David Gramling, Amanda Snell, Chantelle Warner
University of Arizona

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE TO *CMS* 5.3

We are delighted to have had the opportunity over the past year to collaborate on this special issue of *Critical Multilingualism Studies* with esteemed European colleagues, who are forging new and rigorous approaches to multilingualism in contemporary literary studies. On its own, this special issue offers an extraordinary richness of insight, critique, and—at times—necessary impatience with received notions about authorship, language, textuality, method, and the scholarly mandate of the national philologies. Few, if any, hallowed and time-honored concepts are left unturned. We are particularly grateful for the conception and stewardship of the special issue by Till Dembeck, Associate Professor of Literature and Media Didactics at the Université du Luxembourg—an institution that has become over the past decade a crucible of ambitious critical thinking around literary multilingualism and multilingual cultural politics.

Our warm gratitude also goes to the translators of three of this issue's contributions: Judith Menzl (University of Arizona) and Christian Steinmetz (Luxembourg), whose extraordinary work permits non-German-reading colleagues to participate in the dialogue. Twelve double-blinded peer reviewers around the world are also owed thanks for incisive comments on early versions of these contributions. Thanks of course are also due to *CMS'*s readers who, over the past five years, have pushed us onward, contributed feedback and tips, and participated in the endeavor of critical multilingualism studies in their own ways. Stay tuned for *CMS* 6.1: "Multilingualism in Contexts of Refuge and Migration" (Spring–Summer 2018), co-edited by Amanda Snell and Marianna Pegno (University of Arizona). Future issues also include "Practicing Multilingual Research," edited by Emily Linares (University of California, Berkeley). The Call for Papers for that special issue can be found in the final section of this volume.

Till Dembeck
Université du Luxembourg

INTRODUCTION TO *CMS* 5.3
MULTILINGUAL PHILOLOGY
AND NATIONAL LITERATURE:
RE-READING CLASSICAL TEXTS

Literary scholarship's contribution to the study of multilingualism remains underrated, even if some recent works, e. g., by Brian Lennon, Yasemin Yildiz, and David Gramling that draw (among other things) on literary texts have received a considerable amount of attention. This can be at least partly explained by the fact that philologists have not yet thoroughly established their approach to the phenomenon as distinctive from other disciplines. This special issue cannot fill this gap, but it seeks to highlight, at least indirectly, what the characteristics of a particularly philological commitment to multilingualism could be. On the one hand, literary scholarship has the privilege that it can concentrate on the micro-analysis of single texts in their linguistic particularity. This enables us, on the other hand, to differentiate many kinds of linguistic diversity, beyond such fundamental linguistic categories as dialect, sociolect or variety: At the heart of a philological approach to multilingualism is the assumption that it is not a necessary condition for any text (or for any form of speech speech) to be written (or uttered) in only one language, in the sense of a *langue*.

Using a German neologism, Robert Stockhammer calls the degree to which an utterance 'belongs' to a langue its *Sprachigkeit*—which I suggest to translate by way of the English neologism 'lingualism.' (Stockhammer distinguishes *Sprachigkeit* from the existing term *Sprachlichkeit*, the quality of being part of language in the sense of *langage*, which I

suggest calling 'linguality.' See Stockhammer et al. 2007 and also Stockhammer's article in this issue, note 2.) This entails that the lingualism of any text is never a given, but something to be investigated. There is a methodological challenge in this, as philological scholarship is in many respects itself rooted in monolingualism. The articles assembled in this special issue of *Critical Multilingualism Studies* take on this challenge, exploring the multilingualism of seemingly strictly monolingual texts in the hope that their results will be of theoretical relevance also for scholars from other disciplines, who may be interested in other forms of linguistic diversity.

Bending the Mother Tongue

Canonical authors are sometimes credited with having created their own language—say, Homeric Greek or *Lutherdeutsch*—or even with having established a national idiom, as for example modern Italian in the case of Dante or modern Russian in the case of Pushkin. Given the high value that so called 'national philologies' (*Nationalphilologien* in German) confer upon classical texts written in 'their' language, one might be justified in thinking that these texts should be primary repositories of (national) monolingualism. The contributions to this special issue question this seemingly self-evident presupposition. They follow the hypothesis that classicism, on the contrary, evokes rather than restricts multilingual forms of writing.

In the literary history of the German-speaking world, both the establishment of literary monolingualism and the systematic exposure of literary writing to the multilingualism of World Literature are closely associated with Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Wolfgang Goethe. It is beyond any doubt that both authors have contributed much to the diversification of literary German: Herder's collection of folk songs provided a great variety of foreign lyric forms in German translation, with the aim of triggering formal innovation within German lyric poetry (see Dembeck 2017). Goethe's translations, his numerous experiments with the lyric form, e. g., in *Faust* (see Dembeck, forthcoming), and of course his *Divan* have taken up this impulse—probably inspired by the poetic activities of, and conversations between, the two friends in Strasbourg in the early 1770s.

Yet, in both cases, it has been claimed that these authors have at the same time mightily contributed to the manifestation of what Yasemin Yildiz calls the "monolingual paradigm" (Yildiz 2012: 2). As David Martyn (2014) has forcefully argued, it is in Herder's fragments *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur* (1767–68) that it is first

postulated that literary creativity rests on the monolingual competence of the native speaker:

> [W]enn in der Poesie der Gedanke und Ausdruck so fest an einander kleben: so muß ich ohne Zweifel in der Sprache dichten, wo ich das meiste Ansehen, und Gewalt über die Worte, die größeste Känntnis derselben, oder wenigstens eine Gewißheit habe, daß meine Dreustigkeit noch nicht Gesetzlosigkeit werde: und ohne Zweifel ist dies die Muttersprache. (Herder 1985–2000: 407)

> If in poetry, thought and expression are so tightly interlinked: then I must doubtlessly write in that language in which I have the highest authority, and power over the words, the broadest knowledge, or at least certainty that my boldness is not yet lawlessness: and this is undoubtedly the mother tongue.[1]

Evidently, Herder would never be content with forms of literary writing that simply obey the laws of a given language. There must be a creative spark, some form of innovation or originality, and in Herder's eyes this can be achieved being *dreist* (bold) and by bending the rules of grammar. At the same time, it would be disastrous in Herder's view to trespass the limits of boldness towards "Gesetzlosigkeit" or lawlessness. As the quest for originality is potentially always destructive—a commonplace in discussions of genius at the time—, it must be somehow restrained. According to Herder, this is best accomplished by grounding literary creativity in the quasi-natural structure called mother tongue, which he imagines to be incorporated in its speakers. It is this rather concrete recourse to nature that provides the genius with guidance.

The effect of this aesthetic theory is a dual form of speech practice: Literary language must be the writer's very own language, but it must also be sufficiently alienated in order to be original. Dante certainly is a good case in point: Despite his pledge in *De vulgari eloquentia* (around 1300) for the use of the naturally given mother tongue in literary writing, his *Commedia* (around 1320) carefully constitutes its idiom in a continuing exchange with two other literary languages, Latin and Occitan (see Klinkert 2014). Indeed, it is somewhat difficult to see how the constitution of a new literary idiom could proceed differently. It is only *a posteriori* that the hybridity of the new idiom comes into being as a seemingly self-identical national language.

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[1] All translations mine.

This is an oddity not only for milestones such as Dante's writings, but also for other texts routinely included into the canon of one or the other national literature: the claim that they represent the most elaborate features of a given national language and at the same time foreignise this very language is routinely brought forward. Theodor W. Adorno's radio speech "Rede über Lyrik und Gesellschaft" ("Speech on lyric poetry and society") from 1957 analyses two poems at some length, one by Eduard Mörike, and one by Stefan George. In both cases, the most important artistic achievements of each poem are described by way of reference to languages other than (New High) German. For Mörike's poem, its persuasiveness is reportedly borne up by "ein unwägbar feines, kaum am Detail fixierbares *antikes*, odenhaftes Element" ("an imponderably delicate, *antique*, ode-like element that is barely to be located in the details")—with the effect that its free verses remind of "griechische reimlose Strophen" ("Greek unrhymed stanzas", Adorno 1994: 61). For its part, Adorno perceives the last verses of George's poem as "ein Zitat […] aus dem von der Sprache unwiederbringlich Versäumten: sie müßten dem Minnesang gelungen sein, wenn dieser […] selber gelungen wäre" ("a quotation from what language has irretrievably missed to achieve: they should have been persuasive as part of the Minnesang, had this form of poetry been persuasive in itself", Adorno 1994: 66). For Adorno, both Mörike and George speak in two tongues at the same time.

One might dismiss this form of linguistic diversity in classical texts as an extremely 'weak' form of multilingualism, in the terminology of Brian Lennon (2010: 17–18). After all, classical texts that adopt Herder's (and Goethe's) aesthetic theory will almost never achieve a degree of linguistic diversity that would pose difficulties for a supposedly monolingual reader with a certain degree of literary training. Rather, 'foreign' linguistic elements are included in such a way as to ensure a sufficient degree of domestication. However, the politico-cultural impact of literary multilingualism must not hinge on its "strength", as Lennon himself has demonstrated: a single untranslatable word introduced into an otherwise seemingly 'monolingual' text can produce rather "strong" effects of disturbance, even if it is extensively commented upon within the text (see Lennon 2010: 143–153). The contributions assembled in this issue seek to establish a nuanced approach to the politico-cultural assessment of linguistic diversity in canonical texts. In reading seemingly monolingual texts with regard to their (intrinsic) multilingualism, they provide a fresh perspective on how these texts position themselves in relation to politico-cultural questions of linguistic diversity, in their respective historical situation.

Multilingual Philology

In order to de-automatize the evaluation of different forms of literary multilingualism, the articles in this special issue by and large make use of what has been called 'multilingual philology' (see Dembeck 2014, 2016, forthcoming). Contrary to the assumptions broadly held in literary scholarship that it is normal for literary texts to be written in one language, multilingual philology assumes that any text must be read with regard to (traces of) linguistic diversity. Following this change of perspective, each article provides a thorough description of how the respective text treats linguistic diversity—and then, in a second step, contrasts this treatment with the cultural, social and linguistic context to which the text refers.

To describe linguistic diversity within a given text is a more complex task than one might assume. In a bon mot very much in line with Herder's and Goethe's aesthetic theory, Oskar Pastior has suggested that Friedrich Hölderlin, one of the seemingly rather monolingual authors of canonical German literature, did actually not write in German: "Hölderlin ist eine schöne, dem Deutschen verwandte Sprache." ("Hölderlin is a beautiful language related to the German", Pastior 1987: 127.) One might explain this alienation of Hölderlin's language from German by reference to his interest in Greek poetry, particularly in the form of Greek odes. But if we would want to demonstrate that Hölderlin is indeed not (only) writing German, even though every single word of the vast majority of his poems is to be found in this language's vocabulary, we would have to relate his rather specific syntax to the metrical forms he uses and to the syntactic regularities of Greek. Whatever the outcome of such an analysis, we can learn from this example that, in literary writing, linguistic diversity comes in many disguises.

In light of such arguments, one of multilingual philology's particular tasks is to uncover hidden traces and effects of multilingualism in literary texts. To achieve this, it is necessary to not limit the analysis to linguistic differences of a more explicit nature, such as differences between mutually unintelligible standardized national languages. Rather, we must attempt to detect the intrinsic dialectal, sociolectal, stylistic, rhetorical, and aesthetic diversity of literary texts—including eccentric syntax and the application of different metres. In addition to this, one must never overlook the relation between the languages a text uses and the languages the text refers to or speaks of—which might, as Robert Stockhammer has demonstrated, always be paradoxical (see Stockhammer 2015 and in this special issue). Only if we reconstruct the interplay of all these facets of

linguistic diversity in a text will we be able to relate it to its linguistic, cultural and social background—and thus to assess its potential politico-cultural agency.

One thing we might discover in the process is that there sometimes is a strange parallel, in terms of politico-cultural impact, between texts that follow the seemingly monolingual aesthetic theory of Herder and Goethe, as is the case for Hölderlin, and rather 'strongly' multilingual texts, such as some of the poems by Pastior himself or by Ernst Jandl. The latter, whose work includes texts mixing German and English, has claimed some of his writing was in a "heruntergekommene Sprache" ("a degenerated language")—thus seemingly turning against Herder's postulate that we must not break the rules of the mother tongue in literary writings (Jandl 1999: 255). Pastior, for his part, has called the language of his writing "pastior"—a private idiom composed of many languages the author has used in his life (Pastior 1994: 95). If we take Pastior's formulation seriously, we must assume that writing in "pastior" and writing in "hölderlin" represent similar literary strategies. Indeed, in rather abstract terms, one could argue that writers such as Jandl and Pastior, even though they achieve aesthetic innovation not by bending the mother tongue, but by breaking it and intermingling it with other languages, establish a dual form of speech practice that is congruent to Goethe's and Hölderlin's. Whereas in the latter authors' poetry, it is the mother tongue which triggers, but also delimits linguistic creativity, in Jandl and Pastior it is the already established tradition of innovative lyric poetry that provides the ground for new linguistic experiments that manifestly break into 'strong' forms of multilingualism. More concretely, one might argue that Pastior's poetry, when it subverts any concept of linguistic nativity, is not necessarily more radical in its politico-cultural implications than Hölderlin, whose Greek-sounding German is an attempt to overcome the limitations of the mother tongue. After all, it is not always so easy to determine at which precise moment the grammatical bending of language effectively implies already breaking it. It would therefore be misleading to only think of strong literary multilingualism as subversive and progressive, in contrast to ostensibly affirmative and conservative weak forms of literary multilingualism.

Reading More-or-Less German Literature

Following the agenda of multilingual philology, all contributions to this special issue but one read canonical texts and authors of what we are accustomed to calling German literature. Admittedly, this limited focus on 'German' texts can likely be counted as an

example of the unbroken power of the monolingual paradigm and of nationally framed master narratives in literary scholarship. These structures, as they are inscribed into the organizational structure of our discipline, have indeed exerted an influence on this very project: Even though the Call for Papers for the conference that preceded this publication was widely circulated and addressed to *all* literary scholars, my disciplinary focus as a scholar of German literature and guest-editor of this special issue has in the main attracted other scholars of (more or less) German literature.

Still, the contributions assembled here transcend the traditional ways of national philology which still rests on the presupposition that monolingualism is the "unmarked case" (Ellis 2006) of literary production, and therefore also the basic framework of scholarship. Philological approaches often acknowledge multilingualism only as an exceptional phenomenon within this framework. In demonstrating that these presuppositions can actually not be made, and in paying close attention to the more or less subliminal forms of multilingualism at the very heart of monolingual classics, the contributors enhance our understanding of literary history, and particularly of the constitution of national literatures.

In his analysis of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels (1795–96 and 1821), ROBERT STOCKHAMMER demonstrates that Geothe's text, even though it seems to be almost entirely monolingual, recurrently touches upon the phenomenon of linguistic diversity. In this way, it assesses differing politico-cultural forms of 'language management,' such as, e. g., a 'comparative' approach to rivalling literary languages or advanced models of multiple-language acquisition. As for its own politico-cultural programme, however, the key point of the novels emerges in how the 'mixed code' of Mignon's famous song ("Kennst Du das Land...") is presented in the novels' (or its protagonists'?) German. This aporetic description, Stockhammer concludes, evokes poetic language as a *langage* independent of single *langues*, transforming *Sprachigkeit* or 'lingualism' into *Sprachlichkeit* or 'linguality.' In this case, then, the analysis of a classical text's inherent multilingualism uncovers a programme that aims precisely at overcoming linguistic diversity itself.

A case of simulated multilingualism is at the centre of DIRK WEISSMANN's contribution on Franz Grillparzer's dramatic trilogy *Das goldene Vließ* (1818–1820). According to Grillparzer' memoires, the divergences in this text between blank verse and free verse indicates the difference between the two groups whose interaction and confrontation is at

the core of the play, with the Greeks speaking (cultivated) blank verse, and the Colchians speaking in a less organized, 'barbaric' way. Weissmann's analysis shows, however, that such a clear-cut opposition does not exist in the drama, as protagonists, voluntarily or not, tend to accommodate to each other, with the effect that their interaction produces a 'mixed code,' indicated by mixed metres. Even though Grillparzer writes the drama long before nationalist conflicts within the Habsburg Empire escalated, Weissmann shows that Grillparzer's text can be convincingly read as a politico-cultural reaction to an already perceivable conflict between the seemingly 'cultivated' Germans and the Non-Germans of the Empire, and, on a more general level, between imperial multilingualism and nationalist monolingualism(s).

BRIGITTE RATH's contribution presents a thought-provoking new reading of a classical text from German modernism, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief", also known as the "Chandos Letter". Rath takes seriously the complex temporal framing of the text, which, in 1902, was published and composed as the letter of a fictitious character from the English Renaissance, Lord Chandos, and which comprises references not only to the Renaissance, but also to the literary history of the 300 years that passed between its 'original' composition and its publication. Being written in a German that is, at the same time, to be taken for English, the letter can be read as a texture woven of linguistic elements and structures from various historical and literary contexts. Her meticulous reading finally enables Rath to give an explanation for a paradox that generations of scholars have been pondering over: How, if Chandos complains about the loss of his linguistic capabilities, can he produce such elegant writing? He can, answers Rath, because his *Sprachkrise*, his linguistic crisis, is actually the effect of monolingual enclosure —which the letter, in a non-monolingual gesture, overcomes by playing with multiple idioms and their respective reverberations.

One of the most canonical works for scholarship in multilingual literature, next to Lev Tolstoy's novels, is Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* (1924) with its long conversations in French (or rather: French spoken in varying levels of proficiency). PETER BRANDES' contribution interprets an equally interesting, but much more subtle case of multilingualism in Mann's work, the occurrence of (parodies and quotes of) Early New High German in the writer's late novel *Doktor Faustus* (1947). Brandes shows that the contrast between modern and "Old German" ("*Altdeutsch*") is keyed to a whole spectrum of other intratextual contrasts: the contrast between linguistic devices and stylistic forms employed by the different protagonists in different ways at different times; the contrast

between the philological project of the narrator and the voices that he is forced to compile; the contrast between religious and humanist speech; as well as, on a more abstract level, the languages of irony and of earnestness.

A form of future-oriented multilingualism is the object of JOHANNES ENDRES' article on the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, a project typical of mid-twentieth-century America: At the time, in varying contexts and driven by very different protagonists, collections representing the current moment of human cultural history were enclosed in capsules as messages for future generations. The *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, for instance, is supposed to be dug up and opened only in the year 6939. As an object of multilingual philology, it is of particular interest, because it shares many of the characteristics of a classical text: It is representative of the moment in cultural history from which is stems; it seeks to be worthy of philological study in the future; and—given that it must ensure that its textual components (mostly written in English) will be understood in such a far future—it is framed by (potentially changing) paratexts, while itself remaining identical, even untouched: Instructions, delivered to libraries all over the world and enclosed in the capsule, explain its content and, more importantly for the current context, the functioning of the English language. In this sense, the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, despite its apparent monolingualism, is to be read against the context of yet unknown other languages and idioms: it seeks to overcome the historical limits of its own 'lingualism' or *Sprachigkeit*.

As this short overview shows, the various literary texts investigated in this issue feature rather different forms of linguistic diversity, and they have also been evaluated rather differently with respect to their politico-cultural implications. Whereas Grillparzer's dramatic trilogy takes a stance towards the particular political and linguistic conflicts of the 19th century Habsburg Empire, Goethe rather aims to write in such a way as to overcome any form of *Sprachigkeit* or 'lingualism.' Whereas Hofmannsthal's playful multilingualism overcomes the limitations of the language crisis, typical of his days, Mann's novel employs historical, linguistic contrasts in order to develop an ironically suspended idiom that creates a medium for treating recent history. And the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* aims at becoming a classical text in adapting to yet unknown forms of linguistic diversity.

One might very well argue that this future-oriented form of multilingualism is the very core of literary classicism as a project. After all, any text that wishes to become part of

the canon must demonstrate the potential to be re-read in very different contexts, bearing in mind that no language ever remains static and stable for long. It is an almost trivial observation that 'national' classics such as the works of Dante and Shakespeare require a wide apparatus of commentary in order to be understood by today's 'native speakers' of the languages they are claimed to have constituted through their writing. But as Rath's analysis of Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief", as well as Brandes' reading of Mann's *Doktor Faustus* suggest, the employment of linguistic diversity in the very composition of a texts can also be essential for the attempt to evoke a far-reaching politico-cultural effect. Seen from this perspective, all texts analysed in this issue, in so far as they aim at being 'classic,' also systematically transcend and/or subvert the national, monolingual paradigm that routinely makes claims upon them.

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Robert Stockhammer
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Zur Konversion von Sprachigkeit in Sprachlichkeit (langagification des langues) in Goethes *Wilhelm Meister*-Romanen

Abstract:

In light of recent insights into the near-omnipresence of multilingual features in literature, it seems promising to focus on texts from the core of national canons with the aim of detecting traces of multilingualism within apparently monolingual textures. The present article started out as a test of this hypothesis, focusing on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels (*Lehr-* and *Wanderjahre; Apprenticeship* and *Journeyman's Years*). Even as some traces of other languages can indeed be identified in these novels, quite another tendency turns out to be dominant: a neutralization or immunization of *langues* (French for *tongues*, i.e., idioms in the sense of geographically diverse languages), and their conversion into a *langage* (French for a linguistic system ostensibly independent of languages in their diversity). I propose to describe this tendency as a *langagification des langues*, a conversion of *Sprachigkeit* (here: *lingualism*) into *Sprachlichkeit* (here: *linguality*), arguing that this might be a crucial operation within the construction of national literatures.

Keywords:

lingualism / *Sprachigkeit* ⬥ linguality / *Sprachlichkeit* ⬥ poetic language ⬥ Goethe ⬥ *Wilhelm Meister*

In Forschungen zur Mehrsprachigkeit der Literatur „mehren sich [inzwischen] die Zeichen einer perspektivischen Umkehrung: Nicht die *mehrsprachige* Literatur ist das Sonderphänomen, sondern die einsprachige." (Martyn 2014: 40). Der philologische Impuls, der diese perspektivische Umkehrung inspiriert hat, ist zwar an Texten wie denjenigen Yoko Tawadas geschult, welche sich ihrerseits schon als ‚philologische Texte' lesen lassen (Dembeck 2016: 82). Es liegt aber nahe, diesem Impuls auch bei der Lektüre von ‚klassischen Texten' zu folgen, die sich auf den ersten Blick dazu nicht anbieten. Dies gilt besonders für Texte, deren Autoren keinen signifikanten ‚Migrationshintergrund' aufweisen, so dass die intensivierte Sprachigkeit dieser Texte nicht auf lebensweltliche Faktoren zurückgeführt werden kann – was literatursoziologisch vielleicht plausibel, literaturtheoretisch aber unterkomplex ist (vgl. zur Kritik oder zumindest Relativierung dieses gängigen Verfahrens: Dembeck und Uhrmacher 2016: 10–12; Kilchmann 2016: 44–45). Verlockend erscheint die Hypothese, dass auch Texte aus dem Zentrum nationalliterarischer Kanones sich dem Paradigma der Einsprachigkeit – das die, immer noch dominante, wenngleich inzwischen zunehmend in Frage gestellte nationalphilologische Perspektivierung vorgibt – je schon entziehen.

Ein solcher Impuls ließe sich wohl ‚dekonstruktiv' nennen, wenn man ihn – etwas holzschnittartig dargestellt – als zweiten Schritt einer Kritik der ‚Ästhetischen Ideologie' begreift (und diesen Ausdruck mehr im Sinne Paul de Mans als in demjenigen Terry Eagletons fasst): Der erste Schritt einer Kritik der Ästhetischen Ideologie bestand im Insistieren auf der unhintergehbaren Sprach*lich*keit aller Texte, wobei ‚Sprache' zunächst Sprache im Allgemeinen bedeutete, ohne dass die Verschiedenheit von Sprache*n* dabei ausdrücklich thematisiert wurde. Dies entspricht etwa der 1967 von Rorty popularisierten Formel vom ‚Linguistic Turn', die zunächst nur auf den spezifischen Bereich der Analytischen Philosophie angewendet wurde. In diesem Bereich unternahm etwa der Wittgenstein der *Philosophischen Untersuchungen* sehr subtile Analysen von ‚Sprachspielen', reflektierte aber fast gar nicht darauf, dass nahezu alle seine Beispiele einer bestimmten Sprache (in diesem Fall dem Deutschen) entstammen; aber auch die

meisten erfolgreichen strukturalistischen Modelle beanspruchten, für Sprache im Allgemeinen zu gelten. Der zweite Schritt dieser Kritik der Ästhetischen Ideologie bestünde dementsprechend darin, auf der Sprach*ig*keit aller Texte zu insistieren, also darauf, dass sie in bestimmten Verhältnissen zu spezifischen Idiomen (etwa vom Typ der ‚Nationalsprachen' oder ‚Dialekte') stehen, denen sie sich niemals vollständig, aber doch in verschiedenen Graden der Vollständigkeit zurechnen lassen. Zur Sprach*ig*keit gehört deshalb auch, anders als zur Sprach*lich*keit, der Zweifel an der Übersetzbarkeit.

Dieser Unterschied, der sich im Deutschen nur mit einem Neologismus (‚Sprachigkeit') prägnant bezeichnen lässt und für den ein englischsprachiges Äquivalent noch weniger etabliert ist, lässt sich leichter mit zwei Wörtern beschreiben, die das Französische bereitstellt: *langage* und *langue*. Der Bedeutungsumfang dieser beiden Wörter unterscheidet sich vor allem in zwei Aspekten. Zum Einen umfasst das Bedeutungsspektrum von *langage*, anders als dasjenige von *langue*, auch nicht-sprachliche Zeichensysteme (‚langage de signe') sowie solche Idiome, die zwar sprachliche sind, aber nicht nach geographischen Kriterien unterschieden werden, also etwa Fachsprachen oder Soziolekte (‚langage des jeunes'). Eine Annäherung an diesen Wortgebrauch (wenngleich keine disambiguierende Übersetzung) ermöglicht im Englischen die Stichprobe, ob sich das Wort *language* in einem bestimmten Kontext durch *tongue* ersetzen ließe – dann handelt es sich eher um eine *langue* – oder nicht – dann handelt es sich eher um einen[1] *langage*. Dies entspricht dem etymologischen Substrat, insofern *langue* wie *tongue* auch ein Sprechorgan bezeichnen, das in *langage* zwar ebenfalls steckt, aber durch das Suffix *-age* gleichsam neutralisiert wird. Selbstverständlich gibt es sehr viele Zweifelsfälle, darunter den für literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen besonders relevanten, ob eher von *langage poétique* (105.000 google hits) oder von *langue poétique* (35.000) zu sprechen sei (vgl. im Englischen neben dem gebräuchlichen *poetic language* auch das weniger gebräuchliche *the poet's tongue*).

Zum Anderen bezeichnet *langage*, gerade in der Differenz zu *langue*, ‚die Sprache' im Allgemeinen – dies wird besonders deutlich in der Tradition der ‚Allgemeinen Grammatik' (*Grammaire générale*), welche die Sprachreflexion des Zeitraums zwischen ungefähr 1660 und 1800 (also die Zeit, die Foucault ‚Episteme der Repräsentation'

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[1] Ich übernehme bewusst das Genus des französischen Wortes im Deutschen, um seine Übersetzung durch ‚Sprache' nicht allzu selbstverständlich einfließen zu lassen.

nennt) dominiert hat. Charakteristisch für diese Tradition ist ein Titel wie Nicolas Beauzées *Grammaire générale ou exposition raisonnée des éléments nécessaires du langage, pour servir de fondement à l'étude de toutes les langues* (1767): *langues* sind danach nur je verschiedene Realisationsformen des *langage*.[2] Wilhelm von Humboldt, der seine Sprachtheorie aus dieser Tradition heraus entwickelt (und in seinen französischsprachigen Texten selbst mit dieser Unterscheidung operiert) übersetzt *langage* gelegentlich mit ‚Sprachvermögen‘ (Stockhammer 2014: 160 f.); das englische Äquivalent *faculty of language* ist ein Zentralbegriff in der aktuellen, sich als kognitionswissenschaftlich verstehenden Linguistik (nicht nur vom Chomsky-Typ), die ebenfalls dazu tendiert, Unterschiede zwischen Sprache*n* als bloße Epiphänomene zu beschreiben.

Das Interesse an Sprach*ig*keit lässt sich mit Rekurs vor allem auf den zweiten dieser semantischen Unterschiede als ein Interesse an der *langue*-Haftigkeit reformulieren. Wenn bestimmte Texte offensichtlich mehrsprachig sind, so sind dies besonders deutliche Zeichen von mehr Sprachigkeit, also einer intensivierten Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sachverhalt, dass sich jeder Text in spezifischer Weise zu mehr als einer *langue* verhält. Als ich mir vornahm, Goethes *Wilhelm-Meister*-Romane einmal im Ganzen[3] auf ihre Sprachigkeit hin zu lesen, folgte dies deshalb dem Interesse, Spuren der Mehrsprachigkeit in diesen Texten nachzuweisen. Diese Spuren werden im Folgenden gesammelt, wobei ich von einer bestimmten Gestalt des Konzepts von *Weltliteratur* ausgehe, welches in den *Wanderjahren* ausdrücklich aufgerufen wird, in der naheliegenden Erwartung, dass dieses mit Sprache*n* im Plural zusammenhänge. Doch nimmt der Aufsatz einen anderen Verlauf, als ich ursprünglich geplant hatte, da mir die

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[2] Diese Beschreibung des Unterschieds geht bewusst und ausdrücklich *hinter* die spezifische Begriffspolitik de Saussures zurück, der den Ausdruck *la langue* (im Singular mit definitem Artikel ohne weitere Bestimmung) überhaupt erst in die Sprachreflexion eingeführt und damit die überlieferte Unterscheidung *le langage/les langues* unterlaufen hat. Vgl. zu einer ersten Einführung von ‚Sprachigkeit‘: Stockhammer, Arndt und Naguschewski 2009: 22–26 (dort auch mehr zu de Saussures Verwendung des Ausdrucks *la langue*, im Anschluss an Fehr). Radaelli 2014: 164, Anm. 20, macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die Bestimmung des Neologismus dort noch unausgegoren ist. Der Satz „Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass das sprachliche Medium eine *Einzel*sprache ist." (26) sollte besser lauten: „Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass es Sprache stets nur in Gestalt von Sprache*n* gibt, die es als ‚Einzelsprachen‘ zugleich nicht gibt." Martyn 2014 (insb. 28) hat den Begriff in etwas anderer Akzentuierung weiterentwickelt.

[3] Genau genommen: die *Lehrjahre* sowie die zweite Fassung der *Wanderjahre*. Möglicherweise wäre es ergiebig, unter dem genannten Aspekt die ersteren mit *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*, die letzteren mit deren erster Fassung zu vergleichen; dazu sah ich mich jedoch leider aus Zeitgründen außerstande.

Spuren von Mehrsprachigkeit nicht zu reichen scheinen, um auf eine intensivierte Sprachigkeit des Romans zu schließen. Eher handelt es sich um Reste einer Bändigung von Sprachigkeit, Reste eines Unterfangens, das ich als Immunisierung gegen Sprachigkeit, als Konversion von Sprachigkeit in Sprachlichkeit zu beschreiben vorschlage.

1. Welt- und Nationalliteratur

„Jetzt, da sich eine Weltliteratur einleitet, hat, genau besehen, der Deutsche am meisten zu verlieren; er wird wohl tun dieser Warnung nachzudenken." (WMW III, 770)[4] Diese „Warnung" steht in „Aus Makariens Archiv", der Aphorismensammlung, die den Roman *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (in der Fassung von 1829) beschließt, aber eigentlich schon nach dem ersten der drei Bücher eingerückt werden sollte (was durch eine Verzögerung des Manuskripteingangs verhindert wurde, vgl. WMW, Anmerkung 996). Unter den in jüngster Zeit wieder inflationär zitierten Aussagen Goethes zur ‚Weltliteratur' zählt diese nicht zu den beliebtesten. Zu deutlich scheint sie zu adressieren, was gegenwärtig unter vagen Schlagwörtern wie ‚Globalisierungsangst' einerseits, dem Bestreben, ‚fit für die Globalisierung' zu werden, andererseits, diskutiert wird. Der Deutsche, scheint diese „Warnung" zu lauten, müsse sich offen den Herausforderungen des Weltliteraturmarkts stellen, weil sonst seine Nationalliteratur an Marktanteilen einbüße, indem die Leser zu billiger und doch ebenso gut produzierten chinesischen Romanen greifen.

Unter diesen Bedingungen sind das Modell der National- und *ein bestimmtes* (bloß *inter*-nationales) Modell der Weltliteratur weniger verschieden als gewöhnlich insinuiert wird. Schon Nationalliteraturen plazieren sich auf dem Weltmarkt, auf dem „die natürlichen und künstlichen Produkte aller Weltteile [...] wechselweise zur Notdurft geworden sind" und in einer „großen Zirkulation" befindlich sind (ich hätte eine solche Beschreibung eher in den *Wanderjahren* vermutet, sie stammt aber aus WML I.10, 390). Ebenso wie ein Automobilhersteller selbst dann, wenn er zunächst nur für den eigenen Markt produziert, die ausländische Produktion sichtet und sich von ihr anregen lässt, ebenso entsteht Nationalliteratur (wie man etwa an Kapitelüberschriften in Herders Fragmenten „Über die neuere deutsche Literatur" sehen kann) schon aus der „Vergleichung" mit anderen Literaturen und deren selektiver Appropriation. In der Bibliothek des Großvaters,

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[4] Um Zitate auch in anderen Ausgaben auffindbar zu machen, werden auch Buch in römischen Ziffern sowie, falls vorhanden, Kapitel in arabischen Ziffern hinzugefügt.

auf die Wilhelm zurückgreift, wenn er als Kind Marionettenspiele inszeniert, steht Gottscheds Sammlung mit dem Titel *Die deutsche Schaubühne*. Das Adjektiv ‚deutsch' beschränkt sich in diesem Fall nicht auf die Ausgangssprache der gesammelten Texte, sondern wäre zu umschreiben als: Stücke, die auf der deutschen Schaubühne gespielt werden können, weil sie entweder schon auf Deutsch verfasst wurden oder in eben dieser Sammlung in deutschen Übersetzungen zur Verfügung gestellt werden (WML I.6, 374, vgl. Anmerkung 1181 f.).

Wenn Wilhelm sich anschickt, zum „Schöpfer eines künftigen National-Theaters" zu werden (WML I.9, 368), als welcher er sich schon früh gesehen hatte, wenn er „eine neue Aussicht für die vaterländische Bühne eröffnet" (WML IV.2, 577), dann gehört dazu bekanntlich vor allem auch die Appropriation Shakespeares, der bei Gottsched fehlt. Dabei bedient sich Wilhelm einerseits ausdrücklich der bereits vorliegenden *Hamlet*-Übersetzung durch Christoph Martin Wieland und ergänzt sie angeblich nur um dort ausgelassene Stellen (WML V.5, 666), übersetzt aber andererseits sogar solche Stellen noch einmal selbst, die Wieland bereits übersetzt hatte (WML V.11, 690, vgl. Anmerkung 1444).

Das Modell der Weltliteratur, bei dessen Herausbildung „der Deutsche am meisten zu verlieren" habe (WMW III, 770), wenn er nicht neue Absatzmärkte erschließt, unterscheidet sich davon nur darin, dass er zumindest strategisch leugnen sollte, in welchem Maße das Eigene auf der Aneignung des Anderen beruht. Man muss so tun, als interessiere man sich für die anderen Literaturen ‚an sich', ohne sie je schon appropriieren zu wollen. In den *Wanderjahren* bildet sich dafür ein rudimentär-komparatistischer Zirkel heraus, den Hersilie so beschreibt,

> [...] daß bei uns viel gelesen wird, und daß wir uns, aus Zufall, Neigung auch wohl Widerspruchsgeist, in die verschiedenen Literaturen geteilt haben. Der Oheim ist für's Italienische, die Dame hier nimmt es nicht übel, wenn man sie für eine vollendete Engländerin hält, ich aber halte mich an die Franzosen, sofern sie heiter und zierlich sind. Hier, Amtmann Papa erfreut sich des deutschen Altertums, und der Sohn mag denn, wie billig, dem neuern, jüngern seinen Anteil zuwenden. (WMW I.5, 309)

Dieses, noch heute (oder gar heute wieder) an einigen komparatistischen Instituten geübte Verfahren, „Nationalliteraturen zu vergleichen", führt, mit Peter Szondis Diagnose, gerade dazu, „deren Grenzen gegen die eigene Intention zu bestätigen" (Szondi 2016,

24 f.). Insofern ist *dieses* Modell der Weltliteratur vielleicht noch ‚nationalliterarischer' als das Modell der Nationalliteratur. Besser auf die Dynamiken des Welt-Literatur-Marktes eingestellt ist das Interesse für den Blick von außen auf das Eigene, das der Hausfreund (eine Nebenfigur) so charakterisiert:

> [...] ich muß mich zurücknehmen, wenn ich aufgeklärt werde. Deswegen bring' ich hier einiges Geschriebene, sogar Übersetzungen mit; denn ich traue in solchen Dingen meiner Nation so wenig als mir selbst; eine Zustimmung aus der Ferne und Fremde scheint mir mehr Sicherheit zu geben. (WMW I.10, 381)

Der Erfolg der einheimischen Produktion zeigt sich – um die ökonomische Metaphorik fortzuspinnen – daran, wie erfolgreich sie exportiert werden kann.

2. *Langues* und *langage* auf dem Weltmarkt

Klingen schon im Rahmen des Weltliteratur-Konzept Kategorien des Gewinns und Verlustes mit, so wird der Umgang mit Sprache*n* in den *Wilhelm Meister*-Romanen noch deutlicher mit ökonomischen Transaktionen in Verbindung gebracht, wo es nicht um literarische Texte geht. Um sprachlich (eigentlich eher sprach*ig*) für den Weltmarkt gerüstet zu sein, stehen, noch heute, zwei Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung. Die eine, anspruchsvollere, besteht darin, möglichst viele Sprachen zu beherrschen. Schon der Wilhelm der *Lehrjahre* verfügt über die erstaunliche „Leichtigkeit, fast in allen lebenden Sprachen Korrespondenz zu führen" (WML II.3, 439 – wobei es hier vor allem um Handelskorrespondenz geht). In der pädagogischen Provinz, die Wilhelm in den *Wanderjahren* besucht, wird die „Sprachübung und Sprachbildung" mit einem „Marktfest" motiviert, welches in der Nähe stattfindet: „Alle Sprachen der Welt glaubt man [dort] zu hören." (WMW II.8, 517) Darauf reagiert ein ausgeklügelter Fremdsprachenunterricht:

> Am notwendigsten aber wird eine allgemeine Sprachübung, weil bei diesem Festmarkte jeder Fremde in seinen eigenen Tönen und Ausdrücken genugsame Unterhaltung, bei'm Feilschen und Markten aber alle Bequemlichkeit finden mag. Damit jedoch keine Babylonische Verwirrung, keine Verderbnis entstehe, so wird das Jahr über monatweise nur Eine Sprache im Allgemeinen gesprochen; nach dem Grundsatz, daß man nichts lerne außerhalb des Elements, welches bezwungen werden soll. (WMW II.8, 518)

Dieses Verfahren setzt offensichtlich voraus, dass es genau zwölf Sprachen gebe – ein Sachverhalt, der freilich nicht ausdrücklich ausgewiesen wird, weil an dieser Zahl sich verraten würde, dass damit schwerlich „alle Sprachen der Welt" zu erfassen sind. Die babylonische Sprachenvielfalt erscheint in den *Wanderjahren* ambivalent, insofern es an anderer Stelle als „Segen" gewertet wird, dass „Gott, [...] den babylonischen Turmbau verhindernd, das Menschengeschlecht in alle Welt zerstreute" (WMW III.9, 667). Vor dem Hintergrund von Jürgen Trabants Geschichte des Sprachdenkens erscheint dieses Modell als eine gezähmte Variante von Trabants paradoxer Figur eines vielsprachigen Mithridates im Paradies: Sprachen*vielfalt* wird durchaus positiv besetzt, aber nur, wenn sie soweit kontrolliert werden kann, dass sie nicht zur Sprach*verwirrung* oder *-verderbnis* führe. Anders formuliert: Mehrsprachigkeit muss jederzeit auf pluralisierte Einsprachigkeit zurückgeführt werden können (eine Tendenz noch vieler heutiger Plädoyers für Mehrsprachigkeit).[5] Nicht ganz umsonst bieten die „reitenden Grammatiker" in der Pädagogischen Provinz auch „treuen und gründlichen Unterricht" in jeweils einer Zweitsprache pro Schüler an. Dass sich Felix „zum Italienischen bestimmt" hat (alle Zitate: WMW II.8, 519), ermangelt schwerlich des Bezugs zu jener Mignon, auf die zurückzukommen sein wird.

Das andere, anspruchslosere und daher heutzutage zunehmend beliebtere Modell, für den Weltmarkt sprachlich gerüstet zu sein, besteht darin, sich weltweit auf ein Idiom zu einigen, dessen Kenntnis beim anderen vorausgesetzt wird. Wenn ich heute einen anderen Deutschen für einen Franzosen halte, spreche ich ihn logischerweise auf Englisch an. *Fast* genau so macht dies bei Goethe ein deutscher Graf, der Wilhelm für einen Engländer hält: Er spricht ihn logischerweise auf Französisch an. Dabei erhält noch die Anrede selbst einen französischen Akzent: „Milord! sagte der Graf zu ihm auf französisch [...]." (WML VIII.10, 980) Das Französische wird in den *Wilhelm Meister-* Romanen ambivalent bewertet. Die Autorin der „Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" etwa erzählt ausführlich von ihrem Unterricht in dieser Sprache (WML VI, 731), in der sie auch geläufig korrespondiert, „und eine feinere Bildung konnte man überhaupt damals nur aus französischen Büchern nehmen" (WML VI, 746). Zugleich jedoch wird das Französische an mindestens zwei Stellen als ein Idiom charakterisiert, das sich besonders zu zweideutigen, tendenziell unaufrichtigem Sprechen anbiete. Als der Französischlehrer mit dem Bedeutungsspektrum des Wortes *honete* [sic] spielt, das die ‚schönen Seele'

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[5] Vgl. zur Kritik daran: Dembeck und Minnaard 2013: 3; eine ausführliche und überzeugende Kritik an der Zurechnung von mehrsprachigen Texten zu Sprachen hat Suchet 2014 vorgelegt.

zuvor ausgesprochen hatte, fühlt diese „das Lächerliche und [ist] äußerst verwirrt."
(WML VI, 733) Besonders scharf fällt Aurelies Kritik des Französischen aus:

> Zu Reservationen, Halbheiten und Lügen ist es [das Französische] eine treffliche
> Sprache; sie ist eine perfide Sprache! ich finde, Gott sei Dank! kein deutsches
> Wort, um perfid in seinem ganzen Umfange auszudrücken. Unser armseliges
> *treulos* ist ein unschuldiges Kind dagegen. Perfid ist treulos mit Genuß, mit
> Übermut und Schadenfreude. O, die Ausbildung einer Nation ist zu beneiden, die
> so feine Schattierungen in Einem Worte auszudrücken weiß! Französisch ist
> recht die Sprache der Welt, wert die allgemeine Sprache zu sein, damit sie sich
> nur alle unter einander betrügen und belügen können! (WML V. 16, 712)

Aus soziolinguistischer Perspektive ist diese Kritik zweifellos leicht als Misstrauen
gegenüber dem Sprechen des Adels erkennbar – und die in den 1790er Jahren
fertiggestellten *Lehrjahre*, die in den 1780er Jahren spielen, sind ja auch ein Kommentar
zum Vorabend der Französischen Revolution. In einem Eintrag aus „Makariens Archiv"
(also in den *Wanderjahren*) wird hingegen viel gelassener festgehalten, dass man „der
französischen Sprache niemals den Vorzug streitig machen wird, als ausgebildete Hof-
und Weltsprache sich immer mehr aus- und fortbildend zu wirken" (WMW III, 760 f.).

An den beiden zuletzt zitierten Stellen unterscheiden sich nicht nur die Bewertungen,
sondern auch die Beschreibungen des Idioms. In derjenigen Aureliens handelt es sich um
eine *langue* im starken Sinne, die über das angeblich unübersetzbare Wort *perfid* verfügt,
das Aurelie sogleich *auf* das Französische selbst anwendet: ein idiosynkratisches Wort
für eine idiosynkratische Sprache. Der Aphorismus aus „Makariens Archiv" hingegen
vergleicht das Französische mit der Sprache der Mathematik, also mit einem *langage*, in
dem jede Perfidie neutralisiert ist, und das jedem Benutzer vorgeblich ohne soziale
Distinktionen zur Verfügung steht. (Dass eine Sprache *zugleich* als *langue* und als
langage existieren kann, lässt sich derzeit gut am Englischen beobachten, das zum
langage überall dort tendiert, wo es als Verkehrssprache von *non-native speakers*,
beispielsweise in wissenschaftlichen Aufsätzen wie dem vorliegenden, eingesetzt wird).

3. Poetischer *langage*

In den beiden *Meister*-Romanen finden sich, um vorläufig zu bilanzieren, einige
Erwähnungen von anderssprachigen Texten und Reden – nicht sehr viele, wenngleich
einige wenige noch nachzutragen sein werden –, aber noch weniger anderssprachige
Signifikanten (einmal abgesehen von den ausdrücklich diskutierten *honete* und *perfide*,

dem in sich schon gleichsam zweisprachigen *Milord* oder einigen lateinischen Zitaten, auf deren eines zurückzukommen ist). Es gibt also einige glottadiegetische Elemente, aber noch weniger glottamimetische, oder: Es gibt gerade genug glottadiegetische Elemente, um besonders deutlich zu machen, wie weitgehend die glottamimetischen verweigert werden (zu den terminologischen Vorschlägen: Stockhammer 2015: 146–151). Wird das Sprechen des Charmeurs Narziß (in den „Bekenntnissen") damit charakterisiert, dass er „eigentümliche Redensarten [aus fremden Sprachen] gern ins deutsche Gespräch mischte" (WML VI, 737), so erhält der Leser dafür kein einziges Beispiel. Und soweit Texte und Reden in Übersetzung zitiert (oder als Übersetzung fingiert) werden, so wird deren Übersetzbarkeit als unproblematisch vorausgesetzt; allenfalls wird einmal markiert, dass sich jemand „nahe an das Original gehalten" habe (Wilhelm als *Hamlet*-Übersetzer, WML V.11, 690).

Eine wichtige Ausnahme von der Annahme der Übersetzbarkeit macht allerdings die Poesie. Um deren Ort spezifischer zu lokalisieren, ist ein kleiner Exkurs zur Verwendung der Wörter *Literatur* und *Poesie* um 1800 notwendig, die heute in literatur*theoretischen* Kontexten zu häufig miteinander identifiziert werden, während in literar*historischen* Kontexten die letztere (im Sinne von ‚Lyrik') meist als Teilbereich der ersteren begriffen wird. Ohne zu behaupten, dass diese Wörter seinerzeit nach allgemein akzeptierten Kriterien trennscharf voneinander unterschieden wurden, so ist doch jedenfalls mit zwei Differenzen gegenüber dem heute dominanten Sprachgebrauch zu rechnen: *Literatur* umfasste einerseits tendenziell mehr (nämlich auch nicht-fiktionale Texte oder zumindest Teilbereiche von diesen), begriff aber andererseits nicht unbedingt *Poesie* unter sich. Nicht umsonst galt etwa Schiller (in den Veröffentlichungsjahren der *Lehrjahre* und vielleicht mit einem Seitenhieb gegen deren Verfasser) der Romanschreiber nur als „Halbbruder" des Dichters (741). Wo *Poesie* und *Literatur* auseinandertreten, so entspricht dies (1.) zumeist, aber nicht zwingend, dem Unterschied zwischen gebundener und ungebundener Sprache; meist wird (2.) die erstere noch als emphatisch mündliche, typischerweise gesungene, die letztere hingegen, wie dies ja schon etymologisch motiviert ist, als schriftliche vorgestellt; für den vorliegenden Zusammenhang jedoch am wichtigsten ist (3.) die Unterscheidung zwischen Graden der Übersetzbarkeit (und damit Sprach*ig*keit): Während die Übersetzung von *Literatur* als unproblematisch konzipiert wird, gilt dies nicht für *Poesie*. Zu den sehr wenigen originalsprachigen Signifikanten in den *Meister*-Romanen gehören dementsprechend je ein Horaz und ein Ovid-Zitat, deren jedes aus zwei Hexametern auf Latein besteht, und mit einer sehr viel längeren (aus acht

Versen bestehenden) „poetische[n] Umschreibung" verdeutscht wird – wobei die letztere dann bis hinein in grammatische Details kommentiert und kritisiert wird (WMW II.4, 464 f.).

Ähnliche Probleme der Übersetzung wirft die „Naturpoesie" (Schlegel 1958: 146) auf, die allerdings noch einmal anders behandelt wird (vgl. zu einer früheren Fassung der folgenden Analyse: Stockhammer 2009: 285–90). Von Mignon heißt es einmal, sie spreche „ein gebrochnes mit französisch und italienisch durchflochtenes Deutsch" (WML II.6, 463), und später: „Sie sprach noch immer sehr gebrochen deutsch" (WML IV.16, 626). Diese glottadiegetische Zuschreibung kommt jedoch nirgends an die Textoberfläche (wird nie glottamimetisch); wird Mignons Sprechen in ‚direkter Rede' zitiert, so mit Sätzen wie: „Sie [die Flügel] stellen schönere vor, die noch nicht entfaltet sind." (WML VIII.2, 895). Strukturäquivalentes gilt sogar von ihrem Singen, zumindest dem des ‚Italien-Liedes' („Kennst Du das Land..."). Als Mignon nämlich das Lied zum ersten Mal singt, kann Wilhelm „die Worte nicht alle verstehen", weil sie es nicht (oder nicht ausschließlich) auf Deutsch singt: „Er ließ sich die Strophen wiederholen und erklären, schrieb sie auf und übersetzte sie ins Deutsche." (WML III.1, 504). Goethes Fiktion zufolge besitzen die Leser des Romans dieses Gedicht nicht im Original, sondern nur als ein schon übersetztes.

Goethe bedient sich hier im Kleinen einer Variante der ‚Pseudo-Übersetzung' (mit einem Ausdruck, an dem derzeit vor allem Brigitte Rath weiterarbeitet; siehe Rath 2013), die schon vor dem, aber besonders im 18. Jahrhundert auch für ganze Bücher eingesetzt wurde: der Übersetzungsfiktion, mit der unterstellt wird, dass dem publizierten Text ein ‚Original' in einer anderen Sprache zugrunde liege, welches aber nicht mitgeteilt wird. Die Szene mit Mignons ‚Italien-Lied' unterscheidet sich von diesen Vorbildern, außer durch ihren viel kleineren Umfang, aber dadurch, dass die fingierte Ausgangssprache keineswegs, wie etwa das Arabische im Don Quijote oder das Gälische bei ‚Ossian', als archaisch reine Kultursprache konnotiert ist. Ja, es ist kaum auszumachen, aus welcher Sprache Wilhelm eigentlich übersetzt, vermutlich deshalb, weil das Lied nicht *einer* Sprache eindeutig zuzurechnen ist:

> Aber die Originalität der Wendungen konnte er nur von ferne nachahmen. Die kindliche Unschuld des Ausdrucks verschwand, indem die gebrochene Sprache übereinstimmend, und das Unzusammenhängende verbunden ward. (WML III.1, 504)

Wenn zu den Sprachelementen des fingierten Originals auch deutsche gehören (was die Beschreibung von Mignos Sprechen nahelegt), dann gäbe es ein Schon-Übersetztes bereits *in* dem fingierten Text, den Wilhelm ‚übersetzt' – falls denn der Vorgang, eine „gebrochene Sprache übereinstimmend" zu machen, überhaupt noch ‚Übersetzung' heißen kann: Es wäre jedenfalls keine Über-Setzung im Sinne eines Transports zwischen zwei distinkten Ufern mehr, und die frühere Fassung in *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung* korrigiert denn auch ausdrücklich: „[Wilhelm] übersetzte [das Lied] in die deutsche Sprache, oder vielmehr er ahmte es nach" (181 f.).

Soweit verhandelt die Passage eine sehr spezifische Gemengelage von Sprachen, die zugleich eine typische Variante der allgemeinen, von Peter Szondi nachgezeichneten Logik ist, derzufolge das Naive das Sentimentalische *ist* (siehe Szondi 1978): „Die kindliche Unschuld des Ausdrucks" ist in ihrem Wortlaut nicht anschreibbar, sondern wird nur als verschwundene, „von ferne nach[geahmte]" evoziert. Um aber „allen Seltsamkeiten die Krone aufzusetzen" (Seidlin 1950: 88), wird Mignons Gesang in einer Weise zugleich beschrieben und zitiert, die auf der Ebene des Dargestellten kaum noch übereinstimmend nachvollziehbar ist:

> Sie fing jeden Vers feierlich und prächtig an, als ob sie auf etwas sonderbares aufmerksam machen, als ob sie etwas wichtiges vortragen wollte. Bei der dritten Zeile ward der Gesang dumpfer und düsterer, das: *kennst du es wohl?* drückte sie geheimnisvoll und bedächtig aus, in dem: *dahin! dahin!* lag eine unwiderstehliche Sehnsucht, und ihr: *Laß uns ziehn!* wußte sie, bei jeder Wiederholung, dergestalt zu modifizieren, daß es bald bittend und dringend, bald treibend und vielversprechend war. (WML III.1, 504)

Die Zitierweise legt nahe, dass Mignon nun doch auf Deutsch singe. Betrifft diese Beschreibung – da ja ausdrücklich markiert wird, dass sie das Lied zweimal singt – das zweite Mal, und sie singt diesmal Wilhelms Übersetzung? Dies wäre die einzige Möglichkeit, die Passage als in sich kohärente, auch im Wortlaut korrekte Darstellung einer Aufführung des Liedes zu lesen – doch ist diese Lesart zugleich äußerst unwahrscheinlich, da ja mit dieser Aufführung eben die „kindliche Unschuld des Ausdrucks" beschrieben werden soll, die sich in der ‚Übersetzung' nicht entfalten könne.

So bleibt nur die Lesart, dass es hier weniger auf eine in sich kohärente Darstellung einer Aufführungssituation ankommt denn vielmehr auf eine implizite Aussage über Dichtung, einen Aspekt der „poetischen Physik der Poesie" (Schlegel 1958: 132), welche der

Roman entwickelt. Mignons Lied ist *zugleich* in einer „gebrochenen Sprache" verfasst und gehört *einer* in sich „übereinstimmend[en]" Sprache an. Es erscheint einerseits als eines, dessen spezifische sprachige Gemengelage irreduzibel ist – und wird andererseits ausschließlich in dieser reduzierten Fassung überliefert. Beide Fassungen aber sollen doch nicht wie ein Original von einer Nachahmung unterschieden werden, sondern miteinander identisch sein: Mignon singt „*das* Lied, das wir soeben aufgezeichnet haben." Hier lässt sich also nicht kohärent rekonstruieren, welche Sprache in der fiktiven Welt ‚eigentlich' gesprochen bzw. gesungen wurde; die Sprachigkeit ist glotta-aporetisch; übrigens lässt sich zeigen, dass es davon gar nicht so wenige gibt (vgl. z.B. auch Babel 2015: 83–87 zu einem Lied in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*), und dies könnte darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass es in der Literatur – auch diesseits der Phantastischen Literatur – nicht unbedingt in sich kohärente ‚fiktive Welten' geben muss (Stockhammer 2015: 164–170, dort auch der terminologische Vorschlag *glotta-aporetisch*).

Gegen eine allzu direkte Vermittlung von Sprache und ‚Welt' spricht auch ein Detail, das gerade in einer Situation festzuhalten ist, in der intensivierte Sprachigkeit allzu schnell (wie eingangs erwähnt) auf lebensweltliche Faktoren zurückgeführt wird: Mignons gebrochene Sprache ist keineswegs zwingend der direkte Reflex ihres Migrationshintergrundes. Vielmehr verlief bei ihr schon der Erstspracherwerb stockend: „Nur mit Worten konnte [das Kind] sich nicht ausdrücken, und es schien das Hindernis mehr in seiner Denkungsart als in den Sprachwerkzeugen zu liegen." (WML VIII.9, 968)

Allerdings habe Mignon, wie im Satz unmittelbar davor betont wurde, „bald sehr artig" zu singen gelernt. Pedantisch ließe sich dagegen einwenden, dass doch auch Gesang nicht zuletzt aus Wörtern bestehe und sich darin von der Instrumentalmusik unterscheide. Es gibt jedoch eine Tendenz in den *Wilhelm Meister*-Romanen, Gesang – und damit auch Poesie – von ihrem Bezug auf Wörter weitgehend zu entkoppeln. So verrückt dies klingen mag, spricht dafür doch auch eine eigenwillige Passage aus den *Wanderjahren*, die ebenfalls vom Unterricht in der Pädagogischen Provinz handelt:

> Da nun auch Gesang zwischen den Instrumenten sich hervortat, konnte kein Zweifel übrig bleiben daß auch dieser begünstigt werde. Auf eine Frage sodann was noch sonst für eine Bildung sich hier freundlich anschließe, vernahm der Wanderer: die Dichtkunst sei es, und zwar von der lyrischen Seite. Hier komme alles darauf an daß beide Künste, jede für sich und aus sich selbst, dann aber gegen und miteinander entwickelt werden. Die Schüler lernen eine wie die andre

in ihrer Bedingtheit kennen; sodann wird gelehrt wie sie sich wechselsweise bedingen und sich sodann wieder wechselseitig befreien.

> Der poetischen Rhythmik stellt der Tonkünstler Takteinteilung und Taktbewegung entgegen. Hier zeigt sich aber bald die Herrschaft der Musik über die Poesie; denn wenn diese, wie billig und notwendig, ihre Quantitäten immer so rein als möglich im Sinne hat, so sind für den Musiker wenig Sylben entschieden lang oder kurz; nach Belieben zerstört dieser das gewissenhafteste Verfahren des Rhythmikers, ja verwandelt sogar Prosa in Gesang, wo dann die wunderbarsten Möglichkeiten hervortreten, und der Poet würde sich gar bald vernichtet fühlen, wüßte er nicht, von seiner Seite, durch lyrische Zartheit und Kühnheit, dem Musiker Ehrfurcht einzuflößen und neue Gefühle, bald in sanftester Folge, bald durch die raschesten Übergänge, hervorzurufen. (WMW II.8, 520)

Im Zusammenhang eines Vergleichs von Musik und Dichtkunst würde man gemeinhin erwarten, dass die letztere durch den Einsatz von Wörtern gegen die erstere abgehoben wird. Doch wird der Unterschied hier allein als einer zwischen zwei verschiedenen Zeiteinteilungen beschrieben („Takteinteilung und Taktbewegung" mit fließenden Längenmaßen einerseits, „Rhythmik" auf der Grundlage einer binären lang/kurz-Opposition andererseits), die in der Vokalmusik zueinander in ein Spannungsverhältnis treten.

Dichter dichten, zugespitzt formuliert, in keiner Sprache (*langue*), weil Dichtung selbst in einem anderen Sinn eine Sprache (*langage*) ist. Mignons „gebrochne Sprache", die keiner existierenden *langue* eindeutig zuzurechnen ist, ist doch zugleich der *langage* der Poesie schlechthin – vorausgesetzt, dass das hybride Idiom der fiktiven Originalfassung nicht selbst an der Textoberfläche erscheint, sondern nur in einer, ebenso defizitären wie notwendigen, ‚Übersetzung' (oder vielmehr Nachahmung). Zwar berichtet *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* von der Gewalt, die notwendig ist, um die gebrochene Sprache übereinstimmend zu machen: Mignon stirbt ja nicht nur gegen Ende des Romans; sie hat ihn schon als Gezeichnete, wenn nicht als Gebrochene, betreten, als „armes Kind", dem man „Was [...] getan" hat (WML III.1, 503), und das, wenn es an die Grenze seiner sprachlichen Ausdrucksfähigkeit kommt, mit „entsetzlichen Zuckungen" reagiert (WML VIII.3, 904).

Aber die Romane immunisieren doch zugleich gegen die nicht-integrierbare Mignon, gegen Mignon als Verkörperung des Nicht-Integrierbaren. Deutlich wird dies etwa, wenn

man die *Wanderjahre*, mit Gerhard Neumann (1987–1999: 955–963), als „semiotischen Roman" liest, also auch nicht-wortsprachliche Zeichensysteme (*langages*, diesmal im Plural) mitberücksichtigt und dabei die *Lehrjahre* zum Vergleich heranzieht. Dort zeichnet sich Mignon nicht zuletzt durch ihr idiosynkratisches Zeichenrepertoire aus, insofern „*es* [das Kind] für jeden eine besondere Art von Gruß hatte. Ihn [Wilhelm] grüßte *sie* seit einiger Zeit mit über die Brust geschlagenen Armen." (WML II.6, 463, Hvh. von R. St.). Zu ganzen drei verschiedenen Begrüßungsgesten werden hingegen die Zöglinge der ‚Pädagogischen Provinz' (in den *Wanderjahren*) diszipliniert, wobei überdies jeder einzelne Zögling nur eine einzelne Geste vollziehen darf, mit der er zugleich schon seine Zugehörigkeit zu einer der drei Altersgruppen anzeigt: Nur und genau die „jüngsten legten die Arme kreuzweis über die Brust", die mittleren und ältesten müssen die Arme anders halten (WMW II.1, 415). Aus Mignons Adressaten-individualisierender Kommunikation, die etwas wie einen Code in einzelnen Akten erst stiftet – und die noch Mignons eigenes Geschlecht mitzubestimmen scheint, insofern sie erst bei der Begrüßung Wilhelms, gegen die grammatischen Regeln der Anaphorik, eine *sie* wird, während „das Kind" zuvor noch ein *es* war – wird eine rudimentäre Sendergruppen-klassifizierende Kodifikation. Blitzt in Mignons Zeichengebrauch die Möglichkeit einer Privatsprache auf – eine für Alltagssprache dysfunktionale, für *Poesie* im emphatischen Sinne aber durchaus konstitutive Annahme –, so wird dies im pädagogischen Dispositiv gründlich ausgetrieben.

Noch deutlicher immunisiert wird Mignon in den Exequien im letzten Buch der *Lehrjahre*, bei denen, mit der Erklärung des Abbé, „die Kunst [...] alle ihre Mittel angewandt [hat], den Körper zu erhalten und ihn der Vergänglichkeit zu entziehen." (VIII.8, 958) „Der Umschlag von einer infektiösen zu einer immunen Kunst [...] vollzieht sich exemplarisch an der Figur Mignons." (Zumbusch 2012: 294) Die „Mortifizierung des Lebendigen" (Zumbusch 2012: 293) soll zugleich dessen Konservierung gewährleisten, und diese vollzieht sich durch eine Konversion in Kunst. Dies ist strukturäquivalent mit der Immunisierung gegen die allzu-natürlichen, „gebrochenen" *langues* durch deren Konvertierung in einen kunstvoll die Natur konservierenden *langage*. Die mit der deutschsprachigen Nachahmung konservierte Naturpoesie gehört nicht je schon zur deutschen Nationalliteratur (dies gegen Stockhammer 2009: 289–90), insofern sie ja gerade nicht dem Muttersprachigkeits-Ideal folgt, das für Nationalliteratur seit Herder (Martyn 2014: 43–45) und dann etwa auch bei Schleiermacher (Weidner 2007) konstitutiv ist. Abgelöst aus seinem fiktionalen Entstehungskontext jedoch kann

„Kennst Du das Land? wo die Zitronen blühn" dann wahlweise in Anthologien deutscher Poesie oder in solche der Weltpoesie eingehen.

4. Sehr kurzes Fazit

Goethe-Leser besitzen übrigens bis heute nicht den Original-Wortlaut der Rede, welche der Abbé bei den Exequien Mignons hält, sondern nur deren ‚Pseudo-Übersetzung', da diese Rede, aus Rücksicht auf den Markese, einen italienischen Gast, ‚in Wirklichkeit' (in der ‚Welt' des Romans) auf Französisch gehalten wurde, sie aber nur auf Deutsch notiert wird (WML VIII.8, 958) – wobei sogar der Adelstitel des Redners selbst einer deutschschriftlichen Orthographie unterworfen wird. Implizit ist daraus zu schließen, dass auch der (oben schon aus WML VIII.9, 968 zitierte) Bericht des Markese über Mignons Kindheit angesichts seiner mangelnden Deutschkenntnisse ebenfalls aus dem Französischen übersetzt worden sein muss, ohne dass dies ausdrücklich ausgewiesen würde. Rede und Bericht sind zwei weitere Beispiele für Texteinheiten, deren Übersetzbarkeit sich als unproblematisch darstellt, wobei das Französische – anders als in der Bewertung Aureliens, aber im Einklang mit seiner Beschreibung in den *Wanderjahren* – als ein *langage* vorgestellt wird, der sich äquidistant und neutral zu Sprechern und Hörern verhält, deren Erstsprachen das Deutsche bzw. das Italienische sind. Demgegenüber ist die Sprache der Poesie im emphatischen Sinne zwar keineswegs neutral, ihre Übersetzung keineswegs unproblematisch; sie wird aber eben in einen *langage* konvertiert, dessen Sprach*ig*keit auf andere Weise neutralisiert wird. Wenn, mit einer leichten Umformulierung von David Martyns eingangs zitierter Hypothese, nicht die mehrsprachige Literatur das Sonderphänomen ist, sondern die nicht-sprachige, nur-sprachliche: So bilden die *Meister*-Romane vielleicht dieses Sonderphänomen, und die Konstruktion von ‚Nationalliteratur' (oder jedenfalls eines bestimmten Modells von dieser) wäre dann nicht ausschließlich das Unterfangen von Philologen, sondern könnte sich durchaus auf literarische Texte selbst stützen.

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Robert Stockhammer
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

translated by
Judith Menzl

CONVERTING LINGUALISM INTO LINGUALITY (LANGAGIFICATION DES LANGUES) IN GOETHE'S *WILHELM MEISTER* NOVELS

Abstract:

In light of recent insights into the near-omnipresence of multilingual features in literature, it seems promising to focus on texts from the core of national canons with the aim of detecting traces of multilingualism within apparently monolingual textures. The present article started out as a test of this hypothesis, focusing on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels (*Lehr-* and *Wanderjahre; Apprenticeship* and *Journeyman's Years*). Even as some traces of other languages can indeed be identified in these novels, quite another tendency turns out to be dominant: a neutralization or immunization of *langues* (French for *tongues*, i.e., idioms in the sense of geographically diverse languages), and their conversion into a *langage* (French for a linguistic system ostensibly independent of languages in their diversity). I propose to describe this tendency as a *langagification des langues*, a conversion of *Sprach*igkeit (here: *lingualism*) into *Sprach*lich*keit* (here: *linguality*), arguing that this might be a crucial operation within the construction of national literatures. Note that this text is a translation of the German-language original, which also appears in this issue of *CMS*.

Keywords:

lingualism / *Sprachigkeit* ◆ linguality / *Sprachlichkeit* ◆ poetic language ◆ Goethe ◆ *Wilhelm Meister*

In research on multilingualism in literature there is "growing indication of a reversal in perspective: the anomaly is not *multilingual* literature, but *monolingual* literature" (Martyn 2014: 40).[1] The philological impulse that inspired this reversal in perspective is keyed to texts such as those by Yoko Tawada, which themselves already read as 'philological texts' (Dembeck 2016: 82). Yet it stands to reason that this impulse can be applied also to the reading of 'classical texts' that do not at first glance seem to lend themselves to such an endeavor. This is particularly true for texts whose authors lack a significant 'migration background,' which means that the intensified lingualism, or *Sprachigkeit,* of the texts cannot be traced back to lived experiences—an approach that is perhaps plausible in literary sociology, but not sufficiently complex from a literary-theoretical standpoint. (For endeavors to critique or at least relativize this commonplace practice, see Dembeck & Uhrmacher 2016: 10–12; Kilchmann 2016: 44–45.) There is much promise in the hypothesis that the core texts of national literary canons, too, have always already escaped from the paradigm of monolingualism—from which has issued the ever dominant (though ever more frequently contested) perspectival framework of national philology.

We may call this impulse 'deconstructive,' if we apprehend this in broad strokes as the second step in a critique of Aesthetic Ideology (and if 'ideology' is taken in Paul de Man's sense rather than in Terry Eagleton's): the first step in a critique of Aesthetic Ideology insists on the inherent lingual*ity*, or Sprach*lich*keit, of all texts, where 'language' means language in general, without explicitly thematizing the differentiation

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[1] "[...] mehren sich [inzwischen] die Zeichen einer perspektivischen Umkehrung: Nicht die *mehrsprachige* Literatur ist das Sonderphänomen, sondern die einsprachige." Translations into English by J. M. throughout, unless otherwise noted.

between language*s*. This conception aligns with Rorty's phrase 'linguistic turn,' popularized in 1967, which was at first only applied in the domain of Analytic Philosophy. In this arena, the Wittgenstein of the *Philosophic Investigations* pursued subtle analyses of 'language play,' though rarely reflected on the fact that nearly all of his examples stemmed from one singular language (in this case German). Indeed, most successful structuralist models have also claimed to be valid for Language in the general sense. The second step of a critique of Aesthetic Ideology would insist, then, on the lingual*ism,* or Sprach*igk*eit, of all texts—meaning that they have a certain relationship to specific idioms (of the type 'national languages' or 'regional dialects' for instance), to which they relate in various degrees of totality. Thus, in contrast to linguality, one property germane to lingualism would be doubt about translatability.

The French terms *langage* and *langue* easily describe this difference that, in German, can only be distinguished through a neologism ('Sprachigkeit'), and for which an English equivalent is even less established. The connotative reach of *langage*, as opposed to *langue,* differs in two regards. First, the definitional spectrum of *langage* indeed includes non-lingual sign systems ('langage de signe') as well as idioms that, though they are lingual, are not distinguishable by way of geographic criteria, such as vocational jargon or sociolects ('langage des jeunes'). Looking more closely at Anglophone usage affords us a quick way of testing the difference (though not an entirely disambiguating translation of it): if *tongue* can replace the word *language* in a certain context, it refers to the concept of *langue*. If this substitution is not possible, one is dealing with a *langage*. This conforms to the etymological substrate, in the sense that both the English *tongue* and the French *langue* also denote a language organ (though in *langage* the suffix *–age* neutralizes this etymologic connection). Of course, there are many cases of uncertainty, including the debate about whether to speak of a *langage poétique* (105,000 google hits) or a *langue poétique* (35,000), a discussion that is particularly relevant to literary investigations (see the case of English, which, in addition to the common *poetic language,* uses the less common phrase *the poet's tongue)*.

Langage, for its part, refers to 'Language' in general, a fact that becomes especially apparent in the tradition of 'General Grammar' (*Grammaire générale*), which dominated linguistic reflections between circa 1660 and 1800 (a period that Foucault dubs the 'episteme of representation'). Characteristic of this tradition is Nicolas Beauzée's 1767 *Grammaire générale ou exposition raisonnée des éléments nécessaires du langage, pour server de fondement á l'étude de toutes les langues*: here *langues* are simply various

realizations of *langage*.[2] Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose language theory developed out of this tradition (and who works with this differentiation in his French language texts), occasionally translates *langage* as *Sprachvermögen*. The English equivalent *faculty of language* is a central concept for current cognitive linguistics (not only the Chomskyan strain of it), which also tends to describe differences between language*s* as mere epiphenomena.

The interest in lingualism, or Sprach*ig*keit, can be reformulated, particularly with recourse to the second of these semantic differences, as an interest in *langue*-ness. When certain texts are obviously multilingual, they are particularly distinct signs of more-lingualism—an intensified confrontation with the substantive fact that every text relates in a specific way to more than one *langue*. My decision to read Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels in their entirety for their Sprachigkeit resulted from an interest in revealing traces of multilingualism in these texts. In what follows, I have collected these traces, starting out from a particular form of the concept *world literature* explicitly invoked in the *Journeyman's Years*, with the reasonable expectation that this concept would be coextensive with language*s* in the plural. But the essay takes a different course than I had originally planned, as the traces of multilingualism proved insufficient to infer an intensified lingualism for the novel. Rather, it is concerned with the residues of a constrained lingualism, residues of an endeavor that I propose to describe as an immunization against lingualism, a conversion of lingualism into linguality.

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[2] The description of this difference intentionally evades the specific conceptual politics of Saussure, who first introduced the expression *la langue* (in the singular, with definite article, and without further modification) in the context of linguistic reflection, thus undermining the received differentiation *le langage / les langues*. For an initial introduction on "Sprachigkeit," see for instance Stockhammer, Arndt & Naguschewski 2007: 22–26 (where also Saussure's use of the expression *la langue* is more extensively treated, elaborating further the work of Fehr 1997). Radaelli (2014: 164, n20) calls attention the fact that the definition of the neologism is not fully worked out in that article. The sentence "Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass das sprachliche Medium eine *Einzel*sprache ist. (26; "Sprachigkeit would then be the consciousness that the linguistic medium is an *individual* language") should rather read as follows: "Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass es Sprache stets nur in Gestalt von Sprache*n* gibt, die es als 'Einzelsprachen' zugleich nicht gibt." ("Sprachigkeit would then be the consciousness that there is only language in the form of languages, which simultaneously do not exist as 'individual languages.'") Martyn (2014: 28) developed the concept further, with a different accentuation.

1. World Literature and National Literature

> *"Now that a world literature is setting in, the German has,*
> *strictly speaking, the most to lose; he would do well to heed*
> *this warning" (WMW III, 770).*[3]

This "warning" is uttered in "From Makarien's archive," the collection of aphorisms that concludes the novel *Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman's Years* (the 1829 edition), but ought to have been inserted following the first of its three books (an eventuality precluded by a delay in the manuscript's going to press, see WMW, n996). Though invocations of Goethe's statements regarding world literature are experiencing a sort of hyperinflation lately, this quotation is not usually among them. It seems to address only too pointedly that which is currently debated through vague catchphrases like 'globalization anxiety' or, alternately, endeavors toward 'preparedness for globalization.' The "warning" appears to be advising German writers to be open to the challenges of the world literature market, in order to prevent its national literature from losing market shares—should readers opt for cheaper Chinese novels of equal production quality.

Under these circumstances, models of national literature and *a specific* model of world literature have fewer differences between them than is commonly insinuated. National literary texts indeed already place themselves on the world market where "natural and artistic products from all over the world […] alternatingly become items of high demand" and can be found in mass circulation (WML I.10 390; I would have expected such a description in the *Journeyman's Years,* rather than in the *Apprenticeship*).[4] Just as an auto manufacturer keeps an eye on foreign production and finds stimulation in it, even when he is primarily producing for a domestic market, national literature is always already cultivated through 'comparison' with other literatures and their selective appropriation (as can be seen in the chapter titles of Herder's *Fragments on Recent German Literature*). Wilhelm's grandfather's library, which he consults when devising his marionette plays as a child, contains Gottsched's collection *The German Theater*. The adjective 'German', in this case, does not indicate any restriction upon the source language of the texts, but

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[3] "Jetzt, da sich eine Weltliteratur einleitet, hat, genau besehen, der Deutsche am meisten zu verlieren; er wird wohl tun dieser Warnung nachzudenken." In order to make quotations in other editions easier to find, the volume is indicated in Roman numerals, with chapters in Arabic numeral, using the following abbreviations: WML: *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship); WMW: *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman's Years).

[4] "die natürlichen und künstlichen Produkte aller Weltteile [...] wechselweise zur Notdurft geworden sind"

could indeed be reformulated as: works that can be performed on the German stage because they were either written in German or are provided for the first time in German translation in this collection (WML I.6, 374, see n1181–2).

If Wilhelm is preparing himself to become the "father of a future national theater" (WML I.9, 368), which is how he sees himself early on, if he seeks to "establish a new outlook for the stage of the fatherland" (WML IV.2, 577),[5] then the appropriation of Shakespeare indeed would belong prominently to that endeavor, though it is missing in Gottsched. Accordingly, Wilhelm draws explicitly on Christoph Martin Wieland's translation of *Hamlet*, reportedly supplementing only those sections that have been omitted (WML V.5, 666), yet still translates sections that Wieland had already translated (WML V.11, 690, see n1444).

The model of world literature's development in which "the German has the most to lose" (WMW III, 770) should he not exploit new sales markets, differs from this only in the sense that he should at least strategically dissemble the extent to which the self rests upon the appropriation of the other. One must feign interest in the other's literature as such, without ever showing intent to appropriate it. In the *Journeyman's Years*, a rudimentarily comparatistic cycle develops, according to Hersilie who describes

> […] that we read a lot, and that we have—by accident, propensity and the spirit of contradiction—divided our interest on different literatures. The uncle likes the Italian, and this lady would not take offense if taken to be perfectly English. I myself, however, stay with the French since they are cheerful and delicate. Here, our offical and father delights in German antiquity, whereas his son likes to turn towards the new, the younger. (WMW I.5, 309)[6]

Today, the still (or perhaps yet again) present and common procedure of 'comparing national literatures,' which is practiced in various comparative literature departments, leads according to Peter Szondi's diagnosis precisely to "unwittingly confirm[ing] the

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[5] "Schöpfer eines künftigen National-Theaters"—"eine neue Aussicht für die vaterländische Bühne eröffnet"

[6] "[...] bei uns viel gelesen wird, und daß wir uns, aus Zufall, Neigung auch wohl Widerspruchsgeist, in die verschiedenen Literaturen geteilt haben. Der Oheim ist für's Italienische, die Dame hier nimmt es nicht übel, wenn man sie für eine vollendete Engländerin hält, ich aber halte mich an die Franzosen, sofern sie heiter und zierlich sind. Hier, Amtmann Papa erfreut sich des deutschen Altertums, und der Sohn mag denn, wie billig, dem neuern, jüngern seinen Anteil zuwenden." (WMW I.5, 309)

borders of these literatures" (2016: 24–5).[7] As such, this model of world literature is perhaps even more 'nationalistic' than the model of national literature. Most attuned to the dynamics of the world literature market is an interest in the gaze from outside upon the self, which a family friend (a minor character) encapsulates as follows:

> I have to hold myself back when I am being enlightened. That's why I am now bringing a few written documents, even translations among them. Because, in such matters, I trust my nation as little as I trust myself. Corroboration from afar and from the foreign seems to give me more security. (WMW I.10, 381)[8]

The success of domestic production manifests itself—to stick with the economic metaphor—in the way in which products are successfully exported.

2. *Langues* and *langage* on the world market

If ledger columns of gains and losses already resound throughout the framework of the world literature concept, the handling of language*s* in the *Wilhelm Meister* novels is associated even more clearly with economic transactions—that is, those not dealing with literary texts. Even today, two options are available when it comes to being lingually (or, rather, linguistically) prepared for the world market. The more challenging of these is mastering as many languages as possible. Wilhelm of the *Journeyman's Years* already possesses the "ease to conduct correspondence in all living languages" (WML II.3, 439, though here it is largely a matter of business correspondence). In the pedagogical province that Wilhelm visits in the *Journeyman's Years*, "language practice and language education" is motivated by way of a "market fest," which takes place nearby: "It is believed that all languages of the world can be heard [there]" (WMW II.8, 517).[9] A sophisticated concept of foreign language teaching responds to this:

> Most necessary, however, is general language practice because at this market fest every foreigner may find sufficient entertainment in his own sounds and expressions, as well as comfort when haggling at the market. However, to prevent Babylonian confusion or corruption, only one language is spoken each

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[7] "deren Grenzen gegen die eigene Intention zu bestätigen"

[8] "ich muß mich zurücknehmen, wenn ich aufgeklärt werde. Deswegen bring' ich hier einiges Geschriebene, sogar Übersetzungen mit; denn ich traue in solchen Dingen meiner Nation so wenig als mir selbst; eine Zustimmung aus der Ferne und Fremde scheint mir mehr Sicherheit zu geben."

[9] "Sprachübung und Sprachbildung"—"Marktfest"—"[a]lle Sprachen der Welt glaubt man zu hören."

month for the rest of the year, according to the principle that nothing is to be learned except the one element to be conquered. (WMW II.8, 518)[10]

This process obviously assumes that exactly twelve languages exist—a proposition that is, of course, not explicitly stated because this number would reveal that it cannot possibly encompass "all language of the world." Babylonian linguistic diversity comes across ambivalently in the *Journeyman's Years*, seeing how it is deemed in another passage as a "blessing" that "God, […] spread mankind across the world in order to prevent the construction of the Tower of Babel" (WMW III.9, 667).[11] When compared to Jürgen Trabant's account of *Sprachdenken* ("thinking language"), this model appears a tamed variant of Trabant's paradoxical figure of a multilingual Mithridates in paradise: *diversity* of language is coded positively, but only if it is sufficiently controlled so as to prevent the *confusion* and *corruption* of language. In other words: multilingualism must always be able to be traced back to monolingualism (still today a tendency among the many rallying cries for multilingualism).[12] It isn't for nothing that the "riding grammarians" of the pedagogical province offer "devoted and thorough teaching" in at least one second language per student. That Felix "deci[des] for the Italian" can scarcely do without a reference to Mignon, about whom more is to be said below (WMW II.8, 519).[13]

The other, undemanding and therefore more popular approach to being lingually prepared for the world market is to agree worldwide on one language, others' knowledge of which can be assumed. If today I mistake another German for French, I would logically speak to him in English. In Goethe, a German count does almost precisely this when he mistakes Wilhelm for English: logically, he speaks to him in French. The address itself takes on a French accent: "Milord! Said the count to him in French […]." (WML VIII.10, 980)[14]

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[10] "Am notwendigsten aber wird eine allgemeine Sprachübung, weil bei diesem Festmarkte jeder Fremde in seinen eigenen Tönen und Ausdrücken genugsame Unterhaltung, bei'm Feilschen und Markten aber alle Bequemlichkeit finden mag. Damit jedoch keine Babylonische Verwirrung, keine Verderbnis entstehe, so wird das Jahr über monatweise nur Eine Sprache im Allgemeinen gesprochen; nach dem Grundsatz, daß man nichts lerne außerhalb des Elements, welches bezwungen werden soll."

[11] "Segen"—"[daß] Gott, [...] den babylonischen Turmbau verhindernd, das Menschengeschlecht in alle Welt zerstreute"

[12] For a critique, see Dembeck & Minnaard 2013: 3; for an extensive and convincing critique of the attribution of multilingual texts to languages, see Suchet 2014.

[13] "reitenden Grammatiker"—"treuen und gründlichen Unterricht"—"zum Italienischen bestimmt"

[14] "Milord! sagte der Graf zu ihm auf französisch"

French is characterized ambivalently in the *Wilhelm Meister* novels: the author of the "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele," the "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul," reports in detail her studies of this language (WML VI, 731), in which she also occasionally corresponds: "and a more distinguished education could only be acquired from French books back then" (WML VI, 746).[15] At the same time, however, French is characterized twice as an idiom that lends itself particularly well to ambiguous and, generally, insincere talk. The 'beautiful soul' senses "the ridiculousness and is utterly confused" (WML VI, 733),[16] when the French teacher plays with the wide range of meanings of the word '*honete*' [sic], which the "beautiful soul" had previously uttered. Aurelie's criticism of French is especially harsh:

> [French] is the appropriate language for reservations, half measures, and lies; it is a perfidious language! I cannot find, thank god, a single German word to express perfidious to its full extent. Comparatively, our pitiful *treulos* is an innocent child. Perfidious is unfaithful with pleasure, with exuberance and Schadenfreude. Oh the education of a nation, which can express such fine nuances in one word, is to be envied! French is justly the language of the world, worthy of being the common language, so that they can betray and lie to each other! (WML V.16, 712)[17]

Without a doubt, a sociolinguistic view easily recognizes this critique as mistrust for the language of the aristocracy; the *Apprenticeship*, completed in the 1790s and set in the 1780s, was, after all, a commentary on the eve of the French Revolution. As a contrast, though, one entry in "Makarien's Archive" (in the *Journeyman's Years)* records, more placidly, that "the French language would never demure the advantage of appearing to be a continually advancing, educated court- and world-language" (WMW III, 760–1).[18]

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[15] "und eine feinere Bildung konnte man überhaupt damals nur aus französischen Büchern nehmen"

[16] "das Lächerliche und [ist] äußerst verwirrt"

[17] "Zu Reservationen, Halbheiten und Lügen ist es [das Französische] eine treffliche Sprache; sie ist eine perfide Sprache! ich finde, Gott sei Dank! kein deutsches Wort, um perfid in seinem ganzen Umfange auszudrücken. Unser armseliges *treulos* ist ein unschuldiges Kind dagegen. Perfid ist treulos mit Genuß, mit Übermut und Schadenfreude. O, die Ausbildung einer Nation ist zu beneiden, die so feine Schattierungen in Einem Worte auszudrücken weiß! Französisch ist recht die Sprache der Welt, wert die allgemeine Sprache zu sein, damit sie sich nur alle unter einander betrügen und belügen können!"

[18] "der französischen Sprache niemals den Vorzug streitig machen wird, als ausgebildete Hof- und Weltsprache sich immer mehr aus- und fortbildend zu wirken"

Not only the assessments, but also the descriptions of the idiom diverge in these two quoted passages. The former quotation deals with *langue* in the strongest sense, in which Aurelie, who has mastered the untranslatable *perfid*, immediately uses it to describe the French language in its entirety: an idiosyncratic word for an idiosyncratic language. The aphorism from "Makarien's Archive," on the other hand, compares French with the language of mathematics, that is to say with a *langage*, in which every perfidy is neutralized and which every user finds accessible without distinction. (The fact that a language can simultaneously exist as a *langue* and a *langage* can be seen through the case of the English language today. It tends to be a *langage* in all places where it is used as a lingua franca by non-native speakers, as for example in research articles such as this one).

3. Poetic *langage*

To take a preliminary inventory, then, there are in both *Meister* novels a few mentions of allolingual texts and speech (not very many, though a few additional others will be considered at a later point), and even fewer signifiers from other languages (except for the explicitly expressed *honete* and *perfide*, the already bilingual *Milord,* and a few Latin quotations). So there are a few glottadiegetic elements, but even fewer glottamimetic ones. In other words, there are just enough glottadiegetic elements to make it especially clear how thoroughly glottamimetic elements have been denied entry (on these terminological suggestions, see Stockhammer 2015: 146–151). If the speech of the charmer Narciß (in the "Confessions") is characterized by his "peculiar turns of phrase [from foreign languages] mixed into his German conversation" (WML VI, 737),[19] the reader receives no example of this. And insofar as texts and utterances are quoted in translation (or are fabricated as translations), their translatability is assumed to be unproblematic. At very most, it is noted at one point that somebody has stayed "true to the original" (Wilhelm as the *Hamlet* translator, WML V.11, 690).[20]

One exception to the assumption of translatability, however, is poetry. To locate these instances more specifically, it is necessary to take a short excursion into the usage of the words *Literatur* (literature) and *Poesie* (poetry) around 1800. The two are too often used interchangeably in literary *theory,* while in literary *history* the latter (in the sense of *lyric*) is understood as a subset of the former. Though the two words were not distinctively

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[19] "eigentümliche Redensarten [aus fremden Sprachen] gern ins deutsche Gespräch mischte"

[20] "nahe an das Original gehalten"

differentiated in Goethe's time, there were nonetheless two differences when compared to the dominant language usage of today: *Literature*, on the one hand, generally encompassed more (namely, non-fictional texts or at least some of these), but did not include *poetry*. It is not for nothing that, for Schiller, (during the years of the *Apprenticeship*'s publication, and perhaps with a dig at its author) the novelist counted only as a "Halbbruder," "half-brother" of the poet (1993: 741). Where *poetry* and *literature* diverge, 1) this corresponds generally, but not necessarily, to the difference between verse and unbound speech; 2) in most cases, the former is still introduced as empathetically oral and typically sung, while the latter is introduced, as is already etymologically indexed, as written; 3) they diverge through the differentiation between degrees of translatability (that is, lingual*ism*): While the translation of *literature* was conceptualized as unproblematic, this did not ring true for *poetry*. Horace and Ovid quotations are some of the few original-language signifiers in the *Meister* novels, both of which comprise two hexameters, which are 'translated' by a much longer "poetic circumscription" (comprising eight verses)—with the latter including commentary and criticism even about grammatical details (WMW II.4, 464-5).[21]

"Naturpoesie" (Schlegel 1958: 146) reveals similar problems of translation that, alas, are treated differently (for an earlier version of this analysis, see Stockhammer 2009: 285–90). It is once said of Mignon that she speaks "a broken German, interlaced with German and Italian" (WML II.6, 463), and later: "She still speaks a very broken German" (WML IV.16, 626).[22] Nowhere, however, does this glottadiegetic attribution rise to the text's surface (i.e., does not become glottamimetic). When Mignon's speech is quoted directly, it is done through sentences such as "They [the wings] imagine more beautiful ones, that have yet to unfold" (WML VIII.2, 895). Structural equivalence is ascribed even to her singing, at least for her 'Italian song' ("Kennst Du das Land…"). When Mignon sings the song for the first time, Wilhelm "[cannot] understand all of the words," as she does not (or does not exclusively) sing in German: "He had the verses repeated and explained, wrote them down and translated them into the German" (WML III.1, 504).[23] According

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[21] "poetische Umschreibung"

[22] "ein gebrochnes mit französisch und italienisch durchflochtenes Deutsch"—"Sie sprach noch immer sehr gebrochen deutsch"

[23] "die Worte nicht alle verstehen"—"Er ließ sich die Strophen wiederholen und erklären, schrieb sie auf und übersetzte sie ins Deutsche."

to Goethe's fiction, the reader of the novel does not have access to the original poem, only to its translation.

Goethe avails himself, though sparingly, of a variant of 'pseudo-translation' (to use an expression with which Brigitte Rath (2013), in particular, continues to work), which was in use for entire books already prior to but particularly during the eighteenth century: the fiction of translation, which is used to insinuate for the published text an 'original' based in another language that is alas not communicated. The scene with Mignon's 'Italian song' differs from these models (beyond the fact of its much smaller scope), in that the fictive source language is not in any way connoted as a pure archaic cultural language—in contrast, for instance, to the Arabic in *Don Quixote* or the Gaelic in 'Ossian'. Indeed, it is almost indeterminable from which language Wilhelm is actually translating, presumably because the song cannot be attributed to one single language:

> But he could only mimic the originality of the phrases from afar. The childish innocence of the expressions vanished as the broken language was brought into agreement and the incoherent was made coherent. (WML III.1 504)[24]

If there were German among the lingual elements of the fictive original (which the description of Mignon's speech suggests), then something already-translated would already exist in the fictive text that Wilhelm 'translates'—if the process of "bringing a broken language into agreement" can still even be called 'translation': It would no longer be a 'trans-lation' in the sense of transport between two distinct embankments, and the early edition of *Wilhelm Meister's Theatrical Calling* corrects this explicitly: "[Wilhelm] translated [the song] into the German language, or rather he imitated it" (181-2).[25]

In this way, the passage negotiates a very specific mélange of languages that is simultaneously a typical variant of the logic sketched out by Peter Szondi, where the naïve *is* the sentimental: "The childish innocence of the expression" cannot be gleaned from its wording, but, rather, the innocence is evoked as vanished, "imitated from afar". Moreover, to "cap all the peculiarities off" (Seidlin 1950: 88),[26] Mignon's singing is

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[24] "Aber die Originalität der Wendungen konnte er nur von ferne nachahmen. Die kindliche Unschuld des Ausdrucks verschwand, indem die gebrochene Sprache übereinstimmend, und das Unzusammenhängende verbunden ward."

[25] "[Wilhelm] übersetzte [das Lied] in die deutsche Sprache, oder vielmehr er ahmte es nach"

[26] "Die kindliche Unschuld des Ausdrucks"—"von ferne nach[geahmte]"—"allen Seltsamkeiten die Krone aufzusetzen"

simultaneously described and quoted in such a way that cannot be comprehensible on the level of depiction:

> Ceremoniously and brilliantly, she began every verse, as if she wanted to bring attention to something extraordinary, as if she wanted to recite something important. At the third line, the singing became somber and gloomy. She expressed the "*kennst du es wohl?*" mysteriously and deliberately and in the "*dahin! dahin!*" put forth an irresistible longing, and her "*Laß uns ziehn!*"—she knew to modify it, at every repetition, that it soon became pleading and urgent, soon drifting and promising. (WML III.1, 504)[27]

This manner of citation suggests that Mignon is singing in German after all. Does this description pertain also to the second repetition—it is explicitly highlighted that she sings the song twice—such that she can be understood as singing Wilhelm's translation? This would be the only possibility, if the passage is to be read as a coherent, or even just a literally accurate depiction of the song's performance. However, this reading is highly improbable, since this performance is said to describe the kind of "childish innocence of expression" that could not unfold in the 'translation'.

Thus, the only reading that is plausible is that what matters here is less a coherent depiction of the performance situation, but rather an implicit statement about poetry, about an aspect of the "poetic physics of poetry" (Schlegel 1958: 132)[28], which the novel develops. Mignon's song is *simultaneously* composed in a "broken language" and belongs to a language "brought into agreemnt." It emerges on the one hand as a song whose specific linguistic mélange is irreducible, while on the other hand, is exclusively delivered in this reduced rendition. Neither rendition, however, should be differentiated from the other as an original or an imitation, but rather as identical with the other: Mignon sings "*the* song, that we just captured". Here, it is not possible to coherently construct which language is 'actually' spoken—that is, sung—in the fictional world; its lingualism is *glotta-aporetic*. It turns out, in fact, that many such instances are in evidence (see, for example, Babel 2015: 83–87 regarding a song in Novalis' *Heinrich von*

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[27] "Sie fing jeden Vers feierlich und prächtig an, als ob sie auf etwas sonderbares aufmerksam machen, als ob sie etwas wichtiges vortragen wollte. Bei der dritten Zeile ward der Gesang dumpfer und düsterer, das: *kennst du es wohl?* drückte sie geheimnisvoll und bedächtig aus, in dem: *dahin! dahin!* lag eine unwiderstehliche Sehnsucht, und ihr: *Laß uns ziehn!* wußte sie, bei jeder Wiederholung, dergestalt zu modifizieren, daß es bald bittend und dringend, bald treibend und vielversprechend war."

[28] "poetischen Physik der Poesie"

Ofterdingen), which might be traced to the fact that in literature—even beyond fantastical literature—coherent 'fictional worlds' do not always have to exist. (On the term "glotta-aporetic," see Stockhammer 2015: 154–170.)

There is one further detail that contradicts any immediate connection between language and 'world' and that must be emphasized in situations where intensified lingualism, as mentioned above, is rashly and routinely associated with aspects of the lifeworld: Mignon's broken language is not necessarily the result of her migratory background. Rather, her acquisition of language stagnated already in early childhood: "Only in words the child could not express itself, and the obstacle seemed to be its intellectual peculiarity rather than the organs of speech" (WML VIII.9, 968)

Nevertheless, Mignon learned "bald sehr artig," ("soon very well"), how to sing, as is highlighted in the immediately preceding sentence. Pedantically, it could be argued that singing does consist primarily of words and in this way can be differentiated from instrumental music. There is, however, an inclination in the *Wilhelm Meister* novels for singing—and therefore also for poetry—to uncouple largely from reference to words. As crazy as it may sound, an unconventional passage in the *Journeymen's Years*, also dealing with the pedagogical province, speaks to this:

> Since singing now also emerged between the instruments, there was no doubt left that even this was favored. To the question what other kind of education would be added, the journeyman heard: poetry, the lyrical kind, to be exact. Here everything came down to the two artistic skills, each for and from within themselves, which shall subsequently develop in opposition and together. The students come to know one and the other in its conditionality. This is how it is taught: that alternatingly each needs the other and then reciprocally frees itself again.

> The musician confronts the poetic rhythm with *Takteinstellung* und *Taktbewegung* [complex to translate, see commentary in note]. Soon however, the music's domination over poetry becomes clear because poetry continuously bears to mind quantities as pure as possible (as is cheap and necessary), while few syllables are either decidedly long or short for the musician. The musician destroys the conscientious proceedings of the rhythmatician, indeed even transforms the prose into song, where the most wonderful possibilities arise. The poet would soon feel annihilated if he didn't know how, through tenderness and

audacity, to inspire reverence and new feelings in the musician—soon gentler succession, now through the quickest transitions. (WMW II.8, 520).[29]

In the context of a comparison between music and poetry one would generally expect that the latter would be distinguished from the former by the presence of words. However, the difference here is solely described through two different time classifications ("Takteinstellung and Taktbewegung," i.e., with fluid linear dimensions on the one hand and 'rhythm' based on a long / short binary, on the other), which enter into a tense relationship in vocal music.

Pointedly formulated, poets write in no language (*langue*) because poetry itself is in a different sense a language (*langage*). Mignon's "broken language," which cannot be accurately attributed to an existing *langue*, is still simultaneously a *langage* of poetry—assuming that the hybrid language of the fictional original does not itself appear on the text's surface, but only as a 'translation' (or, rather, an imitation) that is as much adverse as it is necessary. Indeed, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* reports of a violence that is necessary to make a broken language coherent: Mignon does not only die towards the end of the novel, she had entered the novel already as a marked, if not broken being, as a "poor child," whom somebody "had done something to" (WML III.1, 503), and who, when the borders of linguistic expression are reached, reacts with "appalling convulsions" (WML VIII.3, 904).[30]

Still, the novels immunize themselves against the unassimilable Mignon, against Mignon as the embodiment of the unassimilable. This becomes clear when the *Journeyman's*

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[29] "Da nun auch Gesang zwischen den Instrumenten sich hervortat, konnte kein Zweifel übrig bleiben daß auch dieser begünstigt werde. Auf eine Frage sodann was noch sonst für eine Bildung sich hier freundlich anschließe, vernahm der Wanderer: die Dichtkunst sei es, und zwar von der lyrischen Seite. Hier komme alles darauf an daß beide Künste, jede für sich und aus sich selbst, dann aber gegen und miteinander entwickelt werden. Die Schüler lernen eine wie die andre in ihrer Bedingtheit kennen; sodann wird gelehrt wie sie sich wechselsweise bedingen und sich sodann wieder wechselseitig befreien.

Der poetischen Rhythmik stellt der Tonkünstler Takteinteilung und Taktbewegung entgegen. Hier zeigt sich aber bald die Herrschaft der Musik über die Poesie; denn wenn diese, wie billig und notwendig, ihre Quantitäten immer so rein als möglich im Sinne hat, so sind für den Musiker wenig Sylben entschieden lang oder kurz; nach Belieben zerstört dieser das gewissenhafteste Verfahren des Rhythmikers, ja verwandelt sogar Prosa in Gesang, wo dann die wunderbarsten Möglichkeiten hervortreten, und der Poet würde sich gar bald vernichtet fühlen, wüßte er nicht, von seiner Seite, durch lyrische Zartheit und Kühnheit, dem Musiker Ehrfurcht einzuflößen und neue Gefühle, bald in sanftester Folge, bald durch die raschesten Übergänge, hervorzurufen."

[30] "armes Kind"—"Was [...] getan"—"entsetzlichen Zuckungen"

Years are read, with Gerhard Neumann, as a "semiotic novel." (1987: 955–963)[31]—that is, considering non-linguistic sign systems (*langages*, in the plural this time), and comparing them to the *Apprenticeship*. There, Mignon is portrayed through her idiosyncratic sign repertoire: "*it* [the child] had a special type of greeting for everybody. For a while now, *she* has been greeting him [Wilhelm] with her arms crossed on her chest" (WML II.6, 463, emphasis mine).[32] In contrast, the pupils of the 'pedagogical province' are disciplined to use a total of three different greeting gestures—though each pupil is moreover only allowed to execute one single gesture, with which he simultaneously signifies his age group: Only the "youngest crossed their arms on their chest," while the middle and oldest pupils have to hold their arms differently (WMW II.1, 415). Mignon's individualized communication, which establishes a code in singular acts—these also seem to determine Mignon's own gender, in that upon meeting Wilhelm for the first time, she becomes a *she*, though previously "the child" had been an *it*—is transformed into a rudimentary codification of network groupings. If the possibility of a private language (one that would be dysfunctional for everyday usage, but, in an emphatic sense, a constitutive assumption for *poetry*) was suggested in her usage of songs, it is immediately expelled in its pedagogical deployment.

Mignon becomes even more clearly immunized in the exequies in the last book of the *Apprenticeship,* in which, according to the Abbé's description, "art […] applied all of its resources to sustain the body and protect it from ephemerality" (VIII. 8, 958).[33] "The transition from an infectious to an immune art […] manifests itself in Mignon's figure" (Zumbusch 2012: 294).[34] The "mortification of the living" (Zumbusch 2012: 293)[35] should simultaneously ensure its preservation, which takes place through a conversion into art. This is structurally equivalent to immunization against the all-too-natural, "broken" *langues*, through their conversion into a *langage* that is sustained by nature. The poetry of nature, sustained through the German-language imitation, does not belong already to German national literature (against Stockhammer 2009: 289–90), in the sense

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[31] "semiotischen Roman"

[32] "*es* [das Kind] für jeden eine besondere Art von Gruß hatte. Ihn [Wilhelm] grüßte *sie* seit einiger Zeit mit über die Brust geschlagenen Armen."

[33] "die Kunst [...] alle ihre Mittel angewandt [hat], den Körper zu erhalten und ihn der Vergänglichkeit zu entziehen."

[34] " Der Umschlag von einer infektiösen zu einer immunen Kunst [...] vollzieht sich exemplarisch an der Figur Mignons."

[35] "Mortifizierung des Lebendigen"

that it is exactly *not* following the ideology of mother-linguistism that is constitutive for national literature since Herder (Martyn 2014: 43-45) and also in Schleiermacher (Weidner 2007). Relieved of the fictional development context, "Kennst Du das Land? Wo die Zitronen blühn" can, however, be taken up in anthologies of German poetry or in anthologies of world poetry.

4. A very short conclusion

Still today, readers of Goethe do not have access to the original wording of the speech that the Abbé gives at Mignon's exequies. Only a 'pseudo-translation' is available, since, in the reality of the novel's world, the speech was given in French, in consideration for the Markese, an Italian guest, and was merely copied down in German (WML VIII.8, 958)—while even the title of the speaker is subjected to German orthography. It can implicitly be concluded—even while it is not explicitly stated—that even the Markese's report about Mignon's childhood (as quoted above) had to be translated from the French. Speech and reports are two additional examples of textual units in relation to which translatability is portrayed as unproblematic. Whereas Aurelie's evaluation of the French conceptualizes it as *langue,* Goethe's description in *The Journeymen's Years,* as well as the Abbé's speech and the Markese's report introduce French as *langage*, where speakers and listeners are equidistant and neutral, whether their first language is German or Italian. In contrast, poetic language is most emphatically not neutral, and its translation is in no way unproblematic. It is, however, converted into a *langage,* whose *Sprachigkeit* / lingualism is neutralized in another way. If, to take David Martyn's hypothesis cited earlier in a slightly altered formulation, it is not multilingual literature that forms the anomaly, but rather non-*langue*-bound, merely *langage*-bound literature: then the Meister novels would perhaps constitute this anomaly. The construction of 'national literature' (or at least a certain model of it) would then not exclusively be the philologist's endeavor, but could also rather be based upon literary texts themselves.

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Dirk Weissmann
University of Toulouse Jean-Jaurès

translated by
Christian Steinmetz

WHEN AUSTRIAN CLASSICAL TRAGEDY GOES INTERCULTURAL: ON THE METRICAL SIMULATION OF LINGUISTIC OTHERNESS IN FRANZ GRILLPARZER'S *THE GOLDEN FLEECE*

Abstract:

As Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872) stated himself, his early masterpiece *The Golden Fleece* (1820) is structured by a basic cultural dualism between Greeks and Colchians. In order to express the gap between these two ethnic groups, his play uses two different metrical schemes: the canonical blank verse, coming from G. E. Lessing and Weimar Classicism, put in the mouth of Greek characters, and free verse for expressing the 'barbarism' of non-Greek, i. e., Colchian characters. Grillparzer thus manages to make perceivable for the spectator the linguistic otherness of the characters of the play without using any foreign tongue. This article illustrates the nature and functioning of this culturally and ethnically determined dramatic language, investigating those passages where the question of identity is directly linked to the verse meter. Yet the initial dualism often yields to more complex, hybrid forms of language, in cases where a given character's identity is blurred. Accordingly, the article discusses the possibilities and limits of that specific kind of simulated multilingualism, and inquires about its meaning in the context of 1820s Vienna and the multicultural and multilingual Habsburg Empire.

Keywords: simulated multilingualism ⬧ Austrian literature ⬧ metrics ⬧ Grillparzer ⬧ German drama

Introduction: "As it were distinct tongues"

Among the numerous adaptations of the myth of Medea throughout cultural history, the drama trilogy *Das goldene Vließ* (*The Golden Fleece*), written in 1819-1820 by Franz Grillparzer, stands out for the unique manner in which the Austrian playwright uses dramatic language to signal the otherness that separates the Greeks and the Colchians, the two opposing populations featured in the plot. In his autobiography, written around 1834-1835, some fifteen years after the creation of his *Golden Fleece*, Grillparzer looks back on this dramaturgic peculiarity of his trilogy, where blank verse, used by the characters of Greek origin, contrasts with the free verse employed by the other characters, those considered "barbarians." In the author's own words, his objective was indeed:

> die möglichste Unterscheidung von Kolchis und Griechenland, welcher Unterschied die Grundlage der Tragik in diesem Stücke ausmacht, weshalb auch der freie Vers und der Jambus, gleichsam als verschiedene Sprachen hier und dort in Anwendung kommen.

> the utmost distinction between Colchis and Greece, which distinction constitutes the foundation of tragedy in this play, whence also free verse and iamb come into usage here and there as it were distinct tongues. (Grillparzer 2014: 87–88)[1]

In these lines, Grillparzer speaks to his care in rigorously separating the Colchian world from the Greek world, their opposition being qualified as the tragic foundation of the play. This duality was notably meant to manifest through the differentiated use of free verse and iambic pentameter, as if they were two separate dialects: two distinct "tongues" ("Sprachen"), in the author's own words. In this, the author's own presentation of the drama's conception, three points draw our attention:

- the fundamental role accorded to cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences in the economy of the play ("Grundlage der Tragik," "foundation of tragedy");

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[1] Unless otherwise noted, translated by Christian Steinmetz. For an English translation of the plays, see Grillparzer 1942.

- the idea of a homology between the difference among peoples and metrical differentiation ("weshalb auch," "whence also");
- the non-systematic manner in which this contrast between the languages employed by the Greeks and the Colchians is drawn ("hier und dort," "here and there").

On this basis, I shall attempt in the following to closely examine, by way of its various manifestations, the nature and functioning of this linguistic differentiation in its correspondence with the opposition between Greeks and "barbarians," answering the following questions:

- To what extent may one really speak of the presence of "different languages / tongues," as the playwright suggests?
- To what degree does this difference correspond to two distinct cultural identities—one Greek, the other Colchian?
- What contribution does this differentiation make to the overall comprehension of the tragedy, particularly in the socio-political context of the Habsburg monarchy of Grillparzer's time?

A play about cultural encounters

Following the conventions of travel literature, the plot of the *Golden Fleece* starts with the arrival of a stranger in unknown lands, a Greek originally from Delphi who lands on the shores of Colchis, bringing the legendary Fleece with him. The sequence of dramatic events, caused by greed for the magical treasure and its sinister consequences, provokes additional journeys and a subsequent back-and-forth between the Peloponnesian and the Oriental shores of the Black Sea. It is a story of migration, exile, asylum, and more generally of contact between cultures, which Grillparzer's adaptation emphasises by being the first in theatre history to retrace the origins of the Golden Fleece.

The Greco-Colchian dualism that constantly emerges throughout this drama whenever the two antagonistic peoples meet and come into conflict is of a cultural order, in the sense that it is not only based on their rivalry in fighting for wealth and power, but more broadly on their differences in lifestyle, value systems, traditions, etc. It is notably the

character of Medea who underscores these differences, as she does here at the beginning of the third part, shortly after her arrival in Corinth (*Medea,* v. 123–124):[2]

> Was recht uns war daheim, nennt man hier unrecht,
> Und was erlaubt, verfolgt man hier mit Haß. (116)

> What was our right at home, they here call unjust,
> And what was allowed, they here pursue with hatred.

Between Colchis and Greece, the cultural norms have changed; the communal rules previously internalised by Medea and her nurse Gora are no longer valid. These differences do not, however, stem from simple cultural relativism in the sense of a coexistence of peoples each having their specificity and peculiarities. On the contrary, their contact and coming into conflict provoke a fatal chain reaction of violence, a vicious circle of aggressions and counter-aggressions for which the Golden Fleece serves as a symbol. The gap between Greeks and Colchians originates in a fundamentally xenophobic attitude, based on a categorical and structuring opposition between an "us" and a "them," between self and Other, trimmed down to a difference between friend and foe.

From the very start of the play, King Aeëtes, father of Medea, condenses this antagonism into a telling equation: "*'s sind Fremde, sind Feinde*" (11, "they're strangers, are foes"). The xenophobic mistrust on the part of the Colchian sovereign spontaneously identifies any stranger as an enemy—not only potential, but very real. Nor is this attitude in any way unilateral, or at the expense of the Greeks only. In the last part of the trilogy, it is instead the Colchians arrived in Corinth who are ostracised, victims of ambient xenophobia and of rejection as non-Greeks. In accordance with the antagonistic duality explicitly predicted by Grillparzer, the universe of the play seems structurally opposed to any overture towards the Other, with a generalised hostility instead characterising the relationship with anything coming from abroad.

The Hellenic-barbarian dualism

It is well known that this intellectual scheme harkens back to the ancient dualism between Hellenic and "barbaric" that lies at the very heart of all cultural dichotomies, of the

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[2] For reasons of convenience, Grillparzer's trilogy is cited indicating both the page numbers from the German edition (Grillparzer 2015) and verse numbers.

distinction between ourselves and the others, between Occident and Orient, West and East, etc. It has inhabited the various versions of the myth of Medea, since at the latest the Euripides tragedy dating to 431 BCE. For Grillparzer, over 2000 years later, this dualism infuses his *Golden Fleece* throughout, manifesting in multiple forms, such as the opposition of Greeks against Colchians, civilised men against savages, humans against animals, and so on.

If xenophobia is a psychological trait shared by these two peoples (see Winkler 2009: 183), the Greeks nevertheless clearly delineate themselves from the Colchians by their claim of a monopoly on humanity, which they appropriate as "superior men." Indeed, the depreciative discourse denigrating the inferior state of the other as "barbarian" is primarily a characteristic of the Greeks, as Medea notably testifies in the last part of the trilogy (v. 400–404):

> Weil eine Fremd' ich bin, aus fernem Land
> Und unbekannt mit dieses Bodens Bräuchen,
> Verachten sie mich, sehen auf mich herab,
> Und eine scheue Wilde bin ich ihnen,
> Die Unterste, die Letzte aller Menschen (127)[3]

> Since a stranger I am, from a faraway country
> And unacquainted with this land's customs,
> They despise me and look down on me,
> And a shy savage am I to them,
> The lowest, the least-most of all people.

Not only does Medea ignore the customs of the country where she has ended up; she is rejected out of hand as a stranger. It is worth underscoring the identification made here among the foreign origin of a woman ("*eine Fremd' […] aus fernem Land,*" "a stranger […] from a faraway country"), her supposed state of savagery ("*eine scheue Wilde,*" "a shy savage") and her qualification as an inferior being ("*die Unterste, die Letzte aller Menschen,*" "the lowest, the least-most of all people").

Markus Winkler (2009) has brilliantly analysed this "semantics of the barbarian" and its opposition to Greekness as these underlie the Greco-Colchian dualism depicted by

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[3] See also 121 (*Medea*, v. 254-255): "*Vergessen jenen Hohn, mit dem der Grieche / Herab auf die Barbarin sieht, auf – dich?,*" "Did you forget that contempt, with which the Greek / looks down on the barbarian, on – you?"

Grillparzer. On the whole, we note that Hellenocentricity, this feeling of superiority proper to the Greeks, is visibly more present in this play than is Colchian xenophobia.

The ethno-racial aspects of cultural difference

Within the world of the play, the gap between these two peoples is such that their coexistence ultimately appears to be impossible. This idea is for instance voiced by nurse Gora upon her arrival in Corinth in Medea's company (*Medea*, v. 1192–1193):

> Hier Lands ist nicht Raum für uns [= die Kolcher],
> Die Griechen, sie hassen, sie töten dich. (156)
>
> On these shores there is not room for us [= Colchians],
> These Greeks, they hate, they kill you.

Though we may debate the literal or figurative meaning given here to the verb "to kill" ("*sie töten dich*," "they kill you"), these words underscore the violence of the conflict, ranging from visceral hatred to actual violence, which confronts the communities in a logic of "us against them" or "Colchians against Greeks." In the *Golden Fleece*, ethnocentrism, xenophobia and murderous violence are indeed inextricably intertwined, and together form a continuum. It is important to note that Grillparzer's relation to Antiquity differs substantially from the idealistic, universalist and cosmopolitan vision characteristic of Weimar Classicism, which rather neglects these political, social and ethnic issues (see Winkler 2009: 74).

This mutual hostility among population groups is not a simple anthropological fact, but refers to a more profound and highly problematic difference. The difference between Greeks and Colchians is not only of a cultural or tribal order, but it is in fact ethnic in essence, as demonstrated by Jason's words in the second part of the trilogy. Here we find the binary structure of "us against them" rendered ethnic, intersecting with the opposition between Hellenic / Greek and barbarian / Colchian: "*Ich ein Hellene, du Barbarenbluts*" (81, *Die Argonauten*, v. 1204, "I Hellene, you of barbaric blood"). At the beginning of the play, Phrixus, that other Greek, had already called out: "*Von Griechen, ich ein Grieche, reinen Bluts*" (17, *Der Gastfreund*, v. 264, "Of Greeks, I a Greek, pure of blood.") The term of blood used by these Greek characters is revelatory in the degree to which ethnic difference, underscored many times throughout the trilogy, seems ultimately to be a feature of what one may term an anti-"barbaric," anti-Colchian racism. This racial

theme, expressed as ideas of pure blood and white skin, appears clearly in these characters' words.

While it will take until the twentieth century to see an author cast Medea as a black woman[4], we witness already since Herodotus in the fifth century BCE a depiction of the Colchians by the Greeks as a dark-skinned people (Winkler 2009: 217). This representation participates in a segregational view of humanity based on a criterion of skin colour, between white and black, a view that an attentive reading also detects in *The Golden Fleece*—so much so that Dagmar C. Lorenz already in 1986 deemed recognisable in Grillparzer's Colchis "the black continent, Africa."[5] Without going so far as to situate the play in the context of the discourse about racial inequality that was coming into being in Grillparzer's time (Winkler 2009: 61), it seems obvious that the depiction of Medea as savage, as "dark"[6]—in contrast to the "whiteness" of Creusa[7], the civilised Greek—refers not only to a cultural difference, but to an ethno-racial one, capable of denigrating the peoples foreign to the Greek world to animal status (Winkler 2009: 31).

In this respect, one can for instance cite the words of Milo, one of the Argonauts, who at the end of the second part of the play (*Die Argonauten*, v. 1650–1652) speaks of the Colchians in terms germane to circus animals or freak show beasts:

> Ha! bringen wir die wilden Tiere alle
> Nach Griechenland, ich sorge, man erdrückt uns,
> Die Seltenheit zu sehn! (101)

> Hah! Let us bring the wild beasts all
> to Greece, I worry they shall trample us,
> To see this curiosity!

Certainly we must also acknowledge that, through the love relationship between Jason and Medea, *The Golden Fleece* tells the story of an attempt to abolish all these differences through the utopian endeavour of forging a language of love that would overcome ethnic and cultural attributions (Winkler 2009: 203). Yet are we also cognisant of the bitter end with which this attempt shall be rewarded: "*Der Traum ist aus, allein die*

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[4] See Hans Henny Jahnn, *Medea. Tragödie* (1926). See also *Médée* (1947) by Jean Anouilh, where the heroine lives in a gypsy-like wagon.

[5] Lorenz 1986: 68: "In Grillparzers Kolchis ist unschwer der schwarze Kontinent Afrika zu erkennen."

[6] See for instance *Medea*, v. 456, p. 129 and *Medea*, v. 1355, p. 161.

[7] See in particular *Medea*, v. 2204, p. 192 and *Medea*, v. 676, p. 137.

Nacht noch nicht" (198, "the dream is over, only the night as yet is not") says Medea in the tragedy's final scene (*Medea,* v. 2369).

Metric differentiation and linguistic otherness

Having thus briefly illuminated the ethno-cultural issues at work in the play, I shall presently investigate a particular expression of the Greco-Colchian dualism in *The Golden Fleece*: the metric differentiation of dramatic language. As indicated at the outset, it is the playwright himself who suggests this angle of approach by asserting in his autobiography that the gap between the worlds of the Greeks and the Colchians would conspicuously manifest in the form of linguistic differences, of a dualism of idioms presumed to separate the two cultures, the two peoples.

Yet, while Grillparzer actually uses the term "tongues / languages" ("*Sprachen*"), we have to specify that this refers not to actual languages in the proper sense, but instead to a metric and rhythmic differentiation within the German language. All throughout the play, the Greeks essentially express themselves in iambic metre, in the form of blank verse, while the Colchians primarily employ a much looser metre, free verse. In other words, Grillparzer somehow deprives the Colchians of blank verse (*Blankvers*) which, since Lessing, had become the norm of German drama, thus conferring upon them a less noble diction, one that was crude, if not to say savage. In view of the foregoing analyses, blank verse would thus spontaneously associate with Greek *logos*, while the Colchian characters would be distinguished by their *barbarophonis*, their non-mastery of Greek, the only language recognised by the Hellenes. Nevertheless, this dramaturgical gimmick also aims to give the Colchians their own, separate language—and thus one outside the norms.

We know that Grillparzer's aim was to incarnate in the most effective manner the abyss between the Colchian world and the Greek world; this was, according to his own words, the essence of tragedy in his play. The most likely issue for him was to figure out how to suggest to the contemporary reader or spectator that these peoples, thrown into contact with one another, not only hail from different countries but do not speak the same tongue. It would seem that he sought to represent this Greco-Colchian dualism by way of the characters' very diction, in order to give a sensory, auditory dimension to the otherness that separates these two cultures. In this respect, working through metre allows him to introduce linguistic alterity, without however crossing the boundaries of a single

language, thereby risking compromising the spectator's or reader's comprehension. We might well consider this a true invention and innovation in aesthetic and dramaturgical terms, even if similar methods have been employed since Antiquity.[8]

At a time when the use of foreign languages in literature was essentially a comic device, strictly ascribed to comedy[9], Grillparzer's methodology can be qualified as 'modern' to the extent that it reveals a new sensitivity for cultural diversity, such as was contemporaneously manifesting, for instance, in the writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt.[10] While the playwright does not yet dare jump ahead to truly multilingual writing, as would some of his successors from the 1880s (see Weissmann 2013), still he manages, through metric differentiation, to create a fiction of multilingualism to embody cultural difference, by making this perceivable at the level of the actors' speech.

Metre as cultural marker

All throughout the *Golden Fleece*, metrical difference as expression of linguistic otherness thus seems to attribute to each character a tongue corresponding to their origins and cultural characteristics. Ethnocultural differentiation is thus mirrored in an analogous idiomatic differentiation; form and content converge to embody on stage the mutual alterity that separates these characters from the opposing cultures. Nonetheless, the analogy ("*gleichsam als*," "as it were," 2014: 87–88) between the metrical work of German verse and the difference between two distinct languages, two foreign tongues, remains limited. It must be observed that, despite the idea Grillparzer advances of two dictions functioning "as it were two languages," everyone seems perfectly capable of mastering the other's tongue, as if the entire *dramatis personae* unfolded in a context of more or less generalised diglossia. All in all, the fiction of multilingualism suggested by

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[8] Winkler (2009: 25) cites Aeschylus who, in *The Persians*, uses writing methods aiming to create the illusion of a foreign language spoken by this foreign people. The use of metre as a means to differentiate the voices of a dramatic text prove to be in use elsewhere in European literary history—notably with Shakespeare and Goethe.

[9] On the use of multilingual methods in theatre, see Weissmann 2012.

[10] See for instance von Humboldt's 1836 *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaus und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*. Grillparzer's sensitivity to the question of linguistic difference appears for instance in this notable aphorism from his diary entry #1394 from the year 1824: "Zum Singen ist die italienische Sprache, etwas zu sagen: die deutsche, darzustellen: die griechische, zu reden: die lateinische, zu schwatzen: die französische, für Verliebte: die spanische und für Grobiane: die englische" (1909ff: 148, "For singing, there is the Italian language; for talking: German; for explaining: Greek; for speeches: Latin; for gossip: French; for lovers: Spanish; and for ruffians: English.")

metric differentiation does not bring forth a profound otherness; rather than distinct languages, it seems to correspond to soft cultural markers, more like dialects or other linguistic variations.

Mirroring the traditional hierarchy between Greeks and Colchians, languages attributed to the different peoples are of course not neutral, but include at least implicitly a culturally determined aesthetic judgement. Thus, the nobility, elegance and musicality of blank verse, the canonical metre of classical German drama, are associated with Greekness in strict accordance with Winckelmann's aesthetics (Winkler 2009: 59). This is contrasted with the lack of rhetoric mastery that characterises the cruder, wilder, almost savage expression of the "barbarians," who use free verse with unstable metre, irregular length, and an often elliptical character reminiscent of prose (Winkler 2009: 184; Müller 1963: 36). In *Die Argonauten* (v. 881–882), the King of Colchis himself calls attention to the clumsy, rough, even uncouth nature of "barbarophonia" that characterises him and his subjects: "*Ist auch rauh meine Sprache, fürchte nichts*" (66, "Though is rough my speech, fear naught"). It is interesting to note that these words are uttered in the middle of a long exchange on the occasion of the first encounter between Aeëtes and Jason, where the Greek Argonaut's iambic flow is regularly interrupted by the metreless free verse of the "barbarian" king.

Some examples

Let us examine in more detail the functioning of this metric differentiation in Grillparzer's *The Golden Fleece*. Without entering too much into the subtleties of German metric (and thus also foregoing any discussion of the rediscovery and adaptation of traditions of Elizabethan drama in Weimar Classicism), I shall start by recalling the basic structure of blank verse through an example from *Nathan the Wise*, one of the founding instances of this metric form in German literature. It is indeed unrhymed iambic pentameter, with the stressed syllables shaded here to illustrate the regularity of the iambic form. The opening verses of this piece are thus:

> [Daja:]   Er ist es! Nathan! – Gott sei ewig Dank,
> Daß Ihr doch endlich einmal wiederkommt! (Lessing 1993: 485)

As described previously, Grillparzer primarily uses blank verse to characterise the tongue or linguistic variant spoken by the Greeks. The regular and harmonious stress pattern enables a strong contrast with the more hurried, clashing, polymetric verse of the

"barbarians." Here is an extract from the first confrontation between Phrixus and Aeëtes, at the beginning of the *Golden Fleece* trilogy (*Der Gastfreund,* v. 213–217). The blank verse of the Greek traveller, whose eloquence is part of the generalised loquacity peculiar to all the Greek characters in the play, contrasts with the free verse of the Colchian king, whose speech seems to hesitate between iamb and trochee:

> [Phrixus:]   Der du ein Gott mir warest in der Tat
>   Wenn gleich dem Namen nach, mir Fremden, nicht […]
> [Aeëtes:]   Was ist das?
>   Er beugt sein Knie dem Gott meiner Väter !
>   Denk' der Opfer, die ich dir gebracht, (15)

While the iambic structure, with five stresses per line, is easily recognisable in Phrixus's lines and dominates this conversation, the metre of Aeëtes's lines allows different readings; even the binary structure of his rhythm—iamb or trochee—is not self-evident, other interpretations being possible. The result, however, is quite obvious in terms of contrast and rupture. When Greeks and Colchians are face to face, the difference in language, expressed by metrical opposition, thus illustrates and reinforces the cultural otherness separating them.

As another example, we may consider the scene of the first encounter between Medea and Jason, where linguistic alterity doubtlessly serves to express the feeling of strangeness that holds sway between these two characters, who are separated by everything but whom fate shall unite by passion. The passage in question (*Die Argonauten*, v. 378–380) actually precedes their very first true encounter; Jason expresses himself in blank verse, while Medea's speech seems to systematically avoid their use for dozens of lines (see Kaiser 1961: 26–27). Here is a brief extract from this passage:

> [Jason:]   Man kommt! – Wohin? – Verbirg mich dunkler Gott!
> [Medea:]   Es ist so schwül hier, so dumpf!
>   Feuchter Qualm drückt die Flamme der Lampe […] (45)

In this instance, the differentiation not only applies to the regularity of metre and stress, but also to the number of syllables separating stresses. Furthermore, the exact metric structure—binary, ternary?—of Colchian verse here is again subject to interpretation. Rather than searching for a unified or distinct description for each individual line, we

must think in terms of contrast and difference ("*möglichste Unterscheidung,*" "the utmost distinction," according to Grillparzer 2014: 87–88) between these two cultures and the speech of their members. In this context, the effect of opposition emerges clearly in numerous passages.

The language setting of the play in comparison with historical reality

This basic dualism, between two cultures and two languages—defined by the author himself as the motor of dramatic action—corresponds not to a realistic historical setting, but rather to a mythological one. The manner in which Grillparzer stages linguistic identities in his adaptation of the myth of Medea indeed contradicts the findings of historical linguistics. His vision of the world of Antiquity, which serves as the setting for *The Golden Fleece,* suppresses a series of internal heterogeneities within these cultures, which his play tends to treat as organic units rather than representing them in their historical complexity.

Regarding the history of Ancient Greece, it is worth noting first that before the advent of the *koiné* in the classical era, that is to say before Alexander the Great, there existed no *lingua franca* across the different parts of the Greek world, as evoked in the play under such names as Iolcus and Corinth, for instance.[11] The linguistic dualism as conceived by Grillparzer, however, suggests precisely the existence of a unique Greek language shared by all its characters, whatever their origin. Among Phrixus, Jason and the Amphictyonian herald, there is indeed no evidence of the playwright's willingness to differentiate their tongues, despite how they hail from different regions with distinct dialects, such as Dorian and Aeolian.

On the side of the Colchians, we observe a similar homogenisation, even if the historical situation is not exactly the same. According to Greek chronicles, the Georgian language had indeed been spoken in Colchis since ancient times; there may well have been a common language spoken in this territory since the mythic era of the story of the Fleece. Colchis was nevertheless inhabited at the time by several different tribes, tribes that were certainly close but had distinct traits and used at least partially different dialects (see Braund 1994). Consequently, the general homogeneity of the Colchian people suggested in Grillparzer's play emerges as just as fictional, and indeed of a mythical essence. The

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[11] See for instance the classic work by Antoine Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (reprinted 2004).

desire to create a strong contrast between two peoples leads to an excessive homogenisation of both sides.

The assumption of a cultural and linguistic uniformity serving as the basis for the construction of a dichotomy of Greek and Colchian identity in *The Golden Fleece* thus appears to be contradicted by the historical realities of Antiquity. Within the context of a literary work inspired by a myth, this is of course not objectionable—indeed in a way quite normal, even trivial. It nonetheless follows that Grillparzer's approach reveals his view on cultural and linguistic conflicts, and that his view is influenced by the context of emerging nationalist constructions at his own time. The way the story plays out indeed suggests Grillparzer conceived the cultures and languages of his trilogy as a mirror image of modern European nations, which is both a historical anachronism and a perfectly legitimate literary conceit. The desire for homogeneity among modern nations, however, also conflicts with a spectrum of cultural and linguistic identities that, even within Grillparzer's dramatic universe, seems significantly more complex than the author's own claims in his autobiography would lead one to assume.

A differentiation without ethnolinguistic essentialism

Though he explicitly highlighted his dramaturgical intention of differentiation and separation between two peoples and two territories, Grillparzer nonetheless does not attempt an ethnic essentialisation of language. Such an essentialism would be thwarted from the outset by the fact that blank verse, as a metre, is difficult to attach to some Greek origin or nature, whereas the introduction of free verse into German literature is, in contrast, directly linked to the influence of the classical Greek tradition. Grillparzer thus does not create an immutable association nor an inseparable link between the dramatic languages and ethnic origins of his characters: he is content merely to simulate, by way of metric contrast, a plurality of idioms. The dividing lines between the two communities notwithstanding, his characters are not locked into a single idiom in accordance with the blank verse / free verse dichotomy. The linguistic dualism is in fact not without exceptions, and there is no rigid ethnolinguistic system holding sway. Instead, the play implements changes, deviations and evolutions that add depth and complexity to the dramatic characters created by the author.

In opposition to the explicit ethnoracial criteria exhibited by the ethnocentric discourse and the xenophobia that pervade the trilogy, the metrical aspects of the dramatic language

seem to suggest a certain mobility of identities. It comes as no surprise that Medea is the character who accomplishes the most remarkable evolution in this sense, by manifesting the most appreciable vigour and momentum. In conjunction with her efforts at assimilating into Greek culture, her language undergoes important modifications. Throughout the last part of the trilogy, Medea's lines rely more and more on iambic metre, and frequently blank verse proper. During the second act of *Medea* (which is part three of the dramatic trilogy) in particular, her significant mastery of iambic verse seems to demonstrate if not a successful integration, at least a strong desire for assimilation.[12]

Once again, one might speak of a perfect alignment of form and content: Medea's willingness to become a "Greek woman among Greeks"[13] is reflected in the evolution of a metric pattern, from free verse towards iambic pentameter, which emerges through her lines. Mirroring the ultimate failure of assimilation of this "barbarian" woman, however, her iambic rhythms and blank verse fail to permanently triumph[14]; her language frequently relapses into the free verse of her original idiom.[15] In addition to an atavistic tendency that seems to regularly bring Medea back to her Colchian origins, there are also moments of acute emotional tension, as for example the scene of Jason's betrayal, when she expresses herself in a changing metre that, in its way of expressing her cultural and mental distance with regard to this foreign Greek man who has betrayed her, recalls their first meeting (*Medea*, v. 1041, p. 150).

Moreover, these situations of strong emotion that punctuate the entire dramatic action do not concern the character of Medea alone.[16] Jason himself comes into "metric troubles" when an extreme situation makes him veer into the "barbarian" idiom represented by free verse. This is the case for instance in the dragon's lair scene in the second part of the trilogy (*Die Argonauten*, v. 1505–1556, p. 95–97). Confronted with this cave, Jason finds

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[12] See for instance *Medea*, v. 370-413, p. 126-127; *Medea*, v. 617-640, p. 135-136; *Medea*, v. 672-698, p. 137-138. See also Kaiser 1961: 27–28.

[13] "*Hier Griechen eine Griechin!*" (*Die Argonauten*, v. 1406, p. 89, "Here, Greeks, a Greek woman!"); "*Sei eine Griechin du in Griechenland*," (*Medea*, v. 190, p. 118, "Be you a Greek woman in Greece.")

[14] Onward from v. 925 of the last part ("*Ich lebe! lebe!*"), Medea begins once more to abandon iambic metre. On this topic, see Kaiser 1961: 28; see also v. 1055–1088, p. 150–151, where Medea seems to vacillate between the two forms.

[15] See, among others, the following examples: *Medea*, v. 1121–1124, v. 1159–1168, v. 1171–1184, v. 1121–1124 and *passim*, p. 152–156). See Kaiser 1961: 27-28; see also Winkler 2009: 223.

[16] See also *Medea*, v. 1443-1464, p. 165, an account of the horrendous death of King Pelias; and *Medea*, v. 1676-1698, p. 173, in which she implores her children to stay with her.

himself in the grip of an archaic, primitive and frightening world, which also represents the world of Medea and Colchis in general, such that he is temporarily deprived of the nobility of his "own" classical blank verse.[17]

In his ground-breaking study, Joachim Kaiser highlights the fact that, more generally, what is most telling and revelatory in Grillparzer's plays is not a strict respect for formal rules such as metric patterns, but rather the deviations from such more or less explicit norms (1961: 17–18). In short, variation matters more than the underlying pattern. The findings from his analysis seem to be confirmed given the use of blank verse in *The Golden Fleece*, notably among the Greek characters, where a change of metre is indicative of psychological disturbance or a questioning of identity. From this perspective, the recourse to free verse would be more significant dramatically than the use of blank verse as an instance exemplifying the norm. Following Kaiser, we find confirmation once more for the importance of metrical differentiation and its impact in aesthetic, dramaturgical and psychological terms.

It remains to be said that there are also numerous other metrical changes in the trilogy that are not as easily understood, such as the strong presence of blank verse in the lines of the Colchians, particularly at the very beginning of the trilogy[18], or during the fourth act of the second part.[19] Are these voluntary irregularities? Are these incoherences? Or a (subconscious) return to the norm? Indeed, the author himself underscored the fact that his dualism of idioms, the opposition of two languages linked with two peoples, would only hold "here and there" (2014: 87–88). The contrasting of metrical patterns therefore cannot be confirmed as a consistent dramaturgical principle.

The critical dimension of metrical differentiation

Rather than identify with an innate, ethnically determined idiom, the two metrical patterns in the play thus correspond rather to soft cultural markers employed in a non-systematic, selective manner. In light of this, the use of free verse mainly seems to be evidence of a general proclivity towards a state of nature — more instinctive, more

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[17] See Kaiser 1961: 27. See also Jason's line alluding to Medea's influence on him: "*halb Barbar, zur Seite der Barbarin*" (*Medea*, v. 491, p. 130, "half barbarian, at the side of the barbarian woman").

[18] Over the first ten pages of the trilogy, approximately half the verses can be read as blank verse. See Kaiser 1961: 144.

[19] See for instance *Die Argonauten*, v. 1688, 1691–94, 1700, 1707, 1709, 1711–1713, 1740, 1753, 1763, p. 103–108. See Kaiser 1961: 144.

primitive than blank verse. Yet can the use of blank verse, in turn, be conceived of as the expression of an exemplary state of civilisation? From the point of view of the Greek characters, the principle of linguistic power and dominance seems to be obvious, since the blank verse is supposed to embody exemplary humanity and culture in the face of surrounding "barbarism." However, the metrical pattern used by the Hellenes also seems to convey a certain critical perspective on the part of the playwright, as shown by certain noteworthy details.

There are for instance the numerous verse lines that are broken amid the interaction between the play's two central characters, where Jason's iambs mostly dominate Medea's verse[20]: might this not be understood as an illustration of hegemonic masculinity, with the Colchian woman appearing as a victim of patriarchal domination? On the symbolic level, the Greek man's metre seems in this case to subjugate the "barbarian" woman's language. In the same vein, one could also cite the following exchange (*Die Argonauten*, v. 1415 and 1428) where Jason as a dominant male seems to take over his wife's words in order to correct them, completing her four-foot free verse in order to turn it into iambic pentameter:

> [Medea:]　　　　Ich sage dir, sprich nicht davon […]

> [Jason:]　　　　Ich aber muß, nicht sprechen nur davon, […] (90)

The lack of form and rhythmic harmony, for which one might reproach Medea's verse, is thus transformed by Jason into blank verse; (masculine) Greekness supersedes (feminine) "barbarism."

Might these metric details not ultimately reveal an illustration of Medea's role as a dominated, subordinate, subaltern female victim in contrast with the image of Greeks as violent oppressors and exploiters (see Lorenz 1986: 68; Winkler 2009: 178 and 270)? From this point of view, blank verse may emerge not only as the idiom of civilised men, but also as that of machos, conquerors and invaders. A close examination of the use of blank verse reveals that supposed Greek cultural superiority appears to contain a number of grey areas. The dualist vision advertised by the playwright himself begs to be nuanced, such that one might ask whether the differentiation of idioms does not concurrently

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[20] See for instance *Die Argonauten*, v. 905 and 921, p. 67–68.

represent a dramaturgic means of questioning, perhaps subverting, the very dichotomy of "civilisation" versus "barbarism."

A pluralist vision beyond dualism

Undeniably, there is more to the opposition between blank verse and free verse than the embodiment of an insurmountable strangeness separating Greeks and Colchians. The metrical variations amid the dramatic language are not limited to the illustration and cementing of a dualistic gap; they are in a way also the formal expression of a pluralist vision. The differentiation of idioms is neither systematic nor static: it simultaneously questions the border that separates them. Difference and variation often win out over identity and essence. Similarly, the play with metrical forms allows for the highlighting of surprising, disturbing or unspoken aspects of characters. Linguistic difference emerges in this regard as the most subtle, nearly subversive means of illustrating the characters' struggle with identity in this play.

Given the non-systematic nature of the differentiation of idioms, one might indeed say that the language of Jason and Medea is able to evolve toward the language of the respective other, symbolised by the alternating metric pattern. This is so because from the start their characters comprised a certain amount of Otherness that distanced them from their primitive community, but which could also provide the basis for the birth of a truly common language. In this context, we might also recall the opening passages of the trilogy, where the "barbarians" use blank verse (see note 17 above). Beyond any simplistic view, the use of metre thus questions the idea that the Greek and Colchian cultures of the play were to be separated by a hermetic border or an insurmountable abyss. Quite to the contrary, the observed fluctuations suggest the existence of a zone of hybridity where Greekness and barbarity mingle within the characters.

Following the work of other scholars like Hans-Georg Werner (1993), Markus Winkler has judiciously demonstrated that the Greek and Colchians peoples of Grillparzer's play possess intertwined hybrid cultures, regardless of the playwright's attempts to separate them (2009: 250–251). In this way, Greek nobility is not a trait reserved to the Greeks alone, nor is barbarian behaviour foreign to those who think themselves paragons of civilised humanity (2009: 222). The spontaneous hybridity of idioms for certain characters thus forms part of a general cultural hybridity between Greeks and Barbarians, a hybridity that certain characters try to deny, just as they try to negate the cultural and

racial crossbreeding embodied by and resulting from the union between Jason and Medea, in the hopes of restoring the supposed purity of their origins (2009: 218).

Indeed, is the xenophobic violence that frequently surfaces in the play not best explained as at least in part motivated by a desire to eradicate that shared community of traditions, emblematically incarnated by Jason and Medea, that improbable transcultural and transethnic couple? Like the statue of Peronto in the first part of the trilogy, a god worshipped by both the Colchians and Phrixus the Greek, the "different tongues" of the characters—based on a common language, German—seem to suggest the existence of a cultural common ground for these two population groups, at once so different and so similar. In this sense, the metrical differentiation of idioms can be read as signalling simultaneously the otherness within a shared language, as well as the shared identity preceding this alterity.

Contextualising Grillparzer's language setting: The Habsburg monarchy

The intercultural, migratory and colonial issues at work in Grillparzer's trilogy are one of the chief reasons why it has experienced a surge in popularity among stage directors over the last decade. *The Golden Fleece* readily lends itself to a contemporary reading based on theories and insights from cultural and postcolonial studies, and equally so on the socio-political context of the migration crisis shaking Europe in recent years. For my part, I would like to conclude this contribution with an attempt to situate the play and its treatment of cultural and linguistic difference within the historical context of its composition and release in the 1820s. Thus I propose to see in Grillparzer's trilogy the subtle but very tangible expression of the cultural and linguistic conflicts simmering in the Habsburg monarchy of his time. We can thus read the struggle between Greeks and Colchians as a reflection of the difficult coexistence of different peoples constituting the Austrian Empire.

To support this interpretation, we must call to mind that, when contrasting Austria and Germany, Grillparzer has frequently identified the Slavic (and by extension Magyar) element of the Austrian Empire as its feminine part, with its feminine charm, while seeing the Germanic element, in thrall to the Prussian spirit, as the incarnation of its masculine part.[21] Based on this authorial conception, may we not distinguish in Medea's

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[21] See Stieg 2013: 206. This representation approximates an auto-stereotype one finds for a number of Slavic cultures.

character, originally endowed with a minor idiom, a symbol for the minority populations vindicating with increasing vigour their autonomy from Vienna and the Germanic world in general at the time? It is indeed interesting to note that, in *The Golden Fleece*, the conflict between men and women, on one hand, and the cultural and national conflict, on the other, tend to merge. Medea is at the same time a woman in search of emancipation and the prominent representative of a foreign minor culture, trying to coexist with a dominant culture marked by male chauvinism.

An objection to this suggested interpretation might be the fact that the conflict of nationalities at the heart of the Austrian Empire is historically posterior to the trilogy, which was composed around 1820, while the nationalisms would not become virulent until after the caesura of 1848. However, the anachronism here is but one of appearance. Indeed, well before the advent of proper nationalist movements as such, the language issue, notably in the form of the imposition by Joseph II of German as the official language of the Empire, had already sparked vehement resistance among other ethnolinguistic groups, primarily the Magyars (Kann 1964: 58–59). These early outcries, since the end of the 18th century, contain the budding seeds of the later nationalist demands that Grillparzer would end up deploring. They illustrate the stakes of the linguistic question well before the birth of nationalist discourse, properly speaking.

In the same line of thinking, might one not also see in the Greeks of the trilogy, characterised at the outset by the noble and dominating idiom of blank verse, an incarnation of the Germanic part of the Empire, which was a threat for the specifically Austrian identity? Greekness would thus be the expression of a superior culture, called upon to rule over others (according to Grillparzer), but at the same time also embodying the danger to which an excessive ethnocentrism akin to the nascent Prusso-German nationalism would subject the Habsburg monarchy. In this respect, it is tempting to cite Grillparzer's famous epigram, according to which history's trajectory is to lead "from humanity through nationality to bestiality" ("Von der Humanität durch Nationalität zur Bestialität," 1960: 500). The phrase shows nationalism—whether Slavic, Magyar or German—to be the principal vector in the abandonment of the Enlightenment in favour of a return to barbarism, at the very heart of civilisation. This evolution can be found mirrored in the very plot of the trilogy, where it is revealed in the barbaric part that infests the Greek spirit: How could one think oneself the epitome of human civilisation if one is forced to resort to truly barbaric methods in order to prevail? While it is true that an allegation of anachronism would be hard to refute in this case, it seems nevertheless

permissible to speculate that the author may have been harbouring the seeds of the thoughts expressed by this quotation from 1849 much earlier.

Although Grillparzer's thoughts on nationalism do not appear in this explicit form until after 1848, literature—which we consider a seismograph for historical, political and social evolutions—can precociously manifest and incarnate phenomena and conflicts that are to come. By way of a certain view on Greek culture, *The Golden Fleece* can thus be seen to illustrate a form of cultural dominance entirely legitimate in Grillparzer's eyes, in line with his defence of German culture (Müller 1963: 76, 83), while at the same time demonstrating a degree of incapacity to live in harmony with other peoples and cultures. Indeed, more than just cultural diversity, what preoccupied Grillparzer was the question of a harmonious coexistence between the peoples of the Empire (Scheit 1989: 109). Paraphrasing the tribute rendered by Hugo von Hofmannsthal to his literary role model, we may concur with Gerald Stieg in saying: "Radically opposed both to aggressive nationalism and to German philosophical idealism, Grillparzer represents a sense of mediation, a 'tolerant vitality' that would allow 'for a mixed population to live together in a shared homeland'" (Stieg 2013: 227). Since the 1820s, however, this coexistence under the aegis of the Habsburgs was potentially already under threat, both from the assertion of cultural otherness of the Slavic and Magyar peoples as well as from Germanic ethnocentrism.

In this context, the fact that the Austrian playwright aimed at maintaining a distant and critical relationship with the linguistic norm imposed by the northern "big brother," attempting to oppose a properly Austrian writing to the German literary canon, is certainly not uninteresting (see Scheichl 1996). By way of the dualism opposing Prussian German and the German language of Austria, another form of linguistic differentiation plays out on the level of the historical context. Although Grillparzer did not manage to truly emancipate himself from the Weimar model, he was nevertheless highly sensitive to the difference between the two idioms. From this perspective, the deconstruction in his adaptation of the myth of Medea of the majority language (that is, blank verse) by a foreign minority cannot but strongly resonate with the issues of Austrian identity construction in his time. How indeed to define an original Austrian identity between the opposing poles of Germano-Prussian and Slavo-Magyar cultures?

It would certainly be an exaggeration and even downright misleading to fall prone to an oversimplified interpretation of Jason and his blank verse as representing Prussia, while

Medea and her free verse would symbolise the resistance to that domineering influence by incarnating a spirit of a multicultural Austria. Such a simplistic and erroneously allegorical view would utterly fail to do justice to the complexity of Grillparzer's work. Nevertheless, it seems irrefutable that the cultural and linguistic issues in the play echo this subsequently escalating conflict of nationalities and nationalisms that constituted a major preoccupation for the playwright. The tragic outcome of the play, the failure of dialogue and of cross-cultural mingling and blending, as embodied by the lovers Jason and Medea, could thus be read as the expression of Grillparzer's pessimism regarding the durability of the multicultural and multilingual model in Austria. In this context, the differentiation of idioms and the linguistic otherness depicted by the author, by means of playing with metric forms, can indeed be understood as a sensory translation of this issue—on the level of the materiality of dramatic language, where form and content, semantics and metrics, word and gesture continually complement one another (Kaiser 1961: 11ff).

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Brigitte Rath
Universität Innsbruck

Speaking in tongues of a language crisis: Re-reading Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" as a non-monolingual text

Abstract:

Although Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" (1902), better known as the "Chandos letter," has received sustained attention as a paradigmatic example for the language crisis of German modernism, the question of the specific language(s) in which the text is written has curiously remained a blind spot. In a detailed contextualising analysis of the languages (and their medial representations) at play in both the fictional, private communicative situation between Lord Chandos and Francis Bacon in 1603 and in Hofmannsthal's first publication of "Ein Brief" in the German newspaper *Der Tag* in 1902, this article argues that the Chandos letter speaks in tongues of a language crisis resulting from the restrictive unities of a monolingual paradigm. "Ein Brief," oscillating constitutively between more than one speaking position and explicitly addressing ever changing reading contexts, performs non-monolingual language use that begins with translation.

Keywords:

monolingual paradigm ⬥ non-monolingual ⬥ pseudotranslation ⬥ modernism ⬥ Hofmannsthal

German is my first academic language. It is also the language in which I have mainly thought about this specific topic, and the language of most of the texts I quote here. Yet I am writing this article in English. This is neither an uncommon process nor an uncommon choice, readily explained by the status of English as de facto lingua franca in academia.[1] It is, however, less common to draw attention to the multilingual genesis, to the many conversations in more than one language leading up to this seemingly monolingual published article, which you might otherwise be reading without conscious awareness that the text in front of you is in English. There is a flip-side to the pervasiveness of *academic English*: it creates a focus on "academic"—on the contribution of a book or paper to global research—and marks the language used as an unnoteworthy default, making "English" transparent. The "monolingual paradigm" obscures specifics and turns "English" into "language."[2] This holds not only for the default language of scholarship, but also for the respective default language of literary texts: researchers in English or German studies "naturally" know but do not often reflect on the fact that Austen writes in English and Goethe in German. Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" (1902), a canonical text of German modernism known specifically for its fundamental problematizing of language, provides a pertinent

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[1] One of the important arguments Michael Gordin makes in his ground-breaking book on the complex history of language use in the sciences, *Scientific Babel*: *How Science was done before and after global English*, concerns the unlikeliness of the current status of academic English: "The story ends with the most resolutely monoglot international community the world has ever seen—we call them scientists—and the exclusive language they use to communicate today to their international peers is English. The collapse into monolingualism is, historically speaking, a very strange outcome, since most of humanity for most of its existence has been to a greater or lesser degree multilingual. The goals of this book are not only to show how we came to this point, but also to illustrate how deeply anomalous our current state of affairs would have seemed in the past." (2015: 2)

[2] See Dembeck & Mein 2012. In her book *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition*, Yasemin Yildiz (2012) analyses the force of the monolingual paradigm and reads texts by Tawada, Özdamar and Zaimoğlu that transcend it, drawing attention to a postmonolingual condition that asks for a postmonolingual paradigm.

example. Revolving around the capacity of language to adequately express experience, the prolific research on Hofmannsthal's text fits into the monolingual paradigm by discussing "language" without paying attention to the specific languages of the text. This systemic blind spot toward the particulars and pluralities of language in this case contributes, I think, to the mesmerizing conundrum as to how a writer can lament a complete loss of his command of language in highly polished prose. Offering a possible solution with a re-reading that approaches these language-related questions via a close textual analysis of the particular language(s) of "Ein Brief," I hope to make plausible that the philologies could benefit from a conscious structural shift towards a non-monolingual paradigm.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal's short prose work "Ein Brief" ("A Letter"), first published in the Berlin newspaper *Der Tag* in 1902 and often called the "Chandos letter,"—with reference to Philipp Lord Chandos, the fictitious writer of its main epistolary part—opens with a title, byline and short introductory paragraph that place the body of the text simultaneously within two different, precisely specified contexts.[3] Following established newspaper conventions, the title "Ein Brief" is accompanied by the byline "Von Hugo von Hofmannsthal" ("A letter. By Hugo von Hofmannsthal"), and the one-sentence editorial introduction plausibly addresses readers of the newspaper *Der Tag* in 1902 by supplying the information they need to understand the subsequent letter:[4] "This is the letter Philipp Lord Chandos, younger son of the Earl of Bath, wrote to Francis Bacon, later Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, to apologize to this friend for completely refraining from poetic activity." ("Dies ist der Brief, den Philipp Lord Chandos, jüngerer Sohn des Earl of Bath, an Francis Bacon, später Lord Verulam und Viscount St. Albans,

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[3] Hugo von Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" was first published in two parts, on subsequent days: Part One: "Ein Brief. Von Hugo von Hofmannsthal." *Der Tag* 489 (18 October 1902): n.p. [1–3] and Part Two: "Ein Brief. Von Hugo von Hofmannsthal. (Schluß)." *Der Tag* 491 (19 October 1902): n.p. [1–3]. All of my references to texts from *Der Tag* rely on digital images taken from the microfilm copy in the Berlin State Library. References in brackets in the main text refer to this edition, with a Roman numeral for the Part and an Arabic numeral for the page; after the semicolon follows an additional page reference to the critical edition of "Ein Brief" in Hugo von Hofmannsthal. 1991. *Sämtliche Werke XXXI. Erfundene Gespräche und Briefe*, edited by Ellen Ritter. 45–55. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer. Where not specified otherwise, translations into English are mine.

[4] The one-sentence introduction is general enough to be easily portable and works well also in later publishing contexts, such as editions of selected works by Hofmannsthal. It fits most smoothly, however, within the context of a newspaper, which as a medium handily supplies the editorial function to which the introduction can easily be attributed, whereas the context of the collected works demands from the reader the additional supposition of a fictitious editor. The byline following the title is dropped in these later editions.

schrieb, um sich bei diesem Freunde wegen des gänzlichen Verzichtes auf literarische Bethätigung zu entschuldigen," I,1; 45). With a visual break, "Ein Brief" shifts from the editorial introduction to Chandos' elaborate answer to Bacon's query. Thanking Bacon for his concern, Chandos reminisces about his past as a poet-prodigy and the many plans for future projects he then entertained. That phase ended when he lost his trust in language, causing him to emotionally disengage from his writing and, except for intense bursts of brief euphoric epiphanies, from most aspects of his life. Full of gratitude, Chandos' closing best wishes come with the premonition that this will be the last piece of his writing that will ever reach Bacon. The date and signature ending Chandos' letter double as the last words of the whole text: "A. D. 1603, this 22nd of August. *Phi. Chandos*." (II,3; 55) The minimal frame—title, byline, one-sentence editorial introduction—unobtrusively and effectively inserts "Ein Brief" into the publishing context of a modernist high-brow German-language newspaper, addressing in a published, printed form an audience reading German at the very beginning of the 20th century, and introduces the remaining published and printed body of the text as a private handwritten communication by a (fictitious) younger friend to one of the most illustrious writers of the English Renaissance.

1. A crisis of *langage*

On the day after the publication of "Ein Brief," Fritz Mauthner, the author of *Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache* (*Contributions to a Critique of Language*), writes to Hofmannsthal, asking with guarded but palpable hope whether he is justified in reading the Chandos letter as "the first poetic response" to his own recently published work.[5] Mauthner's private response foreshadows the canonical reading of the Chandos letter as a key text of the modernist crisis of language. As Rudolf Helmstetter documents exhaustively, the prolific discussion of Hofmannsthal's text mainly revolves around questions of language crisis—that of Chandos or Hofmannsthal, of the time around 1900, or of language in general.[6] In fact, the topic of language crisis dominates the research so decidedly that the organizers of the Chandos letter's anniversary conference at the

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[5] Hofmannsthal responded to Mauthner's letter on 3 November from Venice in a friendly but noncommittal manner, acknowledging shared ideas and concerns rather than a direct influence.

[6] For a detailed documentation of the dozens of different approaches to "Ein Brief" from the perspective of a crisis of language, see Helmstetter (2003: 447–454). Helmstetter calls for a reading that situates the text within the media context of its publication.

Hofmannsthal Society in 2002 explicitly asked for contributions on other aspects of the text.[7]

"But what is language, the attentive observation of which I have set myself as a task and promised my readers?"[8], asks Mauthner; and indeed the contemporaneous philosophical and linguistic discussions probe the very terms language provides to think about language. Mauthner sets for himself the task of creating even the slightest leeway within what he pessimistically describes as the tyranny of language. To better understand the implications involved in the term, he compares "die Sprache," "language," with two other abstract terms, "eine Sprache," "a language," and the plural "die Sprachen," "languages." Mauthner argues that while the latter two, in contrast to the most general term "language," still allow one to think of something ostensibly real, namely one or several languages such as "German," even the seeming graspable concreteness of their referent does not hold up to scrutiny.[9] The supposed unity of "a language" such as "German" is ever-changing and cannot be fully known by anyone; if at all, it could only exist "in the air" between speakers.[10]

Mauthner's Swiss contemporary Ferdinand de Saussure likewise approaches the same question very much aware of its complications. For Saussure, as for Mauthner, a decisive difficulty lies in the process of abstraction, which necessarily obscures some linguistic characteristics. Both Saussure and Mauthner counter this by introducing and contrasting several abstract terms, each of which focuses on different aspects. While Saussure's triad of *langage*, *langue* and *parole* as presented in the *Cours de linguistique générale* is a

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[7] "So waren die Vortragenden und Arbeitsteilnehmer gebeten worden, Hofmannsthals Brieffiktion nicht nur als ein Dokument der Sprachkrise zu lesen, als welches es die germanistische Aufmerksamkeit bisher fast ausschließlich gefesselt hatte, sondern Spuren zu verfolgen, die diese in einem neuen Licht und einem erweiterten Kontext erscheinen ließe. Die Tagung über den Chandos-Brief sollte von jenem Punkt ihren Ausgang nehmen, wo man am Ende angekommen zu sein schien […]." (Vogel 2002: 401)

[8] "Was aber ist die Sprache, die aufmerksam zu beobachten ich mir vorgenommen und meinen Lesern versprochen habe?" (Mauthner 1901: 3).

[9] "Welchen Sinn das Abstraktum 'die Sprache' habe, das wird deutlicher werden, wenn wir vorerst erfahren haben, wie abstrakt und unwirklich eigentlich dasjenige ist, was wir eben vorläufig mit gutem Glauben als etwas Wirkliches hingenommen haben: die Einzelsprachen." (Mauthner 1901: 5)

[10] "Wo ist also das Abstraktum 'Sprache' Wirklichkeit? In der Luft. Im Volke, zwischen den Menschen." (Mauthner 1901: 18, "Where, then, is the abstract term 'language' reality? In the air. Between people.")

staple of introductions to linguistics,[11] he continually refines these distinctions which, as Saussure himself reflects, are based on the distinctions the French language offers.[12] As evidenced by the changes he made to his lectures, traceable in his own and his listeners' notes spanning from his inaugural lecture in 1891 to his third and last series of lectures on general linguistics given in 1910–1911, Saussure in his later years uses *langage* and *la langue* (in the singular) as terms that abstract in different ways from *les langues* (in the plural), i.e., the particular languages. *Langage* as the most general abstraction possible from languages, and *la langue* as an abstraction from any particular language, while keeping the particularity of any language in mind (see Stockhammer 2014: 348–352):

> Telle étant notre notion de la *langue*, il est clair qu'elle ne nous est représentée que par la série des diverses langues. Nous ne pouvons la saisir que sur une langue déterminée quelconque. *La langue*, ce mot au singulier, comment se justifie-t-il? Nous entendons par là une généralisation, ce qui se trouvera vrai pour toute langue déterminée, sans être obligé de préciser. Il ne faut pas croire que ce terme général *la langue* équivaudra à langage. (Saussure 1967: 158)[13]

> This being our notion of "the language," it is clear that it shows itself to us only in the series of different languages. We cannot know it other than through some specific language. How does "the language," this word in the singular, justify itself? We understand it as a generalization, as that which is found to be true for every specific language, without a need to specify one. One ought not believe that the general term "the language" is equivalent to "language."

The general term "language," as Mauthner's and Saussure's (by no means analogous) contrasting differentiations make evident, tends to mask the plurality of languages and the particularities of each language. "Ein Brief" is sometimes read as probing alternatives to language as a medium of expression, such as images.[14] Often remarked upon is its

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[11] See Saussure 1916. For a short discussion of the problems of this influential edition, which remained seminal for decades, see Rudolf Engler's introduction to his own edition presenting various versions and notes in parallel (Saussure 1967: ix–xii).

[12] "Il est à remarquer que nous avons défini des choses et non des mots; les distinctions établies n'ont donc rien à redouter de certains termes ambigus qui ne se recouvrent pas d'une langue à l'autre. Ainsi en allemand *Sprache* veut dire 'langue' et 'langage'; *Rede* correspond à peu près à 'parole,' mais y ajoute le sens spécial de 'discours.' En latin *sermo* signifie plutôt 'langage' et 'parole,' tandis que *lingua* désigne la 'langue' et ainsi de suite." (Saussure 1967: 41).

[13] For a similar argument, see also Saussure 2003: 63.

[14] See for example Matala de Mazza 1995; Schneider 2006.

seeming performative paradox, with Chandos writing about his fundamental detachment from language in graceful prose.[15] Yet, the many various readings of "Ein Brief" as a contribution to a discussion of a language consider language—in Saussurean terms—as *langage*, and not as *langue*.[16]

This article presents a complementary approach to Hofmannsthal's text. I would like to show that the Chandos letter—similarly to Mauthner's and Saussure's contemporary theoretical grapplings with language as an abstract concept—questions the notion that either "language" or "the language" refer to a bounded unit. Consequently, rather than contributing directly to the debate on how the Chandos letter talks about a language crisis, I will instead focus on the *langues* and the *langue* of the text. In the second section, "*langues* of the letter," I begin by drawing out the linguistic implications of the fictitious setting of Hofmannsthal's text in the English Renaissance, followed by the parallel perspective upon its publishing context in a German newspaper in 1902. From both perspectives, the text is shown to be markedly multilingual. These two perspectives on the double framing of the Chandos letter combine to show a more radical form of non-monolingualism, as "the" language of the text oscillates between (mostly) German and (mostly) English and cannot be reduced to one. In the third section I argue that, in addition to this linguistic oscillation, the Chandos letter plays with the change in the meaning of phrases when they are "thrown across the chasm of centuries" (II,3; 53f) into a different constellation of texts, producing another kind of linguistic oscillation. I conclude by claiming that this oscillation between languages and between contexts also affects the referential stability of the personal pronoun "I"—and thus the grounds for "nosce te ipsum" (I,2; 47) and the identity of the speaker. It is the speaker's non-identity, figured as "speaking in tongues" (I,2; 47) that opens up identitarian restrictions—one speaker using one language to express one (true) meaning—and thus resolves the seeming paradox that someone should write about a language crisis in polished prose.

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[15] In the formulation of Thomas Kovach, editor of the *Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, "we must also suggest some answers to the anomaly that this letter, which depicts a failure of language, a lapse into total silence, in fact makes most eloquent use of the very language it purports to renounce." (Kovach 2002: 91)

[16] Timo Günther seems to make a similar observation when he notes that despite linking this text to a crisis of language: "the language of the fictitious writer himself has rarely been paid attention to, which led to some confusion." (21) His subsequent argument clarifies, however, that Günther uses "language" to distinguish rational from figural or poetic language use, referring to "Hofmannsthal's metaphorical understanding of language, based on 'transfer,' similarity, association." (Günther 2004: 41; see also Helmstetter 2003: 475)

The letter shows the problems inherent in the concept of an abstract universal *langage* and of a concept of *langue* that isolates individual languages by using *langues* in a manner that makes it impossible to sort them into fixed units or to attribute the utterance to a single writer. The crisis of *language* can be both shown and overcome by the performance of *langues*. The *langue* of the letter is the *langue* of the letter, which changes with each reading.

2. *Langues* of the letter

2.1. Latin, English, Italian, Spanish: "A. D. 1603, Phi. Chandos"

The letter, imagined as written by Chandos to Bacon in 1603, characterizes the English Renaissance to which it supposedly belongs as a genuinely multilingual period. As part of an imagined correspondence and a broader literary exchange consisting of both real and fictitious texts in a variety of languages and forms of multilingualism, the letter evokes, constructs and situates itself within a markedly multilingual textual network.

Imagining the scope of reading among Renaissance authors, Hofmannsthal foregrounds a deep engagement with classical antiquity. Chandos not only displays his own extensive knowledge of Greek and Roman literature in the course of mentioning several authors and texts en passant—among them Hippocrates (I,1; 45), Sallust (I,1; 46), Caesar (I,2; 47), Cicero (I,2; 47 and I,3; 50), Livy (II,1; 51), and Plutarch as source for the Crassus anecdote (II,3; 53)—, but clearly expects his addressee to share this knowledge, implying a much broader common classical corpus. This intense engagement, in turn, as evidenced in Chandos' finished works and the projects he once planned, shapes Renaissance literary production linguistically, formally and thematically.[17] Early on, in the second paragraph of his letter, Chandos mentions titles of his own finished works, "New Paris" ("Neuer Paris") and "Dream of Daphne" ("Traum der Daphne"), telegraphing the thematic influence of classical literature on Renaissance works in the choice of character names. The third title in that series, "Epithalamium," places this wedding poem in a formal tradition stemming from antiquity, as the etymology of the genre term itself points to its Greek models and their Latin reception. Linguistically, the preoccupation with classical literature motivates the continued active use of Latin in parallel to the (by then) established literary use of English. As the letter makes clear, both the fictitious Chandos

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[17] As Stefan Schultz (1961) has meticulously shown, Chandos' projects correspond to works actually written by the real Francis Bacon.

and the real Bacon write for the public in both languages, English and Latin. Chandos mentions English pastorals for the court of Elizabeth I (I,1; 45), and during a stay in Venice finds "in himself that construction of Latin phrases" ("in sich jenes Gefüge lateinischer Perioden," I,1; 45) that successfully competes with the architecture of Palladio and Sansovin. The English-Latin constellation of these two fictitious texts is supported by Chandos' description of one of his unrealized projects, "unlocking the fables and mythical narratives of the ancients […] as the hieroglyphs of secret, unfathomable wisdom" ("die Fabeln und mythischen Erzählungen, welche die Alten uns hinterlassen haben […] aufschließen als die Hieroglyphen einer geheimen, unerschöpflichen Weisheit," I,2; 46f). This phrase corresponds to the introduction of Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum*, published in Latin in 1619 and in Arthur Gorges' English translation *The Wisedome of the Ancients* two years later, indicating a simultaneous market for printed books both in Latin and English.[18] Through its reworking of classical antiquity, Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" thus characterizes the literary production and consumption of the English Renaissance as thematically and formally shaped by Greek or Latin precursors even in its English texts, and as constitutively multilingual.

Chandos' planned "collection of 'apophthegmata,'"—inspired, as he reminds Bacon, by those "written by Caesar: you remember it mentioned in a letter of Cicero" ("wie deren eine Julius Cäsar verfaßt hat: Sie erinnern die Erwähnung in einem Briefe des Cicero," I,2; 47)—provide an excellent example for the complex multilingualism sketched above: 1) like "Epithalamium," its Greek genre name points to a formal tradition traced back to antiquity; 2) Chandos chooses as title *Nosce te ipsum*, the Latin version of one of the Delphic maxims, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, know thyself; 3) his very reference to a work by Caesar via a letter by Cicero exhibits intimate knowledge of Roman literature and, as with others of Chandos' unrealized projects, a corresponding book by Bacon exists. Bacon's *Apophthegmes New and Old* (1625) opens with a sentence nearly identical to Chandos' reminder to Bacon (see Schultz 1961: 6–7), "*Julius Caesar*, did write a *Collection* of *Apophthegmes*, as appears in an *Epistle* of *Cicero*" (Bacon 1625: 1), showing how closely Hofmannsthal follows his Renaissance sources, and yet how differently this sentence works in relation to a different co-text, attributed to a different speaker and as a line somewhere within a private letter rather than as the opening of a published introduction. Moreover, Chandos sketches a far more ambitious project than the one Bacon realized. He envisions an assemblage of heterogeneous material from

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[18] See Schultz (1961: 8–10) for a far more detailed account tracing sources for this passage.

ancient and contemporary printed and handwritten texts, as well as from oral sources collected during his own travels across the continent, showcasing the broad medial, historical, spatial and social spectrum of input to which he exposes himself and which he considers worthy of being gathered, arranged and published—as well as the range of different languages needed in order to do so:

> Here I thought to set alongside each other the most noteworthy remarks which I would have succeeded in collecting from my dealings with learned men and witty women of our time or with notable common people or with well-educated and extraordinary people during my travels; in this way I wanted to bring together fine maxims and reflections from the works of the Ancients and the Italians, and other thoughtful ornaments which would have presented themselves to me in books, manuscripts, or conversations; also the arrangements of especially beautiful celebrations and parades, noteworthy crimes and cases of frenzy, descriptions of the greatest and most peculiar buildings in the Netherlands, in France and Italy, and much more besides.

> Hier gedachte ich die merkwürdigsten Aussprüche nebeneinander zu setzen, welche mir im Verkehr mit den gelehrten Männern und den geistreichen Frauen unserer Zeit oder mit besonderen Leuten aus dem Volk oder mit gebildeten und ausgezeichneten Personen auf meinen Reisen zu sammeln gelungen wäre; damit wollte ich schöne Sentenzen und Reflexionen aus den Werken der Alten und der Italiener vereinigen, und was mir sonst an geistigen Zieraten in Büchern, Handschriften oder Gesprächen entgegenträte; ferner die Anordnung besonders schöner Feste und Aufzüge, merkwürdige Verbrechen und Fälle von Raserei, die Beschreibung der größten und eigentümlichsten Bauwerke in den Niederlanden, in Frankreich und Italien und noch vieles andere. (I,2; 47)

Chandos' description of this idiosyncratic project draws attention to an additional aspect of Renaissance multilingualism. There are strong interrelations between different European countries, with their respective well-developed "vernaculars," and reading books on topics such as Dutch or French architecture, engaging in conversations during journeys on the continent, or more official diplomatic relations will require some competence in those languages. Chandos, when sketching a project resembling Bacon's posthumously published fragment *Historie of the Reigne of King Henrie The Eighth* (1629; Schultz 1961: 7–8), mentions a collection of notes, bequeathed to him by his grandfather, "on his negotiations with Portugal and France" ("über seine Negoziationen mit Frankreich und Portugal," I,1; 46) which call to mind the close political dealings

between European powers beginning to stake their interests amid a global colonial expansion. As contemporaneous English dictionaries attest, the vernacular languages were accordingly gaining importance and status. While Latin still remains the lingua franca in many professions—in 1589, John Rider advertises his Latin-English "double dictionarie" *Bibliotheca scholastica* on its title pages as "Verie profitable and necessarie for scholars, courtiers, lawyers and their clarkes, apprentices of London, travellers, factors for marchants"—, dictionaries and grammars from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards start to appear for Italian (1550), for French (1571), for Spanish contrasted with French (1590), and tri- and quadrilingual dictionaries (1574 / 1580) combining Latin and vernacular languages, called *alveries* in reference to the Greek word for 'beehive.' These dictionaries indicate the growing importance and attention lent to vernacular languages.[19] One motivation for learning these languages was to gain access to their budding literatures. William Thomas' *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer with a dictionary for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante* (1550) stresses as its main selling point the ability to read these three Italian authors in the original. Accordingly, the reading horizon of a Renaissance author as constituted by Hofmannsthal's text encompasses the growing "vernacular" literatures in addition to those of classical antiquity. In the description of his "Apophthegmata" project quoted above, Chandos consequently refers in one breath to "the works of the Ancients and the Italians." The Chandos letter thus situates itself in a dense web of biographical, philosophical, poetological and poetical texts, written in different millennia and read in several languages including Latin, English and Italian, comprising many reworkings which combine thematic and formal elements of classical literature with a vernacular language and, as exemplified by Bacon's fictitious letter to which Chandos responds,

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[19] In a counter-movement, these dictionaries also establish and mark linguistic difference, helping to define, demarcate and separate languages. They lay the foundation for an awareness of languages, for comparing and studying other languages in detail, but with a focus on describing them as unified systems and thus for a multilingualism that counts languages. Although these dictionaries foster the knowledge of several languages, one might see them as early gestures towards reestablishing a version of the monolingual paradigm. One of the very first English dictionaries, published by William Salesbury in 1547, showcases this impulse bluntly: "A dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe moche necessary to all suche Welshemen as wil spedly learne the englyshe to[n]gue thought vnto the kynges maiestie very mete to be sette forthe to the vse of his graces subiectes in Wales." This dictionary is not meant to foster multilingualism and mutual exchange; it is meant to assimilate the Welsh. While one can in retrospect frame this as the beginnings of a return to a more dominant monolingualism, and while nearly all of these dictionaries literally count languages in the title, the actual boundaries drawn between languages are still quite tentative, and several languages seem to be have equal status. In addition, as the first "hard word" dictionaries show, English itself is seen as an intrinsically multilingual language.

texts written in more than one language.[20] Chandos' letter is imagined as part of a constitutively multilingual communicative literary network.

Consequently, Chandos is writing a multilingual letter. Consider the beginning of the second paragraph: "You close with an aphorism by Hippocrates: 'Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non sentiunt, iis mens aegrotat,' and believe that I am in need of medicine not only to keep my illness in check, but even more so to sharpen my sense for my internal state." ("Sie schließen mit dem Aphorisma des Hippokrates: 'Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non senitunt, iis mens aegrotat' und meinen, ich bedürfe der Medizin nicht nur, um mein Uebel zu bändigen, sondern noch mehr, um meinen Sinn für den Zustand meines Innern zu schärfen," I,1; 45). Within "Ein Brief," the colon and the quotation marks here also mark a linguistic difference; in contrast to the main clause of the sentence, the direct quote is in Latin. This passage is the most obvious instance of linguistic difference made explicit; the title of Chandos' Apophthegmata project, "Nosce te ipsum," provides a second one, again in Latin. A third instance is less clear; I quote from the original: "wenn ich in der dem Fenster eingebauten Bank meines studio sitzend, aus einem Folianten süße und schäumende Nahrung des Geistes in mich sog."[21] The word that concerns me here is the noun "studio." Grimms' German dictionary lists "das studio," defining it as an artist's workplace, and traces it to the Italian word "studio" with the same meaning. In the original version of the dictionary's example sentence,[22] taken from Goethe, the word is capitalized and thus treated as a German noun: "Ein Mahler sitzt […] in seinem Studio."[23] Hofmannsthal, however, against German orthographic norms of his time and in contrast to all other nouns in the sentence and throughout the

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[20] Chandos repeats two sentences from Bacon's letter verbatim, separated from his own text by quotation marks: one of them—a quote from Hippocrates—in Latin, the other not. Juxtaposing the two direct quotations marks a linguistic difference: Bacon's fictitious letter addresses Chandos in at least two languages.

[21] With slightly more context: "wenn ich auf meiner Jagdhütte die schäumende laue Milch in mich hineintrank […] so war mir das nichts anderes, als wenn ich in der dem Fenster eingebauten Bank meines studio sitzend, aus einem Folianten süße und schäumende Nahrung des Geistes in mich sog" (I,2; 47). In a semantic translation: "when I gulped down the frothing warm milk at my hunting lodge […] so was this no different to me than when, sitting on the window bench of my studio, I took in sweet and frothing food for thought from a tome."

[22] The *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, in a push for orthographic reform, uses lower case throughout, even in its quotations.

[23] The full quotation, taken from a fragment by Goethe entitled "Rezension einer Anzahl französischer satyrischer Kupferstiche," reads: "Ein Mahler sitzt in einer antiken Kleidung in energischer Stellung in seinem Studio." (Goethe 1896: 361)

letter (with the exception of the Latin phrases), uses lower case for "studio." This orthographical difference could here indicate linguistic difference and hence mark the word "studio" as Italian. Not counting "Epithalamium" and "Apophthegmata," Chandos' letter is written in at least three languages. When, towards the end of his letter, Chandos explains to Bacon that he can neither write nor think in any one of the languages available to him, he enumerates and rejects four: "neither Latin nor English nor Italian or Spanish" (II,3; 54).[24] Neither for Bacon nor for Chandos is there a monolingual default, a single language in which to "naturally" write and think. Even though he denounces all four, Chandos' struggle with language is a struggle with, and in, several equally available specific *langues*.

2.2. Latin, Italian, German?: "Von Hugo von Hofmannsthal" 1902

"At this point it may be well to remember that Hofmannsthal's Lord Chandos writes to Bacon in German" (Schultz 1961: 15). This reminder, coming in the last paragraph of Stefan Schultz' insightful article on Hofmannsthal's Baconian sources for Chandos' projects, is one of the rare passages in Chandos letter scholarship that explicitly references the *langue* of the text. German as the main *langue* of the letter is clearly attributable to the context in and for which it was written. Therefore it is also well to remember that, as Rudolf Helmstetter phrases it, "the medial vehicle of the Chandos letter did not deliver it 'A.D. 1603' to Francis Bacon, but rather to the public of the year 1902" (Helmstetter 2003: 480). As all German-language newspapers of the time aimed at an audience in the German-speaking countries, the "medial vehicle" *Der Tag* generally is set in blackletter type, with the option of using Roman type to indicate that a word or phrase belongs to a language other than German.[25] This is a case of digraphia. The use of Roman type for non-German words within *Der Tag* is uneven, with some articles designating words as linguistically different in this way, while others are set in blackletter throughout.[26] Whereas, for example, a short story by Henry Urban, "Der Letzte der

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[24] In its original context: "[…] weil die Sprache, in welcher nicht nur zu schreiben, sondern auch zu denken mir vielleicht gegeben wäre, weder die lateinische noch die englische noch die italienische oder [GW: und] spanische ist […]" (II,3; 54). Note the divergence in brackets between the original publication and the *Gesammelte Werke*.

[25] I owe this information to Christoph Albers, head of the customer service department of the Berlin State Library's newspaper archive, for whose support of my research for this article I am immensely grateful. Any mistakes or misrepresentations are of course my own.

[26] Comparing several groups of articles by the same author respectively, the decision against or for using Roman type in *Der Tag* seems to rest largely with the author of the individual article.

Panhattans" ("The Last of the Panhattans," Urban 1902, n.p.), set in New York and using English names and terms such as "Long Island," "Avenue," "Dock," and "Stewart," does not make any use of Roman type, a short notice entitled "Ostasiatisches Deutsch" ("East-Asian German," Anon. 1902: n.p.), providing examples of the language use of Germans who have lived in Asia for a sustained amount of time, does so heavily and switches between types even within a single word, for instance:

Ich habe gar keine objections dagegen, daß der turn einmal ge-changed wird. (ibid)

The tone of the notice suggests that the correspondent who collected these specimens, himself an expat, is distancing himself from his compatriots' code-switching. He calls the result "seltsame Phrasen" ("weird phrases") and "eine ganz wunderliche Sprache" ("a very curious language"); the minimal editorial framing seems to affirm this stance. This example provides a limit case in the frequency of type-switching and its resulting segmentation, as well as for the level of tolerance towards a non-normative mixed language use, even in private conversations.

In Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief," Roman type is used sparingly to indicate linguistic difference. Only the two Latin phrases "Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non senitunt, iis mens aegrotat" (I,1) and "Nosce te ipsum" (I,2), the abbreviation "A. D." (II,3), i.e., the Latin phrase "anno domini," the last two words of the letter, "Phi. Chandos," (II,3), and the previously mentioned single word "studio" (I,2) are set in Roman type. The change in type corroborates the hypothesis that "studio" is here used as an Italian word. This linguistic differentiation by way of a typographical distinction is elided in later editions, including the critical edition in *Sämtliche Werke*, resulting in a much weaker indication of linguistic shifts. As a glance at Hofmannsthal's manuscript of "Ein Brief"[27] confirms, the digraphia of print at the time finds its equivalence in a digraphia of handwritten scripts, with a choice between the alternatives Kurrent (also called German cursive) and English cursive. Analogous to Roman type in print, English cursive is used for non-German words within a German handwritten text. In Hofmannsthal's manuscript, the frequency of English cursive is much higher than that of Roman type in the version of the text in *Der Tag*. In addition to all the instances mentioned above, he also employs it for example in most of the Roman, Greek, Italian and English names, for the genre terms "Epithalamium" and "Apophthegmata," and for some words with clearly non-German

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[27] I use the facsimile edition, Hofmannsthal 1975.

roots, such as "Chiffern" ("ciphers").[28] Rules and conventions on whether and how to mark the difference between languages—which are both governed by and shape the perception of linguistic difference and hierarchy—are historically and culturally specific and changing. The digraphia for German around 1900 always provides the option to visually set off a word as foreign, without standardized rules for obligatory use. With this alternative available, one is forced to make a more or less conscious, more or less habitual decision which script to use for each word one writes, keeping the distinction between German words and non-German words latently present in the moment of text production as well as while reading.[29] In the case of the Chandos letter, an impression of Renaissance English and its relationship to other languages is created within the rules, constraints, and conventions of handwritten and printed German and its relationship to other languages, as made visible around 1900. The "studio" example makes obvious how closely the relationship between typography and linguistic difference is bound to changing cultural conventions: without the mark of digraphia, it is difficult to build a convincing case that this word is marked as non-German (and, by extension, non-English) only by its absence of capitalization. In English, even this slight mark of linguistic difference would be missing, as non-capitalization is the norm, and a translator into English might instead resort to italics. Orthographic and typographic conventions are shaped by and influence the distinction made between "one's own" language in a constellation with "other" languages.

Der Tag expects its readers to be interested in complex and detailed international news, whether it be trade routes in the Persian Gulf, the oratory powers of a French socialist politician, the narration of a correspondent's visit with the Sultan of Johore in Singapore, or a report of robberies in Chile (see Wagner 1902; Kerr 1902; von Rauch 1902; Anon. 1902). The world is presented as an interconnected globe. At the same time, clear-cut borders and distinctions are drawn and judgements made with a matter-of-fact sense of a

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[28] The centuries-long digraphia in German literature, with its implications for the perception of German in constellations with other languages is surprisingly understudied. Susanne Wehde's detailed and enlightening chapter on the quarrel between blackletter and Roman type in her insightful *Typographische Kultur. Eine zeichentheoretische und kulturgeschichtliche Studie zur Typographie und ihrer Entwicklung* (2000) does not cover the time around 1900; Matthias Schulz convincingly showcases the advantages of a corpus-based approach (targeting seventeenth-century printed texts), which could provide quick inroads into this research gap (Schulz 2012). For a typology developed with reference to an impressively broad spectrum of languages, see Bunčić et al. 2016.

[29] Neither in German nor in English handwriting is this still the case. Automatic spell-checks, often singling out words or phrases not in the main language of the text, could be seen as a contemporary equivalent that latently keeps the distinction 'own / other language' present during text production.

common identity shared among readers, palpable in racist descriptions and unabashedly partisan-nationalist political perspectives. This stance also informs language policy, a topic frequently discussed in *Der Tag*. An article by Leopold Schönhoff printed right above a part of Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" sketches different policy propositions for determining the official languages for the Bohemian parts of the Austrian empire (Schönhoff 1902),[30] an intractable political challenge. Just a few years earlier, in 1897, prime minister Badeni's edict establishing both Czech and German as the languages of administration in Bohemia was used by German nationalist groups as political leverage to obstruct Parliament, resulting in the eruption of the so-called "Badeni language riots" with long-lasting repercussions still felt in 1902.[31] Paul Roland, in a short article on the "Polish language question," suggests German officials learn Polish when governing in regions with a Polish-speaking populace. Roland sees the need to defend this proposition as neither threatening the dignity of those German officials nor inspired by un-German sentiments, hastening to add that this constitutes but an intermediary step facilitating the ultimate aim of assimilating the Polish people by turning them, within a generation, into German speakers (Roland 1902). Two days later, a short note, quoting a translated excerpt from the French newspaper *Echo de Paris*, celebrates how German seems to be taking the upper hand in Alsace, with school children preferring German to French during play-time (Anon. "Die Sprachenfrage in Elsaß-Lothringen." 1902). These three articles in *Der Tag* appear within a span of merely two months, indicating that the "language question" is recurring frequently, as a symptom and an effect of forceful territorial expansion that is creating a linguistic gap between the new (in all these cases German-speaking) rulers and the ruled populace. Each of these language policy stances seems to envision monolingualism as the optimal outcome, with regulated multilingualism as a temporary compromise. While this brief snapshot, taking into account only articles published within a few weeks in the summer of 1902 in a single newspaper, cannot claim to represent discussions of language policy in German-speaking countries at the time, it nonetheless sketches an immediate context colored by a monolingual impulse feeding

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[30] Helmstetter mentions and quotes from this text (Schönhoff 1902) when arguing for the relevance of the publication context for an interpretation of the Chandos letter.

[31] Peter Haslinger shows convincingly how language policies are discursively entangled with the concept of the nation (Haslinger 2002: 161–179). For detailed sources on the Badeni language riots, including the complete wording of various edicts, see Sutter 1960. I am grateful to Michael Gordin for drawing my attention to the Badeni language riots.

plans and fantasies of an unmixed and expanding German. It is in the context of this discussion in which Hofmannsthal's "Ein Brief" is first read.

"At this point," as Schultz reminds us, "it may be well to remember that Hofmannsthal's Lord Chandos writes to Bacon in German" and thus contributes to these negotiations of attitudes towards language and language policy. When Schultz stresses that Hofmannsthal's Lord Chandos writes in German, he does so within the frame of only two possible alternatives, rejecting the other option that Hofmannsthal's Chandos writes to Bacon in English. Specifically, Schultz argues that because the text is poetry and hence in a fundamental way untranslatable, it is emphatically in German: "However, even a translation as excellent as that by Tania and James Stern cannot conceal the fact that it is a translation. The reason lies in the very nature of poetry, which does not depend on the content but is surely inseparable from language" (Schultz 1961: 15). Faced with the decision whether Hofmannsthal's Chandos writes in English or in German, Schultz chooses German to acknowledge the grace and force of the text. While I agree with Schultz' appreciation of Hofmannsthal's syntactical elegance, I hesitate to conclude that therefore "Ein Brief" can only be and can only ever really be in German, embalmed in German, untranslatably so. Instead I would argue that some of the impact of the text is due to it being already-translated (see Stockhammer 2009; Rath 2013): Hofmannsthal's mostly-German is also, simultaneously, Chandos' mostly-English. One could claim that Hofmannsthal's text is mainly in German and that this German is the original language of the text; one could also claim that the German text is a tacit translation of Chandos' original English text.[32] This is what I propose to call *original translation* (see Rath 2016: 185): a mode of reading that explores a linguistic not-just-one, reading a text as if it were written in a present original language (here mostly modernist German) and an absent, imagined original language (here mostly Renaissance English). The original text can simultaneously be read as a translation. Each word, every sentence is both (mostly) "German" and (mostly) "English." It could be called a postmonolingual text in the sense

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[32] Thomas Kovach, in the context of the much-discussed performative paradox, makes a similar observation, which he then turns into a brief, more general argument about fictionality, not multilingualism: "The letter is of course written in German, so technically speaking, Chandos has not in fact violated his pledge in the writing of the letter. […T]he language discrepancy serves once again to underline the fictionality of the text. Together with the opening sentence, which suggests the presence of an editor who is presenting the text for publication, one might view the text we have as a translation from an original text which, alas, does not exist. However one view it, this conundrum reinforces not only the fictionality of this text, but the elusiveness of any text, the precariousness of the entire enterprise of writing which seeks to encompass a reality outside itself." (Kovach 2002: 91)

Till Dembeck and Georg Mein propose, when they write: "The original itself becomes thus visible as crossed by internal linguistic boundaries and deeply ambiguous in its lingualism (*Sprachigkeit*)."[33] The text is not in one language, but oscillates between different language systems and puts their respective medial and political conditions into sharp relief. "Ein Brief" is a multilingual text in the sense that it combines several definable languages: Chandos writes in English and Latin and Italian and quotes and alludes to texts in several languages; Hofmannsthal writes in German and Latin and Italian imagining a multilingual Renaissance English. More radically, "Ein Brief" can be read as original translation, with the linguistic oscillation between mostly-Renaissance-English and mostly-modernist-German creating an unsortable, non-countable language amalgam. Read this way, "Ein Brief" is a paradigmatically *non-monolingual* text. This seems to me the reason why, as Schultz claims, even in a good English translation "Ein Brief" does not read like a text originally written in English: Hofmannsthal does not mimic a Renaissance English text, but rather imagines the pluralist multilingualism of the English Renaissance from within the more monolingual linguistic conditions, conventions and discussions informing German publications around 1900. By making the reader aware of the conditions for its *langues*, the *langue* of the letter shows and shapes its own conditions.

3. "Thrown across the chasm of centuries": August 22, 1603; October 18, 1902

"It is only in this historical horizon that the right notion emerges."[34] The historical horizon, as many different approaches to the Chandos letter seem to agree, is key to understanding the notions and concepts to which it refers. This poses the question of how to date the Chandos letter. Two options compete. Most of the research, focused on the modernist language crisis, places it solely in the context of 1902 and regards its setting in

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[33] "Das Original selbst erscheint so als von inneren Sprachgrenzen durchzogen und in seiner Sprachigkeit zutiefst uneindeutig." (Dembeck & Mein 2012: 142)

[34] This sentence is taken from a passage by Rolf Tarot: "Chandos is a fictitious historical subject of enunciation. That means that his utterances are anchored in the space of his quasi-present. All utterances are not only part of a subjective horizon, but also of a historical one. […] It is only in this historical horizon that the right notion emerges." The original quotation reads: "Chandos ist fingiertes historisches Aussagesubjekt. Das bedeutet, daß seine Aussagen in den Raum seiner Quasigegenwart eingespannt sind. Alle Aussagen stehen nicht nur in einem subjektiven, sondern auch in einem zeitgeschichtlichen Horizont. […] Wir sind leicht geneigt, die 'literarische Betätigung' [this is a quotation from the introductory sentence by the fictitious editor of the Chandos letter and thus not from 1603, which somewhat weakens Tarot's argument here] als Dichten zu verstehen und immer schon zu wissen, was wir unter Dichtung zu verstehen haben. Erst im zeitgeschichtlichen Horizont ergibt sich die richtige Vorstellung." (Tarot 1970: 363–364)

1603 as mere "costume"[35]; on the other end of the spectrum, some, such as Rolf Tarot quoted above, suggest to anchor it exclusively in 1603. Jacques Le Rider, however, argues against a reduction to a single historical context and instead declares the letter to be "undatable":

> Hofmannsthal's historicism finds itself subverted by the montage game that turns the letter of Lord Chandos into a text that is relevant for multiple codes: the "English style" of Shakespeare's time dominates, but the multiple connections with other epochs suggested by the text end up making it 'undatable.' The superimposition of patterns and motives, deftly interwoven by the author, produces also an effect of irony, a hesitation of the author who does not identify himself completely with any of the faces and masks of Lord Chandos, but also a hesitation on the part of the reader who becomes aware that Hofmannsthal's fiction plays with virtuosity with the 'reality effect' (the effect of 'truth') for which a straightforward historical narration would strive.[36]

Paying detailed attention to the some of these superimpositions, I aim to tease out the specific meanings that meet in a single word or phrase as it interlinks with the letter's various contexts—or, to spin out Le Rider's textile metaphor, when it is woven into different textual networks.

The word "Hieroglyphen" ("hieroglyphs") provides a pertinent example. Derived from the Greek and nearly identical in English and German, it stays virtually unchanged and refers to the "same thing" in 1603 and 1902. Yet, not least because of Champollion's break-through in deciphering hieroglyphs in 1822, the meaning of "hieroglyph" changes drastically. Aleida Assmann's article on the hieroglyphs of modernism argues that within a long and fairly stable discursive tradition in which hieroglyphs command a hermeneutic fascination, the Chandos letter paradigmatically transforms the hieroglyphs of the

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[35] This is the phrase Leopold von Andrian uses in his letter to Hofmannsthal from November 18, 1902: "I would like to just mention that the poetic costume, the shift into the English past, did not touch me in a pleasant way." / "Ich möchte nur erwähnen, daß die dichterische Einkleidung, das Versetzen in die Englische Vergangenheit, mich nicht angenehm berührte."

[36] "Car l'historicisme de Hofmannsthal se trouve subverti par le jeu de montage qui fait de la Lettre de Lord Chandos un texte relevant de codes multiples: le 'style anglais' d'époque shakespearienne domine, mais les rapprochements multiples avec d'autres époques suggérés dans le texte finissent par rendre le texte 'indatable.' La superposition des trames et des motifs, habilement tissées par l'auteur, produit aussi un effet d'ironie, une hésitation de l'auteur qui ne s'identifie pleinement avec aucun des visages et des masques de Lord Chandos, mais aussi une hésitation du lecteur qui perçoit que cette fiction de Hofmannsthal se joue avec virtuosité de 'l'effet de réel' (de 'vérité') qui serait recherché par une narration platement historique." (Le Rider 1994: 99–100)

Renaissance—promising an experience of the world as infused by divine meaning—into hieroglyphs of modernism as epiphanies of an immediate experience of a mystical present (see Assmann 2003). Schultz traces the use of the word "hieroglyph" in the immediate contexts of the letter, stressing its ties to a Romantic tradition:

> There also occurs in Hofmannsthal the crucial word "Hieroglyphen" which Bacon always used in its concrete sense of pictographic writing in the contrast to the use of letters. […] Hofmannsthal, however, uses "Hieroglyphen" as it was used in the German Romantic tradition […]. Novalis, whom Hofmannsthal read much, assigned the fable to *Hieroglyphistik* and called it "eine hieroglyphische Formel" ["a hieroglyphic formula"]. The first paragraph of our quotation is thus an amalgamation of Baconian ideas and German Romantic thinking which itself owed much to the pansophists of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. (9)

These two analyses, each on their own and in the juxtaposition of their different readings, draw awareness to the many and diverse aspects of meaning that may be actualized in a single word when historical contexts and textual traditions shift.

Many other examples could be cited. Chandos' enumeration "'spirit,' 'soul' or 'body'" ("'Geist,' 'Seele' oder 'Körper,'" I,3; 48), each term carefully enclosed in quotation marks, reads differently after, for example, Descartes; "algebra" (I,1; 46) changes its meaning radically with Descartes and Leibniz; and as many philosophical studies have shown in detail, this is also true for the concept of "I," of the self or the subject after, say, Kant and, for Hofmannsthal likely already in 1902, Freud.

For the brief phrase "Dichtung und Wahrheit," "poetry and truth" (I,1; 46), the change is both more obvious and more specific, and adds a new group to the extensive web of texts read, discussed and alluded to, which form the reading horizon of its real and fictitious writers and inform the real and fictitious audiences' reading of the text, i.e, 1) texts alluded to that indeed exist and are readily accessible by any reader of the Chandos letter, such as Cicero's letters; 2) texts written by the real Bacon, reattributed to the fictitious Chandos as planned projects, such as his *Apophthegmes*; 3) fictitious texts that only Chandos and the fictitious versions of his contemporaries—such as the version of Bacon to whom he addresses his letter—could know, such as Chandos' pastoral for Queen Elizabeth's court and Bacon's letter to Chandos; 4) texts that Hofmannsthal and his readers know, but which Chandos and Bacon could not know. The last group is where

"Dichtung und Wahrheit," "poetry and truth" belongs: for Chandos, this is not a fixed phrase. When writing these three words, he cannot know that they would form the title of Goethe's autobiography and thus become an immensely recognizable collocation, but Hofmannsthal and his readers cannot but think of Goethe's famous text, which explores the relationship between life and poetical work. The phrase "Dichtung und Wahrheit," and the group of texts shared by Hofmannsthal and his readers, but not by Chandos and Bacon, provides an obvious reason why the context of the Chandos letter cannot be reduced to 1603. These webs of texts, woven into the chatoyant fabric of the letter, provide metonymical metaphors for the different languages at work in the text.

In addition to the texts, discourses and experiences one shares with one's contemporaries, individual connotations are part of anyone's always changing idiosyncratic language. The four-year-old daughter of Lord Chandos, Catarina Pompilia (I,3)[37], shares her second name with a drama project on which Hofmannsthal worked hard in 1901 and tried hard to finish in 1902. "Die Gräfin Pompilia" ("The Duchess Pompilia") was to be a "real" dramatization of Robert Browning's *The Ring and the Book* (1868–69), itself a reworking in (English) verse of a real convolute of Italian and Latin documents pertaining to a Roman court case of 1698. "Catarina Pompilia" are also two of the five names of Hofmannsthal's first child, born in May 1902 (see Rauch 1987: 131–132). The two names Hofmannsthal decides to give Chandos' daughter, whose "childish lie" causes her father to realize in a pivotal and highly emotional moment how intangible the concepts of truth and lie have become to him, thus hold dual importance and deep personal connections for him. Chandos knows none of this, most readers will know none of this, but Hofmannsthal does. Every single one of these words and phrases oscillates between different connections and draws different distinctions, depending on the rhetorical situation which one chooses to construct for it.

For Hofmannsthal, as for Chandos and Bacon, new readings of old texts are framed as providing productive additional meaning. Hofmannthal's planned rewriting, in a different language and genre, of Browning's rewriting, in English verse, of Latin and Italian court documents from 1698, as well as many of Chandos' projects and Bacon's corresponding books are examples of a conscious and programmatic reworking of a text from a past culture. In *Sapientia Veterum*, Bacon rewrites fables from classical antiquity with the explicit aim of recovering their even older, mythical truth which, as he states in the

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[37] "Katharina Pompilia" in the GW edition, 49.

introduction, had already been mostly lost at the time their oral tradition became a written one. Such superimpositions of a contemporary perspective upon older sources allow for the shadow of a work from the past to be "thrown across the abyss of centuries" ("über den Abgrund der Jahrhunderte hergeworfen," II,3; 53f). Chandos' plans for reworkings of ancient texts mirror in the figure of a *mise en abîme* the superimpositions of Hofmannsthal's Chandos letter.

Aleida Assmann mentions in the conclusion to her article that she cannot read the scene in which Chandos imagines the death throes of the rats he ordered poisoned in his cellar without thinking of the gas chambers of the Shoah; she wonders whether the text contains a dark premonition (Assmann 2003: 279). I would reverse this temporality: I think we cannot help but project our own language, shaped by the present, the recent past, and a past long ago onto Hofmannsthal's language, likewise shaped by its own present and pasts, a language that in turn imagines a different language and its own respective history. To provide an example from my own reading experience: I stumbled when I first encountered the phrase "Haus der Gemeinen" (I,1; 46). I understood to which political institution it referred once I had retranslated the expression word for word into English ("House of Commons"), and at first I thought that this very literal translation and its foreignizing effect was a way for Hofmannsthal to mark his German as German-as-English. However, when I looked it up, it turned out that around 1900 "Haus der Gemeinen" was a lexicalized German term[38] that, according to a corpus of German in 2011, has since completely fallen out of use.[39] It is thus not surprising that "Haus der Gemeinen" had seemed foreign to me in my first reading (and hence a contender for a strong conscious choice on Hofmannsthal's part), and probably would to most of my contemporaries. The case is similar yet different with "Hutweide" ("commons"), another word used extremely rarely today. Although the word "Hutweide" may still have been more widespread around 1900, it referred to a practice of communal and shared resources that even then clearly belonged to the past. The Chandos letter plays very consciously with the spectrum of meanings of the same phrase in 1603 and 1902. How can we account for the new meanings created by reading the text in 2017, none of which Hofmannsthal could have foreseen?

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[38] See "Haus der Gemeinen." 1907, Vol. 8: 883.

[39] The *Leipziger Corpus der Gegenwartssprache*, which is based on the results of a 2011 newspaper crawl, returns not a single hit for "Haus der Gemeinen," but 973 hits for "Unterhaus" and 17 for "House of Commons." <URL: http://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en?corpusId=deu_newscrawl_2011>

Differently put: What status does the inadvertent foreignizing effect of "Haus der Gemeinen" and "Hutweide" have within the disciplinary constraints of reading practices? In an article advocating for the introduction of a "multilingual philology," Till Dembeck analyses a short essay by the Japanese-German author Yoko Tawada about a poem by Paul Celan, "Sieben Rosen später" ("Seven roses later"). Reading a Japanese translation of the poem makes Tawada aware of a connection that links exactly seven keywords of the poem because their respective Japanese signs, which are combinations of smaller, mostly conventionalized parts, all have one of these "radicals" in common. Looking at the German texts through a Japanese translation becomes productive for Tawada because it sparks a new interpretation. Tawada finds a consciously counterintuitive formulation: "The more intensive my reading became, the stronger became my impression that Celan's poems looked into the Japanese language. The poet had to have felt the glance of the translation that was thrown from the future onto the original text."[40] Dembeck comments: "Tawada thus claims no less than a reversal of the direction of reading."[41] Dembeck does not follow Tawada's explanation, but uses the productivity of Tawada's reading to probe the disciplinary restrictions that determine the ways in which philologists should arrive at an interpretation. Assmann's association when reading the rat scene or my initial reaction to the phrase "Haus der Gemeinen" skirt the boundaries of accepted reading practices. These readings push us to deal with the borders of the philological disciplines precisely because they make visible and questionable what the Chandos letter, at least, already performs: no word, no sentence belongs to just one language, neither a national language, nor a historical, social, or regional variant. All distinctions are drawn, and the words of this text gain (and this text gains) new distinctions, new connections, and new interpretations with each reading—just as Chandos planned to re-read ancient myths, and Bacon and Hofmannsthal actually did. Hofmannsthal could not foresee the hesitation of future readers when confronted with "Haus der Gemeinen" or "Hutweide." He could not foresee that this double hesitation would forge a link between them, the pause providing time for me to realize that in the "original" English "Haus der Gemeinen" and "Hutweide" share the word "commons." He could not foresee that the language of Chandos and Bacon would evolve into global

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[40] "Je intensiver ich las, desto stärker wurde mein Eindruck, daß Celans Gedichte ins Japanische hineinblicken. Der Dichter muss den Blick der Übersetzung, der aus der Zukunft auf den Originaltext geworfen wird, gespürt haben." (cited in Dembeck 2016: 84)

[41] "Tawada behauptet so letztlich nicht weniger als eine Umkehrung der Leserichtung." (Dembeck 2016: 84)

English, radically shifting the constellation between the languages of the text. Hofmannsthal's text, however, in its own formal, thematic, and linguistic figurations, invites readers to continue the chain of re-readings from pre-classical fables and their formulation in classical antiquity, its Renaissance reworking and its recasting within German modernism, in turn, to include the re-readings shaped by the present context of its future readers.

How, then, to date the Chandos letter? The question itself implies an interesting presupposition: that there is a common dating system that guarantees a reliably contiguous continuity "across the chasm of centuries." Two dates appear on a single page of *Der Tag*, Chandos' date and signature at the very bottom of the third column on the third page, the publication date of the issue in its header. Their formats show slight variations in convention: The prefix "A.D.," the Latin abbreviation for "in the year of the Lord," is no longer in common use in 1902. More fundamentally, though, dates in England in 1603 still conform to the Julian Calendar, while most of the Catholic continent had already implemented the Gregorian calendar reform in use in 1902 and today. Hofmannsthal's October 19th, 1902 and Lord Chandos' August 22nd, 1603 may be on the same page, but they are not in the same system. In order to make them commensurable, the latter would have to be translated into "September 1, 1603"—that is, if Hofmannsthal, when having Chandos date his letter, did not already account for that shift. Even more literally than meant by Le Rider, the letter of Lord Chandos is indeed undatable. There are many obvious, and likely even more nearly invisible, systems of measurement, thought and belief in play when reading a text, and every reading necessarily involves an unconscious updating. Hofmannsthal's text, I claim, is very conscious of that. There will always be at least a third date competing with the obvious other two, and acknowledging this ineluctable influence seems to be a productive way of dealing with it. The text is aware that the shadow it throws across the chasm of centuries will be seen in a different light.

4. "Nosce te ipsum" versus "speaking in tongues"

The Chandos letter plays with marking, re-marking and unmarking distinctions and connections. This applies not only to phrases like "Dichtung und Wahrheit" or "Haus der Gemeinen," but also to the fundamental pronoun "I," which necessarily always changes its concrete referent when put in a different context, but in the Chandos letter does so a

fortiori: the pronoun "I" as part of the *langue* of the letter is drawn into its play with re-drawn and superimposed contexts, and so questions the concept of a speaker's identity.

The Chandos letter is often read as consisting of two parts, with the first describing Chandos' early, very productive writing phase and the second his silence, interrupted by epiphanies. For both phases, however, Chandos describes experiences of perceiving the world as a seamlessly cohering whole:

> Or it dawned upon me everything were a simile and each creature a key of the other, and I felt myself to be the one capable of grasping each one after the other at its crown and unlock with it as many of the others as it would unlock. From this, the title [nosce te ipsum] that I thought of giving that encyclopedic book [apophthegmata] explains itself.[42]

> If a serving slave filled with impotent horror stood close to the ossifying Niobe, he must have suffered what I suffered, as in me the soul of that creature bore its teeth to its overwhelming fate. […] It was much more and much less than sympathy: an overwhelming participation, a flowing into those creatures or a feeling that a fluidum of life and death, of dreaming and waking, flowed for a moment into them—from where?[43]

What changes between these two quotations? Assmann argues that it is the concept of the self: that the Greek concept of a self which is thought of as separate from the world, implied in the phrase "nosce te ipsum," "know thyself," turns into an Eastern view of the self as a part of the world, expressed in the Sanskrit formula "tat twam asi" ("you are this also," Assmann 2013: 278). As "nosce te ipsum" is the title of one of Chandos' works, the turn in the concept of the self that Assmann describes can be connected to how the pronoun "I" is related to other words. Chandos' planned "apophthegmata" programmatically present a selection and combination of the utterances of others. Any "I" in these collected aphorisms would not be Chandos' "I," but the organizing principle

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[42] "Oder es ahnte mir, alles wäre Gleichnis und jede Kreatur ein Schlüssel der andern, und ich fühlte mich wohl den, der imstande wäre, eine nach der andern bei der Krone zu packen und mit ihr so viele der andern aufzusperren, als sie aufsperren könnte. Soweit erklärt sich der Titel [nosce te ipsum], den ich jenem enzyklopädischem Buch [Apophthegmata] zu geben gedachte." (I,2; 48; GW reads "Buche")

[43] "Wenn ein dienender Sklave voll ohnmächtigen Schauders in der Nähe der erstarrenden Niobe stand, der muß das durchgemacht haben, was ich durchmachte, als in mir die Seele dieses Tieres gegen das ungeheure Verhängnis die Zähne bleckte. […] Es war viel mehr und viel weniger als Mitleid: ein ungeheures Anteilnehmen, ein Hinüberfließen in jene Geschöpfe oder ein Fühlen, daß ein Fluidum des Lebens und Todes, des Traumes und Wachens für einen Augenblick in sie hinübergeflossen ist—von woher?" (II,1; 51)

for the artful arrangement of these "most noteworthy" phrases and "thoughtful ornaments" would constitute Chandos' speaking. The phrases of others would be handled as clear-cut elements, and the "I" would be in a definable, stable, and dominant relation to each of them and to their constellation. Chandos' descriptions of his epiphanies, in contrast, are decidedly different: forces are in flux, the direction of their flow cannot be determined, and the boundaries between what "I" refers to and what other words refer to are constantly redrawn. Rather than drawing on Eastern philosophy, I want to read this fluctuating identity with an image that Chandos provides when he describes one of his projects thus: "as the chased hart longs to be in water I longed to be in these naked shimmering bodies, in these sirens and dryads, this Narcissus and Proteus, Perseus and Actaeon: to disappear in them was my wish, and from within them to speak in tongues."[44]

"To speak in tongues" ("mit Zungen reden") relates the pronoun "I" to others' speech in a different manner. "Mit Zungen reden" is not "German," but biblical language. The phrase appears in Luther's version of the bible in two contexts: the first connected to Pentecost, the second in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. These two biblical passages both describe forms of multilingualism, but very different ones. In the context of Pentecost, the message of the gospel, its glad tidings, can be multiplied and sent forth clearly and equally well in any and all languages once one acquires fluency in them. In Paul's letter to the Corinthians, however, "speaking in tongues" is divinely inspired yet opaque speech. It is speech that blends human and divine *langue*, and it is, as Paul repeatedly stresses, a challenge and always in need of interpretation. Neither the identity of the speaker nor the meaning of the utterance is clear or fixed. Hofmannsthal speaks in Chandos' tongue, and Chandos in Hofmannsthal's; neither could ever speak these words wholly on his own. The undatable text oscillates between the English of a multilingual Renaissance and a German that connects the genius of a language to the genius of a people. The letter superimposes several meanings in one word, shifts their accents, and radically includes the word "I" in this play with *langues* and contexts.

Reading the Chandos letter with a sensitivity for this play with *langues* and *langue* shows how Chandos' writing is linked to the language crisis not in a paradoxical, but rather in a literally productive way. The letter anatomizes the language crisis as the inherent effect of an identitarian conception of language that implies that any utterance, governed by the

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[44] "[…] wie der gehetzte Hirsch ins Wasser, sehnte ich mich hinein in diese nackten glänzenden Leiber, in diese Sirenen und Dryaden, diesen Narcissus und Proteus, Perseus und Actäon: verschwinden wollte ich in ihnen, und aus ihnen heraus mit Zungen reden." (I,2; 47)

rules of one language, must come from one individual speaker aiming at one meaning, at truth. It exhibits the paradox that an individual's utterance is understood at once as his or her own fully individual expression and as depending fully on a system that precedes that individual. In the face of these restrictions, the letter becomes possible when speaker, language and meaning are specific, but not-one. The language of the letter exceeds the concept of *langage* or any one of the codified *langues*, denounced as they are enumerated. The letter becomes possible by creating its own *langue*, which, transgressing any codified *langue*, opens up a space for the making of poetry and is open to new readings. The Chandos letter performs a theory of non-monolingualism: it speaks, with more than one tongue, in its own *langue*, which always needs to be translated.

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Latin or French wordes, placed after the order of an alphabet, whatsoeuer are to be founde in any other dictionarie: and so to turne them backwardes againe into Englishe when they reade any Latin or French aucthors, & doubt of any harde worde therein.

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more wordes most necessarie for all such as desire the knowledge of the same tongue.

Peter Brandes
Ruhr-Universität Bochum

„Fein deutsch mit der Sprache heraus": Zu Ironie und Mehrsprachigkeit des Lutherdeutschen in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus*

Abstract:

This article examines the significance of the so called 'Lutherdeutsch' in Thomas Mann's late novel *Doktor Faustus* while referring to the philology of multilingualism as a key term for the interpretation of the text. In Mann's novel multilingualism can be observed in ironized citations from Luther's letters and Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*. While calling this usage of literary quotes Lutherdeutsch, Mann creates a fictitious branch of Early New High German that can be read as a language of irony as opposed to the narrator's language of earnestness. The paper argues that Mann's text itself practices a philology of multilingualism by juxtaposing languages of seriousness and languages of irony thereby deconstructing ideological concepts such as monolingualism and national philology.

Keywords:

philology ◆ rhetoric ◆ irony ◆ narratology ◆ deconstruction ◆ Thomas Mann ◆ *Doktor Faustus*

Wenn sich Philologen der Frage nach der Möglichkeit einer Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit stellen, rekurrieren sie meist auf zwei prominente Bibel-Erzählungen, die Aspekte der Mehrsprachigkeit und der Übersetzung in der Form mythischer Ätiologien thematisieren: die Geschichte vom Turmbau zu Babel aus der Genesis und die vom Pfingstwunder aus der Apostelgeschichte. Während die Erzählung von der durch Gott bewirkten Sprachverwirrung dem Leser Aufschluss über den Ursprung der Vielsprachigkeit gibt, erklärt die Geschichte von den Jüngern, die in anderen Zungen reden, das Wunder der Simultanübersetzung. Diese beiden mythologischen Komplementärgeschichten der Mehrsprachigkeit rühren an die Grundfesten der Philologie: der Tatsache des Nichtverstehens und dem Wunsch nach Verstehen. Philologie ist so gesehen schon immer „von einem Verstehensversprechen" getragen (Dembeck 2014: 10). Aus sprach- und religionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive wirft das Phänomen der Sprachverwirrung nun aber auch konkret die Frage auf, wie sich die religiösen Gehalte der in Hebräisch und Griechisch verfassten Texte in einer durch Mehrsprachigkeit gekennzeichneten Lebenswelt vermitteln lassen. Die Bibel-Übersetzungen der Reformationszeit, die mit dieser Aufgabe konfrontiert waren, ersetzten freilich nicht die Einsprachigkeit durch die Mehrsprachigkeit, sondern bewirkten vielmehr die Ablösung der Heiligen Sprachen durch die Nationalsprachen. Luthers Bibelübersetzung, die ein zweisprachiges Textkorpus in ein einsprachiges Werk zu transformieren sucht, ist so gesehen selbst mediengeschichtliche Arbeit am Dispositiv der Einsprachigkeit. Es ist dabei allerdings zu beachten, dass Luthers Übersetzung der biblischen Texte ins Deutsche die Probleme der Sprachverständigung keineswegs lösten. So machten dialektale Aspekte der Luther'schen Übersetzung schon bald nach dem Erscheinen der ersten Drucke die Erstellung von Glossaren nötig (Besch 1999: 12), sodass man hier bereits von einer Mehrsprachigkeit der Einsprachigkeit reden könnte.

Die von Jacques Derrida geprägte Wendung, dass man nur eine einzige Sprache habe und diese nicht die eigene sei (1996: 15), erlangt somit einen erweiterten Sinn: die eine

Sprache, das Deutsch von Luthers Bibelübersetzung, ist nicht nur nicht die eigene Sprache des Lesers, sie ist noch nicht einmal als *eine* Sprache quantifizierbar. Von dieser eher diffusen Struktur der Einsprachigkeit der Luther'schen Bibelübersetzung ist, so meine ich, auszugehen, wenn man nach der Bedeutung des Lutherdeutschen in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus* (1947) fragt. Die Bezeichnung *Lutherdeutsch* ist in diesem Kontext nicht unproblematisch, da es eine solche durch Luther geprägte einheitliche Sprachform historisch gar nicht gegeben hat (Besch 1999: 12). Sie wird aber, wie ich im Folgenden zeigen möchte, in diesem Roman als fiktive Sprache konstruiert und unter dem Namen des Altdeutschen eingeführt. Mit Blick auf Thomas Manns Altersroman soll in diesem Beitrag die Frage nach einer Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit unter der Perspektive einer Pseudo-Einsprachigkeit gestellt werden. Dabei geht es mir um den Aspekt der Polyvalenz des Frühneuhochdeutschen als historischer und erzählter bzw. literarisch fingierter Sprache.

Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit

Die Institution der Philologie ist in der Regel mit einem Konzept verschiedener Nationalphilologien verbunden, die sich mit den literarischen Werken der jeweiligen Nationalsprache befassen. Der methodische Ansatz einer Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit schlägt demgegenüber einen anderen Weg ein, der das Konzept der Nationalsprache grundsätzlich in Frage stellt. Till Dembeck hat dies in seinem Beitrag *Für eine Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit* ausgeführt (2014). Er fordert dort eine Sensibilisierung für das Ornamentale der Sprachen, das als Differenz—sei es dialektaler, stilistischer oder anderssprachiger Prägung—in bestimmten historisch-kulturell konstituierten Sprach- bzw. Sprechstandards wahrnehmbar wird. Dembeck problematisiert zunächst die Annahme, dass es eine Kongruenz von Sprachen, Völkern und Nationalphilologien gäbe. Sie beruht auf der Fiktion einer Zählbarkeit der Sprachen, die sich mit Blick auf die Ambiguität des Begriffs Sprache, der gleichermaßen Nationalsprache, Muttersprache und Dialekt bedeuten kann, als unmöglich erweist. Ausgangspunkt von Dembecks Überlegungen ist das von Stockhammer et al. eingeführte Konzept der Sprachigkeit, das sich an Saussures Begriff der *langue* orientiert, dabei aber im Unterschied zum Begriff der *langage* „die Partikularität jeder *langue*" (Stockhammer, Arndt & Naguschewski 2007: 25) mitdenkt: „Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass das sprachliche Medium eine *Einzel*sprache ist" (ibid 26). Ausgehend von diesem Begriff der Sprachigkeit betont Dembeck die besondere Bedeutung und Relevanz von historisch etablierten Standardisierungen, die in den jeweiligen sprachlichen Regelsystemen, den

Grammatiken ihren Ausdruck finden (Dembeck 2014: 13). Mehrsprachigkeit ließe sich demnach unter dem Aspekt der grammatischen, idiomatischen, dialektalen etc. Abweichung (Differenz) beobachten.

Im Hinblick auf das Konzept der Einsprachigkeit ist in diesem Zusammenhang Jacques Derridas Essay *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse d'origine* einschlägig, in dem vor allem die politische und kulturelle Konstruktion des Französischen als Nationalsprache durch die Brille des Anderen, des assimilierten jüdisch-algerischen Franzosen dekonstruiert wird. Derrida opponiert damit gegen ein Verständnis von Sprache als Muttersprache, das die Sprache mit den Kategorien des Eigenen und der Eigentlichkeit verknüpft. Für dieses Paradigma einer dem Menschen eigenen Sprache steht exemplarisch das Werk von Johann Gottfried Herder ein. So proklamiert Herder in seinen Beiträgen *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur* die Muttersprache als notwendigen Grund des poetischen Schreibens: „[W]enn in der Poesie der Gedanke und Ausdruck so fest an einander kleben: so muß ich ohne Zweifel in der Sprache dichten, wo ich das meiste Ansehen, und Gewalt über die Worte […] habe […]: und ohne Zweifel ist dies die Muttersprache" (Herder 1985: 407).

David Martyn hat in einem Beitrag über *Ansätze zu einer Archäologie der Sprachigkeit* Herder daher als Begründer einer Poetik der Muttersprachlichkeit bezeichnet. Freilich ist Herder hier nur ein Symptom einer diskursgeschichtlichen Wende in der Poetik und Sprachtheorie, die, wie Martyn herausstellt, die Konzepte von Mehr- und Einsprachigkeit überhaupt erst hervorbringt. An einem Textbeispiel aus Martin Luthers Tischreden macht Martyn deutlich, dass in der Frühen Neuzeit eine Differenz von Mehr- und Einsprachigkeit in unserem heutigen Verständnis nicht existierte (Martyn 2014: 46). Bei Luthers Text, der lateinische Redeteile mit deutschen verschränkt, handelt es sich, wie Martyn darlegt, nicht um einen mehrsprachigen Text, da er aufgrund seiner grammatischen Struktur keiner Sprache, sondern vielmehr einer Praxis eines Sprechens zugehörig ist. Dieses bemerkenswerte Faktum liegt nicht zuletzt darin begründet, dass es sich hierbei um ein sprachliches Zeugnis vor der Erfindung der sprachwissenschaftlich definierten Sprache als System, der *langue*, handelt.

Es zeigt sich, dass unter den angedeuteten literatur- und sprachhistorischen Vorzeichen eine Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit weder als eine Addition der verschiedenen Nationalphilologien noch als Zusammenspiel in sich begrenzter Spracheinheiten verstanden werden kann. Dembeck hat daher vorgeschlagen, Mehrsprachigkeit mit Hilfe

der Kategorie des Standards im Sinne von sprachlichen Stabilisierungszuständen zu beschreiben (Dembeck 2014: 25). Mehrsprachigkeit wird dann in der Form einer Äußerung als Differenz zu etablierten Sprachstandards beobachtbar, die potentiell selbst neue Standards begründen kann. Mehrsprachigkeit entfaltet sich demnach aus einem kontingenten und potentiell ergebnisoffenen Spiel von Differenzierung und Standardisierung. Ausschlaggebend ist hierbei, wie Dembeck betont, das Verständnis von Sprache als Sprechweise, *parole*, weswegen der Fokus verstärkt auf den so genannten Volkssprachen liegt und nicht auf den Heiligen Sprachen (Latein, Griechisch, Hebräisch), die in der Überlieferung wesentlich als Schriftsprachen beobachtbar sind. Das bedeutet m.E. auch, dass eine Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit ihre Lektüreverfahren vor dem Hintergrund der Opposition von Heiligen und Volkssprachen zu prüfen und zu reflektieren hat. Eine solche Reflexion ist auch unter mediengeschichtlichen Vorzeichen von Bedeutung: haben doch die Volkssprachen ihre Erfolgsgeschichte wesentlich der Erfindung des Buchdrucks zu verdanken. In besonderer Weise gilt dies für das von Luthers Bibelübersetzung geprägte Deutsch, das durch das Medium des gedruckten Buches Verbreitung gefunden hat. Eben dieses Deutsch spielt in modifizierter und stilisierter Form eine entscheidende Rolle in Thomas Manns Altersroman *Doktor Faustus*.

Der Erzähler als Philologe

Thomas Manns Plan zu einer Bearbeitung des Faust-Mythos reicht zurück in das Jahr 1901. Der aus dieser Zeit stammende Drei-Zeilen-Plan, den Thomas Mann 1943 auf der Suche nach einem neuen Arbeitsvorhaben wieder in die Hand nahm, verweist bereits auf die grundsätzliche Ausrichtung des Projektes: Es geht, wie es in der *Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* heißt, „um die diabolische und verderbliche *Enthemmung* eines [...] Künstlertums durch Intoxikation" (Mann 2012a: 18). Die Geschichte, die sich dann im Laufe der weiteren Arbeitsphase herauskristallisiert, handelt von einem überaus begabten Musiker, der sich absichtlich bei einer Prostituierten mit der Syphilis infiziert und damit einen Teufelspakt eingeht. Es wird ihm dadurch zwar möglich, herausragende Kompositionen zu schaffen, aber zugleich ist es ihm untersagt zu lieben. Der Roman endet nicht wie bei Goethe mit der Rettung der Faust-Figur, sondern mit dem – an Nietzsches Biographie erinnernden – geistigen und körperlichen Zusammenbruch des Protagonisten.

In der *Entstehung des Doktor Faustus* nennt Thomas Mann einige der vielen Texte, die er während der Arbeit am *Doktor Faustus* gelesen hat: neben dem Faust-Buch (gemeint ist die 1587 erschienene *Historia von D Johann Fausten*) werden auch Luthers Briefe namentlich erwähnt (Mann 2012a: 21–23). Obschon die Schreibsituation Manns, insbesondere der ihn umgebende Alltag des US-amerikanischen Exils, durch ein hohes Maß an Mehrsprachigkeit gekennzeichnet war, kann der *Doktor Faustus* nicht als mehrsprachiger Roman im klassischen Sinn bezeichnet werden. Thomas Mann schenkt aber wie schon in seinem Erstlingswerk, *Buddenbrooks*, dem Volkssprachlichen bzw. Dialektalen besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Mann hat die Arbeit an dem Roman-Projekt am 23. Mai 1943 im amerikanischen Exil begonnen und im Frühjahr 1947 abgeschlossen. Das Buch ist noch im gleichen Jahr in Stockholm beim Verlag Bermann-Fischer erschienen. Der Roman ist in der Form einer fiktiven Künstlerbiographie verfasst. Dabei spielt der Text mit der Fiktion einer handschriftlichen Verfertigung der Erzählung durch den Biographen. Die vom Erzähler angestrebte Drucklegung der fiktiven Biographie ist jedoch zum Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift noch ungewiss. Dieses Spiel mit den Medien der Schrift verweist bereits auf die für die erzählte Geschichte programmatische Zeit: die Frühe Neuzeit. Diese Epoche, die mit den großen historischen Ereignissen wie dem Beginn der Reformation und der Erfindung des Buchdrucks verknüpft ist, fungiert hier als sprachliches und mediales Leitmotiv, das immer auch auf die Zeit des historischen Doktor Faustus verweist.

Der Text kündigt damit zudem den medialen Wandel, der den Übergang von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch bezeichnet, an. Die Präsenz des gedruckten Wortes verschiebt sich jedoch ständig. Die Handschrift bleibt das dominante Medium, welches das Erzählen leitet und konturiert, wie aus der exponierten Stellung von Adrian Leverkühns handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen und Briefen, die der Erzähler ediert, deutlich wird. Mit diesem medialen Anachronismus geht ein geistes- und kulturgeschichtlicher Anachronismus einher. Der Erzähler, der in der Zeit von 1943 bis 1945 die Lebensgeschichte von Adrian Leverkühn niederschreibt, lebt vom Weltlichen abgewandt zurückgezogen in seinem Arbeitszimmer wie ein Mönch des Mittelalters in seiner Klause, der sich der Abschrift oder der Übersetzung heiliger Texte widmet. Anders als der mittelalterliche Geistliche schreibt der Erzähler des *Doktor Faustus* seinen Text jedoch auf Deutsch nieder.

Der Text des Romans enthält – im Unterschied etwa zum *Zauberberg* (1924) – nur wenige, zumeist kurze fremdsprachige Passagen. Es finden sich einige englischsprachige

Zitate aus Shakespeares *Love's Labour's Lost*, einem Stück, das der Protagonist Adrian Leverkühn vertont, sowie wenige kurze italienische Textpassagen und ein längerer Abschnitt, in dem das Deutsche mit dem Französischen verschränkt ist. Von besonderer Bedeutung für die Erzählung ist allerdings das Lateinische. Das liegt nicht nur an der wiederholten Verwendung lateinischer Redewendungen oder Zitate, sondern vor allem an der Tatsache, dass der Erzähler Serenus Zeitblom selbst Latein und Griechisch am Gymnasium unterrichtet hat. Es ist auf diesen letztlich bildungsbürgerlichen Hintergrund des Erzählers kurz einzugehen, da er in entscheidender Weise die Erzähl- und Sprachstruktur des Romans beeinflusst.

Bereits in den einleitenden Kapiteln rekurriert Zeitblom auf seinen Lehrerberuf und stellt die Vorzüge des Studiums der antiken Sprachen gegenüber den Naturwissenschaften heraus. Er verweist dabei darauf, „daß man die Studienwelt der antiken Sprachen als die ‚Humanioren' bezeichnet" und „daß die seelische Zusammenordnung von sprachlicher und humaner Passion durch die Idee der Erziehung gekrönt wird und die Bestimmung zum Jugendbildner sich aus derjenigen zum Sprachgelehrten fast selbstverständlich ergibt" (19).

Mit der Einführung der eigenen Biographie konstituiert Zeitblom zugleich die für den Roman so zentrale Opposition von humanistischer Bildung und naturwissenschaftlichem Studium, von antiken Sprachen und Altdeutsch, von Philologie und Magie. Dass man in dem Roman wenig über Zeitbloms Tätigkeit als Erzieher und Sprachgelehrter erfährt, verweist den Leser auf die Möglichkeit, dass dem Text, den er liest, selbst eine erzieherische Funktion zukommen könnte. So zeichnete sich ja die Vorlage des Romans, die 1587 erschienene *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, explizit als christliche Mahnschrift aus, die den Menschen zu einer gottesfürchtigen Lebensweise bekehren sollte (*Historia* 2006: 12). An die Stelle der Theologie ist im Fall von Zeitbloms Biographie-Projekt die Philologie getreten. Seine philologischen Kompetenzen, die er bereits im ersten Kapitel des Romans demonstriert, sind nämlich Bestandteil seines Erzählverfahrens.

Als echter Philologe ist er um die richtige Wortwahl besorgt. So stößt er sich an dem Adjektiv ‚genial', mit dem er im ersten Satz Adrian Leverkühn belegt hat. In seinen Ausführungen zu dem Wort ‚Genie' wägt er die Bedeutung des lateinischen *ingenium* (angeborene Fähigkeit) gegenüber derjenigen des Wortes *genius* (Schutzgeist) ab:

> Nun ist dieses Wort, „Genie", wenn auch über-mäßigen, so doch gewiß edlen, harmonischen und human-gesunden Klanges und Charakters, und meinesgleichen, so weit er von dem Anspruch entfernt ist, mit dem eigenen Wesen an diesem hohen Bezirke teilzuhaben und je mit divinis influxibus ex alto begnadet gewesen zu sein, sollte keinen vernünftigen Grund sehen, davor zurückzubangen, keinen Grund, nicht mir freudigem Aufblick und ehrerbietiger Vertraulichkeit davon zu sprechen und zu handeln. So scheint es. Und doch ist nicht zu leugnen und nie geleugnet worden, daß an dieser strahlenden Sphäre das Dämonische und Widervernünftige einen beunruhigenden Anteil hat, daß immer eine leises Grauen erweckende Verbindung besteht zwischen ihr und dem unteren Reich, und daß eben darum die versichernden Epitheta, die ich ihr beizulegen versuchte, „edel", „human-gesund" und ‚harmonisch', nicht recht darauf passen wollen. (13)

Der Erzähler macht hier deutlich, dass das dem Lateinischen entstammende Wort Genie durch eine unhintergehbare Ambiguität gekennzeichnet ist. Das Latein des Humanisten Zeitblom erweist sich somit als infiziert mit dämonischen Semantiken. Das können auch die Adjektive *edel*, *gesund*, *harmonisch* nicht bemänteln. Selbst das lateinische Zitat – *divinis influxibus ex alto* – verweist auf eine dunkle Seite des Genie-Begriffs, nämlich die Melancholie. Das Zitat entstammt dem Buch *De vita libri tris* des Neuplatonikers Marsilio Ficino, in dem das für die Neuzeit prägende Bild der Melancholie als Genie-Krankheit ausformuliert wurde. So wird unter dem Vorzeichen des lateinischen Zitats und der Übersetzung eines lateinischen Wortes offenbar, dass das Lateinische keineswegs als die reinere oder humanere Sprache gelten kann. Gleichwohl fungiert das Ethos der klassischen Bildung stets als Gegenpol zur Sphäre des Religiösen und des Altdeutschen.

Lutherdeutsch

Dass der deutschen Sprache die Hauptaufmerksamkeit des Textes gilt, klingt bereits im Untertitel des Romans an: *Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde*. Das Wort *deutsch* verweist hier wie auch im Erzähltext immer wieder auf die kulturelle und politische Geschichte Deutschlands. Dies wird besonders deutlich, wenn am Ende des Romans Deutschland personifiziert wird: „Deutschland, die Wangen hektisch gerötet, taumelte dazumal auf der Höhe wüster Triumphe, im Begriffe, die Welt zu gewinnen kraft des einen Vertrages, den es zu halten gesonnen war, und den es mit seinem Blute gezeichnet hatte" (738).

Der Text insistiert aber auch auf dem Deutschen als Gesprächs- und Schriftsprache, wenn etwa der Ludewig im Teufelsgespräch auf Leverkühns „Chi è costà" erwidert: „Sprich nur deutsch! Nur fein altdeutsch mit der Sprache heraus" (326). Während der homodiegetische Erzähler Zeitblom ein bildungsbürgerliches Hochdeutsch des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts verwendet, ist die Rede einiger Figuren durch Sprachformen des Frühneuhochdeutschen gekennzeichnet. Dieser sprachliche Anachronismus wird erstmals im XII. Kapitel in den Diskurs der Erzählung eingeführt, wenn nämlich die Figur des Hallenser Theologieprofessors Ehrenfried Kumpf in der Form einer Luther-Karikatur in Szene gesetzt wird. Der Systematiker Kumpf ist bei den Studenten besonders wegen seines Temperaments und seines „pittoresk-altertümlichen Sprachstiles" (142) beliebt, der für den Leser deutlich als Lutherdeutsch kenntlich ist. Der Erzähler führt hierbei einige von Kumpfs typischen sprachlichen Anachronismen an:

> Seine Art war es, um ihn selbst zu zitieren, eine Sache „mit deutschen Worten" oder auch „auf gut alt-deutsch, ohn' einige Bemäntelung und Gleißnerei", das heißt deutlich und geradeaus, zu sagen und „fein deutsch mit der Sprache herauszugehen". Statt „allmählich" sagte er „weylinger Weise", statt „hoffentlich": „verhoffentlicht" und sprach von der Bibel nicht anders als von der „Heiligen Geschrift". (142)

Das Lutherdeutsch wird somit in ironischer Form zu einem Kennzeichen der Figur Kumpfs. Die in der Redeweise Kumpfs schon angezeigte Luther-Parodie wird überdeutlich in der Szene, in der Kumpf im Beisein Zeitbloms und Leverkühns eine Semmel nach einer angeblichen Teufelserscheinung wirft, damit die Anekdote von Luthers Wurf mit dem Tintenfass karikierend.

Thomas Manns Luther-Bild ist von einer tiefen Ambivalenz gekennzeichnet. Hans Wysling spricht hinsichtlich Thomas Manns Luther-Rezeption von einer „Epoche spezifischer Luthernähe" (1916–1918) und einer „Epoche ebenso entschiedener Lutherferne" (1945–49, Wysling 1984: 17). Hatte Thomas Mann 1918, zur Zeit der *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, sich noch in einer Luthernachfolge gesehen und sogar eine Lutherbüste erworben, so lautet in der 1945 im amerikanischen Exil gehaltenen Rede *Deutschland und die Deutsche* sein Diktum über den Reformator: „Ich liebe ihn nicht, das gestehe ich offen" (Mann 1996: 226). Die Rede *Deutschland und die Deutschen* ist im Kontext des Romanprojekts *Doktor Faustus* geschrieben worden (der Text verweist auch explizit auf den Faust-Stoff) und insofern nicht ohne Bezug zu diesem. In der Tat kongruiert die – durchaus stereotype – Charakterisierung Luthers im

Text der Rede durchaus mit Kumpfs Charakteristik im *Doktor Faustus*. In dem Text heißt es über Luther:

> Martin Luther, eine riesenhafte Inkarnation deutschen Wesens, war außerordentlich musikalisch. Ich liebe ihn nicht, das gestehe ich offen. […] Ich hätte nicht Luthers Tischgast sein mögen, ich hätte mich wahrscheinlich bei ihm wie im trauten Heim eines Ogers gefühlt und bin überzeugt, daß ich mit Leo X., Giovanni de Medici, dem freundlichen Humanisten, den Luther „des Teufels Sau, der Babst" nannte, viel besser ausgekommen wäre. (Mann 1996: 266)

Auch über Kumpf, der von seinen Studenten als „wuchtige Persönlichkeit" (2012b: 141) bezeichnet wird, heißt es, dass er ein „massiver Nationalist lutherischer Prägung" (143) sei, der nach Zeitbloms Auffassung durchaus an die Realität des Teufels glaube. Dass Kumpf als Figur lediglich eine Luther-Karikatur darstellt, wird schließlich durch das Faktum unterstrichen, dass die frühneuhochdeutschen Ausdrücke und Redewendungen zwar den Anschein des Lutherdeutschen erwecken, zumeist jedoch dem *Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668) von Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen und nicht etwa Luthers Tischreden, auf die der Text explizit anspielt, entstammen. Wenn der Erzähler Zeitblom also davon spricht, Kumpf „selbst zu zitieren" (142), so zitiert er damit in der Regel zitierte Zitate, die als solche unter der Maske der Lutherkarikatur nicht als eigentliche Zitate kenntlich sind, sondern vielmehr als typische Redewendungen des Lutherdeutschen erscheinen. Besonders deutlich wird dies am Beispiel der bereits erwähnten Wendung Kumpfs „fein deutsch mit der Sprache herauszugehen" (142). Es handelt sich hierbei um ein Zitat aus dem XVIII. Kapitel des III. Buchs des *Simplicissimus*, in dem Simplicissimus auf eine Wahrsagerin trifft, die er nach seinen Eltern befragt und dabei hinzufügt: „sie solte aber nicht so dunckel / sondern fein Teutsch mit der Sprach herauß" (Grimmelshausen 2005: 314).

Dem Deutschen als Sprache wird hier eine besondere Verständlichkeit bescheinigt, die sich gegenüber der von vagen Andeutungen bestimmten Rede der Wahrsagerin durch sprachliche Klarheit auszeichnet. Simplicissimus ist freilich ein zweifelhafter Gewährsmann für die Beurteilung sprachlicher Nuancen. Er versteht nämlich beinahe alles buchstäblich. Es ist also keineswegs das vermeintlich authentische Deutsch des Reformators Luther, das in dem Zitat aufgerufen wird, sondern die Krux des hermeneutischen Verstehens dunkler bzw. allegorischer Sprache. Kumpfs Sprache ist also im ganz konkreten Sinn nicht die seinige. Sie ist aber auch nicht die Sprache, mit deren Prädikat der Text sie unausgesprochen zu belegen scheint: das Lutherdeutsch. Es

ist nicht Luthers eigener Sprachgebrauch, sondern ein dezidiert literarischer, der als solcher die Sprache der frühneuhochdeutschen Satire geprägt hat.

Es geht also bei der Exposition des Lutherdeutschen im Kontext der Kumpf-Erzählung weniger um eine Lutherkritik als vielmehr um eine spielerische Dekonstruktion des Eigenen und des eigentlichen Charakters der deutschen Sprache. Das Lutherdeutsche erweist sich hier als das Gegenteil einer identitätsstiftenden National- oder Muttersprache: es ist vielmehr Zeichen einer Dekonstruktion des Muttersprachenparadigmas und als solches fungiert es als Parodie. Historisch gesehen ist der Begriff Lutherdeutsch ohnehin unpräzise, da Luther nicht eine Sprache im Sinne eines grammatischen Systems begründet hat. Sehr wohl hat er aber einen bestimmten literarischen Stil geprägt, den Thomas Mann in seine eigene montierende und ironisierende Schreibweise übersetzt.

In dem Roman tritt das auf diese Weise inszenierte Lutherdeutsch an vier Stellen besonders hervor. Es sind dies, neben der Kumpf-Sequenz, Adrians Brief aus Leipzig, das Teufelsgespräch und Leverkühns letzter Vortrag vor seinem Zusammenbruch. Der Brief aus dem XVI. Kapitel, in dem Adrian von der folgenreichen ersten Begegnung mit der Prostituierten Esmeralda berichtet, ist in dem Roman die längste Textstelle, in der das Frühneuhochdeutsche imitiert wird. Dieser Brief hat eine herausgehobene Stellung im Werk, da er die erste Kontaktaufnahme mit dem Medium des Teufels, nämlich Esmeralda, dokumentiert und somit den Leser auf das Thema des Paktes vorbereitet. Der Brief berichtet im Stil des Kumpf'schen Altdeuschen von Leverkühns erstem Tag in seinem neuen Studienort Leipzig. Neben der Beschreibung der Stadt und musiktheoretischen Exkursen teilt Leverkühn Zeitblom mit, wie ein Stadtführer ihn statt zu einer Gaststätte zu einem Bordell bringt, was Adrian jedoch erst merkt als er das Etablissement betreten hat. Die Sprache des Briefes wird im Kontext des Romans deutlich als Imitation bzw. Stilparodie markiert. Zeitblom geht in seiner Reflexion über das Ereignis auch auf die Verwendung des Lutherdeutschen ein und interpretiert dies, wie Bernd Hamacher bemerkt (1996: 61–62), als *dissimulatio*:

> Sehr merkwürdig war mir schon bei zweiter Durchsicht, daß die Stilgebung, die Travestie oder persönliche Adaption des Kumpf'schen Altdeutsch nur vorhält, bis jenes Abenteuer erzählt ist, danach aber achtlos fallengelassen wird, so daß die Schlußseiten ganz davon entfärbt sind und eine rein moderne sprachliche Haltung zeigen. […] Dies war mir klar: wegen seiner historischen Affinität zum Religiösen war das Reformationsdeutsch für einen Brief gewählt worden, der mir

diese Geschichte bringen sollte. Wie hätte ohne das Spiel mit ihm das Wort hingeschrieben werden können, das doch hingeschrieben sein wollte: „Betet für mich!"? Es gab kein besseres Beispiel für das Zitat als Deckung, die Parodie als Vorwand. (212–213)

Der Erzähler Zeitblom agiert hier in der Rolle des kommentierenden Herausgebers: er nimmt eine philologische Deutung der Verwendung des Lutherdeutschen vor. Zeitbloms philologisches Vorgehen ist dabei einigermaßen unkonventionell, denn bei ihm geht die Deutung des Textes der Textkritik voraus. Der von Leverkühn als Schwank deklarierte Textteil über sein Bordell-Erlebnis wird gleich anfangs als Hauptteil gelesen, der keineswegs einen erheiternden, sondern vielmehr einen erschütternden Effekt auf den Leser, nämlich auf Zeitblom selbst, ausübt. Aufgrund dieser Annahme argumentiert Zeitblom, dass der Gebrauch des Altdeutschen nur eine literarische Camouflage darstelle, die den Ernst des Dargestellten nivelliere. Ausgangspunkt seines Arguments ist die These, dass das Altdeutsche nur genutzt werde, um die historische, mit dieser Sprechweise verknüpfte Sphäre des Religiösen zu evozieren. Das Zitat *Betet für mich* stellt daher den Kern der philologischen Deutungsarbeit dar. Dieser performative Satz kann in dem Brief, so Zeitblom, nur auftauchen, da er durch das Altdeutsche eingeführt und zugleich ironisiert wird. Für Zeitblom, Leverkühns Freund, ist jedoch deutlich, dass dies Spiel mit der Sprache dazu dient, die eigenen Affekte zu verbergen und durch die rhetorische Strategie hindurch dem Freund zu verstehen zu geben, dass er wirklich für ihn beten solle, die performative Äußerung also ernst gemeint sei.

Dass es sich bei dem Satz *Betet für mich* um das Zitat eines Zitats, nämlich um ein Lutherzitat handelt, das in mehreren seiner Briefe als Abschiedsformel zu finden ist (Luther 1909: 18), bleibt dabei unausgesprochen. Ironischerweise ist dieses so zentrale Zitat wiederum eine Übersetzung aus dem Lateinischen.[1] Das von Thomas Mann verwendete Lutherzitat ist also mit Blick auf das Lutherdeutsche gerade nicht authentisch. In dem Zitat deutet sich somit eine Inkongruenz im Diskurs des Lutherdeutschen an. So wie nämlich das vor allem durch Grimmelshausens Sprache geformte Lutherdeutsch des Romans einen sprachlichen Anachronismus in der sprachlichen Wirklichkeit um 1900 darstellt, so erweist sich das Luther-Zitat als

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[1] Thomas Mann verwendete während der Arbeit am *Doktor Faustus* die von Reinhard Buchwald herausgegebene zweibändige Ausgabe, in der auch Luthers lateinischen Briefe in deutscher Übersetzung vorliegen. Ob die Inszenierung des Zitats auf diese Kontingenz der Lektürepraxis zurückzuführen ist, oder ob es sich beim deutschen Zitat um eine bewusste Entscheidung des Autors handelt, muss hier offenbleiben; es ändert aber nichts an dem Effekt, den diese Praxis des Zitierens auf die Lektüre hat.

doppelter Fremdkörper in der ironischen Sprechweise Adrians: Es erscheint in Zeitbloms Lektüre als Ausweis der religiösen Ernsthaftigkeit, die von der Erzählinstanz mit dem Lutherdeutschen verknüpft wird, obschon das Zitat weder mit dem Sprechduktus des Altdeutschen, wie er im Brief nachgeahmt wird, noch mit Luthers originalsprachlicher Briefformel kongruiert. Das Zitat dekonstruiert und ironisiert somit Zeitbloms ernste hermeneutische Exegese des Briefes. Der sehr ernsthafte Sprachstil des Erzählers verschränkt sich hier mit einem überaus ironischen Sprachgestus, der sowohl in dem zitierten Brief als auch in der gelehrten Auslegung des Biographen und Editors spürbar ist. Dies ist insofern bemerkenswert, als Zeitblom bei aller Zuneigung zu dem von ihm bewunderten Leverkühn dessen Sinn für Ironie und Humor nicht schätzt. Der Roman setzt diese Figuration von Ironie und Ernst in Analogie zu der Opposition von Gut und Böse. Dabei scheint die sich daraus ergebende Konstellation, dass nämlich der bildungsbürgerlich-konservative Zeitblom die Ironie verschmäht, während der genialisch-revolutionäre Leverkühn ihr zugetan ist, geradezu eine Revision von Thomas Manns Diktum aus den *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* über den Konservativismus der Ironie anzudeuten, dass nämlich „Ironie und Konservativismus [...] nahe verwandte Stimmungen" seien (Mann 2015: 634). Das sprachliche Verhältnis von Ironie und Ernst im *Doktor Faustus* ist aber im Zusammenspiel mit dem fiktiven Lutherdeutsch des Romans durchaus komplexer gelagert, da sich in der ironischen Inszenierung des Lutherdeutschen ein Gebrauch der Ironie andeutet, der über die bloß rhetorische Verfahrensweise hinausgeht.

Sprachen der Ironie

In der Literatur zeigt sich, wie Stockhammer et al. anmerken, immer schon eine Anders-Sprachigkeit an, da Literatur qua Schriftlichkeit per se *exo-phon* sei (Stockhammer et al 2007: 21). Als Sprache kann die Sprache der Literatur ihre Sprachigkeit, also das Bewusstsein ihrer Einzelsprachigkeit, selbst generieren, indem sie nämlich mehrere Sprachen, Dialekte oder Idiome in den Diskurs der Erzählung integriert. Auf diese Weise operiert etwa der Roman *Der Zauberberg*, wenn längere französische Dialogpassagen in den deutschsprachigen Text eingefügt werden. In analoger Weise ist auch der Gebrauch des Altdeutschen im *Doktor Faustus* zu beurteilen. Eine etwas andere Wendung erhält die so bewirkte literarische Mehrsprachigkeit des Romans jedoch durch die ironische Codierung des Lutherdeutschen. Die den Roman bestimmende Opposition von ironischem und ernstem Sprachgebrauch ist, das zeigt sich insbesondere an der Verwendung der Luthersprache, als die Inszenierung einer Sprachopposition lesbar. Ein

ernster Diskurs—repräsentiert durch die Sprache des Erzählers—wird einem ironischen Diskurs—repräsentiert durch die Figuren Leverkühns und des Teufels—entgegengesetzt. Karl Heinz Bohrer hat solche Formen des literarischen bzw. philosophischen Sprachgebrauchs mit dem Begriff der Sprache belegt. Er spricht nicht von ironischer bzw. ernster Rede, sondern von Sprachen des Ernstes und Sprachen der Ironie. Die Opposition von Sprachen der Ironie und Sprachen des Ernstes, wie sie sich auch im *Doktor Faustus* andeutet, lässt sich Bohrer zufolge erst ab Ende des 18. Jahrhundert beobachten (2000: 11). Vor allem Friedrich Schlegels Essay *Über die Unverständlichkeit* (1800) kann, so Bohrer, als Anfangsgrund einer Sprache der Ironie gelten, die sich von den zeitgenössischen Sprachen des Ernstes absetzt. Das Neue an diesem Text liegt für Bohrer vor allem in dem Wissen um die Selbstbezüglichkeit des sprachlichen Ausdrucks und der sprachlichen Rede als Praktiken des Denkens und Handelns. In Schlegels Text wird Ironie nicht als rhetorisches Mittel, sondern als Medium der Unverständlichkeit genutzt. Schlegel gibt vor, seine eigene Unverständlichkeit aufzuklären, tut dies aber in einer Form, die dieses ernsthafte Unternehmen immer wieder spielerisch unterläuft: „ich wollte zeigen, daß die Worte sich selbst oft besser verstehen, als diejenigen von denen sie gebraucht werden" (Schlegel 1967: 364). Gegen den verständlichen Stil philosophischer Denker wie Christian Garve setzt Schlegel den Stil der Unverständlichkeit. Bei Schlegel, so Bohrer, werde der Stil zum „Vollzug des Theorems", das „den Gattungsunterschied zwischen Literatur und Philosophie aufheben will" (2000: 16). Schlegels Ironie, die, wie Eckhard Schumacher zur Recht angemerkt hat, keine rhetorische, sondern eine Ironie der Unverständlichkeit darstellt (2000: 91), erweist sich somit als performative Schreibweise. Der ironische Diskurs des *Athenaeum*, in dem die Ironie der Unverständlichkeit nicht nur als sprachliches Mittel, sondern als eigene Sprache fungiert, findet Bohrer zufolge seinen profilierten Gegenspieler im Ernst der idealistischen Philosophie. Es ist nicht nur Hegels explizite Kritik an Schlegels Ironie-Konzept (1986: 93–95), die Bohrer zufolge den Gegensatz zwischen dem Diskurs der Ironie und dem Diskurs des Ernstes deutlich herausstellt; auch und gerade im sprachlichen Gestus von Schriften wie Hegels *Phänomenologie des Geistes* sieht Bohrer den Anfang vom Ende einer Sprache der Ironie (2000: 27). Die von der idealistischen Philosophie propagierte Sprache des Ernstes praktiziere, so Bohrer, die Austreibung des Witzes und der Frivolität aus der Sprache (2000: 34). Die daraus resultierenden Sprachpolitiken, die durch eine zunehmende Dominanz der Sprachen des Ernstes gekennzeichnet sind, bestimmen Bohrer zufolge seitdem die deutsche Diskurslandschaft.

Bohrers dichotomisches Modell literarisch-philosophischer Sprachverhältnisse um 1800, das auf eine Philologie der Zweisprachigkeit hinauszulaufen scheint, lässt wenig Spielraum für sprachliche Ambivalenzen, für Dialektales, Idiomatisches oder Fremdsprachiges. Das liegt nicht nur daran, dass seine Auffassung von Sprache an dem Begriff einer Nationalsprache orientiert ist, sondern auch an Bohrers ungenauer Rede von der Sprache der Ironie. Die These, dass Ironie als Sprache aufgefasst werden müsse, ist keineswegs abwegig; sie bedarf allerdings eines genaueren Rückbezugs auf Schlegels Konzept der ironischen Sprache. Schlegel selbst spricht nicht explizit von einer Sprache der Ironie, sondern von der Vision einer „reelle[n] Sprache" (1967: 364), also einer Sprache, die alle Sprachen umfassen würde und so auf eine andere – nämlich mathematische – Weise das Pfingstwunder des Sprachverstehens vollbringen könnte. Das „populäre Medium" (1967: 364), in dem dieser Gedanke Ausdruck finden soll, ist, wie Schlegel dem Leser erklärt, das *Athenaeum*, also jenes Printmedium, das es sich zur Aufgabe macht die Unverständlichkeit des Medialen herauszustellen. Das *Athenaeum* fungiert, das macht Schlegels Text deutlich, wie eine Fremdsprache in dem von Goethe und dem deutschen Idealismus dominierten philosophisch-literarischen Diskurs um 1800. Indem Schlegel den ironischen Stil an das Mediale bindet, wird aus dem rhetorischen Mittel eine Sprache: die Sprache des *Athenaeums*. Der ironische Diskurs über die reelle Sprache der Verständlichkeit wird damit zum Ermöglichungsgrund eines Diskurses nicht nur über die grundsätzliche Ambiguität von Sprache, sondern über die Mehrsprachigkeit der literarischen Sprache. Schlegels „System der Ironie" (1967: 369), das u.a. die feine von der extrafeinen Ironie unterscheidet, oszilliert offenkundig zwischen Ironie und Ernsthaftigkeit und verweist damit bereits auf die der Ironie inhärente Mehrsprachigkeit.

Die sich dabei andeutende Ambiguität einer Sprache der Ironie, die in besonderer Weise mit der Frage der Mehrsprachigkeit des Literarischen verknüpft ist, eröffnet mit Blick auf die Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit im Allgemeinen und die Deutung von Thomas Manns Gebrauch des Lutherdeutschen im Besonderen eine durchaus bereichernde Perspektive. Im Hinblick auf den *Doktor Faustus* wird die Frage nach Thomas Manns Gebrauch des ironischen Stils oftmals mit der Parodie und der Maskerade in Verbindung gebracht. Die parodistische Repräsentation von Sprechweisen wird dabei als Verstellung, als ironische Maske gelesen. So beschreibt Reinhard Baumgart Adrians ironische Redeweise als „negativ verkehrtes Pathos" (1964: 171), und Inken Stehen bezeichnet Wendell Kretzschmars Stottern als eine „Maskerade des Pathos" (2001: 79). Eine ähnliche Lesart schlägt bezeichnenderweise auch der Erzähler selbst vor, wenn Zeitblom

nämlich hinsichtlich Leverkühns brieflicher Rhetorik von einer „Parodie als Vorwand" spricht (213). Die Ironie als parodistische Maske zu lesen, hinter der sich ein vermeintliches Pathos verbirgt, verkennt eine ironische Dimension des Romans, die sich von der vermeintlichen Autorität der Erzählinstanz löst und die sprachliche Ambiguität des literarischen Textes hervortreten lässt. In einem späten Tagebucheintrag bezeichnete Thomas Mann seinen ironischen Gestus bekanntlich als „[h]eitere Ambiguität" (1995: 127). Darin zeigt sich eine gewisse Nähe von Manns Bestimmung der Ironie zu Schlegels Ironie-Begriff, die zumindest für den späten Thomas Mann von besonderer Relevanz ist. Ironie im Sinne der Rhetorik ist keineswegs per se ambig; sie ist, wie Eckhard Schumacher betont, vielmehr von einem Imperativ des Verstehens gekennzeichnet: „Die Ironie muß etwas zu verstehen geben wollen und muß, um als Ironie zu wirken, verstanden werden" (2000: 91).

Die Funktion der Ironie in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus* ist in der Forschung schon verschiedentlich diskutiert worden (Baumgart 1956). Allerdings ist dabei die Frage, ob es sich um ironische Rhetorik (Verständlichkeit) oder um ironische Sprache (Unverständlichkeit) handelt, nicht eigentlich gestellt worden. Im Hinblick auf die Inszenierung des Altdeutschen im *Doktor Faustus* gilt es allerdings zu bedenken, dass allein der zitathafte Gebrauch des Lutherdeutschen dieses noch nicht zu einer Sprache der Ironie macht. Das von Allemann für den *Doktor Faustus* geltend gemachte Zusammenspiel von Stilparodie und Montage hat im Hinblick auf die ironisierende Montage frühneuhochdeutscher Textpassagen große Überzeugungskraft (Allemann 1956: 171). Allerdings wird die Funktionsweise der Ironie erst im Hinblick auf den Kontrast zu den zitierten Intertexten und die durch das Zusammenspiel bewirkte Polarität von Ironie und Ernst kenntlich. Die satirische Darstellungsform des *Simlicissimus*, die sich natürlich auch der Ironie bedient, ist noch einer rhetorischen Tradition verpflichtet, in der Ironie als Stilmittel und nicht als Sprache aufgefasst wird. Erst um 1800 wird, nach Bohrers Hypothese, die Ironie als Sprachform wahrgenommen und ist es demzufolge möglich, Dialekte bzw. historische Sprachen in der Weise zu codieren, dass sie als Ironie lesbar werden. Wie sehr sich Thomas Mann dabei auf eine solche Sprache der Ironie bezieht, wird im Hinblick auf die Figuration des Lutherdeutschen deutlich. Denn das Lutherdeutsche ist keineswegs auf das Moment der Parodie festgelegt. Die Inszenierung des Lutherdeutschen ist vielmehr durch eine Reihe von Ambivalenzen gekennzeichnet. Dies zeigt sich insbesondere im Teufelsgespräch und in Leverkühns Abschiedsrede.

So verwendet der Teufel in dem Gespräch mit Adrian nicht durchgängig das Altdeutsche. Er zitiert es nur bzw. rekurriert explizit auf das Altdeutsche als Sprache. Gleichzeitig ironisiert er Adrians Redeweise an mehreren Stellen. Seine Rede, die sehr spielerisch und humorvoll gestaltet ist, kulminiert jedoch in einem sehr ernsten Thema: dem Pakt. Der ernste Diskurs über den Gegenstand des Paktes ist freilich in einer ganz anderen Sprache gehalten, einer Sprache, die vom philosophischen Ernst durchdrungen ist. Es ist die Sprache des Philosophen und Musiktheoretikers Theodor W. Adorno, der als Berater für musikalische Fragen Thomas Mann bei seiner Arbeit am *Doktor Faustus* zur Seite stand und dessen Schriften und Kommentare zahlreiche Passagen des Romans geprägt haben (Mann 2012a: 36–41). Die Sprache des Ernstes ist also auch hier mit einem der idealistischen Philosophie verpflichteten Diskurs verknüpft. Dieser Diskurs tritt schließlich im letzten Kapitel ganz hinter der Präsenz des Lutherdeutschen zurück.

Denn in seinem Vortrag über seine letzte Komposition im XCVII. Kapitel verwendet Adrian durchgehend das Altdeutsche. Seine Redeweise wird von den Zuhörern zunächst als humoristisches Darstellungsprinzip missverstanden, während der Erzähler Zeitblom die Rede als ernsten Sprechakt erkennt. Gegen Ende des Vortrags suggeriert der Text schließlich, dass das Lutherdeutsch als Ausdruck des Wahnsinns zu lesen sei. Im Verlauf des Romans inszeniert der Text das Altdeutsche in einer solchen Weise, dass nicht klar zu entscheiden ist, ob es sich dabei um eine Sprache des Ernstes oder eine Sprache der Ironie handelt. Das Lutherdeutsch wird in Adrians Rede zum Zeichen der Unverständlichkeit. Er wird von seinem Publikum, das die Rede über den Teufelspakt für einen Scherz hält, nicht verstanden. Witzig erscheint den anderen Zuhörern auch Zeitbloms überaus emotionale Reaktion auf Adrians Rede: „Aber dies, daß sie Tränen in meinen Augen sahen, belustigte die Meisten" (718). Mit Adrians eigentümlichem Vortrag über sein letztes Werk *D. Faustis Weheklag* imitiert der Text Faustus' Abschiedsrede aus der *Historia*, die von seinen Studenten sehr ernst genommen wird (*Historia* 119–121). In Thomas Manns Bearbeitung dieser dramatischen Abschiedsszene oszilliert dagegen die Rede zwischen Ernst und Heiterkeit. Während die Erzählinstanz auf den Ernst der Situation hinweist, offenbart sich in dem performativen Vollzug der Rede die gesprochene Sprache im Kontext der Szene als unzeitgemäße Sprachigkeit. Dies akzentuiert einen Aspekt der Mehrsprachigkeit, der am Anfang des mythischen Diskurses über die Sprachvielfalt steht, nämlich die Erzählung von der babylonischen Sprachverwirrung. Der Altphilologe Zeitblom kommt hier an die Grenzen seiner humanistisch-philologischen Kompetenz. Der religionskritische Biograph schließt

nämlich seine Erzählung mit einem Gebet: „Ein einsamer Mann faltet seine Hände und spricht: Gott sei eurer armen Seele gnädig, mein Freund, mein Vaterland." (738)

Die Rede des Erzählers, der so viel auf sein humanistisches Bildungsideal hält und so wenig von der Reformation und ihren Praktiken, wird in dieser abschließenden performativen Geste ironisiert. Wird nämlich die Erzählerrede durchgehend von dem Anspruch der Ernsthaftigkeit getragen, der sich besonders in der Kritik am Humorvollen und Witzigen der religiösen Sphäre (Kumpf, Ludewig) Ausdruck verschafft hat, so wird dieser Anspruch und das damit verbundene Ethos des Erzählers durch das ironische Bild des betenden Humanisten konterkariert. Diese Geste ist zudem als Reaktion auf das Luther-Zitat aus dem Leipziger Brief lesbar: „betet für mich!" (209)—Damit ist aber keine Wende von der Sprache der Ironie zur Sprache des religiös- nationalen Ernstes angezeigt. Es wird vielmehr die Opposition von Hochdeutsch und Frühneuhochdeutsch, von Humanismus und Protestantismus, von Ernst und Humor aufgehoben. Die Ironisierung des Betens als Vollzug einer Handlung fungiert somit als Leseanweisung, als philologisches Leitprinzip, das den Lektüreprozess dem Dogma der Einsprachigkeit zu entziehen sucht. Es lässt sich diese Wende der Literatur zur Philologie – ironischerweise – mit Luther selbst legitimieren, der im *Sermon von Ablass und Gnade* von 1518 die Praxis des Betens wie folgt beschreibt: „Das Beten umfasst allerlei Werke der Seele wie lesen, mit dem Wort umgehen, Gottes Wort hören, predigen, lehren und dergleichen" (2016: 40).

In diesem Sinn stellt der Roman selbst ein Gebet dar, das die Mehrsprachigkeit der eigenen Textur zu lesen gibt. Das als Künstlerbiographie entworfene Buch, dessen Druck am Ende des Erzählerberichts noch aussteht, wendet sich in seinem letzten Satz nicht nur einer anderen Sprechweise, dem Gebet, sondern auch einem anderen Genre, der Mahnschrift, zu. Mit diesem ironisch codierten Genrewechsel geht gleichzeitig auch ein Medienwechsel einher.

Die Fiktion eines handschriftlichen Diskurses, der von Beginn an das Erzählen begleitet und damit das philologische Verfahren des Erzählers legitimiert, geht über in die Fiktion einer mündlichen Anrufung, die als ein das Erzählen beendendes Gebet lesbar ist. Während der Erzähler als narrative Instanz philologische Verfahren nutzt, wird durch die Inszenierung von Sprachen als historische und moderne, erzählende und performative der Text als mehrsprachige Komposition kenntlich. Der Erzähler als Philologe öffnet das Feld einer literarischen Hermeneutik, die das erzählte Geschehen in dichotomische

Verhältnisse aufgliedert und verstehbar macht. Der Text als sprachliche Komposition bedient sich wiederum literarischer Verfahren, um die durch den Erzähler etablierten Sprachstandards und Ideologien zu dekonstruieren. Der Roman erweist sich so als das Zusammenspiel von Verfahrensweisen, die im Hinblick auf das Paradigma der Mehrsprachigkeit mehr der babylonischen Sprachverwirrung als dem Pfingstwunder zuneigen. Die Lektüre des *Doktor Faustus* bedarf, so gesehen, keiner Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit, denn der Text praktiziert selbst eine Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit. Mehrsprachigkeit wird hierbei lesbar als die Dekonstruktion nationalsprachlicher und nationalphilologischer Standardisierung durch das literarische Wechselspiel von Sprachen des Ernstes und Sprachen der Ironie.

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Peter Brandes
Ruhr-Universität Bochum

translated by
Christian Steinmetz

"Fein deutsch mit der Sprache heraus": Irony, Multilingualism, and the Use of Early New High German in Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus*

Abstract:

This article examines the significance of the so called 'Lutherdeutsch' in Thomas Mann's late novel *Doktor Faustus* while referring to the philology of multilingualism as a key term for the interpretation of the text. In Mann's novel multilingualism can be observed in ironized citations from Luther's letters and Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*. While calling this usage of literary quotes Lutherdeutsch, Mann creates a fictitious branch of Early New High German that can be read as a language of irony as opposed to the narrator's language of earnestness. The paper argues that Mann's text itself practices a philology of multilingualism by juxtaposing languages of seriousness and languages of irony, thereby deconstructing ideological concepts such as monolingualism and national philology. Note that this text is a translation of Brandes' German-language original, which also appears in this issue of *CMS*.

Keywords:

philology ✦ rhetoric ✦ irony ✦ narratology ✦ deconstruction ✦ Thomas Mann ✦ *Doktor Faustus*

When philologists enquire into the possibility of a philology of multilingualism, they tend to take recourse to two prominent Biblical stories that address multilingualism and translation in their mythically etiological nature: the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis and the miracle of Pentecost from the Acts of the Apostles. While the account of divinely induced linguistic confusion aims to inform the reader about the origins of multilingualism, the story of the disciples speaking in foreign tongues explains, in turn, the miracle of simultaneous translation. These complementary mythological tales of multilingualism touch upon the foundations of philology: the reality of incomprehension and the desire for comprehension. Philology has thus always borne within it a "Verstehensversprechen" ("promise of comprehension", Dembeck 2014: 10). Seen from the perspective of the history of linguistics and religion, the phenomenon of linguistic confusion also raises the practical question as to how the religious contents of these texts, originally written in Hebrew and Greek, can be transmitted into a living environment characterised by multilingualism. The Bible translations of the Reformation surely did not replace monolingualism with multilingualism, but instead induced the substitution of the Holy Languages by national languages. Seen in this light, Luther's Bible translation, which seeks to transform a bilingual text corpus into a monolingual work, is itself a form of media-historical labor upon the dispositif of monolingualism. One must bear in mind in this context that Luther's translation of the biblical texts into German did not in any way resolve problems of linguistic comprehension. Only a short time after the publication of the Lutheran translation, dialectal factors rendered the creation of glossaries a necessity (Besch 1999: 18), such that one may already speak in this context of the multilingualism of monolingualism.

Jacques Derrida's expression—to the effect that one speaks but one language that is not one's own (1996: 15)—gains thus a broader sense: the one language of Luther's Bible

translation is neither the reader's own language; nor can it even qualify as one single language. One must be aware of this rather diffuse structure of monolingualism in Luther's translation of the Bible when enquiring about the Early New High German in Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* (1947). The designation *Lutherdeutsch* (Luther's Early New High German) is controversial in this context, as such a homogeneous standardized language coined by Luther has historically never existed (Besch 1999: 12). As I shall seek to demonstrate in the following, such a language is constructed as a fictional language in this literary work and introduced under the designation of *Altdeutsch* (old German)—a term that refers to the use of Early New High German and therefore should not be conflated with Old High German. In view of Thomas Mann's late work, this article aims to analyze the question of a philology of multilingualism through the optic of pseudo-monolingualism, focusing on aspects of the polyvalence of Early New High German as both a historical language, and as a narrated and fictionalized language.

Philology of multilingualism

The institution of philology is customarily associated with a concept of separate national philologies that target the literary works of their respective national language. In contrast, the methodological approach of a philology of multilingualism adopts a course that fundamentally challenges the concept of a national language. This has been elaborated in detail by Till Dembeck in his 2014 article "Für eine Philologie der Mehrsprachigkeit." Dembeck advocates for an awareness of the ornamental aspect of languages, which becomes perceptible amid certain historically and culturally constituted linguistic and colloquial standards as a deviation—be it dialectal, stylistic or exophonic. He challenges the assumption of a congruence among languages, peoples and national philologies. Such relies on a fiction of the countability of languages, which proves impossible given the essentially ambiguous nature of the term and notion of language—as referring variously to national language, mother tongue and dialect. The starting point for Dembeck's reflections is Stockhammer's concept of *Sprachigkeit* (lingualism)—a term aligned with Saussure's notion of "*langue*" (tongue, language), but which, unlike *langage* (speech ability), includes "die Partikularität jeder *langue*" ("the particularity of each *langue*", Stockhammer, Arndt & Naguschewski 2007: 25): "Sprachigkeit wäre dann das Bewusstsein davon, dass das sprachliche Medium eine *Einzel*sprache ist" ("Lingualism would then be the consciousness that the linguistic medium is an *individual* language", ibid 26). Based on this concept of *Sprachigkeit*, Dembeck highlights the particular significance and relevance of historically constituted standardization processes, expressed

in their respective linguistic rule systems and grammars (Dembeck 2014: 13). From this point of view, multilingualism can be observed through aspects of grammatical, idiomatic and dialectal deviation.

As for the concept of monolingualism, Jacques Derrida's Essay *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse d'origine* (1996) is relevant in this context, inasmuch as the political and cultural constructs of French are deconstructed from the viewpoint of the Jewish-Algerian Frenchman. Derrida opposes in this way the understanding of a language as a mother tongue, wherein language is intertwined with categories of authenticity and ownership. Johann Gottfried Herder's work is exemplary in defending the paradigm of the individual's own language. Herder proclaims the necessity of the mother tongue of poetry in his contributions *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur (On Recent German Literature)*: "[W]enn in der Poesie der Gedanke und Ausdruck so fest an einander kleben: so muß ich ohne Zweifel in der Sprache dichten, wo ich das meiste Ansehen, und Gewalt über die Worte […] habe […]: und ohne Zweifel ist dies die Muttersprache." ("[w]hereby thought and expression stick so strongly to one another in poetic expression: and I must undoubtedly express myself in poetry in the language in which I am most well-versed and wherein I have command over the words [...] which obviously is my mother tongue", Herder 1985: 407)

In his article on "the roots of a linguistic archeology," David Martyn (2014) has described Herder as the founder of native language poetry. Herder is surely only considered a symptom of a discourse-historical turning point in poetry and linguistic theory that, Martyn highlights, brought forth the concepts of multi- and monolingualism. In a textual example taken from Martin Luther's *Table Talk*, Martyn illustrates that in the Early Modern Period a difference between multi- or monolingualism, as we understand them today, did not exist (Martyn 2014: 46). Martyn elaborates that Luther's text, parts of which are written in Latin and parts in German, is not a multilingual text because it belongs to an oral praxis rather than to a grammatically structured language. This observation is substantiated among other things by the fact that Luther's text is a lingual document prior to the invention of a linguistically defined language-as-system (*langue*).

Given these literary and language-historical indicators, it becomes apparent that a multilingual philology can neither be considered as the adding up of various national philologies nor a combination of internally bordered language unities. This has led Dembeck to suggest that multilingualism can be described through recourse to the

category of standards, in the sense of conditions for lingual stabilization (Dembeck 2014: 25). Multilingualism will then become observable in the form of an utterance distinct from established linguistic standards, which then can potentially establish new standards of its own. Thus multilingualism unfolds from a contingent and potentially open-ended interplay of differentiation and standardization. As Dembeck emphasizes, the crucial factor here is the notion of language as way of speaking (*parole*) and, as such, there is increased focus on the so-called vernaculars—and not on the sacred languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), whose transmission is primarily to be observed in the form of written languages. It follows, I suggest, that a philology of multilingualism requires an evaluation of, and reflection upon, its various reading process against this background of the opposition between sacred and vernacular languages. Such a reflection is also media-historically significant: vernaculars do essentially owe their success to the invention of the printing press. This is particularly true for Luther's Bible translation, which was able to be disseminated widely by means of print. It is precisely this German, albeit somewhat stylized and modified, that played a crucial role in Thomas Mann's late work *Doktor Faustus*.

The narrator as philologist

Thomas Mann's plans for a Faust novel can be traced back to the year 1901. The so-called three-line plan ("Drei-Zeilen-Plan"), upon which Thomas Mann refocused his attention in 1943, already contains the general focus of the project: As noted in the *Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*, it is concerned with "die diabolische und verderbliche *Enthemmung* eines [...] Künstlertums durch Intoxikation" ("the diabolical and pernicious *disinhibition* of an [...] artistry by means of intoxication", Mann 2012a: 18). The story, as it emerged during the course of this ongoing working phase, involves an exceedingly talented musician who signs a pact with the devil by knowingly letting himself be infected by a syphilitic prostitute. He is thus able to compose outstanding music whilst being forbidden to love. The novel does not end, as in Goethe, with the salvation of the protagonist, but with the spiritual and physical collapse of the protagonist, reminiscent of Nietzsche's biography.

In the *Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*, Thomas Mann cites some of the many texts he read while preparing to write *Doktor Faustus*, beyond the chapbook (the 1587 *Historia von D Johann Fausten* published by Johann Spies). Among others, he mentions Luther's letters (Mann 2012a: 21–23). Although Mann's daily routine in the 1940s in Pacific

Palisades was certainly marked by the experience of bilingualism, *Doktor Faustus* cannot be referred to as a multilingual novel in the classic sense of the word. Thomas Mann does however pay particular attention to the vernacular or rather the dialectal aspect of the language—as he had in his first work, *Buddenbrooks*. Mann began work on his project on 23 May 1943 and completed it in the spring of 1947. The book was published in Sweden by Bermann-Fischer in the same year. The novel was written as a fictional biography of an artist. The text elaborates the idea of a fictional writing scene, in which the narrator introduces himself as the biographer of the story's protagonist. Prospects for the eventual printing and publishing of the narrator's work is still uncertain at the time of its writing. This metatextual play with written media is a reference to the story's decisive historical context, the early modern period. This epoch, linked with great historical events such as the Reformation and the invention of the printing press, functions as a guiding lingual and medial principle that also alludes to the life of the historical Doktor Faustus.

In this way, the text announces the media transition from manuscript to the printed book. The presence of the printed word is however continually postponed; the manuscript remains the dominant medium that guides and outlines narration, as highlighted by Adrian Leverkühn's handwritten transcripts and letters, which the narrator plans to publish. Here a cultural-historical anachronism is accompanied by a medial anachronism. The narrator, whose writing of Adrian Leverkühn's biography lasts from 1943 to 1945, lives in his study secluded from worldly matters—as would a monk of medieval times in his retreat, dedicating himself to the transcription or translation of holy texts. In contrast to the medieval clergy, however, the narrator of *Doktor Faustus* writes his text in German.

The novel's text contains only a few passages in a foreign language, as opposed to a text such as *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain*, 1924). There are a handful of English quotations from Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that the protagonist Adrian Leverkühn sets to music, as well as a few short passages in Italian and a longer paragraph in which German is interwoven with French. Latin is afforded particular importance in the narration. This is not only because of the repeated use of Latin expressions or quotations, but above all due to the fact that the narrator, Serenus Zeitblom, teaches Latin and Greek at the *Gymnasium* (high school). The narrator's educated middle-class background is of particular interest here, because he decisively influences the novel's narrative and linguistic structure.

Right from the introductory chapters, Zeitblom refers to his profession by highlighting the importance of the study of classical languages, as opposed to modern sciences. In doing so, he points out that the study of ancient languages is generally referred to as "*humaniora*", and that "die seelische Zusammenordnung von sprachlicher und humaner Passion durch die Idee der Erziehung gekrönt wird und die Bestimmung zum Jugendbildner sich aus derjenigen zum Sprachgelehrten fast selbstverständlich ergibt" ("the mental co-ordination of language and the passion for the humanities is crowned by the idea of education, and thus the election of a profession as the shaper of youth follows almost of itself out of having chosen philology as a study", 19; 9).[1]

By introducing his own biography, Zeitblom designs the novel's central oppositions: humanistic education versus scientific study, classical languages versus old German, philology versus magic. The fact that one learns little throughout the novel about Zeitblom's profession as a teacher and linguist directs the reader to the possibile insight that the text being read could itself be fulfilling an educational function. Indeed, the template for this novel, the chapbook from 1587, was exemplary in the genre of parenesis: a Christian cautionary tale that sought to convert people to adopt a God-fearing way of life (*Historia* 2006: 12). In Zeitblom's biographical project, however, philology takes the place of theology. His philological expertise, demonstrated in the novel's first chapter, is a component of his narrative strategy.

A true philologist, he concerns himself with the proper choice of words. He wrestles with the German adjective *genial* (genius), with which he characterizes Adrian Leverkühn in the very first sentence. In his explanation of the word genius, he sets the meaning of the Latin word *ingenium* (congenital ability) against that of the word *genius* (guardian angel):

> Nun ist dieses Wort, „Genie", wenn auch über-mäßigen, so doch gewiß edlen, harmonischen und human-gesunden Klanges und Charakters, und meinesgleichen, so weit er von dem Anspruch entfernt ist, mit dem eigenen Wesen an diesem hohen Bezirke teilzuhaben und je mit divinis influxibus ex alto begnadet gewesen zu sein, sollte keinen vernünftigen Grund sehen, davor zurückzubangen, keinen Grund, nicht mir freudigem Aufblick und ehrerbietiger Vertraulichkeit davon zu sprechen und zu handeln. So scheint es. Und doch ist nicht zu leugnen und nie geleugnet worden, daß an dieser strahlenden Sphäre das

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[1] Unless otherwise noted, German page numbers from *Doktor Faustus* (2012b) are given before the semi-colon, page numbers from the English translation by H. T. Lowe-Porter (1949) are given after the semi-colon.

> Dämonische und Widervernünftige einen beunruhigenden Anteil hat, daß immer eine leises Grauen erweckende Verbindung besteht zwischen ihr und dem unteren Reich, und daß eben darum die versichernden Epitheta, die ich ihr beizulegen versuchte, „edel", „human-gesund" und „harmonisch", nicht recht darauf passen wollen.

> Now this word "genius", although extreme in degree, certainly in kind has a noble, harmonious, and humane ring. The likes of me, however far from claiming for my own person with the *divinis influxibus ex alto*, can see no reasonable ground for shrinking, no reason for not dealing with it in clear-eyed confidence. So it seems. And yet it cannot be denied (and has never been) that the daemonic and irrational have a disquieting share in this radiant sphere. We shudder as we realize that a connection subsists between it and the nether world, and that the reassuring epitheta wich I sought to apply: "sane, noble, harmonious, humane," do not for that reason quite fit. (13; 4)

The narrator makes it clear that *genius*, a word that finds its roots in Latin, is characterized by an ineluctable ambiguity. The humanist Zeitblom's Latin thus shows itself to be infected by demonic semantics, which cannot be covered up by the adjectives *noble*, *sound*, and *harmonious*. Even the Latin quotation—*divinis influxibus ex alto*—refers to a dark side of the term genius, i.e., melancholy. The quotation is from the book *De vita libri tres* by the Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino, in which the concept of melancholy was formulated as an ailment of genius. Therefore, it becomes apparent—under the auspices of the Latin quotation, and the translation of a Latin word—that Latin cannot in any way be considered to be a purer or more humane language. Nonetheless, the ethos of a classical education continues to act as the antithesis of the religious and old Germanic spheres.

(Luther's) Early New High German

That the text's main focus of attention lies on the German language becomes apparent in the subtitle of the novel: *Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde* (*The Life of the Composer Adrian Leverkühn as Told by a Friend*). The word German, here and in the narrated text, refers to German cultural and political history. This becomes particularly clear when Germany is personified at the end of the novel: "Deutschland, die Wangen hektisch gerötet, taumelte dazumal auf der Höhe wüster Triumphe, im Begriffe, die Welt zu gewinnen kraft des einen Vertrages, den es zu halten gesonnen war, und den es mit seinem Blute gezeichnet hatte." ("Germany, the

hectic on her cheek, was reeling then at the height of her dissolute triumphs, about to gain the whole world by virtue oft he one pact she was minded to keep, which she had signed with her blood", 738; 510.)

The text also insists on German as its lingua franca when, during Leverkühn's dialogue with the devil, Ludewig replies to "Chi è costà" with "Sprich nur deutsch! Nur fein altdeutsch mit der Sprache heraus, ohn' Bemäntelung und Gleißnerei." ("Speak only German! Only good old German without feignedness or dissimulation," 326; 223). Whereas the homodiegetic narrator Zeitblom speaks the standard German of the well-educated middle classes of the twentieth century, some of the characters' speech is characterized by Early New High German linguistic forms. This linguistic anachronism first surfaces in chapter XII, when the professor of theology Ehrenfried Kumpf, a Lutheran caricature, is introduced. Kumpf is popular amongst students due to his temperament and his "pittoresk-altertümlichen Sprachstil[es]" ("picturesquely archaic style", 142; 85), which the reader can clearly recognize as Early New High German. The narrator invokes some of Kumpf's typical linguistic anachronisms:

> Seine Art war es, um ihn selbst zu zitieren, eine Sache „mit deutschen Worten" oder auch „auf gut alt-deutsch, ohn' einige Bemäntelung und Gleißnerei", das heißt deutlich und geradeaus, zu sagen und „fein deutsch mit der Sprache herauszugehen". Statt „allmählich" sagte er „weylinger Weise", statt „hoffentlich": „verhoffentlicht" und sprach von der Bibel nicht anders als von der „Heiligen Geschrift".

> It was his way—to quote him—to say a thing "in good round terms, no mealy-mouthing" or "in good old German, without mincing matters." Instead of "gradually" he said "by a little and a little"; instead of "I hope" he said "I hope and trow"; he never spoke of the Bible otherwise than as Godes Boke. (142; 95)

Early New High German thus becomes an ironical feature of Kumpf's character. The Luther parody in Kumpf's manner of speaking becomes even more blatant in a scene in which he throws a roll at a demonic apparition, caricaturing Luther's famous throwing of the inkpot.

Thomas Mann's image of Luther is characterized by a profound ambivalence. Hans Wysling refers to Mann's reception of Luther as including an "Epoche spezifischer Luthernähe" ("a period of particular Lutheran proximity"; 1916–18) as well as an "Epoche ebenso entschiedener Lutherferne" ("period of equally decided Lutheran

distance"; 1945-49, Wysling 1984: 17). If Thomas Mann in 1918—at the time of writing *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (*Reflections of an Unpolitical Man*)—saw himself in the tradition of Lutheran thought, he nevertheless rendered his opinion of the reformer in 1945, in his speech "Deutschland und die Deutschen" ("Germany and the Germans"), as: "Ich liebe ihn nicht, das gestehe ich offen." ("I openly confess that I do not love him," Mann 1945: 6). The speech "Germany and the Germans" was written in the same context as the novel *Doktor Faustus* (the text explicitly refers to the material) and was not without its bearing upon it. In effect, the —absolutely stereotypical—characterization of Luther's persona in the text of the speech coincides with Kumpf's role in *Doktor Faustus*. The text has the following to say about Luther:

> Martin Luther, eine riesenhafte Inkarnation deutschen Wesens, war außerordentlich musikalisch. Ich liebe ihn nicht, das gestehe ich offen. […] Ich hätte nicht Luthers Tischgast sein mögen, ich hätte mich wahrscheinlich bei ihm wie im trauten Heim eines Ogers gefühlt und bin überzeugt, daß ich mit Leo X., Giovanni de Medici, dem freundlichen Humanisten, den Luther ,des Teufels Sau, der Babst' nannte, viel besser ausgekommen wäre.

> Martin Luther, a gigantic incarnation of the German spirit, was exceptionally musical. I frankly confess that I do not love him. […] I should not have liked to be Luther's dinner guest, I should probably have felt as comfortable as in the cozy home of an ogre, and I am convinced that I would have got along much better with Leo X, Giovanni de Medici, the amiable humanist whom Luther called "the Devil's sow, the Pope". (Mann 1996: 266; translation by C.S.)

The image of Luther depicted here has much in common with the characterization of Kumpf in the novel, who was described by his students as a "wuchtige Persönlichkeit" ("powerful personality", 6; 7) and who, in Zeitblom's opinion, believed in the reality of the Devil. He is also called a "massiver Nationalist lutherischer Prägung" ("nationalist of Luther stamp, out of whole cloth", 141: 95). That the character of Kumpf is nothing more than Luther's caricature, is finally underscored by the fact that his Early New High German expressions and idioms, though reminiscent of Martin Luther's German, are mostly derived from Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668), rather than from Luther's *Table Talk*. So, when the narrator Zeitblom says that he is quoting Kumpf himself, he is quoting quoted quotations that, seen through the filter of Lutheran caricature, are not recognizable as actual quotations but understood to be expressions of Martin Luther's German. This becomes particularly clear in the case

of Kumpf's expression mentioned in the title: "fein deutsch mit der Sprache herauszugehen" (142). This particular quotation has been taken from chapter XVII of book III of *Simplicissimus*, in which Simplicissimus comes upon a soothsayer, whom he questions about his parents and adds, "sie solte aber nicht so dunckel / sondern fein Teutsch mit der Sprach herauß" ("she should not be so dark in her sayings, but out with it in good German", Grimmelshausen 2015: 314; 1913: 251).

German is therefore attested to as being a particularly comprehensible language, distinguished by its clarity when set against the indeterminate intimations of a soothsayer. Simplicissimus is indeed a doubious source of judgement for linguistic nuance, being a character infamous for taking almost everything quite literally. It therefore cannot in any way be the supposedly authentic Early New High German of Luther that is invoked in the quotation, but rather the epitome of the hermeneutic interpretation of opaque or allegorical language. Kumpf's language is thus, in the most concrete sense, not his own. Nor is his language Early New High German, the language upon which his speaking is so implicitly predicated. It is thus not Luther's own use of language, but a decidedly more literary way of speaking that characterized the language of Early New High German satire.

Accordingly, this is less a criticism of Luther through the use of Early New High German within the context of Kumpf's narration, but rather of a ludic deconstruction of ownership, authenticity and the true nature of the German language. The alleged German of Luther turns out to be the opposite of a national or native language on the basis of which one might impute identity: it is very much the sign of a deconstruction of the paradigm of the mother tongue and, as such, functions as a parody. Historically, the concept of Luther's German is already imprecise, as Martin Luther did not found a language, in the sense of a grammatical system. He did indeed coin a certain literary style, which Thomas Mann translates into his own intertextual and ironic writing style.

In the novel, Early New High German takes centre stage in this manner on four occasions in particular. These are, in addition to the Kumpf sequence, Adrian's letter from Leipzig, the conversation with the devil, and Leverkühn's last speech before his breakdown. The letter in chapter XVI, in which Adrian reports of the first encounter with the prostitute Esmeralda, is the longest passage in the novel in which Early New High German is imitated. As Adrian's first documented contact with the demonic medium, incarnated in Esmeralda, this letter has a prominent position in the work, preparing the reader for the

pact. The letter recounts, in Kumpf's version of old German, Leverkühn's first day in his new school setting in Leipzig. In addition to describing the city and offering some digressions into musical theory, Leverkühn tells Zeitblom how a tour guide brought him to a brothel instead of to an inn, which Adrian only notices after entering the establishment. It becomes quite clear that the language of the letter is, within the context of the novel, an imitation or a stylistic parody. In his reflections on the incident, Zeitblom examines the use of Early New High German and interprets it to be *dissimulatio*, as pointed out by Bernd Hamacher (1996: 61–2):

> Sehr merkwürdig war mir schon bei zweiter Durchsicht, daß die Stilgebung, die Travestie oder persönliche Adaption des Kumpf'schen Altdeutsch nur vorhält, bis jenes Abenteuer erzählt ist, danach aber achtlos fallengelassen wird, so daß die Schlußseiten ganz davon entfärbt sind und eine rein moderne sprachliche Haltung zeigen. […] Dies war mir klar: wegen seiner historischen Affinität zum Religiösen war das Reformationsdeutsch für einen Brief gewählt worden, der mir diese Geschichte bringen sollte. Wie hätte ohne das Spiel mit ihm das Wort hingeschrieben werden können, das doch hingeschrieben sein wollte: „Betet für mich!"? Es gab kein besseres Beispiel für das Zitat als Deckung, die Parodie als Vorwand.

> Very remarkable to me, even on the second reading, was the fact that the style, the travesty or the personal adaptation of Kumpf's old-German, prevailed only until the adventure was recounted and then was dropped regardless, so that the closing pages are entirely uncoloured by it and show a perfectly modern style. […] So much was clear to me: on account of his historical affinity with the religious, the language of the Reformation – or the the flavour of it – had been chosen for a letter which was to bring me this story. Without it, how could the word have been written down that pressed tob e written down: "Pray for me!" There could be no better example for the quotation as disguise, the parody as a pretext. (212–3; 145)

Zeitblom plays the role of a commenting editor: he undertakes a philological reading of Adrian's usage of Early New High German. Zeitblom's philological approach is somewhat unconventional, since the interpretation precedes the textual criticism. The section of the text in which the brothel experience is described in the mode of a farce, as Leverkühn puts it, is read as the main part, which shocks rather than amuses the reader, namely Zeitblom. In view of this assumption, Zeitblom argues that the use of Altdeutsch (old German) constitutes a literary camouflage and thereby levels the seriousness of the

situation. The starting point of his argument is the thesis that Altdeutsch is only used to evoke the historical aspects of the religious sphere associated with this way of speaking. The quotation "Pray for me" thus represents the core labor of philological interpretation. This performative sentence, Zeitblom argues, could only make its appearance in the letter because it is introduced by means of old German, and is treated with irony in the same breath. To Zeitblom, Leverkühn's friend, it is however clear that this kind of linguistic playfulness serves the purpose of hiding one's emotions and yet also of intimating to the friend, by rhetorical means, that he should take this performative utterance seriously and indeed pray for him.

That the sentence "Pray for me" is a quotation of a quotation, i.e., a quotation of Martin Luther, and can be found in many of his letters as a closing greeting (Luther 1909: 18), remains unsaid. Ironically, a quotation as important as this is, in turn, a translation from Latin.[2] The quotation of Martin Luther used by Thomas Mann implicating Early New High German ends up being inauthentic. This quotation therefore reveals an incongruence in the discourse on Early New High German. Though the novel's Early New High German, moulded by Grimmelshausen's language, presents a linguistic anachronism in the linguistic reality of 1900, Martin Luther's quotation turns out to be a doubly foreign body in Adrian's ironic manner of speaking: It is, in Zeitblom's reading, a sign of religious earnestness linked to the Early New High German, even though the quotation neither coincides with the style of old German as mimicked in the letter, nor with Martin Luther's epistolary language. Thus, the quotation deconstructs and ironizes Zeitblom's seriously hermeneutic exegesis of the letter. The narrator's extremely solemn manner of speech is interlaced with an exceedingly ironic linguistic gesture, which can be observed in the quoted letter as well as in the biographer's erudite interpretation. This is noteworthy inasmuch as Zeitblom, in spite of all his affection towards his adored Leverkühn, can scarcely appreciate his sense of irony and humor. The novel sets this figuration of irony and earnestness in analogy to the opposition of good and evil. In doing so, the resulting conclusion, that the bourgeois-conservative Zeitblom scorns irony, whereas the brilliant-revolutionary Leverkühn is attached to it, turns out to be virtually a revision of Thomas Mann's dictum from *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* regarding the implied conservatism of irony: "Ironie und Konservativismus [...] nahe verwandte Stimmungen" ("irony and conservatism [...] closely related moods", Mann 2015: 634).

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[2] While working on *Doktor Faustus*, Thomas Mann made use of a two-volume book of Luther's letters edited by Reinhart Buchwald. In this edition, the Latin letters are also translated into German.

But the linguistic relation between irony and earnestness in *Doktor Faustus*, combined with the novel's fictitious Luther German, is rather complexly layered, as is made apparent by the use of irony in the enactment of the Early New High German, which extends well beyond mere rhetorical practice.

Languages of irony

As Stockhammer et al. have pointed out, there has always been an allolingualism (*Anderssprachigkeit*) implicit in literature, as literature is per se intrinsically *exophonic* due to its relationship with the written form (Stockhammer, Arndt & Naguschewski 2007: 21). As itself a language, the language of literature can generate its own lingualism with regard to the consciousness of its monolingualism, while integrating multiple languages, dialects or idioms into the narrative discourse. The novel *Der Zauberberg* functions in this manner, when longer French dialogue passages are inserted into the German text. The use of Old German in *Doktor Faustus* can be similarly understood. Achieved in this way, the novel's literary multilingualism takes a somewhat different turn, by virtue of the ironic coding of the Early New High German. The opposition between the ironic and earnest use of language that characterizes the novel becomes particularly apparent in its orchestration of linguistic opposition through the use of Early New High German. A solemn discourse—represented by the narrator's language—is opposed to an ironic discourse represented by Leverkühn's and the devil's character. Karl Heinz Bohrer used the concept of language to describe such forms of literary or philosophical usage. He does not refer to these as ironic or earnest *speech* (*Rede*), but as the languages (*Sprachen*) of earnestness and those of irony. According to Bohrer, the opposition between the languages of irony and the languages of earnestness can only be observed since the end of the eighteenth century (Bohrer 2000: 11). Bohrer claims that, above all, Schlegel's 1800 essay *Über die Unverständlichkeit* (*On Incomprehensibility*) can be considered foundational for the languages of irony, which distinguish themselves from contemporaneous languages of earnestness. What is new in this text, is, above all else, knowledge of self-referentiality of the lingual sign and of speech as performative action. In Schlegel's text, irony is not used as a rhetorical tool but as a medium for incomprehensibility. Schlegel pretends to elucidate his own incomprehensibility, but undertakes this earnest enterprise with playful undertones: "ich wollte zeigen, daß die Worte sich selbst oft besser verstehen, als diejenigen von denen sie gebraucht werden" ("I wanted to demonstrate that words often understand themselves better than do those who use them", Schlegel 1967: 364; 1971: 260). Against the comprehensible style of

philosophical thinkers such as Christian Garve, Schlegel positions the style of incomprehensibility. Bohrer says that, with Schlegel, the style becomes the "Vollzug des Theorems" ("execution of the theorem"), that seeks to undo "den Gattungsunterschied zwischen Literatur und Philosophie" ("the difference between literature and philosophy", Bohrer 2000: 16). Schlegel's irony, as Eckhard Schumacher has noted, constitutes not a rhetorical but an incomprehensible irony (2000: 91), and thus turns out to be a performative manner of writing. The ironic discourse of the *Athenaeum*, in which irony functions not just as the spoken medium of incomprehensibility but as its own language, finds its prominent opponent in the earnestness of idealist philosophy. It is not only Hegel's explicit critique of Schlegel's concept of irony (Hegel 1986: 93–95) that, according to Bohrer, clearly highlights the opposition between ironic discourse and that of seriousness; but it is also precisely in the linguistic manner of works such as Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (*Phenomenology of Spirit*) in which Bohrer sees the beginning of the end of the language of irony (Bohrer 2000: 27). Bohrer points out that idealist philosophy, propagated by the language of seriousness, has expelled joke and frivolity from language (Bohrer 2000: 34). The resulting language politics, marked by the increasing dominance of the languages of seriousness, eventually define the landscape of German discourse.

Bohrer's dichotomous model of the literary-philosophical linguistic arrangement around 1800, which seems to lead out into a bilingual philology, leaves only a restricted scope for rhetorically ambivalent, dialectal, idiomatic, and foreign aspects of language. Among other things, this could be attributable to the fact that his concept of language is oriented toward the idea of distinct and homogeneous national languages, but also to Bohrer's rather vague definition of the language of irony. The thesis that irony must be understood as a language is not unreasonable; but certainly, it needs a more accurate reference to Schlegel's concept of ironic language. Schlegel himself does not explicitly speak of a language of irony, but of a vision of a "reelle[n] Sprache" ("real language", 364; 261), a language that would encompass all languages and could thus achieve the pentecostal miracle in another—i.e., mathematical—manner. The "populäre Medium" ("popular medium", 369; 266) in which this concept should find its expression is the *Athenaeum*, explains Schlegel—hence the print medium that makes it its business to expose the incomprehensibility of the medium. Schlegel's text explains that the *Athenaeum* functions as would a foreign language in the philosophical-literary discourse around 1800, dominated by Goethe and German idealism. By linking ironic style to the medium,

Schlegel turns the rhetorical medium into a language: the language of the *Athenaeum*. Ironic discourse about the real language of comprehensibility becomes the condition of possibility for a discourse not only about the fundamental ambiguity of language, but about the multilingualism of literary language. Schlegel's "System der Ironie" ("system of irony", 369: 266), which distinguishes fine from extra-fine irony, oscillates between irony and seriousness and thus indexes the multilingualism inherent to irony.

The ambiguity of a language of irony—which is linked to the question of literary multilingualism in a particular way—thus offers an enriching perspective upon multilingual philology in general and the interpretation of Thomas Mann's use of Early New High German in particular. In regard to *Doktor Faustus*, Thomas Mann's use of ironic style has often been associated with the concepts of parody and masquerade. The burlesque representation of manners of speaking is accordingly read as a disfiguration, as an ironic mask. Reinhard Baumgart describes Adrian's ironic manner of speaking as a "negativ verkehrtes Pathos" ("negatively inverted pathos", 1964: 171), and Inken Stehen describes Wendell Kretzschmar's stutter as a "Maskerade des Pathos" ("masquerade of pathos", 2001: 79). A similar reading is suggested by the narrator himself, when Zeitblom speaks of Leverkühn's epistolary rhetoric in terms of a "Parodie als Vorwand" ("parody as pretext", 213; 145). Reading irony as a parodistic mask, behind which a presumed pathos takes refuge, misapprehends the novel's ironic dimension, which distances itself from the supposed authority of the narrator and lets the linguistic ambiguity of the text emerge. In a later diary entry, Thomas Mann famously termed his ironic manner as "[h]eitere Ambiguität" ("humorous ambiguity", 1995: 127). In this phrase, one notices a certain proximity between Mann's definition of irony and Schlegel's idea of irony, a proximity that is of particular pertinence to the later Thomas Mann. Irony in the rhetorical sense is in no way ambiguous per se; it is, as Eckhard Schumacher highlights, very much characterized by an imperative of comprehension: "Die Ironie muß etwas zu verstehen geben wollen und muß, um als Ironie zu wirken, verstanden werden." ("Irony must intend to convey an understanding of something and must be understood as irony to fulfill its function", 2000: 91).

The function of irony in Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus* has been discussed in research on various occasions (see, for instance, Baumgart 1956). However, the question at stake here, whether the text involves ironic rhetoric (comprehensibility) or ironic language (incomprehensibility), has not yet been posed. With regard to the enactment of old German in *Doktor Faustus*, what has to be taken into consideration is that the mere use of

Early New High German will not turn it into a language of irony. Allemann's comments on the interaction of parodistic style and montage in *Doktor Faustus* (1956: 171) bear a great persuasiveness, as regards the ironic montage of textual passages in Early New High German. But the functioning of irony only becomes apparent in light of the quoted intertexts and the polarity of irony and earnestness induced by them. The irony-soaked satirical writing style of *Simplicissimus* is still committed to the rhetorical tradition, in which irony is apprehended as a stylistic medium rather than a language. It is only around 1800—according to Bohrer's hypothesis—that irony was considered to be a linguistic form and it was consequently possible to code dialects or historical languages so as to be read as irony. How much Thomas Mann refers to such a language of irony becomes clear by way of the characterization of Early New High German, which is itself in no way confined to the moment of parody. The enactment of Early New High German is instead very much characterized by a series of ambivalences. This can be seen, in particular, in the dialogue with the devil and in Leverkühn's farewell speech.

Throughout his dialogue with Adrian, the devil does not speak in Early New High German. He only explicitly quotes or refers to old German as a language, whilst treating Adrian's manner of speaking in many instances with irony. His speech, constructed to be very playful and humorous, culminates in a very serious subject: the pact. The solemn discourse regarding the matter of the pact is held, however, in a completely different language, a language that is imbued with philosophical earnestness. It is the language of Theodor W. Adorno, philosopher and musical theoretician, who accompanied Thomas Mann as his musical advisor over the course of writing *Doktor Faustus* and whose writings and comments influenced numerous passages of the novel (2012a: 36–41). The language of earnestness is thus intertwined with a discourse indebted to idealist philosophy. Ultimately, in the last chapter, such a discourse withdraws completely behind the presence of Early New High German.

In his speech in chapter XCVII about his last composition, Adrian continually makes use of old German. His manner of speech is initially misunderstood by the listener as a humoristic representational principle, whereas the narrator sees the speech as a solemn speech act. Towards the end of the speech, the text finally suggests that the Early New High German has to be read as an expression of insanity. During the course of the novel, the text stages old German in such a manner that one finds it difficult to decide whether it is the language of earnestness or the language of irony. The Early New High German in Adrian's speech becomes a sign of incomprehensibility. His audience does not

understand the speech, as they take the speech about the pact with the devil as a joke. The other listeners also find Zeitblom's exceedingly emotional reaction to Adrian's speech funny: "Aber dies, daß sie Tränen in meinen Augen sahen, belustigte die Meisten" ("But just the fact that you saw tears in my eyes diverted most of them", 718; 496). With Adrian's peculiar speech about his latest work *Lamentation of Dr. Faustus*, the text imitates Faustus' farewell speech in the chapbook, which is taken very seriously by his students (*Historia* 2006: 119–121). In Thomas Mann's adaptation of this scene, the speech oscillates between earnestness and amusement. Whereas the narrator points to the seriousness of the situation, the language spoken in the context of the scene is revealed in the performative execution of the speech as anachronistic lingualism. This accentuates an aspect of multilingualism that lies at the beginning of the mythic discourse on the multiplicity of languages, namely the tale of Babylonian linguistic confusion. The classical philologist Zeitblom reaches the limits of his humanist-philological competence. The biographer who is critical of religion concludes his narration with a prayer: "Ein einsamer Mann faltet seine Hände und spricht: Gott sei eurer armen Seele gnädig, mein Freund, mein Vaterland." ("A lonesome man folds his hands and speaks: ‚God be merciful to thy poor soul, my friend, my Fatherland!'" 738; 510)

The speech of the narrator, who thinks so much of his classical humanist educational ideal and thinks so little of the Reformation and its practices, is treated with irony in this closing performative gesture. If the narrative speech was consistently borne up by its aspiration to seriousness, which expressed itself particularly in the criticism of the humorous and jocular view of the religious sphere (i.e., Kumpf and Ludewig), this aspiration and the narrator's associated ethos are countered by the ironic image of the classicist in prayer. Furthermore, this gesture can be read as a reaction to the quotation of Martin Luther in Adrian's letter from Leipzig: "betet für mich!" ("pray for me", 209; 142)—without disvulging any conversion from the language of irony to the language of religious-national seriousness. Moreover, the opposition between German and Early New High German, humanism and protestantism, earnestness and humor is suspended. Ironizing prayer as the fulfillment of an action thereby functions as a readerly instruction, a philological guiding principle, which seeks to free the process of reading from the dogma of monolingualism. Ironically, this shift from literature to philology can be legitimized through Martin Luther who, in the 1518 *Sermon von Ablass und Gnade* (*Sermon of Discharge and Mercy*) describes the practice of prayer as follows: "Das Beten umfasst allerlei Werke der Seele wie lesen, mit dem Wort umgehen, Gottes Wort hören,

predigen, lehren und dergleichen." ("Prayer encompasses all sorts of spiritual works such as reading, dealing with the word, listening to God's word, preaching, teaching and the like," Luther 2016: 40).

In this sense, the novel itself constitutes a prayer, which leads us to read multilingualism in its own texture. The book—conceived as the biography of an artist, the printing of which at the end of the narrative report is still to be determined—not only turns toward another manner of speaking—i.e., prayer—but also to another genre: parenesis, the religious cautionary tale. A change of medium accompanies this ironic change of genre.

The fiction of a handwritten discourse that accompanies narration right from its very onset, and thereby legitimizes the philological method of the narrator, transforms itself into the fiction of a verbal invocation and can be read as a narration-ending prayer. Whereas the narrator uses philological techniques, the text can be recognized as a multilingual composition that orchestrates languages as historical and modern, narrative and performative. The narrator as a philologist opens up the field of literary hermeneutics, which breaks down the narrated events into dichotomous relations and makes them comprehensible. As a lingual composition, the text makes use of literary modes in order to deconstruct the linguistic standards and ideologies established by the narrator. The novel thus proves to be an interplay among practices and processes that, in the sense of a multilingual paradigm, tend more toward the Babylonian linguistic confusion than the Pentecostal miracle. From this standpoint, reading *Doktor Faustus* does not require a philology of multilingualism as such, as the text itself practices a multilingual philology. In this case, multilingualism can be read as the deconstruction of the standardization of national language and national philology, by means of the literary interaction between languages of earnestness and languages of irony.

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Johannes Endres
University of California, Riverside

HETEROTOPIAN MULTILINGUALISM:
THE *WESTINGHOUSE TIME CAPSULE* (1939)

Abstract:

The article investigates the multilingual features inherent in one of the most elaborate and erudite time capsule projects of the early 20th century, the so-called *Westinghouse Time Capsule of Cupalloy*, contrived for, and deposited at, the 1939 World Fair in New York. In its endeavor to pass on an authentic snapshot of the material and intellectual culture of its time to a distant future, the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* had to solve a number of technical and logistic problems. For instance, it had to come up with a paratextual apparatus to keep its message intelligible to those who will receive it in the year 6939, the capsule's ambitious target date. Part of its paratextual apparatus is a Rosetta Stone-like 'key to the English language', which, together with other internal and external provisions thought up by the capsule's creators, functions much like similar provisions at work in the canonization of classical texts. Central to the classicalness of certain texts and the longevity of the time capsule is an internal multilingualism, which operates underneath a seemingly monolingual surface in order to assure the readability and timeless significance of the cultural legacy at stake.

Keywords:

time capsule ⬥ heterotopia ⬥ internal multilingualism (heteroglossia) ⬥ paratext ⬥ canon/canonization

Figure 1: The Time Capsule of Cupaloy, 23. September 1938, World Fair New York, Flushing Meadows 1939 (Immortal Well). (Pendray, Story, 20)

This above picture was taken in 1938. It shows the burial of the so-called *Time Capsule of Cupaloy*, contrived and manufactured by the *Westinghouse Electric Company* and named after the alloy of copper, chromium and silver employed in the enterprise. The *Westinghouse Time Capsule* was the first object of its kind to bear the title of a "time capsule," a name that has become synonymous with this sort of undertaking. The capsule was sealed and deposited on the occasion of the 1939 New York World Fair, and aligns itself with the fair's overarching topic of building the "World of Tomorrow". Although exceptional in many ways, the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* is only one of many similar projects, emerging from the first half of the 20th century, all of which have certain crucial features in common. Inspired by the first time capsule of its kind, Oglethorpe University's *Crypt of Civilization*, which was begun in 1936 and sealed in 1940, the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* stands not only for other millennia-spanning, deliberately targeted repository projects from the "Golden Age of the Grand Time Capsules," between 1935 and 1982 (Jarvis 2003: 138). It also outdoes most of them given its level of technological planning, scientific underpinning, and intellectual sophistication. It innovatively addresses many of the challenges ambitious time capsules have been facing ever since, and prepares the ground for capsules designed for a post-civilized age that no
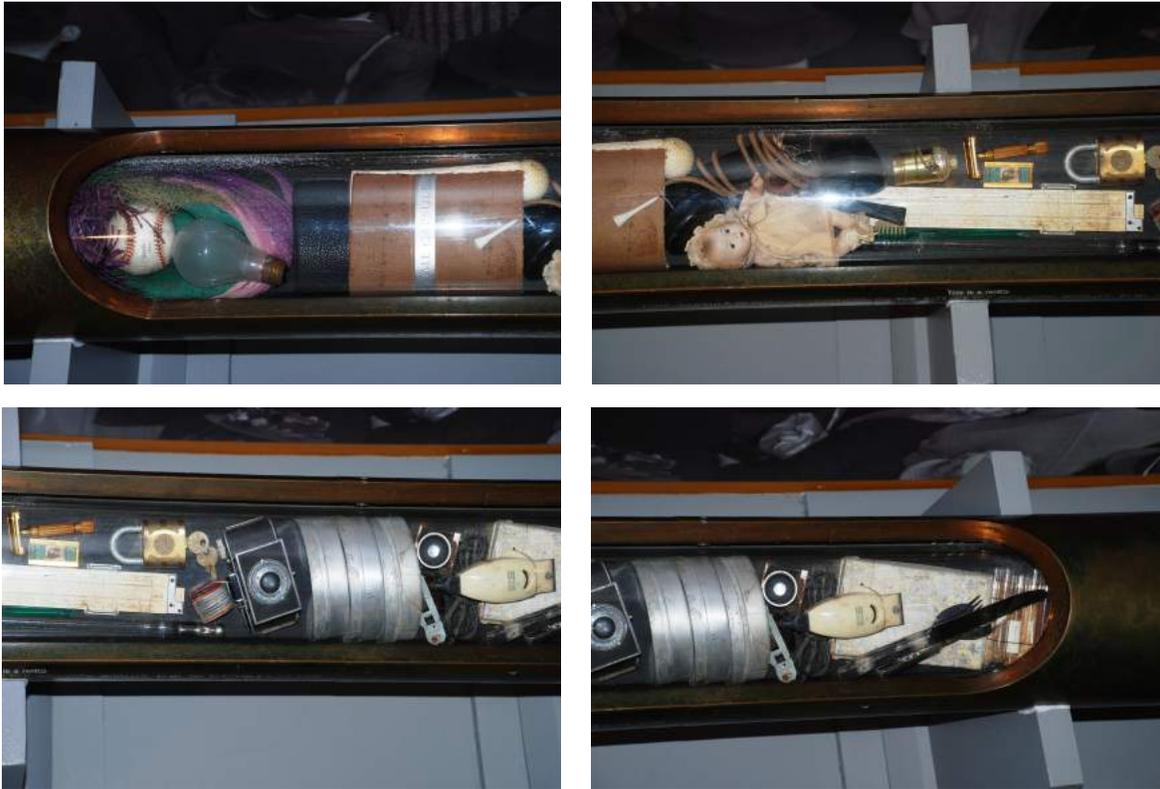
Figures 2–5: 1939 Westinghouse Time Capsule Replica. Pittsburgh, PA, Senator John Heinz History Center.

longer shares basic commonalities—like a common language—with its predecessors. Later space-time capsules, as well as later deliberations about informational relay-systems for nuclear waste disposal, need therefore to be seen in line with the spirit and logistics of the time capsule discussed here (Jarvis 2003: 122–28; Sebeok 1984).

But the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* also set new standards in documenting its existence and whereabouts, and in explaining its content and purpose. By documenting itself the capsule not only performs an "epistemic practice," inherent to all documents, which both show and interpret what they show (Gitelman 2014: 1). The capsule's self-documenting features are rather quintessential to its functioning as a time capsule and make up an integral part of its overall body. As such, they need to be read on at least two levels: as sources that provide insight into the otherwise inaccessible inside of the capsule, and as devices that enable the capsule's task of communication. One of these features is the *Story of the Westinghouse Time Capsule*, a booklet devised by George Edward Pendray, then Vice-President of the Westinghouse Company and driving force behind the project. It arranges the capsule's content in five sections, conveying at once a notion of the somewhat "messy" thoroughness that unites its widespread array of objects: (1) small

articles of common use; (2) textiles and materials; (3) miscellaneous items (such as seeds, books, and money); (4) texts on microfilm; and (5) newsreel (Pendray 1939: 24). By way of such objects and documents, the capsule seeks to create a snapshot of the material and intellectual culture of the year 1939. While many of these objects seem trivial and mundane by nature—an alarm clock, a can opener, a safety pin, a tooth brush, toys for boys and girls, a woman's hat from the 1938 fall season, a pack of cigarettes, a baseball, rubber fabrics, a dollar bill and optical instruments—, others reveal their informational value explicitly: such as newspaper articles from 1938, detailed documentation of the World Fair in 1939, a video recording of Jesse Owens' winning 100-meter-dash from the 1936 Olympics, and a sound film displaying the bombing of Canton by Japan in 1938.

Still other items clearly aim to portray the cultural and artistic life and achievements of the Western world at the time. Among them are a microfilmed copy of Picasso's *Guernica*, music recordings, and a photograph of Arturo Toscanini. Finally, some objects are *literary* objects in a more specific sense of the term (more specific, that is, than the majority of the over 22.000 pages of text, stocked on microfilm inside the capsule). These literary texts are: a leather-bound copy of the Holy Bible, the Aesopian *Fable of the Northwind and the Sun*, and three essays by Thomas Mann, translated into English—the latter consisting of lectures Mann had presented at the New School for Social Research in New York in 1937: "Freud und die Zukunft", "Goethes Laufbahn als Schriftsteller", and

"Leiden und Größe Richard Wagners" (Mann 1937; Pendray 1939: 30). These literary texts, no less than the capsule's other texts and images, are meant to speak to those who will find the capsule and tell a posterior age the story of a world bygone.

Figure 6: Map locating the burial site of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* (*Book of Record*, 42)

This very concept makes the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, like many other similar endeavors of the 20th century, a "microcosmic" time capsule (Jarvis 2003). *Microcosmic* time capsules—a term coined by Brian Durrans, one of the few researchers of time capsules— are intended to present a cross-section of an entire society, condensed into its material relics and recorded knowledge, which are likely to reveal to those in the future an informational surplus about the time of their
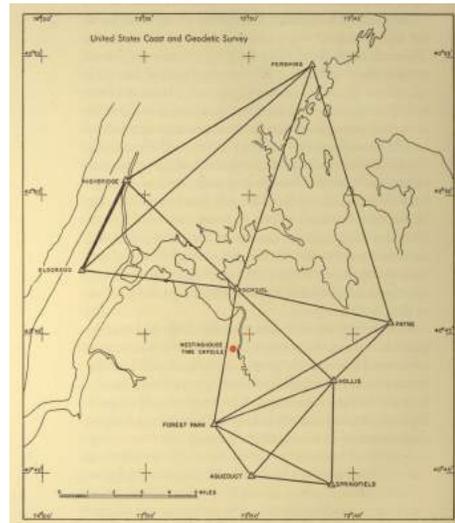
assembly (Durrans 1992: 57-58). Unlike private time capsules, such as the cookie jar in the backyard, microcosmic time capsules (1) are planned and contrived institutionally; (2) utilize innovative techniques and materials; and (3) aim at shaping a collective memory.

No less ambitious than the representational aspirations are the target dates of most microcosmic time capsules—that is, their designated time of retrieval. The *Westinghouse Time Capsule* is "deemed capable of resisting the effects of time for five thousand years" (counting from the day of its burial). Not until the year 6939 AD shall it be reopened. Hence, the capsule's elaborate safety features: Its case, roughly two-and-a-half meters (90 inches) long and 25 centimeters (8.75 inches) wide, is made from a highly durable copper alloy. The capsule sits about 15 meters (50 feet) below ground level, a spot meticulously laid out on a map, based on astronomically calculated data, in order to prevent the capsule from being forgotten or dug out prematurely.

More challenging even to its makers than the capsule's material is its commemorative steadiness, the accounting of its existence, which must be maintained from generation to generation for a very long time, in spite of its hiddenness from plain sight. Thus, the knowledge of the time capsule needs to be handed down also independently of the capsule—in a space external to the space of the capsule itself. But even if in the year 6939 humankind still recalls the capsule's whereabouts, will it also be able to read and decode its message?

The microcosmic time capsule movement of the early 20th century is evidently inspired by archeological experiences of the time (Endres 2014). One might think of Heinrich Schliemann's excavation of Priam's treasure (in 1873), or of Howard Carter's famous recovering of the tomb of Tutankhamen (in 1922). The *Crypt of Civilization*, for example, developed by the Oglethorpe University in Atlanta between 1936 and 1940, alludes to archeological sights, such as the antechamber of Tutankhamen's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, famously photographed by Harry Burton on the occasion of its excavation (Endres 2014: 222–223).[1] Microcosmic time capsules thus re-enact an archeological experience in reverse; they allow a present age to imagine itself as a potential object of the archeological curiosity of a time to come. Archeological reminiscences are also at work in the target dates of many microcosmic time capsules, which frequently calculate their retrieval date in reference to the (presumed) age of the Egyptian calendar (Jarvis 2003: 139–150). However, time capsules are also different from pyramids, ancient tombs, sunken cities and empires in at least one crucial respect—as *intentional* remnants of a

given age, and as *deliberate* messages to posterity, they inevitably need to plan for their own afterlife.[2]

In response to such an existential requirement, the inventors of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* came up with a set of measures. First of all, they created what I have termed a paratext to the capsule, a textual apparatus that accompanies the capsule and not only comments on the project, but also ensures the future legibility of the capsule's message (Endres 2014).[3] The paratext in question is the *Book of Record*, a book stored on microfilm inside the capsule, and distributed in 3,649 hard copies to lamaseries in Tibet, Shinto shrines in Japan, Buddhist temples in India and to 2,000 libraries, museums and universities across the world. Designed as an *external* communication device that might survive even if the memory of the capsule doesn't, the *Book of Record* cannot exist or speak for itself, but serves as a mediator between the text of the capsule and its prospective reader. Its purpose becomes most obvious in the fact that it contains what its authors call a Rosetta Stone that, like the eponymous Rosetta Stone that allowed scholars from the 19th century to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs, is intended to assist the finders of the time capsule in deciphering its content. In the case of the time capsule, however, that stone is neither an actual stone nor a single object, but a series of tools geared to the same purpose: to ensure the understandability of the English language and thus to prolong the capsule's linguistic code beyond the point of its probable extinction. The capsule's Rosetta Stone is therefore a meta-lingual feature, supporting and commenting on the language of the capsule itself, making the survival of said language a central concern of the whole enterprise. Furthermore, such a meta-lingual feature that works towards inscribing the capsule's message into the long-time memory of humankind without tampering with the message itself is reminiscent of similar techniques effective in classical texts to achieve "classicalness," or canonicity, in the first place.

By classicalness, I here understand the ability of textual artifacts to both survive and remain exemplary for a long time. To this extent, my considerations follow general conceptions of classicism, which understand classicism not so much as an epochal term but as a "mode of communication for aesthetic values and achievements." Classicism, in this sense, is engaged as well in the "construction of a highly reliable and authoritative understandability of the artwork" (Voßkamp 2010: 289). This relates classicism to questions of canonizing and suggests an understanding of the former as a "category of canon forming" ("Kanonisierungskategorie", Schulz-Buschhaus 1994: 70). Features commonly ascribed to both canonical texts and the canon itself are exceptionality,

representativeness, and the acknowledgement of such qualities by cultural institutions pertinent to the canon (Auerochs 2007: 372). The role of the canon for its users is insofar threefold, in that it (1) provides them with an identity, (2) equips them with a powerful means of legitimization, and (3) orients their actions (Winko 1996: 597; Heydebrand & Winko 1996).

However, a particular aspect of canonical texts—usually overlooked in recent canon debates—are the meta-lingual facilities canonical texts employ, facilities that address the linguistic system of the text by means of an auxiliary, internal multilingualism that is enclosed into an otherwise monolingual user surface. The internal multilingualism of classical texts thus functions similarly to what Mikhail Bakhtin has famously called the "heteroglossia" of the novel—a term referring to the "internal dialogism" at play in literary prose fiction (Bakhtin 1981: 279). Such internal multilingualism comprises, among other things, the various dialects that are spoken inside the novel and merged into the monolingual interface of the novel as a whole. It further contains other instances of the novel's multivoicedness, such as the languages of the author, the narrator, the characters, and other features. Bakhtin can thus continue: "The stylistic uniqueness of the novel as a genre consists precisely in the combination of these subordinated, yet still relatively autonomous, unities (even at times comprised of different languages) into the higher unity of the work as a whole […]" (262). The fact that modern stylistics had been largely unaware of the internal dialogism of the novel is owed to an overall tendency of the individual novel, as well as the genre as such, to homogenize its manifold languages in favor of an overarching "unitary language" that subdues the centripetal forces of the former (271).

My argument concerning the internal multilingualism of classical texts follows a similar trajectory while it extends beyond the scope of the novel. Much like the novel in Bakhtin's view, classical texts tend to integrate the multiple languages incorporated in them into an apparently monolingual surface design, which renders them invisible for the most part. Classical texts thus perform on a large scale what Bakhtin has observed on the scale of the novel: Their "'general literariness' attempts to introduce order into this heteroglossia, to make a single, particular style canonical for it" (382). The process of "canonization" can therefore be described in other words as a successive and incessant transformation of *internal* multilingualism into *external* monolingualism:

> It is precisely in the most sharply heteroglot eras, when the collision and interaction of languages is especially intense and powerful, when heteroglossia washes over literary language from all sides (that is, in precisely those eras that most conduce to the novel) that aspects of heteroglossia are canonized with great ease and rapidly pass from one languages system to another: from everyday life into literary language, from literary language into the language of everyday, from professional jargon into more general use, from one genre to another and so forth. (418)

Different from the novel, though—yet similar to the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*—classical texts rely on their internal multilingualism not only as a constitutive element, but as a helping feature that ensures their intelligibility—as will be explained below.

As for microcosmic time capsules, the multilingual apparatus does much the same. It assists the transfer of information from below the seemingly "unitary language" in which the capsule's message is composed. Multilingualism, understood in this way, is not the opposite of monolingualism, but a means of protecting understandability on a principal level—as it protects the English language practiced by American people in and around the year 1939 from being forgotten. Like classical texts, microcosmic time capsules aim for significance beyond their present time while also being representative of the historical moment that brought them forth.[4] The capsule's various meta-lingual features—which will be specified in the following paragraphs—thus uphold its surface code from within and play out as a multilingualism "in the second degree" (Genette 1997b), that is on a hypertextual level. More precisely, the similarities between the internal multilingualism of microcosmic time capsules and the mostly implicit multilingualism of classical texts revolve around three major commonalities: (1) their respective resemblance to a Rosetta Stone; (2) their *paratextual* layering; and (3) their functioning as spatiotemporal *heterotopias* in a Foucauldian sense—that is, as counter-sites "that have the curious property of being connected to all the other emplacements [of a society], but in such a way that they suspend, neutralize, or reverse the set of relations that are designated, reflected, or represented by them" (Foucault 1998: 178).

1. Rosetta Stone

The Rosetta Stone inside the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* consists of four different tools connected to each other and collected in a device referred to as a "Key to the English language" (*Book of Record* 1938: 19–38). It was developed by John Peabody Harrington,

American anthropologist and permanent field ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC. Harrington had been one of many scientists involved in the planning and execution of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* project. Today, Harrington's fame is based on his extensive studies of the languages of the native peoples of California. He has left behind over 200 meters of shelf space with about one million pages of phonetic writings, documenting native Californian languages, many of which have since become extinct.

His "key to the English language", designed for the time capsule, was a similar endeavor—except that the language at stake is the very same that has driven the native languages of California to their demise. However, over the course of 5,000 years the English language would be facing a similar threat itself:

> After five thousand years all the spoken languages of the present time will have become extinct or so altered as to require a key for their understanding. The English language spoken in the United States today, if not replaced by some other natural or invented tongue, will have suffered complete reforming many times over through the laws of linguistic evolving – laws which though proceeding in regular paths will, because of their complexity, work the apparent result of radical havoc. […] Records of the Etruscan language of ancient Italy in Greek letters which are easily readable have amply survived to the present time, but no one has been able to understand the words and their meaning. We have a whole book in Etruscan, but no one can understand it. The key to the deciphering of ancient Egyptian was found in a brief chance inscription, the trilingual Rosetta stone, made for another purpose and never thought of at the time as being useful as a key. If the Etruscans, Egyptians, or other ancient peoples had planned to make a key for us, what would have been their procedure? If all connecting links had been removed, how could such a people have conveyed to us the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of their language? (*Book of Record* 1938: 19–20)

The answer to this question is the capsule's "key to the English language" with its four major components: a "vocabulary" of the most-used words of English in phonetic spelling; a phonetic transcription of the Aesopian *Fable of the Northwind and the Sun*; a basic "Grammar of English", explained in a cartoon-like image language; and a *Mauth Maep*, "showing exactly where each of the 33 sounds of 1938 English is formed in the oral cavity" (22).

With these features, the receiver of the time capsule is thought to be capable of "re-enacting" the articulation of the English language and of rebuilding its historic body from scratch. Although accompanied by inter-lingual translations, such as the Aesopian fable into 100 languages, the Lord's Prayer into 500 languages, and a German letter by Albert Einstein into English, the capsule's Rosetta Stone is *not* a translational device. Translations—among different national languages—could hardly solve the problem of language extinction. Once the year 6939 has come, those national language varieties, due to the "laws of linguistic evolving", will have become as unintelligible as the English language itself. On the contrary, the time capsule's "deliberate" Rosetta Stone seeks to remain "entirely independent of any furnishing of translation" (*Book of Record* 1938: 20). Unlike translations proper, its goal is not to render different language codes compatible with one other, but to enable the reconstruction of an entire language system no longer current. It displays linguistic information in both iconic and acoustic (phonetic) terms, thereby establishing a meta-lingual level on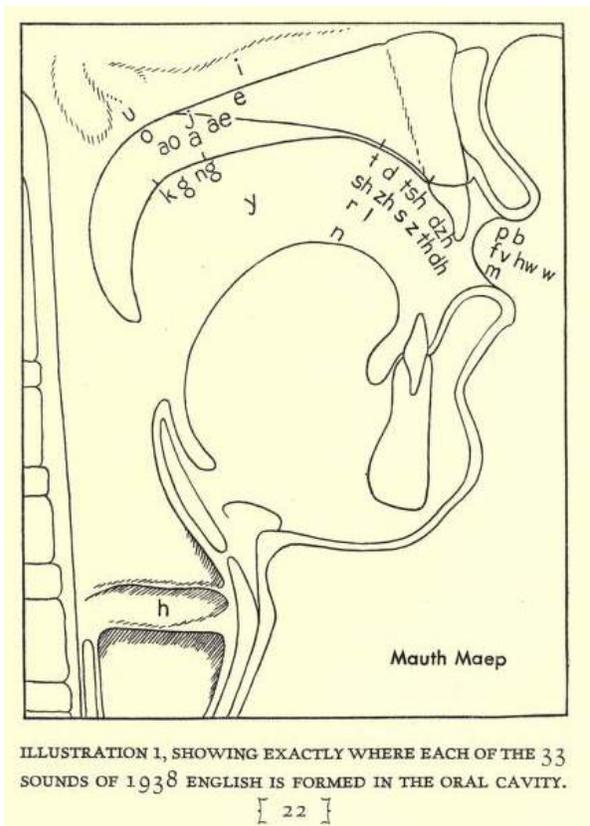 which the English language can be referenced as an object in and of itself. Consequently, one cannot but think that English—or more precisely *American English*—is not just a medium to the capsule's message, but also its very message. For the same reason, the confidence of the makers of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* in the timeless relevance of the English language, and the fact that all its textual documents are either formulated in or translated into English, is not at all at odds with the capsule's hopes to survive every other human testimony of the time – since its language is at once the highest of all cultural achievements the capsule strives to pass on.

ILLUSTRATION 1, SHOWING EXACTLY WHERE EACH OF THE 33 SOUNDS OF 1938 ENGLISH IS FORMED IN THE ORAL CAVITY.

[22]

Figure 7: The "Mauth Maep". (*Book of Record*, 22)

Harrington's Rosetta Stone seems to foster the notion that a language stays alive only for as long as it is spoken. The

effort to communicate a true image of the phonetic reality of 1938 English needs to be seen in that light. While the capsule's Rosetta Stone understands "spokenness" in the most literal terms, as something that can be reinstated if lost, it also emphasizes the importance of a language's soundscape to its survival as a system: dead languages are languages no longer spoken.[5] Yet Harrington knew from his work as a field linguist that if the practice of a language sinks into oblivion, documents *written* in that language survive as its only traces. The closest knowledge we have, for instance, of Latin as a language once spoken is encapsulated in classical texts, which outlived the demise of the language as a living practice. And if the receivers of the time capsule are to have no sense anymore of the English language as a language once actively used by American people at the beginning of the 20th century, the time capsule, and its *Book of Record*, will become their only gateway to it: "Wer schreibt, der bleibt!"[6]

When dealing with classical texts, we tend to forget that they are time capsules just like the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*. They are remnants of a (language) culture no longer practiced the way it used to be. Yet classical texts are also implicit Rosetta Stones that, through their very existence, evoke an oral past absorbed into the written evidence of a text that is still present. In that sense, classical texts speak at least two languages, the one that *is* the text, and the one that *became* the text at the very moment it ceased to exist: "Was unsterblich im Gesang soll leben, / Muss im Leben untergehen".[7] Classical texts are the walking dead as it were of a deceased oral culture, which they have inherited. And by "oral" I mean the sum total of all differences that distinguish literary artifacts from the "parole" on which they are based. Hence, what the phonetic image of 1938 English is to the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, the Tuscan dialect is to Dante's *Divine Comedy*—an historic language variety present and hidden in a seemingly monolingual text.

It is not by chance that Harrington's language key begins with a literary quotation from a 19th-century Anglican church song by a certain Edward Henry Bickerstedt:

> Our years are like the shadows
> That o'er the meadows fall,
> Are like the fragile wildflower
> That withers by the wall –
> A dream, a song, a story,
> By others quickly told,
> An unremaining glory
> Of years that soon get old. (*Book of Record* 1938: 19)

The thematic references of this little poem to the topic of Harington's language key and the overall enterprise of the time capsule are self-evident: the lines sing of the evanescence of human life, its hopes, and not least its stories and songs, its verbal and oral expressions. They will fade like the world, the shadows, meadows and flowers that used to surround them. And so will the world onto which the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* tries to hold. What will remain, however, is the message of the time capsule, like the song that bears witness of the transience of the human voice, but will itself keep going. Encoded into the poetic features that preserve the speech act after which it is modeled, the literary song will turn into a highly durable, internally multilingual vestige of a voice that has long since fallen silent. Again, classical texts function much like this: they are long-lived to the extent that they pass on a language, which in turn they supersede.

2. Paratext

Microcosmic time capsules need paratexts to survive. Otherwise they are forgotten or become unintelligible. Besides the "key to the English language", the *Book of Record* thus contains a detailed description of the capsule and its content, an explanation of its documentary purpose, an erudite specification of its burial site in both image and text, an instruction of how to electromagnetically locate metallic substances beneath the ground, and a table with units of linear measurement according to the English and the metric system. Although also stored inside the capsule, as a "peritext" materially connected to the text of the capsule (the "10,000,000-word essay" that *is* the capsule) and partially identical with it, the *Book of Record*'s foremost purpose is to leave word of the capsule in a space *peripheral* to it – which makes it an "epitext" in the sense of Gérard Genette (1997a). As such it adds an additional language level to the language of the capsule itself.

Likewise, the survival of the classical text also depends on paratexts such as editorial texts that equally enable and channel their reading. Those paratexts complement an already existing text and occasionally re-write it at the same time. In case of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, this becomes very clear as we read in the *Book of Record*: "We pray you therefore, whoever reads this book, to cherish and preserve it through the ages, and translate it from time to time into new languages that may arise after us, in order that knowledge of the Time Capsule of Cupaloy may be handed down to those for whom it is intended." (*Book of Record* 1938: 6) While the text of the capsule may by no means be altered or tampered with—just like the generally accepted form of a classical

text—its paratext must be flexible and adjust to the changing needs of its users: "We likewise ask: let the Time Capsule rest in the earth until its time shall come; let none dig it up for curiosity or for any other reason. It is a message from one age to another, and none should touch it in the years that lie between." (*Book of Record* 1938: 6) The *Book of Record* is thus not just a public epitext, which is openly handed down alongside the main text (to once more quote Genette 1997a); it is also an "open text" in the sense that it is *non*-canonical, as opposed to the text that it refers to. Much the same goes for classical texts: Their paratexts aren't sacrosanct either, unlike the classical text, but inscribe into it a historically mutable multivoicedness, which resonates from its edges whenever the classical text is read.

3. Heterotopia

According to Michel Foucault, heterotopias are

> […] real places, actual places, places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within the culture are, at the same time, represented, contested, and reversed, sorts of places that are outside all places, although they are actually localizable. Because they are utterly different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to, I shall call these places "heterotopias," as opposed to utopias (Foucault 1998: 178).

Time capsules, such as the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, evidently fit such a description. They are equally real *and* ulterior to other real sites, which they carry along on their insides. As such, they have to leave the culture they are designed to "mirror" – like the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* that mirrors the "arts, entertainments, religions, philosophies, educational systems, sciences, technology and medicine" of its age—and therefore cannot remain within it.[8] Foucault's description of the heterotopian nature of mirrors thus applies to time capsules as well: "Due to the mirror, I discover myself absent at the place where I am, since I see myself over there. From that gaze which settles on me, as it were, I come back to myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am" (Foucault 1998: 179). Likewise does the culture that reflects itself in the microcosm of the time capsule—and that projects itself into its own future state—appear both absent from, and present to, the here and now. To this effect, time capsules resemble other heterotopias such as archives, museums, libraries, or cemeteries, which also reside on a spatiotemporal threshold of a society they simultaneously "represent, contest, and

reverse". And like these, time capsules need to be removed to an extraterritorial space of sorts, from which they can only be retrieved when their designated time has arrived: they need to be buried, locked up, hidden, or somehow displaced in space.

As spatiotemporal exclaves, time capsules are situated in a precarious place and engineer an equally precarious disruption of the order of time accepted in their environment. Similar to cemeteries—an example of time-space disruption prominently featured in Foucault's argument, in which death, the most eccentric exception of a continuous progression of time, takes hold—the break in time caused and maintained by a time capsule also becomes permanent. It is that very positioning at the verge of time that empowers it with an imagination of its own afterlife and allows it to look back at itself from a future point of view. A time capsule is thus like a "ship," the "heterotopia par excellence", "a piece of floating space, a placeless place, that lives by its own device, that is self-enclosed and, at the same time, delivered over to the boundless expanse of the ocean" (Foucault 1998: 184–5). And like a ship, a time capsule not only "visits different spaces, it reflects and incorporates them" (Johnson 2006: 80)—as does the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* that asks future generations to "translate it from time to time" and thus to embark on its journey.

More precisely, heterotopias *incorporate* elements from other real sites of society, which they, in turn, re-contextualize. As a consequence of their re-contextualization, the purpose of these elements changes. Like postage stamps that go into a stamp collection, they lose their *former* use value and take on a *new* one. We may therefore say that heterotopias are agencies of revaluation: by being relocated to the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, the Holy Bible, for instance, ceases to be a holy or religious object in the proper sense, and becomes an historical document. Thomas Mann's essays, to mention another example, which were once directed at a contemporary audience and pursued a contemporary objective, start speaking about themselves when transferred to the time capsule (see Endres 2017). The extra-territoriality these books gain through their de-contextualization reflects back on how one reads them: they become heterotopias in relation to their previous meanings and former selves.

While the paratext of time capsules implements an intergenerational multilingualism that allows the capsule to remain legible throughout the ages, its heterotopianism serves a different—yet equally important—function: it lends a representative status to its objects. By moving to a heterotopian site, an object—such as a text—becomes potentially self-

referential. Classical texts, for their part, owe their classicalness not least to their heterotopian relationship to the culture that treats them as such—rather than to the exquisiteness or a particular quality of their form or content. Like the interior of a time capsule that becomes relevant due to being selected (instead of being selected due to being relevant), canonicity, as a procedure, is less a matter of *what* than of *how*. For the same reason, the criteria for exceptionality and representativeness posited for canonicity are as much beyond a definition based on substance alone, as are the criteria for a "right" object for a time capsule: An object is considered representative of a certain time, people and tongue because of the meta-historical significance its heterotopian status grants it.

Unlike a paratext, though, the allocation of a text to a heterotopian space is not just a matter of framing. Frames make visible; they highlight, center, and channel one's gaze. Heterotopian spaces, on the other hand, withdraw from sight what would otherwise be visible. The objects of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* are high-circulation commodities of their time: newspaper articles, mass products, copies. Every one of its items is actually a replica of an item freely available in the capsule's environment. Only the capsule provides an artificial scarcity to its inventory by concealing it and extricating it from the realm of daily use. That is precisely what heterotopias do:

> Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that isolates them and makes them penetrable at the same time. In general, one does not gain entry to a heterotopian emplacement as if to a windmill. Either one is constrained to enter, which is the case with barracks and prisons, or one has to submit to rituals and purifications. One can enter only with a certain permission and after a certain number of gestures have been performed. There are even heterotopias that are entirely devoted to those purification activities, a half-religious half-hygienic purification as in Muslim baths, or an apparently purely hygienic purification as in Scandinavian saunas. (Foucault 1998: 183)

In the case of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule*, the sealing, consecration and public burial ceremony, as much as the ritualized instructions for its retrieval, account for a para-religious practice in this sense, one that monitors and regulates the semi-transparence of the space as defined by the capsule.

Classical texts, in turn, describe a secluded space like a time capsule, and can also be accessed only under certain conditions—conditions that assure their proper use. For instance, in order to access a classical text, one is required to know more than one

language beside one's own. Among other things, such a requirement is manifest in the history of literary studies curricula, which—especially in Europe—are traditionally based on multilingual training, although the knowledge of the source language of the classical text in question would seem sufficient. But by putting up a multilingual language requirement, the accessibility of a classical text can be controlled. This isn't a new observation (see, for instance, Wegmann 1994: 402–3).[9] What has been mostly overlooked, though, is how this institutionally requested multilingualism of the reader affects the reading of a classical text. I would go so far as to say that it inscribes itself into the classical text, thus adding to its internal multilingualism. Its functioning is that of a translation in reverse – instead of transferring the language of the classical text into the language of its reader, the language proficiency of the reader slips in another "dialect" into the linguistic registers of the classical text. In this sense, classical texts even speak (of) languages that aren't their own.

The translations inside the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* are based on the same principle. Its authors didn't assume that the receiver of the capsule would read the English texts in translation. The reference to the Rosetta Stone is quite clear: by using those translations the reader is supposed to gain not only an understanding of the English *text*, but of the English *language* as such. His or her ability to read multiple languages will allow him or her to understand a text, which is, paradoxically, written in neither one of those languages.[10] Yet again, the understanding of multiple languages on the part of the reader informs the reading of a text that seems to be perfectly monolingual.

The internal multilingualism and Rosetta Stone-like quality of microcosmic time capsules and canonical texts, their paratextual features and their heterotopian status are therefore equally crucial to their functioning, and can hardly be addressed separately. For instance, while their heteropianism is reflected in their paratextual layering, it also proves essential to their multilingualism. All these elements work together to assure that time capsules, and classical texts, not only survive and stay exemplary, but remain intelligible over time. Time capsules, and classical texts, are thus durable to the extent that they are "over-structured", which is to say that they have to encode their messages on multiple levels at once in order to achieve timeless significance.

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[1] An explicit reference to the "opening of King Tutankhamen's tomb" was also made in a Westinghouse press release advertising the time capsule project (Heinz History Center, Detre Library & Archives, George Westinghouse Museum Collection).

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[2] This might also be true for tombs. They are, however, usually not intended to be reopened, but to live on by virtue of their sufficiently meaningful exteriors (which may, nevertheless, be underpinned by reference to an otherwise secluded interior).

[3] The achievement, which the idea of a paratext represents in terms of the entire project, can be fully acknowledged only if compared to earlier suggestions of how to pass on the memory of the capsule – suggestions I will have to discuss elsewhere.

[4] On the concurrence of the "normativity and historicity" of classical texts, see Voßkamp 1993: 5–8.

[5] The idea of organizing the language key around the concept of "spokenness" successively emerged from conversations Pendray had with Benjamin L. Whorf (who was the first to be asked to design it) and Harrington – details, which I cannot go into here. Interestingly enough, the idea to teach "futurians how to pronounce English, when the real problem is to teach them how to read it", was originally met with concerns among the initiators of the time capsule (letter from Pendray to Harrington, September 6, 1938; Heinz History Center, Detre Library & Archives, George Westinghouse Museum Collection).

[6] "He who writes, remains" (German proverb).

[7] "All, that which gains immortal life in song, / To mortal life must perish!" Friedrich Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlandes* (1800), lines 127–128 (Schiller 1987: 173, translation mine).

[8] Press release from the Westinghouse Company (Heinz History Center, Detre Library & Archives, George Westinghouse Museum Collection).

[9] Following a practice of 19th-century philology, to determine the suitability of a text for philological treatment by the technical difficulties it presents to the editor, rather than by its 'classical' content (Wegmann 1994: 415), the content of the *Westinghouse Time Capsule* appears more classical (i.e., worthy to be preserved) in proportion to the technical and physical obstacles it has to survive. Similarly, the "reconstructive reading" that the future recipients of the time capsule will have to undertake to decipher the capsule's message mimics the reconstructive reading that informs the reception of a classical text (Wegmann 1994: 417).

[10] This aspect of the Rosetta Stone—and its distinction from a translation tool—was made clear in a letter from Harrington to Pendray in which the former clarifies: "If anyone asks whether the present key deals more with the pronunciation of 1938 English than with the interpretation of this English, let me say that with the phonetic key, the texts, the list of one-thousand words and the dictionaries the futurites can study out and ascertain the pronunciation and meaning of every word contained in the Time Capsule. THE KEY IS ENDLESS IN ITS SCOPE, LIMITED ONLY BY THE AMOUNT OF STUDY SPENT ON IT." (Harrington to Pendray, September 8, 1938; Heinz History Center, Detre Library & Archives, George Westinghouse Museum Collection)