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UNIVERSITATEA "VALAHIA" DIN TÂRGOVIȘTE
FACULTATEA DE ȘTIINȚE UMANISTE
DEPARTAMENTUL DE ISTORIE-LITERE



LIMBI, CULTURI ȘI CIVILIZAȚII EUROPENE ÎN CONTACT. PERSPECTIVE ISTORICE ȘI CONTEMPORANE



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**Desire for knowledge, erotic desire and misrepresentation
in Henry James' *Daisy Miller***

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Abstract: In this essay we will analyze the mechanisms of desire at work, and also the failure occasioned by the clash of different cultural misrepresentations of the other, taking into account the desires that animate Winterbourne and also the reader, and the misrepresentation of the other that only serves to deepen the mystery and increase desire.

Key words: narrative, cultural construct, misrepresentation, knowledge, desire

If in *The Europeans* we have a reenactment of the old difference between the Roundhead and the swearing Chevalier – everything polarized around the two great categories and cultural constructs: Europe and America – with *Daisy Miller* James goes beyond the simple distinction the new country versus old country (so, in a sense he is ahead his time, going even beyond Said, who saw only a simple center-margin, orient-occident distinction). There emerges now a hybrid race, Americans that have lived long enough in Europe to be infected by its mores, and to be flirting with what their compatriots, influenced by their puritanical forefathers, considered “the way of Europe – Hell” (Eliade, *Paradise and Utopia*, 97). As we shall see, this leads to all sorts of new misrepresentations and the final failure of Winterbourne to understand Daisy. His search for inner illumination is only half successful.

On the other hand, the “prime mover” (Brooks 46) that keeps alive the energetic field of the narrative is not at all Winterbourne, who is but a hypocritical character (explanation a few pages below), but an ever new desire for knowledge coupled with erotic desire sparked by Daisy’s mystifying, seemingly nonsensical, chatter and by her natural, spontaneous direct manners.

The narrative, according to Brooks is subtended by the desire for the end, for its death. Like the human body, the narrative avoids any short-circuited ends that are lurking along its development but only in order to die in its own way. Peter Brooks, quoting Freud, tells us that “*what operates in the text through repetition is the death instinct, the drive towards the end... and the repetition can take us both backward and forward because these terms have become reversible: the end is a time before the beginning*” (Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot* 102-104). The unfolding of the narrative shows that the tension is maintained as an ever more complicated postponement or detour - Daisy’s behavior spurs on the narrative by demanding interpretation and almost always eluding the other’s grasp when he believed that he solved it – leading back to the goal of quiescence (the novel starts with the same picture that we find at its end, that is, “the rumour that Winterbourne is sojourning in Geneva because of “a lady — a foreign lady — a person older than himself”). The death of the narrative desire (“*consuming itself as it projects itself forward, retracting as it extends, calling for its end from its beginning*” [Brooks, *Reading for the Plot* 52]) in our situation coincides with Daisy’s death, implying actually that Daisy is also to a certain extent the erotic engine of the narrative “*more powerful than all phallic engines, capable of leveraging the world*”(Brooks, *Reading for the Plot* 47).

She is “the fresh, piquant, impulsive, unconventional child of Nature, impatient of restraint, ignorant of forms, charmingly doing wrong and as charmingly repenting of it” (Sarah A. Wadsworth 108) always perplexing Winterbourne and the others.

The girl’s behavior is rather too frank for the sophisticated, hypocritical and façade observant Europeans (the American cliché). They always tend to misinterpret her behavior, projecting upon her their own intentions and ideas so that she becomes almost a mirror in which each can reflect his ugliness, selfishness or desires. James is masterful in displaying this gliding by each other without real communication of the two different societies. For the Americans “*Europe’s culture, luxury, and manners were the devil’s creation*” (Eliade, *Paradise and Utopia* 96) and this we can see clearly in Daisy’s defiance of Europe’s conventionalities. We should not forget that the puritans that went in America and populated it were driven by the pursuit of a millenarist dream “*the first pioneers did not doubt that the final drama of moral regeneration and universal salvation would begin with themUS was the product of the Protestant Reformation seeking an earthly Paradise in which the reform*

of the church was to be perfected. The pioneers considered themselves in the situation of the Israelites after crossing the Red Sea ...their condition in England and Europe has been a sort of Egyptian bondage” (Eliade, *Paradise and Utopia* 94-5). From Europe’s point of view however, this break with the new country is seen in the tendency to consider the Americans as ignorant bigots, that have riches without lineage or manners; or they are clumsy uncultured saints. Americans saw in the Catholic Europe a fallen world, teeming with people that were slaves to their passions and tyrants (Eliade, *Paradise and Utopia* 96). Perhaps this was a way of alleviating the trauma of separation. These psychic coordinates continue to smolder in Daisy Miller in all the intercourse between Americans and Europeans, or Americans corrupted by Europe, sending occasional sparks and keeping the narrative going. The new element here is that Europe is an almost inescapable corruption, those who resist it morally, do not survive it physically.

Perhaps ironically, James places the greatest part of the story in Rome, the old center of Europe, and also the center of the Roman-Catholic Church from where the popes wielded their rather too political and worldly scepter. He portrays the Anglo-American society in Rome as one of great restrictions, imposed mostly by pharisaical considerations. Be it Geneva, Vevey or Rome, Europe is swarming with visiting Americans. What draws the Americans towards Europe? Probably a nostalgia for the (m)other country/continent, both abhorred but also fascinating, because the puritanical doctrine of the American forefathers had cut rather too much even into the innocent pleasures; in their attempt to reach heaven all at once they tended to demonize whatever was not connected with their sound doctrine, putting into the waste bin beautiful aspects of life also (see in *The Europeans* how fascinated is Gertrude by Eugenia’s draperies, whereas for the old Wentworth they are an unnecessary, almost sinful expenditure). We can see this diffuse, capillary threading of the interplay between nostalgia and abhorrence through the warp of the everyday lives of the Americans and of their intercourse with the Europeans. Going into the beautiful Swiss mountains is for them also a journey back towards origins (a time before the trauma of separation). Daisy and her fellow Americans are interested in the old castles.

We have the situation that we found in the Europeans, but this time reversed. There it was the Wentworths that were permanently on heir guard lest some of Europe’s corrupt ways should creep into their lives, a thing that put a certain strain on their relationships, here, it is the Europeans (actually more the Americans infected by Europe) that try to fend off Daisy lest they lose their newly acquired respectability in the European circles, lest they be contaminated by lowly and independent mores.

The American boy, Daisy’s brother, with his alpenstock thrusting everything around can very well be interpreted as a symbol of the American that wishes to know, to explore its origins, the stock signifying the phallic thrust driven by the erotic desire which is also desire for knowledge (Brooks, *Body Work* 5). Ironically Randolph is blaming the climate for the fact that his teeth are erupting, meaning at a deeper level that European society is a climate wherein one loses the patriarchal innocence and grows into a misanthropic aggressive being, cultured but snobbish and unfeeling. The boy is small, but at the same time gives the impression of age; standing for America, it points to the fact that the new continent is not, so new, actually is built upon old foundations and structures. The new cannot escape the old; it is historically determined by the old one and defined in terms of comparison with the old one.

Winterbourne has had his vaccination early in his school days, but he felt some kind of loss “*He felt that he had lived at Geneva so long that he had lost a good deal; he had become dishabituated to the American tone.*” (James, *Daisy Miller*). Even he is contaminated, although for him it is no longer a deadly infection. Aunt Costello, on the other hand, cannot understand but as a proof of the Americans lack of manners and nobility the fact that the courier ate with them. Even Winterbourne is astonished at the fact that the courier is treated like an equal and not like a subordinated person.

Daisy’s direct frank style is abhorred by the European elite (since they interpret it as frivolity) but at the same time it has freshness and a freedom that captivates them (at least some of them). They are fascinated by the simple unsophisticated, almost patriarchal life of the Americans that stirs in them the thirst for a purity long gone in artificial manners and perfunctory polish, the nostalgia for a form of life that was simple and untrammelled by so many hypocritical social conventions. Remember how fascinated was Felix because he could enjoy without restriction the company of Gertrude, whereas in Europe such a thing is always frowned upon “*In Geneva, as he had been perfectly aware, a young man was not at liberty to speak to a young unmarried lady except under certain rarely occurring*

conditions;" but to his surprise, the girl had no objection to going alone with winterbourne to the castle.

As in *The Purloined Letter* ("Perhaps it is the very simplicity of the thing which puts you at fault," said my friend."), Daisy's behavior is too simple for the sophisticated minds of the Europeans; it eludes their grasp by its very simplicity. Winterbourne is baffled by the girl's behaviour and drawn to discover its meaning ("Poor Winterbourne was amused, perplexed, and decidedly charmed. He had never yet heard a young girl express herself in just this fashion; never, at least, save in cases where to say such things seemed a kind of demonstrative evidence of a certain laxity of deportment. And yet was he to accuse Miss Daisy Miller of actual or potential inconstancy, as they said at Geneva?".... "He was inclined to think Miss Daisy Miller was a flirt — a pretty American flirt. He had never, as yet, had any relations with young ladies of this category. He had known, here in Europe, two or three women — persons older than Miss Daisy Miller, and provided, for respectability's sake, with husbands — who were great coquettes — dangerous, terrible women, with whom one's relations were liable to take a serious turn." (again Europe is seen as hypocritical, flirts are married for respectability's sake). "Wandering about in the warm starlight like an indolent sylph, and swinging to and fro the largest fan he had ever beheld". "he saw that this glance was perfectly direct and unshrinking. It was not, however, what would have been called an immodest glance, for the young girl's eyes were singularly honest and fresh". Too simple to be understood by the complicated, intrigue sharpened European minds.). Her father's name has biblical undertones (Ezra) and is immensely rich hinting at the fact that American people turned the millenarist dream into the idea of progress (Eliade, 94). Also, Daisy's mother was very different "Winterbourne observed to himself that this was a very different type of maternity from that of the vigilant matrons who massed themselves in the forefront of social intercourse in the dark old city at the other end of the lake."

Daisy comes also with her suspicion of the Europeans and labels their society as select and exclusivist ("The only thing I don't like," she proceeded, "is the society. There isn't any society; or, if there is, I don't know where it keeps itself. Do you?"). For Mrs. Costello however, Daisy could never be but a designing and artful girl (perhaps the Costello way projected and suspected in the others) "But I really think that you had better not meddle with little American girls that are uncultivated, as you call them. You have lived too long out of the country. You will be sure to make some great mistake. You are too innocent". For her Daisy was too common ("Of that young lady's — Miss Baker's, Miss Chandler's — what's her name? — Miss Miller's intrigue with that little barber's block.").

The puzzle goes deeper after Winterbourne's miscarried attempt to row with her to Chillon. Pondering over "the mystery of the young girl's sudden familiarities and caprices" he finds himself more attracted to her "But the only very definite conclusion he came to was that he should enjoy deucedly "going off" with her somewhere". We have here a clear case in which erotic desire turns into desire for knowledge and the other way round. Daisy is for Winterbourne like the representation of Truth (in our culture in painting and sculpture truth appears to be a woman), to use Peter Brooks terms, and Winterbourne is "stripping away her veils in a gesture which is repeated in countless symbolizations of discovery" (Brooks, *Body Work* 12).

Daisy's introduction of Giovanelli to Mrs. Walker is serene and unconstrained, a thing that shocks the high elite ("It's an intimate friend of mine — Mr. Giovanelli," said Daisy without a tremor in her clear little voice or a shadow on her brilliant little face").

There is no real communication however between Daisy and the Europeans (they are more like Americans transformed by Europe). The Europeans either despise her, recoil with horror at her rough simplicity (so fascinating at the same time), or, as in the case of Giovanelli, they try to use her as an object to further their greedy plans (without the least consideration for her health). We will see that in the end, Daisy baffles Mrs. Costello's expectations and is not engaged. Even Mrs. Miller proves Mrs. Costello and Winterbourne wrong, by evincing the qualities of a careful caring and judicious nurse during her daughter's illness.

Afraid to lose their "respectability" the hybrid Americans abjure her and coalesce with the European elite "They ceased to invite her; and they intimated that they desired to express to observant Europeans the great truth that, though Miss Daisy Miller was a young American lady, her behavior was not representative—was regarded by her compatriots as abnormal". But even after this the puzzle goes deeper "He asked himself whether Daisy's defiance came from the consciousness of innocence, or from her being, essentially, a young person of the reckless class." Circumstances conspire to sway the

young man's opinion of the girl until finally he begins to despair of her heart along with her virtue. James Europeanizes the central male character — Winterbourne “had become dishabituated to the American tone” — so that his failure to “read” Daisy's character and behavior is predicated on his expatriate status. The conflict is fundamentally between the cultures rather than between sexes: *"I have offered you advice," Winterbourne rejoined.*

"I prefer weak tea!" cried Daisy, and she went off with the brilliant Giovanelli” ironically pin-pointing his stiffness. She doesn't even care to look respectable. Cheap theater is what the European manners are about. She defies them and also Winterbourne's advice, suspecting that beneath that advice there is a good deal of hypocrisy and sham morality.

She continues puzzling to the very end. When he thought he solved the mystery and that she “*was a young lady whom a gentleman need no longer be at pains to respect*” the mystery deepens. Practically we have *The Purloined Letter* reenacted, this time with Daisy in the role of Minister D -- -- and Winterbourne in place of the Prefect, Monsieur G. The simple and awful joke of “Daisy Miller” is this: that while the expatriate idler Winterbourne worries over the morality of the young American woman, his own behavior constitutes immorality. Winterbourne has, by self-acknowledgement, “lived too long in foreign parts”, has lost his sense of American manners and thus cannot imagine Daisy as a single, romantic woman. But the prurience of his suspicions — Daisy's several descriptions of him as “too stiff” becomes one of a number of double meanings — seems more than a function of his emigration. He has lived not only too long in foreign parts but in the parts of foreign women. James's narrator puts it with a more killing delicacy. Winterbourne is rumored to sojourn in Geneva because of “*a lady who lived there—a foreign lady—a person older than himself*”. Then the narrator, adopting the nasty circumlocutions and feigned reluctance of Winterbourne toward Daisy, adds layer upon layer of insinuation: “Very few Americans — indeed, I think none — had ever seen the lady, about whom there were some singular stories.” Winterbourne, habituated to a closeted sexuality, cannot but imagine the same in Daisy. Add to that his reliance upon a society of American expatriate women who ape European morality in a grotesque aristocratic parody, and Winterbourne, quoting Byron and showing Daisy Chillon, becomes a travesty of the Byronic wanderer, conformist in his views if iconoclastic behind doors. His reductive categories are the result of a mess. He displays leaking libidos that lead to a hunger for certainty, a final reduction in which only one possibility remains. Increasingly in the role of a voyeur or spy, Winterbourne follows Daisy to the literally miasmatic Colosseum, and finds her in conversation with the near-gigolo he has allowed to replace him as Daisy's suitor. He turned away concealing his perverse joy in solving Daisy — all wrongly in fact. But what most shocks is this, that he is happier to have achieved a deadly peace of mind than upset to find his beloved is corrupt. So Daisy has been the mirror in which he projected also his own ideas, worries and moral ugliness. In *The English Patient* we have a similar case, wherein the unknown burned beyond recognition patient functions as a mirror in which the others project their desires, and their misperceptions. Almost the same situation is here, this time Daisy functioning as a mirror.

Like many of James' heroines however, she is but ill equipped to survive in the environment in which she is placed (there are similarities with Isabel Archer who is served by madam Merle to her friend Osmund). Daisy is not immune to the noxious spiritual vapors that float around in the European society. The linking of Daisy's death by *malaria* to human causes, to social *mal aria* is masterful. She dies and with her dies also the motor of the narration. In the end, Winterbourne has not managed to get the knowledge he wanted, but he is changed. He realizes that he is infected. So in a way it is a journey of inner discovery “*I was booked to make a mistake. I have lived too long in foreign parts.*”. However, he continues to remain fickle, living in the unwholesome climate “*Nevertheless, he went back to live at Geneva, whence there continue to come the most contradictory accounts of his motives of sojourn: a report that he is "studying" hard—an intimation that he is much interested in a very clever foreign lady*”. The encounter between Daisy and the hybrid-Europeans was supposed to be a journey of inner transformation both ways, but it proves to be a partial failure.

So, we have on the one hand Daisy and her family, and, on the other hand, Mrs. Costello, Mrs. Walker as hybrids who have lived too long in Europe (and have grown teeth) and the other Europeans with Giovanelli. Winterbourne could be placed somewhere in-between, he is contaminated but not to the extent that he couldn't suspect innocence in the Americans “*It is very true," Winterbourne pursued, "that Daisy and her mamma have not yet risen to that stage of—what shall I call it?—of culture at which the idea of catching a count or a marchese begins*” (meaning that they are not so

much contaminated by Europe). The degree of contagion seems to be measured in degrees of being judgmental an exclusivist. To Mrs Walker (in Europe even aristocratic trollops are married “for the sake of decency”) Daisy’s behavior seems outrageous and unaccountable, a breach of etiquette and of the rules imposed by the society (*“It’s a pity to let the girl ruin herself!”*)

“She is very innocent,” said Winterbourne.

“She’s very crazy!” cried Mrs. Walker. “Did you ever see anything so imbecile as her mother?” Mrs. Walker goes in a carriage to rescue Daisy from her “reprobate excursion”, thereby imposing dictatorially the European schema, in an attempt to save appearances. Winterbourne is somehow intrigued by this care for the outside polish regardless of what lies beneath. Daisy however refuses the trap of European conventionality and does not climb into the carriage: *“If this is improper, Mrs. Walker,” she pursued, “then I am all improper, and you must give me up. Goodbye; I hope you’ll have a lovely ride”*. We have here a most obvious war of misperceptions: Americans seeing Europe as the whore of Babilon (demonizing the country you have left from is a good way of banishing the nostalgia and pain, a way of surviving the trauma of separation), full of pharisaical observances and lust; the Europeans, on the other hand, see the Americans as mindless, ignorant and vulgar common people of puritanical origins that run into extremes, lead a rude life and are incapable of understanding the rules of civilized society, although they are annoyingly rich. Mrs. Walker comes with the Procust bed of European rules to cut Daisy’s spontaneity and originality but the latter refuses to be chopped. The dictatorial Procust bed is prepared for Winterbourne also. *“I wished to beg you to cease your relations with Miss Miller—not to flirt with her—to give her no further opportunity to expose herself—to let her alone, in short.”* On the other hand Daisy doesn’t spare them the accusation of futile observances that cover up a lot of licentiousness *“The young ladies of this country have a dreadfully poky time of it, so far as I can learn; I don’t see why I should change my habits for THEM”*. She goes on to retort to Winterbourne’s remark *“cease, at least, to flirt with your friend at the piano; they don’t understand that sort of thing here.”* with the withering satire *“I thought they understood nothing else!”* exclaimed Daisy.

“Not in young unmarried women.”

“It seems to me much more proper in young unmarried women than in old married ones,” Daisy declared. “

Another interesting representative of the hybrid race is Mrs. Costello. We have the American portrait of Mrs. Costello from the chambermaid *“She was very quiet and very comme il faut; she wore white puffs; she spoke to no one, and she never dined at the table d’hote. Every two days she had a headache”*. She represents very well the hybrid-European perception of Americans. Without remarking their spontaneity she is quick to judge them according to her own schemata. *“And a courier?” said Mrs. Costello. “Oh yes, I have observed them. Seen them—heard them—and kept out of their way....They are very common,” Mrs. Costello declared. “They are the sort of Americans that one does one’s duty by not—not accepting.” ... “But, my dear aunt, she is not, after all, a Comanche savage.”*

“She is a young lady,” said Mrs. Costello, “who has an intimacy with her mamma’s courier”. She accuses the Americans of lacking the sense of proper social distinction. *“Oh, the mother is just as bad! They treat the courier like a familiar friend—like a gentleman. I shouldn’t wonder if he dines with them”*. She stands also in the way of Winterbourne knowing the Millers more intimately, and precludes a relation by influencing him. In the end he remains with the desolation of failure and with the bitter conviction that he failed Daisy also and failed to know her. Unfortunately his own perception of her was too much influenced by the schemata and cultural constructs learned in Europe *“He remembered that a cynical compatriot had once told him that American women—the pretty ones, and this gave a largeness to the axiom—were at once the most exacting in the world and the least endowed with a sense of indebtedness”*. On hearing that Winterbourne went with Daisy alone at Chillon, Mrs. Costello needed to resort to her smelling bottle to prevent a fit summoned by the righteous (hypocritical we might say) indignation. *“Mrs. Costello sniffed a little at her smelling bottle. “And that,” she exclaimed, “is the young person whom you wanted me to know!” ...*

After Mrs Costello’s righteous indignation at the “lowliness and vulgarity” exhibited by Daisy there follows a piece of European good style (European hypocrisy. Going to church to gossip): *“Winterbourne gathered that day at St. Peter’s sufficient evidence. A dozen of the American colonists in Rome came to talk with Mrs. Costello, who sat on a little portable stool at the base of one of the*

great pilasters.... Between Mrs. Costello and her friends, there was a great deal said about poor little Miss Miller's going really "too far."

Giovanelli is another puzzling character. He has all the polish a European society demands, but he is not trusted by the hybrid Americans. "Mr. Giovanelli sings splendidly.." he knows to perfection how to repress his sentiments and disguise his intentions (not at all put out by the appearance of Winterbourne when he expected a more intimate time with Daisy), is able to inch his way into every circle "he curled his mustaches and rolled his eyes and performed all the proper functions of a handsome Italian at an evening party. He sang very prettily half a dozen songs, though Mrs. Walker afterward declared that she had been quite unable to find out who asked him". Obviously even for the infected Americans like Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Costello he is a dangerous contagion, always bearing his ornamental smile (the heartless smile is another image of the Europeans in the mind of the Americans). Giovanelli seems a master of dissimulation and policy "he kept his temper in a manner which suggested far-stretching intentions." Actually he has what Americans see in Europeans the worst: cunning, shrewdness careful cultivation of a respectable and affable interface (not in vain is he an Italian, country associated in the mind of the Americans with Catholicism and its baneful hypocrisy). He never goes to visit Daisy when she is sick, a fact that seems to reveal the superficiality of the European polish of which he is a representative. When asked why he went with Daisy in that dangerous area he responds "for myself I had no fear". He was immune and without any consideration whatsoever for the well-being of the other. He is however the only European figure in the text. In rest, the other Europeans are present there under erasure.

There is also another aspect that makes Daisy a puzzle for the others, beyond the cultural divide and the traumas of dislocation that we have analyzed so far. Evelyn Ender, in *Sexing the Mind* tells us "the female subject embodies a secret meaning related to gender or sexuality, which must be uncovered in the process of narration....the enigma consists in a body that offers itself, with various degrees of resistance (or perversity), to the analyst's decipherment" (Reading her silence 155-157).

People who love to psychoanalyze James may say that Daisy evinces a hysterical pattern of behavior, lots of her gestures (the continual play with the fan or with the umbrella, her apparently nonsensical chatter, unrelated to the situation in hand) needing interpretation in order to discover her subconscious messages.

Not only her words and actions but her body also becomes a privileged site of literary experience" (Evelyn, 137). But could we say that, as in the case of Madame Bovary, Daisy is the author in disguise? We can only say that she does embody some of his intentions and projects.

The words that Winterbourne hears from Daisy (aside from the sharp critique levelled at the European hypocritical conventions, in which case she seems to evince some of James's projections upon her) are no more than a "thin tissue of generalities, as if a woman's text were necessarily covered over by the spectacle or her performance" (Evelyn, 154).

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La photographie, une phénoménologie de l'instant

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Abstract: The present study describes the photograph starting from several aspects that can be related to it. On the one hand, the photograph is analysed in relation to the temporal question it involves; on the other hand, the analysis revolves around certain aspects of the discourse that may accompany an image. Time and narrative overlap in photography and are expressed based on their inner experience, on their phenomenological 'charge'.

Key-words: instant, image photographique, logos, discours.

Quand on aborde le sujet de la phénoménologie de l'image photographique nous rencontrons un double problème: celui de la méthode – quelle méthode phénoménologique est plus appropriée à l'explication de la photographie? – et celui du langage – comment traduire dans un discours la sémantique de l'image figée et enregistrée par les moyens techniques? Autour de ces deux questions nous allons construire le présent article.

Tout d'abord nous serons obligés à expliquer pourquoi nous nous approchons de ce sujet avec les instruments de la phénoménologie. Nous sommes plutôt forcés à recourir à cet instrumentaire car le sens et la beauté d'une image se rencontrent avec une forte évidence sur le terrain d'une phénoménologie de la perception, c'est-à-dire ces questions demandent une attention de la part de l'esprit porté sur le *comment* se forment en nous le sens d'une image et *comment*, d'après quelles critères, nous investissons une image photographiée avec des qualités esthétiques? En d'autres termes, nous arriverons à une problématique épistémologique; il s'agit d'une question de la *construction d'une connaissance*. Nous pensons à un petit fragment de *Menon*, qui nous ramène aussi bien à la méthode de recherche qu'à l'essence de l'image, par extrapolation :

Et comment t'y prendra tu, Socrate, pour chercher une chose dont tu ne connais pas du tout ce qu'elle est? Parmi les choses que tu ignores, laquelle te proposes-tu de rechercher? A supposer même que par une chance extraordinaire, tu tombes sur elle, comment sauras-tu que c'est elle, puisque tu ne l'as jamais connue?¹

Nous devons casser le paradoxe platonicien, pour ne rester pas dans l'immobilité de la raison, et cette chose est possible avec les moyens empiriques que la phénoménologie nous fournit. Une image, le sens et l'aspect esthétique qu'elle puisse véhiculer, est de la même nature que « la chose » inconnue de Platon. Pour s'y rendre, pour l'attraper (l'interpréter) par l'esprit et ensuite la transposer dans un discours, nous devons, à part la *raisonner*, aussi *vivre* cette chose empiriquement, la percevant et surtout l'*imaginant* comme pourvue d'un tel sens. En fait, le problème de Platon soulevé plus haut, nous semble être posée sur une bonne piste en lui répondant avec une formule simple et « innocente ». Cette réponse peut se formuler ainsi : nous ne saurons jamais si une chose est bien *découverte*, que son sens soit *pris* dans une *forma mentis*, et que ce sens est le *vrai* sens de la chose, mais nous pouvons au moins *imaginer* que les choses soient ainsi. La vérité de ce sens est donnée par le produit de l'imagination qui pose aussi ce résultat à l'épreuve de la vie. Par exemple, pour arriver à une réponse bien construite à la question : *qu'est que c'est la photographie ?* et aussi *quelle est son essence qui la fait une bonne (belle) image ?* nous devons « bavarder » et en même temps nous laisser portés par une méditation sur l'ineffable et les limites du langage. Nous plongeons plus en nous-mêmes que dans l'image – le sens de l'image se trouve moins dans l'image même et plus dans l'expérience qu'on peut avoir de celle-ci. Dire tout ce qui nous arrive dans la tête autour d'une image et ensuite de méditer sur ce mélange qui peut défier la logique parfois, c'est bien une méthode d'auto observation qui peut nous diriger, en biais, c'est vrai, sur une analogie ou une découverte d'un sens

¹ Platon – *Menon*, d80, in *Œuvres complètes* trad. E. Chambry, Paris, Garnier, 1936, II, p. 386.

nouveau. Il s'agit, méthodologiquement, d'une sorte de *dasein analyse*, une phénoménologie de la perception des mouvements intérieurs qui construisent des sens, qui *nomme* (le « métier » d'Adam) les objets et les investit avec des *vertus*. C'est une action créative, gouvernée par l'imagination active.

Ainsi, les problèmes qu'on se pose sont : Comment associer à l'image un discours ? Entre la saisie de l'image et donner des significations à celle-ci y a-t-il un circuit de pensée sans interruptions ? Et, en suivant ces questions nous nous demandons aussi : pourquoi dit-on que la photographie est un art ? La problématique est vaste et semble sans réponse dans les limites de notre texte. Mais nous essayerons au moins d'esquisser les lignes générales d'une possible direction de recherche, et surtout soulever des hypothèses qui nous obligent à re-fonder les problèmes actuels. Dans la philosophie, poser un problème d'une certaine manière a la même importance qu'une solution.

Notre argumentation part d'une phénoménologie de l'instant, au sens de G. Bachelard². Cette phénoménologie s'appuie sur le principe de perception discontinue du temps. L'auteur fait une analyse du temps et de son vécu à partir des conceptions d'un historien et écrivain dijonnais, Gaston Roupnel. Celui-ci, sous l'interprétation de Bachelard développe quelques thèses opposées à celle du temps d'H. Bergson. Le temps n'est pas une entité continue, sous la forme de durée, mais il est constitué par des instants, les seules entités temporelles qui expriment la vie, les pics de vie, d'énergie, qui engagent le présent et tout l'être humain. L'instant est la solitude individuelle par excellence, le moment entre deux néants et l'essence du temps qui se manifeste. Pour Bergson, l'instant est seulement une coupure artificielle du temps, opérée par l'intellect pour pouvoir comprendre la temporalité, qui lui échappe complètement. Ce qu'on peut percevoir est la durée du temps³ qui est la seule donnée immédiate de la conscience, l'expérience vive. Par contre, pour Bachelard, la durée n'est qu'une sensation comme toutes les autres. La durée est créée par une suite des instants. L'instant fait possible (de point de vue métaphysique) l'existence de la durée et non l'inverse. Le temps est premièrement le résultat des instants sans durées.

Voir les choses de ce point de vue qui privilégie les discontinuités temporelles, nous ramène vers l'exemple de la photographie, qui est, à une définition rapide, une *instantanée* de l'espace-temps. Comment se présente cette philosophie de l'image vue de cette perspective ? Il semble que deux Logos s'entrecroisent au niveau du sujet percevant. Il s'agit d'un Logos du discours, de la parole, et un Logos de l'ineffable, essence du temps et des objets portés dans le temps. Le premier Logos essaye tout le temps de *traduire* dans son système tout ce que l'autre nous fournit par les perceptions, intuitions, sensations. En fait, ce partage *logique* dérive d'une rupture ontologique – le monde de l'esprit, *res cogitans*, et le monde créé, matériel, *res extensa*.⁴ Mais cette rupture ontologique n'est vue comme une « rupture » qu'au niveau de l'intelligence. D'une perspective métaphysique, entre les différents Logos il y a toujours une liaison, qui n'est pas, c'est vrai, du type de relation que l'intelligence établit entre les objets. L'*unus mundus*, où les opposées se rencontrent est bien constitué sous l'œil de la métaphysique.

1 Le fonctionnement phénoménologique de la photographie

Nous traiterons maintenant la photographie et ensuite nous reviendrons au problème de la sémantique de l'image. R. Barthes fait une excellente analyse phénoménologique de la photographie dans un petit livre – *La chambre claire. Note sur la photographie*⁵. Ici la question principale de l'auteur tourne autour du sujet de son essence : quelle est l'essence (*l'eidos*) de la photographie ? Il semble que cette chose reste toujours à l'écart de toute conceptualisation. L'auteur accepte ce fait et

² G. Bachelard – *L'intuition de l'instant*, Edition Stock, Paris 1992.

³ Bachelard souligne le fait que Bergson fait parfois une confusion entre ces deux termes et dans la conception de celui-ci temps et durée représentent une même chose.

⁴ Nous rencontrons au Moyen Age, chez Thomas d'Aquin, dans ses *Opuscules*, une très intéressante séparation entre le Logos divin et le Logos humain.

⁵ Barthes R. – *La chambre claire. Note sur la photographie*, Gallimard, Paris 1980.

plonge son analyse dans une sorte de bavardage sur cet *eidōs*, sans se déclarant insatisfait d'un éventuel échec, car seulement parlant, méditant sur l'objet, ce type de travail nous met sur la route et être toujours sur la route c'est l'exercice même philosophique (*zum Weg* de Heidegger). Son propos se réduit à un constat tout simple – le point de départ pour toute phénoménologie ultérieure : ce que la photographie reproduit à l'infini n'a pas eu lieu qu'une seule fois. Elle reproduit mécaniquement ce qui/que ne pourrait plus jamais se reproduire de point de vue existentiel. L'événement, dans la photographie, ne se dépasse jamais en *quelque chose d'autre* (comme c'est le cas du langage, du signe linguistique), mais l'image réduit le corpus nécessaire à l'image qu'on voit en ce moment ; c'est le Particulier absolu, la Contingence souveraine muette. Voilà dans quelques paraphrases, les paroles de Barthes ! Nous voyons un élément qui revient : le discret, l'instant, la discontinuité. La photographie est l'objet pur qui ramène l'instant et la discontinuité du temps dans la réalité matérielle. Barthes ne parle pas d'instantanéité, mais il introduit la notion de *punctum*. La réalité est prise dans une photographie sous forme d'un point. *Punctum* signifie aussi pique, petite coupure ou orifice et jeu de dès – un hasard chanceux.

Nous vivons dans une époque de l'image et celle-ci est porteuse d'un certain *pouvoir*, comme on dit souvent. C'est le code puissant pour le sémioticien. Tout autrement la philosophie et toutes les produits culturels humains étaient si le son, par exemple, était « au pouvoir ». Une analyse sonore, musicale, est aujourd'hui présentée avec les moyens visuels. Dans les milieux des mélomanes existe toujours le débat sur la *purification* visuelle de la musique, en essayant de vivre les suites sonores indépendamment de toute immixtion visuelle interprétative dans la ligne musicale. La chose la plus étonnante consiste dans le fait que plus nous avançons dans l'analyse de l'*eidōs* de l'image, plus on s'approche des moyens sonores, dans le sens où le monde musical nous offre les analogies les plus plastiques pour comprendre le *fonctionnement* de l'image. D'une telle analogie parle aussi Barthes : L'organe du Photographe n'est pas l'œil, mais ... le doit ! C'est le doit qui *sait* quand il doit appuyer sur le déclencheur et pour « entendre » le bruit du Temps, du Moment. Barthes aime le bruit des cloches, des horloges, des montres, qui dont *battre* le temps, marquant par moments sous forme des bruits l'écoulement du temps. Il ne faut pas oublier aussi que la photographie est apparue comme technique d'ébéniste et de mécaniques de précision – l'appareil photo est une horloge pour regarder. La photographie *surprend* la réalité toute comme une pièce musicale. Si la musique est déjà un découpage discret et essentiel de la masse des bruits, la photographie (et le cinéma) est le découpage exceptionnel de la réalité visuelle. L'image photographiée exprime un certain *rythme* dans le temps – le rythme du mouvement.

Nous nous approchons ainsi de la question : qu'est ce qu'une bonne photographie nous montre pour qu'elle soit dite « bonne ou belle » ? Quand le doit de Barthes sait que maintenant est le *bon moment*, le *kairos* pour déclencher l'appareil ? Et pourquoi maintenant et non pas une demi seconde avant ou après le *bon moment* ? Et surtout, qu'est ce que la réalité fait dans ces *bons moments* ? Elle nous montre plus de réalité que d'habitude ? La bonne photographie nous montre une rupture dans le temps, comme un instant détaché des autres ?

La réalité qu'on perçoit est plutôt continue ; ou nos organes sensoriels fonctionnent en mode continu. Une bonne photographie capte un moment qui n'est pas comme tous les autres – dans le continu de la réalité existe des moments d'une autre qualité, ceux-ci sont des pics de réalité. Le temps/espace semble être fait des tels instants, de pics de vie, concentrations de vécu, d'énergie. Ce pic est l'instant. Entre les deux instants, la durée s'installe, comme des prolongations, de réverbérations sonores, des échos de ces instants où l'existence persiste dans son fonctionnement dans une sorte d'inertie, en ramassant encore de l'énergie pour que de nouveau elle puisse éclater dans un instant comme une explosion solaire.

Prenez une idée pauvre, resserrez-la sur un instant, elle illumine l'esprit. Au contraire, le repos de l'être c'est déjà le néant.⁶

En fait, on dit qu'on a capté une bonne photographie au moment où nous avons surpris la réalité dans un moment de grâce – un moment qui engage toute notre être, notre attention, notre affection, notre capacité d'interprétation. Une bonne photographie est l'instant qui nous donne accès à

⁶ Bachelard, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

l'inertie du temps – nous pouvons refaire toute une continuité à partir de ce *punctum*, le passé et l'avenir. Nous pouvons les refaire et ces aspects se trouvent aussi concentrés dans l'instant même. Il s'agit en quelque sorte de ce qu'en psychologie analytique on parle des gestes archétypaux. Dans une photographie de portrait, par exemple, l'attitude du personnage doit être surpris dans un tel geste. Par geste nous comprenons aussi une certaine posture, allure et aussi un certain regard, nuance, détail etc. Un brin de cheveux peut, surpris au bon moment, investir toute une attitude monotone, qui n'attire l'attention aucunement, avec des velléités esthétiques au moins. L'instant s'adresse plutôt à l'être et moins au temps. Le geste archétypal se manifeste dans le temps, et ce geste doit être surpris par la photographie pour le fixer dans le temps. « On se souvient d'avoir été, on ne se souvient pas d'avoir durée »⁷ dit Bachelard. Cette capacité de surprendre ou de *savoir* quand le doigt appuie sur le déclencheur n'est certainement pas une chose qui s'apprend rationnellement, d'après une méthodologie claire et distincte. La raison doit être même éloignée de ce type d'activité, ou doit être adaptée à la sensibilité ou à l'affection, dans le sens où elle joue un rôle dans le cadrage, elle aide à créer les possibilités de captage. Mais au moment même de ce captage, elle n'intervient pas du tout. Tout le travail est fait par l'intuition et l'imagination. L'intuition surprend le moment et l'imagination l'interprète et nous prépare pour un nouveau captage.

2 Dire l'image

Si la photographie tient d'une action de précision où les instants de la vie sont enregistrés, alors la question sur le sens et le discours autour de l'image nous revient. L'imagination relie les différents instants sous un modèle ou un autre. Mais, disons nous quelques chose d'essentiel sur les images photographiées ? Le langage surprend cet *eidos* ? Au moment où la raison semble se tenir à l'écart de cette action, pouvons nous dire qu'une image peut être « expliquée » ?

D'un point de vue linguistique, dans la photographie, le référent est collé à la photographie. Le personnage d'une telle image ne *tient pas le lieu du vrai personnage*, mais il *est* le personnage même. Nous disons devant l'album de famille : « me voilà moi devant l'église Notre Dame, voilà maman, voilà mon enfant etc. » Le référent se dédouble mais il reste aussi un. C'est un dédoublement non quantitatif, on ne passe pas à un *deuxième* référent, mais à un deuxième au sens qualitatif. C'est une potentialisation référentielle, si on peut dire ainsi, dans le sens de Lupasco. C'est comme si le référent 1, le « matériel organique », se potentialise (on oublie volontairement ou on fait semblant, en imaginant que le vrai moi ne peut pas être le « moi » de la photographie, par exemple), pour laisser place libre au référent 2, celui de l'image, investit avec tous les qualités du premier, sauf, peut-être, la tridimensionnalité.

Tous ce qu'on a présenté jusqu'ici appartient au premier Logos –le Logos de la nature. Ce qui nous intéresse en ce moment, comme nous avons dit, c'est la forme du contact entre celui-ci et le Logos de la parole, le deuxième type. L'attitude la plus courante est celle qui dit que la réalité peut et est décrite d'une façon convenable par notre langage. On ne peut pas nier cette chose qui a ses évidences incontestables données surtout par les résultats de la science. Nous sommes intéressés par les limites de cette « compatibilité », les limites de la correspondance parfaite entre le langage et la réalité désignée. Ainsi, nous nous penchons sur les théories qui nient ou qui mettent entre parenthèses cette superposition.

On peut discuter et décrire une photographie autant qu'on veut et la « montrer » dans les limites de notre imagination qui peut en avoir, mais il faut toujours tenir compte d'un *reste* qui semble être en dehors de la traduction, qui ne peut pas être mis sous les concepts. Ce Logos de la nature ne peut pas passer sous concept totalement. L'image photographiée a, certainement, sa propre sémantique, qui est partiellement contenue dans le sens des mots qui la décrit. Lyotard⁸ dit qu'entre « sens » et « sensible » n'existe pas de filiation. Ou, s'il en existe une, nous disons que c'est de l'ordre de l'imaginaire.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 34

⁸ J-F. Lyotard – *Discours, figure*, édition Klincksieck, Paris 1978.

Le résultat de l'activité sensible est le *Dasein*, et non pas un *Sinn*. La négativité qui ouvre la distance entre l'œil et l'objet c'est celle de la forme, et pas du tout celle de la catégorie. Entre sensible et sens existe une distance insurmontable.⁹

Entre la forme sensible et « l'espace linguistique », dit cette fois-ci Cornel Mihai Ionescu¹⁰, existe une distance de telle sorte que le deuxième ne peut pas l'intégrer comme signification. Entre image et langage existe des ponts de passage, des ponts imaginaires qui construisent des espaces de significations, mais cela ne veut pas dire que les significations *épuisent* l'image. Le langage est le cyclone qui tourne autour de l'œil calme, silencieux, de l'image qui déclenche cette orage de significations.

Ainsi, si nous parlons de la zone de contact entre les Logos, on peut dire que cette analogie du cyclone, donné par Lyotard, est la plus appropriée. Le langage s'approche du calme du centre du cyclone sans intervenir, sans surprendre l'essence du celui-ci, car les forces du langage sont tenues quand même à une certaine distance malgré leur énergie tumultueuses. Cet œil reste intangible. Cela ne veut pas dire que ses « effets » sur le langage sont nuls. La signification a ses degrés, en passant par différentes formes : notion, préconcept, concept, signe, symbole, hiéroglyphe etc. Ortega y Gasset disait, dans *Introduccion à Velazques*, que la peinture est plus proche de l'hiéroglyphe que du langage. Le langage « hiéroglyphique » est le point de contact avec l'image, c'est-à-dire par une « particule » contradictoire, qui est image et sens, concept et forme en même temps. Seulement les expressions de ceux deux Logos sont différentes. Il s'agit de l'expression *loquace* (volubile) du Logos de la parole, face à l'expression *muette* du Logos de l'image, de la nature. Ou, dans certaines contextes, nous arrivons jusqu'à une extrême considération, en disant, avec Foucault¹¹ que le langage est *totalelement inadéquat au visible*.

Donc, dans quel point l'image et le langage se retrouvent ? A part l'hiéroglyphe et le symbole, quel processus, quelle faculté contribuent à l'entendement de ces Logos ? Nous revenons de nouveau à l'imagination. C'est elle qui intervient dans la découpe du temps dans une durée aussi bien que dans un instant. Et c'est elle aussi qui *invente* des sens, qui attribue seulement à certains aspects de l'image, une signification ou une autre. La photographie reste ainsi une découpe spatio-temporelle sur laquelle l'imagination donne des sens possibles. Une bonne/belle photographie est celle qui, comme nous avons dit en haut, surprend le *bon moment* d'un événement, qui le surprend dans sa totalité dans un instant. Mais aussi, du point de vue de la parole, la bonne/belle photographie est soit celle qui détermine l'imagination à errer dans la recherche des sens – qui oblige ainsi l'imagination à raconter, à décrire une suite d'événements, soit celle qui réussit à annuler complètement la fonction loquace du Logos, en nous laissant dans le silence sans mots et pensées du Logos pur de l'image.

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⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Cornel Mihai Ionescu, *Cercul lui Hermes*, cap. I, Edition Univers Enciclopedic, Bucarest 1998.

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Several Mentalities of Ancient Rome Society

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Abstract: There were several Trojan traditions regarding the Roman mentalities, because many emperors were creating genealogies related to Aeneas hero. Latin's name day also demonstrated the Trojan traditions, the most cogent being the *praenomen* of Traian, but also the Romans' consciousness that Trojans were their ancestors, going on pilgrimage to Ilium in Asia Minor. Another major contribution to the Roman mentality entirety was the Etruscan one, this being unquestioned. Many mentalities and social structures were inherited by the Romans from the „mystical Etruscans”, the Etruscan discipline and *haruspices* practices being proofs of this assertion. The Etruscans were the ones to offer the urban model to the Roman civilization, and they are also the ones to leave a mark upon Roman society mentalities through entertainment, religion, economy and architecture. Eugen Cizek classified the Roman mentalities in relation to the Roman society, with its policy and values which the Romans believed in. Thus, the mentality present in a very high percentage inside the Latin collective mentality was *civitas* = citizenship. *Civitas* assumed from Romans the most precise expression of their own lives, the Roman as individual didn't have a great value, only inside the citadel he was a force. An entire lace of mentalities was waving around it, becoming characteristic for *Populus Romanus* in all its governing stages and forms.

Key Words: mentalities, Ancient Rome, society, *civitas*, traditions.

The society of Ancient Rome was the scene of the manifestation of some mentalities specific to a people who ruled a good deal of the world known then. *Populus Romanus* resulted from the fusion of three great tribes: *Ramnes* = Latins, *Titius* = Sabines and *Luceres* = Etruscans and other people; the resulted mentalities of the community were a special case, the most important of them were selected by this study.

The most important of Roman social mentalities was *civitas*. She was the pillar around which all other mentalities were woven. Even those regarding religion were subordinated to it. We think for this case of harsh punishment applied to a child who hit or killed their parents (in this case considered *monstrum*); Gods had to be relented by the punishment of this immoral in order not to punish the borough translated also by *civitas* and understood by Romans as a state, community, membership, even national identity. So, in the event of immorality there was a social community fear, not an individual one.

Our study will point out some of mentalities manifested in Roman social community.

1. Introduction

Roman collective mind required some Trojan traditions [1]. Rome was considered the descendant of Troy by Aeneas, the Trojan prince, relative with the great Priam, the king of Troy. According to legends which circulated in the Roman world and were a source of inspiration for Vergil, who described the colonization of Latium by *Aeneas*[2], who had landed on Latin shores after long adventures. He was one of the survivors of Troy's siege, being a hero, if we consider his divine origin from the goddess of love, Venus, and his father was Anchises, mortal.

Vergil, before composing the Aeneid, documented himself as an archaeologist, studying many cults relating to Trojan hero that existed during his time in the area of Latium, Lazio today. More, the Ilium from Asia Minor represented in Romans' mind the land of ancestors.

The premise of colonization of the Italian coast by Trojan survivors is not impossible, in a period of great migrations as it was the 11th century before Christ. Trojans subjugated Italic peoples by force or through alliances, if we think the marriage of Aeneas to Lavinia, the daughter of the king of Latium. Certainly there was a confrontation between various tribes for the establishment of city states; in this case Alba Longa was, according to the legend, the city founded by Trojans.

We believe that this legend of Aeneas has a kernel of truth particularly that the legend of Romulus and Remus begins his action in the city state of Alba Longa, city that had to be founded by someone. Moreover, state organization tradition could be brought by the Trojans who wandered about Italian land, because it would have been impossible not to be survivors of the final assault on Troy. [3] This would explain also the technological superiority of Trojans in front of Italic tribes, which thus were easier to conquer. Trojans came by sea, like many Indo-European tribes who have migrated and immigrated to European borders. Thus Magna Graecia formed mostly of Greek colonies [4] bordering Italy reconfirms the strong action of colonization from pre-Roman period.

Thus, there were many Trojan traditions regarding Roman mentalities, because many emperors created genealogies regarding the hero Aeneas, the Latin onomatology proved Trojan traditions, the most convincing being the *praenomen* Trajan, but also the conscience of Romans that Trojans were their ancestors and their pilgrimages in Ilion in Asia Minor.

The existence of traces of habitation, proved archaeologically, during the period mentioned of Trojan tradition entitles us to say that Roman mentalities had Trojan premises.

For the foundation of their civilization and society, the Romans had a good model in “mysterious Etruscans” [5]. Etruscan contribution to the group of mentalities of the Roman people is irrefutable. The Etruscans were those who initiated the urban civilization, which became later Roman, still they are those who in entertainment, religion, economics, and architecture have innovated and performed, giving Romans a model.

Federative political organization of Etruscan city states was a model for the future world power of European antiquity, Rome. Merchants, pirates, regional leaders, the Etruscans have not gone unnoticed by Romans’ life, being at same the time one of the founding tribes of *populus Romanus*, being part of the tribe *Luceres*.

Many mentalities and social structures were inherited by Romans from the enigmatic Etruscans, but we think the most important one is that relating to the condition of women in society. Roman woman inherited Etruscan woman’s emancipation, the partner of her husband. This partnership can be seen the best in the formula of Roman marital oath: *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia* = Where you Caius, I, Caia will follow.

Roman religion held many Etruscan rites and ceremonies, the *disciplina etrusca* [6] and the practices of *haruspices* are evidence of this assertion.

In the institutional and civil field, an Etruscan was that who reformed Rome in censal classes, reform which proved its validity over the history of Rome.

Etruscan influences were also linguistic regarding the onomatology, the citizens of the Etruscan people could differentiate from others by their names being specific to them the particle in-us: *Funisulanus* etc.

The symbols of Rome are mostly Etruscan creations,[7] *alma mater*-Nourishing mother is a creation of Etruscan art, the homonym Rome has its equivalent in Etruscan of *rome* = power, the thunder, the Roman symbol of Roman legions was considered initially also the instrument of an Etruscan god of thunder etc.

The most tasted Roman public entertainment - gladiator fights - are also of Etruscan origin, many of the linguistic terms for occupations in the entertainment industry are Etruscan, for example, *lanista* = manager of gladiators [8].

Etruscan hydronymy (Tyrrhenian Sea, *tyrrenos* = Etruscan in Greek language) and toponymy (*Tuscia*, now Tuscany from *tuscus* = Etruscan in Latin) from the Italic Peninsula are also irrefutable evidence of the significant contribution brought by Etruscans to the Roman mind.

2. Latin collective mind [9]

Eugene Cizek classified Roman mentalities relating to Roman society, with its policy and with values Romans believed in.

Thus, the present mentality in overwhelming proportion within the Latin collective mind was *civitas* = citizenship, although the translation of the term does not express so well this mentality feature of Romans. *Civitas* meant for Romans the most faithful expression of their own life, the Roman as an individual did not have a value too high, only in the city he represented a force. The Roman citizen had rights specific only to him such as the three fundamental rights: *ius conubium* = the

right to marry, *ius suffragium* = right to vote and to be elected and *ius commercium* = the right to do business. [10]

However, for a Roman citizen rights have always been more attractive than obligations, and some obligations represented more a sacred duty and of personal interest, than obligations to the state. [11] We think of the duty of military service which had to be executed by every Roman citizen, but this obligation brought to the young man the access in political, administrative life, as well as glory, fortune and, last but not least, a life experience. The Roman state was lead since the royal period according to the principle: one who defends his country will lead it.

Civis Romanus had obligations as military service, tax payment to the city and its serving from the political position he held. This citizen had therefore three fundamental roles: 1. military, 2. taxpayer; 3. the person who voted or could be voted. [12]

Citizenship was expressed by the same term as the city - *civitas* – determined for those who Depending on their *civitas* Romans conceived also the world they have lived in, for them foreigners were usually barbarians or pilgrims, just by the lack of *civitas*.

belonged *libertas*=liberty of action, *dignitas*=dignity or the right to lead the state, *cursus honorum*=political carrier and *status*. All this meant nothing but serving the country which was in turn: *civitas* = city, *Urbs* = city, *Res public* = republic and *Imperium*=empire. For her exercise there were exercised two moral courts: *disciplina* and *mos maiorum* [13] = custom of the ancestors. This mentality and real institution was, as Eugene Cizek called, "mental frame and form of organization of social life" [14].

Civitas, [15] one of the fundamentals of Latin collective mentality, we can interpret it also patriotism, if we think of Roman army and wars waged by her. Its basic unit was *legio*, the legion, composed exclusively of Roman citizens. For her auxiliary troops, recruited from provinces or client states the *civitas* represented a way to integrate, a circumscription in the world of Roman citizens both for the respective soldier, and his family. But this, the same as a birth certificate, was called *honesta missio*, being known epigraphically as military diplomas too. They were received after a full training in Roman auxiliary troops.

Patriotism was one of the meanings of *civitas*, because the Romans considered the masters of the world, they were organized for this purpose, in fact, the triumphs of Roman troops which have conquered new lands for a Rome, composed of citizens. Between State - Rome and its citizens – *cives Romani* - there was a mutually-beneficial and close interdependent relationship. Citizens reinforced the state, and the state rewarded them with *dignitas*, *honorum* etc. When *civitas* has become an appanage of all inhabitants of the empire the fall of Rome started, because it was missing what we call at present the patriotism of its citizens. Together with this disappeared also *maiestas populi Romani*.

From *civitas* detached also the *pragmatism* of Romans, a mentality specific to them, which would be translated by practical spirit. The most visibly, this pragmatism is in the Roman religion formula: *Do ut Des* = I give that you may give. The formula is actually an expression of a contract - *foedus* - with gods.

The *contractualism*, *formalism* and *ritualism* [16] are other types of Roman mentalities. They were born within the society by political, religious practice, as well as from their ethics. The right = *ius* was the basic source of these Roman mentalities; it made Romans to act according to the rules. The *ritualism* had rather a political purpose than a religious one.

The *antropocentrism* is another Roman mentality because the Romans believed they were the main agents of the universal society,[17] the gods were respected, but they were not mixed within the Roman society. He was potentiated by *Urbs* = city, town, Rome being seen as the center of the Universe. Rome was in Roman mind the one that supports the whole world, because if it happened to fall this city, the Romans were of opinion that the world would end. Most often the representation of *Urbs* went beyond the boundaries of a city, touching especially those of an *Orbis* = World.

Disciplina was also an important mentality, a bond of all the other structures, because by discipline *civis* was a good element of *societatis Romanae*, was a good soldier, a good leader, etc.

Maiestas populi Romani designated a kind of sovereignty, but also of greatness, dignity, honor, supremacy of Romans. This, during the imperial period, had as incarnation *princeps*, which represented also the country, and an affront brought to him was equal to an affront brought to the entire Roman state. This formula would rather mean the spirit of Rome itself.

Imperium [18] was another very important feature of mentality, especially in a pragmatic and disciplined society as it was the Roman society. Thus, depending on the power (it is one of the translations of the term) the main Roman institutions were classified.

Ius [19] = Law was considered by Romans as rising from nature. Its basic principle was to give everyone what they deserved. It ordered the whole Roman society and has become one of the fundamentals of European civilization. Roman law is one of the pillars of universal civilization. The law was and still is the best known component of the Roman world. Roman legal principles, generally applicable, have modeled and inspired the European legislation (not only) of all times.

Ius este ars boni et aequi= Law is the science of what is good and evil is a principle that applies today or *Iustitia est domina et regina virtutum*= Justice is the mistress and queen of all the virtues. The Romans were those who enacted the supremacy of laws in their city. *Pereat mundus, fiat iustitia*= Let there be justice, though the world perish is also a Latin expression. Many current legal formulas maintain the same Latin formulations, proving the immortality of Law and the genius of the Romans in legal formulation. According to Romans law should be short and precise in order not to give place to interpretation, and its basic principle was to observe the rule of giving everyone what they deserved, regardless of social position.

Roman law was known by the citizens who addressed to, being a discipline that was studied in school, was presented in the forum (starting with the Law of XII tables) and was a component of the public career for a Roman citizen (the most obvious examples are coming-of-age ceremony - *Toga virilis* - of a Roman citizen and the profession of lawyer of most Roman politicians as Cato Censor, Cicero, Praetorian prefect etc.)

Roman law lasted more than the marble of Roman fortress, than aqueducts, roads, traces, the army and language, thus recording the mentality of a people who once has ruled the world.

All these mentalities produced also meta-values [20] of which the most important for Roman morality were: 1. *Virtus*, 2. *Fides*, 3. *Pietas*.

1. *Virtus* represented the qualities of a citizen, his action and force into action, bravery, courage; he could get himself noticed in the city by actions in accordance with *status* = the dignity he had. We could say that this was the individual value of each Roman citizen. Etymologically *virtus* derives from *vir* = man. The term was taken over by the Renaissance, being met at Machiavelli with the meaning of courage, action, energy, virtue, but also audacity.

2. *Fides* represented a kind of faith, loyalty and respect for the city and for its institutions and customs. *Fides* = faith was inherited by the agency of Roman law and today, referring to good faith, loyalty, observance of duties.

3. *Pietas*= devotion, faith, respect. It was a different kind of faith in relation to the sacred things, to what was good, a kind of loyalty in relation to what was considered appropriate. It could occur both towards gods, to homeland, to the city, but also to the family [21].

Rome, the city par excellence, was a standard among ancient cities in terms of family and homeland. Only Roman citizens had rights and obligations towards her. There was a principle, introduced for the first time by censal reform of Servius Tullius, which established, in general, the participation in the governance of Rome was reserved for those who defended it. So those who ruled Rome were those who defended it, and they were essentially the citizens. Citizenship is also included in many other aspects relating to the city, especially semantic. [22]

Roman citizens were by birth, adoption or became in the wake of some services rendered to Roman state (we think here of auxiliary troops soldiers, who after executing the military service for Rome obtained by military diplomas - *honestae missiones* - Roman citizenship for them and their families). Roman citizenship was therefore one of the most effective means of Romanization, because they those conquered were integrated in the empire, sharing a joint interest in Rome's governance, each on its possibilities and social rank.

A very important event for the constitution of Roman family (the basic source of Roman citizens) was marriage. There were several types of marriages at Roman people: The Romans called marriage *matrimonium*, *iusta nuptiae*, *iustum matrimonium*, *legitimum matrimonium* in order to be in accordance with Roman law. The form of marriage *cum conventione uxoris in manum viri* was also met. In both cases those who contracted marriage had to hold *ius conubium*.

Before the marriage was celebrated an engagement, considered a solemn and religious commitment of both families. After consulting the gods, the rings that had a symbolic value were

changed. At this engagement participated some relatives and family's friends, they were actually the witnesses of the vow. After changing the rings, the marriage contract which provided firstly wife's dowry was signed. [23]

Boys were able to contract a marriage at the age of 14 and girls at the age of 12.

Roman marriage included references to social condition, to its forms and legal consequences. Roman citizens were those who by *ius conubium* held *uxoris iure ducendae facultas* (the faculty by which a man may make a woman his lawful wife - trad. n). The husband was entitled to take wives among women from Roman citizens' families, but they could marry with special permission and peregrine or provincial women [24].

Romans' education is situated in Roman society mentality category, because it was thought the formation of the most prepared Roman citizens intended to lead and serve Rome.

By the discovery of Praeneste fibula, it has been proved the existence of a Roman education. That master learned to write in school. In his work, Titus Livius refers to the existence of public schools, which were in the Roman Forum. The first mention of a public school year is from 449 before Christ. This was in the Roman Forum being a mixed secondary school. In 400 before Christ are also mentioned other public schools at Falerii and Tusculum. Roman education tradition has Etruscan and Sabines.[25]

Plutarch mentions him too about Roman school that existed in the 3rd century in Rome, being led by a certain Spurius Carvilius. Public schools were attended, especially by children of poor families. Rich children, after making their elementary studies at home; they were enrolled in public schools having the same level as high schools language where they were taught Greek and Latin.

Elementary school was run by a *litterator*; the essential subjects were language, writing and arithmetic. Reading and writing were taught first the counting system being helped by pebbles, *calculi* and most knowledge was learned through melodic intonations. [26]

Medium school was run by a *grammaticus*. Children's access is individualized, not everyone had access to this type of education. At this stage of education, literature, history, and geography were especially studied. [27]

The purpose of schools having this level was to make Roman children to express themselves correctly, according to Latin language rules, to know well Latin and Greek literary works. Alongside these disciplines other objects of study were also studied, both human and exact [28].

There was still a stage of education in Ancient Rome, namely a kind of higher education. This was intended only for boys of the aristocracy, it was run by a *rhetor* or *orator*.

In Rome this type of higher education occurred in the 1st century before Christ according to the Greek model. The first school of rhetoric was opened in 93 before Christ by Lucius Plotius Gallus. In this stage of higher education of Romans was learned the art of oratory and eloquence. [29]

The intention of this stage of higher education was, mainly, the training of young Romans for a political and administrative career. Law was one of the basic disciplines that were studied in this school of higher education. Rich young people, who wanted to perfect in philosophy and rhetoric, went to Athens for graduating. Oratory and rhetoric will know a great development in Rome due to political life.

Roman Emperors will support very much Roman education by building schools and providing scholarships for capable young people. Augustus will build more public schools and Traian supported more than 5,000 children from state funds. Hadrian founded the first state school called *Athenaeum* with classrooms built in the shape of an amphitheater, bearing teachers' salaries from imperial funds. Antoninus Pius granted tax-exempt status for teachers, the Antonine dynasty built many schools in imperial provinces, and Severus built many schools. [30]

3. Conclusions

Roman mentalities have defined a world power, expressing the spiritual style of a people who made history and founded, in a great measure, the European civilization.

The most important Roman social mentalities were: nationality, family and education. We could say that the basic mentality, around which all the other were circumscribed, was citizenship, the family was meant to create new citizens, and education to train the best among the citizens for serving the state.

Roman society had more specific, unique mentalities and which determined its existence. Not accidentally many terms in the History of mentalities come from Latin; therefore, *mentalitate* comes from the Latin word *mens, mentis*, sf = mind, spirit, thought, opinion [31], civilization, society, etc. Moreover, the Romans have also left us forms of government such as republic, *res publica*, institutions of law and the law - *lex* - the expression of social rank - *status* and the law, although it first appeared in the Ancient East, was brought to perfection by Romans and became their emblem. Rome offered to all the subjugated nations a way of life and thinking that drew them for integration - Romanization, rather than distanced them; on this account the Romanization was a successful process.

Roman organization of the world is also today an institutional example and more. The fall of Rome was also considered "the end of the civilization" [32] for the chaos left behind, following an age more deprived of the light of Rome, and considered the Dark Middle Ages. This perception was especially a consequence of the decline of Roman mentalities that considered their state as a kind of Atlas that sustained the whole world, so that if Rome perished, everyone would perish with it.

Our study has selected some of Roman society mentalities, considered by us the most important ones. We owe to the Romans the social mentalities that sometimes guide man and modern societies. If we owe the heroism to the Greeks, to the Romans we owe the institutional mentalities where man had the predominant role, he was the hero of the city, a cause for which Rome became "eternal."

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Eveyday Life in Bucharest during Romania's Participation in World War I (1916-1918)

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Abstract: On the 20th of November/ 3rd of December, after the end of the Arges-Neajlov fight, or the battle of Bucharest, the Romanian Government and the king went to Moldavia. The general opinion spread around the country was a negative one that considered the lost of capital in the hand of enemy a disaster. Still, the belief of Romanians was at the time that the Allied Powers will win and the Great Romania was about to be achieved. In the period of German occupation, the population living in Bucharest was subject of exploitation; the occupation authorities organized the territory in an administrative way. After Mackensen who was the commandant of the army group, the main authority in the occupied territory was represented by the militar governor, the count Tüllf von Tschepe und Weidenbach. The german authorities requisitioned the whole quantity of leather, textile materials, brass and bronze objects. They had a great interest in products with a great quantity of fatness: nuts, chestnuts, acorns, beech nuts, pumpkin-seeds, water melon seeds. In the period of occupation, in Bucharest appeared newspapers written half in german and half in romanian, for example, „Bucharest Journal“, „The Light“ and „The Illustrated Week“.

Keywords: everyday life, Bucharest, terrorism, occupation, requisition.

The pretext of opening the First World War was the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand and his wife Princess Sofia, in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The real reason was the desire of division of the colonial empires and the formation of national states in Europe. In Bucharest, the Romanian Prime Minister Ionel I. C. Brătianu¹ was cautious in taking the decision to enter Romania in the war, because he knew the discussions in Paris and London among the political circles. We can give as example the drawing, in 1916 in London of the future border line between Romania and Hungary, called in diplomatic language the "Balfour line", after the man who had drew it, Lord Arthur James Balfour².

King Carol I (1881 - 1914)³ and the Head of the Conservative Party, Petre P. Carp, asked that the treaty concluded between Romania and the Central Powers be respected on 18/30 October 1883⁴ and that we enter the war as their allies⁵, but Ionel Brătianu and the members of his government imposed themselves and the Crown Council of July 21, 1914 in Sinaia decided to adopt the armed expectation for the war preparation and national unity accomplishment.

The great powers initiated an intensive diplomatic action to attract Romania from the camp side where each⁶ one was a part of. Ionel Brătianu was not fooled by the promises of the foreign diplomats, he knew what had happened to his father I. C. Brătianu during the War of Independence, but was not influenced by any of the applications left and pressures of the Romanian politicians, anti-Russian or

¹ For the biography of Ionel I. C. Brătianu, see, Anastasie Iordache, *Ion I. C. Brătianu*, București, 1994; Ion Scurtu, *Ion I. C. Brătianu. Activitatea politică*, București, 1992.

² See Radu Ștefan Vergatti, *O dispută fără obiect: Transilvania*, in *Geopolitica*, a political geography, geopolitics and geostrategy magazine, year III, no. 11/2005, p. 125-136.

³ Between 1866-1879 he had the title of Prince, and between 1879-1881 the Royal Highness, Romania was elevated to the rank of kingdom by the Parlemtent on 14/26 March 1881.

⁴ A treaty of alliance with Austria-Hungary in which, in the same day Germany joined as well. The treaty had a defensive and secret character, being known only by a small circle of politicians and by King Charles I.

⁵ ***, *România în anii Primului Război Mondial*, vol I, Bucharest, 1987, p. 78-79.

⁶ Two political and military groups were confronting, the Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and the Triple Understanding (Antanta).

filo Germans⁷. The Romanian Premier waited for the favorable moment when Romania entered the war. When on 4 / August 17, 1916⁸ he concluded a secret agreement with Triple Agreement for joining the war as allies of this political-military⁹ group.

During the neutrality period among people from Bucharest, there used to travel a joke which expressed the mood of those turbulent years. It was said that Nicholas Filipescu stated that it was not the time for Romania to join the war; Alexandra Marghiloman stated that the time had arrived for a long time, and Ionel Bratianu said that it is better not look at the clock¹⁰. On 14/27 August 1916, Romania declared war on Austria-Hungary, and on 15/28 August 1916, the Romanian army started military operations for the liberation of Transylvania¹¹. On 17/30 August Germany declared war on Romania and on 19 August /1 September, 1916 the Sublime Gate and Bulgaria have followed the German example. The Romanian army fought on two fronts, on August 24 / September 6, 1916 the defeat of the Romanian army took place. Bratianu realized that the country was in a corner and his mood and morale¹² dropped. On November 20 / December 3, 1916, the Romanian army lost the Battle of the Arges-Neajlov¹³, or the battle for Bucharest, the Romanian government would move led by the Prime Minister, the Parliament and the Royal House to Moldova.

During the autumn of 1917 all school buildings were given back to their owners in order to begin the next school year 1917-1918. the only inconvenient was that they had been damaged and needed serious consolidation and also disinfection due to the fact that previously they had been turned into military hospitals or hospitals for infectious diseases. Moreover, they had no furniture, this being destroyed at the beginning of the military occupation. Another problem was the lack of teachers, most of them being mobilized or sheltered (Argetoianu Constantin, 1992: 58). The Romanian school system and especially that from Bucharest was rehabilitated after the war with the support and enthusiasm of the people. The German authorities were preoccupied to establish a school system based on the study of German language as it is shown in the order of the German Commandment from 19th of March 1917 and Pitesti was to benefit of schools like these .

In November 1917 The German University of Etape was founded in Bucharest. Important scientists had lectured here like Adolf Von Harnack¹⁴ a representative of the Protestant culture. The Archbishop of Munich, Michael von Faulhaber, in his quality of Bavarian military chaplain, officiated in February 1918 more religious ceremonies and organized a three days' conference for the German language speaking clerk from Bucharest. At the same university appeared students' associations that were typically for German universities of that period. They organized a war banquet with Mackensen's participation. It had been claimed that this was the first war banquet taking place after the battle from Leipzig when the field marshall Blicher¹⁵ also took place. At the Romanian university of Bucharest there was opened again the faculty of medicine. Mackensen announced this with great pride : "Only we, the German barbarians were able to do such a thing". Its only aim was to annihilate the national feeling, some school objects like history and to popularise the German culture and the language. Another purpose was to found in Bucharest some evening classes for studying German

⁷ Radu Stefan Vergatti, *Starea de spirit a lui Ionel I. C. Brătianu după intrarea României în Primul Război Mondial*, in the Scientific Bulletin, University of Pitesti Historical Studies, no. III-IV (2004 - 2005), Pitesti, p. 113-114.

⁸ *** *Istoria Românilor*, vol II, Tom II, Bucharest, 2003, p. 418-419, at this time in his home Vintilă Bratianu 5 copies were signed in original for: Russia, France, Britain, Italy and Romania, the appointment of the alliance documents with Antanta, not even the government members knew about it.

⁹ *România în anii ...*, vol. I, ed. cit. p. 121-122.

¹⁰ Radu Ștefan Vergatti, *op.cit.*, p.114.

¹¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, tom. II, ed.cit., p.420-421.

¹² See Radu Ștefan Vergatti, *op.cit.*, p. 115-116.

¹³ ***, *Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, tom. II, ed.cit., p. 433; *România în anii ...*, vol. I, ed. cit.p.486- 526.

¹⁴ Argetoianu, Constantin, 1992, *Pentru cei de mâine amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, vol. III, partea a V-a(1916-1917), București, Editura Humanitas, p 56.

¹⁵ Bulei, Ion, 1979, *Arcul așteptării 1914, 1915, 1916*, București, p 34.

language not only by students but also by some clerks of the City Hall¹⁶.The German authorities wanting to strike the romanian culture,had banned the theatre troupe from the capital, under the claim that “Romanian shows were far less frequent and The City Hall couldn’t cover the financial deficit of the National Theatre”.At the same time a German theatre troupe was founded and it also had some shows on the stage of the National Theatre from Bucharest with artists brought from Germany.As a consequence,many troupes from Bucharest rented the Communal Theatre from Pitesti in order to sustain fashionable shows like sleight of hand,telepathy and comedy.Renting was over a few weeks,at smaller prices imposed by the difficulties of the time.People from Bucharest benefited from these shows because it was a smaller distance from the capital and the troupes were fashionable for that period:The National Theatre troupe led by C.Niculescu;the Alhambra theatre with the comediant Vasiliu;Romanian musical theatre;Iancovescu¹⁷ and Mihailescu troupes.The shows took place and the inhabitants were their spectators as we find out from a complaint at the City Hall claiming the theft of a natural silk scarf from the cloakroom of the theatre.From the documents we find out that it was crowded at the cloakroom this being a reason for the respective theft.Charity balls (Răcilă Emil, 1981: 24) were organized in order to raise money for war disabled. Parties were organized by the clerks of the City Hall¹⁸ with the purpose of supplementing their finances to make a decent living.25%of the money raised after these parties went to the City Hall.With all the hardships and the problems brought by the occupational regime, the people from Bucharest (Bulei Ion, 1979: 66) maintained and respected their national holidays. In 1917 the calendar was changed but the Romanians preserved their holidays in the old style. The marshall Mackensen ordered to let Romanians celebrate Ester as they wish considering that the official Ester holiday was on 8th of April in the same time with Annunciation, meaning 25th of March in the old calendar. The national events were not passed over, so on 24th of April 1918 Te-Deum ceremonies were organized at all churches from the capital to commemorate the unification of Romania with Basarabia and all the civilians were asked to participate. Like in other occupied areas, the Germans founded a committee to take care of art objects and monuments. It subordinated to the Office of Printing and Book run by the secret court advisor ,captain dr. L.Volkman and the art referent was professor dr.Heinz Braune called Landrat. In his civil life, Braune was manager of Plastic Arts Museum Of Silezia, Breslau. This committee listed all the museums and collections and took them under its protection. In Bucharest we find the following collections¹⁹:

1. The National history and Archeology Museum
2. The Popular Art Ethnography Museum
3. The Painting collection from Carol park
4. The Grigorescu collection from Atheneum
5. The collection of Atheneum society
6. The Romanian Academy collection (books, manuscripts)
7. The religious art collection from the Ministry of Education
8. Kalinderu Museum
9. Aman museum
10. The Natural History museum
11. Mr.Simu’s private museum

Among royal palaces the following were put under protection:

1. The Palace from Bucharest
2. The Cotroceni palace from Bucharest

¹⁶ Deac, Augustin, Toacă, Ion, 1978, *Lupta poporului român împotriva cotorpitorilor, 1916-1918*, București, Editura Militară, p 85.

¹⁷ *Lumina, cotidian independent romanesc*, 1917.

¹⁸ *Gazeta Bucurestilor*, nr. 1, din 12 februarie 1917

¹⁹ Günter, Klein, 2008: *Ocupatia germana in Romania din 1916-1918 in lumina memorialisticii germane despre Primul Razboi Mondial*, in „Document”, An XI, nr. 4 (42)/ p 5.

3. Peles and Pelisor Castle from Sinaia

Besides these, some monasteries were put under protection and we remind Vacaresti Monastery, later demolished under communist regime.

The committee wrote protocols for each object of art taken abroad by the Romanian retiring troupes so as not to be blamed later on if they disappear. Besides all these, the committee gave some scientific works to be sustained, and so appeared works about peasant housing and boyar housing and about Traian's Wave from Dobrogea. During the occupation the Romanian press was banned. Newspapers appeared in Bucharest, half written in German and half in Romanian. "Bukarester Tageblatt" has, as its immediate purpose, the notification of all Romanians about the orders of the occupational administration, and the restrictions²⁰

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***, *România în anii Primului Război Mondial*, vol I, Bucharest, 1987

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²⁰ Georgescu, Maria, 2003, *România în anii primei conflagrații mondiale, studiu publicat în Marea Unire din 1918 în context european*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, p 78.

History as the shared matrix of postcolonial and postmodern interrogations

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Abstract: The present paper highlights the points of intersection between the postcolonial and postmodern paradigms of what is often called the ‘historicised’ novel, which implies a critical and often subversive problematisation of the nature of historical knowledge and discourse. In both the postmodern and the postcolonial text, the approach to history does not solely focus the representation of historical experience through the mimetic optic of realism, but the interpretation of the bearings of lived history on the identity and outlook of individuals or groups affected by it. The narratives falling under the scope of one or both of the overlapping paradigms of the postcolonial and the postmodern simultaneously harness and challenge the claims to verisimilitude of historical texts, by highlighting the shiftiness of their context-bound validity. The scope of this re-writing of history from the perspective of the perceiving self-consciousness extends beyond the microcosm of the family saga, so as to encompass a panoramic projection of the historicity of cultural identity. To this end, ‘historicised’ fictions resort to the investigative means, discourses and languages of other narrative or figurative representations of the universal human story – historiographic, ethnographic, anthropological, journalistic, architectural, pictorial, musical, cinematic, photographic – which are interwoven in the interdisciplinary synthesis of characteristic of both postmodern and postcolonial texts.

Key-words: postmodern, postcolonial, history, representation, ‘historicised’, historiographic metafiction

Rewriting world history from the perspective of the margins constitutes the paradigmatic project of the postcolonial text, meant to qualify and ultimately displace the hegemonic inscriptions of colonialist writings of empire. This rewriting, or rather overwriting of imperial history aims to retrieve the muted histories of the colonised mind. Elleke Boehmer explains that this ‘historical retrieval’ is bound up with the process by which the ‘once-colonized writers could represent themselves as subjects of their own past’ (Boehmer 194). It is an act of restitution which works in two directions: outwards, in its contestation and de-centring of European colonial history, and inwards, in its inherent urge to shape a communal historical self-awareness of the colonised culture. ‘Historical retrieval thus represented a way of making reparation. Writers established a restorative connection with that which colonial discourse had denied – the internal lives of the colonized, their experience as historical actors’ (Boehmer 195). At the same time, most postcolonial writers have addressed the post-decolonisation quandaries of emerging nations, often faced with political and ideological divisions, social upheavals, prolonged internal crises and even civil war.

This study of the mechanisms of displacement and hybridisation actuated by the imperial venture is inherently concerned with the treatment of the complex teleology of colonial and postcolonial history in the work of Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro. Although Ishiguro does not share the locally specific concerns of writers coming from the former colonies, his preoccupation with the dislocations of history and the discourses of imperialism address the same questions about the resorts of individual and collective engagement with the historical. These writers’ grappling with the history of the postcolonial space is motivated by their conviction that the value of their historical narratives resides not so much in a reconfiguration of historical factuality or truth, but rather in the revelation of the bearing of the past on private and public self-consciousness, of the meaningful correlations between historical experience and the construction of individual and collective identity. Their historicising fictional projects share the principle which Hayden White ascribes to a new tendency in contemporary history writing: ‘a specifically *historical* enquiry is born less of the necessity to establish that certain events occurred than of the desire to determine what certain events might mean for a given group, society, or culture’s conception of its present tasks and future prospects’ (White 487). White’s postulate about the true mission of historical research also provides an accurate description of the impulse underlying postcolonial fiction in general, as well as a worthwhile premise for a critical discussion of the historical enquiries defining the work of Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro. Their historicising of fiction (or fictionalising of history) does not stem from the mimetic impulse to capitalise on the successful recipe of historical realism, which, in spite of

frequent claims to the contrary, postmodern fiction has not managed to dethrone. While looking for the challenge of factuality as an inciting topos of their fiction, these novelists do not envision a mimetic reconstruction of historical reality, but an interpretation of the meanings and implications of macro-history for private micro-history.

Linda Hutcheon has amply analysed the interrelations of historiographic and fictional discourses in the postmodern novel, as well as the textual, paratextual and metafictional strategies for dramatising the complex dynamic of the mutual questioning and conditioning between history and fiction. She argues that both historians and writers have become increasingly alert to 'the shift from validation to signification, to the way systems of discourse make sense of the past' (Hutcheon 96). In contemporary historical and literary thought, the critic identifies 'a pluralist...view of historiography as consisting of different but equally meaningful constructions of past reality – or rather, of the textualized remains (documents, archival evidence, witnesses' testimony) of that past' (Hutcheon 96). As they diversify their themes, sources and investigative techniques, Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro become equally sensitive to the pluralist articulations and objectifications of historical narrativity. They attempt to legitimise their fictional pursuits of historical signification by following the historian's traditional trajectory to factual truth – the 'textualized remains' or the allegedly objective sources of evidence which bear witness to the multiplicity of discourses associated with historical factuality. Their narratives simultaneously harness and challenge the claims to verisimilitude of historical texts by highlighting the shiftiness of their context-bound validity. The scope of their narratives is extended beyond the microcosm of the family saga, so as to encompass a panoramic projection of the historicity of cultural identity. To this end the novelists resort to the investigative means, discourses and languages of other narrative or figurative representations of the universal human story – historiographic, ethnographic, anthropological, journalistic, architectural, pictorial, musical, cinematic, photographic – interwoven in the interdisciplinary synthesis of their textual practice. Their critical, facetious juxtapositions of images, idioms and cultural codes question both the self-serving rhetoric and iconology of imperialist textuality and art, and the mystifications of the new Third World nationalisms. Performed from their inherently twofold perspective as both insiders and outsiders, their dramatisations of history in the making are conducted through a polyphonic orchestration of voices and discourses.

Though their novels are primarily concerned with deconstructing the historical resorts of the postcolonial aporia of cultural identity, all these writers share the postmodern aesthetic of ironical scepticism about totalising systems of thought and representation, thus proclaiming the pulverisation of finite certainties or truths. Like most postmodern fiction, the fiction of Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro participates in postmodernism's critique of the mechanics of ideological discourse, as well as in its self-reflexive questioning of the novelistic discourse itself. Exploring the epos and ethos of decolonisation and liberation movements worldwide, they ironically capture the idealistic, utopian tonalities of nationalist ideologies and the often dystopian realities fostered by postcolonial myths of cultural authenticity, self-government or the re-writing of history. Their novels also figure the discursive deviousness of a purportedly benign neo-colonialism or of the new utopia of globalisation. The narrators and protagonists of their novels, who are often writer figures themselves, are assailed by contending discourses which only disorient individuals and communities striving to impose a vision on their reality. More often than not, their yearning to discern 'how newness enters the world', to use Rushdie's obsessive motif (and motive), is baffled by the intimation of inescapable repetitiveness. The only order discernible in the disorders of both past and present emerges from a vision of history patterned by successive cycles of progress and regress, bondage and freedom, utopia and dystopia and an ever elusive dream of freedom. The discovery of meaning is bound up with an insight into this cyclical continuum, which confronts one with the contingency of history and the illusion of individual agency. The self-conscious narrator connects the loose threads of incoherence. The narrativisation of historical memory and experience becomes the pre-requisite of self-discovery and orientation in the world. Above all, the aim of the narrative is to recuperate extreme experiences of history in the making, in which the irruption of irrationality and atrocity alter the habitual private and public concepts of normalcy. The act of narration becomes the ultimate signifying function of both history and fiction, which Doctorow construes as complementary modes of 'mediating the world for the purpose of introducing meaning' (quoted in Hutcheon 112). And because any articulation of meaning presupposes a virtual interlocutor, these historiographic metafictional foreground their narrators'

dialogical awareness of the diversity of the inherently politicised responses of those at the receiving end.

In her nuanced definition of the historicising postmodern novel, which she labels historiographic metafiction, Hutcheon identifies as an essential trait of the genre 'historiographic metafiction's overt (and political) concern for its reception, for its reader' (Hutcheon 115). Employing a narrator whose self-reflexive asides and overt references to the act of writing challenge the reader's participation in the text's joint construction of meaning constitutes the staple of postmodern metafictional modes. This is also the model cultivated by postcolonial writing in general, and specifically by the writers under discussion. Their novels share historiographic metafiction's focal concern with 'the nature of identity and subjectivity; the question of reference and representation; the intertextual nature of the past; and the ideological implications of writing about history' (Hutcheon 117). As in Hutcheon's metafictional model, their narratives problematise these concepts only to subvert them and find them wanting as cognitive instruments or means of creating meaning. They employ self-conscious narrators, who ironically question their own credibility or ability to remain consistent with their enunciating purpose or coherent in their pursuit of meaning. Pervasively self-ironic and self-deprecating, the staple narrators of these novels cannot even take themselves seriously as a reliable source of information or as credible inscribers of their testimonial projects. The patently postmodern unreliable narrator, who constantly debunks his own ability to order and interpret historical experience into a meaningful pattern is the central interpretive consciousness in the novels of Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro. Taking the implied reader into their confidence, these narrators assert their dependence on their audience's trust, acquiescence and empathy. Their claims in to the truthfulness and factual accuracy of their stories, to drawing upon documents or witness accounts, are not as emphatic or straightforward as in the conventional professions of veracity of the eighteenth century novel, but their fictional project is implicitly based on the implied reader's assumption of veracity and referential transparency. Even when, as in the case of Rushdie's *Shame*, the narrator makes the opposite claim, by disingenuously vouchsafing the fictitiousness of the narrative, the gesture is a ploy meant to elicit precisely the credence it seeks to undermine.

Their personalised versions of historiographic metafiction appear to take for granted their audience's readiness to recognise the historical referent of the text. This overt or covert reading contract seeks to implicate the reader in a communal investigative project, in a joint venture of self-discovery and self-reflection in the mirror of historical knowledge. The narrators of historiographic metafiction invariably promise, overtly or covertly, the inside story of a verifiable historical event or context, thus implicitly sealing a pact which makes the reader privy to the unmediated truths of a shared or unshared historical reality. Whether the experience related and mediated by the narrator is familiar or alien to the implied reader, the fulfilment of the narrator's purpose is dependent on the reader's cognitive, experiential and affective implication in the project. Both parties are supposed to apply their interpretive faculties in order to decipher a pattern of signification. The real referent which these narratives purport to represent is variably more or less transparent. The implied or overstated allusion to real-life historical referents is a pre-condition of the narrative's claim to factual veracity. However, Rushdie and Mo attempt to veil their referent. In *Shame*, Rushdie disingenuously disclaims the historical referentiality of his text, by projecting the story in the timeless dimension of fairytale, even if he subversively qualifies his own convention by calling it 'a modern fairytale'. In the case of Mo's *The Redundancy of Courage*, a full recognition of the referent depends on the reader's background knowledge of the postcolonial tragedy of East Timor. In the absence of such conjectures, however, the narrative retains its value as representative of general human truths. Such novels infuse the characters' experiential understanding of the historical with a profoundly philosophical reflection on the unalterable, unifying universals of human nature and agency.

Historiographic metafiction embarks on a twofold project. They are intended to assess and interpret the individual's experience of macro-history, and to explain how this experience contributes to the process of identity formation and construction of a salutary sense of belonging. In most of the novels selected for discussion, the narrator envisions a history-cum-autobiography project. While the narrative largely conforms to the traditional model of the novel of education or identity formation known as *Bildungsroman*, it is also grounded in the historical becoming of both selfhood and nationhood, focusing on in the interdependency between the private and public realms. This conjoining of the private and the public provides the axis round which the consciousness of selfhood

revolves, as the self is constantly defined and re-defined. Therefore, the individual's story and the collective history function as the facets of the same experience. The seemingly autobiographical project doubles as a *sui generis* historiography, especially if individual identity is defined against a traumatic historical context of violent upheaval and change. The human prototype emblematic for this symbiosis of private story and public history is epitomised by Rushdie's Saleem Sinai of *Midnight's Children*, who envisions himself as 'handcuffed to history' in. This equation of self and world underlies the kind of narrative which Rushdie describes through the pun of '(his)story'. In highlighting the symbiotic relationship between identity formation and the experience of history in the works under analysis, this study proposes the terms of 'historicised identity' and historiographic (auto)biography.

The present study also aims to identify the main points of convergence between the postcolonial and the postmodern, by gauging their mutually qualifying treatment of history against the paradoxical, hybrid paradigm of Hutcheon's historiographic metafiction. The intended analysis focuses on the strategies by which, beyond the staple postmodern stances of irony, parody, pastiche and blatant iconoclasm, these novels interrogate concepts of the self, shaped by the experience of history and predicated upon the historicism of identity. Most of them are paradigmatic metafictions, first person narratives whose narrators make overt references to the act of writing. More often than not the novels purport to transcribe the narrator's actual memoir, in which memory serves both as a cognitive instrument and an ordering, shaping, illuminating force. While they share the postmodern penchant for the satirical debunking of stock images, received ideas, cultural clichés and stereotypes, these novels qualify the postmodern aesthetic of fragmentation by their endeavour to transcend postmodernity's fracturing vision of identity and self-knowledge through a reordering of our historical becoming into a coherent, illuminated whole.

Although few of the narrator-protagonists in the fiction of Naipaul, Mo and Ishiguro go to the same lengths as Saleem in claiming to be the mirror of the nation or the manipulator of history, most of their narratives focus on the characters' illusion of historical agency and conviction that their personal growth and becoming is inextricably bound up with the fate of their national, racial or ethnic community. All these novels construe self-knowledge as inseparable from historical knowledge. Their project of historicising identity reflects the insights underlying all postmodern debates on the interrelations between story and history writing. The fictions of Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro conflate the literary canons of postcoloniality and postmodernity in their compelling demonstration that 'the process of narrativization has come to be seen as a central form of human comprehension, of imposition of meaning and formal coherence on the chaos of events...Narrative is what translates knowing into telling' (Hutcheon 121).

The narrativisation of universal experience enacted in their fiction envisages both the reassembling of an integrative world-picture out of the chaos of historical contingency and the recognition of the self in the broken mirror of historical and cultural displacements, relocations, and hybridisations. Their fictional universes are governed by the principle that knowledge of the world and self-knowledge are the twin facets of human experience, constantly conditioning and shaping each other. For all their awareness of the provisional nature of historical truths, there is one ultimate truth which their narratives assert, more or less explicitly – that identity is both iterative and performative, and that it can only be articulated through its engagement of history.

The transition from “public administration” to “new public management”. Shifting attitudes towards the major restructuring of the public sector

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Abstract: During last decades, the term “public administration” has largely been substituted by that of “(new) public management”. The present paper discusses the rationale underlying these conceptual and terminological redefinitions, as well as the bearings of an innovative theoretical outlook on the development of effective practices in the field. Therefore, it attempts to identify the achievements, as well as the potential problems recorded in the process of implementing the new principles in the domain of public management.

Key-words: public administration, public management, public sector, public services, government

Throughout the world there is a quest for a new approach to public sector management, for the ‘reinvention’ of government. In the United States, the efficient management of the federal government and of essential public services, such as health and education, is at the core of the political success of the executive. In the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR, the determined efforts to improve quality in basic services and to implement the policy of privatization (‘the transfer of state assets from the public to the private sector, reflecting the contraction of the state’s responsibilities’¹) within the public realm, have yet to prove their adequacy and efficiency in meeting the multifarious challenges of public reformation and economic transition. Furthermore, the economic difficulties and external pressure which less-developed countries are currently facing have led to a re-evaluation of the state’s role in the economy.

In contrast to other West European countries, the UK is probably the most classic example of the successful reformation of the processes and structures of public agencies. Britain under the Thatcher government in the 1980s played a pioneering role in adopting private sector values in public administration, often associated with ‘the dominance and lethargy of public bureaucrats’². In the words of Heywood, the term public administration denotes ‘either the mechanisms and institutions through which public policy is put into effect, or the academic discipline that studies these mechanisms’³. The study of public administration typically brings into focus ‘public sector values such as democracy, accountability, equity, and probity’⁴, while simultaneously sharing a concern with the efficacy of the state apparatus.

However, the public administration approach has repeatedly proved to be fairly ineffective due to its bureaucratic practices, usually regarded as not only inefficient and time-consuming formalities, but also as the trigger point for the backwardness of political sophistication within the public sector. As a consequence, new tools of governance have started to emerge so as to improve government performance in running the public sector.

With a view to eradicating these flaws of traditional ‘administration’, there has been a widespread move towards public management reform, inherently consisting of ‘deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with the objective of getting them (in some sense) to run better’⁵. This process, broadly described as ‘new public management’ (NPM), proposes ‘a set of new ideas about how government can get its job done’⁶. A key characteristic of the ‘new

¹ Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 391

² J.A. Chandler, *Comparative Public Administration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 254

³ Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 387

⁴ Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 9

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 8

⁶ Jan-Erik Lane, *The Public Sector: Concepts, Models and Approaches* (London: Sage, 2000), p. 304

public management' is 'the introduction of market mechanisms to the running of public service organisations: the marketisation of the public service'⁷.

The field of public management is regarded as being relatively new: it started in the UK with the implementation of the *laissez-faire* ('the principle of nonintervention of government in economic affairs'⁸) policy of Premier Margaret Thatcher in the early 1980s and has since spread all over the globe. New public management has at its core 'the employment of private law contracts in order to provide public services'⁹. Accordingly, this process has involved an increasing trend towards the privatization of publicly owned businesses, commonly associated with the '3 Es', i.e. economy, efficiency and effectiveness¹⁰.

Privatisation in Britain has proved to be rather 'contagious'¹¹, thus having considerable resonance within many European liberal democracies by the late 1980s. In France, Mitterand's later years as President and Chirac's years as Prime Minister and later President have been marked by an increasing tendency towards public-private partnerships, developed through a general process of selling nationalized businesses to private bodies. At the same time, both Italy and Germany have also transferred many of their state holdings to private ownership, thus clearly illustrating the natural 'tendency for nation states with broadly similar ideological cultures to learn from one another, and hence begin a process of convergence'¹².

Given the foregoing discussion, one can clearly conclude that in many countries, the last twenty years have been characterized for the most part by an 'extensive borrowing by public sectors of management ideas and techniques which originated in the commercial sector'¹³. However, the question of how far this has been 'a good thing' and how far it should go has sparked off considerable debate among politics scholars.

The optimists regard public management as 'a symptom of modernization – a dynamic force for change'¹⁴. Public management reform is usually conceived as 'a means to *multiple* ends, [such as] making *savings* (economies) in public expenditure, improving the *quality* of public services, making the operations of government more *efficient*, and increasing the chances that the policies which are chosen and implemented will be *effective*'¹⁵. Moreover, the 'reinvention' of government may play a key role in achieving a wide range of '*intermediate* ends, including those of strengthening the control of politicians over the bureaucracy, freeing public officials from bureaucratic constraints that inhibit their opportunities to manage, and enhancing the government's *accountability* to the legislature and the citizenry for its policies and programmes'¹⁶. Finally, the so-called '*symbolic and legitimacy benefits*' of management reform, which politicians usually enjoy, definitely deserve careful consideration. For politicians, these benefits consist partially of attracting favourable attention to their innovative activities of 'announcing reforms, criticizing bureaucracy, praising new management techniques, promising improved services for the future, restructuring ministries and agencies'¹⁷. In short, they gain in reputation, thus making a career out of 'modernizing' and 'streamlining' activities.

Walsh identifies two strands of the new public management: managerialism and the primacy of market-based coordination based upon indirect control rather than direct authority. The first strand, i.e. managerialism, involves a number of aspects: 'continuous increases in efficiency; the use of 'ever-more-sophisticated' technologies; a labour force disciplined to productivity; clear implementation of

⁷ Kieron Walsh, *Public Services and Market Mechanisms: Competition, Contracting and the New Public Management* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), p. xi

⁸ Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 189

⁹ Jan-Erik Lane, *The Public Sector: Concepts, Models and Approaches* (London: Sage, 2000), p. 317

¹⁰ Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 391

¹¹ J.A. Chandler, *Comparative Public Administration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 251

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 15

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the professional management role; managers being given the right to manage'¹⁸. To put it in a nutshell, the main goal of managerialism is to achieve more effective control over work practices. As regards the second strand of the new management, its chief characteristics are rendered by: 'continual improvements in quality; emphasis upon devolution and delegation; appropriate information systems; emphasis upon contracts and markets; measuring performance; increased emphasis on audit and inspection'¹⁹. Hence one can easily observe that the emphasis shifts from the managers' right to manage to the imperative need for managers to be appropriately motivated and take decisions based on sound judgement²⁰.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that NPM also evinces a series of negative facets. The sceptics argue that there is a good deal of evidence to prove that management reforms can sometimes go wrong, in that they fail to yield a reasonable return. As a matter of fact, they may even produce 'perverse effects that render the relevant administrative processes worse than they were previously'²¹. Indeed, it can be argued that, since 'government reform is inherently political [...], the political framework within which public managers function limits their ability to offer the 'efficient' government sought by reformers'²². Consequently, along the advantages of 'increased efficiency, more services produced, lower costs, and higher contractual transparency'²³, new public management presents a number of disadvantages which cannot be ignored.

One of the major drawbacks of the restructuring of government is the gradual weakening of trust and public accountability, as well as the undermining of the public-service ethos that state bureaucracies have constantly struggled to develop. Besides the increasing lack of trust within professional organizations, democratic accountability is also precarious, due to the numerous contracts ('basically private agreements') within which the public discourse or the public domain becomes essentially hidden²⁴.

Additionally, there is what economists call 'transaction costs' ('the time and effort applied to concluding a contract'²⁵), which are marked by a process of considerable proliferation of the time needed for the negotiation and implementation of all these contracts. Last but not least, the introduction of NPM reforms could also increase the level of corruption ('a quasi-legal term meaning a failure to carry out 'proper' or public responsibilities because of the pursuit of private gain'²⁶) in public institutions and systems, thus leading to greater instability and social inequality, as generated in countries such as New Zealand and the UK²⁷.

Consequently, it becomes apparent that 'certain trade-offs and dilemmas are exceedingly common in administrative change, so that the achievement of one or two particular ends might well be 'paid for' by a lowered performance in other respects'²⁸. Therefore, many argue that the main advantage of NPM, i.e. lower costs to government, is counterbalanced by 'a reduction in the quality of public services and an increase in transaction costs'²⁹. For this very reason, stating the limits of the applicability of NPM in the public sector has become a vital and relevant objective for the scholars employed in exploring this recent, yet prevailing trend of reformation within the public sphere.

¹⁸ Kieron Walsh, *Public Services and Market Mechanisms: Competition, Contracting and the New Public Management* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), p. xiii

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. xiv

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 7

²² H. George Frederickson and Jocelyn M. Johnston, *Public Management Reform and Innovation: Research, Theory, and Application* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1999), pp. 357-358

²³ Jan-Erik Lane, *The Public Sector: Concepts, Models and Approaches* (London: Sage, 2000), p. 315

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 317

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 316

²⁶ Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 389

²⁷ Tony Verheijen and David Coombes, *Innovations in Public Management: Perspectives from East and West Europe* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1998), p. 415

²⁸ Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert, *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 7

²⁹ Jan-Erik Lane, *The Public Sector: Concepts, Models and Approaches* (London: Sage, 2000), p. 318

All things considered, the evidence of good practice suggests that 'regional and local governments preoccupied with several allocative tasks may profit from the wise employment of new public management'³⁰, while learning 'to conduct processes of tendering/bidding in a transparent manner, as well as implementing contracts in an efficient manner, including the monitoring of fulfillment of the terms of a contract'³¹. To sum up, one should bear in mind that, whilst 'reform is a *learning process* [...] which can and sometimes does lead to shifts of strategy [...] [which] can be faulty and lead to superficial or mistaken conclusions'³², it can be set on the right course towards progress and innovation in reforming the former domain of public administration.

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La notion de personne. L'ontologie morale de Charles Taylor

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Abstract: In this study I intend to show that personal identity depends crucially on values or on how we relate to them. Charles Taylor, the renowned Canadian thinker, highlighted in several papers the difference between the human individual and the human person. The human person can be seen as identity through difference, and the individual can be seen as instantiation of a general, of the human species, as identity of similarity, of belonging, or of in-difference. What is irreducible personal in man is linked with his way of assessing, with the way he relates to values which are not deliberately built, but recognized and assimilated to his uniqueness, to his personal identity, as landmarks within a moral space as outlined by the strong evaluations through which certain things appears to us as good or as bad, or as not worthy of our appreciation, independent of our subjective preferences. Through the language they are formulated, which represents the social practices of communication, the community of belonging is present in the structure of personal identity.

Key words: personhood, practical identity, strong evaluation, moral space

La réflexion contemporaine sur l'identité personnelle a reçu des détails importants de la part de la philosophie morale. Charles Taylor, l'illustre historien des idées et le chercheur des sources de l'identité morale de l'homme moderne, a mené une vaste enquête sur les implications de l'individualisme et sur la compréhension de la vie sociale. Du point de vue communautarien, Taylor a critiqué le libéralisme procédural, comme cela a été formulé dans la tradition inaugurée par John Locke et Kant et achevée par J. Rawls dans son célèbre ouvrage *Une théorie de la justice*¹

Taylor n'a pas eu pour but de contester le libéralisme en tant que tel, mais seulement celle version qui ignore les relations constitutives que les êtres humains comme agents moraux ont avec la société dans laquelle ils appartiennent. D'abord, il a estimé que toute compréhension de l'état moral et politique des gens dans les sociétés modernes dépend fondamentalement d'une anthropologie. Il propose une variante du libéralisme, le libéralisme de la raison engagée, de l'expressivité et de l'authenticité, qui ne commence pas à partir de l'individu auto-suffisant, égoïste et rationnel, guidé uniquement par ses calculs et intérêts, mais du concept de *personne*, qui circonscrit le profil de l'homme beaucoup plus précise et nuancée, dont l'identité repose sur des valeurs et repères normatives fournies par la communauté d'appartenance.

Charles Taylor est un penseur complexe qui pratique l'histoire des idées, en particulier l'histoire des idées morales et politiques, avec les outils du sociologue et avec les outils du philosophe (l'analyse conceptuelle, par exemple). Sa réflexion a mis l'accent en particulier sur la modernité, ayant parmi les thèmes de prédilection la genèse de l'identité personnelle de l'homme moderne, la sécularisation, ou l'authenticité. Dans cette étude, je vais essayer d'examiner la notion de personne morale et l'ontologie sous-jacente comme thèmes de méditation dans l'œuvre taylorienne, en particulier dans son ouvrage capitale: *Les sources du moi. La construction de l'identité moderne*²

Where it is more than simply a synonym for “human being” “person” figures primarily in moral and legal discourse. A person is a being with a *certain moral status*, or a bearer of rights. But underlying the moral status, as its condition, are certain capacities. A person is a being who has a sense of self, has a notion of the future and the past, *can hold values*, make choices; in short, can adopt life-plans. At least, a person must be the kind of being who is *in principle capable* of all this, however damaged these capacities may be in practice.³

Charles Taylor a réalisé un ample programme pour démonter le libéralisme procédural, mobilisant des arguments d'ordre épistémologique et herméneutique. L'un des objectifs de sa critique a été la subjectivité désengagée, tel qu'elle a été promue par l'épistémologie classique. Taylor s'oppose au naturalisme, qui tend à réduire les sciences humaines aux sciences naturelles, considérées comme un paradigme de la rigueur scientifique. Il critique également l'épistémologie classique, empiriste ou cartésien, en tant qu'elle entend réductivement l'expérience comme la réception passive des données d'observation, et sépare ainsi artificiellement entre la perception et notre interaction avec les choses. Conformément à cette position, il critique aussi le behaviorisme, la théorie selon laquelle les actions et les comportements sont l'expression des contenus mentales; les contenus mentales explique, donc, le comportement et sont considérées comme fondamentales du point de vue cognitive et ontologique. Le naturalisme explique pourquoi les significations ont été éliminées de la philosophie morale moderne. De même, le modèle épistémologique fondé sur le naturalisme engendre les aspirations de l'éthique vers l'universalisme.

L'opposition au naturalisme se reflète dans l'analyse que Taylor a fait au libéralisme. Il distingue un libéralisme procédural, qu'il critique, et un libéralisme de la diversité. Le libéralisme procédural repose sur la primauté des droits individuels, et la société est considérée comme une association d'individus où chacun a sa propre conception du bien (Rawls). Le gouvernement doit rester neutre en ce qui concerne la définition de la vie bonne, pour que les citoyens soient traités équitablement. Le libéralisme procédural dépend fondamentalement de l'épistémologie classique. Il engendre une vision de l'identité personnelle qui a comme traits déterminantes l'atomisme et la subjectivité désengagée. Le désengagement exige d'éliminer la dimension normative des choses, et réside finalement dans la mise en œuvre de l'expérience personnelle d'une manière impersonnelle. Le sujet désengagé est un sujet "free and rational to the extent that he has fully distinguished himself from his natural and social worlds, so that his identity is no longer to be defined in what lies outside him in these worlds"⁴

Le terme «atomisme» réfère à la tendance des gens de concevoir leurs objectifs, leurs buts en termes individuels et d'adhérer à la société sur des bases instrumentales. L'Atomisme est basée principalement sur la raison désengagée et le désengagement implique un sujet indépendant qui trouve ses finalités en soi. Il en résulte que l'autorité politique dépend du consentement individuel. L'autonomie est un concept clé du libéralisme procédural et assume la primauté des droits individuels. Elle dépend aussi de la subjectivité désengagée (cette version particulière d'identité soutenue par l'épistémologie moderne classique).

La critique de Taylor se déroule sur trois niveaux:

1. Il critique le modèle procédural du libéralisme, comme dépendant d'une ontologie atomiste et ignorant, par conséquent, la nature dialogique de la condition humaine.
2. Ce modèle véhicule une conception instrumentale des institutions et pratiques sociales.
3. Ce modèle promue et défend aussi un principe de neutralité, qui ne reconnaît pas un certain bien particulier: le bien commun et le bien convergent sont deux choses différents.

Taylor pense que c'est possible un modèle de libéralisme qui respecte la diversité et les droits individuels fondamentaux et reconnaît une définition publique du bien désengagé. Le respect pour l'individu en tant que porteur actif des droits inhérentes a plusieurs sources: le théisme traditionnel (Dieu), le naturalisme de la raison désengagée (la Raison, la Nature), l'expressivisme romantique (Nature, moi authentique).

Taylor critique les implications ontologiques de l'épistémologie classique et le sujet désengagé, qui pourrait connaître et agir indépendamment de ce qu'il en est donné. Taylor trouve un autre individualisme moral, celui de l'authenticité. Il comprend l'originalité comme une sorte de fidélité pour la vérité intérieure : "being true to oneself"

Not only should I fit my life to the demands of external conformity; I can't even find the model to live by outside myself. I can find it only within. Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, and that is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is properly my own⁵

Taylor identifie une autre forme d'individualisme, celui de l'*authenticité*, l'individu a un style de vie qui n'est plus encore centrée sur lui-même (et les institutions ont seulement une valeur instrumentale). Il s'ensuit que l'individu est défini par rapport à un horizon de sens, non seulement par la capacité de choisir:

It may be important that my life be chosen, as John Stuart Mill asserts in *On Liberty*, but unless some options are more significant than others, the very idea of self choice falls into triviality and hence incoherence. Self-choice as an ideal makes sense only because some *issues* are more significant than others [...] Which issues are significant, I do not determine. If I did, no issue would be significant. But then the very ideal of self-choosing *as a moral ideal* would be impossible⁶

Le choix n'a plus une valeur en soi, mais par rapport à la signification de son objet. De même, les exigences morales sont indépendantes de nos désirs et de nos choix. L'authenticité exige de revaloriser les liens avec les autres, de partager avec eux un horizon de significations. Le bien (commun) transcende la subjectivité des choix et des préférences individuelles; les relations sociales sont essentielles, constitutives et ne sont pas seulement instrumentales. Il s'ensuit qu'un individualisme morale est possible (l'individualisme de l'authenticité, de la différence spécifique qui devient visible sur le fond des significations partagées). C'est un individualisme de la subjectivité engagée, qui révèle le caractère dialogique de la condition humaine.

Taylor attaque le libéralisme procédural en tant qu'il s'appuie sur une *ontologie atomiste* qui prend le bien commun pour bien convergent. L'ontologie de Taylor est *holiste*. Le libéralisme, à son avis, doit être corrigé, doit inclure dans sa définition une conception publique du bien. C'est une ontologie morale qui met l'accent sur l'enracinement des individus dans une communauté de langage. Le langage est conçu comme un ensemble des formes symboliques, qui fournit du sens aux actions humains.

Taylor cherche de réinterpréter la raison pratique. Il affirme une liaison essentielle entre l'identité et l'orientation morale des gens. L'orientation morale est une précondition de l'action morale; elle suppose un espace morale qui comporte des distinctions qualitatives préexistantes:

I want to defend the strong thesis that doing without frameworks [of signification] is utterly impossible for us; otherwise put, that the horizons within which we live our lives and make sense of them have to include these strong qualitative discriminations. Moreover, this is not meant just as a contingently psychological fact about human beings, which could perhaps turn out one day not to hold for some exceptional individual or new type, some superman of disengaged objectification. Rather the claim is that living within such strongly qualified horizons is constitutive of human agency, that stepping outside what we would recognize as integral, that is undamaged personhood⁷

L'identité personnelle sous-tend l'action humaine. L'action est guidée par la reconnaissance des distinctions qualitatives dans l'horizon moral sous-jacent; donc, l'identité dépend du fait que les choses reçoivent leur signification telles qu'elles sont interprétées par un langage qui est porteur des distinctions qualitatives irréductible à des choix qualitatifs ou préférences (la langue est une pratique sociale qui comprend des formes symboliques et des significations partagées, pratique validé par le consensus tacite d'une communauté).

Sur le plan moral se révèle le rôle clé, constitutif de la communauté; elle représente vraiment une condition de possibilité pour l'identité individuelle. La communauté détient la langue par laquelle l'homme définit le sens que les choses ont pour lui. Par cette langue, l'individu gagne son identité, comprend ses actions et leur significations.

Taylor a parmi ses objectifs de révéler la *structure intentionnelle de l'expérience* intentionnelle, de montrer que le monde est perçu par un sujet incarné, que cette perception n'est pas un fait contingent que l'on retrouve de façon empirique, mais elle est la condition de possibilité de l'expérience même.

En outre, le sujet comme agent est une *personne*, un sujet moral; on ne peut pas expliquer l'action humaine indépendamment des significations que les choses ont pour les individus. Le point de vue personnel, la perspective du sujet connaissant et de l'agent ne peut et ne doit pas être exclue quand on cherche d'expliquer l'action. La compréhension de la signification des choses est inhérente à l'action, est sa condition de possibilité.

Taylor s'oppose à une manière objective et impersonnelle de concevoir la raison désengagée. Être sujet c'est occuper une perspective dans un espace morale, l'espace des questions morales et pratiques. De même, la localisation dans le cadre des distinctions qualitatives est constitutive pour l'action humaine.

[...] being a self is inseparable from existing in a space of moral issues, to do with identity and how one ought to be. It is being able to find one standpoint in this space, being able to occupy, to *be* a perspective in it.⁸

Taylor donne un sens fort: la conscience de l'activité est inclus dans l'activité même, conclusion qu'il tire de la constatation que le sujet est incarné (embodied). Taylor et aussi Kymlicka soutiennent que la communauté contient les conditions de l'identité des individus, c'est elle qui détermine les problèmes, les repères importantes en vertu desquelles les individus font des choix. Kymlicka reconnaît le rôle crucial de l'appartenance culturelle dans l'établissement de l'identité individuelle, mais il affirme que seuls les individus ont valeur morale. Taylor croit que nos réactions morales impliquent une vision ontologique: nous ne pouvons pas dire ce qui donne sens à nos réponses, à nos réactions sans un certain cadre moral. C'est une raison pour rejeter le subjectivisme moral, c'est à dire d'affirmer que les intuitions et les réactions morales sont plus que des simples préférences. Si on va affirmer ça, on détruira la responsabilité d'articuler, d'argumenter les fondements des nos intuitions. Il est difficile, presque inconcevable pour les gens de renoncer à ces cadres d'évaluation. Ces cadres d'évaluation sont supposés par l'argumentation morale et par le concept de la personnalité que nous avons. Qui suis-je signifie aussi où est ma place. Mon identité est définie par les engagements et les identifications qui fournissent l'horizon dans lequel je peux déterminer ce qui est précieux, bon et digne. Les personnes qui définissent leur identité en termes d'engagement à une église à ou un parti politique, en tant que membres d'une nation, d'une classe ou d'un tribu, ne prétendent pas d'avoir seulement un fort attachement pour certaines valeurs ou perspectives; ils affirment que cette sorte d'identifications fournit un cadre d'évaluation sans lequel ils ne sauraient plus le sens qu'un large éventail de choses avait pour eux, sans lequel ils seraient désorientés. Le sentiment d'identité est donc essentiel à notre orientation morale. Puisque l'identité est ce qui nous permet de définir ce qui est important pour nous et ce qui n'est pas, on a besoin de faire des évaluations fortes; c'est pourquoi l'identité définie seulement par préférences *de facto* et non par options motivées par évaluations fortes est incohérente. Ainsi, l'idée que l'adoption d'un cadre moral est facultative est fondamentalement fautive. L'orientation morale est inévitable, parce que la question morale offre des réponses inévitables.

[...]to speak of orientation is to presuppose a space-analogue within which one finds one's way. To understand our predicament in terms of finding or losing orientation in moral space is to take the space which our framework seeks to define as ontologically basic. The issue is, Through what framework-definitions can I find my bearings in it? In other words as basic that the human agent exists in a space of questions. And these are the questions to which our framework-definitions are answers, providing the horizon within which we know where we stand, and what meanings things have for us.⁹

Ne doit pas être ignoré, dit Taylor, l'origine sociale des finalités humaines, le fait que les gens sont des êtres humains qui interprètent leur condition, dont l'identité personnelle dépend de l'orientation et de l'engagement envers les notions de bien qui dérivent de la structure de leur communauté linguistique.

Rejetant le libéralisme procédural et ses suppositions individualistes et contractualistes, Taylor attaque frontalement le subjectivisme (et le scepticisme) morale. Par conséquent, il soutient que les intuitions morales peuvent être comprises par un discours rationnel et articulé, faisant appel à des larges cadres d'évaluation. Sa méditation repose sur la double nature des réactions morales. Il y a une dimension instinctive de ces réactions. Les violations de la dignité des autres peuvent nous produire une réaction de rejet similaire à la répulsion organique. Si le recours à certaines propriétés physiques d'une substance est suffisant pour fournir la motivation pour la nausée, les motifs moraux ne sont pas assez évidents empiriquement et nécessitent une certaine argumentation. Les agents moraux, en tant que *personnes*, peuvent expliquer pourquoi les gens méritent le respect. D'une part il y a la constatation de la réaction morale, et de l'autre la nécessité d'argumenter la raison de cette réaction. Mais, quand on donne des arguments pour la motivation d'une certaine réaction de désapprobation / répulsion morale contre la violation de la dignité des autres, on emploie des critères qui sont indépendants envers la réaction donnée. Pour apprécier ses réactions, l'homme fait usage de ce qu'on appelle les évaluations fortes, de la discrimination entre le bien et le mal dans les termes des certains standards qui sont indépendants par rapport aux *désirs* et *préférences*. Les évaluations fortes annoncent le registre objectif de la morale.

Les institutions morales et la pensée morale en général peuvent être analysées, selon Taylor, selon trois axes: a) l'axe des relations avec les autres, en particulier en ce qui concerne ce que nous devons aux hommes pour reconnaître leur dignité en tant que personnes; b) l'axe concernant les conceptions sur le bien et sur la vie fleurissante. (La première axe représente une morale minimale, celle du devoir envers les autres; la deuxième représente une morale maximale, celle du bien et d'une vie pleine); c) une axe concernant le sens de la propre dignité; c'est la morale du respect de soi et de la reconnaissance qu'on attend de la part des autres.

Les trois axes supposent une certaine ontologie de l'être humaine, qui est une personne et non simplement une entité abstraite, antérieurement individuée, comme a été caractérisée par le libéralisme classique. C'est l'articulation des intuitions morales qui sous-tend cette ontologie. Les cadres d'évaluation de ces trois axes s'appuient nécessairement sur les évaluations fortes. Si, par exemple, à la question «Que est-ce que c'est la vie bonne?» les gens essaieraient de répondre sur la base des réactions instinctives ou envies du moment, ils pourraient ruiner leur vie. Seul un horizon objectif d'évaluation, comme il se relève dans la vie d'une communauté, peut intégrer des distinctions qualitatives. En référence à ces distinctions, critères et normes, certaines actions peuvent être considérés comme favorables pour la vie bonne, tandis que d'autres (basées sur les instincts, les désirs et les inclinations) peuvent être considérés comme moins bonne. Entre les options s'établit ainsi non seulement une différence *quantitative*, concernant le grade, mais une différence *qualitative*. Ne sont pas seulement plus désirables, mais elles ont qualitativement un autre statut.

Taylor estime qu'aucun système éthique ne peut éviter s'engager envers les évaluations fortes: ni la morale hédoniste, ni celle ascétique, celle de l'honneur, etc. C'est le rejet du subjectivisme moral (qui croit que nos intuitions et réponses morales ne sont que l'expression des préférences arbitraires). Pour exprimer ces idées (morales) est nécessaire de préciser leur fondement (autre que les désirs et les préférences). Et ce désir d'articulation n'est pas optionnel.

Les cadres évaluatives impliqués dans l'action morale sont aussi sous entendues dans la notion de personne. «Qui suis-je?» dépend de «Ou suis-je?», de l'emplacement dans l'espace moral, de l'«identification», de ma position envers ce qui est bon et digne d'être choisi et réalisé. Quand les gens définissent leur identité grâce à la participation, l'appartenance à une église, à un parti politique, nation, classe sociale, ou tribu, ils n'expriment pas seulement des sentiments d'attachement à une cause, une idée, un point de vue, mais plaident en faveur d'un cadre d'évaluation, qui préexiste aux préférences. Voilà pourquoi l'orientation morale est constitutive pour l'*identité* de quelqu'un, mais nous ne pouvons pas expliquer ce qui donne du sens à nos significations morales moral en l'absence d'un cadre articulé sur les trois axes mentionnés ci-dessus. L'identification comme emplacement et orientation exige le rapport à un référentiel objectif.

Taylor a ajouté aussi la dimension dialogique de l'identité personnelle, dimension qui souligne l'importance des facteurs communautaires. La question «Qui êtes-vous?» prétend de traiter quelqu'un comme un interlocuteur potentiel dans une communauté d'interlocuteurs. Pour répondre à cette question, il faut savoir le nom, les relations avec les autres (parents, voisins...), les engagements et les affiliations, les options pour un groupe (d'appartenance ou d'intérêt), le rôle social (profession,

position publique). Celui qui répond est quelqu'un qui a un nom, un rôle, des fonctions, des relations, une profession, des options, etc., quelqu'un qui est pris dans le réseau de significations et des fonctions d'une communauté d'interlocuteurs potentiels.

La crise d'identité se produit lorsque vous ne savez pas où vous vous situez. La manière de constitution des évaluations fortes ne dépend pas seulement d'une préférence ou autre, alors que notre identité (qui suis-je) dépend de ce qui est important pour nous (pour nous donner une identité) - n'est pas seulement une préférence. L'idée que nous pouvons adopter a volonté un cadre d'évaluation est profondément erronée. Une recherche de ma place (c'est à dire de définir mon identité) se passe dans un cadre qui existe indépendamment de moi, de ma subjectivité versatile, mais aussi indépendamment de ma réussite ou de l'échec de me guider à travers lui.

L'orientation morale dans l'espace est aussi réelle que celle dans l'espace physique (haut-bas, de gauche à droite). Taylor affirme que l'homme est un être qui s'interprète elle-même. Cela signifie qu'il est une créature dont la nature et identité dépendent décisivement de la manière d'auto interprétation et du fait que les choses ne lui sont pas indifférents, mais ont du sens et d'importance, en d'autres termes, qu'il se rapporte à certains critères et normes de qualité qui définissent son horizon moral (de choix, d'évaluation, et d'action morale).

Le vocabulaire par lequel sont caractérisées les situations, exprimés les sentiments et projetés les fins apparaît dans les pratiques sociales de communication. Dans cet langage est vérifié l'adéquation entre les fins, les situations et les sentiments. Les situations, les fins et les sentiments s'expriment dans une langue. Dans ce cas, la langue vérifie l'adéquation situations - sentiments – fins. Le vocabulaire par lequel sont caractérisées les situations, exprimés les sentiments, projetés les fins, naît dans les pratiques sociales communicatives. Les significations des choses véhiculés par la pratique du langage s'entrecroisent avec leur interprétations. L'auto-interprétation des *expériences significatives* participe à la genèse et à la fixation des significations. Ça explique pourquoi, pour Taylor, être agent humain signifie expérimenter une certaine situation (et être situé) en termes de la signification.

¹ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

² Taylor, C., *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1989.

³ Taylor, C., 1985, *Human agency and language: Philosophical papers*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴ C. Taylor, „Overcoming epistemology”, dans Kenneth Baynes, James Bohman et Thomas Mc Carthy, dir., *After Philosophy: End or Transformation?*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1987, p. 471

⁵ Taylor, C., *The Malaise of Modernity*, House of Anansi Pr (1998) p. 29; p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷ Taylor, C., *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, ed. cit., p. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

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Narratio et epistula: le discours de Didon dans l'Enéide de Virgile et dans la VIIème Héroïde d'Ovide

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Abstract : This paper presents the evolution of the means of expression from Virgil to Ovid, by the analysis of the way the same mythical event, Aeneas' departure from Troj and his encounter with Dido in the newly founded Carthagina, is reflected in literature. The Romans' national poet, Virgil occupies the first four books of his epepea with the magnificent narration of Aeneas' fleeing from Asia Minor. In Ovid's lyrical epistle we discover as poetic innovation the self-description of the character in the third person or the description of the second person in the third person, as a mark of objectivation. Unlike modern and contemporary literatures, the ancient ones consist in the mixture of forces: human and divine, accomplishing the event. The main voice in Virgil is the narrator, while in Ovid Dido's lyrical string proves an extraordinary creative force.

Key-words: self-description, forms of address, evolution of poetic resources.

1. Introduction

L'épisode de la fuite d'Enée de Troie et le débarquement en Carthage, avec la conviction d'avoir découvert *la terre promise*, représente un des mythes de fondation du peuple romain, qui sera exploité par les grands poètes latins, comme Virgile ou Ovide.

Je suivrai dans cette communication la comparaison entre ces deux écrivains latins, en mettant en évidence les similitudes –la fidélité avec laquelle Ovide suit la tradition littéraire dans la présentation de la rencontre entre Didon et Enée, de même que les différences, qui résident surtout dans les techniques discursives ; dans l'œuvre du poète national des Romains, Virgile, l'épisode carthaginois du voyage d'Enée vers l'Italie recouvre les premiers quatre livres de l'épopée, tandis que le poète Ovide, écrivain des amours et des sentiments délicats, lui dédiera une *epistula*, lettre imaginaire du volume des *Héroïdes* (la septième lettre).

L'épopée de Virgile est écrite en hexamètres, le mythe de Didon étant raconté comme narration; chez Ovide, pour la présentation des mêmes événements, le poète choisit une façon directe de s'adresser, d'un lyrisme troublant. Du point de vue de l'expressivité, le dramatisme dont Didon plaide pour ses propres sentiments et l'alternance entre les trois personnes, dans son douloureux discours vers le conquérant Enée, sont extraordinaires.

2. Description de la personne et présentation des faits chez Virgile et Ovide

Parmi les techniques discursives, qui pourraient représenter même une convention littéraire de l'Antiquité, nous mettons en évidence la description de la première personne à la troisième personne, ce qui signifie pratiquement la représentation picturale, plane, comme une toile des événements. Didon parle de soi avec distance : v. 9 : *miseramque relinquere Didon*. De plus, la reine de Tyr se voit remplacée par *altera Dido (une autre Didon)*. La lucidité de l'héroïne est surprenante, le poète Ovide remportant le mérite de connaître parfaitement les personnages :

v. 9 : Certus es ire tamen miseramque relinquere Didon?

(T'es-tu décidé à partir, abandonnant la pauvre Didon?)

v. 19 : Alter amor tibi restat? Habenda est altera Dido?

(Y a-t-il un autre amour qui te reste et une autre Didon?)

L'attitude de Didon est sceptique :

v. 5 : Nec quia te nostra sperem prece posse moueri

(Je ne t'envoie pas de lettre, dans l'espoir que la pensée te fera renoncer)

Plus que la réserve, on ressent la retractilité due à la peur du refus. Didon s'adresse à la première personne, qui gagne en directitude ce qu'elle perd en solennité. L'attitude de l'héroïne, de la personne qui parle, par rapport à la propre personne, est objective, alternant entre la première et la IIIème personne.

Dans les vers 25-35, le personnage de Didon s'adresse à Enée à la troisième personne, avouant qu'elle le voit et l'entend la nuit et le jour :

v. 26 : Aenean animo noxque diesque refert
(Quand je suis éveillé, je vois Enée dans mes pensées,
Le jour et la nuit, je vois Enée dans ma tête)

Dans sa prière envers sa belle-mère, Vénus, Didon, bien que reine puissante, s'autodéfinit *nurus* :

v.31 : Parce, Venus, nurui durumque amplectere fratrem.
(Vénus, épargne ta belle-mère, Amor, oblige ton frère cruel
A lutter sous ton drapeau d'or).

Comme il était prévisible, la capacité de Didon d'objectivisation et d'autodescription est suivie par l'imminence de la mort:

v. 68-70: Et Phrygia Dido fraude coacta mori;
Coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago
Tristis et effusis sanguinolenta comis.
(Le visage de Didon mourant par des ruses Phrygiennes.
Ta femme trompée s'asseyera devant toi
Avec des regards attristés et des cheveux dénattés).

Le dramatisme de l'expression est intensifié par la souplesse dont Didon réussit à changer la première personne avec la troisième personne, pour dénommer la propre personne-Didon- et pour appeler Enée:

v. 19: habenda est altera Dido?
(faut-il que tu aies une autre Didon?)

Après les questions incisives adressées par Didon à Enée :

v.24 : Unde tibi, quae te sic amet, uxor erit ?
(D'où auras-tu une femme qui t'aime ainsi ?)

la femme préfère de discuter à la troisième personne :

v. 26 : Aenean animo noxque diesque refert
(Le jour et la nuit, elle garde Enée dans son âme).

La deuxième personne sera reprise pour que Didon s'adresse directement à la déesse Vénus, la mère légendaire d'Enée et au dieu Amor :

v. 31-32 : Parce, Venus, nurui, durumque amplectere fratrem,
Frater Amor !
(Vénus, épargne ta belle-fille et embrasse ton dur frère,
Frère Amor !)

Cette alternance répétée entre la deuxième et la troisième personne peut signifier le profond malheur de Didon, qui chante sa mort (v. 35-38).

La troisième personne est utilisée dans des sentences :

v. 57 : *Nec uiolasse fidem temptantibus aequora prodest*

La subtilité et l'acuité psychologique du personnage Didon s'intensifient, lorsqu'elle demande à Enée un exercice d'imagination : v. 65 : *finge* : qu'il s'imagine avoir été attrapé dans une tempête sur mer ; avant la mort, sa conscience le fera voir l'image de Didon trompée et massacrée ; dans le dialogue avec son mari mort, Sychée, il y a les mêmes alternances entre la première et la troisième personne : v. 102 : *Elissa, ueni*. Aussi dans le vers 103 : *Nulla mora est, uenio, uenio tibi dedita coniunx*. Le même phénomène se signale dans les vers 133-134 : après s'être autodéfinie *Didon* (v.133), le personnage revient, utilisant le pronom de première personne *meo* (v.134).

Dans le septième épître, Didon ne s'adresse pas seulement à Enée, mais à des dieux surnaturels : la déesse Vénus, son premier mari Sychée (v.99). Les deux maris de Didon l'appellent d'un autre nom : le roi de Tyr l'appelle Elissa, le conquérant Enée l'appelle Sychée.

v. 99-104 : *Est mihi marmorea sacratu in aede Sychaeus*

(*Oppositae frondes uellerae alba tegunt*) ;

Hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari ;

Ipse sono tenui dixit : «Elissa, ueni » .

Nulla mora est, uenio, uenio tibi dedita uxor ;

Sum tamen admissi tarda pudore mei/

(Le visage sacré de Sychée se trouve dans un temple de marbre

Des feuilles enchaînées l'entourent, des tissus blancs le cachent ;

J'ai cru entendre une voix connue m'appeler

Et chuchotant doucement : « viens, Elissa ! » me disait-elle.

Je ne m'attarde plus, mon mari promis, je viens vers toi; seulement les pas,

puisque je connais ma faute, mes pas sont chancelants).

En appelant Enée *sceleratus*, Didon recommence sa présentation picturale, toujours à la IIIe personne : v. 133 -134, v. 135-138. Par compromis, la femme accepte tout rôle qu'Enée lui répartit; s'il n'est pas possible qu'elle soit sa femme, elle se contentera d'être son hôte, pourvu qu'elle lui appartienne. Cette décision est d'autant plus solennellement exprimée, qu'elle est énoncée à la troisième personne :

v. 168 : *Dido quodlibet esse feret*

(Didon serait satisfaite d'être n'importe quoi).

En priant sa sœur Anna de l'enterrer, l'héroïne écrira sa propre épitaphe: en refusant de s'intituler elle-même simplement *Elissa Sychaei* (v. 193)-puisque son premier mari étant mort, elle l'avait trompé dans ses sentiments, par son obsession pour Enée. Elle reconnaît que ce fut l'amour pour cet homme qui l'avait déterminée à mettre fin à ses jours, cependant l'acte a été commis *sua manu*.

3. Traits communs et phénomènes distincts dans l'*Enéide* de Virgile et dans l'épître ovidienne

L'*Enéide* de Virgile a un caractère grandiose, aussi Virgile fut-il considéré, grâce aux dimensions immenses de sa création, le poète national des Romains, symbole de la littérature latine. La plus visible différence entre les deux œuvres littéraires est l'espèce littéraire et la modalité de s'exprimer. Les deux ont été écrits en vers, l'épopée en hexamètres et les vers d'Ovide en distiche élégiaque. Virgile utilise comme modalité de s'exprimer la description et la narration, introduisant les voix des personnages, selon la technique du bas-relief, comme proéminence dans une étendue comme une toile. Chez Ovide, pour raconter les mêmes faits, le poète choisit une manière de s'adresser de l'héroïne d'un lyrisme supérieur ; la monumentalité de l'écrit de Virgile devient chez Ovide une acte de création raffiné, bien que de dimensions réduites. Le goût du public romain pour la littérature avait évolué au commencement du Ier siècle ap. J. -Chr., après l'époque d'or du classicisme, (Ier siècle av.

J.-Chr.). De plus, l'héroïsme avait fait de son mieux, la poésie se dirigeant vers un territoire du lyrisme et des émotions personnelles. Les événements étaient déjà connus par les lecteurs romains, le départ légendaire d'Enée vers Troie, son arrêt en Carthage et sa rencontre avec la reine Didon; la réception littéraire de l'époque a apprécié aussi le lyrisme subjectif proposé par Ovide, parce que, du point de vue de la thématique proposée, celle-ci était connue par le publique.

Chez les deux poètes, Enée est guidé dans son voyage par le dieu Mercure, ce dieu de la communication, des relations externes et du commerce. Dans le premier livre de l'Enéide, celui-ci, appelé *celui né de Maia*, est l'intermédiaire des troyens devant la reine Didon, à laquelle ils demandent de les recevoir en Carthage (I, 297-304); chez Ovide, dans les vers 139-142, le dieu non-individualisé, simplement appelé *deus*, ordonne aux Troyens de quitter Carthage, dans leur chemin vers l'Italie. La reine Didone est affligée, elle regrette de les avoir reçus et croit qu'à cause de ce dieu, *hoc deo duce*, Enée sera la victime des vents et des tempêtes.

Dans l'Enéide, la légende de la Carthage est racontée à Enée, qui avait accosté pour fonder une autre cité, par la déesse Vénus, qui lui expose toute la légende de Didon, d'origine de Tyr, mariée au phénicien Sychée. Le cruel Pygmalion, frère de Didon, tuera son beau-frère d'envie. Le corps non-enterré de son mari paraîtra dans le rêve à Didon, comme un spectre, lui conseillant de quitter le pays et lui offrant un trésor caché dans la terre. Voyageant sur la mer, les navires débarqueront sur une côte, en Carthage, où ils ont acheté de la terre, autant qu'ils ont pu entourer d'une peau de taureau (d'où le nom Byrsa, car en grec ancien *byrsa*, *es* se traduit comme peau d'animal).(En., 335-368). Le toponyme *Carthago* (Ernout –Meillet 1959 :102) provient du mot punique *qrt hdšt*, qui se traduit comme *nouvelle ville*, la création de Didon après avoir quitté le Tyr.

La légende transmise par Virgile en hexamètres sera réécrite par Ovide en distiche élégiaque, en descendant la tonalité vers la tristesse, le dramatisme, même la douleur. Chez Virgile, comme on a déjà montré, la déesse Vénus et l'écrivain omniscient même seront narrateurs, tandis que chez Ovide, Didon, dans sa lettre imaginaire introduira l'épisode sur Sychée. La femme verra le fantôme de son mari, qui l'entendra l'appeler par son nom, *Elyssa* (v. 102). L'héroïne raconte à la première personne les événements par lesquels elle quittera le Tyr, son pays d'origine et achètera les terres de Carthage. Ce sont les terres qu'elle avait offertes à Enée, aussi l'appelle-t-elle *perfide*. De plus, elle lui demande de renoncer aux objets sacrés et aux images des dieux, car un criminel (*impia dextra*) les profane, de sorte que les dieux regretteront d'avoir été sauvés des feux de Troie (v. 129-130). Le IVème livre de l'Enéide présente des parallélismes évidents avec la septième épître d'Ovide. Apprenant la décision d'Enée de quitter les territoires de Carthage, Didon s'adresse directement, en termes latins partiellement identiques avec l'œuvre d'Ovide. Elle l'appelle *perfide* (En., IV, 305), *crudelis* (IV, 311); on invoque aussi la pudeur perdue (IV, 322 :*exstinctus pudor*), de la perte de laquelle se plaint la femme dès le commencement de la lettre.

v. 79 : Sed neque fers tecum, nec quae mihi perfide, iactas .
(Mais tu ne les as pas amenés, perfide).

v. 97 : Exige, laese pudor, poenam et uiolate Sychaeae.
(Pour Sychée donne-moi la peine, pudeur blessé, venge-le).

Dans l'*Enéide* est énoncée la prière de Didon d'avoir un enfant d'Enée : un enfant qui rappelle cet homme aimé par elle serait la meilleure consolation, qui atténuera l'abandon et l'aidera à le pardonner de l'avoir quitté :

v. 327-330 : saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
Ante fugam suboles si quis mihi paruulus aula
Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer !
(Si j'avais reçu de toi, avant ta fuite,
Un bébé, et si le petit Enée jouait dans mes maisons,
En me rappelant ton visage, je ne me sentirais pas trompée,
Je ne me sentirais guère abandonnée!).

Voici une manière de vivre l'absence du bien-aimé. Dans la lettre ovidienne on énonce aussi hypothétiquement la possibilité que Didon ait un enfant d'Enée. Dans les vers 75-78 de l'épître ovidienne, le poète plaide pour le fils du héros du premier mariage, avec sa femme Creusa, Ascanius, que Didon voudrait protéger contre les dangers et les malheurs d'une éventuelle guerre. Le désir d'avoir un enfant d'Enée, exprimé au subjonctif désidératif, qui transmet le regret : v. 327-330 : *suscepta fuisset, luderet, referret, non uiderer*, se transforme en hypothèse chez Ovide : v. 133-138.

v. 133-138: Forsitan et grauidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo,
 Parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.
 Accedet fati matris miserabilis infans
 Et nondum nati funeris auctor eris,
 Cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli,
 Poenaque conexos auferet una duos.
 (Peut-être laisses-tu Didon enceinte, malheureux,
 Une partie de toi se cache dans mon sein;
 Pauvre enfant qui supporte, lui aussi, la torture de sa mère,
 Tu lui provoqueras la mort, avant qu'il soit né.
 Le frère du petit Iulius mourra avec sa mère
 Et les deux mourront amenés par le même torrent).

L'adverbe *forsitan* est utilisé comme marque de l'hypothétique. Ainsi, le futur devient un temps-mode, surtout parce qu'on prononce des mots solennels comme : *fatum, funus, poena*. La puissance de sa pensée est formidable chez cette femme, qui voit son propre enfant comme *frater Iuli*, laissant entrevoir l'amour et le soin qu'elle ressent pour le héros troyen.

Les événements sont narrés dans une diversité de points de vue : d'abord le narrateur omniscient, qui guide les interventions de dieux, puis les dieux eux-mêmes exposent les faits des personnages, souvent les personnages mêmes (surtout Didon) entrent en dialogue.

A la différence de l'épître ovidienne, dans laquelle, dans un style lapidaire et juridique, Didon écrit son épitaphe, en mentionnant le motif de son suicide, chez Virgile, l'héroïsme de l'épopée détermine la mise en scène du trépas de la femme malheureuse (v. 450, v. 642-705), se présentant aussi les déesses qui enlèvent l'âme, sa libération de la prison du corps. L'image où Iris coupe une mèche des cheveux de Didon, qui fait s'écouler la chaleur de son corps et répand sa vie dans les vents :

v. 705 : Dilapsus calor atque in uentos uita recessit.
 (Toute la chaleur s'est écoulée et sa vie se perd dans les vents).

Comme procédé littéraire, parler de soi à la troisième personne constitue une innovation poétique ovidienne, qui n'existe pas chez Virgile ; le vers de l'épopée virgilienne sont plus prévisibles, le drame de Didon étant exposé par le narrateur omniscient ou par l'héroïne même, qui, chez Virgile, refuse de s'objectiver, se comportant avec rationalité.

Un autre motif commun dans l'œuvre des deux poètes est le fait de s'adresser à sa sœur Anna, pour lui répartir la tâche de son propre enterrement: dans les vers 191-192 elle l'appellera :

Anna soror, soror Anna, meae male conscia culpae
 Iam dabis in cineres ultima dona meos.
 (Anna, ô ma soeur Anna, confidente de mes secrets,
 Des larmes, des offrandes grises tu m'apporteras bientôt).

Chez Virgile, Didon ne confie pas à Anna le poids lourd de l'épitaphe, mais elle lui déclare son amour pour Enée : comment elle est tombée amoureuse de lui, comment elle voudrait mourir à cause de la passion ardente. Elle l'appelle *Anna soror* (IV, 9) ou, plus simplement, *Anna*, le discours se constituant en confession douloureuse.

Un épisode commun des deux poètes est la rencontre entre Didon et Enée dans une grotte, cet épisode étant rappelé chez Ovide par une malédiction :

v. 93-94 : Illa dies nocuit, qua nos decliue sub antrum
Caeruleus subitis compulit imber aquis.
(Malheureux fut le jour quand, surpris par une tempête,
Nous avons cherché un logement dans une caverne, dans les montagnes).

Chez Virgile, la rencontre des deux personnages dans la caverne (*spelunca*) est mise en scène (*En .*, 165-172) comme une allégorie des noces envisagée par la nature même. Chez Virgile, l'épisode de la rencontre entre Didon et Enée a un caractère monumental. Le poème a été écrit en hexamètres, dans des vers longs et consistents, les événements étant présentés par des narrateurs différents : d'abord, des dieux comme Vénus, puis un narrateur omniscient qui connaît tous les événements, toutes les légendes et qui deviendra la source la plus importante d'information de la tradition littéraire et artistique dans la postérité.

Le sens du texte ovidien se laisse découvrir par la liaison entre les deux personnes: première et deuxième personne, parce que, à la différence du poème de Virgile, l'épître de Didon s'adresse directement : en perdant son premier mari, en perdant un deuxième partenaire, Enée, qui abandonne Didon, la femme croit avoir perdu la meilleure partie de soi. Les vers *animunque pudicum/ Cum male perdidierim, perdere uerba leue est* sont le témoignage d'une femme consciente d'avoir perdu son honneur par son aventure avec Enée. Il faut remarquer l'anastrophe de *perdere* et le polyptoton (le même mot, autrement conjugué) (Knox 2003 :204). Un sujet de controverse serait l'affirmation qu'entre l'épopée de Virgile et l'épître ovidienne on constate la différence de l'utilité. L'épître ne présente pas d'utilité pratique, parce que la tonalité élégiaque a une caractère personnel définitoire, tandis que l'écrit de Virgile est d'intérêt national et public, donc celle-ci détient de l'utilité. D'un lyrisme profond est l'apparition du cygne, qui chante au bord du fleuve Méandre au commencement de ce poème ovidien. Ce qui dans la culture moderne est connue sous le nom de *chant du cygne*, pour désigner la dernière contribution de la vie d'un artiste, a ses sources dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, se retrouvant même dans les premiers vers ovidiens. *Albus olor*, le cygne blanc est un élément poétique qui signifie la prémonition de la mort ; étant exploité dès la tragédie grecque, dès Eschylle, qui compare la prêtresse Cassandra à un cygne (Knox 2003: 203).

A qui s'adresse Didon dans la septième épître ovidienne?

Tout d'abord elle s'adresse à Enée, affirmant avec hypocrisie qu'elle n'a pas l'intention de le convaincre ou de le détourner de son chemin (v.5). Dans la rhétorique de l'Antiquité, l'épître en tant qu' espèce littéraire a été définie comme une conversation à moitié. Par la lettre, Didon parle avec Enée comme s'il était présent (Knox 2003 :203). De toutes les forces surnaturelles, la femme s'adresse aux dieux, par exemple Vénus, la mère d'origine divine d'Enée et à son frère, Amor ; se présentant comme *nurus* (belle-fille) de Vénus, Didon s'appuie sur l'aide de la famille dans cet obstacle sentimental. Le frère Amor est la deuxième divinité invoquée (v. 32) . Une autre réplique surnaturelle est représentée par l'image de Sychée de l'au-delà, qui appelle Didon chez soi (v. 100), en lui appliquant cependant un autre nom, *Elyssa* (v. 102). Enée, à son tour, sera déterminé de partir par le dieu Mercure (v. 139). L'épithaphe de la fin du poème (v. 193-196) est composée par Didon même, qui, comblée de mélancolie, se décide à se suicider. L'épithaphe représente une scène picturale de Didon sur son propre tombeau, dont on déduit la lucidité de cette femme, qui s'objective avec une telle force et prévoyance.

Comme source historique de transmission de cette légende sur la fuite de la reine Didon de Tyr vers la côte nord-africaine, où elle a fondé la cité de Carthage, a été premièrement énoncée par l'historien Timaeus (IVème siècle av. J. Chr.-IIIème siècle av. J. Chr.), mais, selon toutes les apparences, sa rencontre avec Enée a été une innovation virgilienne (Knox 2003 :201).

4. Conclusions

L'évolution littéraire qui se produit entre Virgile et Ovide est incontestable. Le lyrisme se raffine chez Ovide à la fois avec la découverte de son *ego*. Le concept d'*ego* est la création de la subjectivité par le langage. Un important élargissement de sa propre personnalité est le permanent dialogue entre la Ière et la IIème personne, l'innovation extraordinaire étant l'auto-description à la troisième personne, cette marque impersonnelle, l'idée de personne étant codifiée seulement dans la paire *je-tu*. Sachant qu'elle prononce son chant de cygne, le dernier de sa vie, Didon s'érige

pratiquement au-dessus de la temporalité et de l'existence physique, se regardant soi-même comme objet. La génialité poétique d'Ovide réside dans l'empathie parfaite établie entre le personnage légendaire Didon et ses capacités poétiques, pour laisser à la postérité une œuvre authentique et éternelle.

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Pan Europe: the Beginnings of the European Union

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Abstract: The above paper presents the life and work of the count Richard Nikolaus Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi (November 16, 1894, Tokyo, Japan – July 27, 1972, Schruns, Austria). Son of the Austrian diplomat Heinrich Count von Coudenhove-Kalergi and of his Japanese wife, Mitsuko Aoyama, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi was brought up in Catholic faith, and struggled to unite Europe. His main purpose was to block the Soviet Russian expansion over the whole Europe.

In 1920 he became a member of the Freemasons from Vienna. From that moment on, great political personalities of the time opened their doors to him: De Gaulle, A. Briand etc.

In 1922 he published the plan for establishing Pan-Europe organisation. In 1926 the first Pan-Europa Congress took place in Vienna attended by 2000 delegates who unanimously elected Richard von Coudenhove-'Kalergi as president.

On September 8, 1929, at the General Assembly of the United Nations League, Aristide Briand delivered his speech in which he praised the Pan-European Union as well as von Coudenhove-Kalergi ideas and work. The same speech was to be delivered in 1930 where he approved the proposal to initiate the European Federal Union. The one to criticise von Coudenhove-Kalergi was Adolf Hitler whose reaction was negative. Therefore after March 12, 1938 Anschluss, von Coudenhove-Kalergi was forced to flee from Austria to the U.S.A. He managed to organize there the 5th Pan-European Congress in the auditorium of the New York University, between 25th and 27th of March 1943. He also started a long collaboration with the archduke Otto von Habsburg.

In 1946, Winston Churchill delivered a speech in front of the academic youth in Zurich in which he praised Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi and his efforts in creating the Pan-European Union. One of the consequences was the creation of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) in 1947. Von Coudenhove-Kalergi advocated the common market, free-trade zone and common currency creation of Europe, before Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet did. The same Coudenhove-Kalergi was the one to propose the Beethoven's Ode to Joy as Pan-European Union anthem. All of his suggestions were enforced after his death. His merits have not been fully recongized because of his permanent anticommunist attitude.

Key-words: Pan Europe, anticommunism, Neue Freie Presse, Anschluss, European Parliamentary Union

We have tackled the present subject in an attempt to evoke the personality of count Richard Nikolaus Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi (November 16, 1894, Tokyo, Japan – July 27, 1972, Schruns, Austria¹) who succeeded in being one of the initiators of present-day European Union, not only owing to his obstinate, hard work but also his intelligent, political spirit, an innate ant not a cultivated one.

Unfortunately, his commendable qualities have seldom been highlighted, with few exceptions, in the German world, being overshadowed by the French Jean Monnet² and Robert Schuman³.

1 He is buried in Gruben, near Gstaad (Austria)

2 Jean Monnet (1888, Cognac – 1979, Bazoches-sur-Guyonne, Yvelines); French politician; between 1915-1944 he worked in the public and private sector; mastered the first rebuilding plan of postwar France; one of the ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community) initiators, established in 1952; he is best remembered as one of the “Founding Fathers of Europe”.

3 Robert Schuman (born in 1886, Luxemburg – died in 1969, Moselle); French politician, founder of Christian-Democratic French Party (MRP) and one of its main leaders during 1945-1962; Minister of Finance (1946), Prime-minister (1947-1948), Foreign Minister (1948-1953); the man behind the French-German reconciliation; on May 1950 the supranational democracy principles were announced in what has become known as the Schuman Declaration and has resulted in ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community); Minister of Justice, and the first President of the European Parliamentary Assembly (1958-1960); he is best remembered as the other one of the “Founding Fathers of Europe”, too.

Son of the Austrian diplomat Heinrich Count von Coudenhove-Kalergi (1857-1906)⁴ and of his Japanese wife, Mitsuko Aoyama (1874-1941)⁵, the second son out of the seven children in the family, Richard enjoyed a good education his father who spoke 18 languages, demanded Johannes, his major son and Richard to learn Russian and Hungarian⁶, to practise riding, swimming, target shooting and physical exercises.

According to Chambers⁷, Richard was taught persistently the idea that by his origins he “is practically a Pan-European organisation himself”⁸. The Coudenhoves came from an old Flemish family who had run away from France and Austria in 1789, at the beginning of the revolution.

In its turn, the rich Kalergi family came from Crete, where they became famous among the Cretan heretics. For centuries, genealogists searched and established their links with the kindred blood aristocracy from Poland, Norway, The Baltic countries, France and Germany. And even with the basilei royalty. In 1300, the king Alexis Photios Kalergis had signed the treaty according to which the Crete island became a Venetian possession⁹.

All the investigations showed that hybridising and interbreeding of the Coudenhove-Kalergi family were made under careful control. No drop of Jewish blood had ever mixed with theirs.

Having been imprinted with these family ideas and mentalities, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi was sent to attend primary school in Bohemia on the family domain of Ronsperg, present-day Pobežovice. He then continued his studies at the Brixen Episcopal College where his devout catholic character he had been imbued with since childhood became more prominent. He later attended the Theresianische Academy in Vienna. In 1917 he took his Doctor's degree in philosophy with the thesis „*Die Objectivität als Grundprinzip der Moral*”¹⁰. his graduation of the university studies and getting diploma with honours – summa cum laudae – occurred in the circumstances of worsened family relationships.

In April 1915 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi had married with the famous actress Ida Roland. His mother, having apparently forgotten her own biographic episode of her youth, opposed the

4 Heinrich Johann Maria von Coudenhove-Kalergi (1859-1906) came from one of the oldest aristocratic families of the Austria-Hungary Empire; a devoted Catholic; he graduated the Imperial School of Diplomacy and made diplomacy his career; due to his native talent he could speak 18 languages; following his diplomatic career he went to Athens, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Tokio; in 1896 he married the Japanese Mitsuko Aoyama, who at the time had already given birth to Johannes and Richard, the count's first two sons; after the wedding they retired to the Coudenhove-Kalergi's Bohemian domain, on Ronsperg; there the count devoted himself to study, writing and educating his sons; his main work was *Das Wesen des Antisemitismus* (1901, Vienna); he and his wife had seven children: Johann, Richard Nikolaus, Gerolf, Ida Friederike, Elisabeth, Henry, Olga (Cf. Whittaker Chambers, *Historian and History Maker*, in „The American Mercury”, January 1944, reprinted in Whittaker Chambers, *Ghosts on the Roof: Selected Essays*, edited by Terry Teachout, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1996, p. 74-79).

5 Mitsuko Aoyama, countess von Coudenhove-Kalergi (1874, Tokyo, Japan – 1941, Mödling, Austria); she was born in a mid-bourgeois family; her father was an antiquity dealer, also involved in oil business; at the age of 17, Mitsuko met by chance the Austrian diplomat Heinrich von Coudenhove-Kalergi; he employed her as parlour-maid at the Austria-Hungary Legation in Tokio; a love affair began ending up in marriage in 1896; their marriage was seen at least unusual in contemporary mentality, and Mitsuko's father did not consent; moreover, her father banned her from her Japanese family and home; in 1896 as countess and ambassador spouse she was received at the Japanese Empress's reception; this was an honor impossible to achieve for her and her family as commoners; the next year the invitation was renewed; in the same year the couple and their children left Japan for good; she was never to return in her motherland, staying in Europe until the end of her life; she learned French, German, mathematics, history, geography, physics, and after her husband's death she studied law and economy by herself; in 1906 she became widow; entrusted by her husband's will, she took over the estates and the children's upbringing and education; she had accomplished the mission left by her adored husband; however she had never been completely integrated into the European society; seen as a Japanese woman emancipation symbol, her personality inspired many literary and artistic works.

6 Count Heinrich von Coudenhove-Kalergi insisted that his sons learn Hungarian and Russian, the enemies languages; he saw the Hungarians as conceited and irredentist in their attitude toward Austrians; also, he shared the same opinion about the Russians and their wish to expand their own empire.

7 Cf. Whittaker Chambers, op. cit., p. 74-79.

8 Eadem, p. 77.

9 Eadem, p. 78.

10 “*The Objectivity as Fundamental Principle of Morals*”.

marriage. Mitsuko von Coudenhove-Kalergi was as prejudicial as else that time: Richard's wife was 12-13 years older than himself, divorced, and of humble origin.

In 1920 an event took place in Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's life: he became a member of the Freemasons from Vienna¹¹. It was one of the most prominent lodges in the world. Unfortunately, the secret character of this lodge and of freemasonry in general make me rather restrained in dwelling on the subject.

I am only underline the fact that from that moment on, great political personalities of the time opened their doors to Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi: Engelbert Dolfuss¹², Kurt Schuschnigg¹³, Winston Churchill¹⁴, Charles Maurice De Gaulle¹⁵ etc. Conjointly, they outlined the ideal European politician after the First World War: an honest fair play gentleman with proper conduct and rational speech.

He was a heterogeneous figure from the ethnic point of view but basically opened to the perspectives of the future. Obviously, the spirit of his ideas and conceptions originated from the abbot Saint Pierre's thinking, as well as Kant's, Napoleon's, G. Massini's, V. Hugo's, Fr. Nietzsche's.

After World War I, Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi succeeded to determine a popular movement for a united Europe. He fully realized that Alexis de Tocqueville's prediction was becoming real¹⁶. The leading forces in the world were obviously U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., or as it was called at the time, the Soviet Russia. His ideas were shared by Johanes Rudolf Kjellén¹⁷, Oswald Spengler¹⁸, Arthur Schopenhauer¹⁹, Fr. Nietzsche²⁰.

11 Dieter Schwarz, *Die Freimaurerei: Weltanschauung, Organisation und Politik*, Berlin, 1938, passim.

12 Engelbert Dolfuss (1892-1934), Austrian politician; after serving as Prime-minister, he ascended to Austria's Federal Chancellery during 1931-1934; in 1933 he banned the Nazi Party of Austria, abolished the Parliament, and assumed dictatorial powers; in February, 1932 he imposed a new "Austro-fascist" Constitution, inspired by the fascist Italian one; in July 25, 1934 he was assassinated in the so called "July coup" of the Austrian Nazi Party; yet, his regime resisted until Hitler's invasion of Austria (march 12, 1938).

13 Kurt Alois Josef Johann Edler von Schuschnigg (December 14, 1897 – November 18, 1977), son of an Imperial general, graduated the Jesuit College Stella Matutina in Feldkirch, and Innsbruck University; right after the World War I (when he was taken prisoner by the Italians) he became a lawyer and politician in the Social Christian Party; in 1932 was appointed as Justice then Education Minister; after the assassination of E. Dolfuss he was appointed Chancellor of Austria; in his position he opposed the Anschluss, dealing with an extremely difficult situation, finally he was placed under house arrest during German occupation; after the Second World War he emigrated to the United States of America and there he was appointed University Professor in Saint Louis; he returned in Austria and died in 1977 in Mutters, near Innsbruck.

14 Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (November 30, 1874 - January 24, 1965), British politician, Prime-minister, one of the greatest leaders in times of war.

15 Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle (November 22, 1890 – November 9, 1970), French general and state President, founder of the Fifth French Republic.

16 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vol., Vintage Books, New York, 1954; through this 1836 work the main idea is that the future of the world will be bipolar in the way that two great powers will lead it: USA and Russia; moreover, the author argued that the two powers will come to understanding and collaboration.

17 Johan Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922), Swedish politician, political scientist and lawyer; he is the first to coin the term "geopolitics"; his main works were "Introduction to Swedish Geography" (1900), and "State as a Living Form" (1916); he shared the same idea as Friedrich Ratzel, Alexander von Humboldt, Karl Ritter; General Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) would adopt and develop many of Kjellén's ideas on geopolitics.

18 Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), German philosopher and historian, equally concerned with sciences and arts; in his main work *Decline of the West (Der Untergang des Abendlandes)*, tome I, 1918, tome II, 1920), he argues the cyclical theory of increase and decrease of civilizations; his influence among the intellectuals in Europe and America has been so huge that a Time review observed that: "When Oswald Spengler speaks, many of Western Worlding stop to listen"; his analysis and forecasts on the evolution of the global society have been proven founded as years go by.

19 Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), German philosopher best known for his metaphysical analysis of will, his views on human motivation and desire, and his aphoristic writing style influenced many well-known thinkers.

20 Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), one of the most important German philosophers, with a substantial influence within and beyond philosophy, notably existentialism, nihilism, and postmodernism; his radical

On November 15, 1922 he published in „Vossische Zeitung” from Berlin the paper “Pan-Europe – a proposal”. It was republished two days later in the newspaper „Neue Freie Presse” from Vienna²¹. Each article had as attachment an adhesion form to the Pan-Europe Union. In itself, the article contained one plan to be followed in order to bring to successful end the making of the Pan-European Union. This was meant to be a party, an international political movement. Its main purpose was to block the Soviet Russian expansion over the whole Europe.

According to Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, the leaders of the movement, the political aristocrats had to be replaced by the socio-democratic leaders who later were to be promoted as the elite of the political spirit. His point of view was that Europe should be lead by the “political gentlemen”.

Between April 23, 1923 and March 1938 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi published the ideas and principles of his policy-making program in the PANEUROPE, the monthly magazine he had founded and managed as a director, but also as editor-in-chief.

The ideas were later resumed and synthesized in his book “*Pan-Europe*” published in 1923. The book enjoyed great success. It was translated in 30 languages²². His program was clearly stated: „This book intends to bring to life a great political idea which has long been dormant in the nations of Europe. Many dream of a united Europe but few are resolved to create it. As an object of nostalgia it remains barren; as an object of will it becomes effective. The only force that can achieve Pan-Europe is the will of Europeans. Every European holds in his hand a share of the destiny of the world”²³. The same ideas were to be also resumed in another post-war paper of circulation in the Germanic countries: *Kampf um Europa*²⁴.

The year 1926 brought along a new victory for Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi. It was the year when the Pan-Europa Congress took place in Vienna attended by 2000 delegates and who unanimously elected Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi as president. It was the success of a private person and who had no position in the establishment. The crowning acknowledgment of a man's work, a man who had given his best for a noble cause, that of building up a new Europe. At that Congress, he presented his plan for maintaining the peace within world. He foresae the division of the world in five well-balanced and controllable zones:

1. The United States of Europe which should also include the French colonies in the Northern Africa (the Maghreb)
2. The Pan-American Union made up of whole America from Alaska to Cape Horn
3. The Commonwealth which should have encircled the world like a belt.
4. The USSR
5. A Pan-Asian Union within which Japan and China would dominate and control the Pacific Ocean

The only hope for Europe, devastated by the war, was to coagulate but without Soviet Russia. This had to be made round the borders of Austria-Hungary, such as proposed by Aurel C. Popovici²⁵.

questioning of the value and objectivity of truth have resulted in much controversy, commentary, and interpretation.

21 Cf. R. N. von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Paneuropa. Ein Vorschlag*, in „Neue Freie Presse”, Wien, 17 November 1922, p. 2-3.

22 His main work *Pan-Europa* (about 160-170 pages, depending on edition and publishing language), besides English, French, Spanish, Italian editions, has been translated in less common languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic.

23 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Paneuropa*, apud W. Chambers, op. cit., p. 77.

24 The 304 pages work was printed in 1949.

25 Aurel C. Popovici (October 16, 1863, Lugoj – February 9, 1917, Geneva), Romanian lawyer, historian, philosopher and politician, he was one of the advisers of the Austro-Hungary Empire heir Franz Ferdinand; his main work is considered *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich (The United States of the Great Austria)*, Leipzig, 1906; it comprised a plan which could have saved Europe from the Russian danger; he suggested that the Austro-Hungary Empire should consist of 15 political state-ethnic based areas, enjoying large autonomy and equality; only by doing this the prominence of the Hungarians inside the Empire could have been ruled out; Aurel C. Popovici had as model federal and proven viable states as USA, Mexic, Brasil, Switzerland; however he realized that his plan might have harm Romania and her struggle to achieve the national unity ideal, so in 1917 before his death he withdrew that book, but it was too late, the book was

Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi suggested a more complex federal State, more powerful, more resilient, more malleable than the old Empire. It could have been a possibility of resistance against the Russian flow.

Within the new state federation English²⁶ would be used as “official” language of communication while each people could maintain their native language.

Concerning the economic domain Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi insisted pretty much on the possibility of reasonable mixing capitalism with communism. He suggested that capitalism could be revived by infiltrating some communist elements into it, the same way Catholicism was revived through the spirit of the Reform.

The honorary Presidency of the Pan-European Union was offered to Ignaz Seipel²⁷ who immediately accepted it. He put at Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's disposal an office in the Hofburg Imperial Palace in Vienna, which became residence for the Austrian president. As far as the union presidency was offered to the political leaders from Czechoslovakia Thomas Mazaryk or Edvard Benes. Both refused. In 1927 this dignity was in exchange granted to the famous French politician Aristide Briand²⁸. Coudenhove-Kalergi's ideas were very well received by the Count Carlo Sforza, Hjalmar Schacht etc. On September 8, 1929, at the General Assembly of the United Nations League, Aristide Briand delivered his speech in which he praised the Pan-European Union as well as von Coudenhove-Kalergi ideas and work. The same speech was to be delivered in 1930 where he approved the proposal to initiate the European Federal Union²⁹.

The one to oppose was Adolf Hitler whose reaction was negative. Since 1932 he continued to criticize vehemently von Coudenhove-Kalergi's economic and cultural solutions.

After Anschluss (March 12, 1938) the latter was obliged to run away to Czechoslovakia, then to France, Switzerland and Portugal, to later stop in the USA³⁰.

The signing of the Atlantic Charter on August 14, 1941 (at the military base of Argentia) made Richard write the memorandum “Austria's Independence in the light of Atlantic Charter”³¹. It failed. Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not receive him too benevolently. Nevertheless he was offered professorship at the history department of the New York University³². His popularity

already too famous among politicians.

26 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's proposal and forecast have come true today, at least in the academic world, as English, especially American English is now the most common language used by students and professors as well (cf. R. Şt. Vergatti, *Cultural Issues of the Present-Day European Union*, in *Language, Shaping, Communication/Limbaj, modelare, comunicare, Papers presented at the International Symposium held at the University of Pitesti, Romania, on 8-9 June, 2007*, Pitesti, 2007, p. 173-175).

27 Ignaz Seipel (1876-1932), Austrian Romano-Catholic priest, President of the Social-Christian Party (Christlichsoziale Partei) of Austria; he was twice the Chancellor of Austria between 1922-1924, and 1926-1929.

28 Aristide Briand (1862, Nantes – 1932, Paris), French politician, who served 25 times as Minister and 11 times as Head of the French government; he was an active militant socialist in his youth; after the First World War he became a devoted pacifist and an adept of reconciliation with Germany; he was hoping to improve the relations with USSR; he signed the Locarno Peace Treaty (1925); he remarked himself as one of the United Nations League main inspirators; in 1926 he was awarded with Nobel Prize for Peace, together with the German politician Gustav Stresemann.

29 Cf. *The Origins and Development of the European Community*, ed. by D. Weigall, P. Stirk, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992, p. 11-15.

30 In fact, his life experiences within this period of time served as real life basis for the fictional character of Victor Laszlo in the famous Casablanca movie.

31 Cf. Michael Gehler, *A Visionary proved Himself to be a Realist: Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, Austria, and the „United States of Europe”, 1923-2003*, in „Human Security”, No. 9 (2004-2005), p. 179; he discussed the memorandum text with the Archduke Otto von Habsburg, acquainted to Richard, who admired him; nevertheless, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed himself the head of Austrian exile government (ibidem).

32 He taught a course on Europe's fate during interwar period and Pan-Europe, collaborating with the professor and political scientist Arnold Zürcher, and the U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright, the former being also the President of American Committee for a Free and United Europe (cf. Daniel C. Villanueva, *Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europa and the Elusive „Object of Longing”, in „Rocky Mountain Review”, Fall 2005*, p. 67-80 (here p. 69); Michael Gehler, Anita Ziegerhofer, *Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi und die*

in the States increased even more when he organized the 5th Pan-European Congress in the auditorium of the New York University, between 25th and 27th of March 1943. On this occasion he got better acquainted with the archduke Otto von Habsburg with whom he would keep in touch to the end of his life.

The end of the Second World War, the Soviet communism wave, the fall of the “Iron Curtain”, the American president Harry Truman speech, the Marshall plan revitalized von Coudenhove-Kalergi projects concerning the Pan-European Union.

In 1946, Winston Churchill delivered a speech in front of the academic youth in Zurich in which he praised Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi and his efforts in creating the Pan-European Union³³.

Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi took advantage of this and between November 1946 and June 1947 he addressed a number of memorandums to the European parliament members. He emphasized how big and closed the Soviet danger was. As immediate consequence, in 1947, the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) was created. It was a private organization but highly approved by mass-media and politicians foreseen to become an European Parliament³⁴. Between July 4 – July 5 1947, in Gstaad, in Switzerland, EPU held its constitutive session. Between September 8 – 10, 1947, in the same place, EPU held its first ordinary session. As a conclusion, von Coudenhove-Kalergi gave voice to his firm belief that Europe had to unify, to establish a common market, a single and stable currency for regaining its place in the states “concert”.

At that moment it represented a unique vision of the future. Consequently, in 1950, he was awarded with the Karlpreiss distinction in Aachen. Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi was the one to propose the Beethoven's Ode to Joy as Pan-European Union anthem. Unfortunately, his suggestion has been accepted only 16 years later, when he had already left this earthly realm.

He also made the proposal to organize the free-trade space in order to accelerate and to ease the movement of goods through the customs.

To combat the chauvinist nationalism and individualism, after 1950 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi reprinted several times his father work *Das Wesen des Antisemitismus*³⁵. As in prior editions of 1930 and 1932, he had accompanied his father's text with a explanatory foreword. Through it and in according to the Pan-European spirit he has shown that the chauvinist tradition cannot have a future in Europe. This was a manifesto against antisemitism. Finally, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi has raised the European population problem if the Pan-European Union failed to be established. His vision was a dark one. He looked into the future through his work *Totaler Staat – Totaler Mensch*³⁶, reprinted after World War II. In its pages he resumed the struggle between state and individual issue, an older idea of his. If a normality was not reached and the state failed to fulfill its normal function, the end was obvious: it would have brought disaster and vanishing. It is a bleak vision inspired by Oswald Spengler's works. Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi used as an example the Ancient Egypt society dynamics in history.

Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's hard work, followed then by Otto von Habsburg's, resulted in the emerging of common market, the free-trade zone, the European Union and the Euro currency.

Those are undeniable merits of this man who worked as a simple individual, driven by passion and wishing to save the European civilization from the embrace of the two great dominant influences in the world. He knew have to face difficulties, to overcome the obstacles in front of him.

One might find quite adequate for Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi one of Emil Cioran's aphorisms: “to be means to be impelled”.

Paneuropa Bewegung von ihren Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart, in Robert Rill, Ulrich E. Zellenberg (eds.), *Konservatismus in Österreich. Strömungen, Ideen, Personen und Vereinigungen von den Anfängen bis heute*, Graz-Stuttgart, 1999, p. 291-312 (here p. 302).

33 Winston Churchill finally commended “the exertions of the Pan-European Union which owes so much to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi”, in “*The Tragedy of Europe: Speech to the Academic Youth.*” (September 19, 1946).

34 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Ein Leben für Europa*, Cologne, Vienna, 1966, p. 303.

35 The first edition of count Heinrich von Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Das Wesen des Antisemitismus* was published in 1901.

36 Cf. Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Totaler Staat – Totaler Mensch*. Wien, Paneuropa-Verlag A. G. Glarus, 1937, passim.

Sur les formes brèves

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Abstract: The paper aims at highlighting the features through which brevity, as a formal rigor, achieves and organizes a system of literary formulae in the area oral and written.

Key-words : brévit , densit , simplicit , concentration, concision,  nergie

Tout en  vitant les d marches critiques, l'organisation constell e des formes artistiques s'av re impossible sans l'identification d'un crit re coagulant o , au moins, faute d'exclure quelques disjonctions majeures. Aucun domaine orient  vers le litt raire (populaire ou culte) de l'espace roumain, histoire litt raire, th orie, stylistique, po tique, n'emploie la structure *formes br ves* pour r aliser quelque classification ou quelque d limitation typologique, tout d'abord parce que le crit re de la dimension textuelle est consid r  insuffisant, superficiel voire sans relevance pour une recherche appliqu e.

Notre d marche se limitera donc   la mise en  vidence de quelques opinions appartenant aux recherches sur le folklore, sans pour autant oublier qu'on rencontre la m me situation sur tous les paliers de l'approche litt raire. Ainsi, en abordant le probl me de la litt rarit  et de l'ordonnance cat gorielle des expressions en par miologie Pavel Rux ndoiu exclue la possibilit  d'employer un crit re dimensionnel : „Leur classification dans une soi-disant cat gorie des esp ces courtes / br ves,   c t  des proverbes, devinettes, et m me des jeux d'enfants, n'est pas relevante, leur bri vet  ne pouvant pas repr senter un crit re suffisant pour une telle classification. Elle offre, c'est vrai, un certain degr  de sp cificit    toutes les esp ces consid r es tel, mais cette sp cificit  se manifeste d'une mani re diff rente, surtout en ce qui concerne la modalit  du fonctionnement, d'une esp ce   l'autre.”¹ Cezar Tabarcea lui non plus n'est pas moins circonspect quand il s'agit d'analyser le proverbe du point de vue de la *bri vet *, surtout qu'il est impossible d' tablir les limites maximales et minimales correspondant   ce crit re : „. . . on est arriv  facilement   d terminer *un genre aphoristique lapidaire, lapidaire* voulant dire justement *bref*. Le probl me est que la bri vet , le lapidaire ou le parler bref peuvent constituer, du point de vue fonctionnel, quant au style, un trait d finitoire du langage populaire tout entier, et alors la bri vet  perd sa valeur caract ristique pour un seul genre de cet ensemble bien large qu'est la cr ation folklorique populaire (sic !).”²

La sensation d'inconsistance th orique et op rationnelle du crit re tient dans les deux cas d'une tendance justifi e d'exclure un principe formel, faussement unificateur, incapable de rendre compte de la substance des faits artistiques analys s et, probablement, d'un refus de l'hybridation, car l'existence des *formes br ves* dans la litt rature suppose la mise en parenth ses des limites entre oral et  crit, et suspend la possibilit  de les consid rer   l'int rieur d'un horizon de la continuit  et de la compl mentarit . En effet, de nombreuses  tudes sont d di es aujourd'hui aux *formes br ves*, de l' pitaphe antique jusqu'aux graffiti ou au slogan.³

Il est  vident qu'il n'y aucune zone de la communication qui ne suppose une tangence   la *br vit *, le besoin de concision, d'impact direct sur le r cepteur, la s duction du discontinu, du marginal, de l'insignifiant,  motion m t orique repr santant des  l ments d finitoires de la sensibilit  contemporaine.

¹ Pavel Rux ndoiu, *Folclor literar*, Ed. Didactic   i Pedagogic , Bucure ti, 1990, p. 27

² Cezar Tabarcea, *Poetica proverbului*, Minerva, Bucure ti, 1982, p. 72-73.

³ Nous ne rappelons ici que quelques  tudes dont l'objet exclusif est l'analyse de ces formes ayant une identit  textuelle accept e et assum e: Roland Barthes, *Litt rature et discontinue*, dans *Essais critiques*, Seuil, 1981., Antoine Compagnon, *La Seconde main ou le travail de la citation*, Seuil, 1979., Florence Delay, *Petites formes en prose apr s Edison*, Fayard, 2001, ou l' tude du m me auteur, *La s duction br ve*, Gallimard, 1997., Jean Lafond, *Les formes br ves de la prose et le discours discontinu*, Laffont, 1992., Alain Montandon, *Les formes br ves*, Hachette, 1992., Bernard Roukhomovsky, *Lire les formes br ves*, Armand Colin, 2005., etc.

La vision des auteurs sur la contiguïté de ces formes s'appuie sur l'acceptation de quelques éléments capables de transgresser les différences ou, mieux dire, aptes à les considérer des indices d'une identité nécessaire à l'intérieur d'un système. La forme brève est comprise comme une forme mononucléaire, une forme qui ne permet qu'une seule modalité d'expression, un seul trait, une seule respiration qui la rend mémorable et répétable.

Convaincu que le plus souvent l'action du langage sur la réalité a l'effet de transfiguration, pareil au blé qui devient pain, André Jolles dresse la théorie des *formes simples*, ces structures élémentaires de langage poétique qui interviennent dans la confusion de l'univers, qui approfondissent, réduisent, réunissent et redimensionnent pour offrir un sens : „Déploiement de l'explication et repliement du classement – l'homme parvient ainsi jusqu'aux Formes fondamentales.”⁴ „Des objets” qui possèdent *validité* et *cohésion* propres, ces *formes simples*, perceptibles dans le plan de l'existence et dans celui de la conscience, extrêmement enracinées dans le langage en conformité avec une disposition mentale déterminée, manifestée par un geste verbal spécifique, elles se dispersent dans des *formes simples pures*, dans des *formes simples actualisées* ou dans des *formes savantes*, car „...chaque Forme Simple peut transmettre son pouvoir à un objet et que cet objet est alors investi du pouvoir de sa Forme.”⁵

Il est clair que la perspective de Jolles, qui aborde la légende, la geste, le mythe, la devinette, adage / le proverbe, le conte etc. ne peut pas être mise en relation directe avec les *formes brèves* dont l'unité semble être donnée exclusivement par la dimension, mais on ne peut pas nier non plus le fait que entre la simplicité restructurante d'un geste verbal déclenché par une certaine disposition mentale ordonnatrice et la concentration matérielle de la brévitité textuelle existe une liaison de type causal. Sans s'arroger une ascendance théorique dans l'étude de Jolles, sans établir quelque correspondance directe avec celle-ci, les analystes des *formes brèves* partent d'une réalité extrêmement diverse, d'un visible polymorphisme qu'ils ne se donnent la peine ni de nier ni d'atténuer, mais simplement de l'expliquer et le commenter d'un point de vue généreux et loin des préjugés inhibitoires. Nous n'essayerons donc rien que de mettre en discussion ces arguments, parfois fragiles, qui rendent possible l'existence théorique, et donc problématique,⁶ de ces formes.

Le premier problème authentique de ces recherches est lié à l'acceptation du deuxième terme de la structure, l'adjectif *bref*. Comme dans le roumain on ne peut pas opérer efficacement la distinction entre *le court et le bref*⁷, il faut se limiter à signaler les nuances renvoyant aux traits de substance qui éliminent la possibilité de confusion entre *les formes brèves* et *les petites formes*.⁸

Ce qui justifie l'existence de ces formes est l'idée de la *brévitité* comme notion complexe à l'intérieur de laquelle on peut déceler des lignes de force de forte stabilité. Tout d'abord il s'agit d'assumer la distinction entre *forme* et *format*, le deuxième terme renvoyant strictement aux dimensions réduites d'un texte, sans autres prétentions de nature stylistique, rhétorique ou philosophique. Nietzsche, l'un des plus enthousiastes défenseurs de la brévitité textuelle, définissait son propre idéal stylistique comme un heureux „rapport entre un minimum de volume et nombre de signes

⁴ André Jolles, *Formes simples*, Édition du Seuil, 1972, pg.26.

⁵ Idem, p. 209.

⁶ Nous considérons nécessaire cet ajout puisque toute théorie, comme produit intellectuel analytique, peut toujours être contredite, complétée, infirmée ou même jetée en dérisoire par une anti-théorie, sans compter le fait que l'esprit même de la théorie est soumis le dernier temps à de sérieuses attaques.

⁷ Même en français la différence entre les deux termes reste inconsistante tant que les dictionnaires la retiennent seulement au niveau du sens primaire: **court** – *qui a peu de longueur d'une extrémité à l'autre*; **bref** - *de peu de durée* (*Petit Robert- Dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris, 2004). Quant aux sens secondaires ou même figurés, la distinction spatial / temporel s'estompe, les traits sémantiques s'entrecroisent et se superposent jusqu'à obtenir les nuances contextuelles visées.

⁸ Cette distinction n'est pas unanimement acceptée, ou plutôt la tentation de l'euphémisme et la tendance d'adoucir les rigidités théoriques poussent certains spécialistes à adopter une terminologie originale, mais pas assez précise, comme c'est le cas de l'étude *Petites Formes en prose après Edison*, de Florence Delay, où sont abordés dans une perspective inédite et effervescente les problèmes de l'ainsi dit genre aphoristique, genre soumis à l'analyse aussi par les théoriciens des *formes brèves*.

et un maximum d'énergie⁹, en y introduisant une mesure ineffable qui se dérobe aux tentatives de définition méticuleuse. D'ailleurs, continuant une tradition extrêmement solide, Nietzsche saisit la liaison d'entre les rigueurs stylistiques et un certain contour de la personnalité créatrice, en suggérant que la brévité est à la fois une attitude éthique, une ascèse, un *modus vivendi* qui renonce à la digression à la faveur de la concision, il est le signe d'une pensée ferme, stable, tranchante.

Beaucoup plus tard, dans une perspective sans aucune prétention théorique, fruit d'une passion à peine maîtrisée, Florence Delay restreint le champ de tension sémantique de l'énergie nietzschéenne, tout en se fixant sur l'électricité comme symbole syncrétique de la *brévité* : „L'image jaillit et son jaillissement provoque une sorte de combustion, de court-circuit, comme pour les fils électriques.”¹⁰

Les observations liées à l'insuffisance du critère dimensionnel supposent l'existence des autres éléments aptes à couvrir la notion d'énergie, qui tient autant de la chimie intérieure du texte que de sa capacité de la dégager à l'extérieur. Dans *Poétique de l'espace*, Bachelard faisait l'éloge de cette force de l'univers miniaturisé de condenser et d'enrichir les valeurs, en d'autres mots une force compressive du minimal qui consiste dans l'abolition du diffus et du disparate. Simplicité versus simplisme, concision versus digression, densité versus raréfaction, rigueur versus “libertinage” formel.¹¹ Dans ses substantielles méditations sur la forme brève, (*Journal*, 1904) Jules Renard notait qu'il y a des gens qui n'arrivent à la concision qu'à force de raturer, tandis que la forme brève tel quel ne supprime rien, mais elle est genèse, conception et ouverture.

Beaucoup dire en peu de mots, „enfermer tout dans un espace insignifiant” (Sénèque), maîtriser la technique de surprendre la quintessence, car d'après Quintilien la *brévité* n'exclue pas l'ornement stylistique, sans lequel on ne peut pas parler d'art, constituer un prétexte de méditation, de développement ultérieure, assumer des limites frustrantes pour les transgresser dans un ordre qui ne peut plus être surveillé ou amendé, voilà quelques désidératifs d'une prétentieuse partition mineure. Ce „maximum d'énergie“ dégagée par un minimum de volume matériel, cette capacité surprenante d'irradiation dont parlait Nietzsche n'est pas loin de la mystique, parce qu'elle ouvre le dialogue de la présence et de l'absence, les mots clé auxquels pourraient renvoyer étant révélation, fulguration. L'idée de comprendre le monde dans un code chiffré, dans une image, dans une phrase etc. est une aspiration qui peut mettre ensemble l'alchimie, l'esthétisme, et l'hermétisme, des formes de pression raffinée sur le langage comme entité intermédiaire qui se suffit et à la fois irradiante, la brévité étant inévitablement une méditation sur le langage. Ce que la brévité supprime à l'extérieur s'ajoute par allusion, litote, parataxe, etc. La forme brève présume un permanent travail sur le langage, une mise en abîme de celui-ci et une mise en abîme de la littérature en général.

L'existence des *formes brèves* tient aussi d'un réglage extérieur, car leur apparition est évidemment régie à l'origine par la contrainte d'un support matériel: „Lorsque l'on veut écrire dans la pierre ou le marbre, ou dans toutes sortes de matériaux difficiles à travailler, une nécessaire exigence de concision s'impose. Ainsi naît une écriture lapidaire (écriture de pierre ! Perros dira que l'aphorisme est un caillou !) qui souvent garde en son fond un caractère de sacralité oraculaire.”¹² La remarque d'Alain Montandon recouvre la zone originelle du scriptural lapidaire, mais les limites d'un support ineffable peuvent sûrement être identifiées aussi dans la zone orale, cette fois de la part du récepteur, non pas de l'émetteur. Dans ce cas la mémoire représente le support cible d'un contenu qui doit impressionner une bande dont le magnétisme métaphorique est extrêmement sensible et imprévisible.¹³ *Les formes brèves* populaires répondent à ces rigueurs imposées par „l'étroitesse”

⁹ Dans *Humain, trop humain*, II, p. 127., à part les formules percutantes surprenant les traits essentiels des *formes brèves*, Nietzsche s'attaque aux détracteurs de l'expression concise, en affirmant : „Ce qui s'énonce brièvement peut être le fruit de la moisson de beaucoup de pensées longuement méditées.”

¹⁰ Florence Delay, *Petites Formes en prose après Edison*, Fayard, 2001, p. 23.

¹¹ C'est toujours Nietzsche dans *Le Gai savoir*, 290, qui formule l'impératif : „Une seule chose est nécessaire: donner du style à son caractère...”, en ajoutant que les faibles, ceux qui ne peuvent pas se maîtriser, haïssent la servitude du style, tandis que les forts savourent l'esclavage de la brévité.

¹² Alain Montandon, *Les formes brèves*, Hachette, 1992, p. 3.

¹³ La tradition des *arts de la mémoire* ou des *arts mnémotechniques* est très forte, et le rapport entre oral et écrit marque une zone assez complexe. On pourrait rappeler ici la manière dont les bacheliers du Moyen Age construisaient leurs *bréviaires de citations*, pour réduire au minimum l'effort de mémorisation, y associant d'autres règles combinatoires du jeu mnémotechnique. L'apparition des florilèges, recueils, anthologies etc., qui ne sont que des ordonnances de formes citationnelles, a facilité l'acquisition et l'accumulation d'un

subjective de la mémoire du récepteur, de ses possibilités d'activer les mécanismes du système culturel global, de la disposition affective conjoncturelle, autant que du caractère répétitif de la performance qui crée l'ambiance familière du *déjà oui*.

D'autre part, les structures narratives orales, dont la concentration et l'intensité peuvent témoigner souvent de la pauvreté, se construisent aussi dans une relation temporelle tendue, celui qui raconte ayant le sentiment d'une hostilité restrictive invisible. Ce que Julio Cortazar observait dans une conférence en 1962 sur quelques aspects du conte nous semble même plus valable pour la zone orale, où le caractère simultané de l'émission et de la réception impose une dynamique spéciale : „Le conteur sait (...) qu'il n'a pas pour allié le temps; son unique recours est de travailler en profondeur, verticalement, soit vers le haut, soit vers le bas de l'espace littéraire.” Se rapporter au temps suppose dans le cas des formes brèves une signification tendue et polarisée, car l'ambition de court-circuiter toute digression, toute amplification rencontre dans le plan virtuel une distension du temps d'après l'impact linguistique, par l'effet retardant dont parlait E. A. Poe dans *La philosophie de la composition*. D'après Poe, la plus haute dimension formelle est représentée par la capacité de retenir l'attention du lecteur, ce qui suggère l'existence d'un rapport de proportionnalité inverse entre le temps et l'intensité de l'émotion artistique.

Le simple effort de mettre en évidence quelques traits capables d'identifier et de légitimer l'existence théorique des *formes brèves* peut prouver les accents enthousiastes d'un plaidoyer, mais il ne faut pas oublier que, de l'autre côté, l'accusation peut se montrer également véhémement. Il y en a, nombreux et bien fondés, qui ne se sont pas laissés impressionner par la concision, l'intensité de l'impression, la dimension pédagogique, la liberté d'interprétation accordée au récepteur, par l'économie stylistique remarquable ou le météorisme spectaculaire et unique de l'expression, tout en soulignant les inachèvements et les prétentions d'un art dont le fort n'est pas la générosité. Qu'il s'agisse d'une rigidité formelle poussée souvent jusqu'au ridicule, de l'affectation creuse d'une philosophie abyssale „de poche”, d'une approche fragmentaire fatigante et stérile¹⁴ ou de l'incapacité foncière du créateur d'affronter les défis de l'ampleur et de la continuité, tout cela ne fait que renforcer en négatif le statut individualisant des *formes brèves*. Selon Bernard Roukhomovsky, la brièveté fait preuve d'une variété inhibitoire: „brièveté de l'humoriste aiguisant le sarcasme en traits subtils et décisifs, brièveté du diariste attentif à inscrire, au jour le jour, la trace infiniment tenue de l'éphémère ou de l'infime, de la pensée qui fuse ou de l'instant qui glisse, brièveté du moraliste soucieux d'en dire assez, mais également assez peu, pour donner à penser, brièveté du portraitiste habile à faire tenir un personnage dans une trait de plume, brièveté de l'homme du monde assez poli pour se faire entendre à demi-mot, etc.”¹⁵ Le fait donc qu'il y a de nombreuses manières „d'être bref” n'exclue pas une esthétique et une rhétorique, mais leur offre un fondement spécial et souvent polémique.

Il existe donc au moins un double statut des *formes brèves* qui se manifeste dans deux régimes rhétoriques distinctes. D'une part, elles peuvent être insérées dans un texte continu, à l'intérieur duquel elles restent détectables car conservant les traits spécifiques et s'actualisant dans un régime d'enchaînement avec un fonctionnement compliqué, et apparemment ambigu. Apparemment, parce qu'elles participent au mécanisme subtil du tout, qui est l'œuvre toute entière où elles s'imbriquent. D'autre part, elles présentent un statut discontinu de *montage en série*, tel que l'appelle B. Roukhomovsky. Les deux niveaux d'actualisation ne sont pas forcément spécialisés, puisqu'une certaine espèce peut être surprise dans les deux hypostases rhétoriques, celles-ci impliquant des différences importantes dans la manière de réception.

Que nous acceptions une délimitation terminologique ou que nous la mettions entre parenthèses pour ne pas donner cours à la préciosité des controverses taxonomiques, le caractère concret, protéique et varié du matériau laisse au chercheur intéressé de nombreuses ouvertures pour pénétrer dans une proximité artistique surprenante autant par la solidité des articulations que par leur fragilité séduisante.

répertoire de *lieux communs* philosophiques, morales, pratiques. Le rôle de la mémoire dans la construction individuelle de l'intellectuel est particulièrement important puisque l'acquis de la tradition, la capacité d'étaler socialement les sources de l'autorité restent des critères substantiels d'appréciation.

¹⁴ Suffoqué par l'arrogance ésotérique des faiseurs de maximes, Amiel s'exclamait : „ Quand on n'est plus bon à rien, on peut encore faire des maximes” ; plus indulgent et plus auto ironique, Cioran constatait que „ l'aphorisme est du feu sans flamme; on comprend que personne ne veuille s'y réchauffer.”

¹⁵ Bernard Roukhomovsky, *Lire les formes brèves*, Armand Colin, 2005, p. 6.

Dans *La poétique de l'espace*, Georges Poulet trouvait une image de grande beauté pour circonscrire les significations de la forme brève : „Elle est entourée d'espace comme une île s'entoure d'horizons marins. Elle existe à la fois en soi, dans la rigueur de son contenu, et dans l'entre-suite qui la lie à une vaste indétermination environnante.”

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The Cultural Dimension of the Reign of Neagoe Basarab

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Abstract: Neagoe, son of Basarab the Young "Țepeluș", and Neaga from Hotărani, expresses the typos of the Christian prince, the protecting monarch of all Christians who suffered under Turkish rule or heresies and ephemeral ideologies. The cultural dimension of Neagoe Basarab is a purely Orthodox hesychast one also active in all circumstances and moments of life. Neagoe was a true humanist, an Orthodox one, who placed the man in the center, but the man built by God, restored and become a child of God through the sacrifice of our Savior Jesus Christ. His teachings to his son Theodosius, existential lesson of behavior and human dignity for all time, summarizes this fundamental dimension: "As those, My beloved Son, be merciful to all people and all the crowds that God will hand you for whom the Lord our God and Savior Himself Jesus Christ has shed His holy blood.... That Christ himself for our souls and by Himself gave his death, as we all become children of God." Well knowing both the Scriptures, the Fathers of Eastern Orthodox and Hesychasts and the works and ideas of great European thinkers and reformers, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Niccolo Machiavelli, Martin Luther, which were his contemporary, but also the Muslim Orient world, the Romanian prince engaged himself to the great faith, being a warrior of the spirit that bore witness to Europe over which arose clouds of thousands of heresy and ideology that will end up being the murderous totalitarian regimes of hundreds of thousands of people and the whole world, as the Kingdom of Heaven begins here on earth in this life if we live according to the gospel of Christ and will fully continue in the next life.

Keywords: Neagoe, Romanian country, Arges Monastery, Neagoe teachings to his son Theodosius, Hesychast culture

1 Introduction

God permanently arranges, historically, men chosen for the fulfillment of His plan of salvation of mankind.

In one of the worst periods of persecution, the prophet Elijah prays to the Lord, "Lord, the prophets are killed, they tore down thine altars, and I was left alone and they seek to take my soul!" Divine response is stronger: "I have set aside seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal" (cf. Rom 11, 2-4). St. Paul, also in a time of great persecution, strengthens the newly Christianized Romans, and all the Christians until the end of time, saying: "So, now as always is a remnant chosen by grace." (Romans 11, 5)

Romanian space and race had from the beginnings facets of the Christianity, being christianized by the first called to the apostolate, the Holy Apostle Andrew, along with Philip the Apostle, and blessed place, called Garden of the Virgin Mary.

Neagoe, Prince of Wallachia (1512-1521), is one of the people chosen by God to preserve and strengthen the true faith of the Romanian people. It is a typical Christian ruler, a brilliant scholar, diplomat, founder of the Holy Shrine and teaching for the posterity.

2 Family of Neagoe Basarab

Neagoe Basarab is the son of the Young "Țepeluș" descendant of Dănești (1477-1481, 1481-1482) and Neaga of Hotaran, wife of Pârvu Craiovescu. [1] His father helped by Neagoe from Craiova, the Albanian prince Skenderbeg and an Ottoman army commanded by Ali-beg, attacked and plundered southern Moldova in the summer of 1481. [2] Stefan the Great, Prince of Moldavia, attacked and defeated in Ramnicu Sarat, on July 8, 1481, and replaced Basarab the Young with Vlad the Monk, one of the natural sons of Vlad Dracul, on September 16, 1481. [3] To save his life, Basarab Țepeluș ran to the Craiovesti estates in Oltenia, being hosted for a short time by Hotaran Neaga, the wife of Pârvu Craiovescu. [4] From their ephemeral relation was born Neagoe.

In the context of those times a landlord could not ascend the throne, breaking the law of direct succession to the throne. Instead, according to the tradition of the Romanian countries, the ruler could be a descendant of the dynasty, whether it was natural or legitimate. Similar situations are in history, when, after losing the only legitimate son of Mircea the Great, Michael (1418-1420), had succeeded the natural sons of Mircea the Great, which formed two branches of the Basarab dynasty, the Dănești and the Drăculești one. In Moldova, the situation was similar: the throne was occupied by the illegitimate son of Stephen the Great, Petru Rares (1527 - 1538, 1541-1546) [5].

At the right time when Neagoe declined his true identity nor Pârveu Craiovescu or Neaga or other landowners, nor even those who could benefit for themselves if they could not prove that Neagoe was royal descent, could not deny his royal descent. [6]

During his reign, Neagoe has always claimed his royal descent. On a silver tray, donated to Tismana Monastery, he asked the master jeweler to write that he was the son of Basarab Tepelus. [7] In the majority of documents issued by the royal office, as far as he occupied the throne, Neagoe Basarab called himself the son of Basarab the Young ruler "Tepelus. [8] According to the descending laws of the Romanian country, it was natural to assert royal lineage. Asserting that he was the son of a ruler and not a landlord, he could not be contested when taking the throne, for respecting one of the main requirements of the law of succession in the Romanian Country: to be a royal bone, legitimate or not. [9]

Certainly Pârveu Craiovescu knew and agreed the relationship between Neaga and Basarab Tepelus, the natural parents of Neagoe, whereas he supported Tepelus to resume the throne and Neagoe to get a rich culture and a thorough training in all domains in order to occupy the throne of the Romanian Country. Pârveu Craiovescu accepted, adopted and raised Neagoe, being his legitimate father, along with the rest of his natural children: Preda, Pârveu, Vlădaia și Marga [10].

3 Cultural and religious education of Neagoe

By the age of 6-7 years, Neagoe Neaga was educated by his mother and her relatives. An important role was played by his Serbian aunt, Negoslava, the wife of his patern "Uncle" Barbu, from whom he learned the Serbian language. [11] Neagoe taught writing and reading mysteries and a number of elements of the Greek humanism, similar to the seven liberal arts existing in the Western Europe education. Abbot Macarius from Bistrita Monastery had an important role in his education, teaching him reading and writing in Slavonic, medio-Bulgarian version, used then in the Romanian Orthodox Church in the country. This period of intellectual training of the teenager was referred to in the teachings, showing that it marked him deeply. [12]

In the field of theology and classical literary texts that circulated in the Slavonian world, Neagoe was instructed by the Serbian monk Brancovici Maxim. [13] In the second half of 1504 this grown man with his mother, Anghelina came to the princely court in Targoviste. He chose this place of refuge because his country was threatened by the Ottomans, and in Targoviste, in the high noblemen circles there were enough people who spoke Serbian, including Neagoe's aunt, Caplea Negoslava, who was close to Mrs. Catalina, the wife of Radu the Great.

The Craiovești commercial contacts with Ottoman merchants in south of the Danube and the Sublime Porte lords in that area have contributed to Neagoe's formation. To understand them, no doubt, Neagoe learned the usual Turkish.

Neagoe also had as teachers other scholars of the time too, including the Ecumenical Patriarch Niphon who had been brought in Romanian Country by the Ruler Radu the Great, to reform the Church. Patriarch Niphon dealt with clergy discipline and created two bishops - one in Valcea and one in Buzau. [14] Subsequently, Nifon came into conflict with Radu the Great because he refused to marry the landlady Caplea, Radu the Great's major sister, with the hiclean Moldavian landowner Bogdan. Niphon retired somewhere in an isolated place, probably Bistrita Monastery, where he would have been hosted by the Macarius abbot. Chronicles of the country and the life of St. Nifon have noted that, as long as he stated there, Nifon received food from young Neagoe, rewarding him with grace teaching. [15]

The entry of Nifon's biography, written by Gabriel Protul, that Metropolitan should have gone to Athos deeply angry with Radu the Great, according to the two Athonite documents about Nifon, is incorrect. [16] In an innedit Sinapis written by a Greek humanist, Dekadios Justin, being brought to

day by Vranoussis Oleander, the events are different. The new text of the Sinapsis approved by the council in August 15 - 17, 1517 at Curtea de Arges, states that Nifon had left the Romanian Country full of presents. The Approval of this alternative by the council, who knew how things were between the Metropolitan Nifon of the Romanian Country and Radu the Great, makes more credible the text written by Iustin Dekadiosas than that of Gabriel Prot. [17] From this perspective, Neagoe did not face the wrath of God when being Nifon's apprentice. Cultural and theological training of Neagoe at Bistrita Monastery, one of the leading cultural centers of the Romanian country, which have provided him a vast library and prestigious teachers, also proven by Sinaxar note from September to February, written in Serbian in the beginning XVI. [18] The term "tsar Neagoe kept it a year and did not take it (did not bring it back) proves Neagoe cultural concerns. [19]

The way Neagoe Metropolitan addressed to the Metropolitan of Romanian Country, Macarius II (1512-1521), , [...] [...] whoever you are, chosen and put in front of us to enlighten us and shine like the sun, to show us and to teach us [...]", show that he would have known him and had been taught by him, before he became metropolitan, probably at the Monastery of Bistrita. [20] It is possible that the printer monk Macarius, who printed in 1509, 1510 and 1512 the three service books Missal, Octoechos and Gospel to be the next Metropolitan of the Romanian Country. The words he said when buried his mother Neaga and her children Peter, John and Anghelina (after 15 June 1520) in Arges monastery church, considered the first sermon kept in our homiletics literature, containing also the attitude of respect and obedience to Byzantine basileii and Neagoe following it, showed a relationship with the Church hierarchy. [21]

Another great figure who has completed his theological training was Neagoe Joachim I, former patriarch of Constantinople, arrived in 1505 in Targoviste. [22] From the two ecumenical patriarchs Neagoe learnt theology and, in addition to Serbian and Slavic languages he knew, he appropriated the Greek, which the two former patriarchs of the Eastern Church spoke. [23]

Neagoe both traveled to Hungary and Central Europe and to the Sublime Porte and south-east. He has turned to Hungary and Central Europe, thanks to his uncle heard Barbu money from his father, and the magistrate Pârnu and the Transylvanian Romanian Dumitru from Săliște, Opriș etc., Messengers of Sibiu at the Craiovești Court , but also to see mastery of those places. [24] Neagoe had seen to Bistrita Monastery and Craiovești court ornaments and locks for books, made of silver by craftsmen from Nuremberg and other German cities. Neagoe himself, in a letter to the patricians from Sibiu - the city that has always been in excellent reports with the Craiovesti- confessed he has visited Hungary. [25] Thus, Neagoe was in contact with the European office, where the Renaissance began and he was aware of it.

His trip to Istanbul, being related by Gabriel Protul, is uncertain but it contains a solid grain of truth, the inspiration being Neagoe himself. According to this writing Neagoe ought to go as guarantor hostage to the Sublime Porte, being a member of the great boyar families, close to the throne. There he was to be initiated into the art of Ottoman military and the ceremony of the Sublime Porte. Moreover, the same legend claims that it had a temporary mission of "clerk" in the building of a mosque. On this occasion he would have met the great and famous architect Sinan Celebi, also very young then, that influenced him by directing him into the science of building and ornamentation of Oriental art. A resident in the capital of the sultan, he participated at the building of the mosque's Bayezid II between 1504-1505. [26]

Architectural knowledge that he would use at Curtea de Arges and other foundations were acquired at Targoviste too. The internal documents and The Life of Nifon, shows him to be permanently in Targoviste where he had governors. [27] There he was initiated in the art of building as the beautiful Dealu Monastery was being built, founded by Radu the Great, consecrated on December 4, 1501. At Dealu Monastery, the organization of interior space for ceremonial aulic rank, the disposition of the towers and vegetal motifs and zoomorphic ornamentation, were made by Armenians and Georgians craftsmen, led by a certain Gregory. [28]

The native qualities enriched and polished by constant learning and education made it easy for him to impose himself to the royal court. It was then, perhaps, that his moral features have been noted, expressed as the years were passing: he seemed gentle and pious, prudent, but possessing real military qualities which have made the poet Maximos Trivalis called him "the great leader of warriors Misia". [29] He was also adamant and authoritative, proud and sometimes harsh in word and deed, Italian

luxury-loving, Byzantine and Ottoman fast, appraiser of glory as a true contemporary of the Renaissance. [30]

On 28 January 1501, Neagoe held the title of boyar and Chamberlain. Personal merits, the progeny from a remarkable family have made progress on the scale of dignities to be quick for him. In a decree issued on 15 January 1501 he was called High stratonic (Chamberlain), a governor that he will hold up to 9 July 1509. [31] During his job as a High Chamberlain, Neagoe, which was the "spiritual son" of Nifon, former patriarch, became his accountant too.

Neagoe had a good cultural, religious and military education, and knew languages of international communication. As a Chamberlain, he had to be the advisor of the ruler on foreign affairs and to speak the international languages. During his trips, he learnt, or more probably has improved, the knowledge of languages he had already known : Slavonic, Serbian, Celery, Osman and perhaps Latin terms, which could be acquired during his visits to Sibiu and the Hungarian Kingdom. Undoubtedly, as he stood by Niphon, he could progress in Slavonic, Serbs, Greeks and Osman, the latter being well known since the late patriarch had stood in Istanbul. It is possible that relations of the Craiovești with Sibiu and the trip to Hungary to have brought to Neagoe notions of German and Hungarian. Contacts with the realities of other countries and links with former Ecumenical Patriarch Niphon, a good lawyer and familiar with the teachings of the Orthodox Church, led to a deep penetration of Neagoe in these areas. [32]

4 The cultural dimension of the reign of Neagoe Basarab

Neagoe learned teaching and Christian living from two former Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch, Joachim I and Nifon, and the dedication of the Monastery of Arges, in 1517, a job done with great fast, continuing the one from the courts of the old Byzantium, had as guest Theolip, the Ecumenical Patriarch. [33] the Blessing of Arges Monastery, attended for the first time by an Ecumenical Patriarch in function Teolipt, accompanied by great assembly, all archimandrites and abbots of the monasteries of Mount Athos, who returned home with gifts and all "clerosul" of the Romanian country, headed by Metropolitan Makarios (c.1513-c.1521) and more people came from almost every country. [34] In celebrating the dedication of the great assembly, made in the old residence of the Wallachian, Sares bishops have participated, the Sarda, the Midia and Melenia. All this event demonstrates the role assumed by Neagoe as a successor of the Byzantine emperor's role of transmission and confession of Christian culture over the centuries.

In The votive painting from his foundation, Neagoe is depicted with a splendid robe, turned, lined with purple material. Purple was the color of the imperial basilicas. In the lower right corner is painted the emblem of the Basarabi, which is supervised by a double-headed eagle, the fundamental sign of the Byzantine Empire. Double-headed eagle with heraldic insignia logo was unveiled after restoration and consolidation made in 2003 at St. George church in the neighborhood Suseni - Targoviste which Neagoe founded, on a slab in the altar. The double-headed eagle take a cross in its beak. Assuming the cultural dimension and the Eastern Christian life by the rulers of the Romanian Country is a reality. Votive picture from Cozia , depicts Mircea the Elder having in front of the knees the same Byzantine eagle. Double-headed eagle symbol for the Byzantine Empire, called Romania, was chosen as a flagship by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, when the Latin Crusaders were ejected from Constantinople and the rebuilding of the kingdom started. Adopting the two-headed eagle emblem by Neagoe is a recognition of the relocation function for the reconstruction of Eastern Christian civilization, outside the original space.

From this perspective the cultural dimension of Neagoe Basarab is a purely Orthodox one, hesychast, also active in all circumstances and times of life. Such a claim based on the content of his fundamental writing teachings <Neagoe' teachings for his son Theodosius>, the first creation of an universal value of the Romanian literature, a true "political, pedagogical, philosophical and encyclopedic will" existential lesson of existential behaviour and human dignity for all time. Holy Altars founded, and rebuilt, helped by the entire Orthodox Christian world are other concrete evidence of the Christian cultural dimension of Neagoe.

The teachings are sprung from the accumulated experience of two centuries of existence of the Romanian State on its own, from a good knowledge of patristic, legal and parenetic literature and are integrated into the religious life of the Carpatho-Danubian space. [35] They were the fruit of profound,

mature, long thinking of the ruler formed between people with talent and experience as state leaders and leading scholars. Being prepared mentally, probably in an earlier period preceding the throne, , , Teachings" were written, or more likely, dictated by Neagoe. [36]

Neagoe had outstanding intellectual qualities, knew a lot of foreign languages, and had great teachers who had shown him theological and cultural work of the time. All these qualities enabled him to be great Chamberlain and the translator of the ruler himself. Most of the 95 remaining documents from Neagoe, emphasizes the author as being a religious, moral person, with a very good theoretical and practical training in many fields (theology, patristic, culture, arts, diplomacy, philosophy, military equipment, architecture, etc..). Author's thinking and personality of these decrees is identical to that of, , The teachings". [37] Along with them, likewise, argues his correspondence with one of his spiritual advisers and friends: Manuil of Corinth. The data of these foundation charter and the epistles demonstrates that between 1512-1513, there were specifically formulated in Neagoe's mind parts of Teachings, if not entirely work. [38]

Neagoe is a symbol of a ferment cultural and spiritual era , while the Byzantine world was going through a great crisis, Constantinople being under Ottoman rule for nearly seven decades, and in the Western countries, man estranged from God. So he says in his teachings "And how do the reignings fall from their Lord and God? Some fall because of faith, and some fall because of facts. That's why they die. Those men who are under rule, with lords and kings earthly bodies die, they die over again with their souls to God, if they get bitter death and are unrepentant for their sins. "[39]

Knowing well the Western humanism, that separates man from God, Neagoe corrects it and put the man in its true aspect - the creation of God, restored and adopted by the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ. Man is thus put in permanent contact with the Creator, Redeemer and sanctifying. Eulogy to man, based on divine revelation, unique in post-Byzantine literature, continues and fulfills, obviously, with prayers of praise and thanksgiving to God. By word and deed, Neagoe lived and preached an orthodox humanism, which is centered around man's existential relationship with God. The complexity of this relationship, which begins with the act of creation is planary presented, cosmology being intertwined with soteriology, Christology, ecclesiology and pneumatologia by Neagoe. Neagoe cultural dimension is essentially biblical. Teaching the Gospel is lived and preached by Neagoe and applied to all people. His teachings synthesize this Orthodox dimension : "As those, My beloved Son, be merciful to all people and all the crowds that God will hand you for whom the Lord our God and Savior Himself Jesus Christ were shed Their holy blood... That Christ himself for our souls and by Himself gave his death, as we all become children of God. "

40] Neagoe is aware of his responsibility as a leader for all people regardless culture, religion etc.. before God. For Neagoe, man, bound to his Creator, becomes, through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, Son of God, has to deify. For this reason, secular leader and church ministers are responsible before God for those entrusted to leadership, learning and holiness.

By Neagoe, Wallachia "became the center of the Byzantine Orthodox world and the protector of the Byzantine civilization. Neagoe is the purest image of the monarch of divine grace, protector and defender of the Eastern Church... He is considered to be the rightful heir of the imperial traditions and, thus, he assumes the role of protector of the Orthodox Church and the successor of the emperors of Byzantium. All his reign is animated by this thought, all his deeds spring from this consciousness. "[41]

Well knowing both the Scriptures, the Fathers of Eastern Orthodox and Hesychasts and the works and ideas of great European thinkers and reformers, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Niccolo Machiavelli, Martin Luther, which were his contemporary, but also the Muslim Orient world, the Romanian prince engaged himself to the great faith, being a warrior of the spirit that bore witness to Europe over which arose clouds of thousands of heresy and ideology that will end up being the murderous totalitarian regimes of hundreds of thousands of people and the whole world, as the Kingdom of Heaven begins here on earth in this life if we live according to the gospel of Christ and will fully continue in the next life.

Therefore Neagoe expresses the typos of the Christian Byzantine prince, the emperor, the protective monarch of all Christians who suffered under Turkish rule. Neagoe also establishes diplomatic relations with the West European Catholic and humanist culture, remaining, however, a symbol of Romanian culture profoundly marked by hesychasm. [42]His Vision about the principality and its mission, influenced by hesychasm, was original. "His conception over monarchy was theological "

holding power "of the divine essence." [43]

He was a hesychast but also a humanist and a ruler. Moreover, Neagoe proves, by his own example, that the ruler can be loved by Lord God. All this experience Neagoe shares through his Teachings to his son. Thus, Teachings are the first "religious book" written for a young son of a prince, known in the history of universal culture. [44]

For Neagoe Basarab, man has a cosmic dignity as a God creation. " Following the principle of Pateric, to not teach anyone before you experience by yourself, Neagoe becomes a master-confessor for both his age and for posterity, anchoring his Teachings into the eternal Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. His own reporting principle to the others, sent to us, is Christian love. From this perspective the book is a call of Neagoe to observance and fulfillment of the Gospel, to perfection through prayer and deeds, worthy of the name of Christian.

"A special Lord, well educated, , good... and peace and country loving "Neagoe embellished the life of the Romanian people, founding two great works of universal value: an artistic one- Arges Monastery, and a literary one - his Teachings for his son Theodosius. The Art to build an artistic and literary monument remains one of the great noble titles of the Prince, the clarity of the building, mirroring the depth of the building. [45] A Creation springing from a famous faith, the Church of Arges Monastery impresses through proportions and its ornamental cover. The fame of the monument creation attracted many Romanian and foreign travelers, who, fascinated by its beauty, grandeur and perfection competed in praising it. The monastery is "an occasion of wonder... and it is unmatched between the monasteries of this country "(Paul of Aleppo), " the first in Romania "(Alexander Pelimon), " a real mountain Saint Sophia "(W. Derblich) and" to say everything in just one word "This church is a jewel "(Paul of Aleppo). Aware that "no creator can enter the universality than through the gate of his own national culture, that no creator can enter into eternity than bearing the stamp of his time on his shoulders, Neagoe Basarab has given even the blood from his heart... and has not spared any expense to build and decorate the church.

At Curtea de Arges, beside Arges Monastery, Neagoe Basarab rebuilt the princial houses near the Royal St. Nicholas Church and he had the church repaired. In Targoviste he founded another church, Saint George, and he had the Ostrov Hermitage church rebuilt. He improved Tismana and Cozia monasteries. Wishing to continue the cultural tradition of the Byzantine Empire, Neagoe supported the entire Orthodoxy, from the Carpathians to Syria and from Egypt to the Ionian Sea, in many monasteries his name being mentioned in the Balkans, Greece or Minor Asia. [46]

At Athos monastery he pays attention to Cutlumuş Monastery, where he builds a church. He Remakes the church of St. Athanasius Monastery; at Iviron, Hilandar, Pantocrator, Dionysiou, Xeropotam he makes various construction and improvements. He covers the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and renewed church cells. The foundation of churches and the care to be repaired and equipped with the necessary were specific to the Byzantine emperors. Roman Emperors were content to build large markets and triumphal columns. Imperial images represented the sovereign acts making acts of donation to the Virgin and Child, as shown in a famous mosaic in Saint Sophia. [47]

His Concern for the Church goes from the endowment of the places of worship with various religious objects, icons, coverings, offering large sums of money or funds for the repair. In 1517 he gave the Metropolitan of Targoviste the November Menaion Gospels, out of which only the silver lock was retained r with an inscription in Slavonic, which reminds "Neagoe as ruler and reign." Another entry shows that on 4 August 1514, Prince gave Bistrita monastery a blanket to scrape St. Gregory Decapolite relics. [48] A relicvar of relics of St. John the Baptist, St. John Chrysostom and St. Peter the Apostle donated by Neagoe to a monastery from Athos (probably Dionysiou), meanwhile arrived in Istanbul. Executed in gold and adorned with precious stones and beads, it was shaped like a turtle shell. The simple decorations almost rudimentary, however, present some clubs and ribbed stalks with leaves, specific plants for the Wallachian ornamental style. [49] The same Dionysiou monastery from Athos, receives from Neagoe a famous shrine, apparently from "a particular workshop, which honours both the master and the donor, looking exactly the one that Craiovescu donated Bistrita. [50]

Beautiful fabrics, made apparently by lady Despina adorned churches and monasteries as Arges, Kruşedol from Serbia or Xenophontos from Athos. From her and the Holy Prince there were kept three icons too, icons considered family ones, found at the hermitage of Ostrovul Calimanesti, which Neagoe founded. Another one, depicting St. Nicholas, made by the famous Dobromir of Targoviste in 1518, are preserved in the Patriarchate museum. The Number of works of art and culture related to

Prince St. Neagoe name and inspired by Byzantine civilization is considerably higher than these basic guidelines presented here. And even more were lost in hostile times. Jeweles and money he also gives to Mount Sinai and Jerusalem. He fixed annual cash "Mert" throughout the Christian East. [51]

5 Conclusions

Neagoe vision has planted roots in the past but looks to the future. According to the foreword of Father Daniel Patriarch in the Teachings, Neagoe Basarab had a broad vision, respecting Byzantine heritage, which represents the past, but he is also the prince of his time, an innovator through his ties with the new culture of the Renaissance. Without fighting with weapons, as Saint Stephen the Great did, Neagoe - throughout this rich and continuous activity and concern for the Christian world, the East and Balkans - he was a warrior of the spirit, supporting the European culture, a legacy of brilliant Byzantium. In 1521, after nine years of his reign, Neagoe dies, leaving behind a lot of light, a light whose rays penetrate up to those of us today." [52]

The cultural dimension of Neagoe originates in the large Christian faith. Neagoe, just like the Old Testament's kings and emperors, continuing with the Emperor Constantine the Great, etc.. fought for the people that God entrusted him to be guided by the divine law in this life and thus to inherit eternal life.

I will conclude by summarizing that Neagoe dedicated his life serving God and all others: "What would we say about the things and monasteries he had mercy of?... And from East to West, and from North to South, he fed all the holy churches and a lot of compassion he has shown everywhere. And he was good not only for Christians, but pagans too, and was merciful father for all, resembling the heavenly Lord that shines His sun and rains both the good and the bad ones, according to the Holy Gospel. "

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Commedia dell'arte, un „spectacol al mulțimii” I. Din perspectiva teatranților

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Riassunto. Lo spettacolo dell'arte mette in opera le determinazioni che, attore e personaggio ispirano e realizzano insieme. Il legame comunicativo tra scena e pubblico vive nelle diverse costruzioni teatrali, in una illimitata inventivă di strumenti che possano generare l'illusione del “così come” e, non per ultimo, in una convenzione la cui mira è il divertire gli spettatori e il sopravvivere del mestiere teatrale. Di fronte alla storia reale, commedianti e pubblico hanno concepito insieme una solidarietà come opera di manifestazione e di resistenza, modo di esprimere la propria volontà e sopporto immaginativo per un “mondo a rovescio”.

Parole-chiave: teatro di piazza, l'invenzione viaggiante, *fallacia comica* (l'inganno delle parole).

Locul de reprezentăție sau despre „teatrul de piață”. Spectacolul este forma de manifestare a comediei și cea mai semnificativă dimensiune a ei. Locul de desfășurare trebuie să corespundă la două condiții: să fie de tranziție pentru ca să atragă, fără altă publicitate, un public numeros, la rândul său în trecere (deci mereu altul) și să fie la îndemâna unor spectatori care gustă acest gen de spectacol. Uneori însă, la cerere și cu diverse ocazii, spectacolul se mută la curtea unui principe, a unui bancher sau a unui negustor bogat și amator de o astfel de reprezentăție. Puține sunt documentele rămase care atestă prezența unei trupe și spectacole ocazionale în spațiu privat. Spațiul predilect rămâne piața publică (care a dat și unul dintre nume *commediei*) centrul orașului, zona vămii sau a portului, spațiile din preajma hanurilor sau de la marginea orașului unde adeseori era și locul unor târguri, bâlciuri improvizate. Alegerea locului de reprezentăție trebuia să primească acordul autorității locale sub a cărei protecție intra întreaga trupă din momentul descinderii într-un oraș.

De la nord la sud, începând cu secolul al XVI-lea, au existat trei mari centre de iradiere, am spune, axe stabile de reper în circulația spectacolului de *commedia*: Veneția, Florența și Neapole. În a doua jumătate a secolului, în orașe se iveau adesea epidemii de ciumă. În legătură cu o astfel de epidemie, survenită la Milano în 1576, s-a dezvoltat un adevărat mit al nașterii „teatrului de piață”. Se pare că episcopul locului, canonizat ulterior, San Carlo Borromeo a considerat că boala invadatoare a fost trimisă de Dumnezeu ca pedeapsă pentru păcatele oamenilor. (Iar printre păcate figura și gustul pentru obscenități păgâne pe care îl proliferau bufonii, comediantii și magicienii.) Și cum slujbele religioase trebuia intensificate, iar poporul să participe la ele în număr mare, bisericile deveneau neîncăpătoare, pericolul contaminării în masă, iminent. Acest episcop a avut ideea pelerinajului cu sfinte moaște, de la o bazilică la alta, procesiuni de largă deschidere, îmbogățite cu scenete din viața sfântului cărui i se implora ajutorul. Documentele vorbesc de o astfel de procesiune cu Sfântul Cui/Santo Chiodo purtat pe la toate cele șase porți ale orașului în ideea de a bara drumul molimei.

Codificarea acestui tip de spectacol religios itinerant a reprezentat pentru trupele de comici *dell'arte* un fel de intrare în legalitate a spectacolului popular de *commedia*, în aer liber și în mișcare. Din fuziunea vechilor rituri păgâne cu aceste noi tendințe ale religiozității, actorii profesioniști au știut să profite pentru afacerile lor și să se inspire, în spectacole, din această sursă de teme, pe placul publicului, distrăgându-i atenția de la pericolele reale ale vremii.

„Invenția călătorească”, cum o numește Siro Ferrone, are două limite variabile: variau din oraș în oraș prejudecățile morale, lingvistice, sociale ale spectatorilor și, în consecință, variau codurile de exprimare ale actorilor în funcție de locul unde jucau. Din acest punct de vedere, *commedia* n-a avut o patrie de origine și nici actori cu origine clară. A început prin a fi un teatru al raportărilor și a devenit continuu un teatru de măsurare a raportărilor. Nici originea măștilor și nici identitatea rolurilor nu este util să fie geografic stabilite. Sau cel puțin nu sunt utile în sprijinul înțelegerii semnificațiilor acestui tip de spectacol.

Această vagabondare continuă a trupelor, ducând cu ele costume, decoruri, recuzită, în bagaje, și idei, amintiri, suferințe, în suflet, a prezentat și avantaje. Recuzita, costumele, decorurile

trebuia reduse la minimum necesar pentru a putea fi ușor transportate și suportabile ca preț de transport. Cel care privește un album ilustrat al costumelor specifice are impresia unei încărcări peste măsură cu obiecte de vestimentație și de uz, încărcare potențată de varietatea culorilor și a accesoriilor și de bogăția și extravaganța croielilor.

În discordanță cu costumele sunt decorurile: câteva fațade de case, neapărat cu ferestre, balcoane și uși, aperturi arhitectonice ce permit comunicarea din exterior cu strada și invers. Luate împreună, costume și decor, transmit același lucru, sintetic cuprins în „omnia mea mecum porto”, în sens propriu. Spectaculozitatea vestimentară este programată să susțină și să focalizeze atenția privitorului pe actor, centrul mobil al spectacolului în ansamblul lui.

Un alt avantaj al teatrului ambulant este acela că prin repetare (de personaje, de replici), un spectacol care n-a avut succes, se putea schimba într-unul de succes, relativ repede și fără mare efort. Spectacolul de *commedia* este opera la vedere a actorilor trupei și opera de subsol a publicului. Pentru că actorul are simțul observației, intuiția așteptărilor publicului, gustul pentru polemică, descoperă din colțul lui de scenă sau în timpul interpretării propriului rol, natura și momentele tresăririlor spectatorilor. Descoperă ce anume îi uimește, ce îi derutează, ce îi surprinde, ce îi intrigă, ce le place, ce îi satisface etc. Toate aceste descoperiri sunt puse în operă cu proxima ocazie, de maniera în care unul și același spectacol ajunge să fie diferit de la o reprezentație la alta, de la o zi la alta. Și, aproape obligatoriu, să se transforme într-un succes. Această capacitate de transformare „sub ochii spectatorilor”, am spune, este rezervorul de prospețime și actualizare al spectacolului de *commedia*. Teatrul profesionist, bazat pe perceperea diferențelor e întotdeauna candidat la modernizare și aduce „într-o cultură închisă, cu obiceiuri monotone repetate la nesfârșit, suspicioasă la nou, un suflu proaspăt, lecuirea de prejudecăți.”, aprecia S.Ferrone

Spectacolul consfințește prevalența actorului asupra textului. Altfel spus, experiența e dislocată de pe text și trece pe spectacol. Teatrul ca literatură, ca act mintal și reflex, pierde din pondere și este substituit de triumful profesionalismului și al tehnicismului scenic. Actorul este în același timp creatorul, autorul unui text – acțiune care construiește întreg spectacolul. Nu mai este interpretul sau convingătorul instrument al unui act de mediere între text, dramaturg și spectator, ci direct, figura care generează spectacol.

Profesionalizarea spectacolului de *commedia* a mai produs o modificare esențială care a consolidat viziunea asupra textului din perspectiva teatranților. Actorul în sine a înțeles că nu poate să-și producă rolul, necum să strălucească, decât în echipă. Astfel, protagonistă devine întreaga trupă ce este distribuită în spectacol și nu se întâmplă ca un singur personaj, rol sau actor să fie izolat sau să se bucure de mai mare relief decât altul.

Între actorii unei trupe existau reguli foarte precise pentru a stopa eventuale devieri în direcția egoistă a celebrității. De pildă, când un personaj intra în scenă, un altul anume trebuia s-o părăsească (fie pentru că avea altceva de îndeplinit în spatele scenei și în slujba spectacolului, fie că juca în două roluri, alternativ); nu era voie să întrerupă replica colegului din perechea cu care realiza improvizația ; nu se permiteau intervenții în glumă, bufonerie sau mișcări acrobatice când pe scenă se desfășura un discurs serios. A.Nicoll remarcă :”Arta fiecăruia nu valora ca scop în sine, ci ca element al *commediei* în care toți sunt personaje.”

Regulile de mai sus, precum și diferite informații despre condiția actorului de *commedia* apăreau la 1699 într-un fel de manual al lui Andrea Perucci, intitulat *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata e all'improvviso/ Despre arta reprezentației premeditate și despre improvizație*”. Autorul povestește cu o mândrie nedisimulată :

„Frumoasei Italie i-a fost sortit să facă asta. (să inventeze *commedia*, n.n.) Căci un faimos comic spaniol, venit împreună cu alții să joace la Neapole comediiile lor, nu înțelegea cum de se poate face o comedie doar prin interpretarea unor personaje diferite și să se desfășoare în mai puțin de o oră. Pe cât de frumoasă, pe atât de dificilă este această întreprindere care nu poate fi făcută decât de persoane apte și capabile („idonee e intendenti”, în original) și care știu ce înseamnă reguli de limbă, figuri retorice, tropi și o întregă artă retorică, având de făcut prin improvizație ceea ce scriitorul face premeditat.”

Capacitatea de a improviza cerea actorului să-și desăvârșească un anumit nivel de cultură, pentru ca, din opere literare disparate, să poată culege fragmente, citate, termeni de comparație, segmente pe care le introducea în replicile sale. Pier Francesco Biancolelli – Capitan Spavento, fiul lui

Domenico Biancolelli – Arlecchino a primit o educație clasică completă într-o școală iezuită, pregătindu-se să-i urmeze tatălui în meseria de actor de *commedia*.

Forța cuvântului între improvizație, canovaccio și text scris. Am văzut ceva mai devreme că spectacolul de teatru se fundamentează pe iluzia dramatică a lui „ca și cum”. *Commedia dell’arte* ca formă de spectacol apare pe terenul unei crize a teatrului cult. După ce Renașterea readusese în actualitate forme, mesaje, personaje, viziuni dramatice și scenografice din teatrul grec și din cel latin, iar în circulația valorilor europene intraseră deja operele lui Shakespeare, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, după ce apăruseră teatrul de operă și cel liric, scena simte nevoia unei forme de reprezentare care să re-aducă iluzia dramatică și în care publicul să se regăsească fără dificultate în realitatea fictivă de pe scenă. Și cum „cea mai bună regulă e ieșirea din regulă” în mod firesc, se instalează *commedia*, un spectacol produs în stradă, cerut și apoi impus de gustul unui public de stradă, eterogen și modest. Spectacolul se desfășoară pe teme puține, dar cu mare impact și nesfârșite variațiuni.

Spre sfârșitul secolului al XVII lea acest tip de spectacol intră în decadentă, improvizația începe să se limiteze și sfârșește prin a deveni formă și manieră, spontaneitatea cedează locul operelor de autor. Semnalele sunt ale unei alte crize ce se va încheia prin reforma goldoniană și apariția teatrului de caractere. Istoria se împlinește și aici printr-o desfășurare în spirală ca și istoria umanității. Să ne oprim acum atenția asupra cuvântului ca instrument al comunicării în relație cu improvizația, cu schița de acțiuni din canovaccio, adică cu textul scris.

În *Etica nicomahică*, Aristotel observa: „Ne putem da seama făcând o comparație între comedia de altădată și cea de astăzi. Cea dintâi producea râsul cu cuvinte grosolane, cea de astăzi se face înțeleasă prin aluzii.” Observația reține necesitatea ca spectacolul să exploateze mai mult și mai rafinat, forța aluzivă a cuvântului, abandonând-o pe cea rustică, grosolană și direct vulgară. Gustul publicului, așteptările și pretențiile acestuia sunt semnale pe care teatrul și teatranții le culeg și le topesc în operă. De altfel, cel puțin pe relația ce ne interesează aici, raportarea biunivocă a publicului la spectacol și invers reprezintă o coordonată interesant de urmărit, bogată în sensuri, un mecanism nevăzut care măsoară permanent valorile acestei relații și prefigurează următoarea fază în devenirea spectacolului.

Commedia dell’arte afirmă autonomia spectacolului înțeleasă ca fapt eminent vizual în care cuvântul, cu întreaga sa forță de expresie, va fi gestualizat și mimat, iar acțiunea își va lărgi aria de cuprindere și de percepție prin costume, scenografie și lumini. Declamația trebuia să se producă zgomotos, pe voci înalte și sonore, pentru ca să învingă dezavantajul unei recitări în aer liber. Cuvântul în sine suportă o dezvoltare expresivă fără precedent, prin asocieri cu mijloacele paraverbale. Ocolind în chip voit complexitatea psihologică, el trebuie să comunice rapid situații, stări, încurcături aflate în derulare sub ochii spectatorilor, sau în afara scenei, în spatele ei, într-o rezervă substanțială a narațiunii scenice. Încărcat adesea până la refuz și exagerare cu gesturi și mimică, cuvântul pierde (sau câștigă!) valoarea sa denotativă și trece într-un instrument care generează aluzii și, în mod automat, râs. Spectacolul pe care-l dezlănțuie cuvintele este apoi preluat și supralicitat prin acrobație, dans și muzică. Acest din urmă nivel al semnificațiilor dezvoltate prin cuvânt dă frâu liber actorului profesionist și închide calea amatorismului.

Direcția principală spre care țintește sensul cuvântului este „l’inganno delle parole/ înșelarea, păcălirea prin cuvinte”. Un text ilustrativ, aproape didactic pentru această direcționare îl reprezintă debutul comediei *La caccia/ Vânătoarea* din culegerea lui Flaminio Scala. Actul I se deschide sub indicația că ne aflăm în zorii unei zile în care patru bărbați din Perugia (Pantalone, Graziano, Claudione și Burattino), tați a tot atâția tineri îndrăgostiți (în aceeași ordine, Isabella, Flavio, Flaminia și, respectiv, Orazio) se pregătesc să plece la vânătoare, lăsându-și familiile, respectiv copiii, să-și organizeze cum vor dori ziua. Fiecare casă are fațada în același perimetru scenic, astfel încât ferestrele și intrările se află câte două, față în față.

Isabella - alla finestra, invoca il sole perché venga a dar la luce al mondo, onde possa vedere l’amante suo Orazio / la fereastră, invocă soarele să aducă lumină lumii în care să-l poată vedea pe iubitul ei, Orazio.

Flaminia - alla finestra, dall’altra parte della scena, riprendendo l’Aurora, perché non esce di braccio al suo vecchio Titone, dicendo: “Ah, scellerata, non ti vergogni a darmi tanto tormento? Perché non vieni?”/ la fereastră, de cealaltă parte a scenei, adresându-se Aurorei (momentului de

dinaintea răsăritului de soare,s.n) ce nu iese de sub brațul bătrânului Titon, zicând: „Ah, nebuno, nu-ți e rușine să-mi dai atâta neliniște?De ce nu vii?”

Isabella, credendosi che Flaminia dica a lei, si ritira, e Flaminia tuttavia va incolpando l’Aurora / Isabella, crezând că Flaminia i se adresează ei, se retrage, iar Flaminia continuă învinovățirea Aurorei.

Pedrolino - alla fenestra, in faccia di Flaminia, dice: „Ah, poltrona, voglio dire ogni cosa a messer Burattino.” Flaminia si crede che dica a lei, si ritira. Pedrolino seguita, parlando di Franceschina, che egli aveva promesso di levarsi a buon’ora per ritrovarsi seco prima che partissero i padroni per andare a caccia, come la sera passata d’accordo rimasero/ la fereastră din fața Flaminiei zice: „Ah, leneșo, te spun eu stăpânului Burattino”.Flaminia crede că ei i se spune așa și se retrage. Pedrolino continuă vorbind de Franceschina care-i promisese că se va trezi devreme pentru a se întâlni înainte ca stăpânii să plece la vânatoare așa cum stabiliseră de cu seară.

Fiecărei secvențe de monolog i se asociază un receptor „greșit” și interpretarea naște iritare și confuzie. Iritarea e generată de cuvinte ofensatoare („nebună”, „ leneșă”), iar confuzia de contextul adresativ al spunerii. Fiecare personaj se retrage înainte de a afla o continuare explicativă pentru direcția spre care este emis mesajul, astfel încât confuzia să fie capabilă să producă ulterior alte și alte ocazii, acțiuni confuze și ridicole, de asemenea. În acest transport de mesaje se consumă întreg actul I; abia în actul II este desființată greșita interpretare pentru că ea și-a împlinit rolul, cuvintele au funcționat în direcția și cu obiectivul dorite: înșelarea, păcălirea. La reunirea aceluiași personaje „ridono dell’inganno delle parole/ râd de păcăleala cuvintelor” și se oferă explicația, de-acum gratuită din punctul de vedere al spectatorului, dar necesară ca o concluzie la pretextul comic..

Flaminia manda Franceschina a cercar Flavio. Ella via; poi vedendo Isabella, la saluta scusandosi delle parole ch’ella disse alla fenestra, e che accusava l’Aurora replicando quello che disse Pedrolino di lei alla fenestra. Pedrolino: che diceva di Franceschina, che tardava tanto a venir da lui come promesso gli aveva / Flaminio o trimite pe Franceschina să-l caute pe Flavio. Ea (Franceschina,s.n.) iese; apoi văzând-o pe Isabella o salută scuzându-se pentru cuvintele pe care le spusese la fereastră prin care învinovățea Aurora; apoi își amintește de ceea ce i-a spus ei Pedrolino la fereastră. Iar Pedrolino [îi explică] cum că despre Franceschina era vorba și despre faptul că întârzia să vină la el așa cum îi promisese.

Să remarcăm și faptul că, aici ca în oricare altă comedie, cuvintele cu conținut ofensator produc cea mai promptă și comică reacție din întreg bagajul lexical, foarte sărac și redundant, în fapt. Selecția cuvintelor cu acest efect sigur o făcuse strada; ele intrau firesc în limbajul actorilor și în serviciul comediei.

Relația cuvântului cu *canovaccio* și textul scris este intermediată, cu fantezie nelimitată, de improvizație. Improvizația este cea care dă forță cuvintelor. Și tot ea consacră talentul și profesionalismul teatranților. Din păcate însă, această punte de legătură și de viață între cuvinte și textul scris, imaginea adevărată a commediei, se pierde o dată cu spectacolul. Nu-i supraviețuiește decât în elogii (cu condiția ca acestea din urmă să fie publicate), sau în aplauze efemere ori huiduieli la fel de efemere. În improvizație se definește și se manifestă invenția lingvistică, ieșirea din norme și intrarea în automatisme. Acestea din urmă controlează acțiunile, iar improvizația le conferă actualitate și salvare. Automatismele de orice fel sunt partea nevăzută, resursă a improvizației, rezultatul unui îndelung exercițiu dramatic; ele intră în structura și carnea actorului din momentul în care și-au confirmat valoarea, succesul de public, implicit, longevitatea. Scenariul din *canovaccio* este întotdeauna permisiv pentru aceste elemente care sfârșesc prin a deveni clișee așteptate, savurate, dorite de public.

Improvizația eliberează actorul de orice ambiții literare, căci ținta lui este să vorbească publicului în mod direct și imediat, pe înțeles, pentru a obține un consens popular al spectacolului pe care nici o altă formă de teatru n-o poate produce. Or, această vorbire directă naște, în mod necesar, inovația lingvistică. Nu întâmplător J.Russell Brown compara *commedia* cu jazzul: „scenariul furnizează acordurile bază ale întregului, atmosfera dictează timpul, divagațiile de unul singur sunt susținute și fixate de capacitățile individuale și de interacțiunea experimentată și obișnuită cu celelalte componente.”

Variațiile improvizate pe o temă dată trebuie să fie și acceptate, tolerate de celălalt actor, perechea celui care improvizează. Se înțelege așadar, că dacă am avea ocazia de a vedea unul și același spectacol de commedia, în aceeași interpretare, de mai multe ori, am fi tentați să numim spontaneitatea, mai degrabă tradiție, iar noutatea, mai degrabă cod de interpretare asupra căruia cel puțin doi actori au convenit în prealabil. Nu vrem să diminuăm, prin această vedere ipotetică, nimic din virtuțile improvizației care au impus în Europa stilul italian al *commediei*. Ci doar să propunem o privire obiectivă, critică care s-o aducă mai aproape de înțelegerea noastră astăzi. Privirea ar obliga deplasarea accentului de pe valorile interpretative ale improvizației, spre tendința obstinată a actorilor de a produce spectaculozitate.

Memoria și fantezia actorului sunt compartimente esențiale în jocul scenic. Ele dezvoltă capacitățile de improvizare, se sprijină reciproc și se alimentează din practica profesională, din experiența mai multor generații cristalizată într-o adevărată dinastie de actori. La acestea trebuie adăugată competența culturală a actorului.

Specializarea actorului pe un rol fix este urmarea acestui lung exercițiu al improvizării în care trebuie să vedem, în egală măsură, aspirația spre perfecțiune a interpretului, dar și o anumită protecție intelectuală pe care și-o acordă pentru a menține la cote maxime capacitatea memoriei. Consumul de energie este atât de solicitant, încât actorul resimte nevoia de a-și conserva resursele pentru cât mai mult timp, pentru o viață în cele mai multe cazuri. Vom constata, în consecință, și faptul că rolurile fixe au supraviețuit modificărilor tramei, stabilind în orice *canovaccio* aspectele rezistente și acțiunile de bază.

Improvizația este susținută de un repertoriu vast de intrări și ieșiri, dansuri și acrobații, glume și ciomăgeli, *intermezii* și tirade. Aceste artificii dramatice construiesc împreună cu improvizația o sinteză echilibrată și perfectă a spectacolului, care există grație implicării actorului, a fiecăruia în parte și a echipei în întregime. Gestualitatea și mimica, puternic expresive, preiau întrucâtva din efortul fizic pe care-l presupune dinamica spectacolului. Masca este și ea, la rândul ei, capabilă să suplinească o parte din complexitatea energetică a interpretării. Așa se explică faptul că astăzi italienii au cea mai bogată, diversificată și expresivă „antologie vie” de gesturi și mimică, acoperind practic nu numai stări, reacții și emoții standardizate, dar chiar acțiuni, idei și concepte. Un studiu aparte dedicat doar acestui domeniu ar evidenția sigur contribuția spectacolului de *commedia* cu gama lui nelimitată de gesturi devenite istorie, e drept, un alt fel de istorie a civilizației italiene. Dar nu mai puțin interesantă. Pentru a încheia ideea, actorul de *commedia* trebuia să fie excelent, iar italienii actori erau considerați cei mai buni, atât de buni, încât nu puteau fi înlocuiți.

Toată această încărcătură expresivă a limbajului scenic exploatată în spectacol rămâne necunoscută textului scris din *canovaccio*. Acesta nu reține decât succesiunea acțiunilor, intrările și ieșirile unui personaj, informații despre vestimentația și accesoriile necesare, despre tonul vocii și direcția replicii, despre poziționarea în scenă etc. Textul scris este schița *commediei*. Se întâmplă însă, în situații excepționale (când personajul este considerat nebun, mort, vrăjitor, bolnav, situații în care actorul nu are voie să improvizeze pentru că ar putea produce devieri incontrollabile în subiectul piesei) ca textul să conțină replica obligatoriu de spus. În *La pazzia d'Isabella / Nebunia Isabellei*, de pildă, din cauza întâmplărilor nefericite îndurate, Isabella „divenne furiosa e fuori di senno/ ajunge să fie furioasă și să-și iasă din minți”. În această situație, monologul este reținut integral în pagină și trebuia memorat și spus ca atare pentru că are o alcătuire ilogică, imposibil de reproduș altfel. Conținutul nu trebuie descifrat, ci doar să convingă publicul de starea (nebunia) personajului.

„vestita da pazza, si pone in mezzo di Burattino e di Franceschina, dicendo voler loro dire cose di grandissima importanza. Essi si fermano ad ascoltare, et ella comincia a dire: „Io mi ricordo l'anno non me lo ricordo, che un Arpicordo pose d'accordo una Pavaniglia spagnola con una Gagliarda di Santin da Parma, per la qual cosa poi le lasagne, i maccheroni e la polenta si vestirono a bruno, non potendo comportare che la gatta fura fusse amica delle belle fanciulle d'Algeri; pure, come piacque al califfo d'Egitto fu concluso che domattina sarete tutti duo messi in berlina”; seguitando poi di dire cose simili da pazza / îmbrăcată în nebună se așează între Burattino și Franceschina și zice că vrea să le spună lucruri de foarte mare importanță. Aceștia se opresc s-o asculte și ea începe: „Îmi amintesc anul nu mi-l amintesc că un Arpicord (Clavecîn) a pus de acord o Pavaniglie (o Padovană) spaniolă cu o Gagliardă (Curajoasă) din Santin de Parma, din care cauză lasaniile, macaroanele și mămăliga se îmbrăcară în negru neputând accepta ca pisica hoată să fie

prietena frumoaselor fete ale lui Algieri; totuși, după placul califului din Egipt, s-a decis ca mâine dimineață să fiți amândoi puși la stâlpul infamiei” și continuă să spună tot lucruri nebunești.”

Lucruri, asociații inedite de termeni, jocuri de cuvinte generează râsul, propunând nebunia ca temă și nebunii ca personaje comice. Direct din lumea străzii, din ceea ce realitatea obișnuită oferă.

Dintre însușirile pe care le dezvoltă cuvântul în opera de *commedia*, lipsește funcția polemică pe care am fi tentați s-o căutăm, în baza moștenirii lăsată teatrului de comedie de precursorul Angelo Beolco (Ruzzante). În contextul tematic al *commediei* trebuie să observăm absența aproape totală a ideilor și conținuturilor etice și morale. Universul sociologic maturizat prin teatrul lui Machiavelli și Ruzzante apare în *commedia* diluat într-o diversitate de atitudini și reacții. Personajele se separă în tabere și acționează în opoziție, în funcție de interese și motivații predominant materiale. Căci din punct de vedere ideologic ar putea, fără piedici, face parte dintr-o singură categorie. Nu ideile, nici analizele ori judecățile, nici opiniile ori atitudinile morale nu frământă lumea *commediei*. În mod justificat, Ludovico Zorzi vorbește de-o „nevindecabilă criză ideologică.(...) *Commedia dell'arte* nu este un instrument de participare activă, ci o cedare la moda vremii și la presiuni extra-artistice și o cădere în inerție. Pe soluția pe care o dă *commedia* raportului între „lume” și „teatru”, autoritatea politică și religioasă poată să doarmă liniștită. *Commedia dell'arte* n-o amenință, n-o dărâmă.”

Rămân așadar în slujba cuvântului exploatarea aluzivă capabilă să mute accentul de pe text, pe spectacol, amestecul de limbaje și exprimări dialectale și supraîncărcarea expresivă prin mimică, gestică și virtuțile improvizației.

Mijloacele paraverbale și elogiul tehnicismului. *Commedia dell'arte* așează actorul ca centru al evenimentului teatral, nu numai pentru ceea ce poate reprezenta prin corpul său, ori prin vocea sa, dar, în special, prin memoria sa, prin mintea și experiența de scenă împreună cu care devine un fel de bibliotecă ambulantă. Comicul *dell'arte* vorbește, cântă, e acrobat, dansează, sfidează regulile teatrului prescris, uimește publicul cu abilitățile sale și fundamentează ideea unui teatru care nu depinde decât de el, de actor, de timpul și de locul în care se joacă opera lui.

Citim într-o mărturisire excepțională lăsată de Evaristo Gherardi despre Scaramuccia în *Colombine avocat pour et contre* (1685): „On y voit Scaramouche, qui après avoir raccomodé ce qu'il z a dans la chambre, prend sa guitarre, s'assied sur un fauteuil e ten joue en attendant que son maître arrive. Pasquariel vient tout doucement derrière lui et pardessus ses épaules bat la mesure, ce qui épouvante terriblement Scaramouche.” Gherardi îl numește pe Scaramouche „ornament du théâtre” și model al actorilor pentru timpul său. Actorii au învățat de la el cum să exprimi pe chip orice fel de trăire fără să pronunți un cuvânt. Scaramouche făcea să se moară de râs în această scenă a sperieturii fără să rostească un cuvânt. Și reușea să atingă inima spectatorului prin simplitatea naturii omenești, mult mai bine decât i-ar fi reușit unui orator dintre cei mai abili printr-o retorică convingătoare. Să nu vorbești și să spui multe și convingătoare lucruri. Dacă rezistă până astăzi mitul *commediei*, una dintre explicații stă în prezența unui alt mit: al actorului ca agent total al acțiunii teatrale.

Tot ceea ce reprezintă personalitatea actorului la un moment dat devine zestre, resursă pentru personajul interpretat. Corpul, prin toate mișcărilor lui naturale, stereotipe sau exersate, învățate se dezarticulează și apoi se recompune inteligent într-o mișcare, într-un gest, într-un pas de mers sau o mișcare acrobatică, într-un salt sau într-un dans, într-o schițare de a merge în spatele cuiva, de a imita pe cineva.

O biografie a lui Scaramuccia – Tiberio Fiorilli scrisă de Angelo Constantini conține sintetic acest portret: „Scaramuccia nu se mulțumea să facă să se audă niște lucruri pe care le interpreta, ci le expunea ochilor spectatorului, într-atât (de convingător,s.n.) poseda arta de a pune în acord elocvența cu gesturile. Chiar se poate spune că totul vorbea la el: picioarele, mâinile, capul. Și cea mai mică atitudine era de el creată ca să fie văzută.”

Scena oferă vizibilitate maximă, iar atenția spectatorilor nu este lăsată să se concentreze pe un anume fapt, pentru că în fiecare colț se petrece ceva care stârnește râsul, accentuează ridicolul, exagerează farsescul. Văzută de la o distanță confortabilă, scena arată ca un film derulat cu viteză mai mare decât puterea de percepție a ochilor. Corpurile actorilor, costumele, măștile alcătuiesc împreună un context care se schimbă fără răgaz, imprimând un ritm alert și o expresivitate accentuată. Dintre personaje, cele care întruchipează servitorimea, bărbați și femei, exploatează în mai mare măsură și cu viteză sporită, capacitățile de mișcare ale corpului. Sunt personaje dinamice, cu intrări și ieșiri dese din scenă, parcă compensând prin aceste deplasări, rolul minor și replica puțină atribuite.

Masca neagră, mult redusă ca dimensiuni față de cea practică în comedia antică, conferă anonimat și protecție, dar prin caracterul ei generalizator conduce, eliberează calea gestului purtător de semnificații. Masca are întotdeauna corespondențe cu podoabele de pe cap, cu accesoriile strălucitoare, cu coafura și cu costumul. În „dizarmonia” culorilor dintr-o apariție, negrul este preferat pentru că accentuează gestul, mișcarea și evidențiază actorul în ansamblul echipei. Singurul personaj care adună laolaltă în desenele costumului său culori multe și variate, rămâne Arlecchino. O legendă încă în circulație explică această diversitate prin faptul că, la momentul confecționării unui costum și pentru el, croitorul nu mai avea decât petice colorate, rămase de la celelalte haine, și îmbinându-le, a obținut un astfel de costum multicolor, foarte strâns pe trup și relativ economic.

Gesturile, expresiile chipului pot forma numai ele un teatru *all'italiana*, prin diversitate și calitatea de a comunica direct și prompt cu publicul. În mod cert se poate vorbi și de o limitare a posibilităților de exprimare, dar din această limitare *commedia* a făcut un punct de forță care o consacră ca inconfundabilă în aria manifestărilor dramatice. Gesturile fixează o atitudine până la transformarea ei în automatism printr-un proces mecanic, repetitiv pe care fiecare actor îl exersează îndelung.

Din perspectiva teatranților toate aceste elemente de tehnică a interpretării, bine fixate în repertoriul fiecărui rol, conduc la a comunica sensuri ce nu greșesc niciodată nici ținta, nici conținutul. Reacția imediată a spectatorilor aduce confirmarea, implicit, succesul actorului și al spectacolului.

Vocea cu toate variațiile ei sonore, dar și tăcerea, pauza de vorbire capătă semnificații expresive. Desfășurat, de obicei, în aer liber spectacolul pune la grea încercare acest compartiment al interpretării. Actorul trebuia să-și controleze permanent poziția corpului pentru ca replica să ajungă la urechile spectatorului. De aici și obiceiul de a vorbi cu fața întoarsă aproape în întregime către public, ca și cum acestuia i s-ar fi adresat. Reacții firești precum râsul și plânsul erau exagerate în mod intenționat prin tonalități, accente, exprimare sacadată și, nu de puține ori, produceau reverberația, imitația în public. Școlile de actorie de astăzi care-și propun să pună în scenă piese de *commedia* au remarcat faptul că respirația actorului cere un exercițiu îndelung și bine ghidat. Într-o desfășurare excesiv de dinamică, respirația trebuie să devină rezistentă și puternică, sonoră în anumite momente, să fie capabilă de alternanțe sau simultaneități extreme în care se combină râsul cu plânsul, vorbirea cu acrobația.

Toate aceste elemente de tehnică fac parte integrantă din actorul-autor de *commedia*. Ele îl creează, îl definesc și-l reprezintă, pentru ca în final să se mute firesc și asupra operei. Rămân aproape aceleași de la o generație de actori la alta și construiesc ceea ce putem numi „tehnicism scenic”, adus la cota triumfului grație unor actori de faimă și unor spectacole de succes. La acest punct al discuției ne-am putea întreba: ceea ce a făcut să se mențină și să reziste ca tip de spectacol și pe comicii *dell'arte* timp de două secole s-ar încadra la denumirea de continuitate sau imobilitate prin raportare la transformările istoriei? În mod cert nu s-a modificat relația teatranților cu publicul. Și nici modalitățile de a provoca râsul. S-a modificat continuu funcționalitatea actorilor în raport cu așteptările spectatorilor. Căci pentru a le trezi interesul era indispensabil să creeze aceste așteptări pe care apoi să le contrazică sau doar să le confirme însoțindu-le cu replici și pauze. Iar dacă replicile și pauzele au fost supraîncărcate cu această diversitate de mijloace paraverbale adecvate contextului istoric al momentului, orașului, obișnuințelor comunității etc, atunci sensul comic al *commediei* a supraviețuit și a devenit, la rândul-i, istorie. Teatranți și spectatori au creat împreună o solidaritate și o coparticipare cu ajutorul cărora au rezistat ca operă, ca manifestare prin răs în fața istoriei reale. Iar publicul ridică actorul la rang de profesionist al râsului.

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Tradition Among Traditions and Their Impact on Society

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But when you pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking (Mathew 6: 7)

Abstract: Since apostolic times up until the age of the Great Schism (1054), each local Church was able to express the unity of faith with the entire Christian world in the very language of the people who had received the new faith, in the beginning even in their own rite and through their own symbol of baptismal faith. During the Christianization of the Slavs emerged the theory of the three sacred languages (Greek, Latin and Hebrew) in the West, to which Slavonic was added in the East. The dogmatization of this theory had many consequences in the Western world, leading also to the spark off of the Reform. In the Eastern world, the influence of this theory was felt in conservatory circles, and affected the society and the cultural creations. Although the Romanian people was forced to accept Slavonic in worship, due to multiple socio-political and religious reasons, the *Church* and the *Reign* knew how to work together for the introduction of the Romanian language in worship and in the chancellery, with direct implications on Romanian society and culture. Of the three main branches of Orthodoxy, Greek, Romanian and Slavic, only Romanians have worship in the spoken language of the people, while the other two branches preserved, with few exceptions, the ancient liturgical languages (the Greek Byzantine language for the Greek world, Slavonic for most of the Slavic world), which created differences between the Church and the society, caused the impoverishment of the linguistic power of expression, the blending of Christian faith with the ideology of nationalism, etc.

Keywords: the theory of sacred languages, liturgical languages, traditions, the tradition-innovation conflict, the *New Testament*, *Holy Scriptures*, *Holy Tradition*, dogma, liturgical texts, worship, the Orthodox Church, society, nationalism.

The verse 7 of the VIth chapter of the *Holy Gospel* according to Saint Matthew the Evangelist can lead us to many meanings and interpretations, from the practices of those who worshiped idols, and said lots of words to them *from morning even until noon*, but *there was no voice, nor any that answered*¹, to the simple words used in the Lord's Prayer delivered to us by the Savior of the world, Jesus Christ². Therefore, one can make parallel evaluations between the practice of the ancients who worshiped idols and the Orthodox worship, which springs from the *Holy Scripture* and the *Holy Tradition*, that are the two organs of God's Revelation. Moreover, a faithful can go from the general level, i.e. the outward forms of worship, to the personal level, that is to the spiritual realization of each individual human being and to the achievement of perfection through hesychia, following the call of the *Holy Scripture* and the Holy Fathers that *in the multitude of words there lacks not sin, but he that refrains his lips is wise*³. Here are many themes, and many more can be developed based on the in depth study of verse 7, but any interpretation must bring us to a conclusion directly linked to the point and purpose of the Orthodox worship, as it is expressed through the liturgical richness of the services and hierurgies accomplished in the Church. We should ask ourselves whether in the history of Christianity, and particularly, in the history of our Orthodox worship, we have been somewhat similar to those that *speak into the air*⁴, not because of the content of liturgical texts, but because of the fact that there has been no attempt to render through language *the tongue words easy to be understood*⁵.

¹ *III Kings* 18: 26.

² *Mathew* 6: 9-13.

³ *Proverbs* 10: 19.

⁴ *I Cor.* 14: 9.

⁵ *I Cor.* 14: 9.

This is an ancient theme, yet still current, which the Holy Apostles have dealt with since the beginning of Christianity. Later on, along the centuries, the whole Christendom was confronted with it, especially at the end of the first millennium, when the dogmatization of the theory of the sacred language occurred, first in the West, and then taken in the East, which had a direct influence on Orthodox people even until, we can safely say, the contemporary era.

A convincing and normative for the following centuries example from the apostolic period is the work of the Holy Apostle Paul, who received *grace* and *apostleship*, in order to call all nations, in the name of Christ, the Son of God and our Savior, *to the obedience that comes from faith*⁶. In his time, the Holy Apostle stumbled upon and resolved, among other issues, the language barrier, namely that of the transmission of Jesus Christ's teachings and, later on, the interpretation of sacred texts in the languages of the nations which received the new faith. We understand by his own admission that he could speak several languages: *I thank my God, I speak in tongues more than all of you*⁷. Speaking languages was certainly a gift from God, and *there are all sorts of languages in the world, yet none of them is without meaning*⁸, and that meaning goes not only to the heart, but also to the mind.

However, as far as this aspect is concerned, the Holy Apostle Paul makes a very important statement, namely that it is absolutely mandatory to understand the things spoken, regardless of the participation *in spirit* or *in the flesh* to that which is heard. In other words, aside from the perception of the spiritual meaning of the spoken words, it is required to actually understand them. For this reason, the Apostle Paul urges us: *anyone who speaks in a tongue should pray that he may interpret what he says. For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays, but my mind is unfruitful*⁹. Thus, the Holy Apostle Paul presents a duality, *spirit* and *mind*, that is *heart* and *understanding*, which are the two coordinates of living and participating in the mystery of deification of man through the beauty of liturgical life. But this beauty is not given only by the understanding *in the spirit*, i.e. the participation with the heart, but also by the understanding with the mind, that is by the way in which the complete man becomes a receptive vessel of the word that carries meaning. *So what shall I do?*, wonders Saint Paul for us, and the answer becomes tradition: *I will pray with my spirit*, that is with the spiritual and metaphorical meaning of words, *but I will also pray with my mind*, that is I will use the proper understanding of the words, which allows the faithful to participate, body and soul, to the understanding of the richness of liturgical texts, as Saint Paul says to us: *I will sing with my spirit, but I will also sing with my mind*¹⁰.

Following the text of Saint Paul, we notice that he asks naturally those who would advocated only the understanding of the words in the spirit: *If you may bless with your spirit, how can one who finds himself among those who do not understand say "Amen" to your thanksgiving, since he does not know what you are saying?* Even though *You*, that is any of us today, *may be giving thanks well enough*, however *the other man is not edified*¹¹.

Therefore, there is a difference between understanding *with the spirit*, that is the general and metaphorical meaning of words, and understanding *with the mind*, i.e. the perception of the actual meaning of the spoken word, which together lead to the spiritual building of the believer, to the understanding of the truths of faith, to living and impropriating the mystery of deification. In order to make us understand the meaning of this difference, the Holy Apostle Paul comes forth with a few images.

First, he uses the image of the annunciation of the state of war by means of a trumpet, alluding to our spiritual warfare by using the word in an understandable manner and in a spoken tongue. Thus, the Holy Apostle Paul asks himself: *If the trumpet does not sound a clear call, who will get ready for battle?* And the answer is also addressed to us today: *So it is with you. Unless you speak intelligible words with your tongue, how will anyone know what you are saying? You will just be speaking into the air*¹².

⁶ Rom. 1: 5.

⁷ I Cor. 14: 18.

⁸ I Cor. 14: 10.

⁹ I Cor. 14: 13-14.

¹⁰ I Cor. 14: 13-15.

¹¹ I Cor. 14: 16-17.

¹² I Cor. 14: 8-9.

Then the Saint Apostle Paul stresses the importance of the *meaning* of the spoken word: *If then I do not know the meaning of the language, I will be to the one who speaks a barbarian, and the one who speaks will be a barbarian to me*¹³. In other words, the barbaric nature of the nations, which is evident through their *vain repetitions*¹⁴, is realized also at the level of the person who uses words without them being fully understood by the person who hears them. And the lack of understanding of their meaning leads to the lack of knowledge, namely to the state of insanity, in the sense of confusion and misunderstanding of the truths of faith. Therefore, the Saint Apostle Paul opens our horizon with the question: *So if the whole church comes together and everyone speaks in tongues, and some who do not understand or some unbelievers (that is the contemporary man or the man who is still seeking, but of a different faith and tongue) come in, will they not say that you are out of your mind?*¹⁵

In conclusion, the counsel of the Saint Apostle Paul refers to the general framework of speaking in tongues, but also to the personal expression of each. In the first case, he urges us to use an interpreter in all circumstances, which could be, by extension, even our own language: *If anyone speaks in a tongue, two, or at the most three, should speak, one at a time, and someone must interpret. If there is no interpreter, the speaker should keep quiet in the church and speak to himself and God*¹⁶. Regarding the personal expression, which must be according to the mind of the faithful, and also to the perception with his spirit of the things said, Saint Paul, paraphrasing the verse 7 in the VIth chapter from Holy Evangelist Matthew, makes the following testimony: *But in the church I would rather speak five intelligible words to instruct others than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue*¹⁷.

Based on the meanings and solutions given by Saint Paul, Orthodoxy was able to solve the problem of every people who embraced the Christian faith, which made itself accessible in language of the respective people¹⁸, and, as a result, Orthodoxy embraced the diversity of human cultures and traditions¹⁹, and knew how to remain free of any influence or ethnic limitation²⁰, since in Christ *there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free*²¹. However, there were also cases of alteration of the Tradition, as, unfortunately, negative excesses were present.

I will give you the example of two moments in the life of two Orthodox peoples, the Slav and Romanian, yet with an extension on the Greek people as well.

When the *fullness of time*²² made it so that the Slavic people on right of the Danube received the Word of God, beginning with the ninth century, the Patriarchate of Constantinople blessed the missionary work of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the language spoken by the Slavic people at that time. Thus, their translations imposed the church Slavonic language of the Orthodox Slavs as the fourth language of worship, but its introduction for this purpose has been questioned by the Latin-German priests and bishops²³ in Moravia, which led to controversy of the *three sacred languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin or of the Pilatians*²⁴. Although rejected in Rome²⁵, this *theory* imposed itself

¹³ *I Cor.* 14: 11.

¹⁴ *Mathew* 6:7 .

¹⁵ *I Cor.* 14: 23.

¹⁶ *I Cor.* 14: 27-28.

¹⁷ *I Cor.* 14: 19.

¹⁸ For example, it is a known fact that from the first half of the first century, in the great monasteries of the Holy Land, the services were officiated in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Besa, the former being considered the language of the ancestors of the Romanians (Archimandrite Ioanichie Bălan, *Vetre de sihăstrie românească*, București 2001², pp. 371, 380).

¹⁹ Which by their nature and origin cannot be considered as absolute (Jean Meyendorff, *Orthodoxie et Catholicité*, Paris 1965, p. 88).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 87-88.

²¹ *Gal.* 3: 28.

²² *Gal.* 4: 4.

²³ That is Germans of the Roman-catholic faith.

²⁴ After the name of Pilate, who gave to order to have words written on the Holy Cross in these three languages, see Ioan Rămureanu, *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, București 1992, p. 208.

²⁵ In order to oppose to the *three sacred languages theory*, Saints Cyril and Methodius themselves went to Rome, where pope Adrian II (867-872) approved the Slavic translations of the *Holy Scriptures* and of the service books, as well as the use of Slavonic as the language of worship, see Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, I, București 1991², p. 190; Ioan Rămureanu, «Unsprezece secole de la activitatea misionară a Sfinților Chiril și Metodiu», *Ortodoxia* 19 (1967), pp. 17-31.

especially in the West²⁶, and will constitute one of the causes of the Reformation, with some influences in the Orthodox East, by the extension of the *theory* to four languages, as *Slavonic* was added to the other three.

Even though the spoken language of the people had been used in the Orthodox Church²⁷, and according to the Holy Fathers, the languages are natural and none of them is entitled to an absolute authority²⁸, this *theory of sacred languages* was stratified in the Orthodox world and *Tradition*, continuing to certain levels until today. It is noted throughout history that the *Holy Tradition* of the Church, the second organ of divine Revelation, is always threatened by human traditions coming from different cultures or expressing certain historical moments. These traditions tend to monopolize the *Holy Tradition* of the Church, claiming its sacred status, but such an acceptance on behalf of the Church leads to the annihilation of *Holy Tradition*, which expresses a living and dynamic reality²⁹.

The Romanian people experienced this negative aspect, and it was forced to accept Slavonic in worship, because of multiple socio-political and religious causes, from which it could be mentioned: the increasing Latin or Roman Catholic propaganda through the Hungarian kingdom over the Romanians from Transylvania (tenth-twelfth centuries); the desire of the Romanians to remain in contact with Byzantium, preferring the connection of faith, rather than that of language proposed by Rome.

Of course, the adoption of Slavic language did not stop the usage of the spoken language of the people in worship, usage that was limited to the transmission of teachings not through the liturgical texts, but by preaching, confession and other spiritual needs³⁰. In this way, we can understand why theological terms carrying theological meaning regarding the living of Christian faith are of Latin origin in Romanian, as it is the Romanian language itself, and not of Slavic origin, as somebody would have expected if she or he incorrectly claimed, following some historians³¹, that the Romanians received the Christian faith from the Slavs, fact which is farther from the truth³².

When the first books started to be printed in Romanian, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the book publishers had to find arguments for using Romanian language in worship. At that time, Slavonic language had been officially used for several centuries both in worship and in the

²⁶ Pope John VIII, who was assassinated for his anti-German policy, and who also sent delegates to the Synod of Constantinople in 879-880, where the addition of the *Filioque* was convicted (P. Ranson, *Richard Simon ou de la caractère illégitime de l'augustinisme en théologie*, Lausanne 1990, p. 172, note 449), was favorable to the missionary work of Saints Cyril and Methodius [«Jean VIII (872-882)», in J. N. D. Kelly, *Dictionnaire des Papes*, Brepols 1994, pp. 226-227]; it was during his pontificate that, for the first and last time before Vatican II (1962-1965), the celebration of a Liturgy in a language other than Latin was accepted (P. Riché, «Jean VIII», în *Dictionnaire Historique de la Papauté*, sous la direction de Philippe Levillan, Paris 1994, p. 933). One of his successors, pope Stephen V (885-891), under the influence of German bishops and after the death of Saint Methodius († 885), prohibited in 885 the use of Slavonic in worship, dogmatizing the *theory of the three sacred languages* [Fr. Bougard, «Etienne V (VI)», in *Dictionnaire Historique de la Papauté...*, p. 636].

²⁷ Since apostolic times up until the age of the Great Schism (1054), each local Church was able to express the unity of faith with the entire Christian world in the very language of the people who received the new faith, in the beginning even in their own rite and through their own symbol of baptismal faith (Jean Meyendorff, *quoted work.*, p. 91).

²⁸ See Patric Ranson, *quoted work.*, pp. 180-181.

²⁹ Jean Meyendorff, *quoted work.*, p. 96.

³⁰ N. Iorga, *Concepția românească a Ortodoxiei*, București 1940, pp. 8-9, 15-16; idem, *Istoria literaturii românești. Introducere sintetică*, București 1977, p. 38; V. Cândea, «Secolul al XVII-lea: biruința scrisului românesc (I)», *Limbă și Literatură* 7 (1989), pp. 177, 181; C. Bălan, «Cultura în Țara Românească și Moldova. 1. Societate și cultură, considerații preliminare», *Istoria Românilor*, V, București 2003, p. 866.

³¹ Unfortunately, theologians and religious writers today, perhaps faithful to or holders of certain information regarding the political and ecclesiastical history of the Romanians in terms of the *immigration theory*, whose objectivity should have prevailed in the face of the historical-scientific, philological and archaeological arguments, interpret the Christianization of Romanians as coming through Bulgaria, *see*, for instance, Timothy Ware (Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia), *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe*, București 1997, p. 80.

³² Regarding the issue of the Christianization of the Romanian people, event which is considered and documented to have taken place in the Apostolic era, *see* references to Mircea Păcurariu, *quoted work.*, pp. 59-182.

chancelleries of the Romanian Country and Moldavia, even though this was a language that people did not understand, since it was foreign to them.

The promoter for using Romanian language in worship was the *Church*, through its people, therefore, the first printings in these language bore the blessing of metropolitan, as ecclesiastical authority, then the name of the prince, as secular authority of the theocratic state, but sometimes these authorities were not enough in the face of the conservatory reactions and the initiative of printing in Romanian had to be argued on other grounds. In fact, the series of printings, which began in the sixteenth century, were continued in the seventeenth century, and increased in the early eighteenth century, when the process of the introduction of the Romanian language was perfected, according to a well thought out plan: biblical texts were printed, then the liturgical texts used in worship, initially having the typiconal rules in Romanian, but the text itself in Slavonic; ultimately, the printings were entirely in Romanian. Oftentimes, printed texts were bilingual, Romanian-Slavic or Romanian-Greek, in order to convince the faithful of the orthodoxy and fidelity of texts translated into Romanian³³.

Among the difficulties encountered, there was the reaction of the conservatory circles, both of Slavonic and Greek language. These saw the introduction of the Romanian language in worship as a deviation from the Church Tradition, but their attitude was, in fact, the direct consequence of *the theory of sacred languages*. However, in order not to cause breaches and schisms within the Orthodox world, the hierarchs and those involved in the process of introduction of the Romanian language in worship sought arguments both in the *Holy Scriptures* and in the *Holy Tradition*, as well as in the reality of their times.

Thus, the deacon Coresi (c. 1510-1583), born in Târgoviște, printed, mainly in Brașov, in the context of the politics and confessional propaganda initiated by Lutherans and Calvinists, but having and benefitting from the assistance and help of Romanian Orthodox priests from *Saint Nicholas Church of Șcheii Brașovului*, several books which were necessary to conduct worship in Romanian: a) biblical texts: *Tetraevangheliar (The Four Gospels, 1561)*, *Apostol (The Apostle, 1566*, but according to other sources, 1564-1566), *Psaltirea (The Psalter, 1570)*; b) teaching books: *Întrebare creștinească (Christian Inquiry, 1560)*, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor (The Interpretation of the Gospels, 1567 or 1568)*, having as an appendix a book incorrectly called *Molitevnic (Molitelnic – Euchologion)*, which is, in fact, a *Carte de cântece și slujbe calvine (Book of Calvinist Chants and Services)*, *Evanghelia cu învățătură (The Gospel with Lessons, 1581)*; c) books of worship: *Liturghier (Missal) (1570)*³⁴, etc.

In addition to this, we can mention a *Psaltire slavo-română (Slavo-Romanian Psalter, Brașov, 1577)*, which had a bilingual text in order to demonstrate exactly the fidelity of the translation. However, in the *Epilogue* of the book is argued the use of Romanian based on a verse from Saint Paul: *By the mercy of God, I, the deacon Coresi, if I saw that almost all languages have the word of God in [their] tongue, only we Rumanians do not – and Christ said, Matthew 109³⁵: Let the reader understand; and again the Apostle Paul wrote to Corinth. 155: In church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue³⁶ - therefore, my brothers, priests, I have written this Psalter with response (otveat), as I have printed the Serbian (Slavonic) Psalter in the Rumanian language³⁷. Thus, Coresi uses the text of verse 19 of 14th chapter of the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, as an argument that he had previously used to print *The Apostle* in 1566/1564-1566³⁸.*

³³ See Virgil Căndea, *quoted work.*, pp. 177-188 and (II), in *Limbă și literatură* 8 (1989), pp. 323-335.

³⁴ See N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București 1996, p. 102; Ion Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi și izbânda scrisului în limba română*, București 1994, pp. 38-39, 56-57, 67-79, 90-101, 124-125, 132-140; Ion Gheție, «Studiu introductiv», in Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor și Molitevnic rumânesc*, ediție critică de Vladimir Drimba, cu un studiu introductiv de Ion Gheție, București 1998, pp. 9-18. For a few critical editions of the Coresi printings, see *Diaconul Coresi, Carte cu învățătură (1581)*, publicată de Sextil Pușcariu și Alexie Procopovici, vol. I, Text, București 1914; Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor și Molitevnic rumânesc*, ediție critică de Vladimir Drimba, cu un studiu introductiv de Ion Gheție, București 1998; *Liturghierul lui Coresi*. Text stabilit, studiu introductiv și indice de Al. Mareș, București 1969.

³⁵ References to the Slavonic language.

³⁶ See *I Cor.* 14: 19.

³⁷ Ion Rotaru, *O istorie a literaturii române*, I, Galați 1994², p. 110; *Bibliografia românească veche*, I, București 1903, p. 64; George Ivașcu, *Istoria literaturii române*, I, București 1969, p. 105.

³⁸ Ion Rotaru, *quoted work*, p. 110, note 1.

To the biblical argument, the metropolitan of the Orthodox Church of the Romanians in Transylvania, Saint Simon Ștefan (1643-1656), added an argument which underlined the reality of their time, using in the *Preface of the New Testament*, printed in Romanian in Alba Iulia, in 1648, an image whereby he suggested how important it was that all might understand the words: *We all know very well that words must be like currency, for that currency is proper which circulates in all countries; similarly, those words are good which everybody understands*³⁹. The definition regarding the necessity of understanding the words made through a comparison taken from the domain of monetary circulation of the age (gold coins that were valid everywhere), made Saint Simon Ștefan famous in the Romanian literature, and his work of printing the *New Testament* in the spoken language of the people contributed, along with other facts, to the formation of the Romanian literary language.

The metropolitan of Moldavia, Saint Dosophteï (1671-1674, 1675-1683, † 1693), would use the argument of Tradition. Saint Dosophteï printed several books in Romanian, which were of paramount importance not only for the completion of the introduction of the Romanian language in Church, but also in terms of the contribution to the formation of literary language and in defense of the Orthodox faith against the Protestant and the Roman Catholic propaganda, through the direct access given to the Romanian faithful to the truths of faith contained in the liturgical and hagiographic texts. Thus, he printed in Uniev, Poland, *Psaltirea în versuri* (*The Psalter in Verse*, 1673), a large-scale poetic work in the Romanian language. This book was to influence for centuries the Romanian poetic creation, causing many psalms to infiltrate into carols and Christian songs, which are sung during the cycle of feast days dedicated to the Birth of our Savior Jesus Christ until our days⁴⁰.

Metropolitan Dosophteï was also responsible for the translation and printing of the first books of worship into Romanian in Moldavia: *Acatistul Născătoarei de Dumnezeu* (*The Akathist to the Theotokos*, Uniev, 1673), *Dumnezeiasca Liturghie* (*The Divine Liturgy*, *Liturghier*, Iași, 1679, 1683), *Psaltirea de-nțăles* (*The Intelligible Psalter*, Iași, 1680), with a parallel text in Slavonic and Romanian, *Molităvnic de-nțăles* (*The Intelligible Euchologion*, Iași, 1680/1681), *Paremiile de peste an* (*Readings from Holy Scriptures during the year*, Iași, 1683), *Viața și petrecerea svinților* (*The Life and Feast of Saints*, in four volumes, Iași, 1682-1686), a work considered together with *Cazania* of St. Barlaam, Metropolitan of Moldavia (1632-1653, † 1657), the corner stone of Romanian literary prose⁴¹.

The books printed by Saint Dosophteï had the blessing of the Church and the endorsement of the *Reign*, and some of them also had the blessing of Eastern patriarchs, who used Slavonic and Greek as languages of worship, in order to avoid that the effort of printing into Romanian be seen as an innovation⁴². In this way, these books were considered as normative regarding the teachings of the Church, and circulated in all areas inhabited by Romanians. However, in order to confer authority to these printings, against which some conservatory circles might have risen, Saint Dosophteï used certain means, including: a) biblical grounds invoked in the *Prefaces* composed by him, such as those in *Liturghier* of 1679, where he uses the verse from *Romans* 3: 29⁴³, or in *Psaltirea de-nțăles* (1680), where he appeals to the classic text from *I Corinthians* 14: 19, saying that the *Holy Scriptures* published in a language which is not understood is like *a locked garden* and *a sealed fountain*⁴⁴; b) the authority of Tradition in *Liturghier* of 1683, which could not be invoked, for example, by the deacon Coresi in Romanian translations, in an environment where the Protestant propaganda in the sixteenth century reeled off, bringing as evidence the answer given by Theodor IV Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch (1189-1195), to the question of Mark III, patriarch of Alexandria (1195-1209), if priests from Syria, Armenia and other Orthodox countries could serve in their own languages - the answer was affirmative, and it was based on the text from *Romans* 3: 29⁴⁵.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe*, II, București 1994², p. 101.

⁴¹ See I. Dianu, «Mitropolitul Dosophteï, mare cărturar, făuritor de limbă și cultură românească», *Glasul Bisericii* 40/9-10 (1981), pp. 910-927.

⁴² Scarlat Porcescu, «Activitatea cărturărească a Mitropolitului Dosophteï», *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* 50/9-12 (1974), p. 812.

⁴³ *Bibliografia românească veche...*, p. 225.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 224.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 263; V. Căndea, *quoted work*. (I), p. 183.

The normal consequence of the effort to introduce Romanian language in worship had an important contribution for Romanians both in the literary field and in terms of deepening the truths of faith. Thus, the teaching of our Savior Jesus Christ was and is intelligible for any man who wants to reach the stature of the *perfect man*⁴⁶, so that one might live not only the *understanding with the spirit*, but also *with the mind*, which brings many spiritual and intellectual fruits.

Unfortunately the same does not hold true where the *tradition of sacred languages* is considered as dogma; although rich in expression and valuable, but only for those dealing with them, in order to render the patristic and liturgical treasure, those languages are now without meaning for the vast majority of Christians. The paradox is that this theory was abandoned in the same place it arose, but it remains as a *sacred tradition* value precisely in Orthodoxy, although it does not belong to it.

The act of turning a language into a *dogma* expresses the tendency to identify *faith* and *nation*, that is limiting the Orthodox faith to nationalism⁴⁷. But Orthodox Christians are not identified by language, nor by the nation to which they belong, although these are gifts that confer upon them a certain identity, but through the faith they confess, and the language and the nation are enriched as gifts only as result of this confession. Without wanting to initiate a debate or accusations, we must stress that we cannot deny the reality of living in Christ, which is the only and true reality, in favor of the reality imposed as being real only on the level of human achievements. Any question can be placed on the orbit of one of the invoked realities, but the first concern is to make sure that, through everything we do, we report ourselves to salvation. From this perspective, any human action acquires a different value, and its effect over time is very fruitful. We see all of this also from the perspective of our ancestors' effort to render the truths of faith in the spoken language of the people. The example of the Romanians was hardly followed by the other peoples of the same faith. In this respect, the examples come from the Slavic and Greek worlds, two Orthodox peoples with a long and rich experience of Orthodoxy.

For the Orthodox Church of Russian expression, maintaining Slavonic meant keeping with the true Tradition⁴⁸, although remaining in this position leads to the identification of the faith with the nation. This is a good thing as long as it enhances the values and creations of a people in the light of the teachings of the Church; however, when it is identified with nationalism, it is negative. This latter aspect creates artificial barriers both for those who want to know Orthodoxy, as well as for the Orthodox themselves, who, ceasing to be bearers of the light, hide it *under a clay pot*⁴⁹. Moreover, they also cease to be dynamic and fulfillers of the mission and of the calling to be an *elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession*, in order to *show forth the excellencies of Him Who called us out of darkness into His marvelous light*⁵⁰.

In Orthodoxy, the mission is accomplished through that which the faithful is and represents, that means through the irradiation from within the man onto the outside, a reality that imposes implicitly the respect and admiration of the person next to us. Precisely at this point comes up the difference between the Orthodox meaning of the terms *mission, missionary* and the meaning of the same terms in the Western confessions, in which using these terms did not come as a fulfillment from within the man

⁴⁶ *Efes.* 4: 13.

⁴⁷ In 1872, the Council of Constantinople condemned nationalism as incompatible with the Orthodox practice and teaching, identifying it rather with a sect. The language of the Council is explicit and rigorous: *We anathematize, disapproving and condemning nationalism, i.e. racial discrimination and national discords, fanatics and factions in the Church of Christ, as something foreign to the teaching of the Gospel and from the Holy Canons... those who permit such nationalism and, because of it, dare to summon unusual, racial and unlawful assemblies, we declare, based on the Holy Canons, as being alienated from the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church and, moreover, schismatics.* (Ι. Καρμίρη, *Τὰ δογματικά και συμβολικά μνημεία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, II, Graz-Austria 1968², p. 1015).

⁴⁸ For instance, this *tradition* was so strong in the nineteenth century that on 24th of November 1824, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church suspended for three years (until November 26th, 1826) the printing and broadcast of the *Catechism* of Filaret, archbishop of Moscow, and the reason was not the content of the *Catechism*, but the fact that the sacred texts had been rendered in Russian and not in Slavon [Chiril Pistru, «Catehismele Bisericii Ortodoxe Ruse», *Mitropolia Ardealului* 2/3-4 (1957), p. 269].

⁴⁹ *Mathew* 5: 15.

⁵⁰ *I Peter* 2: 9.

in order to convince on their own, but it started with a coercion from the outside towards an inner fulfillment, which would lead to the destruction of personality and the failures recorded by history.

The Orthodox faithful is also exposed to these failures if he remains within the limits of nationalism, as his testimony becomes weak and ineffective before those who are seeking Orthodoxy, but who are the heirs of another expression of faith or tradition. Recently, one of them, the Englishman M. R. Bede Gerrard, who has come to embrace Orthodoxy in view of the authentic roots of his tradition⁵¹, expressed the difficulty encountered by the Westerners who want to get closer to Orthodoxy, as they are forced to embrace liturgical and spiritual traditions, sometimes with nationalist and particular colour, depending on the nationality of the Orthodox Church they want to belong to⁵². Finally, he ends his testimony with an example from his wife's and his personal life, as Westerners who embraced the Orthodox Church: *Life within the Orthodox Church is not easy for an adult who had previously had a vigorous participation in a Western Christian tradition. My wife and I became Orthodox together. She devoted herself deeply in the life of the Orthodox Church and learned ancient Greek and Slavonic well enough to participate fully in the services, and sometimes even to lead the choir. She enjoyed all the riches that life within Orthodoxy has given her, but she could not handle the problems that the both of us encountered: the denial of a Christian heritage and getting entangled in unfamiliar cultures and the mentalities that they often entail. Recently, after 13 years, she returned from the Orthodox Church to her Western Christian roots and we are learning together how to live our Interchurch married life fully. Based on this, the editor-in-chief of Σύναξη magazine asked me to write this text when I said to him: **the greatest strength and the greatest weakness of the Orthodox Churches is nationalism***⁵³.

This aspect was also noticed by Father Dumitru Stăniloae, who highlighted the necessity to overcome nationalist barriers and to be open to catholicity (sobornost) and ecumenicity. Consequently, *after the national consciousness of the peoples was strongly emphasized within the Orthodox Church the nineteenth century, we reckon that our times demand that we underline their unity as peoples which are aware of themselves, but which are united in their common values, and foremost in the consciousness that they live in the same faith in God, Who works especially through the Sacraments and through their saints. If the whole Christianity has entered a movement of ecumenical convergence, why would the Orthodox Church not affirm its inner unity more powerfully*⁵⁴.

As a reminiscence of the identification between faith and nation, between language and faith, remains the current problem of using spoken languages in worship, if we consider that some Orthodox Churches of Slavic expression still use old Slavonic⁵⁵, just like the Orthodox Church of Greek expression uses Byzantine Greek, both languages being inaccessible for the vast majority of the faithful. The extent to which these languages are understood by the faithful of any of the Churches we mentioned is illustrated by an encyclical from September 1st, 2004, edited by the of remembrance worthy primate of the Church of Greece, His Holiness Hristodulos, who mentioned in it that *many young people do not understand the hymns, prayers and even texts that are being read*⁵⁶; consequently, difficulties of understanding arose, which caused them to leave dissatisfied from the church⁵⁷. Underlining that the issue of language simply has a pastoral character, in order to not be

⁵¹ Gerrard refers to the fact that local codes of ecclesiastic living have been developed in the British Isles, which had more in common with the Egyptian tradition than the European one, recalling that *the monasteries in Wales and Ireland have developed a pragmatic uninterrupted prayer, much like that of the achimite monks of Constantinople* [M. R. Bede Gerrard, «Ἡ ἐμπειρία ἐνὸς βρετανοῦ ὀρθοδόξου. Ὁρθόδοξη ταυτότητα καὶ πολιτισμός», Σύναξη 88 (2003), p. 69].

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 70-73.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

⁵⁴ Nestor, Arhiepiscop al Craiovei și Mitropolit al Olteniei, *Sfinți români și apărători ai legii strămoșești*, București 1987, p. 677.

⁵⁵ Note that the Orthodox Church in Russia tackled the issue of understanding the liturgical language and the plan for Church Slavonic language reform is going to be prepared by a special Commission. This is considered useful not only in terms of the relationships between Church and society, but also for maintaining traditions, see <http://www.romfea.gr>, 2011-06-22.

⁵⁶ Χριστόδουλος, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν, Ἐγκύκλιος πρὸς τοὺς Πανοσιολογιωτάτους καὶ Αἰδεσιμολογιωτάτους Ἐφημερίους τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, Ἀθήνα 1 Σεπτεμβρίου 2004, p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

accused of breaching with the *Holy Tradition*, His Holiness Hristodulos initiated, for starters as an experiment and only within the Archdiocese of Athens⁵⁸, beginning with the Sunday from September 19th, 2004, the simultaneous reading of the original and the translations of biblical texts during the *Divine Liturgy* (the *Apostle* and the *Holy Gospel*)⁵⁹. All other chants and hymns will remain in Byzantine Greek, because *the Church has studied the issue of a language reform and concluded that the translation of the hymns is neither feasible, nor desired, because every translation is far from being able to render the full meaning of the prototype*⁶⁰, but also because *the Church's hymns are masterpieces of literature and theology, so that any intervention on them can be considered as desecrating our ancient language*⁶¹. Unfortunately, the initiative was abandoned at the insistence of the conservatory circles⁶².

In this context, we can better understand the effort and diligence of the hierarchs, clergy, monks and scholars in the Romanian Countries, either Romanians or of the other nationality, who contributed to the victory of worship in the spoken language of the people. It is their merit that during the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century⁶³, they were able to overcome language barriers and traditions that claimed to be sacred at the rank of true Tradition, fact that allowed the transmission of the orthodox teaching to maintain its place at the root of the Romanians' identity and to determine the creation of the suitable framework for the great *hesychast revival* of the eighteenth century, led by abbots and Saints Basil of Poiana Mărului and Paisius Velichkovsky⁶⁴, movement that began in Mount Athos, embedded itself and flourished in the Romanian Countries, and from there expanded up in Russia, reaching all the way to Alaska⁶⁵.

⁵⁸ Note that in the cities of Athens, the capital of Greece, and Piraeus, which today are united, there are nine Metropolis and the Archdiocese of Athens, and the latter contains only 144 parish churches, 126 chapels, 12 cemetery churches and 9 monastery churches (*Δίπτυχα της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος*, Αθήνα 2004, p. 369).

⁵⁹ Χριστόδουλος, Αρχιεπίσκοπος Αθηνών, *quoted work*, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Regarding this statement, we have a different opinion, which can inspire many comments, but we will limit ourselves to say that rendering the sacred and patristic texts in the spoken languages does not imply a curtailment of their content, but an invitation to living the messages and the truths of faith that they contain. The practice of the Holy Apostles and of the early Church urges us towards this reflection, as they have not limited the expressing the word of God only to Aramaic, but rendered it in the languages spoken at that time. Precisely in these languages (Latin, Greek, Syrian, etc.) have been compiled those hymns, which express truths having the value of dogmas, but with the difference that in that age, those languages were the living organ of communication between people.

⁶¹ Χριστόδουλος, Αρχιεπίσκοπος Αθηνών, *quoted work*, p. 3.

⁶² As I have been present to religious services at that time, I was surprised by some attitudes: the pericopes for the *Apostle* and the *Holy Gospel* were read with emphasis in ancient Greek, while translations were read in haste and without proper intonation; at the end of the *Divine Liturgy*, priests and psalm singers inquired the impressions only from elderly who went to Church more frequently, and ignored the youth and other members of the Church, as if aiming only at the negative responses to the initiative of His Beatitude Hristodulos.

⁶³ It deserves to be noted that the scholar who made the greatest effort for including the Romanian language in worship was a hierarch of even another nation, namely Saint Antim Ivireanul, of Georgian origin, who became metropolitan of the Romanian Country (1708-1716).

⁶⁴ Mitropolitul Serafim, *Isihasmul, tradiție și cultură românească*, București 1994, p. 110.

⁶⁵ See Virgil Cădea, «De Roumanie en Alaska: Les limites euroaméricaines du courant philocalique au XVIIIe siècle. Un épisode oublié de la christianisation de l'Amérique», *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 34/1-2 (1995), pp. 55-66.

Logic and Syntax of the Biblical Paremiological Assertion

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Abstract: The present paper is meant to demonstrate how biblical proverbs fit into the rigours of the genre from three viewpoints: the logical scheme, thematic message, grammatical and expressive form.

Key-words: assertion, logical and grammatical subject, syntax, thematic message.

The binary structure of the standard paremiological assertion is far from being kept in *The Book of Proverbs* and the parables present in the other books of the Old Testament. When rendered in Romanian, the reader has sometimes the image of a structure which the author wanted, at all costs, to fall into the known pattern, but did not find the most felicitous balance formula of the sentence. Even when E₁ is a simple assertion, without sparkling semantico-stylistic accounts, E₂ fails to form into an appropriate 'response'. In other words, the second part of the binary sentence does not represent a reflection in the mirror of the first one, according to the "plus/minus", "minus/plus" (i.e. "good/evil", "evil/good") logic, but is somehow an addition, mildly linked to the first one. The double structure, of the +/- vs. -/+ , a=b, but a'=x series, is not complied with either, nor is any other symmetrical formula. More precisely, symmetry can only be formal, but not with the signified, and sometimes not even formal. There are a few cases in which E₂ has absolutely nothing to do with E₁. However, the meaning force of the proverb lies precisely in the perfect correspondence of the semantic nuclei, sustained, on the inside, by the symmetry of logical schemes, and, on the outside, by the harmony of expressive markers. Thus, one can distinguish between different types of E₁/E₂ relationships, such as:

a) slightly appropriate:

Martorul drept scapă suflute, iar cel viclean spune numai minciuni (A faithful witness delivereth souls: and the double dealer uttereth lies) (14,25).

Orice osteneală duce la îndeustulare, iar cuvintele fără rost la lipsă (In all labour there is profit: but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury) (14,23).

In the first example, the logical subject corresponds to the grammatical one (martor drept/martor viclean), but the development of E₂ has nothing in common with E₁ (cf. 14,15). In the last example, *îndeustulare* and *lipsă* are in logical and semantic correspondence, but there is no connection between the logical subjects (osteneală/cuvinte). Cf. 14,13; 14,6; 14,7; 14,9; 14,21, 15,25; 15,19 etc.

b) inappropriate:

Nebunul își bate joc de jertfa pentru păcat, însă între oamenii drepti este bună înțelegere (Fools make a mock at sin: but among the righteous there is favour) (14,9);

Stăpânitorul cel lipsit de venituri este mare asupritor; cel ce urăște câștigul (nedrept) va trăi multă vreme (he prince that wanteth understanding is also a great oppressor: but he that hateth covetousness shall prolong his days.) (28,16).

In both examples, we notice the same total disparity between the two subjects, the two predicates and, additionally, a visible syntactico-stylistic asymmetry.

c) redundant associations:

Chiar și nebunul, când tace, trece drept înțelept; când închide gura este asemenea unui om cuminte (Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding.) (17,28), cf. și 18,20; 26,22 ș.a.

Sometimes, a very fine image is created E₁, but the value of the entire assertion decreases because of the inappropriate or futile addition in E₂:

Calea celui nebun este dreaptă în ochii lui, iar cel înțelept ascultă de sfat (he way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise.) (12,15);

d) tautologies and truisms:

Unde nu sunt boi, staulul este gol, însă puterea boilor aduce mult folos (Where no oxen are, the crib is clean: but much increase is by the strength of the ox.) (14,4);

Martorul care grăiește adevărul nu minte, iar martorul mincinos spune numai minciuni (A

faithful witness will not lie: but a false witness will utter lies.) (14,5).

In these cases, even profound judgments, such as that in 14,8, which seems to be influenced by the Socratic thinking, become unconvincing:

Înțelepciunea omului chibzuit este de a-și înțelege calea lui; iar nebunia celor neînțelepți este înșelăciune (*The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way: but the folly of fools is deceit.*) (14,8).

Some other times, it is only the beauty of the image that prevents the performance of the act of speech, which is exposed to platitudes by infelicitous semantic associations, from becoming a complete failure. E₁ falls perfectly into the sapiential species, but E₂ cancels the tension of the discourse:

Limba celor înțelepți picură știință, iar gura celor nebuni revarsă prostie (*The tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright: but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness.*) (15,2).

c) complete contradictions (at the level of the macro-context, cf. *supra*):

Nu răspunde nebunului după nebunia lui, ca să nu te asemeni și tu cu el (*Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him.*) (26,4).

vs.

Răspunde nebunului după nebunia lui, ca să nu se creadă înțelept în ochii lui (*Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.*) (26,5).

It is possible that, occasionally, these disappearances, deviations, redundancies, tautologies, truisms be emphasized by inappropriate translations or result exclusively from translation. On of the most glaring examples of tautological expression in a biblical proverb is the following:

Înțelepciunea sălășluiește în inima celui înțelept [!?!], *iar în inima celor nebuni nu se arată* (*Wisdom resteth in the heart of him that hath understanding: but that which is in the midst of fools is made known.*) (14,33).

Let us leave aside the morphological asymmetry (singular/plural) of the logical subjects of E₁ and E₂ (which do not coincide with the grammatical subjects, for they are complements here) and consider only the most serious mistake: the truism in E₁, *Înțelepciunea – cel înțelept*. To the present-day researcher, the first explanation required is that the subtle game of the two abstract notions in contiguous relationship.

Knowledge and *knowing*, as subordinates of the generic notion of *wisdom* (theoretical and applicative, at the same time), cf. *supra*, ch. 2, escaped the first translators of the Romanian versions because of the difficulty of finding correspondents to these terms which were extremely difficult even in the old languages. This mistake would perpetuate until the modern editions of B version.

We shall proceed to the comparative analysis, without going into the details of comparative-historical reconstitutions, but merely having a quick look from the contrastive-typological perspective: *εν καρδία αγαθή ανθρός σοφια, εν δε καρδια αφρονων οδ διαγινωσκειται* (LXX, 14,33).

“În inima omului bun (este) înțelepciunea, iar în inima neînțelepților, (aceasta) nu iese la iveală”

Therefore, the singular/plural morphological asymmetry from S (minimum logic) is inherited; the Romanian translator kept the pattern! Translating *agathe* for “înțelept/wise” is not such a big mistake, after all¹.

It is, nevertheless, true, that, in order to save the target-text from the danger of truism, the translator could have boldly used the common meaning of *agathé*: “bun/good”. He was perfectly entitled to, first of all because the primary meaning of the Greek word is “bun”. Secondly, he was not only entitled, but even compelled to this option, for the opposite in E₂ of the Greek word *aphronos*, “fără minte, nechibzuit/reckless” is translated into Romanian by “cei nebuni/the fool”. A perfect symmetry of the logical subjects *cei buni/cei nebuni* would have thus resulted and an awkward overlap of terms in logical grammatical relationship would have been avoided:

[Inima omului bun sălășluiește înțelepciunea, iar în inima nebuni, (aceasta) nu iese la iveală]

The authors of the Latin versions made these slight adjustments maybe because the series of synonyms of the word “înțelept/wise” is richer and the nuances of this particular semantic field are closer (*prudens, sapiens, peritus* etc.):

¹ Cf. *Kalokagathia*, a term resulted from the lexicalization of the phrase *καλός καί αγαθός άνθρωπος*, „om frumos și înțelept/beautiful and wise man”.

In corde prudentis requiescit sapientia, at in medio stultorum agnoscetur? (V, 14,33).²

“În inima înțeleptului odihnește înțelepciunea, dar între cei proști este necunoscută?”

Other Romanian versions solved this equivalence in a more or less inspired way. The scholars who had strived to accomplish the BB completely evaded that particular verse. The BC reverses the topic, solving the issue of semantic overlapping, but sacrifices the predicate E₂. Could it be a freer translation of the V:

Înțelepciunea se odihnește într-o inimă pricepută, dar în mijlocul celor nesocotiți ea se dă de gol (BC, 14,33).

Finally, the BA solves it in a very personal manner:

În inima cea bună a omului se află înțelepciunea, dar în inima celor lipsiți de minte totul e una (BA, 14,33).

At least, this time, the order of verses is respected³.

Finally, let us accept the fact that it is much easier to analyze in a critical manner what others did than do a quality thing yourself. Therefore, we shall conclude this little digression by noticing that most of the biblical proverbs fit into the rigours of the genre from three viewpoints: the logical scheme, thematic message, grammatical and expressive form, just as the Romanian interpretations render not only faithfully but also creatively the brilliance of the old examples of wisdom and human speech.

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² The affirmative declarative sentence was turned into an interrogative one by the editors of the *Vulgate* (V).

³ In *Cuvântul lămuritor/Explanatory Note*, the labourer who gave the Romanian culture the jubilee edition of 2001 clearly states that “the verse (as the chapter, for that matter) is just a conventional unit, not a dogmatic entity in itself; it is not a closed universe, on the contrary, it has several windows towards the great universe of the *Holy Scripture*”, cf. BA, p. 12. Consequently, we shall find grouped, regrouped in the sense of synthetization or, on the contrary, of development, verses which clearly stand out in all the other Romanian or foreign versions.

A Short History of Punctuation

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Abstract: This paper presents a short history of punctuation, with certain historical-theoretical outlines concerning the appearance and development of the punctuation system. A retrospective on punctuation is highlighted, starting from Aristophanes of Byzantium (3rd-2nd centuries B.C.) and continuing with the brothers Cyril and Methodius. An important role in the improvement of a punctuation system *stricto sensu* went to the discovery of the printing press with mobile letters, and, before that, to the invention of the paper as a material for typing books. Almost each punctuation mark has its own history, so in the Romanian books printed in the 17th-18th centuries, there begin to appear a series of punctuation marks unattested before. A certain terminology begins to be used and gradually a series of rules, more or less stable, are outlined concerning the use of the punctuation marks.

Key words: history, punctuation, printing press, parchment, full stop, semicolon, comma, terminology, copied punctuation

1 Introduction

For a start, we will realize a retrospective of the history of punctuation, whose founder was considered Aristophanes of Byzantium (3rd-2nd century B.C.). He used different punctuation marks in the Homeric texts to delimit the semantico-syntactic units.

Later on, the Greek scholar Dionysos Tracus delimits three types of punctuation mark:

- big dot, indicating the end of one's idea;
- average dot, indicating a pause for respiration;
- small dot, indicating that one's thought is not over.

The Cyrilic alphabet, more precisely the Glagolitic alphabet, was created by the brothers Cyril and Methodius in 863 A.D. During this period, in the Greek and Latin manuscripts were used: the small cross, different combinations of points, full stop, semicolon, two dots and a comma in the middle, comma.

Instead of the comma, an oblique line [/] was used to show a small pause in speaking.

On the Phenician, Greek, Latin, old Slav or Cyrilic monuments, the frontiers in-between the words were either not shown at all, so no spaces were left in-between the words, or they were indicated using dots or small lines. As time went by, once writing began to develop, letters began to be united into words and so there appeared the need for a systematic use of a space in-between the words instead of points. So, the role of the point gradually changed, and it began to be used not just to separate words, but also to mark pauses, small or big.¹

Some researchers² justly state that the merit of the brothers Cyril and Methodius consists in the fact that they did not just create the Cyrilic alphabet, using in this sense the Greek alphabet, but they also translated a series of ecclesiastical books from Greek into Old Slav or medieval Bulgarian, actually establishing in this way the bases of the literary Slav language and of the Old Slav literature.

In the West-European writing and the Greek-Roman writing of the Antiquity, one of the most common punctuation marks was the full stop, used in different positions to highlight the pause variations. So, a dot above the line meant an ordinary pause and was called *distinction*. The dot down the line marked a small break and was called *subdistinctio*. The dot in the middle of the line indicated an average break and was called *distinctio media*. With its modern value, the dot begins to be used only during the 12th century.³

¹ Avram, Mioara, *Probleme ale exprimării corecte* (Issues of Correct Speaking), București, 1987, p. 199.

² P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română* (The beginnings and the victory of writing in the Romanian Language), Ed. Academiei RSR, București, 1965, p. 20-59.

³ A. Eșanu, *Cultură și civilizație medievală românească* (Romanian Medieval Culture and Civilization), Ed. ARC, Chișinău, 1996, p. 75.

2 The punctuation, the parchment and the printing press

An important role in the improvement and completion of a punctuation system *stricto sensu* went to the discovery of the printing press with mobile letters, and before that, to the discovery of paper as a material to write on. Paper was obtained for the first time in China, in 105 A.D., by the marquis Gzai Lun, and the Chinese kept secret this paper “recipe” for several centuries. Until its discovery, the Greeks and the Romans wrote on *papyrus*. It is on papyrus that the occidental Europe writes until the 7th century A.D. After the Arabian conquest, the Occident does not have any more relationships with Egypt, from which this material used to be brought so it uses only the *parchment*, usually made of sheep or cattle skin. The best parchment was made in Pergam, Asia Minor, from where the Romans imported it (this is where the name of parchment comes from). Being very expensive, it was used only for luxury editions. A literary or scientific work written on such skins was presented as rolls called *volumina* (*volumen* meant rolled object).

In order to write Vergil’s *Eneid* (70-19), 12 such *volumes* (parchment rolls) were needed.⁴ Only in 751 A.D., the deputy of the khalif of Bagdad, during a military expedition at the frontiers of China, took two paper manufacturers as prisoners, and with them was opened the first paper manufacture in the locality. Shortly after that, “the Samarkand paper” acquired a merited reputation throughout the Oriental countries and began to be made in large quantities in Baghdad and in Damascus, from where it was exported in Europe. During the 12th century, paper was largely spread in some European countries.⁵

Until the appearance of the printing press, the books were multiplied by copying, through dictation, by several scribes simultaneously. Ancient Greek excelled in the realization of books using this method.

In Antique Rome and in other towns, there were special workshops, a kind of *manual printing presses*, where the scribes worked to copy and multiply different works. It is not hard to suppose that under these circumstances, many omissions and errors occurred.

The method of book multiplication by “handwriting” was transmitted to medieval Europe as well. In Paris, by the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, a lot of clerks worked, and in this sense large workshops functioned in Novgorod, Moscow, and in other large commercial and cultural centers.⁶

The modern printing press, with mobile letters and molds, was invented and applied for the first time in Germany between 1444 and 1447. The inventor of the printing press is considered to be Johann Gutenberg, born in Mainz Town, situated on the riverside of the Rhine. Attempts to build a printing press were made as well in China, Coreea, Egypt and Mesopotamia previously. One of the important works printed in the printing house of Gutenberg in Latin was the *Bible*, which appeared in the year 1456 in about 300 copies.⁷

From Germany, the printing press penetrates in other European countries as well: Italy, Holland -1465; France – 1470; Belgium, Spain, Hungary – 1473; Transylvania – 1535; Moldova - 1640. Valeriu Rusu from the University of Aix-en-Provence (Marseille 1) writes: “In 1535, the Saxon humanist Johannes Honterus (1498-1549) founded a printing press in Braşov.”⁸

One of the most important commercial, cultural and editorial centers of the Renaissance was in Venice, where the printing of books was an extremely intense activity. Here, in the famous printing press of Aldo Manunzio (1447/49-1515), which functioned for about 90 years, lay and religious books were printed under optimal printing conditions, in different languages (Greek, Hebrew, Arab, Armenian, Italian). Manunzio, a militant scholar and humanist, invites to his printing press, as editors, the best scholars and language experts, who took part in the deciphering, rendering and editing of different manuscripts, monuments of the culture of the Antiquity. So, in 1500 in Venice, the *New*

⁴ V. Mândăcanu, *Din istoria scrisului și a tiparului* (From the history of writing and of the printing press), in Țara, 23 martie 1997.

⁵ Anatol Ciobanu, *Punctuația limbii române* (The Punctuation of the Romanian Language), Ed. Universitas, Chişinău, 2000, p. 41.

⁶ Ibidem

⁷ Ibidem

⁸ Valeriu Rusu, *Le Roumain*, vol. 1, Paris, 1992, p. 47.

Academy of Manunzio is opened, in the image and according to the model of the Antique Academy of Plato's followers' Athens.

As Manunzio's printing press has a fruitful activity of book printing, a more and more determined discussion began concerning the issue of punctuation. A unique punctuation system was called for in order to facilitate the printing of books. Manunzio dealt directly with this issue, largely contributing to the creation of a reasonable punctuation system. In this sense, Professor A. B. Sapiro wrote: "In the middle of the 15th century, the editors, the Manunzio brothers, created the punctuation for the European writing. It has been generally accepted by most of the European peoples and has been functional until nowadays."⁹

The printing of books naturally led to the issue of the normalization and unification of the literary languages. The editors saw themselves obliged to select dialectal elements in order to introduce in their printings a linguistic material accessible to as many readers as possible. This is how the grammatical, phonetical, lexical, orthographic norms and those related to the punctuation of the European languages came to be.

3 Towards a unique punctuation system

The beginning of the printing of books in different European countries did not mean, naturally, the setting up of a unique scientifically created punctuation system. It is enough to say that in the first English Grammar, published in 1585, we do not yet find any information on punctuation, although different punctuation marks were largely used in the works of those times. The first concrete indications on the punctuation marks in English appear in J. Puttenham's treaty *The arte of English poesie* (1589).¹⁰ In fact, this author did not invent any original English punctuation system, but presented the doctrine of the rhetoric of Antiquity on the *period*. According to this doctrine, the punctuation marks (extremely few) were used only for rhythmic-melodic and semantic purposes. Puttenham talks about several types of breaks, called to indicate to what extent different sentences or parts of sentences are "finished" from the viewpoint of their meaning. In writing, these pause variations are marked by four punctuation marks: **comma** was equivalent to a break needed to count to one; **semicolon** was equal to a pause needed to count to two; **colon** was equivalent to a pause needed to count to three and **full stop** was equal to a pause needed to count to four. In practice, when reading a written text, this quantitative proportion of the breaks was however impossible to be strictly followed.¹¹

4 A short "biography" of the punctuation marks

Almost every punctuation mark has its own history or "biography". In the Russian writing, for instance, such punctuation marks as the [-], the colon and the inverted commas appear only towards the end of the 18th century. At least in M.V. Lomonosov's works (1711-1765) they cannot be found yet. **Comma**, as a stable punctuation mark, is introduced in the European writing by Aldo Manuzio (16th century), and the **inverted commas** in the 17th century, bearing the name of the Frenchman Guillemet who invented them (compare Fr. *guillemets*, Rom. *ghilimele*). We can notice that in the other Romance languages this French term was not borrowed: It. *Virgolette*, Sp. *Camillas*).

In the Romanian Principalities, Moldova and Muntenia, for about three centuries, the language used in writing was Old Slav. The official language, the language of the Church and that of the administration remained the Old Slav until the situation changed during the 17th century. P. P. Panaitescu notes that "immediately after the end of the reign of Vasile Lupu (1653) and of Matei Basarab (1654), the chancellor's office rapidly turns Romanian. From the Old Slav tradition are preserved only the titles of the reigning princes, which appear in Old Slav, at the beginning of the chronicles written in Romanian, and the inscription on the princely seal, which is also written in Old Slav. Only a few solemn chronicles, increasingly rarer, are written also in Old Slav until the end of the century"¹². Andrei Eșeanu writes: "Fully acknowledging the role of writing in the Old Slav for the

⁹ Apud Anatol Ciobanu, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁰ Ibidem

¹¹ Ibidem

¹² P.P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română* (The beginnings and the victory of

Romanian culture during several centuries, however at a certain stage, it no longer satisfies the larger and larger layers of the Romanian society to needed to learn to read and to write, as it was a foreign language not understood by the majority of the population.¹³ Subsequently it is shown that in the Romanian society, in ascension, a larger and larger number of people of modest social origin (small land owners, clerks, artisans and town dwellers) felt increasingly more the need to defend their interests *using written documents, realized by the princely Chancellor's office, or in towns, market towns or villages, where there were very few scholars who knew Old Slav.*¹⁴

Moreover, *the fast passage to the maternal language was also needed by the Church, which had to face the increasing concurrence from the part of the reforming religious trends, which were already using the national languages used by the Central European peoples during the mass.*¹⁵ Speaking about the appearance of the first writings in Romanian, Andrei Eșeanu notes: "Transylvania and especially Maramureș are the regions where since the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, there appear the first writings in Romanian. We are speaking about the *Codex of Voroneț, The Psalms Book from Șchei, the Hurmuzaki Psalms Book.* [...] The first exact text appeared in Romanian known in Walachia is the *Letter of a townsman of Campulung, Neacșu*, who addresses the mayor of Brașov, Johannes Benkner and bears the date of 1521."¹⁶

This opinion is contested by some researchers. So, Ion Gheție and Alexandru Mareș note the following: "Yet nobody considers that through this text [the letter of Neacșu], this is the first time that someone writes in Romanian in Walachia. Such letters were written before as well [...] the ancientness of some similar attempts can be situated during the last two decennia of the 15th century."¹⁷ Following some detailed research word, the authors state the following: "The fact that the first Romanian text preserved dates since 1521 does not mean that the Romanian language may not have been used in writing also before this date. This viewpoint has been exposed on numerous occasions, and the specialists agreed about it [...]. There were attempts to place the epoch of the first composition of Romanian texts before 1500. In this sense can be quoted the texts called "textele rotacizante", considered to date back since the 15th century, and according to some writers even before 1400.

Today we can say that they were written in the 16th century and that situating the originals during the 15th century or before that does not rely on concrete evidence.¹⁸

A few secretaries and monks proved to be able calligrapher clerks, talented at drawing letters and ornaments, like, for instance, Gavriil of Neamț, whose activity took place in 1429-1450.¹⁹ All kinds of letters were written on parchment or on imported paper. It is important because different workshops or "paper mills" appear in Moldova only towards the end of the 16th century. Wishing to contribute to the development of the ma\\national culture, the Illuminist writer Gh. Asachi (1788-1869), after overcoming many obstacles of all kinds, manages to open a paper mill on November 1, 1841. Gh. Asachi's plant produced the so-called *Moldavian paper*, very wanted at the time. But because of the growing concurrence from the foreign entrepreneurs, Gh. Asachi was forced to close the mill factory. The first "paper producing mill" dating since the time of Petru Schiopul, namely since 1583.

Because of the continual writing, practiced in the old texts, the need for punctuation was not felt. Yet, in the well-known translations from Old Slav into Romanian, preserved in copies from the 16th century, *Codex of Voroneț, The Psalms Book from Șchei, the Hurmuzaki Psalms Book*, and in different documents that use the Cyrillic writing, one can find punctuation marks, some of them used more or less systematically, and others only occasionally, as inventions of the clerks, who wanted to decorate the text. So, in the *Psalms Book from Șchei*, the **comma** is encountered only sporadically, and

writing in the Romanian language), Ed. Academiei R.S.R., București, 1965, p. 220-221.

¹³ Andrei Eșanu, *Cultură și civilizație medievală românească* (Romanian Medieval Culture and Civilization), Ed. R.C. Chișinău, 1996, p. 92-93.

¹⁴ A. Eșeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁵ Ibidem

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 93-94.

¹⁷ I. Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română* (The origins of the Romanian Writing), Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1985, p. 124.

¹⁸ Ibidem

¹⁹ Ibidem

in other texts older than it, the comma, as a punctuation mark, is generally missing.²⁰

In some manuscripts, the **full stop** was sometimes overdimensioned, being marked not only with usual ink but also with gold or mercury sulphur – a red coloring also used for titles or initials. In the decorated texts, one could find the full stop represented as a flower or another vegetal element (leaf, branch, etc.)²¹

Approximately starting with the 16th century, in the other old Romanian texts, the **colon** appears frequently, cumulating the following values: announcing a series of numbers, as it is used today, and instead of a semi-colon.

Once the printing press appeared in Moldova, the punctuation continued to develop, which inevitably led to the appearance of new punctuation marks. The first printing press appeared in Moldova during the fourth decennium of the 17th century, being an expression of the collaboration between the Romanians of Moldova with the Russians from Kiev. The entire printing equipment (letters, molds, floret, ornaments, illustrations for books) as well as the first masters typographers were brought from Kiev, from the Monastery Lavra Pecerska, where the big Slav printing press founded by the Romanian Metropolitan Bishop Petre Movilă (1598-1647) functioned. In response to the plea of the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldova Varlaam (1590-1657) and of the Moldavian reigning Prince Vasile Lupu (1634-1653), the Metropolitan Bishop of Kiev sent all the necessary equipment for the installation of the printing press and qualified Ukrainian artisans of which the famous master engraver Iliia. The first book typed in Romanian in Moldova was *Cazania lui Varlaam* (**The Semon Book of Varlaam**), appeared in 1643, in whose preface we can read: “Petru Movilă... following the wish of His Majesty sent the printing press with all the artisan’s equipment needed.”²² During the second half of the 17th century the printing press was rebuilt from scratch. In 1679 the Metropolitan Bishop Dosoftei (1624-1693) addressed the Metropolitan Bishop Ioakim of Moldova and Nicolae Milescu Spătarul (1636-1708) living in Russia since 1671 and functioning here as head of the interpreters’ department, asking them for new printing equipments. His desire being listened to, Dosoftei obtained the possibility to rebuild the printing press of Varlaam from foundations and to print a series of religious books.²³

So, in the Romanian books printed during the 17th-18th century, a series of punctuation marks unattested before begin to show up. A certain terminology begins to be used for the punctuation marks and certain more or less stable rules come to be used for them. An eloquent piece of evidence in this sense is the monastic book *Cartea pentru pravilă* printed in 1823, at Neamț Monastery. From this work, we can deduce that by the time of its appearance, the Romanian texts were using the following punctuation marks: **full stop, comma, colon, semi-colon, question mark, exclamation mark, apostrophe, [-], parantheses, inverted commas**. The denomination of the punctuation marks was very original, with a marked local color: [.] *picătură*; [,] *jumătate de picătură*; [:] *două picături*; [?] *întrebarea*; [!] *minunătoarea*; [-] *împreunarea*; [()] *îngrădirea / încăperea*; [“”] *aducătoarea*.

Thus terminology should not surprise us, because during that period (and even later on) in all kinds of dictionaries, grammars etc. terms copied from other languages, especially from Russian, were largely used.

An interesting thing is that in parallel to the punctuation terminology copied from Old Slav and Russian, in the Romanian Principalities some scholars used as well adequate terms of Latin and Neo-Romance origin. So, in his *Romanian Grammar*, I.E. Rădulescu notes the terminology: [.] *puntul*; [,] *virgula*; [:] *puntul și virgula*; [-] *două puncturi*; [-] *pauza*; [!] *puntul mirării*; [?] *puntul întrebării*; [...] *punturile*.

5 Conclusions

The punctuation marks have their own history, which can be traced back to the beginning of the first millennium A.D. With the fruitful activity of book printing, a more and more determined discussion began concerning the issue of punctuation. A unique punctuation system was called for in order to facilitate the printing of books. Manunzio dealt directly with this issue, largely contributing to

²⁰ E. Vârtosu *Paleografia româno-slavă* (Romanian-Slav Paleography), București, 1968, p. 125.

²¹ Anatol Ciobanu, *Punctuația...*, p. 49.

²² *Istoria literaturii moldovenești*, vol. 1, Chișinău, 1958, p. 32, apud A. Ciobanu.

²³ Apud A. Ciobanu.

the creation of a reasonable punctuation system. In Romanian, it is around the 15th century that the first punctuation marks preserved in writing can be situated. Little by little, the punctuation marks come to serve more nuanced purposes, so by the 17th-18th centuries, in several Romanian books, a series of punctuation marks, unattested before, appear for the first time. A certain terminology begins to be used and gradually a series of rules, more or less stable, are outlined concerning the use of the punctuation marks.

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Are Footnotes Necessary, and if this is the case, when?

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Abstract: *The footnotes are, undoubtedly, the most 'invasive' paratextual elements. Is it necessary to put footnotes in a translated literary work, or not? In which cases is it necessary to use them? Are the footnotes allowed only in the commented editions?*

The ideal thing would be not to use any of these footnotes, obviously, and not to make room for the disruption that any footnote implies. But, in many cases, the footnotes would be necessary for the reader to better understand the text.

Keywords: literary translation, paratextual elements, footnotes

The title or the preface are, somehow, separated from the literary text in a strict sense. The footnotes are, undoubtedly, the most 'invasive' paratextual elements, since they burst in the text and practically provoke a disruption.

Might be the footnotes the worst of this 'fatal crime of the *injured* literature which is the translation', to use the words of G. Cabrera Infante? Is it necessary to put footnotes in a translated literary work, or not? In which cases is it necessary to use them? Are the footnotes allowed only in the commented editions?

It is rather difficult to answer. The ideal thing would be not to use them at all. But a new cultural context raises many problems, and makes us think about the need to offer explanations by means of footnotes.

In Romania, the footnotes are used quite often; they are overused. The experienced translators say that it is a reminiscence of the communist past, when the translated novels were not meant only for the lovers of literature, but for the whole world.

In Romania, it was published a translation of *Manuel's Book* by Julio Cortázar, full of footnotes, while the French Gallimard edition did not have any. Undoubtedly, it is much more pleasant to read a translation without stumbling over any footnotes, but sometimes, the foreign reader needs explanations.

The geography and the history of a country mentioned in a novel are far less known by readers of another language, who are going to use the translation. The names of personalities, of cities, the historical events etc., mentioned by the author are not recognized by the foreign reader. In Romania, they usually solve these problems by means of footnotes :

'...y Patricio parecía buscar un permiso de Marcos (los muchachos debían estar jerárquicamente bien organizados aunque en las formas exteriores no se notara, por suerte) para soltarme un iguazú de lo que Lonstein hubiera llamado *argudenuestos*...'¹(Cortázar, 1984: 86). This quotation would need a footnote in the translation, since most of foreign readers who will tackle the translation don't know the Iguazú Falls. But the best thing would be to introduce the word 'falls' in the text of the translation, and to avoid the footnote.

'Qué manera de preguntar, este debe ser del Side'² (Cortázar, 1984: 27) needs to clarify that SIDE is the Secretariat of the State Intelligence, the most outstanding service of information of the Republic of Argentina, which is called 'the Secretariat of Intelligence (SI)' since 2005.

The following excerpt represents an allusion to the Argentine censoring, although everything is supposed to take place in a cinema, in Paris:

'...dijo la acomodadora bajando la linterna porque ya el público más alejado se perdía en los espacios intercostales de Bardot desnuda y nada alterada por lo ocurrido, y los espectadores contiguos al lugar y al causante del hecho luchaban con una comprensible indecisión entre seguir la protesta por el escandaloso proceder del forajido o no perderse ni un centímetro de esos sedosos muslos semientornados en una cama de hotel de lujo en la floresta de Rambouillet adonde un tal Thomas se la

¹ '... and Patricio seemed to look for a permission from Marcos (the boys had to be hierarchically well organized although, in the exterior forms, it was not evident, fortunately) in order to give me an *iguazú*, something that Lonstein would have called *argudenuestos* ...'

² 'What a way of asking, this must be of the Side'

había llevado con objeto de hacerla suya antes de la hora del menú gastronómico siempre previsto en esa clase de aventuras de los ricos, por todo lo cual la linterna de la acomodadora empezaba a escorchar a todo el mundo sin contar a Patricio, y la acomodadora la bajaba lo más posible y el haz de luz se aplastaba en plena bragueta de Patricio que parecía encontrar la cosa de lo más natural...'³(Cortázar, 1984: 63).

The foreign reader needs, in this case a footnote to find out that this is one of the procedures used by the Argentine censoring during the dictatorship: in the cinemas, the projector was moved towards the ground, or a bundle of very strong light was projected on the screen to prevent the spectators from seeing a scene of this kind. This type of 'accidents' was preferred to being able to claim that there was no censoring.

'...vos mejor preguntale a Patricio que te va a explicar lo que hizo Oscar en las huelgas de Rosario y en el cordobazo.'⁴ (Cortázar, 1984: 114) It is highly probable that the foreign reader isn't familiarized with these events from 1969, which constituted a protest against the military system from Onganía, the self-called Argentine Revolution. But, taking into account that the author says 'the strikes of Rosario', it is possible to spare the footnote, because the reader knows, by intuition, what is all about.

'...la víctima y Oscar cambiaban las primeras impresiones sobre el lío de Aramburu y el raudo advenimiento del general Levingston'.⁵(Cortázar, 1984: 154) In this case, the one who reads the translation would need the corresponding explanations: Pedro Eugenio Aramburu (1903-1970), and Roberto Marcelo Levingston (1920) are two military men and politicians, who became presidents of Argentina. But it is possible to do without the footnote, since the word 'advent' implies what is all about.

'...pero en ese movimiento reside el genio estratégico que da los Austerlitz y los Chacabuco...'⁶(Cortázar, 1984: 169) The famous battle of Austerlitz, won by Napoleon in 1805, does not need any explanation; every educated reader knows it. One cannot say the same about the battle of Chacabuco (1817), a decisive combat of the War of Independence of Chile, and a fact which influenced enough in the War of Independence of Argentina. The Romanian edition has a footnote which explains it. The French edition replaces the 'Chacabuco' by 'Valmy', the latter being a famous battle of 1792, when France fought against Prussia during the French Revolution.

'...et c'est justement dans ce mouvement que réside le génie stratégique que fait les Austerlitz et les Valmy...'⁶ (Cortázar, 2001: 164).

In fact, it would be necessary to leave 'Chacabuco' in the translation, without any explanation, since 'Austerlitz' is enough to imply, by intuition, that it is the name of another battle. Analyzing the two solutions, we think that the footnote on the bottom of the page is better in this case than to replace the battle by another one. To use the name of a famous battle in the history of Romania – that Cortázar probably never knew - would be ridiculous. It would be a serious alteration of the text. If we used the name of a Romanian battle in the translation, one week later, several articles related to Julio Cortázar's interest in Romania would appear in the literature magazines.

³ '... the usherette said, lowering the lantern, because the most remote public was already getting lost in the intercostal spaces of the naked Bardot, not altered at all by what happened, and the viewers neighbouring the place and the causer of the fact were fighting against an understandable indecision between following the protest for the scandalous adventurer or not to miss even one centimeter of these silky thighs semi-half closed in a bed of a luxury hotel in the Rambouillet verdant grove, where a certain Thomas had taken her in order to make her his, before the hour of the gastronomic menu, always foreseen in this class of adventures of the rich ones, that was why the usherette was lowering the lamp starting to light everybody, without taking Patricio into account, and she would lower it to the most possible and the light would meet Patricio who seemed to find it the most natural possible ...'

⁴ '... you'd better ask Patricio who is going to explain to you what did Oscar in the strikes of Rosario and in the *cordobazo*'.

⁵ '... the victim and Oscar were exchanging the first impressions on the issue of Aramburu and the swift advent of general Levingston'

⁶ '... but in this movement there resides the strategic genius who gives the Austerlitz and the Chacabuco ...'

‘...la historia es una increíble cantidad de manotazos por todos lados, algunos agarran la manija y otros se quedan con los dedos en el aire, pero cuando sumás el todo por ahí te da la revolución francesa o el Moncada’.⁷ (Cortázar, 1984: 250).

Here, we are probably dealing with the assault on the Barracks of Moncada, in Santiago de Cuba, which took place on July 26th, 1953, in order to demolish the dictator Fulgencio Batista. The foreign reader, who approaches the translation, would not know this, but mentioning the French Revolution is enough, and it is not necessary to specify anything else.

‘...realmente están chalados con sus fósforos, pensar que en Biafra...’⁸ (Cortázar, 1984: 99) is another excerpt that resorts to the culture of readers, and the native readers have the same possibilities of knowing or not that Biafra was the name of an ephemeral republic, founded in the South-oriental region in Nigeria, which proclaimed its independence in 1967, and supported it until 1970. In this case, it is not necessary to place the footnote.

Problems are also raised by names of personalities, sportsmen, or sports clubs.

‘...pero en todo caso vos podés juntar a treinta pibes, explicarles el mecanismo, y durante una hora harán una música del carajo; si extrapolás podrían invitar a todos los de Boca o de River...’⁹ (Cortázar, 1984: 106) has a footnote in the Romanian translation, since most of the foreign readers are not aware of the fact that Boca and River are two well-known sports clubs in Argentina.

‘Pero si me permitís un *da capo al fine*, todo eso del entusiasmo y la manía está bien mientras apunte a lo más alto, porque a mí los entusiasmos de los hinchas de San Lorenzo o de Nicolino Locche, para no hablarte de las papas fritas, me dejan más bien inamovible...’¹⁰ (Cortázar, 1984: 128). In this case, the foreign reader is bound to ignore that the San Lorenzo of Almagro is a famous Argentine sports club, but, as the author speaks about ‘the fans of the San Lorenzo’, is not necessary to mention it. It wouldn’t be necessary, either, to add that Nicolino Locche was an Argentine boxer; readers can infer that it is a question of a sportsman, and in order to prevent the text interruption, it would be advisable not to use any footnote.

When Julio Cortázar writes in *Manuel’s Book* that Roland is ‘piloteando con fangiofría a milímetro de luces rojas...’¹¹ (Cortázar, 1984: 313), the foreign reader who deals with the translation would need a footnote, explaining to him that Roland is compared with the most famous Argentine pilot, Juan Manuel Fangio. A name that the fans of the Formula 1 would probably recognize, although he gained his last big award in 1958. But, the best solution would be to skip the footnote, and to introduce the explanation in the text: ‘it is driving with Fangio’s indifference ...’

‘El mimeógrafo ronroneaba en el fondo del cuarto, insonorizado lo mejor posible por un biombo reforzado con cobijas y un disco de Aníbal Troilo, Pichuco’¹² (Cortázar, 1984: 128). The foreign reader does not know that Aníbal Troilo, called ‘Pichuco’ (1914-1975) is an Argentine musician, composer and conductor of the tango orchestra, but in the novel one says ‘a disc of ...’; it remains clear that it is about a musician or a singer, and it is possible to do just perfectly without the footnote.

‘Qué noche, tango de Bardi...’¹³ (Cortázar, 1984: 205). It is highly probable that the foreign reader ignores who Agustín Bardi was - a famous composer of tangos-, but the context suggests it, and no footnote is required.

‘...una confusión de perspectivas que a esa altura lo hacía acordarse nostálgicamente nada menos que de Capablanca. ¿Sería cierto que Capablanca había previsto todas las posibilidades de una partida, y que una noche había anunciado a su contrincante en la cuarta jugada que le daría jaque mate

⁷ ‘... history is an incredible quantity of slaps for all sides; some of them seize the hand and others remain with the fingers in the air, but when you join everything round there, it turns into the French revolution or the Moncada’.

⁸ ‘... in fact, they are driven crazy by their matches, to think that in Biafra...’

⁹ ‘... but, in any case, you can join thirty *kids*, explain them the mechanism, and, for one hour, they will do a music of hell; if you expand, they might invite all those of Boca or of River ...’

¹⁰ ‘But, if you allow me to make sense, all that of the enthusiasm and the fancy is good while it aims at the highest, because the enthusiasm of the fans of San Lorenzo, or of Nicolino Locche, not to talk about the French fries, rather left me untouched ...’.

¹¹ ‘driving with *fangiofría* to millimeter of the red lights ...’

¹² ‘The mimeograph was purring in the back of the room, insulating to the maximum possible by a screen reinforced with blankets and a disc of Aníbal Troilo, Pichuco’.

¹³ ‘What a night, Bardi tango ...’.

en la veintitrés, y que lo hizo...?’¹⁴(Cortázar, 1984: 207). Most readers do not know that José Raúl Capablanca was a Cuban chess player, a world champion between 1921 and 1927. But Cortázar’s lines state clearly that it is a question of a chess player, and it is not necessary to employ footnotes.

The following excerpt of the same novel also requires a few explanations: ‘Además acabo de descubrir que en este ómnibus viaja un argentino. Es raro oír el acento de La Paternal entre Managua y Honduras. El tipo tiene pinta y habla de Jan Kiepura y Palito Ortega’. ¹⁵ (Cortázar, 1984: 53). Here, the footnotes should mention that The Paternal is a quarter of Buenos Aires; Jan Kiepura (1902-1966) is a tenor and a Polish actor, and Palito Ortega (n.1941) is an Argentine singer. But these explanations can also be included in the text of the translation, in order to skip the footnotes.

Further, there are mentioned names of personalities that native or foreign readers have the same opportunities to understand, and the footnotes would be needed both in the translation and in the original edition, since more than the last 40 years have erased the events and the names of the protagonists from the readers’ memory: ‘...en el mundo que resonaba con telegramas y bombardeos y ejecuciones y tenientes Calley o generales Ky...’¹⁶(Cortázar, 1984: 60). The lieutenant Calley is the culprit of the massacre of March 16th, 1968 in My Lai (Vietnam), when there were murdered more than 300 civilians, among whom there had been babies. General Nguyen Cao Ky is a Vietnamese politician.

In the following excerpt, one alludes again to events that readers do not generally remember anymore, so that both foreigners and natives could use the footnote:

‘...solamente que como dice el himno japonés, gota a gota se forman los mares y los granos de arena terminarán siendo roca cubierta de musgo o algo por el estilo. Jan Palach hubo uno, pero están todos los estudiantes checos y no duermen, sin hablar de más de cuatro bonzos’.¹⁷ (Cortázar, 1984: 69). Jan Palach (1948-1969) is a Czech student who committed suicide to protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet troops.

‘Entonces Gómez, secándose los labios con una delicadeza brummeliana...’¹⁸ (Cortázar, 1984: 70) requires an educated reader who has to know George Bryan Brummell (1778-1840), called Beau Brummell, also considered the umpire of the elegance in the Regency England. Many native readers, just as many foreign readers, would need the footnote.

Everything related to the culture may raise issues in the translation.

‘A lo mejor fue a escuchar el ruido de rotas cadenas –dijo Patricio-, es un chiste que hacíamos en cuarto grado...’¹⁹(Cortázar, 1984: 134) it is an allusion to the lyrics of the Argentine National anthem. In the Romanian edition it has been used the footnote; in the French one, a parenthesis has been added, and it is a better solution:

‘Il était peut-être venu écouter le bruit des chaînes qu’on brise (dans l’hymne susdit)...’ (Cortázar, 2001: 128).

‘Todo esto hizo que él me autorizara a agarrarme con toda el alma, aunque disimulándolo bastante, es cierto, de la mano de Fernanda, quien, a su vez, conmovida al máximo por la tierna

¹⁴ ‘... a confusion of perspectives that, at the moment, was making him remember with nostalgia nothing else but Capablanca. Would it be true that Capablanca had foreseen all the possibilities of a game, and that one night he had announced to his opponent in the fourth move that it would give him checkmate in twenty-three, and that, in fact, it did it ...?’

¹⁵ ‘I have also just discovered that in this bus is travelling an Argentinian. It is strange to hear the accent of The Paternal between Managua and Honduras. The man looks like and speaks about Jan Kiepura and Palito Ortega’.

¹⁶ ‘... in the world that was resounding with telegrams and bombings and executions and lieutenants Calley or generals Ky ...’.

¹⁷ ‘... only that as he says the Japanese anthem, drop by drop, the seas form themselves and the grains of sand will end up by being a rock, covered with moss or something like that. Jan Palach was only one, but there they are, the Czech students, who wouldn’t sleep, without speaking too much about the four bonzes’.

¹⁸ ‘Then Gómez, drying off the lips with a brummelian delicacy ...’

¹⁹ ‘Perhaps he went listening to the noise of broken chains –said Patricio - it is a pleasantry that we were doing it in the fourth grade ...’

bondad de su Caupolicán, conmigo, le apretó la mano a él ya para siempre...'²⁰ (Bryce Echenique, 1999: 65).

The foreign reader would need a footnote, clarifying to him that Caupolicán was a leader of a *mapuche* tribe, a commander who fought in the War of Arauco. In the Romanian translation the footnote exists.

'Las colinas quisieran regresar al morral del Cabracán. Son avispas. Tienen voluntad de regresar. Pero no las deja el aire del mar que sopla sin descanso'.²¹ (Asturias, 2008: 94). The foreign reader would need a note explaining who was Cabracán: the god of the earthquakes, in the quiché theogony.

The puns that cannot be translated are also often solved by means of a footnote that points out the double meaning.

'Anda a saber cuánto de sostenible hay en el platonismo o el aristotelismo, y sin embargo nadie puede leer a esos dos griegos chivudos sin salir más rico que el otro, el dorima de la María Callas, en la que dicho sea de paso nunca hubo apellido más contradictorio'.²² (Cortázar, 1984: 132). There is no doubt, here, that the reader who does not speak Spanish can't understand why 'Callas' proves to be a 'contradictory' surname, and it is necessary to explain it to him. In Romania it has been added a footnote on the bottom of page; in French, the problem has been solved through the use of parentheses, and it is perhaps a better solution:

'...et cependant on ne peut pas lire ces deux Grecs barbus sans s'enrichir encore plus que l'autre, le marido de la Maria Callas (t'as remarqué qu'en espagnol ça fait Maria Tais-toi, nom contradictoire s'il en fut)'. (Cortázar, 2001: 126).

'...y Diana o Jennifer suspirará y dirá que no pero se dejará dar vuelta poco a poco y el cierre relámpago bajará, esto hay que hacerlo como su nombre lo indica zip y ya está...' ²³(Cortázar, 1984: 169).

In many other languages the zipper is not called 'a closing lightning', that's why the pun is not possible, and that is why we usually put a footnote to clarify that thing about the 'closing lightning'.

'Qué me importan tus excusas frente al hecho casi sobrenatural de que FEA es la sigla de nada menos que la Federación Internacional para la Educación Artística ...'²⁴ (Cortázar, 1984: 362).

The readers who do not speak Spanish need the footnote that explains to them what 'ugly' means in Spanish.

'...a esta altura de la noche Bobby Fischer mueve el alfil fatal y mate amargo, como corresponde a los argentinos...' ²⁵ (Cortázar, 1984: 362). The foreign reader does not understand the puns based on the double meaning of the word 'mate' (to kill/ beverage)', and needs the footnote.

The same happens with the slang words.

'¡Zacarías con las narices!' ²⁶(Asturias, 2008: 301) pronounced by a dice player means three, since this number was represented in the dice in order to suggest the eyes and the nose of a person. The Romanian translation bears the explanatory footnote.

²⁰ 'All this made him to authorize me to fight with my whole soul, although hiding enough, it is true, by the hand of Fernanda, who, in turn, upset to the maximum by the tender kindness of her Caupolicán towards me, pressed the hand to him forever ...'.

²¹ 'The hills wanted to return to the haversack of Cabracán. There are wasps. They want to return. But they are not left by the sea air which blows without rest'.

²² 'Who might know how much sustainable is there in the Platonism or in the Aristotelism, and nevertheless nobody can read these two angry Greeks without going out one richer than other, Maria Callas' *dorima*, who was said to have such a contradictory surname'.

²³ '... and Diana or Jennifer would sigh and say no, but one will allow to turn round little by little and the closing lightning go down, this is necessary to do it as her name indicates it *zip* and this is it ...'.

²⁴ 'What do I care about your excuses regarding the almost supernatural fact that FEA (UGLY) is the acronym of neither more nor less than the International Federation for the Art education ...'.

²⁵ '... to this time of night Bobby Fischer moves the fatal sword and kills bitterly, as it is appropriate the Argentinians ...'.

²⁶ 'Zacarías with the nostrils!'

The intertextuality and the interrupted discourse also imply difficulties that are often solved by means of footnotes.

The quotations and literary allusions are not perceived the same way by a reader of a different culture.

Let's see a few excerpts from *The invisible life* of Juan Manuel de Prada:

‘Éstos eran los ejemplares más pintorescos o degenerados, a quienes, a buen seguro, el gran maestro de la cofradía habría incoado expediente para tramitar su expulsión; pero junto a ellos había otros, doctores *cum laude* en el patio de Monipodio, que se desenvolvían como espías de incógnito, gráciles o sedentarios, hieráticos o zalameros, según lo exigiese el caso’.²⁷ (Prada, 2004: 204).

‘No me atreví, sin embargo, a pedirles que devolvieran a sus remitentes las cartas que recibieran a mi nombre, temeroso de que este prurito de aislamiento me delatara ante sus ojos como un peligroso espécimen de tiquismiquis o licenciado vidriera...’²⁸ (Prada, 2004: 314).

The presence of the courtyard of Monipodio or, that of the Bachelor Vidriera in a Spanish novel of the XXIst century does not imply any problem for the Spanish reader; a foreign reader, who has not read Cervantes, on the other hand, does not recognize the intertext, and he could use the corresponding footnotes. Obviously, not all readers need the footnote.

‘Pero no hay secreto que no acabe fermentando, como no hay ahogado que, tras hundirse y reposar en el lecho de un río, no acabe emergiendo a la superficie, convertido en una monstruosa caricatura de carne corrompida. Quien lo probó lo sabe’.²⁹ (Prada, 2004: 615).

Most foreign readers who approach the translation are not able to recognize the quote of the last part of the sonnet *To faint, to dare, to be furious* by Lope de Vega, and they would need the footnote. And, in these cases, things are complicated by the copyright: it is necessary to use the classic translation, if it exists. The translation of such a famous sonnet of Lope de Vega exists in my native language, and then it is necessary to mention the name of the translator. How to avoid the footnote?

Julio Cortázar in *Manuel's Book* speaks of ‘the string of the Monetary Agreement that moves the sun and other stars’, and it is necessary to leave to the educated reader the pleasure of recognizing the allusion to Dante's famous words ‘the love moves the sun and other stars’, without any explanation. In this case, it would be enough to use the classic translation into Romanian, without placing a footnote. The problem, here, would be, just as in the previous case, the name of Dante's translator, that it is necessary to mention.

‘¡Salú... por el señor correo, que ni sé cómo se llama y porque, como las golondrinas, ésas no volverán!’³⁰ (Asturias, 2008: 205) is an allusion to *The Rhyme LIII* by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, which most of foreign readers would not perceive. To avoid the footnote a few words can be introduced in the text of the translation: ‘... like the Bécquer swallows, those will not return’.

Obviously, not all readers would need these footnotes. The Hispanists would recognize the intertext. But the translations are not published for the Hispanists ... The translator and the publisher decide when it is necessary to place footnotes, what background is the reader supposed to have, and what explanations he needs. Riffaterre was speaking about ‘random intertextuality’ and ‘compulsory intertextuality’, the latter being the one that can be perceived by any reader. But: how to set the border between the two ?

²⁷ ‘These were the most picturesque or degenerate copies, to whom, probably, the big master of the brotherhood had begun the procedure for his expulsion; but along with them, there were others, doctors *cum laude* in the courtyard of Monipodio, who were acting as incognito spies, graceful or sedentary, hieratic or flattering people, as might have been the case”.

²⁸ ‘I did not dare, nevertheless, to ask them to return to the senders the letters that they were receiving on my behalf, frightened that this itching isolation would denounce me before his eyes like a dangerous specimen of fussy or a glazier...’

²⁹ ‘But there is no secret that does not end up by fermenting, as I had not drowned that, after sinking and resting in the bed of a river, does not end up by emerging to the surface, turned into a monstrous caricature of corrupt *meat*. The one who proved it knows it’.

³⁰ ‘Hi ... to the mailman, that I do not even know his name and because, like the swallows, those will not return!’

The same happens with the interdiscourse. A foreign reader is not capable of identifying it, and he needs a footnote explaining it to him.

‘...me vestí pensando en Gardel y en que un hombre macho no debe, etcétera’³¹(Cortázar, 1984: 348) alludes to the lyrics ‘That a man must not weep’ of the tango *I take and force*. The reader who does not speak Spanish won’t be aware of the lyrics that Manuel Romero wrote for Gardel’s tango, and a footnote on the bottom of the page might add the verb to ‘cry’; this way readers would better understand what Cortázar means.

In ‘The tonsillitis of Tarzan’ of Alfredo Bryce Echenique there are often quoted bolero, tango, country letters etc., since the hero of this novel – written in the first person - is a singer:

‘Desde el amor platónico y menor de edad de un par de grandes tímidos hasta el sensual y alegre y loco desbarajuste de los que a veces tuvieron sólo unas semanitas para desquitarse de *toda una vida, pasaría contigo*, desde el amor de un par de hermanitos nacidos para quererse y hacerse el bien eternamente hasta el de un par de cómplices implacables en más de un asalto de delinquentes, y desde el de un par de jóvenes enamorados incluso del amor y de la luna hasta el de un par de veteranos capaces de retozar aún en alguna remota isla bajo el sol, *no me importa en qué forma, ni dónde ni cómo, pero junto a ti...*’³² (Bryce Echenique, 1999:13-14). The lyrics of the tango ‘The whole life’ by Osvaldo Farrés comes between quotation marks, but the foreign reader who does not speak Spanish cannot remember them, and he would need a footnote.

A Spanish-speaking reader of this novel understands at once why several words of this fragment come in italics, but for the reader who does not speak Spanish and approaches the translation, things are not so clear. Nevertheless, the author mentions Nat King Cole, and speaks about a tango, so he gives a few hints, and it is possible to forget about the footnote:

‘...ella era Miss Facultad, o algo así, y yo una suerte de Nat King Cole en castellano, que a punta de *acércate más, y más, y más, pero mucho más*, me la terminé acercando tanto que aún no he logrado apartarla del todo, y eso que ya pasaron *más de mil años, muchos más*, por lo cual al autor de aquel bolero creo poderle responder que sí, que parece que sí tiene amor, la eternidad’.³³ (Bryce Echenique, 1999: 24).

In this case, on the other hand, the hints are missing, and an explanation would be required, since the foreign reader does not recognize the song *A strange world* by José Alfredo Jiménez:

‘Porque fue entonces cuando la conocí por segunda vez, en lo que para mí, valgan verdades, era literalmente *un mundo raro*, un mundo que me quedaba grande, demasiado elegante, un mundo que comía y bebía en los lugares en los que yo, con muchísima suerte, lograba terminar una canción antes de que me sacaran a empujones...’³⁴ (Bryce Echenique, 1999: 31).

In the following excerpt is quoted the melody ‘She’ of José Alfredo Jiménez, but the quotation marks are missing, there is nothing that indicates the interdiscourse, and it turns out to be impossible to the foreign reader to identify it, that’s why a footnote would be necessary:

‘Entre tanto, efusiones abrumadoras y copa en mano, en posición y actitud de brindis de un bohemio con una reina, y en compañía de don Julián...’³⁵ (Bryce Echenique, 1999: 125).

³¹ ‘... I dressed myself thinking about Gardel and about what a man does not have to, etc’.

³² ‘From the platonic love and under age of a pair of big shy up to the sensual and happy and crazy mess of those who sometimes had only a few weeks to obtain satisfaction for *the whole life, it would happen with you*, from the love of a pair of little brothers born to love and to do good eternally well up to that of a pair of implacable accomplices in more than one delinquents' assault, and from that of a pair of young people in love even with love and with the moon up to that of a pair of veterans capable of romping still in some remote island under the sun, *it does not matter for me in what form, not where not how, but along with you ...*’.

³³ ‘... she was Miss faculty, or something like that, and I, someone like Nat King Cole in Spanish, who about to *approach more, and more, and more, but much more*, I ended up by approaching so much that I still have not managed to separate it completely, and that after *many more than thousand years, many more*, have passed, a reason why that bolero author thought he could answer that eternity has love, indeed’.

³⁴ ‘Because it was then when I met it for the second time, what for me, to tell the truth, it was literally *a strange world*, a world that was too big for me, too fancy, a world that would eat and drink in places where I, with a lot of luck, was managing to finish a song before they were throwing me out to pushes ...’

³⁵ ‘Meanwhile, overwhelming effusions and holding a glass, in a position and with the attitude for a toast of a Bohemian with a queen, and accompanied by *don Julián ...*’

The ideal thing would be not to use any of these footnotes, obviously, and not to make room for the disruption that any footnote implies. But, in many cases, the footnotes would be necessary for the reader to better understand the text. And it is not only a matter related to the literary works written by already classic writers, like Julio Cortázar or Miguel Ángel Asturias, but also by young writers. A translation implies to adapt the literary work to another culture, and it is not always easy. In the commented editions the footnotes are allowed; perhaps they should be also allowed in the others, occasionally. A translator of literary works experiences a feeling of guilt for having placed a footnote. In order not to emerge within the text in such a violent way, the notes might be placed at the end of the book. Nevertheless, it can be difficult to decide when it is necessary to use them, what explanations the reader needs, what things he already knows, how to provide him the right information in order to understand the text, without offending him, taking into account that the reader is an educated person...

Undoubtedly, footnotes represent an issue that should be debated more often during international conferences.

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Informazioni sulle difficoltà degli apprendenti romeni

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Riassunto: Nel presente intervento abbiamo posto l'accento sul livello fonetico e quello morfologico, siccome da qui vengono tutti gli errori degli apprendenti romeni dell'italiano. In generale sono difficoltà sormontabili perché i ragazzi sono molto ricettivi e imparano rapidissimo. La pronuncia e l'intonazione in italiano sono diverse dal romeno. Dal punto di vista morfologico abbiamo analizzato brevemente ciascuna parte del discorso, menzionando le diverse difficoltà e la possibili cause dell'apparizione.

Parole-chiave: fonetica, morfologia, errori, pronuncia, intonazione, parte del discorso, difficoltà.

Il mio intervento si incentra sulle difficoltà degli apprendenti romeni, un argomento che fa parte dalla mia tesi di didattica italiana perché capire dove i romeni possono sbagliare e il perché – cioè entrare nel sistema linguistico di una persona – può essere un autentico momento di incontro, indice di attenzione e di disponibilità. Che i ragazzi romeni possano essere molto bravi in italiano, che lo possano assimilare rapidamente è una cosa confermata dalla realtà, ma più che comporre il discorso in virtù di un'età biologica, credo sia meglio organizzarlo in base ad una variazione di livello di conoscenza della lingua stessa: principiante, intermedio o avanzato. Si può essere bambini in italiano anche ad età biologiche non più definite da pantaloni corti e lividi sulle ginocchia.

Le difficoltà dipendono, ovviamente, dalla formazione della persona, dall'età, dal contesto sociale e culturale. Partiamo perciò dalla base usando un metodo contrastivo non per analizzare le due lingue (sarebbe un lavoro interminabile e lo fanno già gli storici della lingua, i filologi), ma per capire dove e perché i romeni possono incontrare difficoltà a passare all'italiano semplicemente perché continuano a pensare in romeno, a tradurre mentalmente da una lingua all'altra. Sapere perché sbagliano permette di andare alla radice dell'errore ed sradicarlo in maniera più efficace. Nel presente intervento abbiamo posto l'accento sul livello fonetico e quello morfologico perché è lì che si annidano le difficoltà e gli errori più frequenti dei romeni che imparano oppure parlano l'italiano.

Livello fonetico: in che cosa si possono riconoscere i parlanti nativi di romeno in italiano

1. Uno dei luoghi deputati che ‘tradisce’ i romeni nel loro parlare italiano (ma non soltanto loro) pur esprimendosi in una lingua di una correttezza formale, grammaticale impeccabile è la pronuncia delle consonanti doppie.

2. Altrettanto possono creare difficoltà le pronunce delle vocali **e** - **o** aperte o chiuse: copèrta, mèrito, còsa, stòria | mése, stélla, concorso, errore, ma questa è una situazione attenuata dalla loro pronuncia già all'interno di vari dialetti italiani. Nel migliore dei casi qui uno si sente dare l'‘etichetta’ – tu sei del Veneto, oppure... tu sei dell'Emilia....

3. Un aspetto molto importante e che richiede un esercizio costante di attenzione è la pronuncia delle consonanti doppie con i possibili mutamenti di senso che queste comportano: caro, carro| fato, fatto| eco, ecco. Nella lingua romena le consonanti doppie sono veramente pochissime, mentre è, per esempio, molto frequente la cosiddetta “doppia i” in posizione enclitica. Questo è un fatto linguistico dovuto a ragioni morfologiche in cui la prima ‘i’ segna il plurale maschile, mentre la seconda indica l'articolo determinativo enclitico. (băiat – băieți-băieți | băieți | il ragazzo- ragazzi- i ragazzi).

4. L'attenzione alla modificazione dei gruppi consonantici romeni ct e pt nell'italiano tt. In effetti, i romeni hanno la tendenza a continuare a dire septembrie, octombrie invece di settembre, ottobre in virtù del fatto che i nomi dei mesi in romeno sono *septembrie* e *octombrie*, così come gli studenti italiani principianti saranno tentati di dire settembrerie, ottobrie perché forme più vicine alla loro lingua madre.

5. Un'altra frequente differenza tra italiano e romeno consiste nella pronuncia in italiano della “s” intervocalica (la casa), consonante che non subisce cambiamenti di pronuncia in romeno. L'esercizio più semplice in cui attirare l'attenzione dei ragazzi romeni sul cambiamento di senso

determinato dalla pronuncia è farli ascoltare e pronunciare: *una rosa rossa, una rosa rosa*, per esempio.

6. Differenti rispetto alla lingua romena è anche la pronuncia dei gruppi consonantici *gl, gn, sci, sce*, (coniglio, gnomo, sciare, scendere), ma di solito non pongono problemi particolari nella loro assimilazione.

7. La *h* che non si legge nelle forme del presente del verbo *avere* (io ho, tu hai, lui ha, loro hanno) non creano difficoltà nella pronuncia, bensì nella loro scrittura, quando bisogna fare la differenza tra *ho* (verbo *avere*, indicativo presente, I persona, singolare) e la congiunzione *o*, tra *hai* (verbo *avere*, indicativo presente II persona singolare) e *ai* (preposizione articolata), tra *hanno* (verbo *avere*, indicativo presente, III persona, plurale) e *anno* (sostantivo, maschile, singolare).

8. Un'altra difficoltà degna di essere annotata è quella di saper pronunciare bene l'accento: non tanto sulle parole tronche che non cambiano forma al plurale, quanto sulle parole sdrucciole: psicologo, sillaba (in base all'esperienza della lingua romena, all'inizio i romeni saranno tentati di pronunciare psicologò, sillàba) e bisdrucchiole (verbi): scivolano, scrivimelo.

9. Non molto importante ma comunque parte dell'attenzione ad un italiano molto curato è la corretta separazione in sillabe: gruppi consonantici che in italiano non si separano fo-re-sta, na-scon-de-re un romeno avrà probabilmente la tendenza a separare in sillabe differenti le due consonanti proprio in base alle regole di separazione in sillabe della sua lingua madre.

10. Prima di concludere il capitolo fonetico, un aspetto molto importante è quello dell'intonazione. Una frase semplice del tipo *Vrei să mănânci o înghețată?* (intonazione alta e abbastanza lineare) se tradotta in italiano (*Vuoi mangiare un gelato?* intonazione ascendente sul verbo, poi discendente e di nuovo ascendente sul sostantivo) da un romeno avrà molto probabilmente un'intonazione "alla romena", assai diversa rispetto a quella italiana.

Livello morfologico

1. Il **SOSTANTIVO** romeno è memore, come dicevamo prima, dei tre generi latini (maschile, femminile, neutro) di cui l'italiano ha mantenuto soltanto due.

A. La prima difficoltà, non molto grande, potrebbe essere quella dell'articolo determinativo proclitico (in romeno è enclitico). Sicuramente è assai impegnativo, soprattutto all'inizio, saper scegliere tra le forme *il* e *lo* dell'articolo determinativo maschile singolare in base alle consonanti con cui iniziano le rispettive parole in italiano.

B. Legato in parte alla scelta corretta dell'articolo è l'uso dell'articolo partitivo in italiano: Ho comprato del latte, della cioccolata, dello zucchero...

C. Una doppia difficoltà, legata alla scelta dell'articolo determinativo giusto e alla conoscenza corretta del regime preposizionale di certi verbi in italiano è quella delle preposizioni articolate, una questione piccola ma... abbastanza fastidiosa perché può intralciare la scorrevolezza di discorsi del resto assai corretti in italiano.

D. Anche il genere dei sostantivi, nel passaggio da una lingua all'altra porta inevitabilmente a frequenti cambiamenti che possono essere altrettanti errori. Il sostantivo *fiore*, per esempio, è di genere maschile in italiano e di genere femminile in lingua romena. Si tratta, in questo caso, di un fenomeno legato all'immaginario linguistico, alla specificità di una visione del mondo che il romeno porta con sé anche nella nuova lingua. Simili casi sono frequentissimi e solo un uso intensivo della lingua, sostenuto dall'uso del dizionario può fissare le forme corrette (con i conseguenti accordi di participi o di aggettivi fatti correttamente).

E. La differenziazione morfologica e semantica nel passaggio dal maschile al femminile nel caso di sostantivi omofoni comporta seri cambiamenti di senso che bisogna imparare: il fine, la fine \ il lama, la lama. Meno difficoltà creano gli omofoni parziali: il corso, la corsa \ l'arco, l'arca \ il pezzo, la pezza \ il pianto, la pianta \ il torto, la torta.

F. Una difficoltà non trascurabile è generata dalla formazione del plurale dei sostantivi composti: il bucaneve, il cavatappi, i palcoscenici, i capitreno— ma queste sono già difficoltà che si possono presentare anche ad un parlante nativo d'italiano.

G. Una sorgente molto frequente di errori la costituiscono i sostantivi maschili derivati dal greco: il programma, il teorema, il sistema, il clima, ecc. Sia il fatto che terminano in "a" (desinenza reputata del femminile), sia il fatto che nella lingua romena questi sostantivi sono o femminili o neutri, impedisce un uso corretto del maschile in italiano a livelli di lingua non ancora consolidati.

H. Il plurale dei sostantivi che terminano in -co, -chi, -go, ghi: è difficile a volte sapere distinguere quali sostantivi ricevono e quali no la “h” al plurale: medico, medici però parco, parchi, fuoco, fuochi.

I. I plurali irregolari sono semplicemente da memorizzare, essendo abbastanza frequenti, non creano difficoltà particolari: uovo, uova \ paio, paia...

J. I plurali di generi differenti rispetto al singolare, anche se in fondo sono memori di una forma latina di genere neutro, possono macchiare il parlato dei romeni: braccio, braccia; cigli, ciglia; corni, corna: fili, fila; gesto, gesta (a maggior ragione quando bisogna distinguere il senso di “gesta” e del più ricorrente “gesti”).

2. PRONOME

a. Uno degli scogli a cui bisogna fare più attenzione è il cambiamento di persona del pronome di cortesia: da seconda persona plurale in romeno (voi) a terza persona singolare (Lei). Un cameriere romeno è più probabile che all’inizio dica: ‘*Signora, desiderate un caffè?*’ invece di ‘*Signora, desidera un caffè?*’ - qui subentra anche il discorso dell’

b. Una serie di difficoltà abbastanza serie è generata dall’uso dei pronomi composti: Gli do un libro. Glielo do. \ Gli parlo di un libro. Gliene parlo.

c. In più, i valori dei pronomi *ci, ne* (soprattutto avverbiali) sono difficilmente assimilabili perché in romeno non esistono: Vado dal medico. Ci vado. \ È un ragazzo in gamba, tutti ne parlano.

d. Un errore tipico del madrelingua romeno è la ripetizione dei pronomi in posizione tonica | atona (a me mi da, a te ti dice ...) – perché il romeno consente questa ripetizione.

e. Nessuno non viene – negazione doppia sbagliata in italiano perché il romeno consente la doppia negazione in questo sintagma.

3. AGGETTIVO –

a. Una svista abbastanza frequente è il sintagma qualche (aggettivo) + singolare perché il senso è di plurale. Diranno perciò: qualche ragazzi, qualche amiche.... Invece di qualche ragazzo, qualche amica.

b. La caduta dell’articolo nel caso degli aggettivi possessivi legati a gradi di parentela non è sempre rispettata. Si dirà *mia madre* però la *mia mamma*, perché si tratta di una forma diminutivale, ma è una cosa che un romeno dovrà imparare a usare bene.

c. L’utilizzo degli aggettivi dimostrativi *questo, quello* crea, a volte, incertezze: quell’anno, quello studente, quegli abiti. Altrettanto l’impiego degli aggettivi *bello, grande, santo* – bel ragazzo, begli studenti, bell’amica \ gran signore, grand’uomo | Santo Stefano, Sant’Antonio – tutti elementi legati a un buon impiego dell’articolo determinativo, in fondo.

d. Anche l’attenzione alle sfumature create dalla posizione dell’aggettivo che crea sensi nuovi non è una cosa automatica: grand’uomo | uomo grande, una certa cosa – una cosa certa

e. I gradi dell’aggettivo: la forma di superlativo con *-issimo* in romeno non esiste ma non pone problemi. Pone, invece, problemi l’uso alternato delle preposizioni **di** o **che** all’interno del comparativo di maggioranza o di minoranza perché in romeno esiste un’unica preposizione *-decât-*:

Michele è più grande **di** Marco. (si fa il paragone tra due persone o due cose)

Michele è più grande **che** grasso. (si fa il paragone tra due ‘qualità’ della stessa persona o cosa)

4. VERBO – ci sono quattro coniugazioni in romeno rispetto alle tre coniugazioni in italiano.

a. Così come avevamo già accennato alla difficoltà di segnare graficamente la **h** – (Io **ho** cinque rose. Io **o** Marco andiamo a lezione.) altrettanto può essere un problema distinguere a livello di scrittura tra verbo essere, terza persona singolare e congiunzione :

Marco **è** felice.

Marco **e** Micaela sono felici.

b. Uno degli scogli più seri (ma per niente insormontabili) per i romeni che imparano l’italiano è la scelta dei verbi ausiliari (*avere* o *essere*) per formare i tempi composti. Questo perché in romeno unico protagonista quasi assoluto è il verbo *avere* in quanto ausiliare. Per esempio:

- passato prossimo: *sono* andato\am plecat,

- trapassato prossimo: *ero* andato\ *plecasem* (quindi già c'è la difficoltà di un tempo non composto in romeno a cui si aggiunge il discorso della scelta dell'ausiliare),
- condizionale passato: *sarei* andato \ *aş fi* plecat (formazione differente del modo e del tempo in romeno rispetto all'italiano)

c. Dalla questione sopra enunciata deriva un'altra: l'accordo del participio passato in genere e numero con il soggetto della frase.

Maria è andata al mare. \ Maria a plecat la mare.

Mario è andato al mare.\ Mario a plecat la mare.

Maria e Anna sono andate al mare. \ Maria și Ana au plecat la mare.

Michele e Mario sono andati al mare. \ Michele și Mario au plecat la mare.

Si tratta di un accordo abbastanza facile da realizzare ma che in romeno non esiste – si usa il participio passato senza accordo di genere- e che, all'inizio, può trovare in questo una giustificazione alla sua mancata attuazione.

d. Questa difficoltà dell'accordo è percepibile anche quando abbiamo il pronome complemento oggetto prima di un verbo ad un tempo composto:

Ho parlato con Carla. L'ho incontrata per strada.

e. Uno dei punti salienti come serietà e difficoltà è la **concordanza dei tempi** (che in lingua romena non esiste). Un romeno (ma anche un italiano meno attento...) dirà

Ti ho detto che verrò. – conseguenza del romeno ...

Ti-am spus că voi veni (passato prossimo+futuro), mentre nel caso di un parlante madrelingua italiano è un errore ingiustificato, generato da un registro informale di comunicazione.

La **consecutio temporum** nella logica dei tempi (rapporti di simultaneità, anteriorità o posteriorità rispetto soprattutto ad un tempo passato) verrà perciò messa alla prova da un principiante romeno in italiano, fatto è evidente nel caso del discorso indiretto con il verbo della reggente al passato:

Mario ha detto : Ti telefonerò.

Mario ha detto che ti *avrebbe telefonato*. (e non *che ti telefonerà*.. in un italiano curato)

f. Altrettanto difficile è il periodo ipotetico perché nella lingua romena si usano il condizionale presente e passato dove in italiano c'è il congiuntivo :

ipotesi possibile : Se fossi ricco, regalerei una casa a mio fratello. | | ipotesi irreali :Se fossi un gabbiano, volerei sopra il mare. Se fosse stato onesto, non avrebbe rubato. p. 268. Questo fatto si spiega anche perché per il romeno è difficile capire le sfumature di un congiuntivo imperfetto o trapassato, che già in romeno non esistono (esistono soltanto il congiuntivo presente e passato).

g. All'inizio soprattutto richiede un certo sforzo usare correttamente le congiunzioni che richiedono il congiuntivo : affinché, benché, qualora...

h. Il regime preposizionale può, a suo turno, creare errori non grandi, ma comunque abbastanza fastidiosi soprattutto per chi si preoccupa della correttezza del proprio parlare. Il regime preposizionale può variare da una lingua all'altra. Per esempio *a întreba* (*pe cineva ceva*) è in romeno un verbo che regge due complementi oggetti, è un verbo doppiamente transitivo, mentre in italiano *chiedere* (qualcosa a qualcuno) esige un complemento oggetto e uno indiretto.

i. Il valore dinamico del verbo venire in costruzioni alla diatesi passiva non è subito alla portata di mano del romeno che comunica in italiano:

Il bambino viene rimproverato dalla mamma.

oppure

La finestra è chiusa. La finestra viene chiusa (quando manca il complemento di agente).

j. Altrettanto si usano correttamente solo dopo un certo periodo i valori di *andare* :

Il libro è andato perduto. | Questo lavoro va finito entro stasera.

k. Legato all'impiego degli ausiliari ai tempi composti è anche l'utilizzo dei verbi servili o modali – *potere, dovere, volere, sapere* – ai tempi composti, di solito si raccomanda la scelta dell'ausiliare in base al 'profilo' dell'altro verbo, che accompagna e specifica il senso complessivo:

Abbiamo dovuto attendere. Siamo dovuti partire. Luisa è dovuta andare in città.

l. Altrettanto è un'abilità che arriva con l'esercizio concreto della lingua l'utilizzo dei verbi fattitivi:

L'ho fatto aspettare mezz'ora. Lo farò vedere dal dottore. Mi sono fatta tagliare i capelli.

m. I verbi irregolari, sono, di solito, una difficoltà ‘naturale’. Particolari difficoltà può creare il passato remoto e, cosa molto importante, bisogna far capire ai ragazzi romeni la differenza di senso generata tra *futuro* e *condizionale presente* dalla presenza grafica e dalla pronuncia della doppia m, prima persona plurale:

Faremo una gita insieme \vs\ *Faremmo* una gita insieme.

n. Il futuro, in più, può creare difficoltà non tanto perché tempo formato diversamente in romeno (è un tempo composto), ma a causa dei verbi che finiscono in *-care, -gare* all’infinito e che ricevono una “h” nella coniugazione - *mancherò, spiegherò,* | oppure i verbi che finiscono in *-ciare, -giare* - *comincerò, mangerò*. Si tratta comunque di una differenza che non pone problemi particolari, ci si abitua abbastanza rapidamente grazie alla lingua parlata e che si sente parlare.

o. L’imperativo romeno ha solo la II persona singolare e plurale. In italiano ha tutte le persone tranne la prima singolare, riprendendo anche forme del congiuntivo (III sg, I e III plurale). Bisogna fare attenzione anche alla forma negativa della seconda persona singolare derivata dall’infinito del verbo.

p. Gli imperativi con pronomi che si raddoppiano nella consonante è una cosa su cui bisogna attirare l’attenzione dei romeni che imparano l’italiano: *dammi, stammi, fammi*. L’uso frequente ne garantisce una buona assimilazione.

r. Una difficoltà apparentemente piccola, ma in realtà motivata da una ragione molto concreta è quella di usare il gerundio invece participio presente che in romeno non esiste!.

Il treno proveniente da Roma... - il romeno avrà la tendenza di usare invece il gerundio che sente vicino: Il treno provenendo da Roma...

s. Inoltre non esiste in italiano il cosiddetto mod supin (preposizione *de+* participio passato) in italiano sostituito dal sintagma formato dalla preposizione *da +* infinito:

ferro da stiro – fier de călcat

t. sempre memori della lingua romena si avrà la tendenza a dire “è freddo” invece di “fa freddo” perché in romeno il verbo usato è *essere*.

u. Il trapassato prossimo italiano è un tempo composto mentre in romeno è un tempo semplice. *apărusem* – ero apparso

văzusem – avevo visto

v. Bisogna fare attenzione all’assimilazione corretta dei veri verbi riflessivi in italiano. Per esempio, in “omaggio” al romeno, il bambino romeno avrà per un periodo la tendenza a usare il verbo “giocare” come riflessivo (perché in romeno è tale).

A livello sintattico non ci sono difficoltà particolari, mentre il vocabolario italo-romeno è un territorio divertentissimo che speriamo di trovare lo spazio per approfondire in un’altra occasione. In questa sede ci eravamo proposti di fare una rassegna soprattutto pratica, una sorta di sintesi dei punti più importanti.

Conclusioni:

Anche se abbiamo insistito sulle difficoltà e quindi sulle differenze tra i due sistemi linguistici, queste sono differenze di ordine storico, di contesto culturale e perciò comunque ascrivibili al sistema delle lingue romanze. Esistono addirittura contesti in cui il romeno fa pendant con l’italiano (per esempio: il plurale in i *il bambino, i bambini, copilul, copiii* \ rispetto al plurale francese o spagnolo in ‘s’ *l’enfant – les enfants* \ *el nino – los ninos*).

Sono tutte, in generale, difficoltà sormontabili e gli alunni romeni possono diventare ottimi parlanti di italiano perché di solito la loro attenzione, la loro capacità di assimilazione, il desiderio di inserirsi il meglio possibile in un nuovo tessuto scolastico e sociale – quello italiano- si accompagna ad un dono reale di parlare le lingue. Soprattutto nel caso dei bambini che, come si sa, sono molto ricettivi e imparano rapidissimamente. Così si fa che, in modo ideale, mentre i bambini romeni imparano la lingua italiana, bambini romeni, bambini italiani e maestri italiani imparano e approfondiscono una grande lezione di dialogo, disponibilità e amore. Che rende in questo modo l’interculturalità non un fenomeno da analizzare e da gestire in interminabili teorie, ma un fatto di sana normalità.

The Difficulties of Translation from English into Romanian in IT Language

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Abstract: Towards English-Romanian language contact, we note that the translations are far less than loans and loan translations because there is tendency to synthesize the form and expression of modern language and, of course, the periphrases are more difficult (they are especially characteristic of the early periods of languages contacts). The difficulties of transpositions, the bad translations had as an effect the fact that translations are backed by loans and those which eventually distinguished in almost all cases, in our language, were not the translations, but the loans and the loan translations as well.

Key-words: loan, translation, loan translation, languages contacts.

Romanian-English bilingual dictionaries were formerly rigid, which is due to artificial adaptations, evidence of the difficulty encountered by Romanian translators to find appropriate equivalents for the original versions of IT terms.

For the few authors who have used the technique of translation word-for-word, the results were a variety of translations and loan translations in the Romanian version. For that moment¹, such equivalence was a brave attempt and its effects are observed today in Romanian:

rom. *canal de acces la memorie* = engl. *memory access channel, direct memory access*

rom. *adăugare de caractere fictive* = engl. *padding*

rom. *administrator al bazei de date* = engl. *data base manager*

rom. *aritmetică/reprezentare prin virgulă fixă* = engl. *fixed-point arithmetic / representation*

rom. *aritmetică/reprezentare prin virgulă mobilă* = engl. *floating-point arithmetic/representation*

rom. *armare a nivelului de întrerupere* = engl. *interrupt enabling*

rom. *baza sistemului de numerație* = engl. *radix*

rom. *buzunar de ieșire* = engl. *hoopper*

rom. *circuit basculant bistabil* = engl. *flip-flop*

The team of the first Romanian IT dictionary (1981) was composed mainly of engineers, without solid knowledge of the language, but who knew well enough the origin and meaning of the specialized terms. The big problem was choosing the most appropriate form to insert it in Romanian, where “the land” was relatively empty. They had to choose between total loans, loan translations or translations.

An interesting situation observed in this dictionary was that nouns: *plotter* and *pointer*. Specialists have chosen to translate these two terms, making them better understood by the public. Although, in the current Romanian language they are used as loans, the advantage being of simple lexemes, they entered the dictionary with translated forms: *plotter* – “*graphic recorder*” and *pointer* – “*address indicator*”.

Many translators of those years resorted to circumlocutions. When terms to be translated had not any Romanian equivalent, especially for abstract concepts of scientific terminology, such as that of computer science, they were seeking equivalent periphrastic constructions, as shown in the examples above. The results, in such cases were represented by baffling translations and a quite difficult style. In all the examples noted above, there were some distortions of the meaning of words, misinterpretations, many additions, often unnecessary, or on the contrary, some omissions of words from the original.

However, the Romanian dictionaries published in the period of time presented here, were a big gain for the Romanian computer terminology. They first had, the special quality of having open a road to a fertile ground for the enrichment of Romanian language: a decade from these first attempts, the number of Romanian neologisms from English language has grown considerably.

Some difficulties emerged in separating the copied phraseological units (loan translated) after English, which represented several words or syntactic stable groups with uniform meaning, of simple

¹ We refer here, again, to the first IT dictionary of Romanian language, in 1981.

phrases, free combined words. This is due to the strong influence of English on the Romanian language, in IT language. Thus, such combinations as groups of words with ambiguous status, which translated or equalled groups in English, entered and were assimilated by the language. In this situation were word combinations such as:

- rom. *scanare antivirus* = engl. *antivirus scan*
- rom. *calculator cu afișare* = engl. *display calculator*
- rom. *calificare prin nume* = engl. *name qualification*
- rom. *cameră pentru chat* = engl. *chat room*
- rom. *casă digitală* = engl. *home net*
- rom. *comunicare digitală* = engl. *digital communication*
- rom. *comunicare online* = engl. *online communication*
- rom. *conectare prin reapelare* = engl. *dial back*
- rom. *comutare prin pachete* = engl. *packet switching*
- rom. *conferință prin calculator* = engl. *computer conference*
- rom. *consolă pentru operator* = engl. *operator console*
- rom. *contor de interval de timp* = engl. *interval timer*
- rom. *fotografie digitală* = engl. *digital photo*
- rom. *pachet de servicii* = engl. *service pack*
- rom. *publicație online* = engl. *online magazine*
- rom. *tuner radio și TV* = engl. *radio, TV tuner etc.*

From semantic point of view, they nominate an object, an action, a single feature, a unique² process, etc. and copy English structures. However, in Romanian they can not be considered stable syntactic structures. Not the same thing can be said about phraseological units or translations that had entered the language over time, and, even if they are imperfect phraseological loan translations by reversing English topics by free translation, with the preposition *of*, are certainly, stable syntactic and semantic units in the nuanced information technology vocabulary of Romanian language:

- rom. *administrare de date* = engl. *data administration*
- rom. *adaptor de fax* = engl. *fax adapter*
- rom. *asociere de biți* = engl. *bit-mapping*
- rom. *bandă de bază* = engl. *baseband*
- rom. *bancă de date* = engl. *data bank*
- rom. *bară de defilare, de derulare* = engl. *scroll bar*
- rom. *bară de meniu* = engl. *action bar, menu bar*
- rom. *bază de date* = engl. *database*
- rom. *casetă de dialog* = engl. *dialog box, dialog window*
- rom. *cititor de pagină* = engl. *page reader*
- rom. *editor de linii* = engl. *line editor*
- rom. *editor de text* = engl. *text editor*
- rom. *editare de text* = engl. *text editing*
- rom. *editare pe calculator* = engl. *desktop publishing*
- rom. *eroare de sistem* = engl. *system error*
- rom. *fișier de salvare* = engl. *backup file*
- rom. *fișier de arhivă* = engl. *archive file*
- rom. *flux de date* = engl. *data flow*
- rom. *sistem de operare* = engl. *operating system etc.*

The phrases formed with the preposition *of* are, in fact, proper translations³ and not loan translations, as they represent circumlocutions of some compound words or phraseological units. In addition to the above examples, we include:

- rom. *motor de căutare* = engl. *search engine*
- rom. *motor de filtrare* = engl. *filter engine*
- rom. *serviciu de e-mail* = engl. *e-mail service*

² Cf. Theodor Hristea, 1997, p. 21.

³ According to the loan translations typology in the work cited above Theodor Hristea, p. 21.

rom. *serviciu de mesagerie instant* = engl. *Instant Message service*
rom. *serviciu de roaming* = engl. *roaming service*
rom. *transfer de date* = engl. *data transfer*
rom. *suport de date* = engl. *data medium*
rom. *timp de oprire* = engl. *down time*
rom. *timp de răspuns* = engl. *response time*
rom. *timp de reluare, repornire* = engl. *rerun time*
rom. *timp de restaurare* = engl. *recovery time*
rom. *timp de revoluție* = engl. *ring latency*
rom. *test de acceptare* = engl. *acceptance test*
rom. *test de evaluare* = engl. *benchmark test*
rom. *transfer de blocuri* = engl. *block transfer*
rom. *transfer de mesaje* = engl. *message transfer*
rom. *transmisie de date* = engl. *data transmission*
rom. *transmisie de text* = engl. *text transmission*
rom. *unitate de disc* = engl. *disk drive*
rom. *unitate de disc* = engl. *disk unit*
rom. *unitate de prelucrare* = engl. *processing unit*
rom. *unitate de intrare-ieșire* = engl. *input-output unit*
rom. *unitate de memorie* = engl. *storage device*
rom. *unitate de afișare* = engl. *videodisplay terminal, visual display terminal, visual display unit, display console*
rom. *viteză de modulare* = engl. *modulation rate*
rom. *viteză de transfer* = engl. *transfer rate*
rom. *zonă de adresă* = engl. *address part etc.*

Besides these constructions, we find in the latest dictionaries⁴ ambiguous translations composed of two, three or more terms with simple prepositions like *by, in, after, with, without, to*:

rom. *catalog în poștă electronică* = engl. *directory in electronic mail*
rom. *catalog în suport de date* = engl. *directory in data media*
rom. *căutare în profunzime* = engl. *depth first search*
rom. *căutare prin adresă calculată* = engl. *hash table search*
rom. *căutare prin calcul de adresă* = engl. *hash table search check*
rom. *comutare prin pachete* = engl. *packet switching*
rom. *director în poștă electronică* = engl. *directory in electronic mail*
rom. *director în suport de date* = engl. *directory in data media*
rom. *facilitate pentru utilizator* = engl. *user facility*
rom. *fereastră pentru timp de răspuns* = engl. *response time window*
rom. *imagine după actualizare* = engl. *after update image*
rom. *înregistrare cu întoarcere la zero* = engl. *return to zero recording*
rom. *prelucrare pe loturi la distanță* = engl. *remote batch processing*
rom. *rețea cu conexiuni aleatorii* = engl. *randomly connected network*
rom. *rețea cu interconectare integrală* = engl. *fully connected network*
rom. *rețea digitală cu servicii integrate* = engl. *integrated services digital network*
rom. *revenire la poziția anterioară* = engl. *backtracking*
rom. *sistem de numerație cu bază fixă* = engl. *fixed radix numeration system etc.*

Less are those circumlocutions which use the indefinite article in genitive, or composed prepositions as: *until, before, into*, or the conjunction *and*:

rom. *adresă globală într-o rețea locală* = engl. *local area network global address*
rom. *adresă individuală într-o rețea locală* = engl. *local area network individual address*
rom. *canal de expediere într-o rețea locală* = engl. *forward local area network channel*
rom. *ciclu de viață al unui sistem* = engl. *system life cycle*

⁴ The majority of these translations (also having French forms) is presented in *Dicționarul informatic trilingv englez-francez-român*.

rom. *expertiză a unui sistem de prelucrare a datelor* = engl. *computer system audit*
rom. *imagine înainte de actualizare* = engl. *before image*
rom. *parte variabilă a unei înregistrări* = engl. *variant part of a record*
rom. *rețea cu acces multiplu prin detectarea semnalului purtător și evitarea coliziunii* = engl. *carrier sense*

rom. *trunchiere a unui proces de calcul* = engl. *truncation of a computation process*

rom. *unitate de urmărire și reținere* = engl. *track and hold unit* ș.a.

We can also see the fact that, on the one hand, there is a concurrence between longer or shorter circumlocutions, resulted of total and partial translations of the same etymon:

rom. *serviciu de IM, serviciu de Instant Messaging, serviciu de mesagerie instant* = engl. *IM [Instant Message] service*.

On the other hand, we notice the same frequency among the etymologic forms and translations or loan translations:

video camera și *cameră video*

videocard și *placă video*

video disk și *video-disc*, *disc video* și în forma *videodisc*

videotext și *videotext*, *text video*

webcam și *cameră web* ș.a.

Regarding the English-Romanian languages contact, we note that the translations are far less than loans and loan translations, because current language tends to synthesize the shape⁵ and circumlocutions and phraseological units make speech more difficult. They are characteristic especially of the early periods of languages in contact, as I already mentioned.

The difficulties of implementation, the difficult results have made that the most translations to be backed by loans, and those who eventually distinguished in almost all cases, are the loans, not the translations.

Sometimes, for the same word in English, there are, in Romanian, as we shown, all three transpositions (loan - împr., loan translation - calc, translation - trad.):

quick format (împr.) - *formatare rapidă* (calc) - *sistem de formatare care elimină anumite etape* (trad.)

newbie (împr.) - *novice* (calc) - *nou venit în Internet* (trad.)

user-defined (împr.) - *personalizat* (calc) - *definit de utilizator* (trad.)

ring network (împr.) - *rețea circulară* (calc) - *rețea de tip inel* (trad.)

remote access (împr.) - *acces separat* (calc) - *acces de la distanță prin rețea* (trad.)

slide show (împr.) - *prezentare cadru-cu-cadru* (calc) - *prezentare cu diapozitive* (trad.)

safe mode (împr.) - *modul safe* (calc) - *modul sigur de inițializare a sistemului* (trad.)

sleep mode (împr.) - *modul inactiv* (calc) - *modul de așteptare* (trad.) ș.a.

Often, an English word is translated and borrowed, but not loan-translated, as the analytic structure of the Romanian language does not allow the formation of compounds to reproduce the structures of a foreign model⁶, the English one:

multiscan monitor (împr.) - *monitor cu frecvență de baleiere multiplă* (trad.)

netnews (împr.) - *grupurile de discuții din UseNet* (trad.)

safe format (împr.) - *formatare de siguranță* (trad.)

Recycle Bin (împr.) - *coșul de gunoi reciclabil* (trad.)

pinouts (împr.) - *liste de semnale la pini, asignarea pinilor* (trad.)

phreaking (împr.) - *convorbiri telefonice gratuite, frauduloase* (trad.)

peer-to-peer (împr.) - *sistem post-cu-post, „egal la egal”, sistem de interconectare directă în rețea*, (rețea locală cu calculatoare interconectate fără server) (trad.)

loop actuator (împr.) - *dispozitiv de acționare cu buclă deschisă* (trad.) ș.a.

Even if some translation examples are difficult and quite approximate, the literature considers them as loan translations. We note that the model was not followed; such as a compound has become a phraseological unit, so it was not imitated the internal organization of the foreign word, but it was

⁵ Cf. Petre Gheorghe Bârlea, Roxana-Magdalena Bârlea, 2000, p. 120.

⁶ Cf. Theodor Hristea, 1984², p. 105.

equated the meaning⁷. Thus, we verify the idea that any loan translation (and translation) is also a translation, but not every translation is a loan translation.

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⁷ Petre Gheorghe Bârlea, Roxana-Magdalena Bârlea, 2000, p. 121.

CUPRINS

SECȚIUNEA I: CULTURĂ ȘI CIVILIZAȚIE

- Nicoleta POPESCU, Gabriela POPA, *Desire for knowledge, erotic desire and misrepresentation in Henry James' "Daisy Miller"* (7)
- Pompiliu ALEXANDRU, *La photographie, une phénoménologie de l'instant* (13)
- Mădălina STRECHIE, *Several Mentalities of Ancient Rome Society* (18)
- Cornel POPESCU, *Everyday Life in Bucharest during Romania's Participation in World War I (1916-1918)* (25)
- Angela STĂNESCU, *History as the shared matrix of postcolonial and postmodern interrogations* (29)
- Maria Ileana STĂNESCU, *The transition from "public administration" to "new public management". Shifting attitudes towards the major restructuring of the public sector* (33)
- Daniel COJANU, *La notion de personne. L'ontologie morale de Charles Taylor* (37)
- Ioana-Rucsandra DASCĂLU, Gabriela-Emilia DASCĂLU, *Narratio et epistula: le discours de Didon dans l'Enéide de Virgile et dans la VIIème Héroïde d'Ovide* (43)
- Radu-Ștefan VERGATTI, *Pan Europe: the Beginnings of the European Union* (50)
- Carolina BĂDIȚESCU, *Sur les formes brèves* (56)
- Daniel GLIGORE, *The Cultural Dimension of the Reign of Neagoe Basarab* (61)
- Sînziana Elena STERGHIU, *Commedia dell'arte, un „spectacol al mulțimii”* (70)
- Ion CROITORU, *Tradition Among Traditions and Their Impact on Society* (77)

SECȚIUNEA a II-a: LINGVISTICĂ

- Raluca Felicia TOMA, *Logic and Syntax of the Biblical Paremiological Assertion* (86)
- Cristina FURTUNA, *A Short History of Punctuation* (89)
- Lavinia SIMILARU, *Are Footnotes Necessary, and if this is the case, when?* (95)

SECȚIUNEA a III-a: DIDACTICĂ

- Alina Maria ȘERBAN, *Informazioni sulle difficoltà degli apprendenti romeni* (103)
- Dana Camelia DIACONU, *The Difficulties of Translation from English into Romanian in IT Language* (108)