

Termini *z a p i s n i k* und *n a p i s n i k*. *D e m e t e r* hebt hervor, daß das Wort *z a p i s* „ein Legat (ein Vermächtnis)“ bedeute; „darum also kann *z a p i s n i k* keineswegs ein Protokoll bedeuten“. Deshalb setzt er für „Protokoll“ die Bezeichnung *n a p i s n i k*. Indes gab ihm die Entwicklung der Sprache nicht recht.

Große Bedeutung hatte das Werk auch für die Phraseologie; denn in ihm finden sich viele Redewendungen. Hat sich auch manches nicht eingebürgert, (*изгубленье уреда, одкуплива дужност, западакъ притиужаня*, u. a.), so fehlt es doch nicht an Gegenbeispielen. Hier einige durchaus gängige Wendungen, die durch dieses Werk ins Sprachleben gelangten: *postupati u čemu, zahvaliti se na uredu (službi), postaviti koga na čije mesto, ustupiti kome što, svedočiti—dati svedočanstvo, doskočiti (manama) — ukloniti mane, промиенити мисао* (d. h. *mišljenje*), *podupirati koga, ići kome na ruku (na korist), položiti ispit, zbog nedostatka dokaza (što nema dovoljno dokaza), osporiti ne kome nešto, suzbiti silu*. Auf diese Weise erhellt das Werk ein gutes Stück phraseologischer Problematik des Serbokroatischen, die noch völlig im Dunkel liegt, wohl aber einer ausführlichen Studie wert ist, die zweifellos zu einem besseren Verständnis der Entwicklungsgeschichte dieser Sprache einiges beitragen würde.

Zur Geschichte des Wörterbuchs der Jugoslawischen Akademie

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Von dem großen historischen Wörterbuch der skr. Sprache¹⁾ *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, das die Südslawische Akademie in Agram seit 1880 herausgibt, liegen bis jetzt 16 Quartbände (69 Hefte) von je 960 Seiten in zweiseitigem Petitdruck vor. Da die ausstehenden 4—5 Bände voraussichtlich noch in diesem Jahr im Druck erscheinen, das Wb. also unmittelbar vor dem Abschluß steht, soll hier ein kurzer Überblick über die Entstehung und Aufbau dieses größten lexikographischen Werkes (250 000 Stichwörter) nicht nur

¹⁾ künftig Wb. abgekürzt.

der Südslawen, sondern des slawischen Raumes überhaupt gegeben werden.

Vor rund 80 Jahren beschlossen die Gründer der Südslawischen Akademie, der Bischof Josip Juraj Strossmajer und der Historiker Franjo Rački, im Rahmen der Akademie auch ein Wb. der skr. Sprache herauszubringen, und betrauten im März 1866 mit dieser Arbeit den eigens dafür nach Agram berufenen Vukschüler und damaligen Professor „der slavischen Sprachen und Literaturen“ an der Hochschule in Belgrad, Djuro Daničić (1825—1882)²⁾, der als der beste Kenner der südslawischen Sprachen galt. Da das Gelingen eines so weitgespannten Vorhabens eine straffe Arbeitsmethode und einen einheitlichen Aufbau erforderte, leitete Daničić zunächst die organisatorischen Arbeiten ein und verfaßte eine auf alle Einzelheiten eingehende programmatische Schrift „Ogled“³⁾, die er 1867, im Eröffnungsjahr der Akademie, seinen Auftraggebern überreichte. 1878 erschien diese Schrift im Druck. Ausgehend von dem Grundsatz, daß das Wb. den gesamten Wortschatz der skr. Sprache in seiner Entwicklung und Wandlung umfassen soll, ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob es sich um gebräuchliches oder bereits veraltetes Sprachgut handelt, legte Daničić hinsichtlich der Auswahl des Materials folgende Richtlinien fest:

1. Erfassung des skr. Sprachschatzes von der ältesten Zeit bis zum endgültigen Sieg der Volkssprache (10. Jh.—Mitte 19. Jh.), was natürlich auch die Verwertung der lat. und ksl. Quellen zur Voraussetzung hatte, und Erweiterung um typisch volkssprachliche Elemente von der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jh.s an⁴⁾;
2. Berücksichtigung der Personen- und Ortsnamen sowie
3. der Fremdwörter mit Angabe ihrer Herkunft. Um Vollständigkeit zu erzielen, sollten
4. schließlich auch solche kajkavischen Ausdrücke einbezogen werden, die in die skr. Mundarten eingedrungen waren. Die ausschließlich kajkavischen Wörter jedoch sollten einem Mundartwörterbuch vorbehalten bleiben. Daničić teilt hier die irrige Ansicht seines Lehrers Miklosich, der im Kajkavischen eine slowenische Mundart sah.

²⁾ s. R. Vrhovac: Karakter i rad Djure Daničića. Neusatz: Matica srpska 1923. — Djordje Živanović: Mladi Daničić (1825—1845). In: Zbornik Matice srpske I, 1953 (S. 101—122), II, 1954 (S. 108—122), III, 1956 (S. 126—135)

³⁾ Ogled rječnika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, Agram 1878.

⁴⁾ Die ursprünglich zum Exzerpieren vorgesehene Zahl der Werke wurde im Laufe der Arbeit wesentlich erweitert. Zusammenstellung s. Rječnik Bd. VI, XII.

Die wissenschaftliche Anordnung des Sprachstoffes plante Daničić folgendermaßen:

1. Die einzelnen Stichwörter sollen mit Akzent angegeben werden, ebenso wird der Akzentwechsel innerhalb der Formenkategorien angeführt, aber nur dann, wenn er in Vuks Wb. vorhanden ist⁵⁾. In allen anderen Fällen unterbleibt die Akzentuierung.
2. Berücksichtigt werden ferner die phonetischen und morphologischen Veränderungen, denen der Wortschatz im Laufe seiner Entwicklung unterlag, z. B. die regressive Assimilation vrábac: vrápca, svät: svädba, oder der Zusammenfall bestimmter Kasus usw., wobei angegeben werden soll, von wann ab dieser Prozeß chronologisch faßbar ist.
3. Jedes Stichwort soll genaue Angaben darüber enthalten, wann und wo es erstmals begegnet bzw. bis wann es im Gebrauch war. Auf diese Weise soll sein Ausbreitungsgebiet ermittelt werden.
4. Als Anhänger A. F i c k s⁶⁾ verlangte Daničić im Geiste der damaligen idg. Wissenschaft, daß jedes Wort nach Möglichkeit mit seiner idg. Wurzel angeführt wird.
5. Neben der Hauptbedeutung eines Wortes sollen sämtliche Bedeutungsnuancen aufgezählt werden. Sowohl Hauptbedeutung als auch semantischer Wandel müssen mit Beispielen zeitlich und örtlich belegt werden. Die Erklärung der Wörter erfolgt durch kurze Definitionen, Wörter aus einer anderen Sprache (meist Latein) oder Synonyma. Die Nebenbedeutungen werden skr. erläutert, wobei der Unterschied zur Hauptbedeutung oder den anderen Nebenbedeutungen zu unterstreichen ist. Vereinzelt kann hier auch die lat. Entsprechung gebraucht werden.

Nach diesem Programm gestaltete Daničić die Arbeit an dem Wb. und 1871 konnte er die erste Durchsicht des gesammelten Materials vornehmen. Unter seiner Leitung erschien auch 1880—82 der erste Band, der die Wörter A-ČEŠULJA enthält. Außerdem bearbeitete Daničić bis zu seinem Tode (17. XI. 1882) noch 3 1/2 Bogen des zweiten Bandes bis zum Wort ČOBO. Obwohl Daničićs Nachfolger im großen und ganzen an seinen Richtlinien festhielten, läßt sich doch ein gewisses Abweichen in der Arbeitsmethode feststellen, das dem Bestreben nach einer rationelleren Bearbeitung des

⁵⁾ Vuk S. Karadžić: Srpski rječnik istumačen Njemačkim i Latinskijem riječima. Wien 1818, 2. Aufl. 1852.

⁶⁾ Fick, A.: Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen. Göttingen 1874—76, 3. Aufl.

Stoffes, einem beschleunigten Arbeitsgang sowie dem Wunsch, den Grundsätzen der sich ändernden Wissenschaft gerecht zu werden, Rechnung trug.

Daničić's Definitionen waren oft sehr kompliziert und lang, die Beispiele zu zahlreich, vor allem waren seine Etymologien nicht immer richtig⁷⁾. Der erste Nachfolger Daničićs war kurze Zeit Matija Valjavec (1831—1897), der den zweiten Band bis zum Wort ČUŽITI führte. Mit dem Buchstaben D beginnend, übernahm der ragusäische Polyglott Pero Budmani (1835—1914) die Redaktion und Bearbeitung des Wb., das er in 24 Jahren bis zum Wort MASLINSKI (4 Bde.) brachte. In Übereinstimmung mit Miklosich und im Gegensatz zu Daničić betonte Budmani nicht mehr die idg. Wurzel, sondern bereits die ursl. Form. Die Fremdwörter wurden nicht mehr unter einem Sammelbegriff, z. B. Turzismen, Romanismen usw., zusammengefaßt, sondern nach ihrer Herkunft getrennt. Die Zahl der Beispiele wurde beträchtlich eingeschränkt. Als Ragusäer gebrauchte Budmani vorwiegend die Betonung seiner engeren Heimat.

Noch vorsichtiger in Bezug auf etymologische Hypothesen war Budmanis Nachfolger, der bekannte Slawist Tomo Maretić (1854—1938)⁸⁾, zu dessen Lebzeiten 6 Bde. im Druck erschienen. Das Material für den 7. Bd. (bis PRŠUTINA) lag bei seinem Tode im Manuskript vor⁹⁾. Genau wie Budmani suchte Maretić die Zahl der Beispiele einzuschränken und die Definitionen möglichst kurz zu halten, ging dabei aber oft zu weit. So werden z. B. die morphologischen Abweichungen oder Akzentverschiebungen nur noch in ganz seltenen Fällen angeführt. Ebenso unterbleibt die Berücksichtigung neuer Quellen, deren Material Ergänzungsbänden vorbehalten bleiben soll.

Nach Maretićs Tode, dem es nicht gelungen war, einen ständigen Mitarbeiter zu seinem Nachfolger heranzubilden, geriet die Arbeit am Wb. ins Stocken und die Kriegswirren vereitelten ein ganzes Jahrzehnt die Wiederaufnahme.

Erst nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg konnte die neu eröffnete Südslawische Akademie an die Fortsetzung des Werkes denken. Man beschloß, die Organisation einem Redakteur zu übertragen, während

⁷⁾ Skok, P.: O etimološkom rječniku hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. In: Filologija I, 1957, S. 8.

⁸⁾ Skok, P.: Tomo Maretić. In: Ljetopis der Südslaw. Akademie 54, 1949. S. 310—49.

⁹⁾ Skok, P.: O etimološkom rječniku hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. In: Filologija I, 1957, S. 9.

mit den wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten 10 Philologen und 2 Akademiemitglieder, Prof. D. B o r a n i ć und Prof. P. S k o k , die auch bis zu ihrem Tode verantwortlich zeichneten, betraut wurden. Dieser Arbeitsgemeinschaft gelang es, seit 1952 fast 4^{1/2} Bde. (H. 53—69) in Druck zu geben, das Material also bis zum Wort STRESTI fertig vorzulegen¹⁰⁾.

An der Struktur des Wb. wurde nichts geändert. Die inzwischen erschöpfend exzerpierten alten und neueren Quellen ermöglichen aber ein systematischeres Vorgehen. Die Wahl des Sprachstoffes ist nicht mehr der Willkür des Einzelnen überlassen, sondern ergibt sich aus dem gesammelten Material; ein Übersehen wesentlicher Momente scheidet dadurch aus, und die genauere zeitliche und örtliche Fixierung ist gewährleistet. Es wird angestrebt, die Definitionen nicht möglichst kurz, sondern möglichst deutlich und verständlich zu fassen. Der Akzent wird auch dann angeführt, wenn er bei V u k bzw. I v e k o v i ć - B r o z ¹¹⁾ oder dem betreffenden Sammler des Materials fehlt, und zwar nach Wahrscheinlichkeit oder nach den akzentuellen Eintragungen in den älteren Quellen. In verstärktem Maße werden Parallelen aus den anderen slawischen Sprachen herangezogen, da diese oft nicht nur für das Alter des betreffenden Wortes, sondern auch für die semantische Entwicklung aufschlußreich sind. Ebenso werden oft lateinische und Belege aus anderen Sprachen zitiert, wenn diese zur Klärung der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung im Slawischen beitragen.

Über den großen Wert des Wörterbuchs für die Wissenschaft besteht wohl kaum ein Zweifel. Nicht nur daß es eine unerschöpfliche sprachliche Quelle darstellt, bildet es auch den Ausgangspunkt für eine ganze Reihe weiterer wissenschaftlicher Werke.

¹⁰⁾ Für die Informationen über den jetzigen Stand der Arbeiten am Wb. bin ich dem Redakteur, Herrn S. Musulin, zu größtem Dank verpflichtet.

¹¹⁾ F. I v e k o v i ć , — B r o z , I.: Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika. 2 Bde, Agram 1901.

NJEGOŠ'S^v PANENTHEISTIC CONCEPTION OF GOD

By ZHIKA RAD. PRVULOVICH (Birmingham) C., M. A.

„Nature is Njegoš's theology . . . Christian dogma of God's living omnipresence is the main dogma of Njegoš's creed. And it is this dogma which actually comprises three-quarters of all religious beliefs.“ — Dr. N. Velimirović²). — „God is not hidden but our eyes are too small to see Him.“ — A Serbian proverb.

Perhaps one of the most interesting, and indeed enlightening, aspects of Bishop Njegoš's speculative theology is his panentheistic conception of God. To him God's living omnipresence was a self-evident truth. The most fundamental belief of this Bishop poet about God was that, while we cannot say what the transcendent God is like in Himself, we can at least say what He does to us or, more generally, how He reveals Himself to conceiving intellects and pure hearts, indeed to all the true seekers after Him.

God's omnipresence in Nature³), which is His own abode and mode of revelation, is manifested by virtue of Beauty and Life, Reason and Order found in it; these aspects of physical existence reveal the mystical presence of the unknown God. For it is in Nature that God Himself directly speaks to man through His own works. Perhaps the most characteristic of Njegoš's belief in God's living omnipresence are the following verses:

„Whenever I turn my eyes
Thy majesty I see everywhere:
Whether I behold whale or elephant,
Whether I observe tiny ant or fly,

¹) Njegoš was prince-bishop of Montenegro from 1830 till his death in 1851. His greatest poetic works are: *Luča Mikrokozma* (The Light of the Microcosm) and *Gorski Vijenac* (The Mountain Wreath). Hereafter these will be referred to as *Luča* and *Vijenac* (or *Wreath*) respectively.

²) *Religija Njegoševa*, Belgrade, 1921 (2nd ed.), pp. 96 and 101 respectively.

³) It should be pointed out that Njegoš does not always differentiate between the external world, normally referred to as Nature, and the nature of things or φύσις. The latter meaning, however, is very rare in his works (*Luča*, p. 35 (III. 142—5)). For the purpose of our discussion, therefore, it is the former meaning which is relevant.

Whether I feast my eyes on level fields,
 Adorned with manifold blossoms,
 Whether I see the proud hills,
 Attired in their green dress, so neat,
 Or the barely visible flower, —
 Everywhere I behold Thee, the Almighty.
 The smallest petal tells Thy glory
 No less than the light of the brightest sun⁴⁾.

The poet's eyes have discovered miracles of God's presence in every single object, in every being. The last two verses emphasize this thought most tellingly. All things, visible and invisible, near and far, tell of their majestic Creator, Whose seal they bear on their faces:

„Whether I watch the course of earth,
 Whether I watch the sun's effulgence,
 Whether I watch the brightness and speed
 Of the myriad stars in heaven above —
 All fill me with great wonder,
 All tell of Thee, the Almighty Lord ...
 Thee, the crown of all existence,
 Thee, Whose Word moves all things,
 ... the Lord of my mind and my soul“.⁵⁾

According to Njegoš, natural things speak of God in their own way, each one in its original and unique manner. This universal testimony of God's omnipresence is due to the fact that God manifests Himself, His own Spirit, in whatever He has created. This is equally true of the world of spirits and of earthly existence. Not only that

„Every angelic face radiates
 The sublimity of the Creator“⁶⁾

but in every single particle and animalcula God's thoughts and ideas are expressly manifested. They all proclaim His omnipotence and omnipresence alike:

⁴⁾ C j e l o k u p n a D j e l a , Belgrade, 1953, vol. II, p. 63 (vv. 94—105). — Nje-goš's complete works (C j e l o k u p n a d j e l a), including three volumes of letters, have been published in Belgrade between 1951 and 1956. Volumes to which we refer in this article under D j e l a were published in 1951 (I), 1952 (III and IV) and 1953(II). — All the translations, except those from the W r e a t h , are our own rendering.

⁵⁾ D j e l a , II, p. 61 (vv. 27—37).

⁶⁾ L u č a , p. 23 (II. No. 105—6).

„The holy Creator's majesty shines
As much in sparks as in the suns,
As much in mortals as in deities“⁷⁾.

Being all His creations, they are all equally dear to Him. Everything created expresses God's wisdom; all things are created according to God's design and, consequently, reflect His own mind. Small wonder, then, that Njegoš discovered the miracles of God's presence „everywhere“⁸⁾. In exaltation, the poet writes:

„O Thou, most exalted Deity,
Whose Being and Life extend through all Space,
Above it and beneath,
Whose Being lives in glittering planets
And in the rays of the blazing sun
As well as in every smallest thing,
Visible to us or too small to see,
Thou givest life to every thing that is
By virtue of Thy invisible might“⁹⁾.

In other words, it is in Nature as a whole that God's majesty is written large. Nature is God's own scripture all but identical with God, open to man to read and to contemplate the Creator and His bliss¹⁰⁾. Each of Nature's component elements and items is a letter of God's unpronounceable name, as wide as the universe itself. Nature in her vastness is God's living garment, a symbolic garment, though more informative and more telling than any other imaginable symbol can be. Comparing natural theology which contemplates Nature and human theology which consists of words, Dr. N. Velimirović appropriately remarks that, to Njegoš, Nature is „the direct outpouring, expression or off-print of God's Spirit, original, first or primary, while human words about God are but a refracted, almost blind light“¹¹⁾.

Nature as the Temple of God¹²⁾. — Njegoš's natural theology was inspired by his belief that Nature is not only the most wonderful medium of God's constant revelation or cosmic theophany but also His most perfect Temple, which no man-made

⁷⁾ Ibid., p. 12 (I. 117—9).

⁸⁾ Djela, II, p. 162 (vv. 56—57).

⁹⁾ Ibid., p. 64 (vv. 127—35).

¹⁰⁾ Luča, p. 3 (D. 55—58); also, Djela, II, p. 167 (vv. 43—44).

¹¹⁾ Religija Njegoševa, p. 96.

¹²⁾ To use this phrase, without having made mention of Njegoš's Christian ecclesiology, is admittedly as abrupt as it is incomprehensible. However, as it is difficult to speak of the Church as the Body of Christ without a discussion of the

temple can match. According to Njegoš, God has built for himself a beautiful

„... shrine above all other shrines ...
That truly compriseth all dismal space,
While a thousand worlds, by regular courses,
Dance beneath its crystal firmanent.
Like a clear stream, Time onward flows
Beneath its stately dome on high,
While Eternity hides its tangled traces
Within the bosom of its broad span.
Ever-burning lights of all the worlds
In circles whirl in Thy high heavens;
They serve as lamps for Thy temple,
Obeying the eternal Father of all¹³).

In the same poem, written under the cupola of St. Peter's in Rome, the poet reaches perhaps the climax of his adoration of Nature, primarily on account of God's presence in it. Unlike the former temple, „made by hands on a minute stage“ and therefore not „fit for the Almighty God“¹⁴), Nature is the temple of God *par excellence*. Elsewhere, Njegoš even uses the word „church“ in the same connection:

„The church of God is far too big;
There is no end to its firmanent;
There is not a single pillar under its vault“¹⁵).

Like other temples, the Temple of God has its own altar and offering table. In the middle of this wonderful Temple is elevated „the disk of the centre, whence flames of light pour on all sides ... transforming light into rays undying“¹⁶). And, in conformity with his conception of God as Uncreated Light, Njegoš ends his meditation:

„This is the source of the living flame
And Thy eternal offering-table“¹⁷).

Incarnation, which is not our subject, we limit our discussion here to the Bishop's natural theology with particular reference to the manifestation of the Spirit of God in the world-wide „Temple of God“ which comprises the whole of humanity and not only a part of it.

¹³) *Djela*, II, p. 223 (vv. 25—36).

¹⁴) *Ibid.* (vv. 21—23).

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, IV, p. 91 (vv. 19—21).

¹⁶) *Ibid.*, II, p. 223 (vv. 38—40).

¹⁷) *Ibid.* (vv. 41—42).

In this universe-wide church, in which everything is sacramental and God-manifesting, all God's children have equal status. More than this: all things reflect an undying reverence for God; or, as Njegoš puts it:

„The smallest petal tells Thy glory
No less than the light of the brightest sun“¹⁸).

Millions of the stars, burning before God day and night, are candles in His Temple, only a tiny vault of which is perceptible to human eyes¹⁹). Within the precincts of God's vast Temple are

„Flowering meadows and all the groves,
All stately mountains and immense hills
That bring forth blossoms and garlands fine,
With which to bedeck the whole of Nature; —
They all are honour to their Creator“²⁰).

But, far above their creatures there stands Man, the purpose of whose life is to glorify his Creator and Father in his own, imperfect ways.

Njegoš's understanding of God's omnipresence may easily have led certain of his critics to think that he was a pantheist²¹).

Was Bishop Njegoš a pantheist? — This is not an easy question to answer. The difficulty is mainly due to the lack of precision in Njegoš's language. Admittedly, the passages just quoted are not free from pantheistic ideas. Nevertheless, in spite of the superficial pantheistic impression made by some of his verses, we are convinced that Njegoš was not a pantheist. Several reasons substantiate this view. The most important of them is that, though he believed in God's omnipresence in the whole of Nature, Njegoš never thought of Nature as God, but only as God's Temple. Dr. N. Velimirović put the poet's thought in a nutshell when he wrote that, for Njegoš, the universe or Nature is neither a pantheon, nor a

¹⁸) Ibid., p. 63 (vv. 104—5).

¹⁹) Ibid., p. 234 (vv. 3—7).

²⁰) Ibid., p. 127 (vv. 14—18). — The last line literally reads: „They all are lauding their Creator“.

²¹) Thus, e.g. Is. Sekulić called Njegoš a „pantheist, whose God-artist is identical with Nature (Njegošu knjiga duboke odanosti, Belgrade, 1951, p. 224).

p a n d e m o n i o n , but the Temple of the one and true God²²). In spite of God's living omnipresence in it, Nature is not to be worshipped, but to worship in. With all her wonderful qualities and symbolic relevance, Nature is not and cannot be God. Still less is there reason, in spite of His eternal revelation in and through His created universe, to identify God with His handiworks. Even when Njegoš occasionally uses the word „Nature“ as a substitute for the word „God“, this is obviously no more than poetic licence²³). In our opinion, the evidence of Njegoš's works refutes any suggestion that he identified God with Nature. If, for the sake of argument, we presume Njegoš's pantheism, his is not Spinoza's *D e u s s i v e N a t u r a* ; neither is it anything like the Stoics' cosmic rational fire; still less is it Bruno's Nature-God, though, according to Njegoš, God is found in all natural things. The universe, of which the visible material world or Nature forms but a tiny speck, cannot be identified with God Who transcends it all.

Again, Njegoš cannot be considered a pantheist because his God is pre-eminently a personal God, never lost among His own creations. For even when he conceives of God as an „infinite ocean“, from which everything becomes and into which everything returns²⁴), Njegoš's language is only superficially pantheistic, without ever precluding the belief that God is the Creator and *c a u s a p r i m a* of all existence. In his allegedly pantheistic passages Njegoš expressed the thought that everything is grounded in God to Whom, after its destined span of life or existence, it returns. As we have seen, he believed, paradoxically enough, in a transcendent God Who is also immanent in Nature, without ever losing His divine personality. God is everywhere in the sense that there is no place where His Spirit is not present; yet God is in no particular place and, though His omnipresence is the ground and *r a i s o n d ' ê t r e* of all existence, all is distinct from Him in virtue of His being nowhere²⁵).

²²) *Religija Njegoševa*, p. 100.

²³) The true character of these substitutions can best be seen when Njegoš writes that Nature has given Galicin to the world; that Nature has singled out the poet for a special task; that „wonders are created by Nature“, etc. (*Djela*, II, pp. 76 (v. 18), 167 (vv. 39—45) and 237 (v. 4)). In all these we could read God instead of Nature.

²⁴) *Djela*, II, p. 62 (vv. 63—75).

²⁵) This conception of Njegoš dangerously approximates some of Plotinus' more inarticulate and rudimentary pantheistic thoughts (*The Enneads*, trans. by MacKenna, Faber & Faber, 1956, p. 253).

Such a conception of God is not pantheistic but panentheistic. In other words, everything is in God, dependent upon God and God like in direct proportion to God's indwelling it.

The panentheistic conception of the universe remains both valid and compelling, not only in relation to individual things and beings, but also as regards the totality of existence and being. Yet it must not be assumed that the sum total of creation is equal to God in Njegoš's thought. Without ever suggesting that Nature is tantamount to God, he points out that the whole of Nature, because it is the Temple of God, speaks of His indwelling Spirit. Nature's language is symbolic and panentheistic: every single thing incarnates God's most exalted Ideas to the extent they have been imparted to it. Njegoš, therefore, naturally assumed that God's real presence in Nature deifies and sanctifies it²⁶). But perhaps most specifically and completely, every human soul, as a divine spark, microcosmically reflects the most sublime Macrocosm, the Almighty God²⁷).

Njegoš's panentheistic apprehension of God's omnipresence is further corroborated by his four-fold conception of Nature as Beauty, Life, Order or Law and Reason.

Nature as Beauty. — Njegoš conceived of Nature as Beauty for two main reasons: because it is God's Poetry and because it is His Temple. These two aspects of his thought would require separate papers to themselves. Here we can refer to some more relevant points.

Njegoš regarded Nature as a „temporary kind mother“²⁸), and felt at home within it. Far from being afraid of it²⁹), he wrote with filial intimacy and love about Nature feeding „upon the sun's pure all-nourishing milk“. In a strikingly personal idiom, he refers to „times without number“ when he conversed with his Mother-Nature:

„Rapt in most profound thoughts,
Lulled on Nature's flowering lap,
Feeding upon the life-giving milk
From her inviting breast laid bare“³⁰).

²⁶) Luča, p. 22 (II. 70).

²⁷) Djela, II, pp. 61—62 (vv. 52—55), p. 164 (vv. 128—31).

²⁸) Luča, p. 2 (D. 36—41).

²⁹) It is difficult to see why Dr. N. Velimirović writes that Njegoš had fears of this world and that he was essentially fighting against that fear all his life (Religija Njegoševa, p. IX).

³⁰) Luča, p. 2 (D. 32—35).

The wonders and beauties of Nature fascinated Njegoš very much. Indeed, his aesthetic optimism, permeating all his works and *Luča* in particular, is grounded upon his conception of Nature as Beauty³¹). In numerous passages he describes Nature's beauty. Thus, to take but a few examples, his poetic eye sees Nature

„Adorned with flowering Time,
Crowned with brightness of the sun
Or plaiting her radiant hair,
Sprinkling it over with pearly dew
That glistens as the stars shine down —
The more charming to greet the morn
And the eyes of her Sovereign“³²).

A somewhat similar idea is expressed in another stanza; this time the poet explicitly refers to Nature as Heaven's daughter:

„Nature is now dressed in her gorgeous dress;
Heaven is shedding its glittering gems
Upon her with its generous hand —
In order to adorn the more its daughter
And show her to us as the more delightful“³³).

In other words, Nature is beautiful with a purpose. It simply could not be otherwise because Nature is God's cosmic song. It is not surprising, then, that Njegoš discovered God in Nature more fully than anywhere else. For it was in Nature that the poet communed most frequently with God; it was in Nature that he felt the cosmic sympathy and purposefulness of existence.

Bishop Njegoš saw Nature as Beauty in practically all its aspects, all its seasons. At special times, Spring, for example, he saw Nature as if arrayed in „her wedding garments“³⁴), while forests and vales echoed to him „with joy and sweet-tuned singing“³⁵). The dawn, in particular, received Njegoš's constant praises. He writes of the „bright and joyous dawn“ and the resoundingly clear tunes of the singers who are weaving the garlands of flowers wherewith to adorn Aurora's shining face³⁶); it is the same dawn which brings

³¹) It must be mentioned, however, that Njegoš was not oblivious of the struggle and cruelty in Nature as his philosophy of evil clearly shows.

³²) *Luča*, p. 2 (D. 42—48).

³³) *Djela*, II, p. 147 (vv. 30—35).

³⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 217 (v. 27).

³⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 232 (vv. 8—9).

³⁶) *Ibid.*, I, p. 99 (vv. 355—9).

forth the glorious day and, above all, „the Lord of Light“³⁷). Or, again, he talks of the Morning Star which, gently gliding on her beautiful feet, has cast around her ensnaring hair and at each appearance makes the East smile³⁸). He had the same praise for „the blue vault of the sacred heavens, strewn throughout with starry seed“³⁹), for the „blue horizon, infinite and lofty“⁴⁰) and „the glittering stars“, on whose bright faces one could read the wonders of God⁴¹). Njegoš is carried ever farther and farther into the vast universe where „spheres are sowed with suns“⁴²) and „myriads of brightly glittering suns drown the vast sphere in light“⁴³). Vast though those suns are, to Njegoš, they are „mere luminous specks“ compared to other greater bodies, while „whole worlds are sparks hardly seen“⁴⁴).

On his mystical progress the poet discovers that the whole of Nature is nothing but a wondrous and beautiful design, befitting her omnipotent and omnipresent Master. And, quite naturally, Njegoš's aesthetic optimism grows with every step he makes through the universe until he reaches the very summit, the innermost heaven, the beauties of which have already been described as „heavenly paradise“. And, during those hours of true mystical experience, the heavenly and the earthly became intermingled in the poet's soul, highly compatible, harmonious, each transformable into its opposite; material and immaterial became, as it were, fused into something new, indistinguishable. This, perhaps, may account for the strangely identical language he uses, regardless of whether he is describing crude material bodies or the most exalted and spiritual concepts.

In ecstatic contemplation of Nature's beauty Njegoš longs to see more of the „heavenly garments“ of which „God hath store enough“⁴⁵). In all her nakedness and simplicity, Nature is God's own studio or the *ars artium*⁴⁶) and the fullness of its perfection transcends

³⁷) Ibid., II, p. 129 (v. 80).

³⁸) Ibid., p. 232 (vv. 4—6).

³⁹) *Luča*, p. 2 (D. 52—53).

⁴⁰) *Djela*, I, p. 175 (vv. 328—9).

⁴¹) Ibid., II, p. 167 (vv. 43—44).

⁴²) *Luča*, p. 36 (III. 167).

⁴³) Ibid., p. 25 (II. 147—50).

⁴⁴) Ibid., p. 8 (I. 5—6).

⁴⁵) *Wreath*, p. 190 (v. 2225).

⁴⁶) Dr. N. Velimirović, *Religija Njegoševa*, p. 15.

human comprehension, almost as much as does the Being of God. No matter how highly gifted, man can behold but a tiny fragment of Nature's most magnificent and unmatched design, displaying complete symmetry and proportion. The Perfect Architect has made Nature's parts fit admirably with the whole. This perfection of design permeates Nature even after sin and wickedness have spoilt many of its original beauties. Njegoš saw orderliness even in Nature's apparent disorders, beauty in her passing ugliness and irresistible attraction in her crudest manifestations. But, above all, it was in Nature that he saw the heavenly light which, to him, was the true medium of religious illumination⁴⁷). The whole of Nature, supernature and subnature, became for him a kind of theology⁴⁸): for in and through Nature is manifested God's living omnipresence. Njegoš's convincing and enthusiastic adoration of Nature made M. Rakočević remark that the most optimistic of all the more recent philosophers, Leibniz, had he been a poet, could neither have added nor taken one single leaf from the book concerning Nature composed by the Montenegrin Bishop⁴⁹).

Finally, it is arguable whether Njegoš's aesthetic optimism, generated at times of mystical vision, led him to think of visible Nature as Beauty. Or was it his discovery of natural beauties that resulted in his artistic modelling and depicting of the heavenly Paradise itself according to the design and pattern of Nature? Dr. B. Petronjević thought that the „higher world is for Njegoš nothing more than immortalised Nature, idealised in her beauty⁵⁰). This may be so, though it would perhaps be more correct to say that either process of artistic contemplation could have begotten the other.

Nature as Life. — Nature's Beauty is, to a great extent, due to the fact that Nature is alive. Being the abode of the living and life-giving God, Nature is alive through and through. There is no end to her living manifestations. Njegoš not only believed that God „gives life to everything“ by His power⁵¹), for this may be limited to what are normally considered living forms properly so called; he sincerely believed that Nature as such is very much alive; it is a living Nature. Thus, the poet explicitly states that God „has put

⁴⁷) Luča, p. 77 (VI. 251—60).

⁴⁸) Dr. N. Velimirović, op. cit., p. 92.

⁴⁹) Crnogorski Prometej, Ljubljana, 1940, p. 114.

⁵⁰) „Filosofija u 'Luči Mikrokozma'“, Luča, p. XI.

⁵¹) Djela, II, pp. 64 & 216 (vv. 116—7 & 17 respectively).

life into every minutest particle" and given to each „seeds of intelligence and mind“⁵²). Though this is an unusual statement, it cannot be dismissed as mere poetry. For evidences which Njegoš offers elsewhere clearly testify to his belief that the whole universe is a living one. Not only that countless worlds are endowed with living souls of their own, or with attraction whereby they hold each other together as if by their glances⁵³), but many, if not all of them, are inhabited by angelic or other beings. In Lamartine's poem, *Hymne de nuit*, which Njegoš translated, there occurs the thought that „the high heavens are alive“⁵⁴). This may have strengthened Njegoš's own conviction that life is universal. Thus in *Luča*, when in the heavenly war the Lord's arrow exploded, „myriads of resplendent worlds . . . each packed with immortal hosts“, leapt out of their orbits⁵⁵). And at the end of the warfare, it is said of the angelic legions that they

„Each flew to their proper spheres,
Assigned to them by the Lord of glory
For their endless blessedness“⁵⁶).

Earlier on in the poem, Njegoš had written that by His mighty Word the Creator „fills all space with worlds, and worlds with blessed angels“⁵⁷). For, it is His loving self-duty not only to create but also „to give life to each and to all of His million worlds“⁵⁸). Thus, in a tentative yet convincing manner, Njegoš put forward certain suggestions as regards the universality of life, based on his belief and guess rather than anything else, unaware that he would be in a way anticipating some of the twentieth -century scientific assumptions and hypotheses⁵⁹).

Nature as Order or Law. — Nature's perfect Order or Law is pre-ordained by God, Who has given her „laws and esta-

⁵²) Ibid., III, p. 42 (vv. 749—50).

⁵³) *Luča*, p. 39 (III. 259—60).

⁵⁴) *Djela*, II, p. 382 (v. 38).

⁵⁵) *Luča*, p. 65 (V. 421—8); also, p. 66 (V. 446) refers to „the gathered worlds“ and their hosts.

⁵⁶) Ibid. (vv. 458—60).

⁵⁷) Ibid., p. 42 (III. 338—40).

⁵⁸) *Djela*, II, pp. 63—64 (vv. 113—17).

⁵⁹) Thus, e.g. F. Hoyle writes that „rather more than a million stars in the Milky Way possess planets on which you might live without undue discomfort“ (*The Nature of the Universe*, Oxford, 1952, p. 20). Again, like Njegoš's view, a hypothesis.

blished and eternal constitution for all created things⁶⁰). Therefore, they all can and do fit into the perfect cosmic system of harmony and beauty. The supreme Law of God, which holds the universe together, is the „mighty Word of the Creator“⁶¹). It is by His Word that the Almighty has „established the infinite sphere of the blessed heaven . . . upon the light ether and crowned them with mystic attraction whereby to hold each other“⁶²). God's own super-wisdom has created „millions of worlds“, bound „each one of them by its invisible chain to the other“ and has given them life⁶³). Everything in the universe is subject to God's cosmic Law, which is its life and reality. Without the Law of God nothing could subsist, whether animate or inanimate. God's eternal Word has given sacred precepts to everything, „to the resplendent sun and to glow-worm alike“⁶⁴). In a word, as Dr. Slijepčević aptly remarked, Njegoš's universe or cosmos is synonymous with perfect Order and Beauty⁶⁵).

God's universal Law is further exemplified in the general laws of Nature which, as the Almighty says, „bears My seal upon her face“⁶⁶). Dr. L. Kostić, analysing Njegoš's conception of God's Law, rightly observed that „everything that comes into existence and becomes, all that is nothing but the emanation of one single Law of God; everything bears out the Creator's Law; everything is but the realisation or functioning of that Law“⁶⁷).

These laws, in turn, are sacred also because their Giver is sacred and just. Being sacred, the Law or Order of God, with which the „heaven and heavens are adorned“⁶⁸), is inviolable and inexorable in all its manifestations. Like their source, cosmic laws are eternal and immutable⁶⁹) and no one can break them with impunity, not even God Himself. Not because God would not be able to do so, but because the violation of His own laws would run counter to the

⁶⁰) *Djela*, II, p. 397 (vv. 17—20).

⁶¹) *Luča*, p. 42 (III. 331—40).

⁶²) *Ibid.*, p. 39 (III. 254—60). — Njegoš seems to be referring to Attraction of heavenly bodies in *Vijenac* too (*Djela*, III, p. 120, vv. 2513—4).

⁶³) *Ibid.*, II, pp. 63—64 (vv. 113—16).

⁶⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 164 (vv. 126—7).

⁶⁵) „Stvaranje sveta i slika vasiona u 'Luči Mikrozma', *Zbornik Radova Akademije* (1952), XVII, p. 178.

⁶⁶) *Luča*, p. 35 (III. 145).

⁶⁷) *Iz Njegoševih Dela*, Chicago, 1952, p. 199.

⁶⁸) *Luča*, p. 38 (III. 213—5).

⁶⁹) *Djela*, I, p. 181 (vv. 505—10); also, II, p. 73 (v. 6).

Laws of His own being, turning them thus into mockery. Njegoš, for one, could not believe in a God Who gives laws simply to break them; indeed, there would be no laws in such a case, still less harmony and order. Njegoš expressed this conception strongly by making the „Almighty say“ that

„The laws of universal order are
My vow and also the life of Nature“⁷⁰).

Moreover, Njegoš writes of God's own duty to create and that, too, is a law of God, as inviolable as His other laws. In other words, Njegoš's God is an omnipotent God, but a God Who must, nevertheless, do certain things because of His divine obligation, primarily ethical in its character, to His creatures. The very fact that God has brought them to life makes it, as it were, incumbent upon Him to care for them with grace, love and mercy. After all, God's own omnipotence consists in being able not to break His own laws even when such a break might be justified by some heavenly or providential expediency. Nor is God's anger a sufficient justification for doing so. Njegoš makes it abundantly clear that, once the laws of God are established and set in motion, their inexorable functioning must not be violated.

Nevertheless, though intrinsically inviolable, God's laws are often violated and broken by His ignorant or wicked-minded creatures. However perplexing, this contingency must be allowed in God's pre-ordained and rigidly governed universe unless, of course, the individual freedom of spirits and men is to be violated. And this, the loving Father, ever true to His eternal principles, cannot allow. No doubt, this is a paradoxical situation, for which no easy solution can be thought out. According to Njegoš's solution of this theological dilemma, God Himself allows His laws to be broken by created beings, or even by the universe itself⁷¹). And, indeed, this contingency is put to test on more than one occasion. Thus, to take two examples, Satan not only breaks the laws of God but also challenges the latter to

„... restore the fallen heaven,
Restore the first law of Nature
So that each one of us, with supreme power,
May feel pride and exaltation in his own heaven“⁷²).

⁷⁰) Luča, p. 39 (III. 261—2).

⁷¹) Ibid., pp. 39—40 (III. 263—70).

⁷²) Ibid., p. 48 (IV. 157—60).

The rightness of Satan's claim apart, this is obviously an effort on the part of one of God's creatures to introduce into the cosmos another law, different from the Law of God. Satan's claim and aim „to restore the fallen heavens“ is helped, to a certain degree, by another law-breaker, Adam. Many other violations of God's laws have occurred ever since, the effects of which cannot be completely eradicated, not even by God Himself. Laws as such have their inherent sanctions, alterations of which would lead to God's own disloyalty to immutable principles of life. A classical example of God's scrupulous loyalty to His own laws is the way in which He treats Satan after his defeat: the latter is not deprived of his immortal status because what once has „been crowned with immortality shall never feel the scythe of death“. And the Almighty most emphatically refuses to „break the sacred vow“⁷³). Obviously, to have created immortal spirits is a law of God's own making and being; therefore, the annulment of it could by no means be allowed. For, to allow this would be tantamount to God's own denial of Himself. Far from being in any way limited as far as His omnipotence is concerned, God's loyalty to His laws not only enhances His majesty and power but also sets an example to His creatures as to how these laws should be respected. It is not by the constant change of His laws, but by His love and grace, that He governs supremely and most effectively countless worlds of spirits, genuinely free to choose any of the roads they like.

This interesting and unusual conception has some intrinsic difficulties: How is God's omniscience and fore-knowledge to be understood in the light of so many contingent courses of action? Or, again, does not God's omniscience preclude free actions on the part of created beings, whose freedom is purely illusory? Njegoš does not offer any definite answer; yet he implies that, no matter what happens and no matter what contingency arises, God always has and knows the right answer. Therefore, superficial modifications and even apparent frustrations of God's plans are, Njegoš believes, pre-ordained by God Who had known the inevitable course long before it was taken. In a word, God has left nothing unaccounted for. Thus Njegoš tries to maintain the balance between God's pre-ordained universal laws and omnipotence on the one hand and the freedom of His creatures on the other. However, it must be admitted that the reality of God's omniscience lends a dubious aspect of inevitability

⁷³) Ibid., p. 56 (V. 171—4).

to what is freely chosen by those beings who act „according to my sacred ordinance“ as the Almighty Himself declares⁷⁴).

Nature as Reason or Mind.—Having conceived of Nature as a vast ordered system, governed by inexorable laws, with God the Creator as her apex, Njegoš saw Reason in Nature; or, rather, he saw Nature as Reason. Reasonableness and purposefulness, the intelligibility and orderliness of Nature, in turn, are nothing but a reflection, though dim and imperfect, of the Supreme Intellect or Mind which upholds the whole universe. God is constantly at work within His cosmic systems; He is ever present in His wondrous Temple; He is always enrapt in His creative Poetry, writing it constantly through out the universe. In the very holy of holies of God's boundless Temple Njegoš beheld, among other wonders, „Will, Reason and Destiny“ springing, like a fountain, from God's throne⁷⁵). And it is from here that Nature *i n t o t o* receives the reason and ground of her existence. Amidst all Nature's disorders and cruelties, inconsistencies and changes, Njegoš saw Nature as Reason:

„The vast array of things confused
Hath yet some rhythmic Harmony and Law“,
for
„Over all this curious mixture of a world
There yet doth reign one over-arching Mind“⁷⁶).

That Mind, to him, was God's own Mind.

Such is, briefly, Njegoš's conception of God's omnipresence in the Universe, or his natural theology. Communing with God through Nature, he was convinced that if men did not find God in His handiworks, if they did not feel His miraculous presence in the working of the universe, in Nature's beauty and the intelligibility of her immutable laws, they would never find Him in man-made temples either, no matter how magnificent they might be. Njegoš was one of those who heard the voice of God, whispering through Nature's „visible things“, and bowed to His omnipresent majesty in prayer and piety⁷⁷).

⁷⁴) Lu č a , p. 38 (III. 209—10). One wonders whether there is not a touch of Calvinism here!

⁷⁵) Lu č a , p. 24 (II. 139—40).

⁷⁶) W r e a t h , p. 194 (vv. 2309—12).

⁷⁷) D j e l a , II, p. 65 (vv. 146—9).