

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

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DEVELOPMENTS IN FEMALE EDUCATION OF MEIJI JAPAN AS SEEN FROM *JOGAKU ZASSHI*'S EDITORIALS BY IWAMOTO YOSHIHARU

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Abstract: *The ideals about women's education are understood to have formed during the Meiji period, when the government introduced the public education system in Japan with the goal of creating ryōsai kenbo (good wives, wise mothers) to build a stronger/brighter Japanese nation. This paper, by providing a glimpse of Iwamoto Yoshiharu's (one of Meiji Era's opinion leaders and women educators) first-hand experiences while striving to educate women and society, gives a better idea about the processes involved in the development of these ideals.*

Keywords: *women's education in Meiji Japan; Iwamoto Yoshiharu; Jogaku Zasshi; ryōsai kenbo; nation-building.*

The underlying issues in previous research

After the Meiji Restoration, the general developments of modern female education and the image of the ideal woman in Japan often seem to be perceived as straightforward and absolute, leading to/being a part of nation-formation processes, and being somewhat unique to Japan. However, such understanding is greatly problematic.

Until Meiji, there was never any consensus on what women should be like and what role they should play in the society within Japan. In actuality, it is rather more likely that there were great variations on what roles (and thus skills and knowledge) were expected of women and what education was deemed suitable to them, which varied not only spatially or temporally, but also depending on their class. The opinionated literati had their own ideas regarding the greatly politicized and contested subject of modern womanhood, especially during the Meiji period, but before and after it as well (refer to Sugano; Tocco; 2003). Illustrating the fact that there were varied ideals and realities coexisting, the recent research (ex: Patessio, 2011) provides more examples of individuals who did not fit the set molds and successfully advocated/taught/studied what they believed was acceptable or necessary for women to know in order to function in the changing times. Therefore, it is safe to assume that when the time came to decide what the modern female education system should be, in the government's efforts to standardize it, various ideas clashed and competed. The result of this process

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materialized in the strict (and rigid) laws and guidelines that had to be enforced, and only later did they slowly become the norm in society (that is, they came to be contested on a lesser scale).

The other issue that naturally arises from the above argument is that of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideology. The term is confusing rather than explanatory, and has a long history of development that is relatively unknown. *Ryōsai kenbo* is seen as a term defining the ideal woman and her role in society, especially against the background of the nationalization and militarization of Japan. However, as mentioned above, we should reconsider whose ideals we are referring to, as they were varied and numerous.

In addition, there exist many ties between the developments regarding female education in Japan and abroad that still remain largely untouched in research, especially as far as imperialistic aspirations, social engineering, and nation building are concerned. The example of Japan is often treated together with the studies of Korea and China, especially in a way that portrays Japan as the one introducing the modern ideas regarding female education and *ryōsai kenbo* to other Asian countries; just the same way Japan is taken to have been influenced by the Western (mostly American) example. However, there is a need for comparative studies offering a different perspective, as it is not unlikely that modernization/industrialization, and the connected societal changes induced similar processes and phenomena within different societies, without much direct exchange of ideologies between them.

Lastly, the role of religion in the development of modern education is also rather hazy, the main reason behind this most likely being the fact that religion was also never a constant; as many had their own interpretations of religious ideals, it is challenging to use religious doctrines as a backdrop for the study of education or nation building. Thus, there remain some questions to be answered. For instance, Christianity is seen as one of the catalyzers in the process of popularization of female education. However, was it really the Christian ideals that were giving the impetus to the change in the society of Meiji Japan, or was Christianity a tool to validate the efforts to attain them? If the circumstances were different, could not the same impetus have been provided by Buddhists or Confucianists? Indeed, what views did those affiliated to Buddhism or Shinto hold, regarding the necessary qualities of the women of modern Japan? In this case too, rather than to generalize, it is important to provide concrete examples of individuals and their ideals/opinions in order to have a better understanding on what role religion was playing in society and nation building.

It could be said that, in order to clarify the processes leading to the formation of modern female education and the ideal image of modern womanhood, it is important to address the above issues by carrying out more case and comparative studies regarding individual educators who were striving to bring about change in society, and by analyzing what means they were using to carry out their own

policies while interacting with the state. By such analyses not only could we provide an insight into how these individuals perceived and experienced the process of modernization first-hand, but we could also fathom in what conditions these educators were operating – what they could and could not change, and what were the compromises they had to make – instead of perceiving their ideologies and practices as having had developed in a linear fashion, in a vacuum, or treating them as a constant.

This paper, in hopes of providing a small stepping-stone in attaining the above-mentioned goal of addressing these issues, aims to offer a perspective on the ideals and actions of a prominent, yet largely unknown women's educator active during the Meiji period – Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942).

Introduction

Japanese literacy rates were already high during the Tokugawa period, both among males and females. However, the exposure to Western thought brought in new notions about what the meaning of education is and what place it should take in the “New Japan.”¹

Before Meiji, quite commonly women had to know how to read, write, be knowledgeable on the etiquette and know how to look after a household, weave, etc. What was expected of women differed depending on their rank in society (for example, counting was deemed to be a skill for the merchant classes), yet we can see girls and women of all ranks being able to share learning materials, as numerous articles were published for them, most being moral textbooks and primers². Towards the end of the 18th century, however, educational texts³ dealing with geography, etc. were sold in numbers twice as large as those of the “must-have” moral textbooks (Tocco, 2003, p. 200). Female education in Japan was transforming even before the entry of Perry's Black Ships in 1854, as women were being increasingly expected to have more practical/ broader knowledge. Even though we have few resources from the earlier eras regarding female education, we can safely assume that it was never static, and the notions regarding what was suitable for women to know varied greatly in their families and among the educators. The same can be observed during the Meiji period. However, as the nation-building project gathered importance in the eyes of the politicians and intellectuals, the standardization of the ideal of education suitable for a modern

¹ Slogan coined in order to stress the contrast between the “enlightened” Meiji period and the “restricted and feudalistic” Tokugawa era.

² *Kyōkunsho*, etc.: texts for the moral education of girls and women.

³ *Ōraimono*: from Heian to Meiji, this was a generic name for a type of rudimentary textbook. At first, it dealt with letter writing, but its contents became more varied with time, and in the modern period it was used in *terakoya*, thus playing an important role in the education of the masses.

Japanese female took place, and such diversity in opinion and practice regarding female education disappeared.

To throw more light into this process, this paper shall explain what elements of society influenced the ideology and practice of a women's educator that can be said to be representative of the mid-Meiji period – Iwamoto Yoshiharu. Iwamoto is rarely mentioned in English research, yet his opinions are representative of the community of native Protestant educators of the Meiji period, their activities exemplifying the fact that the process of nationalization of women's education was not a straightforward one, and it required discarding the ideas that were deemed unsuitable for the building of the modern Japanese nation.

Meiji period female education

With the gradual introduction of Western norms and Christian ideals to Japan, some educators and opinion leaders (Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori, Nakamura Masanao, etc.) noted how limited the education of women was, how quiet and hidden they were in their homes. This was deemed to be one of the reasons why Japan was “lagging behind” the Western nations and the issue was addressed by both foreign and native thinkers of the time.

The foreigners in question were mostly Christian missionaries. They took up the education of girls seriously⁴ for numerous reasons: raising helpers for the missionaries – the so called “Bible women,” who could preach in the native tongue; raising girls with a set of Christian values that would later be passed on to their families or pupils; also, another goal was to improve the general situation and wellbeing of women and, through them, their families', by teaching them to create Christian homes⁵.

On the native side, the Japanese who went abroad, such as Mori Arinori, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura Masanao, Nishimura Shigeki, and many others, were exposed to the Western culture and the argument of the importance of the role played by women in the formation of a strong nation and healthy society⁶. They were also exposed to a reasonably new notion in the West, i.e., that the level of the development of its women can help define how advanced a nation is. They brought this message to Japan, among many others, inspiring the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū minken undō*) with their writings. A new generation of Japanese Christians was raised encouraged by these writings and the teachings of the missionaries: they had their own perception of Christianity, and

⁴ Ferris Jogakkō is known as a groundbreaker in the missionary schools for girls, after the establishment of which many others followed. The school planted its roots in 1862, Marry Kidder making it an institution exclusively for girls in 1871.

⁵ A term often used by both foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians who strove to educate girls and women.

⁶ Such ideas were especially present in the US, where female education was already developed to a certain extent.

their beliefs can be said to be a compromise of the foreign Christian and the local system of values, most clearly those of Confucianism, as it was used to educate the nation since the Tokugawa era. Iwamoto Yoshiharu is one of these native Christians⁷, and a very colorful figure among them – a teacher/schoolmaster at a girls' school (*Meiji Jogakkō*), an editor of the women's magazine *Jogaku Zasshi*, and a great supporter of numerous key social activists of the period (*Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai* among others).

The main features of Iwamoto's ideology regarding the education for women

Iwamoto began his career as an educator in Meiji Jogakkō (1885-1909) and as a journalist/editor of his and Kondō Kenzo's own magazine, *Jogaku Zasshi* (1885-1904) in the mid-1880s. He was influenced by the ideas of Fukuzawa, Mori, and Nakamura, yet he did not agree with them on all aspects, and developed his own ideas and methods of teaching girls. He had his own interpretation on how Christian values should be applied to meet the needs of Japanese society, and his own interpretation of what the term *ryōsai kenbo* meant. His ideas were based on not hampering the development of women as individuals, on protecting their rights, and allowing them to play an important role in society and at home. At the same time, the reactionary movement was beginning to form in Japan at about the same time he had started his career, and the lofty ideals based on Western ideas were losing the general support. Due to this, or due to his various experiences while managing the school, Iwamoto's ideas adapted to the demands of the times, yet there were certain grounding aspects that Iwamoto held to throughout the twenty years of his extensive activities.

Firstly, he publicly pushed forward the idea of the importance of high-quality higher education for women (in times when there were barely any institutions providing post-elementary education to girls that would be on par to the education provided for boys).

「吾人は（中略）男女の天職に不同あることを確信するもの也、然れども或る限りに至る迄は男女固より同一に亦た固より同一の職を執らざる可らず、此に対して教育する之を男女に普通なる高等教育と云ひ、之より以上を男女それぞれの専門教育を云ふ、苟くも男女をしてそれぞれに十分なる人間たらしめんと欲せば、先づ共に如此き高等教育を受けしめざる可らず、此の専攻教育を受け了したるの女子こそ即ち最賢最良の妻たり母たるものなり」。（「何をか中正の主義を云ふ、女子教育に関する幾多の謬見」『女学雑誌』157号）。

⁷ Others: Tsuda Sen, Nakamura Masanao, Kimura Kumaji, Kondō Kenzo, Nijima Jō, Uchimura Kanzō, Tokutomi Sohō, Naruse Jinzō, etc.

I [...] believe that men and women have different missions to fulfill in life⁸. However, there of course are jobs that, to a certain extent, must be performed equally by and taken up by both men and women. Education for this purpose would be the general higher education. The next step would be the professional education for men and women. In order to raise complete individuals, it is essential to provide both men and women with both such general higher education and professional education; only then, women will be able to become the best wives and the wisest mothers. (“What is Meant by the Right Principle. Mistakes in Regard to Women’s Education,” *Jz* No. 157, April 13, 1889)⁹

Secondly, unlike his predecessors (Mori, Fukuzawa, etc.), Iwamoto argued that education should help to develop the personalities and the innate talents of the students; he encouraged the women to strive for their rights¹⁰, including that of being able to receive good quality higher education. He wished them to actively participate in the improvement of society and the elevation of the position of women.

「女子教育及び女権拡張の正当なる希望は、敢て女子をして其固有の本質よりも立ち越しめんとするにあらず、只人為の圧制によりて不自然に製造したる部分を打破徹去せんとするに也」（「婦女子修身の覚悟」『女学雑誌』133号）

The real/legit aim of female education and women’s rights movement is not asking of women more than their natural talents/capabilities are, it is only getting rid of all the unnaturally created boundaries. (“Woman’s Resolutions in Life,” *Jz* No. 133, October 27, 1888)

Particularly, he argued that nobody could tell the women what the limits of their talents and possibilities in life are, and encouraged them to strive to succeed in studies and various occupations, and also to become knowledgeable and wise mothers.

「天性の案内は今の日本教育家よりも利巧なるものにて、之に放任するとも決して心配の入らぬ者なり（中略）女子の優美内環なること、其天性ならんか、然らば其天性の儘に放任するときは即は

⁸ Iwamoto believed that women and men are different in nature and physicality, and thus the special needs/rights of women should be taken into account. He meant it as a liberating/protecting stance rather than one imposing limitations on women.

⁹ Here and below translations are provided by the author of this paper.

¹⁰ However, as it was common among the educators of the time with a few exceptions, he seems to have been unsupportive of the idea of women suffrage.

ち其天性の如くに発達すべし」「目下の女子教育法」『女学雑誌』207号)。

The directions given by the innate qualities are more advantageous than those of the educators of contemporary Japan: if these qualities were left to lead [the development of the education], we would have nothing to worry about [...] Is not the beauty of the demeanor of women found in their inner qualities? That is why not impeding these innate qualities means that [the individual] will grow according to them. ("The Present Educational System," Jz No.207, April 5, 1890.)

His understanding of the meaning of *ryōsai kenbo* was that it was not a compulsory ideal. In his view, education for women gave them two major options to improve their position and the society at large: the first was for women who were most talented, and meant pursuing careers and contributing to the society by bringing it into a more harmonious/balanced state from the surface (面 – *omote*); such women may not wish to marry; for those who created families, though, he saw many possibilities to use their extensive knowledge in raising children who would be conscious of the needs of women, and in being active supporters of their husbands and bringing about political change through them –working, as it were, from the inside (裏 – *ura*). According to him:

「女権伸張の二途其の一を廃すべからず」「女権伸張に表裏の二途あり」(『女学雑誌』71号)

Neither of the ways of extending women's rights should be disposed of. ("The Two Ways of Extending Women's Rights: No. II." August 13, 1887)

Thirdly, he looked to the West for an example, but was strictly against blind Westernization – he wished women to be knowledgeable in the Western ways, but also to be able to function according to the needs of Japanese society, thus coming up with the curricula he deemed most suitable for the educated Japanese women during the years he was active. At the same time, he was against the conservatives who wished to raise a *ryōsai kenbo* that had no say in the society and possessed no rights.

「今の日本の良妻賢母たることを大切となす。故に全く西洋婦人の如くなりとも、今の日本の良妻賢母たること能はず、昔の日本婦人の如くなりとも、今の日本の良妻賢母たること能はず、今の日本婦人は、今の良妻賢母たらずんばある可からず」(「各女学校の校長。並に、各女学校生の父兄に告げ参らす」『女学雑誌』259号)

What is important is to become a contemporary *ryōsai kenbo*. Thus, one cannot become the *ryōsai kenbo* of today by imitating the Western ladies, or the ladies of the previous eras. The Japanese ladies of today must strive to become the *ryōsai kenbo* necessary for Japan at present. (To the Presidents of the Girls Schools and to the Parents of the Female Students, *Jz* No. 259, April 4, 1891)

Finally, he taught the girls Christian values and morals, yet he never proselytized, nor had mass or Bible study in his school. He introduced Christianity to his students, but showed consideration towards their beliefs students and those of their families. Not wishing to depend on foreign missionaries (and avoiding their interference), he strove to educate the girls rather than to convert them.

Developments in Iwamoto's ideology regarding the education for women

The numerous editorials Iwamoto published about twice a month in the *Jogaku Zasshi* display the development of his ideology regarding female education, and possibly a reflection of the changing climate in which the educators had to operate. The period of twenty years (1885-1905) during which he was an active educator and opinion leader could be split into three different stages, as below¹¹.

Stage one, formative years: 1884–1889

Iwamoto is said to have formed his ideologies during this period. Indeed, at the beginning of the period, Iwamoto appears to have inherited the ideas of Fukuzawa and Mori, yet soon, by the 11th publication of *Jogaku Zasshi*, we can see how he finds disagreements with Fukuzawa and feels the need to change the common opinion regarding the role/position of women in society. From this point onwards, Iwamoto introduces various ideas and useful sources regarding female education in his magazine, while also developing his own stance and opinion in the field. In the times when education was primarily for boys, there were few institutions for girls to study at, and parents and the society at large were suspicious about the Western-style education and how it would affect the girls, Iwamoto concentrated his efforts on defining the purpose of female education and on arguing its necessity. He was among those who spoke about the need of educated mothers that could become the main teachers to their own children – a concept that was rather novel in Japan, as most of the family members would educate the children, women usually supervising only the girls. He believed that

¹¹ Inoue (1968) and Wellhäusser (2004) suggest their own chronologies of the development of Iwamoto's ideals and policies, yet the first one deals with the development of the *Jogaku* ideology, while the other concentrates on the developmental changes in the *Jogaku Zasshi*. As I am treating the developments in Iwamoto's educational strategies, I use my own chronology and do not refer to theirs.

families with mothers as educators could help improve/ modernize Japan more efficiently than anything else. What was special in his case was that he argued that to fulfill this purpose, women needed knowledge about physics and other sciences. By the end of the period, he started to argue that women needed not only practical knowledge and skills, but that female education should involve literature and arts, as, according to him, women tend to excel in these areas due to their sensitive nature.

Stage two, the turning point: 1889–1891

The second period is defined by rapid political changes. The Meiji Constitution (1889, the first modern constitution in Japan), the Parliament (1890), the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) all appear in this period, restricting the freedom of educators and the educated. During the Freedom and People's Rights movement, the government was challenged and threatened by the Western ideas. Thus, a need was felt to centralize the education and to strictly control what and how was being taught. The system of public education, based on the Prussian model and supervised by the emperor, was enforced, leaving such schools as Iwamoto's mostly unacknowledged and with few possibilities to develop. Trying to circumvent such restrictions, he searched for new ways to educate the society. For one thing, he spoke about the necessity of women to have an interest in the field of politics, so that they could affect the choices made by the government – he wanted women to be knowledgeable about how the state was running and where it was going. He also argued for a more varied education for women – to suit their needs, interests, and all the roles they were discovering they could perform in the modern society.

Stage three, the branching-off: 1891-1905

During the last period, as the education for women was more and more established and legally defined, Iwamoto expanded his ideology on female education in order to escape the rigid boundaries set for women educators and to find new/undeveloped niches. He was urging his students and readers to discover practical ways they could contribute to the society that was experiencing economical hardships, natural disasters, and war. He spoke about the rights (including education) of children and the need of orphanages and the education of girls from countries under Japan's influence (Taiwan and Korea), and welcomed exchange students from Taiwan each year. At the same time, he was planning to establish a university for women, where the truly gifted could conduct high quality research and become specialists in various fields. Even though his plan for a university was left unfulfilled, his school is said to have been providing an extremely high quality education for girls and women, even if mostly unacknowledged by the state.

Iwamoto discontinued his career as an educator and journalist in 1905, giving up his efforts due to numerous reasons, but most likely because of the lack of support and acknowledgement of his efforts as the country was concentrating on winning yet another war, while the ideal female education increasingly meant simply nurturing women for housework and childrearing.

Factors that shaped his ideas over the years

The changes in Iwamoto's ideology on female education were most likely shaped by the following social dynamics.

First of all, the number of girls who were allowed to attend schools was limited and would fluctuate depending on the mindset/economical situation of their families. The girls had to support their families by looking after younger siblings or helping in the fields, etc. Iwamoto had to adjust to fit the requirements of those families and to teach the girls useful and practical knowledge that would allow them to work or to find a respectable spouse – for that was what society expected from educated women.

Secondly, he struggled for funds. Due to his unique perspective on what education for women and society must be, he (purposefully) received little to no funds from the missions, government, or any other substantial sponsors. He survived by charging the girls a small fee that was set by the government, and paying little to nothing to the teachers. Nevertheless, he still managed to arrange free tuition for the girls who would in turn teach the younger students. Due to this shortage of funds, he also came up with many interesting ways to involve girls in the running of the school, also keeping it closely connected with the *Jogaku Zasshi*.

Lastly, opinions regarding the Christian thought in Japan fluctuated greatly affecting those in the Christian communities. Iwamoto himself, even though never renouncing his faith, showed some change in his stance towards the missionary schools. At first he was indifferent/supportive, for these schools were basically the only institutions that would provide girls with high quality education; however, as he developed his theories on what kind of education for women was that Japan needed, he started to criticize missionary schools (together with other peers, yet in his own way) by stressing that education in the English language only, with no reference to the Japanese customs and skills necessary to survive in the society/traditional household was definitely detrimental. These comments may have also arisen from the competition between his school and missionary schools. Due to his teaching methods (no Bible study, etc.) and a unique interpretation of Christianity (as in harmony with the imperial system) he was questioned and criticized, and it made his position volatile.

Iwamoto was a creative rather than an opportunistic educator adjusting himself to the needs of society. However, there were factors that made him scale-down his theories and goals.

First, there was the censorship. Due to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, the government was sensitive towards any political remarks. Teachers, women, army men, etc., had no access to the political world, and no right to comment on it. Iwamoto was prosecuted at least two times for publishing articles that were against the endeavors of the government. Both times, the impact on him was great. The first time he was reproached in 1887 due to his editorial "Adultery of the Nation"; this made him abandon the direct call for citizens to unite and make a change in society, instead choosing to concentrate his efforts on influencing the society through female education. After he was reproved a second time, in 1900, due to the publication of texts regarding the mineral pollution in Watarasegawa, he started withdrawing from his public activities more and more. At the same time, while there seems to be no evidence of his teaching methods receiving any official criticism, the fact that only the graduates from his school that were specialists in very practical fields (such as shorthand, and not the teacher course graduates) received licenses to practice was a way of censorship in itself.

Secondly, the establishment of the public education for women influenced Iwamoto to a great extent. With the government determining its position and setting up laws controlling primary to high education for women, Iwamoto was left without a proper niche to operate in. Even though more and more women were attending schools during the Meiji period, Iwamoto's ideas were against the mainstream – thus most likely deemed unneeded and undermined.

Lastly, the change in the public discourse and opinion on the education of women had also influenced the way Iwamoto developed his ideas, and the way he expressed himself in order to be understood in the new cultural and social contexts. He had to adapt his lexicon to the one being used during the times, in order to get his ideas across and be understood.

Iwamoto's contribution to the development of modern female education

Iwamoto is said to have failed to fit in/adapt to the rapidly changing Meiji society, yet he played an immensely important role – that of a protector, a gently leading supporter, who provided women with a chance to gather, to exchange information, and to empower themselves. In addition, Meiji Jogakkō, *Jogaku Zasshi*, etc., to which he devoted his energies for twenty years, became beacons of knowledge and their success served as examples for the following generation of educators, social activists, as well as academic institutions, magazines, and other groups.

Iwamoto can be said to have served as a link between the early Meiji and late Meiji/Taisho educators. In addition, the efforts of Iwamoto and his community network facilitated the passing of the baton from male education opinion leaders such as Fukuzawa Yukichi to such female educators as Tsuda Umeko and her students. Lastly, he represents the generation of educators who, in the rapidly

changing setting, tried to adapt to the needs of the members of the society and their families while also trying to adapt to the needs of the nation.

Conclusions

Iwamoto is a creature of his own time and of the atmosphere of the Meiji period, when the liberation and development of one's talents, and putting them to use for the betterment of society were seen as absolutely necessary. He was an individual with high ideals and no wish to compromise them or to be controlled. As a result, he has received negative criticism since the beginning of his career. His example illustrates one prominent aspect of the development of Meiji education – the activities and influence of the Japanese Protestant community. Their efforts influenced female education for the years to come, even if seemingly unsuccessful or nonmainstream, and thus should not be overlooked.

While reconsidering such intellectuals and educators of the Meiji period, we should definitely pay more attention to the forces that were stirring society and the world of education. Once we do, we realize that there were choices that must have felt natural/unavoidable in the setting of the times. Also, we can see more clearly why the shape education gained in Meiji stayed mostly unchallenged up until the Second World War.

During the Meiji period, the government took many ideas into consideration, both novel and conservative, eventually deciding on a compromise between them, and leaving little space for ideas that would not fit in the framework that had taken so long to establish.

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INFORMATION PACKAGING IN JAPANESE NEWS LEAD SENTENCES

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Abstract: *News stories are reports about recent events or happenings that must efficiently convey accurate, clear and unambiguous information to a mass audience, in a short amount of time (if broadcasted) or space (if written). This study aims to analyze, from a discursive standpoint, the way in which information is conveyed in the news first paragraph, usually named “lead”, in terms of information packaging (as defined by Prince 1981) and referent identifiability (as defined by Lambrecht 1994), simultaneously taking into account several factors, such as the type of media (broadcast /vs./ written news), the type of grounding provided for the subject noun phrases found in the lead sentences and the way the subject noun phrases are linguistically marked (as topics or non-topics).*

Keywords: *information packaging, identifiability, grounding, discourse topic, wa, ga.*

Introduction

News reports are a means of mass communication, conveying information about recent events or happenings of general interest. They must be generally accessible to a simultaneous mass audience that is also fragmented (as the individuals forming the mass audience have various educational backgrounds, interests, beliefs etc) and that does not provide immediate feedback (as would happen, for instance, in conversation) (Bell 1991:2). Simultaneously, news reports are subject to length limitations. For all these reasons, in order to successfully and efficiently deliver their information content, news reports must be concise and easy to understand, while providing all important information about the events they are reporting.

The most common method for writing news stories is the so-called *inverted pyramid*, in which the most important information is conveyed first, followed by the secondary information, given in a decreasing order of importance. The key element of news stories is the first (= *lead*) paragraph, where the information conveyed answers the 6 basic questions of news reporting, generally known as 5W1H: *who, when, where, what, why, and how*. The lead paragraph plays a very important role in the news discourse comprehension as it represents the starting point of communication and a base for the efficient processing of the subsequent information.

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Discourse processing: basic theoretical assumptions

In the past few decades, the mechanisms of discourse processing have been analyzed from a variety of perspectives, but most models seem to agree upon the following basic assumptions:

Comprehension is a dynamic process, in which information is transmitted and received in a linear way. Thus, the receiver assimilates the information incrementally, integrating it in his cognitive model (mental representation) as it is transmitted (Van Dijk & Kintsch 1983, Langston & Trabasso 1999, among others). However, because the receiver's working memory has a limited capacity, it is able to keep active only relevant information, which is the information that is strongly connected in the receiver's cognitive model, while less important information is deactivated and stored in the receiver's peripheral memory, to be reactivated when needed. For an efficient processing of new information so that it can be successfully integrated in the receiver's model, a good *anchoring* (or *grounding*) of new information in the receiver's preexistent cognitive model is essential.

The notion of *grounding* is strongly connected with that of *information packaging*, defined by Prince as follows: “the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular needs of the intended receiver [...] reflect[ing] the sender's hypotheses about the receiver's assumptions and beliefs” (Prince 1981:224).

Current analysis

Having in mind the notions stated above, this study aims to analyze **a)** the types of subject noun phrase referents that may appear in Japanese news lead sentences, in terms of cognitive *activation* in the receiver's mind, **b)** the linguistic markers they take when first introduced into the discourse (i.e, as topics or non/topics) and **c)** the types of *grounding* provided for these referents.

The corpus used for the analysis consists of the lead sentences of 261 television news items and 47 newspaper news items¹ in which the subject noun phrase is marked either with *ga*, the typical nominative case particle, or with *wa*, the topic particle. Often, the lead sentences may consist of several coordinated phrases containing subject NPs marked with *ga* or *wa*, such as example (1) below, in which cases they are all taken into account.

(1) 今日午後、横浜市の金沢区で、下校途中の小学生の列に乗用車が
[subject NP1] 突っ込み、／ 1人が[subject NP 2] 死亡、／ 4人が[subject NP 3] 重軽傷
を負いました。

¹ Selected out of a larger corpus of 300 television and 50 newspaper news items, after eliminating those that contain other means of expression than *ga* or *wa*.

The total number of occurrences is as shown in Figure (1) below:

	TV news	Newspaper news
subject NP + <i>wa</i>	149 (39.31%)	56 (50.45%)
subject NP + <i>ga</i>	230 (60.68%)	55 (49.54%)
total	379 (100%)	111 (100%)

Types of subject np referents in the japanese news leads

The current analysis is based on Lambrecht's *identifiability model*. According to Lambrecht, an identifiable referent is "(a referent) for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker's and hearer's mind at the time of utterance" (1994:77). In short, *identifiable* referents are referents that already are in an *active* state in the hearer's mind, or are *accessible* because they have just been activated (due to the textual or situational context), or are *inactive* (they do exist in the hearer's long-term memory, but not in an active state). *Unidentifiable* referents, on the other hand, represent brand-new information for the hearer, and may be *anchored* (linked, by means of another NP, to the hearer's mental representation) or *unanchored*.

Following Lambrecht's model, in Sion (2003) we analyzed the types of subject NP referents that appear in the Japanese news leads and their degree of "identifiability", starting from the assumption that the receivers *know* they are exposed to news reporting (in the larger context of the television news broadcast or the newspaper) and have already activated their mental "news" framework, thus creating a series of expectations about the kind of information they are about to receive.

The subject NP referents that appear in the Japanese news leads can be classified as follows:

A. Referents (assumed to be) known / familiar to the receiver at the moment they are introduced into the discourse, such as

1. Widely known national and international political/economical etc. institutions, political personalities etc. – ex. the Imperial Household, the Japanese government, foreign governments/presidents, which we consider to be [identifiable, active];

2. Japanese national political/economical/social organizations, committees, large foreign organizations etc., which we consider to be [identifiable], but only [semi-active];

B. Referents (assumed to be) unknown to the receiver at the moment they are introduced into the discourse – ex. individuals, things, events, which are

3. identifiable because they have already been introduced in the preceding context, or

4. identifiable because they are inferable from the preceding context, or
5. new, but grounded, at least to some extent, into the receiver's cognitive model, through the preceding context.

Examples:

A-1 Identifiable – active

(2) ニューヨークを訪れている小泉総理大臣は、日本時間の明日朝、ブッシュ大統領と会談します。 “Prime-Minister Koizumi”

(3) 東京都は、国から地方に移す税に、消費税などを加えて、国税と地方税の比率を現在の 3 対 2 から 1 対 1 にすべきだなどとする、独自の案をまとめました。 ”Tōkyō Metropolis”

A-2 Identifiable – semi-active

(4) みずほフィナンシャルグループは、今日、年間で最も多い、1200 万件もの口座振替や給与振替などの処理が集中しましたが、混乱なく、大半の処理を終えたとしています。

“Mizuho Financial Group”

(5) 連合は、今日の中央執行委員会で、雇用対策を盛り込んだ補正予算の編成と共に、いわゆるサービス残業をなくすことと、パートタイマーの均等待遇を確保する法律の設定を、この秋の最重点課題に位置付け、実現を目指していく方針を決めました。 ”The Japanese Trade Union Confederation”²

B-3 Identifiable – introduced in the preceding context

(6) 今年 6 月、埼玉県春日部市の定時制高校の生徒が死亡した集団暴行事件で、刑事処分が相当だとして、障害致死の罪で起訴された 16 歳の少年二人の初公判が開かれ、二人は起訴事実を認め、一生を掛けて償いたいと述べました。 *Futari* – “the two persons” has been introduced in the preceding context, but not as a subject NP.

B-4 Identifiable – inferable from the preceding context

(7) 東京町田市の小学校では、地域の人と一緒に育ててきた稲が実りまして、今日子供達が稲刈りをしました。 The subject NP *kodomotachi* – “the children” can be inferred from the cognitive frame of *shōgakkō*, “primary school”, already mentioned in the previous context.

² The full Japanese name of the confederation is 「日本労働組合総連合会」. The use of the abbreviated version, 「連合」, is also a sign that the referent is considered to be identifiable, and at least semi-active, for the receivers.

B-5 New – with grounding context

(8) 埼玉県栗橋町で、金融機関から自転車で帰宅する途中のお年寄りから現金をひったくったとして、**31歳の男**が逮捕されました。 “A 31-year old man”

The frequency of these types of referents in television and newspaper news leads is as shown in Figures (2) and (3) below:

Fig. (3) Subject NP referent identifiability in Japanese television news leads

Types of referents		Frequency		
		<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	
A. Known referents	1. active	58	3	61 (16.09%)
	2. semi-active	55	21	76 (20.05%)
B. Unknown referents	3. identifiable – previously introduced	17	13	30 (7.91%)
	4. identifiable – inferable	10	17	27 (7.12%)
	5. new, grounded	9	176	185 (48.81%)
Total		149 (39.31%)	230 (60.68%)	379 (100%)

Fig. (4) Subject NP referent identifiability in Japanese newspaper news leads

Types of referents		Frequency		
		<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	
A. Known referents	1. active	18	0	18 (16.21%)
	2. semi-active	13	7	20 (18.01%)
B. Unknown referents	3. identifiable – previously introduced	12	2	14 (12.61%)
	4. identifiable – inferable	11	4	15 (13.51%)
	5. new, grounded	2	42	44 (39.63%)
Total		56 (50.45%)	55 (49.54%)	111 (100%)

In both television and newspaper news, most subject NP referents introduced in the lead sentence are, not surprisingly, referents of the B-5 type,

[new/unidentifiable]. Active and semi-active referents tend to be marked with *wa* and presented as topics from their first occurrence in the discourse, while new, unidentifiable referents are marked with *ga*, not acquiring the status of topic. The rare exceptions (active referents marked with *ga* and presented as non-topics, or new referents presented as topics), as illustrated in examples (9) and (10), can be explained from a pragmatic perspective:

(9) 旧第一勧業銀行がおおよそ 1 6 0 億円の税金を納めていませんでした。 “Former Daichi Kangyō Bank”

(10) 先月首都圏で発売された新築マンションは、4 7 0 0 個あまりで、マンション各社が大量の新規物件が出回る、秋の商戦を前に、在庫を積極的に売りに出したことから、8 月としては過去最高になりました。
”Newly built apartment buildings”

In example (9), “Former Daichi Kangyō Bank”, though semi-active, is not marked with *wa* in order to be presented as a topic and made “what the rest of the sentence is about”³. The referent takes *ga* because, in this particular case, the entire lead sentence functions as an *event-reporting sentence*⁴, presenting the event (“The bank did not pay its taxes”) as whole, new information.

In example (10), the NP referent “Newly built apartment buildings” cannot be inferred from the previous context (“sold last month in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area) and is most certainly not activated or it is at least semi-active in the receiver’s mind. However, presenting it as such and marking it with the topic marker *wa* from its first occurrence is an economical way of conveying information by skipping the stage where the existence of the referent is stated, which also ensures a smoother discourse progression (instead of saying, for instance, 「首都圏で新しいマンションが建てられ、このうち先月発売されたものの数は…」 ”New apartments have been built in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. The number of those sold last month...”).

Grounding

In principle, when a news item starts being broadcasted, or when the receiver starts reading a news story, he cannot really anticipate what kind of referents will be introduced into the discourse. Even in the case of identifiable referents, when they are at their first occurrence, the receiver makes a somewhat greater effort to process the information and find its proper place in his mental discourse model. In

³ According to Lambrecht (1994:131), “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent”.

⁴ A more detailed discussion on event-reporting (thetic) sentences /vs./ topic-comment (categorical) sentences is found in Lambrecht 1994:143ff.

order to lessen the receiver's cognitive effort, newly introduced referents must be accompanied by some kind of additional information that would help link them to the receiver's background knowledge. For this reason, very often, before the main event is transmitted, the lead paragraph provides information on the place and time of the main event, as well as on other secondary information.

In the news corpus that we analyzed, the information provided in the lead paragraph at the time of introducing new referents, can be divided into two large types:

(i) information that *links* the new, unidentifiable event to some other event that is assumed to be already known by the receiver (in many cases, a previous event that has already been discussed by news items) - which we will call *connective grounding*

(ii) information that explains or gives details about the newly-introduced event, without linking it to some other event – which we will call *explanatory grounding*

In some cases, the referents are introduced at the very beginning of the news lead (zero grounding).

Examples:

Zero grounding

(11) 皇太子様は今日、ヨーロッパ三ヶ国の訪問に出発されました。

(12) 小泉総理大臣は今日、北海道を訪れ、コンピュータを使った酪農経営の現場や、大学や企業などが連携して、新たな産業の育成を目指す取り組みなどを視察しました。

Connective grounding

(13) 東京電力が、原子力発電所のトラブルを隠していた問題を受けて、新潟県の平山知事と柏崎市の西川市長、それに刈羽村の品田村長は会談し、柏崎刈羽原子力発電所 3 号機のプルサーマル計画の事前了解を取り消すことを決めました。 - the main event of the news, the fact that three administrative bodies had a discussion and took a decision, is linked to a previous event, an incident of not reporting malfunctions at a nuclear power plant.

(14) 去年 1 2 月、奄美大島沖合いの東シナ海で起きた不審船事件で、沈没している船体をつり上げるクレーン台船が、現場海域に到着し、明日引き揚げ作業が行われます。 - the main event, the arrival of a crane vessel, is linked to a larger context of a suspicious ship incident that took place the previous year.

Explanatory grounding

(15) インターネット上で、映画や音楽などを不特定多数の人が手に入られる、Winny と呼ばれる、ファイル交換ソフトを開発した、東京大学大学院の助手、カネコ・イサム容疑者が、著作権法違反の幫助の疑いで逮捕されました。 - before introducing the main event, an arrest, the lead offers background information, the details of the misdeed that led to the arrest.

(16) 今日午後、横浜市の金沢区で、下校途中の小学生の列に乗用車が突っ込み、1 人が死亡、4 人が重軽傷を負いました。 - information on time and place of the main event is given before actually introducing it.

The frequency of these types of grounding in correlation to the types of subject NP referents in television and newspaper news leads is shown in Figures (4) and (5) below. This time, only first subject NP referents, introduced in the first main clause of the lead paragraph have been taken into account.

Fig. (4) Grounding and subject NP referent identifiability in Japanese television news leads

Types of referents	Frequency in the first lead sentence						Total	
	zero grounding		explanatory grounding		connective grounding			
	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>
A-1. active	13	0	4	2	17	1	34	3
A-2. semi-active	7	3	19	12	14	1	40	16
B-3. identifiable – prev. introd.	—	—	0	2	2	1	2	3
B-4. identifiable – inferable	—	—	0	6	0	2	0	8
B-5. new, grounded	—	—	7	133	0	15	7	148
Total	20 (24.09 %)	3 (1.68 %)	30 (36.14 %)	155 (87.07 %)	33 (39.75 %)	20 (11.2 3%)	83 (100 %)	178 (100 %)

From these results, it appears that most subject NP referents, either topics or non-topics, tend to be introduced into the discourse accompanied by some kind of grounding information. Only 24.09% of the topics are directly introduced in the beginning of the lead sentence, with zero grounding. In 36.14% of the cases, topics are given an explanatory grounding, but more often (39.75%, especially in the case of easily identifiable, active) the accompanying grounding information does not bring additional explanations, but rather connects them to some other known events.

Non-topic subject NPs, on the other hand, which, in the majority of cases, have new referents of the B-5 type, tend to be accompanied by explanatory information (87.07%). Instances of connective grounding are less frequent (11.23%), and of zero grounding (such as example 9), very few (1.68%).

Fig. (5) Grounding and subject NP referent identifiability in Japanese newspaper news leads

newspaper news reads

Types of referents	Frequency in the first lead sentence						Total	
	zero grounding		explanatory grounding		connective grounding			
	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>
A-1. active	6	0	2	0	3	0	11	0
A-2. semi-active	6	1	1	1	3	0	10	2
B-3. identifiable – prev. introd.	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0
B-4. identifiable – inferable	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0
B-5. new, grounded	—	—	1	23	0	0	1	23
Total	12 (54.54 %)	1 (4.00 %)	4 (18.18 %)	24 (96.00 %)	6 (27.27 %)	0 (0.00 %)	25 (100 %)	

Though based on a smaller number of occurrences, the results shown by the analysis of newspaper news suggest characteristics that are similar to the television news: topics tend to have connective grounding (27.27%), while the great majority of non-topic subject NPs have explanatory grounding (96.00%). In newspaper news we find, however, more instances of topics with zero grounding (54.54%)⁵.

Conclusions

Subject NP referents that appear in the Japanese news leads are of two large types, (A) referents assumed to be *at least familiar* to the receiver at the moment they are introduced into the discourse, such as widely known national and international political, economical, social institutions or their representative individuals, and (B) referents assumed to be *unknown* to the receiver at the

⁵ However, further analysis of a larger newspaper corpus is needed in order to clearly establish whether zero grounding is characteristic to written news, or to specific types of news contents (such as politics, economy etc), or if these results are simply due to the relatively small number of instances analyzed.

moment they are introduced into the discourse, such as individuals, things or particular events that have just happened.

A-type referents of subject NPs are usually introduced into the discourse directly as topics (marked with *wa*), while B-type referents are presented as non-topics, marked with the typical nominative case particle *ga*. Also, in order to make them acquire the *identifiable* status and help the receiver easily integrate them into his cognitive model, B-type referents are always accompanied by some kind of additional information (*grounding*).

Grounding information, before the first subject NP is introduced, is found in 98% of the cases where the subject NP is marked with *ga*, and even in 26% of the cases of topics (NP-*wa*). Grounding information tends to have different functions according to the type of NP referents. In most cases, topic subject NP referents have *connective grounding*, i.e. information that does not bring additional explanations on the referents, but rather connects them or the entire main event presented by the news item to some other events that are assumed to be known by the receiver. Non-topic subject NP referents, on the other hand, which, in the majority of cases, have new referents of the B-5 type, have *explanatory grounding*, i.e. additional information that helps the receiver *identify* them. Overall, both types of grounding, and the fact that grounding is provided *before* the introduction of new information, play an important role in information processing, making the new information easier to integrate into the receiver's preexistent cognitive model.

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THE FASCINATION OF KNOWLEDGE JAPANESE ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND SOFT POWER – A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW –

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Abstract: Emerged at the intersection between Japanese classical knowledge, mainly of Chinese origin, and imported Western technology as well as technical know-how, Japanese encyclopedias reflect Japan's ambitions to become a modern superpower. In a comparable way as Western encyclopedias, Japanese encyclopedias deal, on one hand, with knowledge conceptualization and organization as means to enforce a specific worldview as human experience and progress, and transcend, on the other hand, hidden interactions between knowledge and information in a transcultural historical context. While focusing on some of the most representative of Japanese encyclopedias, it is this paper's goal to highlight some of the strategies employed by leading intellectual and political figures in Japan's history to implement a knowledge system according to Western standards, but patterned upon own cultural and spiritual heritage. Beyond translation and sedimentation through appropriation there is the performative power of language – and its identification mechanisms. The transition from ethics to aesthetics and from imagination to ideology in the marketing of knowledge as educational enterprise reflects the metamorphosis of Japanese encyclopedias as genre from an insignificant socio-cultural medium to a powerful political-economic message in late-premodern and modern Japan as well as Japan's emerging awareness from being an "outsider" of the Western world to gradually becoming an "insider" of the Asian community.

Keywords: Japanese encyclopaedias, Wamyô ruijushô, Kôsei shinpen, Nishi Amane, Hyakugaku renkan.

Introduction: Japanese encyclopedias – an anthropological Inquiry. The German philosopher Hans Jörg Sandkühler stated in his manifesto from the year 2000:

"it is the role of the encyclopedia to save the concepts and to make orientation possible. Within encyclopedia, not only the past should be preserved, but also the reality as present and

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experience should be kept and organized. The role of encyclopedia is to create human worlds for tomorrow and to safeguard them, to act as agents to transmit and implement *sensus communis* [common sense] – that is, ‘independent thinking’, ‘integration of the self among the others’ and ‘thinking without contradictions’ – in times of ethical turnovers. Encyclopedia offer ideological support during social, political, economical and cultural crises, put order in disordered societies and not at last, organize the judging capacity of individuals in moments of confusion.” (Sandkühler 2000:79)

Such an important role of encyclopedias as ordering mechanism comes from their subliminal power to order alphabetically – that is, impartially – material and immaterial issues. It is through the abstract power of knowledge which turns into concrete power to be used in very concrete affairs that encyclopedias gained their special place among other literary genres and printed forms. Encyclopedia as means of soft power is namely an issue taken into account by producers – that is, publishing houses - and manipulators of political, economic or cultural power to control and move social actors – readerships of encyclopedia. Thus, it is this paper’s goal to outline some of the strategies employed by Japanese encyclopedia makers to construct a solid ideological background via floating aesthetic migration. The transition from imagination to ideology and from ethics to aesthetics in encyclopedic practice reflects the transformation of encyclopedias’ role from an insignificant socio-cultural medium to a powerful politic-economic message in modern Japan. With this basic assumption, I shall try to point out the history of encyclopedic practice in Japan while underlining its soft power-like characteristics. To illustrate this ambivalent relationship between knowledge and power, I shall proceed in two steps. Firstly, I shall explain the two keywords of this paper – encyclopedia respectively Japanese encyclopedia; secondly, I shall present a brief history of Japanese encyclopedias as seen through the prism of soft power and the interaction between knowledge as a means of power as it develops into a state mechanism while transgressing imagination into ideology and ethics into aesthetics. My analysis has two levels: there is the intrinsic level, where the text of the entries is to be taken into account, its form and contents as well as – when possible – its background. On the second level, the extrinsic one, the historical context of the encyclopedias is to be considered: the cultural, social, economic, political on-goings as well as the interaction between them. In my cognitive-anthropological approach, it might be of major importance that I refer to encyclopedias regarding them in the larger context of their emergence and development rather than as linguistic artefacts. Anthropologically regarded, there are two levels of encyclopedic practice to be taken into account in the forthcoming analysis: as form and as contents. The five paradigms of encyclopedic form include their position in the stress ratio between media and message as these terms were defined and implemented by Marshall McLuhan. Furthermore, encyclopedias exist traditionally as knowledge containers and means of knowledge organization, systematization, transmission and preservation as the

analysts Hans Jörg Sandkühler, Michel Foucault and Firtz Machlup see them; on the other hand, Zygmunt Bauman and Mike Featherstone employ the term encyclopedia in the surrounding of knowledge transfer, translation and transgression. A further knowledge paradigm appears in the context of [over]specialized knowledge, as Bauman puts it. Manuel Castells refers to encyclopedias as timely conceptions, and in Slavoj Žižek's writings they are subject of gendered readings to reflect and enforce the male-female asymmetries. However, in the stress ratio between being represented and representing, as Joy Hendry puts it, encyclopedias appear as compound knowledge and socialized form of knowledge on the marketed world of knowledge display and knowledge control: Complex relations of submission (*Unterwerfung*) and repression (*Unterdrückung*) in Foucault's parlance as well as of knowledge inversion and subversion as Yoshimi Shun'ya refers to it, emerge and designate four paradigms of encyclopedic contents: Firstly, there is the balance between self (identity) and other (alterity), as Butler and Kristeva in the textual analysis of literary forms stress. Secondly, there is the evolution from ethics to aesthetics and from imagination to ideology, as to be found in writings by Jacques Lacan, Gernot Böhme, Terry Eagleton and Raymond Williams. Thirdly, there is the tension between text as discursive formation and image as non-discursive representation, as Kristeva and Augé refer in their regardings of contemporary phenomena. Fourthly, there is the narrative level of the printed materials and the meta-narrative level of the sources, institutions, authors, spatio-temporal contexts, readerships, as to be found in Geertz's, Kristeva's and Foucault's analytics of power relationships in times of cultural reproduction.) Japanese encyclopedias are called *hyakka jiten* 百科事典 which literally means "book of many subjects" or in contemporary Japanese "book of hundred subjects"; alternatively, the term *hyakka zensho* literally meaning "comprehensive writings of hundred/many subjects" is used. However, if one recalls that the term 'encyclopedia' in European languages means general or everyday education or study as derived from the Greek terms ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία *enkyklios paideia* (*enkýklios* = everyday, common, usual; and *paideía* = education, teaching), the semantic switch in case of Japanese encyclopedia seems to be drawn back to Nishi Amane, one of the main promoters of Westernization in Japan after its re-opening towards the West in 1868. In Japan's transition from a feudal archipelago to a modern nation-state, Nishi Amane's *Hyakugaku renkan* (1870-1871) played a decisive role as linguistic performance to employ Judith Butler's term of self-stylizing identity. From that moment on, in the first half of its modernity, Japan would attempt what one could call a gamble with power: inventing the nation in the maelstrom of historical turmoils with the concurrent dissipation of stocks of knowledge and the insinuation of flows of information, as Maclup would later call the process of crystallization of knowledge out of fugitive information. Nishi proposed as early as 1870, as to be shown in the lines below on early modern encyclopedia in Japan,

the translation of the encyclopedia concept as “chain of several sciences” in his seminal lecture series with the English title *Encyclopedia* and the subtitle *Hyakugaku renkan* (his translation of the European term ‘encyclopedia’) meaning “Chain of many sciences”. Nishi Amane drives his denomination of encyclopedia back to the original meaning of the concept ‘encyclopedia’: *enkyklios* (something which becomes usual, common due to its circular return and repetition in time) and *paideia* (education, cultivation) did not mean since Quintilian only everyday knowledge/education, but a kind of completed circle of education/study as to be presumably conceptualized through the canon of the *Artes liberales* containing seven disciplines. The canon was extended during the 16th-17th centuries to over 100 disciplines and discipline fields to cover universal knowledge and was organized systematically, as Johann Heinrich Alsted stated in his seminal work *Encyclopaedia Cursus Philosophici* (1630). Drawing back to this anthropologically nuanced meaning of encyclopedia as work to include universal knowledge from different disciplines organized systematically, Nishi Amane established the concept of Japanese encyclopedia as writings to transmit and implement general knowledge in a systematized manner; his term *hyakugaku renkan* would not survive, however, being replaced by *hyakka zensho* or, later, *hyakka jiten* while the semantic contents stayed the one proposed by Amane on the basis of his interpretation of Western encyclopedia as concept and knowledge paradigm. Nishi Amane’s *Hyakugaku renkan* and its ethics of the nation as common knowledge through education stress the role of discursive performativities – another key term in Butler’s formulation of identity – towards the creation of a national self, as to be accomplished in the infamous year 1984 when the Japanese encyclopedic school comparable with its German, French or British counterpart was established through the release of the Heibonsha, Shogakukan and English-version of Kôdansha. The centripetal and centrifugal effect of knowledge, as Castells calls modern processes of power fluctuations, find in Nishi Amane’s *Hyakugaku renkan* and its ambivalent organization of Western, Chinese and Japanese thought and thinking structures their early concretizations. It is, potentially, in the frugal notes of this lecture series to be sought the very core of Japan’s astonishingly fast modernization and its miraculous postwar resurrection.

2. From knowledge to power: a history of Japanese encyclopedias

The undeniable and double-directioned relationship between knowledge and power is a truism. To see how this relationship concretized in Japan’s case as one of, in its turn, most ambivalent and contradictory instances of the modern world, in the following moments I shall trace back in time the emergence and development of Japanese encyclopedias in the light of the soft power concept. Accordingly, one can notice a three-stage process in re-constructing this relationship in the Japanese context. Contrary to the prevalent opinion that

encyclopedias are not available in Japan, it becomes obvious at a closer look that they can trace their origins to the early Heian period, in the ninth century. Encyclopedic works had been published in Japan for well over a thousand years before Japan's first modern encyclopedias were published after Japan's opening to the West, during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Furthermore, several encyclopedias have been published in Japan since World War II, including several children's encyclopedias, and two major titles are currently digitally available as well: the Encyclopedia Nipponica published by Shogakukan, and the Sekai Dai-Hyakka jiten, compiled by the Heibonsha publishing company. One important encyclopedia was from Kôdansha, in Japanese as well as in English.

2.1. Internalizing otherness: Japanese premodern encyclopedias

Contrary to the prevalent opinion that encyclopedia are available in Japan only since its modernization and hasty import of Western civilization patterns, one can trace the origins of encyclopedia or encyclopedia-like works as far back as the early Heian period (794-1185/1192), in the ninth century. The antecedents of the modern Japanese encyclopedia date from the ancient period and the Middle Ages. Encyclopedic books were imported from China from an early date, but the first proto-encyclopedia produced in Japan was the 1000-scroll *Hifuryaku* (秘府略, literally "Summary of the Palace Library"), compiled in 831 upon the emperor's orders by Shigeno no Sadanushi 滋野貞主 and others, only fragments of which survive today. The first truly Japanese-style encyclopedia is said to be Minamoto no Shitagô's 源順 (911-983) 10-scroll work *Wamyô ruijushô* 倭名類聚抄 from 938, which literally means *Lexicon of Japanese readings of words or Japanese names [for things] classified and annotated*, begun in 934 at the request of Emperor Daigô's daughter.¹ Written in the ancient Japanese syllabary system *man'yôgana* (a system using *kanji* to represent Japanese pronunciation) and based on an ancient lexicographical collation system developed in Chinese dictionaries), the *Wamyô ruijushô* contains entries arranged by category and categorizes *kanji* vocabulary, primarily nouns, into 24 main headings (*bu* 部) divided into 128 subheadings (*rui* 類). For instance, the *tenchi* (天地 "heaven and earth") heading includes eight semantic divisions like *seishuku* (星宿 "stars and constellations"), *un'u* (雲雨 "clouds and rain"), and *fûsetsu* (風雪 "wind and snow").

The *Wamyô ruijushô* is the oldest extant Japanese dictionary organized into semantic headings, analogous to a Western language thesaurus. This ancient lexicographical collation system was developed in several Chinese dictionaries. Each dictionary entry gives the Chinese character, sources cited, Chinese

¹ This *Wamyô ruijushô* title is abbreviated as *Wamyôshô*, and has graphic variants of 和名類聚抄 with wa 和 "harmony; Japan" for wa 倭 "dwarf; Japan" and 倭名類聚鈔 with shô 鈔 "copy; summarize" for shô 抄 "copy; annotate".

pronunciations (with either a homonym or *fanqie* spelling), definitions, and corresponding Japanese readings (in ancient *man'yōgana*). It cites over 290 sources, both Chinese (for example, the *Shouwen Jiezi*) and Japanese (the *Man'yōshū*). The *Wamyō ruijushō* survives in both a 10-volume edition (十卷本) and a 20-volume edition (二十卷本). The larger one was published in 1617 with a commentary by Nawa Dōen (那波道円, 1595-1648) and was used in the Edo period until the 1883 publication of the 10-volume edition annotated by Kariya Ekisai (狩谷棧齋, 1775-1835), also known as the *Senchū Wamyō ruijushō* (箋注倭名類聚抄 "Annotated commentary *Wamyō ruijushō*"). The 10-volume edition has 24 main headings divided into a total of 128 subheadings, while the 20-volume version has 32 and 249, respectively. The table below illustrates how words are semantically categorized in the 10-volume edition. The broadly inclusive *Wamyō ruijushō* dictionary was an antecedent for Japanese encyclopedias. In the present day, it provides linguists and historians with an invaluable record of the Japanese language over 1000 years ago (Bailey 1960:4-6, 18-19, Okimori 1996:287-288).

Heading	Rōmaji	Kanji	Translation	Subjects
1	<i>Tenchi</i>	天地	Universe	constellations, weather, gods, earth, topography
2	<i>Jinrin</i>	人倫	Humans	gender, kinship, family, marriage
3	<i>Keitai</i>	形体	Body	body parts, sense organs, internal organs
4	<i>Shippei</i>	疾病	Sickness	diseases, wounds
5	<i>Jutsugei</i>	術藝	Arts	martial arts, fine arts, skills
6	<i>Kyosho</i>	居處	Architecture	houses, walls, doors, roads
7	<i>Sensha</i>	舟車	Vehicles	boats, carts, carriages
8	<i>Chinpō</i>	珍寶	Treasures	precious metals, jewels
9	<i>Fuhaku</i>	布帛	Textiles	embroidery, silks, woven fabrics
10	<i>Shōzoku</i>	装束	Clothing	hats, clothes, belts, shoes
11	<i>Inshoku</i>	飲食	Foods and Drinks	liquors, beverages, cooked grains, fruits, meats
12	<i>Kibei</i>	器皿	Utensils	objects of metal, lacquer, wood, tile, and bamboo
13	<i>Tōka</i>	燈火	Illumination	lamps, lights, lighting

14	<i>Chōdo</i>	調度	Things and Supplies	implements, tools, weapons, utensils, furnishings
15	<i>Uzoku</i>	羽族	Birds	birds, feathers, ornithology
16	<i>Mōgun</i>	毛群	Wild Animals	wild animals, body parts
17	<i>Gyūsha</i>	牛馬	Domestic Animals	cattle, horses, sheep, body parts, diseases
18	<i>Ryōgo</i>	龍魚	Aquatic animals	dragons, fish, reptiles, amphibians
19	<i>Kibai</i>	龜貝	Shellfishes	turtles, shellfish
20	<i>Chūchi</i>	蟲豸	Miscellaneous Animals	insects, worms, small reptiles
21	<i>Tōkoku</i>	稻穀	Grains	rices, cereals
22	<i>Saiso</i>	菜蔬	Vegetables	tubers, seaweeds, edible plants
23	<i>Kayu</i>	果蓏	Fruits	fruits, melons
24	<i>Sōmoku</i>	草木	Plants	grasses, mosses, vines, flowers, trees

Passing over the 13th century *Chiribukuro* (塵袋, literally, “Rubbish Bag”), an 11-scroll book on the origins of things whose innovative question-and-answer format was much imitated throughout the medieval period, one comes to the Tokugawa period (1602-1868), as Japan closed itself to the Western world for more than 250 years. During this time, there were sustained efforts to create an own system as alternative to the imperialist-colonialist ethos from outside, especially from the West. This system was basically founded upon the Confucianist doctrine and took China as model. However, towards the end of the shogunate regime, as economical, political and social problems became uncontrollable, there was a paradigm shift from Chinese models to Western ones, especially transported by the so-called Dutch studies (*rangaku*). Two works played in this context a most important role.

The first work to be taken into account was *Wakan sansai zue*: In the 17th century, the *Sancai Tuhui* (三才圖會 *Sansai Zue* in Japanese, literally, *Illustrated book of the Three Powers*), a 14-part, 106-scroll illustrated encyclopedia published in Ming China in 1609, entered Japan. In 1712, emulating the *Sancai Tuhui*, Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安, a doctor from Ōsaka, published the above mentioned *Wakan Sansai Zue* (和漢三才圖會, literally *Illustrated book of the three powers in Japan and China*), the first Japanese illustrated encyclopedia. Written in classical Chinese which was the language of scholarship throughout

East Asia at the time, the book featured illustrations of subjects in the three worlds of heaven, earth, and humanity/man and reflected the outlook of its day with such fantastical entries as "The Country of the Immortals" (不死国 *fushi koku*) and "The Land of the Long-Legged People" (長脚国 *naga-ashi koku*) as well as several taxonomy systems of animals, plants and birds according to the Chinese model. Its logical presentation, topical divisions and discussion of alternative explanations for the same phenomena, however, anticipated the modern encyclopedia. *Wakan sansai zue* describes and illustrates various activities of daily life, such as carpentry and fishing, as well as plants and animals, and constellations. Reproductions of the *Wakan Sansai Zue* are still in print in Japan.

The second important work to be taken into consideration while regarding the emergence and development of soft power through means of encyclopedic writings is *Kôsei shinpen*, which was translated between 1811 and 1844 by a group of *rangakusha*, that is, representatives of the above-mentioned Dutch studies, *rangaku*. It is a confirmed fact that *Kôsei Shinpen* (freely *Encyclopedia for Household Use*, literally *A New Book of Welfare*) is a translation of the Dutch book *Algemeen Huishoudelijk-, Natuur, Zedekundig- en Konst-Woordenboek* which in its turn is the Dutch translation by Jacques Alexandre Chalmot in 1778, Leyden, of Noel Chomel's *Dictionnaire oeconomique contenant les moyens d'augmenter et conserver son bien et mesme sa santé* (1709). This translation appears as part of the exchange which was at first limited to trade between the closed Japan and the Netherlands and which gradually moved to the exchange of knowledge, as the cargo delivered by Dutch ships and imported by Japanese noblemen or shopkeepers sometimes included books in Dutch which allowed Japanese intellectuals during the Edo period to learn Western scientific knowledge which were to crystallize precisely into the above mentioned Dutch studies flourishing especially during the reign of the 8th Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751, reign period 1716-1745). Tokugawa Yoshimune was interested in products from overseas as a means of encouraging new industries and domestic production so that among others in 1720, he relaxed the Book Ban Order to allow the import of non-Christian books and actively promoted the learning of foreign knowledge, such as having intellectual samurai learn the Dutch language. Later on, as advocated by the astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu, the Shogunate government established in 1811 an official translation organization at Tenmondai in which Udagawa Yoan, Baba Sajûrô, Otsuki Gentaku, Aochi Rinso and others served, and among other works translated the Dutch translation of N. M. Chomel's work as the *Kôsei shinpen*.

The title itself, namely *Kôsei shinpen*, reflects the spirit of the time oscillating between Chinese traditional models and Western innovations: *Kôsei* goes back to a line from *Shokyô*, *The Book of Writings*, attributed to Confucius and refers to the construction possibilities of an harmonic life based on Confucianist virtues such as increasing efficiency, responsibility and loyalty as propagated by the official

doctrine of the Tokugawa regime. Contrarily, *Shinpen* has a very pragmatic meaning (new book or new edition) and reflects the translators' consciousness of not translating Chomel's original, but a new, revised edition of his work. *Kôsei shinpen* as encyclopedic work is basically a truncated version of Chomel's original, including entries resulting from a very realistic and practical approach. Christian or religious elements are completely deleted, and most included entries refer to such concrete fields as biology, pharmacy, mineralogy, commerce, industry, nutrition or astronomy. Some translated entries are wrong, mainly because of the non-existence of those issues in Japanese context (such as albatross), but remarkable is the effort to cope with unknown matters: translation as a means to cope with the unknown while incorporating it.

The main goal of this huge translation work to last between 1811 and 1845 was precisely the spreading of knowledge among a broader audience and the popularization of scientific information on the West. As at that time, encyclopedia-like works such as guidebooks to which *Kôsei shinpen* belonged existed in the stress ratio between entertainment, education, systematization of existing knowledge and information upon the outside world, *Kôsei shinpen* deals with pragmatic issues while accessing knowledge and accumulating information. It is for sure no coincidence that in the decades to come, the group of translators to tackle the problematics of knowledge in *Kôsei shinpen* will form the core of the intellectuals and technocrats to ground the Imperial University of Tôkyô in 1877 which became in time a light house of humanities research, in Asia as well as worldwide.

The translation process of *Kôsei shinpen* sets a final line to the first step of becoming aware that knowledge is power in the Japanese world. The ideological switch from Chinese models to be accelerated after the First Opium War (1839-1842) marked the increasing consciousness of the Tokugawa regime that the isolation politics couldn't last any longer and the success of the active play on the world stage could only be guaranteed by the profound understanding and coping with the Western powers. Simultaneously, the efforts to systematize and thus to control knowledge – as a means to attain power - increased and would reach a first climax in the forthcoming Meiji period. It was in the first half of its modernity, that is, from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 up to the bitter defeat in 1945, that Japan attempted what one could call a gamble with power: In this period of time, there is a search for identity based on its own historical past, but taking into account the threatening other.

2.2. Gambling with power: modern Japanese encyclopedias until 1945

In this period of time, namely the early 1870s, Japan is troubled by an intensive quest for identity based on its historical past, but taking into account the threatening other. The stylization of the modern Japanese identity draws its roots back into the three slogans of the mid-19th century: At first, identity seems a

necessary delimitation of the inner core from the outer space, concretized in the last years of the Tokugawa period in the slogan *sonnô jôi* 尊皇攘夷 – revere the emperor, expel the barbarians. Accordingly, Japanese identity is expressed via deep going clichés – genetics and milieu as explanations of Japaneseness imply a positive evaluation of the Japanese traditional culture within the framework of a self-structured hierarchy of world cultures. On the other hand, Japanese identity appears as an inevitable absorption of the rejected or restrained other, to lead to a new analysis and regarding of this other during the 1880s in Japan: *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 – „[Western] Civilization and enlightenment. Later on, it will become obvious that rejection and subsequent absorption are two connected processes to activate further interactions and developments, symbolized in the slogan of the 1890s *wakon yôsai* 和魂洋才 – Japanese spirit, Western knowledge/technology: the contemplation of the modern Japaneseness as a re-consideration of the own roots in the context of a global game with possible identities and identifications.

It was mainly due to the [Western] civilization and enlightenment movement during the 1880s that the Westernizer Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-1897) compiled Japan's first modern encyclopedia, the *Hyakugaku renkan* (百学連環). This seminal lecture series was to be published much later, in February 1945, by Ôkubo Toshiaki 大久保利謙 (1900-1995), one of the leading Japanese historians, included in the volumes containing the collected works of Nishi Amane. In *Hyakugaku renkan*, this special series of lectures delivered at Nishi's private academy, the Ikueisha, from late 1870 to early 1873, and using as title the English word *Encyclopedia* and the subtitle *The Chain of Many Sciences* or *The Linked Circle of Hundred Sciences*, Nishi attempted to present systematically the combined knowledge of the West, China and Japan, ordered according to Western categories, particularly patterned upon Auguste Comte's positivism and his "law of three stages" (theological, metaphysical, positive) and his "encyclopedic law" (systematic and hierarchical classification of all sciences). Furthermore, Nishi promoted the teachings of John Stuart Mill, that is, he rejected the deductive method traditionally used by Confucian scholars in favor of the Western inductive logic as a more scientific way of learning. However, in his attempt to transfer knowledge from the West to Japan, Nishi collided with two main problems: firstly, the semiotic means by which to translate meaning from one civilization to another; secondly, the intrinsic relationship between concepts as words and concepts as civilization idiosyncrasies as to be developed later by the Western structuralism. Important terms introduced into Japanese by Nishi as translations of Western concepts such as "literature" *bungaku*, "culture" *bunka*, "aesthetics" *bigaku*, "science" *kagaku*, "art" *bijutsu/geijutsu* etc. are to be used up to the present, while such core notions as "ideology" or "identity" not included in Nishi's efforts but later of outmost importance are used as Japanese transliterations of Western concepts, and not as Japanese concepts to translate

Western concepts. Basically, Nishi's efforts to culturally locate the newly opened Japan within the current historical surrounding should be regarded within the general context and efforts to politically-economically integrate Japan into the worldwide system as playing power without the necessity to re-invent or re-structure the existing system. That is, Nishi was aware of the fact that simply internalizing the powerful other doesn't lead to become itself powerful (see the colonies), but one was supposed to take over that powerful other, to adopt its strategies and to play with it on an equal level. Knowledge, more than technology was the main means Nishi saw to acquire this goal. Later on, in his *Hyakuichi-Shinron (New Theory of Hundred and One)*, published in 1874, he went so far as to reject Confucian ethics altogether as no longer appropriate for Japan, but was very careful not to reject Japanese heritage. In *Jinsei Sanpô Setsu (Theory of the Three Human Treasures)* from 1875 he urged all Japanese to seek the goals of health, knowledge and wealth, in place of Confucian subservience and frugality, and in his subsequent lectures to the military, he emphasized Western influenced discipline and obedience over Chinese prescribed seniority and hierarchy. Basically, Nishi's stressing of the importance for a nation to possess its own conceptualized and systematized knowledge discloses his awareness of the function of knowledge for a nation's emancipation from the status of being represented by other nations to the status of itself representing other nations, as Joy Hendry puts it, a process that will reach its end point during the Ôsaka World exhibition in 1970.

However, parallel to Nishi's efforts to import and subsequently to implement Western knowledge as Japanese (modern) knowledge, beginning in 1873, the Ministry of Education sponsored the translation of William and Robert Chambers' *Information for the People* into Japanese under the title *Hyakka Zensho* (百科全書, the "Comprehensive Encyclopedia"), which was completed in the 1880s. Later, in 1879, the Ministry of Temples and Shrines sponsored the compilation by Nishimura Shigeki (西村茂樹) and others of another encyclopedic work, the *Koji ruien* (古事類苑, literally "Encyclopedia of ancient matters"), which was finally completed in 1914. *Koji ruien* is an encyclopedic work in which premodern written testimonies upon all thinkable disciplines and fields are collected; to produce this work lasted 35 years; its dimensions are impressive, as it contains 60 volumes with several thousand pages. In such a respect, *Koji ruien* is indeed a pioneer accomplishment in the field of encyclopedic genre while providing information in several fields, from astronomy and biology to religion and agriculture.

On its way to define national – political and economic – power in terms of knowledge, the publishing house Sanseidô published its 10-volume encyclopedia, the *Nihon Hyakka Daijiten* (日本百科大辞典, the "Great Japan Encyclopedia"), between 1908 and 1919, and within the myriad of all-encompassing or specialized

encyclopedia and encyclopedia-like publications, translations or own compilations, mostly concentrating on daily practices and avoiding abstract teachings in this period, the climax was marked by Heibonsha's 28-volume work, the *Dai-Hyakka Jiten* (大百科事典, the "Great Encyclopedia"), between 1931 and 1934. It was this encyclopedia the first one to use the characters 事典 (*jiten*) rather than 辞典 (*jiten*) to represent the word "encyclopedia," starting the convention whereby the first 事典 is used to mean "encyclopedia" and the second 辞典 is used to mean „lexicon“ or "dictionary." Zensho 全書, on the other hand, with the literal meaning of 'complete treatise', as it refers to the first encyclopedia-like work published in Japan, is still used for more ambitious, literature-like works such as the translations of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.

Heibonsha's Great Encyclopedia expresses the awareness of knowledge as control and manipulation instrument to build the new Japan 新日本 *shinnippon* as promoted by a certain stratum of the intellectual elite in Japan of the late 1930s. But, certainly, cracks opened on Japan's liberal facade. Led by fanatic militarists, Japan's expansionist adventure on the continent went out of control and reached eventually due to the atom-bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as due to Japan's subsequent unconditional surrender a very sad end. During those dark years, the whole nation became mobilized – including the intellectuals and their works, with an astonishing success. Some of them did really believe in Japan's role to liberate Asia from Western colonial hegemony, some of them gave in because of fear, opportunism or as a consequence of univoque measures taken by the government such as preventive detention, ban of intellectual activity or social ostracism, while the repentant ones were rewarded with rehabilitation programs and social recognition. The flood of official sanctioned information in wartime-Japan transformed it into an intellectual madhouse.

2.3. Towards a new paradigm of knowledge: Japanese postwar encyclopedias

Incidentally, it was the bitter defeat in the Pacific war to stop the spiral of knowledge and violence in Japan. Recapturing the slogan of the 1890s *wakon yōsai* 和魂洋才 – Japanese spirit, Western knowledge/technology – and conversing it positively, Japan started the third stage of its problematization of knowledge as power: Attempting to reinvent the paradigms of knowledge, it developed into soft power and re-located itself within the international community.²

²株式会社 講談社 (Kôdansha): 学芸局 辞典編集グループ常世田 智 (TOKOYODA Satori); 株式会社 小学館 (Shôgakukan) コミュニケーション編集局 新百科編集 金川 浩 (KANAGAWA Hiroshi); 株式会社 平凡社 (Heibonsha) 斎藤 文雄 (SAITÔ Fumio)

The decade after the war was a very hard time for the whole Japanese society. Like a phoenix from its own ashes, the Japanese culture revived beyond any expectations. Knowledge became the instrument to prove the new Japanese superiority and developed to a weapon in the context of its pacifism. Up to early 1950s, few encyclopedia and dictionaries dealing with the new era - and the occupation status - appeared; but, as the 'golden years of the Shôwa thirties' (1955-1967) meant the emergence of first welfare signs in the Japanese society, the number of published encyclopedia dealing with household-matters and everyday issues or various children's encyclopedia increased. Heibonsha responded to Japan's new internationalization by publishing the *Sekai Dai-Hyakka Jiten* (世界大百科事典, the "Great World Encyclopedia") in 32 volumes, between 1955 and 1959.

The year 1957 was marked by the desire to possess the 'three middle-class treasures' (television set, refrigerator, washing machine) corresponding to the three holy Japanese imperial symbols 三種の神器 *sanshu no jingi* (mirror, diamond and sword). The middle-class ideal - for lifetime employed husbands and professional housewives with the holy task of childcare (サラリーマン・専業主婦型家族 *Sararîman-sengyôshufu-keikazoku*) - developed in the 1960s and reached its climax in the 1970s through inelastic hierarchical corporation relationships, fixed gender patterns and efforts to fulfill the institutional, over-individual roles - what Giddens would call the 'fixed qualities' of the premodern age. The late 1960s and the early 1970s counted in Japan as well as in the West as the epoch of freudomarxism and of the student movements which contained the illusion of freedom as liberation and resistance. Standardization and repression, on one hand, and stability in a continuously changing world, on the other hand, were amplified by the ideology to overrun the West - and it eventually became a kind of globalization made in Japan: People were secure as middle-class Japanese, reaching into their history to find unique resources in a modern world. The bifurcated quality of this world - ideologically split between men and women, between work and home, between work and bars, between disciplined productivity and spontaneous emotion - gave people little latitude for thinking about self-identity.

The world exhibition carrying the motto "Progress and Harmony of Mankind" - regarded by most critics as an arrogant and obtrusive display of Japanese power - took place in the year 1970 in Ôsaka. Such publications as Shôgakukan's 19-volume *Encyclopedia Japonica*, Japan's first full-color reference work, between 1967 and 1972, or *Gurando Gendai Hyakka Jiten* (グランド現代百科事典, the "Great Modern Encyclopedia", 1970-1974), a 21-volume encyclopedia published by Gakushû Kenkyûsha, appear as emblematic for this era described sometimes as 'the miracle sixties': the decade between the Tôkyô Olympics (1964) and the first oil crisis (1973). In 1974 and 1975, a 30-volume

Japanese version of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the *Buritanica Kokusai Hyakka Jiten* (ブリタニカ国際百科事典, the "Britannica International Encyclopedia"), was also published in Japan. In 1977, 講談社大百科事典 Kôdansha's Great Encyclopedia (28 volumes) was published, as a preparation for the lavish encyclopedia publishing entertainment in the 1980s.

The 1980s seem to be a key era in Japan playing a threefold role: firstly, the climax and denouement of previous accumulations; secondly, the silence before the storm; thirdly, the spring-board into the 1990s. Two main encyclopedic enterprises started, for sure not coincidentally, in the infamous year 1984. Heibonsha returned with a 16-volume compilation, the *Dai-Hyakka Jiten* (大百科事典, the "Great Encyclopedia", 1984-1988), and Shogakukan began publishing a 25-volume encyclopedia, the *Nihon Dai-Hyakka Zensho* (日本大百科全書, literally, the "Japan Comprehensive Encyclopedia," but officially known by the English title, *Encyclopedia Nipponica*, 1984-1989).

Heibonsha's *World Encyclopedia* (世界大百科事典 *Sekai Dai-hyakka Jiten*, World Comprehensive Encyclopedia) is the first of Japan's two major encyclopedia, published by a publishing house which had put emphasis on encyclopedia since its foundation in 1914. *Heibonsha World Encyclopedia* is widely held to be the most complete and up-to-date encyclopedia in the Japanese language. Currently, *World Encyclopedia* holds three editions: the printed edition, edition on DVD, and the online edition called *Network Encyclopedia Netto de hyakka* ネットで百科. All articles in the *Heibonsha Encyclopedia* are signed by their authors. The encyclopedia does not include a list of reference works used in each article. Articles differ widely in length based on the significance of the topic. The encyclopedia covers a wide variety of topics of both general and specific interest, with particular attention to topics relating to Japan. The 1988 edition features 90,000 entries and includes an index that lists cross-references for approximately 400,000 terms. Beginning with the 1988 edition, the encyclopedia has included an index in Western character sets for more convenient searching of foreign words.

The other of Japan's major encyclopedia is *Encyclopedia Nipponica* (日本大百科全書 *Nihon Dai-Hyakka Zensho*, literally the "Japan Comprehensive Encyclopedia") published by Shogakukan, available in five formats: traditional book form, CDROM, e-book, Internet, and as an i-Mode service, the last two require payment to use. The first edition of *Encyclopedia Nipponica* included 25 volumes and it was published along five years. *Encyclopedia Nipponica* was intended to describe Japan and the Japanese in depth and at large. After 10 years of preparation, over 130,000 entries and 500,000 indexes were organized in alphabetical order in more than 23,000 pages. The most recent version, 1994, has 26 volumes, including the separate volumes of indexes and an auxiliary. Over 6,000 authorities contributed articles to the *Encyclopedia Nipponica*. The topic

ranges from social sciences, natural sciences, humanities and lifestyle, emphasizing the Japanese social climate and culture. It focuses on the local region and its history, holding 3,325 entries of Japanese place names. At the same time, it explains foreign countries, culture, history, and societies, focusing especially on relationships with Japan. The length of the articles varies. Some are only a paragraph, while the others are over two pages. The articles are signed. Over 50,000 clear and beautiful images enable the users to enjoy the encyclopedia and to understand the explanation. In particular, sciences and arts articles contain graphs, charts, maps, earth satellite maps, chronological tables, pictures of the arts, and portraits. In addition to each entry, the encyclopedia contains "collaborations" where several authorities from different academic fields combine their various academic viewpoints. The verb entries are the other feature of *Encyclopedia Nipponica*, which cannot be seen in conventional encyclopedias. They not only explain the simple meaning of verbs but also describe them culturally, socially, and scientifically. For instance, the entry of "walk" explains the ways and the reason for both people and animals to walk and the results of medical experiments on walking.

Though not technically a Japanese encyclopedia because it is not written in Japanese, the Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan is an comprehensive English-language encyclopedia on Japan, first published by Kôdansha in 1983 and supplemented in 1986. Covering a broad range of topics on Japan such as encyclopedia standards on history, literature, art, religion, economy, and geography, it was created by both Japanese (680) and non-Japanese scholars (524) from 27 nations. Japanese scholars produced 40 percent of the text, while foreign scholars wrote the remaining 60 percent; still, Japanese and American scholars wrote the majority of the articles. The articles are unsigned. Many articles are English translations from Japanese encyclopedias. There are more than 11,000 entries covering 37 categories of information; it also contains roughly 1000 illustrations in the form of photographs, maps, diagrams, graphs, charts and tables. In order to accommodate a wide audience, from students to businessmen and diplomats, articles were written with the dual purpose of introducing topics at a level appropriate for a high-school student and provide a good starting point for more advanced students with some knowledge of Japan. While many articles are no more than a paragraph, more general headings such as "History of Japan" have as many as 70,000 words. Many articles are followed by suggestions for further readings in English, Japanese, and occasionally other languages. Japanese names are given in Japanese order (surnames first).

Guided by Emperor Hirohito's death on January 7th, 1989, and by the enormous economic recession in the year 1990, further incidents such as the case of girls serial murder Miyazaki Tsutomu 宮崎勤 (1988-1989), the Great Kansai-Earthquake 阪神大震災 *Hanshin daishinsai* (January 17th, 1995) and the sarin gas

attack of the religious sect Aum Shinrikyô オウム真理教 *Ômu shinrikyô* (on march 20th, 1995) in the Tôkyô metro convulsed the Japanese society deeply. These years denote a sensitive change within the Japanese prosperity society. Printed encyclopedias are becoming rare, while digitized encyclopedias are taking the over-hand. Also, the official preoccupation with encyclopedia as media decreases, while its function as message to underline national superiority is stressed. The topics range, exactly as during the first encyclopedia boom in 1960s-1970s, from cuisine to foreign languages, fashion to human rights; in this context, encyclopedias capacity to compress power and knowledge becomes obvious – Japan develops after the economic disenchantment at the beginning of the 1990s into a cultural superpower, not at last because of its enormous reserves of cultural power accumulated along decades of negotiation and confrontation with the outer world. Digital and online encyclopedias: The advent of personal computers and the Internet has brought encyclopedias into the digital age. In addition to the Japanese version of Wikipedia, Japanese Wikipedia, which has about 300,000 articles (as of December 15, 2006), the Encyclopaedia britannica and Microsoft's Encarta both appear on CDROM in Japanese versions. Even if the word 'encyclopedia' is gladly transferred by publishing houses to works which are not quite fully fulfilling universality requirement, the works bring in from an artistic and contents-connected point of view the profit of an encyclopedia. The research of the late 20th and early 21st century, decided to apply the designation 'encyclopedia' also to works published before 1700 which represent or include all or several knowledge areas. However, these works differ in form and contents much from the modern encyclopedias. Since the digitization and the data processing and data representation era, the term 'encyclopedia' is applied to multimedia reference books as well, which are available in digitized form and can be purchased on-line or on various electronic media. They find their starting point further on in reference entries, but add partial additional organization characteristics.

In this context, there is often the complaint about the disappearance of printed encyclopedia in the age of mass digitalization. One should not forget the frequently questioned triad pluralism, democracy and encyclopedia, where the encyclopedic principle is not the compensation of the decay of a once homogeneous world into digital pluralism, as well as the digital pluralism is not the destruction of the good of yore, but a certain kind of development: a new form of *conditio humana*. It is only a historical fact that in former times the normality – whatever this normality would mean – was in such a way suppressed that enlightenment movements had to break down resistance; it stays as confirmation, not as objection. Change and the perception of the change as crisis are usual reactions to such historical movements; the whole philosophical thinking has emerged and developed ever since as oppositional thinking out of crises from previously unchecked convictions and as a form of staggeringly guessed meaning.

Out of these crises, institutions of the education and orientation emerged and developed in their turn, exactly as encyclopedias, until they turn again into crises. As such, the encyclopedia is born within the crisis that it itself is diagnosing. The early encyclopedias followed usually systematic order principles. Solely, the enlightenment encyclopedia turns into for the alphabetical consequence of the lemmata. The philosophes attempt to moderate the loss of a leading order by placing in front of the Baconian systematics of the sciences and through subdivided categories. But there was actually no loss. The alphabetical ordering principle order signals the request for self-thinking and a veto against the authority arrogance, which adheres to the systematics of school philosophy. The user is not limited by the system, but has the freedom to navigate and slalom its way from A to Z. In this perspective, the regret that Hegel's system concept of an 'encyclopedia of the philosophical sciences' to become generally accepted has not survived, is no longer understandable. Hegel's hierarchical model emerges and culminates in a philosophy which crows over as the principle per se and refers to all other symbolic forms as subordinate elements.

Should one see in Friedrich Schlegel's thesis that the encyclopedia can absolutely be represented only in fragments the worse alternative? Still, the stronger and from a systemic point of view more modest motives that Diderot exposed offer a more future-oriented perspective than the mono-logical thinking: Actually, an encyclopedia aims off to gain the parts of knowledge scattered everywhere on the earth's surface, to expose the general system of these knowledge to the human beings we live together with, to deliver them to those coming after us, so that the work of the past centuries was not useless for the coming centuries, so that our grandchildren become not only more educated, but at the same time more virtuous and happier, as well; thus, we do not die without having paid our price of humanity to the humankind we belong to. In the succession of the encyclopedic reason, one should remind that the encyclopedic principle was initiated by someone (d'Alembert) who basically disliked systems. Encyclopedias are symbols of a developed scientific co-operation and symbol of unity feeling between sciences and scientists, the fraternity between the new encyclopédistes. [...] Such an encyclopedia, which plans a pointing out of gaps and opposite points of view and which stresses the incompleteness of our knowledge, is meant particularly for people to face their own process of growth and spiritual development.

3. Conclusion: knowledge as power – beyond anthropological worry

Turning back to Mr Saitô Fumio, born in 1945 in Tôkyô and a biology graduate from University of Tôkyô in 1968, who helped me extensively during my fieldwork, here are his words:

„Encyclopedias are basically right-oriented, conservative publications. I myself, I am one of the most left-oriented persons in the Heibonsha corporation

– and still, in my private circle, I am regarded as extremely conservative. I think, that's where the power and the political usability of encyclopedias rests. As tangible monuments of knowledge, they shape the ideals of their readers and control [subliminally] their achievements, still, without directly or openly mirroring the newest historical developments. I think, that's why the editing and selling of encyclopedias was a resplendent business for decades, from the 1960s until the 1980s – an absolute successful story for publishing houses on an economic level. Encyclopedias are creating and establishing social cohesion and ideological confirmation. Due to the emergence of digital encyclopedias and of the internet, the classical paper encyclopedias lost their almighty authority. Though, the new information media cannot take over the function of the old, traditional encyclopedias, not only as containers of knowledge, but as mediators of social significance. I think, that's the main problem of the Japanese society nowadays. It has been flooded by a huge wave of new media which dissolved the old one without being able to completely replace them with a comparable powerful message. That's why I militate for the perpetuation of the printed paper encyclopedias.”

The philosophy, which understands itself as encyclopedic, does not decree what is to be considered true. It is an offer, a thinking means, a possibility, of orienting itself in the knowledge and by knowledge. The encyclopedia is one of the cultural forms, in which under the conditions of the pluralism possible worlds co-exist; the apparently chaotic variety is brought into a unit, which is not controlled by the one. In exactly this form the encyclopedia becomes useful. Differently than the Babylonian large library, whose knowledge supply remains for the individuals usually virtual, the encyclopedia offers world versions for exactly the knowledge, which individuals can appropriate. It contributes to repair at least three lacks which are specific to humans. The first lack is an inability to suppress the space: Humans live in the area of a culture, even if in it several cultures overlap. Transculturality exceeds the individual, and interculturality is not a fact, but a standard. There is not only one culture. The philosophical thinking informing the encyclopedia corresponds to the attitude that it is more justified and more meaningful to accept heterogeneity and diversity in the world than to defend the homogeneity of a world maintained through religious, philosophical and political monisms and which is governed by principles. From this follows the criticism of stories in which cultures see their origins and in whose horizons they see their futures. The encyclopedia offers a form in which an epistemic democracy corresponds to the plurality of the ethical-political ways of lives of humans, strong enough to face criticism from hegemonic dogma tables of the requirements of individual knowledge cultures. The second lack bases in the finiteness of human life: There are borders of knowledge; we never know everything that would be possible to know; we never know enough, in order to be able to consider ourselves judicious in all affairs interesting us. Nobody knows the whole of the natural and historical world in its parts. Like that it is also with the

territories of the knowledge cultures. The encyclopedia is a good form of a not uninterested, but interested coexistence of the different realization and knowledge ways.

The third lack is an inability in time: Without auxiliary means of remembrance there is nothing to learn out of the past: encyclopedia works as a kind of long-term memory. We are not coming from nowhere. An encyclopedic philosophy charges for this when it keeps alive and-or makes alive the features of the reality in its historical origin, existence and possible future. What is specific for philosophy? The answer which claims philosophy is the science of the general, is nonsensical: there is no such argument. The discourse of the abstract general reaches only specialists of academic philosophy, while plain people are generally interested in the individual and special. As well, the 'totalising' thinking way, which is often attributed to the philosophical thinking as its characteristic feature, is a dead end; 'the whole' is not a true instance if it exterminates the particular. It is something else to save the diversity of life and of the ways of thinking in the contractions of the encyclopedia in such a way that structure and development of nature, society and knowledge history become reasonable. The encyclopedia summarizes the special, it brings it under a more general name, in which the individual case emerges. It is in this way that it also deals with past knowledge: encyclopedia supports the individuals in their archaeological work on knowledge.

Sugimoto Tsutomu, one of the leading linguists and Japanese language historians, expressed the following thoughts during a long conversation held in Kamakura in March 2010:

“For ages, Japanese intellectuals were aware that – imported or own – systematic knowledge was the foundation of any strong nation, namely in its educational function. From *Wakan sansai zue* to *Kôsei shinpen* and further to modern encyclopedias on the model introduced by Nishi Amane, there was the permanent strive to support the inner coherence of the Japanese archipelago and later of the Japanese nation through a solid education based on knowledge organization and mediation. Encyclopedias were the main tools in this endeavor.”

Japanese encyclopedias outline the dynamics of knowledge and power while managing cultural stability and social cohesion, which lead to economic prosperity and eventually to political hegemony. Nishi's original stressing of the importance for a nation to possess its own conceptualized and systematized knowledge discloses his awareness of the function of knowledge for a nation's emancipation from the status of being represented by other nations to the status of itself representing other nations, as Joy Hendry puts it, a process that will reach its climax during the Ôsaka World exhibition in 1970. Oscillating between original Chinese models and subsequent Western archetypes, along the history, they challenge such asymmetrical notions as identity and alterity through new formulations of ideas flows and their transformational nature: The emergence of

knowledge as means of soft power which metamorphoses into real – political as well as economic – power reveals encyclopedic practice in Japan's case as one of the secret weapons in the course of its astonishingly fast modernization and its miraculous postwar resurrection. The strategies employed by Japanese encyclopedia makers to construct a solid ideological background via floating aesthetics migration range from capturing the powerful other and internalizing it while constructing its own identity to implementing the powerful core of the self within the world community. The transition from imagination to ideology and from ethics to aesthetics in encyclopedic practice reflects the transformation of encyclopedias' role from an insignificant socio-cultural medium into a powerful politic-economic message in modern Japan. After the important paradigm shift from Chinese classical models to Western innovative archetypes in the last third of the Tokugawa period, Japan struggled to remain intact, a cultural monolith, in the Asian region while trying to compete with Western power in their own supremacy system. At the turn of the millennium, it would change its definitional strategy from absorbing respectively letting itself being absorbed into a system to challenging the existing system via own development models and plans, all based as in case of Meiji Restoration as well, on technocratic visions. It is to be seen in the future if knowledge as soft power can indeed turn into solid power and lead to supremacy.

Nowadays, it is an open secret that Japan is redefining superpower – though as cultural issue and in terms of cultural hegemony. Japanese encyclopedias appear to be, more than their Western equivalents, containers of knowledge and power; they mediate a certain worldview as common understanding based on flows of information transformed into blocks of knowledge and implemented as such. While dealing with knowledge organization and translation, Japanese encyclopedia construct Japanese identity as stress ratio between dynamics of knowledge and games of power and implement a specific worldview as human experience and progress. Japanese encyclopedias outline the dynamics of knowledge and power as well as the discursive construction of identity with the stress on transculturality and nationality. Oscillating between original Chinese models and subsequent Western archetypes, along the history, they challenge such asymmetrical notions as identity and otherness through new formulations of ideas flows and their transformational nature: The emergence of knowledge as means of soft power which metamorphoses into real – political as well as economic – power reveals encyclopedic practice in Japan's case as one of the secret weapons in the course of its astonishingly fast modernization and its miraculous postwar resurrection. The strategies employed by Japanese encyclopedia makers to construct a solid ideological background via floating aesthetics migration range from capturing the powerful other and internalizing it while constructing its own identity to implementing the powerful core of the self within the world community. In an analogue manner as fugitive information turns to crystalized

knowledge, what is to a certain point in time known as culture, identity or art depends on the level of disrupting forces inside or – better said – above the society. The condensation of liquid information into solid knowledge through encyclopedias along its last 300 years from late Tokugawa period up to the climax in the 1970s and early 1980s and the subsequent dissipation of solid knowledge into liquid information coincide with Japan's economic development. Simultaneously, the transition from imagination to ideology and from ethics to aesthetics in encyclopedic practice reflects the transformation of encyclopedias' role from an insignificant socio-cultural medium into a powerful politic-economic message in modern Japan. After the important paradigm shift from Chinese classical models to Western innovative archetypes in the last third of the Tokugawa period, Japan struggled to remain intact, a cultural monolith, in the Asian region while trying to compete with Western power in their own supremacy system. At the turn of the millennium, it would change its definitional strategy from absorbing respectively letting itself being absorbed into a system to challenging the existing system via own development models and plans, all based as in case of Meiji Restoration as well, on technocratic visions. It is to be seen in the future if knowledge as soft power can indeed turn into solid power and lead to supremacy.

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『桜の実の熟する時』の読まれ方
—大正前期の文芸投稿雑誌の言説を視座にして—

SHIMAZAKI TŌSON'S *WHEN THE CHERRIES RIPEN*,
ITS READERS, AND THE CONTRIBUTION MAGAZINES
OF THE TAISHŌ ERA

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Abstract: This paper analyzes Shimazaki Tōson's autobiographical novel *When the Cherries Ripen* in connection with its publication medium, 'BunshōKurabu', one of the most widely read contribution magazines of the Taishō period. Such magazines had become popular around the turn of the century; by encouraging readers to send in their contributions to be judged by famous writers (and published as a prize, if they were deemed worthy), they were, on the surface, signaling towards the possibility of any reader to become a writer, while in reality shaping a new type of readership, ready to identify the modern writer with a role-model, idol-like existence. Thus, the elevated status of the Taishō writer often turned him into a "man of character" and moralist, who used the space provided by magazines to educate his future readers, and shape their perceptions about his own works/ public persona. My paper discusses Tōson's novel as a representative of this tendency, interpreting it not only as a mere reflection of the author's life, but also as part of the broader historical and cultural context, which had made autobiographical novels and the surrounding media discourse an important locus for the virtual encounter of writers and readers.

Keywords: readership, media, Shimazaki Tōson, contribution magazines, *When the Cherries Ripen*.

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1.はじめに

大正二年一月に、当時「文章世界」の編集に携わっていた前田晁の「年若な読者のために」¹という依頼に応じて、島崎藤村が「桜の実」を連載し始める。作者は一章と二章のみを載せ、後ほど「新生事件」と呼ばれるようになった姪との不倫事件に決着をつけるため、四月にフランスへ渡る。その後、一年近くの執筆空白を挟み、大正三年五月から題目を『桜の実の熟する時』と改め、フランスから原稿を送りながら、小説の連載を再開する。帰国後も、大正六年十一月から翌年六月まで「文章世界」で『桜の実の熟する時』の連載が続き、大正七年五月から「新生事件」を告白した小説『新生』（「朝日新聞」）の発表と平行している。

『桜の実の熟する時』は、明治四一年四月七日から同年八月二〇日まで「東京朝日新聞」に連載された、作者自身を含む元「文学界」同人達をモデルとした小説『春』の内容と深い関係を持っている。また、藤村自身が『桜の実の熟する時』は『春』の序曲とも見られるであらう²と述べている。しかし、執筆の時期は「新生事件」や小説『新生』の執筆と重なっているため、先行研究においては本作品を藤村と姪との不倫事件や、それに伴った作者の渡仏と結びつけて、それらの出来事を描いた『新生』の「序曲」、「母胎」、「原型」として論じられることが多い³。

また、先行論では、『桜の実の熟する時』中に描かれている主人公の〈成長〉、〈人間形成〉、〈自我確立〉の過程は典型的な青春小説の要素であるとされ、「ドイツ型教養小説」⁴、あるいはイギリス型の「芸術家小説」、「イニシエーション小説」⁵であると指摘されている。このような先行論の多くにおいては、教養小説的な要素も作者自身の個人的な危機感と関連づけられ、藤村が『桜の実の熟する時』における性格の純粋な幸吉像⁶を通して、墮落した『新生』の岸本像の挽回を示していたとの指

¹ 島崎藤村「『桜の実の熟する時』の後に」（「定本版藤村文庫」第四巻、昭和一二）。

² 「『桜の実の熟する時』の後に」（「定本版藤村文庫」第四巻、昭和一二）。

³ 例えば、瀬沼茂樹『評伝島崎藤村』（実業之日本社、昭和四二）、和田謹吾「島崎藤村」（「国文学解釈と鑑賞」、昭和四六・八）伊東一夫「『桜の実の熟する時』論考」（東洋大学大学院、昭和五一・三）などの論がある。

⁴ 笹淵友一「『桜の実の熟する時』論（上・下）」（「学苑」昭和六一・一一、昭和六二・二）。

⁵ 滝藤満義「『桜の実の熟する時』—失われた時間を求めて—」（『島崎藤村』明治書院、平成三）。

⁶ 単行本化の際、登場人物の名前がすべて『春』、また『新生』のそれに通じるもの（岡幸吉→岸本捨吉、西尾→菅、明石→足立）に改められた。

摘もある。

他方で、執筆当時の時代背景を視野に入れて考察を行ったものとして、高橋昌子の論文がある。「『事業』と『実業』の間—『春』から『桜の実の熟する時』へ—」⁷では、大正期の若い読者の興味が「公的領域」から「私的領域」へと向けられるようになったことに反応した結果、藤村は「文学」を「事業」として捉えず、その代わりに文学の宗教性や神秘性を強調することを選んだと指摘されている。また、高橋昌子「『桜の実の熟する時』の読書—「生涯」の模倣から「文章」の模倣へ—」⁸においては、引用や言及される透谷などの様々な文章の「読者」としてテキストに登場する幸吉の読む行為には、『桜の実の熟する時』自体が「どのように読まれてほしい」という作者からのメッセージが込められており、当時行われつつあった「私小説享受」への変化というプロセスが確認できると述べられている。

『桜の実の熟する時』は藤村の実生活上の問題（「新生事件」、渡仏）にもかかわらず、六年にわたって執筆された小説である。作者自身が単行本化の際に扉に載せた「これは自分の著作の中で年若き読者に勧めてみたいと思ふものの一つだ」⁹という言葉、また「文章世界」という雑誌の特質からも分かるように、その想定されていた読者は「年若き」者である。『春』において描かれた出来事は明治二六・七から同二九・九までのものであったが、今回は作者のより古い過去が掘り起こされ、明治二三年から明治二六年までの出来事が描かれている。本論ではこのような内容を持つ『桜の実の熟する時』というテキストの特徴を検討し、それらの特徴を大正期の文芸投稿雑誌「文章世界」や「文章倶楽部」の誌面に頻繁に現れている言説と結びつけて考察し、その当時における一つの読まれ方を明らかにしていきたい。

2. 『桜の実の熟する時』の特徴

2.1 回顧の眼差し

『春』と『桜の実の熟する時』は「元禄の大家が明治の代に復活した頃」（『春』）、あるいは明治の「まだ若い二十年代」や「まだ水道といふものは無い頃」（『桜の実の熟する時』）の出来事を回想する、といった関連した内容と、その時代を生きた青年という共通の登場人物を持つと先

⁷「島崎藤村研究 第二五号」平成九・九。

⁸「国文学解釈と鑑賞—島崎藤村 生誕百三十年特集」平成一四・一〇。

⁹ 春陽堂から、大正八・一・一。

に述べた。しかし、一つの異なる要素としては、この〈回想〉の中心に置かれている人物とそれに対する語り手の位置が挙げられる。一方で『春』は青年の群像を描くことを目的（その目的を完成できなかったとしても）とし、岸本（島崎藤村がモデル）に焦点を当てながらも、彼が登場しない場面も多く含まれており、また彼以外の人物の心境も語られている。例えば、青木（北村透谷がモデル）については、「旅から帰った岸本が唯其所に坐つて居るとは思はなかつた―彼は眼前に往時の自分を視るやうな気がした」とその心中が表され、菅（戸川秋骨がモデル）の場合は「物の奥に隠れた新しい意味を考へるやうに成つた」と、恋してしまった彼の心持が露わにされ、また他の登場人物の心理描写の場合においても同様である。このように、『春』における語り手は全知的かつ客観的な存在であるといえるのだ。他方で、『桜の実の熟する時』では、すべての出来事が主人公の岡幸吉（藤村がモデル）の視野を通して描かれており、回想される出来事として彼の青年時代に直接関わるものだけが選択され、語り手のノスタルジックな視線も幸吉のパーソナル・ヒストリーに収斂されている。

『春』においても、そして『桜の実の熟する時』においても、数多くの他作品が引用、または言及される。『春』の場合は、それらの引用・言及について、「投げやりな方法」¹⁰であると批判され、語り手による意味づけの欠如が作品の一番の欠点であると指摘されてきた。確かに、例えば透谷の評論「人生に相渉るとは何の謂ぞ」が引用される後のコメントは「と言つたりしたのは明らかに彼の心中を暴露したものである」に止まり、また『チャイルド・ハロルド』の一節が引用された後には、「この歌を歌つて、青木は岸本と一緒に海の方へ行かうとした」としか書かれておらず、一見語り手の説明が不足しているように見えるが、『春』の場合は、この不足が引用の選択や配置という、作者の微妙な操作によって補われているのである（本論の第一章、「島崎藤村『春』における〈狂気〉のパラダイム―〈引用〉という叙述方法を視座に一」を参照。）

対して、『桜の実の熟する時』の場合は、各引用・言及に説明・解釈が添えられている。例えば次の言説を見てみよう。

初めて自分等の国へ紹介された露西亜の作物の翻訳に就いて語るも楽しかつた。日本の言葉で、どうして彼様な柔らかい、微細い言ひまはしが出来たらう、といふことも二人の青年を驚かした。

ここでは、幸吉と西尾（戸川秋骨がモデル）の話に上がる『あひゞ

¹⁰ 小仲信孝「青春幻想の終焉―島崎藤村『春』―」（「国文学解釈と鑑賞」平成三・四）。

き』について、二葉亭四迷の翻訳書が新しい文学に適した日本語の発見のために果たした役割が言及され、文学者志望の二人に与えた刺激も描かれているのである。また、

「浅見先生には僕は神田の学校でアーヴィングをおそはった。『スケッチ・ブック』なんて言つたつて本が無かつた。先生は自分で抜粋したものをわざわざ印刷させた。アーヴィングなぞ紹介したのは恐らく浅見先生だらうと思ふよ。」

とあるように、この場面において、浅見先生（木村熊二がモデル）は日本におけるアーヴィングの紹介者だったと推定され、その「若い明治の代」を生きた人たちの学問、とりわけ文学への熱心が強調される。

さらに、『春』において透谷の評論「厭世詩家と女性」が引用される際、その意味づけは直接に行われることはなかったのに対して、『桜の実の熟する時』においては、引用後に次のような言説が見られる。

これほど大胆に物を言つた青年がその日までにあらうか。すくなくも自分等の言はうとして、まだ言ひ得ないで居ることを、これほど大胆に言つた人があらうか。

このように、評論の冒頭が引用された後、幸吉のそれに対する感動が詳しく表されると同時に、青木の発想は皆が言おうとしているものが初めて言葉になったものとして評され、その歴史的な意義もほのめかされている。次の場面をも見てみよう。

もっともっと胸一ぱいに成るやうなものが欲しい。左様思つて見ると、堤を切つて溢れて行くやうな「チャイルド・ハロルド」の巡礼なぞの方に、幸吉は深く心を引かれるものを見つけた。青い麦の香りを嗅ぐやうなバアズンの接吻の歌も、自分の国の評判な俳優が見せて呉れる濡幕にも勝つて一層身に近い親しみを覚えさせた。『ビイナスとアドニス』の情熱を通して、『エルテル』の悲哀を通して、まだ知らなかつたやうな大きな世界のあることを想像し始めた。

『春』でもバイロンの詩が引用されるが、その後に「この歌を歌つて、青木は岸本と一緒に海の方へ行かうとした」としか記されておらず、直截的な説明はなく、解釈が読者の文脈を読み解く力に委ねられている。しかしここでは、幸吉を魅了した西洋詩人バイロン、バーンズ、シェークスピア、ゲーテが「自分の国の評判な俳優が見せてくれる濡幕」と対比さ

れ、前者が「大きな世界」へと広がる可能性を孕んでいると評されている。そうすることによって、主人公の思想的な基盤が示されると同時に、明治二〇年代における江戸的なものと西洋的なもののぶつかり合いも暗示されているのである。

丁度あの雑誌の中に現れて居たものは、そのまま学校の方にも宛嵌めて見る事が出来た。斯うした意気込の強い、雑駁な学問の空気の中が、幸吉の胸に浮かんで来る麴町の学校だった。すべては試みだ。そして、それがまた当時に於ける最も進んだ女の学問する場所の一つであつた。

この場面では、吉本さん（巖本善治がモデル）が主幹であつた「女学雑誌」の活躍が評価され、その歴史的な意義も強調される。「当時に於ける最も進んだ」という表現から、この評価も〈回想〉の時点からなされていることが窺えよう。

幸吉は二十一といふ歳も二週間ばかりのうちに尽きやうとする頃であつた。麴町の学校でも第二学期を終わりにかけて居た。彼はある悲しい決心を掴んだ。「古人も多く旅に死せるあり」とその「奥の細道」の中にある文句を繰返した。

『桜の実の熟する時』においては、西洋文学や明治文学の試みとともに、芭蕉の『奥の細道』も引用されている。それは、明治二〇年代における芭蕉受容のあり様と関係しているといえよう。例えば、藤村は「馬上人世を懷ふ」（「文学界」二号、明治二六）において「流れ行く水も理想の姿になりとせば、西行芭蕉ダンテ、セクスピアの徒これまた風流の姿にあらずや」と、西洋・日本古典の偉人を同じ価値の基準を元に論じているのだ。

要するに、『桜の実の熟する時』では引用されるテキストや、言及される雑誌と人物について説明が添えられており、それらの文学テキストなどが主人公の精神的な成長との関係において語られると同時に、明治二〇年代という「当時」において果たす役割も強調されているのである。

続いて、『桜の実の熟する時』において描かれている、明治の「若い二十年代」の中に成長していく二十歳前後の青年について考察してみよう。

2.2 青年像

『桜の実の熟する時』においては、『春』とは違って、焦点は青年群像ではなく、主人公幸吉のパーソナル・ヒストリーに当てられると先に述べた。そこでまず、少年から青年になろうとしている幸吉についての言説に着目してみよう。

天は焰の海のやうに紅かつた。驚くべく広々とした其日まで知らずに居た世界がそんなところに閃いて居た。そして、その存在を語って居た。寂しい夕方の道を友達と一緒に寄宿舎へ引返して行つた時、言ひあらはし難い歓喜が幸吉の胸に満ちて来た。

ここでは、夏期学校で「希臘道德より基督教道德に入るの変遷」という講演を聞いた帰りに、その感動を胸に浮かべながら夕暮れの景色に見入っている幸吉の姿が描かれている。文明史の講演によって得られた豊かな知識と自然の壮麗さが重なり、希望に溢れる「広々とした」世界を幸吉に示しているのである。

その一方で、彼の悩みが次のように語られている。

憂鬱——一切のものの色彩を変へて見せる憂鬱が早くも少年の身にやつて来たのは、幸吉の寝巻の汚れる頃からであつた（中略）制へがたく若々しい青春の潮は身体中を駆けめぐつた。

幸吉にとっての成長は、将来から吹いてくる「そよそよした楽しい風」、あるいは「遠い先の方」で自分達を「待受けている」「広々とした世の中」だけではなく、「憂鬱」のイメージにも結びつけられ、自分がコントロールできない自然のものとしての成長に対する彼の抗いも表されている。

青年時代に自然と身を襲う「憂鬱」だけでなく、幸吉の悩みの元になっているのは、将来への不安でもある。

幸吉に言はせると、自分達の前にはおほよそ二つの道がある。その一つはあらかじめ定められた手本があり、踏んで行けばいい先の人の足跡といふものがある。今一つにはそれが無い。なんでも独力で開拓しなければ成らない。彼が自分勝手に歩き出さうとして居るのは、その後の方の道だ。言ひがたい恐怖を感じるのも、それ故だ。

卒業後の幸吉の心境が表されているこの場面において、「恐怖」を乗

り越えて「自分勝手な」道を歩き出し、「何でも独力で開拓しなければ成らない」という彼の決心が語られ、その行程は孤独で危ないものとして描かれている。また、

自分で自分の小さな生涯を開拓するために初めての仕事を宛行はれに訪ねて行く幸吉の身につては、涯しも無く広々とした世の中へ出て行かうとするその最初の日のやうでもあつた。

とあるように、小父さんの許を離れて、翻訳の仕事に取り掛かろうとする、自分で自分の道を「開拓」したいという幸吉の決心は繰り返し表されている。この開拓とは、新しいものへの執念や、知らない「広々とした」世界に向けた期待を意味すると考えられよう。

何時来るとも知れないやうな遠いやうな先の方にある春。（中略）青木と幸吉の交際はその日から始まった。（中略）それほど心の渴いて居た幸吉は、斯の新しい交りが展げて見せて呉れる世界の方へぐんぐん入つて行つた。

この場面において、「何時来るとも知れないやうな遠いやうな先の方にある春」に対して不安と期待を抱えながら「早い春を実現した」青木（北村透谷がモデル）に出会い、自分も「新しい交りが展げて見せて呉れる世界の方へ」と進んでいく幸吉の姿が表されている。そしてこのような長い過程を経て、「幸吉は眼前に望み見る若葉の世界をやがて自分の心の景色として眺めながら歩いて行くことも出来るやうな気がした」とあるように、教壇に上ることが出来、やっと自分の道を歩き出した幸吉は、自然界の春と同時に、「自分の心の景色」としての春をも迎えようとしているのである。

幸吉にとっての青木との出会いは、文学の世界への入り口であり、また恋愛への入り口でもあった。彼が友達の著作（透谷の評論「厭世詩家と女性」）において説かれた「愛」に触発され、自分の生徒勝子に思いを寄せるようになる。しかしここで幸吉が発見する「愛」とは、理想的なものであり、また文学作品にあるようなものでしかないのだ。幸吉が「ずっと遠い昔に歌集や随筆を遺して行つた徳の高い僧侶の生涯などを考へ、誰でも一度は通過さねば成らないやうな女性に対する情熱をそれらの人達の若い時に結び着けて想像」し、自分を悩ましている「愛」の形を古典にも見出している。そして、この悩みに決着をつけるための旅立ちも「古人も多く旅に死せるあり」という『奥の細道』の文句に裏づけられているのだ

。芭蕉からのこの引用によって、旅のモチーフは死のモチーフに結びつけられてもいるが、テキストの末尾では逆に旅＝新生というイメージの方が強い。同じ〈旅の始まり〉で終わる『春』だが、その末尾の雰囲気を作成する「灰色の空」、「水煙」や「ザアと」降ってくる雨、さらに「映つたり消えたりし」ている外の風景は、岸本の閉鎖的かつ絶望的な心境を表している。他方で、「まだ自分が踏出したばかりだ」、「まだ若いさかりの彼の足は踏んで行く春の雪のために燃えた」という『桜の実の熟する時』の末尾は明らかに対照的である。要するに、主人公幸吉の憂鬱や悩み、また将来への不安と恐怖が描かれながらも、その向うには何か期待できるような「広々とした世界」があることが暗示され、彼はその世界への道に「踏出したばかり」であるとされているのだ。

以上のような幸吉の表象されるプロセスに加えてテキストには、幸吉の個人的な体験だけではなく、普遍的な青春の体験も浮かび上がっていくといえるのである。例えば、次の言説からそれが窺えよう。

彼は自分自身の遽かな成長を、急に高くなつた身長を、急に発達した手足を、自分の身に強く感ずるばかりでなく、恩人の家の方で、もしくは其周囲で、自分と同じやうに揃つて大きくなつて行く若い人達のあることを感じた。

皆無邪気な少年から漸く青年に移りつゝある時だ。何となくそよくとした楽しい風がずっと将来の方から吹いて来るやうな気がする時だ。（中略）揃ひも揃つて皆急激に成長つて来た。春先の筍のやうな斯の勢いは自分の生きたいと思ふ方へ幸吉の心を競ひ立たせた。

これらの場面において、「成長」は幸吉の身だけに起きている変化ではなく、「自分等」、「皆」、「若い人達」が「揃ひも揃つて」経験するものとして語られている。また、「春先の筍のやうな斯の勢い」などのような表現によって、これは自然のものであることも強調されるのである。このように、幸吉の成長が「皆」の成長として拡大され、また『桜の実の熟する時』の「年若な読者」が共有できる一つの体験として提供されているのである。

要するに、幸吉の新しさの追求を促しているのは、翻訳を通した新しい日本語の発見や西洋文学の紹介、また「女性の改善と発達」などという、当時の様々な「試み」である。また、開拓者の孤独と苦痛が描かれながらも、末尾においては「踏み出したばかりだ」という主人公の言葉によって、「待受けている」春、の確実に存在することが再確認される。さら

に、作品中で若い幸吉たちと「若い明治の代」のイメージが重ね合わせられ、その将来への確実な進行が明治二〇年代の出来事を回想している語り手の存在によって保証されるといえよう。そこで次に『桜の実の熟する時』に見られる、『春』と異なる作風・主人公設定に影響を与えたと思われる一つの重要な要素として、発表媒体と発表当時の文壇状況を検討していこう。

3. 大正期における文学受容の変貌

3.1 大正期の投稿雑誌

『桜の実の熟する時』の発表媒体は博文館から出版されていた雑誌「文章世界」である。若者を相手に、文章の見本を提示し、文章訓練を行う傍ら、文壇ゴシップや文学知識を多く掲載するなど、投稿雑誌の特質と文芸雑誌の要素を両方持ち合わせた、一般青年向けの読み物である。このような「文章世界」の目的は、実用的な文章を一般青年に学ばせるということであったが、投稿欄を設けることによって青年たちに〈文学〉に参加することを促進しながら、文学・文学史・思想史等についての教養をも与えていたのである。「文章世界」の読者は一五歳から二〇歳までの若者であり、地方出身の農業従事者が多い。苦しい日常の中にあった彼等にとっては、「文章世界」を通して接触できる〈文学〉は、ある種の救いでもあったと、「読者通信」欄に寄せられる青年の手紙からは窺うことができる。

「文章世界」と同様の特質を持ち、同年齢の青年を相手にしていた雑誌として、新潮社から出版されていた「文章倶楽部」が挙げられる。これらの二誌においては、明治文学史を回顧する記事と、文学者の個人史に焦点を当てる記事といった二種類の言説が大正に入ってから現れ、大正六年前後に頻繁に載せられるようになっていた。また、このような記事は文芸雑誌や総合雑誌ではほとんど見られないことから、この傾向は投稿雑誌に特有なものであり、雑誌の一つの目的である「教養」や読者層の年齢と無関係ではないと考えられる。

一方で「文章世界」や「文章倶楽部」においては、明治の文学と文壇を回顧し系統的に捉える記事が載せられることによって、明治の文学の再評価・価値づけが行われ、〈今〉の文壇とのつながりが示されていた。また他方で、文学者の文壇に上るまでの生活がその作品・作風に投影されているとする言説も多く見られる。文学者の青年時代を中心的に扱うこういった記事には、文学者と読者の距離の縮小や、立志して偉くなった文学者の神話化という二つの狙いがあったといえよう。つまり、「文章世界」

と「文章倶楽部」両誌上の言説は、文学的・文学史的な知識を教養として与えながら、有名作者の文章の手本だけでなく、文学者の個人史を扱うことによって、それらの生活をも手本として若者に提示していたのだ。（両雑誌における記事題目と『桜の実の熟する時』に関する書誌情報は〈表〉を参照。）

そこで次章において、このような言説の中で〈藤村〉という記号がどのように位置づけられ、受容されていったのかを見ていきたい。

3.2 文芸投稿雑誌における藤村のイメージ

藤村は明治四三年から四四年まで「文章世界」の募集小説の選考に携わり、作品を評価したり、投稿者にアドバイスを与えたりする役割を果たしていた。後に田山花袋が「文章世界」の小説選評を退いた際、当誌の「読者論壇」では「差し当り氏の後として自分の望ましいのは藤村氏を措いて、他に見当たらない」（三樹耕平、大正六・二）という意見が出た。また、同じ「読者通信」において、藤村の執筆空白に対して「寂しく思った」ことや、「藤村氏の作品に接したのも嬉しいもの」（浅見夕煙、「文章世界」大正六・六）であったことが度々表され、藤村の帰国後の「目覚ましい活躍」（「文章倶楽部」大正五・八）に対する「期待」も読者の感想として誌面に現れる。また、「文章倶楽部」の「前月文章史」（大正七・六）で『桜の実の熟する時』の書き方が「天下一品」とされ、久保田万太郎は「真似す可き文章」（「文章倶楽部」大正七・八）として藤村のそれを選択している。

さらに、巧みな文章と文学的な活躍だけではなく、作者の実生活までもが評価されている。「文章倶楽部」の「文壇立志編」（大正五・八）は藤村を扱っているが、その中に彼の犠牲と苦難の多い人生が語られ、「彼の生涯は、最もよき芸術家の生涯であつた」と結論づけられているのだ。また、「文章世界」の「読者論壇」（大正八・三）では、藤田朝男が藤村を「やさしい叔父さん」と呼び「私は叔父さんといつしよにいつも苦しみ、そして涙を流すのである」と言い、若い人たちの藤村への憧憬と、彼の小説において描かれている苦痛への共感を表している。

つまり、この時期に文学・文章の指導者として、そして生活の手本としての藤村像が「文章世界」や「文章倶楽部」の記事によって作られ、青年読者によって受容され、また藤村の作品の読まれ方にも影響を及ぼしていたのである。そのため、同じ男女の群像を登場させ、同じ作者の青年時代を描いた『春』と『桜の実の熟する時』の読まれ方が異なり、その差異は以下のような要素によって形作られていたと考えられる。

まず、『春』は「東京朝日新聞」に発表され、モデル小説として様々なメディアにおいて報道されていた（例えば、明治四〇年八月号「新声」の「緩調急調」欄や「読売新聞」明治四一年一月二九日号に掲載された生方敏郎『「春」を読む』などにおける言及が挙げられる）。『春』の発表以前から、藤村の短編「並木」をきっかけにいわゆる〈モデル問題〉が起こり、その結果、主人公に作者の面影を見るという読書習慣が誕生したとされている。だがしかし、日比嘉高の指摘によると¹¹、「モデル問題」が喧しく論議されたのは、主に文芸雑誌上なのである。（中略）大部分の新聞購読者にとって「モデル問題」は、文壇で起こっているらしい一事件にとどまった」とあるように、当時の一般読者と文壇人の間に横たわっていた距離はまだ遠かったといえるのだ。このように、発表当時『春』を受容した読者として、一方では文壇情況に詳しく、かつモデル小説であることをも意識した上で、当て物をするように読んだ〈文学読者〉が存在し、他方では娯楽として連載小説を読んでいた一般の新聞購読者も存在したと考えられる¹²。これら後者の読者は、明治四〇年前後に形成されつつあった〈モデル小説〉という読書行為を獲得できておらず、登場人物に「文学界」同人を重ねることもできなかった。しかし、『桜の実の熟する時』の時代になると、このような読書行為が普及した結果、「文章世界」誌上で本作品を読んだ青年読者も幸吉を藤村と結びつけ、主人公の経験を作者自身が経験したものとして受容し、描かれている出来事・時代背景を〈事実〉として解釈していたと考えられる。

他方で、明治後期に文学者の死が新聞などに広く扱われることになり、「個人の死による文学史的な時代の分節といった発想が出現している」と中山照彦¹³は指摘している。当初はこの操作が死去した文学者に限られており、しかも文学史が作者の個人史とセットで語られることもなかった。こういった傾向がやがて出現したのは、大正六年前後の新旧交代の際であったと指摘されている。山本芳明によると¹⁴、「新旧交代劇は同時代の人々に強烈な印象を与え、翌七年には近代文学の流れを回顧する様々な企画がメディアを賑わせた。（中略）大正六年には、以降の日本近代文学を長く支配していくことになる、作家の実人生と作品の関係、それに連動

¹¹『〈自己表象〉の文学史』（翰林書房、平成一四）。

¹² 新聞小説『春』の読者について、池上研司「新聞小説『春』の読者層」（「島崎藤村研究 第一〇号」昭和五七・五）と高橋昌子「作品と作者—『春』論二—」（『島崎藤村 遠いまなざし』和泉書院、平成六）に詳しい。

¹³「死の歴史＝物語—明治後期の「文学者」の死の報道—」（「文学」平成六、五巻三号）。

¹⁴『文学者は作られる』（ひつじ書房、平成十二）。

する作品の評価に関する新しいパラダイムとそれをよしとする感性が顕在化し、正当化されようとしていた」のである。

さらにまた、大正期の青年についての一つのキーワードは「教養」であり、彼らの文学への接し方を形作っていたのも、この「教養」に対する態度である。筒井清忠によると¹⁵、大正期において、「青年層の関心が「天下国家」から「個人」の問題へと移行」する過程と並行して、「大衆の中核的エートス」であった「修養」と、学歴エリート向けの「教養」が「人格の完成」に向けて次第に収斂していき、文学的・哲学的な思想が一般教養と見なされるようになったのである。大正期に、教養としての文学・思想へアクセスしたいという青年の数が増加したことを根拠づけるものとして、啓蒙的な特質をもった「文章世界」や「文書倶楽部」のような文芸投稿雑誌の人気やこの時期に次々と出版される文学全集・選集の需要の拡大が挙げられよう。

4. おわりに

「文章世界」と「文章倶楽部」という文芸投稿雑誌は、文章の手本だけではなく、生活の手本としての文学者についての言説や、文学史、文壇情報をも載せることを通して、教養を求めていた大正期の青年のニーズに応えようとしていた。また、読者の作者になりたいという欲望を掻き立てることで、読者—作者の共同体という幻想を作ろうとしていた。同時に、実生活と芸術の関連に焦点を当て、文学者として名を成している人の「人格」を賞賛しながら、その特殊性をも際立たせようとしていたのである。

このような時代を背景に書かれた『桜の実の熟する時』において、自然の営みに喩えられた〈成長〉の普遍性が表されると同時に、「開拓者」として文学の道に挑む幸吉の特質も強調され、また、彼の「個人史」である〈人間形成〉のプロセスが語られるとともに、「若い明治の代」の進行も語られていくのである。

「文章世界」誌上で『桜の実の熟する時』を読んでいたであろう青年読者は「若い明治の代」を体験していない者であったと考えられる。これらの読者は普段から、〈文学史〉の一側面を説明・解釈し、教養要素として与えていた「二十五年前の文壇」と、一人の青年が文学者になるまでの経緯を示し、それに伴った人格陶冶の過程を手本として提示していた「文壇立志編」といった、文芸投稿雑誌上で頻出していた記事を読むことを

¹⁵『日本型「教養」の運命』（岩波書店、平成七）。

通して、明治の文学史について知識を得、明治の大家をはじめ、様々な文学者に親しむことが出来た¹⁶。そのため、読者の需要に応える形で（また同時にこの需要を形作りながら）こういった記事を多く掲載していた「文章世界」において発表された『桜の実の熟する時』も、この流れの中に読まれ、以上のような記事の要素を持ち合わせたものとして受容されたと考えてよい。つまり、『春』以前の出来事に属している、主人公が文学者になるまでの苦しい青年時代というテーマの選択、あるいは『春』の「集まって談笑する」¹⁷青年たちの描写から幸吉の個人史への重点の移行、また文学史的な言説としての明治の「若い二十年代」についての説明・解釈の挿入という作品の内容と、「文章世界」という作品の発表媒介における他言説の結合が、発表当時の『桜の実の熟する時』の読まれ方を形成したといえるのだ。

¹⁶ 例えば、「文章倶楽部」の「青年文士録」に「自分の私淑する人物」という項目に対する投稿者の返答をまとめた編集者の報告によると、大正五年九月に藤村が六位、大正八年八月に五位、とかなり高い位置を占めている。同様に根強い人気を誇っていた大家としては、夏目漱石、田山花袋、国木田独歩などが挙げられる。

¹⁷ 「『春』を書きつゝある島崎藤村氏」（「新思潮」明治四〇・九）。

文章世界 博 文 館 M39・3、T9・11			文章倶楽部 新潮社 T5・5、S4・4	
明治文学回顧	生活と芸術	「桜」発表	明治文学回顧	生活と芸術
T元 学の概観「田山花袋」 T・10「明治文壇に於ける幾多の光景」 T3・6、7、8「売文二十年史」(一)(二)(三) 巖谷小波 T4・2「新声時代の小歴史」高須梅溪 T4・4「龍土会追想録」蒲原有明 T4・8「新体詩壇の回想」兒玉花外 T4・10「パンの会の思ひ出」長田秀雄 T5・4「紅児会の頃」今村紫紅 T5・5、6「明治二十五前後の文壇(上・下)」武田篤塘 T5・7「无声会の思ひ出」結城素明 T7・1、2、3「文壇旧夢録」(一)(二)(三) 潮青居	T2・3「文章と其れを書く人の生活」西村渚山 T2・4「文学者の生活」中村星湖 T2・5「新人の生活と芸術」西村渚山 T2・9、10、11「創作前後の気分」中村星湖、鈴木三重吉、斎藤与里 T3・3、4、5、6、7「上京当時の回想」中村星湖、森田草平、小川未明、上司小剣、正宗白鳥、北原白秋 T3・4「生の営みと詩作と」清浦青鳥 T4・9「独身者の文学」生方敏夫 T5・3「処女作の思ひ出」小川未明、鈴木三重吉、中村星湖 T5・2、3、5、6「文壇立志編」谷崎潤一郎、長田幹彦、上司小剣、武者小路実篤 T6・7「私と創作」芥川龍之介 T6・10「文学者の一生」武者小路実篤 T7・6「創作をする者の心地」前田晃	T2 (後に廃棄)「桜の実」一&二章 T2・4「「桜の実」の読者に」 T3・5『桜の実の熟する時』と改題、一章 T3・8二章 T4・1四章 T4・2五章 T4・4三章 T6・5「稿を継ぐ前に」 T6・11六章 T6・12七章 T7・1八章 T7・2九章 T7・3十章(上) T7・4十章(下) T7・5十一章 T7・6十二章 T8・1春陽堂から刊行	T5・7「明治文壇側面史」(一)『蒲団』物語 T6・9「小説のはじめ」書生雲 T6・10「硯友社の人々」 T7・1「文壇三十年物語」 T7・4「三十年代の文壇」(口絵) T7・11「文壇五十年史」 T7・12「新文芸五十年史」	T5 7、8「文壇立志編」田山花袋、徳田秋声、小川未明、島崎藤村 T5・11、12「私の投書家時代」田山花袋、長田幹彦 T5・12「処女作物話」長田幹彦、正宗白鳥、田村俊子 T6・2「私の苦学時代」稲毛詠風 T6・5「五月特別倍大文壇立志号」 T6・6、7「私の十七の時」 T6・8、12「私の文壇に出るまで」 T7・8、9、10「文壇諸家二十歳前後」

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KONSEQUENZEN DER SCHILLERSCHEN KATEGORIE DES ERHABENEN IN FRIEDRICH DÜRRENMATTS KOMÖDIE DER METEOR

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Abstract: *This paper examines the implications of Friedrich Schiller's category of the sublime in Friedrich Dürrenmatt's drama Der Meteor by construing the drama's underlying narrative as an immediate derivative of Schiller's aesthetics. The Swiss author's main concepts and techniques, such as the central idea, probability, worst possible turn, odds and outcome, are being considered in their sophisticated entanglement with the German philosopher's take on the notion of free will and the power of judgment. In this context, Dürrenmatt's play around the gravity-metaphor is being read as a dramatic actualization of Schiller's appropriation.*

Keywords: *sublime, grotesque, Schiller, Dürrenmatt, paradox, ambivalence, probability, conceptuality, ontology, indetermination, free will, outcome, gravity, appropriation.*

Friedrich Dürrenmatts dramatisches Schaffen wurde im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte unter Heranziehung vielfacher Überlegungen und analytischer Methoden ausführlich erörtert. Ein erkenntnistheoretisch orientierter Bezug zur Problematik des freien Willens und des Erhabenen – etwa aus der Perspektive der Schillerschen Ästhetik heraus – ist jedoch im Rahmen der vorliegenden Dürrenmatt-Studien kaum je konsequent untersucht bzw. hergestellt worden. Dabei ruft die im dramatischen Wirkungsgefüge der Realitätsmodellierung ausschlaggebende Dürrenmattsche Kategorie des Grotesken durchaus eine (freilich mutierende) Instanz des Erhabenen hervor, anhand derer sich insbesondere das dialogisch umgesetzte Prinzip der Aneignung mit Verweis auf seine Ausstrahlungsmöglichkeit im Zusammenhang einschlägiger Begriffe bedeutungsproduktiv auswirkt. Freiheit, Absolutheit, Individuation, Beobachtung, Beurteilung, Schicksal, Zufall: Dies sind die unwahrscheinlichen

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Gravitationszentren des vom Dürrenmattschen Meteor durchschossenen abendländischen Himmel stabiler Werte.

Betrachtet man das Erhabene lediglich als bloße Subkategorie des Schönen und/oder Edlen (wie es ja im engeren Sinne mitunter gewissermaßen a priori der Fall ist), so kann man in Dürrenmatts Schaffen allerdings lange vergeblich danach suchen. Dasselbe gilt für einen jedweden An, den Begriff Erhabenheit mittels der Handlung und/oder Handlungsträger strikt positiv zu definieren oder gar zu bewerten. In Dürrenmatts Komödien wird nämlich bekanntlich viel gestorben, was ja schon an sich auf den ersten Blick alles andere als erhaben ist. Es wird darin aber auch die Haltbarkeit von absoluten Begriffen wie Sterben und Tod, ja die Haltbarkeit von absoluten Begriffen überhaupt hinterfragt, es wird gegen die Allmächtigkeit des Wahrscheinlichen, es wird gegen das Gesetz der großen Zahl reflektiert, argumentiert, gedichtet, was aus der Befangenheit des modernen Selbstverständnisses eines statistisch definierten kollektiven Erwartungshorizonts heraus den Brennpunkt einer negativ begründeten Erhabenheit ausmacht, spielt sich doch im großzügigen Zwielficht der antagonistischen Prinzipien Leben und Tod bei diesem Autor die dramatische Handlung dergestalt ab, dass im Rahmen der Inszenierung und über den Rahmen der Inszenierung hinweg nicht nur die Fatalität der menschlichen Bedingtheit in ausgeprägter Weise zum Vorschein kommt, sondern zugleich grundlegende Fragestellungen rund um den modellierbaren Modus der ästhetischen Urteilskraft und ihres je nach dem spezifischen Kontext wechselnden Geltungsbereiches aufgeworfen werden. Leben und Tod, Bejahen und Verneinen, Anfang und Ende, Wissen und Glauben erscheinen immer wieder als hinfällige, dem Zeitalter des komödienhaft verwirklichten Grotesken kaum mehr zur Genüge reichende Konstrukte.

In *Der Meteor* wird dabei das Erhabene als negativ besetzte Instanz dichterischer (und hierin eben vor allem auch im ausgesprochenen Sinne dramatischer) Schöpfungswut sozusagen an sich und für die Rezeption wohl am deutlichsten vergegenwärtigt, was zeifelsohne zum Teil auch mit der Wahl der Titelmetapher zusammenhängt. Fast möchte man sagen, die Longinsche¹ blitzartige Verabreichung sublimierter Empfindung, der einmalige und überwältigende Impuls unendlicher Bedeutungsproduktion, sei bei Dürrenmatt kongenial unter Beibehaltung der ästhetischen und philosophischen Geworfenheit der Perspektiven ins Aufleuchten des Meteors als sinnlich-geistige Erscheinungsform übergegangen. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass durch die sprachgewaltig ausgearbeitete stilistische Methode der Totalisierung in der Figur des Schwitter-Meteors gleichsam der Übergang vom Kantischen Verständnis des Erhabenen als allmächtiges Naturereignis zum Schillerschen Konzept des

¹ Bei Longinus ist das Erhabene "Vollendung und Gipfel sprachlicher Gestaltung". (Longinus, S. 5). Das Erhabene (bei Longinus auch „das Erstaunliche“ genannt) wird mit einem „plötzlich zuckendem Blitz“ verglichen. Mehr dazu vor allem auch in: Barone, S. 33.

Erhabenen als Attribut des Menschen dank der Ausstrahlungskraft einer sublimierten Idee wiedergegeben wird, rückt die Überlegung des kulturgeschichtlichen Verhältnisses zu seiner sinnlichen und geistigen Umgebung zwingend in den Vordergrund der Betrachtungen. Und bei Dürrenmatt ist es vor allem die sprachliche Umgebung, die mehr ontologische Würde in Anspruch nimmt, etwa indem ursprünglich harmlos anmutende Sprachkörper (in *Der Meteor* wird die Kategorie des aus seiner Bahn geratenen Sprachkörpers gleichsam als Pendant des hernieder stürzenden Himmelskörpers konstituiert) eine dergestalt ungemeine materielle Kraft entwickeln, dass die außersprachliche Wirklichkeit dadurch ganz im Longinschen Sinne umgeformt wird². Im Unterschied zu anderen Dürrenmattschen Komödien, wie etwa *Romulus der Große* und *Der Besuch der alten Dame*, in denen ebenfalls das an den Begriff der Erhabenheit anlehrende Prinzip der Totalisierung einer Figur am Werke ist, die wie ein fremder Körper in eine Welt vertraut dünkender etablierter Begriffe und Werte einbricht, wird das Moment des Erhabenen in *Der Meteor* gleichsam von der Gesamtstruktur des dramatischen Umfelds her betrachtet fast direkt aus Schillerschem Gedankengut abgeleitet.

Der Autor bedenkt mithilfe seiner vor Kraft strotzenden zentralen Metapher die sinnliche und übersinnliche Bedingtheit des Menschen in unmittelbarer Nähe des Todes: sozusagen am Rande des Seins. Ethik und Ästhetik erscheinen wieder als verschiedene Aspekte eines einzigen Begriffs, den es vermittelt eines allumfassenden Impulses zu erörtern gilt. Der brennende, der blendende, der aufblitzende Meteor erhellt das anständig dünkende Nichts der schönen Nacht mit seinem erhabenen Etwas. Unter anderem stellt der Autor hier die Frage, was ein absolutes Werk ist, wie es entsteht und womit (genauer: mit was für einer Handlung, mit was für einer Wendung, mit was für einem Wort) es im schlimmstmöglichen Fall aufhört, um die bestmögliche Bahn eines in der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts etablierten abendländischen Modells erbaulicher Bürgerlichkeit zu durchbrechen.

Es ist bezeichnenderweise vor allem das antinomische Verhältnis zwischen dem Künstler als Schöpfer von Welten und dem Kunstwerk als denkbarer Laufbahn innerhalb eines semantisch geladenen Gravitationsfeldes, dem das Moment des Erhabenen zugedichtet wird. Die dadurch gezeitigten Dichotomien (allen voraus: Sein/Nichtsein) greifen tief ins klassische Gedankengut des gebildeten Bürgers – und bringen es durcheinander. Goethes *Homunculus*³ etwa macht in mehrfacher Hinsicht ein nennenswertes Gegenbild zu Schwitter aus, vermittelt dessen sich zum Verhängnis des Nichtaufhörenkönnens dasjenige des Nichtanfangenkönnens hinzu gesellt. *Homunculus* ist ein kaum existierender Mensch (aber eben nicht ein nichtexistierender), der es sich schwer macht, so

³ Die ontologische Ungereimtheit des *Homunculus* wird folgens definiert: „Er ist, doch ist er kaum.“ *Faust II*, S. 94. Mehr dazu in Poenaru (ZGR), S. 170.

richtig zu entstehen, während Schwitter ganz im Gegenteil dem Zustand des Entstandenen angehaftet bleibt und ihm nicht so richtig zu entinnen vermag. Der eine kann nicht anfangen zu leben, der andere kann nicht aufhören zu leben. Beide sind sie nur kaum: irgendwo zwischen absolutem Sein und absolutem Nichtsein dem Fluch negativer Erhabenheit ausgeliefert.

Geht man allerdings mit Schiller davon aus, dass die Freiheit allein im Widerstand gegen die Sinne kenntlich gemacht wird, so wäre das Moment der Freiheit bei Schwitter nur dann realisierbar, wenn er die Bereitschaft aufweisen würde, dem Tod zu entsagen. Er ist jedoch lediglich bereit, dem Leben zu entsagen, was an sich zwar eine Resignation ausmacht, aber eben nicht die rechte, worauf die negative Ästhetik der Erhabenheit zurückzuführen ist, die aus der Figur Schwitter hervorstrahlt.

Der prominente Schriftsteller Schwitter kann nicht sterben – und anders als es dem modernen Kulturmenschen bei Freud⁴ wenigstens im Unbewussten ergeht, kann er auch nicht an seine Unsterblichkeit glauben. Darin gründet sein Verweifeln. Er kann aber auch nicht wirklich weiterleben, denn er liegt ja im Sterben. Sein Bezug zu dieser Welt ist ein uneigentlicher. Die Dialektik des Erhabenen scheint an ihm zugrunde zu gehen, und die Dialogik des Erhabenen ringt nach einer Begrifflichkeit, die ihr der Autor entzieht. Macht Schwitters Nichtsterbenkönnen ein Moment der absoluten Unfreiheit aus, da er gerade das, was er will, nicht haben kann?

Alle Menschen müssen sterben. Doch Schwitter ist einer, der nicht müssen muss. Das könnte man Freiheit nennen, wenn es denn sein Wille wäre. Sein Wille ist aber einmal gerade nicht, dem Tod zu entgehen; er will sich ihm vielmehr stellen, um somit das Aufhörenkönnen als Sterbenkönnen zu „erleben“. Durch diesen gerissenen perspektivistischen Umschlag auf der semantisch sublimierten Ebene kontrahierender Modalverben steigert Dürrenmatt die Schillersche Debatte rund um den Begriff der Freiheit und des Erhabenen, was vielleicht kein Zufall ist, sondern auf zweckmäßigen Zusammenhängen der (fingierten) Absolutheit des Individuums und dessen grundlegenden ontologischen, erkenntnistheoretischen und moralphilosophischen Veranlagungen basiert.

Der Widerspruch zwischen Leben und Tod wird somit nicht etwa in dialektischer Weise aufgehoben, sondern ausgesprochen dialogisch: in seiner unabdingbaren Ambivalenz. Geht man nun aber der Dialogik zuliebe im sinnstiftenden Bedeutungsspiel der produktionswutigen Modalverben mit einer skeptischen Auffassung von Freiheit und Bedingtheit weiter, so muss angenommen werden, dass der Mensch zwar tun, aber immerhin nicht wollen kann, was er will. Schwitter kann nicht sterben, obwohl er es will. Alle, die seiner Laufbahn nahe treten, müssen dabei jedoch sterben, obwohl sie es nicht wollen. Die Frage, ob Schwitter wollen will, dass er sterben muss, oder ob er es

⁴ Freud, S. 149.

schlechthin wollen muss, ist hierin besonders im Falle eines mit Wahrscheinlichkeit, Zufall und Fatalität wirkenden Skeptikers wie Dürrenmatt mit Hinblick auf die Dramatik der menschlichen Bedingtheit in vielfacher Hinsicht besonders ergiebig. Umformuliert: Es geht um die Frage, ob Schwitter wollen will, dass er müssen muss.

Der moderne Mensch definiert sich durch sein Wissen, seine angehäuften oder eben angeeignete Bildung und seine Freiheit. Ob sich die bei Schiller aufschlussreich formulierten Prinzipien der schönen Bildung und der erhabenen Freiheit im Meteor anhand eines negativ geladenen Wertungssystems der abendländischen Kultur in unschöne Bildung und erhabene Unfreiheit umgedeutet werden können, ist freilich eine Sache der subjektiven Standortbestimmung des Interpreten. So gehört denn etwa aus der Perspektive des modernen Menschen zur Definition des Meteors die Tatsache, dass er auf die Erde niederstürzt, wobei allerdings offen bleibt, ob er dann letztendlich auch tatsächlich auf die Erde fällt oder vielmehr während des Absturzes in der Atmosphäre zu einem vielsagenden Stück Nichts zerschmilzt, von dem man annehmen darf, es sei erhaben.

Sind dabei die Derivate der Schönheit – die schmelzende Schönheit, die Anmut und die Naivität – schon in der Kontemplation des Meteors als versinnbildlichter Himmelskörper oder eben als bloßes anschauliches Ding an sich – für Herz und Verstand sichtbar, so tritt erst in der unmittelbar erlebten Vergegenwärtigung des Sturzes die Instanz des Erhabenen anhand der Attribute der Würde, der energischen Schönheit und der Sentimentalität in den Vordergrund der Betrachtungen. Der bloße Anblick des Meteors entspricht somit dem Schönen, sein Sturz dem Erhabenen. In Schwitters Nichtsterbenkönnen sind allerdings außer Kants Dichtomie des Schönen und Erhabenen und Schillers entsprechenden Duplizität von Anmut und Würde auch noch die naturwissenschaftlich raffiniert untermauerte und geisteswissenschaftlich etablierte Selbstverständlichkeit des modernen Menschen sowie dessen Mythen und kollektiven Erwartungen am Werke.⁵

Der Meteor macht unter anderem offensichtlich eine Metapher der Schwerkraft aus. Ein semantisches Feld wird durch Begriffe geordnet, denen Konnotationen beigemessen werden, die in Bezug auf das noch unerschlossene Konglomerat der Deutung Ausschlag gebend agieren. Die Schwere der Wörter, mit denen der Nobelpreisträger um sich herumwirft, das Echo seines letzten Satzes, der sich selbst überlebt, das dramatische Spannungsfeld, das auf vielfacher Ebene durch die hinscheidenden menschlichen Handlungsträger hergestellt wird, all dies deutet auf die dialogische Systematik einer unwahrscheinlichen Verschlüsselungstechnik, die sich im Akt der Lektüre in blitzartiger Weise offenbart, um aus der absoluten Unbedingtheit des Erhabenen ein Licht auf die

⁵ Vgl. Dürrenmatts Bekenntnis dazu in der Diogenes-Werkausgabe, Bd. IX, S. 159: „Ich zeige, daß der Nihilismus keine Lehre, sondern eine Haltung des Menschen ist.“

herangezogene ontologische, poetologische, religiöse und im weitesten Sinne geisteswissenschaftliche Problematik der zwiespältigen Moderne zu werfen.

Wenn ein Meteor auf die Erde zustürzt, ist das Ende nah: eine ansprechende Intuition. Angesichts des nahenden Endes wird wichtig, was sonst unwichtig wäre. Der nun von einem größeren Himmelskörper gefangene Meteor zieht seinerseits weitere Körper in seinen Bann. Der sterbende Schwitter wird vom Tod angezogen und zieht alle Menschen mit in den Tod, die ihm nahe stehen oder eben nahe kommen. Er selber schafft das Ende der letzten Reise freilich nicht und muss folglich weiterleben. Das klingt paradox und ambivalent. Man mag es nihilistisch nennen und darin die Dekadenz des zusammenbrechenden Wertesystems einer absagenden Kultur erkennen, oder aber man greift zur zweckmäßig in den (Welt)Raum gestellten Bedeutungskonstellation der Theorie des Erhabenen, um eine Laufbahn zu beschreiben, die im wörtlichen Sinne nirgendwo hinführt, dabei jedoch etwas über einen Sachverhalt aussagt, der mit dem menschlichen Bezug zur unheimlichen Problematik der Absolutheit und Totalität zu tun hat.

Schwitter tut wenig, besser gesagt er tut weniger als wenig, wäre doch der Akt des Sterbens das allerwenigste, das er sozusagen „tun“ könnte. Eins jedoch kann und will er nicht lassen: Er fällt ein Urteil über seine Mitmenschen und über die Welt, das gewissermaßen das Hauptmerkmal eines ästhetischen Urteils im kantischen Sinne aufweist. Es ist mit keinem persönlichen Interesse verbunden. Denn das Individuum Schwitter hat als groteske literarische Figur seine Festigkeit aufgegeben bzw. eingebüßt und ist nur noch auf das Eine fixiert: auf seinen eigenen Tod, der freilich nicht mehr ihm selbst gehört, sondern in eine allgemeine, fast würde man sagen in eine öffentliche Angelegenheit des Diskurses rund die Sackgasse umgewandelt wird, in die unsere Weltanschauungen einschließlich des Themenkonglomerats vom Anfang und vom Ende und von der Gesetztheit oder Gegebenheit der Dinge an sich und für uns münden.

Die von dieser dramatischen Konfiguration an den Leser/Zuschauer gestellten Ansprüche sind gewaltig. Der Autor malt ein Bild unserer Welt aus, und dem Rezipienten bleibt es vorbehalten, ein ästhetisches Urteil über dieses Bild zu fällen, das zugleich Anlass gibt zur Selbstreflexion und zur schöpferischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem innewohnenden Sinn einer Welt, eines Werkes, eines Bildes oder einer einschlägigen Idee.

Es gibt in diesem Stück eine grundlegende binäre Anheftungsweise des spontan zusammengesetzten Daseins (bzw. Nichtdaseins) und der Dinge, die dazu gerechnet werden. Die – kaum als solche zu bezeichnende – Handlung spielt sich in einem nur ungefähr definierten Intervall zwischen Leben und Tod, zwischen Freiheit und Bedingtheit, zwischen dem anschaulichen und dem erschütternden Himmelskörper, zwischen Bejahen und Verneinen, zwischen dem Schönen und dem Erhabenen ab. Allerdings geht es bei Dürrenmatt nicht (ja strenggenommen nie) um einen Himmelskörper als solchen, sondern vielmehr um die Art und

Weise, in der sich die Menschen dazu verhalten. Anders als bei Kant kann das Erhabene für Dürrenmatt nämlich nicht einfach in der Natur existieren, sondern nur durch das Individuum, genauer gesagt durch die Gesellschaft der Individuen. Es ist ganz im Schillerschen Sinne ein Attribut jener höheren Sphären des Menschlichen, in denen sich die unbegrenzte Freiheit der Kontemplation und Aneignung jedwelcher Begriffe, Bezüge, Prinzipien und Gesetzmäßigkeiten manifestiert, denen der Mensch nicht unterliegen kann, da sie angeblich ihren höheren Grund in ihm haben.

In der Ambivalenz der verabsolutierten Figur behauptet sich nicht die Aufgehobenheit, sondern die Aufgeräumtheit von Widersprüchen, was der zweckmäßigen Dialogik des Textes syntaktisch und analytisch durchaus folgerichtig entspricht. In der totalisierten Figur stellen die absolute Macht und die absolute Ohnmacht gleichzeitige, entgegengesetzte Aussagen der Freiheitsthese, komplementäre Teilaspekte eines in sich geschlossenen dramatischen Einfalls dar, der den zumutbaren Erwartungshorizont der Öffentlichkeit durchbricht, ohne ihn zu erweitern.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Schwitter allein auf den Tod fixiert ist, geht ihn eigentlich nichts mehr von dem an, was sich diesseits ereignet, anders gesagt: es geht ihn überhaupt nichts mehr an. Denn Schwitter, der zu wissen meint, was er meint, glaubt nicht an seine eigene Auferstehung. Er glaubt schlechthin an keine Auferstehung und wird somit noch einmal zu einem doppelten Ärgernis für seine Mitmenschen, denn Glauben und Wissen verlieren an ihm ihre scharfen Umrisse. Durch seine ins Absolute gesteigerte Teilnahmslosigkeit ist Schwitter gefährlich für das Wertesystem und das Selbstverständnis einer Christenheit, die sich ohnehin zunehmend vom Christentum abwendet und gleichsam einer quasi-wissenschaftlich fundierten Bezuglosigkeit ethischer und ontologischer Fragestellungen harrt.

Da der Nobelpreisträger kein Interesse mehr für die Geschehnisse aufbringt, die sich um ihn herum abspielen, bietet er den mutmaßlich idealen Standpunkt für ein ästhetisches Urteil. Er liegt im Sterben, stirbt aber (noch) nicht. Für ihn ist jeder Augenblick der letzte und jedes Urteil ein endgültiges. Er kann nichts dafür, dass die Leute um ihn umkommen. Alle Personen, die sich in seinem näheren Umfeld befinden, haben Anteil an einer sublimierten Erscheinungsform des Todes, die sie nicht verstehen. Sie geraten in sein Sterben. Dadurch wird es ihr Sterben. Schwitter wiederum eignet sich ihr Sterben an. Dadurch wird es sein Sterben. Da er seinen eigenen Tod nicht erleben kann, bleibt ihm allein die Möglichkeit vorbehalten, sich der Kontemplation der Idee des Sterbens hinzugeben, die ihm die anderen paradoxerweise gerade dadurch beschern, indem sie lebendiger sind als er. Weil die anderen Figuren des Stückes feste Begriffe darstellen und sich auch ihrerseits feste Begriffe von den Dingen und deren mutmaßlichen Geworfenheit machen, besteht für sie kein denkbar möglicher Intervall einer Unschärferelation des Seins. Entweder sie sind, oder sie

sind nicht. Das heißt, sie besitzen neben einem absoluten, handfesten Leben auch einen entsprechend absoluten, unabdingbaren Tod, ob sie nun wollen oder nicht. Ihr Tod muss ein totaler und unwiderrufbarer sein, wohingegen für Schwitter weder Tod noch Leben eigentlich als solche existieren, sondern jeweils vielmehr innerhalb kaum formulierbarer Schichten des Seins lokalisiert sind, mit denen auf geistiger Ebene ausgesprochen ergiebig verhandelt und spekuliert werden kann. Der Mensch Schwitter hat aufgehört zu leben, doch er hört nicht auf zu sterben. Er steht da (oder liegt da) als ein Sinnbild der Unendlichkeit – befangen in einem Augenblick, der sich immer wieder ausdehnt. Ein Inbegriff absoluter Freiheit und/oder Unfreiheit. Ein Ärgernis für die Christenheit und für die Naturwissenschaft. Ein Wunder für die Heilsarmee. Ein Paradox für die Mitwelt. Eine Qual für den Interpreten.

Das ästhetische Experiment Schwitter schafft jedenfalls die Voraussetzungen einer eindringlichen Analyse der Kategorien des Schönen und Erhabenen mit Hinblick auf deren Geltungsbereich im Zusammenhang einer aktuellen sozialen und philosophischen Problematik. Wo beginnt die Freiheit und wo hört sie auf? Gibt es so etwas wie eine Schwerkraft der zentralen Idee, die das zugrundeliegende semantische Feld der Komödie dergestalt modelliert, dass die möglichen Richtlinien einer angebracht dünkenden Entschlüsselungstechnik erkennbar werden? Inwiefern prostituiert sich ein Autor, der Bücher verkauft? Was für Bezüge werden zwischen Erhabenheit und Prostitution hergestellt? Kann dem Prinzip des Nichtaufhörenkönnens in dialogischer Weise das Prinzip einer Selbstsetzung des Daseins entgegengestellt werden, anhand dessen spontanes Sein und spontanes Nichtsein kommutieren?

Die Metapher des menschlichen Meteors wirkt gewaltig auf die Bedeutungsstruktur des Textes ein. Dass sie dabei an sich nicht positiv, sondern negativ aufgefasst wird, liegt an der binären Grundsituation des entindividualisierten Individuums, die als Ausgang einer Fabel agiert, die nicht ganz zustande kommt. In unmittelbarer Nähe des Todes entwickelt der Meteor eine ungeheure Kraft, die wohl zum einen zwar aus seiner Teilnahmelosigkeit an der Umwelt gewonnen wird, zum anderen jedoch die Umwelt durchaus an ihr teilnehmen lässt – was hier heißen will: an ihrer zerstörerischen Wucht. Zwar ist Schwitter nicht etwa unbedingt so etwas wie ein erhabener Bösewicht, doch für seine Mitmenschen will es fast so aussehen. Das von ihm vertretene Moment des Erhabenen ist weder anschaulich noch erbaulich. Aus seiner Endperspektive heraus ordnet er individuelles und kollektives Wissen und Glauben und bringt dadurch Kriterien, Werte und Weltanschauungen durcheinander.

Auf dramatischer Ebene kann dem Einschlag des Meteors das Dürrenmattsche Prinzip des zentralen Einfalls anschaulich entgegengestellt werden. Dieser wirkt unmittelbar auf die gesamte Struktur des Textes bzw. der Inszenierung. Durch einen sich aus dem Spiel mit den Kategorien des Wahrscheinlichen und Möglichen ergebenden fingierten Zufall tritt die

schlimmstmögliche Wendung ein, anhand derer sichtbar wird, wie wichtig es ist, die angebrachte Distanz zu den Dingen zu wahren. Der Umgang mit dem Schönen ist erbaulich, der Umgang mit dem Erhabenen gefährlich, ja fürchterlich.

Schwitter ist an sich ein zerrissener Mensch. Da er nicht sterben kann, triumphiert er sozusagen über den Tod, selbst wenn er es nicht will. Wäre er jedoch im Schillerschen Sinne wirklich erhaben, so müsste er aber auf geistiger Ebene frei sein. Gerade das ist er jedoch nicht. Er ist nicht imstande, Begriffe geistig zu meistern, zu bewältigen, zu überwältigen, weil Begriffe für ihn keinen festen Bestand haben und weil er dem Geistigen strenggenommen das Anrecht auf Sein abstreitet. Sein Vermächtnis ist ein unheimliches, denn es zerschmilzt unsere grundlegenden Intuitionen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Vorstellungskraft des Menschen im technischen Zeitalter. Die Unfreiheit und somit die Unerhabenheit, in die sich der erhaben auftretende Schwitter fügen muss, ist wieder einmal in doppelter Hinsicht paradox. Denn er resigniert zwar angesichts des Todes, nicht aber angesichts der Unmöglichkeit des Todes. Würde sein Tod eintreten, so könnte man annehmen, dass dies in Einklang mit seinem freien Willen geschehe. Doch sein Tod tritt nicht ein. Die Erhabenheit der letzten Augenblicke des Nobelpreisträgers geht an einem miesen Wahrscheinlichkeitsfaktor zugrunde. Indem er zum ewigen Sterben verdammt ist, überlebt Schwitter seine Chance, den Tod zu meistern, weil er sich dem Tod – und somit der Erlösung von seinem Leiden – nicht hingeben kann.

Das offene Ende des Stücks bringt die Assoziationen in Dürrenmatts Kurzgeschichte „Der Tunnel“ nahe, deren letzter Satz folgendermaßen lautet: „Gott ließ uns fallen, und so stürzen wir denn auf ihn zu“⁶. Dieser Sturz auf ein Ende, das es nur insofern gibt, als man daran glaubt, ist kennzeichnend für das dialogische Zusammenspiel von Schwerkraften und Laufbahnen, die die Bedeutungskonstellation des Meteors begründen. Es ist dies irgendwie auch ein Hin und Zurück zwischen einem kleinen Begriff und einer großen Bedeutung, die ihm beigemessen wird. Im Abbrennen verliert der Meteor nämlich seine Schwere, weswegen er zwar auf die Erde zustürzt, diese jedoch nie erreicht. Das ist auch auf begrifflicher Ebene ein Ärgernis. Da Schwitter aus der Perspektive einer doppelten Ästhetik und zugleich aus der allgemein-verbindlichen Bedingtheit der Wahrscheinlichkeitslehre heraus in antinomischer Weise zugleich die absolute Freiheit und die absolute Unfreiheit zum Widerspruch behauptet, wird in ihm eine ästhetisch ins Unsagbare gesteigerte Instanz des Erhabenen sichtbar, die in seinem Unvermögen wurzelt, das Zeitliche zu segnen.

Anders als das Schöne flößt das Erhabene jedoch wohlgerne Unbehagen ein. Dürrenmatts Komödie ist wieder einmal eine Tragödie, das Groteske darin

⁶ *Die Panne. Der Tunnel*, S.104. Die von der Oxford University Press wiedergegebene Fassung basiert auf der Zürcher Ausgabe im Verlag der Arche (1952). In der Diogenes-Werkausgabe in dreißig Bänden wurde der letzte Satz ausgelassen.

rüttelt am erwartungsgemäßen Ausgang des aristotelisch aufgebauten Stückes und an den grundlegenden Intuitionen, die der Rezipient dieser spontanen Weltendämmerung der ontologisch, moralisch und erkenntnistheoretisch bedachten Frage der großen Zahl entgegenbringt.

Die binäre Weltanschauung⁷ ist auf die Problematik des Entstehens und Aufhörens fixiert, die jeweils vermittelt oft skurril wirkender Antinomien reflektiert wird, die die innere Veranlagung der verabsolutierten Figur Schwitter bestimmen. Das ästhetische Urteil als ethische Wahl im Kantischen Sinne hat der Autor dabei durch die Manipulation des Zufalls beinahe unversehens in die Dramatik des Nichtaufhörenkönnens eingebaut.

Auch in *Abendstunde im Spätherbst* und in *Dichterdämmerung* wirft Dürrenmat die Frage auf, was ein absolutes Kunstwerk ist und wie es zustandekommt. Die Erhabenheit des Werkes wird dort konstituiert, indem der Autor seine literarischen Figuren im wörtlichen Sinne ermordet, um seiner geschaffenen Welt mehr Wirklichkeit zu verleihen. Wer immer auch in sein Schreiben gerät, muss ebenfalls daran glauben und wird dadurch sozusagen als Entschädigung in Form einer literarischen Figur verewigt. Der Mord wird als ästhetisierendes Vehikel des schriftstellerischen Handwerks durch den – freilich pervertierten – Geschmack des Lesepublikums gerechtfertigt, worin sich das negativ konstituierte ästhetische Urteil durch ein entsprechendes ethisches Urteil ersetzen lässt. Dem Schriftsteller als Prostituiertem und als Mörder wird Beifall geklatscht, weil dies gleichsam in Einklang mit dem guten Ton der ästhetischen Stunde zu sein scheint.

Die Parabel der rechten, der „anständig“ dünkenden Distanz zum Kunstwerk und vor allem auch zum künstlerischen (und möglicherweise sonstigen) Schöpfungsakt ist in Bezug auf die Differenzierung zwischen dem Schönen und dem Erhabenen besonders bedeutungsproduktiv. Weil der Mond die rechte Distanz wahrt, fällt er nicht auf die Erde und kann sich in aller Anschaulichkeit der Kontemplation des Schönen hingeben. Die Geschwindigkeit, mit der er die Erde umkreist, und die Schwerkraft, durch die er von der Erde angezogen wird, befinden sich im Einklang und ermöglichen eine Synthese der Widersprüche, der Harmonie, Anmut und Naivität.

Der Meteor jedoch bringt das Moment des Erhabenen hervor, er stürzt mit seiner ganzen energischen Schönheit auf das Objekt seiner Anziehungskraft zu und trägt somit alle Kennzeichen der ontologischen und ästhetischen Würde. Das Gegeneinander zwischen Schöpfer und Geschöpf, zwischen Darsteller und Dargestelltem, zwischen Beobachtendem und Beobachtetem, zwischen Subjekt

⁷ Vgl. Brock-Sulzer, S. 44: „Wenn wir das Wesen des Komischen erkennen wollen im Zusammenspiel des Unkommensurablen, dann wäre freilich der Einbruch des Werdens ein Ort des Komischen, wie andererseits der Zusammenprall des Todes mit dem Leben ein anderer solcher Ort wäre.“

und Objekt wird somit in der Instanz des Schönen in dialektischer Weise aufgehoben, solange nur der rechte Abstand gewahrt wird, wohingegen sie in der Instanz des Erhabenen in dialogischer Weise einer Aufgeräumtheit der Perspektiven teilhaftig wird, die den Weg in die Unendlichkeit bahnen.

Die Sublimierung des literarischen Akts im Zusammenhang individueller und insbesondere auch kollektiver Triebe, denen der Literaturmarkt mitsamt seiner lukrativ-erbaulich dünkenden Phänomenologie divergierender Interessen unterliegt, führt bei Dürrenmatt zu einer Codierung der Schrift, die bei weitem nicht so einfach ist, wie es scheint. Das Erhabene als Gravitationszentrum des Seins ermöglicht es, nicht nur mit Bedeutungen, sondern auch mit Mysterien zu verhandeln.

Die Diskrepanz zwischen Darstellung und Dargestelltem ist offensichtlich ein wesentlicher innewohnender Teil des zentralen Einfalls. Wer sich über diese Welt im Bilde sein will, muss sich dem Dürrenmattschen Selbstverständnis dramatischer Dichtkunst entsprechend ein Bild davon machen – oder eben dasjenige mitnehmen, das der Autor bietet. Es ist in seiner Duplizität anschaulich und erhaben zugleich. Aber man kann daraus weder Erbaulichkeit noch Einsicht und Erkenntnis gewinnen, sondern nur die Freiheit, den Widerspruch der grundsetzenden Antinomien in seiner atemberaubenden Dialogik der Unwahrscheinlichkeit wahrzunehmen und dadurch ontologisch wie ästhetisch ungeheurere Schichten des Seins zu erschließen.

Ist das Schöne als Leitfaden der naiven Dichtung am Werke, so macht das Erhabene die Richtlinie der sentimentalischen Dichtung aus. Schwitter agiert als Exponent des negativen Darstellungsmodus, wobei an ihm Dichtung und Realität durcheinandergeraten. Er hat Großartiges geleistet und blickt nun dem hinreißenden Abgrund seiner Laufbahn entgegen. Mit der sinnvollen Darstellung des Absoluten will es allerdings nicht so recht klappen. Die ästhetische Duplizität des Schönen und Erhabenen wirkt verhängnisvoll für den Schriftsteller, der sein eigenes Ende nicht modellieren kann.

Wenn es um den *Meteor* herum ein Paradigma der Erleuchtung gibt, so kann dieses nicht in begrifflich erfassbare Bilder gebannt werden – ob nun reglos oder beweglich. Die einzige Modalität der Aneignung ist in der Gewachsenheit des dramatischen Einfalls als Gravitationszentrum wechselseitiger begrifflicher Konstellationen gegeben. Freilich erliegt jedoch auch die zentrale Idee einem aus der Dialogik der Situation heraus entsprungenen Prozess der Verdoppelung, der gleichsam dezentralisierend wirkt und eine Selbstreferenzialität der Beobachtung in die Wege leitet, die an zwei Polen orientiert ist und doch nur den einen wahrzunehmen meint. Die Wechselwirkung zwischen Subjekt und Objekt manifestiert sich als eine Austrahlungskraft der Begrifflichkeit und als eine Anziehungskraft des Begriffslosen. Findet ein Paradigmenwechsel statt, wird die sublimierte Energie des literarischen Werkes umgeleitet: ins erweiterte Sein aufgenommen. Nicht nur der Akt der Schöpfung, sondern auch die Rezeption

erhebt Anspruch auf Absolutheit und Ursprünglichkeit. Die Erhabenheit des Menschen in Anbetracht seines Todes wird dadurch keineswegs vereitelt, sondern lediglich relativiert.

Dass ein Wort aus sich selbst heraus die Wucht gewinnt, die Welt zu ändern, klingt unwahrscheinlich. Doch dies macht das Wesen des Christentums aus. Und auch das Wesen des Wissens, wodurch der konstitutive Widerspruch in der Dürrenmattschen Auffassung von Idee und These erneut gefestigt wird.

Die Freiheit zum Widerspruch, die Freiheit zur Kommunikation steht bei Schiller im Zeichen des Prinzips der Aneignung, das bei Dürrenmatt durch die Erscheinungsform der Gravitation zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Solange ein neuer Begriff auf unsere eingebürgerte Weltanschauung zustürzt, bleibt er ein fremdes Objekt. Im näheren Umfeld der Rezeption jedoch wird im Laufe des Prozesses des Abbrennens seine Schwere in Schwerlosigkeit, seine Fremdheit in Vertrautheit, seine Form in Sinn, seine Objektivität in Subjektivität umgewandelt.

Was für einer Spezies der nichtsterbenkönnende Nobelpreisträger Schwitter denn eigentlich angehört und ob man ihn überhaupt noch mit den „normalen“ Menschen vergleichen kann, die ihm über den (für ihn zum Lebenslauf gewordenen) Sterbens-Weg laufen und an die Schwitter deswegen dann auch gleichsam den Akt des Sterbens in dessen letztendlichen Konsequenzen delegiert, bedenkt das Stück aus dem wohlbekannten Dürrenmatisch fingierten Spiel der Wahrscheinlichkeit heraus. Die erkenntnistheoretische Frage, die sich im blitzartig einschlagenden *Meteor* über die großen Themen Leben, Tod, Freiheit und Verhängnis hinweg (oder eben durch diese hindurch) stellt, geht unter anderem das Unbehagen rund um die Erörterung des Ausgangspunktes der Komparatistik an: Wie kann man Dinge, Sachverhalte, Menschen, Realitäten oder beliebige Paradigmen und Konstrukte vergleichen? In welchem Maße sind Konstrukte austauschbar? Wohin führt das Wort, das im Anfang war? Kann ein letzter Satz das letzte Wort sein? Gibt es ein Ende der Sagkraft?

Lässt man davon ab, Dürrenmatt als Nihilisten (oder „bloß“ als modellierenden Weltenmacher) zu betrachten, müssen Rahmen gesprengt werden, die in den grundlegenden Intuitionen des kollektiven Erwartungshorizonts tief verankert sind. Dass der Blitz der Erhabenheit hier – als Erscheinungsform des dramatisch inszenierten Zufalls – immer wieder an der selben Stelle einschlägt, gehört zur Sache.

Dieses mit jenem, das Selbst mit dem Anderen, das Leben mit dem Tod vergleichen: Dazu gehört die Sprengkraft eines unerhörten Begriffs, der mit negativen Konnotationen geladen ist. Das Erhabene macht ein absolutes Erlebnis aus, das begrifflich kaum zu erfassen ist und keine Graduierung zulässt, handelt es ja nur mit der Kategorie des Superlativen, die sich in zwingender Weise jeder Quantifizierung oder Wertung entzieht. Doch was vermag heutzutage noch eine Parabel, wenn die Dinge strenggenommen nicht mehr verglichen werden können? Wo erlöscht ihr Wirkungspotential? Und was bleibt übrig von dem angemessenen

Vergleich mit einem unermesslichen Anderen, nachdem das freilich als solches ja gar nicht da seiende Andere ausgedient hat?

Die vergleichende Herangehensweise der Semantik, an der sich ergründende bzw. erfindende moderne Weltanschauungen orientieren, führt in *Der Meteor* zu einem kategorischen ontologischen Unvermögen – oder, ganz im Gegenteil, zum Mysterium der Schöpfung, wenn man so will. Das radikale Unterfangen, dasjenige, was ist, mit dem zu vergleichen, was nicht ist, setzt dabei eine quantifizierbare Grundstruktur des Seins voraus, innerhalb derer sich Begriffe wie Aufgehobenheit und Aufgeräumtheit im sublimierten auktorialen Akt der Bedeutungsdämmerung insofern gegeneinander ausspielen, als sich das Subjekt die Freiheit nimmt, die jeweils einleuchtenden Ontologien der Stunde aus einer doppelten Ästhetik der Moderne heraus zu kristallisieren.

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HUMOR AS A “PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE” IN THE CHINESE ART MOVEMENT OF “CYNICAL REALISM” AND POST-NEW ERA LITERATURE

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Abstract: *This paper is trying to create a theoretical link between the way the concept of humor is conceptualized within the theoretical discourses on humor of China's post-Avant-garde emerging artistic trend called Cynical Realism and the literary movement called Neo-realism. My analysis shall be based on the literary and visual art criticism proposed by the Chinese scholarship in the 90's and on "Chronicles of a Blood Merchant", a fiction novel written by Yu Hua. Yu is an ex Avant-garde writer who switches in the blink of an eye from highly elitist experimentalism and heavy use of black humor to melodrama, realism and a much more sympathetic kind of humor which keeps nevertheless its grey side from the tsunami-like prodigal Avant-garde. My analysis shall also try to give humor, as defined by the two kinds of arts, a melodramatic, cynical reading, which overlaps with the Chinese XX century continuous obsession with reality. This yin-yang game between the two opposite takes in defining the concept turns it ultimately into a pure blood Chinese style "philosophy of life", which is meant to cope, like anywhere else in the world, with the emotional "shortcomings" of Modernity.*

Keywords: *cynical realism, humor, Chinese avant-garde, Yu Hua, Chinese art.*

We shall first proceed to going back briefly to the Chinese Avant-garde period in the 80's, when, after the traumatic historical period of Maoism and its Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), China opens up to the Occident importing all kinds of literary and artistic, poststructuralist and postmodernist theories from the West, in an attempt to set up a theoretical background for its young emerging Modernity. This is the time when the concept of black humor is borrowed from Friedman's anthology of American black humor represented by writers such as Joseph Heller, Vonnegut, Bart, Pynchonetc¹. The concept is quickly adopted and

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¹ The concept of “black humor” 黑色幽默, is quickly adopted by the Chinese scholars and explored as a critical idiom in the Literature journals of the 1980's, such as *Shanghai Wenxue* (“Shanghai Literature”) and others. See for instance the following articles by various scholars who propose *heiseyoumo* as unique plausible critical mode in traumatized post-Mao China: Yang, Jiangyuan. „Lun heise youmo”, (“Discussing Black humor”), *Sichuan shifandaxue Xuebao*, (*Sichuan Normal University Journal*) Nr. 1 (1992): 55-63., Wu, Qingyun „Wang Meng de Shishi tichu changshi he meiguo heise youmo” („Romanul lui Wang Meng și umorul negru american”) *Fuzhou daxue xuebao* (*Cotidianul facultății din Fuzhou*) (1986): 17-24. Wu, „Heise youmo dui

is heavily backed within the theoretical discourses of the time, being considered as the unique plausible and artistic technique capable of recuperating in a genuine way the trauma of the Cultural Revolution. Black humor, along with other poststructuralist techniques proves to be only half digested by the Chinese literati.²

Mesmerized by the diverse literary modes ranging from Dostoyevsky to Kafka, Garcia Marquez or Borges (Zhang, 1994), they unleash an unstoppable trend of experimentalism meant to oppose and de-canonize the traditional representational Socialist Realism. But at the end of the 80's, the crackdown on the students in Tiananmen Square showed intellectuals that the new discourses they had embarked on with so much enthusiasm had failed to accomplish their hidden political agenda of representing a genuine social discourse endowed with political and social force.³ At the same time, Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) era and its opening to capitalist and market values decentralized the position of the intellectual and "brought mass culture at the center of cultural relations" (Gong, 2012). This determined writers and plastic artists to immediately take a new stand and adapt themselves to the new realities.

The Chinese artistic worlds realize that during this times of transition they need to adapt to the new social realities, which brought to the center a more and more representative and dynamic middle class who had its own expectations from art. Chinese artistic fields, from cinema to plastic arts reposition and embrace an anti-elitist discourse meant to ridicule the allegorical narratives and intellectualist avant-garde discourses. The purpose was to create a more credible discourse, and by credible the Chinese meant a narrative close to reality, which "turns back to reality" 回归现实-*huiguixianshi* (He, 2013) in a mimetic sense, which nevertheless keeps a lot from the features of the sophisticated Avant-garde⁴. In this context, the concept of humor stays alive as unique philosophical stance capable of embracing the absurdity of life in an authentic manner. Nevertheless, along with the new waves of redefining reality in the new Chinese social context, the concept of black humor gets a touch of Chinese-ness which mixes the apocalyptic, disillusioned

zhongguo dangdai xiaoshuo yinxiang luoshuo" („Black humor and its influence on Chinese Literature"), *Hunan Xuezhuan Xuebao*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1994:32-36.

² See, for that matter, Andreea Chirita thesis "Chinese Black Humor in Yu Hua's Fiction", which makes a deep analysis of the Chinese theoretical discourse in the 80's and 90's, which links the choice of black humor as main literary technique to the trauma of the Cultural Revolution.

³ Huang Yibing in *Chinese Contemporary Literature: from the Cultural Revolution to the Future* and Gong Haomin in *Critical Intervention*, as long as many other Western Scholars such as Zhang Xutong or ArifDirlik link China's switch to Realism in the 90's to the disillusionment brought by the elitism of the avant-garde which failed to feed the right food for real freedom etc.

⁴ The Chinese Avant-garde takes shape and develops in the second part of the 80's in both arts and literature and it is often judged as a strange mixture of modernism and postmodernism, due, among others, to the Chinese lack of theoretical criticism understanding at the time.

and hopeless side of black humor and its Western understanding of the concept with a sympathetic, melodramatic view *à la Chinois* full of compassion for the absurd human condition and even endowed with a sort of optimism. They call it “grey humor”灰色幽默 *huiseyoumo*, which is a combination of, as the Chinese scholarship would name it, “white humor”白色幽默, which is “pure, sympathetic and wise” (He, 2013) and the chaos and disillusionment of black humor. The result is a sort of, what we call, **cynical and melodramatic humor**.

1. The Chinese artists take on cynical humor as a form of realism

The first ones to become aware of the increasing social futility of the metaphysical badly digested heaviness of the avant-garde as a whole would be the plastic artists who would raise up against their own utopian and idealistic artistic stance and come up with a new trend that they call Cynical Realism 玩世现实主义-*wanshixianshizhuyi*- and which they claim to be more “true to life”走向真实 *zouxiangzhenshi* (Peng, 2009). These artists specialize in depicting portraits of ordinary, “typically Chinese people” (Gao, 2003, 2011), with slightly exaggerated features, wearing a big idiotic and stupid smile, all bald and set up on a background that seems unrelated to the actual portrait. Gao Minlu, define their art in a recent study from 2011 on Cynical Realism in China as “exhibiting a free-floating cynicism unrelated to any dogma and uncommitted to any one belief system; they approach the existential situation with a sense of humor” (Gao, 2011). Indeed, humor seemed to be a defining feature of the Cynical Realism, a life-survival philosophy of life. The trend got extremely popular also worldwide and emphasized humor as main feature and artistic technique meant to deal in an authentic and real way with the trauma generated not so much by the brutality of Maoism, but by the new market oriented society that brought along the widening gap between rich and poor, consumerism, alienation etc. Humor as main artistic *modus operandi* seems to be a result of the Chinese historic contingency, a “psychological reaction” (Huang, 2007) to its new socio-historic condition, a representational attitude which is by all means conditioned historically. In this light, its effect and purpose was that of diminishing the gap between art and reality that the savage experimentalism of the previous decade had created.

First, we shall bring into question the theoretical considerations of art critic Wang Zhong, who, in 1994, writes an article named “The new artistic wave after 1989”, meant to better conceptualize what the Chinese artistic scholarship understood by humor. First, he’s eliminating the already embarrassing comparison of cynical humor specific to the Chinese with the black humor in its Western understanding. “The humor of cynical Realism is not as glacial and indifferent as that of black humorists, it rather resembles a sort of hooligan-ruffian like humor—泼皮幽默 *popiyoumo*” (Wang, 1994:112). The critic also dismisses the blasphemous allegations that cynical humor would be the equivalent of the *hippy*

wave in America: “The hippies were pure and idealistic whereas the cynical realism is completely anti-idealistic and, unlike the hippies, it is endowed with a serious intake of humor.” (Wang, 1994:112) The ruffian-like humor of the cynical artists rather embodies “a tragic world the absurdity of which you cannot simply avoid. It emanates a self-mocking flavor, as behind every happy laughing expression lies a gigantic pain.” (Wang, 1994: 113)

Another art critic, Zhao Gong adds up another feature specific to the humor of cynical realism, which he defines as “caricature”. But, unlike a caricature, the humor of the cynical realists is “void of any missionary or satirical purpose, it doesn’t have as final purpose the progress of society, it is much more ambiguous and expresses the ugly features of life.” (Zhao, 1996: 10)

Guo Zhenming, in an article from 2008, sees humor as a “tool to annihilate the meaningless political and consumerist ideologies”, claiming the impossibility of values such as the tragic and sublime. “Everything is just a game”, the critic claims, “nothing is serious, nor scary, humor creates an escapist art deprived of critical powers.” (Guo, 2008) Diaoyun takes a much more socially engaged take, and beside the air of relaxation and ridicule that cynical realism seems to be endowed with, proposes also a form of “high humor”- 高级的幽默 — *gaojideyoumo*, which he defines as “self critical, lucid and wise which turns back to reality and stops seeing it it though a distorted mirror.” (Diao in He, 2013: 102) Wang Zhong, nevertheless, uses two very Chinese terms in order to define cynical humor: the elegance 雅 *ya*-which he sees as “the cynicism of the English gentleman” and the vulgar 俗 *su* which he sees as “cynical, ruffian- like mocking attitude 恶作剧 *e zuojū*”. (Wang, 1995: 111)

The above mentioned examples shape up a very schematic definition of cynical humor with the help of which plastic artists claim to get back to reality, taking humor as an escapist tool which best expresses the sophistication of their surrealist approach to life.

2. Chinese Writers and their cynical melodramatic humor as life wisdom

On the other hand, inside the literary scene, a similar attitude is taken by the Chinese authors and literary critics, but they seem to be much more concerned not only with reaching to the masses through a more mimetic perspective on reality, but also with replacing their position in the center of the social political world. (Gong, 2012) The idea of the social mission of the Chinese intellectual is more emphasized in their discourse which turns, accordingly, into a cynical vision on life, a means of getting closer to reality but intertwined with a deep sense of melodrama meant to touch emotions and also to take a more sympathetic and engaged take on the Chinese historical drama. Their writings, just like in the case of Yu Hua, the author selected for analysis in this article, stick to the idea of humor as unique narrative mode capable of encapsulating reality authentically.

Their humor is less ironic and closer to the idea of innocent humor. The cynical realism is rather ironic, in the sense that it strives for indirectness, whereas in the case of Yu Hua humor is a philosophical attitude to life that brings melodrama and cynicism in one single narrative formula, just like in the following excerpt from *Chronicles of a Blood Merchant, XuSanguan* (*Xusanguanmaixuerji*):

“If you drink so much water, doesn’t blood get thinner, accordingly?”

“It might get thinner but at least you get yourself more blood to donate.”

“Then I also want to drink some. Who wants to lend me a bowl?”

“Take mine”, said Genlong.

Xu Went by the river, leaned over the stream of water while Genlong would advise him:

“Be careful! The water up the stream is dirty and so is the water at the bottom, so you should better drink from the middle!”

(...)

“How many bowls of water have you drunk?”

“I had three, said A-fang.”

“And he had 4”, said Genlong.

“You’re all nothing but a bunch of farts, said Li Blood-head, rolling his eyes. I can’t even picture how big your bladder can possibly be. To hell with you, that bladder of yours bumped up more than the uterus of a pregnant woman. You should be able to drink at least 10 bowls.”

*(Chronicles of a Blood Merchant named XuSanguan, by Yu Hua, 1995)*⁵

The protagonist, in the modern sense of melodrama as defined by Ben Singer⁶ are unaware of their own drama as being the unknown heroes of dramatic times. And the incongruence between the traumatic times the victims of which they are and the unawareness of their central role of victims of both the Maoist and new capitalist times is the source of the melodramatic and cynical humor with which the reality of their existence is being represented. Their bodies already destroyed by the horrors of the Cultural Revolution is now the body placed at the very center of the new capitalist relations, a product and only means of survival. The trauma of the Cultural Revolution is replaced by the trauma of the market society and they are completely oblivious of the fact. Still an episode as dramatic as the one of the blood vendors discussing techniques of increasing the amount of blood into their veins for profit is put into such a humorous, sympathetic mode along with a touch of cynicism resulted from the critical distance and naïve stance of the dialogue. It proves once again that, the New-Era of post-Mao China is an

⁵ Personal translation from the original Chinese text written by Yu Hua into English.

⁶ Ben Singer defines the modern hero as a melodramatic hero. See *Modernity and Melodrama*, Ben Singer, Columbia University Press, 2012.

era of “post-seriousness” 后严肃性 *houyansuxing*, as Chinese critic Zhang Yiwu would claim in an article written in 2012, named “Seriousness in New Literature and Ways to Get over Seriousness.” Seriousness, sublime, tragic are all meaningless concepts, unlike China’s early Modernism in the 20’s, when a dramatic, serious approach would be perceived by the Chinese intellectuals as a way of approaching the epistemic shifts the nation would undergo at that time. The Chinese literary critic compares the need for seriousness in early XX century China, when the first wave of westernization came into the Middle Kingdom, with the post-Mao historical need of giving up on seriousness and adopting a humorous attitude in grasping the truth of life. That would put into light the humorous narrative mode of the Chinese as a pure inner psychological result of the historical contingency.

It is also interesting the fact that **the Chinese academic literary criticism never tries to create any discourse or theoretical link between the concept of humor within its own framework of already existing discourses on humor, like the one exemplified above, with the Cynical Realism artistic movement.** Literary critics perceive the idea of black Chinese humor as a combination of abysmal disillusion in the absurdities of life with a sympathetic, optimistic outlook. They look obsessively at the West, at writers like Chekhov or Kafka. Many studies, for example, declare humor the main narrative of Yu Hua’s literature. One critic says that Yu Hua new type of humor is very “Chekhov like”, in the sense that “behind the incontrollable laughter that it provokes lies a huge amount of pain impossible to represent but through humor”. (Wu, 2007) The Chinese literati only marginally tie the hooligan literature⁷-痞子文学 *piziwenxue* set in motion by another writer, Wang Shuo⁸ with the cynical realism of the arts. His humor is indeed very much in line with the stance of the Chinese contemporary painters: the characters are a bunch of vulgar hooligans, bastards of the history, who laugh stupidly and idiotically in the new market relation order and fail to reinvent themselves.

Conclusions

Yu Hua’s characters seem equally cynical but deeply caught in the new social order, even if as sure victims. My theory is that Yu Hua, as a much more respected writer who painfully tries to restore the position of the intellectual as the

⁷ Term coined down to define Wang Shuo’s literature, which shocks China with its direct colloquial style, emphasis on the vulgar aesthetics and deprived of ethics, lost in Modernity characters.

⁸ Wang Shuo is the only post Avant-garde writer associated with the idea of Cynical Realism as understood within the ideology manifesto of Chinese post-Avant-garde artists. His works are subject to heavy criticism from the Chinese literary critics of the time, His literature is marginalized in elitist fashion, although, market-wise, it takes central stage. For more, see, Yao Yesheng, 2004.

one speaking the truth to the masses couldn't have been linked to the too radical Cynical Realism social agenda. They were way too close to the triviality of mass culture, and that was debasing in the eyes of the critics. Yu Hua strikes for them a perfect balance between the will of the masses and the critical social take his literature is supposed to have, unlike the hooligans of Cynical Realism who, in time, shall transform their art into such consumerist objects (irony is a market product) that a socially engaged intellectual world was supposed to despise.

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TRADITIONAL VALUES AND MOTIFS IN SOUTH EAST ASIAN LITERATURE

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Abstract: *I have chosen the concepts of self, family, history and law as the guiding theoretical frame for exploring the content of postcolonial South East Asian literature written in English. The question which has guided my reading is how much of the old, pre-colonial traditions are still reflected in the works of contemporary - mainly Indian authors writing in English, and to what extent they conceptualize their work within the framework of eastern literary concepts and traditions. Therefore the article will have a first part introducing the theoretical concepts and the background of Indian and near-Eastern history and traditions, and an applicative part, an analysis of several novels.*

Keywords: *topoi, postcolonial literature, cultural area, Midnight's Children, Shalimar the Clown.*

The literature written in English by contemporary authors of Indian origin, living mostly abroad, but also in India, was sometimes styled post-colonial, especially during the 1990-ies (as in the case of Salman Rushdie, for example), but I think that we may now speak of a new generation of writers, in a world that is trying to redefine itself after the post-colonial era, reincorporating traditions in flexible, or shifting identities. Anita Rau Badami, an Indian writer living in Canada and writing in English, captured the essence of the situation: "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 or in India, writing confidently in English, has opened new doors to fiction about being Indian anywhere in the world."¹

This so-called Indian English Literature was not free of controversy, as the one created by Salman Rushdie a few years ago, with his affirmation that "India's best writing since independence may have been done in the language of the departed imperialists"². And equally controversial was the "colonial" literature related to India, which preceded it. I would only mention two cases, E.M. Forster's famous *A Passage to India* (1924), and Mircea Eliade's equally famous,

¹ *Rediff India Abroad*, January 7, 2003, Review of *The Tamarind Mom*, by Sonia Chopra, accessed on April 14 2015, at <http://www.rediff.com/news/2003/jan/06spec.htm>

² in the essay "Damme, this is the Oriental Scene for You!", introducing the 1997 *New Yorker* Special Issue (June 23 and 30) dedicated to Indian fiction in anticipation of the country's 50 year anniversary of independence

in its own place and time, *Maitreyi* (1933)³ which echo a special relationship of misunderstanding arising between Indians and foreigners – in this case the colonial. Forster's novel shows not only the prejudices of the British towards the Indians (Ronnie Heaslop, Adela Quested and even Mrs. Moore) but also the Indians' mistrust that there can be any understanding (and friendship) between people of so different backgrounds (despite Cyril Fielding's openness to friendship with Aziz, this cannot last because of the latter's attitude). On the other hand, Mircea Eliade's novel shows yet another side of the impossible relationship between East and West. The young student of Indian philosophy, Mircea Eliade (Allan in the novel), falls in love with his Professor's daughter, Maitreyi, but is thrown out of the house when the famous professor of Indian philosophy, S. Dasgupta finds out. He will spend the next months in the Himalayas, trying to become a Hindu and to convince Dasgupta that his feelings for Maitreyi go beyond religious boundaries. Professor Dasgupta remains inflexible and the young scholar returns to Romania and converts his impossible love story into a best seller in 1932, upon hearing that the National Culture Publishing House opened a contest for the best debut novel, with a prize of 20,000 lei and free of cost publishing.

However, as scholars like Mircea Eliade, who loved Indian tradition, tried to explain it for the Western world, and as a wave of interest in Buddhism, especially Zen, and Oriental philosophies, swept over Europe and America ever since the Beat generation, I tried to see to what extent this tradition is reflected in the works of contemporary authors and to what extent they conceptualize it in their work. In this attempt I considered that **area studies** concepts could be relevant for me as I followed the transcendence of geographical boundaries by cultural and religious concepts, in a transdisciplinary attempt.

Anthropologists like Robert Fritz Graebner⁴, or Leo Frobenius defined a concept of cultural area, while American anthropologists like Wissler and Kroeber

³ Immensely popular in Romania in the 1930-ies, *Maitreyi* was translated into Italian in 1945, German in 1948, French in 1950 as *La nuit Bengali*, and Spanish in 1952. An English version, however, was not commissioned until 1993, when Carcanet Press in England assigned a translation from the French, as *Bengal Nights*.

⁴ Friedrich Graebner (1877-1934), a German ethnologist, was the creator of the term *kulturkreis*, "culture circle", or cultural complex, developing in successive epochs from a center of origin and becoming diffused over large areas of the world, as for example "the horse-raising peoples" in the primary herding, primitive culture. Together with Wilhelm Schmidt, he was a proponent of a diffusionist theory of culture in the period when anthropologists were seeking an underlying, universal human nature (the psychic unity of mankind sustained by evolutionary processes). Graebner and Schmidt, as well as other German diffusionists like Frobenius, believed that a limited number of *Kulturkreise* developed at different times and in different places and that all cultures, ancient and modern, resulted from the diffusion of cultural complexes—functionally related groups of culture traits—from these cultural centres. Proponents of this school believed that the history of any culture could be reconstructed through the analysis of its culture complexes and the

applied the concept to North America and subdivided it according to ecological zones matching cultural and social traits⁵. Similar zones were delineated in Asia⁶ and today most scholars accept a subdivision into East, South-East, South and Central Asia, without referring to any *kulturkreise* (cultural area) concept.

The division of Asia into East and South Asia has been made, and accepted as such, on the basis of the Chinese state and of the Hindu religion, which give a particular unity to each of the respective areas. Just as with the division of Indian history made by its first Western researchers during the latter half of the 19th century, into a Hindu, Moslem and British period, which is still influential today, it has become accepted to use religion and administration as criteria for defining an area and an age. However, when speaking about South-East Asia things become more controversial, in terms of both spatial and temporal divisions. If we are to apply an “area studies” approach to the traditional cultures of China, India or Japan, we will notice certain similarities between India and Japan in fields like the transmission of knowledge and crafts: *shastra* and *yoga*, *michi* and *za* are similar ways of handing down secret knowledge, within specialized families of artists, astrologers, alchemists and other trades. The concept of class, or caste – the people already living in the Indus Valley, like the Aryans, believed that people were born into a particular social class, or caste – is also an interesting concept to study across cultures. Divisions of class appear to be equally important in the earliest descriptions of Japan by the Wei historians in 2nd century C.E., as in Vedic literature. And last, but maybe most importantly, the idea of *dharma*, as correct moral conduct, so pervasive in all the stages of Hinduism and developing to a maximum in the Buddhist thought, is strikingly similar to the ethical aspects of Confucianism. As the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka (304-232 BCE) spread the Buddhist faith across his empire, actually across Asia, he explained his faith and moral concepts such as *dharma* in edicts inscribed on pillars or rocks all over his empire. These edicts were translated into the local languages – like Greek and Aramaic, for example, in a trilingual inscription found in Afghanistan at the middle of the 20-th century. This inscription is very important as it shows that the word *dharma* was translated with a concept of Greek philosophy, *eusebeia*. This word is interpreted by Hellenists to mean “veneration of gods ... a generally reverential attitude toward the orders of life”, and it was even “used for conduct

tracing of their origins to one or more of the Kulturkreise. cf. <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Fritz-Graebner>

⁵ Kroeber, A. L. (1947), ‘Culture Groupings in Asia’, in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 3 (4), p. 322-330.

⁶ Karl L. Hutterer, A. Terry Rambo, George Lovelace (eds.), *Cultural Values and Human Ecology in South East Asia*, Michigan Papers on South and South East Asia 27, Ann Arbor: Michigan, University of Michigan, 1985.

as well as Cynthia Chou, Vincent Houben. *Southeast Asian Studies: Debates and New Directions*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto, 2006.

towards relatives, between husband and wife, and even for the conduct of slaves toward their master.” “It is this concept that the Greek speaking officials of [Ashoka] rediscovered in the Indic *dharma*”.⁷

If we are to compare the concept of *dharma* with the Confucian ethical values, it is significant to consider a great Indian epic contemporary with the cristallization of Confucianism in China – the *Ramayana* (attributed to Valmiki, ca. 500 B.C., but probably recorded in writing as late as up to 100 BC). Indian scholars consider that it describes the duties of **relationships**, i.e., the ideal **father**, ideal **servant**, ideal **brother**, **wife** and **king**, and that it explores the **human values** and the concept of **dharma**.⁸ It is interesting to note that in China – around the same time *Ramayana* was composed and circulated, Confucius (551-479 BC) synthetized and crystalized previous wisdom into an ethical, moral and political theory that was to influence the whole of S-E Asia for the next 2000 years. His purpose was to define **humanity** (the concept of *ren*, 仁, ‘the quality of being human’), and he discovered that it is acquired through education, but truly refined and created only in relationships – in the relationships that a person develops with **parents**, **brothers**, **wife**, **friends** and last but not least, one’s **sovereign**, the ruler. The importance of Confucius’ doctrine lies in his articulation of the similarity or even *identity* between the **father-child** relationship and the **ruler-ruled** one. The relationship of an individual to his collectivity, or to the world, is like the one between child and parent, and filial piety, the feeling of duty and love that any child has for his parent, is essence of humanity. Filial piety is based on **reciprocity**, the child answers the love his parents give him by helping them in his turn when he becomes mature and his parents become dependent on him. The same relationship naturally obtains in society, between the ruler and subject, when the ruler’s **benevolence** is answered in turn by his subjects’ **loyalty**.⁹

The same relation is valid in Japan: social relations mirror the family ones, observable in contemporary Japan in the big companies, where the boss acts as a father (*oyabun*) to his employees (*kobun*, children). The typically Japanese system of life-time employment and providing familial facilities for the employee was at the basis of Japan’s economic boom. While the concept of an autochthonous moral, ethical way existed in Japan, from the oldest times, albeit in a vaguer form, as the *furu michi* of native *kami*, the „old path of virtue”, from before the continental influence. So all these are similarities even between cultures of the different

⁷ Hacker, Paul. “Dharma in Hinduism”, in *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, (2006) Vol. 34, Issue 5, pp 479–496, p. 480.

⁸ Dodiya, K. Jaydipsinh, *Critical Perspectives on the Ramayana*, New Delhi, Sarup and Sons, 2001, p. 2, pp. 28-29.

⁹ Cheng, Anne, *Histoire de la pensée chinoise*, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1997, pp. 51-52.

cultural areas of Asia, pointing to an even broader circulation of topoi and of ethical/philosophical concepts like *dharma*.

If we study contemporary Indian literature in English looking for traditional Indian elements and symbolism, we find interesting elements in an author like Salman Rushdie. In one of his latest novels, *Shalimar the Clown* (2005), besides a very ambitious political program of commentary on matters like terrorism and the “issue” of the Middle East, which are not in the scope of my research now, Salman Rushdie uses famous *topoi* of the Eastern area and much symbolism from both the Islamic and Hindu tradition, that unfortunately escape the candid Western reader¹⁰. The *topos* that I want to identify here is the story of Anarkali, which the *bhand-pather*¹¹ troupe from the fictitious Pachigam village in the novel perform for the American Ambassador in India, Max Ophuls. The star dancer who performs Anarkali’s role crosses her eyes with the Ambassador in the final moment of the play, and in that moment a tragic love story, which will bring the ruin to both the Kashmir village, and all the families involved, is sparked. The story of a Kashmiri Hindu girl, married to a Muslim *bhand-pather* performer, who lets herself seduced and abducted (she sees the event as her unique chance for a better life) by the American Ambassador may have multiple meanings¹², but what I am concerned to discuss here is the similarity with the legend of Anarkali. A dancer coming from Persia with a caravan, called Anarkali - “the Peach Blossom”, on account of her great beauty, she was supposed to have become the concubine of the great Mogul Emperor Akbar (1542-1605), but to have also attracted the love of his son Selim¹³. The Oedipal conflict suggested by this legend (there are no contemporary citations of the story, neither in *Akbarnama*, nor in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Selim’s diary after he became Emperor Jaganhir), as historian Abraham Eraly puts it, could be confirmed by Akbar’s involvement with and thwarting of another of his son’s relationships, with Nur Jahan.

¹⁰ reviews in the major American literary magazines at the time when the novel appeared, which were sometimes quite critical, reveal a total misunderstanding of the novel’s depth. Cf. John Updike, “Paradises Lost – Rushdie’s *Shalimar the Clown*”, in *The New Yorker*, September 5, 2005.

¹¹ a form of entertainment from North India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, comprising dance, acting and other musical and physical skills, mostly of a farcical character, transmitted within endogamous Muslim families of folk performers. They traditionally entertained the Mogul rulers or the Nawab dynasty that followed them in the North of India.

¹² cf. the review by Jason Cowley, “From Here to Kashmir”, in *The Observer*, *The Guardian*, September 11-th 2005: “Rushdie’s critique is double-edged: the story of Max and Boonyi’s doomed relationship can be read as a study in human vanity, selfishness and aggressive mutual need, but also as a parable of the carelessness of American intervention on the subcontinent. Beware the return of the repressed, he seems to be saying, in often unexpected and violent forms.”

¹³ Abraham Eraly, *Emperors of the Peacock Throne – The saga of the Great Mughals*, Penguin Books India, New Delhi, 1997, p. 237.

Although the story is not documented by any contemporary Mughal sources, it appears in the diary of British trader William Finch, who came to Lahore during 1608 to 1611, working for the East India Company. According to Finch, “Anarkali was one of the wives of Emperor Akbar and the mother of his son Danial Shah. Akbar suspected that Anarkali had incestuous relations with Prince Selim and, on this ground had her buried alive in the wall of Lahore Fort. Having become Emperor Jahangir, Selim had a splendid tomb constructed in memory of his beloved, on the place where she was killed”¹⁴. Later writers such as Noor Ahmed Chishti, in his book *Tehqiqaat-i-Chishtia* (1860), give further details “Anarkali was a beautiful and favourite concubine of Akbar the Great and her real name was Nadira Begum or Sharf-un-Nissa. Akbar’s **inordinate love for her made his other two ladies jealous and hostile**¹⁵ towards Anarkali. Now, some say that Akbar was on a visit to Deccan when Anarkali fell ill and died and the other two concubines committed suicide to avoid the emperor’s wrath. When the emperor came back he ordered to create this grand tomb.”¹⁶

I have underlined the above “inordinate love for her” in order to suggest the similarity with a famous topos of Chinese culture, the unduly love story between Emperor Xuanzong and his concubine Yang Kueifei (719-756). Her story has become a subject for many literary works in China, and is even setting the scene for the most famous Japanese classical novel, *Genji Monogatari* (“The Tale of Prince Genji”, c. 1008). The idea of how dangerous is such intense love appears from the very beginning of *Genji Monogatari*: “In a certain reign there was a lady not of the first rank whom the emperor loved more than any of the others. ... His court looked with very great misgiving upon what seemed a reckless infatuation. In China just such an unreasoning passion had been the undoing of an emperor and had spread turmoil through the land.”¹⁷ The son issued from this too great love was Genji, the Shining Prince, and the topos of the incestuous rivalry between father and son will be formulated in Genji’s love for Fujitsubo, the emperor’s new wife who is said to remind him of Genji’s departed mother. The figure of the mother whom Genji never quite knew will be what he will look for in his subsequent marriages and affairs.

Returning to Yang Gueifei’s story and its significance for the Anarkali episode in Salman Rushdie’s novel, we need to stress some details of her legend: she is said to have been “one of the few obese women in Chinese history to have been considered beautiful. She became a concubine to Xuanzong’s son, but the 60-year-old emperor found the girl so desirable that he forced his son to relinquish

¹⁴ (<http://www.dawn.com/news/694833/legend-anarkali-myth-mystery-and-history>)

¹⁵ my underline

¹⁶ (<http://www.dawn.com/news/694833/legend-anarkali-myth-mystery-and-history>)

¹⁷ *The Tale of Genji*, tr. Edward G. Seidensticker, vol. 1, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1983, p. 3

her.”¹⁸ The sexual tension between father and son exists here just as in the case of Emperor Akbar and his son Selim, but the Oedipal complex is reversed, with the father stealing his son’s mistress. The fact that Yang Gueifei was obese, just as the twentieth century “Anarkali” mistress of the American Ambassador will become during her several years of seclusion as a “secret affair” in New Delhi, or the fact that Akbar’s love for Anarkali was also considered excessive and dangerous, just like the one of the Chinese emperor, allows one to conclude that Salman Rushdie may have been aware of the similarities, establishing such a common *topos* of the dangerous Oedipal love triangle, and of the perils of too much love in Asian culture.

If we are to focus on the use of traditional Indian symbolism in contemporary novels, I would like to point out the use of the *Ravana* figure in *Midnight’s Children* (1981), the sweeping chronicle of Indian history that brought its author unanimous literary appreciation, winning Booker Prize in same year in which it was published. The novel traces the story of a Moslem family from the Kashmir valley, who move to Agra, then, to New Delhi and finally Bombay, in tune with the movements of Indian history. In New Delhi, before 1947, 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. In New Delhi 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 that was to accompany India’s independence in 1947. After the family’s factory is set on fire due to the accidental loss of protection money in the deserted Delhi fort, at the hands of monkeys the decision to move on to Bombay is taken. So, the book’s sixth chapter, *Many-headed Monsters*, is set under the sign of *Ravana*, the evil king of Lanka who abducts Rama’s wife in the *Ramayana*, a demon with ten heads, a ruler of the land of *rakshasas*, demons that share Vedic origins and the territories of Sri Lanka with other creatures like *nagas*, *yakkhas* and *devas*¹⁹. As an embodiment of evil, the *ravana* are a fitting symbol for the period of the Partition of British India in August 1947, which resulted, beside the good outcome of creating two independent nations, India and Pakistan, in one of the greatest forced migrations in history. Some 12.5 million people were displaced from their ancestral homes and fled across the newly delineated borders depending upon their faiths. “Hindus and Sikhs exited from lands demarcated as “Muslim” Pakistan into the “new” India, while Muslims departed Hindu-dominated India into the new state called Pakistan (West and East). ... up to 1

¹⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, accessed at <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Yang-Guifei>, May 20 2015

¹⁹ according to the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. *Nagas* were serpent like deities, *yakkhas* were a kind of fairies or genii of the land and *devas* were godlike creatures.

million people (perhaps many more) died; while untold numbers of women suffered a fate worse than death -- they were raped, sometimes tortured, gang-raped and murdered. Indeed, the Partition of India and Pakistan, a decision made by lawmakers far from the front-lines, unleashed an episode of brutal depravity that might be unmatched in recent history. These atrocities primarily occurred in Punjab and Bengal and involved venal criminality on the part of all parties concerned: Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.”²⁰

Both Rushdie novels – *Midnight's Children* and *Shalimar the Clown* - are extremely rich in cultural references, weaving a baroque network of symbols, from which I have only chosen two, which impressed me due to their associations to classical Sanskrit, Chinese and even Japanese literature. Salman Rushdie is an author who has impressed audiences with his involvement in current world issues such as terrorism, or with human and cultural aspects of postcolonialism that tend to be overlooked (especially religious ones), but his works have a wealth of erudition and symbolism that still need to be explored, and this paper is only a modest contribution in this direction.

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²⁰ Palash Gosh, “Partition of India and Pakistan, the Rape of Women on an Epic, Historic Scale”, in *International Business Time*, August 16-th 2013.

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DU BOUDOIR À L'ÉCHAFAUD. POUR UNE TYPOLOGIE DES FEMMES CLASSIQUES

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Abstract. *Our basic hypothesis is that the erotic dimension of the mind presupposes the fascination for death. From the "boudoir" to the "scaffold", from Eros to Thanatos, there is only one step. To illustrate this idea I have chosen two examples from literature: Joan of Arc, burned at the stake, and Marie Antoinette, executed by guillotine. Their destinies, their trials and "wills", could be the benchmarks for a typology of classical woman.*

Keywords: *boudoir, échafaud, clos, ouvert, Marie-Antoinette, Marie-Olympe de Gouges, Manon Roland.*

1. Dans la pénombre des... Lumières, pullulent et foisonnent des intrigues¹, des conspirations, des complots². La Raison est sabotée, boycottée par des «masques et bergamasques»³, un syntagme-symbole qu'on peut déceler partout, dans les interstices des deux siècles «classiques», le XVIIe et le XVIIIe. Le

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¹ Roland Mortier, *Clartés et ombres du siècle des lumières. Études sur le 18e siècle littéraire*, 1969, <https://books.google.ro/books?id=g-LE+MASQUE+AU+XVIII+SIECLE>

² Voir la thèse, soutenue par l'abbé Barruel (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, 1797-1799), selon laquelle la Révolution française est le produit d'un complot fomenté par les philosophes athées, les nouveaux templiers, les rosicruciens, les francs-maçons, et certains protestants contre l'Église et la royauté, sous l'influence des Illuminés. Cette thèse sera reprise par Louis Blanc dans son *Histoire de la révolution française* (1864); Collectif, «Le Complot», *Politica Hermentica*, no 6, 1992. Actes du VII^e colloque international, les 23 et 24 novembre 1991 à la Sorbonne, dans le cadre de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, présidé par Émile Poulat, EHESS et CNRS; Véronique Campion-Vincent, *La société parano : théories du complot, menaces et incertitudes*, Paris, Payot, 2005.

³ Il est fascinant de poursuivre et explorer, le syntagme-symbolique du «masques et bergamasques» qui voile et dévoile, cache et montre, dissimule et découvre, à la fois. Dès le cartésien «larvatus prodeo» et surtout dès les fantaisies et les arabesques de Watteau (1684-1721) qui inspirent Verlaine (*Clair de lune, Fêtes galantes*, 1869), les deux – Watteau et Verlaine – devenant, à leur tour, les «sources» pour Gabriel Fauré (1887) qui compose la suite d'orchestre en quatre tableaux (op. 46 n°2 et op. 112) ou pour Claude Debussy (1882, 1892), l'auteur de la *Suite bergamasque pour piano* jusqu'à Théophile Gautier (1838) et Nerval (*Sylvie*, 1853), Baudelaire (*Les Phares*, 1857) ou Pierre Sollers (*La Fête à Venise*, 1991).

masque⁴, les bals masqués ou mascarades, les carnavals, ce sont des variables *du clos* et de *l'ouvert* à la fois, par leurs ambigüités et leur mystère. Le masque, c'est élément unificateur et désintégrant des arts, des littératures, des mentalités du/au XVIIIème siècle. La raison et la croyance, l'ordre et les règles sont «broyées» par le doute, l'hypocrisie, la dissimulation, le dédoublement. La sacramentalité du mariage est moulue par le libertinage et l'adultère. La «chambre à coucher» devient «boudoir» et Thémis, incarnation de l'ordre divin, de la loi et de la coutume, monte sur l'échafaud pour déclencher le couperet de la guillotine et organiser les «guillotinales».

1.1. La dimension érotique du mental, la mentalité érotique, suppose la fascination de la mort. Du boudoir à l'échafaud, de l'Eros à Thanatos, il n'y a qu'un pas. «Le monde clos fait place à l'univers infini»⁵. Cette phrase d'Alexandre Koyré traduit *fortuitement* notre syntagme *du boudoir à l'échafaud*, c'est-à-dire *du clos à l'ouvert*, de *la sphère privée*⁶ à *l'espace public* (*Oeffentlichkeit*)⁷. Dans son poème *Le Mondain* (1736), Voltaire déconstruit, d'une perspective subjective et écolâtre, le réseau érotique de son époque: «J'aime le luxe, et même la mollesse». Ailleurs, le corps érotique, ainsi que le discours amoureux, se laissent décapités, voire supprimés, (a)néantisés.

2. En remontant et en arrêtant un peu le flux de l'histoire trouble et parfois apocryphe du jeu des genres, des rôles, des représentations et des sexes, j'ai choisi pour ma micro-analyse un personnage féminin complexe et paradoxal. Mi-réel, mi-léendaire, femme-homme, sainte-sorcière, qui réussit à mettre en conflit le sacré et le profane, Dieu et l'Eglise, les Français et les Anglais, Jeanne d'Arc née vers 1412 à Domrémy, en Lorraine, et morte sur le bûcher, à Rouen, le 30 mai 1431.

2.1. Heureusement, l'histoire ne (s'é)coule pas d'après la logique d'Héraclite, cela veut dire que dans ses flux et ses réseaux, il y a des nœuds qui se répètent, des «figures dans le tapis» qui reviennent. Ainsi, quelques siècles plus tard, l'Histoire décide de refaire l'expérience de la Terreur et remplace l'Inquisition par la Révolution Française, le *Malleus Maleficarum* («Marteau des sorcières»)⁸ par

⁴ *Masque* est issu du latin tardif, *masca*, qui désignait non seulement les masques, mais aussi les sorcières, les spectres et les démons, et d'un mot ibéro-roman, *maskara*, plurisémanstique: la tache, la macule, le barbouillage, la surface noircie par la suie.

⁵ Alexandre Koyré, *Du Monde clos à l'univers infini*, Paris, coll. «Tel», Gallimard, 1973.

⁶ M.-I. Brudny, *La sphère privée selon Hannah Arendt*, Champ Psychosomatique 2002/3, n° 27, pp. 9-12

⁷ Cf. J. Habermas, *L'Espace public*, Paris, Payot, 1962/1978; *Idem*, *Théorie de l'agir communicationnel*, Paris, Fayard, 1981/1987.

⁸ Henri Institoris et Jacques Sprenger, *Le marteau des sorcières (Malleus Maleficarum)* trad. Amand Danet, Grenoble, Jérôme Millon, 1990; Carmen Rob-Santer, *Le Malleus Maleficarum à la lumière de l'historiographie: un Kulturkampf?*, Médiévales, 44, 2003.

l'échafaud et la guillotine, et le personnage «Jeanne d'Arc» par d'autres actants, acteurs ou actrices, reines ou simples mortelles: Marie-Antoinette, Marie-Olympe de Gouges ou Manon Roland.

3. Le procès de Jeanne d'Arc débute le 9 janvier 1431 à Rouen⁹. Environ cent vingt personnes y participent, dont vingt-deux chanoines, soixante docteurs, dix abbés normands, dix délégués de l'université de Paris. Le tribunal de l'Inquisition accuse Jeanne d'être schismatique, apostâte, menteuse, devineresse, suspecte d'hérésie, errante en la foi, blasphématrice de Dieu et des Saints, sorcière. Bref, soixante-dix chefs d'accusation seront trouvés, le principal étant *Revelationum et apparitionum divinarum mendosa confictrix* («imaginant mensongèrement des révélations et apparitions divines»). Elle abjure et répète le texte d'abjuration (voir infra). Il est à remarquer une double pression sur le tribunal: les règles du dogme et de l'église catholique, d'une part, et les intérêts politiques et militaires franco-anglais, de l'autre. Jeanne d'Arc, par exemple, déclara à son procès (le 15 mars 1431): «Sur l'amour ou la haine que Dieu porte aux Anglais, je n'en sais rien, mais je suis convaincue qu'ils seront boutés hors de France, exceptés ceux qui mourront sur cette terre.»¹⁰ Le thème de l'étranger-enemi à la France génère des indices subtils du politique, soutenus par l'intérêt national et les relations internationales qui exigent comme d'habitude des sacrifices humains. A la différence de l'attitude digne et ironique de Jeanne d'Arc, le comportement des *canonici* est risible. Ainsi, Richard de Grouchet déclare que «c'est sous la menace et en pleine terreur que nous dûmes prendre part au procès; nous avions l'intention de déguerpir.» Jean Massieu note qu'«il n'y avait personne au tribunal qui ne tremblât de peur»... et Jean Lemaître¹¹: «Je vois que si l'on n'agit pas selon la volonté des Anglais, c'est la mort qui menace.»¹² Dans le jeu historique du genre et des sexes, il semble qu'à ce moment-là une femme-leader est «masculinisée», selon la tradition médiévale de l'héroïsme chevaleresque, tandis que les hommes, comblés par l'esprit grégaire, se conduisent comme les odalisques dans un harem ou les esclaves dans un gynécée grec. Un autre type de carnaval prend forme, un carnaval tragique, cette fois-ci, pendant lequel l'ordre établi et la distribution des rôles sont renversés: le roi devient mendiant, celui-ci est sacré roi, une paysanne analphabète devient «héros» et puis sainte, et le puissant clergé, un troupeau de moutons déboussolés.

3.1. Les chroniqueurs confirment que le mercredi 30 mai, Jeanne d'Arc fut brûlée vive pour avoir délivré la France du joug anglais. Elle ne cessera jamais de

⁹ « Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc », 3 tomes, Pierre Tisset, Yvonne Lanhers, Librairie C. Klincksieck, (Société de l'histoire de France), 1960-1970-1971.

¹⁰ « Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc », *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 445.

¹¹ <http://www.touteslespropheties.net/sainte-jeanne-d-arc/>

¹² Sébastien Mérat, «Jeanne d'Arc et la reconquête», *Histoire Médiévale*, n° 45, Septembre 2003.

crier le nom de tous les saints et de Jésus. Après sa mort, trois enquêtes se sont succédé pendant près de 25 ans afin d'élucider les labyrinthes du procès. Charles VII ouvre la première enquête (le 15 février 1450). Le cardinal d'Estouteville, la seconde (1452). Le pape Calixte III fait initier un nouveau procès en révision (le 11 juin 1455). Finalement, le 7 juillet 1456, les juges décident d'annuler le verdict original et Jeanne d'Arc est déclarée innocente.¹³

4. L'Histoire ludique ou logique, il s'agirait, évidemment, au moins d'une logique modale multidimensionnelle, s'amuse à proposer aux déchiffreurs le même *topos* du rituel sacrificiel: *le bouc émissaire*, commenté par Frazer et Georges Bataille. Cette fois-ci, *le bouc émissaire* est une reine: Marie-Antoinette Joséphe Jeanne de Habsbourg-Lorraine, archiduchesse d'Autriche, princesse impériale, princesse royale de Hongrie et de Bohême, (née le 2 novembre 1755 à Vienne – morte le 16 octobre 1793 à Paris), la dernière reine de France et de Navarre (1774–1792), épouse de Louis XVI, roi de France et de Navarre. Fille de l'empereur François Ier du Saint-Empire, et de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, arrière-petite-fille de Philippe, duc d'Orléans, frère de Louis XIV, donc une descendante des rois de France, Henri IV et Louis XIII. Symboliquement, on peut affirmer qu'avec elle monte à l'échafaud la Monarchie française.

5. Après l'admonestation des juges, Jeanne d'Arc, en présence du clergé et du peuple, «fit et proféra» sa révocation et l'abjuration. A la différence de Marie-Antoinette ou Olympe de Gouges, son discours s'adresse à l'église, représentée physiquement par le clergé, et symboliquement par la présence invisible de la divinité:

«Toute personne qui a erré et failli en la foi chrétienne, et qui depuis, par la grâce de Dieu, est retournée à la lumière de la vérité et à l'union de notre mère sainte Église, se doit très bien garder que l'ennemi d'enfer ne la reboute et fasse réchoir en erreur et en damnation. Pour cette cause, moi, Jeanne, communément appelée la Pucelle, misérable pécheresse, après que j'aie connu les lacs (filets) d'erreur par lesquels j'étais tenue, et, par la grâce de Dieu, après avoir fait retour à notre mère sainte Église, afin qu'on voie que, non par feinte, mais de bon cœur et de bonne volonté je suis retournée à elle, je confesse que j'ai très gravement péché en feignant mensongèrement d'avoir eu révélations et apparitions de par Dieu, de par les anges et sainte Catherine et sainte Marguerite, en séduisant les autres, en croyant follement et légèrement, en frisant divinations superstitieuses, en blasphémant Dieu, ses saints et ses saintes; en outrepassant la loi divine, la sainte Écriture, les droits canons; en portant un habit dissolu, difforme et deshonnête, contraire à la décence de nature, et des cheveux rognés en rond à la mode des hommes, contre toute honnêteté du sexe de la femme; en portant aussi des armures par grande présomption; en désirant

¹³ « Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc », 5 tomes t. 5 : Étude juridique des procès, contribution à la biographie de Jeanne d'Arc, Pierre Duparc Genève, Librairie Droz, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1977-1983-1986-1989.

cruellement l'effusion du sang humain; en disant que, toutes ces choses, je les ai faites par le commandement de Dieu, des anges et des saintes dessus-dites, et qu'en ces choses j'ai bien fait et n'ai point failli; en méprisant Dieu et ses sacrements; en faisant sédition et idolâtrie, en adorant de mauvais esprits et en les invoquant. Confesse aussi que j'ai été schismatique, et par plusieurs manières que j'ai erré en la foi. Lesquels crimes et erreurs, de bon cœur et sans fiction, par la grâce de Notre Seigneur, retournée à la voie de vérité, par la sainte doctrine et par votre bon conseil, celui des docteurs et maîtres que vous m'avez envoyés, j'abjure et renie, et en tout y renonce et m'en sépare. Et sur toutes ces choses devant dites, me soumetts à la correction, disposition, amendement et totale détermination de notre mère sainte Église et de votre bonne justice. Aussi je voue, jure et promets à monseigneur saint Pierre, prince des apôtres, à notre Saint-Père le pape de Rome, son vicaire et à ses successeurs, à vous messeigneurs, à monseigneur l'évêque de Beauvais et à religieuse personne frère Jean Le Maistre, vicaire de monseigneur l'inquisiteur de la foi, comme à mes juges, que jamais, par quelque exhortation ou autre manière, ne retournerai aux erreurs devant dites, desquelles il a plu à Notre Seigneur me délivrer et m'ôter; mais, pour toujours, je demeurerai en l'union de notre mère sainte Église et en l'obéissance de notre Saint-Père le pape de Rome. Et ceci je le dis, affirme et jure par le Dieu tout-puissant, et par ces saints Évangiles. Et en signe de ce, j'ai signé cette cédule de mon seing. Ainsi signée: JEHANNE V.»¹⁴

6. Le 3 octobre 1793, Marie-Antoinette comparaît devant le Tribunal révolutionnaire, mené par l'accusateur public Fouquier-Tinville. La condamnation à mort, pour haute trahison, est prononcée le 16 octobre 1793 vers 4 heures du matin. À l'annonce de la sentence, Marie-Antoinette rédigea une dernière lettre¹⁵ à l'attention de Madame Élisabeth, sœur de feu le roi Louis XVI:

«C'est à vous, ma sœur, que j'écris pour la dernière fois; je viens d'être condamnée non pas à une mort honteuse, elle ne l'est que pour les criminels, mais à aller rejoindre votre frère. Comme lui innocente, j'espère montrer la même fermeté que lui dans ces derniers moments. Je suis calme comme on l'est quand la conscience ne reproche rien; j'ai un profond regret d'abandonner mes pauvres enfants; vous savez que je n'existais que pour eux, et vous, ma bonne et tendre sœur, vous qui avez par votre amitié tout sacrifié pour être avec nous, dans quelle position je vous laisse ! J'ai appris par le plaidoyer même du procès que ma fille était séparée de vous. Hélas! la pauvre enfant, je n'ose pas lui écrire, elle ne recevrait pas ma lettre, je ne sais même pas si celle-ci vous parviendra recevez pour eux deux ici ma bénédiction. J'espère qu'un jour, lorsqu'ils seront plus grands, ils pourront se réunir avec vous, et jouir en entier de vos tendres soins. (...) Je meurs dans la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine, dans celle où j'ai été élevée, et que j'ai toujours professée, n'ayant aucune consolation spirituelle à attendre, ne sachant pas s'il existe encore ici des prêtres de cette religion, et même le lieu où je suis les exposerait trop s'ils y entraient une fois. Adieu, adieu ! Je ne vais plus m'occuper que de mes devoirs spirituels. Comme je ne suis pas libre dans mes actions, on m'amènera peut-être un prêtre, mais je proteste ici

¹⁴ Pierre Champion, *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris, Champion Éditeur, 1921.

¹⁵ *Archives nationales* (cote AE/II/1384).

que je ne lui dirai pas un mot, et que je le traiterai comme un être absolument étranger. (...) Qu'ils pensent tout deux à ce que je n'ai cessé de leur inspirer : que les principes et l'exécution de leurs devoirs sont la première base de la vie; que leur amitié et leur confiance mutuelle en feront le bonheur; qu'ils sentent enfin tous deux que, dans quelque position où ils pourront se trouver, ils ne seront vraiment heureux que par leur union, qu'ils prennent exemple de nous : combien dans nos malheurs, notre amitié nous a donné de consolations, et dans le bonheur on jouit doublement quand on peut le partager avec un ami; et où en trouver de plus tendre, de plus cher que dans sa propre famille. (...) Que mon fils n'oublie jamais les derniers mots de son père que je lui répète expressément: qu'il ne cherche jamais à venger notre nom. (...) Je pardonne à tous mes ennemis le mal qu'ils m'ont fait. Je dis ici adieu à mes tantes et (*mots rayés*) et à tous mes frères et sœurs. (...) Mon Dieu ayez pitié de moi! Mes yeux n'ont plus de larmes pour pleurer pour vous mes pauvres enfants. Adieu, Adieu!

»¹⁶

6.1. En analysant la dernière lettre de Marie-Antoinette, on remarque « la hauteur et la sincérité d'âme de Marie-Antoinette ». ¹⁷ Quels secrets cachent cette femme intangible, dont l'image a été déconstruite et falsifiée? Elle est reine, dédoublée et dissimulée, divisée entre la nostalgie de l'Autriche et le devoir politique envers sa nouvelle patrie. Elle est mère¹⁸, mais aussi praticienne de la diplomatie occulte: «J'ai tous les motifs réunis d'agir, disait-elle en octobre 1778, car je suis bien persuadée qu'il y va de la gloire du roi et du bien de la France, sans compter le bien-être de ma chère patrie.» ¹⁹ Surtout elle aurait voulu maintenir l'alliance des deux cours de Vienne et de Versailles, c'est-à-dire de ses deux familles. Comment harmoniser ces contraires et en faire un arc-en-ciel? Un projet utopique et, par là, tragique.

« Ce Testament respire la tendresse d'unemère, d'une sœur et d'une amie, la dignité d'une reine, la fermeté d'un sage : il est digne d'être entendu à côté de ce testament auguste et saint qui mérita d'être lu dans la chaire de vérité après la parole de Dieu ». ²⁰

6.2. A. Geffroy brosse un portrait vivant et vraisemblable: «un grand charme de sensibilité affectueuse, de bonté nonchalante et par là familière; mais elle est

¹⁶ Gaspard Louis Lafont d'Aussonne (1824) *Mémoires secrets et universels des malheurs et de la mort de la reine de France*; repris par Horace Viel-Castel (1859), Émile Campardon (1864), G. Lenotre (1902) et André Castelot (1957); Véronique Campion-Vincent, Christine Shojaei Kawan, «Marie-Antoinette et son célèbre dire», dans *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* n° 327, 2002. pp. 29-56; *Marie-Antoinette - Correspondance (1770-1793)*, établie et présentée par Evelyne Lever, Tallandier, 2005; Evelyne Lever, *Marie-Antoinette, Journal d'une reine*, Tallandier, 2008.

¹⁷ A. Geffroy, «Marie-Antoinette d'après les documents authentiques», *loc.cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁸ « Ne me renvoyez pas mes diamants ; je ne me pare plus, ma vie est une existence toute nouvelle ; je souffre nuit et jour, je change à vue d'œil, mes beaux jours sont passés, et sans mes pauvres enfants je voudrais être en paix dans ma tombe. — Ils me tueront, ma chère Christine ! »

¹⁹ Apud A. Geffroy, «Marie-Antoinette d'après les documents authentiques», *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. 63, 1866

²⁰ https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Testament_Louis_XVI_Marie-Antoinette.djvu/17

aussi très-capable de dédain, d'impatient dépit, d'obstination visible sous l'empire de sentiments qui dominent. Ce qui surnage après tout de dignité explique à l'avance la résignation finale.» L'orgueil et le mépris envers son siècle sont vite censurés par la pression du présent et du « futur proche » qui se hâtent à devenir histoire, c'est-à-dire Mort.

6.3. Le lendemain de la mort de Louis XVI, «Marie-Antoinette demande pour elle un habillement complet de deuil, et pour sa famille, le plus simple»²¹ Elle est devenue La Veuve, mais elle reste encore la Mère: «Elle prie et s'abîme dans la prière; elle se plonge et s'absorbe dans la *Journée du Chrétien*; elle immole son cœur devant cette image du cœur de Marie sanglant et traversé de glaives. Son âme ne prête plus l'oreille à la terre; son âme va s'élevant, se dégageant chaque jour, et comme essayant ses ailes...»²² Marie-Antoinette devient simplement Marie, la *Mater dolorosa*. Elle n'accepte pas la mort comme l'aurait fait Jeanne d'Arc, en martyre. Maintenant, elle est la Mère qui-donne-naissance-à-la-mort, et ainsi elle devient soudainement la Reine de la mort, sa Maîtresse. «Historifiée», transformée en information ou produit historique, Marie-Antoinette a payé de sa vie pour avoir une place d'élection dans la galerie des Femmes visionnaires, à côté de Louise Labé et Simone de Beauvoir. La Révolution a tué la Reine, mais c'est la Reine qui l'a provoquée.

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²¹ Demandes de Marie-Antoinette à la Commune de Paris, avec les arrêtés que la Commune a pris sur ses demandes. De l'imprimerie de la Feuille de Paris, Apud Edmond de Goncourt et Jules de Goncourt, Histoire de Marie-Antoinette, 1879,

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²² Edmond de Goncourt et Jules de Goncourt, *Histoire de Marie-Antoinette*, op.cit., p. 21.

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ЛУЧИАН БЛАГА И РУССКИЕ ХУДОЖНИКИ СЛОВА: ВОЗМОЖНЫЕ ПАРАЛЛЕЛИ

LUCIAN BLAGA AND RUSSIAN ARTISTS OF THE WORD: POSSIBLE PARALLELS

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***Abstract:** The main topic of the present paper aims to analyze the poetical work of the great Romanian poet and philosopher L. Blaga and some of the important Russian authors, such as F. Tiutchev, B. Pasternak or M. Tsvetaeva (finally, focusing on one of them – F. Tiutchev), whose poetical and philosophical thinking is particularly special for their national literatures. Despite the differences in their style of writing, there are many similarities between them, especially caused by their interest in German philosophy and literature. Very important for both poets is the intuitive knowledge in comparison with the rational, logical way of understanding and depicting the world.*

***Keywords:** Blaga, intuitive knowledge, rational thinking, silence.*

Аннотация: В настоящей статье проводится анализ поэтического творчества румынского великого поэта и философа Лучиана Блага и некоторых из русских авторов, таких как Ф.И. Тютчев, Б.Л. Пастернак или М.И. Цветаева. Наше внимание сосредотачивается на творчестве Ф. И. Тютчева, наиболее подходящим по духу с румынским художником слова. Их поэтико-философское мышление ярко выделяется на фоне национальных литератур, которые они представляют. Сближения, которые наблюдаются несмотря на существенные различия, касаются схожего понимания искусства слова как инструмента интуитивного познания мира, противуположного познанию рациональному.

Ключевые слова: Тютчев, Блага, молчание, интуитивное познание, рациональное мышление, таинственность

Казалось бы нет никаких оснований проводить какие-то параллели между великим румынским поэтом, драматургом, переводчиком и философом Лучианом Благой (1895-1961) и каким-либо из русских художников слова, так как в творчестве Блага не отмечены прямые влияния русской культуры или следы взаимоотношений с ней. Напротив, формирование и большая часть жизни рожденного в Ардяле (Трансильвании) поэта (Ардял – румынская территория, находившаяся в то время под властью австро-венгерской империи) прошли под знаком немецкой культуры: он учился в немецкой гимназии в Себеше, затем изучал богословие в городах с преимущественно немецким населением – Брашове и

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Сибиу, а потом подготовил и защитил докторскую диссертацию по философии в Вене, на тему «Культура и познание» (*Kultur und Erkenntniss*). С другой стороны, знал он это или нет, но его имя и фамилия имеют в своих словесных корнях если не русские, то бесспорно славянские понятия «луч» и «блага», которые в определенной мере можно соотнести с его личностью, судьбой и мировоззрением.

Некоторые аспекты из его судьбы напоминают его русского современника и собрата по перу Бориса Пастернака, который окончил философский университет в Германии, в Марбурге: в после-военный период, как и русский великий поэт и писатель, Блага находился в социальной и культурной изоляции, его произведения, кроме переводов из Лессинга, Гёте и др., не публиковались до 1962 г., а его кандидатура на Нобелевскую премию, выдвинутая Францией и Италией в 1956 г., не была допущена к рассмотрению румынскими коммунистическими властями, которые считали его «буржуазным идеалистом» и давили на Нобелевский комитет. Как и Пастернак – здесь можно добавить и Марину Цветаеву – Лучиан Блага восхищался австрийским поэтом Райнером Мариа Рильке, черты поэтики которого можно усмотреть и в его поэзии. Подобно другому русскому поэту-философу Ф.И. Тютчеву, Блага провел более десяти лет на дипломатической службе (с 1926 по 1939), в том числе и в городах германской культуры (в Берне и Вене), что позволило ему ближе и глубже познакомиться с творчеством не только уже упомянутых авторов, но и таких мыслителей, как Ницше и Шпенглер. О влиянии немецкой философии на русскую литературу и культуру, заметном уже в конце XVIII-XIX в. и усилившемся особенно в период Серебряного века, всем известно. Но в настоящей статье не будут подвергаться анализу какие-либо влияния; цель исследования состоит в проведении параллели между двумя разными великими художниками слова, поэтико-философское мышление которых ярко выделяется на фоне национальных литератур, которые они представляют. Добавим лишь одно замечание: у Благи концепция влияния культур связана с осмыслением экспрессионизма. Так, по его мнению, французская культура – «моделирующая» – предлагает, ориентацию на нее как на образец. Германская же культура – «катализирующая» – при соприкосновении с другой культурой помогает ей выявить свою национальную самобытность.

Хотя Ф.И. Тютчев сложился как оригинальный русский поэт именно в Германии, но он публиковался в России, где был достаточно поздно признан великим поэтом. Его давно уже не было в живых, когда родился Блага, и о каком-нибудь влиянии на мировоззрение румынского поэта со стороны русского автора не может быть речи. На него могли повлиять совсем другие немецкие мыслители, чем на русского поэта, но, оба поэта сами создали собственные философские системы. Исследователи тютчевского творчества даже утверждают, что во многом именно он повлиял на Шеллинга, с которым часто встречался и беседовал. Известно, что Тютчев дружил и с представителем последнего поколения немецких романтиков Гейне, творчество которого хорошо знал и ценил. Как замечала Лидия Лотман: «С Гейне Тютчева роднило не существо их идей и не худо-жественный стиль их творчества, а выраженная в их поэзии тонкость и изощренность мысли, глубина восприятия действительности, страсть к познанию и владение современными и самыми сложными методами мышления.» [Лотман, 1982]. Благу же, как большинство художников слова первой половины 20 века, занимали идеи

Ницше и Фрейда. То, что сближает двух поэтов с нашей точки зрения это их общий взгляд на принципиальную познаваемость мира, в которой приоритетом было интуитивное его постижение.

Сразу отметим немаловажную деталь: присутствие в фило-софско-поэтических системах ценностей обоих поэтов таких понятий, как «познание», «природа», «космос» и «молчание», которые занимают в их творчестве знаменательное место.

Философское творчество Лучиана Благги¹ ведет к утверждению поэзии как лирического метода познания. Из эстетики экспрессионизма его художественному миру близки такие черты, как «стили-зация, призванная передать суть вещей, сведение характера и психо-логии к схеме, утверждение обобщающей образности»². Одна из его основных тем – *разрыв между природой и цивилизацией*, пре-одоленный в архаической и мифической деревне. В основе его гносеологии лежит принцип непознаваемости, присутствие Великого Анонима, своего рода божества, который, через «трансцендентную цензуру» мешает человеку познавать явления рациональным путем. По мнению философа, рациональное познание оказывается недо-статочно действенным поскольку оно не в состоянии проникнуть сущность мира, которая заключается в его таинственности.

Поэтическое творчество Лучиана Благги, на протяжении нескольких десятилетий своего формирования, познало ощутимую эволюцию, как в плане отношения лирического «я» с миром, так и в плане средств художественного выражения. Остановимся на тех аспектах, которые могут послужить предметом параллели с поэтикой Тютчева.

В стихах Лучиана Благги 1920-х гг. запечатлены ощущения чуда жизни, а также глубинная связь жизни и смерти, постоянства трансцендентного перехода, с которым связано познание мира. А в первых двух стихотворных сборниках («Поэмы света», 1919, «Шаги пророка», 1921) доминирует сильный витализм, который переходит за узкие пределы времени и человеческого состояния, как желание слияния с космосом. Для Благги познание значит любовь – знамена-тельное отношение к тайнам мира, выраженное в программном стихотворении, которым открывается его первый сборник *«Я не раздавлю венок чудес мира...»*, где поощряется аффективный подход к предмету познания. Здесь противопоставляется «свет других», как уничтожающий «чары непроницаемой скрытости в глубинах тьмы», и «мой свет», который «умножает тайну мира» подобно «белым лунным лучам», усиливающим еще больше «тайну ночи». Применяя концепты собственной философской системы, Блага имеет здесь в виду логическое рациональное мышление, т.н. парадисийское (от фр. слова *paradis*) и поэтическое или люциферическое познание, подчеркивая способность последнего усиливать таинственность.

В поэзии Тютчева из сквозных мотивов и образов символического характера, которые раскрывают в подобном духе философские проблемы, выберем образы

¹ Лучиан Блага является автором следующих философских работ: «Трилогия познания», 1931-1934, «Трилогия культуры», 1936-1937, «Трилогия ценностей», 1946, и «Космологическая трилогия», 1956.

² Е. Фейгина Энциклопедический словарь экспрессионизма. – М.: ИМЛИ РАН. Глав.ред. П. М. Топер // http://expressionism.academic.ru/65/Блага_Лучиан

Ночи и Дня, как противопоставление темного и светлого в человеке и природе. Это противопоставление понимается как дневное начало, рациональное, логическое, пости-жимое и подконтрольное человеческой воле и рассудку, с одной стороны, и как ночное начало, таинственное, непостижимое, связывающее человека с космическим началом, с другой стороны. Наступление ночи лишь предлог для введения поэтом основной проблемы, которая его занимает – положение человека во Вселенной. Поэт видит его немощным и голым, чувствуя себя одиноким *«лицом к лицу перед пропастью темной»*. Метко заметил В.И. Коровин, что «философская основа тютчевского романтизма покоится на признании жизни как нестихающего борения противоречивых начал, на утверждении таинственности и загадочности этой битвы» [Коровин, 1983: 78]. Так, в описании бездны подчеркивается ее таинственность: в темноте открывшейся перед ним пропасти человек узнает свои корни (*«наследье роковое»*), но не умом, так как его *«мысль осиротела»*, а подсознательно, каким-то глубинным чутьем. По Тютчеву истинные знания приобретаются именно инстинктом (вспомним его широко известные стихи *«Умом Россию не понять...»*).

В благианской лирике первых сборников, исполненной витализмом, тело горит, как *«в пламени костра»* (ст. «Мы и земля»), жизнь клокочет в нем, *«как бурный источник/ в звонкой пещере»* (ст. «Не предчувствуешь?»), сама грусть распространяется на всю Вселенную (ст. «Уныние»), а восклицание *«Я миром опьянен, язычник я!»* (ст. «Райский свет») оказывается выражением души, которая ищет себе покрова в гигантских геологических формах: *«Дайте мне тело/ вы, горы,/ моря,/ дайте мне иное тело, чтоб полностью освободить/ безумие мое!/ Широкая земля, будь моим стволom, / будь грудью для этого буйного сердца (...»* (ст. «Дайте мне тело, вы, горы»). Поэтическое «я» беспрепятственно распространяется не только в пространстве, но и во времени, в предчувствии смерти (как в стихотворениях «Дуб» или «Прекрасные руки»), или в остром восприятии общения с предками, которые продолжают жить в своих внуках (ст. «Тишина»). Сама любовь оказывается средством общения со Вселенной: с утаенным ритмом земли через пульс сердца возлюбленной (ст. «Земля»), с ночным источником через ее черные очи, с тайной существования через ее взгляд (ст. «Ева»). В стилистическом плане, стихотворения, вошедшие в сб. «Поэмы света» построены вокруг центральной метафоры (напр. «ночной источник»), или заканчиваются этой метафорой, которая часто имеет афористический признак.

Следующий сборник «Шаги пророка», хотя во многом сохраняет общие черты предыдущего, предвещает уже в своем названии смену отношения, которое станет очевидной позже: начинает преобладать размышление над непосредственными и острыми переживаниями. Знаменательная с этой точки зрения поэма «Смерть Пана»: старый и почти слепой, этот бог плодотворной природы и естественных переживаний предчувствует свою кончину и свою замену новым пророком, который удалит человека от природы и внесет в мир понятие греха.

Начиная со сборника «Великий переход» уточняется этот разрыв между поэтическим «я» и Вселенной. Природа теряет свою невинность и райский вид, а поэт чувствует себя отчужденным по отношению к ней и своим корням. Витализм и острые переживания смягчаются в пользу мучительных вопросов и философской проблематики. Поэта терзают вопросы о существовании, он ждет свою кончину с

ностальгией времен до-рождения. Он становится созерца-тельным «другом глубины», чувствует, что небо от него отказывается и он отчуждается от природы: «О, я не достоин больше/ жить среди деревьев и среди камней» (ст. «С неба прилетела лебединая песнь»). Лишь наивность детства и народный творец сохраняют еще связь с вечными смыслами: «Только моя кровь зовет в лесах/ своё далёкое детство» (ст. «Великий переход»). Лишь мифический мир деревни остается еще пространством вечности и это выражено в хорошо известном всем стихе, ставшем афоризмом: «Я думаю, что вечность

родилась в деревне». И если беспокойная трезвость мысли поро-ждает неустроенность существа и мира, то ночь и сон, как у немецких романтиков, оказываются подходящими для перемирия со Все-ленной. Сборник «Хвала сну» иллюстрирует именно это перемирие: как «божественное состояние» сон приводит человеческое существо в состояние анонимности и виртуальности, а ночь возвращает ему чувство первоначального единства мира.

Имея в виду эволюцию лирики Лучиана Благи румынский исследователь Ион Поп замечал, что его «поэзия больших порывов, проектированных на космические масштабы, и отождествления лирического «я» с элементарной вселенной» познает эволюцию в сторону драматичности «метафизической тоски» проблематичного человека, отчужденного от «тайн» вселенной и устремленного к поиску первичного равновесия под знаком «мифа реинтеграции» в идеальную «мифологическую географию»³. Это пространство представляет собой исключительно сакральный мир, круглый, охранительный, где нет места проблематичному человеку. Постепенное восстановление человека, как органической части «венка чудес», начиная со сборника «Хвала сну», продолжается в сборниках «У водо-раздела» (1933) и «У врат тоски душевной...» (1938), и находит свое завершение в сб. «Неподозреваемые ступени» (1943), где происходит его подлинное преобразование в смысле отказа от «метафизической грусти» и восстановления райского возраста. Этот период благиан-ского творчества характеризуется явной классицизацией мирови-дения не только в формальном плане лирического дискурса, но и в плане глубокого равновесия в отношении лирического «я» со Все-ленной, что придает этим стихам ясность и успокоительную ноту. Таким образом, поэтический миф Благи округляется, подчиняя себе и размышление над поэтическим словом⁴. Вернемся опять к спра-ведливому замечанию румынского исследователя И. Поп, который подчеркнул, что между первоначальной песней Пана и финальным гимном, слово у Благи прошло через разрыв и отчуждение: «за провинившуюся совесть оно было воспринято как знак расстояния и изгнания – откуда и отказ от его произношения (*«горькие очень все слова», «оставьте меня / немым ходить*

³ I. Pop, *Lucian Blaga* // в словаре *Dicționarul esențial al scriitorilor români*, под ред. М. Зачу, М. Папахаджи, А. Сасу, - Бухарест: Альбатрос, 2000, с. 84. // О «мифо-логической географии» также смотрите подробнее: Осипова Н.С. «Мифологическая география» как «матричное пространство» творчества румынского поэта Лучиана Благи // *Натура и культура*. М., 1993.

⁴ Как известно, первые четыре года жизни Лучиана Благи прошли под знаком несловесности, в чем он признается в своем стихотворении «Автопортрет»: «Лучиан Блага – немой, как лебедь».

между вами, / выходить вам на встречу с закрытыми глазами»), и поиск молчания (равный первоначальной прародительской ночи). «Смена зодий» существо-вания значит и смена режима произношения речи: восстановление райского состояния человека приносит за собой и возврат магических сил глагола.»⁵. Таким образом, Блага доказывает, что он хорошо ассимилировал миф «адамического языка» и интегрировал его в личное мировоззрение. Говоря о сущности поэтов, Блага утверждает, что «говоря, они немые», т.е. они раскрывают скрывая. Та часть их творчества, которая остается скрытной представляет собой внушен-ную тайну, которую можно уподобить молчанию: «Единственный твой язык, совершенный твой язык, / хозяин тайны и света/ Это тот язык, на котором умеешь молчать.»

Своеобразный художественный манифест в защиту молчания, звучащий как тезис отрицания речи, сформулирован и Ф. Тютчевым в широко известном стихотворении «Silentium!». В связи с ним Лев Озеров писал: «Боясь изреченной мысли, Тютчев явил России могущество слова. Он острым умом и мудрым сердцем открыл такие тайники Вселенной и души человеческой, в которые до него никто не заглянул. Есть галактика Тютчева. В ней ширь, высота, глубина, протяженность пространства и времени»⁶.

Итак, несмотря на пространственное и временное расстояние, которое разделяет двух великих поэтов, на их принадлежность к разным культурам и на разные подходы к постижению мира можно утверждать, что их духовные искания, всемирность и всеобщность идей не только сближает, но и роднит.

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⁵ I. Pop. Указ.соч., с. 87.

⁶ Цит. по Л.К. Граудина, Г.И. Кочеткова *Русское слово в лирике XIX века. 1840-1900*. – М.: «Флинта» «Наука», 2010. С. 206.

ETHICS IN TRANSLATION IS A PROFESSIONAL CONCERN

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on the feature of ethics in translation. The process of rendering from one language into another requires attention to cultural values, to economic and political inequalities, to individual choices and to otherness in its linguistic and cultural forms. It foregrounds some explicitly ethical questions. The question is: how much of the otherness of the foreign should the translator highlight? How much of the foreign should the translator mute or erase in order to make texts easier for the target audience to assimilate? The problems posed demand ethical solutions. It also suggests that the translator's task is inevitably an ethical one. In the present paper we shall try to highlight the moral issues in translation business and the ethics of translation.*

Keywords: *translation, ethics, morality, quality standards, impartiality, confidentiality, personal ethical standards.*

Motto: “Translators’ ethical and political judgments become as central to their task as cultural or linguistic competence. Translators cannot escape the burden of their moral proximity to others.”¹

1. Introduction

Translation is a science and a profession, and as any other professions it has its own ethical problems. While dealing with the ethics in this field we should speak about the ethics of a translator and the ethics of the translation. It also requires existential choices that are bound to have wide-ranging repercussions for the text and its audience. How much of the otherness of the foreign text should the translator highlight? How much of the foreign should he mute or erase in order to make texts easier for the target audience to assimilate? The problems posed demand ethical solutions. It also suggests that the translator's task is inevitably an ethical one. In attempts to translate, translators become most aware of linguistic and cultural differences, of the historical haunting and of experiential responsibilities that make languages what they are and that directly affect their attitudes toward the world.

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¹ Inghilleri, Moira. *Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism*, Granada: ECOS, 2010, pp. 152-155.

2. Ethics as a science

Ethics is the philosophical science that studies morality as a form of social consciousness as a major aspect of human activity and a specific socio-historical phenomenon. Ethics illuminates the role of morality in the context of other types of social relations; it analyzes the nature and internal structure of morality, studies its origin and historical development, and provides theoretical justification for one or another moral system. It is concerned with the nature of ultimate value and the standards by which human actions can be judged right or wrong. The term is also applied to any system or theory of moral values or principles. Ethics is traditionally subdivided into normative ethics, meta-ethics, and applied ethics.

Normative ethics seeks to establish norms or standards of conduct; a crucial question in this field is whether actions are to be judged right or wrong based on their consequences or based on their conformity to some moral rule, such as “Do not tell a lie.”

Meta-ethics is concerned with the nature of ethical judgments and theories. Since the beginning of the 20th century much work in meta-ethics has focused on the logical and semantic aspects of moral language. Some major meta-ethical theories are naturalism, intuitionism, emotive issues, and prescriptivism.

Applied ethics consists of the application of normative ethical theories to practical moral problems. Among the major fields of applied ethics are bioethics, business ethics, legal ethics, and medical ethics.

Ethics was made into a separate discipline by Aristotle; he introduced the term by using it in the titles of his *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Eudemean Ethics* and *Magna Moralia*. He placed ethics between the doctrine of the soul, or psychology, and the doctrine of the state, or politics; ethics, based on the former, serves the latter, in as much as its goal is to mold virtuous citizens of the state. The central issue in Aristotle’s ethics was the doctrine of virtues, which he viewed as moral faculties of the individual, but his system incorporated many of the eternal questions of ethics – for example, the nature and source of morality, freedom of the will, the foundations of the moral act, justice, and the meaning of life and of the highest good.

The principal problem in ethics has always been the question of the nature and origin of morality; in the history of ethical doctrines, however, this was usually posed as a question of the basic notions on which moral awareness of duty is founded – a question of the criteria of moral judgments.

3. Ethics in translation

The work of a translator is a very hard one. Translators are like actors, they develop remarkable recall skills that will enable them to remember a word in a foreign language that they have heard only once. They read a lot, they love travelling, learn foreign languages and cultures and pay attention to how people

use language all around them. Translation is often called a “profession of second choice”²:

*“Many translators were first professionals in other fields, sometimes several other fields in succession, and only turned to translation when they lost or quit those jobs or moved to a country where they were unable to practice them.”*³

Just as professionals translators face a range of ethical dilemmas in the practice of their profession. Certain countries have established codes of conduct that set out guidelines for issues such as quality standards, impartiality, and confidentiality; however, the truly difficult decisions arise when linguists are asked to translate a text that clashes with their personal ethical standards.

The professional ethics of translation have traditionally been defined very narrowly: it is unethical for the translator to distort the meaning of the source text. As we have seen, this conception of translator ethics is far too narrow even from the user’s point of view: there are many cases when the translator is explicitly asked to “distort” the meaning of the source text in specific ways, as when adapting a text for television, a children’s book, or an advertising campaign. Professional ethics is an integral part of any translator. He is not an ordinary clerk, his profession is connected with the translation of information and he must do it with full responsibility.

From the translator’s internal point of view, the ethics of translation is more complicated still. What is a translator to do, for example, when asked to translate a text s/he finds offensive? Or, to put that differently, how does the translator proceed when professional ethics (loyalty to the person paying for the translation) clash with personal ethics (one’s own political and moral beliefs)? What does the feminist translator do when asked to translate a blatantly sexist text? What does the liberal translator do when asked to translate a neo-Nazi text? What does the environmentalist translator do when asked to translate an advertising campaign for an environmentally irresponsible chemical company?

As long as thinking about translation has been entirely dominated by an *external, non-translator point of view*, these have been non-questions – questions that have not been asked. The translator translates whatever texts s/he is asked to translate, and does so in a way that satisfies the translation user’s need. The translator has no personal point of view that has any relevance at all to the act of translation.

From an *internal point of view*, however, these questions must be asked. Translators are human beings, with opinions, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings. Translators who are regularly required to translate texts that they find abhorrent

² Robinson, D. *Becoming a Translator. An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation*. London: Routledge, 2012, p. 25.

³ Robinson, D. *Becoming a Translator. An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation*. London: Routledge, 2012, p. 25.

may be able to suppress their revulsion for a few weeks, or months, possibly even years; but they will not be able to continue suppressing those negative feelings forever. Translators, like all professionals, want to take pride in what they do; if a serious clash between their personal ethics and an externally defined professional ethics makes it difficult or impossible to feel that pride, they will eventually be forced to make dramatic decisions about where and under what conditions they want to work. When the translator's private ethics clash substantially with the interests of the commissioner, to what extent can the translator afford to live by those ethics and still go on earning a living? And on the other hand, to what extent can the translator afford to compromise with those ethics and still go on taking professional pride in his or her work? There is a very good example in the following text that makes clear the professional ethics of translator:

"An American translator working in-house at a large translation agency was regularly assigned to translate a single client's advertisements that she felt strongly were demeaning toward women. She worked hard to suppress her resistance to translating these texts as long as she was able, but then could stand it no longer, and went to talk to her boss about being relieved from that assignment. He was sympathetic to her request, in principle, but said that he couldn't spare anyone else in that language pair, and asked her to keep doing those jobs for another six months; then they would reassess the situation.

*After another month, the translator found that she simply could not do it any longer. She went on the job market and found another job with a smaller agency, making less money, but doing work that she could believe in, and is much happier now."*⁴

Clients rely on the translator to provide a translation that does full justice to the source text. This means that the translation should cover every aspect and connotation in the source, and should not add any material or connotations extraneous to the source, nor hints of the translator's personal opinion with respect to the subject-matter. Clients ask for a sworn translation. Most professionals agree that the general principles underlying sworn translations also apply to translation in general. It is true that translations should be reliable and undistorted reflections of the source text in a different language, clients will also expect an attractive text that is pleasant to read and effective in achieving its purpose. It is impossible to simply convert the content of the source text into the target language: the requirements of the register, stylistic authenticity and readability inevitably entail some degree of modification of the original.

Having said that, here is general consensus that clients can rightfully expect a translator to possess professional skills, which entails that the translator should not accept a translation job, if s/he feels incapable of providing a high-quality text, for instance because the subject matter is not within her/his field of expertise.

⁴ Robinson, D. *Becoming a Translator. An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation*. London: Routledge, 2012, p. 30

4. Unethical behavior in translation business

When most people think of ethics and professionals, they tend to focus on people like accountants, doctors, lawyers, or other high profile jobs. However, everyone who deals with other people in their business has the duty and responsibility to be ethical. Translators are no exception.

It is easy for people to point out unethical behavior in certain professions, but what about translators. It might not be as apparent. However, unethical activities do occur and it's important to know what some of these are and ways to keep them from being a temptation to you.

Unethical behavior in the translation profession can take many forms. For example, translators are usually on deadlines with clients and it's important to be truthful to your clients in terms of what you can accomplish in a given timeframe. If you come to terms with a client and agree to finish a job by a certain deadline, it is unethical to decide not to do that job or not finish it on time without informing the client. They usually have deadlines as well, and not respecting those is not only bad for business, but is also unethical.

Another major way that translators can be unethical is by not keeping their clients' information confidential. Translators are privy to all sorts of information, and some of this information is private and confidential to the client that requested the translation. It is definitely unethical for a translator to disclose this information to anybody.

Another way that translators can be unethical is by purposely overcharging a client when a price has already been quoted. Many translators' clients are first-time clients and might not know or understand how translators calculate their fees. Translators must not give into the temptation to overcharge a client when they know that the client is a little in the dark. Taking advantage of this ignorance is unethical. Earning more in this way a translator may ruin her/his career.

Ethical issues and situations can appear in any profession, and the translation profession is no exception. Translators should be aware of the ethical issues that can come up so that they know to avoid them as well. Being ethical is a responsibility that every translator has.

To sum up, it is clear that translators in addition to grappling with the technical content of source texts may be up to some morally challenging tasks as well. While guidelines and codes of conduct exist to help translators formulate their stance in general ethical issues, in many cases the approach to practical moral dilemmas in translation will be a matter of personal consideration and assessment, aided by the translator's knowledge of the client.

5. Professionalism, codes of ethics and morality

The translator does finally translate picking the rendition that feels right. The translator's feeling of rightness draws on the full range of her/his professional knowledge and skill; but it is in the end nevertheless a feeling, an intuitive sense.

Her/his translation feels right, it is made up of thousands of decisions made with full conscious awareness and logical reasoning.

The difference between a good translator and a mediocre one is not, that the former translates carefully, consciously, analytically, and the latter relies too heavily upon intuition and raw feels. Both the good translator and the mediocre translator rely heavily on analysis and intuition, on conscious and subliminal processing. The difference is that the good translator has trained her/his intuition more thoroughly than the mediocre one, and in relying on those intuitions is actually relying on years of internalized experience and intelligent reflection.

Good translators are lifelong learners, always looking for more cultural knowledge, more words and phrases, more experience of different text types, more transfer patterns, more solutions to complex problems. Translation is intelligent activity requiring constant growth, learning, self-expansion.

It should be clear that there are rules that all professional translators are expected to know and follow, and therefore that they need to be codified and made available to translators, in books or university courses. Translators should consult translation rulebooks and “authorities” in their country, or publications of their translator organizations or unions detailing the ethical principles governing the profession, or theoretical books listing specific translation problems between two specific languages and how to handle them. Most pick up a rather general sense of the laws and ethical principles and preferred methods of translation from other people, in practice, and when faced with a grey area must frequently ask what to do. This is the “alarm bell” or reticular activation phenomenon: the translator stops and realizes that there is something that s/he needs to know to proceed, but doesn’t. There are many “authorities” that the translator may need to consult:

1. Legislation governing translation.
2. Ethical principles published by translator organizations/unions.
3. Theoretical statements of the general ethical/professional principles governing translation.
4. Theoretical studies, often corpus-based, of specific translation problems in specific language combinations, comparative grammars.
5. Single-language grammars.
6. Dictionaries, glossaries, terminological databases.
7. Previous translations and other materials obtained from the client, agency, database, and library.
8. Expert advice and information from people who have worked in the field or have some other reliable knowledge about it.

Professional translators are “reflective and ethically responsible citizens”⁵. For many practitioners, professional codes of translation and interpreting are and must remain the reference point for ethical behavior in the field. Almost all codes drawn up by associations that represent translators and interpreters consider accuracy, impartiality and confidentiality as imperative for professional behavior.

6. Conclusion

We shall conclude our article with a few words about ethics of translators and interpreters said by Camayd-Freixas, who was offered the Inttranews Linguist of the Year Award in 2008:

*“We live in changing times where the canons of ethics are being redefined in many professions. For translators and interpreters, the prime imperative is accuracy, followed by impartiality and confidentiality. In cases of conflict, accuracy governs. And today there are cases in which accuracy must be regarded as something more than mere literal correctness. If we are to be more than translation machines, more than automatons, if we strive to have a conscience and a heart, we must go beyond the words, to the deeper structures of meaning. For long, linguists have taken refuge in the comfort of formal correctness, but our world has closed that loophole. That ethical shelter is no more. Our oath of accuracy means a commitment to truth.”*⁶

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⁵ Baker, Mona. *In Other Words. A Course book on Translation*. London: Routledge, 2011, p.284.

⁶ Camayd-Freixas (2008a) in Baker, Mona. *In Other Words. A Course book on Translation*. London: Routledge, 2011, p.285.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING AT THE CROSSROADS OF INTERCULTURALITY AND TRANSDISCIPLINARITY

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***Abstract:** The current paper investigates the concept of transdisciplinarity from the perspective of an 'intercultural' approach to foreign language teaching. It puts forward the proposition that the intercultural approach to language teaching shares common grounds with transdisciplinarity in terms of knowledge, attitude and view of the world. To exemplify this point, one of the key concepts of intercultural study, i.e. 'otherness' is discussed in relation to its discipline boundary-crossing character. Another point raised in the paper is that transdisciplinarity equally means the creation and adoption of new approaches that are to be integrated into current practice and that are socially oriented.*

***Keywords:** transdisciplinarity, education, language teaching, culture.*

The Need for Transdisciplinarity in Education

The paper starts from the truism that the modern world has become a network of overlapping problems. Due to their complexity, these can no longer be dealt with by means of the individual, specific knowledge that one discipline alone provides. The school as the main provider of knowledge must revise its approach to instruction if it wishes to maintain its basic role of educating people efficiently. Knowledge and society cannot be separated into distinct entities for one simple reason: individuals will do what they know and what they have learned mainly through instruction. Universities are not only the next and sometimes last level in the individual's learning process; they play a key role in human development, not only in terms of the skills necessary for labour markets, but also in terms of the social and personal training of those who will have a decisive impact on entire societies. That is why education on the whole, but higher education in particular, needs to redefine its rapport with the changing society of the 21st century. One of the main purposes of education at tertiary level is to generate new knowledge building on existing one, and then work within and across disciplines to develop capacities and skills that will respond to the challenges of a globally changing world. With all the convergent impacts of globalization and the information revolution, the educated play a vital part in today's world. Education must reflect and keep up with emerging societal and cultural trends, in order not to lose its due relevance to the recipients' and their communities' needs.

The current world has turned into a fabric of intercultural interactions which require a certain capability to communicate with other people. The basic principle

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of what is now called ‘intercultural communication’ lies in the understanding that one must look at the surrounding world through several perspectives. This knowledge cannot come only from linguistics, it should be endorsed by input from other disciplines like anthropology, sociology or cultural studies. Educational practices based on multiple intelligences and varied learning styles share with transdisciplinarity the common core of the belief that there are legitimate and possible alternative ways of perceiving the world. This proves to be particularly valid in the case of adopting an intercultural approach to the teaching and learning of foreign languages, because the foreign language provides access to interaction with culturally diverse people, which basically means different perspectives on the world.

Globalization as a world phenomenon sees the mobility of a huge flux of people, students, professors and researchers, towards academic environments of another culture. It is becoming clearer and clearer that education has to provide the ‘tools’ that will enable and mediate the dialogue between cultures. Interculturality and transdisciplinarity share a common challenge: *otherness*. As Nicolescu¹ points out there is one fundamental characteristic of the transdisciplinary evolution of education which calls for the recognition of oneself in the face of the Other. Thus, *"To live together with"* does not mean simply tolerating the other's differences of opinion, skin color, and beliefs; submission to the exigencies of power; negotiating between the in's and out's of innumerable conflicts; definitively separating interior from exterior life. The transcultural, transreligious, transpolitic and transnational attitude can be learned. To the extent that in each being there is a sacred, intangible core it is innate. Yet, if this innate attitude is only potential, it can forever remain non-actualized, absent in life and in act. In order that the norms of a collectivity be respected they must be *validated* by the interior experience of each being. The transcultural, transreligious, transpolitical and transnational attitude permits us to better understand our own culture, to better defend our national interests, to better respect our own religious or political convictions. Just as in all other areas of Nature and knowledge, open unity and complex plurality are not antagonists.

Thus, applying these words to the field of intercultural language teaching/learning, the added dimension of transdisciplinarity would empower the educated for the intercultural experience and make them apt enough to deal with any given situation of ‘otherness’.

Having given all these preliminary considerations, the paper will further focus on the relationship between transdisciplinarity and the teaching of English as a foreign language in an intercultural configuration.

¹ Nicolescu, B. (1997). *The transdisciplinary evolution of the university condition for sustainable development*. Accessed May 19, 2015 at <http://perso.clubinternet.fr/nicol/ciret/bulletin/b12/b12c8.htm>

Transdisciplinarity in Teaching English as a Foreign Language

The wish to integrate a transdisciplinary approach in the education of foreign languages in higher education does not mean that the discipline of ‘English Language Teaching’ as such should be dissolved. On the contrary, it involves teaching it with cross-references that will acknowledge the dynamic relationship with other disciplines and with societal problems.

In today’s intercultural world, you cannot teach a foreign language without making room for ‘culture’ in the classroom. Intercultural competence plays a key role and is a desirable goal in modern foreign language education as language and culture are considered to be inseparable constructs.² The forms and uses of the linguistic expression are influenced by the cultural values of the community in which that language is spoken. Since cultures are different and diverse, developing the students’ awareness of the cultural appropriacy of verbal and non-verbal behaviours in a particular speech community, the language teacher brings in a transdisciplinary dimension to the traditional FL teaching and learning.

The Nature of Transdisciplinarity in Language Education

The nature of foreign language didactics makes it a transdisciplinary science because, though closely related to language and language teaching/learning, it equally reflects and serves societal structures, such as educational systems and cultural identity. More importantly than that, a transdisciplinary approach to foreign language teaching shows the marked move from traditional teaching to a model that trains the learners to communicate effectively with other people, be it in other disciplines or other cultures.

Communication with other people raises the issue of finding a common language which, perhaps, entails more than finding the right words to do that. It requires flexibility, the wish to learn and ultimately the ability to look at things through the lens of others and then readjust the current position from those insights.

As for crossing boundaries into other disciplines, the intercultural approach integrates knowledge coming from a range of other fields and could be considered an instance of genuine transdisciplinarity. For instance, considering the example of the concept of ‘otherness’ alone, which is essential to configuring an intercultural approach, teachers and students will access the realms of psychology, sociology and particularly, sociological analysis, i.e. how social identities are constructed. From the perspective of language teaching/learning, intercultural communication is based, to a certain extent, on the understanding of what ‘social

² Byrnes, H. Toward academic-level foreign language abilities: Reconsidering foundational assumptions, expanding pedagogical options. In B. L. Leaver & B. Shekhtman (Eds.), *Developing professional-level language proficiency*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 34-58.

identity' means. The latter reflects the way in which other groups relate to the social categories within their society and culture. Social identity is important to realising who we are and how we wish to be perceived by others. Similarity and difference, the dichotomic duo of interculturality, is a central player in the process of achieving a sense of identity and social belonging. "Woman is the other of man, animal is the other of human, stranger is the other of native, abnormality the other of norm, deviation the other of law-abiding, illness the other of health, insanity the other of reason, lay public the other of the expert, foreigner the other of state subject, enemy the other of friend."³

Social identity surfaces through interaction with other people, and identities gain consistency through agreement, disagreement and negotiation with others, which are mainly expressed through verbal expression. So, once again teacher and learners alike cross over to the field of language, speech acts and specific language functions which are culturally-biased. Overall, the process of intercultural teaching/learning acquires transdisciplinary dimensions since "every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation."⁴

An intercultural approach to teaching the English language will incorporate transdisciplinary knowledge in order to signal cultural appropriacy in communication. The range of linguistic expressions for agreeing, disagreeing or negotiating will reflect the importance of social categories, gender and power distance and display the identity of the party engaged in interaction. Thus, learning does not only include the acquisition of a language but also acquiring knowledge of the world.⁵ Within such a perspective, the foreign language becomes the mediator between individuals and their surrounding world, and governs the construct of social relationships with others.

The irony is that transdisciplinarity itself can be looked at from several perspectives. According to some researchers, transdisciplinarity is not equal to the sum of input from individual disciplines as we tried to show above. Transdisciplinarity also involves a radical change in the attitude to doing things. In the case of foreign language education it targets the move from traditional, teacher-centred classes to communicative methodology focused on the learner and learning. Thus, transdisciplinary teaching encompasses the creation and adoption of new approaches that are to be integrated into practice while considering

³ Bauman, Z. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. Cambridge, U.K., Polity Press & Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1991. (p.8.)

⁴ Norton, (1997:410) Norton, B., 1997. Language, identity and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31, 409–429.

⁵ Lantolf, J. 2000. Introducing sociocultural theory. In: Lantolf, James (Ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, pp. 1–50.

complex social issues.⁶ Communication across cultures in a globalised world is a social issue. Intercultural teaching and learning is based on the discovery and exploration of new concepts. Intercultural teaching also uses an interactive pedagogy and project-type activities which make a radical change to traditional practice. This creates another opening for a transdisciplinary approach because teachers and learners work together to access sources of knowledge, share information and actually remodel the educational process to include not just instruction, but the expansion of knowledge.

Starting from Vygotsky's view⁷ on the relationship existing between instruction and development, we can then assume that foreign language teaching/learning in an intercultural configuration develops the learners' cognitive⁸, social⁹ and personal¹⁰ capacities which are recognised as transdisciplinary capacities that are developed in the learning of different school subjects.

Conclusion

Bridging the gap between knowledge and society is the challenge universities face in the 21st century if the fabric of universities is to reflect the complex weave of problems facing humanity and acquire societal efficiency. Transdisciplinarity is one way to bridge the gap because it complements the existing system with a new type of approach which crosses disciplines, focuses on concrete problems and calls for cooperation, first and foremost, in the area of education. After all, the objectives of transdisciplinary converge with those of the intercultural approach: not only to understand the world in all its complexity but to develop a deeper understanding of it.

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⁶ Crowe, H.A., Brandes, K. et al. Transdisciplinary Teaching : Professionalism across Cultures. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, pp. 194-, vol.3, no. 13, July 2013

⁷ Wertsch, J.V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind*. Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press.

⁸ skills related to reasoning and logical thinking, e.g. analysis, synthesis, inferencing, sequencing, understanding complex relationships, drawing conclusions, using abstract concepts, problem solving, hypothesis testing, etc.

⁹ skills such as acceptance of others, working cooperatively with others, toleration of other points of view, etc.

¹⁰ qualities such as confidence (or self-esteem), initiative, responsibility, autonomy, etc.

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LATIN AND GREEK ORIGIN VOCABULARY IN BUSINESS ENGLISH

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Abstract: *The study of the historical sources of English provides an appropriate understanding of the development of business English. Besides trade contacts which contributed the coining of new language value-addings, Latin and Greek have proved, by far, the most important vocabulary donor in English, from Early Middle Ages till modern times. The present account makes reference to the matter through a historical and anthropological approach which stand proof for the linguistic phenomenon that made business English the lingua franca of the modern-day world trade.*

Keywords: *business, English franca, Latin and Greek source, language development, globalization.*

The English language is ever-changing, ever-evolving. English has developed more words than any other language in the world, and the fact that more people speak English than any other language turned it into the communication instrument of the global-economic society. Statistics provides synthetic information about the historical sources of improvement of the English language although uncertainties still remain about vocabulary and language structure origins.

An appropriate understanding can be obtained by anthropological-linguistic¹ research carried out on the stages of business English language development. Although the geographical discoveries and trade contributed to the coining of new language value-addings, Latin and Greek have proved, by far, the most important vocabulary donor in English, from Early Middle Ages stage of language development till modern times.

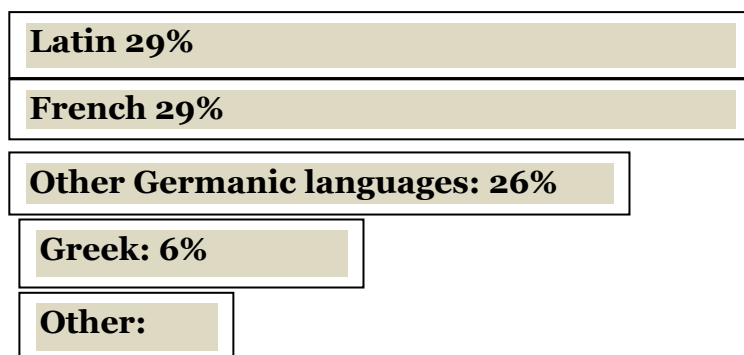
The present account makes reference to the matter by the historical, anthropological and linguistic approach which stand proof for the socio-professional phenomenon that made business English *lingua franca* of the modern-day world trade.

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¹Branch of anthropology ; interdisciplinary study of the language and social life; it originates from the endeavor to document endangered languages, and has grown to encompass almost any aspect of language structure and its social implications

Facts and figures

Otto Jespersen² names English the “chain of borrowings” of the conquerors who were unable to completely impose their languages to the natives of the British Isles... One of the four originals of Magna Carta³, surviving in Salisbury Cathedral, issued in 1215, is a proof of the referential Latin and Greek contribution not only to the formation of the English language, but also to the modern-day business English, as a *lingua franca*. The 63 clauses written in Latin on vellum (calf-skin) contain about 3,500 abbreviated and full Latin words. The following chart shows the estimated percentages of foreign contributions to the English language. It proves the most important contribution is Latin followed by French which is also a Latin origin language⁴. It also contributes to the understanding of the linguistic phenomena by which English language passed through: while the vocabulary is mainly based on Latin origin culture and civilization, its grammar structure has developed a Germanic modular synthetic structure. The following statistics provides numerical self evident information on the vocabulary historical sources:



<http://www.quora.com/What-is-the-percentage-of-English-words-that-have-Latin-or-Greek-roots>

From *English* to *Business English franca*

Latin has implemented naturally those characteristics needed by the developing English language that enabled it to adapt to the knowledge and understanding of the Roman Empire’s social and economic standards. The

² Jespersen, Otto. *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. 10th ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982

³ Latin for *Great Charter*, also called *Magna Carta Libertatum* or *The Great Charter of the Liberties of England*; originally issued in Latin and translated into vernacular French; the first document forced onto a king of England in an attempt to limit his powers by law and protect the barons’ privileges.

⁴ Greenough, James Bradstreet, and George Lyman Kittredge. *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962

openness of Latin permitted the infusion of the linguistic and cultural Greek elements before having been imposed as an official language to the native Celts when the Roman Empire conquered the Albion⁵ islands. Nevertheless, the commercial, military and then religious and intellectual contacts with the Roman Empire were carried out long before the Anglo-Saxons invaded England. The several hundred Latin words, found in the various Old Germanic languages testify to the relationship of the Germanic peoples with the Roman Empire before their conquest. When Julius Caesar conquered Gaul, the Roman merchants made their way into the Anglo-Saxon territory, even into Scandinavia. The newly adopted words from Latin in Old English and Germanic languages indicate newly installed concepts of social organization and professions that the Germans acquired from the contact with the Roman civilization. Besides agriculture, their social experience was covered by trade: ambers, furs, slaves and certain raw materials, mainly tin, for the products of Roman handicrafts, articles of utility and adornment became subject of business and linguistic development.

The Anglo-Saxon dictionary was improved with Latin words representing social development, occupational business, town and military organization and war. These are reflected in the Latin vocabulary which was primarily borrowed in Old English for immediate use.

After the Romans abandoned the conquered territory, trade continued to be carried out between the Roman Empire and the native inhabitants of the British Isles. The process of language modernization and standardization reached its peak in Renaissance⁶ time when Latin and Greek contribution turned into a qualitative linguistic phenomenon which set the stage for the modern day *English franca* used nowadays by over 60% of the world population as their *official*⁷ or *working language*⁸.

⁵ *Albion* (ancient Greek: Ἀλβίων); the oldest known name of the island of Great Britain; still used poetically to refer to the island. The name for Scotland in the Celtic languages is related to Albion: *Alba* in Scottish Gaelic, *Albain* in Irish, *Nalbin* in Manx and *Alban* in Welsh/Cornish/Breton. The Latinized name *Albania* and then Anglicized *Albany*, were once alternative names for Scotland. New Albion and Albionoria ("Albion of the North") were suggested as possible names of Canada

⁶ cultural movement that profoundly affected European intellectual life in the early modern period produced mainly due to the fall of Constantinople in 1453; its influence was felt in literature, philosophy, art, music, politics, science, religion, and other aspects of intellectual inquiry and was based on the rediscovery of Greek and Latin culture.

⁷ involved in public administration or government; The word has been recorded since the Middle English period, first seen in 1314, originating from Old French (*official*) and Latin (*officialis*)

⁸ also *procedural language*; a language with the formal status of communication instrument, used for the daily correspondence and conversation, negotiations since the organization members originate from various differing language backgrounds

The emergence of modern science and technology in the 18-19th centuries mainly on the British isles, created an unprecedented demand for terminology that could not be supplied from the native language resources. A clear-cut meaning and an immediate intelligibility of the terminology were needed by both speakers of Romance and Germanic languages alike. English language was again in need of the Greek and Latin lexicon resources when the modern expansion of sciences began to facilitate the interchange and advancement of science.

Soon, the phenomenon of language development took a further step by its second American stage in the 20th century: the great continuous historical openness and flexibility of English for new developments made it a language of "unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding" [Crystal, 1997]

Word stem	Derived English terms	Romanian	
Latin corpus (<i>genitive corporis</i>); <i>n.</i>	frame; body, community, corporation; incorporation; corporate	corporatie, corpus	• Mid 15th c.; legally authorized; corporate body • The act of founding a corporate body
Gk. μόρφα (<i>morpha</i> , from <i>μορφή</i> (<i>morphē</i>)) Late Lat. uniformitatem ; formalis ; Old French uniformite ; formel Proto-Germanic superlative frumô	conform, conformance, conformant, conformity, formal, formality, informal, informality, information, informative, perform, performance, reform, uniform, uniformity	forma, formal, informal, informatie, conformitate, conform	• shape, fashion, appearance, outward form, contour, figure • Attested in early 14century) • 1600: (plural) "things that are formal"
Latin fiscus (<i>fisci</i> ; <i>fiscalis</i>); Middle French	Money basket made of twigs, purse, treasury (<i>public treasury</i>); confiscate	Fisc; fiscal; confisca	• pertaining to public revenue; • belonging to the state treasury (1550)
Latin fraus (<i>genitive fraudis</i> ; <i>fraudem</i>);	fraud	frauda	criminal deception (attested 13th century)

Latin grossus <i>m</i> (<i>feminine</i> <i>grossa, neuter</i> <i>grossum</i>); Old French grosse <i>douzaine</i>	Gross income	Venit brut	• measure of weight equal to one-eighth of a dram (early 15c.) • Sense of "total profit" (opposed to <i>net</i>) is from 1520s
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Exploitation of classical Latin and Greek lexical items made possible the manufacture of a great number of business English vocabulary. The following samples show the corresponding etymological development of specific business vocabulary from Latin and Greek. They also stand proof for the same origin and linguistic history of Romanian language. The table makes reference to the business vocabulary derived from Latin and Greek and their supposed etymological stories.

The awareness of vocabulary etymological sources makes *business English franca* communication and information effective. The search for the Latin and Greek sources of the specific business vocabulary makes language competence contribute to career successfulness and professional domain development. It is also the search for the vocabulary similarities in the native language that contribute to the development of the native applied language and to the business domain itself.

The development of communicative competence, articulated with the direct access to knowledge and understanding make part of the linguistic political strategies for the competitive selection of human resources and against brain drain and contributes to the “key European values of democracy, equality, transparency and competitiveness”.⁹

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THE EUROPEAN LANGUAGE OF OTHERNESS FADING AWAY: THE ACQUIS COMMUNAUTAIRE

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Abstract: *The article focuses on the European linguistic policies as a result of the internal communication needs. The applied language of the *acquis communautaire* represent a new stage to the achievement of the legal *lingua franca* aiming the full mutual understanding and correct application of the common legal measures. The parallel multilingual *acquis communautaire* corpora has been developed as a resource for language technologies, cross lingual information, multilingual lexicons, meaning disambiguation, etc. aiming the gradual fading away of otherness of the European citizen.*

Keywords: *acquis communautaire, translation standards, language standardization techniques, linguistic otherness fading.*

Then European Commission's commitment to applied language development aims not only the improvement of the basic language mastery, and applied language standardization, but also the gradual fading away of linguistic otherness of the European citizen. The *acquis communautaire* is the first linguistic tool that the European Commission used to approach the sense of otherness to stimulate free movement, work and learning and contribute to the development of jobs and growth and reduce unemployment and increase living standards.

The corpus of the *acquis communautaire* refers to the human rights and obligations of the citizens of the European Union, deriving from the status of membership of their countries to the European Union. *The Community acquis* or *acquis communautaire*, /'æki: kə'mju:nəteər/ called sometimes, for short, the *EU acquis* and often even shortened to simply *acquis* is the body of cumulated legislation, legal acts, and court decisions of the European Union Law. The French origin of the term, *acquis* has the meaning of "that which has been agreed upon", and *communautaire* makes reference to the "the community" of the countries belonging to the European Union. It includes the *treaties*, *regulations*, and *directives* passed by the European institutions and the judgments of the European Court of Justice. The term is mostly used with reference to the preparations of the candidate countries to join the European Union, as they must adapt, implement and enforce it in their own country so that they become able to manage their legal issues accordingly. The term *acquis*, which is also associated

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¹ International Phonetic Association

to the Schengen Agreement, commonly referred to as *Schengen acquis*, was first adopted by the World Trade Organization with reference to the General Agreement on Tariffs (GATT) as "*acquis gattien*". The usage of the term was extended to the description of the rules and regulations of the Council of Europe establishing the activity standards in regulating democracy, rule of law and human rights. The organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) introduced the term in their strategies to implement the rule of law.

With the wave of the two countries joining the European Union in 2007, the *acquis communautaire* consists of parallel legal texts in 24 languages, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, German, Greek, English, Spanish, Estonian, Finnish, French, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Maltese, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene and Swedish.

Opportunity for Linguistic Research and Translation Standardization

Language research institutions in all the member countries have been involved into linguistic research which include interdisciplinary approaches.

The language corpora is an opportunity to cross linguistic research taking into consideration the big number of languages involved and the need to translate common issues into rare languages. The parallel multilingual *acquis communautaire* corpora has been developed as a resource for language technologies, cross lingual information, multilingual lexicons, meaning disambiguation, etc. The linguistic complexity that the size of the corpora reveals is not an opportunity only for the pairing of the major languages, but also for the less common languages, such as Maltese-Finish, or Maltese Romanian. The linguistic and semantic annotation is used to ease the complexity of the translation task by multiplying the text knowledge and classifying documents into hierarchical concepts. (Erjavec, T, Ignat, C., Pouliquen, B, Steinberger, R., 529–540). The process of the document translation has been mostly completed and made available in HTML format on the Web.² The ACQUIS corpus has been currently available in 22 languages by the JRC-Acquis version, the only parallel corpus of this kind and size available. The following table shows the distribution of words, characters per language text body, signature, and annex.³:

The translation of the *acquis communautaire* is a complex research process that takes into consideration:

- specific aspects of the languages involved in the translation
- the European Union Institutions and the concepts that they promote
- specific formal rules and regulations of the documents drafting

² <http://europa.eu.int/>

³ <http://langtech.jrc.it/JRC-Acquis.html>

The process involves not only highly specialized translators, but also experts in the *acquis* domains. The EU member states languages are also subject of parallel translations techniques involving the alignment of all possible 231 language pair translation including the *n-to-n* relationship of aligned sentences, which often differs due to the language grammar structure pair.

The *Romanian Style Guide* for the use of Translators of the *acquis communautaire*, issued by the European Institute of Romania establishes a series of detailed conventions for the translation of the Union documents, as they are not only numerous but also complex and highly professional and specific. It provides uniform translation solutions by enlarging the meaning area of specific Romanian words in order to enable them express European concepts that do not exist in Romanian legal language, explanations for certain options of grammar structures, and the main drafting rules for each type of document.

Lang. ISO Code	Nr. of Texts	Text body			Signatu re	Annex	Total Nr Words (Text Signature Annex)
		Total Nr. Words	Total Nr Characters	Average Nr. Words	Total Nr Words	Total Nr. Words	
cs	7983	5979261	38479314	749	609441	2100301	8689003
da	7939	6548461	44444011	825	691894	1599456	8839811
de	7914	6576633	47047334	831	571928	1506847	8654608
el	7782	7377316	47715936	948	559487	1628451	9565254
en	7972	7512013	45150120	942	667978	1752545	9932536
es	7809	7964255	48281455	1020	709279	1832745	10506279
et	7944	4925361	38603952	620	439184	1819226	7183771
fi	7735	5134294	43705813	664	565226	1180877	6880397
fr	7862	7812577	45609935	994	673061	1726720	10212358
hu	7489	5391810	40601868	720	539967	1887476	7819253
it	7872	7264126	46792286	923	707467	1704221	9675814
lt	7966	5386359	39936370	676	625365	1948354	7960078
lv	7980	5656335	39290110	709	461736	2011426	8129497
mt	7639	7230538	43919981	947	505324	2288013	10023875
nl	7882	7339465	47699598	931	712255	1710041	9761761
pl	7968	5974605	43160945	750	668248	2070687	8713540
pt	7848	7851904	47225710	1001	648180	1838833	10338917
ro	5792	5122354	33681450	884	402929	4047393	9572676
sk	5278	3911895	26077956	741	413511	1381471	5706877
sl	7984	5989322	37844883	750	573052	2153138	8715512
sv	7731	6472717	42990411	837	560188	1424887	8457792
Average	7,636	6,353,410	42,340,925	831	585,947	1,886,338	8,825,695

The rules presented by the Guide are organized on language levels. It presents: orthographic and punctuation problems, morphology and syntax. Then it makes a brief presentation of the European Union, its institutions and working concepts, primary and secondary legislation, structural specific characteristics of the *acquis* documents, their titles and drafting rules, information regarding publication, standard expressions of the legal language used.

Language Standardization Techniques

The need of legal fairness and appropriate communication leads to the necessity of language global standardization which implies the following linguistic techniques:

1. tokenization which identifies words and punctuation in the text;
2. part-of-speech tagging which assigns context-disambiguated word-level syntactic description to the words,
3. lemmatization (or stemming) which assigns the base form to a word

The process of *tokenization* will break the stream of text up into linguistic units of words, phrases, symbols, or other meaningful language pieces that become the input for further processing such as *parsing* or text *mining*. Tokenization is part of the lexical analysis; the pre-stage of the language processing by which the basic language units are to be processed. Any language analysis or generation cannot be carried out without a clear-cut segregation of the basic language units. The identification errors of units that do not need to be further decomposed for subsequent processing are very likely to induce more errors at later stages of text processing.

The following *parsing*⁴ stage is based on grammatical division and sentence diagrams⁵ that make understanding of the sentence meaning.

The word marking up by the process of *grammatical tagging* or *word-category disambiguation* is based on both definition as well as its context that makes the craft of compiling, writing and editing the specialized language dictionaries. The standardization of the *acquis communautaire* legal terminology is the result of the following applied linguistics considerations:

- identification of the intended users' needs
- definition of the communicative and cognitive functions of the dictionary
- selection and criteria organizing of the dictionary components

⁴ The term comes from Latin *pars* (*orationis*), meaning part of speech

⁵ pictorial representation of the grammatical structure of a sentence. Its purpose is to make clear the relations between words and the nature of the syntactic structure to help assess which sentences are and are not possible.

- structure appropriateness for the presentation of the data in the dictionary (i.e. frame structure, distribution structure, macro-structure, micro-structure and cross-reference structure)
- entries systematization
- selection of the collocations criteria structure (adjective+noun, noun+noun (such as collective nouns), verb+noun, adverb+adjective, verbs+prepositional phrase (phrasal verbs), and verb+ adverb)
- lemmatization of word or part of word
- definition of words
- definition organization
- specifying pronunciations
- labeling definitions and pronunciations for register and dialect, where appropriate
- selection of equivalents
- translation of collocations, phrases and examples
- designing the data access in printed and electronic dictionaries

Lemmatization is the process by which the inflected forms of a word are grouped together so that they can be analyzed as a single item.⁶ Specialized dictionaries establish the algorithm of the particular word *lemma* conventionally to represent a lexeme. The process of lemmatization is closely related to stemming. While lemmatization involves context reference, the stemmer operates without contextual meaning difference, reducing accuracy⁷. Lemmatization removes the inflectional ending of the word making the lemma to correspond to the singular form in the case of a noun, the infinitive form in the case of a verb, and the positive form in the case of an adjective or adverb. We can think of lemmatization as a normalization process in which different morphological variants of a word are mapped into the same underlying lemma so they can be analyzed as a single item (term or concept). By reducing the total number of distinct terms, lemmatization decreases the complexity of the analyzed text, and therefore brings important benefits to downstream text processing components. (Liu, Haibin: Christiansen, Tom; Verspoor Karin: 2012),

Conclusions

The policy of applied language standardization is the first step to gradual fading away of linguistic otherness of the European citizen. The *acquis*

⁶ Collins English Dictionary, entry for “lemmatize”

⁷ Some analyzers store the base stemmed format of the word without meaning, but taking into account the semantics of the word formation only, because the purpose of stemming is to map different forms of a word to a single form, on a rules-based algorithm.

communautaire is a linguistic tool that made the European Commission approach the sense of otherness of the European Union citizen gradual fading away of linguistic otherness of the European citizen by easing free movement, work and learning and contribute to the development of jobs and growth and reduce unemployment and increasing living standards.

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IL BLOG DIDATTICO NEL PROCESSO DI INSEGNAMENTO-APPRENDIMENTO DELLA LINGUA ITALIANA COME L2

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Abstract: *The popularity that blogs are enjoying today can be explained by the ease with which they can be created and managed, because blogs can have different profiles and designs, they can treat many topics while still keeping their fixed base form. Being accessible to many segments of Internet users, the blog can be an important teaching tool - starting with the gymnasium and ending with university education- in general language instruction, especially Italian.*

Keywords: *blog, study, internet, italian language, education.*

L'importanza e l'utilità del blog nell'ambito del processo di insegnamento-apprendimento della lingua italiana come seconda lingua, nonché la necessità di ricorrere al blog per potenziare le quattro abilità primarie e basilari all'interno del processo di insegnamento dell'italiano L2¹ sono state evidenziate dalle esperienze didattiche degli ultimi anni .

1. Nato nel 1999 da una contrazione di *web log*, il termine *blog* (o *weblog*) rappresenta un'applicazione web in cui i contenuti vengono visualizzati in forma cronologica e che il più delle volte si presenta come un diario in rete volto a raccontare fatti personali, a pubblicare articoli informativi e/o brevi considerazioni e a commentare notizie inserite in linea da altri blogger². In questo modo vengono create comunità virtuali i cui componenti sono caratterizzati da interessi analoghi. L'aggiornamento delle pagine e l'inserimento di nuovi post³ avvengono con una frequenza più o meno giornaliera. Quindi, con la diffusione dei servizi gratuiti dedicati alla gestione, oggi è possibile quasi per tutti creare il proprio spazio personale

Stando alle informazioni fornite da Technorati⁴, gli articoli pubblicati sul Web sarebbero 17-20 al secondo, in media 140.000 al giorno. In questo caso è ovvio dunque il fatto che risulta relativamente facile e accessibile per tutti creare e gestire un blog, pubblicare nello spazio virtuale non essendo più un privilegio di

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¹ L2 ha il senso di lingua seconda o lingua straniera, non materna.

² Blogger o weblogger è la persona che cura e/o scrive nei blog.

³ I post sono gli interventi, le notizie pubblicate all'interno di un blog.

⁴ Secondo lo stesso Technorati, l'italiano è la quarta lingua utilizzata nella blogosfera (3%), preceduta dal cinese, terzo all'8%, dall'inglese, secondo al 33%, e dal giapponese, primo al 37%.

pochi, ma una possibilità reale, a portata di mano per tutti coloro aventi le minime abilità nella fruizione di un PC. Data la sua rapida diffusione in tutto il mondo, la sua estrema duttilità, il blog può essere considerato uno strumento rivoluzionario, estremamente flessibile, atto a trasmettere informazioni di ogni tipo e ad adattarsi a qualsiasi situazione.

1.1. Ovviamente, un blog⁵ viene definito secondo:

- *la personalità dell'autore* (la personalità dell'autore essendo quella che mette in risalto le sue idee e opinioni, nonchè il suo stile);
- *la frequenza* (riguarda l'attività del blogger, la sua abilità creativa);
- *l'interattività* (i commenti fatti dai lettori vengono pubblicati dando spunto in questo modo ad un confronto di idee. Il blog rappresenta dunque un ambiente virtuale in cui i navigatori possono scegliere di rimanere passivi, cioè di leggere semplicemente notizie, oppure di manifestarsi in modo attivo scrivendo notizie, interagendo con le notizie scritte da altri blogger, commentandole o integrandole, dato che, in genere, tra i blogger vale la consuetudine di citare e/o citarsi a vicenda);
- *le connessioni* (nel contesto in cui è molto frequente l'abitudine di rispondere ai commenti degli altri autori nelle pagine del proprio blog, interagendo in modo diretto con gli altri blogger, le connessioni risultano dunque un elemento estremamente importante);
- *il flusso delle informazioni* (i blog possono essere anche una fonte di notizie on-line e di informazioni di ogni tipo. All'interno di ogni blog c'è un elenco di siti affini per idee o argomenti trattati, chiamato *blogroll*, e attraverso il quale si creano gruppi di blog o di blogger con idee e preoccupazioni simili);
- *la visibilità* (per godere di successo, un blog deve essere visitato da molti utenti. Tutto questo è possibile nella misura in cui il blog risulta attraente dal punto di vista grafico e del contenuto, quando contiene molti post che, con i loro link, guidano l'utente verso altri blog o siti degni d'interesse, ricchi d'informazioni, immagini, filmati e materiale audiovisivo. In questo modo il blog si rende raggiungibile, cioè visibile).

1.2. In base al suo autore e soprattutto al suo profilo, un blog può appartenere a varie categorie: blog personale, blog di affari, politico, photoblog, blog di gossip, di divertimento, fitness, sport, ecc. Moltissimi giornalisti, politici, scrittori, vip hanno un blog. Bisogna notare l'esistenza di numerose tipologie di blog e di moltissime situazioni in cui si verifica una commistione di due o più tipi di blog.

⁵ Cfr. A. Ferencz, pp. 64-65.

Le principali categorie di blog riguardano il loro profilo:

- ✓ *blog personale (diario)*– rappresenta la modalità più semplice, immediata e diretta per il suo autore di presentare se stesso, raccontare e parlare principalmente di sé, delle sue esperienze di vita, di condividerle con amici o parenti attraverso racconti, fotografie, video. Rappresenta ugualmente una buona occasione per inserire brani considerati importanti, esprimere i propri sentimenti nei confronti di varie persone o situazioni. Spesso è un blog di tipo narrativo in cui vengono segnalati articoli e link interessanti. I blog personali sono i più diffusi;
- ✓ *blog tematico* – in cui l'autore presenta un suo hobby o interesse, parla di una passione, di un passatempo preferito: letteratura, informatica, sport (fitness, ginnastica aerobica, calcio), gastronomia, viaggi, pesca, moda, ecc., a volte anche più specifici e di nicchia. I blog di questo tipo spesso diventano dei centri di aggregazione per gli altri appassionati generando a volte delle vere e proprie amicizie;
- ✓ *photoblog, video blog (vlog), audioblog* – in cui vengono pubblicati, ovviamente, fotografie, video e musica tramite podcasting⁶;
- ✓ *m-blog* – in cui l'autore rende pubbliche le proprie scoperte nel campo musicale rendendone tutti gli altri partecipi attraverso le pubblicazioni di mp3;
- ✓ *blog directory* – in cui è possibile trovare liste di link relative ad uno specifico argomento;
- ✓ *blog di attualità* – in cui giornalisti e/o opinionisti presentano le proprie opinioni in riguardo a fatti di cronaca, eventi politici di (grande) attualità, ecc. I *blog di attualità* sono dei blog d'autore, gestiti da persone autorevoli del giornalismo;
- ✓ *blog politico* – in cui politici diffondono le proprie idee e i propri programmi politici, mettono in discussione vari problemi di grande interesse politico. Rappresenta un nuovo mezzo per avvicinarsi alla gente, entrare in contatto con le persone, contando in questo modo su una partecipazione attiva da parte degli elettori;
- ✓ *watch blog* - in cui l'autore critica notiziari on-line, siti web o altri blog da lui considerati non corretti;

⁶ Il podcast è un sistema che permette di distribuire contenuti multimediali (foto, video, audio, ecc) attraverso internet.

La fruizione del podcast non è legata ad un sistema operativo né ad alcun browser specifico.

I contenuti di un podcast si possono sia consultare che scaricare automaticamente dal sito e salvare nella memoria di un dispositivo per la riproduzione, non è quindi necessario essere sempre connessi ad internet: dopo aver fatto il download i contenuti rimangono sul mio supporto (PC, lettore mp3)

- ✓ *corporate blog* – in cui comunicano i colleghi di uno stesso ambiente lavorativo;
- ✓ *blog vetrina* – in cui vengono pubblicizzate le opere degli autori stessi e generalmente ha lo scopo di divulgare e pubblicizzare book fotografici personali o tematici, di “mettere in vetrina” l’uscita di un nuovo film, l’apparizione di un libro o la presentazione di un evento, essendo gestito in generale dal produttore stesso e diventando un punto d’incontro per appassionati del settore;
- ✓ *blog didattici*⁷ – creati a scopo didattico da vari istituti scolastici e la loro elaborazione deve tenere conto dei seguenti aspetti: obiettivo del blog, aspetto grafico, illustrazioni e multimedia, semplicità di linguaggio, frequenza dei post, commenti e accessori.

2. Quindi, il blog, può rappresentare un luogo di incontro per gruppi di amici, di persone passionate di letteratura, musica, film, politica, tecnologia, cucina, sport, ma anche per gli allievi di una scuola o classe oppure per gli studenti universitari di una facoltà oppure di un dipartimento.

2.1. Un primissimo vantaggio del *blog didattico* sarebbe il fatto che oggi un numero sempre più alto di giovani possiede un PC, ha la possibilità di accedere alle nuove tecnologie dell’informazione, di essere connesso alla Rete e di poter servirsi dei metodi più moderni e svariati di apprendimento di una lingua straniera, dell’italiano in questo caso. I giovani hanno un rapporto di grande familiarità con i computer, i telefoni cellulari, i videogame, le videocamere, l’impatto della tecnologia nella loro vita essendo di notevole importanza.

2.2. Avendo come punto di partenza la facilità con cui i giovani “si muovono” nello spazio virtuale⁸, a buon diritto oggi il forum, la chat, le pagine web, il blog, le liste di discussione rappresentano validi supporti nella didattica in generale, delle lingue straniere in speciale, grazie quindi alla vasta gamma di applicazioni didattiche che presentano. Comunque, anche gli studenti non molto abili nell’utilizzare l’Internet e le sue risorse si sentono incoraggiati dai loro

⁷ L’incontro tra *blog* ed *educazione*, avviene Intorno al 2000, dopo aver avvertito la possibilità di abbinare il *blog* e l’*educazione*, un gruppo di sperimentatori promuove questo nuovo modo di insegnare, apprendere, conoscere, educare. In questo modo i *blog* diventano vero e proprio oggetto di ricerca e sperimentazione nel campo della formazione, dell’*educazione* e, ovviamente, della *didattica*. La prima esperienza pionieristica di *blog didattico* (intitolato **Mr. Ford’s Class Weblog**) risale al 2001, più precisamente al 1/8/2001, appartiene a Peter Ford, prende vita presso la British School of Amsterdam allo scopo di favorire l’apprendimento linguistico dei suoi alunni della classe 5^a classe di scuola primaria. La sua iniziativa ha avuto eco in tutto il mondo attraverso varie riviste online.

⁸ Lo stesso Peter Ford considera che i punti forti del *blog* come strumento didattico risiede appunto nella semplicità della tecnologia e nei rinforzi positivi che gli alunni possono avere vedendo pubblicati i loro lavori.

insegnanti e godono del sostegno e della collaborazione degli altri membri del gruppo.

2.3. Un simile contesto educativo creato all'interno della Rete permette agli alunni e studenti universitari di apprendere in modo attivo e soprattutto in maniera molto attraente e divertente, visto che vengono eliminati dallo studio lo stress ed il sentimento di obbligatorietà esistenti nell'insegnamento tradizionale. L'apprendimento attivo da parte dei discenti diventa molto attraente, assomiglia ad un gioco grazie al materiale audiovisivo di tipo didattico e alle esercitazioni interattive disponibili online, ai commenti introdotti, allo scambio di idee e alla possibilità di esercitare la propria creatività. In più, il lavoro comune on line, al di fuori della classe, instaura tra insegnante e studenti un rapporto volto a rafforzare la coesione interna del gruppo e allo stesso tempo crea in linea uno spirito di competizione, ma all'interno di un gruppo valorizza soprattutto la collaborazione, il contributo effettivo di tutti nel risolvere i problemi. In questo modo gli studenti vengono educati nello spirito di solidarietà e nella consapevolezza che oltre le competenze individualistiche⁹, di competizione, la società si basa sul lavoro collaborativo di tutti i suoi membri, avendo bisogno del loro contributo per perseguire gli obiettivi comuni.

2.4. Un altro vantaggio del *blog didattico* consiste nel fatto che il lavoro di tipo collaborativo, l'indipendenza spazio-temporale e la struttura ipertestuale permettono all'insegnante di seguire e/o di creare strategie didattiche a pari passo con i progressi degli studenti.

3. In riguardo ai *blog didattici*, bisogna specificare che si possono suddividere in tre sottospecie¹⁰:

- *Tutorblog* (tenuto dall'insegnante per gli studenti, crea la possibilità di trovare ogni giorno nuovi esercizi di lettura, di lasciare commenti, di avere a disposizione il syllabo del corso e rappresenta una risorsa di link per l'autoapprendimento),
- *Learnerblog* (tenuto da un solo studente o da un piccolo gruppo di studenti, può essere un valido strumento di esercitazione scritta e un luogo d'incontro e confronto anche per gli altri studenti);
- *Classblog* (tenuto da tutta la classe, diventa uno spazio per inserire immagini, link, video o anche piccoli articoli relativi a quanto appreso o discusso in classe, o un modo per pubblicare la stesura finale del lavoro di gruppo per una ricerca assegnata dall'insegnante).¹¹

⁹ Il confronto con gli altri e il raggiungimento di un obiettivo comune consentono ai membri del gruppo anche l'acquisizione di una coscienza autocritica e della capacità di autovalutarsi durante il percorso formativo.

¹⁰ La suddetta divisione dei blog appartiene a Aaron Patric Campbell ed è stata realizzata nel 2003 nel suo articolo *Weblogs for Use with ESL Classes*.

¹¹ Molti dei blog didattici sono consultabili su <http://bmlink.splinder.com/>,

3. In base al livello di insegnamento-apprendimento della lingua italiana, in base all'età degli studenti, per la precisione, si possono distinguere:

- *blog per la scuola primaria* (con un linguaggio scelto, nel senso della chiarezza, immediatezza e dell'efficacia, con una grafica colorata ed attraente, inseriscono le comunicazioni per le famiglie, propongono le attività effettuate con gli alunni e segnalano i nuovi siti utili anche agli altri insegnanti. Le attività presentate per l'acquisizione delle abilità primarie dell'italiano come L2 sono divertenti e risultano ugualmente molto stimolanti);
- *blog per la scuola secondaria di primo grado* (gli allievi sono chiamati a commentare brevi post pubblicati in versione definitiva dall'insegnante o dai loro compagni di classe, post che illustrano in maniera sintetica e diretta l'attività svolta a scuola, in classe);
- *blog per la scuola secondaria di secondo grado* (sono, per la maggioranza, relativi a materie scientifiche come la matematica, la fisica, la chimica o l'informatica e diventano dunque un modo per analizzare determinate problematiche, fissare il lessico di settore, acquisire la capacità di scrivere testi specifici);
- *blog tenuti da docenti universitari* sono, comunemente, costituiti da post pubblicati dagli studenti su argomenti attinenti alla materia e diventano dunque un laboratorio online del corso stesso).

4. La superiorità dell'uso del blog nel processo di insegnamento-apprendimento dell'italiano come L2 consiste nel fatto che questo strumento didattico recente offre numerose possibilità di acquisizione delle quattro competenze linguistiche:

- la semplicità di ricerca e di reperimento del materiale va di pari passo con la possibilità di utilizzare dei browser per servirsi di applicazioni senza installare software;
- grazie agli ipermedia viene consentita la produzione di vari tipi di testi facilmente inseribili all'interno di un blog anche senza avere conoscenze di linguaggio html;
- gli studenti possono produrre testi, il blog offrendo loro l'opportunità di esercitarsi nella comprensione e nella produzione scritte nella presenza di un pubblico autentico;
- trasformato in una specie di portfolio online, il blog didattico offre al docente la possibilità di osservare l'evoluzione delle conoscenze dei suoi studenti;
- aumentano le occasioni di utilizzo della lingua in contesti significativi e autentici da parte degli studenti i quali vengono stimolati a partecipare e a discutere gli argomenti trattati;
- gli studenti si sentono incoraggiati ad esprimersi per iscritto più correttamente e di conseguenza in modo più comprensibile data la

possibilità di inserire commenti e di trasformare il lavoro di un solo gruppo, per esempio, in un'esperienza da cui possa trarre profitto l'intera classe;

- oltre a sviluppare la creatività e la conoscenza di sé, il blog didattico permette, di personalizzare i propri post attraverso inserimenti di immagini, foto, link, emoticons;
- il processo di insegnamento-apprendimento della lingua italiana come L2 si avvale dell'interattività e soprattutto della multimedialità che presenta situazioni di acquisizione naturale. Nel caso di un livello più basso di conoscenza della lingua italiana, sarà utile avvalersi di brevi articoli relativi a descrizioni di esperienze e di video-interviste, di video con roleplay. Nel caso, invece, di un livello più alto, sarà indicato prestare più attenzione all'organizzazione del lavoro in maniera più approfondita in modo da avere produzioni scritte sempre più complesse e variate.

4.1. La prima cosa, forse, che il docente deve tenere in considerazione nel momento in cui crea il blog della classe è quella di pensarlo come una struttura semplice, accogliente, familiare e molto vicina all'idea di scuola. Il blog didattico deve costituirsi come *spazio collettivo* (di discussione e collaborazione nel caso dei progetti di apprendimento di tutto il gruppo di studenti) e, ovviamente, anche come *spazio personale* dell'insegnante, inteso come spazio di riflessione sulla propria vita professionale e come diario di formazione dei propri alunni.

4.2. Il seguente passo è quello di scegliere il target di utenza, vuol dire avere sempre presente il livello di conoscenze della L2 degli studenti membri del blog didattico nonché i loro interessi in riguardo allo studio dell'italiano. Dunque, significa che per il docente di italiano, nel caso in cui la sua classe non è molto omogenea, il blog rappresenta lo strumento giusto nel lavoro didattico di valutazione e correzione. In simili casi, l'insegnante dovrebbe dividere la classe in gruppi costituiti in base agli interessi e stabilire il tipo di attività – collettiva o individuale - da portare a termine.

4.3. Per poter redigere un articolo, il professore di lingua italiana deve prima di tutto reperire il materiale, individuare la lettura giusta per il tipo di lessico da acquisire e soltanto dopo organizzare le informazioni, la stesura del testo, il controllo e la verifica. All'interno dello stesso articolo è importante inserire dei link¹² che permettano la fruizione del testo a vari livelli ed il collegamento a delle parole chiave esistenti nell'articolo, la scelta delle parole e dei link potendo rappresentare un'ottima verifica della comprensione approfondita del tema scelto

¹² E' auspicabile che l'insegnante elabori una lista dei siti considerati utili (immagini, video, testi audio e testi scritti) per gli studenti. Questa lista potrà essere ampliata dagli studenti stessi secondo le loro necessità.

e dei testi stessi. Di conseguenza, l'insegnante dovrà organizzare con attenzione il lavoro da proporre ai suoi alunni.

Allo stesso tempo, l'insegnante deve lasciare spazio ai suoi studenti in modo che questi possano “muoversi” in modo autonomo all'interno di un percorso ritagliato appunto su misura per loro e per le loro conoscenze di italiano.

4.4. Un altro tipo di lavoro realizzabile con il blog è la preparazione del video. Questa attività coinvolge attivamente: in una prima fase verrà effettuata la stesura o la scelta dei testi che dovranno essere riprodotti (domande per un'intervista, un racconto), l'attribuzione dei ruoli. La fase successiva sarà quella delle riprese e del montaggio, preceduta, eventualmente, dalla composizione di un breve testo di presentazione del video il quale potrebbe presentare una festa tradizionale, un luogo caratteristico o una ricetta gastronomica tipicamente italiana.

4.5. Bisogna notare che rispetto al sistema tradizionale di insegnamento, l'uso del blog rende differente il ruolo dell'insegnante nel senso che, oltre a puntare su un lavoro di gruppo di tipo collaborativo, sposta il centro della classe dall'insegnante allo studente¹³ creando nuove tipologie di interazione. Gli apprendenti cessano di essere un elemento più o meno passivo nel processo di apprendimento e diventano invece protagonisti veri e propri, manifestandosi in modo attivo, dinamico e creativo. Usato in questo modo, il blog può stabilire all'interno dei gruppi di studenti rapporti di collaborazione e riesce a sviluppare le quattro competenze linguistiche e comunicative:

4.6. Un blog di questo tipo presenta anche un altro vantaggio: riunisce gli studenti, gli ex-studenti, e, perchè no, anche i futuri studenti¹⁴ di una scuola, di una facoltà, creando e mantendo un legame tra di loro, un contatto tra generazioni di giovani in uno spazio accogliente, interessante, piacevole, in cui si può ritornare spesso con idee, suggerimenti e interventi e dove si possono passare momenti speciali.

5. Per concludere, il blog rappresenta ancora un metodo didattico nuovo, affiancato certamente ad altri metodi e attività didattiche più tradizionali, che apre nuove possibilità all'insegnamento e all'apprendimento di una lingua straniera, Rappresenta decisamente un modo diverso di studio che rendere le attività didattiche più stimolanti, versatili e divertenti.

¹³ F. Pivari, p.58.

¹⁴ Nella conclusione del suo lavoro, Gianio Manfioletti si propone “di evidenziare alcune possibili prospettive di sviluppo del progetto formulando alcune ipotesi che dovrebbero portare il blog da una dimensione locale ad una più globale, aprendosi oltre le mura della classe alla ricerca di nuove alleanze per crescere assieme ad altre realtà e configurarsi ancor più come luogo privilegiato per il confronto e la crescita di una comunità di apprendimento.”

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THE EVOLUTION OF MANKIND THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE OF MAN AS A BIO-PSYCHO-SOCIO-CULTURAL BEING

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“The psychology is a light indispensable to human understanding, approach and ascension”¹

Abstract: Taking into account that current society, which is a complex one, in a context of globalization, of focus on computerized means, of internet, of multiculturalism etc. faces a multitude of changes globally, individually and at group level, we consider that, more than ever, it should emphasize the individual structure, from bio-psycho-socio-cultural point of view. Thus, in this paper, we try to expose that the evolution of mankind must be regarded, also, from the perspective of the man development, and this process implies complex changes of the individual, in different moments of life, at which compete more forces and factors.

Keywords: mankind evolution, man development, globalization, multiculturalism.

I. Introduction

The evolution of mankind based on its capacity to grow and satisfy more complex needs, is analyzed, in this context, based on the available resources, leading to an improvement of the mechanisms, goods and technologies. The human resources have been subject to analyze through the perspective of professional training allowing the accomplishment of objectives, context in which the psychology of executants (man) was approached, as each person represents a unique human being.²

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¹ Vasile Pavelcu, 1964, quote in “Course of Pedagogy and Psychology of Education”, Maria Condor, Mariana Mion Pop, Pro Universitaria Publisher, Bucharest.

² To see Catalin Bonciu, *Managerial Psycho-sociological Instruments*, ALL Beck Publisher, Bucharest, 2000, introduction.

Thus, it is very difficult to quantify, sometimes impossible, fulfilled expectations or not yet, wishes of ascension and career training, guidance needs of the skills to what can be more challenging in creation.³ But, those who deal with the research of the man's deeds do not face difficult bigger than to put them at the same place and analyze them in the same light⁴ and the true purpose of psychology is to understand man for improving him/her.⁵

Not less important is the psychology of ages⁶, as this studies the development regarded as a set of transformations which affect the living and social organisms, which involves evolution, continuity and finality.

II. Man's development as bio-psycho-socio-cultural being

The man development as bio-psycho-socio-cultural being requires the collaboration of more forces and factors, respectively:

- biological: genetic factors and those related to health;
- psychological: internal factors – perceptive, cognitive, emotional, personality etc;
- socio-cultural: interpersonal, social, cultural, ethnic factors;
- the cycles of life: in different moments of life – the biological, psychological and socio-cultural forces affect differently the human being, existing in different contexts.

Thus, the development implies complex bio-psycho-socio-cultural changes of man/individual, ranked in time, changes which are well structured on ages, although the age itself does not explain them.⁷ In the psychical development of human being, the individual features, the peculiarities of different phenomena give a specific note to the development, a personal rhythm of growth and transformation, different from one individual to another, with personal nuances residing from his/her bio-psyche potential, as well as from the living environment. The development is a process through which the individual adapts to its environment, but the adaptation is made by growth, maturation and learning as aspects of development.⁸

Of course, the human evolution and development have been and are an important part of research in the field of psychology and, in time, numerous theories have been formulated, sense in which we mention the theory of social

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Montagne, 1588, quote in *Course of Pedagogy and Psychology of Education*, Maria Condor, Mariana Mion Pop, Pro Universitaria Publisher, Bucharest, pg. 10.

⁵ S.L. Rubinstein, 1957, *Idem.*

⁶ Maria Condor, Mariana Mion Pop, *Course of Pedagogy and Psychology of Education*, Pro Universitaria Publisher, Bucharest, page 17 and the following.

⁷ *Idem.*

⁸ *Idem*, page 19-21.

learning (Albert Bandura), the theory of psycho-sexual development (Freud), the theory of psychosocial development (Erikson). Likewise, they have been the subject of study of different authors which approached judicial psychology⁹, Psycho-sociological Managerial Instruments – regarding enterprise and group¹⁰, psychology of manipulation¹¹, psychology of education¹², psychology of ages etc.

The theory of social learning (Albert Bandura¹³) refers to the learning experiences of the individual which explain the processes through which a behavior or a part of it is learnt, there are initiated or maintained certain behavioral models.

According to this theory, the social behavior is not innate, but modeled by direct or indirect learning experiences. An important role, in this approach, is the mechanism underlying the emergence of aggression, thus, through socialization, the child learns the aggressive behavior, as he/she notices that it is rewarded or finds out that others around are rewarded for certain negative attitudes. The social behavior is the result of the permanent interactions between the environment, the human behavior and internal cognitive processes.

The theory of psycho-sexual development (Freud Sigmund).¹⁴ In this theory, the personality presents a tripartite organization, respectively: the unconscious (as a reservoir of instinctual impulsions and energies), the subconscious or preconscious (as a place of censorship over the impulses came from the unconscious and the intermediary instance between conscious-unconscious) and the conscious (as last instance which makes the information change with the real world – external, as well as the internal world from the unconscious sphere and it is defined by Ego and Superego.

An important aspect is the one related to the phases of psycho-sexual development. Thus, Freud divides the motivation changes into a sequence of steps which are distinguished by the objectives or activities necessary to satisfy the individual instincts during that stage. The birth, in the psychoanalytic theory, is regarded as the first traumatic experience of the individual.

The theory of psychosocial development (Erikson).

⁹ *Judiciary Psychology*, Stefan Pop, *Course Notes*, Romanian-German University Sibiu, Publisher of “Lucian Blaga” University Sibiu. The author defines the judiciary psychology as being that distinct formative applicative discipline and of professional culture of the magistrate in the rule of law and which has as object the depth and nuanced study of the human being, person which is involved in the judiciary activity in order to obtain knowledge and evidence the psychological regularities capable to base the correct objectivity and integrity of the human behaviors with judiciary or criminogenic finality.

¹⁰ Catalin Bonciu, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Robert G Cialdini, *The Psychology of Manipulation, Course of theory and practice of influencing*, Translation by Victor Godeanu, Euro Press Publisher, Bucharest, 2009.

¹² Maria Condor, Mariana Mion Pop, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Idem*, page 35-36.

¹⁴ *Idem*, page 41-47.

In this theory there are proposed eight stages which cover the duration of the entire life, this periodization being one of the first psychodynamic of the development.¹⁵

- The period from birth until 18 months corresponds to the relative crisis for confidence building versus confidence loss. The essence of this study consists of the development of confidence in the surrounding world, as well as the self confidence.
- Another period ranges between 18 months and 3 years, which corresponds to relative crisis at autonomy versus doubt or fear, age at which he/she is in the crisis determined by the conflict to be protected or the need of freedom. The emphasis is on the relationship with parents and the addiction earned by child through motor and verbal development limits his/her addiction to others and builds the need of independency and autonomy.
- The 3-6 years period corresponds to the relative crisis of two determinants in opposition, respectively initiative versus guilt feeling. The relationships which determine the equilibrium between the two terms are the ones with the family generally, and the psychological description of the stage coincides with the exploration of the possibilities of self or their restriction. The period is characterized by the encouragement of the initiative, motor and verbal skills, which causes the exacerbation of aggression.¹⁶ The age of two years is the most remarkable period of psychological inaction, but the tendency to react regarding the restriction of freedoms manifests through the entire period of life.¹⁷
- The 6 -12 years period corresponds to the need to produce/ build things. The crisis is determined by the opposition between this need and the feeling of inferiority. The relationships which determine the solving of the crisis are the ones related to the school environment, and during the school period the small learning becomes the fundamental type of activity for the child.
- The 12 -18 years period corresponds to the conflict between the identity formation and the confusion at assuming roles, and the determined relations are the ones of development in the group of friends and the ones influenced by the position of leader or subordinate. During this period, there is the preoccupation for identity search, certain psychological changes take place in which

¹⁵ *Idem*, page 50-51.

¹⁶ Maria Condor, Mariana Pop, *op. cit.*, page 50 and the following.

¹⁷ Robert G Cialdini, *The Psychology of Manipulation, Course of Theory and Practice of Influencing*, Translation by Victor Godeanu, Euro Press Publisher, Bucharest, 2009, page 310-314.

the school and professional training create a series of questions and redefinitions to the personality. The period is characterized by **intimacy and isolation**.¹⁸ It is a period of adolescence which tends to rebel forms.¹⁹

- The adult life period corresponds to the choice between reproduction and self construction, characterized by the relationships with the partner and the work relationships. It must be chosen between making things and routine, between family and profession.
- Another period is the one of old age, which is characterized by the general crisis generated by oscillation between integrity and despair, generally facing the idea of no longer be and to die.

III. Conclusions

Based on the mentions in the “psychology of manipulation”²⁰ – “If you really want to do something, you have only three options: you handle yourself, pay a high price or ban a teenager to do that thing”, we consider that the most sensitive period from a human being life is the one during which the young leaves the childhood, is between tutelage and guiding of parents and the manifestation of individuality, respectively the period during which the individual accesses the adult role.

Taking into account that the current society, which is a complex one in a context of globalization, of focus on computerized means, of internet, of multiculturalism etc. faces a multitude of changes globally, individually, group, we consider that, more than ever, should emphasize the individual structure, from bio-psycho-socio-cultural point of view. It is, also, important the further development, as the adaptation of the individual at the dynamic of the society must be directed through means conferring safety, stability and fulfillment.

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¹⁸ *Idem*, Maria Condor, *op. cit.*, page 50 and the following.

¹⁹ Robert G Cialdini, *op. cit.*, page 314.

²⁰ Robert G Cialdini, *The Psychology of Manipulation, Course of Theory and Practice of Influencing*, Translation by Victor Godeanu, Euro Press Publisher, Bucharest, 2009.

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EXOTICUL CITADIN ȘI CULTURAL ITALIAN ÎN LITERATURA ROMÂNĂ MEMORIALISTICĂ A SECOLULUI AL XIX-LEA. *JURNALUL DE CĂLĂTORIE ÎN ITALIA* AL LUI V. ALECSANDRI

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Abstract: *This article aims at offering an argumentation for a direction of research pertaining to a larger study frame, defined at the intersection of two cultural areas, the Romanian and the Italian ones, during the 19th century: the object of analysis is represented by Italy's status as a historical, geographical and cultural space in the broader horizon of Romanian men of letters of the epoch, with a focus on the writer V. Alecsandri. Looking into his posthumous Travel Journal... as a case study, we shall attempt an argumentation for the presence of Italian exoticism.*

Keywords: *romantic, classic, Italy, travel literature, memoirs, exoticism, otherness, idyll.*

Articolul de față își propune să argumenteze o direcție de studiu într-un cadru de cercetare mai amplu, al literaturii române de călătorie din secolul al XIX-lea, sub influența contactului cu spațiul Italiei. În același timp, dorim să schițăm aici un “exercițiu de identificare” a unui episod (definit prin titlu: o scriere aparținând prozei lui V. Alecsandri) din parcursul temei exotismului italian în literatura română – cu precădere, cea memorialistică – a secolului al XIX-lea. Demersul ne apropie de tema cadrului lărgit pe care l-am enunțat mai sus: această cercetare are intenția de a identifica și de a aborda un corpus de texte aparținând unor autori de referință sau minori ai literaturii române de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, trecând prin preromantism, romantismul pașoptist și perioada imediat post-pașoptistă, continuând apoi cu momentul afirmării literare a “marilor clasici” români din a doua parte a secolului, până către finalul acestuia și începutul celui următor. Obiectul analizei, care stabilește elementul comun al textelor ce urmează a fi luate în discuție în etapele ulterioare ale cercetării, este reprezentat de tema prezenței Italiei, ca spațiu istoric, geografic și cultural, în orizontul de interes al oamenilor de litere români, precum și de aspectele variate sub care această temă este tratată – de la un autor la altul, de la o operă la alta și uneori chiar în interiorul aceleiași opere – de către scriitorii epocii.

Contactul intelectualilor români cu spațiul cultural, istoric și artistic al Italiei este, în mod evident, factorul determinant al apariției temei “italiene” în scrierile

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literare ale vremii. Este vorba de o epocă în care deschiderea intelectualității noastre se produce larg și ferm către Occident. Spiritul public românesc primește cu mare apetență modelul nu numai ideologic și cultural, ci și monden al marilor capitale europene. Între acestea, într-o societate care tindea să-și asume încet dar sigur francofonia, este evident că Parisul reprezenta punctul de maxim interes al unei sfere sociale averse de emancipare, de la tinerii dornici de a pleca la studii pe tărâmurile seducătoare ale Occidentului și până la o întreagă clasă care adoptă rapid și “întru totul manierele și moravurile franțuzești”¹.

Imediat după capitala Franței, alte “destinații” europene apar treptat și oarecum timid ca o concurență și o alternativă pentru prim-planul interesului public românesc. În această stare de fapt, Italia nu este în niciun caz un spațiu occidental de neglijat, fie chiar și pentru spiritul patriotic și naționalist al epocii, care nu putea da uitării descendența noastră istorică din Imperiul roman.

Este incontestabilă atracția oamenilor de cultură din Principatele române și din Ardeal față de cultura și istoria Romei, față de literatura și artele Italiei. Lecturile istorice ori studiul filologic dedicat reprezintă un canal important prin care elementul italian pătrunde ca temă semnificativă în literatura noastră. Totuși, tema nu s-ar fi putut impune cu aceeași relevanță numai urmând parcursul acesta al contactului indirect cu țara leagănelui latinității. Factorul decisiv al apariției și al fixării temei “italiene” în scrierile literare românești ale epocii îndrăznim să-l considerăm a fi contactul direct cu spațiul geografic, social, cultural ori etnografic al Peninsulei. Acest spațiu ajunge să fie cunoscut în mod nemijlocit și cu o frecvență tot mai mare de către intelectualii români. Între aceștia, relevant pentru tema noastră este profilul cărturarului călător care, fascinat de locurile și oamenii pe care îi întâlnește departe de meleagurile țării sale, înțelege să-și exprime atât trăirile subiective, cât și observațiile obiective în scris, fie prin jurnal sau note de călătorie pe meleagurile Italiei, fie prin corespondența purtată cu prietenii, rudele, iubiții ori iubitele sau alți apropiați rămași în țară. Astfel, scrierile memorialistice de călătorie capătă o importanță hotărâtoare în definirea temei italiene, în general, dar mai ales a unui anume aspect al său, reprezentat de exotismul italian în literatura română.

Motivația călătoriei nu este deloc un simplu pretext lipsit de importanță în stabilirea caracteristicilor temei pe care o tratăm. Călătorii din țările românești se îndreaptă către Italia uneori pentru studii, alteori în misiuni diplomatice, dar și mânați de trăiri intime și de idealuri personale profunde, cum ar fi iubirea, dorința de evadare sau nevoia de libertate. În funcție de multitudinea de scopuri, care la rândul ei ajunge să determine o multitudine a perspectivelor, tema Italiei (în toate

¹ Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*, trad. din limba franceză de Aurelia Dumitrașcu, ed. a III-a integrală și revăzută, Institutul Cultural Român, București, 2006, p.155

fațetele sale: culturală, politică, mondenă ori exotică) transpare din scrisul acestor “călători” în forme uneori de-a dreptul surprinzătoare, purtătoare de valoare documentară, dar și de valoare estetică.

La o simplă enumerare a câtorva dintre scriitorii-călători, putem constata ușor varietatea stilurilor scriiturii, dar și a perspectivei de abordare a temei “italiene”: Gheorghe Asachi, cu jurnalul său de călătorie în Italia (*Extract din călătoria unui moldovan la Roma, din anul 1807-1812*); Dinicu Golescu, autorul scrierii *Însemnare a călătoriei mele, Constandin Radovici din Golești, făcută în anul 1824, 1825, 1826*, tipărită la Buda în 1826; Nicolae Filimon, cu *Excursiuni în Germania meridională*, scriere prilejuită de o călătorie în apusul Europei; V. Alecsandri, autor al postumului *[Jurnal de călătorie în Italia]*; Ion Codru Drăgușanu, în *Peregrinul transilvan*; intelectualii ardeleni precum Simion Bărnuțiu, Al. Papiu Ilarian, Iosif Hodoș, dar și alte personalități ale culturii române, precum Nicolae Bălcescu ori Elena Ghica (Dora d’Istria, după pseudonimul său literar), care își încheie viața chiar pe pământ italian, primul la Palermo, cealaltă la Florența. Chiar dacă nu sunt autori ai unor jurnale de călătorie propriu-zise, corespondența lor (ca și cea a tuturor celorlalți scriitori deja amintiți) ne ajută astăzi să completăm impresiile călătorilor români care definesc percepția acestora asupra străinătății italiene din secolul al XIX-lea. În această succesiune a autorilor interesați de spațiul Italiei, nu putem să nu-l includem pe Mihai Eminescu. El cunoaște lumea italiană din perspectiva călătorului interesat de comorile de cultură ale trecutului, dar se lasă și fascinat de farmecul Veneției, pe care sensibilitatea romantică a poetului o transformă într-un simbol al trecerii ireparabile a vremii, în timp ce strălucirea de demult a Romei devine un simbol stins al unui “memento mori”.

Referindu-ne la cadrul mai amplu al proiectului nostru de cercetare, acesta își propune o abordare analitică tematică a corpusului de texte, căutând să evidențieze în interiorul lor formele asumate de tema spațiului italian. Între aceste forme, printre altele, apar relevante tocmai elementele care definesc exotismul. Alegerea spațiului italian pentru a ilustra caracteristica exotismului (evident, aplicabilă și altor spații cultural-geografice) este în ultimă instanță un “studiu de caz”, în contextul mai larg al contactului mediului intelectual românesc cu Occidentul european, pe fundalul modernității secolului al XIX-lea.

Pornim de la premisa că, în contextul epocii discutate, în absența facilităților contemporane de comunicare și de deplasare, nu este exagerată folosirea, aici, a termenului “exotic” atribuit unei “străinătăți” cum ar fi cea a Italiei (aparent, astăzi, mult mai familiară nouă). Spațiul italian, poate mai mult decât oricare altul european, a constituit subiect de reverie și idealizare în mentalul colectiv românesc (nu doar al secolului la care ne referim), datorită unui complex de determinări istorice, culturale și geografice, asupra căruia nu vom insista în acest loc. De aceea, putem spune că percepția călătorului român din sec. al XIX-lea față de meleagurile italiene, așa cum ne rezultă ea în special din literatura

memorialistică de călătorie a vremii, este în general cea a unui tărâm exotic, fascinant, generos și primitiv, uneori de-a dreptul protectiv.

Sigur că exotismul este în sine un rezultat al percepției unui observator. El nu există la modul obiectiv, în afara unei perspective subiective. Plecând de la această observație, ne rezultă firească asocierea exoticii cu conceptul mai nou – impus de domeniul studiilor culturale – dar și mai cuprinzător, al “alterității”. Poziționarea observatorului (autorul-călător) față de obiectul observației (întreaga configurație a spațiului în care călătorul se mișcă) este aceea a subiectului față de “Celălalt”, aducând astfel în prim-plan problematica alterității. Aici, ne sunt utile ca instrumente de analiză teoriile asupra alterității ale unor autori precum Edward W. Said și Maria Todorova, față de care ne situăm însă cu o anumită distanță critică. Teoretizând “orientalismul”, Edward W. Said considera Orientul “concurentul cultural” al Europei și totodată “una dintre cele mai profunde și mai recurente imagini a Celuilalt”². Dar în dezvoltarea temei noastre, perspectiva este “răsturnată”, “orientalul” călător român aflându-se față în față cu o alteritate care este tocmai Occidentul european. Pe de altă parte, Maria Todorova nuanțează conceptul de “oriental” al lui Said, prin conceptul “balcanicului”. Astfel, autoarea susține că “toate descrierile Balcanilor enunțau drept caracteristică principală statutul lor tranzitoriu. Occidentul și Orientul sunt prezentate de obicei ca entități incompatibile, antilumi, însă antilumi complete.[...] Balcanii, pe de altă parte, au evocat întotdeauna imaginea unui pod sau a unei răspântii”³. În cazul nostru, însă, “balcanic” călător român nu are conștiința de sine a unei identități-“punte” între două entități distincte (Occident/Orient), ci mai degrabă conștiința uneia dintre cele două entități, fără percepția incompatibilității lor. Resimte fascinația față de cealaltă “parte”, dar deopotrivă apartenența profundă la propria sa “parte”, acel sentiment naționalist și patriotic specific epocii pașoptiste. De aceea, este în permanentă căutare a unui “pod” către progresul și modernitatea Occidentului, ori către farmecul său, iar acest pod nu este altul decât călătoria însăși, pe care călătorul o parcurge ca pendulare. De aici, și categoria exoticii, care caracterizează lumea “Celuilalt”, pentru călătorul român. “Celălalt” induce de obicei sentimentul fricii, al, anxietății, al tensiunii, al respingerii. “Celălalt” este monstruosul, supranaturalul, anormalul, fantasticul. Exoticul, în schimb, este o altă formă a “Celuilalt”, este alteritatea care atrage, care seduce implacabil, care cheamă la contopirea ideală într-o identitate nouă, mult visată. În ultimă instanță, în general la scriitorii secolului al XIX-lea, alteritatea Italiei se manifestă mai degrabă ca o formă a marginalului meridional european care pare să deschidă o

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism. Concepțiile occidentale despre Orient*, trad. de Ana Andreescu, Doina Lică, Editura Amarcord, Timișoara, 2001, pp.13-14

³ Maria Todorova, *Balcanii și balcanismul*, trad. în lb. română de Mihaela Constantinescu și Sofia Oprescu, Humanitas, București, 2003

trecere lină spre exotismul altor zone ale unei alterități mai misterioase și mai pasionate, precum Africa sau Orientul Apropiat.

Dacă specia literară a jurnalului de călătorie este una predilect – deși nu exclusiv – romantică, pe de altă parte exotismul este o temă specifică romantismului. Dar secolul romantic românesc se caracterizează tocmai prin eclectismul care face, printre altele, ca estetica romantică să coexiste cu cea a clasicismului. De acest specific nu este scutită nici literatura de călătorie. Amprenta romantică a acestor scrieri se manifestă de cele mai multe ori cu variațiuni, de la caz la caz, în funcție de aspectele spațiului italian luate în considerare și de modul de raportare la acestea a “eului” observator, a subiectului relator: autorul-călător. Pentru a da un singur exemplu, “pentru romantici – spune Mircea Anghelescu – călătoria este un prilej de regăsire, ei pleacă pentru a se reîntâlni cu amintirile lor, cu speranțele, cu ei înșiși și în genere călătoria lor e o continuă așteptare a unui eveniment care nu se mai produce sau se produce prea târziu [...] Romanticul călătorește pentru a reveni în trecut sau a transgresa în viitor; deși interesat mereu de istoria locurilor prin care trece, Filimon trăiește călătoria la timpul prezent, ca un clasic”⁴.

Printre pasionații scriitori și călători ai secolului al XIX-lea cărora literatura română le datorează, între altele, reprezentarea toposului spațiului italian, V. Alecsandri este cel mai proeminent scriitor al generației sale literare și totodată autorul care îmbină într-o sinteză paradoxală, apropiată de perfecțiune, conceptul romantic cu cel clasic. Poetul epocii prin excelență, este în același timp și rafinatul prozator, călătorul pasionat, autor al postumului *[Jurnal de călătorie în Italia]*⁵. Este probabil cea mai interesantă și atinsă de valoare estetică scriere memorialistică a secolului al XIX-lea și a romantismului românesc, cea care impune ferm tema exotismului italian în literatura română.

Este “jurnalul unei iubiri”⁶, cea dintre scriitor și Elena Negri, sora prietenului său, Costache Negri, cu care Alecsandri făcuse prima lui călătorie în Italia. În această a doua călătorie, tânărul Alecsandri își întâlnește de data aceasta iubita, pe Elena Negri. Pentru cei doi îndrăgostiți, pământul italian devine un loc de exil autoimpus și cadru idilic al relației lor. Își trăiesc propria aventură de dragoste într-un loc îndepărtat de tot ce le-ar putea-o amenința prin condiționările vieții publice. Fundalul acestei iubiri este o succesiune pitorească a orașelor europene,

⁴Mircea Anghelescu, *N. Filimon*, studiu introductiv la N. Filimon, *Opere*, vol. I, ediție îngrijită și studiu introductiv de Mircea Anghelescu, note și variante de George Baiculescu, Editura Minerva, Colecția Scriitori români, București, 1975, p.XXI

⁵V. Alecsandri, *[Jurnalul de călătorie în Italia]* (text întocmit după manuscris, în limba franceză), în *Opere*, vol.IV: *Proză, Postume*, text ales și stabilit, note și variante de Georgeta Rădulescu-Dulgheru, Minerva (seria *Scriitori români*), București, 1974

⁶Acesta este de altfel și titlul mai recente ediții: V. Alecsandri, *Jurnalul unei iubiri: Vasile Alecsandri și Elena Negri (iunie 1846 – mai 1847)*, ed. îngrijită de Valentina Pituț, prefață de Paul Cornea, Muzeul Literaturii Române, București, 1998

cu precădere cele italiene, care sugerează ritmul călătoriei, ca o romantică fugă de lume în căutarea salvării intimității. Momentele de răgaz, de popas prelungit, sunt cele care inspiră siguranță și sentiment protectiv relației dintre cei doi. Astfel, de exemplu, Veneția devine cadrul ideal romanțat al acestei povești de dragoste. Întreaga pasiune a îndrăgostitului se transferă în descrierea elementelor orașului, a momentelor zilei, în descoperirea poveștilor legate de locuri și de oamenii care le dau viață, totul ca pentru a legitima complicitatea orașului la păstrarea tainei celor doi tineri.

În ansamblul său, această scriere a lui Alecsandri este marcată de o eterogenitate stilistică. Este evidentă o fractură de stil între episodul venețian, pe de o parte, și tot restul *Jurnalului...*, pe de altă parte. Intrarea în Veneția echivalează cu o intrare într-un spațiu definit prin atemporalitate, ideal glisat în fantastic. Veneția lui Alecsandri este o lume a iubirii în suspensie eternă, în căutarea perfecțiunii paradisiace. Ieșirea din Veneția echivalează în schimb cu reintrarea în timpul curent, al scurgerii implacabile a vieții către finalul său, și în spațiul fragmentar al lumii reale, perceput ca succesiune de orașe, mici localități, câmpii, ape, drumuri. Veneția este un loc al zăbovirii, al odihnei și al contemplației universului, descris cu toate tonalitățile melancoliei și cu toate nuanțele visării romantice. Aici, doar unele intervenții autoironice sau cele câteva comentarii critice sub amprenta umorului tolerant la adresa oamenilor locului echilibrează oarecum romantismul evocării prin jovialitatea clasică a scriitorului. Aceasta din urmă nu contrastează cu tonul general romantic ci, dimpotrivă, însuflă întregului sensul vitalității, al bucuriei de a trăi și de a iubi veșnic.

În antiteza spațiului venețian, odată cu părăsirea lagunei, întoarcerea la realitate se desfășoară în ritmul fugii. Succesiunea interminabilă de distanțe parcurse pe întregul continent și de popasuri mai lungi sau mai scurte prin orașele Europei are semnificația unei fugi de moarte care, paradoxal, se sfârșește tocmai în moarte, prin stingerea femeii iubite. În această parte a *Jurnalului...*, contemplativul romantic lasă locul observatorului critic, tonul analitic este mai degrabă cel al unui raționalism de spirit clasic, umorul tolerant devine sarcastic iar autoironia fină lasă locul ironiei acide, mai ales în observațiile referitoare la funcționarii statului austriac ori german și la bunul mers al instituțiilor acestora.

Întorcându-ne la Veneția lui Alecsandri, pentru a-i atribui acesteia caracteristica exoticii, ar trebui să definim într-o anumită profunzime conceptul de “exotic”. Acesta este asociat în primul rând cu sensul de “îndepărtat”, “neobișnuit”, “ciudat”. Dar exotical nu-l percepem la scriitorul-călător atunci când evocă orașe europene chiar mai îndepărtate de pământul țării sale. Gratz, Viena spre care se îndreaptă Ninița, Salzburg în care poposește autorul însuși, München, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Baden, Paris, Marsilia, Genova, Livorno, Pisa, Napoli, Palermo și în fine Constantinopole nu sunt decât puncte unite prin parcursuri pe o hartă întortocheată a lumii reale. În schimb, Veneția – în ciuda faptului că autorul o asociază, aparent paradoxal, cu noțiunea de “acasă” – se află la distanța

absolută, a unei alte lumi: “cetatea feerică” a împlinirii existențiale prin iubire, leagănul perfect al intimității unui cuplu în căutarea unei noi vieți, ea este în ultimă instanță echivalentul Paradisului recâștigat. Atributelor amintite, de “îndepărtat”, “neobișnuit”, “ciudat”, li se adaugă cel de “dorit”, “visat”. Componenta atracției, a seducției, a vrăjii este indispensabilă înțelegerii exotismului venețian la călătorul îndrăgostit.

Sentimentul iubirii împlinite îl transformă pe autorul însemnărilor din *Jurnal*... într-un observator profund subiectiv, conjunctural romantic al lumii în care se izolează alături de iubita sa. Atenția lui se îndreaptă către detaliul citadin, prevalent pitoresc și cultural, pe care îl notează cu minuție descriptivă, în realizarea fundalului feeric al idilicei sale povești de dragoste. În ziua regăsirii celor doi îndrăgostiți în Veneția, Alecsandri notează:

“*Veneția, 8 sept., la Italia.* În sfârșit, sîntem în Veneția, în această cetate feerică, spre care ne-am îndreptat N. și cu mine pe drumuri atît de deosebite, dar nu sîntem încă la noi acasă.”⁷

Călătorind separat, din lumea reală, cei doi se reîntâlnesc în lumea ideală a iubirii lor. Aici, par să dea uitării condiția instabilă a călătorului, mereu în mișcare, și să-și întemeieze un cămin nou, stabil, al cuplului. Încă din timpul primelor preumblări prin oraș, în căutarea unei locuințe, cadrul începe să prindă consistență: apar, pe rând, “cîntărețul și barcarola sa”, “prima plimbare în gondolă pe canalul Giudecca, la asfințitul soarelui”, cu “senzații de nedescris, pricinuite de ușoara legănare a gondolei și de sentimentul singurătății noastre în doi”. Astfel, cu senzația “fericirii adevărate” trăită “în tăcere”, cei doi continuă să-și descopere noul univers: Canal Grande și Piazzetta San Marco sunt alte repere care îi conduc pe tineri spre locul pe care îl vor numi “acasă”: apartamentul de trei camere cu salon pe Canal Grande, situat în palatul Benzon:

“...în aceeași zi ne mutăm amîndoi acolo. În sfîrșit, sîntem *la noi acasă și la Veneția!*”⁸

În general, oamenii locului fac parte din fundal, adăugând prin pitorescul lor elementul dinamic, vital al spațiului exotic. Venețienii sunt observați uneori cu prefăcută indiferență. Scriitorul Alecsandri este un lucid observator al detaliului semnificativ, chiar și atunci când face însemnările private din *Jurnalul*... său:

⁷ V. Alecsandri, *Jurnalul de călătorie în Italia*, ediție întocmită după manuscris, în V. Alecsandri – *Scrisori, însemnări*, ediție îngrijită, note și indici, traducere de Marta Anineanu, seria *Studii și documente*, Editura pentru literatură, București, 1964, p.208

⁸ Ibid., p.209

“Nici n-am băga de seamă existența tuturor celor care ne înconjoară dacă din cînd în cînd vreun nefericit de trecător nu ar călca pe rochia lui N...”⁹

Pornind însă de la această observație neutră, Alecsandri cel cunoscător al înaltei societăți își continuă fraza cu un comentariu jovial de natură mondenă (“...căci pe aici rochiile lungi, ca și tot ceea ce este elegant în materie de găteală, sînt necunoscute...”), pentru a o conduce mai departe într-o ironie fin superioară și tolerantă la adresa moravurilor localnicilor (“...ba mai mult încă, venețienii nu se uită niciodată unde calcă...”), întregită printr-o concluzie politică de un comic cu accente sarcastice, anticipând tonul *Jurnalului*... din episoadele călătoriei în imperiul austro-ungar (“...ceea ce ar explica îndeajuns pentru ce au căzut într-un butoi cu bere chezaro-crăiesc.”)¹⁰.

În alte cazuri, aversiunea față de anumite personaje, născută din natura relației pe care autorul și N. o stabilesc cu acestea (precum în cazul D-lui Padron, care le încarcă nota de plată pentru apartament precum un “tâlhar”, ori al D-lui Felice Schiavoni, portretistul lipsit de talent care le realizează chipul într-o manieră de nerecunoscut) se transformă în episoade al căror comic savuros echilibrează tonul general romantic.

În sfârșit, un personaj precum gondolierul Antonio (“un tînăr frumos de 21 de ani, cu părul roșcat, foarte bine făcut și cu o fire blîndă”) este cel mai definit conturat între figurile localnicilor, el fiind (alături de Annunziata, camerista) complice al poveștii secrete de iubire dintre cei doi tineri. Antonio este legătura lor cu fundalul venețian și, în același timp, ghid pitoresc întregind exoticul acestei lumi ideale. Aparent neașteptat de cultivat pentru condiția sa simplă, de fapt Antonio este asemeni locului feeric pe care îl (re)prezintă: personaj misterios, idealizat estetic, cu o latură spirituală profund înclinată către poezie, implicit către visare, dar și către cultura înaltă a umanității:

“În timpul plimbărilor noastre ne spune numele palatelor din Veneția și istoria familiilor care le-au locuit, iar în orele sale libere citește din poezii italieni. Îi place mult Alfieri și mi-a și vorbit cu o înflăcărare bine simțită despre tragedia acestuia, *Saùl*. Venind de la un simplu gondolier, aceasta pare uimitor, dar la Veneția gondolierii sînt mai cultivați decît majoritatea membrilor savantei noastre Academii!”¹¹

După ce îl descrie pe gondolier ca pe un personaj excepțional romantic, Alecsandri cade din nou în ispita spiritului clasic. El folosește caracterizarea lui Antonio drept pretext pentru o asociere surprinzătoare cu academicienii

⁹ Ibid., p.212

¹⁰ Ibid., p.212

¹¹ Ibid., p.213

conaționali, care pare să aibă mai degrabă legătură cu gustul jovialității subtil ironice până la notele mușcătoare ale sarcasmului, decât cu realitatea.

Plimbările celor doi îndrăgostiți sunt redată asemeni unei enumerări de obiective turistice. Evocarea acestora duc de fapt la generarea fundalului romantic iar narațiunea glisează subtil în descriere, îmbogățită prin detaliul cultural-artistic sau prin aluzia politică și istorică:

“Pe la ora patru ne întoarcem, după ce am făcut o vizită la Rialto, și ne instalăm în micul balcon cu vederea pe Canal Grande. La stînga, în fund, admirăm minunatul palat Foscari, a cărui fațadă seamănă cu o dantelă. În fața noastră, palatul Tiepolo, la dreapta, palatele Grimani (astăzi degenerate în poștă austriacă), Manini, al cărui nume răscolește amintiri atît de dureroase acelor care iubesc Veneția, și, în fund, la dreapta, Ponte Rialto, a cărei boltă măreață se aruncă cu atîta îndrăzneală de pe un mal pe altul;...”¹²

De la redarea minuțios obiectivă în gust clasic a elementelor fixe ale orașului, descrierea capătă tonalități melancolic-pitorești ale spiritului romantic pe măsură ce scriitorul introduce detaliile dinamice în peisaj:

“...apoi, sub picioarele noastre, o mulțime de gondole, care lunecă repede pe suprafața canalului, se ocolesc ca niște rîndunele în zborul lor și se pierd în canalele lăturalnice. Un tablou în mișcare, luminat de ultimele raze ale soarelui și însuflețit de cîntecele gondolierilor, sau de strigătele de *siastarli*, *caprami*, *iasé*, *remo*, *riva*, pe care le scot trecînd dintr-un canal într-altul...”¹³

Părăsirea Veneției de către cuplul de îndrăgostiți este marcată, asemeni sosirii în lagună, ciclic, printr-o plimbare în gondolă pe canalul Giudecca. Această despărțire, în lacrimi, cu sentimentul unei pierderi ireparabile (“N. plînge. [...] Tăcerea noastră nu este întreruptă decât de aceste cuvinte ale lui N.: *Părăsesc Veneția cu părere de rău, căci aici mi-ai dat mai multă fericire decît am putut visa vreodată*”) este redată în spirit romantic, cu o încărcătură dramatică mai intensă decît cea a finalului *Jurnalului*..., în care Alecsandri menționează lapidar moartea Elenei Negri, cu oroarea clasicului față de sentimentul tragic.

Afirmația lui G. Călinescu, din *Istoria literaturii române*..., conform căreia “poate că cea mai durabilă parte a operei lui Alecsandri este aceea în proză”¹⁴, atrage atenția în continuare prin nuanțarea asupra tipului de prozator pe care îl

¹² Ibid, p.212

¹³ Ibid, pp.212-213

¹⁴ G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, Editura Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1941; ed. cit.: ed. a II-a, revăzută și adăugită, îngrijită de Al. Piru, Minerva, București, 1986, p.317

reprezintă scriitorul nostru: la acesta, susține Călinescu, “înlesnirea orientală de povestitor” prevalează asupra “invenției”, de aceea “în substanță toate narațiunile sale sunt jurnale de călătorie”.¹⁵ Astfel, se ajunge la concluzia că *Buchetiera de la Florența*, nuvela de debut a lui Alecsandri (scrisă sub semnul romantismului și inspirată din întâmplări autentice trăite de scriitor alături de prietenul C. Negri, în cursul primei sale călătorii în Italia) își regăsește valoarea estetică în faptul că autorul “a îngroșat cu pensula liniile tenebrosului italian, lăsându-ne câteva grațioase gravuri de epocă”¹⁶. G. Călinescu exemplifică aici cu descrierea interiorului catedralei S. Maria del Fiore.

În cercetarea noastră, nu ne propunem numai abordarea scrierilor de călătorie. Ne vom îndrepta analiza și către operele beletristice propriu-zise ale epocii, în care putem regăsi integrată tema noastră, valorificată într-o multitudine de specii ale literaturii române din sec. al XIX-lea. Astfel de opere aparțin în mare parte scriitorilor-călători, ele fiind rodul contactului direct al autorului cu spațiul italian, declanșator de inspirație artistică. Enumerăm aici, pe lângă nuvela lui V. Alecsandri, *Suvenire din Italia*. *Buchetiera de la Florența*, numai câteva titluri precum: lirica petrarchizantă a lui Gheorghe Asachi din *Leucaida lui Alviro Corintio-Dacico*, nuvelele *Mateo Cipriani*, *Orașul Bergamo* ori *Ascanio și Eleonora*, ale lui Nicolae Filimon, proza *Sările venețiane* a lui Costache Negri și altele.

Continuitatea temei “italiene” în literatura noastră, dincolo de pragul dintre secole, este asigurată de alți autori-călători fascinați de Italia înrudită nouă prin latinitate și totodată etern seducătoare în alteritatea ei occidentală. O astfel de personalitate este Duiliu Zamfirescu, unul dintre acei autori români pe care îi regăsim intens în spațiul Italiei, pe un plan elevat social, estetic și cultural. Corespondența lui (cu Titu Maiorescu și nu numai) ne lasă o imagine de calitate superioară a celor două “lumi”, “noi” și “celălalt”, în toate formele sale spirituale. Cu Duiliu Zamfirescu, vom încerca să urmărim direcția pe care tinde să o urmeze tema Italiei în spațiul spiritual românesc, la ieșirea dintr-un secol, în drumul său către un veac nou.

Nume semnificative în urmărirea acestei direcții noi sunt și cele ale lui Claudiu Isopescu sau George Coșbuc, a cărui prietenie cu profesorul italian Ramiro Ortiz a rămas faimoasă. Ortiz este cel care, în 1909, întemeiază catedra de italianistică în cadrul Facultății de Litere și Filosofie a Universității București. El avea să fie mentor academicianului Alexandru Marcu sau lui G. Călinescu, cel din urmă fiind influențat și de gândirea criticilor italieni Francesco De Sanctis și Benedetto Croce. Aceasta este “puntea” pe care alteritatea italiană o întinde înspre spațiul românesc. De aici înainte, relația dintre cele două entități, română și italiană, se construiește încet dar sigur pe bazele apropierii prin profesionalismul

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

filologic iar rigoarea cercetării științifice, de orice natură, ia locul fascinației și visării romantice: asupra seducției exotismului italian pare să se aștearnă definitiv marca trecutului.

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MODÈLES VALORISÉS DE VOYAGEURS ET “MAUVAIS TOURISTES” DANS LES RÉCITS DE VOYAGE DE MAXIME DU CAMP

Diana Ligia Tudor*

***Abstract:** Maxime Du Camp was a French writer, traveller and pioneer in photography, who became famous among the French artistic and intellectual élite of the 1850s after writing about his classical model journey to the Middle East, which he made together with his close friend Gustave Flaubert, and which took them from Egypt to Turkey, via Syria and Palestine. In this paper we will explore the valorized models of travellers who are depicted by Du Camp in his travel writings, and who all have in common heroism, endurance, valour, constancy and manhood, whether in the scientific, encyclopedic, or religious fields. By painting laudatory portraits of them, full of eulogy, the author instruments them in a discourse of legitimation of his own virtues of scholar-traveller who is disciplined, intrepid, virile - a discourse through which he aspires to be recognized as their equal.*

***Keywords:** travellers, tourists, heroism, science, legitimation discourse*

Les voyageurs décrits par Du Camp dans ses récits de voyage, qu'il s'agisse des prédécesseurs, des compagnons de route ou bien d'autres voyageurs et touristes rencontrés lors de ses périples, ceux-ci représentent plutôt des révélateurs d'identité pour le voyageur, mettant en évidence, de manière indirecte, sa propre image, ils sont présents dans le discours du voyageur afin de faire ressortir dernièrement, ses qualités. Ils peuvent constituer des repères moraux et intellectuels, comme dans le cas de grands explorateurs, des missionnaires contemporains à lui, même des modèles à suivre, lorsqu'il s'agit des prédécesseurs, ou bien, tout au contraire, de vrais repoussoirs, rejetés au pôle négatif (c'est le cas des « mauvais touristes », étrangers ou français), par rapport auxquels il se plaît à emphatiser sa supériorité.

Les récits de Du Camp sont émaillés de voyageurs qui sont des hommes forts, intrépides, sobres, hors du commun, parfois de vrais héros de la science et de la religion : des savants, des explorateurs, dont les domaines d'intérêt sont l'archéologie, l'histoire, la géographie, la cartographie, les sciences naturelles, des missionnaires chrétiens, des moines. Mais en reconnaissant ces qualités aux autres voyageurs, il est censé les posséder lui-même : en fait, leur caractérisation renvoie implicitement à soi-même. D'ailleurs, il n'y a pas de voyageuses dans les écrits de Du Camp. L'écrivain considère, en outre, que les êtres d'exception sont en général

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des hommes sans femmes¹, selon la définition du génie, donnée par le dictionnaire Larousse du XIX^e siècle : « il est, pour tout dire en un mot, célibataire. »¹

Un tel voyageur exceptionnel est Champollion, auquel l'écrivain consacre bon nombre de pages dans un long chapitre sur l'Ancienne Égypte. Il est présenté comme un savant de génie d'une inlassable ardeur, un érudit, un découvreur, un révélateur des mystères « jusqu'alors impénétrables », qui a offert à la science une valeur inestimable : l'écriture hiératique et l'écriture démotique, grâce auxquelles toute une série d'inscriptions, de papyrus, de monuments sculptés, ont pu être déchiffrés.

Le héros de Du Camp est présenté comme un être privilégié, prédestiné, qui fut appelé par l'Égypte par « mille promesses que la réalité devait singulièrement dépasser ». Ainsi, fait-il partie des peu nombreux, des élus, qui marchent dans la « réalité de leur rêve », étant donné que son génie est confirmé par chaque nouvelle découverte. L'écrivain fait l'éloge de la méticulosité de ses recherches : il mesure, annote, classe, organise, vérifie les richesses archéologiques, déployant une « science et un goût parfait ». Son modèle est la « certitude absolue », grâce à laquelle il réussit à déchiffrer, à lire cette histoire composée de palimpsestes d'un certain édifice, dont les différentes parties qui le composent ont été construites à des époques très différentes.

Science et masculinité sont liées chez Du Camp, qui admire chez Champollion sa « hardiesse », sa vie active et « fiévreuse », ses forces « toujours renaissantes », le fait qu'il est inlassable, infatigable, dévoré par son « ardeur » sans pareil. L'écrivain est également séduit par l'esprit joyeux du grand savant-voyageur, que rien ne pouvait assombrir, dont la correspondance est vivante, rapide, amusante, franche, illustrant le double caractère de cet homme : « très gai et très réfléchi. » Il était un grand savant également grâce à l'importance qu'ont eu ses découvertes « inespérées » pour la confirmation de l'exactitude historique de certains épisodes racontés dans l'Ancien Testament. Par exemple dans la confirmation de la prise de Jérusalem par l'égyptien Scheschock, racontée par le quatorzième chapitre du troisième livre des rois :

L'exactitude historique de la Bible, contrôlée par les monuments égyptiens, c'était plus qu'on n'avait jamais espéré, et les corps savants furent vivement frappés de cette sorte de confrontation inattendue qui apportait à Champollion le jeune le poids d'un témoignage irrécusable.¹

Il serait intéressant d'observer le fait que Du Camp construit de lui-même une image de voyageur-savant, d'explorateur, qui découvre, déchiffre, dévoile l'histoire de l'Égypte en étudiant les édifices antiques égyptiens. En faisant inlassablement l'éloge des découvertes de l'illustre savant, en faisant de lui un « génie », un « héros », un « géant », une autorité qu'il cite souvent pour valider

ses affirmations, ses propres hypothèses, ne fait-il pas de lui son modèle à suivre, son précurseur, dont il pourrait un jour parachever les recherches ?

De manière évidente, Champollion ne constitue pas pour Du Camp un repère inaccessible, l'écrivain n'hésitant pas à situer son entreprise en continuité de l'œuvre de son devancier; la référence à l'œuvre de ce dernier semble servir de garantie pour l'importance et l'utilité de ses propres voyages. L'illustre savant constitue ainsi un terme de comparaison, même si elle est dissimulée sous le dehors d'un discours élogieux. En décrivant les ruines des temples de Karnak, Du Camp paraît vouloir témoigner de la même érudition, « exactitude scientifique », passion pour l'histoire, pour l'archéologie, que celles qu'il admire tellement chez l'illustre savant. Il est lui aussi capable de déchiffrer, de lire l'histoire palimpsestique des édifices, les noms des pharaons, des rois, des dieux qui sont inscrits sur les temples de Karnak :

Toute l'histoire de l'Égypte est inscrite là, sur les pierres de Karnak. Le sanctuaire d'Ammon fut érigé à Thèbes, la première fois par Osortasen, premier roi de la douzième dynastie, trois mille six cents ans avant Jésus-Christ. Chaque dynastie, chaque pharaon, chaque roi qui vint ensuite tint à honneur d'orner le temple consacré au père des dieux; le nom seul des perses en est absent. Mais à côté des souverains aborigènes, on retrouve les éthiopiens : Alexandre de Macédoine et Philippe Aridee y coudoient les Ptolémés. Les romains même continuèrent l'œuvre traditionnelle, ainsi que le prouve le cartouche de César Auguste.¹

En grand encyclopédiste, Champollion ne s'intéresse pas seulement à la recherche archéologique, mais il s'arrête également sur les usages, les mœurs et les coutumes égyptiens, tout comme Du Camp, qui s'intéresse à son tour aux mœurs et traditions musulmanes, et qui en Égypte suit des cours particuliers sur les traditions et mœurs musulmanes, enseignées par un savant arabe.

De surcroît, l'écrivain est séduit par le fait que dans sa correspondance publiée, Champollion affirme qu'il s'est arrêté également sur les paysages « splendides » de l'Égypte, renvoyant à des espaces livresques tels que *Mille et une nuits*, ce qui leur confère beaucoup de charme aux yeux de Du Camp, pour lequel les paysages constituent un élément très important du récit de voyage, de manière que le style savant s'accompagne d'un style « charmant », tout comme dans beaucoup de ses propres récits de voyage, où les références savantes, encyclopédiques, s'ajoutent aux descriptions lyriques des paysages : « Ce n'était plus dans les froides salles d'un musée, parmi les livres d'une bibliothèque qu'il continuait ses études; c'était au milieu de paysages splendides, sur les rives d'un fleuve merveilleux, dans une contrée qui partout semble faite pour servir de cadre aux récits des *Mille et une Nuits*. À lire ces lettres charmantes, on ne se douterait guère qu'elles sont écrites par un savant. »¹

Ses réalisations concernant l'Orient sont si remarquables, si exceptionnelles, (repetitie suparatoare pleonastica) qu'ils font de lui un vrai prophète, un père fondateur, un nouveau Moïse, comme l'affirme Du Camp à la fin de son texte. Il l'orientalise, faisant de lui, par la comparaison avec Moïse, un grand patriarche oriental : «Chaque jour suffit à sa tâche. Champollion le jeune touchait au terme de la sienne. Semblable à Moïse, il mourait sur le mont Nébo sans pouvoir faire la conquête de cette terre promise vers laquelle il marchait depuis déjà tant d'années ». ¹

Il convient de rappeler un détail biographique non sans importance : le fait que Maxime Du Camp était le neveu d'Amédée Chevronnait, époux de Zoraïde Champollion, la fille unique de Champollion, d'où une certaine filiation entre l'écrivain et l'illustre fondateur de l'Égyptologie. Mais, nous le répétons, puisque c'est un détail éclairant, Du Camp suggère aussi un autre type de filiation avec le savant-voyageur, beaucoup plus significative : lui aussi encyclopédiste, voyageur passionné pour l'archéologie et l'égyptologie, fasciné par le génie, l'érudition, le « héroïsme », la gloire de Champollion, il semble vouloir faire de lui un précurseur, sur les traces duquel il rêve de marcher, enrichissant son entreprise, car celui-ci avait laissé des « travaux inachevés, mais une méthode sûre qui devait permettre de marcher sur ses traces, de reprendre sa route et de porter une lumière définitive sur les points qu'il n'avait même pas eu temps d'entrevoir. » ¹

Un autre type de voyageur valorisé par Du Camp est celui qu'il appelle « le héros de la géographie », ce qui semble être une autre acception qu'il donne à la notion de « voyageur savant ». Celui-ci est représenté par un personnage influent, ayant une mission noble : il s'agit d'un vice-consul de France à Massoua, appelé M.G Legean, qui voyage en Abyssinie, s'exposant à tous les dangers pour se documenter et écrire sur les mœurs, les usages, les coutumes, les croyances religieuses et leurs influences, la langue, l'histoire, la vie politique, le roi (le négus), dont la cruauté sans bornes est longuement décrite dans son livre.

Du Camp ne se lasse pas d'admirer chez ce voyageur intrépide, qui va « au hasard de sa bonne étoile », la passion pour les voyages, la « résolution » et la discipline avec lesquelles il fait des projets ambitieux, « ingrats », qu'il tient à mettre à exécution; comme on l'a déjà fait remarquer, la science est étroitement liée à la virilité chez l'auteur. Il admire le courage et l'endurance qui l'aident à affronter les « misères », les « mauvais traitements », les périls, la faim, la soif, la captivité de plusieurs mois, le risque de l'assassinat et de l'esclavage, qui toutefois « n'ont point découragé en lui le goût des voyages » ¹. L'auteur loue la modestie et la simplicité avec lesquelles il accomplit de si grands projets, qui font ressortir sa valeur d'une manière d'autant plus évidente : « M. Lejean fait ces sortes de choses le plus simplement du monde. Il vous dit, "Je pars pour Samarkand", comme d'autres vous disent "Je vais à Saint-Cloud" » ¹

Il glorifie son esprit équilibré, modéré, réfléchi, la constance, l'habileté, avec lesquels il décrit l'autre dans ses récits de voyage, exprimant des jugements

sévères, mais présentant également des circonstances atténuantes : « Il tempère la sévérité de ses jugements par une indulgence remarquable : lorsqu'il se voit forcé de condamner, il ne prononce jamais son verdict sans y ajouter le bénéfice des circonstances atténuantes. »¹ L'auteur est séduit par la curiosité intellectuelle, l'esprit d'explorateur de cet « hardi voyageur », qui rêve de faire un voyage réellement exhaustif, à travers lequel il puisse faire des découvertes dans des domaines très variés. Du Camp considère d'ailleurs que l'un des accomplissements les plus importants, les plus précieux d'un voyage est la documentation, la « provision de documents nouveaux » qu'il a comme résultat. C'est la raison pour laquelle il fait l'éloge des mérites de ce vrai « héros de la géographie » :

C'est le héros de la géographie. Il se désespère en pensant aux X de notre planète; il voudrait les dégager, il voudrait tout découvrir, tout voir, tout apprendre. Ces belles curiosités sont rares et méritent d'être encouragées. [...]. Nous ne pouvons que souhaiter bonne fortune au hardi voyageur, et exprimer l'espoir qu'il nous reviendra avec une ample provision de documents nouveaux.¹

Dans le voyage, les valeurs civilisatrices, le savoir, l'esprit d'explorateur ont parfois une dimension religieuse à ne pas négliger : il s'agit des voyages faits par les missionnaires chrétiens, protestants ou catholiques, à travers le monde entier, pour lesquels Du Camp ne tarit pas d'éloges, en les appelant des « merveilleux pionniers » de la civilisation. Il dresse un portrait enthousiaste de ces hommes « intrépides » et « disciplinés » dont la foi vivante, le courage, l'esprit de sacrifice, le dévouement, leur fait endurer et braver les fatigues, les privations, les tortures, le martyre, pour aller annoncer la bonne nouvelle aux « peuplades obtuses et farouches » auxquelles l'idée de divinité n'apparaît encore que sous « un aspect absurde et repoussant ».

Ils sont regardés comme de vrais héros civilisateurs dont la vocation est celle d'apporter la « lumière » du savoir et de la croyance chrétienne là où il n'existe que de l'« obscurité » et de la « barbarie ».

L'écrivain met en antithèse les cultes païens, caractérisés par l'ignorance, la cruauté, les pratiques sanglantes et criminelles, et la religion chrétienne répandue par ces missionnaires qui prônent la tolérance, l'espérance, la lumière du savoir, la civilisation. Pour faire ressortir leurs vertus civilisatrices, il n'hésite même pas à les mythifier, recourant à une analogie avec le dieu de la lumière, Apollon :

Ces missionnaires, que le protestantisme pousse avec ardeur vers tous les coins du monde, sont les plus merveilleux pionniers que la civilisation ait jamais envoyés sur les routes de l'obscurité et de la barbarie. Partout où ils arrivent, ils apportent la lumière, ils remplacent les cultes sanglants, les mœurs implacables, la cruauté, l'ignorance, le respect des coutumes criminelles, par les douces pratiques, la mansuétude, la tolérance l'instruction, l'espérance d'un état meilleur.

Comme l'Apollon de la fable antique, ils dissipent les nuages et tuent le serpent Python.

La prédilection de Du Camp pour cette dimension religieuse du voyage est illustrée aussi par le fait que celui qui est à ses yeux un « noble voyageur » est en fait un moine, le père Palgrave, dont il décrit les qualités dans un chapitre de son récit de voyage *Orient et Italie*. L'auteur dresse un portrait très laudatif à Palgrave et aux sept autres religieux de l'Hospice de Saint-Bernard, L'auteur admire l'endurance, la force, le courage, le dévouement, la résolution avec lesquels ces moines voyagent chaque jour, accomplissant leur « pénible mission » de porter secours aux visiteurs qui sont souvent des victimes du climat meurtrier de ces endroits. Du Camp fait d'eux de vrais « héros », de vrais sauveurs de vies, qui, courant tous les dangers possibles, partent à la recherche des victimes d'un vrai « désert de neige » et se dédient à leur sauvetage, parfois malgré la volonté des mourants, en affrontant le gel, les neiges mouvantes, les avalanches, les bouleversements amenés par les tempêtes. C'est ce qui suscite l'admiration de Du Camp, qui affirme avec enthousiasme : « C'est le dévouement élevé à sa dernière puissance, et il est difficile de ne pas l'admirer sans réserve »¹. Il le renforce ailleurs :

Dans ces courses où la vie de l'homme est toujours en danger, les religieux portent avec eux du pain, du fromage et du vain. Souvent il leur est arrivé d'avoir à lutter contre des hommes qui, déjà saisis par le froid, veulent dormir à tout prix et se refusent absolument à marcher jusqu'à l'hospice. On emporte alors ces mourants récalcitrants, on les frotte de neige pour rétablir la circulation du sang arrêté, on les force à boire du vin de Martigny, vin spécialement fort et généreux; on les couche, on les frictionne, on les couvre et on leur rend la vie malgré eux.¹

La noblesse qu'il admire tant chez ces pères est donnée par l'hospitalité, la générosité, la tolérance religieuse qui les caractérise, car, en « bons Samaritains », ils portent secours et offrent l'abri à tous les hommes et à toutes les religions : des chrétiens, des juifs, des musulmans, etc. L'écrivain décrit le Père Palgrave comme un homme très « intelligent » et cultivé, avec qui il peut parler des « questions modernes » qu'il connaît parfaitement, en prouvant ainsi être son égal. Il est également un « excellent musicien » qui emploie ses rares loisirs à composer des messes. D'ailleurs, tous les religieux lui semblent être des hommes cultivés, bénéficiant d'une bibliothèque « assez intéressante », d'« excellentes » orgues, d'un piano, de gravures, de bas-reliefs, d'une collection d'échantillons de minéralogie.

Nous pouvons affirmer que tous ces modèles de voyageurs ont en commun l'héroïsme, l'endurance, la vaillance, la constance, la virilité, qu'il s'agisse du domaine scientifique, encyclopédique, ou de celui religieux. En leur dressant des portraits élogieux ou laudatifs, l'auteur les instrumentalise dans un discours de

légitimation de ses propres vertus de voyageur savant, discipliné, intrépide, virile, discours par lequel il entend se faire reconnaître comme leur égal.

Selon Didier Urbain, une des stratégies de distinction utilisées par le « bon voyageur » est, à côté du discours de légitimation, celui de contestation, par lequel il critique d'autres voyageurs ou touristes, en disant que « lui seul est le vrai voyageur »¹. C'est également le cas de Du Camp, qui critique et ridiculise les « mauvais touristes », dont la plupart sont des bourgeois anglais, mais aussi allemands, français, italiens, etc., qui deviennent de véritables repoussoirs à ses yeux. Il tient à souligner la faille qui le sépare d'eux et qui s'avère être en sa faveur. Il méprise et tourne en ridicule ces « bourgeois fortunés », que seule la vanité de leur richesse a poussés à voyager, contrairement à lui. Ils sont considérés comme des « sots », des « idiots », des « bêtes », et l'antithèse se prolonge aussi sur le plan éthique : ils sont des « gredins », des « misérables », des « monstres », qui déshonorent, qui « mutilent » les monuments visités en y gravant leurs noms ou en faisant des enseignes et des réclames personnelles¹ :

Tous ces bourgeois qui ont eu cette fortune de parvenir au sommet de la grande-pyramide y ont gravé leur nom. Les pierres de la plateforme disparaissent sous ces ridicules monuments de bêtise et de vanité. Il y a des noms de tous les pays et de toutes les langues; j'ai vu là tous les croquis politiques, artistiques ou impurs qui ont si souvent égayé les murailles de Paris. Les noms anglais abondent à côté de quelques noms de soldats français écrits à la pointe d'une baïonnette. Il y a des voyageurs qui ont fait de cela une enseigne, une réclame. J'ai lu en grosses lettres : Buffard, fabricant de papiers peints à Paris. Quel est donc ce méchant vers latin que nous appliquions au collège à ceux de nos camarades qui écrivaient leur nom sur les murailles, n'est-ce pas : « nomina stultorum semper parientibus insunt » ?¹

Leurs habitudes sont en général présentées comme déplorables : par exemple, en 1820 les touristes anglais n'hésitent pas à voler la frise du temple grec représentant le combat des Centaures et des Lapithes, qu'ils ont donnée ensuite au musée de Londres, et dont les plâtres se trouvent à Athènes, « estampillés du blason de la Grande Bretagne ». Un autre touriste anglais fait sauter avec de la poudre d'innombrables statues thébaines dans l'espoir d'y trouver des trésors. L'auteur ridiculise maintes fois les touristes anglais, pour des raisons bien variées : ils s'égarent facilement, parfois avec des conséquences tragiques. Dans *Orient et Italie*, par exemple, pour décrire des ruines de Civita vecchia, il écrit : « On sait mal les dimensions exactes de ces cryptes, et je crois qu'il est superflu de dire qu'on raconte l'histoire de plusieurs Anglais égarés que jamais on n'a pu retrouver »¹.

Ils sont également superstitieux : un touriste britannique est ravi devant le miracle d'avoir « vu des poissons ressusciter ». En outre, ils semblent avoir une caractéristique supplémentaire négative : ils manquent de courage, de virilité; ils

ont peur du mauvais temps, ne se déplacent pas à pied, voyageant seulement en voiture, comme les « demoiselles » : « Pendant que nous sommes à faire boire nos chevaux, une carriole passe avec les Anglais que nous avons rencontrés au khan de Gemini et qui sont restés trois jours à Casa, retenus par la pluie et la crainte de se mouiller »¹.

Contrairement aux touristes indifférents et irrespectueux, il éprouve des sentiments de mélancolie, de tristesse, de chagrin à voir les édifices ou les tombes mutilées, son attachement est si fort, qu'il semble s'identifier spirituellement avec eux¹, ainsi qu'avec ceux qui y reposent. Il suggère ainsi une communion à travers le temps :

Un certain Mr. Baird y a écrit son nom en gros caractères peints en noir. Je me suis assis sur le rebord de ces tombes, j'ai longtemps regardé dedans et je me suis senti attristé de leur spoliation, comme si mon âme avait habité jadis un de ces corps qui y furent renfermés.¹

Du Camp se démarque de la foule de touristes intrus et destructeurs, en soulignant la fracture entre sa conduite et la leur. Il se donne à voir en « bon voyageur », qui découvre, respecte, préserve, sauve les édifices historiques : il affirme qu'il rêve de refaire un voyage en Orient dans le but « noble » d'effacer tous les noms inscrits par les touristes sur ces monuments « déshonorés ». Il s'individualise, en montrant qu'il serait l'unique auteur de cette difficile entreprise, même si elle est pratiquement irréalisable : « J'ai souvent désiré de faire un voyage à travers les terres classiques, uniquement pour effacer ces écrivailles d'écolier qui déshonorent les édifices; mais la vie et les forces d'un homme ne suffiraient pas à si rude et si noble besogne. »¹

Quel contraste entre ces mauvais touristes et Du Camp, le « bon voyageur », qui, sortant du grégaire et des sentiers battus, marche parfois jusqu'à douze heures par jour, saute, escalade, grimpe, affrontant la chaleur du désert, la pluie, la neige, les orages et les ouragans, pour travailler, copier des inscriptions, calculer, somme toute, pour découvrir !

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JOSEPH AND ASENETH: THE SYMBOLS BEHIND AN APOCRYPHAL STORY

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Abstract: *This article is intended to investigate the manner in which a late-antique text composed for religious purposes could be appropriated and studied as literature per se. This happens, we argue, due to the richness of its symbolism, dating back to classical antiquity and melting together Hellenistic and Christian influences. Moreover, as it narrates a religious conversion imbedded into a love-story, Joseph and Aseneth plays on the Aristotelian topic of recognition, which imposes on it the appearance of a romance.*

Keywords: *apocryph, Old Testament, Aseneth, medieval literature, romance.*

Little is known in Romania about the provenance and destination of *Joseph and Aseneth*. Nevertheless, after the authoritative editions of Marc Philonenko¹ and Christoph Burchard², the exact original, let alone the plethora of significations, are still subject to dispute even for Western scholars. The narrative is made up of two interconnected stories which develop the episode from the Book of Genesis (45) regarding Joseph's marriage to a Gentile woman. The first part is the story of a conversion: as Joseph, the trusted man of the Pharaoh, was travelling through Egypt, he reaches Heliopolis and makes a halt at the house of Pentephres, the great Egyptian priest. Pentephres introduces him his young daughter Aseneth, but Joseph invokes his faith and refuses to sit at the same table to a devotee of the pagan idols. However, seeing this had brought the girl to tears, he bestows his benediction upon her, in the name of God. Aseneth goes up to her maidenly room, throws away all jewelry, rich clothes and cult objects and starts a seven-day period of mourning. In the eighth day, an angel makes a mysterious apparition, asking her to eat from a honeycomb swarming with bees. He changes her name to 'City of Salvation' and promises God would have her married to Joseph, which eventually happens as soon as he passes by on his way back to the Pharaoh. The second episode narrates the Pharaoh's son plotting to kidnap Aseneth and having his plan defeated by Joseph's two younger brothers, Levi and Simeon.

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¹ Marc Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1968.

² C. Burchard, *Joseph and Aseneth*, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. By James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Doubleday&Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1985.

Romanian criticism has assimilated *Joseph and Aseneth* to the 'popular books' flourishing in the second half of the 18th century. The authoritative study of Nicolae Cartoian³ seems to credit Battifol⁴, the first editor of the English edition, in that the text is a product of the Jewish diaspora of the first centuries AD, noting that the story develops from a haggadic legend of the fourth century spread in some rabbinic collections of texts. Cartoian adds that the text was modified 'with a view to the model of the post-Constantinian hagiographies of the second century AD'⁵. However, recent studies such as Ross Kraemer's *When Aseneth Met Joseph* opt for an earlier date, invoking the resemblance between the portrayal of characters and the imperial ideology of late antiquity⁶.

The Romanian version is found in 5 manuscripts⁷, the lengthiest of which provided the basis for the first edition in 1922⁸. It encrypts a mystical story, as Mark Philonenko has showed in his 1968 study: at the centre of the legend there is the underlying symbolism of the celestial hierogamy, with Joseph being portrayed as an image of the Sun, and Aseneth, that of the Moon. Apart from the 'astrological allegory', he puts forth two more speculative readings, namely, a 'gnostic drama' and an 'initiatc liturgy'.

As it may be inferred, mystic love is older than a medieval utopia. The myth of the passion-love reveling in sufferance, the inner combustion of the courtier experimenting the painful distance hiding the lady from his reach, send us back to the erotic mysticism of the Jewish apocryphal legends of the first centuries. Prior to the accounts of falling in love in medieval literature and *dolce stil nuovo*, it favors the platonic connection between love and eyesight, 'the rejoicing and even the pleasure brought about by the sensible and supersensible *beauty*, that is to say, born from an aesthetic experience'⁹. Vision entralls the other senses, triggering a spontaneous and uncontrollable passion.

Joseph is depicted in solar tones, as it can be seen from the description of his clothing and the four horses in golden harnesses¹⁰. He appears as the epitome of

³ N. Cartoian, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*, vol. 2, *Epoca influenței grecești*, Editura Enciclopedică Română, București, 1974.

⁴ P. Battifol, *Le Livre de la prière d'Aséneth*, Studia Patristica: Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne, 1-2, Paris, Leroux, 1889-1890.

⁵ N. Cartoian, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

⁶ Ross Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph. A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered*, Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁷ Ms. Rom. BAR 2338, f. 125-138; Ms. Rom. BAR 1903, f. 87^v-97^v; Ms. Rom. BAR 5805; Ms. Rom. BAR 3324; Ms. Rom. BAR 4826.

⁸ Constantin Bobulescu, *Istoria frumosului Iosif și a prea frumoasei Asineta: după un manuscris din 1753*, Casa Școalelor, București, 1922.

⁹ Rudolf Otto, *Mistica Orientului și a Occidentului*, translated by Mihail Grădinaru and Friedrich Michael, pref. Mihail Grădinaru, Septentrion, Iași Septentrion, Iași, 1993.

¹⁰ M. Philonenko, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

brightness and this is the main feature invoked by Aseneth when she confesses her love in mourning:

And the gates of the court looking east were opened, and Joseph entered, standing on Pharaoh's second chariot, and four horses, white as snow and with golden bridles, were harnessed (to it), and the entire chariot was manufactured from pure gold. And Joseph was dressed in an exquisite white tunic, and the robe which he had thrown around him was purple, made of linen interwoven with gold, and a golden crown was on his head, and around the crown were twelve chosen stones, and on top of the twelve stones were twelve golden rays¹¹

Joseph's clothing and the twelve precious stones on the crown surrounded by twelve golden rays are part of Helios' crown, also pointing to his status as a representative of the Pharaoh, himself depicted in details of an all-encompassing solar imaginary. The twelve stones can make reference to the signs of the Zodiac, to the twelve Jewish tribes or to the twelve patriarchs as well¹².

Some of the Greek variants note the presence of twelve young men accompanying Joseph at the entrance to Heliopolis; in the Romanian manuscripts, they are not mentioned. The image of Joseph amid the young men was thought to

recall the iconographic representation of the Sun surrounded by the twelve figures of the Zodiac in the Jewish mosaic of Beth Alpha¹³ (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 - Beth Alpha Mosaic:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beth_Alpha#/media/File:Beit_Alpha.jpg

¹¹ *Joseph and Aseneth*, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 208. Romanian version: *Și ieși Pentefrie întru întâmpinarea lui Iosif cu fâmeaia lui și cu toată ruda lui și dășchisă porțile despre răsărit și intră Iosif. Și ședea în leagănul lui Faraon și era cu patru cai albi și era hamurile și frânele tot de hir și leagănul era tot de aur. Și Iosif era îmbrăcat cu emurluc albu dă sclipiia și era cu cunună de aur în cap. Și împrejurul cununii era 12 pietri alese și deasupra lor era 12 raze de aur, și cu toiag de aur în mâini* (Ms. Rom. B.A.R. 2338).

¹² C. Burchard, *op.cit.*, p. 208.

¹³ Marc Philonenko, *op.cit.*, p. 79



Fig. 2 – Hammath Tiberias mosaic. Source: Yaffa England, 'Mosaics as Midrash: The Zodiacs of the Ancient Synagogues and the Conflict between Judaism and Christianity', in *Review of Rabbinic Judaism*, Jun. 2013, vol. 6, Issue 2/3, p. 189-214.

Kraemer states that the same representation can be found in the mosaic of Hammath Tiberias¹⁴ (Fig. 2), featuring a Helios-emperor in all his might: the hand stretched, the globe, the crown, in a Sol Invictus-type of representation. I would add that this type of representation is present in the Sepphoris Synagogue mosaic (Fig. 3), showing the imperial representation of the Sun would extend to the late fifth century, contemporary to the first attestation of *Joseph and Aseneth*. This is the image of a Sun supporting the Cosmos, the well-arranged universe.

The recurrence of the victorious representations of the Sun is due to the dimensions of the solar cult in late antiquity, from which there remained iconographical representations and texts as well. We can thereby think of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, for example, depicting the lost and found daughter of the emperor reigning over the land of sun. The Joseph description reflects the relationship between cosmology and imperial ideology in the first centuries; according to this cosmology, every being comes down on Earth from a celestial body and takes over the features of that particular body it originates from. As the terrestrial hierarchy mirrors the celestial one, the highest office on earth can't be depicted other than in terms of solar symbolism. The imperial ideology feeds the belief in a Sun creating the Time, since this would make it easier for royalty to state its eternal character¹⁵.

¹⁴ Ross Kraemer, *op.cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Unlike the foreign versions (all of which pertain to the long recension family), the Romanian manuscripts do not offer a description of the angel that visits Aseneth after her self-imposed penitence. However, he is still the celestial double of Joseph:

And when Aseneth had ceased making confession to the Lord behold, the morning star rose out of heaven in the east. And Aseneth saw it and rejoiced and said, <<So the Lord God listened to my prayer, because the star rose as a messenger and herald of the light of the great day>>. And Aseneth kept looking, and behold, close to the morning star, the heaven was torn apart and great and unutterable light appeared. And Aseneth saw

(it) and fell on (her) face on the ashes. And a man came to her from heaven and stood by Aseneth's head. [...] And Aseneth raised her head and saw, and behold, (there was) a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that his face was like lightning, and his eyes like sunshine, and the hairs of his head like a flame of fire of a burning torch, and hands and feet like iron shining forth from a fire, and sparks shot forth from his hands and feet¹⁶



Fig. 3 – Sepphoris Zodiac: Yaffa England, 'Mosaics as Midrash: The Zodiacs of the Ancient Synagogues and the Conflict between Judaism and Christianity', in *Review of Rabbinic Judaism*, Jun. 2013, vol. 6, Issue 2/3, p. 189-214.

It has been considered that the Helios figure is the model both for the portrayal of the angel and for the fragment in which he traces two lines on the

¹⁶ *Joseph and Aseneth*, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 225. Romanian version: *Și dacă sfiși Asinetha ispovedania spre Dumnezeu, iată, răsări luceafăr luminat spre ceriu dăspre răsărit. Și să veseli Asinetha și dacă l-au văzut zise: „Oare auzit-au Domnul ruga mea, că această stea în ceriu iaste?” Iar căută Asinetha și văzu apropiindu-se lumina, pârîndu-i că au crăpat ceriul. Și deaca văzu Asinetha căzu cu fața la pământ și, iată, veni un om din ceriu și stătu la capul Asinethii și o strigă. [...] Și i-au pus mîna în cap și să temea Asinetha de mîna omului, că-i lăsa mîna schintei, ca un hier arsu. (Ms. Rom. B.A.R. 2338)*

honeycomb (one horizontal, one vertical). The long recension describes the symbolic gesture of the angel tracing two blood lines, first from east to west, second from north to south. This has appropriately been read as a Christian episode, converging to the allegorical interpretation that sees in Joseph a hypostasis of Jesus Christ, and in Aseneth, the Church. On the other hand, Kraemer argues, the two crossing lines on the honeycomb are not unrelated to the iconography of Helios' globe, as it can be found on the Hammath Tiberias mosaic¹⁷. The image is thought to recall the representations of Cosmos as a circle divided in four quadrants, representing the four corners of the world divided by the Equator and the Meridian.



Whereas Joseph and his angelic double are modelled after the image of Sun, Aseneth is representative of the Moon and her avatars in Septuagint: 'Like the mother of the seven Maccabees among the sacred circle of her sons, Aseneth, surrounded by the seven virgins, is nothing else but the nocturnal luminary. This is what accounts for the fact that the author could borrow motifs from the legend of Helen – Selene to make use of them in *Joseph and Aseneth*'¹⁸. During the reclusion in her tower, Aseneth passes through a transformation which would make her fit to be married to Joseph and assimilated by Jews. Whereas the hypostasis of the virgin disdainful of men is fit to an Artemis figure, the liminal phase of mourning and disintegration of the old status touches upon the symbolism of Persephone. The virgin, the wife, and the witch point to Hecate of the three paths¹⁹, of which it said to be 'Selene or Moon in the sky, Artemis on earth and Persephone in Inferno'²⁰. The Moon epitome is thus grounded in the rite of passage that separates the inexperienced and self-absorbed maiden and the wise bride.

Fig. 4 - Hecate Chiaramonti: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hecate>

The Hecate archetype is in line with the three windows of Aseneth's room. However, the Romanian versions mention four windows facing the four directions, a sign that if the anonymous author had in mind the Hecate figure, it got lost in the process of translation and transmission of copies. In the context of

¹⁷ Ross Kraemer, *op.cit.*, 166.

¹⁸ Marc Philonenko, *op.cit.*, 81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Anna Ferrari, *Dicționar de mitologie greacă și romană*, translated by Dragoș Cojocaru, Emanuela Stoleriu and Dana Zamosteanu, Polirom, 2003, p. 402.

the Hellenistic influence over late antiquity, Aseneth's resemblance to the Moon could find justification in the high rank accorded to virginity, which reminds us of Artemis. Still, the Moon archetype correlated to Aseneth is much more discreet than the solar model of Joseph.

The central episode is built on a honeycomb making a mysterious apparition in Aseneth's room. At his word, bees start flying from it: some of them lay honey on her lips, others try to bite her. After that, the 'good' bees fly out on the window and rise to the sky, whereas the 'bad' one fall dead to the ground. With a view to the later episode when Aseneth is announced she will be 'the salvation of many peoples', the bee episode can be read as a prefiguration of the trials that People of Israel would have to bear against the Gentiles. Among the episodes in Septuagint where honey plays a part is the description of honey and milk flowing in the Promised Land (Deut. 26.9), as a parallel to the 'City of Salvation' that Aseneth is to become. Another Old Testament reference is the 'honey from the rock' that God used to feed the people of Jacob (Deut. 32.10-13). The beehive, like the eagle nest, is the refuge offered to the Jewish people; the honeycomb has been interpreted in the same paradigm, as a symbol for the salvation offered by God²¹.

Mystic echoes of the episode come from neo-platonic sources stating that the souls of the dead are incarnated as bees. The reference travels through the Mediterranean history: Pliny and Aristotle write that the souls of the righteous are incarnated in bees, for the bees have a divine touch; the idea is taken over in Virgil's *Georgics*. To Porphyry, bees symbolize the souls of the righteous who die on Earth and are reborn in Paradise²². The Greco-Roman antiquity establishes a close connection between bees and muses, translated in the belief that the one fed by the bees receives simultaneously the gift of poetry. In ancient thought, those who benefit from the gifts of the bees are the poets and the orators. Even if Aseneth's transformation into a City of Salvation does not exclude an intention of proselytism from the author's part, the female character does not become an apostle of the Jewish creed. If we tend to see honey as gift of wise speech, the correspondence can be found in the second part of the text, in a secondary episode, when Aseneth addresses Joseph's brothers a plea for forgiveness. The 'gifts' of the bees should be sought after some other part than rhetoric, and a starting point can be found in the proximity between the apocryphal text and Jewish mysticism. Kraemer cites the passage where Porphyry finds an equivalence between bees and nymphs on the grounds of the quality honey shares with waters, that of preventing the composition of matter. In Neo-Platonism, the bees are associated both to the state of the souls after death and to the souls yet non-incarnated. According to the same doctrine, bees are asexual, which

²¹ Anatheia E. Portier-Young, *Sweet Mercy Metropolis: Interpreting Aseneth's Honeycomb*, in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 14/2005, p. 151.

²² Anna Ferrari, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

harmonizes with the Angel's observation that Aseneth became similar to a young man.

The honey symbol has still more to offer: once the couple is fulfilled, we can speculate they become similar to the primordial couple, Adam and Eve, and the touch of immortality is transferred upon Aseneth. The gnostic roots of the text stand the association between Aseneth and Wisdom, the first of the virtues. Even turning from the Christian layer of interpretation back to the ancient thought, bees bestow upon the woman attributes of the ideal femininity of the time: chastity, fidelity, mastery over domestic affairs²³.

From the point of view of its literariness, *Joseph and Aseneth* is clearly a romance, as it features the tribulations of a separated couple before being reunited into marriage. However, the first part of the story does not take delight in imaginative plotting, as it was the case with the ancient Greek romance, but stresses the importance of conversion. There is at stake the issue of knowledge, disguised as the heroine's quest from darkness to light, all of which is seen from the perspective of an orthodox Jewish author. Identity was at the core of ancient romance – the whole *Ethiopian Story*, for example, follows in the traces of a child girl exposed for not being black (as her parents were) and then travelling home without her knowing where she was heading. In the end, truth comes to the surface and the heroine is recognized as the royal heir. The issue of recognition is central to *Joseph and Aseneth* too, but here spiritual community overcomes family ties. This apocryph conceived as a plea in favor of Jewish identity makes use of one of the oldest devices of prose, which Aristotle names *anagnorisis*. His *Poetics* defines it as passage from ignorance to awareness in a moment that can turn the whole story upside down. Since it produces such unexpected course of events, it has mainly been despised by critics as a facile means of composition. However, it is present in biblical narratives (if we are only to think about how many time apostles failed to see in Jesus the Son of God) and it lay writings as well. *Joseph and Aseneth* is then skillfully enveloping the theme of love inspired by Jewish mysticism in a literary device well-sold and well-spread. As it is generally the case, it is not the theme which gives value to a work, but rather the treatment of recognition ennobles this old device. Aseneth's penitence is very similar to the 'passage through darkness'²⁴ that Philo of Alexandria speaks about and her coming to knowledge is not as rational as it was the case in the Greek novel. The logical spirit of Greek *theoria* is transformed in Hellenistic Judaism in a type of knowledge rather felt than acquired by the powers of thought alone.

²³ Sabrina Inowlocki, *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Aseneth*, Oxford University, 2004, http://www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/Inowlocki_Aseneth.pdf.

²⁴ Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Enciclopedia doctinelor mistice*, translated by Olimpia Berca, Constanța Ciocârlie, Constantin Făgețean et. al., Amarcord, Timișoara, 1997, p. 188.

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A NEW PAIDEIA PERSPECTIVE IN THE EUROPEAN PROJECTS

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Abstract: Our article formalizes data of the European project **Connecting generations** where we participated with our non-formal education experience related to the Paideia clubs. Its European stakes lies in valuing the intergenerational culture and higher education involvement in civil society based on the social-cultural concepts of **participation and reification**. Our anthropo-pedagogical concept **Club Paideia** reiterates the traditional learning space (in Romania, there existed handicraft evening sitting, corvee), and it was generated by our students grouped in the Students Forum of Faculty of Education, Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University. Paideia Clubs are such a project to build a local learning community of parents grouped around schools and kindergartens, and also to join public and private sector in order to participate in the building of local social cohesion for Romanian society. This Agora form whose ethical, spiritual and cultural values are transferred from one generation to another one participates as part of a fluid human memory.

Keywords: Connecting generations, Paideia clubs, learning community, children, parents.

JEL: I2, I3, I31, Z21.

Our article formalizes project data of the transnational *Connecting generations: Paideia clubs*. Global concept of *connecting generations* is related to the need for European solidarity and innovation, offering a common and community sense. The project thus became a **learning community** whose partners are: Eda Forum - Italy; Merseyside Expanding Horizons Ltd - U.K.; Telos Provider Cultural Partnership - Hungary; Living Value - Greece; Mercan Uluslararası Gönüllüler Derneği - Turkey; The University of the Third Age in Bialystok - Poland; Aide Associazione degli di educazione Adults La Spezia – Italy, Student Forum.

The stakes of our local project *Paideia Clubs*, within the transnational *Connecting generations*, resides in the context of European valuing

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intergenerational culture and trends of expanding higher education participation in civil society, so that diversity and social cohesion to become visible. Sociologically, the project approaches involved **a participatory form of shared learning, and a form of reification**, direct and online (web-sites, e-book, e-mail, testimonials, face-book, drop-box). The merger between the two modes of communication, face to face and online, through which evolve and shape learning behaviours, were the main drivers of this transnational project. *Paideia* Clubs reiterate the traditional concept of shared learning space: group work, corvee. This local project was generated by the university, through the Students Forum at Faculty of Education, for building local parents community grouped around schools and kindergartens. Clubs are so different evolutionary mechanisms through which the broad participation of all concerned in learning and discipleship Agora. The discipleship is a useful form for non - formal / informal education of students in today higher education system. Also in our specific way, it is a joint project of public and private sector in building local social cohesion in Romanian society. This concept includes a form of lifelong learning, present in a local and society Agora whose ethical, spiritual and cultural values are transferred from one generation to another as continue human memory.

Regardless of whether education and lifelong learning is a recognised mission in the assembly as a whole of European higher education, this dimension has a poor and different value in different European countries, including Romania¹. **Form of discipleship** of the Students Forum participates in broadening the European educational traditional space through the connection between academic education and lifelong learning.

In the 21st century, which has become the age of digital culture, seniors who have specific knowledge or expertise in a certain area, they find it more difficult to share purchases and value generation with younger generations. Therefore, the communication tools must be identified and used to facilitate dialogue between those who are digitally literate and those who are not. To learn **the basics of discipleship and (e) local mentoring** of our project is an ideal home for an educator to connect one generation to the virtual world. Several techniques have been explored mentoring *Paideia* and have been adapted to make them usable in the context of contemporary education. For this, we have identified the needs of local community clustered around schools and kindergartens. Extended project team (students' Forum) was constituted from different generations so that members' team to jointly investigate the *Paideia* potential of learning.

2. Terms of reference for the content and activities of *Paideia* clubs are designed on four levels:

(1) How might that through **the activities, contents and results of *Paideia* clubs**, kindergartens and schools to participate in the sustainable development of local communities?

(2) How was oriented **students training** in the forum? Some of project support activities are more successful than others that are in use?

(3) What was the **impact** of the project on kindergartens and schools, communities and target groups? What are the factors of success or failure?

(4) What are **the added values** that could be attributed to students, kindergartens, schools, local communities?

Contents, activities and results of Paideia Clubs

The five Paideia clubs were involved in exploring new values of European Paideia concept, it expresses, at present, the lifelong learning and learning in community space - *agora* - as a shape memory of humanity. Clubs are supported by students and teachers from the Faculty of Education, both in urban and rural areas, are focused on European values of solidarity, such as the perspective of otherness in future, inter-generational values, transfer, (e-)social economy; and innovation trends, such as social dimension Bologna activities - expanding academic education at a time when the labour market and knowledge economy require diversity in the content learning, cooperative learning between generations, the complementarity between public or private tuition by discovering traditional values in the future.

Achieving brand of the UCDC Paideia Club had the following objectives: (e)transferring ethical, spiritual and cultural values from one generation to another by accessing new information technologies and human capital formation; involving the local community, in particular, parents and children working together and promoting Paideia forms in public agora as continue human memory; (e) dissemination of intergenerational learning to generate knowledge and progress for humanity by sharing innovative ways, through dialogue within and outside the project.

Forum topics analysed by students: the basics of (e)-learning and environments learning; What is (e) mentoring *Paideia*?; abilities and competencies necessary for a mentor; resources and learning tools; potential channels and learning environment; motivating children and parents; assessment of children and parents, and also the received feed-back; applying e-mentoring Paideia techniques. Students have exchanged knowledge and shared experiences and ideas related to these themes, gave practical advice on how to use specific tools taken from formal and informal situations and how to adapt to non-formal and informal learning. We brought together the **curriculum and the local Paideia clubs project indicators**: (a) *Club of local memory*; School of Ghimpat, Giurgiu county - Lecturer, Ph.D. Marin Tudor; (b) *Research mysteries of the Universe* - School no. 168 with preschoolers, district 6, Bucharest - Mihaela Gavan, student; (c) *World's Pacala* (ceramic workshop), Goethe German College, district 1, Bucharest - Ingrid Târziouru, student; (d) *Laboratory of jam and cakes*, Kindergarten no 44, district 1, Bucharest - Ionela Turita, student; (e) *All about*

festivals in Romania (management and marketing), *Dew Drops Kindergarten*, no. 199, district 4, Bucharest - Elena Râșniță, student.

Activities carried out by members' Forum team: (e-)dialogue and the networking project *Connecting generations* and project partners; mapping needs and available resources in (e-) mentoring Paideia clubs; developing key skills required for work e-mentor, updating skills of members team from the university offered to seniors and other vulnerable participants; identification of stages of activity in Paideia club, developed jointly by members of the team: identifying needs and learning process; identifying segments and methodology that students need; identifying segments and learning tasks that can be supported by (e-)mentoring; selection of communication channel (e-mail, face-book group, etc.); discussion of the method chosen by students; continuous supply of feed-back from Paideia clubs; collection of best practices: testimony and questionnaire analysis of impact; collecting examples of motivational tools suggested by seniors participants and youth members, and highlighting ongoing performance; focusing on topics related to daily life of learners, social interest or hobby, breaking news, current issues of everyday life; frequent use of the Internet and the use of communication channels initiated by representatives of generations 16-20: e-mail; face-book group / google group; skype.

How was oriented training students in the forum? Supporting activities are more successful than others in use?

We had regular meetings in the students Forum, had designed curricula for Paideia clubs, including indicators, assessment and methodology. Some support activities have been more successful than the other ordinary ones, such as: making pottery, preparing cakes, exploring the universe, conducting festivals etc. Successful activities were also practical activities where are involved parents (e.g., pottery, experiments in physics, etc.), and also mobility programs of the European project, especially, for our students – they enjoyed all mobilities.

What was the impact of the project on kindergartens and schools, communities and target groups? What are the factors of success or failure?

We applied an impact questionnaire to parents involved in Paideia clubs, analyzing their impressions and acquisitions related to the project. The project measured the impact of dissemination / promotion of project *Connecting generations - Paideia Clubs* with reference to opportunities and ways to do better in its development. The area where they spread their project results through non-formal and informal activities is rather familiar and extended to workplaces, to neighbours, to friends. Parents appreciate any project acquisitions, such as to work with children, the mutual exchange of experience, craftsmanship and entrepreneurship. They were felt useful for the school community, proud to share life experiences or hobby. These self-referential perceptions on values based

indicate an opening optimum group for volunteering, but important remains the anthropocentric praxiological way to grouping parents around schools and kindergartens. Common European values in this project were participation, volunteering and entrepreneurship education. Parents work fits within the project theme *Connecting generations - Club Paideia* by conducting useful activities for the large local community. On the other hand, we noticed that these Paideia Clubs diversified the extra-curricular activities of involved kindergartens and schools and exceeded the initial curriculum of project. Success factors were related to the practical usefulness of the activities, and the failure ones were related to the time parents to participate in the project - in urban, and in rural areas, lack of experience in mentoring parents.

We add, here, **the invisible impact activities** for the promotion and dissemination of the project - broad access for all interested individuals expectation or its contents, results and products: project web-site *Connecting generations*; menu on the web site of the Faculty of Education, Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University: www.ucdc.ro<http://grundtvig.ucdc.ro/contact>; blog kindergartens and schools involved:

<http://clubulpaideea.blogspot.ro/2013/03/prima-intalnire-cu-membrii-clubului.html>; TV programs (TV Romania of Tomorrow MoneyTV); promotion magazine of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, *Dimitrie Cantemir* Christian University; leaflets made at the International Conference *Education in the future* and International Grundtvig workshop; 15 articles in *Euromentor*. 2 and 3/2013 - <http://euromentor.ucdc.ro/en/arhiva.html>; regular activities with students Forum, Faculty of Education; Grundtvigers group - the National Agency: grundtvigers@yahoogroups.com; various types of communication with partners: face to face: personal meeting during mobility, public meetings, field trips (local projects and reports); e-group: connectinggenerations@googlegroups.com; E-book CONGENIAL *Connecting Generations*: intergenerational learning for a more inclusive Europe; drop-box; face-book; communication within the mobility process.

What are the added values that could be attributed to students, kindergartens, schools, local community?

Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University conducted 16 mobilities in project partners' countries. The taken European values of partnerships were explored in our local projects, such as: learning communities mapping (UK); learning experiential - formal community activities as learning stories (Greece); memories for posterity, food, fashion (Poland); solidarity in social life, hospitality to others (Turkey); old and young know how to live in nature (Slovenia); local history (Italy - Edaforum); research and systematization, activities of international partnerships, joint common generations (Aidea - Italy); respect, work with

children and parents in Paideia clubs, reciprocal exchange of knowledge and skills, transfer of values from one another (Romania).

Paideia clubs results achieved in terms of lifelong learning and in all circumstances were **individual and groups cognitive structures**: specific learning new skills, change learning behavior, personal development and motivation for success; **socio-cognitive construction of individuals and groups**: elements of e-inclusion and social inclusion, lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and marketing techniques, intelligent knowledge based local economy; **socio-affective construction of group and individual**: practice and self-confidence, self-esteem, social ethics, local enthusiasm and emulation, activity and group solidarity, horizontal management; **convergence connecting generations and adherence to European values through local community projects**: freedom and peace, personal expression, property, mutual openness; increasing awareness of collective values: membership, membership of the European social harmony; practice and post-materialist materialistic values: money and productive work projects, social cohesion and local e-inclusion, leisure, volunteering, education for all, e-inclusion and social integration, tolerance and reciprocity, intercultural education; validation of matrix forms of anthropocentric European around educational local community development as a local emerging shape; **perpetuating ecosystem through learning**: women's empowerment, connecting generations locally, changing learning ethical behavior; **forms of validation of comprehensive development based on changing trends**: criticism, historiography of concepts, balance between local traditions and modernity; contribution to the social dimension of the Bologna Process; creativity of group associated with socio-emotional and cognitive construction of individual and group, smart and inclusive knowledge-based economy; **defining and re-defining the necessary ethos of a local community in relation to competitive market**: practice and confidence in oneself and in others, self-esteem and respect for others, social and economic ethics, enthusiasm and emulation versus passivity and inertia, group solidarity, networking; **adhesion and aggregation of real values through community projects** with funding sources; identifying key success factors in achieving a relevant social impact; equality on grounds of age, sex, level of learning acquisition; **identify gender empowerment factors** for rural women; **intergenerational culture** based on the local economy, youth and seniors working together; **exchange of experiences and practices; perceptions of growth and complexity in lifelong learning and in many circumstances.**

3. In conclusion, the project has become a good European practice where we find the old European values and based on the European current of values and innovation, we have developed **a methodology increasingly more close to the individual practices and experiences on intergenerational culture**. Our project contributes to developing a culture of lifelong learning in the academic environment. Diachronically, we re-discovered an old European and Romanian

dimension of learning based on an anthropological and pedagogical community structure to transfer fluidly knowledge from one generation to another one for the wellness of humanity future.

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