roscoe: Op. Cit.p. 334 ff.

336 See Alpert: Op. Cit. p. 156.

337 The view, frequently expressed, that the bawd in Spanish literature and renaissance literature in general, owes her origin, in the main, to Ovid and the authors of the Roman de la Rose , is possibly somewhat naïve. The majority of "intermediaries" encountered in renaissance literature are maid-servants who have been amenable to bribery. Professionals are the exception.

338 I have not dealt in any detail with the chronotopicity of the Guzman Alfarache in the text of this thesis, as it is a collection of short episodes which do not constitute a whole: I do not regard it as a novel, though in its parts it displays many of the characteristics associated with the Picaresque novella, including the primacy of food, shelter, clean bedding materials, and the ubiquitous nature of crime. The episode entitled Dorido and Clorinia is undoubtedly based in part on the romance of Calisto and Melibea in La Celestina.

novelistic tradition of the picaresque of a century earlier. The original import of the picaresque novella, which is by no means clearly understood, but may generally be regarded as a form of social comment critical of drastic changes in fortune peculiar to the social economy of renaissance Spain, was of little or no significance to the French reader of the next century. Lesage, therefore, whose literary roots were deeply embedded in Spanish literature, provided his readers with what can best be described as an adaptation of the Spanish novelistic heritage for the benefit of a French readership.[339] Amongst the changes which this adaptation involved may be seen, amongst other important developments for the novelistic genre as a whole, a heightened complexity of the spatial and temporal chronotopes of the novel consistent with the corresponding complexities of novelistic plot. What is most conspicuous, perhaps, is a departure from the solely linear progression of the hero "through" the text of the novel. This departure can be detected in the new way in which the scenario of the novel is perceived by Lesage: I consider for example his description of the occasion upon which Gil, in the company of the woman who had been taken prisoner by Rolando, makes his escape from the latter's cave, and takes to the highroad:[340]

> ... Je me jetai en selle: la dame monta derrière moi, et, suivant au galop le premier sentier qui se présenta, nous sortîmes bientôt de

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[339] Alain René Lesage, a native of the Morbihan, travelled to Paris in 1693 at the age of 25 in order to study philosophy. He was almost immediately patronised by the Abbé de Lyonne, who granted him an annual stipend of 600 Livres with the recommendation that he should direct his attention to the study of Spanish Literature. Lesage subsequently published a French translation of _Guzman Alfarache_, as well as numerous translations of Spanish dramatic works (including a number of plays of Calderon). _Gil Blas_ is equally a product of Spanish influence upon Lesage.

[340] See Lesage, Ibid. p. 38.: 'I threw myself into the saddle. The woman mounted behind me, and, following the first pathway which presented itself to us, at a gallop, we were soon out of the forest. We entered a plain which was intersected by several routes, one of which we chose at random. I was scared stiff that it would take us to Mansilla, where we might meet Rolando and his friends'. [My Trans.]

> la forêt. Nous entrâmes dans une plaine coupée de plusieurs routes; nous en prîmes une au hasard. Je mourais de peur qu'elle ne nous conduisît à Mansilla, et que nous rencontrassions Rolando et ses camarades, ce qui pouvait fort bien nous arriver.

The inclination of Gil to follow 'le premier sentier qui se présenta' is quite in accordance with the conventions of the picaresque, but the succeeding reference to 'une plaine coupée de plusieurs routes' at once opens up a vista of quadrilateral space: the reader is presented with co-ordinates which enable him to envisage a real "geographical" space, and simultaneously the possibility of choice. Gil is free to determine which route across space he is to take: previously in the picaresque novel, (as in the classical and mediaeval novel), such decisions were taken by the author. Mateo Aleman or even Cervantes would have directed Gil down one path across the plain, without any mention of the other alternatives open to him, and Gil would then either have met Rolando or not as the case may be: the freedom of the choice of route, and the related awareness of proportionate risk, would not have presented itself in any earlier novel.

The same presentation of quadrilateral space is evident in the manner in which Lesage prepares the ground for Gil's arrival in Valladolid, by means of sending Doña Mencia de Mosquera's cousin from tavern to tavern in search of him before his arrival. Having found him at the umpteenth inn which she visits armed with a description of Gil, she then inveigles him from the central space which she has created by criss-crossing the City, by inviting him to stay at her home. It is, nevertheless, now possible for the reader to envisage the City, even without the benefit of topographical description or local detail.[341] By the time of

[341] See Lesage: Op. Cit. pp. 60-61.

the publication of the third part of the novel, twenty years later, however, Lesage's sense of space has become considerably more highly developed, and in keeping with the spirit of the times: the general interest in topography which I noted at the conclusion of Chapter Two, in the topographical works of Daniel Defoe and Lasor à Varea, are adequately complemented by Lesage in his description of Gil Blas' sight-seeing expedition in Valencia:[342]

> Pour moi, plein d'impatience de voir une ville dont j'avais souvent entendu vanter la beauté, je sortis du palais du gouverneur dans le dessein de me promener dans les rues ... J'observai avec plaisir tout ce que me semblait digne d'être remarqué dans la ville. Le palais de marbre de l'archevêché occupa mes yeux agréablement, aussi bien que les beaux portiques de la Bourse.

Gil's rise through the social hierarchy of Spain, however, is rapid and his newly enhanced position leads him to acquire the Castle of Lirias in the Kingdom of Valencia. Lesage's description of the castle and its surroundings constitutes an unexpectedly vivid development in the form of the spatial chronotope in the European novel: its comprehensive sweep through the castle's surroundings, over the principle rooms of the building and its gardens, are previously unsurpassed in the history of the novel. I can locate no earlier example, and will deal with the descriptive passages in question in some detail.

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[342] Ibid. p. 585-86.: 'As for me, full of impatience to see a town which I had often heard praised for its beauty, I left the governor's palace for the purpose of walking through the streets ... I observed with pleasure everything which seemed worthy of note in the town. The marble palace of the archbishop filled my eyes with pleasure, as did the fine porticos of the Stock Exchange'. [My Trans.]

Lesage's ability to describe, and the fact that he clearly feels the need to do so, owes much to his predominance as a dramatist: he was the author of sixty plays, and *Gil Blas* was not commenced before he was 47, the final section of the novel (which contains the description of the Castle of Lirias) dating from 1735, when he was 67. The scenic qualities of these descriptive passages are somewhat theatrical, though their landscape elements, which are clearly influenced by the Arcadian qualities of Claude Lorrain's landscape painting, may also be in part an inheritance from the similarly arcadian *timbre* of Montemayor's Diana. (1559) .

The description of the castle of Lirias and its surroundings must also be seen against the background of the new awareness of "place" which gathered momentum in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, and was represented most noticeably by the construction of the Palace of Versailles, the Château de Marly and Hôtel des Invalides. These structures were of topical as well as of architectural, importance, as their combined cost was so enormous in relation to the public finances of France that their authorisation by the Crown was widely held to have been responsible for a shortage of public funds.[343] Similarly, the reign of Louis XIV was notable for a renewed interest in formal landscape gardening (again promoted by the extensive works at Versailles), and this too is mirrored in the description of Lirias. The mention of specific Furnishings, almost certainly for the first time in the history of the modern novel, may come as a surprise to the reader, but, as in so many areas of the applied arts, the period immediately prior to the writing of Gil Blas had

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343 See Sir Thomas Jackson, Bt.: The Renaissance of Roman Architecture: Vol III. France, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923, p.183, for estimates of the costs of construction of these buildings.

witnessed, under the leadership of Daniel Marot and Charles-André Boulle, a vastly increased interest in the design of furniture.[344]

Even in the opening lines of the chapter in which the reader is introduced to Gil's castle, a tighter control of topographical co-ordinates can be detected:[345]

> Nous prîmes le chemin de Léon, ensuite celui de Palencia; et, continuant notre voyage, è petites journées, nous arrivâmes, au bout de la dixième a la ville de Segorbe, d'où le lendemain dans la matinée nous nous rendîmes à ma terre, qui n'en est éloignée que de trois lieues.

This description of the journey to Lirias is already rather more detailed than any comparable accounts encountered in earlier picaresque novellas. In effect, the route undertaken is demarcated (i.e. they travelled through Leon), by the insertion of topographical information which is un-necessary to the reader, but which aids the imaginative embodiment of the journey. The same effect is achieved by the mentions of duration and distance. In the accretion of these details, we are witnessing a tightening of the spatial and temporal chronotopes of the novel.

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[344] It was very soon after the publication of the third and final part of Gil Blas in 1735 that the system of *maîtres ébénistes* was introduced. Under this system, a master cabinet-maker became liable to sign his work in the manner of a Dutch artist. During the reign of Louis XIV, the aristocracy and the greatly enlarged *bourgeoisie* became much more aware of the design of objects, most of which had been regarded previously as merely utilitarian; master craftsmen now enjoyed an enhanced status in the eyes of the public.

[345] See Lesage: Op. Cit: p. 577.: 'We took the Léon road, followed by that to Valencia. We continued our journey in short stages, arriving at the end of the tenth day at the town of Segorba. From there, on the morning of the following day, we set out for my estate, a distance of about three leagues'. [My Trans.]

On approaching the castle, Scipio (Gil's secretary and companion) is deeply impressed by its appearance: [346]

> 'Comment, Diable! ... c'est un bijou que cette maison. Outre l'air de noblesse que lui donnent ses pavilions, on peut dire que c'est bien située, bien bâtie, et entounée de pays plus charmants que les environs mêmes de Seville, appelés par excellence le paradis terrestre. Quand nous aurions choisi ce séjour , il ne serait pas plus de mon goût: en vérité, je le trouve charmant; une rivière l'arrose de ses eaux; un bois épais prête son ombrage ...'.

The account of their arrival is continued by Gil in person:[347]

> En nous entretenant de cette sorte, nous nous avancâmes vers la maison, dont la porte nous fût ouverte aussitôt que Scipion eut dire que c'était le seigneur Gil Blas de Santillane qui venait prendre possession de son château. A ce nom, si respecté des personnes qui l'entendirent prononcer, on laissa entrer ma chaise dans une grande cour, où je mis pied à terre.

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346 See Lesage: Gil Blas de Santillane, Paris, Charpentier, 1843, p. 578. Scipio: 'Good Heavens! It's a hell of a house. Quite apart from the air of elegance which its wings give it, it's beautifully situated, it's well built, and surrounded by countryside more charming than the *environs* of Seville - and they call Seville the terrestrial paradise! If we had decided where to stay, it couldn't have been more to my liking: I find it really charming; it's watered by its own stream, and it's shaded by a thick wood...' [My Trans.]. The use of the word 'pavilions' to denote the "wings" of the main structure is reminiscent of the elongated wings made fashionable by Mansard at Versailles.

347 Ibid. Gil: ' Discussing matters in this way, we approached the house, the gates of which were opened as soon as Scipio had announced that it was their master, Gil Blas de Santillane, who had come to take possession of his castle. At the mention of his name, so respected by those who heard it, my coach was permitted to enter a large courtyard, where I alighted'. [My Trans.]

This account is remarkable for the manner in which Lesage achieves a new level of efficiency in the use of quadrilateral space for the description of the structured environment in the novel. This achievement, however, is utterly in keeping with the notion that, as the hero of the novel begins to move in real historical circumstances, and is depicted against a background of people who actually lived ( and were known by the reader to have done so), so the environment in which the hero of the novel moves will take on the appearance of reality. This is the finest example, at this point in the history of the novel, of the process by which historical reality and concrete actuality begin to be found in common.

In the description of the interior of the Château, Lesage heightens his attention to the details of domestic space. It should be stressed, however, that it is also partly in the interests of showing how ridiculous it is that Gil, (of whose "low" picaresque background the reader is well aware), should occupy such magnificent accommodation, that the thoroughness of the description is deemed necessary: it also represents a continuation of the author's provision of the novel with a scenic background:[348]

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[348] See Lesage: Ibid, p. 579-80. Gil: 'I leave it to the reader to judge whether I was unobservant on this visit; and Scipio, who was even more curious than I was, dragged me from room to room. We covered the entire house, from top to bottom: not even the most obscure corner (as far as we were aware), escaped our inquisitive curiosity. I was most impressed, amongst other things, with two large rooms which were as well furnished as they could have been without being downright magnificent. In one, there was a Netherlandish tapestry and a bed and velvet chairs, still very handsome, and which dated from the time that the kingdom of Valencia was occupied by the Moors. The furniture of the other room was in the same taste: there were hangings in yellow Genoese silk, the bed and arm-chairs being upholstered in the same material and decorated with blue silk braid. All these furnishings, which in an inventory might not have been valued very greatly, in these surroundings seemed rather considerable . . . . If my secretary had appeared impressed with what he had already seen, he was even more so when he saw the gardens. He thought them comparable even with the gardens of the Escorial ... all the pathways well gravelled, with orange trees along their borders, and a great white marble basin, in the middle of which water in great torrents gushed from the mouth of a bronze lion . The beauty of the flowers, and the diversity of the fruit trees, all enchanted Scipio'. [My Trans.]

> Je [Gil Blas] laisse à penser si je négligeai cette visite; et Scipion, encore plus curieux que moi de la faire, m'entrâina de chambre en chambre. Nous parcourûmes toute la maison, depuis le haut jusqu'en bas; il n'échappa pas, du moins à ce que nous crûmes, le moindre endroit à notre curiosité intéressé; ... Je fus frappé, entre autres choses, de deux appartements qui étaient aussi bien meublés qu'ils pouvaient l'être sans magnificence. Dans l'un, il y avait une tapisserie des Pays Bas, avec un lit et des chaises de velours, le tout propre encore, quoique fait du temps que les Maures occupaient le royaume de Valence. Les meubles de l'autre appartement étaient dans le même goût: c'etait une vielle tenture de damas de Genes jaune, avec un lit et des fauteuils de la même étoffe, garnie de franges de soie bleue. Toutes ces effets, qui dans une inventaire auraient été peu prisés, paraissaient là très-considérables. . . . Si mon secrétaire avait paru jusque-là fort satisfait de ce qu'il avait vu, il le fut encore davantage quand il vit le jardin. Il le trouva comparable à celui de l'Escurial... Toutes les allées bien sablées et bordees d'orangers, un grand bassin de marbre blanc, au milieu duquel un lion de bronze vomissait de l'eau à gros bouillons, la beauté des fleurs, la diversité des fruits, tous ces objets ravirent Scipion.

All these descriptive passages, taken as an unity, represent an enormous advance over the levels of attention to environmental (spatial) detail which had been paid by novelists hitherto. In his need for scenery, in his need to specify in exact terms the prizes to be won for political blackguardry, and with, I would suspect, a clear mental picture of the newly and vastly enlarged Palais de Versailles before his eyes, Lesage was enabled to integrate the landscape of Lirias

into the narrative of the novel in an extensively new way. This conclusion, therefore, has moved well beyond Bakhtin's classification of Gil Blas as a Travel Novel in BSHR: he declines to include it under the heading of the *Bildungsroman* as well, possibly because he cannot include it under two different sub-categories of the novel.

Gil Blas, additionally, is of interest to Bakhtin for reasons which are not of immediate interest to us in this thesis. These reasons are concerned in the main with the way in which Gil systematically exposes the true nature of the political system which he infiltrates: this links him to the specific chronotope of the "Rogue, Clown and Fool", which forms Part VI of FTC, and with which I deal later in this chapter of my thesis. Michael Holquist includes details of this matter in the Glossary of PDP: Lesage was additionally a direct influence on Dostoevsky, who regarded the literary style of Gil Blas as possessing a dryness which he should sometimes emulate.

The First Part of Lesage's Gil Blas antedated the publication of Daniel Defoe's first novel, Robinson Crusoe (1719) by four years, and Moll Flanders (1722) by seven. There is no evidence that Defoe was familiar with Lesage's novel, but his use of the picaresque "formula" has much in common. I do believe, however, that, at all periods of outstanding prosperity, (whether the era of Columbus, or the era of the Elizabethan adventurers, or the reign of Louis XIV in France or the restoration and turn of the eighteenth century in England), there is invariably an equally unfortunate underclass which is seized upon by the poet, the dramatist and, subsequently, the novelist, as material for didactic purposes or for entertainment. From Lazarillo de Tormes, through Ben Jonson's Mosca, to the poor civil servants in the pay of magnificent monarchies in Préfontaine's *Orphelin Infortuné*, (1660), Gogol's 'Overcoat' (1841), or Dost-

oevsky's Poor Folk (1846), to Joe the Crossing Sweeper in Dickens' Bleak House (1853), there is an almost constant succession of unfortunates whose poverty or picaro status has made them famous. The connections between one group of literary picaros and another are often indirect, and as in the case of Defoe's inheritance of the picaresque concept from antecedent sources in the European novel, uncertain.

## SOCIETISATION IN THE NOVELS OF MADAME DE LAFAYETTE.

The undivided attention which I have paid to the matter of the development of the picaresque novel in Spain and its transference to France at the hands of Lesage, has prevented me from attending to the development of the novel in France itself in the seventeenth century. In the first half of the century we encounter the novels of d'Urfé and Madame de Scudéry, those authors of vast adventures set in ancient Rome, and occasionally in the Middle Ages, which, as I intimated at the beginning of the previous chapter, had their roots in the traditions of the Greek novels of antiquity. The middle of the century, however, witnessed an abrupt change; a centralisation of government in France under the vice-like grip of Cardinal Mazarin, acting as Prime Minister and adviser to the infant Louis XIV. By 1652, the year in which Louis was declared to have attained his majority at 14, the social life of France had moved from the provinces to the capital: from then onwards, the reading public became increasingly concerned with the minutiae of court intrigue and lost all interest in lengthy sagas of former times. Additionally, the constancy, purity and fidelity exemplified in the Greek novel became unfashionable in a social environment in which these qualities were progressively supplanted by an acceptance of amorality.

With the presence in Paris of members of many of the most powerful feudal families of France, the scope for speculation in matters social, political and marital was unlimited, and it was this new "social scene" centred around the numerous *salons* of the capital, which was exploited with so much success by authors such as Madame de Lafayette (1634-1693). The greatly increased pace of life, furthermore, called for shorter novels, and, as in all times of social and economic hyper-activity, the novella came once more into its own.[349]

Madame de Lafayette's most influential novel of Parisian court society, *La Princesse de Clèves*, whilst informed by the atmosphere and *mores* of the court of Louis XIV, was of necessity backdated to the reign of Henri 11 (1547-59). With the exception of the Princess of Clèves and her mother, every character in the novel was based upon one or other of the author's many contemporaries at the Court of Louis XIV: it is these identifiable people with whom she causes her two imaginary protagonists to interact. It would simply not have been possible for Madame de Lafayette to have introduced these imaginary characters into a real contemporaneous framework of time and place. It is permissible, perhaps, to draw an analogy here with Count Tolstoy's War and Peace, and consider whether it could have dealt with the political and military affairs of the Czar reigning at the time of its publication. The answer, in all probability, would be: no.

The Princess of Clèves and her mother move into a ready made world in which a minimum of action is outweighed by a surfeit of gossip, amatory intrigue, and fringe political machination. Madame de Lafayette succeeds in

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[349] In addition to the novels of Madame de Lafayette, there were others whose reputations have not survived so well: those of Madame Marie Catherine de Villedieu (1631-1683), whose most successful novel was *Les Désordres de l'Amour* , and Edmé Boursault (1638-1701), better known for the plays in which he satirised court life.

placing her characters in what amounts to a closed community of people all of whom have complete ease of access to many other characters. The spatial chronotope of the picaresque novel had been essentially linear. That of *La Princesse de Clèves* was now ostensibly quadrilateral. Here we encounter the first example, at least since Petronius' *Satyricon*, and to a lesser and much more contrived extent in *La Celestina*, of space, depicted foursquare as it exists in reality, compounding the ease with which characters in a novel are able to communicate with one another.[350] It is an ease which is encountered progressively more widely until, in the nineteenth century, it finds its apogee in Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire novels and George Eliot's Middlemarch, to mention only two conspicuous instances.

The fact that an author such as Madame de Lafayette should pay scant regard for the denotation of temporal intervals between meetings and other events in her novels need come as no surprise to us, for in a closed community, in which conversations and developments in relationships are the only forms of progress reported by the author, it is only the sequence of these events rather than the intervals between them, which are of concern either to author or reader. Additionally, the fact that the action of *La Princesse de Clèves* takes place entirely within the *enceinte* of the Court, robs the novel of those bourgeois elements - the need to attend a place of work, to travel from one house to another, to use public transport, to attend a regular market and so forth - which were eventually to force novelistic narrative into more sharply defined chronotopic specificity.

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[350] Janet Raitt: Madame de Lafayette and "The Princesse de Cleves", London, Harrap, 1971, in the most thorough examination of this novel to date, uses the word "concrete" in place of my "quadrilateral" to denote a sense of solidity: 'By localising her characters in a definite milieu, by describing that milieu at length and by thus suggesting in detail its effect on them, she gives her works a living, concrete force which those of her contemporaries have not'. See Raitt: Op. Cit, p. 92.

When, in the nineteenth century, ease of association of the type which we find in La Princesse de Clèves is found in association with the chronolocative complexities of bourgeois life, we will encounter social realism in its most highly developed form.

In view of the very special, and chronologically early, contribution of La Princesse de Clèves to the development of realism in the novel, in the sense that it registers a major advance in patterns of societisation in fiction, it is perhaps surprising that Bakhtin pays only the most minimal attention to Madame de Lafayette, and then only, it would seem, to her novel Zaïde (1670), a novel of Moorish intrigue which Bakhtin may have associated with the epistolary novels of Richardson and Rousseau:[351] Zaïde is the only novel of the author which Bakhtin mentions anywhere by name.[352] La Princesse de Clèves is not an epistolary novel, and its text contains only one letter in epistolary form, the letter addressed to M. de Nemours by his lover, which is given to the Queen by Chastelard, and by her to the Princesse de Clèves.[353] There is no possibility of Bakhtin confusing this novel with those of Richardson and Rousseau if he had read it, and I am forced to the conclusion that he may not have been familiar with it.

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[351] See Bakhtin's passing reference to Madame de Lafayette in DN (396): 'The seventeenth and eighteenth century novel, that is in large part epistolary (La Fayette [sic], Rousseau and Richardson and others), is characterised by ... '

[352] See EN, p. 22.

[353] See Madame de Lafayette: La Princesse de Clèves , in Antoine Adam (Ed.): Les Romanciers du XVII Siècle, Paris, Pléiade, 1958, p. 1170-72.

# THE IMPORTANCE OF DANIEL DEFOE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PICARESQUE.

The novels of Daniel Defoe are of considerable importance to the development of notions of the inter-relatedness of time and space in the novel. Defoe came late to the practice of writing novels, (he was 59 years of age before the publication of Robinson Crusoe, his first work of fiction, in 1719), and fiction forms only a small proportion of his total literary output. He had spent the previous thirty years as a writer of tracts, dealing in the main with political, economic, moral and religious, topographical, navigational and geographical issues: an estimated total of approximately 500 works.[354]

Defoe's lengthy and specialised experience as a journalist dealing in matters of fact is to a great degree responsible for the sense of reality which pervades the vast majority of his fictional writing.[355] It would be correct to say that events recounted in Defoe's novels do not ordinarily lie outside the realms of possibility: the limited use of the fantastic in Defoe's novels is hugely outweighed by his realism.[356] Defoe's detailed (but mainly hearsay and

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[354] See Angus Ross (Ed): Robinson Crusoe, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1985, Flyleaf before the title page.

[355] Arnold Kettle: in 'Puritanism and the Rise of the Novel' in Literature and Liberation: Selected Essays, Manchester Univ. Press, 1988, advances the idea, which is extremely persuasive, that Defoe's method of presenting reality has much in common with methods visible in the Puritan sermon of the seventeenth century in which case histories of malefactors were made more 'real' by the inclusion of their names and minute details of their circumstances. In the words of Kettle: 'Verisimilitude, achieved by factual detail in itself... and by the telling, 'unnecessary detail... which in practice adds the very necessary sense of interrelationship, continuity, life. The naming of people and things and places is 'convincing' not because it provides 'evidence' but because it reflects the actual way people do relate and establish their identities and their stories'(p. 117 ff). It is Kettle's conclusion that Bunyan's Christian becomes Defoe's Robinson Crusoe ( Ibid. p. 125).

[356] Defoe's limited use of the fantastic is seen to best advantage in The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719), in which Crusoe, after revisiting the Island which he colonised in Robinson Crusoe (1719), travels to the Far East; to China where he demolishes a number of sacred

cartographical)[357] familiarity with world geography, and his awareness of the newly increased volume of international travel which accompanied the economic boom years of the turn of the eighteenth century, gave him the opportunity of incorporating, in each of his novels, an international dimension: a varied use of foreign and unfamiliar "places" varying from Scotland in Colonel Jack to the Atlantic Ocean and South America in Robinson Crusoe. Sometimes Defoe is tempted to use the international "dimension" of a novel to make it appear more interesting to the reader: one may sense that, in Roxana, for example, the fact that the heroine is of Huguenot family, and that she is involved in romantic and financial affairs in England, Paris, Meudon, Amsterdam and numerous other places, are introduced as un-necessary complications of a basically straight-forward plot. I do not, however, in any way, wish adversely to criticise Defoe's acknowledgement of the fact that, with effect from the Restoration, England had become an international trading nation with considerably more extensive interests in world affairs than in its cramped existence under the Commonwealth. The whole of Western Europe, together with much of the Americas, as well as trading stations on the coastlines of the Indian Ocean and the seaboard of Africa, were now familiar territory to someone with the detailed knowledge of economic and general current affairs which Defoe

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statues, before returning to England via Russia. His descriptions of parts of South America and Africa, Madagascar and India are clearly drawn from the common iconology of the imagination. Defoe's Africa can be extremely amusing: in Captain Singleton (1720), we read of Elephants' skulls of Ivory. Rather annoying on occasion are Defoe's unrealistic coincidences: in Captain Singleton, for example, the discovery of a wrecked Dutch merchantman lying off the coast complete with the remains of a shipwright's workshop (which enables the construction of a large ocean-going vessel) is beyond ordinary belief: similarly, the bolt of lightning which strikes Singleton's ship off the Spice Islands.

[357] See John Robert Moore: Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958, for the attribution to Defoe of the *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis* (1728). This matter is considered by John McVeagh in Defoe and Far Travel in J. McVeagh (Ed.): All Before Them: English Literature and the Wider World, Vol.I, 1660-1780, London and Atlantic Highlands N.J., Ashfield Press, 1990, pp.115- 26, but especially p. 122.

possessed.[358] Thus I readily concur with John Robert Moore's observation that 'It was Defoe's highest merit as an economist that he was the first prominent English writer to see national concerns with the eye of a social historian', an assessment which additionally takes into account Defoe's acute interest in matters of the moral welfare of the individual.[359]

Defoe brings to the novel a vast diversity of people, nations and places; he possesses in addition the ability to create an unlimited admixture of plots, situations and circumstances: it is, after all, this potential for human and circumstantial interaction which is the stuff of the chronotope. In Defoe's hands, the novel takes on a spatial expansiveness which multiplies rather than adds to the area of world geography within which his characters operate. There will be no equivalent to this sudden broadening of novelistic "space", until we encounter a comparable expansion in spheres of world geography in the personal experience and novels of Joseph Conrad, at the turn of the twentieth century.

For reasons which, in the opinion of Ian Watt, are due in the main to carelessness on the part of Defoe, the author's sense of time (the temporal chronotope) is somewhat disordered. Watt, referring to the inconsistencies which arise from the sequence of events surrounding Moll Flanders' theft of a gold watch in the Strand, concludes that:[360]

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358 The familiarity of the public with the realities of life in distant oceanic waters and in foreign ports had already been provided in the works of contemporaneous historians. One need only cite the popular work of Alexander Exquemelin: The Buccaneers of America, (1678), first published in Dutch, to demonstrate that knowledge of the dark side of international trade was already in the public arena long before Defoe envisaged Robinson Crusoe.

359 See John Robert Moore: Op. Cit. p. 306.

360 See Ian Watt: The Rise of the Novel: London, Chatto and Windus, 1957, p. 99.

> the narrative as a whole confirms the impression that Defoe paid little attention to the internal consistency of his story ... These discontinuities strongly suggest that Defoe did not plan his novel as a coherent whole, but worked piecemeal, very rapidly, and without any subsequent revision.

It cannot, in fact, be denied that Defoe presents his reader with a number of anomalies in matters of the temporal chronotope, and the example of the gold watch (or watches) provides an excellent example. There is, however, an additional dimension to the problem of the temporal chronotope in Defoe which Watt touches upon, but which it is necessary for us to examine in greater detail.

It is visibly true that Defoe, in his urgency to complete whatever work he was engaged upon, wrote carelessly: it may be maintained that some, at least, of Moll Flanders was never revised by Defoe at all. On the occasion in the novel when Moll's second husband gives her some hasty instructions, bids her farewell, and then escapes from the bailiff's house and flees to France, Moll accounts for the sequence of events which occurs immediately afterwards in the following way:[361]

> However, I did as he bade me, *that you may be sure,* and having thus taken my leave of him, I never saw him more; for he found means to break out of the bailiff's house that Night or the next, And [sic] got over into France, and for the rest, the creditors scrambl'd for it as well they could: How I knew not, for I could come at no knowledge of any thing more than this, that he came

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[361] See Daniel Defoe: Moll Flanders, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1989, p. 106-107.

> Home about three o'clock in the morning, caus'd the rest of his Goods to be removed into the *Mint*, [a sanctuary for insolvent debtors], and the shop to be shut up; and having raised what money he could get together, he got over as I said to France, from whence I had one or two letters from him, and no more.

Clearly, Defoe, on referring to the Creditors who 'scrambl'd for it as well as they could', had completely forgotten that the contents of the shop were still *in situ* , and it might have been possible for the creditors to return to the shop and recover their dues in kind. It became necessary, therefore, for Moll's husband to return clandestinely to the shop and cause his goods to be transferred to the *mint* (where they were legally protected from seizure by creditors): additionally, he provided himself with petty cash, (presumably from the till), without which he would not have been able to travel at all! The second half of this paragraph is a correction of the first: it rectifies a fault which could have been expunged with minimal effort if the passage had been re-written. Defoe clearly re-read the paragraph, but could not be bothered to re-write it, only adding to it.

Mention should also be made of the hiatus in the novel which arises in the course of Moll's first marriage. During the final years of Moll's girlhood in Colchester, she is first the lover of the Elder Brother of the household in which she is employed as a maid servant, and subsequently, for five years, the wife of the Younger Brother of the house. During the first of these two relationships, the reader is made privy to extensive and sometimes involved conversations between Moll and the Elder Brother during the period of their relationship, and these conversations extend to exactly one tenth of the narrative length of the

novel. By contrast, her marriage to the Younger Brother is dismissed in the course of a single paragraph.[362] Disconcerting as this may be to the modern reader, it might be argued that the omission is of Moll's choosing: she simply wishes to eradicate this period of her life from her memory, or not confide any details of it to us. And it is in situations such as this that the problem of the temporal chronotope of Defoe's novels is to be identified. The problem arises simply because Moll Flanders, together, in particular, with Roxana and Colonel Jack, is the first major novel in the English language to attempt, in the language of its characters, to simulate the patterns of speech construction (and thought processes in general) which might have been expected in their dialogue and reportage. Bakhtin, in referring to the fact that in Moll Flanders, (which is amongst the Travel Novels which he specifically identifies as having 'temporal categories' which 'are extremely poorly developed'), is in some respects doing no more than observing that Defoe achieves a high level of verisimilitude in his presentation of his pathetic creation, Moll. It may be argued that Defoe represents the activities of his heroine's mind in the manner in which they actually occurred to her, rather than to him.[363] To a certain extent, therefore, this adherence to the vernacular, which reaches us seemingly directly from Moll, with the minimum of obvious interposition from Defoe, can be held responsible for the patent disorganisation, and episodic nature, of the narrative. It is as if Defoe, in his quest for realism, places the chronotopicity of his novel in the hands of its first person narrator.

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[362] Ibid., p. 102.

[363] There is considerable significance here in the wider context of Bakhtin's enquiries in the field of Polyphony in the novel.

There is, additionally, substantial inter-textual evidence to suggest that Defoe went to considerable lengths (or perhaps the knack of imitation came very naturally to him), to ensure that his representation of the speech of his characters was entirely true to reality. Similarly, Defoe appears to have been cognisant of exactly what any of his characters would, in the ordinary course of daily life, have been aware of, and how they would have expressed themselves. I consider, for example, the difference in the familiarity with the details of London's topography possessed by Moll and Colonel Jack respectively. Defoe sustains this difference between his two characters by ensuring that Moll, recently arrived in London from Essex and unfamiliar with its topography, never gives her reader any notion of which part of the capital she is referring to: she refers only to institutional locations, the Mint, The Mad House, The Bull Inn (which was near the Mint), and two references to Redriff (Rotherhithe). Only later in the novel does Moll become better acquainted with her surroundings and begins to refer to streets (mainly in the region of Smithfield) by name. Colonel Jack, who was born and bred in the back alleys of the capital, on the other hand, provides his reader with extensive details of the routes which he follows on his errands of thieving: he has known the alleys and lanes of South and East London almost since birth, and the reader can follow him around London with little difficulty.

Such insistence on the verisimilitude of his characters' accounts of their activities makes it difficult to sit in "criticism" on Defoe as author, as he makes no attempt to simulate, stylistically, the manner in which he would have written as third person narrator. There is ample evidence to the effect that Defoe, when he chose to employ it, was capable of a fine prose style: there is, however,

little evidence of this, in the context of the effect of first person narration on the form of the chronotope, in the novels which we have considered.[364]

There is, however, a matter of wider and more fundamental importance to be considered in the generality of Defoe's contribution to the development of the novel: namely, that he is the first novelist in any European literature to position his characters within frameworks of time and space which relate convincingly, if somewhat inaccurately, to specific environments in " real historical time". The reader is seldom unable to envisage the events recounted by Moll or Roxana or Colonel Jack, and the (predominantly) urban environments with which we are concerned in these novels assists in the provision of eidetic continuity to narrative sequence: the solidity of the city is an adjunct to the realisation of physical reality, just as it was in the novels of Petronius and de Royas.

The eighteenth century witnessed many advances in the development of the novel, but none which represented a marked advance in the development of the novelistic chronotope from the level achieved by Defoe. There must inevitably be a strong temptation to regard the next forward movement in the history of the novelistic chronotope as that of Ann Radcliffe, especially in The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), in which we encounter, generally, a tightening of temporal sequencing, and an integration of this more realistic use of time with the added attention which she devotes to matters of topographical description. There are, however, two problems to be overcome in our consideration of Mrs.

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[364] Numerous examples of Defoe's fine prose style are to be found in the Tour Through England and Wales (1724 and 1725) and elsewhere in his technical and historical works. The style of A Journal of the Plague Year (1722) is also elegantly written in many places. His style is uneven in quality, but it is clear that he considered elegance of style, as such, to be inappropriate to the novels which we are considering.

Radcliffe's works; first, her novels are historical (The Mysteries of Udolpho is backdated to 1584), not, as in the case of Moll Flanders, to a time well within the living memory of its first readership. Secondly, by creating "worlds within worlds", she declines to absorb, or move within " real historical time", and this is at a time ( that of the enlightenment or *Erklärung* ) when the immediacy of time and place whether in Goethe's Rome or in Wordsworth's feelings of guilt at the borrowing of a small boat, is "of the essence". In the immediacy of time, as in the visibility of place, we are situated in rare and privileged areas in which there exists no dispute between romanticism and neo-classicism: herein lies the ability of one man to write both the Sorrows of Young Werther (1774) and the *Italienische Reise* .[365] In Bakhtin's view, as expressed most forcibly in BSHR, it is indeed Goethe, especially in the second of these works, who best exemplifies this developmental movement throughout Western literature, and it is with Goethe's perceptions of time and space that I shall now deal.

## GOETHE AND THE "WIDER" CHRONOTOPE.

The area to the East of the Rhine, which had in the main embraced Lutheranism at the time of the Reformation and whose secular languages were Teutonic, had never enjoyed a renaissance of Classical learning and a resurgence of Classical styles in Art and Architecture, on the scale which had been experienced elsewhere in Europe, even in the Slav territories to the East. It is almost certainly for this reason that, with effect from the second half of the

[365] Goethe visited Italy in 1786, and especially whilst in Rome (on two occasions) and in Naples, he maintained a journal. His compilation of what we now know as the *Italienische Reise*, however, was not begun until twenty five years after his return to Weimar. Its compilation was greatly assisted by the availability of his letters to Charlotte von Stein, written to her at the time of his travels.

eighteenth century, the lands which we now know as Germany developed so great an enthusiasm for neo-classical study: it was an enthusiasm for something almost entirely new, and where it was known, it was mainly through the Baroque rather than the High Renaissance.

When Goethe visited Rome, for the first time in 1786, it was not, as it had been for Lessing and Herder, in anticipation of finding only an antique Rome as it had been described by Winckelmann in *Die Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764-67). Goethe visited Rome with an open mind, and what he discovered was a City in which the past and the present were fused, and where traces of the centuries which intervened between the epochs of antiquity and the present day were everywhere visible, especially in the architecture of the renaissance which provided an essential element of sequence and continuity. It is in this element of continuity that Bakhtin discerns in Goethe's appreciation of his journey to Italy a new way of perceiving the passage of time :

> Synchronism, the co-existence of times at one point in space, the space of Rome, revealed for Goethe the "fullness of time", as he experienced it in his classical period (the Italian Journey was its culmination point). (BSHR 41).

It is possible to sense in this reference to the co-existence of times at one point in space, a thought process conceived along comparable lines to the concept of the vertical chronotope in Bakhtin's analysis of the nature of the chronotope of Dante's *Divina Commedia,* and his reader may be forced to the conclusion that it is Bakhtin, no less than Goethe, who has become overwhelmed by the chronotopic nature of Rome as revealed by the latter. And I quote Bakhtin again:

> It is as if the essence of historical time in that small section of the *earth in Rome, the visible* co-existence of various epochs in it, allows the person who contemplates it to participate in the great council of world destinies: Rome is the great chronotope of human history. (BSHR 40).

And yet again, carried away by the effect which Goethe's progress towards the fusion of time and space in the mind has had upon him, Bakhtin widens his definition of the chronotope still further: it is now no longer just a matter of the intersection of specific events and specific times, within the notional prism which I defined in Chapter One of this thesis, (and as it had been so often regarded in the opening sections of FTC): it is now an all-embracing way of looking at the world. It must not be seen in piecemeal fashion, but as *weltansicht:*

> In Goethe's world, there are no events, plots or temporal motifs that are not related in an essential way to the particular spatial place of their occurrence, that could occur anywhere or nowhere ("eternal" plots and motifs). Everything in this world is a *time-space*, a true *chronotope.* (BSHR 42).

This is the widest connotation of the concept of the chronotope which we will encounter in Bakhtin's writing, and though perhaps difficult in theory to reconcile with narrower definitions, his meaning is, nevertheless, still clear.

The immediacy of time and place in Goethe's thought is, on his own admission, heavily dependent on the absorption of a visual impression, but in

this respect, he speaks perhaps for the majority of mankind: for Goethe, as for many others, no mere idea can compensate for a lack of physical reality:[366]

> So stand es denn im Buche des Schicksals auf meinem Blatte geschreiben, dass ich 1786 den achtundzwanzigsten September, abends, nach unserer Uhr um fünfe, Venedig zum ersten mal, ... besuchen sollte. ... So ist denn auch, Gott sei dank, Venedig mir kein blosses Wort mehr, kein hohler Name...

Bakhtin has tended in his commentary on the *Italienische Reise* to concentrate perhaps too insistently on the grandiosity of the place, and, whilst Goethe also was numbed by the sheer importance of Rome as *Mittelpunkt* of Western civilisation, it is most noticeably, I think, in the more mundane observations he makes, that a more "realistic" picture of his vision of the continuity and infrangible nature of time can best be discerned:[367]

> Wenn die galante Welt sich auf diese Weise bis an den Morgen erlustiget, so ist man bei anbrechendem Tage schon wieder in dem Corso beschäftiget, denselben zu reinigen und in Ordnung zu bringen.

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366 See J. W. von Goethe (Ed. Timotheus Kroeber): *Goethe's Italienische Reise*, Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1913, Vol.1. p. 61: ' And so it is written on my own page in the Book of Destiny that at five o'clock in the afternoon on the twenty-eighth of September 1786 ... Venice will be visited for the first time ... No longer, thank heavens, will Venice be a mere word, a hollow name ... ' [My Trans.]

367 Ibid. Vol 2. p. 242.: 'Whilst the gallant world [of the Roman Carnival] is enjoying itself in this way into the small hours of the morning, so workmen are already busy at the break of day, cleaning and tidying up the Corso.' [My Trans.]

This is a simple description of the beginnings of a new day before the revelry of the old had finally expired, expressed in a "poetic" prose worthy of Flaubert. In this simple picture, however, we can detect an appreciation of temporal continuity, of the inexorability of the calendar, which fully reflects Goethe's sense of the accumulative nature of time, which we have seen expressed above, but on a larger and more magniloquent scale.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the way in which Goethe perceives time and space, and one of the characteristics which Bakhtin ascribes in general to this new and fresh chronotopic outlook, is its modernity. It is doubtful if modern man's understanding of, and attitude towards, his environment in chronotopic terms has matured significantly from the day on which Goethe departed from Karlsbad on his Italian Journey.

## BAKHTIN'S CHRONOTOPE OF THE MATURE NOVEL

We have seen how, in the course of two and a half thousand years, man became increasingly familiar with the nature of the world in which he lived. However trite this observation may now appear to us, who take the compass, the atlas and even electronic navigational equipment for granted, in earlier centuries, when "simple" geographical and astronomical truths were still in course of discovery, this was not the case. In a point of the utmost importance made by Bakhtin in BSHR, he states that it was in the eighteenth century, specifically the post-Newtonian era, that man began to see the world as a whole, rather than as an area of terrestrial space which he had colonised, but which he knew to be only part of a much larger physical expanse. Bakhtin states:

> The process by which the real world was rounded out, filled in, and integrated first reached its culmination in the eighteenth century, precisely in Goethe's time .... From being a fact of abstract consciousness, theoretical constructs and *rare books*, the new, real unity and integrity of the world became a fact of ordinary (concrete) consciousness and practical orientation, a fact of ordinary books and everyday thoughts. (BSHR 44).

I would maintain that it is the "everyday" quality of these thoughts, which now take the individual environment as a "given" in life, which also enables a conscious distinction to be drawn between "real" historical time and time past. It is now possible for the novelistic character to be fully aware of his position in time and space, and to walk forward within the text of his/her novel in chronological unison with the passage of his own contemporaneity. The novelist no longer needs to recount a history, only a story. So with the advent of the enlightenment, we enter, this time without the reservations made of Defoe's inaccuracy in the rendering of reality, the unalloyed era of Bakhtin's "real historical time" in the novel.

It is at this juncture in the history of the novel, however, that the text of BSHR is concluded, but, as if to point the reader in a direction which his text might well have followed, Bakhtin leads his reader along the very path taken in the next century by Balzac, Dickens, Zola, and, sometimes rather less noticeably, by the majority of realist novelists of the nineteenth century:

> The large epic form (the large epic), including the novel as well, should provide an integrated picture of the world and life; it should reflect the *entire* world and *all* of life. In the novel, the entire world and all of life are given in the cross-section of the *integrity of the epoch.* The events depicted in the novel should somehow *substitute* for the total life of the epoch. In their capacity to represent the real-life whole lies their artistic essentiality. (BSHR 43).

It is Honoré de Balzac, in the *Comédie humaine*, whom we must regard as the first to fulfil Bakhtin's requirement for "artistic essentiality" in complementing the historian's history with a novelistic account, if not an accurate political history, of contemporaneous France.[368] The role played by Balzac in the development of the chronotope of the mature novel of the nineteenth century cannot be overestimated. It was inevitable that the socio-political effects of the period which followed the French Revolution would cause equally significant changes in the nature of the spatial and temporal chronotopes of the French novel, (and subsequently in the European novel as a whole), and it is in Balzac's *Comédie humaine* that these changes are most extensively and thoroughly reflected in the history of the novel.

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[368] Balzac occasionally chooses to ignore events of great importance to the historical background of a novel, in circumstances where no dutiful historian could have failed to do so. Anne-Marie Meininger has shown in her introduction to *Les Petits Bourgeois*, (Paris, Editions Pléiade, VIII, 10.) that Balzac, in that novel, ignores the unrest amongst the *ouvriers* which occurred in Paris in July 1840, but defends Balzac's departure from historical fidelity by pointing out that Balzac is an historian of customs rather than of events, and that his primary purpose was to capture the spirit of the times in contemporary society. See also R.Butler: Balzac and the French Revolution, Barnes and Noble, Totowa, New Jersey, 1983, for a full account of Balzac as novelist in relation to the political history of France.

European society prior to the French revolution had been in the main a two class system, a society little changed, in terms of the distribution of wealth and land tenure, from the feudal order which it is customary to associate with an earlier era altogether. Only a thin layer of an intermediate class, composed predominantly of the religious, legal, clerical and mercantile professions, lay between the landowner and those directly subservient to him. In France, it was the Revolution which led to an almost immediate increase in this middle class, the *bourgeoisie,* but it was by no means only a French phenomenon. England, from the time of Defoe, in the establishment of industries and large retail businesses by self-made men, and by the recruitment of personnel to serve the newly-acquired colonial provinces on meritocratic considerations, had formed the foundations of its own middle class, well before the much greater autocracy of the French monarchy gave rise to revolution. Already, in Jane Austen's Emma(1816), there are signs of an upper and lower middle class, exemplified by the Woodhouse family, who exist between the Legal profession and the Landed Gentry, and view with disdain the arrival in the village of a family who are engaged in trade.

The rise of the *bourgeoisie* on both sides of the channel had the effect of increasing the range of character type, and the range of occupations performed by those types of character, from which the novelist was now able to select his *dramatis personae.* The novelist's plot could now encompass the interaction of members of every social class with every other, thereby extending the facility with which sub-plots could be, and were, introduced. Additionally, the growth in the money supply, (money in coin as opposed to bills of credit and exchange), provided yet one more catalyst between members of previously separate social groupings. The novelist's new freedom to demolish social barriers is already seen in Balzac's *Comédie humaine,* but reaches England later, through not being the

result of revolutionary force. It is highly doubtful, to use one obvious example, if, in George Eliot's Middlemarch (1872), it would have been possible or likely that Dagley would have confronted Brooke quite as forthrightly as he did, if the novel had been written even fifty years earlier. Jane Austen, for example, would not even have thought such a confrontation possible.

The sub-plot in itself was of considerable significance for the tightening of both the spatial and temporal chronotopes of the novel, if only in the sense that it had, of necessity, to be chronologically synchronised with the main plot: additionally, meetings and other forms of chronotopic interstice arising from the development of a sub-plot had to preserve a realistic chronotopic relationship with events in the main plot, other sub-plots, or historical events external to the novel.

Simultaneously with the social changes which took place subsequently to the revolution in France, other changes of a purely socio-economic nature took place, mainly in the area of scientific and communications technology, which both served the interests of the new middle classes, and added substantially to the range of roles, both in the trades and professions, which could be performed by members of them. These new roles, the role of the post-master or the station-master, for example, again furthered the scope of the novelist to depict them. By the end of the nineteenth century, entire novels had used these new technologies as the basis of plot - I would cite, as possibly amongst the most valuable examples of this literary development, Emile Zola's *La Bête Humaine*, (1890, but planned in the 1870s). I cite the example of this novel, simply because, in its primary concern with the operation of a railway system from the Terminus St. Lazare in Paris to Le Havre and other destinations, it presupposes the existence of a temporal chronotope of everyday life, which is able to think in terms of split

seconds. Additionally, in the words of Henri Mitterand, Zola, in *La Bête Humaine*, :[369]

> ... worked ... on .... the creation of a chronotopy (in the Bakhtinian sense of the term) that is extremely refined, personal and collective, and corresponds to the discovery of a mode of being of modern individuals and crowds: traffic.

In a comparable manner, the scientific and industrial developments of the century had given rise to an enormous increase in administrative responsibility: in turn this exercised its effect on the scheduling of office hours, just as the work of industrial manufacture and assembly necessitated the presence of a work force at exact "working hours". The office manager, a character utterly absent from the literature of the eighteenth century, makes his appearance in the middle of the nineteenth, typically in Anthony Trollope's The Three Clerks (1857). Indeed, Trollope's description of the Chief Clerk of the Weights and Measures Office, Mr. Fidus Neverbend's rigorous insistence on timekeeping in The Three Clerks, speaks for the "administrative chronotope" of the nineteenth century:[370]

> A quarter of an hour spent over a newspaper was in his eyes a downright robbery. If he saw a man so employed, he would divide out the total of salary into hourly portions, and tell him to a fraction of how much he was defrauding the public. If he ate a

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[369] See Henri Mitterand: 'The Genesis of Novelistic Space: Zola's "La Bête Humaine" ' in Brian Nelson (Ed.): Naturalism in the European Novel, Oxford, Berg, 1992, pp. 66-79.

[370] See Anthony Trollope: The Three Clerks, Oxford, World Classics, 1989, p. 69.

> biscuit in the middle of the day, he did so with his eyes firmly fixed on some document, and he had never been known to be absent from his office after ten or before four.

Other aspects of everyday life were similarly linked to chronotopicity: the reduction in the cost of the manufacture of watches, the coincidence of time and place in horse-racing (and, later in the century, dog-racing), but above all it was the scheduling of transport, whether by train, by boat or by coach, which stamped the age with the need for accurate time-keeping, outside the working environment. Perhaps the literary importance of Mr. George Bradshaw's rail time-tables has been under-estimated.

It is now necessary to revert to the role of Balzac in the formation of the chronotope of post-revolutionary France. As, however, those elements formative of the rise of the *bourgeoisie* , though of particular interest to Balzac in the *Comédie humaine*, are common to the politico-economic background against which his contemporaries and successors also wrote, I shall confine myself to an examination of his decisive contribution to the development of the spatial chronotope of the European novel.

Balzac subdivided the *Comédie humaine* into categories of novel, the two most important of which were the *Etudes Philosophiques* and the *Etudes de Moeurs*. Aware of the essential differences which characterised the urban and the rural novel, he again subdivided the *Etudes de Moeurs* into three principle groups: *Scènes de la vie privée*, *Scènes de la vie parisiennes*, and *Scènes de la vie de province*. This is, I think, the first conscious acknowledgement by any Western European novelist of the essential chronotopic differences between urban novel and rural novel respectively.

Most exemplary of the urban novel in post-Revolutionary France is Balzac's Le Père Goriot (1834), for much of what is relevant to the nature of the new urban chronotope is contained in its descriptive passages. For example, Balzac's descriptions of the Maison (or Hôtel) Vauquer in Paris' Latin Quarter display a degree of attention to detail and environmental atmosphere unattempted by any previous novelist. In the Maison Vauquer, we find the squalor of urban compression, and the poverty which leads within one decade to the pleas for social reform made by Eugène Sue in Les Mystères de Paris (1842). Balzac, however, in Le Père Goriot, is not concerned with the squalor of the poorest parts of the City nor with its poorest inhabitants. It is his intention in this respect to deal with a boarding house of the *bourgeoisie,* as is clearly stated on a sign-board outside the premises: "MAISON VAUQUER,. . . Pension Bourgeoise des deux sexes et autres".[371] Balzac's description of the Maison Vauquer, on the other hand, is sufficiently indicative of urban poverty to create a precedent for all subsequent attempts in the history of the European novel to depict the ills of metropolitan life.

The conditions in which the inhabitants of the Maison Vauquer suffer are made manifest from the outset, and Balzac leaves his reader in no doubt that this is a Parisian (as distinct from a provincial) issue:[372]

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371 See Honoré de Balzac: Le Père Goriot, Op. Cit. p. 9.

372 Ibid. p.7.: Trans as: 'Will this be understood outside Paris ? One might be allowed one's doubts! Only between the hills of Montmartre and Montrouge can the details of this scene, so full of telling observations and local colour, be understood. In this vale of plaster, always on the point of falling to the ground, and of streams full of mud: in this vale of real suffering, and often of false happiness, in which the sense of tense agitation is so great that it would take an event of some enormity to produce any sensation of lasting duration'. [My Trans.]

> Sera-t-elle comprise au-delà de Paris? Le doute est permis. Les particularités de cette scène pleine d'observations et de couleurs locales ne peuvent être appréciées qu'entre les buttes de Montmartre et les hauteurs de Montrouge, dans cette illustre vallée de plâtras incessamment près de tomber et de ruisseaux noirs de boue; vallée remplie de souffrances réelles, de joies souvent fausses, et si terriblement agitée qu'il faut je ne sais quoi d'exorbitant pour y produire une sensation de quelque durée.

Balzac's somewhat unusual way of presenting the evils of this squalid Paris suburb are concentrated as much upon the numbing and depressive effects of a disadvantaged life in the Parisian metropolis as upon the actual dirt and deprivation to which he makes reference. This is a hallmark of Balzac's method: the association of outward appearance with inward character, as much in his depiction of places as in his presentation of people. It is a method he employs to enormous advantage in his description of the interior of the Maison Vauquer:[373]

> Cette première pièce exhale une odeur sans nom dans la langue, et qu'il faudrait appeler *l'odeur de pension.* Elle sent le renfermé, le moisi, le rance; elle donne froid, elle est humide au nez, elle pénètre les vêtements...

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[373] Ibid, p. 11. trans as: 'This first room [ the sitting-room] exhales an odour for which there exists no adequate word in the entire language, but which might well be called *The Pension smell.* It was the smell of enclosed spaces, of mouldiness and food that had become rancid: it gave off a feeling of chill, and was damp to the nose: it penetrated one's clothing ... Here one encountered pieces of furniture, seemingly indestructible, for they had been thrown out of everywhere, but had found a place here, just as the debris of civilisation finds its way to the Hospices for the Dying'. My Trans.

> Il s'y rencontre de ces meubles indestructibles, proscrits partout, mais placés là comme le sont les débris de la civilisation aux Incurables.

It has been said often, but must be repeated, that there is much in Balzac's "Romantic Realism" (to borrow a term from Donald Fanger[374]), which is anticipatory of many of the metropolitan novelists of the nineteenth century. Fanger's comment to the effect that, by the time of Balzac's death, "Romantic Realism" had discovered both London and Petersburg, undoubtedly refers to Dickens on one hand, and Gogol and Dostoevsky on the other.[375] I am in no doubt that Balzac, not least in _Le Père Goriot_ established a precedent for the presentation of the metropolis in the novel, and especially in the novel of reform: in his combination of attention to realistic if nauseating detail, in his slightly extravagant use of metaphor, in the wry humour which enables him to compare a piece of furniture with a patient in a hospital for the dying, he relies upon the grotesque in much the same way as Dickens or Dostoevsky. Even the scenes of London's urban degeneration which inform the entirety of Joseph Conrad's The Secret Agent (1907) are ultimately indebted to Balzac's presentation of the uglier quarters of Paris, not least in _Le Père Goriot_. Neither can Zola's debt to Balzac in this respect, especially in the *timbre* of _L'Assommoir_ (1877), be over-estimated.

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374 See Donald Fanger: Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism, University of Chicago Press, 1969, *passim*, but especially pp. 28-64.

375 Ibid. p. 63-64: 'Balzac is the first of the Romantic Realists, the first to investigate the fact and the poetry "of that gulf, that sea, that wave forever in motion, call it the world, the century, Paris, London or Petersburg as you will". In this as in much else he was prophetic: by the time of his death, Romantic Realism had discovered both London and Petersburg.' Fanger has borrowed his internal quotation from Balzac: _La Fausse Maitresse_, quoted by Pierre Citron: _La Poésie de Paris dans la littérature française de Rousseau à Baudelaire_, Paris, 1961, Vol. 2., p. 197.

Balzac, in his "coverage" of the *moeurs* of France, does not fail to deal with the chronotope of the provincial town, and, in a manner which has never since been repeated, allocates to each of many provincial towns and cities of France a character and a pace of life of its own: there is an inbuilt chronotopic speed discernible in the Saumur of *Eugenie Grandet* (1833), the Douai of *La Récherche de l'Absolu* (1834), and the Besançon of *Albert Savarus* (1842).

Similarly, Balzac pays due attention to the countryside, but it is not an idyllic countryside, and Balzac's overall message in *Les Paysans* (1833, but unfinished) is only to the effect that the peasant farmer, elevated to the status of freeholder, now had a money-lender (mortgager) for a landlord instead of an aristocrat from whom he could lease his land in perpetuity. In short, the countryside is not the idyll it may appear, a matter at which Balzac seems to hint already in *Le Père Goriot* : the Maison Vauquer, with its beds of geraniums, its pathways, and oleander trees growing in ornamental jars; its poultry, pigs and rabbits in its rear courtyard, is but *rus in urbis* , and this, also, is a deceptively unpleasant *rus*.

A characteristic of the *Comédie humaine*, and one which serves to create an unity from the vast diversity of time, place and subject matter, is Balzac's cyclical usage of some of his most important characters. Rastignac, Vautrin, de Nucingen, Derville, amongst many others, all recur within the framework of the *Comédie humaine* and lend solidity to its structure. It is one more element in the attainment of density in textual construction which Balzac achieves, and

which in turn solidifies the spatial and temporal "novelistic chronotopes" of his works.[376]

The metropolis as capital city, rather than as a potential object of social reform, is encountered on occasion in the mature novel, but not with great frequency. In the German novel, it is found more than elsewhere: Wilhelm Raabe, for example, in *Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* (1857), in an effort to simulate the boredom of everyday life, presents his quiet suburb of Berlin as a place where nothing of any real importance happens. In this respect, he anticipates the "Berlin" novels of Theodor Fontane, whose*Vor dem Storm* (1878) must be located at least in part in Berlin because its hero, Lewin von Vitzewitz, must have rooms in the capital; because Alexander von Ladalinski is a Privy Councillor and his office is in Berlin, and because Hansen-Grell's literary circle could hardly meet in a provincial town. But the novel is, in reality, multi-centred: its real action, which takes place at an inordinately slow chronotopic speed, arises out of the "primitive" racial dispute that has divided the Margravate of Brandenburg since the Dark Ages, and develops equally in several country houses to the east of Berlin. Similarly, in *Irrungen, Wirrungen* (1887), Fontane presents Berlin as a "garden city", in which green fields are visible from both the Tiergarten and the Kurfürstendamm: it is a City of plenty as much for the poorer characters of the novel (Frau Dörr, Frau Nimptsch and Lene) as for the Prussian nobility, and its pace of life is extremely leisurely. As Metropolitan

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[376] The idea of the cycle in Zola's novels, (especially) of the Rougon-Macquart cycle, almost certainly stems from Balzac's precedent, but Zola's dependence on inherited familial characteristics, and upon the highly personal nature of his own philosophy, largely pre-determines the nature of the cycle: in the *Comédie humaine*, characters are not similarly predestined to the same extent, and display much more deliberate initiative. Balzac's legacy to the later realist novel is difficult to assess, and Martin Turnell, for example, cautions his reader not to place too much emphasis on the relationship between the narrative techniques of Balzac and Dickens: but the influence is there, none the less. It is perhaps at its most visible in the work of Dostoevsky, and in Crime and Punishment in particular.

novels, these works have little or nothing in common with novels of "Romantic Realism", and it would be a daring critic who found common ground for identifying any overall chronotopic associations in the totality of Metropolitan novels of the nineteenth century, *per genre.*

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the mature novel, from the point of view of its overall spatial chronotope, is the tendency of its authors to avoid the turmoil of the metropolis, and situate their novels within a region, a locale or even a village. Examples of this tendency are so numerous, both in France, in Germany, in England and in Russia, that it is perhaps the exception which proves the rule. In general, in England in particular, it is perhaps possible to detect a preference for the provincial novel, simply because so many authors have preferred to work within fairly narrow territorial confines: for Trollope to have recreated the thematic structure of his Barchester novels against a backdrop of St. Paul's Cathedral would have required novels of an utterly different scale from those which he wrote. Then there were novelists, the Brontës for example, who knew of no other environments (excepting the Brussels of Villette) than those which they used as the scenery of their novels. In general, however, the regional novel is so idiosyncratic, so personal to the author who has selected his small corner of the earth as the location for his novels, that here we are concerned simultaneously with innumerable chronotopes of individual authors, subject to no overall means of classification or analysis.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ROGUE, CLOWN AND FOOL IN THE NOVEL

Between the sections of FTC which are concerned respectively with the Chivalric Romance and the Rabelaisian Chronotope, Bakhtin inserts a section entitled 'The Functions of the Rogue, the Clown and the Fool in the Novel'.(FTC 158-67). This section is not directly concerned with matters related to the chronotope, but Bakhtin, in my personal view unnecessarily, saw fit to include it as a distinct and separate part of the Chronotope essay, and in that capacity it comes within the remit of this thesis. In any event, it requires clarification (and in much greater depth than I can accord it here), not only with regard to its intrinsic importance, but with regard also to the fact that its meaning has not appeared obvious to those critics who have attempted to interpret it for the benefit of others. Bakhtin contends that:

> Simultaneously with forms of high literature in the Middle Ages, development took place in those low folkloric and semi-folkloric forms that tended towards satire and parody. These forms tended to become cycles; parodic and satiric epics emerge. In the Middle Ages, this literature of the dregs of Society features three prominent types, enormously significant for the later development of the European novel. These figures are the rogue, the clown and the fool. (FTC 158).

I have delayed my consideration of these three categories of novelistic character to this late stage in my thesis for two primary reasons: First, it was necessary to have considered the import of Bakhtin's references to 'low' forms of literature and the literature 'of the dregs of society', in the light of evidence

which I presented in the course of my examination of the Rabelaisian Chronotope. It was necessary for me to have dealt with Bakhtin's references to these (allegedly separate) literary categories before considering the roles he ascribes to the rogue, the clown and the fool. It was Bakhtin's wish to apply their characteristics in the main to establishing archaic prototypes, stemming from archetypal social forms in pre-history, for certain characters in Rabelais' novels. I hope that, together with Richard Berrong and Kathryn Gravdal, in their respective works which I considered in my examination of the Rabelaisian chronotope, I have expunged finally the sharp line of distinction which Bakhtin draws between 'high' and 'low' forms of literature in the late Middle Ages, at least in terms of their readership. Through having done so, the rogues, clowns and fools of novelistic literature can be re-admitted to a single mainstream of novelistic development. In any case, the fool, in the form of the clown, is not absent from Bakhtin's 'high' literature of the Middle Ages, as the narratives of Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* and Malory's Morte d'Arthur will confirm.[377]

Secondly, the roles played by rogues, clowns and fools (as defined by Bakhtin) in many novels of the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries are often so crucial to the manners in which their authors present their authorial points of view, that it seemed appropriate to substantiate the claims which Bakhtin makes for this character grouping, by reference to examples drawn from the 'later development of the European novel', something which Bakhtin, with a few exceptions, largely declines to do.[378] It therefore seemed appropriate to delay my

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[377] See Chrétien de Troyes: *Perceval*, in Arthurian Romances, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1991, p. 397., for the deference shown by Sir Kay to King Arthur's 'fool' when the latter insults him in the presence of the entire court. Also the knighthood of Dagonet, King Arthur's fool in Malory's Morte D'Arthur.

[378] Bakhtin does in fact mention the instance, which I considered in another context in Chapter One, of the uncomprehending Pierre at the Battle of Borodino in Tolstoy's War and Peace. Also

examination of this matter to that part of this thesis which is concerned with the more modern novel.

The special characteristics and the bases of the effective functions which Bakhtin assigns to the character group of the Rogue, Clown and Fool are identified to a large extent in the following extracts from adjacent paragraphs of FTC:

> Essential to these three figures is a distinctive feature that is as well a privilege - the right to be "other" in this world, the right not to make common cause with any single one of the existing categories that life makes available; none of these categories quite suits them, they see the underside and the falseness of every situation. Therefore, they can exploit any position they choose, but only as a mask. The rogue still has some ties that bind him to real life; the clown and the fool, however, are "not of this world", and therefore possess their own special rights and privileges. These figures are laughed at by others, and *themselves* as well. Their laughter bears the stamp of the public square where the folk gather. They re-establish the public nature of the human figure: the entire being of characters such as these is, after all, utterly on the surface; everything is brought out onto the square, so to speak; their entire function consists in externalising things....

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an uncomprehending Levin, in Anna Karenina, witnessing the election of the Duma. He makes other references to Swift's Gulliver's Travels, and Thackeray's Vanity Fair. With these major exceptions, references to the ways in which the rogue, clown and fool have been used authorially for purposes included in the range of roles which Bakhtin ascribes to them in the 'Later European Novel', are extremely few.

> Where these figures remain real life people, they are fully understandable, and we take them so much for granted that they do not seem to create any problems at all. But from real life, they move into literary fiction, taking with them all of the aforementioned attributes. Here, in novel texts, they themselves undergo a series of transformations, and they transform certain critical aspects of the novel as well. (FTC 159 - 60).

In the classical and mediaeval worlds, the right to be "other" was very largely the prerogative of persons who, for reasons of being essentially, and often physically, different from their fellow men, (dwarfs who were ideally suited to performing in the circus, deformed persons who could not compete on equal terms with their peers, or mental defectives who were unable to perform any useful tasks at all), were treated either with the condescension accorded to pet (and sometimes performing) animals, or, amongst those who were intelligent, as confidants. Complete reliance could be placed upon these unfortunates, because they owed everything they possessed to their guardian, and posed no threat either politically or matrimonially to his interests. The clown and the fool were seen as impartial and sometimes, partly for this reason, as wise. Also, by dint of their being in close proximity to the court or household to which they were attached, they were likely to know the "real" condition of the house; they were in a position to discredit any inaccurate account of what was actually "going on" within it.

The practice of employing a court-fool or court-jester reached its zenith at the end of the mediaeval period and in the renaissance in Northern Europe, and the identities of several famous clowns are part and parcel of the history of these periods.

In Russia, however, the practice of retaining fools, jesters and dwarfs survived for much longer than in Western Europe, where the practice had effectively died out by the middle of the seventeenth century. F. C. Weber reports that Peter the Great required a large number of Fools to keep him amused, and relates a disgusting story of an arranged marriage between two dwarfs, conducted with great pomp and circumstance at the palace of Prince Menshikoff.[379] Even in the next century, Count Tolstoy reports Natasha Rostova, in War and Peace, as possessing a fool to keep her company in the absence of her lover. Perhaps we can see in this late survival of earlier practices the makings of Dostoevsky's Fedka in The Devils (1871-72), who exemplifies in several ways the uses to which the rogue, clown and fool are put in the later European novel. Moreover, I would suggest, the very fact that the court-fool survived for so long in Russia (together with Bakhtin's need for a social grouping which existed in the Middle Ages - in order that they could antedate his discussion of them in the Rabelais section of FTC) which led him to specify the rogue, clown and fool as precisely as he did. But this is not to infer that these categories, which we will see sometimes to overlap, are not of specific significance: they are, indeed, ideally suited to the tasks which Bakhtin identifies for them. This is after all the kernel of Bakhtin's argument - that it is only a person, whose individual world lies outside the complexus of personal worlds which combine to form the social structure of the novel, who can criticise that structure from within the novel, and with a force adequate to convince the man in the street - or in Bakhtin's terminology - the market square (or *Agora*). Needless to say, as time progresses, the types of person who come within the definition of Bakhtin's "other" increases, to include the

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[379] See F.C.Weber: *Das Veränderte Ruszland*, Part I, Frankfurt am Main, 1721, translated as The Present State of Russia, London, 1723, which E.Welsford: The Fool, London, Faber and Faber, 1935, p. 342 n. declares to omit crucial passages dealing with the keeping of clowns and fools at Court and at private houses in Russia. Part Two of Weber's work was published in Hannover in 1739.

idealist (Kirillov in Dostoevsky's The Devils), the artist (Ladislaw in George Eliot's Middlemarch), the tramp (Henchard in Hardy's Mayor of Casterbridge), the outcast (Silas Marner in George Eliot's eponymous novel) and so forth: but these were not members of recognisable or well recorded social groups in the Middle Ages.

I shall use Fedka, in The Devils (1871), in the first instance, to illustrate Bakhtin's use of the character who is "other" as the ideal medium for the exposition of the ills of a society to which he does not belong. Fedka is an example of the rogue who is generally believed to be a fool: he is also an outcast, who has actually been "lost" when a child by Stepan Verkhovensky, (to whom he belonged as a serf) - literally in the course of a game of cards at the English Club (in St. Petersburg) -, and it for this reason that he has been offered a merchant's internal passport by Stepan's son, Peter, by way of compensation.[380] The inter-association of roguery and foolery in Fedka is of his own admission, and Dostoevsky here assists in verifying the conformation of Bakhtin's character grouping:[381]

> 'When they say a man's a scoundrel, [Fedka here refers to any scoundrel, but indirectly refers to himself] you know nothing more about him than that he's a scoundrel. And if they say he's a fool, then that man has no other calling except that of a fool. I may be just a fool on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, but on Thursdays I'm cleverer than what he is ... '.

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380 See Feodor Dostoevsky: The Devils, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1992, p. 273.

381 Ibid. p. 274.

In Dostoevsky's definition of Fedka's nature, Fedka is highly suitable for use as a critic of the society to which he is no more than nominally attached: it is accepted that he cannot say anything that he wishes, as his interlocutor, Nikolai Stavrogin, possesses the power to hand him over to the police on the slightest suspicion of a misdemeanour, and makes it quite clear that he would do so.[382] Fedka, however, does not so much criticise as summarise the disordered nature of his environment, in his semi-jocular offer of his services as a guide to Stavrogin:[383]

> 'Do you know your way around here, Sir ? There're all sorts of alleys... I could guide you, for this town is so confusing, it's just like the devil had carried it around in a basket and shook it up.'

This is, in fact, couched in the somewhat primitive terms which Bakhtin has asked us to expect from his character grouping, an extremely succinct metaphor for the disordered state of the town manifest in its geographical sprawl intersected by lanes and serpentine pathways; its covert political allegiances and activities; its curious admixture of fanatics (Peter Verkhovensky and Kirillov), eccentrics (Captain Lebyadkin), superfluous men (Stepan Verkhovensky, Stavrogin, and Shatov) and others espousing implausible politico-social ideologies (Virginsky, Lyamshin and Liputin), and, finally, in its hopelessly inadequate local government administration. It is this aspect of Dostoevsky's The Devils, so succinctly summarised by Fedka, the latter fulfils exemplarily the role ascribed to his "class" by Bakhtin.

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[382] Ibid, for Stavrogin: ' I have no need for you and will never have, and if you don't listen to me, I'll tie you up and take you to the police.'

[383] Ibid. p. 275.

Charles Dickens in Hard Times (1854) uses not only a circus clown, Master Kidderminster, and the circus proprietor's own daughter, Miss Josephine Sleary, but the entire circus *per* establishment, as an antidote to the cult of utilitarianism which pervades the industrial, moral and social climate of the novel's environment, Coketown: in particular, Dickens' criticism is aimed at the school of the high priest of utilitarianism, Mr. Gradgrind. Here, Sleary's circus exemplifies perfectly the role of the clown as critic of his milieu. Gradgrind's pupil, Bitzer, in conformity with the best utilitarian principles, defines a horse as "Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty four grinders, four eye-teeth, twelve incisors. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds too".[384] This static, inconsequential and anatomical definition underscores the rigid angular emptiness of what is only useful, physically productive and profitable, and stands in direct contradistinction to the freedom of movement of Sleary's circus horses and their riders. Mr. Childers[385], the "Wild Huntsman of the North American Prairies" and the leading acrobat of Sleary's circus, directly engages the issue of the profitability of time, (manufacturing industry vis á vis leisure), in conversation with Coketown's leading industrialist, Mr. Bounderby:

> 'I have not', retorted Mr. Childers,' the honour of knowing you, - but if you mean that you can make more money of your time than I can of mine, I should judge from your appearance, that you are about right.'

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384 See Charles Dickens: Hard Times, Oxford, World Classics, 1989, p. 38.

385 Mr. E.W.B.Childers was named after a famous horse, named "The Flying Childers" which performed at Astley's circus in London. Dickens was so anxious to represent Sleary's circus accurately that he visited Astley's on several occasions. In Hard Times, Dickens describes Mr. Childers as 'dressed in a Newmarket coat and tight-fitting trousers; wore a shawl round his neck; smelt of lamp-oil, straw, orange peel, horses' provender, and sawdust; and looked the most remarkable sort of Centaur, compounded of the stable and the play-house'. (Op. Cit. p. 38.)

> 'And when you have made it, you can keep it too, I should think', said Cupid, [the stage name of Master Kidderminster, the Clown].

Such disrespect for industrial profit on the part of members of the circus troupe is Dickens' way of saying that there is more to life than the application of utilitarianism to every aspect of it - that there is an innate profitability in other ways of life than purely industrial ones, and that man cannot live by work alone.[386] There are, however, other ways in which Sleary's circus fulfils the Bakhtinian requirements of "otherness": the ability of the circus to come and go as it pleases: its other-worldly and exotic nature: the unusual manner of the dress and general appearance of the clown and performer, and the probability that, in this case, no member of the circus caste has had the doubtful "benefit" of an utilitarian schooling. I should draw attention also to the way in which "Cupid" interrupts Mr. Bounderby's reply to Childers' observation about the profitability of his time: it has the same ring as an interjection by the Arthurian court-fool of Chrétien de Troyes, or of Feste, for example, in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. We find here also, in the juxtaposition of the utilitarianism of Hard Times and the casual, occasional and recreational qualities of the circus, the identical distinction between everyday life and "carnival" drawn by Bakhtin. And for Bakhtin, Carnival is representative of the "other", the non-official, establishment-mocking, and celebrational underside of the highly regulated life of the court, the Church and (in the Middle Ages) feudal administration.[387]

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386 The circus as a viable financial undertaking is underscored when, later in the novel, the somewhat older Master Kidderminster is described as counting the takings. See Hard Times, Op. Cit. pp. 371-72.

387 See Bakhtin: Rabelais and His World, p. 7.

The circus is not frequently encountered in the mature novel of the nineteenth century, but Thomas Mann in Buddenbrooks (1902) chooses the circus as the refuge sought by Christian Buddenbrook in his desperation to escape the claustrophobial demands of bourgeois mercantilism in Lübeck. Christian, in his antipathy to the whole idea of remaining within the confines of Lübeck, declined to join the family business, preferring to enter into partnership with a certain Herr Burmeester in Berlin (a partnership which ends in bankruptcy), and on his return to the family home at the time of his sister's (third) marriage to Hugo Weinschenk, on one occasion entertained his family and their friends, in a manner which places him well within the definition of Bakhtinian "otherness":[388]

> Er geriet in Begeisterung, und redete in Zungen... (Er) sang oder sprach mit mustergültigem Mienenspiel und einem pittoresken Talent in der Handbebewegungen: [He then sings, in a strong Hamburg dialect, a song somewhat reminiscent of 'Burlington Bertie', which is reproduced in the notes to my text] Und kaum war er hiermit fertig, als er zu Berichten aus dem Zirkus Renz überging und die ganze Entree eines englischen Sprechclowns...'

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[388] See Thomas Mann: Buddenbrooks, Berlin, Deutche Buch Gemeinschaft, 1951, p. 465. [I have used H.T.Lowe-Porter's translation of Buddenbrooks: Harmondsworth Penguin Books, 1979,p. 347-48, as his rendering of Christian's song is outstanding]: 'He narrated like one inspired. He drew upon his repertory of comic songs, and half sung, half recited, with incomparable pantomime, and highly suggestive gesture: " I sauntered out one day, In an Idle sort o' way, And chanced to see a maid, ahead o' me, She'd such a charming air, Her - behind - was French, I'd swear, And she wore her 'at as rakish as could be. I says, 'My Pretty Dear, Since you an' I are 'ere, Perhaps you'd take my arm and walk along?' She turned her pretty 'ead, And looked - at me - and said,'You just get on, my lad, and hold your tongue.' " From this he went off on an account of a performance at the Renz Circus, in Hamburg, and reproduced a turn by a troupe of English Vaudeville artists...' . It is interesting to note in this context that the German for a Vaudeville Artist is a *Sprechclown*.

On leaving the Assembled gathering, 'his hat a little awry, leaning on his stick with the nun's bust for a handle, he [Christian] went slowly and stiffly down the steps'.[389] Mann's depiction of Christian as the "other" in the Buddenbrook family is of Christian as a clown. His dismissive attitude towards the traditions that his family have upheld for over two hundred years is equated by Mann with the life of the circus and the comedy theatre wherein there is both movement and exhilaration, which are lacking in the stiff and unyielding environment of Consul Buddenbrook's house, business and political life.

Christian is not, however, the only character whom Mann uses in Buddenbrooks to represent the Bakhtinian "other": in his description of Count Eberhard Mölln, we are introduced to the intelligent fool, the character who can see through the futility of attempting to engage life's challenges. Thus Count Mölln, the aristocrat who is content to live quietly, anonymously and with his own individualised sense of simple dignity, and remain on the sideline and breadline of life, exemplifies Mann's underlying challenge to *hochbürgerlich* values:[390]

> Dort nämlich, weit draussen, unfest des ersten Dorfes, war ingenwo ein kleines Gehöft, ein winziges, fast werloses Anwesen, das überhaupt keinen Namen hatte. Man gewann, blicte man hin,

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[389] See Thomas Mann: Buddenbrooks, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1979, p. 348.

[390] See Thomas Mann: Buddenbrooks, Berlin, Deutche Buch Gemeinschaft, 1951, p. 535-536. Trans. Lowe-Porter, Buddenbrooks, p. 399.: ' Some distance outside the town, nearly as far as the first outlying village, lay a small farm, a tiny, almost valueless property without even a name. The passer-by got the impression of a dunghill, a quantity of chickens, a dog-hut, and a wretched kennel-like building with a sloping red roof. This was the manor-house [ or Family Seat ], and therein dwelt Kai's father, Count Eberhard Mölln. . . .He was an eccentric, hardly ever seen by anybody, busy on his dunghill with his dogs, his chickens, and his vegetable patch: a large man in top boots ... a riding-whip in his hand, though he had no horse to his name, and wore a monocle stuck into the eye, under the bushy eyebrow'.

> den Eindruck eines Misthaufens, einer Anzahl Hühner, einer Hundehütte und eines armseligen, katenartigen Gebäudes, mit tief hinunterreichendem, rotem Dache. Dies war das Herrenhaus, und dort wohnte Kais Vater, Eberhard Graf Mölln. . . . Es war ein Sonderling, den selten jemand zu sehen bekam, und der, beschäftigt mit Huhner-, Hunde- und Gemüsezucht, abgeschieden von aller Welt auf sienen kleinen Gehöfte hauste: ein grosser Mann mit Stulpenstiefeln, ... einer Reitpeitsche in der Hand, obgleich er durchaus kein Pferd besass, und einem unter der buschigen Braue ins Auge geklemmten Monokel.

Mann depicts Count Mölln as the antithesis of everything for which the House of Buddenbrook stands. He is "other", first and foremost in his total disregard for material prosperity, "other" in that, significantly, he is of ancient lineage and of a family which almost certainly antecedes the mercantile *haute bourgeoisie* of Germany, and "other" in the distinctive attributes which Mann ascribes to him - his physical appearance which is comic, and his minimal way of life which Mann describes as that of the wise fool. Once again, we are concerned with a novelistic character who, in his "otherness", stands to one side of the novel and not in its mainstream - in Bakhtin's terms, he does not "make common cause with any single one of the categories which life makes available", but, whilst technically within the novel, makes his silent criticism of the novel's environment from outside its confines, from a village "some distance outside the town".

In numerous instances in the history of the nineteenth century novel, an author chose to hand over to a "third party" the responsibility for the description of a place or person, for the narration of the historical background to a novelistic plot, or for a report of events which have transpired "elsewhere" in the novel.

However, to ensure impartiality and to ensure that such description or reportage is not handed to the reader through the mediated view of a highly intelligent or partisan character, it is necessary for the person concerned to be invested with some of the attributes of the simpleton.

It is for this reason, therefore, that, in Mikhail Lermontov's A Hero of Our Time, (1840) the narrator of 'Bela', Captain Maxim Maximich, is portrayed as a dullard, a middle-aged officer who has never attained even middling rank, and has spent the majority of his service life in the remote fastnesses of the Caucasus. On his own admission: 'Sometimes you spend a whole year without seeing anyone.'[391] Maximich is mildly depressed and made dull and disinterested by his lonely existence in the mountains, and it is for this reason that we have no difficulty in believing his account of Pechorin, who is sent to join him in the Third Line Battalion: he has been enabled, through having nothing else to occupy his time, to concentrate on Pechorin and his extraordinary antics in the mountains. And Maximich is vital to Lermontov: there is no way in which Pechorin would have recounted anything of his activities in 'Bela' of his own accord, for he was a man of few words. And a fellow officer who was not a dullard may not have recounted the activities of a comrade at all. Thus the fact that Maximich lacks any sense of imagination of his own ensures that he will recount the story of Pechorin to the narrator. He is not a fool in any defective way, but sufficiently unimaginative to serve Lermontov's purpose as a raconteur.

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391 See Mikhail Lermontov: A Hero of Our Time, in Lermontov: Selected Works, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p. 150.

I cite the instance of Maximich to draw attention to the use of the dullard as mediator, and to substantiate the claim that Bakhtin makes about the role of the rogue, the clown and the fool in the later European novel: we must not look for representatives of this character grouping solely in the ambience of the circus or amongst the criminal classes, for they are found everywhere. Not least, those characters who are able to recount accurately because they are impercipient are frequently long-serving and trusted servants: we find examples of this kind of innate simplicity in the primitive wisdom of Proust's Françoise or Emily Brontë's Nellie Dean. Then again, we encounter the less intelligent observers of their fellow men who simply do not understand, or misunderstand, the significance and circumstances of what they recount: one may include Joseph Conrad's Captain Mitchell, the Sulaco representative of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company in Nostromo (1904), amongst the latter.

Numerous characters in the mature novel of the nineteenth century who, in one way or another, fulfil the role of critics and observers of the milieux in which they live, will be found to conform, in all or certain specific ways, to the archetypal patterns determined for the rogue, the clown and the fool by Bakhtin. I have attempted in this section of my thesis to demonstrate ways in which certain characters in specific novels have been enabled to contribute to the debates to which their respective novels give rise, by acting as monitors and critics of (especially) the institutionalised, ossified or "given" truths around which their novelistic environments, both physical and intellectual, have been built. The role of the Bakhtinian character grouping which we have examined will indeed be found to act frequently with great effect as the corrective, or public, voice.

# CONCLUSION.

In the latter pages of this thesis, I have attempted to identify salient developments in the tightening of the combined temporal and spatial chronotopes of the mature novel. I have concentrated on the direct and indirect consequences of the French Revolution, as both cause and effect of sociological change in the nature of fiction, initially in France before it affected the entirety of Europe, and demonstrated ways in which such agents of change as the rise of the *bourgeoisie* and the money economy upon which it depended, the rapidity and extent of the growth of the Industrial Revolution, altered irrevocably the social structure of Europe.

I have identified in Honoré de Balzac's *Comédie humaine* the most thorough exploration of a society ever undertaken by a novelist, a novelist simultaneously using the most thorough forms of chronotopic inter-relativity of time and space. I have not seen fit to effect a comparison between the *Comédie humaine* and Zola's novels of the Rougon-Macquart cycle, simply because the latter, whilst observing the strictest use of the chronotope, are too carefully pre-determined within the straight-jacket of inherited familial characteristics, to possess the breadth of personal freedom, or the incisiveness of Balzac's conglomerate masterpiece. In terms of the exposition of the chronotope, Zola adds little to Balzac's achievement.

Mikhail Bakhtin has been, in the main, absent from the final pages of my text, through circumstances which I was powerless to alter. Needless to say, it is my profoundest hope that he too may similarly have taken the view that the chronotope which we have followed so carefully from Ulysses' Mediterranean,

through many lands and literatures, is to be found in its most highly developed form, first in the *Comédie humaine* of Balzac, and later in the works of those novelists of the realist and naturalist schools who succeeded him.

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