

“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

ANNALS OF “DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY OF TEACHING

VOLUME XIX No.1/2018

**This journal is included in
IDB SCIPPIO
CEEOL
ICI Journals Master List 2016**



**<http://analefls.ucdc.ro>
analefls@ucdc.ro**

**ISSN 2065 – 0868
ISSN-L 2065 – 0868**

Each author is responsible for the originality of his article and the fact that it has not been previously published.

**“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES**

**ANNALS
OF
“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR”
CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY
OF TEACHING**

VOLUME XVIII No.2/2017



“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY BOARD

Momcilo Luburici	President
Corina Adriana Dumitrescu	President of the Senate
Cristiana Cristureanu	Rector
Georgeta Ilie	Vice-Rector for Scientific Research

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Florentina Alexandru	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Nicolae Dobrisan	Corresponding Member of Cairo Arabic Language Academy and of the Syrian Science Academy Damascus
Mary Koutsoudaki	University of Athens
Greg Kucich	Notre Dame University
Dana Lascu	University of Richmond
Ramona Mihaila	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Emma Morita	Kindai University
Efstratia Oktapoda	Sorbonne, Paris IV University
Julieta Paulesc	Arizona State University
Elena Prus	Free International University of Moldova
Marius Sala	Romanian Academy
Silvia Tita	University of Michigan
Irina Mihai-Vainovski	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Estelle Variot	Aix en Provence University
Paolo Villani	Universita degli Studi di Catania
Alain Vuillemin	Artois University and Paris-Est University

EDITOR IN-CHIEF

Onorina Botezat	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
------------------------	--

EDITORIAL BORD

Mihaela Mateescu	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Angela-Oana Drăgan	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Magdalena Ciubăncan	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University

CONTENTS

I. LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

- Ahmed Salih:** *Irish Dystopia in Seamus Heaney's Selected Poems*7
- Iulia Waniek:** *Tradition and Modernity in Postcolonial Asian Literature*23
- Răzvan Staicu:** *Italian Voyages in the Works of Nineteenth-Century Romanian Writers*42
- Maria Grajdian:** *Musical selves Anime soundtracks from domesticating plagiarism to hybridising authenticity*50
- Paula Alice Băloiu:** *A Cultural Perspective of Advertising. Women Images in Media*.....78

II. WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES

- Efstratia Oktapoda :** *L'engagement des femmes. Loubna Méliane : Politique et combat des femmes beur en France*.....86
- Sara Hunziker:** *Female Pioneers of Poetry: Zubeyde Fitnat Hanım, Nigâr Hanım and Carmen Sylva*.....99
- Irina Dogaru:** *Una figura canónica de las letras hispánicas de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX: Emilia Pardo Bazán*106
- Georg Kremnitz:** *Mite Kremnitz und Carmen Sylva. Einige Eindrücke*115
- Arnaud Paturet :** *Les études genres, la société antique et le droit : un nouveau regard*.....127
- Bouchra Benbella :** *La représentation du rapport homme/femme dans L'année de tous les apprentissages de Najib Redouane*.....144
- Onorina Botezat :** *Compte rendu de la conférence Relire Germaine de Staël deux cents ans après sa mort*.....154

LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

IRISH DYSTOPIA IN SEAMUS HEANEY'S SELECTED POEMS

Ahmed SALIH ¹

Abstract: *This paper explores the dystopian Irish society represented in Seamus Heaney's poetry. In his poetry, Heaney seeks a reconciliation with Ireland's past. Heaney refers to the political and cultural realities of Ireland in his poems; he indicates that the Irish society is a dystopia when he represents the occupation of Ireland, especially by the British, and how to live with its inevitable effects. The oppression and misery that the Irish people lived through are represented particularly in, "Antaeus", "Hercules and Antaeus", "At a Potato Digging", "North", and "The Ministry of Fear". The Great Famine, a dystopian event in the Irish historical heritage, is referred to in a critique of the British authorities' failure to help the starved Irish people. "At a Potato Digging" is overshadowed by historical memories. However, in the poems, "Antaeus", and "Hercules and Antaeus" Heaney employs Greek myth as a metaphor to refer to the tenacity to the Irish land where we find the Irish ability to be revived through the soil in spite of the dystopic Ireland since the Irish Catholics have turned into farmers who work for English and Scottish Protestants. The poem, "North" deals with the Irish dystopia represented by the violence of the English-Irish Troubles on the one hand, and the Viking occupation on the other. In the last poem of this chapter, "The Ministry of Fear", Heaney refers to the days that he spent at school, with his friend Seamus Deane, as dystopian environment because they suffered from class distinction. In this paper, some of Heaney's dystopian poems are employed to point out the violence imposed upon Ireland throughout centuries to deliver a message to the whole world to renounce violence.*

Keywords: *Seamus Heaney, Ireland, Dystopia, History*

Introduction

Introducing the term dystopia in general is quite significant as it is pivotal to this paper so as to understand the paper more fully:

Dystopia was first used probably by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) in a speech in the British House of Commons, 12 March 1868. He was debating the Conservative government's policy on the Irish question. For thirty-nine years England had ruled Ireland, Mill said, as he attacked the government on the question of land-ownership and religious equality in Ireland [. . .]. "Dys" meant diseased, abnormal, faulty, difficult, painful, unfavourable, bad, from the Greek "kakos." Negley and Patrick (1952) used the term

¹ Ahmed Abdulsattar SALIH is a lecturer of English Poetry at Al-Hamdaniyah State University, Department of English Language. E-mail: ahmedsalih1979@yahoo.com

to mean the opposite of eutopia, “the idea that society is a dystopia, if it is permissible to coin a term.” Walsh (1962, p.12) used the term to mean an “inverted utopia,” and in 1967 in an article in the *Listener* it was stated that “the modern classics, Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* and George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* are dystopias.” Booker (1994) suggests Kafka’s *The Castle* and *The Trial* are bureaucratic dystopias; also Golding’s *Lord of the Flies* is a dystopia because it shows the breakdown of civilized life and firstlings of totalitarian rule, as does Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*. (Trahair 110)

Despite the fact that the Irish society in Heaney’s selected poems is depicted as dystopia because of violence, poverty and class distinction, Heaney made use of living under circumstances like the Troubles so as to reflect through his poetry the tenacity to the Irish lands which were seized by English and Scottish settlers. He presents the Irish culture and politics to the whole world when he refers to these events.

In this paper, light is shed on the dystopian Irish society under the Viking and English dominance. Heaney represents in his poems; “Antaeus”, “Hercules and Antaeus”, “At a Potato Digging”, “North”, and “The Ministry of Fear” the violence that took place in Ireland because of the Viking occupation in the ninth century and the English occupation starting from the twelfth century. In the poems selected for analysis, he refers to the dystopia of the Irish history. The past is to be revealed, above all by digging as he implies in the poem “North”, “the word hoard”. Heaney never idealizes Irish history; like Yeats and Synge before him, he is far from those who present the Irish as constantly heroic in the face of oppression. Heaney’s friend Seamus Deane will also be referred to, as the latter is one of Heaney’s Irish contemporaries as both of them witnessed the Irish Troubles and they could only defend the Irish situation through poetry.

2. Irish Dystopia in Seamus Heaney’s Selected Poems

Presenting the Irish past situation resonates positively in the present because it reveals the Irish political and cultural episodes. In the first and second poems, which will be analysed, “Antaeus” and “Hercules and Antaeus”, the English occupation of the Irish lands is referred to by the use of Greek mythology as a reference to the Irish people who were forcibly driven out of their lands. The third poem, “At a Potato Digging”, refers to the events that took place in the nineteenth century (beginning in 1845), when a tremendous number of Irish people starved to death because of the famine although England, which could have provided help, was just across the Irish Sea. Additionally, “North”, is quite an

obvious reference to the Viking dominance upon Ireland. Lastly, “The Ministry of Fear”, indicates how Heaney was mistreated at school and on the street by the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary).

To begin with, Heaney’s art is a witness to the dystopian Irish life he had been witnessing together with his contemporary Irish poet, Seamus Deane. Heaney’s Irish colleague and poet Deane asserts in his essay “Between Irish and British Fidelities: Poetry”, “Literature especially poetry, had so often been offered as a means of healing divisions, or as a means of overcoming them by bringing them into the deep magnetic fields of the imagination’s free space.”¹

There are two poems in the collection of poetry *North*, represent tenacity in relation to the native land, both alluding to the same Greek myth. The poem “Antaeus” tackles the Irish people and the poet’s rootedness in the Irish land, as they are allegorically linked to the subjugated giant. The Greek myth tells of a giant who recalls his earth mother, Gaea. Heaney compares the Irish people to the giant who was lifted off the ground. This poem demonstrates the English colonization during the plantation movement when the English colonists confiscated the Irish lands and made the landowners work for them as labourers, consequently turning Ireland into a dystopia. Expressing the Irish reality of violence and the abiding bond with the soil through classical symbols helps the poet to express oppression and peaceful resistance. Violence was not the solution in his perspective, but to defend the Irish history and culture through poetry was his mechanism to introduce Irish history to the world, because Ireland was a dystopian place back then.

¹ When I returned to Ireland from a Berkeley under curfew and full of tear gas, it was October 1968. The occasion was the first civil rights march. Once again, people were running from the police, batons were swinging, and TV cameras were purring. I had arrived at a crucial time. Four years later, Derry had bloody Sunday. In between, the bloodletting in the North had begun in earnest. The only response I could make was through poetry. Then for the first time I began to feel a member of a generation afflicted by a historical crisis and, again for the first time, I began to have a sense of what Irish writing had, for centuries, been grappling to overcome. When history becomes coincident with biography, poetry emerges. That has happened now in the North for that generation which reached maturity before 1970. All of us are confronted by the fact that the Northern troubles, so called, supplied our desire to write with a powerful impulse, just as it also gave our writing a visibility that it might otherwise not have had (Deane 74-75).

From time to time, the speaker, Antaeus, pretends that he falls on the ground so as to regain vitality naturally from the “earth” that he belongs to, and he compares the sand with the remedy, “elixir”. In fact, the mythological allegories which are stated stand for the cultural and political background of Ireland against Britain. Burris quoted Morrison’s suggestion that these poems “Antaeus” and “Hercules and Antaeus”, are about “colonization,” and they could be read “as an allegory of the Protestant settlement of Ireland” (97).

The poet’s reliance on the land indicates his rootedness in his homeland, and is strengthened by working on the land and associated with farming. The land is not only a mere place where he dwells, but also a source of power that renovates his culture. The poem begins:

When I lie on the ground
I rise flushed as a rose in the morning.
In fights I arrange a fall on the ring
To rub myself with sand

That is operative
As an elixir. I cannot be weaned
Off the earth’s long contour, her river-veins.

(Heaney 1975: 4)

It is notable that the poet uses the first person pronoun to stand for Antaeus himself. He recites the myth of the defeated hero who lost his power once he was literally lifted off the ground. Allegorically, the mythical poem explores the political situation of Northern Ireland when the Irish land owners were turned into land labourers in the seventeenth century. Heaney points out to the persecuted Irish people who did not want Ulster to be part of Britain, specifically in the last line, “My elevation, my fall” (20). Furthermore, Heaney personifies the land as a real mother who is carrying him in her womb. In this respect, by using visual imagery, he alludes to the blood vessels that already fed him during pregnancy, then suckles him after giving birth, “I am cradled in the dark that wombed me/ And nurtured in every artery.”

The poet also refers to invading the Irish lands when he employs Irish mythology and the figure of Balor¹, in addition to one of the Irish leaders, Byrthnoth, “Balor will die and Byrthnoth” (23-24).

¹“with Balor, the one-eyed robber god defeated by the legendary invaders of Ireland (the Tuath de Danaan); with Byrthnoth, leader at the Battle of Maldon whose forces were massacred by the Danes; with Sitting Bull,

Besides, the visual image, “black” in “black powers / feeding off the territory” (6-7), is employed to demonstrate the dominance of the oppressor who came to cultivate the Irish land, which is known for its fertility. Subsequently, the last line in the poem, “pap for the dispossessed.” shows the poet’s tendency to expose the Irish crisis and sympathises with his ancestors.

In short, the first poem “Antaeus” gives a preface to the last poem in the same part of the collection, which is “Hercules and Antaeus”, as both of them rely on the same myth. These poems draw on two mythological giants, Hercules and Antaeus, who respectively symbolize Britain and Ireland. The Irish landowners had been forcibly uprooted in order to be replaced by English settlers in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries when the whole county of Ulster became under the English authority with its capital Belfast.

Another poem related to the Irish dystopia is the poem “At a Potato Digging” from Heaney’s book of poetry *Death of a Naturalist*, in which Heaney refers to the famine that hit Ireland in the nineteenth century (1845), when a huge number of people starved to death. Here, the Irish land is central, because the Irish farm and the Irish crop, the potato, form the agrarian theme of the poem:¹

Live skulls, blind-eyed, balanced on
wild higgledy skeletons
scoured the land in “forty-five,”
wolfed the blighted root and died.

The new potato, sound as stone,
putrefied when it had lain
three days in the long clay pit.
Millions rotted along with it.

Mouths tightened in, eyes died hard,
faces chilled to a plucked bird.
In a million wicker huts

emblem of the American Indians doomed by white colonizers; and ultimately with Catholic inhabitants of Ireland deracinated by Protestant conquerors” (Hart 97).

¹ “Historically, the potato was the staple crop of Ireland, mostly because it could be harvested even in the rockiest soil. It was also the one crop the colonized Irish on “rackrent” farms could afford to keep for themselves” (Tobin 33).

(Heaney 1966:17)

The poem recalls the Irish famine that began in 1845 and mentions the date in the poem “forty-five.” It was another stage of the dystopian Irish society as one million and five hundred thousand people starved to death. During the famine some of the starved Irish people ate the rotten potato hungrily although they know that the crop is inedible, others ate grass whereas lots of them starved to death.¹ It is a notable period in the Irish history as the Irish community lost hundreds of thousands of Irish citizens either while escaping from the famine or passed away due to starvation. Furthermore, Heaney seems to be influenced by the Irish poet Patrick Kavanagh as the latter wrote quite a long poem concerning the Irish famine which is entitled “The Great Hunger”.²

Above all, the poet uses visual, organic and kinesthetic images not only to delineate the slow death process, but also to provide a metaphorical description of how the Irish corpses became food for the wild birds, “Beaks of famine snipped at guts” (41).

In the line, “you still smell the running sore” the poet denotes the potato fungus; however, he connotes the English presence in Northern Ireland. Susie Derkins convincingly claims:

Many people also blamed centuries of political oppression for the conditions that allowed the famine to occur in the first place. If the Irish Catholics had not been kicked off their land and forced to live in extreme poverty, the crop failure would have been painful, but it would not have led to mass starvation, disease, and

¹ “Many peasants who remained ate the rotten potatoes and became deathly ill with diseases such as cholera and typhus. Others were found dead in roadside ditches, their mouths grass-stained. They had been reduced to eating grass in a last desperate attempt to ward off starvation” (Derkins 10).

²Seamus Heaney has called Patrick Kavanagh the “twice born” poet. The son of a cobbler and small farmer in County Monaghan, Kavanagh worked at farming and poetry until 1939, when he left Inniskeen for a journalist’s life in Dublin. There, he wrote and reviewed for *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Press* and *The Standard* [. . .] Kavanagh’s early poems, particularly “The Great Hunger” (Its title alludes to the famine of a century before), describes the poverty and isolation of rural Ireland in the thirties and forties (Mackillop and Murphy 287).

death. The people of Ireland were unarmed when the famine began; otherwise widespread violence may have erupted (10).

Seamus Heaney alludes figuratively and implicitly to the environmental disaster, the famine, and how the Irish people starved to death, pointing out to the British occupation that was able to help. The English authority did not support the Irish people although England was across the Irish Sea.

As shown above, the themes that express and support seizing the Irish land are represented in order to refer to the persecution imposed on the Irish community from 1845-1852 when the potato blight led to mass starvation and emigration. The Great Potato Famine is a historical and controversial issue in which the English occupation of Ireland indirectly contributed to turn the Irish society into a dystopian one because they did not show assistance to the death and immigration of hundreds of thousands of lives.

As it has been stated earlier in this paper, Heaney recounts Irish dystopian events because they are part of the Irish culture and politics. The poem "North" is directly related to Ireland as it refers to the North Atlantic in general and Northern Ireland in particular. It is one of Heaney's significant poems firstly because it carries the name of the same collection published in 1975, tacitly together with poems in the same collection that refer to the Irish dystopian "Troubles". Secondly and perhaps more importantly, the poem presents the Vikings who occupied Ireland in the ninth century. The conflict in Ulster between the two sects (Catholics and Protestants) was the most notable theme because of the "spilled blood" (28). Cromwell had more than one incentive for his invasion, like his desire to avenge those English Protestants who had been slaughtered by the Irish dispossessed Catholics in 1641. As a result, notably words like "revenge", "hatred" and "behind back" have been used in the poem.¹ For this reason, the violence and occupation are the most essential themes and elements of dystopia in the poem "North".

There are hints to the kind of dedication to Ireland that was frequently invaded by different powers which are symbolised in the poem. The bloodshed that took place in 1649 between those two sects was atrocious and unforgettable when Oliver Cromwell invaded Ireland, killing thousands of people in a scene of carnage for the purpose of

¹ "From 1649-53, Cromwell lays waste throughout Ireland after the Irish support Charles I in the English Civil Wars; this includes the mass slaughtering of Catholic Irish and the confiscation of two million hectares of land" (Davenport 39).

revenge and seizing the lands' ownership from the Irish people. As a result, the poet uses words connected to the land and farming such as "burrow" and "furrowed".

The title of the poem is quite important for the interpretation of the poem because it is a reference to the poet's homeland particularly when the poem opens with the first person pronoun "I". Presumably, he alludes to the North Atlantic islands (occupied by the Vikings) as "North Atlantic" was the title of the early drafts of the poem, "North" (Curtis, 53). More specifically the northern part of Ireland, Armagh, was the first county occupied by the Vikings.¹

The speaker personifies the ships of the Vikings, as a hint to the occupation, "The longship's swimming tongue / was buoyant with hindsight -/ it said Thor's hammer swung² / to geography and trade," (20-23). Actually, the Vikings settled in Ireland because of its fertile soil and strategic location. The word "hammered" alludes to the heavy assaults upon the poet's homeland by the Vikings, starting from 795. The poet uses the visual image "long" so as to refer to the fortified campsites that the Vikings start to found along the Irish coast which became a trading centre.³ "I returned to a long strand, / the hammered shod of a bay," (1-2). Heaney also says in the same poem "those lying in Orkney and Dublin" (10), all these colonies Greenland, Orkney,⁴ and Dublin had been invaded by the Vikings who came from the Scandinavian countries (now Norway, Denmark and Sweden). Thus, the poet uses the demonstrative pronoun "those" alluding to the same invaders, the Vikings, who may have the same impetus for the invasion. The persona ironically utilises a figure of speech, oxymoron, by juxtaposing contradictions "fabulous raiders" (9), to criticise the Vikings. Actually, the speaker intends to show the reader how ruthless, the invasion forces were, because they put a foothold wherever possible. Moreover, the

¹ "In 830, Vikings from Norway conquered Armaugh, an important city in the north of Ireland . . . In 839, a Viking leader named Thorgisl conquered the Celtic tribes in the northern part of the island, and established a strong harbor city called Dyflinn (Dublin)" (Gallagher 43).

² "Thor, the god of thunder in Norse mythology, swings his hammer" (Bloom 23).

³ "In 841, Norwegian raiders built a long fort at Dublin, and while the site was of little significance to the rest of Ireland, it became an international trading center connected with continental Europe and other Viking settlement in Asia" (Collins 81).

⁴ "Orkney is a group of islands off of Scotland that constitutes one of its counties" (Bloom 22).

Vikings had a quite good experience in sailing and they used to build long ships in order to be used in their raids. The poet mentions the “long swords rusting” (12) symbolising (long in time not in physical length) the old attacks against Ireland (by different powers) which belonged to the ninth century (Viking invasion) and twelfth century (English invasion).

Similarly, the visual image “darkness”, used to symbolize death, represents the oppressors who plundered the speaker’s homeland and slaughtered thousands of people. The speaker also sheds light on the culture of the invaders because the death symbols with the Thor’s hammer are associated with each other in the Viking culture (Abram 5). On the contrary, the poem uses the Thor’s hammer, part of the Norse customs, as a protective symbol (Owusu 263).

The “Thor’s hammer” (22), functions as a blessing to safeguard the “geography” and “trade” which is referred to as the expansion of the Vikings here and there. It is quite clear that the speaker bears in mind the awful dystopia that his country had been through starting from the Viking settlement and followed by the British occupation. In this regard, David Lloyd states in, “The Two Voices of Seamus Heaney’s North”:

The things which “Thor’s Hammer” swings to – geography, trade, revenge, etc. – are also central to the Ulster conflict. Memory incubates, or nourishes and promotes “the spilled blood.” And indeed memory – of Cromwell’s invasion and Catholic rebellions, of old loyalties – is a potent force in Northern Ireland. (9)

The speaker implies the Irish “memory incubating the spilled blood” (28) during the frequent Viking or English attacks. The Irish memory will never forget killing thousands of Irish people by English leaders like Cromwell and Raleigh:

It said, ‘Lie down
in the word-hoard, burrow
the coil and gleam
of your furrowed brain.
(Heaney 1975: 11-12)

The poet has the task of reviving the Irish history even though it is dystopian. It is projected by visual images of hope and land. At this point, the memory stands for the Irish history which is dystopian because of the elements of violence and frequent occupations. Heaney uses visual images of the land to demonstrate the unforgettable attacks against Ireland. Accordingly, not only is the Viking invasion referred to in the poem, but also the English invasion is represented by the settlement of

thousands of English and Scottish Protestants who dispossessed the Catholic Irish landlords. As a result, those Catholics turned into farmers who work for those Protestants. The metaphor furrowed brain is employed because those events had been inscribed in the Irish people's minds and are engraved in the Irish memory and history. The Irish Catholics were defeated militarily and politically at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Particularly the defeat of the Irish Catholic Parliament (which was the majority at that time) was a real trauma for the Irish.¹Therefore, Heaney considers the Irish society as dystopian.

Consequently, the title of the poem is a reference to the whole collection, *North*. The poem is an allusion to the ancient dystopian occupation of Ireland by the Vikings who sought wealth and also implies the English invaders (settlers).²He refers to the raids that the region of North Atlantic and specifically Ireland had been through including the conflict in Ulster.

Another poem, which represents the dystopian Irish status, the first poem of the "Singing School", is "The Ministry of Fear". It summarises autobiographical pieces of information concerning Heaney.³ The poem is addressed to his friend Seamus Deane who was a student with him at the same school.⁴ Seemingly, Heaney recounts his story when he was 12 years old, living away from his family because he won a scholarship at St Columb's College, a Catholic boarding school in Derry, forty miles from his family farm. That was his first time to leave his birthplace, Mossbawn; therefore, patent nostalgic feelings can be observed:

¹ "The defeat of James and his Catholic armies at the battle of Boyne-the third great loss for Catholics in the 17th century" (State 94).

²They appear to have moved around the British and Irish coasts indiscriminately, seeking wealth (in the form of loot and business), conquest, or new land on which to settle wherever they could find it (Holman 6).

³Heaney quotes the title of the six poems "Singing School", (which ends his book of poetry *North*) from Yeats's poem "Sailing to Byzantium" (Dewsnap 151).

⁴"Seamus Deane: poet and novelist who was born in the county, Derry, in Northern Ireland, and was educated at Queens University (Belfast) and at Cambridge University. He has taught at a number of universities and colleges in the U.S. and is currently on the faculty of the National University of Ireland" (Leshner 411).

In the first week
I was so homesick I couldn't even eat
The biscuits left to sweeten my exile.
I threw them over the fence one night
In September 1951
(Heaney 1975: 58)

In the current poem, Heaney tends to express the themes of nostalgia and class distinction as part of the Irish dystopia. The above lines specifically indicate the theme of exile because he dwells in Derry, which is in fact no longer Irish. This environment causes him to concentrate on the accent difference amongst the students and how this characteristic could divide the school into two categories, superior and inferior slices:

Have our accents
Changed? 'Catholics, in general, don't speak
As well as students from the Protestant schools.'
Remember that stuff? Inferiority
Complexes,

(Heaney 1975: 58)

The concept of class distinction is employed in the poem. One of the elements that shaped Heaney's poetry was his emphasis on class segregation. David Hammond argues:

When Heaney and Seamus Deane meet together, their conversation often turns to the jealousies and tensions of the school, and to some of the vengeful, vindictive teachers 'were themselves victims of oppression, yet took revenge on children.' As a boy from a poor Bogside family, Seamus Deane suffered acutely from the snobbery and class distinction rife in the college (13).

In spite of the years that passed since Heaney with Deane attended St Columb's College, they could not forget that stage of their life. Stan Smith says in his book, *Poetry and Displacement* that "in *North*, 'The Ministry of Fear' spelt out the kind of contestation at the level of accent and dialect which every-working class child encounters in the British educational system" (129). Heaney recalls his early experience of childhood, firstly when he dedicates the poem to his friend, Seamus Deane, who suffered with him the discrimination of the British upon the Irish. With reference to the class and social discrimination between Protestants and Catholics, in the book, *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidences, Contexts*:

Weber began his essay on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* with the assurance that it was the conventional opinion of his contemporaries that there was a close connection between religion and society. They especially believed that the differences between Protestants and Catholics had strong impact on social structure and social status; in a society composed of mixed religions, the higher strata, the more advanced and more modern elements, were definitely more Protestant than Catholic: Scholars, business leaders, white-collar employees, even skilled workers. The burden of proof was not with those who held this assumption but with those who would deny it. (73)

It is claimed in this book that Protestants are higher in class than Catholics. Notably, when the English and Scottish Protestants attacked Ireland, the Irish Catholics became labourers who work for them during the Plantation movement. The theme of poverty contributes in shaping Heaney's poetry. This important element is initiated by the atmosphere that covered Ireland for centuries and it is one of the factors of the dystopian Irish society represented in the selected poems. The confiscation of the Irish lands and the Great Famine among other things, are the main distinctive features of the Irish poverty employed in Heaney poetry.

Heaney's poem represents how they were persecuted not only at school, but also outside it when he refers to the policemen's reactions against him. He applies visual imagery like "crimson", deep red, in order to symbolise the bloody scenes that Irish people have gone through especially in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. The comparison of the crowd of policemen, to "black cattle", as a symbol for the colour of their uniform in Northern Ireland is also a visual image as the following lines show:

policemen
Swung their crimson flashlamps, crowding round
The car like black cattle, snuffing and pointing
The muzzle of a sten-gun in my eye:
'What's your name, driver?'
'Seamus...'
Seamus?
(Heaney 1975: 59)

Clearly, Heaney points out the dystopian Irish society when he refers to the mistreatment that the Irish received by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the speaker is surrounded by a large number of

policemen who question and mistreat him. The policemen sound surprised to hear such a Gaelic name.¹ Presumably, for this reason, the policemen are questioning him one more time as though they do not expect to hear such an Irish name.

In the current poem, “The Ministry of Fear”, the Irish dystopia is represented by the class distinction, the divide between the two sects at school, and the bad treatment of the RUC towards Irish civilians. Daniel Tobin mentions in his book that the poem “The Ministry of Fear,” “recounts the poet’s growth away from home, the inferiority complexes² of growing up Catholic in Northern Ireland, his growing sense of sectarian violence (137).” Truly, the persona feels worse whenever he remembers the oppression imposed on the Irish Catholic people as they were incapable of solving their problems in a peaceful way on one hand, and living the insults of the Protestants on the other. In this poem, these insults are mainly practised by the Protestant policemen.

3. Conclusion

In this study, more light has been thrown on some of Heaney’s poems “Antaeus”, “Hercules and Antaeus”, “At a Potato Digging”, “North”, and “The Ministry of Fear”. In these poems, Heaney’s point of view towards the Irish community is considered as dystopian because of the occupation, violence, class distinction and poverty that prevailed. Heaney refers to the Viking ancient dominance in the ninth century and the English dominance starting from the twelfth century. Both Seamus Heaney and his contemporary Seamus Deane witnessed the class distinction at school and they also witnessed violence of the Troubles which lasted for three decades. Therefore, Heaney reflects the dystopian Irish society in such poems so as to present the Irish history symbolically

¹The origin of the name Seamus is “the Gaelic form of James” (Norman 513).

²The psychologist Alfred Adler writes as such regarding the inferiority complex: The inferiority complex manifests itself in an individual when he or she is unable to solve existing problems in a socially useful way. On the other hand, the neurotic evasion of the problems of life may take the form of a superiority complex. This involves the false belief that the person is above or better than others. Through it, the individual sets up unrealistic and fantastic goals which will only result in failure and intensification of the inferiority complex. ‘It is as if the sufferer were in a trap and the more he struggles the worse his position becomes’ (qtd. in Lundin 110).

to the public through poetry. In the first two selected poems of this paper, “Antaeus” and “Hercules and Antaeus”, Heaney refers to the political defeat of Gaelic Ireland during the seventeenth and twentieth centuries as Ireland witnessed settlement of thousands of Protestants who came from Britain and Scotland to displace the Irish Catholic landlords and turn them into land labourers. The third poem, “At a Potato Digging”, reveals a dystopian incident in the Irish history which negatively affected the Irish society in the nineteenth century. The famine led to death and immigration of almost hundred thousands of Irish people. Yet, they were not supported by Britain. Furthermore, the poem “North”, hints at the English and Viking dominance upon Ireland. Finally, “The Ministry of Fear”, refers to the mistreatment in the street by the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) and also the mistreatment that he and his friend, Seamus Deane, received at school.

Ultimately, Heaney is looking at the Irish context and universalising the Irish theme of violence and occupation by giving several dystopian examples as a whole so as to draw our attention for the ancient and modern violence taking place all over the world. Ireland has been somehow a miniature of the dystopia of the human status. Therefore, Heaney diligently speaks for humanity because, unfortunately, dystopia represented by violence and oppression is dominant in many parts of the globe.

4. References

Primary Sources

Heaney, Seamus. *Death of a Naturalist*. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
_____. *North*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975.

Secondary Sources

- Abram, Christopher. *Myths of the Pagan North: The Gods of the Norsemen*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011.
- Andrews, Elmer Kennedy. *Writing Home: Poetry and Place in Northern Ireland, 1968-2008*. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2008.
- Bloom, Harold, ed. *Seamus Heaney: Bloom's Major Poets*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2002.
- Burris, Sidney. *The Poetry of Resistance: Seamus Heaney and the Pastoral Tradition*. Athens: Ohio UP, 1990.
- Cavanagh, Michael. *Professing Poetry: Seamus Heaney's Poetics*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009.
- Collins, Floyd. *Seamus Heaney: The Crisis of Identity*. London: University of Delaware Press, 2003.

- Curtis, Tony. ed. *The Art of Seamus Heaney*. Melksham: The Cromwell Press, 1994.
- Davenport, Fionn. *Ireland*. Melbourne. Lonely Planet Publications Pty., 2009.
- Deane, Seamus., “Between Irish and British Fidelities: Poetry”. eds. Kathleen Jo Ryan and Bernard Share. *Irish Traditions*. New York: Abradale Press, 1990.
- Derkins, Susie. *The Irish Republican Army*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2003.
- Dewsnap, Terence. *Island of Daemons: The Lough Derg Pilgrimage and the Poets Patrick Kavanagh, Denis Devlin, and Seamus Heaney*. Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2010.
- Gallagher, Jim. *The Viking Explorers*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2013.
- Hart, Henry. *Seamus Heaney, Poet of Contrary Progressions*. New York: Syracuse UP, 1992.
- Hogan, Edward P. and Erin Hougan Foubert. *Ireland*. New York: Chelsea House Publisher, 2003.
- Holman, Katherine. *The Northern Conquest: Vikings in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Signal Books, 2007.
- Leshner, Linda Parent. *The Best Novels of the Nineties: A Reader's Guide*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000.
- Lloyd, David. “The Two Voices of Seamus Heaney's North”. *Ariel* 10.4(1979): 5-13.
- Maier, Bernhard. *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*. Rochester: The Boydell Press, 1997.
- Murphy, O'Rourke Maureen and James MacKillop eds. *An Irish Literature Reader: Poetry, Prose, Drama*. New York: Syracuse UP, 2006.
- Neal, Frank. *Black '47 : Britain and the Famine Irish*. London: Macmillan Press, 1998.
- Niemi, Robert. *History in the Media: Film and Television*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006.
- Norman, Teresa. *A World of Baby Names*. New York: The Berkley Publishing Group, 2003.
- Owusu, Heike. *Voodoo Rituals: A User's Guide*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2002.
- Parker, Michael. *Seamus Heaney: The Making of the Poet*. Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1993.
- Smith, Stan. *Poetry & Displacement*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007.

- Tobin, Daniel. *Passage to the Center: Imagination and the Sacred in the Poetry of Seamus Heaney*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999.
- State, Paul F. *A Brief History of Ireland*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009.
- Stevenson, Angus and Waite Maurice. *Concise Oxford English Dictionary: Luxury Edition*. New York: Oxford UP, 2011.
- Trahair, Richard. *Utopias and Utopians: An Historical Dictionary*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Tymoczko, Maria and Colin Ireland, Eds.. *Language and Tradition in Ireland: Continuities and Displacement*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
- Lehmann, Hartmut and Guenther Roth eds.. *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidences, Contexts*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Wilson, Nigel. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Tradition and Modernity in Postcolonial Asian Literature

Iulia WANIEK¹

Résumé : *Cette analyse s'appuiera largement sur l'étude menée par Philippe Lejeune sur les problèmes liés à l'autobiographie. Le principal obstacle de l'adéquation entre cette définition et le roman qui se déclare/veut une autobiographie réside bien entendu dans le terme de « personne réelle ». Un autre problème qui surgit lors de l'analyse d'une narration autodiégétique et s'il s'agit bien d'une autobiographie ou d'un récit fictif ?*

Mots-clés : *roman autobiographique, littérature française*

Introduction

Our study will have a first part introducing the theoretical concepts related to the background of Indian and near-Eastern history and traditions, and an applicative part, i.e. an analysis of several works written in English by contemporary Indian authors who live mainly out of India.

Postcolonial studies view the relationship between the Western powers and the colonized territories of Africa, India, South-East Asia, etc., as one of opposition, between the greedy Western men, and the colonized populations which were naïve and uncivilized. Generally, such a view is correct, but very few scholars look at the matter from a different angle: India, China, and the rest of South Asia had civilizations much older than the European one, older than the classical Greek and Latin world, and superior in wisdom, and the Europeans failed to understand the importance and rigor of these traditions. The cliché of the greedy colonizer is more pervasive than the image of the obtuse traveler and researcher who fails to understand the peoples he just discovered. 17th and 18th century Europe, while making the geographical discoveries and building colonial empires was equally forming a national spirit at home, and specific stereotypes related to peoples and national characters (these stereotypes became the subject of imagological studies in the twentieth century). Therefore, Europeans were discovering others and at the same time fictionalizing themselves. Was this fictionalization process applied to the newly discovered peoples of Asia and Africa? Most certainly, as the

¹ Associate Professor PhD, Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, waniek.nihongo@gmail.com

good savage stereotype or the Japanese being the best people yet discovered stereotype, created by Francis Xavier, prove it.

I would like to start by revisiting the meaning of “colonialism”. In the Encyclopedie Larousse online, we find that “three forces which concurred to the establishment of a colonial domination [are]: military and administrative action, economic enterprises and missionary activity.” The implantation of an administrative structure on a foreign territory is a first step that paves the way for businesses, be they import-export companies (like the Dutch trading offices in the far east, from Indonesia, Malaysia up to Japan, Nagasaki, Deshima in the 17th and 18th centuries) or agricultural plantations (like the French colonies in Africa) to follow. Forced labor and expropriation of land was widely practiced in Africa during the French economic expansion, while missionary “evangelization” followed colonization (the spreading of Catholicism in Central and South America into the Aztec, Inca and other Amazonian populations) or preceded it, as in China or Japan where mainly Jesuit, and sometimes Franciscan and Dominican fathers tried to spread Catholicism in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Evangelization contributed, by the different values that it propagated, to the destruction of the traditional societies where it penetrated. The strictly regulated, highly traditional Japanese administration of the 17th century eventually repelled Christianity and ultimately terminated all the missionaries and believers in a blood bath around 1638, while China was more tolerant with Christians, being a vaster territory with a more complex structure.

The Encyclopedia Britannica online gives a broader definition, one that is not so critical of colonial expansion as the French one. According to it, Western colonialism is “a political-economic phenomenon, whereby various European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world.” It introduces the idea of exploration and scientific discovery as a first impetus/impulse of the movement. The British definition continues: “The age of modern colonialism began about 1500, following the European discoveries of a sea route around Africa’s southern coast (1488) and of America (1492). With these events sea power shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and to the emerging nation-states of Portugal, Spain, the Dutch Republic, France, and England. By discovery, conquest, and settlement, these nations expanded and colonized throughout the world, spreading European institutions and culture.” (Emphasis mine).

Europe's Encounter with the East – a way to create its own identity

For the imaginary of the 13-th to 15-th century Europeans (the pre-geographical discoveries Europeans, so to speak), the unmapped territories of the far East, or those of the mysterious Egypt or Ethiopia, were peopled by the essential Other, the monster – strange creatures or the fabulously rich monarchs of far-away kingdoms.

The myths about the East that medieval Europeans knew before the geographical discoveries were shared by Orientals, who defined Europeans as the barbarians of the West. European Middle Ages imagined that India, and in general the fabulous East were inhabited by animals and deformed men, with certain physical parts more developed than others, for example men with dogs' heads, men with ears so big that you can use them as a blanket, men with one foot that could be used as protection from the sun etc.¹

What distinguishes these people is their origin in distant lands, such as India, Ethiopia, Cathay, places little known by medieval man, but whose names always evoked mystery. Lucian Boia, in his two books, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarului* (“Considerations for a History of the Imaginary”²), and *Intre înger și fiară – mitul omului diferit din antichitate până în zilele noastre* (“Between Angel and Beast – the Myth of the Different Man from Antiquity to the Present”³) gives a good account of such images.

Creation of the Colonial Myths

The age of the great geographical discoveries opened by Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama was concluded by Captain James Cook (1728-1779) who mapped and discovered the last uncharted territories of the Earth, in the Pacific Ocean. But it can also be said that “the first steps of colonialism were put into practice through the voyages of Captain Cook”, whose aim was not “only to carry out a geographical discovery, but also to spread the British culture to other nations, to impose the social, political, economic and cultural power of the British over these communities”⁴. If it is accepted now that “another reason of

¹ Wittkower R. *Allegory and Migration of Symbols*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987 p. 12.

²Bucharest, Humanitas, 2006

³ Bucharest, Humanitas, 2011

⁴ Metin Toprak and Berna Köseoğlu, *Captain Cook's Voyage around the World – the First Steps of Globalization and the First Problems*, Kocaeli

these voyages was to observe the distinctive characteristics of the natives in order to take advantage of these aspects in accordance with the self-interest of the British”¹, as a critique of Colonialism, this view of Colonialism as a negative phenomenon, with mainly economic purposes, is only a quantitative one. There is more in-depth analysis that can be done on the subject, regarding ideology, as we can see below.

Gananath Obeyesekere, an anthropologist of Indian origin working in the United States shows a concrete example of how colonialism created new myths, in his *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*. He demonstrates in his book that “the image of Captain Cook as living Polynesian god was created not by Hawaiians but by Europeans, and as part of a larger mythic charter for their conquest, imperialism and colonization in the world.”² Obeyesekere shows how a myth about Captain Cook as a civilizing hero (the Prospero archetype) was constructed in the anglophone world, showing the famous Captain as a champion to the British nation, and the greatest explorer of the Pacific. Cook can be called “the humane persona of the Enlightenment”³, and many Pacific islanders know him even today. If you ask a Tongan where did horses come to Tonga from, he would tell you that Captain Kooki brought them from Britannia. Cook is commemorated in many places throughout the former colonies. In New Zealand a mountain is named after him, as well as many other things like streets, lanes, etc. Children around the world are taught today about Captain Cook and how the Hawaiians murdered him.

However, as Obeyesekere shows in his book, Captain Cook changed during his twelve-year voyages, becoming the very savage he despised. His journals and the accounts of those who accompanied him show increasing violence and erratic, irrational behaviour, especially in his third voyage. Arriving in Hawaii during his third voyage, his fits of anger and foot stamping are seen as resembling Polynesian dancing, and Cook is identified with Lono, the god of fertility. His “deification” by the Hawaiians during his second voyage ends in disaster in the third one.

University, Department of Western Languages and Literatures (Turkey),
Intech, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5772/45836>, p. 21

¹ ibidem

² Hanlon, David. “On the Practical, Pragmatic and Political Interpretations of a Death in the Pacific”, in *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1994, pp. 103-104

³ Obeyesekere, G. *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 7

One theory is that the death of a sailor and his burial in Hawaiian sacred ground angered the natives and exposed the Europeans as mere mortals. The Englishmen were attacked by the natives when returning for the third time to the island due to bad weather, and Cook died in the fight. Some scholars argued that Cook's death turned him into a god, as a sacrificial ritual, in the eyes of the Hawaiians. However, Obeyesekere refutes these theories and argues that Captain Cook's death was caused by his transgression of Hawaiian sacred space and of its rulers' sensibilities. Indigenous peoples all over the world realize now that their identity and many histories were mystified. Haunani-Kay Trask, a native Hawaiian political activist, makes a clear statement to this effect, in her book *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*¹: "as the object of intense anthropological observation, natives have often wished the white people would study their own ancestors, whom they could at least know culturally, instead of us, whom they generally misunderstand and thus misrepresent." So the European intellectual curiosity of the 18-th and 19-th centuries, directed to new cultural areas, was bound to fail in understanding them correctly, since Europeans did not understand very well their own tradition yet.

As a conclusion, however, we would like to add that, although Colonialism can be viewed economically, from a quantitative perspective, it can also be viewed culturally, or psychologically, as an encounter with otherness and as a path for constructing the European identity and sense of superiority. Because the newly discovered peoples appeared to be in a lower stage of development, the European sense of superiority came naturally. It is only after the second World War that Indian civilization and philosophy were recognized for their profoundness².

If in the colonial period the Western perception of India, for example, was based on misunderstandings, as we see from E. M. Forster and M. Eliade's novels, a second period, after WW II, the Post-colonial era, saw both a migration of the ex-colonized "other" to Europe and America, and a major shift in the way these cultures were seen in America and Europe. Thus we have a new perception of a respected traditional culture in India, but also we have a new type of literature,

¹Trask, Haunani-Kay, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, University of Hawaii Press, 1999

² Physicist Fritjof Capra dedicated a whole book to the similarities between the world view emerging from Indian Upanishads and the modern physics, namely *The Tao of Physics*, analysing the ancient texts from the perspective of modern science, and finding a perfect compatibility.

written in English mainly by Indian, but also African, or Asian writers, who are faced each with different dramas. As Anita Rau Badami, an Indian writer living in Canada and writing in English, has put it in an interview “I think Indian writers have been writing marvellous fiction for many years, but it hasn't been in English, so the West hasn't always heard of it. But a new generation of Indian writers born here [the West] or in India, writing confidently in English, has opened new doors to fiction about being Indian anywhere in the world.”¹

This new generation of writers who can be Indian “anywhere in the world”, as Badami says, could be considered as a third wave, in a new world that emerges after post-colonialism.

Indian tradition and history reflected in literature. India as home of the world's oldest civilization

It is considered that the cultivation of grain started in South – East Asia, around 7000 B.C., in a period of increased rainfalls. The Indus Valley was the first to develop a major civilization. Some 60-80 miles to the East of the Indus Valley was another great river valley, the Ghaggar Valley, thought to have been more hospitable to agriculture than the Indus with its big inundations (twice as big as those of the Nile). It is believed that from 7000 to 3000 B.C. farmers cultivated alluvial lands in the Ghaggar and Indus basin, but that something like a drying up of the Ghaggar occurred around 1700 B.C.

The Persian and Greek invasions (under Alexander the Great) had important repercussions on Indian civilization. The political systems of the Persians were to influence future forms of governance on the subcontinent, including the administration of the Mauryan dynasty. In addition, the region of Gandhara, or present-day eastern Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan, became a melting pot of Indian, Persian, Central Asian, and Greek cultures and gave rise to a hybrid culture, which lasted until the 5th century CE.

The Islamic Invasions

Throughout its long history, the Indian sub-continent was a frequent target of invading tribes from Central Asia. However, what makes the Muslim invasions different is that unlike the preceding invaders who were assimilated into the prevalent social system, the successful Muslim conquerors retained their Islamic identity and created

¹ Anita Rau Badami – Hero's Walk, at <http://www.rediff.com/news/2003/jan/06spec.htm>

new legal and administrative systems that in many cases superseded the existing systems of social conduct and ethics, influencing the common masses to a large extent. They also introduced new cultural codes very different from the existing ones. This led to the rise of a new Indian culture which was mixed in nature, as the majority of Muslims in India are Indian natives converted to Islam. This factor also played an important role in the synthesis of cultures.

The Mughal Empire was established in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh, by a dynasty beginning with Babur (1483-1539), and consolidated by Akbar the Great (1542-1605), Babur's grandson. The Mughal dynasty ruled most of the Indian subcontinent by the year 1600, but went into decline after 1700.

The Mughals were perhaps the richest single dynasty to have ever existed. Although they often employed brutal tactics to conquer, they had a policy of integration with Indian culture, which made them successful. Akbar the Great was particularly famed for this, declaring "Amari" or non-killing of animals in the holy days of Jainism and abolishing the tax for non-Muslims.

Hinduism – a Religion, a Philosophy and a Way of Life of the Indian subcontinent

Hinduism is more than a religion, it is India's oldest philosophy and a way of life. It is expressed in India's oldest books, the *Veddas* (consisting of religious rituals and philosophical insights), and the *Upanishads* (philosophical interpretations of the *Veddas*).

It can be said that Hinduism has:

1. A religious component, embodied in Brahmanism
2. A philosophical component expressed in the many schools of thought (yoga, *samkhya*, Vedanta etc.) which offered philosophical interpretations of the *Veddas*.
3. A practical, educational component, or body of knowledge, defining life and being, whose main concept is *dharma*

Brahmanism, was the religion of the Aryans, who worshiped nature gods, and the concept of class, or caste was most important - the people already living in the Indus Valley, when the Aryans arrived, believed that people were born into a particular social class. Unlike the Aryans they also believed in re-incarnation, and that people in lower castes were being punished for sins they had committed in earlier lives. If people accepted their position in life and lived correctly, they would be reborn in a higher caste in their next life.

In Hindu Philosophy the most important concepts are God and Self: Brahman (God), is the universal, supreme Spirit, which is at the

origin of the universe, of the phenomenal world. It is also called the Eternal Absolute, or the divine ground¹ for the seed of all ulterior creations. Atman (Self), coming from a Sanskrit root meaning breathing (*eth-men*, *asthma* in Greek), is a principle that pervades everything, the supreme consciousness, or a “body” in which all else is united. Older Upanishads (such as *Brhadaranyaka*), explain the Self as an essence obtained by denying everything (it is neither the physical, mental or energetic body, but a “witness” beyond all these, which cannot be identified with any manifested reality). Later Upanishads define Atman as representing only the individual Self, in opposition to the universal self (Brahman, God as Being and Nonbeing)².

Vedanta schools (*veda* meaning “knowledge” in Sanskrit and *anta* meaning “appendix, ending”) originally referred to the Upanishads, the last appendix, or final layer of the Vedic canon. There are 10 schools of Vedanta, of which Advaita Vedanta may be the most important, in contrast with Dvaita Vedanta. Advaita Vedanta (skr. *non-two*) is the monistic conclusion to the Vedas. It states the identity of Atman (the true self, pure consciousness) with Brahman, which is also pure consciousness. It is a non-dual philosophy, which gives primacy to universal consciousness, Brahman. A follower of Vedanta seeks liberation by acquiring knowledge (*vidya*) of the identity of Atman and Brahman, and needs the guidance of a guru to attain this. Historically, Advaita Vedanta developed in interaction with other traditions like Buddhism, Shivaism (the main founder of Advaita is Shankara, who lived in the 8-th century C.E).

The body of practical knowledge and the ethical aspect of Hinduism are the most enduring and pervasive even in modern day India. |Concepts such as *dharma*, or the four ages (*ashrama*) of man, or the concept of ethical duty, or destiny of man, embodied in *terma*³ are

¹ The phrase “Divine Ground” was coined by Aldous Huxley in his comparative study of mysticism *The Perennial Philosophy*. Divine Ground expresses the common experience of mystics from diverse religious traditions of an Absolute Ground in which phenomena appear to have their root and origin. Theistic religions refer to this ground as God whereas Eastern trans-theistic religions use terms such as Tao, or Dharmakaya.

² Kalupahana, David J., *A History of Buddhist Philosophy*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992, pp. 8-9.

³ *terma*, “hidden treasure”, were teachings revealed to chosen persons (called *terton* in Tibetan), creating a tradition of continuous revelation in Tibetan Buddhism. They existed also in Indian tradition, but especially in

still important and can be traced even in the thinking of Salman Rushdie or Jhumpa Lahiri's characters.

In Hinduism *dharma* (meaning « to hold, to carry », in skr.) refers to the behaviours in accordance with *rta* - the order that makes the universe possible, the right way of living; *dharma* is the moral law ¹. In Buddhism it means cosmic law, or order, and is depicted iconographically as the wheel that turns, but it also means the teachings of Buddha, the Law (*fa* in Chinese, *ho* in Japanese, 法)².

The stages (*Ashrama*) of a dutiful life.

Hindu wisdom considered that man passes through four main stages during his life (such ideas exist even in Western cultures, however they are much simpler, as possibly synthesized in the riddle posed by the Sphinx to Oedipus). This idea of four stages is combined with four ethical goals of man's life, which is another idea specific to Hinduism. According to the ethical theories in Indian philosophy, the proper goals of human life are fulfillment of the individual and duty toward family, happiness and spiritual liberation (they are called *artha* in Sanskrit).

The four stages of life are: Brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (householder), Vanaprastha (retired) and Sannyasa (renunciation). These too are an aspect of *dharma*, as they represent an ideal model of life.

Buddhism where the transmission of *dharma* could be made in two ways, the so-called "long oral transmission" from teacher to student in unbroken lineages and the "short transmission" through *terma*. For example, in the 2-nd century C.E. Nagarjuna, founder of the Madhyamika school of Mahayana Buddhism, is credited for developing the philosophy of the Prajnaparamita sutras by direct revelation of the final part of these scriptures from the *naga* (serpent deities).

¹ Kalupahana, op. cit., p. 12. In the Vedic religion, *Rta* (Sanskrit "that which is properly joined; order, rule; truth") is the principle of natural order which regulates and coordinates the operation of the universe. Conceptually, it is closely allied to the injunctions and ordinances thought to uphold it, collectively referred to as *Dharma*, and the action of the individual in relation to those ordinances, referred to as *Karma* – two terms which eventually eclipsed *Rta* in importance as signifying natural, religious and moral order in later Hinduism. It could also be equated with the Tao of China.

² Fischer Schreiber, Ingrid, Ehrhard, Franz-Karl, and Diener, Michael S., *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism*, Boston, Shambhala, 1991, p. 54

While some Indian texts present these as sequential stages of human life and recommend age when one enters each stage, many texts state the Ashramas as four alternative ways of life and options available, but not as sequential stage that any individual must follow, nor do they place any age limits.

In the stage of education (till 24 or 25 years old), the young man would seek education with a *guru*, remain celibate, and learn to live a life of dharma (righteousness, duty, morality).

The householder stage (25-50) refers to married life, when man has the duty to raise a family, educate children, produce food and wealth that could support other people in other stages of life, thus being the most important socially. The retirement stage (50-75), where a person handed over household responsibilities to the next generation, took an advisory role, and gradually withdrew from the world was a transition phase from a householder's life with its greater emphasis on wealth, security, pleasure, to one with greater emphasis on spiritual liberation.

The expression of Indian philosophy in literature. The *Ramayana*

Ramayana – composed by the sage Valmiki somewhere around 500 BC, is said to describe the duties of human relationships (the ideal father, servant, brother, wife and king). It explores human values and the concept of *dharmat*.

King Dasarathra of Ayodhya has three wives and the following sons with them: Rama, son of Kausalya, the twins Lakshman and Shatrughna, sons of Sumitra, and Bharatha, son of Kaikeyi. When he married his third wife, Kaikeyi, the king had no son by any of the other wives, as yet. He promised Kaikeyi that if she bears him a son, he will be the heir and successor to the throne. However, the first wife gives birth to Rama before Kaikeyi.

Rama is very obedient (the perfect son) and becomes the king's favourite. The king actually crowns him as successor, but wife no. 3, Kaikeyi is angry and convinces the king to exile Rama for 14 years and crown her own son, Bharatha. Rama takes his wife, Sita, and leaves for exile, but only six days after his departure, the old king dies. Bharatha is very angry with his mother and swears not to take the throne, ever. Lakshman, who is a very good archer, and is married to Sita's sister,

¹ About Valmiki's *Ramayana* an Indian sage, Swami Tapasyananda, says, in the Introduction to his *Adhyatma Ramayana*: "Valmiki's object seems to have been to describe an ideal human character, that of Rama, though he accepts Rama also as an incarnation of Mahavishnu."

leaves his wife at home, to follow his brother Rama into exile. So, the middle twin, Shatrughna, is the one who actually rules the kingdom and comforts the three queens.

In the south of India lives a bad-tempered king, called Ravana, and his sister, hearing about Rama's qualities, covets him. She persuades her brother Ravana to abduct Sita, who is taken and hides in Ravana's fortress in Lanka (the southern island). A war ensues between Rama, helped by an army of monkeys (the *vanaras*) and Ravana and his army of monsters, *rakshasa*. Ravana's younger brother is a good man and helps Rama win the battle and retrieve his wife.

The battle for the abducted wife is somehow similar to the motif of the Greek epic, the *Iliad*, but the moral attitude of the characters in the two epics is very different, and much in favour of the Indian heroes. It is considered that Rama embodies *dharma*, while his brother Bharatha symbolizes the power to nourish the entire world, of the god Vishnu, as well as *dharma*.

After his father's death, Bharatha goes to Rama and Lakshman in exile and asks Rama to come back as king in Ayodhya. But Rama refuses to return earlier than 14 years, as it would be unfair. Bharatha returns to Ayodhya as a representative of his brother, King Rama, and promises that if Rama does not come back after 14 years, he will kill himself. During these long years Bharatha conquers the region of Ghandara, and creates the Kingdom of Takshasila (today's Punjab, Pakistan, Afghanistan).

After 14 years of exile Rama had just finished the war with Ravana, and, worried about what is at home, sends the hero of the *vanaras*, Hanuman, to Bharatha. Hanuman was devoted to Rama, and was a forest dweller, but in later illustrations of Ramayana, the *vanara* were represented as monkeys. Characters like Hanuman are fundamental to the cultural consciousness of India, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia, and even reached Japan as popular characters. Rakshasa, are demons also in the old Vedic tradition.

Other interpretive concepts: India – the Cradle of mankind.

Traditional archaeologists and researchers into ancient life consider that civilization began around 5000 years ago, in Sumer and ancient Egypt. This is the generally accepted timeline of our civilization, but there is material evidence in India, which corroborated with legends such as *Ramayana* proves that a much older civilization may have existed on earth. Between India and Sri Lanka, in the Palk Straits was discovered a man-made structure called Adam's Bridge, from a Muslim legend that says Adam came down to earth on this bridge when he was

expelled from Heaven. The *Ramayana* epic (Rama, the deity, is considered to have lived in the *tredha yuga*, 1,700,000 years ago) calls it Rama's Bridge (*Rama Setu*) and says that the bridge was built by the *vanaras* so that Rama's army may cross into Lanka to save his wife.

However, satellite information shows that the 30 kilometres long chain of shoals that spreads between the continent and the island of Sri Lanka is a continuous structure and Dr. Badrinarayanan of the Geological Survey Institute of India researched it and confirmed it was a man-made structure.

Non-establishment historian Graham Hancock has put up evidence for sustaining that a high culture was in existence 12,000 years BC on the shores of India. In Tamil Nadu, on the south-eastern coast of India, the Minashi Temple in Madurai is said to have been established by the survivors of a flood, belonging to an earlier advanced society.

In the Indus Valley cities were found along the river banks about the same age as in Egypt. Dhola Vira, in the Kuch saltmarshes, is an Indus valley civilization site, from around 3000 BC, where undeciphered hieroglyphs were discovered. In the foothills of the Himalaya there are much older sites, so the question is, how far back does the Indus valley civilization go? Probably survivors of a flood retreated to the mountains to start again, like Manu, who appears in the Vedas (which were memorized and handed down for 3000 years)¹.

Indians writing in English

Indians are now living in many former British dominions. Wanting to preserve their traditions, or to transfer to their children born in America or Canada, whatever they consider to be their real, traditional identity, they are faced with the realization that they are no longer Indian. In Canada – Anita Rau Badami's very well received second novel, *The Hero's Walk* (2000), or in USA – Jhumpa Lahiri's *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), winner of the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and the Hemingway Foundation /Pen Award in 2000, show Americans of Indian origin caught between their traditions and the new style of life of their adoptive countries, and the sense of loss and betrayal they face when they realize that traditions can no longer be met, and preserved. The short story *The Interpreter of Maladies*, which lends its title to Lahiri's first volume, places in contrast a talented, self-taught polyglot Indian who works for a doctor as translator and as tourist guide on week-ends, and Mr. and Mrs. Das, coming from the U.S. The guide is bewitched by

¹ Hancock, Graham, *Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization*, London: Random House, 2003

the American sophistication and luxury of the young couple, placing himself in a position of inferiority to the “foreign” visitors. Mrs. Das considers his job as translator very interesting and puts it into a totally different perspective, as an important work dedicated to his fellow humans, however she inadvertently loses the guide’s address (she promises to write and send photos), and at the end everything falls back to where it was.

Muslim and Indian: Salman Rushdie

Salman Rushdie’s most famous novel is *Midnight’s Children* (1981, wins Booker Prize same year); it has a complex narrative structure and a unique verbal mixture of orality and eloquence that established his reputation in the 80-ies as one of the best emerging writers in English. In his novel we can trace the story of a Moslem family from the Kashmir valley, which starts in 1915 with the marriage of a young doctor educated in Germany to the beautiful daughter of a rich landowner, who then move to Agra, then to New Delhi and finally Bombay. Significant events in India’s history are witnessed by the characters, or alluded to, from the massacre of 1919, the formation of the Muslim Front and the murder of its leader in the late 1930-ies, to the famous Independence Night of 15 august 1947, the border warfare with China of 1965, the death of Jawaharlal Nehru and the appointment of his daughter Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister, the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, the Rule of Emergency in 1975 when censorship and suppression of civil rights surfaced for the first time in India’s modern history, Sanjay Gandhi’s involvement with his mother’s programme of slum clearance and compulsory sterilization, her subsequent defeat in a national election and the return to a more cynical democracy thereafter.

By the Act of Independence of 1947 India is partitioned into two dominions (i.e. still under British sovereignty, in the Commonwealth), India (Hindu) and Pakistan (Moslem), with Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister. In 1951 it becomes a Republic within the Commonwealth. The valley of Kashmir, along the border between India and Pakistan decides in 1960, through a referendum, to be part of India.

This is the background against which the story of a Moslem family in Kashmir starts to unfold. In 1915, the 25-year old Aadam Aziz has just returned from Germany where he had studied medicine for five years. Although the valley of his childhood seemed like Paradise, the young doctor realizes that, after five years’ absence, he already sees things differently: “Now, returning, he saw through travelled eyes. Instead of the beauty of the tiny valley circled by giant teeth, he noticed the narrowness, the proximity of the horizon; and felt sad, to be at home and

feel so utterly enclosed. He also felt – inexplicably – as though the old place resented his educated, stethoscoped return.”¹

In Europe Aziz had clashed against the Europeans’ ideas on his own country: stereotypes like the idea that India was discovered by the Europeans, that it was an uncivilized country: “Heidelberg, in which along with medicine and politics, he learned that India – like radium – had been ‘discovered’ by the Europeans; even Oskar was filled with admiration for Vasco da Gama, and this was what finally separated Aadam Aziz from his friends, this belief of theirs that he was somehow the invention of their ancestors”² Actually, Salman Rushdie is a destroyer of our European stereotypes about India, because in his novels he “plunged into” so many layers of Indian society and showed the high and the low, the educated and the folk, as Anita Desai wrote in her *Introduction* to his novel³.

So, the young doctor Aziz returns home, marries the daughter of a rich Moslem land owner and decides to move to Amritsar in 1919. There he witnesses the Hartal, or Mourning Day of April 7 1919, when, the whole of India paused, at Gandhi’s injunction, stopped working, to mourn the presence of the British on its territory. Dr. Aziz saw realizes that, as the Indians fought for the British in WW I, “so many of them have seen the world by now and have been tainted by Abroad. They will not easily go back to the old world. The British are wrong to try to turn back the clock” (i.e., the Rowland Act against political agitation). But Gandhi’s design is distorted as mobs riot the shops. On the 13th of April, a peaceful protest meeting is turned into a blood bath as R. E. Dyer, the Martial Law Commander of Amritsar ordered the shooting of 1500 peaceful demonstrators. Dr. Aziz survives only because he had accidentally fallen and is covered and sheltered by the dead bodies of the people around him. With this occasion, he got a severe blue mark on his chest, where the handle of his doctor’s bag had pressed against him. For the next twenty years, the doctor will settle in Agra, where, in 1942 he witnessed another surge of the Indian spirit: the founding of the Free Islam Convocation by Mian Abdullah, a Moslem magician from the Delhi ghetto, become the “hope of India’s hundred million Muslims”⁴. It is this Abdullah who makes Dr. Aziz to meditate that: “I started off as a Kashmiri and not much of a Muslim. Then I got a bruise on the chest that turned me into an Indian. I’m still not much of a Muslim, but I’m all for

¹ Rushdie, *Midnight’s Children*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1981, p. 9

² *ibidem*, p. 10

³ *ibidem*, p. xi

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 46

Abdullah. He's fighting my fight."¹. This is the truly tolerant attitude, yet acknowledging the right to preserve one's own tradition too.

The doctor's daughters get married and one of them – Amina Sinai - moves to New Delhi with her husband Ahmed. Their son Selim, born on the very night of India's Independence, is the actual narrator of the novel, and appears also as a character in the story (this character-narrator formula was greatly used in oriental tale literature).

In New Delhi the Sinai family lives in a Muslim neighborhood, and has some profitable enterprises. But the anti-Muslim gang calling themselves the Ravana firebugs sets fire to Muslim-owned factories, shops, or asks for protection money in order to spare them. Muslims are called "the Jews of Asia", and the slogan is "No Partition, or else Perdition!", meaning the opposition against the partition between India and Pakistan.

The hatred between Muslims and Hindus is apparent in many respects and episodes in that neighborhood. A few descriptions of the state of facts are more eloquent than any theoretical presentation. For example, "One group of three neighbours was known as the 'fighting cock-people', because they comprised one Sindhi and one Bengali householder whose homes were separated by one of the muhalla's few Hindu residences. The Sindhi and the Bengali had very little in common – they didn't speak the same language or cook the same food; but they were both Muslims, and they both detested the interposed Hindu. They dropped garbage on his house from their rooftops. They hurled multilingual abuse at him from their windows. They flung scraps of meat at his door...while he, in turn paid urchins to throw stones at their windows, stones with messages wrapped round them: "Wait, your turn will come"²

The fights between Muslims and Hindu are well known, and two Christian missionaries operating in Bombay, Mary Pereira and Joe da Costa express, on the eve of Independence, the Christians' position of non-interference. Joe says that the independence is good only for the rich, as the poor people will continue to suffer and kill each other for religious (or ethnic) reasons: "...the air comes from the north now, and it's full of dying. This independence is for the rich only; the poor are being made to kill each other like flies. In Punjab. In Bengal. Riots riots, poor against poor. It's in the wind.'

...

¹ *ibid.*, p. 47

² *ibid.* p. 89

‘But Joseph, even if it’s true about the killing, they’re Hindu and Muslim people only; why get good Christian folk mixed up in their fight? *Those ones have killed each other for ever and ever.*’¹(*emphasis mine*)

The family moved to Bombay a few months before Independence, buying a good property from an Englishman, because they were advised by a business associate that the price of property is dropping as the British administration are preparing to leave India. It is in Bombay that the son, Selim, conceived in New Delhi, is born, as the first baby of free India, together with a poor Hindu family’s child.

Midnight’s Children is not only the huge epic depicting India’s modern history but also, through its many layers of cultural allusions to various Indian traditions, a hymn of praise for India the Wise, or India the cradle of civilization. And the vitality that goes hand in hand with India’s poverty, which is witnessed by Amina Sinai in her Delhi walks, proves the power of renewal held by any great civilization.

Shalimar the Clown, the novel dedicated to the Muslim/Hindu conflict

Significance of the title: Shalimar, or Shalimar Bagh, is the name of a famous garden built by the Mughal Emperor Jaganhir (1569-1627), near Srinagar in Kashmir, connected by a channel to Lake Dal. The Emperor built the garden in 1619 to please his beloved queen, Nur Jahan. The very garden is the scene of important events in the novel: it is the place where the children who represent the peace and harmony that could exist in Kashmir, were born. What does it symbolize?

Gardens all over the Muslim world are an image of Paradise, and the Shalimar Gardens described in the novel are also a symbol of the Paradisiacal harmony that existed between Hindus and Muslims, involved in their traditional arts, in the Kashmere village of Pachigam. The village is a place of Beauty, but a beauty that is not so much physical (the descriptions of nature are not as eloquent as those of the little valley where the action of *Midnight’s Children* starts) as moral. It is the beauty of the harmony between the Muslim and Hindu communities, that will gradually be disrupted by political events, just as the marriage of the two children born in the Gardens of Shalimar – a Hindu girl and a Muslim boy - will be broken by the arrival of the American ambassador in the peaceful village. The Hindu bride falls in love with the American, is lured to Delhi and bears a bastard child. Returned to her village after the romance is over, she will be killed by her former husband turned terrorist. The novel has an open ending, as the terrorist – who was once

¹ idem, p. 130-131

an innocent Muslim dancer called Shalimar the Clown, tries to kill the daughter of his wife and the American – we do not know if he succeeded.

Jhumpa Lahiri, *The Lowland*

A “formula” that many of the good novels use today, is to mix the unfolding of a human, psychological and personal conflict, with a background of historical turmoil, or of cosmopolitan and diverse spaces, where conflict arises from a clash of cultural beliefs (mutually strange beliefs of Indians and Americans, for example). As Gita Rajan and Shailja Sharma noticed, writers now address a “new cosmopolitan audience”¹. This particular readership appreciates literature that mirrors contemporary aspects of globalisation: “[...] a world of emigration, immigration, travel, multiple authenticities, of diaspora and its attendants, a kind of self-conscious hybridity, of language that stretches the borders of nations, communities and ironically, ideas of purity”².

Writers are after all those people with an acute sense of observing the world, deeply involved in the problems of contemporary world, who found out that their most efficient weapon for changing the world is not violence but the words with which they impress the readers and help change their patterns of thinking.

In building the extraordinary story of *The Lowland*, Jhumpa Lahiri describes the life of an Indian family gradually torn apart by the conflict between its old cultural traditions and the new conditions of life encountered in the U.S., against the background of a less known yet bloody period of Indian history. This is the time of the Naxalbari peasant uprisings, following the postwar famines in Bengal, uprisings lead by the Communist youths influenced by Maoism in 1967. India’s Communist Party, which was Marxist, splits into a Leninist and a Maoist wing and violent terrorist attacks on authorities like the Police or the University follow during those unclear years. A middle-class family of a railroad employee has two intelligent sons, who pursue a university education, Subhash and Udayan. But while Subhash goes on to study in Master and Doctoral Programs in the United States, Udayan involves himself in the terrorist activities of the Naxalites. Apparently selfish towards his family, his parents, wife Gauri and older brother, Udayan engages in a suicidal activity, sacrificing himself for a higher cause, that of the poor people of India. He will be finally caught and killed by the police.

¹ Rajan, Gita, and Sharma, Shailja, eds. *New Cosmopolitanisms: South Asians in the US*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 159

² *ibidem*, p. 161

Our Western perception of the Indian people as being very poor and submissive, with a philosophical bent for renouncing the material world, is sharply contradicted by the violence described in the book, performed by the anarchist Naxalite youths.

The American life of the elder brother is furthermore torn by the conflict between his desire to continue the traditional Indian family and his wife's swift emancipation and Americanization. She finally leaves him to pursue an academic career, but their daughter – Bella - turns away from academic pursuits, becoming an environmentalist and a free spirit (finally free from the bond of Indian traditions that she does not know first hand).

The question arises again, as to what can be the significance of literature for our society today. More than entertainment or didactic purposes, more than a philosophical, function of exploring the meanings of life, it can have a direct, pragmatic impact on us, readers from everywhere: to help us understand ourselves, our problems, more than just expounding a certain political agenda. The bestselling authors today are not militants for any particular, political movement, except for this large contemporary movement of fighting for our own personal freedom, and for human fulfillment anywhere and everywhere in the world, which is, in fact, a new form of humanism.

References

- Boia, Lucian, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarului*, București: Humanitas, 2006
- Boia, Lucian, *Între înger și fiară – mitul omului diferit din antichitate până în zilele noastre*, București: Humanitas, 2011
- Capra, Fritjof, *The Tao of Physics*, Boston, Shambhala, 1991
- Dodiya, K. Jaydipsinh, *Critical Perspectives on the Ramayana*, New Delhi, Sarup and Sons, 2001
- Eliade, Mircea, *Maitreyi*, Bucuresti, Editura Tana, 2009
- Eraly, Abraham, *Gem In The Lotus: The Seeding Of Indian Civilisation*, London: Penguin Books, 2002
- Eraly, Abraham, *Emperors of the Peacock Throne – The saga of the Great Mughals*, New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1997
- Fischer Schreiber, Ingrid, Ehrhard, Franz-Karl, and Diener, Michael S., *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism*, Boston, Shambhala, 1991
- Hancock, Graham, *Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization*, London: Random House, 2003
- Kalupahana, David J., *A History of Buddhist Philosophy*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992

- Lahiri, Jhumpa, *Interpreter of Maladies*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999
- Lahiri, Jhumpa, *The Lowland*, London: Bloomsbury, 2013
- Obeyesekere, Gananath, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992
- Rajan, Gita, and Sharma, Shailja, eds. *New Cosmopolitanisms: South Asians in the US*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006
- Rushdie, Salman, *Midnight's Children*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1981
- Swami Tapasyananda, *Adhyatma Ramayana – The Spiritual Version of the Rama Saga*, Chennai: Sri Ramakrishna Matha, 1985
- Trask, Haunani-Kay, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, University of Hawaii Press, 1999
- Wittkower, R., *Allegory and Migration of Symbols*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987

Italian Voyages in the Works of Nineteenth-Century Romanian Writers

Răzvan STAICU¹

Abstract: *The present article endeavours to identify and tackle a corpus of texts written by both major and minor Romanian authors of the 19th century, beginning with the pre-romantic years, the 1848, “Pașoptist”, romanticism and the period immediately after 1848, going through the second half of the century, the age of the plenary affirmation for the “Romanian classics”, and on to the turn of the 20th century and beyond. The object of my analysis is the presence of Italy, as a historical, geographical and cultural space, in the Romanian writers’ field of interest.*

Keywords: *travelling, romanticism, classicism, Italy, memoirs, exoticism, culture, national feeling*

The contact Romanian intellectuals made with Italy’s cultural, historical and artistic space is obviously the main reason why the “Italian” theme starts appearing in the literary works of this period. It is a time when the local intellectual world witnesses a resolute and definitive opening towards the West. The Romanian public spirit is eager to receive and internalise not only the ideological and cultural model offered by the great European capitals, but also their lifestyle attitudes. Among these, quite naturally for an emancipation-hungry society which was slowly, but surely becoming francophone, Paris represents a point of keen interest to everyone from the young men who want to study in the seductive lands of the West to an entire social class which adopts quickly and “entirely the French fashions and manners”².

Yet there are other European “destinations” which now begin to attract, albeit gradually and somewhat timidly, the attention of the Romanian public, as competitors and alternatives to Paris. In this context, Italy is a western space worthy of consideration, all the more so if we think of the patriotic and nationalistic ethos of the age, with its keen awareness of our historical descentance from the Roman Empire.

¹ Ph. D. Student, University of Bucharest, razvanstaicu24@yahoo.com

² Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*, translated from the French by Aurelia Dumitrașcu, 3rd edition, revised and unabridged, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucharest, 2006, p.155

The fascination exerted by Rome's culture and history, by Italy's literature and arts over the scholars from the Romanian Principalities and from Transylvania is undeniable. Historical writings or applied philological studies are two important channels through which the Italian element flows into Romanian literature, becoming one its most significant themes. And yet, the theme could not have gained such prominence solely as a result of this mitigated contact with the cradle of Latinity. I dare say that the decisive contribution to the surfacing and establishment of the "Italian theme" in the Romanian literary productions of the age was the direct contact with the geographical, social, cultural and ethnographic space of the Peninsula. Romanian intellectuals come into unmitigated contact with this space, and with ever increasing frequency. Among them we may distinguish the profile of the travelling scholar, who, fascinated by the places and people he meets far from his own country, expresses both his subjective feelings and his objective observations in writing, either in the form of diary entries or travel notes on the Italian soil, or in the shape of letters to friends, relatives, lovers and other members of their close circle back in the country. Thus, travel memoirs become extremely important for shaping the Italian theme in general, and in particular for the note of exoticism it brought to Romanian literature.

The travelling motif is not a mere pretext, one which has no significance for establishing the characteristics of the theme under discussion. The travellers from the Romanian Principalities went to Italy for various reasons: sometimes to study, othertimes on diplomatic missions, but also urged by intimate feelings and profound personal ideals, such as love, the wish to escape or the need for freedom. Function of a multitude of purposes which, in its turn, ultimately results in a multitude of perspectives, the Italian theme (with its many facets: cultural, political, social, or exotic) is reflected in the writings of these "travellers" in forms which are sometimes downright surprising, with reference as well as aesthetic value. In my paper I will mention the names of some of these nineteenth-century writers and passionate travellers, who enriched Romanian literature with, among other things, representations of the Italian space. However, I choose to begin this succession with names from a more distant past, so as not to leave the false impression that, for the Romanian spirit, Italy was a nineteenth-century discovery. To demonstrate this point, it would suffice to mention the name of Miron Costin, and his *De neamul moldovenilor, din ce țară au ieșit strămoșii lor* (approx. *On the Moldavian People, and What Country Their Ancestors Came From*). The thesis of the Romanian people's Latin origins is stated by the title of the very first chapter: *De*

Italia. I will not insist on these significant mentions of the Italian space – which I will seek in the field of another century – more than is necessary to prove that this interest has deeper roots. Another name worth mentioning is that of Nicolae Milescu Spătaru (or Nikolai Spathari), the eighteenth-century scholar and traveller who, in his *Cartea despre sibile* (approx. *The Book on Sybils*), records his passage through Italy, and more accurately the name of a town - Cumae¹ (even though professor M. Moraru disproves the authenticity of the passage in his book *De nuptiis...*; Milescu takes over the mention from another author, but his interest in including an element pertaining to the Italian space remains ultimately valid.)

The Italian theme does not appear isolatedly in the Romanian literary and cultural history. It is anticipated by other noteworthy figures who come in direct contact with Italy's geographical and spiritual space: Despot-Vodă Heraclidul, Petru Cercel, Constantin Cantacuzino, Grigore Ghica, Ion Inochentie Micu Klein, Petru Maior, and Gheorghe Șincai.

The names of these eminent scholars, as well as their writings, were known to those who came after them, towards the end of the 19th century and later. This line of authors is opened by Gheorghe Asachi (1788 – 1869). The travel diary he kept in Italy (*Extract din călătoria unui moldovan la Roma, din anul 1807-1812*; approx. *Excerpt from the Travels of a Moldovan in Rome, in the Years 1807-1812*) covers the period during which he was a student in the Eternal City. It is already impregnated with the ideology of a future Enlightenment scholar, endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge, with a keen interest in and sharp eye for all aspects of the Italian cultural life, and no less with a profound romantic passion for Italy, which will prove constant throughout his life.

Another traveller, this time coming from Wallachia, is Dinicu Golescu (1777-1830) whom I will mention here with his most important work, *Însemnare a călătorii mele, Constandin Radovici din Golești, făcută în anul 1824, 1825, 1826* (approx. *Notes of the Travel I, Constandin Radovici of Golești, Made in the Years 1824, 1825, 1826*), published in Buda in 1826. It is the first travel diary published by a Romanian, and records the author's impressions of the places he visits in Transylvania, Hungary, Austria, Northern Italy, Swizerland, and Bavaria. Golescu writes in the pre-modern, Enlightenment spirit, his narrative being permeated with didacticism, descriptive with an eye to more educational purposes, but devoid of any serious preoccupations with the

¹Quoted in Mircea Angheliescu, *Nicolae Milescu: un profil, în Scriitori și curente*, Editura Eminescu, Bucharest, 1982, p.38

artistic aspects. He alludes to the economic and social progress made by the West, opposing it to the stagnation of his own country. Essentially different from the later works by *Pașoptist* writers, Dinicu Golescu's book is highly relevant for the study of the evolution of this literary genre towards its romantic forms.

Nicolae Filimon (1819-1865) wrote his *Excursiuni în Germania meridională* (approx. *Excursions through Southern Germany*) after a journey through Western Europe. Based on the general observations and the cultural considerations made by Filimon in his book, George Baiculescu¹ retraces the author's European itinerary, which comprises the Italian cities of Milan, Bergamo, Rome, Naples, Florence, Fiesole, Pisa, Livorno, Perugia, and Venice. As a theatre and music critic, endowed, therefore, with a subtle perception of both these artistic phenomena, Filimon devotes an important part of his journeys to them, but without neglecting all the other cultural aspects he encounters.

V. Alecsandri (1821-1890) is the most prominent author of his literary generation. His vocation as a traveller is recorded not only in the more frequently mentioned *Călătorie în Africa* (*Journey through Africa*), *Balta-Albă*, or *O primblare la munți* (*A Walk in the Mountains*) but also in [*Jurnal de călătorie în Italia*, approx. *Diary of My Journey through Italy*]. This posthumous work is the tale of the love between the author and Elena Negri, the sister of his friend, Costache Negri, and of the tragic separation forced on them by destiny. Their love story unfolds far from their native land, as the two wish not only to find a space of romance, but also to escape the public's prying eyes. From the ideal and static Venetian sojourn to the race through the Western European cities, in a desperate attempt to cure the young woman's illness, which will eventually prove terminal, the author's notes capture, in the frank and heterogeneous style of a confession, both the intense feelings of happiness and the deep anguish of this stage in the lovers' lives. The diary pages dedicated to Venice depict the ideal space of the two youths' passion, placing it in such stark contrast with the turmoil of the rest of the world that the buildings, the people, the sky and the canals of the Italian city create a background of indefinite exoticism, which pendulates between the real and the fantastic, like the waves of the sea flowing through the open branches into the heart of the land, into the arteries of the city.

¹ George Baiculescu, *N. Filimon călător*, in *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, year XIII, new series, no.1, May 1946, pp.84-114 (quoted in George Lăzărescu, *Prezențe românești în Italia*, Ed. didactică și pedagogică, R.A., Bucharest, 1995, p.64)

Intimacy and subjectivity are also present, albeit in a completely different form, in *Peregrinul transilvan* (*The Transylvanian Pilgrim*) by Ion Codru Drăgușanu (1817-1884). The Transylvanian author communicates his travel impressions in the form of imaginary letters to a friend in the country. This note of originality emphasises precisely the writer-traveller's participatory subjectivity in his relationship with the places he visits, with their history and the lives of the people who populate them. Noticing Codru Drăgușanu's critical subjectivity, Mircea Anghelescu remarks that, while being always "ready to admire (parcimoniously so) and criticise (with finesse)", he "is the kind of traveller who keeps accumulating everywhere he goes, observing and judging things from within; unlike Dinicu Golescu [...], Codru Drăgușanu is not your everyday tourist, a spectator, but a participative one, who always falls discretely into step with the locals, yet not without judging, comparing, cataloguing them"¹. In Italy, passing through Milan and Genoa, he finally reaches Rome, the long-dreamt-of destination of his wanderings. Here, he is equally attracted to the picturesque streets and folk celebrations as well as to the culture and history he stumbles on at every turn, in this gigantic open-air museum. During another journey through Italy he visits Naples, which he simply calls "the garden of Italy" and "heaven on earth"².

Other intellectuals, such as the Transylvanians Simion Bărnuțiu, Al. Papiu Italian, or Iosif Hodoș, studied in Padua, while iconic figures of Romanian culture such as Nicolae Bălcescu, or Elena Ghica (whose penname was Dora d'Istria) sighed their last breath on Italian soil, the former in Palermo, the latter in Florence. Even if they are not the authors of proper travel diaries, their correspondence (as well as that of all the other writers mentioned previously) enrich the image we have today of the perception Romanian writers had of the Italian alterity in the 19th century.

In this succession, of the Romanian writers who took an interest in Italy, we cannot fail to include Mihai Eminescu. He explores the Italian world from the point of view of a traveller interested in the cultural treasure-trove of the past, but who also allows himself to be enthralled by the charm of Venice. The poet's romantic sensitivity turns Venice into a

¹ Mircea Anghelescu, *Despre Ion Codru Drăgușanu*, in *Textul și realitatea*, Editura Eminescu, Bucharest, 1988, p.132

² Ion Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan*, published under the supervision of and with a preface by Romul Munteanu, Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1956, p.181

symbol of the passage of time, while the ancient splendour of Rome becomes the fading symbol of a “memento mori”.

If the travel memoir genre is one used especially – though not exclusively – by the romantics, exoticism is, on the other hand, a theme specific to romanticism. But the Romanian romantic century is characterised precisely by an eclecticism which determines, among other things, the coexistence of romantic and clacissist aesthetics. Travel literature is not exempt from this tendency. The romantic imprint on these writings manifests itself in various forms, function of the aspects of the Italian space taken into consideration, and of the manner in which the observing “ego”, the narrating subject – namely, the writer-traveller – relates itself to them. To give just one example, “for the romantics,” Mircea Anghelescu says, “a journey is an opportunity for self-rediscovery, they leave in order to reencounter their memories, their hopes, their own selves, and, generally speaking, their journey is a countinuous waiting for an event which never really happens, or happens much too late [...] The romantic travels in order to return to the past, or to transgress into the future; though always interested in the history of the places he travels through, Filimon lives his journey in the present, like a classic”¹.

One aspect which transpires from the writings of these authors is a certain tension between, on the one hand, the intuition of an “exotic” component of the Italian space, and on the other, the permanent reference the Romanian spirit of all ages (but especially of the 19th century) has made to Italy, as the cradle of the nation’s Latin origins.

In addition to travel writings, I would also like to mention here the fictional works of the period that illustrate the chosen theme, one which is vastly and diversely employed by all genres of nineteenth-century Romanian literature. These are largely the work of writer-travellers, the fruit of the author’s unmitigated contact with the Italian space, a trigger of artistic inspiration. I will give but a few relevant examples: V. Alecsandri’s short story *Suvenire din Italia. Buchetiera din Florența* (*Souvenirs from Italy. The Flower Girl from Florence*), Gheorghe Asachi’s Petrarchan-style *Leucaida lui Alviro Corintio-Dacico* (*Alviro Corintio-Dacico’s Leucaida*), Nicolae Filimon’s short stories *Mateo Cipriani*, *Orașul Bergamo* (*The City of Bergamo*), or *Ascanio și*

¹ Mircea Anghelescu, *N. Filimon*, introductory study to N. Filimon, *Opere*, Vol. I, published under the supervision of and with an introductory study by Mircea Anghelescu, notes and versions by George Baiculescu, Editura Minerva, Scriitori români collection, Bucharest, 1975, p.XXI

Eleonora (Ascanio and Eleonora), Costache Negri's piece of prose *Sărilor venețiane (Venetian Evenings)*, and so on.

Trying to conclude, the stated aim of this paper has been to follow, within severely restricted space limits, the genesis, evolution and literary avatars of a specific literary theme – namely, the Italian space, a theme which, in my opinion, would be worthy of a monographic study – in the context of nineteenth-century Romanian literature, of the “age of Romanticism”. I have focused my attention especially on travel memoirs, these works having the additional merit of illustrating a particular aspect generated by the chosen theme, namely “the exotic”. This aspect gains aesthetic richness within the “Italian” memoir writings, from which it seeps into the rest of the literary genres of the period.

Apart from exoticism, two other components continuously overlap and become intertwined, generating the fundamental triptych of Italy's representation in the literature of the period, especially in travelling literature: on the one hand, the patriotic feeling and the awareness of the Romanian nation's origins; and on the other, the nineteenth-century Romanian scholar's interest in and admiration for a cultural and civilising model.

The continuity of the “Italian” theme in Romanian literature, even beyond the turn of the century, was ensured by other writer-travellers fascinated with Italy, a country related to Romania through its Latin origins and at the same time eternally seductive in its Western alterity. One such literary figure is Duiliu Zamfirescu, a Romanian author whom we find intensely associated with the Italian soil, on a highly elevated social, aesthetic and cultural level. His letters (to Titu Maiorescu, and not only) paint an exquisite image of the two “worlds”, “us” and “the Other”, in all their spiritual forms. With Duiliu Zamfirescu, we can trace the direction which the “Italian” theme tends to take in the Romanian spiritual space on the threshold between one century and the next.

In following this new direction, we may also take as reference points the names of Claudiu Isopescu, or G. Coșbuc, whose friendship with the Italian professor Ramiro Ortiz is famous. Ortiz is the one who, in 1909, set up an Italian Studies Department within Bucharest University's Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. He became the mentor of such names as Alexandru Marcu, a member of the Romanian Academy, and G. Călinescu, who was also influenced by the thinking of the Italian critics Francesco De Sanctis and Benedetto Croce. This is the “bridge” the Italian otherness casts towards the Romanian space. From then on, the relationship between the two entities, Romanian and Italian, continued its slow but steady evolution on the common basis of philological professionalism, and the rigour of scientific research, regardless of its

nature, started to replace fascination and romantic revery – the allure of the Italian exoticism was forever relegated to the past.

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to briefly point out the aspects of the fascination exerted by the literary and cultural theme of the Italian space on several nineteenth-century Romanian writers, and especially those aspects which made them turn to Italy as their ultimate reference point, as well as the manner in which these contacts helped the Romanian authors find their own spiritual path and elements of originality.

Bibliography

- Angheliescu, Mircea *Despre Ion Codru Drăgușanu*, in *Textul și realitatea*, Editura Eminescu, Bucharest, 1988
- Angheliescu, Mircea N. *Filimon*, introductory study to N. Filimon, *Opere*, Vol. I, published under the supervision of and with an introductory study by Mircea Angheliescu, notes and versions by George Baiculescu, Editura Minerva, Colecția Scriitori români, Bucharest, 1975
- Angheliescu, Mircea *Nicolae Milescu: un profil*, in *Scriitori și curente*, Editura Eminescu, Bucharest, 1982
- Baiculescu, George N. *Filimon călător*, in *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, year XIII, new series, No.1, May 1946
- Codru drăgușanu, Ion *Peregrinul transilvan*, published under the supervision of and with a preface by Romul Munteanu, Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, 1956
- Eliade, Pompiliu *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*, translated from the French by Aurelia Dumitrașcu, 3rd edition, revised and unabridged, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucharest, 2006
- Lăzărescu, George *Prezențe românești în Italia*, Ed. didactică și pedagogică, R.A., Bucharest, 1995

MUSICAL SELVES

ANIME SOUNDTRACKS FROM DOMESTICATING PLAGIARISM TO HYBRIDISING AUTHENTICITY

Maria GRAJDIAN¹

Abstract: *The current paper focuses on three anime movies and their respective soundtracks: Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War (Heisei tanuki gassen ponpoko, 1994, director: Takahata Isao, music: Shang Shang Typhoon), Ghost in the Shell (Kôkaku kidôtai [literally: Mobile Armored Riot Police Against Chaos Attacks], 1995, director: Oshii Mamoru, music: Kawai Kenji) and Princess Mononoke (Mononoke hime, 1997, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe). The choice of these anime movies falls back to the fact that at the time of their release, they marked undisputed milestones in the history of the anime genre due to their powerful expression modes and idealistic foundations. The music of these three anime movies is comprised in the stress ratio between two concepts – “domesticating plagiarism” and “hybridizing authenticity” – in the quest for identifying their contribution to overcoming classical dichotomies such as original-copy and West-East. While anime soundtracks can be observed from a variety of perspectives – as a medium, a genre, a technique, a form, an ideology or an aesthetics –, the current research endeavor brings in the foreground the ideological-aesthetical parameters of anime soundtracks, particularly and directly derived from the individual visions of their respective composers and referring unmistakably to the magic and the deeper levels of significance of animation as a means of expression.*

Keywords: *Japanese popular culture, Japanese animation, anime, anime soundtrack, cultural consumption.*

1. Introduction: cultural syncretism as commonplace

The breakthrough of the anime in the West occurred with the anime movie *Akira*: Released in 1988 and directed by Ôtomo Katsuhiro with music composed by Yamashiro Shôji, *Akira* became a standard for the anime (Japanese animation art, also known as Japanese animated [film] productions) as a genre, ideology and aesthetics, in spite of being a brutal flop at the Japanese box-office due to its unexpected disruption of the traditional visual framework. The existence of the anime in the Japanese culture has been recorded for much longer, historically speaking, as it seems to be deeply anchored in the classical Japanese visual arts, thus continuing the aesthetical and ideological representation tradition of the Japanese scroll paintings (*emaki-mono*) of the Heian

¹Associate Professor, Nagasaki University - School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, JAPAN, maria-m-grajdian@nagasaki-u.ac.jp, <http://www.hss.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/>

period and of the Japanese wood-block prints (*ukiyo-e*) of the Edo period, additionally enhanced with influences of the domestic stage arts and of the Walt Disney fantasy and dynamics (***) 2006:180; Napier 2005:7; Richie 2001:150). Soon after the end of WWII, anime gradually turned into an independent representation medium, more often than not associated, since the 1960s, with political radicalism and cultural experimentalism. This was, again, actively reflected in the booming cultural industry of the 1970s, anime thus becoming an alternative stage for new intellectual orientation paths as well as aesthetic-ideological tendencies, and particularly dominating the postwar Japanese youth who increasingly found itself in conflict with (more) traditional ideas about its own role, the position of culture and of women. Subsequently, anime moved towards an underground current beyond the mainstream cultural industry of the 1980s, noticeably experienced a decline in the 1990s and an explosive revival in the new millennium.

Indeed, one can experience a similar tension – between composition and technique, realism and fantasy, traditionalism and non-conformism, plot construction and character structure – both in classical Japanese visual arts and in anime works. It might appear as if the individual tries to rise above its plain function within the collectivist system – and anime serves, typically, as an ambivalent symbol of a ‘new Japan’ with deep roots in a glorious past (see Satô 1992:12): On the one hand, the so-called ‘new Japan’ is an imagined community consisting of selected artifacts of Western material culture, and a nation who would courageously and stubbornly resist any attempts from the outside (aka, from the West) to corrupt and/or to oppress it. On the other hand, this same ‘new Japan’ sees itself as a protector and carrier of Asian historical heritage, responsible for its preservation and perpetuation in the era of globalization.

Largely regarded as animation “made in Japan”, the anime – a genre, a technique, an aesthetics, an ideology and a medium – developed during the last decades to the status of the main bearer of Japanese cultural assets, in addition to manga (Japanese comics). Softly, it turned into a quotidian phenomenon able to mediate outside of Japan for non-Japanese audiences the Japanese cultural elements. In more practical terms, this refers to an established, and increasingly powerful, international fan-base whose members surprise outsiders with the employment of Japanese words and concepts in their everyday language and who gradually start to represent such seemingly forgotten values as honesty, courage and perseverance (Maas 2000:88, Poitras 2000:7). Furthermore, in its perception and acceptance as one of the most globalized cultural appearances of the recent decades, the anime

emerged as a strongly market-oriented product, whose relevance resides in its saleability; it is, as such, an exceptionally creative and multifaceted phenomenon, which reflects in its colossal quantity and quality the massive individual, social and historical energy and power held within the framework of “postwar Japan” as a reputed monolith (Iwabuchi 2004:60; see Kinsella 2000:4): a homogenized, consumption-conditioned medium to respect prevalent rules and regulations in its relation to the nation it belongs to, and a progressive significant ‘ambassador’ of Japanese cultural assets targeted at the international community.

In addition to the visual dimension, the auditive dimension is fundamental within the framework of anime as a cultural product, constituted of background sounds and background music, usually called OST (Original Soundtrack) or BGM (Background Music). The background music contributes massively to creating a specific atmosphere, to emphasizing a particular emotional and mental state and to facilitating the transitions between them. Moreover, it is connected to a very strong market-segment: Anime soundtracks are professionally composed and merchandized nationally and internationally, the offer & supply hardly covering the huge demand. Understanding the fact that this so-called “background music” is considerably more than plain “background auditive information”, as for instance, in Richard Wagner’s employment of the orchestra as a commentator of the visual or narrative events, is essential in observing the merchandizing mechanism of anime-related musical products as independent goods and assets in the field of entertainment industry and of cultural consumption. At times, the (title) songs and the musical themes accompanying anime movies and series become independent brands and turn into big hits, being sold by Japanese production companies on international markets as self-sufficient products, while the respective artists become stars practically over-night. There is no exaggeration in asserting that a strong, almost intrinsic relationship emerges between anime soundtracks and the artists who stay behind them: On the one hand, famous composers and musicians contribute significantly through their music to the success of an anime product; on the other hand, less famous composers and musicians may become stars of national and international reputation in a very short period of time by getting involved into the production process of anime works. In the first category, names as Hisaishi Joe and Kanno Yôko can be included, while in the second category, the Japanese *visual-kei* band WORLD (*Death Note*, anime TV series, 2007) or the girls band AmuYumi Puffy (*The Tale of Prince Genji: The Millennial Chronicle*, anime TV series, 2009) can be taken as relevant examples.

The current paper focuses on three anime movies and their respective soundtracks: *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* (*Heisei tanuki gassen ponpoko*, 1994, director: Takahata Isao, music: Shang Shang Typhoon), *Ghost in the Shell* (*Kôkaku kidôtai* [literally: *Mobile Armored Riot Police Against Chaos Attacks*], 1995, director: Oshii Mamoru, music: Kawai Kenji) and *Princess Mononoke* (*Mononoke hime*, 1997, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe). The choice of these anime movies falls back to the fact that at the time of their release, they marked undisputed milestones in the history of the anime genre due to their powerful expression modes and idealistic foundations. The music of these three anime movies is comprised in the stress ratio between two concepts – “domesticating plagiarism” and “hybridizing authenticity” – in the quest for identifying their contribution to overcoming classical dichotomies such as original-copy and West-East. While anime soundtracks can be observed from a variety of perspectives – as a medium, a genre, a technique, a form, an ideology or an aesthetics –, the current research endeavor brings in the foreground the ideological-aesthetical parameters of anime soundtracks, particularly and directly derived from the individual visions of their respective composers and referring unmistakably to the magic and the deeper levels of significance of animation as a means of expression.

‘Domestication’ was described by mid-1990s as the “taming, civilizing, naturalizing, familiar-making, home-bringing acquisition of the Other” within an active process, and thus contrasting to passive processes such as westernization or modernization (Tobin 1992:11). It confronts plagiarism as an unmediated affront against artistic creativity through an illicit, monopolizing adoption of results. Composers of anime soundtracks, though, overcome in their musical works the accusation of an uncreative imitation of Western counterparts through a critical examination of Western sounds and their employment in an innovative, future-oriented manner within the framework of their own compositional endeavours. Simultaneous with this critical examination of Western compositional paradigms occurs a vivid questioning and blunt revelation of the self, of one’s own cultural heritage, in the light of the other as a studied and absorbed (unfamiliar) entity. Just as heroes are driven in their initiation trips by love and the desire to discover the meaning of life, anime composers embark in their quest for suitable means to give expression to their creative ideals in an open confrontation with the Other. Authenticity, authentic music or authentic musical style encompass thus the dynamic compilation of most various musical directions, languages, trends and fashions, and unfold in a rainbow-like combination of different languages and genres, from heavy metal to

ethno-pop, from Western classics to Eastern modalisms and back to hip-hop: identity and culture emerge, therefore, as results of a hybrid combination of acculturated strategies.

Anime soundtracks dig deep into the main problematic of our times due to the rapid changes in their narrative tempo, due to their constantly transcending symbolism, due to the highlighting of metamorphose as fundamental technology as well as due to their amazing stylistic eclecticism which eludes altogether all attempts of localization: it is the slippery structure of identity in a permanently changing society, a symptom and a metaphor for a world obsessed with upheavals, spectacular events and fluctuating information. This musical translation from ethics to aesthetics, from message to medium makes possible the Protean shape of anime soundtracks, which can be summed up in three modes of representation (Napier 2005:34, see Kristeva 1989:85):

- celebration or festival (not *matsuri*, but carnival in the sense outlined by Bakhtin: the pathos of change and revolution, or death and renewal, so that culture emerges as an opportunity for resurrection in a society falling apart);

- apokalypse (the vision of the end of the world: progress is displayed as a definitive, irreversible end of all possible – personal and social – circumstances of the future);

- nostalgia (pain, loss and absence: civilisation acts as a possibility to return to a space of hope and fulfillment).

From the perspective of these three fundamental, partially conflicting, partially overlapping, dimensions of anime soundtracks, a dynamic ideological universe seems to be constructed, in which culture is not represented as an emotional-social recycling of its respective subjects, but as a future-oriented endeavour to refresh, fulfill and elevate the self. Culture appears as a dialectical confrontation between self and other and between self and self-in-other, leading ultimately to a confrontation between the self and its transcendence by the other. As to be shown further below, the analysis will unfold in three stages: in a first step, the category of anime soundtracks will be briefly explained, followed by the detailed explanation of the three anime movies mentioned previously – *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, *Ghost in the Shell* and *Princess Mononoke* – with the particular underlining of the respective dimension in the musical soundtrack, in the classical sequence thesis-antithesis-synthesis. Thus, the cliché of “domesticating plagiarism” evolves towards a creative attitude encompassing fundamental elements of a new identity paradigm based on “hybridizing authenticity”. In the conclusion, I shall succinctly summarize the three

main elements of the musical construction of the Japanese cultural identity emerged from the juxtaposition between Japanese composers and their Western counterparts as resulted from this critical confrontation.

While it is true that academic research and corresponding publications on anime have been booming in recent years, it is mainly the visual dimension to get the credits, with the auditive/musical dimension being mostly dragged in the background of the scientific discourse. Analytical debates in commercial journals, mostly published by fans, provide plenty of important ethnographic information, however, they reach only seldom the level of academic depth and severity. As outlined further below, on the basis of existing scientific research on anime, I shall deliver a thorough empirical analysis of the three anime movies mentioned previously, completed by insights provided by intensive discussions with anime entrepreneurs (directors, composers, producers) and anime consumers (fans), in quantitative and qualitative approaches. Additionally, I observe musical phenomena both intrinsically, in the cultural context of their emergence and development, and extrinsically, on the social, economical and political background of their popularity and circulation. This historical contextualization supplies the scientific enterprise with credibility and consistency, not least due to the lack of referentiality backed by secondary sources.

2. Anime soundtracks and the dynamics of identity

While the plot, the character design and the drawing techniques are fundamental dimensions of any anime work, the auditive background plays an equally important role in shaping the structure and balance of an anime production, and thus decisively contributes to its success: In addition to the voice-over (the ubiquitous narrator), dialogues and monologues, sound effects and background music are to be taken into consideration (Wells 1998:97-99, Poitras 2000:88). The background music is essential, in anime productions as in cartoons and live-action movies as well, in creating a specific atmosphere and in emphasizing particular emotional states and transitions; some composers of anime music – e.g., Hisaishi Joe or Kanno Yôko, more recently, Kajiura Yuki and Kawai Kenji – have become popular by composing music for anime works. In particular, the albums of anime soundtracks represent a strong professional industry branch, domestically and internationally, due to an unexpectedly strong demand. Accordingly, so-called “Domestic CDs” relying on the most popular anime productions (e.g., *Sailor Moon*, *Revolutionary Girl Utena*, *Rurouni Kenshin: Romantic Tales of a Swordsman in Meiji-Japan*, etc.) have been locally produced with

nation-specific features, meaning that the title songs are translated into the language of the country in which they are merchandized.

Furthermore, so-called “Original Soundtracks” of anime productions, also named “Image Soundtracks”, are inspired by the music of a particular anime work and consist partially of single albums of the anime protagonists and their voice actors/actresses of the respective anime work. Voice actors and actresses (*seiyû*) are very important as well, and possess their own magazines, e.g., *Voice Animage*, who may become at times as popular as live-action actors and actresses: An impressive celebrity is Hayashibara Megumi who started her career as voice actress in 1986, and lent her voice to such anime characters as Faye Valentine in *Cowboy Bebop* (*Kaubô-i Bibappu*, Japan, 1998 director: Watanabe Shin'ichirô, music: Kanno Yôko), Ayanami Rei, Ikari Yui and Pen Pen (the Penguin, in *Neon Genesis Evangelion*), Ranma-chan in *Ranma 1/2* (*Ranma ni bun no ichi*, 1989-1992, director Mochizuki Tomomi, Shibayama Tsutomu, Sawai Kôji, Nishimura Junji), Achika (in *Tenchi Muyô!*, 1991-2001, director Ozawa Kazuhiro Hayashi Hiroki, Yatani Ken'ichi), Ai in *Video Girl Ai* (*Bideo Garu Ai*; Poitras 2000:16; see Ledoux/Ranney 1995). Conclusively, it is correct to assume that the background music, together with the plot, the character structure and the visual design, reliably reflected, historically speaking, the events and the ideas from reality, which is an important function of the arts in their entanglement with humanity and its quests.

2.1. The thesis: a musical return to primordial beginnings and the festival of life

Tanuki¹ (*Nyctereutes procyonoides*) – raccoon-like mammals – are the main protagonists in the anime movie *Ponpoko: The Heisei*

¹ Tanuki are in the Japanese folk imagination playful, idle, cheerful mammals, which employ their supernatural powers to metamorphose into all possible shapes, mostly while placing a leaf on their heads, and in order to annoy humans with more or less innocent jokes – e.g., magical leaves looking like bank-notes (which is forbidden in *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, though) or magical food (see Takahata 1999a:66). Tanuki statues can be seen all over the place in Japan, mostly around tempels and shrines; often, tanuki hold a barrell full of sake. Recently, real tanuki have been re-surfacing around urban areas in Japan, which seems to be a result of the increasing urbanization, tanuki thus losing their living habitat.

Tanuki War released by Ghibli Studio in 1994.¹ The anime movie presents the gradual vanishing homeland of the tanuki as a result of human intervention in its strive for progress and technological development, observed through the eyes of the affected protagonists, unable to defend themselves: Rather than being a fantastic narration with talking animals, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* is a huge fable executed with documentary precision (see Takahata 1999a:68). The plot

¹ Ghibli Studio has become in the international anime world during the last three decade the epitome of successful Japanese anime productions, a constructive combination between aesthetic visions and consumption-related compromises. Ghibli (written as „gibli“) means in Italian „hot Sahara wind“ and was supposed to bring a fresh wind in the landscape of the Japanese animation market. Ghibli Studio was founded in the year 1985 by Takahata Isao and Miyazaki Hayao. Both grounders had already gathered plenty of experience in the field of animation and of the anime industry, which they employed consequently for their own studio. In addition to the so-called Takahata-Miyazaki combination, two further persons have accompanied the Ghibli enterprise and contributed to its worldwide popularity: the producer Suzuki Toshio and the composer Hisaishi Joe. Among the works released by Ghibli Studio, the most famous are: *Laputa: The Castle in the Sky* (*Tenkû no shiro Rapyuta*, 1986, director: Miyazaki Hayao, Music: Hisaishi Joe), *The Grave of the Fireflies* (*Hotaru no haka*, 1988, director: Takahata Isao, music: Mamiya Michio), *My Neighbour Totoro* (*Tonari no Totoro*, 1988, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe), *Memories like Raindrops* (*Omohide poroporo*, 1991, director: Takahata Isao, music: Hoshi Katsu), *Princess Mononoke*, *Spirited Away*, *Howl's Moving Castle* (*Hauru no ugoku shiro*, 2004, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe), *Tales from Earthsea* (*Gedo senki* (literally: *Ged's War Chronicles*, 2006, director: Miyazaki Gorô, music: Terashima Tamiya), *Ponyo on the Cliff* (*Gake no ue no Ponyo*, 2008, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe), *The Borrowers Arietty* (*Karigurashi no Arietti*, 2010, director: Hiromasa Yonebayashi, music: Cecile Corbel), *From Up On Poppy Hill* (*Kokuriko-zaka kara*, 2011, director: Miyazaki Gorô, music: Takebe Satoshi), *The Wind Rises* (*Kaze tachi-nu*, 2013, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe), *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* (*Kaguya-hime no monogatari*, 2013, director: Takahata Isao, music: Hisaishi Joe), *When Marnie Was There* (*Omoide no Mânî*, 2014, director: Hiromasa Yonebayashi, music: Muramatsu Takatsugu).

of *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*¹ is located in Tama region in Western Tokyo, a region which underwent deep-going changes affecting its landscape during the 1970s (Drazen 2003:153).² All rural areas were cleared with the surrounding hills being deforested and flattened-down, so that private houses and apartment buildings were built to compensate for the housing crisis in the metropolitan area. As a result of the hills' deforestation and disappearance, the wild animals living in those regions either died out or had to move to distant areas due to the food shortage and the decreasing living space. With his idiosyncratic pragmatism, Takahata presents the story realistically: The tanuki are solely partially successful in their attempts to stop the human advancement, and slowly, their struggle loses its initial aggressivity and becomes defensive, only to turn, eventually, into a definitive surrender.

As musical background, the Japanese ethno-pop band Shang Shang Typhoon, active during the 1980s and 1990s, was chosen. Their musical style could be best described as a mixture of various Japanese elements, including traditional music from Okinawa in *min'yô*³ style,

¹ *Ponpoko* is a word which apparently equals the sound of a tanuki drum (*tanuki tsutsumi*). According to Japanese legends, this sound results when a tanuki pumps air into its belly (or in some version, into its testicles) and playfully hits them with its paws, in order to scare wanderers and passer-bys: *pon-poko, pon-poko*. For that matter, *pon-poko* is also the sound resulting from softly hitting a full belly, in general.

² The tanuki in *Ponpoko: The Tanuki Heisei War* live in Tama-Kyûryô (Tama Hills) in West-Tokyo. The Japanese government (in reality and in the movie) decided in early 1970s to build a completely new urban area in the suburbs of Tokyo, with apartment houses, schools, hospitals, department stores, etc. This was the first housing project of such dimensions in Japan. The suburb, which would include the districts of Tama, Machida, Inagi and Hachiôji, was called „Tama New Town“. The Tama New Town region is a huge surface with light hills, spreading over two prefectures in West Tokyo. The largest part of Tama New Town consists of a mixture of modern suburb and wooded hills. A further anime movie released by Ghibli Studio, *If You Listen Carefully (Mimi wo sumaseba, 1995, director: Kondô Yoshifumi, music: Nomi Yûji)*, takes place in the same region and refers to several of the ecological themes from *Ponpoko: The Tanuki Heisei War* as well. The bus stop in *Ponpoko: The Tanuki Heisei War* is Seiseki-Sakuragaoka on the Keiô Line.

³ The term *min'yô* is usually translated as „folk song“; it was used during the 20th century to designate traditional Japanese music from different regions.

with Rock'n'Roll, Pop and Reggae influences. Shang Shang Typhoon's unique sound results from the employment of an original instrument, which was designed by the leader of the band, Kôryû: *sanshin*, a kind of banjo with *shamisen*¹ strings. In *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, the members of Shang Shang Typhoon accompany the tanuki in their fateful encounters with the human race, in a funny, nevertheless profound manner, musically reflecting tanuki's struggles, driven by the intrusion of the humans in their territory either to death or to adaptation. Thus, Shang Shang Typhoon re-constructs Japan's own image in modernity, which at the late hour of its premodernity was forced to move out of its self-inforced seclusion into universal history (see Ôtsuka 1992:32). One of the last scenes of the anime movie displays a young family living in one of the newly built houses, happy to see a couple of confused tanuki in their garden. The subliminally reactionary atmosphere of the whole movie, transmitting an yearning for the old, indefinably beautiful times in which people and animals lived together peacefully, overflows this scene: “自然の美しさは人間が自然の力を生かしながら作り出した。” (Takahata 1999:66)² Harmony appears as a never fully attained condition, something which changes with times, and which must be retrieved again and again from the turmoil of history.

Superficially speaking, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* transmits a common ecology-oriented message, supported by the deliberately deceptive music of Shang Shang Typhoon and its powerfully coloured allusions to Japanese folk songs: Major figures descending from famous Japanese folk tales, the mischievous tanuki, still massively present in the Japanese quotidian life, are employed by Takahata in his task to convey an emotional version of the ecological message so intimately attached to the Ghibli enterprise (Drazen 2003:189). The whole situation seems indeed inspired by the historical transformation of the Tama Hills in Western Tokyo in the first half of the 1970s, when new suburbs were built. Simultaneously with the active voice against the destruction of the natural habitat, as in *Nausicäa from the Valley of the Winds* or later in *Princess Mononoke*, the happy, peaceful rurality from *My Neighbour Totoro* is evoked in the characters of the tanuki, who had come back into fashion and public awareness by mid-1990s in Japan.

On a deeper level, though, it becomes clear that *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* is a hymn to life as the most important asset one

¹ The shamisen, literally translated as 'the strings of the three flavours', is a three-stringed lute with a long neck and a relatively small body.

² While recalling the vitality of nature, the human being recreates the beauty of nature, again and again.

possesses and could ever possess. One could even go as far as to state that *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* is for Takahata what *Princess Mononoke* would be later for Miyazaki (see further below): the artistic confrontation with that apparently favourite leisure activity of the modern human being consisting of constant attempts to kill the gods, to turn the sacred into the profane, to demystify the magic of life and of the world. In other words: bringing the netherworld into this world, out of pure fun (see Eagleton 2003:54). The main problem, however, emerges when the modern human being shows its inability to replace this lost world brought to the surface with something new, equally mysterious and beautiful. Technology, science or longer life-span cannot fill-in the gaps in the existence of late-modern social actors, caused by the loss, the disappearance and the disenchantment process of old folk tales and folk beliefs, fairy tales, myths and ghosts stories. They used to provide magic and miracles to a life otherwise dreary and bleak. In *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, Takahata navigates against this suffocating everyday life by delivering a soft touch of light and joy in his hymn to life – the life of humans and of nature with its animals and plants – as something extremely valuable.

The general tone of the movie is infused with reactionary nostalgia for the ineffably good old days, when humans and nature used to live harmoniously together, and relativized with a good dose of humour, especially in the last scenes of the movie which sketch a not overly negative image of a possible compromise between the old – traditional, nature-given familiar – and the new – innovative, culture-related, alien – world. The message is to keep on living. Even the main victims, the tanuki, whose solidarity and clan-defined organizational structures appear as glorious examples of those closely related community relationships lost a long time ago, are presented at the beginning of the movie as a quarrelsome bunch of individuals displaying a carefree, idle and luxurious lifestyle way beyond their means (Drazen 2003:188). It needs a dramatic moment when they are faced with a common enemy, the humans invading their territory and destroying their habitat, that they team up to eliminate the danger. Despite their unified forces, they lose the battle, ultimately – but life goes on, even though some things will never be the same and some are lost forever. One has to go with the flow of times, adapt to those times, enjoy life at its fullest, until the very last moment – this is Takahata's message. Using fake nostalgia as a departure point, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* overcomes the apokalyptical transgressions and turns into a celebratory hymn of life, while employing echoes of folk songs to illuminate the fragmented inconsistency of cultural identity in late-modern Japan.

Takahata employs his tanuki as messengers of the huge difference between strong, self-reflexive individuals and weak people lacking orientation: the deliberately naive music of Shang Shang Typhoon reminds of the blind, childish, and therefore all the more painful, often meaningless readiness to sacrifice oneself in the name of a cause rarely understood, and urges simultaneously towards a disciplined, goal-oriented, self-confident, light-emitting willingness to live an exemplary life which might change the world and save those around us. This is the positive message about the necessity to learn to avoid conflicts and to look for compromises, sent by a pacifist Takahata and supported by Shang Shang Typhoon in their quest for a new form of originality beyond Western ideology and aesthetics. Thus, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* becomes the message of victory of life over death; it is a gesture of forgiveness and a hedonistic project: Live and let live! It is also a love statement to life and to all the reasons for which life is worth living in spite of all challenges and losses. Environmental problems and the decaying nature (as dealt with previously in *Memories like Raindrops*) serve as pretext on the background of the fate of the mythical tanuki (see Takahata 1999a:73). An immense fable itself, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* talks about the destruction of the forest not only as the loss of the homes for those living there, but also as the destruction of what Hannah Arendt called “the common world” (quoted in Bauman 2004:22). Living beings are not separate entities, but they exist and co-exist within complex temporal and spatial as well as emotional networks. If their habitat is destroyed, an entire life-network is destroyed, at the same time: a small, vital, circular universe is ruined in the name of human progress and development. Nevertheless, it is worth going on living. Somehow. The tanuki learn this hard lesson in spite of their inner resistance; they subsequently adapt their ability to change shape to the new circumstances – originating probably in their mythological ability to metamorphose – and take into account, pragmatically, the unavoidable victimization, followed by the mourning of the innocent victims. The restoration of the original state of harmony is an endless process, and alongside this process both victories and defeats are faced and accepted as such. This state of harmony which is yearned for by all living beings is never an existential circumstance in itself not to be addressed or challenged, but a circumstance to be sought and attained within a long instructive and exhausting journey. This journey is commonly called “life”.

In spite of unified forces, *Ponpoko: The Tanuki Heisei War* didn't make it into the final stage to the Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Film in 1994. Main reasons may lay in the fact that Takahata's anime works,

unlike Miyazaki's anime works, e.g., *My Neighbour Totoro*, *Princess Mononoke*, *Spirited Away*, don't contain universal characters and behave mostly deeply ethnocentrically (Napier 2005:165): The jokes originate frequently in Japanese history and folklore, and several humorous elements are too "down-to-earth" for the sanitized Disney audiences, such as the surprising scene in which the leader tanuki informs his 15 disciples that they sitting on his testicles (metamorphosed into a large blanket) or the memorable scene in which a tanuki distracts a truck driver by transforming his testicles into a blanket and unfolding this on the windshield. The standard Ghibli drawing and art design quality reached in *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* an unprecedented level of mastership. Together with the textual, Japan-related dimensions and with the nostalgic background music, perceived by a great segment of the audiences as "typically Japanese", they contributed massively to its success at the domestic box-office – arguably not the strongest point in case of Takahata's anime productions, in spite of their undeniable formal and contents-defined features of genuine masterpieces.

2.2. The anti-thesis: foreign sounds and apokalyptic visions

An uncanny breach with the classical anime tradition, the anime movie *Ghost in the Shell* displays the identificatory plurality under the sign of technological fragmentation of that very plurality of identities. The composer Kawai Kenji¹ accompanies with his music in a stunning mixture of Bulgarian mourning chants and Shinto incantations as well as taiko drums and peaceful melodic flows the disenchanting history of the unusual cyborg Kusanagi Motoko.

¹ Born on April 23, 1957, in Tokyo, Kawai Kenji is one of the most important names in the contemporary musical landscape in Japan, with contributions in various fields such as live-action movies, anime works, video games and TV programmes. Among his most popular works, there are *The seven swords* (China, 2005, director: Tsui Hatk), *The red glasses* (*Akai megane*, Japan, 1987, director: Oshii Mamoru), *Stray Dog* (Japan, 1991, director: Oshii Mamoru), *Ghost in the Shell*, *Avalon* (Japan, 2001, director: Oshii Mamoru), *Ranma 1/2*, *Maison Ikkoku* (*Mezon Ikkoku*, 1986-1988, director: Yamazaki Kazuo, Annô Takashi and Yoshinaga Naoyuki), *Ring* (Japan, 1998, director: Nakata Hideo), *Ring 2* (Japan, 1999, director: Nakata Hideo), *Dark Water* (Japan, 2002, director: Nakata Hideo) and *Kaidan* (Japan, 2007, Regie: Nakata Hideo). His compositional style is characterized by a melancholic mixture of Western instruments and chant techniques and Eastern harmonical structures, as well as unmediated jumps between modal scales.

In the year 2029, there are plenty of human beings who have turned into cyborgs by having replaced their bodies partially or entirely with artificial implants: The brain, however, cannot be replaced, but is kept well preserved in a bio-capsule (shell) within each cyborg, so that this is the cyborg's spirit (its ghost), its identity and its personality. The sudden emergence of a hacker carrying the nickname Puppet Master, an aggressive cyber-terrorist who hacks into the neuro-cybernetic implants of important politicians and thus manipulates political decisions, causes great worries due to the fact that he can break the security barriers of the ,shells' and can, therefore, control the ,ghosts' directly: His victims lose in the case of such an attack their identities. Major Kusanagi takes this threat very personally, as she is working for the highly-secret Department 9 (the section within the Ministry of Internal Affairs in charge of solving any security problems) and possesses an extremely developed cyborg-body enhanced with superhuman powers, but her ,ghost', her identity, her only remaining original part, is not replaceable.

Like in *Blade Runner* (1982, director: Ridley Scott), tackling the problematic of the ,artificial human' leads, eventually, to the question of ,what is' a human being. Apparently existing like a liquid network, the Puppet Master seems to have created his own ,ghost' which was installed within the skull of a ,shell' instead of an organic brain. It is an impossible creature who applied for political asylum at Department 9, but discovered in Kusanagi the ultimate goal of his quest, after his abduction and release. The Puppet Master, at the time a male ,ghost' in a female ,shell', decided to merge with Kusanagi's ,ghost' in order to find the "missing link" which resides commonly in conventional living entities, and thus to achieve the status of human existence. Kusanagi, who is not a real person, but was created with the steely belief to be one, finds her own identity again after her old ,shell' is destroyed in a climactic battle, and Batô, one of her coworkers, reactivates her in the ,shell' of a young girl. The Puppet Master sketches the plan to merge with Kusanagi Motoko and thus to reproduce himself: This is not a desire for immortality, but rather the wish for reproduction as that very action which provides meaning to human continuity and perseverance. The immergence into the flow of the network involves the immediate freedom from the contradictions of human constraints, because the ,ghost' leaves the ,shell' and the material limitations, and turns into pure ,ghost(s)' of energy. While humans are isolated from immortality due to their diversity, vulnerability and ephemerality in the shape of the ,shell', reproduction appears simultaneously as a spiritual phenomenon which adds an additional ambiguity to the separation from immortality and to the question of the ability to reproduce oneself. By immersing into the

network, the ‚shell’ acquires the entire knowledge of the world. The maternal identity model embodied by Kusanagi suggests destruction as a direct consequence of the free will, a combination of excellent initiative and physical strength, and at the same time, as a consequence of self-revelation. The new Kusanagi arises from Puppet Master’s love: She is the historical embodiment of continuous negotiations between ‚shells’ and ‚ghosts’, between pre-determined identities and self-fashioned identity fragments. Thus, the ‚shell’ is simply a container or a reservoir of the ‚ghost’.

Kawai Kenji’s score for *Ghost in the Shell* decisively creates an atmosphere of existential interrogations which strongly highlight the psychological uncertainty of powerful cyborgs. The thin, thread-like connection to reality is created through the sensual popular song “See You Everyday”, sung in Kantonese by Fang Ka Wing (clearly audible in the background of the chase scene in the market, with the disturbed cyborg devastating the environment). The haunting chant accompanying the entire movie indubitably questions the architectural construction of artificial intelligence and identity through the ongoing oscillation between modal and tonal juxtapositions and in the disturbing employment of female voices. Kawai Kenji suggests in these insistent combinations the imminent apokalyse, which is, in turn, imagined not as an event to destroy the world, but as something to shatter the world in its very foundations. Kusanagi Motoko overcomes the status of a symbol of the late-modern human being with her hesitations and constraints, and metamorphoses into the living example of the historical illusion which refers to the ability of the human being to challenge and manipulate God, and ultimately, to replace him.

The existential interrogations reminiscent of Descartes’ philosophy in the first *Ghost in the Shell* make place in its sequel *Innocence* (*Inosensu*, 2004, under the direction by Oshii Mamoru and with music composed once again by Kawai Kenji) to the questioning of reality reminiscent of *Matrix*, visible in the confrontation between the human being and the doll: a robot without a ‚ghost’ is, inspite its ability to act and to move, still merely a doll, while a cyborg is much more similar to a human being. This dualism is repeatedly fragmented and questioned: While humans more often than not do want and do try to emulate dolls – for instance, by giving little girls dolls so that they learn from them and accept them as life models –, as soon as robots get in touch with an opportunity for growth and further development, they would immediately start a humanisation process. *Ghost in the Shell* is explicitly targeted at a Western audience, and Kawai Kenji follows closely Oshii Mamoru’s creative strategies to address important

existential questions in an universal manner. Thus, the unfamiliar elements in Oshii Mamoru's visual design is retrieved in familiar sounds and harmonies, allowing for an artistic joke within the nonconformist discourse of alienating realities: His music is, though, no aesthetic-ideological compensation of the visual dimension, but the realistic representation of the apocalyptic insurgence between cyborgs and humans.

2.3. The synthesis: the nostalgic joy of nature and the re-invention of humanity

A long way from the utopian idealism in *Nausicaä from the Valley of the Winds* from the year 1984, directed by Miyazaki Hayao as well, the mature and warm humanism in *Princess Mononoke* unfolds in the depiction of epical battles between gods and humans: regardless of the final solution, the world after the death of gods will never be the same. The composer Hisaishi Joe,¹ one of the cult figures in the anime industry, constructs in *Princess Mononoke* an universe of ludic allusions and contradictory combinations which are indicative of the fragmented fabric of cultural identity in late modernity.

The initiation trip pursued by Ashitaka, *Princess Mononoke's* main male character, is, like all heroes' initiation trips since the dawn of history, a journey of identity construction and awareness building and an incursion into the unknown fields of the world: he must learn to see with clear, unclouded eyes (曇り無き眼 *kumori naki me*, as stated in the movie) the truth of the West, from where the enraged, deadly wounded boar had come. Accompanied by the words of the old wise woman in his home-village

—

¹ Born on December 6, 1950, in Nagano, Hisaishi Joe started his career as a composer of serial-minimal music during his study at Kunitachi Music Academy. After his first album *Information* (1982), he received in the year 1983 the offer to create the Image-Album for *Nausicaä from the Valley of the Winds*. Miyazaki and Takahata from Ghibli Studio were so deeply impressed by the result, that they allowed Hisaishi to compose the whole soundtrack. Later on, Hisaishi composed the music for *Laputa: The Castle in the Sky*, *Kiki's Delivery Service*, *Porco Rosso*, *Princess Mononoke* and *Spirited away*. Furthermore, Hisaishi Joe composes works outside of Ghibli Studio, with his own albums and the title song for the 1998 Paralympics in Nagano.

“誰にも運命は変えられない。だがただ、待つか自ら赴くかは決められる。”¹ —, Ashitaka starts off his trip towards new territories: his wound is his curse, the symbol of the forbidden fruit and of the impossible awareness, of hatred, and also of irreversible knowledge. What he discovers in the confused West, torn between wars, is the power and beauty of life despite its difficulties and failures, in the answers of the nature to the curiosity and greed of the humans – summed up in the words of the leper Osa オサ: “生きることはまことに苦しくつらい。世を呪い、人を呪い、それでも生きたい。”² The vital power of love emerges from hope, courage and the confidence which overcome destruction and despair, death and loss. Like Nausicaä in distant times and spaces, San サン must see how her pure, harmonious, peaceful world is destroyed by unexpected intrusions of evil outsiders – and like Nausicaä, she initially reacts with anger, hatred, revenge; still, while in Nausicaä’s world, the humans had no chance in their struggles against the forces of nature (as embodied by the giant insects), in San’s world, the forces of nature (the animals, the forest) have no chance in their resistance against the destructive, technological advancement of the humans.

「もののけ姫」は「風の谷のナウシカ」と同様に、自然の生命を愛するというよりとり憑かれているような少女の戦いの物語だ。しかし、「ナウシカ」の場合は未来が舞台で無国籍の物語だったが、「もののけ姫」は過去の設定であり、「となりのトトロ」以来久しぶりに日本が舞台だ。(Inoue 2004:162)³

At the end-point of their journey, both Ashitaka and San understand the futility of asking for security and stability, and simply do their best to learn the most constructive lessons out of the events. A co-existence between nature and culture is possible only in the brains of idealists – or idiots, as expressed by the shady character Jiko ジコ:

¹ No one can change his destiny. But you can decide if you just wait for its fulfillment, or if you stand up and fight against it.

² Life is painful, life is tough. The world ist damned, the human being is damned, and still, we want to live.

³ *Prinzessin Mononoke* is the story of a little girl like in *Nausicaä from the Valley of the Winds* who loves the living beings in the nature to such an extent that she is obsessed by them. While in *Nausicaä from The Valley of the Winds*, the stage was set in a distant, state-less future, in *Princess Mononoke* the plot takes place, once again, in the Japanese past, like in *My Neighbour Totoro*.

“いやあーまいったまいったバカには勝てない。”¹ Pain, fear, lack of orientation are compensated through hope, laughter and friendship: these are by no means complicated discursive inventions of late modernity, but human basic attitudes of all times. The main and fundamental, underlying theme of *Princess Mononoke* is a deep-going love of nature, which is neither soft nor sentimental, but a tough, tremendous power, which can, in the same way as the god Shishigami, give and take life. There is no happy-end to the epic battle between nature and culture, between gods and humans: San, the girl from the woods, remains in her world and there is no question that she would give up her world out there for the world of the humans, like Tarzan did; Ashitaka will not leave his noisy, messy, compromise-heavy universe which is the human world, out of love for San. Instead, they rely on the possibility of a common, though rather tensioned, future, which can be crafted through their efforts, wills and cooperation skills. Technology may have the upper hand at the moment, but in the long run, humanity will definitely prevail.

According to this vision, Hisaishi Joe designs a musical universe full of uncanny contrasts and playful contradictions which clearly illustrate the permeating underlying tension between hopeless love and self-fashioned apocalypse. The scene towards the end of *Princess Mononoke* in which the forest god Shishigami is killed by the greedy merchants is deeply revealing: the musical background of this scene unifies symphonic structures reminiscent of Anton Bruckner and intimist echoes of pentatonic scales. This scene is a fresh re-evaluation of the two semantic paradigms “domesticating plagiarism” and “hybridizing authenticity” based on the three previously mentioned emotional modes – celebration/festival, apocalypse and nostalgia: while apocalypse is the end of the world – or at least of the world as we know it –, life has the habit of going on, with occasional experiences of joy and sorrow. The brutal sound cluster and the overwhelming instrumental combinations alternate with lyrical melodies in dynamic rhythms which, together, construct a hymn of life as the best asset one possesses and could ever possess. At the same time, the confrontation between temperate sound constellations and non-temperate sound spaces indicates the impossibility of the return to a safe space of love and belonging.

Hisaishi Joe doesn't intend to faithfully accompany with his music the images created by Miyazaki Hayao: rather, he is searching for ways to enhance their aesthetical and ideological force. Thus, while Miyazaki's characters struggle for the preservation of nature or for the improvement of their living conditions, Hisaishi's music is a reminder of the fullness

¹ I give up ... One cannot win against idiots.

and freshness of life and of all living beings reunited with nature. The continuously reinforced motto of *Princess Mononoke* is “Ikero!” (“生きろ!”) or “Live!”. It is the repetition, concentration and reinforcement of an alternative type of Enlightenment on the historical stage, which celebrates the epic of life as a singular event, as an unrepeatable fact. This has deep roots in the anime world, as for more than 30 years, Japanese creators of products of popular culture – anime, manga, live-action movies, video-games, J-Pop, etc. – have been striving to send out the message of life as being the most valuable endeavor and asset which the human being possesses and could ever possess. One could go as far as to say it is a type of Enlightenment in which humanism celebrates the human being in its uniqueness and unrepeatability, with its failures and confusions, but also with its joys, hopes and dreams. The idea behind this alternative type of Enlightenment is not to banish the biological, animal-like elements from the human being and to exclusively enforce the rational side, but to coordinate these two dimensions harmoniously. It is not a struggle between the two sides of the human, but a harmonization. Building on this foundation, Hisaishi Joe constructs his music in *Princess Mononoke* as an emphasis on the humanity of Miyazaki’s characters, with their joys and frustrations, worries and dreams, idiosyncracies and contradictions. Love – for nature, for the human fellows, for the future – is absorbed artistically in parallel with the sensitive consideration of the historical environment implying cultural events: While Hisaishi Joe does his best in creatively coping with the tense climate of the mid-1990s, he clashes against the commandment of critical realism – and transcends the tangible reality in the sounds of a world full of vitality and of unlimited hopes and possibilities.

3. Conclusion: the musicalisation of culture in anime soundtracks

At the dawn of the new millennium, Japan still appears to many observers as a country gradually vanishing: Present-day Japan is, it seems, the result of a way too rapidly modernized world which has jumped directly from premodernity into late-modernity through a very short modernity. Historically speaking, such anime productions as *The Imperial Space Fleet: The Wings of Honneamise* (*Ôritsu uchûgun: Oneamise no tsubasa*, 1987, Regie: Yamaga Hiroyuki, Musik: Sakamoto Ryûichi, Nomi Yûji, Ueno Kôji, Kubota Haruo), *Akira* and *Kiki’s Delivery Service* served as a short prelude before the great disenchantment occurring in the first half of the 1990s, apparently initiated by the death of the Emperor Hirohito on January 7, 1989, and the massive economic

recession in the 1990s caused by the crash of the Japanese stock market in early 1990. Further events such as the case of the serial killer Miyazaki Tsutomu (during 1988-1989), the Great Kôbe Earthquake (January 17, 1995) and the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyô (March 20, 1995) profoundly shook the Japanese society. The last two events delivered, above all, a deep blow to anime fans. On this historical background, the atmosphere of constant anxiety in many anime productions since mid-1990s is sensitively tensioned, faithfully reflecting the attitude of consistent uncertainty in the Japanese society after being brutally awoken from the belief of Japan being a clean, non-violent world with a perfectly functioning political-economical system, backed by an infallible technological-educational architecture.

The ambiguous representation of progress and its impact on human life refers in such anime productions as *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, *Ghost in the Shell* and *Princess Mononoke* to the effort of their creators to show by means of products of popular culture the dangers of the serious, imminent and to a great extent deliberately ignored problems lurking beyond the surface of peace and freedom. If one takes into account the fact that the power of the anime as genre, aesthetics and ideology resides in its abstract form and its concrete contents, such anime works as *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, *Ghost in the Shell* and *Princess Mononoke* appear as representative among those disenchanting works of art which display solutions and alternatives without being intrusive or dystopian in doing so. This way of dealing with the reality, that is, suggesting answers to agonizing questions while being entertaining, occurs via a re-dimensionalization of cultural identity from its perception as a hopeless case in late modernity – namely, identity is either fragmented or liquefied, or both, so there is no meaning in dealing with it – to its processing as a three-layered phenomenon which contains solutions and visions at its very core.

On a first level, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* as a celebratory work of art takes over the positive tones from *The Wings of Honneamise* and announces later masterpieces such as *Spirited Away* (*Sen to Chihiro no kamikakushi*, literally: *Chihiro's sudden disappearance*, 2001, director: Miyazaki Hayao, music: Hisaishi Joe), which talk about the need for dreams and gods in a crumbling world as the epic representation of a little girl searching for her true self and for rescuing her parents. Under the surface of an ideological glorification of pure nature as contrasting the stupidity of humans, *Spirited Away* displays a dramatic hymn to life and love as the most valuable assets to be ever possessed (Murase 2004:65). The climax of this development is *Hôhokekyo: My Neighbours, the Yamadas* (*Hôhokekyo tonari no*

Yamada-kun, 1999, director: Takahata Isao, music: Yano Akiko), which transmits the following message encapsulated in small vignettes: Humans lead an uneventful life, mocked by one's own children, neglected by the spouse, ignored at the workplace, but still one dreams of a heroic existence to save the world and one's own family from the horrid boredom of quotidian life (Nakamura 1999:29, Takahata 1999:21). Herein, not only the Japanese youth in post-recession Japan, but also Western youths in a super-saturated society can find models for new, fresh life projects. In spite of being a financial failure at the box-office, this bright, cheerful family comedy talks of family values and inter-generational interdependence, of social conformism and personal fulfillment, of everyday love in the life of average social actors, of individual solutions to general constraints and obligations.

On a second level, *Ghost in the Shell* as an apocalyptic work overcomes the optimism from *Nausicaä from the Valley of the Winds* and positions itself between *Akira* and *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (*Shinseiki evangelion* [literally: *Gospel of a New Century*], 1995, director: Anno Hideaki, music: Sagisu Shirô): Apocalypse and the end of the world lead to identity construction as a lonesome, alienating endeavour in a cold universe. The climactic battle between the *Akira* main protagonist Tetsuo against his best friend Kaneda Shôtarô in and over the Olympic Stadium in Yoyogi contains univocal references to the pre-*shinjinrui*¹ generation who had built that Olympic stadium as a proud symbol of the new Japan, and simultaneously points out to the emergence of a brave new world out of Tetsuo's orgy of destruction: a fresh world which cannot offer any self-assuring policies of an intact, healthy future residing in its very vulnerability (Satô 1992:35, Standish 1998:62). *Ghost in the Shell* and its disenchanting representation of technology continues in *Neon Genesis Evangelion* which proves that the liberation of the individual from historical limitations goes hand-in-hand with its increasing isolation: Exactly like the four main characters in the *Neon Genesis Evangelion* series – the three alienated 14-year old children and their 29-

¹ The *shinjinrui* ("new human breed") is basically a half-mythological generation, roughly corresponding to the X generation in Western societies. The sociologist Sashida Akio estimated that by mid-1990s, 52% of the Japanese population and 49% of the Japanese workforce belonged to the *shinjinrui*. From an age point of view, there are several categorizations: by mid-1980s, the *shinjinrui* members were supposed to be in their late 20s or their early 30s, around 1992, they were cca. 30 years old, and in 1998, they seemed to be in their early 20s (Sashida Akio quoted in Sugimoto 2013:127; see Azuma 2001:44).

year old mentor –, the great majority of the humans find themselves increasingly insignificant in relation to an increasingly abstract elite – always balancing at the border of normality, never accepted within the norm, never holding the right to express themselves (see Azuma 2001:16). Later anime productions belong even more intensively to the category of the mediatic works of art which shatter myths and illusions. They keep and deepen their reverberating effect in as much as they do not any longer allow for the human being to be conceptualized as of a dualistic nature, and thus consisting of a good and an evil part, of a rational and an emotional or animalistic half. In particular such anime series as *Serial Experiment Lain* (same title in Japanese, Japan, 1998, director: Nakamura Ryûtarô, music: Nakaido Reichi) or *Death Note* (*Desu nôto*, 2006-2007, director: Araki Tetsurô, music: Hirano Yoshihisa and Taniuchi Hideki) celebrate the dark side of the human being: Their tone evokes the failure of culture, the incompatibility between human instincts and the requirements of the civilization, and announce an eclipse of the humankind very much reminiscent of Arthur Schopenhauer.

On a third level, *Princess Mononoke* as a nostalgic work draws its creative energies from the bright humanism of *Kiki's Delivery Service* and prepares the way to such anime blockbusters as *Innocence*, which speaks even more intensively than *Ghost in the Shell* of the yearning for human essence and contact in a world populated by cyborgs and robots, or to such anime series as *Cowboy Bebop*: The adventures and worries of the *Cowboy Bebop's* protagonists are those of everyday acteurs, even though they live in an era in which the whole universe had been transformed into a human habitat. They do not confess it, but they long for love and security as well as for clear relationships on the background of a past often dark or left unsolved. Their quest is the quest for the authentic self of a whole generation which feels left alone in the unknown, without any satisfactory orientation boards or reliable direction signs. The old models rusted in intellectual treatises on humanity, rationality and progress, while those who were supposed to be educated by those very treatises, find themselves sinking increasingly deeply into confusion, loneliness and despair (see Bauman 2002:31). The climax of this development is displayed by the anime movie *Five centimeters per Second* (*Byôsoku go senchimêtoru*, 2007, director: Shinkai Makoto, music: Tenmon), which evokes the transience of human existence as reflected in and connected to the speed of falling cherry blossoms (five centimeters per second), and talks of loss, recovery and cowardice in the age of a collapsing human network, in painfully hopeless tones.

In this ambivalent, partially optimistic, partially disenchanting negotiation of cultural identity, anime soundtracks tell in their function as popular productions emerged in one of Japan's most uncertain historical times, of the necessity of National Cool (*Kakkoi Nippon*) in opposition to the Japan-defined cult of cuteness (*kawaii*) and in the stress ratio between "domesticating plagiarism" as tendencies borrowed from the West and "hybridizing authenticity" as structures strongly related to Asian values. "Being cool" means in today's Japan displaying a variety of attitudes without consciously committing to any of them, and to show a flexible personality towards outside influences (see Bornoff 2002:43). Thus, Western Cool in Japan has become authentic – like Starbucks or Nike – or has been adapted – like a 'Harvard University'-T-Shirt, a potato salad pizza or a "Friendry" inscript. On the other hand, Japanese Cool in the West has also become authentic – like the Miyake fashion brand – or not yet – like fresh-cream-and-salmon sushi. Indeed, for a long while, Japanese Cool was synonymous in Japan with the loss of Japaneseness (*nihonjin-banare* 日本人離れ), but such anime movies as *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War* or *Princess Mononoke* encourage a reconsideration of life as cool endeavor, reversible in its transience – and as such a playful endeavor in the framework of cultural identity as sounds and images. Even an outsider can be active, non-conformist and free, like in several of Hokusai's and Utamaro's wood-block prints, in which "being cool" during the restrictive Edo period meant the show-off of elegance (*iki*) in contrast to "being boring" (*yabo*; see Screech 2002:29). Even as an outsider, one can rebel against the prevalent political or social order and emphasize one's own values and dignity, as it happened during the first half of the Shōwa period, when the *ero-guro-nansensu* phenomenon belonged to "being cool" as an anti-establishment movement against an increasingly oppressive government on the background of an equally incomprehensible reality. Even as a member of an isolated group or as an individual, one can experience one's own vitality and strength, by invoking uniqueness and unrepeatability, and by leading by example in the name of such powerful values as social cohesion, family belonging, honesty, compassion, courage and integrity.

More than their images, the musical backgrounds of anime productions – familiar or alien, sad or uplifting, nostalgic or ceremonial – prove their ability to represent cultural identity as a freely fashioned self, to be crafted from the various offers available on sale in the global supermarket (Mathews 2000:29). This process of "tinkering" (*bricolage*) is since Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the phenomenon no longer taking place

outside of culture, but resides within culture, and opens the possibility to create one's own identity in the era of predetermined identity artefacts.

As an alternative to the Japanese everyday life, excruciatingly modern, overwhelmed by Western influence, consumption-driven, dominated by excess and obsessed with public displays of affluence, the anime provides through the oversized presentation of these very parameters – the apparently Western appearance of the characters, the consumption-oriented marketing strategies, the design practices celebrating excess and affluence – the model of a rigorous, disciplined lifestyle, focused on important tasks and goals. Like comparable phenomena of the entertainment industry (manga, live-action movies, video-games, J-Pop, etc.), the anime industry is indubitably part of the organized capital, and serves in the same time, though, the unfolding of the individual and of the collective creativity in various ways, within a fourfold process: production, marketing, consumption and reproduction. Superficially conventional and stylistically eclectic, ideologically confusing and aesthetically challenging, naive and cool, the anime has emerged as a new form of Soft Power, actively threatening to dissolve traditional concepts of identity, self and culture, which were previously hardly questioned or evaluated. In addition to the visual dimension, typically identified by distinctive characters – mostly highly androgynous appearances with endlessly long legs, incredibly big eyes and hairs dyed in all imaginable colours –, the auditive dimension of anime contributes to creating a fascinating, contradictory, interactive universe with the simultaneous re-negotiation of such existential paradigms as identity and alterity, historical awareness and artistic creativity, ideological disenchantment and aesthetic liberalism. By expanding the representation of reality and fantasy up to the breaking point where the directors stop re-creating it visually, (anime) composers burst the intensity and expressive force of the images in sounds which lead to new levels of sensorial perception and emotional-mental processing.

A typical phenomenon of the stress ratio between the plasticity and sustainability of the Japanese culture, the anime has been proving during the last decades its ability to absorb external influences in spite of a solid, culturally intact core, and to adapt itself to the ever changing requirements of the market. To Singer's question "Why would such a talented and active nation produce so little of what other nations would find acceptable in an era open to all outside influences?" (Singer 1991:25), Japan answers today with its own version of "National Cool" in the form of popular culture as part of Soft Power (Shimizu 2004:195; see Nye 2004:26, Yamanouchi & Sakai 2003:55): Cultural power is a consequence of economical growth, which, again, turns into the breeding

ground for economical growth in times of recession. Even though it might be true that it's precisely Japan's geographical isolation which prevented it from taking full advantage of its considerable potential of Soft Power, on the other side, repeated globalization waves and political turmoils did unsettle Japan economically, while challenging its fundamental values and undermining its traditional ideals – from corporative behaviour up to family structure. Japan's impressive history of remarkable resurrections would suggest rather a rebirth than a final decline as result of nowadays's crises – not least due to its immense reserves of bubbling Soft Power. While the fragmentation of the society as a consciously repressed issue is an alarm signal displayed at the forefront of anime productions, the representation of a crumbling cultural identity serves as an indicator of the awareness that humans are unique individuals who can overcome the overwhelming, alienating everyday existence with an attitude of cool serenity and fresh joy towards the gift of life. Immersed in the warm humanism of this message, *Ponpoko: The Heisei Tanuki War*, *Ghost in the Shell* and *Princess Mononoke* belong to that category of optimistic masterpieces which do not dismiss or judge, but appreciate and celebrate the human being in its very own unrepeatability singularity.

4. References

- *** (2006): *Facts and Figures of Japan 2006*, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center Japan.
- Aida, Yûji (1994): *Nihonjin no wasuremono* [The things the Japanese have forgotten], Tokyo: PHP Kenkyûjo.
- Allison, Anne (2000): *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics and Censorship in Japan*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Augé, Marc (1992): *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Paris: Editions Seuil.
- Azuma, Hiroki (2001): *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan: Otaku kara mita nihonshakai* [The animalising postmodernity: The Japanese society as seen from the otaku's viewpoint], Tokyo: Kôdansha.
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2002): *Society under Siege*, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2004): *Wasted Lives – Modernity and its Outcasts*, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bornoff, Nicholas (2002): Sex and Consumerism – The Japanese State of the Arts, in: Fran Lloyd (ed.): *Consuming Bodies: Sex and Contemporary Japanese Art*, London: Reaktion Press, pp. 41-68.

- Drazen, Patrick (2003): *Anime Explosion – The What? Why? and Wow! of Japanese Animation*, Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.
- Eagleton, Terry (2003): *After Theory*, New York: Basic Books.
- Grăjdian, Maria (2008): *Das japanische Anime: Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Annäherung*, Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Lucian-Bлага-University Press.
- Grăjdian, Maria (2010): *Takahata Isao*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang Press.
- Inoue, Shizuka (2004): *Miyazaki Hayao: Eizô to shisô no renkinjutsu* [Miyazaki Hayao: The alchemist of images and ideas], Tokyo: Shakai-Hihan-sha.
- Iwabuchi, Koichi (2004): How 'Japanese' is Pokémon?, in: Joseph J. Tobin (ed.): *Pikachu's Global Adventure – The Rise and Fall of Pokémon*, Durham/London: Duke University Press, pp. 53-79.
- Kinsella, Sharon (2000): *Adult Manga – Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*, Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Kiridoshi, Risaku (2001): *Miyazaki Hayao no sekai* [The world of Miyazaki Hayao], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô (Chikuma Shinsho).
- Köhn, Stephan (2005): *Traditionen visuellen Erzählens in Japan – Eine paradigmatische Untersuchung der Entwicklungslinien vom Faltschirmbild zum narrativen Manga*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kristeva, Julia (1989): *Étrangers à nous-mêmes*, Paris: Éditions Fayard.
- Ledoux, Trish/Ranney, Doug (1995): *The Complete Anime Guide – Japanese Animation: Video Directory and Resource Guide*, Issaquah/Washington: Tiger Mountain.
- Luhmann, Niklas (1996): *Die Realität der Medien*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Maas, Ôke (2000): Anime – Die Welt als Zeichentrück, in: Irmela Hijiya-Kirschner (ed.): *Japan – Der andere Kulturführer*, Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, pp. 287-304.
- Mathews, Gordon (2000): *Global Culture/Individual Identity – Searching for home in the cultural supermarket*, London/New York: Routledge.
- McLuhan, Marshall (1964): *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, New York: McGraw Hill Press.
- Mcquail, Denis (1984): *Mass Communication Theory – An Introduction*, London/Beverly Hills/New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Miyazaki, Hayao (2002): *Kaze no kaeru basho: Naushika kara Chihiro made no kiseki* [The place where the wind returns: The way from Nausicaä until Chihiro], Tokyo: Rocking-On-Shuppansha.

- Murase, Manabu (2004): *Miyazaki Hayao no fukami e* [Towards Miyazaki Hayao's depth], Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Nakamura Kengo (1999): "Mononoke Hime" kara "Hôhokekyo: Tonari no Yamada-kun" he [From "Prinzessin Mononoke" up to "Hôhokekyo: My Neighbours, the Yamada"], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten/Studio Ghibli.
- Napier, Susan J. (2005): *Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*, New York: Palgrave Publishers.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2004): *Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs Press.
- Orbaugh, Sharalyn (2006): Frankenstein and the Cyborg Metropolis: The Evolution of Body and City in Science Fiction Narratives, in: Steven T. Brown (ed.): *Cinema Anime: Critical Engagements with Japanese Animation*, Hampshire (UK): Palgrave Macmillan Publishers, pp. 81-111.
- Ôtsuka, Eiji (1992): *Kasô genjitsu hihyô: Shôhi shakai wa owaranai* [A critique of the virtual reality: The consumption society never ends], Tokyo: Shin'yôsha.
- Poitras, Giles (2000): *Anime Essentials – Everything a Fan Needs to Know*, Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.
- Richie, Donald (2001): *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film – A Concise History with a Selective Guide to Videos and DVDs*, Tokyo/New York/London: Kôdansha International.
- Riesman, David (1950): *The lonely crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Satô, Kenji (1992): *Gojira to yamato to bokura no minshushugi* [Godzilla, Yamato and our democracy], Tokyo: Bungeishunjû.
- Screech, Timon (2002): Sex and Consumerism in Edo Japan, in: Fran Lloyd (ed.): *Consuming Bodies: Sex and Contemporary Japanese Art*, London: Reaktion Press, pp. 23-40
- Shimizu, Tomoko (2004): Nezumi to monsutâ: Posuto reisen to sofuto-pawâ no chiseigaku [Mice and monsters: Geopolitics after the Cold War and Soft Power], in: *Eureka/Yuriika 'Poetry and Criticism'*, No. 500, Vol. 36-13, pp. 194-204.
- Singer, Kurt (1991): *Schwert, Spiegel und Edelstein – Strukturen des japanischen Lebens*, übersetzt von Wolfgang Wilhelm, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Standish, Isolde (1998): Akira, Postmodernism and Resistance, in: D. P. Martinez (ed.): *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture – Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-74.

- Sugimoto, Yoshio (2013³): *An Introduction to Japanese Society*, Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Takahata Isao (1999a): *Eiga wo tsukurinagara kangaeta koto II: 1991-1999* [What I was thinking while creating movies II: 1991-1999], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten.
- Takahata Isao (1999b): *Jûniseiki no animêshon: Kokuhô emakimono ni miru eigateki, animeteki naru mono* [Animation Works of the 12th Century: Movie- and Anime-like Things Which Can Be Seen In the Scroll Rolls Preserved As National Treasures], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten/Studio Ghibli.
- Tobin, Joseph J. (1992): Domesticating the West, in: Joseph J. Tobin (ed.): *Re-Made in Japan – Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, pp. 1-41.
- Wells, Paul (1998): *Understanding Animation*, London/New York: Routledge Press.
- Yamanouchi, Yasushi und SAKAI, Naoki (2003): *Sôryoku sentaisei kara gurôbarizêshon e* [From the system of the total war to globalization], Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Advertising and women **Paula Alice BĂLOIU ¹**

Abstract: *This report examines how women are portrayed in the media, mainly the projection of the female category in advertisements and presented through the years in print form as newspapers or pamphlets. The roles, which women have portrayed in advertisements, have been discussed with great attention in numerous instances, but in order to understand the present point of view regarding women we have to understand the past representations. There are certain consequences of these depictions, but because of these elements, we can gather major themes found and what role had them in reinforcing female stereotypes. Advertising's impacts not only on the mind of the viewers but also on society's attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in relation to social comparison theory and cultivation theory. This said report highlights all the historical implications that lead towards today's ideals for women standards; the gradual shift from the past ideals to new trends that empower women.*

Keywords: *gender stereotypes; advertisements and posters; inequality for women.*

Introduction. General details about feminism

Feminism can be distinguished by two criterial elements: the first wave of feminism - sec. XIX was defined by fight against the so-called physical, moral and intellectual inferiority of the woman in front of the man.

For literature the image of women were presented in a rather simplistic way, for example in the year 1975, the attention was upon female writers and in the early 1917; Elaine Showalter advocated the study of women writers defining it as a compact group.

“Women writers should not be studied as a distinct group on the assumption that they write alike or even display stylistic resemblances distinctively feminine. But women do have a special history susceptible to analysis, which includes such complex considerations as the economics of their relation to the literary marketplace; the effects of social and political changes in women's status upon individuals, and the implications of stereotypes of the women writer and restrictions of her artistic autonomy” and so gradually these views gradually gained acceptance in the ever changing society. (Moi Toril, p.49)

¹ MA student, “Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University

One main argument is that the definition of femininity in contemporary society only perpetuates the position of women's dependence on men. This perpetuation is achieved through education, family, social roles reserved for women.

The main issues of feminism in the 20th century were the right to vote, the right to property, equitable law on divorce, equal access to education, culture, arts, sciences, professions.

Olive Schreiner describes the link between gender discrimination and economic oppression as following - women want to be recognized as producing economic and social value just as important as men are.

The second wave was post WWII and it focuses on a detailed analysis of the difference between public and private life, domestic violence, child sexual abuse etc.

The recurring themes during this period are: fight against violence against women, the right to abortion, protection against sexual harassment, anti-gender discrimination / sexual orientation, the issue of marital rape, the very concept of "family" is attacked (in the sense of nuclear family).

Important elements that offer highlight for this particular era:

- hysteria: recognized and appreciated as being specific to the transgressive female language (Julia Kristeva , "*Revolution in Poetic Language*", 1974), characterized by associative models and chaotic structures (disadvantages)

- Juliet Mitchell - the liberating potential of feminism

- Elaine Showalter - gynocriticism = the study of female writers (history, styles, themes, genres, structures of female writing, psychodynamics of female creativity, individual / collective career trajectory, evolution and "laws" of feminine literary tradition)

- Dale Spender, "*Man Made Language*" (1980): Language is not a neutral representation environment, but is systematically redesigned to serve men's interests.

2. Criteria for advertising

In the world of advertising, as we all know it, companies tend to use the concept of imagery so that their product will sell at all cost.

For example, the images will include things such as making the product look like it works far better than its competitors' and everyone being generally happy about using whatever the product may be, but these advertisements come along with images that reinforce stereotypes such as those about women

In today's world, we can try to search for an ad that does not have the image of a woman in it, but that is almost impossible: it is either a

young attractive woman or a woman that is busy doing housework while her husband is nowhere to be found.

These types of images portray women only as objects mandatory for a house or as dedicated housewives to their husbands.

3. The portrait of a woman in advertisements

Certain studies have presented their result in the field of where the women stand in relation to ads - it is still very rare to see a woman portrayed in a position of power - but advertisers are still under the impression that women are best placed in roles such as housewife, decorative element, sex object, and dependent on men.

The housewife - In the year 1890 there was an association led by Susan B. Anthony, it was called the *National American Woman Suffrage Association* and it depicted the feminine gender in ads that clearly specified that the woman's place was in the kitchen.

Various critics state that the women shown in all the previous advertisements are often presented as "*only housewives*"; with little capabilities of greater judgement and always dependent on men; decorative or sex objects; passive and not involved in making major decisions. ("Advertising Age", April 21, 1975).

There is a conflict between women's actual role in society and the way in which ads portray the role of women at the beginning of World War II. While the war propaganda was encouraged to blossom, women were directed to do labor for their country and family - factory female workers had to remain glamorous and keep the house in pristine condition.

There are a series of advertisers that portray women in their new roles, as a given example is the company Eureka who showed three women in its vacuum cleaner ads - one in a military form, one in pants and the other in typical housewife clothes.

By the late 1944, women were set in strategically made scenarios so that they should give up their jobs when their husbands return home from the war zone. When the war ended, advertisers began to show women at home, sometimes suggesting the fact that a mother is only doing good when she is doing house chores: *Adel Precision Products Corp.* depicts a young child that asks, "Mother, when will you stay home again?"

The independent - There was a period in the year 1900 when women fought to gain their independence and have their rights taken into account, but some advertisers were not taking them too seriously. For example, an ad depicted a woman standing with a cube shaped box

containing shredded wheat with the slogan "her declaration of independence."

Then in 1920 was the year when the *19th Amendment to the Constitution* was signed, giving women the right to vote. Yet there was an ad that suggests there is a category of women that are too afraid to go beyond the walls of their kitchen: "The woman who never went out – What happened when she realized there was more in the world than the view from her kitchen window".

The 1943s had an ad created by J. Howard Miller for *Westinghouse Electric*, was designed to boost morale during wartime as women took over jobs vacated by men who joined the military. Their slogan was simple and very appealing to the masses "We can do it!", therefore the whole poster was revived by the feminist movement in the 1980s.

In the late 1950s TWA asks, "Who says it's a man's world?" Women are starting to take on a more active role in ads and present a more powerful stance than in the previous placements. However, there were still ads that depicted women in the shadow of men, trying desperately to "read the male mind" as said in a soup advertisement.

The perpetual object - In 1960s was the period in which women had the right to vote, sexually liberated, and intellectually relevant – but they better not be pear shaped! The '60s marked the beginning of an intense period of diet-oriented advertising targeting women.

In 1970s the company *Virginia Slims'* had as a motto for their ad the following: "You've come a long way, baby", this message had mixed interpretations - feminist assertion wrapped in a sexist pejorative and this particular campaign by Leo Burnett ran through the 1990s with ease.

For the 1980s, the viewers enter a different kind of era because there is a new type of woman portrayed on television – "who can have it all – be a mother, a professional, and ... wear power suits".

The very beginning of the year 1990s is the era of the hyper-sexualized woman in advertising, "You know what you want" (an ad for the company Sony); Eva Herzigova's curves caused a sensation when she posed for Wonderbra's "Hello Boys" campaign.

These are just a few examples because in the year 2004 Ogilvy & Mather created an ad for the soap company Dove featuring "real" women with "real" shapes, but it was said in Business Week, the company's people still used Photoshop to erase imperfections from their intentionally imperfect forms.

But Nike's "I love my butt" ads celebrated strong athletic forms and portrayed females in a more imposing position and keeping the theme of loving the "real" bodies that each and every person has: "My

butt is big and round like the letter C and ten thousand lunges has made it rounder but not smaller and that's just fine. It's a space heater for my side of the bed/ it's my ambassador to those who walk behind me/ it's a border collie that herds skinny women away from the best deals at clothing sales. My butt is big and that's just fine and those who might scorn it are invited to kiss it. Just do it"

This objectification of the female category was always present in media and because of that; it gave fuel and force for many feminist movements.

Though in recent years things changed quite a bit, as women have started to use their looks and charm as a way of empowerment and therefore what they see in advertisements of today don't offend them as much as it used to.

Nevertheless, that does not mean it simply disappeared because those strong feelings about how women are presented in what we daily see on TV and magazines are still there in the minds of countless female viewers.

In her book, "Can't Buy My Love," sociologist Jean Kilbourne analyzes nearly a century of advertising. She pinpointed the fact that as much as cosmetic advertising increased, so do women's cosmetic purchases because women feel the pressure of being able to meet an imposed idealized beauty standard, the end result being encouragement of buying more cosmetic purchases.

For a first example, there is a cosmetics ad showing the face of an attractive young woman with the title: "Your face isn't safe in this city." According to a company spokesperson, this was intended to be "a straightforward pitch for skin protection against smog" (Liddick, 1978).

Women against Violence against Women attacked this advertisement because of the message of violence that could be understood from the motto. Both the manufacturer and agency agreed that the possibility of misinterpretation existed and withdrew the ad (Liddick, 1978).

The second example, directly displays the role intended - researchers had the painstakingly task of creating not one but four versions of an ad for an instant breakfast drink; the variation was in the occupation of the spokesman - a housewife, a grade school teacher, a cab driver and a Ph.D. set as an experiment to test out what the people thought of this ad the last setting with the female as a Ph.D. was the least preferred because food products are associated best with more traditional female roles (Advertising Age, April 18, 1977).

The most asked question will remain unanswered “How to better portray women in all advertising media?” however it offers us insight to do a complete research in both the negative and positive aspects.

By the turn of the 21st century, many women that had key positions in different advertisements hoped that by having an impact through their raised position in any ad campaign it will increase the ascendance of positive images for women. However, in the end there will always be the objectification of either women or men in any television campaigns.

3. References

Adage, (2003) “Women: representations in advertising”

Blackwell, Basil (1986), “Feminist Literary Theory” Mary Eagleton (ed.), Norwich, Page Bros.

Davis, Angela, “Women in Ads: The Good & The Bad - The good, the bad, and the super offensive”

Felix, Samantha (2012), “18 Ads That Changed How We Think About Women”

Hollinger, Karen (2012), “Feminist Film Studies”, London and New York, Routledge

Kemp, Nicola (2017), “Six stereotypes of women in advertising”

Mary Lou Roberts and Perri B. Koggan (1979), "How Should Women Be Portrayed in Advertisements? -- a Call for Research", in NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 06, eds. William L. Wilkie, Ann Abor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 66-72.

Moi, Toril (2002), “Sexual/Textual Politics” - feminist literary theory, London and New York, Routledge

Neff, Jack (2017), “Advertising week: women getting 'younger and dumber' in ads”

Perez, Pilar Nancy (2013), “Roles of Women in Advertising: The Objectification of Women and the Shift to an Empowering Ad Frame”

Stansell, Christine (2010), “The Feminist Promise” - 1792 to the present, New York, The Modern Library

Suggett, Paul (2016), “The Objectification of Women in Advertising - How Advertising Often Treats Women as a Commodity”

Thompson, Van, “Influence of Advertisement on Women & the Attitude toward Cosmetics”

Tong, Rosemarie (1989), “Feminist Thought”, Boulder & San Francisco, Westview Press

Web Sources:

<http://adage.com/article/adage-encyclopedia/women-representations-advertising/98938/> (accessed on 3rd of May 2017)

<http://adage.com/article/broadcast/panel-women-younger-dumber-ads/310612/> (accessed on 4th of May 2017)

<http://smallbusiness.chron.com/influence-advertisement-women-attitude-toward-cosmetics-69974.html> (accessed on 4th of May 2017)

<http://urbanette.com/women-and-advertising/> (accessed on 2nd of May 2017)

<http://www.acrwebsite.org/search/view-conference-proceedings.aspx?Id=9532> (accessed on 3rd of May 2017)

<http://www.businessinsider.com/18-ads-that-changed-the-way-we-think-about-women-2012-10#1920s-the-19th-amendment-to-the-constitution-was-signed-giving-women-the-right-to-vote-yet-this-ad-suggests-that-women-were-afraid-to-go-beyond-the-walls-of-their-kitchens-3> (accessed on 2nd of May 2017)

<https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/22407/PEREZ-MASTERSREPORT-2013.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed on 2nd of May 2017)

<https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/six-stereotypes-women-advertising/1426391> (accessed on 4th of May 2017)

<https://www.thebalance.com/advertising-women-and-objectification-38754> (accessed on 4th of May 2017)

II. WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES

L'ENGAGEMENT DES FEMMES. LOUBNA MELIANE : POLITIQUE ET COMBAT DES FEMMES BEUR EN FRANCE

Efstratia OKTAPODA¹

Abstract. *Loubna Meliane has 38 years, she was in sixth position on the departmental list of the union of the left in regional elections in December 2015 and she is elected to her first term. This is following a path marked by her action in favor of women's rights. The activist pupil has been the Vice-president of SOS Racisme and has campaigned since 2003 alongside the socialist Fadela Amara (the future Secretary of State Policy of the City of the second government of Francois Fillon) for a better France, for a more generous country and for the freedom of women. If Loubna Meliane is a French political activist, she is also a writer of Moroccan origin, born in France from Moroccan immigrant parents in Dijon in the 70. Between two cultures, the young Loubna feels soon differences separate the two worlds. Loubna Meliane is the Voice of resistance and engagement to group dimension, she is the representative of a generation explicitly mingled with politics, and she campaigned to advance.*

Keywords: *Loubna Meliane; Women; Beur; Commitment; policy.*

Introduction

Loubna Méliane est une militante politique française¹, féministe et ex-animatrice radio. Née le 12 mars 1978, de parents marocains dans la banlieue de Dijon, Loubna fut élevée par son père. Poussée à préparer un BEP alors qu'elle avait envie de continuer ses études, mariée à dix-neuf ans contre son gré, Loubna Méliane s'engage. La militante lycéenne a été la vice-présidente de SOS-Racisme. Membre actif du mouvement « Ni Putes Ni Soumises »², elle milite depuis 2003 aux côtés de la socialiste Fadela Amara³ (la future secrétaire d'État en 2007 chargée de la Politique de la Ville du deuxième gouvernement François Fillon) pour une France meilleure, pour une France généreuse et pour la liberté de la femme.

Loubna Méliane a été liée à un temps aux Femen, avant de devenir membre du mouvement féministe “Les Insoumis-es”.

Aujourd'hui Loubna Méliane a 38 ans, et elle est en 6^e position sur la liste départementale de l'union de la gauche aux élections régionales (PS) et vit depuis décembre son premier mandat d'élue en Essonne (elle réside à Saint-Michel-sur-Orge).

¹ Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, efstratia.oktapoda@paris-sorbonne.fr.

C'est la suite d'un parcours marqué par son action en faveur du droit des femmes. Depuis juin 2012, elle est l'assistante parlementaire du député de l'Essonne Malek Boutih (PS).

Loubna Méliane est l'auteur d'un livre, *Vivre libre*, aux Éditions Oh ! en 2003 (réédité en poche chez Pocket 2004).

Si Loubna Méliane est une militante politique française, elle aussi une écrivaine d'origine marocaine née en France, écrivaine de l'immigration de deuxième génération, de père et mère marocains immigrés à Dijon dans les années 70. Dans l'entre-deux cultures, la jeune Loubna sent tôt les différences qui séparent les deux mondes et les *a priori* qui excluent volontairement les jeunes beurs du système social et scolaire réservé aux autres, non maghrébins, non marocains, non beurs.

Voix de la résistance et de l'engagement de dimension groupale, Loubna non seulement en est une, mais elle se fait le porte-parole d'une génération, explicitement mêlée à la politique, et qui milite pour avancer. Dans une tradition de rébellion féministe, elle prend la parole pour changer les choses et les mentalités rétrogrades qui continuent à dominer encore dans les banlieues en France. Symbole de sa génération et d'une écriture transparente, Loubna écrit et fait de l'écriture son arme d'opposition et de résistance.

L'écriture devient pouvoir et prise de parole au même sens que le discours politique. Dans une dénonciation virulente de tout abus associé à la femme voilée, cloîtrée, effacée, sans voix et sans parole, Loubna renvoie avec son texte ses rêves de jeune fille française et beur, condamnée de prime abord à une vie et un statut social prévu et prédestiné – une vie sans avenir, un vide néant, effrayant.

Porte-parole de « sans voix », Loubna Méliane marque, fustige, condamne. Elle démasque les faits et les rapports de force qui font de jeunes filles maghrébines dans les cités en France des femmes soumises sans voix, violées, violentées, séquestrées, mariées de force ou envoyées au bled, ou vivant sous contrôle, « silencieuses et frustrées, ombres des quartiers ou des banlieues, fantômes » (155).

Catégorisée romancière beur pour son livre, le lecteur, pris au piège, s'attend, sans soute, à un roman autobiographique mettant l'accent sur la dichotomie culturelle, française et maghrébine. Dans ce contexte-là, le titre *Vivre libre*⁴ prend immédiatement le sens de réclamation, de revendication, d'une fille qui n'est pas libre, et qui veut non seulement vivre, mais vivre enfin libre. On comprend aussi tout de suite que le *Je* parlant existe, mais il est sans vie, inanimé. En même temps que la revendication, il y a la marque d'un refus d'appartenance, la

marque d'une « départhenance », caractéristique dans la littérature beur des années 80.

Curieusement, *Vivre libre* n'est pas un roman. Journal autobiographique ou Autobiographie romancée, le texte de Loubna Méliane est un écrit du Moi, de son Moi Femme. L'auteure revendique clairement son « Je » écrivant. Paradoxalement, Je n'est pas un autre. Dans le cas de Loubna Méliane, Je c'est moi.

Je suis née à Dijon, le 12 mars 1978, à l'hôpital Bocage, pas très loin du centre-ville. Mes parents travaillaient dans une usine de moutarde et de cornichons, emploi quasiment incontournable pour des immigrés marocains dans cette région. En général, les Marocains s'installent plutôt à Paris ou dans le sud de la France. Dijon et sa moutarde pour mon père, c'est un hasard (21).

Le Moi femme prend la parole, il assume son récit à la première personne, il s'engage aussi, revendique. Il se révolte et milite. Loubna refuse d'être femme-victime, même si le poids de la société pèse sur les épaules des jeunes filles et des femmes des quartiers.

*Je fulmine qu'on veuille m'imposer de courber l'échine, d'oublier la république où je suis née, de faire comme toutes les autres femmes, me taire.
Je suis incapable de me taire. Incapable de me soumettre. Je me suis toujours posé des questions sur tout, ma curiosité est impulsive, ma parole sans retenue, mon échine ne peut pas plier, je n'y peux rien (29).*

L'auteure se bat pour l'émancipation des filles de l'immigration. Pour toutes les jeunes filles du ghetto, comme elle, qui doivent subir la parole des familles patriarcales et musulmanes. Loubna n'a que vingt-cinq ans, mais elle prend la parole qu'elle lève haut au nom de toutes les femmes issues de l'immigration.

Si tous les romans d'écrivains beurs racontent l'histoire du « Je » narrateur, les récits individuels deviennent tous une seule histoire, celle du Beur, de la famille, de l'école, de la banlieue, du désœuvrement, de délinquance, de l'errance, de l'enfermement... du malaise.⁵

Révélat une vérité commune pour tous les jeunes de l'immigration, le récit personnel de Loubna n'instaure pas un 'pacte autobiographique', mais « une signature autobiographique collective ».⁶ Son récit transpose en miroir la vie de toutes les filles beur des cités.

Sous le signe intime du « Je », de l'« autobiographique » ou de l'« autofiction », Loubna inscrit son engagement, dans la sphère privée,

familiale et publique, de sa communauté et de sa société, pour aborder des questions intimes, d'insertion et d'intégration ou des difficultés de poursuivre une carrière professionnelle.

Vivre libre se veut donc un roman de la réécriture, de la réappropriation d'une certaine écriture détentrice d'autorité et de porte-parole de ceux que le « Je » narrateur appelle, non pas beurs, mais « rebeus » (9). Rebelles ou beurs, faisant preuve d'indignation et de revendication, le texte de Loubna Méliane devient de prime abord un texte de réaction politique. À tous les niveaux du récit, le *Je* narrateur s'insurge contre le discours dominant qui garde en exclusion l'individu sur la base de son origine socio-politique. Le même discours qui crée et maintient la dichotomie entre Français de souche et Français beurs. Loubna Méliane, après tant d'autres générations d'écrivaines beur, se réapproprie du même discours contestataire, prend acte de position et s'insurge contre les faits, contre le pouvoir, contre la démagogie et contre le discours paternaliste.

Le livre de Loubna Méliane devient de la sorte un livre de combat dans le mutisme traditionnel maghrébin en terre française et de tout un système de valeurs qui fait de la femme musulmane en France une femme sans voix, une femme sous voile.

2. Écriture féminine et engagement

Si le texte de Loubna s'affiche de prime abord comme un livre sur la recherche juvénile de soi et plus encore de l'exploration identitaire non pas de soi mais de tout un peuple, de tous ceux qui vous ressemblent, il se transforme vite en texte rebelle, comme le « Je » écrivant désirant changer les mentalités rétrogrades.

Vibrant texte de l'immigration, Loubna s'indigne qu'on la prenne pour étrangère dans son propre pays, juste pour la sonorité de son nom. L'auteure a « [l'] impression de ne pas être français [sic] à part entière » (62).

Au bout d'un moment, on en a marre d'entendre tout le temps :

- *“T'es quoi ?*

- *Je suis Français.*

- *Non, mais t'es quoi ? Abdou, ça vient d'où ? Algérie ? Maroc ? Tunisie ?*

- *Attends, je suis français... c'est mes parents qui sont nés au bled...*

- *Mais il est où ton bled ?” (62)*

J'insiste volontairement sur le nom comme signifiant du malaise identitaire et comme facteur de discrimination. Le nom agit comme indice causal de malaise dans le libéralisme occidental suspect et suspicieux qui rejette, et en tout cas met à l'écart tout ce qui est autre. Dans ce sens, Loubna Méliane, jeune lycéenne, écrit la différence et parle des "rebeus" dans un collège bien "blanc".

Ces enfants ne me ressemblaient pas. [...] "C'est quoi ton prénom ? Tu viens d'où ?" Dans mon quartier, personne ne demandait ce genre de chose. J'étais née là, eux aussi, et mon prénom ne posait de problème à personne. J'y vivais dans une sorte de cocon protecteur – faussement protecteur d'ailleurs, car il est difficile de se reconstruire ensuite (39).

Mais « [a]u bout du compte, on se demande : Où je vis ? Je suis née ici, j'ai grandi ici, pourquoi je serais obligée de le prouver plus que les autres qui sont nés ici ? » (62), s'écrie avec indignation l'auteure qui s'investit de plus en plus dans la vie associative pour comprendre et aider la détresse des jeunes beurs en France.

Ayant pour préoccupation le corps social, Loubna Méliane se penche sur la situation des filles beur, elle s'engage dans des Associations et se bat pour l'émancipation et la liberté des filles de l'immigration. Pour toutes les jeunes filles du ghetto, comme elle, qui doivent subir la parole des familles patriarcales et musulmanes. L'auteure n'a que vingt-cinq ans, mais elle prend la parole qu'elle lève haut au nom de toutes les femmes issues de l'immigration, « de jeunes filles françaises sans droits dans un pays de droit » (156).

Si la dynamique associative est un acte social, elle représente aussi une prise de parole. « J'ai une vie militante trop intense » (15) confie Loubna.

« Je commençais à militer à SOS Racisme » (83). « J'avais une grande gueule [...] Il était temps de l'ouvrir » (84). « Prendre la parole, ça soulage » (85), ajoute l'auteure. « En tout cas, mon engagement prend de plus en plus d'importance jour après jour. Je ne fais plus que militer, militer, militer » (89).

Elle est jeune, elle est belle, elle a toute la vie devant elle, mais la jeune Loubna, à dix-sept ans déjà, lycéenne encore, a la rage du combat et du militantisme. Se battre c'est mon mot de vie. Se battre pour les autres. À vingt et un ans, elle intègre SOS Racisme, elle déménage à Paris et fait la une des projecteurs, elle sillonne les plateaux télévisés. « Un mois et demi après le mouvement lycéen⁷, Jean-Luc Delarue m'avait invitée dans son émission "Ça se discute" » (129).

Loubna milite pour les revendications sur le service public, sur l'égalité des chances, sur l'évolution de l'école pour les "rebeus". Parce que « les jeunes issus de l'immigration sont comme les autres, soucieux de construire leur avenir et de devenir quelqu'un de bien par l'intermédiaire de l'école et de cette République laïque » (130).

Ce qui est significatif de signaler c'est que les revendications se font par une fille beur. Ce n'est « ni une Française, ni un Paul ou un Jacques, mais une Loubna qui pren[d] la parole » (131). « C'est l'émergence de cette nouvelle génération qui se sent française à part entière et se demande comment continuer à se sentir bien dans sa peau de Française » (131).

L'identité des immigrés est « une notion totale qui recouvre tous les aspects biographiques. Cela veut dire inséparablement, indissociablement, la race, l'ethnie, la confession, la nationalité et l'origine. C'est une identité totalitaire », souligne le sociologue français Smaïn Laacher⁸.

Loubna Méliane dénonce cette société moderne où le prénom, la couleur, l'origine posent problème. « On est [...] toujours considérés comme des moins que rien, toujours renvoyés à nos identités d'origine » (103). Elle dénonce le tri ethnique pratiqué dans divers offices HLM (145) ou la mention BBR « bleu, blanc, rouge » (145) dans des fichiers informatiques pour spécifier une offre d'emploi. « Parfois, il y a des petites pastilles de couleur qui identifient discrètement un Blanc, un rebeu ou un black » (145). Elle dénonce les préjugés racistes qu'on attribue volontairement aux gens à cause de leur origine, de leur identité, de leur visage, de leur couleur. Une vraie paranoïa. « Un voleur ne pouvait être qu'un "sale Arabe". Un Noir ne pouvait être qu'un "fouteur de merde" » (150).

Dans SOS Racisme, Loubna se bat contre la peur de l'autre. Et elle propose la mixture, le mélange des gens et des populations de toutes les couleurs en France. « Quand on ne se mélange pas, la peur de l'autre devient démentielle » (150). Elle milite contre le racisme, la violence, le racket et elle va jusqu'à traiter des sujets tabous dans les cités comme la sexualité chez les jeunes. « La sexualité dans les quartiers est un sujet tabou. La définition en est simple et elle concerne uniquement les filles ! Il y a les putes et les autres » (59). « Une "meuf" qui se fait tourner, c'est une "pétasse qui aime ça" » (159), rapporte l'écrivaine en parlant d'un fait divers, un fait réel jugé en 2001 pour une affaire de viol qui remontait à 1993 dans une cité parisienne. « Comment en est-on arrivé là ? » (159) se demande lamentablement la jeune auteure. Sur la question des garçons et de leur entraves sexuelles les amenant jusqu'au crime, l'écrivaine résume avec grande maturité la source du problème :

Ils [les garçons] ont peur des relations mixtes. Leur avenir sentimental, leur capacité à être des maris, ou des amants, des pères et des citoyens responsables, est dramatiquement bloqué. Ils estiment pouvoir tout se permettre, se cachent derrière de prétendues traditions culturelles et religieuses, parce qu'ils vivent dans la frustration, dans la misère sociale et sexuelle (159-160).

Cet engagement féminin né au sein des associations devient la raison d'être de la jeune Loubna qui répond à l'appel national aux femmes des quartiers en octobre 2001 signé par Fadela Amara.

Nous femmes vivant dans les quartiers de banlieue, issues de toutes origines, croyantes ou non, laçons cet appel pour nos droits à la liberté et à l'émancipation. Oppressées socialement par une société qui nous enferme dans les ghettos où s'accumulent misère et exclusion. Étouffées par le machisme des hommes de nos quartiers au nom d'une "tradition" nient nos droits les plus élémentaires [...] Le mouvement féministe a déserté les quartiers. Il y a urgence et nous avons décidé d'agir (156-157).

La performance née au sein de cette association féminine est un acte puissant de résistance qui a permis aux femmes des quartiers de récupérer leur voix pour communiquer leur message à un public beaucoup plus large. Cet engagement féminin, enfant des associations féminines, a envahi la scène politique.

« On ne naît pas femme, on le devient ». Telle est la leçon du *Deuxième sexe* (1949) de Simone de Beauvoir. Si politisation du discours féminin existe, elle se fait notamment du fait de la position de la femme dans la société, apparaissant comme un être exploité, rejeté, contrôlé, réduit. La femme donc prend la parole et elle dit le vrai à ceux qui ne le voient pas, ou pas encore. Elle le fait aussi au nom de tous ceux qui ne peuvent pas, ou ne savent pas, le dire. Dès lors, elle luttera pour faire entendre sa voix et pour dire la vérité muette quand il s'agit des femmes. C'est cette vérité qu'elle prône haut et fort Loubna, sans peur, sans crainte. Des vérités qui nous entaillent le cœur, la vérité des filles exclues, des filles bannies.

Loubna milite pour la cause féministe et antiraciste. Elle milite pour des valeurs supérieures : la liberté, la modernité, l'éducation, pour une civilisation civilisée. Elle participe aux marches des femmes contre les ghettos et pour l'égalité. Elle participe aux journées de la Femme, elle

travaille avec les ministres pour les causes de l'éducation et de la violence aux femmes et elle est reçue à ce titre à Matignon par le Premier ministre lui-même, Jean-Pierre Raffarin.

Femme d'action et de terrain, Loubna Méliane fait avec son livre une entrée remarquée sur la scène "littéraire" en mêlant la réalité contemporaine et les substrats ancestraux de l'immigration des parents.

Loubna Méliane témoigne de sa vie de jeune fille de quartier « en milieu beur » et écrit pour l'avenir de la femme et des jeunes maghrébins des ghettos en France et des substrats ancestraux de leur exil.

Le texte de Loubna Méliane est un récit réaliste décrivant ces banlieues déshéritées de grandes villes de France où les immigrants font face à la pauvreté et au racisme. À l'humiliation et à l'affrontement ; aux frustrations. Tout est une question d'éducation, réclame la jeune écrivaine qui sait de quoi elle parle.

L'éducation en France, l'école, le collège, le lycée, la république ne leur ont rien appris pour qu'ils soient encore là. Rien. On vit dans des quartiers complètement marginalisés, entre nous, sans côtoyer personne d'autre. On a l'impression que ce que nos parents enseignent à leurs enfants, c'est la meilleure des éducations, on est persuadé que tout ce qu'on fait est bien : on ne connaît rien d'autre, alors c'est comme ça. On reste dans notre petit ghetto. Rebeus et Gaulois des cités, c'est pareil, un vrai retour en arrière. On vit comme on devait vivre dans les quartiers ouvriers des années trente (61). [...] Toute la puissance destructrice et rétrograde du ghetto (166).

L'auteure se livre à une étonnante présentation de la réalité des immigrés de la deuxième génération, une réalité qu'elle décrit sans faille et sans détours. Sans tabous. Révoltée par la réalité sociale dans les banlieues en France en plein XXI^e siècle, Loubna brise le silence des quartiers et écrit son livre pour éveiller les consciences. Loin de dramatiser, l'auteure fait le plaidoyer de jeunes filles beur et de jeunes des quartiers défavorisés sans avenir, emmurés dans un espace carcéral urbain, voués à l'échec.

L'ouvrage de Loubna Méliane est une prise de conscience et un appel à la révolution sociale. « Il faut libérer les quartiers, briser les ghettos [...] cette révolution prendra [...] de temps » (204).

L'auteure reconnaît que la faillite personnelle va au-delà de l'individu. La société ne donne pas des chances aux autres, aux enfants des quartiers, aux enfants d'immigrés.

Le quartier nous donne une identité, on y vit en autarcie avec des gens qui se ressemblent, tellement enfermés les uns sur les autres qu'on se dit que la vie est ainsi et pas autrement. Aucune possibilité de croire ou de penser que l'on peut vivre différemment. [...] La cassure était trop violente, même si cela m'a permis d'ouvrir les yeux sur une autre catégorie sociale » (40).

Quant à la violence, pour laquelle Loubna milite dès son plus jeune âge, elle porte aussi la réponse : « j'en reviens aux quartiers ghettos qu'il faut absolument briser par la mixité sociale » (101). Autre constat, autre suggestion : l'école des classes bourgeoises et des bons quartiers. La jeune auteure s'écrie avec indignation : « c'est l'enfer : elle empêche tout mélange » (101). « À l'intérieur du collège, on recrée un autre ghetto » (102). « L'intégration, comme ils disent, c'est par l'école que ça commence » (102).

L'auteure dépeint une France des banlieues sans complaisance dans sa réalité amère et dans l'envie profonde de changer l'ordre des choses, « la violence naît de tout cela, dans le creuset d'un communautarisme, dans la formation de bandes » (102).

À travers son texte Loubna Méliane apparaît comme une écrivaine fortement engagée politiquement, d'une part, et pour la cause des femmes, de l'autre, combat tout aussi politique que l'auteure mène pour la condition féminine en général et maghrébine en particulier en France. En témoin de son temps Loubna Méliane assume le rôle de chroniqueuse et de commentatrice. Avec sa sensibilité féminine, elle réitère l'importance des mots qui sont porteurs de souvenirs, et qui sont au demeurant vecteurs de vérité, instruments de prise de conscience et appels à l'action pour une régénération possible de jeunes filles beur en France, car la France doit procéder à une régénérescence qui ne peut que s'accomplir du dedans. En tout état de cause, en tant qu'écrivain, Loubna Méliane se positionne comme éveilleur des consciences. Elle porte la question fondamentale du statut social et de la réussite pour les jeunes beurs « l'exclusion commence là, dans ce système scolaire qui ne tire pas les jeunes des quartiers vers le haut [...] » (53) et la réponse à cette question : « Je ne veux pas être exclue. Je veux faire honneur à mon père et réussir » (53). En pointant la vie de femme beur, l'auteure affirme :

On nous conditionne à être de futures femmes au foyer. On ne se dit pas que la vie d'une femme rebeu, c'est aussi, peut-être, une vie professionnelle. [...] On ne discute pas de réussite professionnelle, mais de réussite familiale » (58). Les mariages se font entre rebeus. Pas de Gaulois ; Sinon, c'est le sectarisme.

« Je ne l'imagine même pas : j'aurais été la risée du quartier (58).

Des faits divers, des faits réels, incitent Loubna à l'action. Syndiquée à FIDL, Fédération indépendante démocratique lycéenne, Loubna participe à la campagne organisée par la Fédération à la suite du drame du jeune Nicolas Bourgat, poignardé le 9 septembre 1996 à Marseille intitulée « Plus puissant que la violence, le respect ». Son combat ne vient que commencer. On est en 1996, Loubna est lycéenne. Une série d'autres événements, pris dans la réalité, des faits graves de violence et de haine, vont affirmer l'engagement de la jeune femme. Engagement qu'elle assumera à vie et qu'elle fera sa raison d'être. Être au service des autres, de la société, des jeunes et d'une vie républicaine digne.

Le 4 octobre 2002, Sohane, dix-sept ans, a été aspergée d'essence et brûlée vive dans un local à poubelles de la cité Balzac à Vitry-sur-Seine. Le crime a été commis par un lycéen de dix-neuf ans⁹.

En septembre 2002, une bande de jeunes mineurs du Val-d'Oise a été condamnée pour viol à répétition sur Samia, une adolescente de quinze ans. Ils étaient dix-neuf dans le box des accusés.

Oulfa, une jeune lycéenne parisienne de dix-neuf ans, a été brûlée au troisième degré par un jet d'acide dans les toilettes d'un lycée parisien du XIX^e arrondissement (155).

Trois exemples seulement parmi des centaines qui ont secoué et secouent la France sans cesse. Trois exemples qui ont fait que Loubna s'affirme plus dans son combat social. Plus que les problèmes de misère, d'exclusion, de violence, de précarité, de discrimination, il s'agit ici d'un engagement profondément féministe. « Étouffées par le machisme des hommes de nos quartiers qui au nom d'une "tradition" nient nos droits les plus élémentaires » (156). Loubna sait de quoi elle parle.

Dans les quartiers, les adolescentes sont les premières victimes des hommes. Le pouvoir masculin s'exerce à tous les niveaux : le père, le frère, les voisins, la bande de copains. Il y a aussi la mère, les voisines, les sœurs, la bande de copines. Il faudrait se soumettre ou se masculiniser. Il faudrait obéir aux traditions patriarcales ou s'enfuir (156).

Contrairement à d'autres associations, « Ni Putes Ni Soumises » n'était pas une association d'aide aux victimes. Son idéologie première

était de construire sur la dénonciation et la publication des violences que subissaient les femmes immigrées des quartiers. NPNS se veut avant tout un « mouvement politique » de dénonciation d'un scandale jusqu'alors tu, avant d'être une association d'aide aux victimes.

Plus affirmée que jamais, Loubna s'engage à la marche des « Ni putes ni soumises », en février et mars 2003 à la suite de la mort de Sohane¹⁰. De nouveaux défis pour Loubna, prête à assumer et à se battre. Le racisme et l'exclusion est une question de liberté et d'émancipation pour les filles de quartiers. Le combat féministe s'associe à la lutte contre le racisme. Le verbe « masculiniser » veut tout dire. « Beaucoup de [jeunes filles] préféreraient être des garçons. Elles n'osent plus s'habiller comme filles [...] De porter un survêtement et des baskets, de se camoufler sous un déguisement de plus en plus masculin, sous peine de subir les insultes des petits caïds, de se faire traiter de putes, et, au final, de se retrouver bannies » (158-159). Un deuxième terme est révélateur de discrimination raciale, sexuelle et sociale des femmes des quartiers : « tourmente ». L'enfer des tourmentes. Comme le titre du livre-témoignage de Samira Bellil, sur les viols collectifs, sa propre histoire. Loubna a rencontré Samira à Roubaix, lors du débat organisé pendant la marche des « Ni putes ni soumises » dans vingt-quatre villes en France.

3. Pour une sociologie de l'écriture. En guise de conclusion

Loubna Méliane avance dans son combat humain et milite sans cesse. Militante fervente, elle milite pour la cause des jeunes nés de l'immigration qui étouffent dans les quartiers.

Le taux du suicide est plus élevé que la moyenne dans les quartiers. Ils étouffent, ils n'en peuvent plus. La violence naît de cet étouffement, de ce repli sur soi-même. Il faut leur redonner leur peau de petits Français. Leur apprendre la fraternité, leur donner la liberté pour qu'ils retrouvent l'égalité (153).

Dans ses propos, Loubna Méliane laisse percer la raison qui a conditionné la conception de son livre à travers lequel elle a cherché à sonner l'alarme. « Je suis là en tant que jeune fille issue de l'immigration, je témoigne, j'alerte, et je réclame qu'on cesse de nous prendre pour des sauvages » (153). Son objectif est de mettre en évidence l'envers de cette vision archaïque et autoritaire des générations de marocains immigrés des cités en France qui, même loin de leur pays continuent à vivre dans l'enclave et l'enfermement des traditions rétrogrades et dans un obscurantisme total qui mettent en péril l'individu.

L'inscription du social imprègne profondément l'œuvre de Loubna Méliane qui devient la transcription de son combat pour la cause

humaine, le racisme, le féminisme et l'oppression sous toutes ses formes. Une écriture subversive dans sa signification politique qui met à nu la condition de la femme, surtout celle de la jeune fille française et beur aux volontés et désirs totalement « mutilés » en France contemporaine.

Loubna fait de son combat l'engagement des femmes contre les ghettos et pour l'égalité. « [J]'avais l'impression que nous ne vivions pas dans le même monde, en tout cas pas dans la même France » (176).

Loubna transgresse la frontière d'un ordre établi et dénonce le racisme et le sexisme. « J'étais une femme parmi les autres, et sortie du ghetto » (185). Une femme qui a « envie de sortir, envie de vivre » (192).

Vivre libre de Loubna Méliane est un livre à forte résonance sur notre époque. Un livre qui dénonce et dévoile la réalité tragique des filles de la deuxième génération de l'immigration dans les banlieues en France. Un livre-indice de la transformation¹¹ au sein des communautés musulmanes en général et de l'immigration maghrébine en particulier. Loin de polémiques et de politiques stériles, l'auteure souligne l'urgence d'agir et réagir pour une société égalitaire, de liberté et de fraternité. Un discours de vérité, sans honte, sans peur, pour s'affirmer et réclamer ce qu'on est, notre race et notre religion.

Loubna Méliane renouvelle les modes de pensée et œuvre à la restauration de modes de vie en dérive des déracinés, des pieds noirs, des beurs et des rebeus.

« Je suis française, militante, je réclame pour ces jeunes filles des refuges protégés par la loi française. La République leur doit ça » (204-205), réclame haut et fort l'auteure.

4. Références bibliographiques

Beauvoir, Simone de (2003), *Deuxième sexe : Les faits et les mythes*, t. 1, Paris: Folio Essais [Gallimard 1949¹].

Beauvoir, Simone de, (2003), *Deuxième sexe : L'expérience vécue*, t. 2, Paris: Folio Essais [Gallimard 1949¹].

Golding, Marianne (2009), « Entretien avec Smaïn Laacher, Paris, 27 avril 2009 ». In *Women in French Studies*, 17: 167-181.

Laacher, Smaïn (2008), *Femmes invisibles : Leurs mots contre la violence*, Paris: Calmann-Levy.

Ni Putes Ni Soumises,

<http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ni_putes_ni_soumises>. Consulté le 10 août 2010.

-----, <www.niputesnismises.com>. Consulté le 10 août 2010.

-----, <<http://www.mouvements.info/Ni-Putes-Ni-Soumises-un-appareil.html>>. Consulté le 10 août 2010.

- Marteau, Stéphanie et Pascale Tounier, *Black, Blanc, Beur... : La guerre civile aura-t-elle vraiment lieu ?* (2006), Paris: Albin Michel.
- Méliane, Loubna (2003), *Vivre libre*, Paris: Oh ! Éditions (réédité en poche chez Pocket 2004).
- Oktapoda, Efstratia (2008), « *Zeida de nulle part* ou l'entre-deux cœurs de Leïla Houari ». In *Logosphère. Revue d'études linguistiques et littéraires*, « Voix/voix méditerranéennes », 4: 87-103.
- Sebki, Habiba (1999), « Une littérature "naturelle" : le cas de la littérature "beur" ». In *Revue Itinéraires et contacts de cultures*, Paris: L'Harmattan et Université Paris 13, 27/1999.
<<http://www.limag.refer.org/Textes/Iti27/Sebki.htm>>.

**FEMALE PIONEERS OF POETRY:
ZUBEYDE FITNAT HANIM, NIGÂR HANIM AND
CARMEN SYLVA**

Sara HUNZIKER¹

Abstract. *In a world where polygamous marriages are not an exception but a rule, the lyrics of a series famous women poets, reflect the aspiration of finding and preserving the same soul mate during their lives and even in death. Their plead for their natural right to choose their own soul partner is reflected in a series of extremely sensitive verses written by Turkish and Romanian women poets, of Christian and Muslim background, such as Zubeyde Fitnat Hanım, Nigâr Hanım or Camen Sylva. Early pioneers of feminism, the creeds of these impressive women poets juxtapose in their fervent longing for the ideal love, which shall not be shared with anyone, transcending thus the limits imposed by society or religion.*

Keywords: *monogamous, polygamous, Christian, Muslim, right to choose, one love.*

A pivotal Turkish poetess is Zubeyde Fitnat Hanım. She was born in the 18th century, most probably in 1723 or 1724. Raised in a highly intellectual environment since a very early age, Fitnat is the author of a series of splendid verses written in the Divan style.

In one of her most beautiful songs, the beauty of her darling when he smiles is said to stir even the jealousy of roses and hyacinths. The most spectacular bird on Earth, the Phoenix, would also turn pale near the splendour of her chosen one:

Roses become bashful and blush, when that bud-like beauty smiles.

Out of envy, the hyacinth sags, when that tress curls.

Even if it were the phoenix, it will succumb to the talons of love.

When the hawk of that gaze glides to hunt the heart.

His gaze is 'hunting' the heart which has no chance in the face of such an unbeatable opponent. Body and soul, Fitnat is enslaved by the fatal lure of her lover. Her feelings are so strong that she would even be able to lose her life in the name of her love for him. Not even death is a final barrier anymore, as her final wish is to be buried only in the earth in front of her lover's door.

¹ Dr. Oana Ghica, oana_ghica@yahoo.com

*Oh, Fitnat, if your intent is to lose your life with love,
Don't leave the soil before your beloved's door when you die.*

For Fitnat, love and death, Eros and Tanatos, have meaning only in relation to her lover. If love is possible only by means of him and for him, death makes sense only in as much as, even after her death, she remains a constant presence in his life. This recurrent idea of complete devotion in life and death for the same sole partner is reiterated in other poems of Fitnat.

Paradoxically, this idea of love that surpasses all possible barriers, 'preached' by a Muslim woman poet, is also identifiable in the most important cult book of Christianity, the Holy Bible. Probably the most beautiful verses that have ever been written about love belong to the apostle Paul, who in his letter to the Christians in Corinth, places love in a hierarchical order above the gift of speaking in tongues, above the gift of prophesizing and even above the faith in God. For apostle Paul, love becomes the only fair reason behind one's actions. Without love even the Christian sacrifice of one's life, lacks any value.

13 If I speak in the tongues[a] of men or of angels, but do not have love, I am only a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal. 2 If I have the gift of prophecy and can fathom all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have a faith that can move mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing. 3 If I give all I possess to the poor and give over my body to hardship that I may boast,[b] but do not have love, I gain nothing. 4 Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. 5 It does not dishonor others, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. 6 Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. 7 It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. 8 Love never fails. But where there are prophecies, they will cease; where there are tongues, they will be stilled; where there is knowledge, it will pass away.

In the Holy Quran, the term used to express the concept of true love is 'Niccah', the one that ends in marriage, as opposed to 'Zina', a term described for unlawful sexual relations. If human heart is seen like a cup, then the more one pours in it love for Allah, the less space remains to love for worldly things. (cf. (Rahman: *Women in the Quran and Suna*)

Even the Prophet Muhammad, who is said to have had four wives, emphasizes the fact that marriage represents the loving union of just two spouses: addressing a series of very beautiful words, Prophet Muhammad is sincerely commending the virtues of a chaste woman:

The world and all things in the world are precious but the most precious thing in the world is a virtuous woman. He once told the future khalifah, 'Umar: "Shall I not inform you about the best treasure a man can hoard? It is a virtuous wife who pleases him whenever he looks towards her, and who guards herself when he is absent from her. (Rahman: Women in the Quran and Suna)

In spite of many other differences, it seems that the two great cult books of humanity, the Bible and the Holy Quran meet in their describing true love as a communion between one man and one woman. In their turn, people's feelings transcend the societal and religious barriers, longing to restore the primordial lost unity with one partner, the Edenic half that has the power to complete them.

By analyzing the lyric of a series of Turkish women writers, we are perplexed by the idea that, in a society that promotes and sometimes even imposes multiple wives marriages, people aspire to live and die for the sake of just one person.

Paradoxically, this idea of monogamous love, of a heart that can't be split and that can belong only to one person, is strongly conveyed even by the poetry of a man, in spite of the fact that he was married to several, perhaps even to innumerable wives.

An extremely beautiful and sensitive Turkish love poem is attributed to the Magnificent Suleyman, a famous historical figure, who was re-discovered and valued by the new generation in the last years, by means of a very popular TV series which enjoyed great success to the public, both in Turkey and in Romania. Benefiting of the exceptional acting of Halit Ergenc as Sulyman and of Meryem Uzerli as his superb sultan, the series was so well liked by the public that it managed to make known and promulgate a complete range of Muslim civilization values and even to set a peculiar fashion trend.

The untitled poem is dedicated by Suleyman to Roxelana, also known as Hurem Sultan, his mistress 'who is not a Muslim'. Worthy to receive his love and devotion, Hurem is adored in terms that compare her with what the nature has best:

*My delight, my wine, my tavern, my lamp, my light, my candle
My orange and pomegranate and sour orange, my candle of
night
My plant, my sugar, my treasure, my delicate in world*

The muse is described by way of what she inspires or represents to him Thus, she is in turn, 'beloved', 'sultan', 'shah of beautifuls' and even,

'friend'. In a complete discrepancy with the accustomed Ottoman view on women at that time, who used to be seen more as objects and less as individuals, Suleyman seems to expect and appreciate a partner in his dearest wife:

*My resident of solitude, my everything, my beloved, my shining moon
My friend, my privacy, my everything, my shah of beautifuls, my sultan
My life, my existence, my lifetime, my wine of youngness, my heaven
My spring, my joy, my day, my beloved, my laughing rose.*

With a vision that was very much ahead of his time, the prodigious Turkish emperor, despite being a Muslim, seems to anticipate many of the twenty-first century feminist tenets. It is in this point where his poetry meets Nigâr Hanım's lyric, another remarkable Turkish poetess.

Born in 1856 in Istanbul, as daughter of Macar Osman Pasha, they say that Nigâr Hanım, was proficient in eight foreign languages. (Inner: 10)

Without being a feminist, Nigar did pioneer many of the nowadays feminist percepts. Just as in Nigar's poem *Tell Me Again*, the Magnificent Sulyman's sweetheart is perceived as giving meaning to his existence, the only reason for which he is ready to live or die.

*My blood is on your hands if I die, mercy o my non-Muslim
I am a flatterer near your door, I always praise you
Heart is full of sorrow, eye is full of tears, I am Muhibbi and I am happy*

Seen as an event that completely changes the one it affects, love has the power to make him suffer and cry, but also laugh and be happy at the same time.

As its very title shows- *Tell Me Again*- Nigâr Hanım's poem canvases a state, a passionate and even anxious mood; her sole preoccupation in these verses is to find out and to be told again and again that she is her lover's only love. In a Muslim world where polygamous marriages are not the exception but the rule, Nigar's tormenting question is if the love of her chosen one is all meant for her and only for her. She obsessively asks him if she is his only muse who inspires him and for whom he would be ready to suffer:

*Am I your only love -- in the whole world -- now?
Am I really the only object of your love?*

*If passions rage in your mind,
If love springs eternal in your heart –
Is it all meant for me? Tell me again.*

Once reassured that the love she feels for him is mutual, she is ready to take the next step in their relationship and become his true friend and companion. Now she is ready to listen and understand the sorrows of his heart and 'whatever gives him so much pain'. When shared, the burden of pain and suffering becomes easier to carry:

*Tell me right now, am I the one who inspires
All your dark thoughts, all your sadness?
Share with me what you feel, what you think.
Come, my love, pour into my heart
Whatever gives you so much pain.*

The Holy Quran in the book Al-Araf 7, verse 189, emphasizes that before the act of creation the two spouses were part of the same body. They were both created from a single person and became two loose halves of the same primordial person:

It is He Who created you from a single person, and made his mate of like nature, in order that he might dwell with her (in love). When they are united, she bears a light burden and carries it about (unnoticed). When she grows heavy, they both pray to Allah their Lord, (saying): "If Thou givest us a goodly child. We vow we shall (ever) be grateful." [Interpretive insert]

In Nigar's poem we remark a kind of longing to restore this primeval lost harmony, characteristic of their initial union. She wants to be told again and again that she is the only one he loves, the only one who has the power to make him happy or sad, the only one in whom he confides his secrets, and in fact, that she is his half, that their union is perfect and that they became again parts of the same primordial being.

As parts of the same microuniverse, of the same being, their dialogue gets psychoanalytical valences. It is not Nigar talking to her lover, anymore it is a dialogue between the animus and anima of the same original entity, or if we want, a dialogue between, the id and the superego, perfectly matched parts of the same wholeness.

The passion and most inner desires of this pioneer Muslim women poets as well as their plead for their natural right to fall in love and form a couple to whomever they choose, is also shared by the Christian women writers. Such is the case of the lyric of the first Queen of Romania, Elizabeth the first, known under the pen name Carmen Sylva.

The poetess describes the look in the eyes of her lover as reflecting genuine rays of sun. The faces of the two infatuated lovers touch each other and they symbolically unite in a kiss, the supreme form of communication, a material union of their true minds.

Cu gene 'ncins-a ochii tăi
Cel ce-a creiat din veci iubirea,
Iar ei sclipiri de soare-au prin
Și-un fulger umed li-e privirea.

Cu drag eu genele-ți ating
Cu genele-mi de tremur pline,
Din ochi clipesc aprins și des –
Și ast-fel te sărut pe tine.

In the ecstasy of their shared love, the poetess transcends the realm of the ordinary humans and feels like flying. They are not anymore a man and a woman kissing each other, they are two butterflies kissing and heading towards the sun. The woman's dedication to his love is complete and doesn't allow any distractions. The heroine totally abandons herself to his love. It is as if nothing existed around them anymore. The intensity of the moment makes her feel that there is suddenly night and that her wings are symbolically melting at the fire of love.

Bătând din aripi, când ne sunt
Unite-aprinsele pleoape,
E par' că soarele-ar luci
Și 'ntr' însul ne-am uita de-aproape.

Se face noapte 'n jurul meu!
Eu pier în stângerea clipirii,
Bătând din ostenite-aripi,
Topit de flacăra iubirii.

Coming from monogamous or polygamous backgrounds, of Christian or Muslim religion, Romanian or Turkish, the female poets whose work is partially discussed in this article, meet in their longing for the love of just one lover as well as in their pleading for their natural right to choose their partners. Pioneering the much later feminist tenets, the women poets mentioned in this article had the courage to stand up for their creeds, implicitly pleading for the women's emancipation, and

this, in spite of the fact of being often condemned by their contemporaries.

References

- Fitnat Hanim, Zubeyde. *Nightingales and Pleasure Gardens. Turkish Love Poems*. Halman Talat et al (eds). New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005.
- Fleet, Kate et al. *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Hanim, Nigâr. *Nightingales and Pleasure Gardens. Turkish Love Poems*. Halman Talat et al (eds). New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005.
- Holy Quran, The University of Leeds. Quran Tool*. <http://www.comp.leeds.ac.uk/nora/html/7-189.html>
- Holy Quran*. <https://quran.com/>
- Inner, Derya. *Women's Voice in the Ottoman Empire*. In *Women History Review*. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2015.
- Kemal, Silay. *An Anthology of Turkish Literature*. New York: CEM Publishing, 2006.
- King James Bible*. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/>
- Livezeanu, Irina et al. *Women and Gender in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia*. New York: M E Sharpe, 2007.
- Rahman, Abdur. *Women in the Quran and Suna*. http://www.islamswomen.com/articles/women_in_quran_and_sunah.php
- Suleyman, The Magnificent. *Poem*. http://www.turkishclass.com/forumTitle_55458
- Sylva, Carmen. *Poetry*. <http://www.curteaveche.ro/blog/2013/08/23/fluturi-sarutandu-se-de-carmen-sylva-cugetarile-si-poeziile-unei-regine/>
- Zilfi, Madelaine. *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*. New York: Brill, 1997.

**UNA FIGURA CANONICA DE LAS LETRAS HISPANICAS
DE LA SEGUNDA MITAD DEL SIGLO XIX:
EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN**

Irina DOGARU¹

Abstract: *The paper examines two major works of Emilia Pardo Bazán, essential for the study of Naturalism in Spain: La cuestión palpitante, and Los pazos de Ulloa, the novel which exemplifies this current. We emphasize the intellectual profile of the Countess, as she was one of the very few European women of her time having spiritual preoccupations. We also stress upon the fact that the Spanish writer was one of the most significant canonic figures of Hispanic literature, and we scrutinise an emblematic text of her initial phase, La cuestión palpitante, which becomes later a starting point for many of her novels, as Los pazos de Ulloa, her most popular novel, is. On the other hand, we connect the aesthetics of Naturalism, applied by Bazán to her most popular novel Los pazos de Ulloa, with the Spanish character, for which it is perfectly suited, taking into account that such aesthetics has many antecedents in the literature of the Golden Age, a fact that does not impede Bazán's creation of a new sensibility in the Spanish novel of her time. Finally, we submit our conclusions regarding the importance of these two works, which definitely contribute to the cultural development of Spain.*

Keywords: *canon, aesthetics, Naturalism, antecedents, development.*

1. Motto :

“Me parece indudable que el eclecticismo de Emilia Pardo Bazán parte de una actitud vital, de un innato aperturismo, de su afán de caminar siempre por caminos no transitados y, sobre todo, no transitados por una mujer. Pero también me parece indudable que esa actitud se vio reforzada por su especial formación autodidacta, que le permitió ese vital rastreo de vías diferentes, sin la imposición de una auctoritas científica, metodológica o de escuela, que pudiese coartar, en alguna medida, el libre deambular por materias diferentes, y sin la profundización sistematizada en una sola que hubiese podido, en otro momento, cerrarle el camino a ulteriores novedades.” (María del Pilar Palomo, Curiosidad intelectual y eclecticismo crítico en Emilia Pardo Bazán)

¹ Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, irina.dogaru@gmail.com

2. Una figura canonica de las letras hispanicas De la segunda mitad del siglo XIX: Emilia Pardo Bazán

Si el canon es el modelo a seguir y todo aquello que la tradición sanciona como ejemplar y de calidad contrastada, si en la literatura el canon es una lista de las obras clásicas que se siguen leyendo con interés y se consideran un elemento fundamental en la educación de la juventud, entonces las obras de Emilia Pardo Bazán, donde se conjugan el gusto estético y la necesidad pedagógica, por su alta calidad artística y por el hecho de que representan referentes ineludibles de la cultura española y universal, pudiendo ser estimulantes para contagiar el gusto por la lectura literaria, valen la pena de seguir siendo leídas y estudiadas. Como punto culminante de la jerarquía literaria en una época, pero también como característica expresiva dominante, determinada por el contexto y por la evolución intrínseca de la literatura, el canon está sometido al cambio, destinado a una permanente metamorfosis. Sin duda, el cambio de canon está precedido cada vez por una situación de crisis. Cuando se instala una ruptura, debido al hecho de que la expresión ya no es suficiente, tanto en lo concerniente a la visión sobre el mundo como en la forma artística, el cambio de canon se manifiesta como una modalidad de adaptación de la literatura al contexto, a una nueva sensibilidad, al flujo y al dinamismo de la vida misma.

En una época en que el público español había empezado a acostumbrarse, en la literatura, a mujeres-poetas románticas y sentimentales, aparece –tal como la definió Ángel Valbuena Prat– la personalidad “vigorosa” de Emilia Pardo Bazán, que va a ser crítico literario, polemista, feminista, publicista, editora, novelista, ensayista y oradora, fundadora de la Biblioteca de la Mujer y aun catedrática con aspiraciones académicas. Para la aparición de tal fenómeno enérgico y arrebatador, el público español no estaba todavía preparado.

Consiguientemente, cuando la condesa gallega publicó, en 1883, su más conocido trabajo de teoría literaria, *La cuestión palpitante*, inicialmente una serie de veinte artículos que habían aparecido entre 1881 y 1883 en *La época*, el libro acabó por ser considerado el manifiesto teórico del naturalismo en la Península Ibérica y las reacciones polémicas, la mayoría de ellas agresivas e iracundas, no tardaron en manifestarse. Sólo unos tres años más tarde, por la publicación de su novela *Los Pazos de Ulloa*, la misma escritora llegará a ser la más insigne representante de esta corriente en la novela española decimonónica.

Hemos elegido a analizar primero la faceta metaliteraria de la escritora, para la exposición de sus teorías estéticas y de sus juicios críticos tal como se manifiestan en *La cuestión palpitante*, que es el texto más adecuado para comprender tanto la evolución estética e ideológica

de la autora coruñesa como los rasgos específicos del naturalismo español.

En España, el movimiento naturalista no tuvo la acogida entusiástica que encontró en el resto de Europa, a lo mejor por su vinculación con el positivismo, que representaba la negación de la especulación metafísica y la fe en el método experimental. España, fundada en una estructura social muy diferente a la francesa, carecía del orden social surgido de la Revolución Francesa y del desarrollo de las ciencias naturales. Según lo definió Sherman Eoff, el naturalismo español tenía que ser peculiar, por incorporar el gusto por el análisis psicológico, mezclando el idealismo filosófico con el realismo científico, lo que, en el campo de la novelística, se llamará idealismo realista. (Sherman Eoff, *El pensamiento moderno y la novela española. Ensayos de literatura comparada: la repercusión filosófica de la ciencia sobre la novela*, p. 75).

Al estar de acuerdo con la opinión expresada por Zola en *Le naturalisme* (ed. de Laureano Bonet, Nexos, Barcelona, 1998, págs. 11-12), conforme a la cual si se sacrifican las fórmulas naturalistas que posibilitan la floración de la novela decimonónica a favor de un concepto tradicionalista del realismo, se puede negar el desarrollo de la literatura, Emilia Pardo Bazán se convierte en la responsable de la expansión del Naturalismo en España, según señala Benito Varela Jácome cuando afirma que “la difusión de la doctrina naturalista en España se debe a Emilia Pardo Bazán” (*Estructuras novelísticas de Emilia Pardo Bazán*, Santiago de Compostela, Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos, 1973, p. 32).

Según destaca Clarín en el prólogo a la segunda edición de la obra, la escritora gallega tuvo el mérito de comprender que la literatura española estaba buscando nuevas formas, nuevos territorios estéticos que se adecuaran a lo que él llama “el espíritu de la época”: “La cuestión palpitante demuestra que hay en España quien ha leído bastante y pensado mucho, y sin embargo, reconoce que el naturalismo tiene razón en muchas cosas y pide reformas necesarias en la literatura, en atención al espíritu de la época”.

La autora, en base a un minucioso análisis de los principios de la doctrina de Zola, intenta demostrar que el naturalismo no merecía los ataques de sus detractores, siendo, por el contrario, un movimiento literario adecuado a la especificidad y a las tendencias del espíritu español, sin representar una novedad escandalosa, porque tenía precedentes innumerables en toda la literatura realista del Siglo de Oro, si no también en la Biblia, en Homero y en Dante. La Bazán se proponía, de este modo, aplicar los principios naturalistas – como fenómeno

importado de Francia, de más allá de los Pirineos – a la tradición clásica del realismo autóctono, eliminando dos principios fundamentales que contravenían a su catolicismo ferviente: el determinismo materialista y el utilitarismo. La escritora española se concentra sobre todo sobre la técnica narrativa y descriptiva de la escuela de Zola, de manera que, al fin y al cabo, el naturalismo preconizado por ella tiene que ver más bien con el dominio de la forma que con el del contenido ideológico de las obras que reivindicaban su influencia.

Pero la condesa, criticada en Francia e Inglaterra, por sus “ensayos de aclimatación” del naturalismo en España, destaca también los errores o los “vicios” de la estética naturalista, entre los cuales enumera el determinismo, con la consiguiente negación de la libertad humana, la idea utilitaria, el carácter cerrado y exclusivo (o la limitación del naturalismo, en sus palabras), y el hecho de que este intenta “someter el pensamiento y la pasión a las mismas leyes que determinan la caída de la piedra”, en otros términos el hecho de que lo psíquico es irreductible a lo físico.

Dedicándose al análisis de la evolución en el campo de la novelística, donde se produce el movimiento naturalista “con actividad extraordinaria”, la Bazán esboza algunos de sus principios teóricos de su enfoque crítico y expone sus ideas acerca de la nueva estética. Luego analiza las novelas de Voltaire, Jorge Sand, Stendhal, Balzac, Flaubert, Daudet y de Zola, el jefe de la escuela naturalista - con sus excesos – (sobre el cual aclara que no es un autor pornográfico, como lo acusaban unos detractores que ni siquiera habían leído sus novelas, ni un “sabio a la violeta”, pero parece haber pecado por haber tomado “por asunto de un ciclo entero de novelas la odisea de la neurosis a través de la sangre de una familia” y por ver “la humanidad más fea, cínica y vil de lo que es”).

Sin embargo, la autora afirma tajantemente que el naturalismo no puede ser considerado inmoral, porque no invita al vicio.

En los últimos capítulos del libro, ella pone de manifiesto el enlace existente entre el naturalismo y la novela realista del Siglo de Oro, porque, en su opinión (y aquí coincide con Galdós y Clarín), el naturalismo ya había dejado sus huellas en las obras de Cervantes y de Quevedo.

Pero al fin y al cabo, la escritora española establece que el naturalismo no es una escuela, sino un método de observación y experimentación, lo que se verá tres años más tarde aplicado en una de sus novelas más emblemáticas, *Los Pazos de Ulloa*.

Lo que ella se propone hacer es sacar del naturalismo francés los elementos formales necesarios para la revitalización de la corriente realista española, llegando a crear una fórmula propia, situándose en una

posición a medio camino entre el naturalismo y el idealismo. Para ella, la novela naturalista debía dar una imagen exacta de la vida y de la gente, pero tanto en la dimensión material, como en la espiritual. Por esto, la solución que la gallega propone es la creación de un nuevo realismo, que se mueva entre el realismo idealista tradicional español y el nuevo naturalismo francés.

Una de las conclusiones de la escritora coruñesa es que el realismo “ofrece una teoría más ancha, completa y perfecta que el naturalismo”, puesto que “comprende y abarca lo natural y lo espiritual, el cuerpo y el alma, y concilia y reduce a unidad la oposición del naturalismo y del idealismo nacional”.

Por lo tanto, cuando publica, en dos tomos, *Los Pazos de Ulloa* en 1886, la novela arquetípica del naturalismo español, Emilia Pardo Bazán se vale del método experimental, pero al mismo tiempo lo enriquece con una mirada profunda que busca el interior de sus personajes, centrándose más en la esfera espiritual humana y en la dimensión moral de los acontecimientos narrados. (Al año siguiente, en 1887, Pardo Bazán publicará la segunda parte, también en dos tomos, *La madre naturaleza*, que lleva como subtítulo: segunda parte de *Los pazos de Ulloa*, pero esta no formará parte de nuestro análisis). Para la escritora, el método científico, aunque eficaz para el análisis del mundo físico, no ofrece explicaciones suficientes en cuanto a la conducta individual. Aunque la escritora examina la influencia del medio ambiente en las acciones y elecciones de sus personajes, en su caso, tal como observa Joan Oleza, no se puede hablar de determinismo, sino de “condicionamientos”, es decir los personajes aparecen condicionados por una serie de circunstancias más bien que por la herencia biológica o por el medio ambiente.

Su novela es, hasta las últimas consecuencias, naturalista, pero tiene, sin embargo, una dosis de misticismo y de moralidad cristiana que la transforma en un producto híbrido, con un marco naturalista y con un singular uso de la moral cristiana, la psicología y la filosofía. Aunque la hipótesis inicial de la autora es que el medio rural degrada y animaliza a los seres humanos, aunque los representantes de la civilización y de la cultura, Julián y Nucha, fracasan en su intento de civilizar a Don Pedro, aunque la maldad parece triunfar sobre la bondad y la entera novela es concebida como una tragedia, Emilia Pardo Bazán logra trazar un cuadro complejo y verídico de la vida rural de Galicia en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX.

El argumento es muy sencillo: don Pedro Moscoso, el marqués de Ulloa, es un personaje de unos treinta años, mandón, indolente, cuya única vocación parece ser la caza; vive amancebado con una criada, Sabel, que encarna la sensualidad primitiva, de la que tiene un hijo,

Perucho. A los pazos llega un joven capellán, Julián, para administrarle la hacienda. Este le convence al marqués de que se busque una esposa legítima. Pedro elige a Nucha, una prima suya, devota y enamorada de él, pero no se siente atraído por ella. Nucha se queda embarazada y, durante el embarazo, don Pedro se muestra muy cuidadoso con su esposa, pero cuando esta da a luz una niña, la armonía conyugal desaparece y Pedro vuelve a sus andadas con la sensual Sabel. Nucha, abandonada, olvidada, espantada por la animosidad que se siente en el aire, se entera de que Perucho, al que ya quería, es el hijo natural de su esposo, el marqués. Nucha pide el apoyo de Julián, que estaba enamorado inconscientemente de ella para abandonarle a Pedro y volver a la casa de sus padres, pero su proyecto común es trastornado por su marido, quien, influenciado por Primitivo, un criado astuto y capaz de cometer cualquier crimen para satisfacer su interés mezquino, sospecha una relación adúltera entre su esposa y el clérigo. Julián sale de los pazos, Primitivo es asesinado por un ladrón y Nucha muere. Su hija, Manolita, se criará entre los sobrevivientes, entre los que se mostraron más fuertes y más preparados para la maldad de este mundo.

Los personajes centrales del libro pueden ser agrupados antagónicamente. Nucha está en las antípodas de Sabel, tal como Julián es el opuesto del marqués. Nucha, con su naturaleza romántica, idealista, con su temperamento sensible e introvertido, es la mujer-víctima, la mujer-mártir, la mujer-madonna por excelencia. La escritora la idealiza en los ojos del cura. Ella es incapaz de adaptarse al medio donde su esposo la obliga a vivir.

Nucha representa el elemento pasivo, carente de voluntad y de fuerza, destinado, por las leyes de la selección natural, a la desaparición. Sus cualidades morales no la ayudan a sobrevivir en un medio gobernado por otros valores y principios. Julián es a su vez un temperamento femenino, pasivo, carente de iniciativa, pese a las buenas intenciones que lo animan. No sabe imponerse ni delante del marqués, ni delante de Primitivo y es responsable, involuntariamente, por el fracaso del matrimonio de Nucha, pero al mismo tiempo es una figura de gran nobleza espiritual. Don Pedro Moscoso, el propietario de los pazos, es el prototipo del aristócrata decaído y envilecido por la vida que lleva y que carece de perspectivas, un macho orgulloso, violento, despótico, apasionado, incontrolado y vicioso, pero es al mismo tiempo un hombre vigoroso y robusto, formidable encarnación de un caballero feudal degenerado, que se orienta según la lógica de la barbarie. Primitivo es el único dueño auténtico de los pazos y una de las figuras más memorables de la novela. Siendo una verdadera fuerza de la naturaleza, astuto y con una inteligencia nativa extraordinaria, feroz e insaciable hasta la

deshumanización, Primitivo tiene instinto de cazador y de asesino. Finalmente, muere asesinado, tal como él mismo quería hacer, por la mano de un ladrón de la misma calidad moral bajísima.

El medio ambiente – y sobre todo el rural – ejerce sobre los personajes de Emilia Pardo Bazán una influencia decisiva. Con razón afirmaba Sherman H. Eoff que la meta última de las novelas pardobazanianas es el de evidenciar un protagonista aterrador: “la Naturaleza primitiva”. (Op. cit, p. 117).

Todos los seres fuertes, vitales, de su novela son el resultado de la convivencia íntima, orgánica, con una naturaleza primitiva y desencadenada, que condiciona sus reacciones e instintos y moldea su comportamiento. Se ha afirmado que este pesimismo sobre la vida proviene en la Bazán de sus creencias católicas, del pecado original y la caída y corrupción de la naturaleza humana. El punto de vista es el de un narrador omnisciente, que ve a sus personajes por dentro y por fuera, que conoce su trayectoria y comenta sus circunstancias. Otras veces, el narrador abandona su postura omnisciente y adopta el punto de vista de algún personaje: Julián o Perucho (en el capítulo XXVIII, cuando el asesinato de Primitivo y el enfrentamiento de Julián y don Pedro en la capilla está visto desde los ojos del niño, lo que refuerza el carácter inevitablemente trágico de los hechos).

Con el mismo don agudo de la observación y del detalle realista, que caracteriza, en efecto, la gran literatura española de todos los tiempos, Emilia Pardo Bazán sorprende, en algunos capítulos memorables, ciertos aspectos específicos para las pequeñas ciudades de provincia del norte de la Península Ibérica, encerradas en su propia mediocridad, agitadas por vanas y absurdas ambiciones y aspiraciones ridículas. Si pensamos sólo en las páginas corrosivas que describen la farsa electoral de Cebre, con las maquinaciones de los dos caciques rivales, con el fraude electoral, el así llamado “pucherazo”, que consistía en la falsificación de los resultados del voto, y con la grotesca pelea final, en la que los vencidos les ahuyentan a los vencedores demasiado eufóricos, nos damos cuenta de que Emilia Pardo Bazán logra practicar una incisión profunda y significativa en la estructura de la sociedad española de su tiempo, mostrando sus defectos mejor escondidos y enraizados.

3. Conclusión

En conclusión, *Los pazos de Ulloa* es una novela naturalista que logra plasmar e imponer una nueva sensibilidad en la novela española, indagando en la psicología de sus personajes y conteniendo un plano de realidad suprasensible, tal como destaca Germán Gullón en “La densidad

genérica y la novela del ochocientos: Los Pazos de Ulloa de Emilia Pardo Bazán”: “El medio, en que la naturaleza y la civilización se disputan el predominio sobre la conducta personal, proporciona el entorno, mientras la narración discurre por los caminos de la indagación psicológica. El estilo indirecto, el diálogo y el monólogo interior proveen las técnicas apropiadas para examinar la motivación de los actos humanos. Existe además en Los pazos todo un plano de realidad suprasensible, compuesto por los roces (p. 194), los rumores (p. 194), los sueños (p. 241), ventanas que crujen y que quizás sean «almas del otro mundo que se quejan» (p. 243), «brujas sueltas» (p. 246), conciencias que leen en las cartas el porvenir de los personajes, etc. Componente que sirve para encantar la realidad, al imponer una naturaleza menos determinista, envuelta en un aura de misterio”.

Si añadimos a todos los méritos enumerados el del ropaje lingüístico de la novela, que representa la más feliz y plástica combinación entre el lenguaje literario y el habla cotidiana, haciendo posible, por parte de la crítica literaria, la comparación de su estilo con el de los hermanos Goncourt, comprenderemos por qué la condesa de Pardo Bazán se convirtió en una figura canónica de la literatura española del siglo XIX que contribuyó definitivamente al desarrollo cultural de España y por qué sigue siendo considerada, hoy en día, ya de manera unánime, una de las más fuertes y representativas personalidades de la prosa literaria española de todos los tiempos.

4. Referencias bibliográficas

Borda Crespo, María Isabel, “El modernismo de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Hacia una aproximación didáctica, en La Tribuna, no. 3, 2016, págs. 155-172.

del Pilar Palomo, María, “Curiosidad intelectual y eclecticismo crítico en Emilia Pardo Bazán”, en <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/curiosidad-intelectual-y-eclecticismo-crtico-en-emilia-pardo-bazn-0/>.

Eoff, Sherman, El pensamiento moderno y la novela española. Ensayos de literatura comparada: la repercusión filosófica de la ciencia sobre la novela, 1973.

Fimiani, Cristiana, “Emilia Pardo Bazán de cara a la cuestión palpitante del Naturalismo español”, EGM, publicación semestral, marzo de 2012, en <http://elgeniomaligno.eu/emilia-pardo-bazan-de-cara-a-%E2%80%99Cla-cuestion-palpitante%E2%80%99D-del-naturalismo-espanol-cristiana-fimiani/>.

Gullón, Germán, “La densidad genérica y la novela del ochocientos: Los Pazos de Ulloa de Emilia Pardo Bazán”, en

http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-densidad-genrica-y-la-novela-del-ochocientos---los-pazos-de-ulloa-de-emilia-pardo-bazn-o/html/ffba7042-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_2.html.

Oleza, Joan, “Emilia Pardo Bazán y la mitología de las fuerzas elementales”, en http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/emilia-pardo-bazn-y-la-mitologa-de-las-fuerzas-elementales-o/html/ff83797a-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_6.html.

Pardo Bazán, Emilia, Conacul din Ulloa, Ed. Univers, Bucarest, 1982, trad. por Domnita Dumitrescu.

Pardo Bazán, Emilia, La cuestión palpitante, en <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-cuestion-palpitante--o/>.

Pardo Bazán, Emilia, Los Pazos de Ulloa, en <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/los-pazos-de-ulloa--o/>.

Romero, Raúl, “Los tipos temperamentales, psicología tradicional y naturalismo en Los Pazos de Ulloa de Emilia Pardo Bazán”, en <http://argos.cucsh.udg.mx/16oct-dico0/16eromero.htm>.

Sotelo Vázquez, Marisa, “Fundamentos estéticos de la crítica literaria de Emilia Pardo Bazán”, BVU, 2003, en <http://www.biblioteca.org.ar/libros/89287.pdf>.

Varela Jácome, Benito, Estructuras novelísticas de Emilia Pardo Bazán, Santiago de Compostela, Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos, 1973.

Mite Kremnitz und Carmen Sylva

Einige Eindrücke

Georg KREMNITZ¹

In Erinnerung an Klaus Heitmann
(1930-2017), den großen Kenner
Rumäniens und seiner Literatur

Abstract. *In the recent decades, a lot of ink has flown about Mite Kremnitz, only to emphasize her literary activity and her importance as a cultural mediator, a relevant feature of her life, while her relations with Carmen Sylva, however, are mostly on the sidelines. This paper aims at proposing an in-depth approach of this relations in the below lines.*

Keywords: *Mite Kremnitz, Carmen Sylva, Literary and Cultural Studies*

Vorbemerkungen

In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurde einiges über Mite Kremnitz veröffentlicht², das ihre literarische Tätigkeit und ihre Bedeutung als Kulturmittlerin hervorhebt, ein wichtiger Aspekt ihres Lebens, ihre

¹ O. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Georg Kremnitz, E-Mail: georg.kremnitz@univie.ac.at, Institut für Romanistik, Universität Wien

² Die wichtigste Synthese ist die von Klaus Heitmann angeregte Dissertation von Renate Grebing, *Mite Kremnitz (1852-1916)*. Eine Vermittlerin der rumänischen Kultur in Deutschland. Frankfurt a.M./Bern: Lang, 1976. Einige Ergänzungen finden sich bei Georg Kremnitz, « Mite Kremnitz écrivain et son importance pour les relations culturelles entre la Roumanie et l'Allemagne », *Dacoromania*, VI, 1981-1982 [1987], 257-272, vollständiger als „Mite Kremnitz als Schriftstellerin und ihre Bedeutung für die deutsch-rumänischen Kulturbeziehungen“, in: G.K., *Sprachen in Gesellschaften*, Wien: Braumüller, 1995, 197-213; G.K. „Mite Kremnitz und ihre Rolle in den deutsch-rumänischen Beziehungen. Mit einigen biographischen Anmerkungen zu Wilhelm Kremnitz“, in: Huberty, Maren/Mattusch, Michèle (Hg.), *Rumänien und Europa*. Transversale. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009, 121-133. Frühere biographische Skizzen, vor allem aus der Feder des Schriftstellers Hermann Kienzl, sind aufgrund der Zeitumstände nicht immer ganz sicher in ihren Informationen.

Beziehungen zu Carmen Sylva, taucht indes meist eher am Rande auf. Sie sollen im Folgenden etwas genauer betrachtet werden.

2. Mite Kremnitz, biographische Skizze¹

Zuvor wird es sinnvoll sein, kurz auf die ersten Perioden der Biographie von Mite Kremnitz einzugehen. Marie-Charlotte, die sich später Mite nannte, Bardeleben wurde am 4. Januar 1852 in Greifswald geboren. Ihr Vater Heinrich Adolf (von) Bardeleben (1819-1895) war dort Chirurg und Professor an der Universität, 1868 wurde er nach Berlin berufen und war lange Zeit Direktor der Charité. In dieser doppelten Funktion hat er eine bedeutende Rolle in der deutschen Medizin des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts gespielt. Er war auch behandelnder Arzt von Kaiser Friedrich III. (1831-1888). 1891 wurde er von Kaiser Wilhelm II. in den erblichen Adel erhoben. Zwei seiner Söhne, Karl (1849-1918) und Adolf (1861-1914), waren ebenfalls bedeutende Mediziner². Mites Mutter, Auguste Sophie, geb. Zumpt (1823-1869) ist jung gestorben, die damals siebzehnjährige Tochter dürfte sehr unter dem Verlust gelitten haben³. Ihr Vater, den sie offenbar grenzenlos verehrte, heiratete bereits im selben Jahre 1869 die Tochter des Berliner Justizrates George Bernhard Alexander Kremnitz (1807-1885), Helene Sophie Pauline (1844-1890)⁴, mit deren Familie bereits Heiratsbeziehungen bestanden: Kremnitz' Frau, Therese Henriette Ulrike, geb. Zumpt (1816-1880), war eine Cousine von Mites Mutter. Eine andere Tochter Kremnitz', Clara Marie Therese (1839-1892) hatte 1862 einen jungen, damals in Berlin lebenden rumänischen Gelehrten geheiratet, nämlich Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917)⁵. Die bereits nicht einfachen Familienbande verkomplizierten sich weiter, als der Assistent und Schwager Bardelebens, Wilhelm Bernhard Kremnitz (1842-1897), 1872 dessen Tochter aus erster Ehe, nämlich

¹ Ich übernehme hier viel aus Kremnitz 2009.

² Aus jeder der beiden Ehen Bardelebens gingen vier Kinder hervor; das jüngste war Gerta von Bardeleben (1879-1968), von der ich viel über die Geschichte der Familie erfuhr.

³ Vgl. Grebing 1976, S. 4.

⁴ Beide Frauen Bardelebens wurden nicht alt.

⁵ Die Ehe wurde 1886 geschieden. Aus ihr ging eine Tochter hervor, Livia Maiorescu Dymysza (1863-1946), die bekanntlich in der Geschichte der *Junimea* eine Rolle gespielt hat. Livia heiratete den polnisch-litauischen Architekten und Hafenkonstrukteur Eugen von Dymysza (1852-1918) und lebte vor allem in Polen und Litauen. Sie soll 1945 mit ihren beiden überlebenden Töchtern Janina (Gräfin Plater-Zyberk) und Livia nach Rumänien zurückgekehrt sein.

Mite, heiratete. Nach allen rekonstruierbaren Zeugnissen waren die Beziehungen zwischen Bardeleben und Kremnitz nicht gut, vermutlich kamen finanzielle Sorgen bei dem jungen Ehepaar hinzu. Daher wohl der Entschluss, im Herbst 1874 der Anregung Maiorescus zu folgen und nach Bukarest zu übersiedeln (Grebing 1976, 7; Maiorescu war 1874-1876 Kultur- und Unterrichtsminister).

Trotz offensichtlich schwieriger Anfänge machte Kremnitz in Rumänien rasch Karriere: vor allem durch die erfolgreiche Behandlung von Verwundeten des Russisch-Türkischen Krieges im Brăncovenesc-Krankenhaus machte er sich einen Namen (er hatte bereits im Krieg 1870/71 Erfahrungen gesammelt), war dort seit 1877 als Chirurg und tätig und wurde 1889 zum Leiter ernannt. Am 5. März 1878 (alten Stils) wurde er zum Ritter des Ordens des Sterns Rumäniens erhoben. Er war behandelnder Arzt des Königs und vor allem des kränklichen Thronfolgers Ferdinand (1865-1927), den er während seiner schweren Typhuserkrankung pflegte und heilte. Bei dieser Tätigkeit verstarb er ganz plötzlich am 31. Juli 1897 in Sinaia. Er wurde in Poiana Țapului, nahe der Quelle Urlătoarea beigesetzt¹ (sein plötzlicher Tod heizte damals die Gerüchteküche an). Zwischen Kremnitz und dem Königspaar muss eine enge Beziehung bestanden haben; davon zeugt der Umstand, dass er ein offizielles Begräbnis erhielt (seine Witwe wollte ihn eigentlich nach Berlin überführen lassen). Außerdem wurde sein Grab mit einem Gedicht der Königin geschmückt². An seiner Person scheinen sich die Geister zu scheiden: während offensichtlich die königliche Familie und die Deutschen in Rumänien ihn schätzten, kamen von Seiten rumänischer Schriftsteller teilweise sehr negative Äußerungen³.

Mite selbst hatte schon von Jugend an literarische Interessen. Sie lernte nach der Übersiedelung rasch Rumänisch, ihr Schwager Titu Maiorescu brachte sie mit dem Kreis der *Junimea* in Kontakt, und schon rasch begann sie mit Übersetzungen aus dem Rumänischen. Bereits 1877 erschien der erste Band davon unter dem Titel *Rumänische Skizzen*, dem 1880 *Neue rumänische Skizzen* folgten. Im selben Jahre erschien auch der Novellenband *Fluch der Liebe*, den Mite Kremnitz unter dem

¹ Das Grab konnte ich im Jahre 1972 noch besuchen.

² Dieses Gedicht war 1972 nicht mehr vorhanden (wohl aber Anfang der vierziger Jahre); es wurde wohl im Zusammenhang mit der Abschaffung der Monarchie entfernt. Es ist widergegeben im Anhang von Kremnitz 1981-82.

³ Vgl. zu den positiven Kremnitz 2009, zu den negativen Grebing 1976, v.a. 13/14. Vgl. zu Wilhelm Kremnitz auch Valeriu L. Bologa, „Soțul Mitei Kremnitz“, *Tribuna* (Cluj), XV, 5/1971 (vom 4. 2. 1971), 13.

Pseudonym George Allan (den sie mehrfach verwendete) veröffentlichte. In diesen Jahren war Maiorescu der Mentor der jungen Frau¹, er machte sie mit vielen rumänischen Autoren bekannt, nicht zuletzt mit Mihail Eminescu². Sie begann, in Bukarest mit einigem Erfolg einen literarischen Salon zu führen (wie sie es viel später und mit geringerem Echo auch in Berlin tun sollte). In diese Zeit ist auch die Bekanntschaft mit der damaligen Fürstin (seit 1881 Königin) Elisabeth anzusetzen. Die genaueren Umstände sind nicht bekannt, Grebing (1976, 10-13) referiert mehrere Varianten. Auf alle Fälle war die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Begegnung groß. Mite Kremnitz stand ab 1881 offiziell als Hofdame und Vorleserin im Dienste der Königin.

Diese war zu jener Zeit bereits als Dichterin und vor allem als Muse der schönen Künste bekannt. Elisabeth, die 1869 den Fürsten Carol I. von Rumänien geheiratet hatte, verlor 1874 ihre nur dreijährige Tochter Maria, dieser Verlust scheint sie tief gezeichnet zu haben. Von da an lebte sie verstärkt ihren literarischen Interessen, die rasch ein Echo fanden (als Dichterin nannte sie sich bekanntlich Carmen Sylva). Nicht zuletzt im Rahmen der *Idée latine*, die nach dem Krieg 1870/71 in konservativen Kreisen in Frankreich und anderen Staaten romanischer Sprache eine gewisse Rolle spielte³, wurde sie mehrfach geehrt (was angesichts ihres Bekenntnisses zum Deutschtum nicht einer gewissen Ironie entbehrte). So wurde sie von Vertretern der okzitanischen Renaissance förmlich verehrt, Mistral widmete ihr den ersten Gesang seines Epos *Nerto* (1884), sie wurde zur *Maîtresse ès Jeux Floraux* (in Toulouse) ernannt, nahm aber meines Wissens persönlich an keiner Veranstaltung der *Félibres* teil. Sie wurde nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern vor allem auch in Frankreich als Autorin wahrgenommen. Als die beiden noch jungen Frauen mit ihren ähnlichen literarischen Interessen aufeinander trafen, bot sich eine engere Zusammenarbeit geradezu an; allerdings machten sich von Anfang an Unterschiede in den künstlerischen Konzeptionen bemerkbar.

Bereits 1881 erschien der Band *Rumänische Dichtungen*, die Übersetzungen stammten von Carmen Sylva, die Herausgabe und zusätzliche Beiträge von Mite Kremnitz. Er erschien bei Kröner in Leipzig, das Prestige der Königin führte dazu, dass der Band in einem

¹ Dass er nicht nur Mentor war, geht aus seinen Tagebüchern hervor; vgl. insgesamt Grebing 1976, v.a. 58-66, sowie die Tagebücher von Maiorescu.

² Zu Mite Kremnitz und Mihail Eminescu vgl. Grebing 1976, 30-58.

³ Vgl. Roger Barthe, *L'idée latine*. Toulouse: Institut d'Etudes Occianes, 1962.

damals renommierten Verlag erscheinen konnte (das Buch erlebte schon 1889 die dritte Auflage).

3. Dito und Idem – die Zeit der Zusammenarbeit

Wohl aus diesem ersten Erfolg entstand die Idee gemeinsamen Schreibens. Bekanntlich verwendeten sie das Pseudonym *Dito und Idem*, das aus einer Umstellung der Namen *Dido* und *Mite* entstanden sein soll (vgl. Grebing 1976, 66). Offensichtlich ging der Anstoß von der Königin aus (anderes wäre angesichts der sozialen Situation nicht möglich gewesen); diese anfängliche Nähe veranlasste Mite Kremnitz wohl dazu, ihre erste, recht enthusiastische Biographie zu verfassen: *Carmen Sylva. Ein Lebensbild der Dichterin* (Breslau: Schottländer und Deutsche Bücherei, 1882).

Die bevorzugte literarische Form der Gemeinschaftsarbeiten von Dito und Idem war der Briefroman, wobei jede der beiden Autorinnen eine Rolle übernahm. Zunächst erschien *Aus zwei Welten* (Leipzig 1883), dann folgten *Astra* (Bonn 1886), *Feldpost* (Bonn 1886), *Anna Boleyn*, ein Schauspiel (ebenfalls Bonn 1886), die Novellensammlung *In der Irre* (Bonn 1888) und schließlich *Rache und andere Novellen* (Bonn 1889). Das erste dieser Werke erlebte acht Auflagen in knapp zwanzig Jahren, man kann es als Publikumserfolg ansehen. Auch die übrigen verkauften sich meist gut. Der Erfolg dürfte allerdings zu einem erheblichen Teil dem sozialen Rang der einen Autorin zu verdanken sein, weniger der literarischen Qualität des Werkes.

Die Königin war, wie übereinstimmend berichtet wird, neueren Strömungen in der Literatur wenig aufgeschlossen, sie hatte okkultistische Neigungen und sie war, das dürfte ihrer Stellung geschuldet sein, in nur geringem Maße selbstkritisch. Mite Kremnitz dagegen interessierte sich für Realismus und Naturalismus, wenn sie auch nicht als große Neuerin anzusehen ist. Einige der gemeinsam veröffentlichten Bände leben ganz gut von dieser Spannung, sie nützte sich indes mit der Zeit ab¹. Nach 1889 veröffentlichten die beiden Autorinnen ihre Werke getrennt.

Es handelt sich gewöhnlich um Beziehungsdramen, die nur manchmal „gut“ enden. Für ein heutiges Publikum sind sie wohl nur

¹ Vgl. die Inhaltsangaben der Werke bei Grebing 1976, v.a. 66-76. Auch in allen anderen Darstellungen wird die Diskrepanz zwischen dem überschäumenden Temperament der Königen und dem größeren Realismus ihrer Mitautorin hervorgehoben, naturgemäß kommen die Beobachter je nach der eigenen Position zu unterschiedlichen Einschätzungen der Autorinnen.

schwer nachvollziehbar: es geht um damals schwer überwindliche soziale Hürden, vielfach um Frauen, die einen Weg aus den beengten Möglichkeiten suchen, die ihnen die damaligen gesellschaftlichen Konventionen gestatten. Man wird die (vorsichtigen) Emanzipationsversuche den Textanteilen von Mite Kremnitz zuschreiben dürfen, Carmen Sylva, die mitunter fortschrittliche soziale Positionen verkündete, war in der Praxis des Lebens konservativer. Hinzu kommt, dass Mite Kremnitz Auszeichnungen und weltlichen Ehren mit großer Reserve gegenüberstand. Man wird das wohl als einen der altpreußischen Aspekte ihres Wesens ansehen dürfen; solche lassen sich auch an anderer Stelle erkennen.

Eine erste persönliche Entfremdung war im Zusammenhang mit der so genannten Văcărescu-Affäre zu beobachten. Die rumänische Adlige Elena Văcărescu (1864-1947), die später als Héléne Vacaresco auf Französisch schrieb und damit in Paris einen gewissen Erfolg erzielte, wurde von Elisabeth zur Hofdame ernannt; sie übergab der Königin im Winter 1888/89 eine Anzahl alter (?) Manuskripte, die rumänische Volkspoesie enthalten sollten, aber erstaunlicherweise auf Französisch abgefasst waren; die Königin hielt sie für authentisch (der rumänische Gelehrte Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu zeigte bald, dass sie das nicht waren) und veröffentlichte 1889 eine Übersetzung ins Deutsche unter dem Titel *Der Rhapsode der Dimbovitza*¹. Mite Kremnitz war in Hinblick auf die Echtheit der Texte skeptisch², für noch bedenklicher hielt sie die Idee der Königin, die junge Adlige mit dem Thronfolger Ferdinand zu verheiraten (was nach der Verfassung damals nicht möglich gewesen wäre). Aufgrund dieser Vorkommnisse, welche das Ansehen der Krone belasteten, musste die Königin das Land für einige Jahre verlassen und lebte in Italien wie im Exil. Erst 1894 konnte sie zurückkehren.

¹ Es erschienen auch mehrere Übersetzungen in andere Sprachen.

² Die „Funde“ solcher Sammlungen und die Frage nach ihrer Authentizität hat bei vielen kulturellen Erneuerungsbewegungen eine Rolle gespielt; das beginnt mit Jehan de Nostredame, der 1575 *Les vies des plus celebres et anciens poetes provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des Comtes de Provence* (Lyon: Marsilij), eine Anthologie, veröffentlicht, in die er reichlich eigene Dichtungen einfließen lässt, das berühmteste Beispiel ist James McPherson mit seinem *Ossian* (1760), der am Beginn der schottischen Erneuerungsbewegung steht. Etliche andere Beispiele ließen sich diesen beiden an die Seite stellen. Die Echtheit dieser Sammlungen spielt nur eine geringe Rolle, wichtig ist ihre Rezeption durch (unkritische) Gesellschaften im Sinne eines (wichtigen) Schrittes zur Entstehung einer modernen Nation.

Wahrscheinlich wäre auch ohne diese Unterbrechung des Kontaktes eine Wiederaufnahme der gemeinsamen Arbeit nicht möglich gewesen. Zu weit waren die geistigen Welten der beiden Autorinnen inzwischen entfernt: die eine unkritisch, optimistisch und impulsiv, die andere, nämlich Mite Kremnitz, skeptisch, ja, fast nihilistisch eingestellt:

„Ihre Enttäuschungen in Kindheit und Jugend und das Studium der Philosophen Schopenhauer und Nietzsche lassen sie früh den Glauben an die Güte der Menschen und die Macht der Wahrheit verlieren.“ (Grebing 1976, 192)

Hinzu kam, dass die Ansprüche an die eigenen Texte ungleich waren: Mite Kremnitz bedauerte die literarische Schwäche der gemeinsamen Texte, die sie auf die Ungeduld der Königin zurückführte. Auch Renate Grebing, die einen guten Überblick über das Schaffen von Mite hat, vermerkt: „Die Gemeinschaftswerke mit Carmen Sylva zählen bestimmt zu Mite Kremnitz‘ schwächsten Schöpfungen“¹. Die Königin sah das anders.

4. Der Bruch und danach

Zum endgültigen Bruch soll es nach dem Tode von Wilhelm Kremnitz gekommen sein. Unmittelbarer Anlass soll ein Gespräch gewesen sein, in dem die Königin den – letztlich buddhistischen – Gedanken der Seelenwanderung als Ausweg aus der Trauer anbietet. Diesen soll Mite Kremnitz abgelehnt haben, sie sei letztlich von der christlich-jüdischen Tradition eines Fortlebens der Seele in Gott ausgegangen. Angeblich habe Elisabeth das als den Versuch einer Beeinflussung empfunden².

Diese Interpretation scheint nicht allzu wahrscheinlich, wenn man ihr einen Brief Mites an den Sprachwissenschaftler und Pfarrer Lorenz Diefenbach (1806-1883) vom 22. Februar 1882 gegenüberstellt, in dem sie schreibt:

„Ich weiß, daß es keinen Gott geben kann, aber ich sehe ihn doch oft und frage ihn in entscheidenden und beklemmenden Augenblicke des Lebens, und er sagt mir stets, daß ich das thun muß, was mir das Schwerste ist.“ (zit. nach Grebing 1976, 79; die Graphie des Originals wurde beibehalten)

¹ Grebing 1976, 82. Die (nicht zahlreichen) allein verfassten Publikationen, die in der Zeit der Zusammenarbeit erscheinen, wirken insgesamt selbständiger und schlüssiger.

² Vgl. Grebing 1976, 78.

Eine solche Einstellung lässt schwer an einen Bekehrungsversuch denken, eher an eine nur noch geringe Toleranzschwelle auf Seiten der Königin. Mindestens dürften andere Gesichtspunkte mitgewirkt haben. Zum einen wohl, dass Mite Kremnitz im Laufe der Zeit der Königin etwas kritischer gegenüber stand als zu Beginn, dass sie deren Positionen nicht mehr unwidersprochen hinnahm. Der unterschiedliche Verlauf der literarischen Konzeptionen und Schaffenskurven dürfte ebenfalls eine Rolle gespielt haben. Daneben schien die Königin immer leichter irritierbar gegenüber ihrer (einstigen) Vertrauten zu werden.

Auf der anderen Seite sprechen die Berichte von der Erschütterung des Königspaares über den plötzlichen, völlig unerwarteten Tod von Wilhelm Kremnitz und seine Bemühungen um die Beisetzung eine andere Sprache. Mite weilte im Augenblick des Todes in ihrem Sommerhaus in Brand (Vorarlberg), aufgrund von Überschwemmungen konnte sie erst nach vier Tagen mit der Bahn nach Sinaia gelangen. So lange wurde die Beisetzung aufgeschoben. Natürlich stellt sich die Frage, warum Mite zu der Zeit in Brand war. Eine Antwort ist nicht bekannt. Allerdings spricht eine solche gemeinsame Erschütterung *allein* kaum für einen kurz darauf erfolgenden definitiven Bruch. Zudem muss es damals noch immer eine enge Beziehung zwischen der königlichen Familie und der Familie Kremnitz gegeben haben; mehrere Beobachter weisen darauf hin, insbesondere Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçuş, der zu beiden Seiten engen Kontakt hatte (vgl. Fn. 23).

Man wird vielleicht noch ein anderes Moment in die Überlegungen einbringen müssen: fast vier Jahre lang war die Königin außer Landes, Mite Kremnitz dagegen die meiste Zeit in Bukarest. Es sind die Jahre, in denen ihr der König Zugang zu seinen Unterlagen gewährte und die es ihr schließlich ermöglichten, seine noch heute als historische Quelle wichtige Biographie in vier Bänden zu schreiben (sie erschienen zwischen 1894 und 1900 bei Cotta in Stuttgart, eine zweite Auflage wohl 1914, eine französische Übersetzung in den Jahren 1899-1904). Mit welchen Augen hat die Königin diese spirituelle Nähe zwischen ihrem Mann und einer Frau gesehen, von der sie sich weit entfernt hatte?

Nicht zuletzt war die Beziehung zwischen dem Ehepaar Kremnitz selbst nicht unproblematisch, wie verschiedene Notizen von Maiorescu (dieser kannte Mite schon aus ihrer Jugend, da er zeitweise als Französischlehrer in den Familien Kremnitz und Bardeleben verkehrte) und anderen Beobachtern zeigen¹. Es ist bekannt, dass Eminescu ihr eine

¹ Vgl. Grebing 1976 und Kremnitz 2009, Fn. 8.

Zeitlang sehr nahe stand¹, wichtiger über die Jahre war indes ihre Nähe zu Maiorescu. Welche Rolle diese Situation gespielt haben könnte, kann nur vermutet werden.

Nach dem Tod ihres Mannes entschloss Mite Kremnitz sich dazu, mit den beiden Söhnen Georg Titus (der zweite Vorname deutet auf den Taufpaten Maiorescu hin) und Emmanuel (Manoli), nach Berlin zu ziehen. Einer der Gründe dürfte gewesen sein, dass Manoli (1885-1930) noch zur Schule ging und Georg (1876-1951) in das Berufsleben eintreten sollte; nach einigem Zögern wurde er Berufsoffizier. Mitte 1898 wurde dieser Entschluss umgesetzt. Er wurde dadurch erleichtert, dass der König ihr ein Jahresgehalt von 12 000 Lei, sozusagen als Ruhegeld, zuerkannte². Mite Kremnitz ließ sich dann bei Berlin im damals noch selbständigen Wilmersdorf nieder (es wurde erst 1920 eingemeindet). Daneben bewohnte sie das Sommerhaus in Brand in Vorarlberg.

Nach der Trennung verfolgten beide Autorinnen ihre literarischen Karrieren unabhängig voneinander. Die Königin hatte zu ihren Lebzeiten einigen Erfolg, danach sank das Interesse. Mite Kremnitz veröffentlichte ihre wohl reifsten Werke in den knapp zwanzig Jahren, die ihr noch verblieben. Ein gewisses Interesse können heute vor allem noch ihre Beobachtungen der damaligen rumänischen Gesellschaft erwecken, auch ihre Schilderungen der Natur sind oft lebendig³. Die Probleme von Liebe und Ehe, die sie auch gerne behandelte, sind in dieser Form heute kaum mehr aktuell; sie zeigen allerdings, dass sie sich mit den damaligen Vorurteilen und Moralgesetzen beschäftigte und nur das eigene Empfinden zum Maßstab von Entscheidungen machen wollte. Sie stand durchaus in Distanz zur damaligen Gesellschaftsordnung. Fünfzehn

¹ In diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht eine Anekdote, die ich nach so vielen Jahren wohl preisgeben darf: als ich 1972 eine Reise durch Rumänien machte, wurde ich auch Augustin Z. N. Pop (1910-1988), dem großen Spezialisten für Eminescu vorgestellt. Als er mir seine Wohnungstür öffnete, stellte er sich vor, um unmittelbar fortzufahren: « Il y a des gens qui prétendent que votre arrière-grand-mère a eu des relations intimes avec Eminescu. Je peux vous assurer qu'il n'en est rien. Ce sont des mensonges. » Der Nachdruck, mit dem er mir das versicherte, zeigt nur, wie ernst die Frage von manchen Kreisen auch noch nach so langer Zeit genommen wurde. Augustin Z. N. Pop wurde mir in der Folge zum Freund, dem ich in Bezug auf mein Wissen über Rumänien und Eminescu viel zu verdanken habe.

² Grebing 1976, 16.

³ Sie war eine begabte Aquarellistin; ein Teil ihrer Aquarelle sind heute im Besitz der Universitätsbibliothek Cluj.

fiktionale Prosawerke entstanden in dieser Zeit, zu denen noch ein Lustspiel kommt. Wichtiger sind indes heute wohl ihre historiographischen Arbeiten, vor allem die vierbändige Biographie des Königs *Aus dem Leben König Karls von Rumänien* (das Werk erschien zunächst ohne den Namen der Verfasserin, nur mit der Angabe „Aufzeichnungen eines Augenzeugen“, manche vermuteten daher im König selbst den Autor), von der später eine einbändige Zusammenfassung entstand¹. Das große Werk ist nach wie vor eine gewichtige Quelle (nicht nur) für die rumänische Geschichte. Als Quellen interessant sind auch die beiden Biographien der Königin (die erste von 1882, die zweite von 1903). Während die erste weitgehend unkritisch ist und vor allem die großen Qualitäten der Herrscherin ins Bild setzt, ist die zweite aus größerer Distanz geschrieben. Sie stellt neben den Vorzügen der Königin auch deren problematischere Aspekte dar. Allerdings sieht sie ihre literarischen Qualitäten und geht insgesamt durchaus objektiv vor. Sie soll bedauert haben, dass die Königin sich geweigert habe, ihre biographischen Arbeiten zu lesen. Etwas kritischer über höfische Gebräuche allgemein äußert Mite Kremnitz sich in dem als Schlüsselroman wahrgenommenen Werk *Am Hofe von Ragusa* (Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1902). Daneben zählt das kleine Büchlein *Herr Baby* (Breslau: Schottländer, 1901) wohl zu ihren gelungensten Werken (*Baby* war der Name, den man Georg Titus Kremnitz in Rumänien gegeben hatte)².

In diesem Zusammenhang dürfte nicht ganz unwichtig sein, dass zwar Carmen Sylva offensichtlich den Kontakt zu Mite Kremnitz abbrach, der König jedoch nicht. Er kam, wie die erhaltenen Kopien der

¹ *König Karl von Rumänien* (Lebensbild). Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1903.

² Dieser Name blieb ihm in Rumänien bis an sein Lebensende. Noch in den wenigen Stücken erhaltener Korrespondenz um 1950 sprach Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș (1872-1952), ein enger Freund der Familie und berühmter rumänischer Kunsthistoriker, davon, dass er in seinen Memoiren ein Kapitel den Beziehungen zur Familie Kremnitz und zu „Herrn Baby“ widmen wolle. Tzigara-Samurcaș veranlasste Mite Kremnitz auch, ihre Erinnerungen an Eminescu niederzuschreiben, die viele Jahre nach ihrem Tod (1933) in der von ihm geleiteten Zeitschrift *Convorbiri Literare* auf Rumänisch erschienen; nach Grebing soll die rumänische Fassung nicht sehr zuverlässig sein. Sie hat daher für ihre Interpretation auf das in der Rumänischen Akademie lagernde Manuskript zurückgegriffen.

Gästebücher von Brand zeigen, auch nach 1897 mehrfach zu Besuch, wenn er in Bad Ragaz im Kanton Sankt Gallen zur Kur war.

5. Schlussbemerkungen

Zwar kehrte Mite Kremnitz 1898 nach Deutschland zurück, allerdings dürfte sie bis ans Ende ihres Lebens zwischen den beiden Polen Bukarest und Berlin hin- und hergerissen gewesen sein. Auf der einen Seite musste sie sich in einem Brief an den Schriftsteller Nicu Gane (1838-1916) eingestehen, dass sie in Rumänien immer eine Fremde bleiben würde und daher besser daran täte, sich nicht zu sehr zu „rumänisieren“. Auf der anderen Seite fühlte sie sich auch in Berlin nicht wohl, wie sie demselben Gane Jahre später, am 7. März 1904, schrieb:

« Avant d'aller en Roumanie, j'étais trop jeune, et maintenant je suis peut-être trop 'amărită', mais le séjour à Berlin a été pour moi un enfer. En automne, quand Manoli aura terminé ses classes au lycée, je quitterai cette affreuse ville. »

Auf der anderen Seite zeigte sie auch ihre Sehnsucht nach Rumänien. In demselben Briefe erwähnt sie:

« Je ne fais que répandre la gloire de ,notre' petit pays; sans le flatter, car je l'aime et on ne flatte jamais ceux qu'on aime, je trouve qu'il peut servir en beaucoup de choses de modèle aux grands empires. »¹

In Berlin stand sie wohl in Kontakt zu dem großen Dramatiker Ion Luca Caragiale, der seit 1904 dort im selbstgewählten Exil lebte. Auch er wohnte in Wilmersdorf, also ganz in ihrer Nähe. Dokument der Zusammenarbeit ist wohl die deutsche Übersetzung seines 1884 veröffentlichten Stückes *O scrisoare pierdută*, das unter dem Titel *Die Kammerwahl* postum erschien; Hermann Kienzl, der Erbe des literarischen Nachlasses, veröffentlichte es 1918 in München². Mite

¹ Alle drei Zitate nach I [lie] E. Toroutiu, *Studii și documente literare ,Junimea'*. București: Institutul de arte grafice „Bucovina“, vol. III, București, 1932, 280 bzw. 303.

² Wie sich jetzt nachweisen lässt, veränderte Kienzl die Übersetzung. 2002 gab Octavian Șchiau die authentische Übersetzung Mites nach deren Handschrift heraus: Caragiale, Ion Luca, *O scrisoare pierdută*/Kremnitz, Mite, *Der verlorene Brief*, București: Ed. România Press. Der Vergleich der beiden Übersetzungen zeigt (trotz einiger unbedeutender Lesefehler Șchiaus), dass Kienzl erhebliche, teilweise

Kremnitz erwähnte die Existenz ihrer Übersetzung in einem Schreiben vom 21. Januar 1909.

Mite Kremnitz starb am 18. Juli 1916 in Berlin, nur wenige Monate nach der Königin, die am 2. März 1916 in Bukarest verschieden war, und kurz vor dem Kriegseintritt Rumäniens auf gegnerischer Seite. So blieb ihr eine große Enttäuschung erspart.

„Mite Kremnitz als Schriftstellerin und ihre Bedeutung für die deutsch-rumänischen Kulturbeziehungen“, in: Kremnitz, Georg, *Sprachen in Gesellschaften*, Wien: Braumüller, 1995, 197-213.

Barthe, Roger *L'idée latine*. Toulouse: Institut d'Etudes Occitanes, 1962.

Caragiale, Ion Luca, *O scrisoare pierdută*/Kremnitz, Mite, *Der verlorene Brief*, București: Ed. România Press.

Grebing, Renate *Mite Kremnitz (1852-1916)*. Eine Vermittlerin der rumänischen Kultur in Deutschland. Frankfurt a.M./Bern: Lang, 1976.

König Karl von Rumänien (Lebensbild). Berlin: Schlesische Verlagsanstalt, 1903.

Kremnitz, Wilhelm, Valeriu L. Bologa, „Soțul Mitei Kremnitz“, *Tribuna* (Cluj), XV, 5/1971 (vom 4. 2. 1971).

Kremnitz, Georg „Mite Kremnitz und ihre Rolle in den deutsch-rumänischen Beziehungen. Mit einigen biographischen Anmerkungen zu Wilhelm Kremnitz“, in: Huberty, Maren/Mattusch, Michèle (Hg.), *Rumänien und Europa*. Transversale. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009, 121-133.

Kremnitz, Georg « Mite Kremnitz écrivain et son importance pour les relations culturelles entre la Roumanie et l'Allemagne », *Dacoromania*, VI, 1981-1982 [1987], 257-272.

Toroutiu, E. *Studii și documente literare „Junimea“*. București: Institutul de arte grafice „Bucovina“, vol. III, București, 1932, 280 bzw. 303.

tendenziöse Veränderungen an ihrer Übersetzung vorgenommen hat. Allerdings war er als Erbe dazu formal im Recht.

Les études genres, la société antique et le droit : Un nouveau regard

Arnaud PATURET¹

Abstract: *This paper aims at addressing the manner in which gender studies have penetrated the ancient sciences. And in particular the so-called “global” history of the ancient Roman society in that they have allowed a deep renewal of problematic approaches and working methods for researchers. Above all, I would like to recall how much Gender Studies, quite quickly perceived, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon literature, as a relevant object of study in many human sciences, have struggled to be accepted within the disciplines of antiquity. That is because they are marked by an exacerbated classicism and, it must be said, a certain ideological conservatism since their emergence and their growth from the eighteenth century. Faced with the history of events involving great men, the history of bodies, sex or gender, or even semiotics have long been considered sub-disciplines of very minor issues in a history preconstructed at the event plan and institutionalized around modern mental images. We have now arrived at the end of what the classic historical approach can produce from a methodological point of view, and the genre studies have given a new impetus for a few years now to shape a new perspective on ancient society. This point of view is illustrated in the paper by two observations.*

Keywords: *Gender Studies, Roman Society, Legal Approach*

Dans le cadre de cette rencontre scientifique qui vise à comprendre la place des rapports de genre dans la construction sociétale sous l'angle de diverses approches des sciences humaines allant de la littérature au droit en passant par l'histoire, j'aimerais aborder au sein de ces quelques pages la manière dont les études genres ont pénétré les sciences antiquisantes. Et en particulier l'histoire dite « globale » de la société romaine antique en ce qu'elles ont permis un renouvellement profond des approches problématiques mais aussi des méthodes de travail des chercheurs. Avant tout je voudrais rappeler combien les *Gender Studies*, lesquelles ont été assez rapidement perçues - et ce en particulier dans la littérature anglo-saxonne - comme un objet d'étude

¹ Arnaud Paturet, CNRS UMR 7074 Centre de Théorie et analyse du droit, Ecole normale supérieure, Département de sciences sociales, Campus Jourdan ENS/EHESS, 48 Boulevard Jourdan, 75014 Paris, Arnaud.Paturet@ens.fr

pertinent dans bon nombre de sciences humaines comme la philosophie, la sociologie ou l'anthropologie, ont eu du mal à être acceptées au sein des disciplines antiquisantes car celles-ci sont marquées par un classicisme exacerbé et, il faut bien le dire, un certain conservatisme idéologique depuis leur émergence et leur essor à partir du XVIII^{ème} siècle¹. Face à l'histoire événementielle impliquant les grands hommes, l'histoire des corps, du ou des sexes, le genre ou encore la sémiotique ont longtemps été considérées comme des sous-disciplines d'enjeux très mineurs dans une histoire préconstruite au plan événementiel et institutionnel autour d'images mentales modernes. Nous sommes actuellement arrivés au bout de ce que peut produire la démarche historique classique du point de vue méthodologique et les études genres redonnent depuis quelques années maintenant un souffle nouveau permettant de façonner un nouveau regard porté sur la société antique. Je partirai de deux observations pour illustrer ce point de vue.

I

L'histoire de l'antiquité a longtemps été écrite comme une chronologie de l'histoire de l'homme mâle alors qu'elle est plutôt une histoire des représentations attachées au sexe, à la masculinité et ses signes supposés qui constituent la forme dominante du pouvoir envisagée sous l'angle étatique - avec toutes les réserves qu'implique l'emploi de ce terme pour l'Antiquité où l'Etat ne peut être conçu que comme une instance organique - ou surtout familial. La famille romaine²

¹ Voir C. Baratin, *Des antiquaires aux sciences de l'Antiquité : l'histoire ancienne sur le métier* in *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historique* (en ligne) 07/2011 URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/3604> ; DOI : 10.4000/acrh.3604. Je choisis sciemment cet article qui insiste sur la nécessité de repenser les techniques et la méthodologie des historiens. La perspective d'une histoire globale, au sens synthétique, n'est plus pertinente au regard de la diversification des objets et des concepts auxquels l'historien doit dorénavant faire face.

² Pour les difficultés et l'enjeu de la définition de la *familia*, voir E. Costa, *Cicerone giureconsulto*, 1, Rome, 1964 (éd. originale, Bologne, 1927), p. 48. Les contributions sont nombreuses sur ce thème, la vie familiale à l'époque romaine est l'un des sujets de prédilection de la recherche contemporaine. Voir parmi d'autres F. de Martino, *Familia (dir. rom.)*, in *NNDI*, 7, Turin, 1957, p. 42-46, avec une abondante bibliographie, p. 42-43 ; citons parmi les travaux les plus récents et sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité : G. Hanard, *Familia, domus, dot ou l'insaisissable famille*

qui fonctionne un peu comme une monade est le deuxième cercle de pouvoir dans la société après l'Etat et sans nul doute le plus propice pour comprendre son fonctionnement idéologique. En ce sens, l'histoire romaine est avant tout celle du citoyen romain père de famille, donc une histoire de la virilité et de ses conséquences socio-juridiques, et non pas celle de la femme et encore moins celle de la féminité. Sans rentrer dans la substance des exposés historiographiques, le titre et le contenu de certains ouvrages est assez édifiant. Un livre collectif dirigé par A. Giardina et paru en 2002¹ - donc il n'y pas si longtemps - présente une forme de synthèse de la société romaine par le biais de ses principaux acteurs et s'intitule « *L'homme romain* » ; le volume contient ainsi des chapitres sur le citoyen, le soldat, le prêtre etc. La diversité des exposés émanant de spécialistes réputés a le mérite de mettre en lumière qu'il n'y avait pas vraiment de modélisation possible de l'*homo romanus* et que la cohérence de la cité découlait de ce que divers individus jouaient un rôle dans l'équilibre de la société et la permanence de son ordre. Pour autant, la femme est exclue de cette galerie de portraits comme si elle n'était pas un homme comme les autres. Cette orientation thématique s'est opérée de bonne foi et les chercheurs ne peuvent être blâmés sur ce point car l'histoire romaine rapportée par les auteurs antiques est dans son aspect

romaine. *Des origines aux Sévères* in *Mélanges F. Sturm*, Liège, 1999, p. 205-223 ; G. Franciosi, *Sull'ampiezza dell' antica famiglia agnatzia* in *Index*, 27, 1999, p. 35-42, et les deux tomes consacrés par celui-ci à l'étude de certains aspects de la famille : *Clan gentilizio e strutture monogamiche. Contributo alla storia della famiglia romana*, 2 vol., Naples, 1979 et 1980 ; R. Astolfi, *L'esogamia delle famiglia paterna arcaica* in *Index*, 27, 1999, p. 27-33 ; B. Rawson-P. Weaver (éd.), *The Roman Family in Italy. Status, Sentiment, Space*, Oxford, 1997 ; J. F. Gardner, *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life*, Oxford, 1998 (bibliographie p. 280-286), pour l'auteur le droit "primitif" de la famille s'est développé autour de l'idée de propriété et de transmission du droit patrimonial. En parallèle, la *patria potestas* a donné un statut légal au pouvoir moral exercé par le *pater* sur la cellule familiale (cf. les conclusions de l'auteur, p. 268-279), la famille romaine était à l'origine agnatique mais le modèle cognatique sera assez reconnu par le droit romain de la famille (p. 272). Voir aussi, en dernier lieu M. George (éd.), *The Roman Family in the Empire. Rome, Italy and Beyond*, Oxford, 2004.

¹ A. Guardina (dir.), *L'homme romain*, Paris, 2002, Editions du seuil. L'ouvrage offre une galerie de douze portraits émanant allant du citoyen au prêtre en passant par le paysan, le pauvre ou le marchand...

le plus flagrant une histoire d'hommes : malgré quelques nuances, il s'agit de la description d'une société machiste de pères de famille consacrée par des droits civils et politiques. Un certain équilibre analytique des sources anciennes a été cependant rétabli avec l'influence de toute une littérature issue du développement des *Women Studies*, un courant qui, par dérivation, conduit à évoquer l'importance de la femme dans l'histoire romaine mais en s'appuyant toujours sur certains préjugés nés pour la plupart de considérations modernes. Parmi bien des exemples, il est présupposé que l'érotisme est nécessairement rattachable au féminin et on ne risquera pas de trouver un chapitre à ce sujet dans un ouvrage consacré à l'homme romain. Cette double approche, à la fois d'exclusion de la femme et de rapprochement corrélatif de cette dernière à des domaines censés relever de la féminité, a contribué à façonner une frontière artificielle car ce n'est pas le sexe biologique à proprement parler qui structure au fond la société romaine mais bien davantage les comportements, les attitudes qui sont afférentes à chaque sexe ou du moins réputées telles, ce qui est très différent. Par conséquent, à Rome comme ailleurs, il ne suffit pas d'appartenir à un sexe biologique pour avoir forcément ce sexe social.

Quelques exemples suffisent à étayer cette dissension.

Sénèque le rhéteur rappelle dans ses *controversiae* que si le Préteur administre la justice vêtu comme une femme ou un esclave, il commet un crime de *maiestas*¹, en l'occurrence un crime très grave qui porte atteinte à la majesté du peuple romain ou à l'empereur suivant l'époque considérée. Ce qu'il faut retenir avant tout de cette nomenclature institutionnelle grandiloquente, c'est que ce *crimen* touchait au principe même de l'organisation sociale romaine, laquelle s'articulait autour de rôles définis joués par chacun et dont chaque individu devait présenter et renvoyer à autrui l'exacte apparence. Les

¹ Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.17 *Si praetor ius in veste muliebri vel servili dixerit, violabit maiestatem*. Bonne mise au point sur le *crimen maiestatis* qualifié parfois, et ce de manière abusive, de *perduellio*, par A. Lebigre, *Quelques aspects de la responsabilité pénale en droit romain classique*, Paris, 1967, p. 97-105. Il convient d'insister sur le double aspect de ce *crimen* à l'époque sévérienne. Outre une atteinte à l'Etat il est aussi question d'attaque au caractère divin de l'*Imperator* qui est le protégé des puissants dieux de Rome (p. 105). Cette idée implique que la responsabilité du *crimen maiestatis* dépasse le cadre du droit commun. C'est à l'époque de Marc-Aurèle que les poursuites après la mort commencent à trouver une légitimité juridique qui dépasse le simple pouvoir discrétionnaire des puissants.

Préteurs étaient des magistrats de rang sénatorial qui portaient la toge prétexte. Il s'agissait là d'un office viril strictement interdit aux femmes. Par extension, celui qui en était chargé ne devait pas avoir l'air d'être une *mulier* ou un individu de condition inférieure comme l'esclave. La séquence *in veste muliebri vel servili* employée par le rhéteur est claire. Elle n'implique évidemment pas une requalification du sexe biologique du préteur qui serait habillé de manière inconvenante, ce dernier devant forcément être un homme. L'inverse ne s'envisagerait même pas. Cette expression met en revanche l'accent sur une nécessaire adéquation entre le sexe biologique masculin et le comportement attendu du porteur de celui-ci dans la sphère publique en termes de virilité. Pour faire court, on ne peut effectuer un office viril en ayant l'air d'une femme en raison de sa tenue vestimentaire. Et la manière de s'habiller rejoint un enjeu sémiologique très important dans la dimension publique de l'ancienne Rome. Les sources juridiques se font l'écho de l'importance du vêtement, par exemple dans le cadre de l'interprétation de la volonté du testateur lors d'un *leg*¹. Le vêtement de l'homme est celui utilisé dans le cadre du respect de la virilité qu'il vient symboliser², il renvoie à l'image et au statut du *paterfamilias* tandis que celui de la femme évoque la *materfamilias*, chacun a donc la parfaite apparence de ses attributions et de son rôle social.

On trouve une réciproque intéressante pour le sexe féminin chez Valère-Maxime, un auteur latin peu connu du I^{er} siècle après J. C qui a

¹ Ulp. 44 Sab. D. 34.2.23.2 *Vestimenta omnia aut virilia sunt aut puerilia aut muliebria aut communia aut familiarica. Virilia sunt, quae ipsius patris familiae causa parata sunt, veluti togae tunicae palliola vestimenta stragula amfitapa et saga reliquaque similia. Puerilia sunt, quae ad nullum alium usum pertinent nisi puerilem, veluti togae praetextae aliculae chlamydes pallia quae filiis nostris comparamus. Muliebria sunt, quae matris familiae causa sunt comparata, quibus vir non facile uti potest sine vituperatione, veluti stolae pallia tunicae capita zonae mitrae, quae magis capitis tegendi quam ornandi causa sunt comparata, plagulae penulae. Communia sunt, quibus promiscui utitur mulier cum viro, veluti si eiusmodi penula palliumve est et reliqua huiusmodi, quibus sine reprehensione vel vir vel uxor utatur. Familiarica sunt, quae ad familiam vestiendam parata sunt, sicuti saga tunicae penulae lintea vestimenta stragula et consimilia.* Voir également Pomp . 4 Quint. Muc. D. 34.2.33.

² Cette idée ressort de *Paul Sent. 3.60.80 Vesti virili legata ea tantummodo debentur, quae ad usum virilem salvo pudore virilitatis attinent...*

laissé un ouvrage d'anecdotes classées par thèmes¹, ouvrage qui recèle des passages concernant la pratique du droit. Au livre VIII, chap 3, 1-3, il est question d'un exposé relatif au plaider en justice qui est réservé aux hommes mais qui a pu très exceptionnellement concerner des femmes. Voici une traduction du fragment en question : « Il ne faut même pas passer sous silence ces femmes que ni la condition qu'elles ont reçue de la nature, ni le respect dû à leur robe de matrone n'ont pu retenir au point qu'elles se taisent au forum et dans les tribunaux. Méssia de Sentinum a plaidé sa cause comme accusée sous la présidence du préteur L. Titius, et ce au milieu d'une grande affluence populaire. Ayant fait valoir point par point tous ses moyens de défense non seulement avec minutie mais encore avec force, elle fut acquittée dès sa première comparution et presque à l'unanimité des votes. C'est elle que l'on surnommait l'androgyné, parce que, sous sa spécificité de femme, elle montrait une âme virile ». Le fait qu'une femme puisse endosser le rôle d'avocat était rare mais Valère-Maxime nous donne à la suite deux autres exemples. Celui de C. Afrania, l'épouse du sénateur Licinius Bucco dont l'auteur nous dit que le nom symbolisait l'agissement outrancier des femmes, entendons par là celui qui la faisait échapper à sa condition. Il faudrait aussi citer Hortensia, la fille de Q. Hortensius, qui défendit la cause féminine devant les Triumvirs alors que ces derniers voulaient taxer les matrones romaines en les menaçant de délation si elles cachaient leurs biens.

Il y a beaucoup de points intéressants dans le texte évoqué plus haut mais c'est la dernière séquence : *Quam, quia sub specie feminae virilem animum gerebat, Androgynen appellabant* qui retient mon attention. Il n'est jamais question de remettre en question l'identité sexuelle biologique de la femme, ce que confirme la suite de l'exposé de l'auteur au sujet de ces femmes qui plaidaient en justice : ce sont toujours des femmes et elles sont nommées comme telles *mulieres*. En revanche, c'est le comportement que l'on peut qualifier de déviant par rapport aux caractéristiques considérées comme naturelles du sexe féminin qui interpelle l'écrivain latin. Parce qu'elle plaide avec fugue et efficacité, Méssia de Sentinum montre une qualité virile, ce qui implique qu'elle soit surnommée *androgynus*, ce qui signifie très concrètement qu'elle se situait entre les deux sexes, voire qu'elle changeait de sexe par le biais de son comportement. Et le surnom n'est ni plus ni moins que le nom « social » de l'individu qui était identifié au regard de particularités physiques observées chez lui ou l'un de ses ancêtres. Le terme est ici très

¹ Il s'agit du *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri X*, œuvre vraisemblablement rédigée entre 24 et 31 n. è.

fort, il résulte sans aucun doute d'un certain mépris de l'auteur vis-à-vis des femmes que l'on retrouve dans d'autres passages, et il renvoie au vocabulaire du prodige, du monstre, de l'individu conçu contre-nature. En plus de provoquer l'effroi par sa conformation génitale inhumaine et hors du commun, les androgynes ou hermaphrodites - représentants de l'anormalité sexuelle (originelle) par excellence - remettaient en cause la différenciation biologique fondamentale entre l'homme et la femme, distinction qui était à l'origine d'un rôle social précis¹ articulé autour de normes sociales spécifiques souvent entérinées par le droit. Il faut rappeler qu'il était interdit à Rome aux femmes de postuler, c'est-à-dire de plaider pour autrui comme avocate. Il y avait des femmes gladiatrices² mais pas d'avocates. Ici nous avons affaire à une exception notable à ce principe au regard de circonstances particulières car la femme était elle-même accusée. Ce qu'il faut déceler derrière ce mot *androgynus* qui désigne ceux qui auraient miraculeusement changé de sexe ou qui auraient les deux sexes, c'est que l'on ne sait plus vraiment où situer socialement Mésia de Sentinum car c'est une femme qui se comporte en homme en s'emparant d'un rôle social dévolu traditionnellement à ce dernier. En extrapolant, on constate ici un brouillage des catégories qui pose un problème de positionnement dans une société si bien ordonnée. La justice s'organise autour d'offices virils, or l'écrivain met en évidence que tant l'homme que la femme peuvent produire dans les faits la visibilité, les signes réputés de cette *virilitas*. Il n'est donc plus ici question du seul sexe masculin mais d'un comportement qui dérive, dans la construction culturelle romaine, de ce sexe et qui peut s'observer chez les personnes des deux sexes.

¹ Plin. *N.H.* 7.34, définit l'hermaphrodite comme un être qui présente des attributs à la fois masculins et féminins, c'est-à-dire dont l'ambiguïté sexuelle est définitivement établie tandis que Tite-Live parle d'individus au sexe incertain. Il semble que les Romains ne distinguaient pas, sur le plan du vocabulaire, le « sexe incertain » de l'ambiguïté sexuelle avérée. L'hermaphrodite occupe une place particulière chez les monstres car être doté des deux sexes rend impossible tout engendrement sexuel et provoquerait par extension la disparition de l'espèce humaine. De plus, cette anormalité heurte de front bon nombre de conceptions romaines au sujet d'une société et d'un droit essentiellement fondé sur la différence sexuelle entre l'homme et la femme. L'androgyne est bien le prodige qui suscite l'horreur la plus profonde car il porte atteinte à l'identité humaine, cf. J. Champeaux, *la religion romaine*, Paris 1998, p. 122.

² Cette pratique se développa sous l'Empire, pour un exemple voir Suétone, *Dom.* 4.1. Les témoignages demeurent cependant assez rares.

C'est qu'à Rome les rapports sociaux se façonnaient pour l'essentiel sur des comportements réputés propres à chaque sexe et sur leur éventuelle transgression - pour qualifier le transgresseur comme glissant vers le sexe opposé à son sexe d'origine - bien plus que sur l'identité sexuelle biologique de l'individu dont on voit qu'elle peut être dépassée par le comportement. L'étude des textes montre que ces attitudes doivent s'entendre sur un plan très large : traits physiques, morphologie, voix, posture, vêtements, gestuelle, hygiène, comportement, apparence, implications dans des activités spécifiques, civiques etc. Parmi bien des exemples, Pétrone dresse un portrait efféminé des *cinaedi*¹, ces danseurs aux postures lascives qui se prostituaient au besoin. Ils sont des hommes (parfois des eunuques) mais décrits sous l'angle de leur part comportementale féminine qui forge du coup une identité sociale éloignée de la virilité qui devrait découler de leur sexe biologique.

Au sein de ce paysage social et mental très marqué par les signes extérieurs (et ce possiblement au sein d'une même catégorie sexuelle) et qui structure la société romaine sur bien des points, le droit civil fait curieusement exception quand il s'agit d'évaluer la capacité juridique ou la titularité des droits patrimoniaux. En effet, l'identification sexuelle s'appuie dans ce cadre précis uniquement sur des critères biologiques réputés « objectifs » et non pas sur une évaluation comportementale. Je prendrai ici deux exemples pour illustrer cette position du droit.

Le premier est tiré d'un texte d'Ulpien au Digeste :

Ulp. 1 *Sab.* D. 1.5.10 *Quaeritur: hermaphroditum cui comparamus? Et magis puto eius sexus aestimandum, qui in eo praevallet.*

Lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer le sexe de l'hermaphrodite, c'est-à-dire d'un intersexué ou d'un individu qui aurait les deux sexes, il convient d'avoir recours à une expertise *aestimatio*, en l'occurrence une observation « clinique » au sens médical afin de déterminer si l'individu est une femme ou un homme, en partant du principe qu'il ne peut pas être les deux. Au passage, il faut constater que le droit se situe sur une dynamique binaire alors que les sources littéraires font éventuellement mention d'un *tertium genus hominum*², c'est-à-dire d'un troisième genre

¹ Petr. *Sat.* 21 ; 23 et 119.

² Sur cette catégorie ni homme ni femme dont parle Alexandre Sévère à propos des *eunuchi* dont l'ambivalence sexuelle rappelle au fond l'androgynie, cf. *H. A. Alex. Sev.* 23.7 *idem tertium genus hominum*

d'homme concernant les eunuques ou les androgynes. Le droit ne connaît que l'homme ou la femme et il ne s'occupe pas non plus de l'identité intime du sujet ou de la part comportementale de ce dernier. Seule l'observation biologique extérieure entre en ligne de compte.

Dans le même sens, je citerai un autre court texte émanant du juriste Paul, toujours extrait du Digeste :

Paul 3 Sent. D. 22. 5. 15. 1. *Hermaphroditus an ad testamentum adhiberi possit, qualitas sexus incalescentis ostendit.*

D'après ce court passage, si un hermaphrodite veut agir comme témoin dans le cadre testamentaire, il faut vérifier l'apparence que présentent les organes génitaux lorsqu'ils sont échauffés. Il s'agit là encore d'un examen physique « cru », d'une expertise biologique qui exclut le comportement social du sujet. La nécessité de tels examens peut

eunuchos esse dicebat nec videndum nec in usu habendum a viris sed vix a feminibus nobilebus. Est rejetée également de manière implicite l'idée de Pline qui qualifie les hermaphrodites de « demi-hommes » : Pline, *H. N.* 11.49 *Homini tantum iniuria aut sponte naturae franguntur, idque tertium ab hermaphroditis et spadonibus semiviri genus habent.* Des exposés mettent en scène les trois genres : femme, eunuque et homme. Ainsi, Pline, *Nat. His.* 11.37 vient énumérer les caractéristiques de chaque genre eu égard à l'aloopéie : La chute de cheveux est rare chez la femme, inconnue chez l'eunuque et la calvitie ne se voit que chez l'homme. Cette description induit la possible existence d'un troisième genre, en plus de l'homme et de la femme. La même distinction se retrouve dans un exposé relatif à la pilosité (*Nat. His.* 11.94) ou à la voix (*Nat. His.* 11.103). Et l'auteur d'indiquer que, sauf dans l'espèce bovine, la femelle a la voix plus grêle que le mâle ; dans l'espèce humaine, elle est aussi plus grêle chez les individus châtrés. D'autres récits mettent encore en exergue la spécificité de l'eunuque : *Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. Idem tertium genus hominum eunuchos esse dicated nec videndum nec in usu habendum a viris sed vix a femina nobilebus* ; Ovide, *Amo.* 2.3.1 *nec vir, nec femina.* L'existence avérée de ce troisième genre était, semble-t-il ancré dans les mœurs dans la mesure où un garçon perçu comme efféminé était comparé à un *eunuchus* et non à la *mulier*, Cf. Terence. *Eunuch.* v. 375 *Praetera forma et aetas ipsast facile ut pro eunucho probes.*

sembler incongrue. Elle s'expliquait par le fait que de nombreux actes juridiques étaient dans l'ancienne Rome seulement autorisés à l'homme. Dans le cas de l'intersexué présumé, il fallait savoir si l'individu devait être rangé au final du côté de l'homme ou de la femme. La première hypothèse était souhaitable car les femmes n'existaient peu ou pas dans l'univers du droit en tant que sujets car elles étaient placées sous la puissance des pères ou des maris¹, c'est tout l'enjeu de ce que l'on nommait la *patria potestas*². Ici encore, le droit entend assimiler le sexe

¹ Sur cette question, voir la synthèse de J. M. Pailler, *Marginales et exemplaires. Remarques sur quelques aspects du rôle religieux des femmes dans la Rome républicaine*, in *Clio* (Revue francophone d'histoire des femmes), 2 (1995), p. 1-22 (le texte intégral de cette contribution est visible sur <http://clio.revues.org>) en particulier p. 1-2 : « Même dans les familles citoyennes de Rome, la République des pères n'accorde à la femme qu'un statut strictement dépendant ». Il apparaît que les femmes romaines sont, hormis de rares cas, exclues de tout pouvoir et confinées dans un rôle de subordination et de dépendance en matière religieuse comme dans d'autres domaines de la vie publique. Voir à ce sujet R. Villers, *Le statut de la femme à Rome jusqu'à la fin de la république* in *Rec. Soc. J. Bodin*, 11, *La femme*, 1, 1959, p. 177-189 et deux ouvrages importants sur la question : M. R. Lefkowitz-M. B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook in Translation*, Londres, 1993 (1ère éd. 1983) et surtout le livre de E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Baltimore 1986.

² Sur l'étendue des pouvoirs du chef de famille il existe une riche littérature. Cf. G. Longo, *Patria potestas* in *NNDI*, 12, Turin 1954, p. 575-576 ; *Sullo scioglimento del matrimonio per volontà del paterfamilias* in *Ricerca romanistica...op. cit.*, p. 281-299 = *BIDR* 1932 ; F. De Martino, *Famiglia* in *NNDI*, 7, Turin 1961, p. 42-46 surtout p. 44-45 ; A. Guarino, *Diritto privato romano*, Naples, 2001 (dodicesima edizione), p. 542 ss. ; G. Cicogna, *La patria potestas in diritto romano*, in *Studi Senesi*, 59, 1945, p. 44-144 ; J. Iglesias, *Orden juridico y orden extrajuridico* in *Estudios historicos*, 2, Madrid, 1965, p.7-52 ; E. Volterra, *Famiglia*, in *Encyclopédia del diritto* 16, 1967, p. 723-744, surtout p. 734 sq. = *Scritti giuridici*, 3, Napoli, 1991, p. 133-153 en particulier p. 144-150 ; G. Grosso, *Schemi giuridici e società nella storia del diritto privato romano. Dall'epoca arcaica a la giurisprudencia classica*, in *ANRW*, 1, 2, Berlin-New-york, 1972, p. 124-262 ; A. M. Rabello, *Sul potere paterno in diritto romano e in diritto ebraico*, Diné, 1974, p. 85-153 ; sur l'acquisition de la *patria potestas* cf. l'article très dense de E. Volterra,

de l'individu au comportement social que ce dernier devra idéalement suivre en proposant une matrice comportementale idéale. En d'autres termes, le droit n'évoque pas le champ des possibles que l'on trouve dans la littérature en termes de comportements sociaux - même si ceux-ci font l'objet d'une condamnation implicite en ce qu'ils constituent une transgression sexuée - mais forme un relais de l'idéologie romaine prise en sa pureté. Il apparaît bien ici que le droit romain conçu comme institution - c'est-à-dire comme un procédé d'officialisation juridicisée d'une idéologie sociale - constitue, de même que la religion ou encore l'éthique ce que l'anthropologue cognitif Clifford Geertz nomme « des genres authentiques de l'expression culturelle »¹, c'est-à-dire ceux au sein duquel les valeurs primordiales d'une communauté trouvent à s'exprimer. La société romaine est, faut-il le rappeler, une société marquée par des marqueurs factuels et culturels très forts que l'on pourrait qualifier de meta-valeurs, lesquelles intègrent des représentations marquantes en termes de masculinité et de féminité.

Le deuxième élément de mon exposé concerne un point méthodologique, une fois qu'il est acquis que le bon angle d'approche pour comprendre les rapports de pouvoir dans la société romaine et de les évaluer doit s'effectuer, non sous le prisme de rapports de sexe, mais bien de rapports de genre où le masculin prédomine.

II

Cette histoire des représentations - car il s'agit bien de représentations culturelles contextualisées dans le cadre romain de même que partout ailleurs - ne doit pas s'opérer avec notre regard

L'aquisto della patria potestas alla morte del paterfamilias in *BIDR*, 79, 1976, p. 193-250 (en particulier p. 193-210) ; C. Castello, *L'acquisto delle cittadinanza e i suoi riflessi familiari nel diritto romano*, Milan, 1951, p. 97- 144. Sur des points plus spécifiques il sera utile de consulter G. Pugliese, *Intorno all'impossibilità della prestazione causata del « paterfamilias »* in *Studi Paoli*, Florence, 1956 p. 569-597 ; Y. Thomas, *La peur des pères et la violence des fils*, in *Droits et cultures*, 4, 1982, p. 5-24 ; S. Solazzi, *La forma della « tutoris auctoritas » e della « patris auctoritas »*, in *Iura*, 2, 1951, p. 133-139 ; F. Denoyez, *Le paterfamilias et l'évolution de sa position* in *Syntelesia Arangio-Ruiz*, 1, Naples, 1964, p. 441-449

¹ C. Geertz, *Le sens commun en temps que savoir culturel* in *Savoir local, savoir global. Les lieux du savoir*, Paris, 1986, p. 98.

catégoriel contemporain. Si le sexe biologique est a priori immuable, être socialement homme ou femme varie selon les époques et les sociétés. Mais c'est aussi un dérivé du sexe, à savoir la sexualité comme comportement individuel qui pose problème. D'abord parce qu'il est courant d'associer étroitement sexualité et identité personnelle de l'individu dans le cadre de représentations genrées : ceci se retrouve dans les figures, voire les caricatures de l'homme homosexuel efféminé ou de la lesbienne « virile ». Mais surtout, la plus grande difficulté naît du fait que la notion de sexualité, d'homosexualité ou même d'hétérosexualité, lesquelles ont été conceptualisées à la toute fin du XIX^e s., sont par définition inopérantes dans le monde romain. Le comportement sexuel n'est pas un domaine autonome mais il s'intègre dans une dynamique beaucoup plus vaste de comportements relatifs aux plaisirs qui incluent par exemple la nourriture et la boisson. Comme l'avait bien observé l'historien Paul Veyne dans une approche qui demeurerait marginale à son époque, l'âge ou le sexe du partenaire est complètement indifférent dans la société romaine du point de vue sexuel¹. Il en est de même en matière d'érotisme. Un homme beau est beau de manière érotique aux yeux des hommes et des femmes et la réciproque est vraie. Chaque culture génère ses propres représentations en la matière. On trouve ainsi dans une satire de Perse, un auteur latin du I^{er} s. n. è.², un récit au sujet d'un jeune esclave adopté par un officier militaire qui est aussi son amant. L'auteur n'est pas avare de détails sur les modalités de l'amour qui les unit. Avant que leurs activités respectives ne les séparent au quotidien, le jeune garçon donne des baisers fougueux à son père tous les matins sous la plume attendrie de l'auteur³. Cette bienveillance s'inscrit dans une culture définie. Il n'y a aucun mal à cela car les comportements sont maîtrisés et tolérés. Le militaire n'est pas homosexuel, pédophile, ni même déviant selon que nos schémas contemporains pourraient le laisser croire. A Rome, le problème naît de l'excès. Un homme qui

¹ P. Veyne, *L'homosexualité à Rome*, in *Communications, Sexualités occidentales. Contribution à l'histoire et à la sociologie de la sexualité.*, 35, 1982, p. 26-33 en particulier, p. 32-33.

² Aulus Persius Flectus dit Perse est l'auteur de six satires et il est considéré comme un auteur difficile à appréhender (pour la traduction française voir A. Cartault, *Satires. Texte établi et traduit par A. Cartault*, Paris, 1921 (dernier tirage 2002). Il est un poète stoïcien et il faut donc déceler un aspect philosophique à son oeuvre, cf. J. Pià, *Perse, poète stoïcien*, in *Camenaë*, n°1, juin 2007, p. 1-9.

³ Au sujet de ce récit : F. Dupont, *Entretien : démystifier l'Antiquité* in *Sciences Humaines*, n° 251 Août/septembre 2015, p. 2.

s'adonnerait trop aux plaisirs en général, sexuels ou gustatifs, un homme sexuellement vorace - et ce même au plan hétérosexuel selon l'idée moderne d'une sexualité entre l'homme et la femme comme modèle commun - serait non pas viril mais avant tout esclave de ses plaisirs. Un tel abandon ferait au contraire de lui quelqu'un de peu viril, de « mou » qui serait incapable de contrôler son corps et les émotions afférentes¹. Or la *mollitia* est l'apanage de la femme, donc nous avons ici affaire à un homme que le comportement féminiserait socialement. A l'inverse, un homme qui mène une vie austère dans l'effort, la rusticité, la guerre avec un appétit modéré en matière de sexe sera regardée comme un modèle de *virilitas*. Dans ce jeu de correspondances, il n'est pas question que de plaisir charnel mais aussi de sentiment amoureux. Ce dernier peut être un vrai problème car il asservit aussi celui qui s'y abandonne corps et âme. A la fin de l'époque républicaine, un récit indique que Pompée était tellement amoureux de sa femme qu'il revenait la voir tous les soirs alors qu'il était en guerre. Une nuit, il est reconnu dans la pénombre lors d'une de ses escapades amoureuses et il devient dès lors l'objet de sérieuses moqueries. La raison en est simple : la passion amoureuse demeure avilissante et rend mou. L'amour de Pompée pour Julia le détournait des activités militaires et de la politique².

Sans qu'il soit utile d'aller plus loin, on voit combien cette grille de lecture ne s'inscrit pas dans nos représentations contemporaines de sexe et d'appréciation des attitudes genrées. Il convient donc de garder une forte distance et d'opérer une histoire des pratiques de genre en concomitance étroite avec l'histoire des mentalités. Et ceci implique parfois d'aller à l'encontre de nos intuitions les plus profondes car le monde romain met à mal le schéma idéologique européen traditionnel de la mère nourricière qui s'occupe du foyer et du père qui s'occupe de subvenir aux besoins matériels de la famille. On penserait trouver les

¹ Le terme *mollis* désigne, dans un sens presque technique, la passivité dans le rapport homosexuel masculin. Cf. Cic. *Or.*2.277 ; *Brut.* 225 ; Virg. *Georg.* 1.57 ou encore Quint. *Ins. Or.*5.19.14. De même, le mot *impudicus* fait aussi référence par euphémisme à cette forme de soumission, cf. P. Veyne, *L'amour à Rome*, in *Annales ESC*, 1, 33 (1978), p. 51 ; le même, *L'homosexualité... op. cit.* , p. 29 qui souligne que la mollesse est précisément ce qui conduit au rejet de l'homophile passif tandis que l'homophilie tout court faisait l'objet d'une totale indulgence.

² Plutarque, *De Ill. Vir. Pomp.*55 indique ainsi qu'il préféra laisser le gouvernement de ses armées à ses lieutenants pour passer son temps à se promener avec sa femme.

racines de cette image mentale prégnante dans l'antiquité. Paradoxalement il n'en est rien et les choses sont infiniment plus complexes. A Rome et dans le droit romain la mère est contemplée comme un ventre *-venter-*, c'est-à-dire une matrice, ce ventre pourtant *pars* objective de la *mulier* est masculinisé au sens où il est l'objet de droits paternels presque matériels. Ainsi s'explique un curieux texte de droit romain qui indique qu'il ne faut pas enterrer une femme enceinte décédée sans lui avoir retiré son enfant¹. Celui-ci fait matériellement partie de son corps mais il « appartient » au père. Et la mère ne sera jamais une « nourricière » car cette fonction appartient littéralement au *pater*. Ainsi que le montre le relief du sarcophage de Cornelius Staius² (environ 150 ap. J. C.) qui détaille les différentes étapes de l'enfance où on voit le père s'occuper de sa progéniture, on observe dans la première figure tout à gauche de la pierre le *pater* qui regarde attentivement une femme donner le sein à son enfant. Cette présence n'est pas anodine du tout et elle constitue une nécessité lors de cet acte à connotation particulière. Le père doit être présent lors de l'allaitement car le lait est initialement un aliment sauvage consommé seulement par l'animal voire le barbare³ - c'est-à-dire le non romain - à la différence par exemple du

¹ Marcellus *Lib 28 Dig*, D. 11. 8. 2 *Negat lex regia mulierem, quae praegnas mortua sit, humari, antequam parus ei excidatur : qui contra fecerit, spem animantis cum gravida peremisse videtur*. Voir Y. Thomas, « Le ventre ». *Corps maternel, droit paternel*, in *Le genre humain*, 1986, p. 211-236. De même, une femme enceinte condamnée à mort verra l'exécution de la sentence différée après l'accouchement : Ulpian *Lib. 27 Sab D. 1. 5. 18 Imperator Hadrianus Publicio Marcello rescripsit, liberam, quae praegnans ultimo supplicio damnata est, liberum parere ; et solitum esse servari eam, dum partum ederet. Sed si ei, quae ex justis nuptiis concepti, aqua et igni interdictum est, civem Romanorum parit, et in potestate patris*.

² Œuvre en marbre de provenance inconnue l. : 1,49 m. ; H. : 0,47 m. ; L. : 0,23 m., collection Campana (Cp 6547), Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, n° usuel Ma 659.

³ Chez Festus, p. 32 L., le terme s'applique aux peuples autres que les Grecs, puis aux peuples autres que les Romains : *Barbari dicebantur antiquitus omnes gentes exceptis Graecis. Unde Plautus (Mil. 211) Naevium poetam Latinum barbarum dixit. Fortasse et ob hoc noster apostolus (Paul. Ad Rom. 1, 14) Graecis ac barbaris se debitorem esse fatetur*. Voir aussi. M. C. Howatson (dir. de.), *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité, mythologie, littérature, civilisation*, Paris, 1993 (éd. originale Oxford, 1989), p. 144, Les Romains étendirent le mot barbare pour lui faire

vin qui est fermenté donc converti par l'homme dans un procédé de transformation reconnu socialement comme tel ou « cuit ». Il appartient suivant ce schéma au père de « cuire » le lait par sa présence, c'est-à-dire de le civiliser et d'en faire une interface alimentaire de la croissance du futur citoyen en gestation qu'est le *filius*. Au sein de ce procédé, le lait est avant tout celui du père qui promet le fils qui le reçoit en membre de la communauté romaine. Un tel acte fait ainsi du *pater* un père nourricier au sens propre du terme¹ dans une action à forte connotation civique bien plus que biologique. Un tel mouvement initiatique est évoqué par le droit au D.25.3², partie du Digeste consacrée au devoir alimentaire envers les enfants. *A contrario*, le refus d'alimenter est une des modalités d'application du droit de vie et de mort sur la progéniture avec d'autres procédés d'exclusion comme l'étouffement, l'exposition ou l'abandon³. Voilà un trait saillant de la civilisation romaine antique qui, au moins pris comme une métaphore, celle du père nourricier, devrait donner du baume au cœur aux hommes qui ont choisi d'être pères au foyer en France. Ils sont seulement 4% à remplir ce rôle souvent par le biais d'un congé parental et ils demeurent marginalisés dans une fonction qui, malgré la lente évolution des mentalités, relève plutôt d'une activité typiquement féminine.

englober tout ce qui était ni grec, ni romain. Cf. Cicéron, *De rep.*, 1, 58 : *Barbarorum Romulus rex fuit ? Si ut Graeci dicunt omnis aut Graios esse aut barbaros, uereor ne barbarorum rex fuerit ; sin id nomen moribus damdum est, non linguis, non Graecos minus barbaros quam romanu puto*. Voir aussi Div. 2, 182 ; *Tusc.* 2, 20 ; 2, 36 ; *De Off.* 2, 25 ; 3, 99 ; *Nat Deo.* 2, 11 Pour A. Berger, *Encyclopedic dictionary of roman law*, Philadelphie, 1953, p. 371, les *barbari* sont des gens « with a strange langage and savage custom. Later the term was extended to enemies of the roman state and to countries not bound to Rome with a treaty ». cf. aussi R. Verdier, *Le mythe de genèse du droit dans la Rome légendaire*, in *Rev. Hist. des Religions*, 187, 1975, p. 3-25, l'approche originale de l'auteur donne des indices pour caractériser le barbare comme celui qui déroge au *mos maiorum*, suivant cette idée l'attitude barbare s'oppose au processus de ritualisation juridique en y opposant une sorte de force sauvage.

¹ Voir à ce sujet les pages stimulantes de F. Dupont, *Le lait du père romain*, in Ph. Moreau (dir.), *Corps romains*, Grenoble, 2002, p. 115-139.

² En particulier D.25.3.1.4 ou encore 15. Au contraire, le refus d'alimenter s'inscrit dans le cadre du droit de vie exercé par le père sur le fils.

³ cf. Paul au D.25.3.4.

Références Bibliographiques

- Astolfi, R. *L'esogamia delle famiglia paterna arcaica* in *Index*, 27, 1999.
- Baratin, C. *Des antiquaires aux sciences de l'Antiquité : l'histoire ancienne sur le métier* in *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historique* (en ligne) 07/2011 URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/3604> ; DOI : 10.4000/acrh.3604.
- Cantarrella, E. *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Baltimore 1986.
- Cartault, A. *Satires. Texte établi et traduit par A. Cartault*, Paris, 1921 (dernier tirage 2002).
- Champeaux, J. *La religion romaine*, Paris, 1998.
- Cicogna, G. *La patria potestas in diritto romano*, in *Studi Senesi*, 59, 1945, p. 44-144.
- Costa, E. *Cicerone giureconsulto*, 1, Rome, 1964 (éd. originale, Bologne, 1927).
- De Martino, F. *Famiglia* in *NNDI*, 7, Turin 1961.
- De Martino, F. *Familia (dir. rom.)*, in *NNDI*, 7, Turin, 1957.
- Dupont, F. *Entretien : démystifier l'Antiquité* in *Sciences Humaines*, n° 251 Août/septembre 2015, p. 2.
- Dupont, F. *Le lait du père romain*, in Ph. Moreau (dir.), *Corps romains*, Grenoble, 2002.
- Gardner, J. F. *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life*, Oxford, 1998.
- Geertz, C. *Le sens commun en temps que savoir culturel* in *Savoir local, savoir global. Les lieux du savoir*, Paris, 1986.
- George M. (éd.), *The Roman Family in the Empire. Rome, Italy and Beyond*, Oxford, 2004.
- Guardina A. (dir.), *L'homme romain*, Paris, 2002.
- Guarino, A. *Diritto privato romano*, Naples, 2001 (dodicesima edizione).
- Hanard, G. *Familia, domus, dot ou l'insaisissable famille romaine. Des origines aux Sévères* in *Mélanges F. Sturm*, Liège, 1999, p. 205-223 ; G. Franciosi, *Sull'ampiezza dell' antica famiglia agnatzia* in *Index*, 27, 1999.
- Howatson, M. C. (dir. de.), *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité, mythologie, littérature, civilisation*, Paris, 1993 (éd. originale Oxford, 1989).
- Iglesias, J. *Orden juridico y orden extrajurídico* in *Estudios historicos*, 2, Madrid, 1965, p.7-52.
- Lebigre, A. *Quelques aspects de la responsabilité pénale en droit romain classique*, Paris, 1967.

- Lefkowitz, M. R. Fant, M. B. *Women's Life in Greece an Rome : A Sourcebook in Translation*, Londres, 1993 (1ère éd. 1983).
- Longo, G. *Patria potestas* in *NNDI*, 12, Turin 1954.
- Paillet, J. M. *Marginales et exemplaires. Remarques sur quelques aspects du rôle religieux des femmes dans la Rome républicaine*, in *Clio* (Revue francophone d'histoire des femmes), 2 (1995), (le texte intégral de cette contribution est visible sur <http://clio.revues.org>).
- Pià, J. *Perse, poète stoïcien*, in *Camena*, n°1, juin 2007, p. 1-9.
- Rawson, B. Weaver P. (éd.), *The Roman Family in Italy. Status, Sentiment, Space*, Oxford, 1997.
- Thomas, Y. « *Le ventre* ». *Corps maternel, droit paternel*, in *Le genre humain*, 1986, p. 211-236.
- Verdier, R. *Le mythe de genèse du droit dans la Rome légendaire*, in *Rev. Hist. des Religions*, 187, 1975, p. 3-25.
- Veyne, P. *L'homosexualité à Rome*, in *Communications, Sexualités occidentales. Contribution à l'histoire et à la sociologie de la sexualité.*, 35, 1982, p. 26-33.
- Villers, R. *Le statut de la femme à Rome jusqu'à la fin de la république* in *Rec. Soc. J. Bodin*, 11, *La femme*, 1, 1959.
- Volterra, E. *Famiglia*, in *Encyclopédia del diritto* 16, 1967, p. 723-744.

La représentation du rapport homme/femme dans *L'année de tous les apprentissages* de Najib Redouane

BOUCHRA BENBELLA¹

Abstract. *L'année de tous les apprentissages* (L'Harmattan, 2015) is a novel which denounces, without falling in the free paroxystic virulence, the skids of a suffering society from a deplorable decay of the values and from a blatant symptomatic schizophrenia. This societal drift affects exactly the debated relation man/woman through types of women and men representing relationships that are regulated by the male domination, profi and disparity. The novelist stigmatizes the persistance of a sexist and calcified mentality, feeding on an androcentric unconscious at the origin of symbolic violence, which revolts Wahid, the central figure of the novel.

Keywords: Moroccan Society, male domination, schizophrenic society, symbolic violence, empowerment of women

Introduction

L'année de tous les apprentissages est le second roman de Najib Redouane (2015)² qui raconte l'histoire du retour délibéré du personnage Wahid au pays natal. En quittant le Canada, Wahid fuit la solitude sinistre de l'exil et tente de panser les meurtrissures d'un amour perdu, dans la tiédeur de sa terre d'origine. Il ne se doutait pas que la Maroc qu'il a quitté, il y a dix ans, a foncièrement changé et que « l'assurance de retrouver ses souvenirs intacts le quittait »³. Mésadapté social en butte aux travers de sa société, le personnage principal crie son désenchantement, sa colère et sa révolte contre le déplorable dépérissement des valeurs et le comminatoire dérapage sociétal. Cri traduit par la plume incisive du romancier engagé qui se révèle lacérante tel un scalpel ciselant avec la minutie d'un expert, un corps malade afin de mieux localiser les maux qui le rongent.

En effet, la nature paradoxale du rapport homme/femme s'avère l'un des maux qui désagrègent la société marocaine et est à l'origine de sa scotomisation. Cette antinomie trouve sa source dans la réactance de la masculinité face à une envahissante émancipation de la femme dans une

¹ Professeur, habilitée à l'université Moulay Ismaïl, Meknès (Maroc), b.benbella@gmail.com

²Le premier étant intitulé : *A l'ombre de l'Eucalyptus* (2014), Paris, L'Harmattan. Son troisième roman est intitulé : *Le legs du père* (2016).

³ Najib Redouane (2014), *A l'ombre de l'eucalyptus*, Paris, L'Harmattan, p.15

société hautement et indéniablement patriarcale quoiqu'elle feigne le contraire.

Najib Redouane, qui puise la matière de son roman dans le vécu quotidien des Marocains, présente à son lecteur des types de femmes marocaines constituant pour ainsi dire une fresque sociologique synthétique du ou des regards de l'homme portés sur la femme. Nous n'en avons sélectionné que quelques-uns :

2. Femme gibier

Dans une société malade de tabous ancestraux, les femmes qui investissent l'espace public, jadis exclusivement masculin, sont perçues comme du gibier en liberté :

« A nous la chasse, trop de gibiers nous attendent, mes chers amis. Dépêchons-nous », cria Fouad avec enthousiasme et jubilation. (107)

Exercice machiste et incivique de prédateurs dont fourmillent les rues marocaines, « la chasse » est moins une invective pour ces hommes qu'une pratique courante intrinsèquement liée à la « vision androcentrique »¹ qui continue de régir les rapports entre les sexes dans la société marocaine :

« C'était l'heure de la chasse. On allait et venait sur cette avenue, lieu de mélange et d'échange. Aux terrasses des cafés, les yeux des hommes rencontraient constamment les regards innocents ou provocateurs des passantes. Celles qui se dérobaient publiquement à ces offres silencieuses continuaient leur chemin sans accorder d'attention à d'outrageuses invitations. Dès que les hommes percevaient un quelconque signe d'intérêt à leur égard, ils s'empressaient de se lever et de suivre leur proie, comme des chiens dressés, insouciants du mépris des gens. Si les tentatives avortaient, ils recommençaient inlassablement leur manège. (43)

Nonobstant son caractère dysphorique voire péjoratif, cette « technique de séduction » n'est généralement pas définie par l'homme comme un harcèlement à l'égard des femmes. Selon le sociologue marocain Abdessamad Dialmy, elle se définit plutôt comme une réaction défensive contre l'assaut de la présence féminine dans l'espace public:

¹Pierre Bourdieu, (1998), *La domination masculine*, Paris, Seuil, p.20

« La « drague » est, au Maroc, un phénomène structurel banalisé. En effet, les hommes sont convaincus d'être agressés dans « leur » espace public par la présence accrue et provocante, à leurs yeux, des femmes »¹

En considérant la femme comme du gibier en liberté, l'homme défend son territoire dont il a perdu l'exclusivité, dans une ultime tentative de préserver son hégémonie sur l'espace homosocial (la rue, la café....) arborant le bouclier éraflé de la domination masculine. C'est dire que « la chasse » est un principe de vision androcentrique, inscrit dans l'habitus et dans l'hexis corporelle de la masculinité marocaine pour reprendre les termes de Pierre Bourdieu². Une masculinité imbue d'une virilité de plus en plus menacée par une féminité férue d'émancipation quoique souvent définie par son sexe la réduisant à un corps et, de facto, à un objet de jouissance et de perturbation sociale « ameut[ant] la salacité des mâles lubriques ».³

3. Femme prédatrice

Autonome économiquement, narguant les convenances sociales, il arrive que la femme marocaine s'insurge contre son rôle de proie dans lequel l'homme veut la confiner et s'érige en redoutable prédatrice⁴, traquant l'homme de son choix, cherchant à tout prix à l'avoir, à le piéger :

« - Quand elles te veulent, tu peux dormir tranquillement et elles te viendront jusqu'à toi. Mais si elles ne te veulent pas, alors Allah Ghaleb, tu peux tout faire et prêt à tout donner, elles ne te regarderont même pas, souligna Aziz. » (63)

Censées se conduire avec réserve et « résister » aux assauts du sexe opposé avant de, finalement, lui céder, les femmes dérogent à cette

¹*Contre le harcèlement sexuel dans la rue : un projet de loi en avance mais nécessaire*, 13 novembre 2013. <http://www.illionweb.com/contre-harcèlement-sexuel-rue-projet-loi-en-avance-necessaire/>

²Ce principe de vision androcentrique est incorporé dans les corps biologiques, dans les cerveaux, dans l'organisation de tout le monde social, il est à l'origine de la division sexuelle du travail, il structure l'espace social, avec des endroits spécifiques aux deux sexes, il édicte les comportements corporels...

³Rachid Boudjedra (1982), *Le démantèlement*, Paris, Denoël, pp.276-77

⁴Il s'agit d'une équivalence symbolique entre l'homme animal et la femme chasseresse, l'homme animal victime de la femme piège.

doxa devenue, semble-t-il, désuète dans une société marocaine préconisant la modernité et l'ouverture inconditionnelle sur l'Occident. Ce type de femmes chasseresses est parfaitement représenté par le personnage de Leila, une collègue de travail qui a « sélectionné » Wahid et a décidé de le conquérir dès qu'il a intégré le ministère :

- « - Tu n'as aucun choix. Je te conseille d'être prudent avec elle et surtout diplomate.*
- Mais je ne suis pas intéressé du tout.*
- Elle l'est et elle fera tout pour t'avoir. Tu ne sais pas ce dont elle est capable. » (109)*

Leila est représentée comme étant une redoutable et insatiable nymphomane que rien ne dissuade pour faire tomber Wahid dans ses filets. Désintéressé par ses insistantes avances, il refuse de consentir à son jeu et d'être son gibier. Contrairement à son ami Aziz qui s'est laissé sciemment prendre par Jalila :

- « - Dès mon arrivée au Ministère, elle a mis le grappin sur moi. Elle ne m'a même pas laissé le temps de voir ce qu'il y avait dans le marché.*
- Tout de suite, hakmatek bin yeddiha- elle t'a serré entre ses mains-, ricana Fouad*
- Et aussi bin rajliha- entre ses jambes-», répondit Aziz en tapant la main de Fouad.*
Les deux hommes éclatèrent de rire. Wahid les regarda avec stupéfaction. Ses deux amis étaient vivement excités de parler de leurs exploits et de leurs aventures féminines.
 - Et tu t'étais laissé faire sans réagir » lança Wahid.*
 - Surpris par sa réaction, Aziz réagit vivement.*
 - « Puisqu'elle était venue à moi, je l'ai bien accueillie et elle est toute heureuse.*
- C'est aussi facile.*
- C'est toi qui cherches les complications, le monde autour de toi vit sans se soucier de quoi que ce soit. Leila s'offre à toi. Pleinement. Et toi tu fais le difficile. » (119-120)*

Surpris que ses amis acquiescent et trouvent du plaisir à jouer le rôle démasculinisant de la proie, Wahid dénigre avec virulence ce genre de relation exclusivement charnelle. Personnage romantique incarnant l'idéal chevaleresque, Wahid restera toujours fidèle à son éternel amour (Sara), refuse d'être la pâture de Leila et considère cette attitude passive et dégradante comme une castration :

« - (...) Penses-tu qu'elle va accepter ta passivité et te laisser faire ? Elle sautera sur toi comme une furie. On dirait que tu ne connais pas le pouvoir de séduction et l'appétit sexuel de la femme de ton pays.

- *Qu'elle aille chercher ailleurs. Je ne suis vraiment pas intéressé par elle ou nulle autre. J'espère qu'elle me foutra la paix et qu'elle aille chercher ailleurs », affirma sèchement Wahid. »*

Libérée des tabous sexuels, Leila apparaît comme une subjectivité libre, régie par sa seule volonté. Se situant au-delà de toute pudeur, défiant la hchouma¹, mélange de honte et d'interdit dicté par la doxa, ce personnage féminin, représentant la femme marocaine émancipée sexuellement, est aux antipodes de l'archétype de la femme marocaine d'antan, réservée, timide, qui endiguait voire refoulait ses pulsions sexuelles et se soumettait, bon gré, mal gré, à la doxa de la pudibonderie. Ce changement abrupt choque Wahid, qui, dans son exil volontaire, gardait intacte dans son esprit, l'image d'une société conservatrice régie par l'honneur et la pudeur².

4. Femmes adultères

Liaisons dangereuses et tabou tenace de la société marocaine, l'infidélité de la femme est un acte intolérable, systématiquement fustigé quoiqu'elle se conjugue aux deux sexes. En effet, l'ignominie sociale s'abat plus sur la femme adultère que sur l'homme infidèle, taxé d'être seulement volage et hommes à femmes : « On excuse leurs écarts aux hommes, sous prétexte que ces derniers ont des envies sexuelles plus fortes et plus fréquentes, alors que cet argument est complètement erroné sur le plan biologique comme psychique. Les femmes ont une libido égale à celles de leurs compagnons de sexe masculin, c'est juste que les Marocaines ont appris à réprimer leurs pulsions », affirme Ghita El Khayat, psychiatre et auteur de nombreux ouvrages sur la condition de la femme marocaine et arabo-musulmane.

Mari trop absent, mariage forcé, deux raisons parmi tant d'autres qui poussent la femme marocaine à apaiser ses frustrations en dehors de l'institution du mariage :

¹Expression qui fait référence à un code moral tacite, à un savoir-vivre non écrit.

²Vulca Fidolini, *L'honneur, outil de la construction identitaire. Masculinités, sexualité et altérité*, REALIS, v.4, n. 01, Jan-Jun. 2014, <http://www.nucleodecidadania.org/revista/index.php/realis/article/view/120>

« Je ne crois pas au mariage et je ne fréquente que les femmes mariées. Je m'éloigne des vierges qui ne m'intéressent pas du tout. [...] Beaucoup de femmes délaissées par leurs maris, cherchent désespérément un peu de réconfort et de chaleur ailleurs. Et comme elles ne peuvent pas le faire avec n'importe qui, quand elles trouvent enfin la bonne personne, elles se déchainent et s'adonnent avec chaleur et intensité.

[...]Kenza, elle, a été forcée de se marier avec un homme qu'elle n'aimait pas. Puis, elle est tombée amoureuse de moi. Durant les absences de son mari localisé avec son régiment au plus profond du désert à la frontière avec la Mauritanie dans cette guerre contre le Polisario, elle devient ma femme. » (46)

Convaincu que la passion ne peut pas être que sensuelle et que l'amour charnel, dénué de sentiments, n'est qu'un acte d'anthropophagie bestiale entre un homme et une femme en incandescence, Wahid désapprouve ce type de relation qui déshumanise l'amour noble et fidèle tel qu'il le conçoit :

« Je suis comme je suis. J'ai mes convictions et mes valeurs. Et quand j'aime, ce n'est ni du jeu ni de l'amusement, mais de la sincérité dans le partage sentimental. » (120)

C'est dire que Wahid désapprouve l'idée de réduire le rapport homme/femme à une simple relation corporelle exempte d'un sérieux et fidèle investissement émotionnel qui participe de l'humanisation et par conséquent de l'anoblissement de cette corrélation.

5. Femmes soumises

Il va sans dire que Wahid refuse que la femme soit considérée comme étant un objet sexuel, créé uniquement pour assouvir la jouissance de l'homme. Cette objectification de la femme est intrinsèquement liée à une vision différenciée et inéquitable de la sexualité qui stipule que les hommes sont censés avoir une sexualité prédatrice et dominante, tandis que les femmes sont toujours réputées pour être des « proies » sexuelles :

« Pour Fouad, le charme de la féminité n'avait été mis au service de l'homme que pour le séduire, le piéger et le dominer, en revanche pour Wahid, la vérité sur le sort des femmes de son pays demeurerait toujours complexe et insaisissable. Femmes aux yeux absents qui, du coin de l'œil, reluquaient les hommes. Femmes au regard noirci de khôl qui, derrière le voile, cachaient leurs ravissants visages. Femmes aux cris étouffés, aux désirs

arrêtés par l'incompréhension et l'indifférence des hommes. Femmes dont les plaintes se perdaient devant un mur de silence. Femmes, aussi, aux voix muettes d'impuissance, aux âmes mouvantes dans des corps prisonniers, aux pubis méticuleusement rasés, aux sourcils et aux aisselles épilés pour l'unique plaisir du mâle. Femmes, encore, condamnées à occulter leur sensualité, obligées à enfanter et à vivre dans l'attente, pleurant leur destin et n'osant pas divorcer, par peur des accusations et des mauvaises langues. » (48)

Il est tout à fait juste que Wahid qualifie la situation des femmes marocaines de « complexe » et d'« insaisissable ». En effet, bien qu'elle se soit émancipée, bouleversant de facto, un ordre social essentiellement patriarcal, son affranchissement du joug de la domination masculine demeure une chimère et la réalisation de la parité au sein du couple d'abord reste à faire. Le romancier, qui puise ses personnages dans le vécu de la société marocaine sans artefact ni fioritures, la taxe de schizophrène, tiraillée par une modernité virtuelle et une pesanteur conservatrice. On arbore devant l'Occident l'étendard de l'émancipation de la femme marocaine alors qu'elle est en réalité tenue en laisse par un mari à qui on reconnaît le droit de régner en maître et seigneur chez lui, exerçant sur elle une violence symbolique, subtile et invisible où la femme soumise devient complice de sa propre soumission.¹

Un autre aspect de la violence symbolique, caractérisant ce rapport de force qui unit/désunit l'homme et la femme dans la société marocaine : il s'agit du flagrant comportement schizophrène de l'homme vis-à-vis du travail de la femme :

« Wahid songeait à ces femmes, épouses, mères qui, ne disposant pas d'aide, de la part de mère, de belle -mère ou encore de bonne, et qui regagnaient la cuisine dès leur arrivée. Elles s'installaient derrière les fourneaux s'activant à réchauffer le repas préparé la veille pour dresser la table avant que leurs maris ne rentrent du travail. Le soir, après leur journée dehors, elles se précipitaient à leurs foyers pour préparer le dîner, le repas du lendemain et s'occuper de leurs enfants. En plus, quand elles venaient à mettre leurs têtes sur l'oreiller pour reposer

¹« La violence symbolique, écrit Bourdieu, est cette coercition qui ne s'institue que par l'intermédiaire de l'adhésion que le dominé ne peut manquer d'accorder au dominant (donc à la domination) lorsqu'il ne dispose, pour le penser et pour se penser ou, mieux, pour penser sa relation avec lui, que d'instruments qu'il a en commun avec lui » Pierre Bourdieu (1997), Méditations Pascaliennes, Paris, Le Seuil, p.245.

leurs paupières, elles devaient rendre leurs corps épuisés disponibles pour satisfaire à tout instant les besoins de leurs mâles qui s'attendaient à ce qu'elles leur procurent une entière satisfaction. Comme leurs hommes participaient rarement aux tâches ménagères, la galère de leur journée de travail n'avait pas de limite. Elle pourrait peser lourdement sur leur santé physique et mentale. (103-104)

Alors que l'homme clame haut et fort l'autonomie financière de la femme et qu'il prétend être un fervent partisan de la féminisation du marché de travail, les rapports homme/femme dans l'univers domestique ne sont pas compatibles avec ce discours libéral. Rien n'a changé dans les foyers, les tâches ménagères ne sont pas partagées, étant donné que cela relève, selon la mentalité machiste séculaire et immuable, de la responsabilité de la femme. Aussi se trouve-t-elle contrainte de travailler à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur. Attitude paradoxale qui entérine davantage la schizophrénie d'une société ballotée entre tradition et modernité et qui a du mal à se départir d'un inéluctable inconscient androcentrique constitutif de la domination masculine¹.

Toutefois, le romancier se garde de tomber dans le poncif tant éculé de la victimisation de la femme, entre autre fonctionnaire et fortement impliquée dans l'évolution ou la dégénérescence de son pays :

« Près de la porte donnant sur une autre pièce où plusieurs secrétaires s'étaient réunies, une jeune fille très mince ouvrit un des tiroirs et y enfouit un sac de plastique. Deux aiguilles à tricoter en dépassaient. Les deux femmes échangèrent des propos sur le maquillage, le coût devenu exorbitant de la confection, les détails nouveaux de la saison et les différentes sortes de tissus. Elles étaient très préoccupées de suivre la mode et chacune cherchait à étaler son savoir en la matière. » (32)

Sans pour autant s'opposer à la parité dans la fonction publique, Le romancier ose parler des femmes fonctionnaires irresponsables et dilettantes qui passent leur journée à babiller. C'est dire que l'oisiveté règne en maîtresse dans certains secteurs de la fonction publique. Situation due, entre autres, au coup de piston : méthode alambiquée très

¹Voir à ce propos, le rapport de l'étude sur *La conciliation travail-famille des femmes et des hommes fonctionnaires du Maroc*, réalisé par le Ministère Marocain de la Fonction Publique et de la Modernisation de l'Administration, Rabat, juin 2011, http://www.mmssp.gov.ma/uploads/file/rapport_conciliation.pdf

courante au Maroc qui permet à la personne « pistonnée » de décrocher un poste sans parfois passer par le service des ressources humaines !

« On s'extasiait de toutes parts, poussant de petits cris d'émerveillement en tournant les pages d'une revue féminine. On gloussait d'admiration sur un bracelet d'or, finement ciselé que portait fièrement l'une d'elles. Le téléphone les fit brusquement sursauter : c'était le signal convenu avec les chaouchs. » (32)

Suivant la tendance de la féminisation du marché du travail depuis les vingt dernières années qui s'explique notamment par l'évolution des emplois vers le secteur tertiaire, la fonction publique est aujourd'hui majoritairement féminisée. Mais, a-t-il suffi de féminiser le secteur public pour être uniquement dans la mouvance, abstraction faite de la volonté de satisfaire les besoins de ce secteur et combler ses lacunes en termes de compétence, d'efficacité et de rentabilité ? Le problème est loin de se cristalliser en cette tendance de féminisation, il va au-delà des discours interminablement remâchés sur l'intégration de la femme dans tous les secteurs de production sans aucune restriction. Nous avouons que la défaillance du secteur public marocain réside dans le fait que certains employé(e)s sont recrutés non en fonction de leurs qualifications mais plutôt en fonction de l'importance du « piston ».

Osons le dire, la femme fonctionnaire au Maroc n'est malheureusement pas toujours victime d'une stéréotypie misogyne la taxant de désœuvrement et d'inefficacité dans l'exercice de sa fonction. En effet, certaines femmes fonctionnaires affichent sans scrupule un comportement d'insouciance, d'irrespect vis-à-vis du lieu de travail où elles se trouvent, sachant que c'est un lieu de labeur et de dévouement destiné à servir efficacement le citoyen.

Face au triomphe de l'abject, à la scotomisation sociétale due à la déliquescence des valeurs et à une schizophrénie symptomatique, Wahid est désemparé et sombre dans une mélancolie accablante :

« Croyez-moi, revenir et être perdu dans mon pays est pire pour moi que la dureté de l'exil subi à l'étranger. Au moins là-bas, je me disais que cette terre n'était pas mienne, mais ici, c'est chez moi, c'est ma patrie, mon pays, c'est mon peuple. Vous ne pouvez pas imaginer ma douleur de me sentir complètement perdu, avoua-t-il la voix cassé. » (122)

Il est clair que dans *L'année de tous les apprentissages* mais aussi dans son premier roman : *A l'ombre de l'eucalyptus*, Najib Redouane raconte l'histoire du déchirement de Wahid ; une amertume qui procède

de la perte des valeurs le privant de ses certitudes initiales dans une société qui n'est plus sienne. Une société dégénérante basée sur l'iniquité et la disparité caractérisant les rapports entre les hommes et les femmes. Faut-il accuser l'acquisition d'autonomie par les femmes qui ont entraîné des conflits entre les sexes et provoqué des changements dans les pratiques, les représentations et les discours ?¹ Ou imputer ce dérapage sociétal à un comportement schizophrène des Marocains qui veulent être à la fois traditionnels, modernes, musulmans et laïcs ? À force de vouloir composer avec plusieurs identités, le Marocain a fini par égarer la sienne.

Bibliographie :

- Boudjedra Rachid (1982), *Le démantèlement*, Paris, Denoël.
- Bourdieu Pierre, (1998), *La domination masculine*, Paris, Seuil.
- Contre le harcèlement sexuel dans la rue : un projet de loi en avance mais nécessaire*, 13 novembre 2013.
<http://www.illionweb.com/contre-harcelement-sexuel-rue-projet-loi-en-avance-necessaire/>
- Fatou Sow (coord) (2009), *La recherche féministe francophone : langue, identité et enjeux*, Paris Karthala.
- Fidolini Vulca, *L'honneur, outil de la construction identitaire. Masculinités, sexualité et altérité*, REALIS, v.4, n. 01, Jan-Jun. 2014,
<http://www.nucleodecidadania.org/revista/index.php/realis/article/view/120>
- Ministère Marocain de la Fonction Publique et de la Modernisation de l'Administration (2011) *La conciliation travail-famille des femmes et des hommes fonctionnaires du Maroc*, Rabat,
http://www.mmsp.gov.ma/uploads/file/rapport_conciliation.pdf
- Pierre Bourdieu (1997), *Méditations Pascaliennes*, Paris, Seuil.
- Redouane Najib (2014), *A l'ombre de l'eucalyptus*, Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Redouane Najib (2015), *L'année de tous les apprentissages*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

¹Sous la direction de Fatou Sow (2009), *La recherche féministe francophone : langue, identité et enjeux*, Paris Karthala, p. 31.

Compte rendu de la conférence ***Relire Germaine de Staël deux cents ans après sa mort***

Onorina BOTEZAT¹

Le 24 novembre 2017, s'est tenue à Bucarest la conférence *Relire Germaine de Staël deux cents ans après sa mort*. La journée d'études a été organisée par le Centre de Recherche Linguistique et Interculturelle, Faculté de Langues et Littératures Etrangères, Université Chrétienne « Dimitrie Cantemir » de Bucarest, avec le soutien de L'Institut Français de Bucarest et la participation de Madame Liliana Lupușor, de L'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie en Europe Centrale et Orientale.

L'année 2017 marque le 200^e anniversaire de la mort de G. de Staël et, dans un cadre lucratif, la conférence s'est donnée comme objectif de débattre l'héritage littéraire, les traductions et la réception de l'œuvre de Madame de Staël. Parmi les participant(e)s, on comptait des spécialistes de Roumanie et de pays francophones, du monde académique.

Fille des Lumières et de la Révolution, femme à jamais insoumise et la plus célèbre d'Europe, Madame de Staël a mis en œuvre un dialogue interculturel en Europe par ses voyages et mémoires, devenant une fille d'Europe par son goût politique librement exprimé.

La cérémonie d'ouverture a enregistré la présence de la Vice-Recteur, Département de Relations Internationales, Université Chrétienne « Dimitrie Cantemir », Professeur Ramona Mihăilă qui a tout d'abord prononcé son mot de bienvenue et a remercié les participants pour avoir répondu à l'invitation du *Centre de Recherche Linguistique et Interculturelle* de la Faculté de Langues et Littératures Etrangères et de Madame Liliana Lupușor, de L'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie en Europe Centrale et Orientale.

La conférence a été articulée en trois ateliers, « Les connexions entre Jane Austen et Germaine de Staël – échos et influences de leurs œuvres en Europe et en Amérique », « Voyages et images littéraires de G. de Staël – Allemagne, Suisse, Russie, Italie, Suède et Angleterre » et « La pensée et le travail de G. de Staël à l'intersection de la pensée libérale française, du Romantisme et de la re-conception du soi féminin ».

¹ Maître de conférences, Directeur du *Centre de Recherche Linguistique et Interculturelle*, Faculté de Langues et Littératures Étrangères, Université Chrétienne « Dimitrie Cantemir », onorina.botezat@gmail.com

La session d'ouverture a présenté deux discours d'orientations: « Le rôle de Madame de Staël dans l'imposition du terme « fiction » et « Les merveilleuses aventures du canon esthétique. Illustrations possibles dans De l'Allemagne ». Ces premières discussions de la session plénière ont été dirigées et animées par Maria Boatcă, Maître de conférences, Directeur de département, Faculté de Langues et Littératures Étrangères, Université Chrétienne « Dimitrie Cantemir ».

Mihaela Chapelan, maître de conférences et directrice du *Centre de Recherches interculturelles* de l'Université « Spiru Haret » de Bucarest s'est proposée, par son intervention, de mettre en évidence le rôle de Madame de Staël dans l'imposition du terme « fiction » et le contenu qu'elle lui a assigné. Dans ce but, son analyse s'est concentrée sur l' « Essai sur les fictions » de l'auteur.

Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de l'Ouest de Timisoara, Ramona Malita a placé son étude sur l'Allemagne de Madame de Staël sous le point de vue du canon, en soulignant le fait que les essais staéliens en général, *De l'Allemagne* en particulier, traitent de la théorie canonique appliquée.

Au cours du premier atelier, Maria Mațel-Boatca est intervenue sur la rencontre de deux pensées créatrices féminines - Germaine de Staël et Jane Austen - qui, à travers leurs œuvres, ont contribué à l'avènement des idées progressistes du XIXe siècle. Iulia Waniek a cherché d'expliquer la traduction et la réception de l'œuvre staélienne au Japon, en tenant compte de la profonde et complexe relation entre le Japon et la France. Alexandra Moraru a présenté une analyse conceptuelle des métaphores appliquées à l'ouvrage staélien *De l'Allemagne*, basée sur les théories élaborées par George Lakoff et Mark Johnson et publiées dans *Metaphors We Live By*.

Le deuxième atelier, dédié aux *Voyages et images littéraires de G. de Staël – Allemagne, Suisse, Russie, Italie, Suède et Angleterre* a réuni quatre contributions visant les « Images littéraires des Russes chez Mme de Staël et réception de son œuvre en Russie » (Onorina Botezat), « Madame de Staël et le débat canonique entre les romantiques et les classiques dans la littérature italienne » (Răzvan Staicu), « Germaine de Staël et le parfum de son salon » (Johana Holt, Lazăr Popescu) et « La réception des écrits de Madame de Staël dans l'espace roumain du XIXe siècle » (Ramona Mihăilă).

« La pensée et le travail de G. de Staël à l'intersection de la pensée libérale française, du Romantisme et de la re-conception du soi féminin » a été le thème du troisième atelier, présidé par Onorina Botezat et qui a également accueillies quelques présentations par téléconférence. Juriste privatiste et historien antiquisant de formation, chercheur au CNRS

(UMR 7074 Centre de théorie et analyse du droit) et enseignant à l'École normale supérieure de Paris ainsi que dans divers établissements, Arnaud Paturet nous a proposé de revoir un texte de 1906, *Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution et des principes qui doivent fonder la République en France*, qui intéresse l'historien des idées politiques en ce qu'il proposait un projet politico-social global au moment de la Révolution française, dans son contribution « Madame de Staël et la Révolution Française : une critique de la Constitution de l'An III ».

Ingénieur de Recherche à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) et Docteur ès Lettres en Littérature Comparée (Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III). Efstratia Oktapoda a retracé les pas d'un des esprits de plus féconds du XIXe siècle dans son intervention « Madame de Staël : Une féministe avant l'heure. Vue par France 2 télévision, Europe 1 et Radio France Culture ».

Souad Bouhouch de l'Université de Lorraine, France et Université de Gafsa, Institut supérieur des études appliquées en humanités nous a invité à répondre à la question « Comment alors l'auteure entend-elle redéfinir la question de la littérature et redonner à l'écrivain son rôle fondateur, confisqué par « le fanatisme et l'esprit de système », dans le progrès social et politique de son temps ? », en s'appuyant sur « La poésie dans Corinne ou l'Italie, un enjeu de l'esthétique tragique staélienne ». Et finalement, Elena Grațîela Dicu a présenté les « Aspects de l'identité nationale, sociale et culturelle dans le roman Corinne ou l'Italie de Madame de Staël ».

Cette journée d'études, avec participation internationale, a offert un espace favorable de débat et de réflexion sur l'œuvre d'Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein, deux cents ans après sa mort.