

ing a male voice, Lombarda seeks to represent the male from the female perspective, but also, to delve into the mind of the male. Thus, the narcissistic portrayal of Bernart enables Lombarda to reveal the limits of the male perspective by claiming that Bernart is in love with his own image. The limits of the narcissistic reflection do not allow for a full access. The other is always perceived as the Other, and, in the sense of Lacanian mirror stage, the self is also perceived as Other. When Lombarda destroys the grounds for Bernart's narcissism, claiming that the mirror has no image, she mocks Bernart's narcissistic impulses, thus establishing an independent identity. In the context of medieval literature this sort of feminine identity is rare.

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MANOMÈTRE (1922-28) AND BORGES'S FIRST PUBLICATIONS IN FRANCE

DONALD L. SHAW

IN his essay "Pour la préhistoire ultraïste de Borges" (*Cahiers L'Herne* 161) Guillermo de Torre writes: "Dans ses premières lignes autobiographiques – celles qu'il rédigea pour une *Exposición de la actual poesía argentina* (1927) – Borges écrit: 'Je suis porteño... Je suis né en 1900... En 18 j'allais en Espagne. Là j'ai collaboré aux commencements de l'ultraïsme...' Eclairons ce point-là: 'J'ai collaboré' et avec quelle fréquence et quelle intensité! A peine ouvre-t-on un quelconque numéro de cette tendance, *Grecia, Ultra, Tableros*... qu'on y trouve quelques écrits de lui en prose ou en vers..." Gloria Videla extends the list to include *Cosmópolis, Cervantes* and *Reflector*. In the magazines mentioned in her book she also includes *Manomètre*. But since in her bibliography she mentions only the brief review which it carried of Guillermo de Torre's *Hélices* (1923), without either details or page-numbers, she may not have seen the original. Clearly, however, this little magazine deserves attention not only by Hispanists but also by students both of comparative literature and of cultural movements in Europe in the 1920s.

Manomètre began publication in Lyons in 1922, dying in 1928 after nine numbers. Its founder and contributing editor was a young doctor with literary pretensions, Emile Malaspine (1892-1953). He had served in the First World War as a medical auxiliary and been gassed in 1918. While recuperating in Switzerland during the following year he met Vicente Huidobro and almost certainly through him came into contact with other Spanish and Spanish American poets and with the little reviews in which they published. Thus he was presently able to contribute, like Borges, to the *Ultraïsta* magazine *Alfar*, published in Corunna between 1921 and 1927 and to *Proa* (1922 and 1924-26) in Buenos Aires. About the time he met Huidobro, Malaspine also met Hans Arp, the French

poet, painter and sculptor and possibly through him contacted Herwarth Walden, the editor of the immensely influential *Der Sturm* in Berlin (1910-1932) to which he would contribute along with Tristan Tzara. No doubt through other acquaintances Malespine would also publish in *Her Oversicht* (Antwerp), *Mertz* (Hanover), *Ma* (Vienna), and even *Zenit* (Zagreb-Belgrade), as well as sundry French magazines. His career illustrates how interconnected the small literary and artistic magazines of the day in Europe tended to be.

Manomètre engaged Malespine's main efforts in the 1920s outside his profession. It is not impossible that it was inspired by Huidobro's similar magazine *Creación* which began to appear a year earlier than its French counterpart. Both published items in several languages and accepted, in addition to poetry, illustrations of contemporary painting and architecture and articles on the arts in general, including the "new" music. A glance at the list of contributors to *Manomètre* is quite startling. They included acquaintances like Huidobro, Arp, and Guillermo de Torre; fellow editors of other little magazines (who could return the favor) like Walden, Julio J. Casal (the editor of *Alfar* between 1923 and 1926), and *Alfar's* next editor, Julio González del Valle; poets like Rogelio Buendía, Borges, and others best forgotten who were active with Huidobro and de Torre in Spanish *Ultraista* magazines; and friends of friends like Tzara, Soupault, Mondrian and the Mexican Stridentist, Maples Arce. The list is remarkable until we recall that around the same time *Grecia* in Spain (whose editorial board included Buendía) was publishing contributions by (or translations of) Apollinaire, Marinetti, Cocteau, Tzara, Reverdy, Soupault and others of similar caliber.

Sadly, the first contribution in Spanish to *Manomètre*, "Poesía sin lógica" (*Manomètre* 1, pp. 11-13),¹ is unsigned. It purports to specify, very schematically, the difference between contemporary poetry and that of earlier periods. It contains nothing surprising to anyone who has read, for instance, the *Prisma* manifesto of 1921 signed by Guillermo de Torre, Guillermo Juan, Eduardo González Lanuza and Borges, which it-

¹ The pagination of this collection is as follows: No. 1 is paginated 1-16; thereafter the other eight numbers are paginated consecutively 1-155. To avoid misunderstanding I give both the number of the magazine and the pages as they appear in the collected edition. I owe the discovery of *Manomètre* to the Curator of the Borges Collection at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, Dr. J. B. Loewenstein, to whom I return grateful thanks.

self rehearses the basic doctrines of an already well-established "new" poetry, that of the European avant-garde. It is in fact a simplified explanation of what the *ultraistas*, in this case, took for granted, with certain concessions to a provincial French readership familiar with Spanish. The writer insists on the suppression of anecdotic content, rhyme and metre, while stressing the continuing importance of rhythm and musicality, with predictable references to Rémy de Gourmont and Verlaine. What links this short essay to Borges's views at this time is the insistence on imagery as the stuff of poetry, so that what is to be aimed at is "música de imágenes" without the necessity of logical or syntactical connections from line to line or stanza to stanza. "La sensación interna domina la sensación externa. (Cenestesia)... A la lengua lógica se substituye la lengua cenestésica... Un poema perfectamente lógico no es poético..." (p. 13). What makes this item interesting is that it was almost certainly written by Guillermo de Torre. If so, it represents one of his earliest attempts to explain the outlook of the group of poets to whom he belonged. The chief reason, apart from the content, which points towards de Torre as the author, is that the essay contains the phrase "Palabras en libertad" which subsequently became the title of a section in his only book of poetry, *Hélices* (1923). Poems by de Torre appear in the second, third and eighth numbers of *Manomètre*.² Clearly Malespine saw de Torre as a more promising poet than Borges, but had serious doubts already about *ultraismo* and the avant-garde. Indeed, before long Malespine was issuing his own manifestos, in favor of what he called "Suridéalisme" (7, 109-11 and 9, 154-55). The second of these was merely a polemical article directed against a Parisian take-over of the name of his "movement". In the first, however, he develops his criticism of recent poetry as merely a pattern of rhythms and images (especially the latter) and calls for a return to ideas and to simpler poetic diction. Nonetheless, as we saw, he did publish another poem by de Torre.

The inclusion of items by Huidobro and Borges, not forgetting those by more minor figures like Maples Arce, Rogelio Buendía, Julio Casal, Roberto Ortelli and Julio González del Valle, is interesting chiefly be-

² To be precise: "Inauguración" (dated "Madrid 1922 [2, pp. 6-7]), "Ventilador" (from *Hélices* [3, pp. 40-41]), with a short introduction by Malespine, praising *Hélices* and declaring his friendship with de Torre, but already uttering a significant warning against "l'image outrancière" and de Torre's use of *recherché* language, and "Balneario" (dated "Ontaneda, sept. 1924" [8, 132-33]).

cause of the way they figure alongside others by Tzara,³ Soupault,⁴ Arp,⁵ and Mondrian, who contributed a little essay on "Les arts et la beauté de notre ambiance tangible" (6, pp. 107-8). Huidobro's contribution is his poem "La Matelotte" from *Automne régulier* (1925). It is identical with the version contained in his *Obras completas*, (I, 1976, pp. 344-45) save in one respect: line 6 here reads "Les bateaux traînent les vagues jusqu'à toucher le ciel!" while the *Obras completas* text has "monter au ciel".

The two poems by Borges: "Sábado" (2, p. 12) and "Atardecer" (4, p. 71) are another matter. So far as I know, these were the first of his poems to be published in France and, in the case of the second, the first to be translated into any language. The second number of *Manomètre*, in which "Sábado" appeared, came out in October 1922. By this time Borges had returned to Buenos Aires from Spain and was preparing *Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923) in which the poem figures under the title "Sábados" and was dedicated to his then *novia* Concepción Guerrero (Meneses 43-52). Shortly before the poem appeared in *Manomètre* a version had appeared in *Nosotros* (Buenos Aires) in September 1922. None of the three versions is identical to any of the others. The version in *Manomètre* reads as follows:

SÁBADO

Benjui de tu presencia
que luego he de quemar en el recuerdo
y miradas felices
de ir orillando tu alma
Afuera hay un ocaso joya oscura
engastada en el tiempo
que levanta las calles humilladas

³ "Herbiers des jeux et des calculs," from *De nos oiseaux*, 1929 (3, p. 38); "Préalable" and "Précise" from *L'arbre des voyageurs*, 1932 (5, p. 87 and 8, p. 136); "Les écluses de la pensée", "Le nain dans son cornet", "Chaque ampoule contient mon système nerveux" and "Carnage abracadabrant", all four from *L'antitéte: Monsieur Aa l'antiphilosophie*, 1933 (2, pp. 4-5 and 7, p. 118). All of these are fully documented in the first two volumes of Tzara's *Oeuvres complètes*. Paris, Flammarion, I, 1975 and II, 1977.

⁴ A note on Paul Eluard's *Répétitions* (2, pp. 10-11) and another on Tzara's *De nos oiseaux* (4, pp. 75-76).

⁵ "Die Schwallenhode" (2, p. 11) and four illustrations, one of which is accompanied by an untitled poem beginning: "die fahnenflüchtigen engel stürzen verhetzt herein" (8, p. 130).

y una honda ciudad ciega
de hombres que no te vieron
La tarde calla o canta
Alguien descrucifica los anhelos
clavados en el piano
Siempre la multitud de tu hermosura
en claro esparcimiento sobre mi alma

The version in *Nosotros*, published a month earlier, reads as follows (the variants are in italics):

SÁBADO

Benjui de tu presencia
que iré quemando luego en el recuerdo
y miradas felices
de *borderar tu vivir*.
Afuera hay un ocaso joya oscura
engastada en el tiempo
que *redime* las calles humilladas
y una honda ciudad ciega
de hombres que no te vieron.
La tarde calla o canta.
Alguien descrucifica los *acordes*
clavados en el piano.
Siempre la multitud de tu *belleza*
en claro esparcimiento sobre mi alma. (Scarano 93-95)

Finally, the version published in *Fervor de Buenos Aires* was as follows:

SÁBADOS

Para mi novia, Concepción Guerrero
Benjui de tu presencia
que iré quemando luego en el recuerdo
y miradas felices
de borderar tu vivir.
Hay afuera un ocaso, alhaja oscura
engastada en el tiempo
que redime las calles humilladas
y una honda ciudad ciega
de hombres que no te vieron.
La tarde calla o canta.
Alguien descrucifica los anhelos

clavados en el piano.
Siempre la multitud de tu hermosura
en claro esparcimiento sobre mi alma.

Although it was published earlier, the *Nosotros* version seems to be a corrected version of the text in *Manomètre*, since it is clearly closer to the *Fervor* text. Some points are interesting. We notice that in *Nosotros* Borges has discreetly restored punctuation. Secondly, he replaces "luego he de quemar" with "iré quemando luego" but, on the other hand, he substitutes "bordear tu vivir" for "ir orillando tu alma". This last substitution removes both an overstatement and an Argentinism. It refines the effect of line 4; but in addition the change deliberately introduces the only "verso agudo" in the poem as amended, altering the whole rhythmic effect of the opening. As we know, a major feature of Borges's early poetry about Buenos Aires was its tendency to humanize the city-scape. Here that tendency is intensified by the substitution of "redime", a verb more appropriate to humans, for the more banal "levanta". The change seems to have been made in order to emphasize Borges's sense of the contrast between the squalid streets and the beauty of the sunset. Interestingly, the two other changes made in the *Nosotros* version do not survive into the poem as it appeared in the first edition of *Fervor*: "anhelos" becomes less metaphorically "acordes" in the allusion to a piano in the background, but "anhelos" is wisely restored in 1923. Similarly, Concepción's "hermosura" becomes "belleza" in the *Nosotros* version, losing the acoustic effect of the tonic accents on "multitUd" and "hermosUra", but Borges again had wise second thoughts. In the version contained in *Fervor*, the change from "joya" to "alhaja" in line 5 is presumably dictated by a desire to balance "afuera" earlier in the line; in this case the change is surely an improvement. It is not clear why the title is shifted from singular to plural in *Fervor*, since the experience which the poem expresses seems to be related to a specific occasion. Perhaps the change is related to "la multitud de tu hermosura", in the sense that each Saturday evening of the kind evoked reveals one more facet of Concepción's manifold beauty.

The second Borges poem to be published in *Manomètre* was then entitled "Atardecer". Later, when it was incorporated into *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, it lost its individual existence and title, becoming instead stanza three (lines 9-18) of "Sábados", which was expanded to 28 lines.

The only difference between the *Manomètre* version and the lines as they appear later in *Fervor*, is that in the *Manomètre* text there is no punctuation other than a final period thoughtlessly added by Malespine at the end of his translation. In *Fervor*, punctuation is restored. Since this is probably the first poem by Borges ever to be translated, I reproduce the original and the translation:

ATARDECER

A despecho de tu desamor
tu hermosura
prodiga su milagro por el tiempo
Está en tí la ventura
como la primavera en la hoja nueva
Quedamente a tu vera
se desangra el silencio
Ya casi no soy nadie
soy tan solo un anhelo
que se pierde en la tarde
En tí está la delicia
como está la crueldad en las espadas

LE SOIR TOMBE

En dépit de ton désamour
ta beauté
par le temps son miracle prodigue
le bonheur est en toi comme
le printemps dans la feuille neuve
Quiètement à ton côté
le silence perd son sang
Déjà presque personne ne suis
Suis seulement un désir
qui se perd avant la nuit
Le délice est en toi
comme est la cruauté dans les épées.

Despite helpful work by Guillermo de Torre, Videla, Meneses, Linda Maier and others, if and when the much-heralded critical and annotated edition of the complete works of Borges ever appears (hopefully it will be begun before his centenary), much more research will be required on his early poetry, including that contained in manuscripts which are still coming to light, and in small journals of which *Manomètre* is a hitherto

neglected example. It is to be hoped that the process of accumulating evidence, to which this note is a modest contribution, will continue, until we have really adequate and systematic documentation of this period of his career.

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RABELAIS, RAMINAGROBIS AND THE PROBLEM
 OF CENSORSHIP, *TIERS LIVRE*, 21-23

CHRISTINE RAFFINI

IN an attempt to shield *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua* from condemnation Rabelais in 1541 republished them stripped – he hoped – of all offensive and satirical references to the theologians of the Sorbonne. The word *sophiste* replaced such savorous terms as *sorbonagre* and *sorbonicol* (Plattard, xliii) which had served to indicate the fossilized professors of theology and their specious and denatured reasoning. Rabelais's efforts were, however, in vain. The Sorbonne's condemnation and Parliament official censorship of the two works occurred on March 2, 1543, exactly two days before the funeral of Guillaume du Bellay – an ironic coincidence, historically associating Rabelais's hated persecutors with his beloved patron. Three years later, in the *Tiers Livre*, Rabelais would again bring them into association, but in such a way as to impede a clear-cut interpretation, hoping thereby to shield himself from the enemy while still cherishing the memory of his friend and protector.

There can be no doubt that love, admiration and gratitude led Rabelais to inscribe Guillaume du Bellay, the Seigneur de Langey in both the *Tiers* and the *Quart Livre*, and even to celebrate his heroic exploits in a separate work – now lost.¹ In the *Quart Livre*, for example, after the great storm, a lighthearted mood gives way to one of mysterious solemnity, building toward Rabelais's inscription of this benefactor. Finding themselves on the Island of Macraeon in a dark forest, the home of an

¹ In 1542, the work was published at Lyon; written in Latin and later translated in French as *Siratagèmes c'est à dire prouesses & ruses de guerre du pieux & très célèbre chevalier de Langey dans la tierce guerre Césarienne*. In November of the same year Langey remembers Rabelais in his will (Demerson, 27). These and other biographic data found in Demerson's *Chronologie* show that Rabelais's esteem of the Seigneur de Langey was not a mere literary pose.