

**DIVERSITÉ ET IDENTITÉ
CULTURELLE
EN EUROPE**

TOME 10/1

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Bucureşti, 2013**

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CULTURALĂ
ÎN EUROPA**

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ÉDITORIAL

DICE – AN ANNIVERSARY RETROSPECTIVE

1. Stages of the editorial evolution

The publication DICE (Diversité et identité culturelle en Europe) was released with a first issue (marked with an asterisk “*”) in 2004. A second issue came out in 2005 (marked “**”), followed by a third in 2006 (“***”). These were actually collective volumes gathering some of the scientific papers and communications presented during two international symposia of 2001-2002¹. The editor of the volumes, who was also the organizer of the two annual symposia, Petre Gheorghe Bârlea, conceived them as a type of yearly periodicals, comprising from 16 to 37 contributions, and that is why he requested the publisher – “Bibliotheca” Publishing House of Târgoviște – to mark the first issue by an asterisk. It was natural that the two annual scientific events should result in a yearly volume each, though not exactly a review. That is why the publication was registered with ISBN (973-712-026-4) up to its fifth issue, 5/2008.

Important changes in the publication’s evolvement occurred ever since its fourth issue, 4/2007. The institution whose patronage ensured the first three issues ceased to be ‘Valahia’ University of Târgoviște. The cooperation with the “Bibliotheca” Publishing House of Târgoviște ceased as well. At the request of the founding director, DICE is taken over by the National Museum of Romanian Literature (then called “The Museum of Romanian Literature”), as well as by the publishing house of the same name. This occasions other changes regarding the cover graphics. The background remains blue (in different hues varying from one issue to

¹ The first symposium, entitled “Diversitate și Identitate Culturală Europeană” and held annually around 9th May, “Europe’s Day”, ceased being organised in its initial format after 3 editions (2001-2004). The publication only retained this title, in Romanian and French. The other symposium is called “Latinity-Romanity-Romanianess” and has been held annually since 2002 around 15th May, “The International Day of Latinity” (the 12th edition will take place on 10-11 May 2013). Since 2011, a part of the papers presented at this symposium have been published in the annual volume “Language, Culture and Communication Studies”, which seems to repeat the history of DICE.

another) with yellow lettering, while the Roman Forum logo is downsized and placed in the top right corner. From now on, Arab numbers replace the asterisks in the marking of the issue number, preceded by the DICE symbol. At the same time, the title begins to be inscribed in French and Romanian: *Diversité et Identité Culturelle en Europe/Diversitate și Identitate Culturală în Europa*.

No less important were the changes regarding the content of the publication. As the internal structure of the volume acquired a distinctive mark, the contributions based on papers presented at the two colloquia became few and far between, representing instead the result of wide-ranging research fitting the somewhat standardized theme of the volume. At the same time, the articles are only published in an international foreign language, with abstracts and key-words in Romanian. Finally, the volume starts being coordinated by a reviewing and editing board, which ensures scientific exigency through a careful selection of collaborations.

Starting with issue 6/2009, The National Library of Romania, categorised the publication by the CIP description “periodicals”, with ISSN 2067-0931, initially valid for the printed version. The website of the review was created in the same year, on the web page of the tutelary institution MNLR. <http://www.mnlr.ro/ro-dice.html>. All the abstracts (in English) and all the Full Text articles have been uploaded here, from the 4th to the most recent issue, as well as all the information regarding the thematic content of the review, publication requirements, information on the *peer review* process etc. The website is entirely in English. The online version has the same ISSN as the printed one. So the review is currently published in both versions – printed and online. It was the last annual issue, with a relatively high number of pages and contributors (about 250 pages and 22 articles published).

Starting with issue 7/1-2010, the DICE review entered a new phase of its existence. The editorial board decided that the review be published biannually. The format remained the same, though with a relatively fixed number of pages (a minimum of 150 and a maximum of 170 pages), with 10 to 12 contributions per issue and a greater acceptance of graphic annexes (images, synoptic tables, statistical graphs etc.). The decision concurred with the regulations of CNCSIS (now CNCS) – the newly established Romanian institution in charge of the evaluation and classification of scientific publications, publishing houses etc. In December 2010 DICE was subject to the evaluation of the specialized panel and was ranked as B+.

Other two successive evaluations (with stricter criteria) maintained the same ranking. Finally, at the end of 2012, the DICE review underwent a new evaluation, based on a different set of criteria, and received the B ranking, since the “+” and “-” grading were eliminated, so that reviews could only be ranked as A, B, C, D.

Meanwhile, the review was registered in several international databases: Index Copernicus, DOAJ, Ulrich's, Scipio, which increased its international visibility. The effect is demonstrated by the number of internal and international citations, as well as by the offers of collaboration coming from diverse geographic and scientific areas.

2. Thematic orientation

As its title suggests, the review is focused on European intercultural dialogue, but its scope also opens onto universality. The first section is devoted, in principle, to studies regarding the ideological and socio-economic *fundaments* of cultural dialogue. Theories and practices of alterity, the evolution of mentalities and institutionalized culture are analysed from a local/European/global perspective. A second section, usually entitled *European destinies*, is devoted to personalities who asserted themselves in foreign spaces, or who, in their work, contributed to the promotion of multiculturalism and multilingualism. The column *Confluences* analyses manifestations of cultural dialogue in the most diverse spiritual and material domains, from a synchronic or diachronic perspective. The usual column *Signal-Evénements* presents facts and works (books, reviews etc.) on related themes. The structure of the review is quite flexible and can be changed according to the nature of the selected contributions. For example, DICE 8-2/2011 is a thematic issue which was devoted to the Example as a discursive act and was realised entirely by the GRAL team (Groupe de Recherche en Rhétorique et en Argumentation Linguistique), led by Professor Emmanuelle Damblon, PhD, from Université Libre de Bruxelles.

3. Contributors and the contributions selection system

As it turned out, the majority of contributors continued to consist of academics and active researchers, even after the review had ceased to be a publication of the local scientific colloquia. The area of interest in our publication has amplified and diversified – both nationally and

internationally – the current statistics indicate collaborations from all academic and scientific centres in Romania, as well as a growing number of collaborations from Europe, North America, South America, Africa and Asia. At certain times, we have favoured two categories of contributors: the ‘veterans’ – academicians and great personalities, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, young researchers, doctoral students, even master students involved in outstanding research projects. Later on, we no longer concerned ourselves with the affiliation of our contributors, letting things take their natural course.

The *peer-review* process has become ever more rigorous. Several members of the Editorial board make recommendations and follow the external evaluations. The board of external evaluators comprises 42 personalities officially engaged, on a contractual basis, in this process. Among these there are academicians, directors of scientific research institutions, rectors, deans, specialists of great authority in their domains. The evaluation is carried out in conformity with the norms of objectivity, discreetness on either side, after a set of criteria addressing both the scientific content and the form of the article under evaluation. There are cases in which for the same study proposed for publication, we have requested 2, 3 or even 4 evaluation reports.

On the other hand, we decided to maintain the review in an *open access* system, as we thought it important to ensure an ever greater visibility for our contributors. So long as we can benefit from the financial support of a state institution, we considered that free distribution will widen the readership, while the contributors need neither pay nor be paid for the publication of their articles.

4. Publication language

Only the first three issues (2004-2006) comprised articles and studies published in Romanian, with abstracts and key-words in French (sometimes in English). Starting with issue 4/2007, all the materials were published in an international language – French, in principle. The *abstracts and key-words were written in Romanian* – for issues 4-5-6/2007-2009. Starting with issue 7-1/2010, the abstracts and key-words have been written in English only (or French). Since issue 9-1/2012 we have added abstracts and key-words in Romanian. The editorial board decided that, since the review is published in

Romania, it would be more than appropriate that abstracts, at least, could be read in the country's language, even if this means having the text accompanied by two or often even three abstracts and key-word lists.

As we have mentioned before, for a long time the articles were written in French, insofar as the title of the review is also in French. There were also article in German or Spanish. But lately, most of the materials sent to us have been in English. For example, issue 9-2/2012 contained only one article in French. Our contributors wish for a greater visibility of their published materials, which English is likely to ensure. On the other hand, French is becoming less accessible to young researchers, with the exception of those from Francophone countries. Even these ones sometimes prefer to publish in English, which indicates that globalisation also means, among other things, the Anglicisation of human communication.

5. Editors

In principle, the team coordinating the review has suffered very few changes in the course of time. A certain balance between generations has been maintained, well as the international makeup of the *staff*. The Academician Marius Sala, Vice-president of the Romanian Academy and Associate Professor Roxana-Magdalena Bârlea, PhD represent the two generational extremes – seniors/juniors. In-between Professor Libuse Valentova, PhD (Praga), Professor Lucian Chișu, PhD (București) Professor Cecile Vilvandre de Sousa, PhD (Ciudad Real), Professor Emmanuelle Danblon, PhD (Bruxelles) represent the active middle generation and eminent figures in European culture. The activity of the editorial board was partially carried out by Mihai Cuciureanu, Camelia Diaconu and others, until it was taken over, as a titular, by Associate Professor Ileana Tănase, PhD. The word processing was initially ensured by Natalia Petrescu, Coralia Bidirean, Rodica Mihai, and from issue 5/2008 to issue 9-1/2012 by Mihai Cuciureanu. Volumes 9-2/2012 – 10-1/2013 was processed, in a relatively changed manner, by Constantin-Georgel Stoica. Other supporting teams have voluntarily contributed to the good finalisation of the various volumes: Georgiana Alexe, Iulia Tănase, Alice Toma, Melania Roibu, and, more recently, Angela Stănescu and Ioana Raicu.

In fact, the entire team works pro-bono for the publication of this review, the great gain being the fact that a cultural institution (MNLR)

covers the expenses for the printing of the review's hard copy version. The efforts of the entire team are coordinated by the founding director, Professor Petre Gheorghe Bârlea, PhD.

6. Distribution – Scientific impact

In at least one of its versions, but often in both formats – printed and electronic – the DICE review is available in 81 libraries throughout the world – from the United States Congress Library to Libraries in the Universities of Cambridge, Sorbonne, Shanghai, Berlin etc, as well as in other 27 university libraries and those of research institutes in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. In the case of the latter two countries, there are copies deposited at the legal depository of the National Libraries, while for all the others there is the written legal confirmation and/or the indication of the tag/link for accessing the review. Through the medium of the abovementioned databases – DOAJ, Copernicus, Ulrichs, but also Scipio etc. – the access to the pages of the review is practically augmented several hundred times. Added to all these are the individual acquisitions of the printed versions and the direct viewings of the review's website.

7. Perspectives

For the near future, our goal is to diversify the compositional structure of the review, as well as to make a partial overhaul of its graphical presentation. The cover of the review will be redesigned.

Another goal is to have the review indexed in as many of the largest and well-known international databases as possible, as a part of our strategy of rendering it more visible and increasing its impact in the international academic world

DICE – RETROSPECTIVE ANNIVERSAIRE

1. Etapes de l'évolution éditoriale

Le premier numéro de la revue DICE (Diversité et identité culturelle en Europe) est paru (marqué d'une étoile „*”) en 2004. En 2005 est paru un deuxième volume, marqué de „**”, et en 2006 un troisième („***”). C'étaient des volumes collectifs qui réunissaient quelques-unes des

communications et allocutions présentées lors des deux colloques internationaux¹ de 2001 et 2002.

Le coordinateur des volumes, qui était en même temps l'organisateur des deux colloques annuels, P. Gh. Bârlea, les a conçus comme des annuaires, publications relativement périodiques, réunissant de 16 à 37 contributions; aussi a-t-il demandé à l'éditeur - Maison d'édition «Bibliotheca» de Târgoviște – de marquer d'une étoile la parution du premier volume. Il était normal que les deux manifestations scientifiques aient pour finalité la parution d'un volume annuel, qui n'a pourtant pas été conçu d'emblée sous forme de revue. La publication a été enregistrée avec le même ISBN (973-712-026-4) jusqu'au cinquième numéro (2008).

A partir même du quatrième numéro (2007) il y a eu des changements importants dans l'évolution de la publication. L'institution ayant eu sa tutelle jusqu'au III^e numéro a cessé d'être l'Université «Valahia» de Târgoviște. La publication a également cessé de collaborer avec l'édition «Bibliotheca». DICE allait être reprise, lors de la sollicitation de son directeur-fondateur, par le Musée National de la Littérature Roumaine (appelé à cette époque-là «Musée de la Littérature Roumaine»), de même que par la Maison d'édition ayant le même nom de ladite institution. A cette occasion, on a opéré aussi des changements graphiques sur les couvertures. Le fond reste bleu (en diverses nuances – changées d'un numéro à l'autre), imprimé en lettres et chiffres jaunes, mais l'image du Forum Romain a été rétrécie et placée en haut, côté droit. A partir de ce moment-là, pour marquer le nombre de la parution, on a utilisé des chiffres arabes (remplaçant les «étoiles»), précédés du sigle DICE. Quant au titre, il a été imprimé en français et en roumain à la fois: *Diversité et Identité Culturelle en Europe/ Diversitate și Identitate Culturală în Europa*.

Les changements de contenu se sont avérés, eux aussi, importants. A mesure que la structure interne du volume acquiert sa personnalité, les

¹ Le premier colloque, intitulé *Diversité et Identité Culturelle Européenne*, a été organisé annuellement, aux environs du 9 mai (fête d'Europe), mais il a cessé de l'être dans sa forme initiale après les trois premières éditions (2001-2004). Il a fourni quand même le nom de la publication, en roumain et en français. L'autre colloque, ayant débuté en 2002, *Latinité-Romanité-Roumanité*, continue d'avoir lieu, chaque année, à une date toute proche du 15 mai, Journée Mondiale de la Latinité. Cette année il y aura une XII^e édition de 10 à 12 mai. Dès 2011, la plupart des interventions à ce colloque ont été publiées dans le volume annuel *Études de langue, culture et communication*, qui semble reprendre l'histoire de DICE.

contributions ont représenté moins de communications des deux colloques que de résultats de recherches variées, s'intégrant dans la thématique standard proposée. Désormais, les articles allaient être publiés exclusivement dans une langue de circulation internationale, avec les seuls résumés et mots clé en roumain. En plus, le volume allait être coordonné par un collectif de rédaction qui s'est proposé d'assurer un niveau scientifique élevé par la sélection toujours plus rigoureuse des collaborations.

Depuis le numéro 6/2009, la Bibliothèque Nationale de Roumanie a accordé la description CIP à la catégorie «périodiques» avec le ISSN 2067-0931, valable initialement pour la version imprimée de la publication. A partir de la même année, on a créé aussi le site de la revue, sur la page électronique de l'institution-tutelle MNLR.<http://www.mnlr.ro/ro-dice.html>. On y a fait inscrire tous les résumés (en anglais) et toutes les contributions en format Full text, depuis le quatrième numéro jusqu'à celui le plus récent, ainsi que toutes les informations concernant le contenu thématique de la revue, les consignes de rédaction, les renseignements sur le processus *peer review* etc. Le site est, en son entier, en anglais. La version électronique a le même ISSN que celle imprimée. Par conséquent, la revue paraît, à présent, dans les deux versions – imprimée et électronique.

Le sixième volume a représenté le dernier numéro annuel, ayant compté un nombre considérable de pages et de collaborateurs (22 articles publiés sur 250 pages environ).

Avec le numéro 7/1-2010, la revue DICE est entrée dans une nouvelle phase de son existence. Le collectif de rédaction a décidé d'en faire une publication semestrielle. Le format est resté le même, avec néanmoins un nombre de pages relativement fixe (au moins 150 p-170p tout au plus), comprenant 10-12 contributions par numéro, avec en plus une plus grande ouverture en ce qui concerne les annexes graphiques (images, tableaux synoptiques, graphiques statistiques etc.). La décision a coïncidé avec les réglementations du CNCSIS (actuellement CNCS) - l'institution récemment créée en Roumanie qui s'occupe, entre autres, de l'évaluation et de la classification des publications scientifiques, des éditions etc. En décembre 2010, soumise aux tests d'évaluation de la commission de spécialité, DICE a reçu le qualificatif B+. Deux autres évaluations successives (avec des critères plus rigoureux encore) maintiennent le même qualificatif. A la fin de 2012, l'évaluation s'est faite d'après un nouveau classement de critères

et la revue DICE a reçu le qualificatif B, dans les conditions où il n'y a plus eu de notation avec “+” ou “-”, une publication ne pouvant avoir qu'un seul des qualificatifs A, B, C, D.

Entre-temps, on a enregistré la revue dans plusieurs bases de données internationales: Index Copernicus, DOAJ, Ulrich's, Scipio, ce qui lui a valu une meilleure visibilité sur le plan international. L'effet se ressent aussi dans le nombre de citations internes et internationales, de même que dans les offres de collaboration provenant d'aires géographiques et scientifiques toujours plus diversifiées.

2. Orientation thématique

Il ressort du titre même que la revue est consacrée au dialogue interculturel européen, ouvert à l'universalité. La première section est destinée, en principe, aux études concernant les *fondements* idéologiques et socio-économiques du dialogue culturel. Théories et pratiques de l'altérité, évolutions des mentalités, culture institutionnalisée sont analysées dans la perspective local/européen/mondial. Une deuxième séquence, intitulée *Destinées européennes*, est consacrée à des personnalités qui se sont affirmées en un espace allogène ou qui ont contribué, grâce à leur activité, au développement des dimensions multiculturelles et multilingues. La rubrique *Confluences* recouvre une série d'articles sur les manifestations du dialogue culturel dans les domaines spirituels et matériels les plus divers, en synchronie ou en diachronie. D'autre part, la rubrique *Signal-Evénements* présente des ouvrages (livres, revues etc.) relatifs à des thèmes de profil.

L'agencement des diverses rubriques de la revue est toutefois flexible, on peut y intervenir en fonction de la problématique des collaborations sélectionnées. DICE 8-2/2011, par exemple, est un numéro thématique consacré à l'*Exemple* en tant qu'acte discursif et il est dû en son entier à l'équipe GRAL (Groupe de Recherche en Rhétorique et en Argumentation Linguistique), dirigée par Emmanuelle Danblon, professeur des Universités de Bruxelles.

3. Collaborateurs et systèmes de sélection des collaborations

Tel qu'il s'est montré, l'ensemble des collaborateurs a continué à être formé de professeurs des universités et de chercheurs actifs, même après que la revue a cessé d'être une «tribune» des colloques scientifiques mentionnés. On en a élargi et diversifié l'aire thématique et géographique – au niveau national et international – les résultats statistiques actuels signalant des collaborations avec tous les centres universitaires et scientifiques de Roumanie, de même qu'un nombre croissant de collaborateurs d'Europe, d'Amérique du Nord, du Sud, d'Afrique et d'Asie. A certaines époques, on en a privilégié deux catégories de collaborateurs: les vétérans-académiciens, grandes personnalités, d'une part, et de jeunes chercheurs, des étudiants *doctorat*, même des étudiants *master* impliqués dans des projets de recherche, d'autre part. Ensuite on ne s'est plus préoccupé de la zone d'origine des collaborateurs, laissant les choses se passer librement, naturellement.

Le processus *peer-review* est devenu toujours plus rigoureux. Plusieurs membres du collectif de rédaction font des recommandations tout en poursuivant aussi les évaluations externes. DICE compte 42 évaluateurs externes, personnalités qui se sont engagées officiellement, par des accords signés, dans ce processus, parmi les spécialistes de marque se trouvant des académiciens, des directeurs d'instituts de recherche, recteurs, doyens, spécialistes qui font autorité dans le domaine. L'évaluation se fait tout en respectant les normes d'objectivité, de discréetion et d'anonymat, pour les deux parties, d'après une grille de valeurs qui vise tant le contenu scientifique que la forme de l'article soumis à l'examen. Il y a des cas où l'on a sollicité deux, trois, même quatre rapports d'évaluation pour une seule étude envoyée en vue de la publication.

D'autre part, on a décidé de maintenir la revue dans le système *open access*, parce qu'il nous a semblé important d'assurer aux collaborateurs une bonne visibilité. Aussi longtemps que l'on puisse bénéficier de l'appui financier d'une institution d'Etat, on a considéré que les lecteurs ne doivent pas payer (pour qu'ils soient au plus grand nombre) et que les collaborateurs non plus ne doivent pas payer (ni ne sont payés pour leurs articles).

4. Langue de publication des articles

Les trois premiers numéros seulement (2004-2006) ont paru avec des études et articles rédigés en roumain, les résumés et les mots-clé en français et quelquefois en anglais. A partir du numéro 4/2007, tous les matériaux ont été rédigés en une langue de circulation internationale, notamment en français. Les résumés et les mots-clé ont paru en roumain – pour les numéros 4-5-6/2007-2009. A partir du numéro 7-1/2010 les résumés et les mots-clé sont obligatoirement rédigés en anglais et, éventuellement, en français. Dès le numéro 9-1/2012 on y a ajouté les résumés et les mots-clé en roumain. Comme la revue est éditée en Roumanie, la rédaction a jugé bon de laisser au moins la possibilité de lire les résumés dans la langue officielle du pays, bien que cela rende difficile la disposition en page du texte accompagné de deux ou souvent trois résumés et listes de mots-clé.

Comme on l'a déjà dit, les articles de début ont été rédigés pour la plupart en français, (le titre même de la revue comporte une version française). Il y a eu aussi des articles en allemand ou en espagnol. Mais à l'adresse de la rédaction il arrive de plus en plus de matériaux en anglais. Le numéro 9-2/2012, par exemple, n'a eu qu'un seul article en français, ce qui prouve que l'anglais représente, pour les collaborateurs, l'idiome censé assurer la visibilité internationale de leurs travaux.

5. Collectif de rédaction

En principe, la structure du collectif de rédaction a subi, au long du temps, très peu de changements. On en a gardé l'équilibre entre les générations, ainsi que la structure internationale de son staff. L'académicien Marius Sala, vice-président de l'Académie Roumaine et le maître de conférences Roxana-Magdalena Bârlea représentent les générations extrêmes - «seniors/juniors». Entre eux, les Professeurs des Universités Libuse Valentová (Prague), Lucian Chișu (Bucarest), Cécile Vilvandre de Sousa (Ciudad Real), Emmanuelle Danblon (Bruxelles), sont autant de repères culturels dans l'espace européen et en même temps la génération moyenne active de la rédaction.

La tâche du secrétariat de rédaction est revenue, partiellement, à Mihai Cuciureanu, Camelia Diaconu et à d'autres encore, jusqu'à ce que Ileana Tănase s'en soit chargée, en titulaire. Quant au côté technique de la rédaction, il a été assuré, initialement, par Natalia Petrescu, Coralia Bidirean,

Rodica Mihai et, depuis le numéro 5/2008 jusqu'au numéro 9-1/2012 par Mihai Cuciureanu. Constantin-Georgel Stoica a fait paraître les numéros 9-2/2012 et 10-1/2013, sous un aspect relativement différent. Il faudrait aussi mentionner qu'il y a eu bon nombre de personnes ayant contribué, sans obligation aucune, à la parution desdits volumes: Georgiana Alexe, Iulia Tănase, Alice Toma, Melania Roibu et, plus récemment, Angela Stănescu et Ioana Raicu qui se sont donné pour tâche la correction des textes anglais (si besoin est).

D'ailleurs, le collectif travaille bénévolement à l'édition de la revue; le grand gain consiste en ce qu'une institution de la culture (MNLR) assure les frais de la parution dans sa version imprimée. Les efforts du collectif en son ensemble sont coordonnés par le directeur-fondateur, Professeur des Universités P. Gh. Bărlea.

6. Diffusion-Impact scientifique

Dans l'une, au moins, des versions, mais souvent dans les deux – imprimée et électronique – la revue DICE se trouve diffusée dans 81 bibliothèques du monde – depuis la Bibliothèque du Congrès des Etats Unis jusqu'à celles de Cambridge, Sorbonne, Shanghai, Berlin etc., pour n'en parler des 27 de Roumanie et de la République de Moldavie, bibliothèques universitaires ou appartenant à des instituts de recherche des deux pays.

Pour ces deux derniers, il y en a des exemplaires au dépôt légal des Bibliothèques Nationales d'Etat, alors que pour les autres pays il existe une confirmation légale écrite et/ou un indice du tas/link de recherche de la revue. On en accroît l'accès, par centaines, grâce aux données fournies par les bases internationales susdites, Doaj, Copernicus, Ulrichs, Scipio, etc. A tout cela s'ajoutent les acquisitions personnelles de la version imprimée, aussi bien que les accès directs au site de la revue.

7. Perspectives

Dans un avenir proche, nous nous proposons de diversifier la structure de la revue et de procéder à la révision partielle de sa formule graphique, notamment celle de la couverture.

Faire indexer notre publication dans les plus importantes Bases de Données Internationales, c'est un autre objectif de la stratégie d'en accroître l'impact sur le milieu académique du monde entier.

P. Gh. B.

FONDEMENTS DU DIALOGUE CULTUREL

ROMANIAN BALKANISM OR ABOUT CULTURAL RIFTS

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Abstract:

The term “Balkanism” has two meanings, referring to both something objective and strictly geographic, as well as something subjective – a meaning that describes a certain mentality, a certain manner of thinking and behavior embraced in the Balkans.

This article sets out to analyse the elements that are considered to define the cultural identity of the communities from the area of the Balkans. Their historical events, their linguistic differences and peculiarities, their art (music, cinematography, etc.), their culinary preferences and other elements are approached and described from the perspective of the “cultural crevice” theory.

Keywords:

Balkanism, cultural identity, linguistic unity, cultural crevice.

Rezumat:

Termenul de „balcanism” are două sensuri – unul obiectiv, strict geografic și istoric, celălalt subiectiv, vizând un anumit stil de gândire și de comportament.

Articolul își propune să analizeze elementele considerate definitorii pentru identitatea culturală a comunităților umane din zonă. Evenimentele istorice, particularitățile lingvistice, arta (muzica, cinematografia etc.), preferințele culinare sunt descrise din perspectiva teoriei „faliilor culturale”.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Balcanism, identitate culturală, uniune lingvistică, falie culturală.

1. The defining value of Balkanism for Romanian cultural identity

Assumed and, at the same time, contested by Romanians, Balkanism remains, indisputably, a defining component of Romanian cultural identity.

It manifests itself in a protean manner, illustrating the truth that cultural identity is a concept which is being permanently *constructed*, based on *diachronic and synchronic dynamism*, on the one hand, and on the *structural interdependence of its constitutive elements*, on the other hand. Thus, Balkanism has marked, over different epochs and in different, but never negligible, proportions, the historical and geographical component of Romanian cultural identity, in its diverse aspects – regional, psychological, artistic (music, dance etc.), linguistic, architectonic, gastronomic, political and administrative (especially on the score of the distance between individual and community, individual and official authorities). Once again what is worth noting is the *temporal component* in the construction of cultural identities, in the sense that historical evolution can be reflected in its contemporary manifestations through new beginnings, unexpected, often inexplicable, manifestations in continuous transformation, which also relates to the multifunctional, inconstant, unconscious characteristic of the concept under discussion.

2. The two meanings of the notion of “Balkanism”

2.1. From a historical and geographical point of view, the Balkan Peninsula represents the South-East of Europe, the region with the greatest assortment and mixture of different peoples from the “old continent”. Different ethnicities, different languages different religions, successive dominations by the great regional powers – Russia and Turkey, in principle, but also Western powers at times, such as Austria, Germany, Hungary etc. – these are the historical realities conducive to permanent modifications of the boundaries of different communities, with the attending discontents, voluntary or enforced migrations of populations¹, but above all with concrete consequences in the forging of states, nations, alliances, and, ultimately, of cultural identities. Winston Churchill typecast it by a witticism said to have proved its validity until the end of the 20th century: “*The Balkans produce more history than they are able to consume*”.

¹ Suffice it to say that in the Balkans there are the most Roma ethnics in the world, over 7 million, representing between 0.5 and 5% of the populations of the modern countries in the region, with the problems brought about by the unfavourable status which continues to plight this ethnic group which constitutes, in fact, the most numerous minority in Europe (cf. Nicoleta Scricariu, „Romii – integrare la cererea Euroei”, in: *Dilema veche*, X, 470, p. V, 2013).

Notwithstanding modern political and economic conditions, many problems have remained unresolved, and some researchers remain circumspect even today, insofar as – they say – history have taught us that in the Balkans “*nothing is forgotten, nothing is forgiven*”².

2.2. With this evaluation, allegedly historical, but rather subjective and literary in fact, since such stereotypes can be attributed to other regions of the world, we come to the second usage of the notion of “Balkanism” – which relates to the colouring wording of cultural identity, being based on perceptions (subjective by definition) and even prejudice. On the basis of the objective geographical and historical data, certain attributes were constructed, which are as well-known today as they are. In this secondary usage, Balkanism means:

“...lack of seriosity, broken promises, tribalism, sectarianism, the incapacity of solidarity at crucial moments, contempt for public interest, inadequacy regarding the idea of pluralism, backwardness, underdevelopment – in brief, failed or incomplete modernization”³.

The researcher who synthesized these attributes adds that, according to the historical perception, underdevelopment, but also some other flaws enumerated above, have been intensified in the modern era by two factors:

- a) Communism – deeply implemented in South-East Europe;
- b) The appurtenence to the Orthodox Church, majoritary in four out of the six states included in traditional Balkanism.

Evidently, the essential problem has only been of a generally human nature – the ethnic conglomerate. The respective languages, religions, economies, territories have come into conflict as a result of fundamental ethnic and genetic differences.

Communism knew how to activate the nationalistic streak of these communities, and, once comfortably installed in four out of the six postbelic states of the Balkans, availed itself of the above-mentioned regional frailties, as specialists have observed. From this point of view,

² Matei Martin, “Zahărul și mierea”, in: *Dilema veche*, X, 470, 2013, p. I – Supplement *Dosar Dilema veche, Balcanii Europei*.

³ I have quoted from the study „Balcanismul românilor sub comunism. Câteva speculații”, published in the Supplement „Balcanii Europei”, cf. *Dilema veche*, X, 470, 2013, p. VI, by the historian Cristian Vasile, researcher on the programme “Romania and Europe in the 20th Century” at the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of the Romanian Academy.

even South-European communism has a Balkan streak, distinct from the nature of that in Central Europe (from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia), as well as from its Oriental or South-American varieties.

But the essential mechanism of regional individualisation remains nationalism.

It is said that in the Balkans “*the state was the one which formed the nations, and the organised solidarities acquired an oppressive role*”⁴. Simplifying things, it was not only the ethnic and linguistic diversity, but also the considerable period of deficient official policies that favoured a permanent clashes – of ideas, mentalities, religions, territories and political and economic power – between the inhabitants within the respective states, between these states and not least between Balkan states as a block and other ethno-political entities: from the phobia of the Turks to antisemitism, or from the phobia of the Russians and anti-Sovietism to anti-American and even anti-European attitudes, all kinds of phobias and idiosyncrasies have been manifest in the Balkans, under all possible aspects.

Al. Duțu, one of the great Romanian comparatists and theorists of mentalities, states that this is precisely how the concept of “Balkanism” was actually born:

“*The peninsula gave birth to «Balkanism» right when the newly created states began to fight with each other, when nationalism roused antisemitism*”⁵.

3. Historical highlights

The restrictive space of the Balkan Peninsula has naturally created the context for a common history for its peoples. At least three large communities have as an ethnolinguistic substrate the vast population of Thracians. Their dependency to the Greek Empire⁶, and to the East Roman Empire have been interrupted by frequent invasions of barbarian peoples. Among them, the Cuman people and the Slavs have played an important role in the area.

As far as their own capacity for geopolitical organization is concerned, these peoples have only acquired it later in their history – and only partially. The Protobulgarian Czardom of Boris (860-1018) and the

⁴ In reference to the “nation-state”.

⁵ Al. Duțu, 1982, p. 196.

⁶ Firstly, to the *Grecia Magna* (the ancient empire), and then to the Byzantine Empire.

Czardom belonging to the Bulgarian Vlachs named the Asan brothers (1085-1205) dominate the history of these peoples located south of the Danube, during the period in which they were being converted to Christianity⁷. The Serbian Kingdom – which included Albania, Macedonia and the north of Greece – has imposed itself later, between the 12th and the 14th Century.

Then, starting from 1389 (after the battle of Kosovopolje) all the peoples in the Balkans fall under the domination of the Ottoman Empire for nearly four hundred years. This era has left visible marks on their cultural identities.

For Romanians, the 15th and the 17th Century represent an era of tragic oscillation between a Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire⁸. The battles led by Mircea the Elder (Mircea I of Wallachia), Vlad the Impaler, Michael the Brave, Matei Basarab, Constantin Brâncoveanu (in Muntenia); Alexander I of Moldavia, Ștefan the Great (Stephen III of Moldavia), Vasile Lupu, Dimitrie Cantemir (in Moldavia); Iancu of Hunedoara and Matei Corvin (in Transylvania) have represented heroic attempts to escape from the grip of this state of dependency⁹. Unfortunately, the 18th Century – as well as almost the entire 19th Century – has represented a period of strengthening of this grip of their vassalage to the Ottoman Empire. It was only in the years of 1877-1878 that the Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians and Greeks began to obtain their relative independence from the Turks. Nonetheless, the price that was paid for such a status was a relative submission to the Russian Empire.

As usual, the reputation of this area of Europe as being an epicenter of constant crisis has been reinforced not only by their wars with external

⁷ In the case of Romanians, we are talking about a second stage of Christianity, following the ancient period from 1st Century BC – 4th Century AC, of Greek and Roman origins.

⁸ Cf. Bogdan Murgescu, 2013.

⁹ In reality, the political relationships were being complicated by family kinship between rulers of the Balkans and those of Europe. For instance, Iancu of Hunedoara and Matei Corvin had a Romanian origin by father, but also a Hungarian origin by mother, and had subsequently been assimilated as European magnates; Mircea the Great, by his Bessarabian ancestry was also related to the czars, the kings, the despots, and the kniaz rulers of Serbian, Bulgarian, Bosnian, Albanian and Greek peoples, as well as with princes and emperors of Hungarian, Austrian, Luxembourgish territories – and even with the... Turks. Therefore, the notions of “enemy” and “ally” would become relative during certain periods of time – a phenomenon that could be observed all around the world in certain periods of history.

threats, but also by wars inside the Balkans between these small peoples – and even conflicts inside of each people. This state of crisis had also rendered the entire zone vulnerable. The two Balkan Wars have succeeded in reuniting the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Serbians and the Montenegrins against their common enemy – the Turks, in 1912. But it was only one year until the same conflict is reignited, and this time it manages to disunite the conquerors (1913). Romania is most notably involved in the second of these wars, with important consequences for its geo-strategic location.

The First World War (1914-1918), the Second World War (1939-1945) and the “Cold War” (1945-1991) represent, in reality, a “77-year-long War”¹⁰. This neverending state of struggle took a toll on the Balkan people and each great collision always caught them in the middle of the conflict, although their geographic locations placed them “at the outskirts of empires” and, respectively, at the periphery of different political alliances.

The fall of the Communist regime and the end of the Cold War have not been followed by a period of peace and harmony. Quite to the contrary, epicenters of interethnic and religious conflict have re-emerged in the countries that used to belong to the former Yugoslavia. The map of the territory has evolved and reconfigured itself, and the state of tension has been maintained in virtually all of these countries, due to ethnic, religious and geo-political disputes.

The peninsular syndrome and the peripheral status of these territories continues to generate contrasts and conflicts among their populations. Therefore, conflict seems to be a historical given of this southeastern cultural crevice of Europe.

4. The linguistic component of Romanian Balkanism

Beyond its incontestable Latinity, the Romanian language presents a series of striking common elements with other languages in the geographic region of South-East Europe, which made specialists speak, as early as the 1820s¹¹, about a “linguistic Balkan unity”¹².

¹⁰ Cf. Neagu Djuvara, 2010, pp. 226-227.

¹¹ For the entire problem, cf. Al. Rosetti, 1978, pp. 201-289, ch. „Limbile balcanice”, and pp. 639-651, the paragraph „Balcanica”. The author notes that the first observations regarding the Balkan character of the Romanian language were formulated by linguists such as H. Schuchardt (as early as 1893), then B. Kopiter (in 1820 and 1829).

As in any union, the positions are not symmetrically or equally distributed. Firstly, this would include Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Modern Greek. Then, to a lesser extent, there would be Serbian and Croatian, and, lastly, Turkish.

The formation of this “linguistic union” is explicable by means of well-known factors: a) the substratum common to two or more Romance languages, such as the thracian-illyrian language – in the case of Romanian, Albanian and, partially, Bulgarian; b) a common history, marked by permanent migrations of populations, alliances, conquests, alternate dominations etc., throughout the Middle Ages, but also before and after this period; c) the development of common civilizations over the entire Balkan Peninsula – with influences from Greece, Russia, Turkey. In the case of the Romanian language, a particular element is the history of its formation on both banks of the Danube.

In principle, all the components of the language system are marked by these common evolutions.

a) *In the phonetic structure*, there appeared unstressed vowels with almost identical tonality – ă, ĕ, ȝ from the occlusion of a in certain positions – in Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian. Also, the intervocalic consonant -n- is rotacized in Romanian and Albanian, and the consonantic groups ct și cs are labialized (in pt and ps) – in Romanian, Albanian, in Macedonian and, dialectally, in Greek (dialectally, the phenomenon is also attested in Italian).

b) *In the morphological structure*, indefinite pronouns and adverbs were built, by being compounded with the verb *vrea* (more precisely -va, in Romanian < lat. *volet*), of the type *careva* (anyone), *cineva* (somebody), *cândva* (sometime), *cumva* (somehow), phenomenon also identifiable in Albanian; in the same two languages are formed noun or adverbial derivatives with the suffixes -eşte, (a)ş; -ză or with -a, cf. Rom. *Ciobăneşte* (shepherdly), *uşor* (light), *pupăză* (hoopoe), (respectively, *aşisdereea* – likewise), the first three only in Romanian and Albanian, the fourth one – also in Greek. As well, in Romanian, Albanian, Greek, the future is formed with the verbal *a vrea* (want), at least in some variants.

¹² The term was proposed by the leader of the Phonological School (structuralist) in Prague, N. S. Trubetzkoy, and the group's research became a domain in its own right through the book of the Danish linguist Kristian Sanfeld, *Linguistique balkanique*, 1930.

c) *At the level of word order and syntax* (with pragmatic and stylistic implications), the most interesting particularity is the post-position of the definite article, in Romanian, Albanian and even Bulgarian – a language which, having been almost completely Slavicised, should not even have articles: Rom. *băiatul, fata* (*the* boy, *the* girl); Bg. *čoverkăt* “omul” (*the* man), Alb. *lisi „stejarul”* (*the* oak). We shall not go into the details regarding the contexts specific to each language¹³. We shall just mention that that in Romanian any kind of determination (adjectival, pronominal) is in the same position. More precisely, the determining adjective, for example, is placed *after* the noun, in contrast with all European languages, whether or not geographically related to Romanian: Rom. *fată frumoasă* vs. Fr. *belle fillette*; Engl. *beautiful girl*, Rus. *krasivaia devuška* etc. (For the Romanians the determiner seems to be more important...).

Other syntactic feature would be replacing the infinitive by the subjunctive in object clauses etc., cf. Rom. *vreau să mănânc* for the It. *voglio mangiare*, which is a widespread phenomenon, and the difference in the use of connectors for purpose clauses as compared to object clauses (Rom. *să* or (*ca*) *să*; Alb. *të*; Gr. *vá*, Bg. *da* + subjunctive, vs. the Rom. *că*; Alb. *që* (*se*), Gr. *πῶς* (*ποῦ*, *ὅτι*), Bg. *če, što*.

d) *At the lexical level*, the common elements also extend to the Serbian, Croatian and Turkish, in the sphere of proper names (toponymy, hidronomy, oronymy), then in the vocabulary relating to shepherding, bee-keeping, and, as mentioned above, culinary, clothing etc. Of course, in this case, the interculturality of the late Middle-Ages, of the pre-modern and modern eras, had a significant contribution. Especially significant on account of their ancient and widespread character, in forms existing only in the Balkan linguistic union, are certain phraseological structures – typical set expressions and phrases – with a great semantic and stylistic import. Here are some of these, in the Romanian variant: *unul și unul* “(oameni) aleși” (la crème de la crème); *babe și moși* “anotimp capricios” (capricious season); *cu sufletul la gură „disperare”* (with one’s heart in one’s mouth); *deochi* “farmec” (evil eye); *a-l tăia capul* “a gândi la” (cross one’s mind); *a se apuca de* “a începe” (start on); *cai verzi pe pereți* “minciuni” (wild goose chase); *a avea treabă* “a fi ocupat” (have jobs to do); *a-i fi scris*

¹³ The specific situations are discussed in: Al. Rosetti, pp. 257-261.

“soartă” (be fated); *a strica gura* “a vorbi în zadar” (ramble on) and so on. All these can be found, with slight variations, in Romanian, Albanian and Greek, though transferred by loan translation in other Balkan languages as well¹⁴.

Finally, the last feature Romanian has in common with other Balkan languages is the loss of this archaic stock – primarily lexical – in favour of modern influences. Obviously, this refers to the havoc played by globalising Anglicisation. There are fewer and fewer speakers likely to say “*unul și unul*” – in Romanian; *unu s'un* – in Aromanian; *një e një* – in Albanian, *ἐνας καὶ ἕνας* – in Greek (cf. also Fr. *l'un mieux que l'autre*; Germ. *eins und eins*). Now everyone will say: *the best...*

5. Other ingredients of Balkan cultural identity

5.1. Popular culture

Ethnic, linguistic and religious nationalism, blamable for the appearance of conceptual “Balkanism”, in its most controversial, but also geo-strategic sense, is undermined and eroded, slowly and effectively, from the most unexpected corner: from the sacred, ancestral and emotionally charged traditional culture. As it usually happens, this operates by syncretism: music, for example, is combined with the dance, mimicry and even the demeanour of musicians and audiences. More recently, due to modern video technologies, these are also combined with visual arts, with an original dynamic between diachrony and synchrony, Orient and Occident: they contain images peopled with belly dancers, transparent shalwars, bazaars, big male rings, but also luxury cars, high-power motorcycles, swimming pools, sumptuous villas¹⁵.

In other words, popular culture (in fact, by now, semi-popular, since the feature of anonymity is gradually disappearing) – a defining element of cultural identity – proves once more the fact that the Balkans represent a borderland world, an *interland* between the great empires and great cultures.

Of course, all the inhabitants of Balkan countries will easily distinguish the strictly local particularities of their national folk music. Whereas a “foreigner”, that is a West European or an American, will only

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 284-289.

¹⁵ Cf. Speranța Rădulescu, „Globalizarea regională prin manele”, in *Dilema veche*, Dossier „Balcanii europei”, X, no. 470, p. VII.

take in the *general impression* – the sound, in the case of music; the rhythm, in the case dance; the image, in the case of visual arts. Sorrow and lament, on the one hand, wild rhythm and passion, on the other hand, stridence and delicacy (sounds, colours, rituals), what they perceive is “Balkan art”. The term designates, in specialist treatises¹⁶, the earlier phases, still associated with the Orient, to the dismay of Balkan people, who try to forget several centuries of allegiance to the Sublime Porte. In spite of all these, their essentially paradoxical spirit draws them again towards Oriental motifs, due to the new generation of popular artists who have taken the region by storm, and even spaces beyond it. The songwriters and singers of “manele” do not only use in their creative act heterogeneous, Oriental sources, but, in principle, also have their analogous counterparts throughout the region.

The Romanian song called *Manea* is a close relative of the *arabesk* in Turkey and Macedonia, the *turbofolk* in the countries from former Yugoslavia, the *chalga* in Bulgaria, the *tallava* in Albania or the *laiko* in Greece.

The process of regionalisation, of “Balkanisation”, respectively (under the form of nationalism, but also in opposition with those outside the region) has, on the one hand, a diachronic character and, on the other, a double motivation of identity specificity. On a historical scale, the circulation of folkloric motifs – in the present case of rhythms, vocal tonalities, accompanying instruments, dance moves, traditional costumes – is entirely explicable. Such intercultural exchanges occur in any region of the world and even in wider areas. So much higher is the force of this phenomenon within a peninsula (thus isolated from the rest of the world) and, even more justifiably, in a conglomerate of peoples in continuous movement. Transhumance is the most idyllic reason for the movements of these communities...

In terms of historical continuity, modernism strengthens these fusions. Songwriters and singers associate directly, tours are easily organised, *showbiz* companies facilitate cooperation and the *mass-media* support it, as does the “Balkanika” TV channel. The borrowings of motifs, techniques, instruments, costumes and the duet, group or heterogeneous ensemble performances are becoming highly popular nowadays. Art has its own ways of evolution, just as science or other domains of human pursuits.

¹⁶ Donna A. Buchanan (edit.), 2007, *passim*.

Small wonder then that Westerners perceive us organically, by means of a simple measure: “Balkanic” – with no local nuances.

Of course, official state institutions try to preserve national traditions. Sometimes, they *do* succeed. In this sense, it is impressive how the hundreds of Romanian festivals (which also have an economic and political rationale, actually), the specialised Radio and TV channels, the Art Schools, Cultural Centres and specialist faculty departments etc. in Romania succeed in keeping alive the love for authentic Romanian folklore. There is an incredible rhythmicity about it, so every 5 years or so new series of young singers emerge – extremely talented artists who take over the ancient folcloric heritage and truly discover/create new value. Things happen in almost the same way in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Turkey. The very small, newly created states and ethnic enclaves, in their turn, are making tremendous efforts to legitimise their identity by essentially local artistic creations. But art cannot be contained by official policies. It is a truth that the EU understood from the outset. That is the very reason why, beyond the proposed programmes aimed at encouraging the diverse local initiatives, *culture is the sole domain for which there are no official community policies at the supranational, European level*, as there are in the case of legislation, army, finance, education etc.

Therefore, the tendency of Balkanisation of this artistically driven melange is also motivated by the aspiration for perfection and evolution of those who promote popular art.

There is also another reason, however – more profound, but no less Balkanic. These musical pieces render the present state of the Balkan region. They exalt the region’s prevailing mores, with their idea of easy money sometimes gained from economic emigration, which reflects a muddled society, where “banii” (money) rhymes with “duşmanii” (the enemies), where family, children, unrequited love are put on the same plane as the display of *kitsch* luxury, with unnatural hierarchies, with the bundle of “euroi” (euros) thrown at the artist by local “bosses” and “barons” (*conspicuous consumption*), manifestations redolent of the Harlemul of the 1980s, of Sicily etc.

But Balkan popular art moves forwards, through its purely artistic component. The ethno-musicologist Speranța Rădulescu, from whom I have taken over many of the above data, has called the phenomenon of the

current artistic Balkanism “regional globalization”, with an intentional contradiction in terms. The same researcher notes, however, how the next step is also made: globalization proper. More recently, the *manele* songs and all their Balkan sisters (*chalga*, *laiko* etc.) are expanding the area of their double movement:

- a) They absorb in their *melting pot* elements of samba, flamenco, reggae, rock, jazz, hip-hop and even classical music...
- b) They take the world by storm, insofar as bands, groups, solo singers of Balkan music (*manele*, traditional party music etc.) appear in France, Belgium, USA etc.

Identity in Diversity, as one might say.

5.2. Culinary art

Balkan cuisine identity is as hard to define as any other domain of the culture of the Peninsula. Considering the immensely vast spaces of travelled by food, globalized long ago – in fact, the same questions arise: what should we take into account – “the origin or recent evolution, the native place or the country/countries of adoption”¹⁷. Since both extremes are equally hard to determine by documentary evidence, we have to work with data taken over and standardised by their use in recent studies, if not even imposed by cultural stereotypes.

In principle, the nucleus must have been Turkish and Greek, which clearly indicates an exotic amalgam with wide reverberations: the intersection of Byzantium with the Ottoman Empire, of Greece, already infused with Mediterranean Latinity, with the Middle and Far East. And thence back to the abovementioned centre, from where it spread through the countries of former Yugoslavia, to Bulgaria, Albania, South-Carpathian Romania, then Transylvania, Hungary, to the Caucasus countries, Israel and so on. Nowadays, as we have already said, globalization is noticeable on two planes. One concerns the continuing, millennia-old migration of people: the Turks from present day Germany (about 3 million, reaching the 4th generation of residents), the ex-Yugoslavs from Austria, the Greeks, the Jews, the Lebanese, the Armenians from North America and from all over the world make gastronomy hard to circumscribe to a single geographic or cultural.

¹⁷ Matei Pleșu, „Turcul din bătătură”, in: *Dilema veche*, Dossier „Balcanii Europei”, X, no. 470, p. III.

The other would be the internal plane, that of profound essences, namely of *food and faith*, that of bodily and Christian nourishment. In their search for origins, specialists have come up with a typical formula of the Balkans: “*the baptized Turk and the Turkified Christian*” (Matei Pleșu)¹⁸. The three “specific” Balkan dishes are based on minced meat – wrapped or not, but always mixed – in a more or less local, national or regional fashion – with rice, vegetables and various spices, especially. These include a) *sarmaua* or *dolma* (according to whether it is wrapped in vine leaves, cabbage leaves or stuffed into various vegetables (bell-peppers, courgettes, tomatoes etc.); b) *chiftea* or *pljeskavica* (meatballs) and c) *mititelul* or *čevapčici* (barbecued meat-rolls). Originally, says the author quoted above, all these are relatives of the Turkish-Arab *kebab*, Christianised by being “baptized with pork” and associated with Orthodox religious holidays. Conversely, Christians still preserve a little minced mutton, to enhance the holy flavour. Anyway, mutton is a common element of the economic and religious area, powerfully symbolised both in the *Bible* and the *Koran*.

The same holds true about *Pastrama* – the fourth “Balkan” dish – dried beef, originally, then also dried mutton etc.

As far as beverages are concerned, things are less clear. The aroma of coffee comes from the Orient, of course, but today it is universal – particularly South-American, where it was brought from Africa. In the Balkans it has only pervaded down to a certain level of civilization – that is down to the urban slums, while in the countryside it has only caught on among the members of the rural “genteel society” (mayor, schoolmaster, priest, notary, gendarme). The other inhabitants of rural localities prefer stronger distillations. But the same thing happened in the latter case. These beverages permeated the Orient, disguised “under the veil of aromas” that were subtle, intense, natural – of mastic resin and aniseed – only down to a certain social and cultural level, more precisely, to the “higher” social classes. (Nowadays, Oriental young people entered globalization straight away, out of the parents’ sight, with the help of whisky...).

What is specifically Romanian here? Maybe the association of foods/beverages: *micii* (barbecued meat-rolls) “are washed down” with beer (and pickled cucumbers?); *sarmalele* (stuffed cabbage leaves) “go well”

¹⁸ *Ibidem*. Cf. and Radu Anton Roman, 2004.

with hominy/polenta (the national dish, indisputably, whatever they may say about *polenta* etc., especially in its soft variant, supposedly unexplosive, according to a standing joke) and, of course, with “*țuică*” (plum brandy), while chiftelele “are served” with mashed potatoes and grilled pepper salad – I got it from Radu Anton Roman and at home, from my mother.

According to the study quoted above, it is inconceivable to envisage common, peaceful and enduring fatherland in the Balkans, “Europe’s gunpowder barrel”. Even now, as always, the wars between Christians and Muslims have just ended, not without the intervention of the world’s powerful states, while inter-ethnic conflicts are continually brewing, with short but frequent outbursts throughout the countries of the Peninsula. By contrast, on the gastronomic plane, a kind of ecumenism has developed over the past few centuries in the Balkans – tasty and savoury, able to appease any dogmatic fury.

Naturally, if we have discussed about *origins* and about *evolutions in the composition of diverse mixtures* (gastronomic, ethnic, religious, cultural), we should also add, as is usual in any analysis of identity construction, the positioning in relation to the “Other”. Here, alterity does not consist in identifying similar foods, possibly identical elsewhere in the world. The three foods based on minced meat are to be found in the American *hamburger*, so modern, so notorious a *brand* and so widespread in Europe (whence it must have come, since it is called “Hamburg mince”), in Asia, in Africa...Here, too, on the American continent, was where, by tradition, pastrami was attested. The proof is in the road picnic scenes of the period representations realised in the patently American *cowboy* films.

But cinematography is another story...

5.3. Cinematographic art

One of the most recent brands of identity is Balkan cinematography, as it has been known ever since the 1980s, although it still appears to be *in statu nascendi*. The successful films released by Theo Angelopoulos and particularly Emir Kusturica are said to have imposed the “ethno” genre in an art which hardly lends itself to national or regional identifications¹⁹. In

¹⁹ Cf. Marian Țuțui, „Cinematografia balcanică în și dincolo de clișee”, in: *Dilema veche* (the Supplement „Dosar Balcanii Europei”), X, no. 470, p. VII. The author mentions 32

fact, it was started by the *outsiders*, great masters such as Roman Polanski, Francis Ford Coppola, Woody Allen and others or, alternatively, great Euro-Atlantic film directors of Balkan origin (such as Elia Kazan, Jean Negulesco, Henri Verneuil, Michael Kakoyannis, Costa Gavras and others).

The international awards won by Romanian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian directors (noteworthy, among the Romanians, are Cristian Mungiu, A. Popescu, Călin Peter Netzer) sustain the idea that there exists a Balkan filmography. The content is the same: a world of contrasts (wealth and poverty, passion and apathy, violence and tenderness), exotic landscapes, extreme meteorological conditions (on top of all the spiritual and economic contrasts), devoutness verging on fanaticism or, conversely, revolting indifference. As film critics observe, Romanian and Balkan cinema is here to stay: as the barriers of ideological censorship fell, there sprang a fresh generation of film-makers, vigorous and talented, animated by an immense desire for artistic self-expression. These people, or only their parents, have lived incredible experiences under communism, so they have a story to tell. They have their own particular mentality, which means they usher in a new spirit to the reception and cinematographic rendition of reality.

Romanian cultural identity is, therefore, imbued in all its components by a fundamental Balkanism funciar.

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“Scandinavian cinema”, “Latin-American cinema”, in order to illustrate the possibilities of national, regional or continental definitions of the seventh art.

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THE PROTEAN CULTURAL SYNTHESIS OF POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY

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Abstract:

In the age of mass migration and global travel, the claim of many to a global citizenship becomes a common reality. The multiculturalism of the postmodern European nation remains a beautiful slogan, which cannot always redress the loose ends of traumatic (post)colonial histories of cultural identity, still reminiscent of the traditional geographic divisions into haves and have-nots, developed, developing or underdeveloped. Political correctness alone cannot erase the memory of centuries of colonial antagonism and hurt, with their attending displacements of cultural identity, traditions and native civilisations. The agonistic intricacies of former colonial relations, which warped the construction of racial, national and cultural identity on both sides, continue to condition the redefinitions of national identity and culture in ex-imperial metropolises and their former territories and their reflection in postcolonial literature.

Key-words:

Postcolonial, multiculturalism, hybridity, interstitial cultural identity.

Rezumat:

În era migrației în masă și a mobilității globale, asumarea cetățeniei globale a devenit o realitate comună. Multiculturalismul națiunilor Europene postmoderne rămâne un slogan frumos, care nu poate redresa întotdeauna urmările deseori traumatice ale istoriei (post)coloniale a identității culturale, ce amintește încă de diviziunile geografice tradiționale: țări avute și sărace, dezvoltate, în curs de dezvoltare și subdezvoltate. Doar prin corectitudinea politică nu se poate șterge amintirea secolelor de antagonism colonial, cu inerentele dislocări de identitate culturală, tradiții și civilizații indigene. Complexitățile conflictuale caracteristice vechilor relații coloniale, care au distorsionat construcția identității rasiale, naționale și culturale de ambele părți, continuă să condiționeze redefinirea identității naționale și culturale în fostele metropole imperiale și colonii, precum și reprezentările ei în literatura postcolonială.

Cuvinte cheie:

Postcolonial, multiculturalism, hibriditate, identitate culturală intersticială.

Multiculturalism and the celebration of cultural diversity in Britain and elsewhere have become the buzzwords of the new ideology of

globalisation, which has dominated the last decades of the twentieth century, surging into the new millennium with the momentous drive of a trans-cultural plenitude arrived at its zenith. The generous inclusiveness of such concepts has been construed as a triumph of the British-born liberal humanism and of a general desire to move beyond the sectarian cultural binarisms of East/West, North/South, First/Third World, centre/periphery. This enlightened humanistic universalism seems to proclaim the healing of the wounds left by the historical legacy of colonialism and cultural subservience, promoting, through the metaphor of the global village, a cross-cultural ideal of unity in diversity. This revolutionary ideology of the new millennium is constructed as a postmodern Enlightenment. However, many read this new, utopian, pre-eminently Western construct as either an expiation of guilt in the wake of imperialism and decolonisation, or a covert legitimisation of neo-colonialist practices, which disingenuously seek to unite the world in the eternal binary of capital and labour, the technological and cultural hegemony of the centre and the dependency of a still developing or underdeveloped periphery.

The very emergence and expansion of such interdisciplinary domains as postcolonial, subaltern or minority studies instantiates the still unresolved cultural tensions and anxieties which demand radical revisions and re-inscriptions of cultural identities. Although in the age of mass migration and global travel the claim of many to a global citizenship becomes a common reality, the multiculturalism of the postmodern European nation remains a beautiful slogan, which cannot address the loose ends of traumatic histories of cultural identity, still reminiscent of traditional geographic divisions in haves and have-nots, developed, developing or underdeveloped. Political correctness alone cannot erase the memory of centuries of colonial antagonism and hurt, with their attendant displacements of cultural identity, traditions and native civilisations. The agonistic intricacies of former colonial relations, which warped the construction of racial and national identity on both sides, continue to condition the redefinition of national identity and culture of the metropolis and its former territories.

While the West's multiculturalism and cultural globalism internalises the overwhelming circulation and exchange of cultural images, brought about by the upsurge of global communication technologies, it may also be

read as a resigned acceptance of the changed demographic landscape and mindscape of the Western national space itself – irredeemably transfigured and hybridised by the post-war inflow of immigrants and refugees streaming towards the metropolis from all corners of the former empires. For the last half a century, Britain has had to cope with what may be deemed as the greatest identity crisis in its history. The loss of its empire, and implicitly of its former influence as a world power, became tied up with its accommodation within the boundaries of its nationhood of ever increasing diasporas and minority groups, whose very presence, fraught with distressing historical significance, has unsettled its formerly secure schemata of national identity, rooted in the long-standing myths of Englishness and Rule Britannia. As the age-old myths about the inherent ascendancy of the world-civilising British race begin to crumble, alongside with their historicist teleology of cultural progress, the nation is forced to direct its unrecognising gaze inwards, to acknowledge the otherness of its changed physiognomy and assimilate the ghostly return of their imperial history, most of which, in Rushdie's words, 'happened overseas'.

The aftermath of this history of conquest and colonisation, which for centuries informed the self-glorifying myths of imperial pride, has brought home the truth that their legendarily insular, and therefore insulated, sense of national identity has to be revised and redefined in the face of the new socio-demographic realities and their bearing on national and cultural politics. The residual mental habits of imperial Britain's sense of nationhood became confronted with the otherness of its own history, reflected in the multiplying, alternative histories of the colonial migrants, constituted as a collective icon of the 'Other'. As the images of otherness, formerly associated with exoticism and the romance of the foreign counties of the vast empire, begin to engulf the centre, the metropolis discovers its own otherness. This demands a reconsideration of an antiquated sense of British identity and nationality, estranged from itself. The traditional notions of a unitary cultural configuration disintegrate under unavoidable perplexities and interrogations, which challenge Britain's ingrained concepts of cultural purity and authenticity underlying its original myths of national identity. The anxieties of the centre are enhanced by the migrants' own sense of cultural difference. This splitting of metropolitan identity opens up a process of self-assessment, involving both the mainstream host

society and its ethnic diasporas, bound together in the dilemma of ‘how newness enters the world’, to use another of Rushdie’s emblematic postcolonial leitmotifs.

New theories are required to map out the confused and confusing signs of a changing present, which cannot recognize itself in the debris of past Eurocentric epistemologies. This dead end of post-Enlightenment rationality and myths of nationhood is the starting point of interdisciplinary, borderline studies such as postcolonial or cultural theory and criticism, cross-cultural studies, subaltern studies, migration and minority studies. Such up-and-coming theoretical constructs have been harnessed to interpret and give meaning to the social, political and cultural realities of the historical crossroads of postmodernity and postcoloniality, whose dislocations and re-locations of power centres, erupting nationalisms and emerging national and cultural myths require the redefinition and re-articulation of collective and national identity. The formerly stable, fixed meanings, identities, discourses originating in a world map of binary oppositions and images of alterity such as metropolis/colony, coloniser/colonised, hegemonic/subaltern, centre/periphery have had to give way in the face of new identity formations and sites of cultural significance opened up by the process of decolonisation and the ascent of the new postcolonial nation states. The monologic discourse which Edward Said has defined as Orientalism – the body of texts which the exploratory and expansive West has elaborated about the East from a hegemonic, Eurocentric position – is displaced by the inherent dialogism of the revisionist, alternative historical and cultural enunciations envisaged by the postcolonial project of re-inscribing the cultural identity of the margin.

The cross-cultural interrogations underlying the restitutive discourses of those most affected by the legacy of Empire, the so-called colonies of invasion and conquest of India, Africa and the West Indies begin with reclaiming what Homi Bhabha calls ‘the right to signify’, to recuperate a lost sense of cultural essence or myth of origin and authenticity, an original historical matrix from which to reconstruct a valid sense of national, racial and cultural identity. While attempting to retrieve and reconnect the loose ends of their collective story of cultural descent, the emerging nations had to take on board the reality that postcolonial identity is the inner space of an enduring cultural hybridisation, which makes any recourse to a primal,

essential myth of cultural purity and authenticity appear naïvely utopian. The intercultural contaminations initiated by the turbulent history of exploration, conquest and colonisation have resulted in a world whose irredeemable hybridity precludes any utopian visions of cultural purity. The empire's hybridisation of the former colonial space finds its postcolonial reversal in what is often called a 'colonisation in reverse' – the exodus of migrants from the colonies to the 'mother country', by which the metropolis itself becomes hybridised through the presence of its others. Thus, the former empire seems to fold in upon itself, hosting within its shrunken borders a humanised palimpsest of its own colonial history, constituted in what Rushdie calls 'the new empire within Britain'.

It is one of history's ironies, and some would even say revenge, that this inverted replica of the colonial enterprise should come to haunt the very home of its originators with the distortions, reversions, antagonisms, unsettled identities and the echoes of partial truths, which form the legacy of empire. This never really severed umbilical cord linking the mother country to its colonial brood, traverses the intricately knotted chain of causes and effects which continues to bind metropolis and colony, long after decolonisation. The undeniable reality of the empire's hybridising agency fosters the composite ideology of the multiethnic and multicultural postmodern nation, whose conceptual ambiguity displaces the equally ambivalent discourses of colonialism. The centre's reconfiguration of its historically constituted sites of cultural interference and transgression forms the project of Homi Bhabha's theorising of cultural hybridity in his seminal study *The Location of Culture* (1994). In his insightful analysis of the multiplying locations of cross-cultural identification, the scholar and considers, from a postcolonial perspective, the colonial and postcolonial matrixes and patterns of psychic and discursive ambivalence. His anatomy of hybridity is grafted in post-Freudian psychoanalytical theories of subject formation, where the concepts of Self and Other are psychic territories whose overlapping, shifting boundaries yield to phenomena of splitting, doubling and multiple positioning. The Freudian and Lacanian theories capitalised upon are filtered through the postcolonial cultural philosophy and psychoanalysis of Franz Fanon, one of the most influential theorists of colonialism's confounding diffusions of cultural and national essences. His thinking can be traced in the discourse and metaphors of both Naipaul and Rushdie.

Questions of identity, of historical, political and social agency and of national, racial or ethnic affiliation are to be rethought, Bhabha proposes, from the restorative perspective of the margins, whose collective identification should be sought not only in the social, political or artistic discourses of present nationalisms, but in a self-reflective understanding of the ambivalent practices of the colonial moment. Colonialism's strategies of othering, its ethnographic explorations and classifications, cultural translations and transgressions, sustained by a perfidious apparatus of surveillance and domination, are seen to have operated fundamental alterations in the individuation and identity-formation of both coloniser and colonised, bound together in a vicious circle of doublethink and doublespeak, in a dialectic of dualistic desire of mutual appropriation and phobic demonising, where inclusion and exclusion, articulations of difference or sameness are governed by irreconcilable, often paranoid impulses on either side of the colonial relation. The inherent duplicity of the colonist's self-assigned mission of reforming the native and the native's mimicry of the colonial master, which is both legitimised by colonialist ideology and an instinctive act of defence and resistance, is seen as the source of irreversible phenomena of self-alienation, which affect the colonial psyche on both sides. For the imperial West, the complex of postcoloniality and its anxieties of redefinition have led to a culture of guilt, apparent in the harshly self-scrutinising and self-incriminating fictions of Englishness proliferating in the post-war decades. For the decolonised margin, postcolonial discourse emerges as the inscription of a culture of survival and resistance, which seeks to interrogate and assess old and new positions of identification and agency.

The interrelated constructions of postcoloniality of both centre and margin converge in a kind of epiphany of transcendence or rite of passage, which Bhabha calls 'the beyond' or 'the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion' (Bhabha 2). Postcolonial literatures in English engaged in the mapping out of this 'beyond' long before its theorisation by academic cultural criticism. The most diverse literary representations of the colonial and postcolonial experience concur in substantiating Bhabha's observation that the 'terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced

performatively' (Bhabha 3). The postcolonial text constitutes the earliest and most effective performance of the negotiation of cultural difference, sometimes even more potent than social or political engagement. Its very materiality makes it an enduring witness of the spatial, temporal and spiritual vagaries of the hybridised subjectivities and epistemologies bred by the empire. The emergence of postcolonial international writing seems to instantiate Goethe's insight that 'the possibility of world literature arises from the cultural confusions wrought by terrible wars and mutual conflicts' (Bhabha 16). Goethe's diagnosis of the irreversibility of cultural contamination sounds very much like the postcolonial mood: '[Nations] could not return to their settled and independent life again without noticing that they had learned many foreign ideas and ways, which they had unconsciously adopted, and come to feel here and there previously unrecognized spiritual and intellectual needs' (quoted in Bhabha 16). The axiomatic simplicity of Goethe's perception applies to the complexities of colonial and postcolonial cross-pollination, as Rushdie would put it. Bhabha sets a contrast between the spontaneous, contingent contexts of contamination envisaged by Goethe and the systematic, ideologically programmatic nature of colonialism's cultural hybridisation: 'What of the more complex cultural situation where 'previously unrecognized spiritual and intellectual needs' emerge from the imposition of 'foreign' ideas, cultural representations, and structures of power?' (Bhabha 17).

However, Goethe's intimations offer valuable ground for evaluating the status and role of postcolonial literature as world literature in the true sense – construed not merely as the body of national literatures taken together, but in the more literal sense of a trans-national literature of and about the world seen in its most profoundly altering moments and sites of intersection. Indeed, the very controversial term of Third World literature could be read in a new light, as an apposite designation of a literature which conflates the writing of the Old and New World in a third, hybrid locus of composite enunciations. This interstitial writing about the intersections of mental histories and geographies inscribes the consciousness of in-betweenness and the composite self, 'neither the one, nor the other', to use Bhabha's favourite label of cultural indeterminacy. The critic hails this 'third space' of articulation from the interstices of history:

“...there may be a sense in which world literature could be an emergent, prefigurative category that is concerned with a form of cultural dissensus and alterity, where non-consensual terms of affiliation may be established on the grounds of historical trauma. The study of world literature might be the study of the way in which cultures recognize themselves through their projection of ‘otherness’...perhaps we can now suggest that transnational histories of migrants, the colonized or colonial refugees – these border and frontier conditions – may be the terrain of world literature.” (Bhabha 17).

Postcolonial writing initiates just such a “worlding” of literature’ (Bhabha 17). It functions as testimony from sites of cultural oppression and displacement, emanating from a sense that ‘the Western metropole must confront its postcolonial history, told by the influx of post-war migrants and refugees, as an indigenous or native narrative *internal to its national identity*’ (Bhabha 9). This narrative of new identities should also be read as a diagnosis of a world culture, whose Eurocentric epistemological certainties and fixed concepts of identity yield in front of the hybrid vision of the margin. The hybrid, dialogical world literature feeds on the colonialist intertexts, which fostered the world’s alienation from essences and pure origins. Alongside with the historical or literary texts of the empire, the postcolonial text completes the jigsaw puzzle of the ambivalence, the inner contradictions, the perversities and the ultimate collusions of the colonial experience.

Bhabha’s own theories about colonial constructions of otherness, ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity, hegemonic and minority discourses have been sparked off by the literary instantiation of these concepts in the work of migrant cosmopolitans such as V. S. Naipaul or Salman Rushdie, to name only those who have had the most powerful impact on his theoretical formulations. In their work, which represents a long overdue ‘articulation of difference, from the minority perspective’, the critic finds a ‘complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize the cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation’, which ‘estranges any immediate access to an originary identity or a ‘received’ tradition (Bhabha 3). Their alternative ‘histories of cultural difference’ (Bhabha 3) confront the hegemonic textuality of the empire with an inverted mirror, of alterity. By their counter-discourse of dissonance, which displaces the unisonant hymns of European nationalism, these migrant world writers ‘deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to ‘translate’, and therefore re-inscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity (Bhabha 9). By calling into question the traditional Eurocentric perspectives on man, society, historical progress and the modern nation which dawned with the

Enlightenment, the decolonising discourse of writers such as Naipaul, Rushdie, Mo and Ishiguro turns postcoloniality into a ‘second enlightenment’, where, from ‘the shifting margins of cultural displacement – that confounds any profound or ‘authentic’ sense of a ‘national’ culture or an ‘organic’ intellectual –...the cultural and historical hybridity of the postcolonial world is taken as the paradigmatic point of departure’ (Bhabha 31).

Hybridity as imagery, discourse and inspiration riddles the transgressive, cross-fertilising fictions of bicultural writers such as V. S. Naipaul, Salman Rushdie and Timothy Mo. The images and rhetoric of hybridity pervade their hybrid texts, which reflect their author’s composite ethnic and cultural backgrounds and mindscapes. Their anatomies of alterity, cultural contamination and interstitial identities bespeak the plight of ‘those who have known long and tyrannical histories of domination and misrecognition’ and contend that ‘cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other’ (Bhabha 52). They envision the hybridisation of (post)colonial subjectivity, which brings into focus ‘the idea of man as his alienated image: not Self and Other but the otherness of the Self inscribed in the perverse palimpsest of colonial identity’ (Bhabha 63). The writers’ own negotiations of an enunciating position are uncertainly poised halfway between the vilification of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the implicit victimisation of the doomed periphery, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the self-critical, politically unorthodox scourging of the emerging nations themselves for perpetuating a culture of impotence and dependency. This situates them in Bhabha’s ‘third space’ of enlightened self-identification, freed from the fixed binaries of partisanship by the rhetoric of doubt, of indeterminate, impermanent and ultimately hybridised truths. In the critic’s view, this marks a salutary way out of the deadlock of the fossilised Manichean dichotomies and antagonisms, haunting a historically injured humanity, and the advancement towards complex, enriching and liberating forms of cultural identification. As he astutely observes, ‘in exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves’ (Bhabha 56).

The post-imperial histories propounded by the postcolonial novel are riddled with fictional instantiations of alterity, mimicry, cultural indeterminacy, hybridity, agonistic negotiations of interstitial identities, posited between hegemonic stereotypes and subaltern strategies of resistance. Their fictional worlds converge on many planes, despite their otherwise widely different geopolitical and cultural contexts. In the idiosyncratic representations of (post)colonial and postmodern processes of depersonalisation, fragmentation and hybridisation of identity which characterise British postcolonial literature, we can identify

phenomenological and psychological patterns which illustrate the conceptual paradigm of postcolonial theory. Bhabha's theoretical construction on cultural mimicry, ambivalence and hybridisation, which define (post)colonial relations, represents an invaluable framework of reference in any analysis of postcolonial writing and its fictional treatment of (post)colonial cultural individuation.

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**POSTURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR
COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION
(CASE STUDIES IN YEZIDIS RURAL
POPULATION OF ARMENIA)**

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Abstract:

This article is concerned with the peculiarities of social capital focusing on the alterations of social trust and the social factors that influence it among the Yezidi rural population of Armenia. Our theoretical framework has been adopted from the following theorists: the theory of social system in terms of the theory of action – Parsons and the theory of structure-agency – Giddens.

Our sample contained 300 of the over 20-year old residents of the Yezidi rural population of the Republic of Armenia. When validity and reliability of our questionnaire were tested, we applied survey research to collect data for analysis.

There is difference between kinds of trust and they don't have the same mean. The mean of basic trust was 16%, generalized trust 15% and abstract trust mean was 74%. Thus, our study shows that in the society under study the rate of basic trust is no less than other kinds of trust. In other words, the mean of basic trust is something more than generalized trust but less than abstract trust.

The value of the correlation coefficient was positive, and this shows that by increasing the rate of religious tenets, the level of social trust will increase subsequently, and vice versa. In this article, unlike the usual procedure of articles, I have tried to focus on the results part – because of its importance – and only referred succinctly to other parts.

Keywords:

Social capital, Social trust, Ethno-religious minority, Transition, Yezidis, Armenia

1. Introduction

With respect to the history of trust, it should be noted that trust has existed in different forms from the earlier days of the history. The historical record of trust rates back to the appearance of people on the earth. In the

area of this research, too, trust has been dominant among native peoples, family members, known and strange people, and to somehow among the foreigners of this country. Without trust, social relationships rarely form and sustain. This, in turn, is in need of a culture, which Zetomka (2007) calls it "trust culture".

According to some commentators, trust is the most important aspect of social trust that can touch other aspects of which trust is an important facet of human relations that facilitates cooperation among the members of the society. (Valadbigi, 2010) Trust, however, can be assessed in different areas of society like having trust in self, family, friends, formal and informal institutes, and social jobs.

Khodyakof(2007) has approximately mentioned such a classification. To define trust is not a simple job and numerous writings have been devoted to it. Whereas, trust is related to concepts like empathy, reciprocity, respect, integrity, tolerance, and benevolence (Newton, 2001), social trust or universal trust include our trust in others such as family members, peers, neighbors, the government, and social organizations. (Gliser, 2000; Newton, 2001; Delly, 2002)

2. Research significance

Social trust is one of the critical aspects of human relations which pave the ways for human beings cooperation and social engagement. It is why it has always been the focus of sociologists' research. Social trust is understood as a focal basis for social capital which on the one hand represents individuals' trust in one another, and on the other hand it shows the citizens' trust in those who are in charge of society. In this situation, force no longer does work in guaranteeing the exchanges and realizing their goals and the exchanges among individuals take place among them at social, cultural, political, and economic levels. Accordingly, social trust represents individuals' goodwill in other members of society which in turn develop and facilitate social relations.

The rate of social trust in most of the societies is so low that scholars like Putnam (1995) have introduced the theory of "trust decline". Therefore, investigating social trust and its low rate among the Yezidi rural population of Armenia, as a problem, is justifiable and this research tends to identify, analyze, and clarify the elements that influence social trust in this society.

In the current research, the social theories of scholars like Giddens, Szetomka, Tonnies, Offe, and Parsons were discussed in detail. Furthermore, theories of Coleman, Putnam, Weber, Durkheim, Zimmel, Fukuyama, and Valadbigi (2011) on social trust were reviewed briefly. Social trust has been a controversial concept for these scholars and each of them has examined some aspect of it. In other words, social trust, like other sociological concepts, is subject to dispute and complexity, and each one of these theories has approached it from a different perspective.

3. Justification

Studying and promoting social trust in society will:

- Facilitate individuals' participation in the political, social, cultural, and economic spheres;
- Contribute to launching quality social and pathological initiatives across society;
- Promote recognizing social order and discipline, cohesion, and social unity;
- Help the governments to stay on power, stabilize socio-political order;

4. Literature review

Social trust is one of the essential key concepts in the social sciences, and particularly sociology. This concept has been treated in the works of scholars as diverse as: Durkheim, Zimmel, Tonnies, Webber, Parsons, Giddens, Offe, Szetomka, Coleman, Fukuyama, Putnam, and so forth. These scholars, however, have investigated social trust in their sociological theories.

The first component of social capital relates to the type of trust among individuals. Interestingly enough, the literature has investigated trust more than other types of relationship. A great deal of the theory of social capital discusses trust; at the other side, trust is in close relationship with generalized mutual relationship and it is regarded as an appropriate for the positive mutual relations.

To Parsons, however, trust is a component that gives rise to social unity and cohesion. He argues that trust gives this insight to individuals that in order to accomplish a collective success, people ignore their own interests. Trust causes people to expect others to accomplish their obligations and understand the situation of others. He believes that a

cohesive system has actors in whom one can trust and this in turn contributes to a sustainable order in the society. (Valadbigi, 2001)

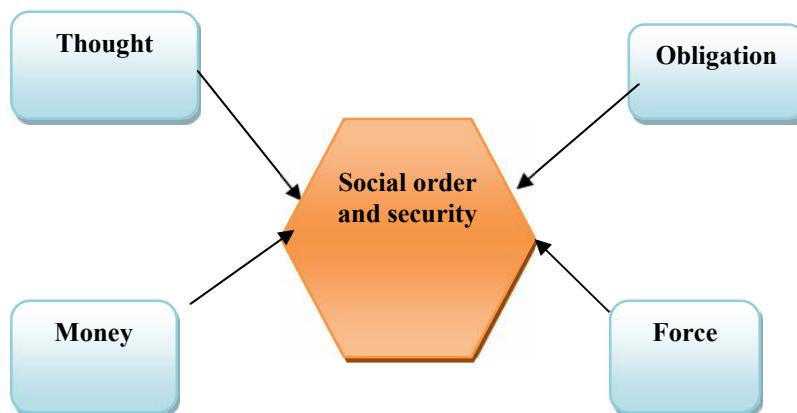


Fig. 1. Elements that build social order and security in the theory of Parsons

5. Theories of social capital and social trust

The purpose of theoretical framework is to produce a model to extract hypotheses, concepts, and variables from it, and test them in the society under study, here the Yezidi rural population of Armenia. It is only after the final demonstration of the hypotheses and reaching to the stage of authenticity that the theoretical framework is revised and becomes a theory along with some robust rules. This research reviewed different theories each of which tried to investigate trust from a certain point of view. For example, Giddens was said to classify trust into three types: basis, generalized, and abstract.

This research adopts as its theoretical framework the theory of social system borrowed from Parsons' action theory or Giddens's agency/structure theory.

Along with the theory of Giddens, we have also applied construct-function theory as well as Parsons's action system theory. Social system, according to Parsons, is composed of four sub-systems: cultural, social, personal, and economic. Social trust is the function of these four items which contains social correlation and cohesion, pattern keeping, determining and achieving to goals, and adaptation. According to Parsons, symbols of thought, force, obligation, and money in these four sub-systems

protect social order and security. If every action system functions properly in the social systems, then one can expect a sustainable secure social order.

If social trust falls short of its functions in establishing correlation, social order and security encounter threats and doubt spreads across the society. Accordingly, social security, as the core of trust, and specially abstract and generalized trust, will be at stake.

6. Elements of social trust

Generally trust is of three types

Basic trust: one's attitude toward himself or the world around. This attitude is the result of one's experiences from the earlier years of life.

Generalized trust: in this type of trust, one trusts the others based on his knowledge of them. In other words, here one is dependent on the information he obtains from others.

Abstract trust: Giddens asserts that those who enjoy an industrialized lifestyle, higher education, and higher social classes can be characterized as having higher rates of abstract trust.

7. Methodology

Survey study was adopted as the methodology of the present study. This approach focuses on making hypothesis and identifying the relationships among the variables. This study deals with statistical samples which have been taken with special methods from the original society. With regard to our facilities, personnel, and expenses involved in completing the questionnaires and conducting the interviews, we used Cochran formula to determine our sample size.

In the case of examining the relationship between those variables whose evaluation level is synthetic we will use the appropriate statistical tests (e.g. X², Spearman, and Ken dual B, and V -Cramer). In the case of having distance or relative variables, we adopt Pearson correlation coefficient.

With regard to the fact that our research is intended to examine social trust and the elements influencing it among the Armenian Yezidi-populated rural areas, our analysis is decided to be the individual respondent, and then it is conducted at a micro-level.

8. Research hypotheses:

- It is supposed that familial sociability is the most important source of generating social trust;
- The religious tenets are a meaningful and influential element in rising social trust;

- The social values are meaningful and influential elements in rising social trust.

9. The conceptual and operational definitions of the terms:

Social trust: In the current research, social trust is treated as an independent variable. According to Durkheim, however, social trust has its roots in collective spirit and ethical conscience. In measuring social trust, then, items in connection with generalized trust (trust among the citizens), abstract trust (people's trust in the administrative organizations), and the rate of self-trust which indicates of one's trust in himself, will be adopted.

Generalized trust: in this type of trust, one trust the others based on his knowledge of them. In other words, here one is dependent on the information he obtains from others. Generalized trust can be illustrated through items such as having trust in colleagues, citizens, having obligation toward the external individuals, trust in the relatives, and peers.

Familial sociability: Theories of socialization regard family and especially the parents as the most influential element in familiarizing the children with the received values of society. In this viewpoint, however, along with the process of socialization, parents teach their children how to understand the familial values, how to institutionalize the values of the larger society through learning norms, social patterns, and orders.

Social values: Social value is one of the essential conceptions of the social sciences and it has drawn the attentions of different scholars. Sociologically speaking, social value is agreed by all the members of society. Social value constitutes realities and matters which are desirable and most of the people are in search of it. Therefore, the variable of social value can be operationalized in terms of indicators such as: truthfulness, keeping promises, social justice, social cohesion, commitment, creativity, self-confidence, and competition

Religious tenets: It refers to a set of religious beliefs and tenets that result in increasing faith in religion and social life and finally links society' members to each other. In light of faith, however, self-interest, as the cause of social interruption, decreases in the social spheres and then social relationships will continue their life in the course of knowledge and trust.

10. Summary and conclusion

Indeed, the subject of conclusion links various parts of research. Thus, there is relation and linkage from the beginning to the end of the research which will help us to deliver and highlight the important points, findings and implications based on the results of the research. In short, we can

classify the results of research into two parts i.e. descriptive results and analytic results, which will be discussed in here.

Summary of the descriptive findings

• 141 of the respondents (47%) were men and 159 of them (53%) were women, thus compared with men the number of women is dominant in our sample.

• As for the age item, the age cohort of the respondents indicated that they were as young as 17 to as old as 84 year old. The average age of the respondents was 48. Regarding to age groups nearly the majority of all the respondents 30% was located in the age cohort of 20-30. The age cohorts of 60 and 64, with making up 7% and 100% of the total sample were of the lowest rate of frequency. The age mean for our respondents was 41. Thus, the majority of respondents were middle aged and belonged to active population.

• As for the marital status 66.7% of the respondents were married, 26% were single, and the remaining 7.3% were classified as other (e.g., widowed (6.3%), divorced (1%)).

• As for the level of education, 0.6% of the society under our study was illiterate. 83% were general secondary, nearly 6.1% had primary professional level and a few of them (10.3 %) had incomplete higher & secondary professional education.

• As for state of activity, nearly 47.4% of the population under study were housekeepers, 26.0% were employed, 27.3% of them were unemployed but searching for job, approximately 8.7% were students, nearly 14.7% of them were retired.

• As for the social class, 3% of the population under study were the representatives of Low class, 22.3% represented Middle to low class, 55% belonged to middle class, 14.7% were Middle to High and nearly 5% belonged to High class.

• The results of research show that household expenses of 73% of the people were very low and 20% of them were low. 5% mean 1.7% high and 0.3% of people had very high household expenses. Based on reports of the respondents the average monthly expenses of families were nearly 30500 AMD per month.

• 100% of the respondents reported their birthplace was rural settlement. (triplet regions populated dominantly by rural Yezidis)

- 68.6% of the respondents believed that they could trust other people, whereas 10.5% of them said that the majority of people were not trustworthy. So, it can be concluded that one fifth of the society under study had generalized trust and they trusted strangers.
- 1.3% of the respondents had little trust towards their families. For 8.3% of them familial trust was in mean level and 23.3% had high and 66.7% had very high trust in their families.
- 3.7% of the respondents had little trust towards their relatives. For 18.3% of them this trust was in mid-level and 37.7% trusted their friends and relatives fully.
- In in-group trust nearly 5% of the respondents had little trust in their own friends. Nearly 26.7% of them had some deal of trust and 68.4% of them said that they had much trust in their friends.
- In in-group trust nearly 8.3% of population under this study had little trust in their neighbors. For 25.3% of them this rate was mean and nearly 31% of the respondents said that they had much trust in their neighbors.
- Comparison of the rate of trust according to three elements of informal network (trust to relations and kinfolks, friends and neighbors) illustrates that at first our respondents had trust in their kinfolks and then the high rate of trust was expressed towards their friends. Only one fifth of the respondents believed that they had high trust in their neighbors, consequently the trust in their neighbors was the least.
- The results of the study show that nearly 12.8% of the respondents had little trust in their informal networks. 20.9% of them said that their trust in these networks was mean and 25.8% of them mentioned that they had high rate of trust in their informal networks. This result indicates that there is not much difference between generalized trust and trust in informal network. It seems that people in this framework had high level of trust only in their family and outside of the family circle; they had no much trust in their acquaintances, friends, neighbors and strangers.
- In out-group trust nearly 13.3% of the respondents had little trust in statesmen and politicians, for 19.3% of them this rate was some deal and nearly 20.7% of the respondents said that they had much trust in statesmen and politicians.

- In out-group trust nearly 12.3% and 16.3% of the respondents had little trust in Administrative clerks and Foreign media, for 22.7% and 23.7% of them this rate was some deal and nearly
 - 29% and 24% of the respondents said that they had much trust in Administrative clerks and foreign media.
- In this research nearly 9% of the respondents had little trust in businessmen. Nearly 18% of them had some deal of trust and 29.7% of them said that they had much trust in their businessmen.
- In out-group trust the comparison of the results of abstract trust in three mentioned cases shows that the high rate of trust belonged to Administrative clerks and Foreign media (some 53%), and trust in statesmen and politicians was 20.7% and for businessmen it was 29.7%.
- The rate of in-group trust among 4.6% of the respondents was low, whereas for out-group trust, this number was 12.8%. In other words, the in-group trust among half of the people is low. 31.4% of them had high rate of in-group trust, whereas only 25.8% of our respondents had the high rate of out-group trust.
- The rate of belief of people under our study in social values is as follows: Justice- 26.3%, in mean level, humanism and benevolence- 23.3%, in mean level, honesty- 21.7%, in mean level, keeping promises- 23%, in mean level, endeavor- 31%, in high level, sacrifice- 30% in mean level, and belief in trusteeship was 25.3% in mean level.
- Among 16 kinds of social values under study, the item of Social justice had the highest rate and level (with 31.7%) and the item of creativity with 19.3% had the lowest rate. The majority of social values including: truthfulness, keeping promises, social justice, social cohesion, commitment, creativity, self-confidence, and competition is reported to be mean level.
- Regarding to this item: "How do you consider yourself as a religious person?" 34.6% of the respondents consider themselves as a religious person in high level, and 3.5% of them consider themselves in low level.
- Our results show that 7.1% of people under study absolutely lack religious commitment, or were in the lowest level. Regarding to the rate of importance and obligation to religion among the respondents, for about 2% of them it was very low, 5.1% low, 23.6% mean, 36.4% high and the remaining 32.9% expressed it in a very high level.

- For Human relationships, approximately 9.6% of the respondents were in very low and 27.9% in low level. Thus, for 32.9% of our respondents, the existence of human relationships in their society was in mean level. For 19.8% of them it was in high level and for 9.8% in very high level.

- Concerning social order and security item, approximately 2.9% of the respondents evaluate it in a very low and 8.9% in low level, for 36.6% of our respondents, the existence of social order and security in their society was in mean level. For 33.3% it was in high level and for 18.3% it was very high.

- For 2.1% of our respondents, there are no traits of gemeinschaftic community in their society. 5.7% estimate this trait in low level 16.5% in mean level 37.3% high and 38.4% in a very high level.

- Regarding to response of this question: "How much do your family members contribute to your socialization?" 2.8% mentioned that their family didn't have any role in their socialization process or it was very low. 6.8% evaluate its role in low level, 27% in mean level, for 33.8% the socialization role of their family was high and for 29.6% it was very high.

- The rate of social trust in society under study was in high to very high level, as for 23.3% of the respondents social trust was in mean level and for 59.7% of them it was in high and very high level

The rate of generalized trust

- Generalized trust was measured by 9 items. Generally 38.26% reported a very high generalized trust. The percentages for very low, low, mean, and high were 2.5%, 8.0%, 20.9%, and 30.4%, respectively.

Row	Items	Very low	Low	Mean	High	Very high
1	Family	0.3	1.3	8.3	23.3	66.7
2	Relatives	1.0	3.7	18.3	37.7	39.3
3	Friends and acquaintances	0.3	5.0	26.7	33.7	34.4
4	Neighbors	1.3	8.3	25.3	31.0	34.0
5	Colleagues	1.3	8.3	25.7	35.0	28.3
6	Townsmen	2.7	13.3	23.3	31.7	29.0
7	Sympatrides	2.0	15.0	25.0	26.7	31.3
8	Armenians	2.3	5.0	17.7	23.7	51.3
9	Foreigners	10.7	11.3	17.3	31.0	29.7
Total		2.5	8.0	20.9	30.4	38.2

Table 1. Distribution of the respondents by their trust in the indicators of generalized trust

Abstract trust:

Abstract was measured by 19 items:

Row	Group/Organization	Never	Low	Mean	High	Very high
1	Members of parliament	8.7	13.3	19.3	20.7	38.0
2	Courts and the judges	9.0	15.0	19.0	28.0	29.0
3	Statesmen	9.0	14.3	22.3	22.7	31.7
4	Military forces	3.7	7.3	16.0	30.0	43.0
5	Clergymen	5.3	10.3	19.3	28.3	36.7
6	Village council members	8.0	8.7	26.7	31.0	25.7
7	Domestic radio/TV	5.7	11.0	29.7	27.3	26.3
8	Foreign radio/TVs	7.3	16.3	23.7	24.0	28.7
9	Physicians	5.0	6.0	19.3	28.0	41.7
10	University professors	7.0	7.0	20.7	20.0	45.3
11	Teachers	3.3	10.0	16.3	25.3	45.0
12	Athletes	5.0	6.7	20.3	23.3	44.7
13	Businessmen	7.7	9.0	18.0	29.7	35.7
14	Taxi/bus drivers	8.7	12.7	16.3	30.0	32.3
15	Artists	7.7	11.7	20.3	29.7	30.7
16	Administrative stuff	7.0	12.3	22.7	29.0	29.0
17	Municipality	7.3	9.3	22.7	29.3	31.3
18	Hospitals and health care centers	5.0	8.0	18.0	30.0	39.0
19	Police	10.7	8.3	16.3	22.3	42.3
Total		6.9	10.4	20.4	26.8	35.6

Table 2. Distribution of the respondents by their trust in the indicators of abstract trust

Basic trust:

- Basic trust was measured by 10 items. 21.4% of the respondents reported a very high rate of this type of trust, 26.7% high, 28.7% mean, 13.1% low, and 10.1% very low rate. That is to say, in comparison with other two types of trust (abstract and generalized) had a higher rate, as 48.7% of the respondents had a high or very high rate of this trust.

Rate of Basic trust	Number	Percentage	Aggregated percentage
Very low	30	10.1	10.1
Low	39	13.1	23.2
Mean	87	28.7	51.9
High	80	26.7	78.6
Very high	64	21.4	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Table 3. Distribution of the respondents by their trust in the indicators of basic trust

Social trust:

Social trust includes three types of trust: basic, abstract, and generalized:

The rate of social trust	No	Percentage	Aggregated percentage
Very low	20	6.5	6.5
Low	31	10.5	17.0
Mean	70	23.3	40.3
High	84	28.0	68.3
Very high	95	31.7	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Table 4. Distribution of the respondents by their trust in social trust

Analytic and indicative results

- There is difference between the different kinds of trust and they don't have the same mean. The mean of basic trust was 28.7%, generalized trust, 20.9% and abstract trust mean was 20.4%. Thus, our study shows that in the society under study the rate of basic trust is less than other kinds of trust.
- In the society under study, the rate of abstract trust and generalized trust was in high level, while for the basic trust we had low level.
- There is correlation and meaningful relation between social trust and familial sociability, as the higher the socialization of children by their families is, the higher the rate of social trust will be and vice versa.
- The values of β show that the crucial factor in generation of social trust in the society is familial sociability in the society with traits of gemeinschaftic community. Gemeinschaftic community is the second

important factor in the generation of social trust in the society under study. Thus, familial sociability and religeouse tenets can be considered as the most important factors in creating social trust.

- Based on Durkheim theory if the rate of correlation within one group is low the rate of social order and social trust will also be low. In other words, if the correlation and solidarity among the family members are high, it will result in high social trust. In other social groups such as colleagues, friends, relatives or acquaintances, even in bigger groups, if the homogeneity and correlation is low, we can observe the case of low rate of social trust.

- According to the correlation coefficient of Spearman, there is relation and solidarity between religious tenets and social trust, i.e. the higher the religious commitments is, the higher the social trust is, and vice versa, the lower the religious interests is, the lower the social trust is and in our society under study this item i.e. religious tenets was one of the most important items.

- There exists direct and meaningful relation between gemeinschaistic community and social trust. Based on Tonnies' theories in gemeinschaistic communities there is relation based on trust as people have trust in their families and friends. However, in modern society where we lack personal relationships, the rate of social trust is low. In this study the direct relation between two observed variables and (β) coefficients show that gemeinschaistic community has tremendous influence on social trust.

- There is no meaningful relation between social values of society and social trust, i.e. if social values increase in the society, there is increase in social trust as well, and vice versa, if there is decrease in social values, there is decrease in social trust. Thus, social values are meaningful and effective factors in the increase or decrease of social trust in the society.

- The hypothesis that if human relationships became more vulnerable social trust would decline; has been proved. Thus, based on intensity and direction of correlation coefficient we can claim that the improvement of human communication results in high rate of social trust and the vulnerability of it results in the decrease of the rate of social trust.

- There is no relation between social order and security in the society and the rate of social trust.

- There is meaningful relation between sex and social trust. Thus, there is any difference between the rate of male and female social trust.
- There is meaningful relation between age and social trust. Thus, the rate of social trust among various age groups is not the same.
- There is relation and correlation between education level and the rate of social trust. The correlation between these two variables is positive.
- The correlation and relation between social class and the rate of social trust has not been observed. The correlation coefficient proves that there is not any relation and correlation between these two variables. Thus, the assumption of H0 is proved, whereas the assumption of H1 between these two variables is rejected.
- Correlation coefficient between household economic expenses and social trust indicates that there is a correlation between them.
- There is no meaningful relation between marital status and social trust. Thus, being single or married has no influence on decrease or increase of social trust in the society under our study.
- The individual characteristics have any effect on the rate of social trust in this society.

Studies of, Dic lo (1995), Inglehart (1993), Giddens (1998), Fukuyama (1999) and (Valadbigi,2012:84-90) show that in a society with lack of trust there are the following features:

- People generally are pessimistic and suspicious of each other.
- People think they should protect their personal belongings.
- The costs of negotiation and bargain is high.
- People strongly need security and calmness.
- In trade the calculation of risk is very difficult and long-lasting, meanwhile it is considered to be a very necessary process for these kinds of societies.

11. Path analysis

- Path analysis is a kind of multiple regression analysis which can contribute hugely to the fulfillment of research. Path analysis contributes to testing the research hypotheses and also measuring the direct, indirect, and total impact on the dependent variable. What follows is a sketch of the process of path analysis, diagrams, measuring path coefficients, analyzing the correlation to direct and indirect impacts, fitness of the model, and finally interpreting the obtained results.

- The research hypotheses posed in the third chapter are here depicted in form of a causal model. The path diagram shows a series of one-sided lines joining the variables. Regression is needed in measuring the path coefficients, in order to identify the direct and indirect impacts of the independent variables on the dependent variable of social trust. Path coefficient is a part of the variance of the dependent variable which is explained through an independent variable. In measuring the path coefficient we use β or other standardized regression separate coefficients. The fitness of the model can be identified through the multiple determination coefficient.

- According to the coefficients of β as shown in the above table, the amount of the direct impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable of social trust was 0.89, the indirect impact was -0.3, and the total amount of the direct and indirect impacts was 0.59. However, in the process of path analysis there still remains an unknown element called "Error quantity", which indicates of the value of a variable's variance which has not been explained by the other independent variables.

Independent variables	Indirect impacts	Direct impacts	Total effect of direct and indirect impacts
Familial sociability	-	Direct	0.34
Social values	-	Direct	0.02
Gemeinschaft communities	-	Direct	0.21
Religious tenets	-	Direct	0.21
Social security and order	Indirect	-	-0.30
Human relationships	-	Direct	0.11

Table 5. The total amount of the direct and indirect impacts of the independent variables on social trust

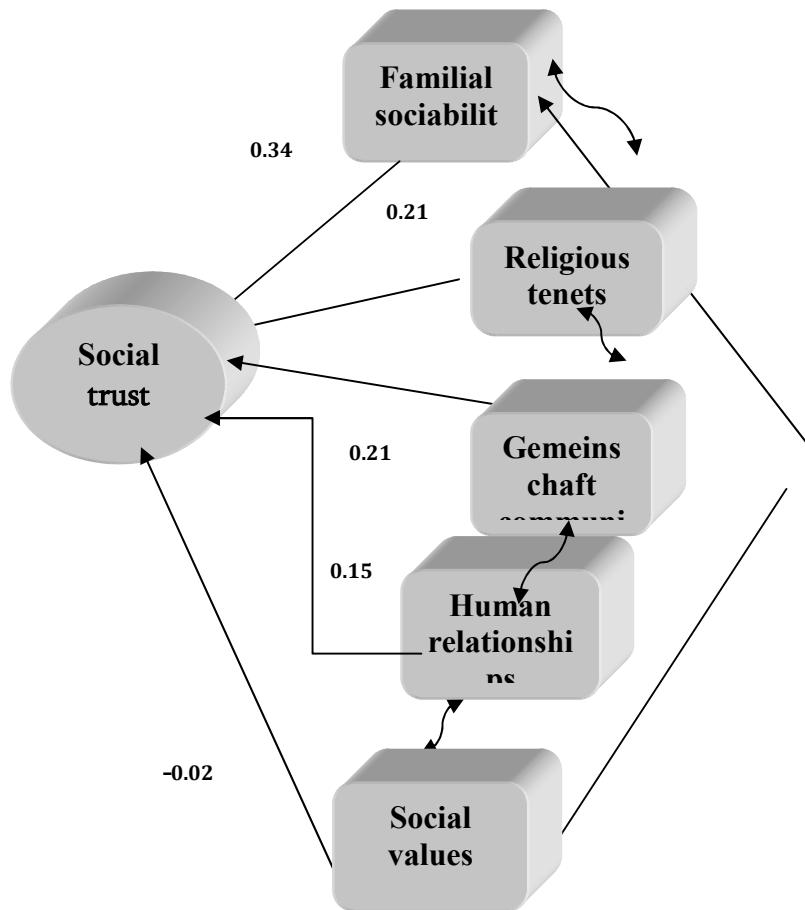


Figure 2. The path analysis diagram and the path coefficients (Beta)

12. Beyond the analysis

The tradition of social trust has studied with interrogation. The reason why I came to my favorite country, i.e. to Armenia is not only for educational purposes but also for my deep interest and eagerness to know more about these peaceful, tolerant and cultured people living in the territory of Caucasus.

I am a Kurd living in Armenia having the same features and backgrounds as my nation and this factor motivated me to study them. Thus, I have lived among them for three summers engaging in cattle

breeding and agriculture. I had personal contact with them having formal and informal interview with them; in short, I lived among them in actual situation. As a matter of fact, my work is based not only on theory but also on actual and real situation, with the help of which the analysis and interpretation of sociological results were much easier to gain.

The interpretation, analysis and justifications of the results of the work are as follows:

- The rate of generalized trust is in the highest level compared with the other two types of trust (abstract and basic).
- The results show that the Yezidis have very high level of trust toward university professors, teachers and Armenians, which proves my claim that Armenians are cultured, intelligent, open-minded and cultural and peaceful.
- Family and familial sociability were crucial factors in social trust, followed by religion and traditional structure of the society (Gemeinschaft society). The total rate of social trust among rural Ezdis was nearly 60% which is quite acceptable compared with the results of other studies in other countries where Yezidis live.

This result is quite satisfactory and it comes to prove that this is the result of the tolerance and co-existence of the Armenian people toward Yezidis. Based on my actual experience and various interviews among Yezidis it can be mentioned that the low level of basic trust is the result of the socio-economic crisis in the territory of Caucasus after the independence, the difficulty of life, high rate of household expenses and the vagueness of their religious and ethnic future.(Dulz,2004)

Engelhart (1990) examined the cultural and economic prerequisites of a stable democracy. They have represented the features of this political culture through three indicators including having trust in each other, satisfaction with life, and supporting revolutionary changes. Their studies revealed that like satisfaction with life and the sense of luckiness, trust in each other has a high correlation with economic development. However, they were at loss to determine if that correlation was the result of trust's contribution to economic development, or that economic development leads to increased sense of security and trust, or if these two processes reinforce each other. (Engelhart, 1990)

- The high rate of generalized trust in our society under study can be justified by the relative improvement of life conditions and economic prosperity in Armenia during the last decade compared with the first years of independence (i.e. The 90s).

Due to his emphasis on trust and investigating its economic effects, Fukuyama has got a significant place among the scholars of the very field. According to Pessey (2000), Fukuyama has striven to compare the economic performance of different communities based on the varied levels of trust. As the existing level of trust in the society determines the amount of democracy and the society's potentials for competing in the economic area.

Researches in 29 countries revealed that there is a relationship between the level of trust and the economic performance of the society. To struggle with public chaos we need large amounts of money, however, cultivating trust decreases most of these costs.(Valadbigi,2011)

Various variables of social capital and trust have been applied in the international values surveys. Among the 29 under study countries, Knack and Keefer (1997) have reported a strong relation between universal trust and the level of investment.

- Gemeinschaft society is stimuli for high rate of trust and most of the classic figures of sociology confirm it. Yezidis living in rural community have acceptable rate of trust which is relevant with the traditional structure of their society. (Durkheim, 2006)

According to Tunnis, the trust-based relationships just can be observed in the gemeinschaft. Trust is an end taking place within the social context and gemeinschaft economy. The trust-based relationships and trustworthy individuals, at the other hand, are just present in the natural community. One trusts his family members and friends as his sense is based on the similarities and mutual understanding and this process is consistently enriched by the common activities and experiences. Trust is the core concept of social integrity that is strengthened by the religious and ethical values, and trust in turn, facilitates trust relations and increases social integrity. In the traditional communities or gemeinschaft, like respect and the sense of personal assets, trust is a virtue; however, in gesellschaft, trust is treated as an impersonal formal asset. (Tonnes, 2005:156)

Parsons argue that how a community functions is well dependent on the type of the community (i.e., local, national, and international) and the

characteristics of other sub-cultures (cultural, political, and economic) and how they interact with each other. In the traditional communities where minor local communities are common, particularism, emotionalism, relationalism, and predilection are the major characteristics of the community. In contrast, in the modern communities, however, generalism, intellectualisms, respecting the criteria, and so on are widespread.

In Parsons' point of view, then, the societal community at macro-level is the sign of collective integrity and national unity. (Valadbigi, 2009: 199-200) Putting it differently, traditional social capital or in-group trust exists in the traditional communities, at the other hand; the modern society enjoys new social capital of out-group trust.

• Religion and religious tenets have always been a crucial factor in social environments which is considered to be one of the basic institutions of society and in this study it is as an independent variable or social factor.

One of the major peculiarities of Yezidis is their religious identity. Most of the time they are recognized by their religion and they think that due to this factor they are differentiated or separated from others.

If we compare the life of Yezidis in Caucasus countries such as Armenia and Georgia with other countries where Yezidis live -especially in Iraq- we can notice that they are under pressure, pursuit and torment. Inhere they experience tolerance and freedom in their believes. During this study many times the emphasis was on this essential factor.

If we take a look at the model of this study, we can easily notice that throughout the investigation the results prove the theory and the theory is proved by the results.

According to Giddens, trust is the inevitable way of social life and a component of modernity. In the traditional cultures, however, four local areas including kinship, local community, tradition, and religious cosmology are in distinctive relation with trust. (Giddens, 2004:181)

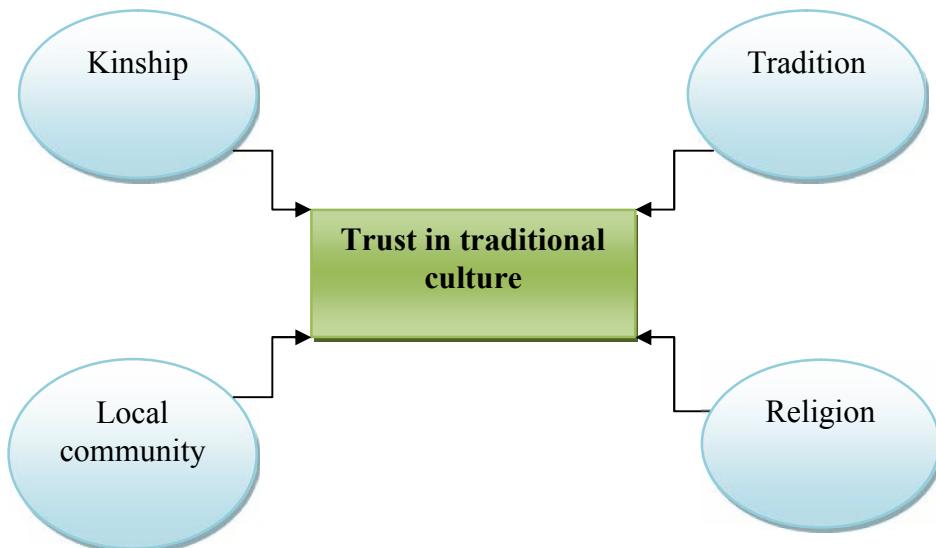


Fig. 3. Factors affecting social trust in the traditional culture (Giddens, 1999: 120)

Giddens argues that the main sources of trust of the traditional societies no longer hold their importance in the modern ones. He asserts that a genuine relationship is dependent on a close relationship with intimacy. If one wants to build trust, he should trust the other side and he himself be trusted in the context of his relationship. Maintaining the authenticity of this intimate relationship requires us to consider the same balance that we hold between autonomy and integrating with the other side.

According to Yezidi religious teachings, relationships are not defined by blood ties alone. They may also be defined by belief in the same deity and by the symbols of tribes and clans. There is a Yezidi saying, "Believing in the same God unites people," meaning that people of different blood can be thus united by their beliefs. Every Kurd is proud of his tribe and dynasty.(Valadbigi,2012)

Giddens applies distrust as the opposite of trust which contains distrust in the abstract individuals and systems. Trust in the systems, however, takes the shape of a faceless fidelity through which the faith in efficiency of knowledge is kept, to which the individual has no idea. (Giddens, 1998:119)

Valadbigi believes abstract trust has a long history in the eastern societies, as these groups and institutes satisfy peoples' needs through their

activities, establish social obligation and bonds among them and provide them with relief. Peoples' satisfaction with these groups results in their satisfaction with the whole system and government and creates public legitimacy. Across those societies where the institutes which function as the mediator between the nation and the government, have not taken shape, however, the NGOs can do this and contribute to social integrity and cohesion. Unfortunately, the Iranian' today society does not enjoy from a high rate of this type of trust. (Valadbigi, 2011)

• The high rate of trust of Yezidis or their considerable trust to organizations or institutions is relevant again to the structure of their social environment. The rate of 60% of trust can be as an indicator of their deep satisfaction of their society as well as homeland. The results of my various interviews state that most of them are free and happy among the Armenian nation without any obvious discrimination or segregation.

In Armenia, the 42,000-strong but declining Kurmanji (Kurdish)-speaking Yezidi population lives peacefully alongside the Orthodox apostolic Armenian majority. It is a conditional coexistence. (Ahiyan, 2008)

Of a total Kurdish population of 20 million worldwide, perhaps five percent or 1 million identify as Yezidi, but only in Armenia is there a war of words over the reality of a Yezidi/Yezidi Kurd divide. At public meetings in Armenia where minority issues are discussed, Yezidi Kurds are mocked and often shouted down, as if their mere presence threatened Armenian Yezidis' tenuous survival odds. (Asiyan, 2008), (Ahiyan, 2008), (Asatryan, 2012) and (Valadbigi, 2012)

• Family was another crucial variable in this studying order to trace and evaluate the trust. It has been a very important social institution in every society as well as among Yezidis under study with strong and determined roles and functions. (Durkheim, 2008), (Parsons, 2006), (Marx, 2004) and (Valadbigi, 2011) have always emphasized the role and importance of the function of family especially in traditional societies.

Social system, according to Parsons, is composed of four sub-systems: cultural, social, personal, and economic. Social trust is the function of these four items which contains social correlation and cohesion, pattern keeping, determining and achieving to goals, and adaptation. According to Parsons, symbols of thought, force, obligation, and money in these four sub-systems protect social order and security. If every action system

functions properly in the social systems, then one can expect a sustainable secure social order. (Parsons, 1996:86)

A decisive clue to the differences and the similarities among cultures and to the economic patterns shaped by them can be found in family structure. No society is without one. Yet, the family can become a decisive center of exclusive loyalty to its own members or a center that nurtures those values that encourage family members to interact easily with people outside their family. (Valadbigi, 2012:128)

If all other institutions are seen as threats or as resources to be exploited for the family, it is likely that certain family-based institutions will become the primary network of economic activity, and other institutions will have diminished levels of commitment, time, energy, money, and power. People do not share resources with groups they do not trust. The range of trusting and trustworthy interaction can be contracted or expanded by the family and the family's relationship to other institutions in society.

13. Tentative conclusions

Social trust is one of the critical aspects of human relationships which pave the ways for human beings cooperation and social engagement. It is why it has been always the focus of sociologists' research.

With respect to the fact that our research is intended to examine social trust and the elements influencing it among the Armenian Yezidi-populated rural areas, our analysis id decided to be the individual respondent, and then it is conducted at a micro-level.

There is correlation and a meaningful relationship between social trust and familial sociability, as the higher the socialization of children by their families is, the higher the rate of social trust will be and vice versa. That is, by increasing the social values of the target society, the rate of social trust increases, and vice versa. So, the social values were not considerably affecting the state of social trust in the society under study. The value of the correlation coefficient was positive, and this shows that by increasing the rate of religious tenets, the level of social trust will increase subsequently, and vice versa.

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PERCEPTIONS OF EUROPEAN ANTI-AMERICANISM REFLECTED IN ROMANIAN CULTURAL JOURNALS

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Abstract:

This study aims to highlight the main characteristics of Western European anti-Americanism – a long-standing phenomenon, which has become more powerful and widespread after the end of the Cold War – from a Romanian perspective. After a brief presentation of some of the most representative features of anti-American attitudes identified by scholars in the field, I will analyse several articles published in the last decade in two Romanian cultural journals – *Revista 22* and *Dilema Veche* – focusing on their authors' perception of Western European exacerbated criticism of America.

Key-words:

Anti-Americanism, Western Europe, Romanian.

Rezumat:

Percepții ale antiamericanismului european reflectate în publicații culturale românești

Studiul de față își propune să evidențieze principalele caracteristici ale antiamericanismului vest-european – un fenomen cu tradiție îndelungată, care a devenit mai puternic și mai larg-răspândit după sfârșitul Războiului Rece – dintr-o perspectivă românească. După o prezentare succintă ale câtorva dintre trăsăturile cele mai reprezentative ale atitudinilor antiamericane identificate de cercetătorii din domeniu, voi analiza o serie de articole publicate în ultimul deceniu în două publicații culturale românești – *Revista 22* și *Dilema Veche* – concentrându-mă asupra percepției autorilor cu privire la critica acerbă a Americii de către vest-europeni.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Antiamericanism, Europa de Vest, românesc.

1. Preliminary comments on European anti-Americanism

Anti-Americanism is not a recent phenomenon, as the roots of criticisms against the United States can be traced back to late eighteenth – early nineteenth century, when European intellectuals first targeted America as a

source of their discontent. As numerous analysts of the phenomenon have pointed out, long before America gained enough power to constitute a real threat to other nations, European elites had already started to feel resentment towards it and describe it using negative tropes which are still present in European anti-American discourse.¹

Despite its long-standing history and the large number of studies in the field, anti-Americanism is extremely difficult to define. Analysts of the phenomenon have not been able to reach a consensus and propose a clear-cut definition. Instead, they agree that any discussion related to anti-Americanism should incorporate a variety of views regarding possible explanations of the phenomenon, as well as its sources and forms of manifestation.

Lengthy studies have been dedicated to the analysis of the nature of anti-Americanism. Many authors consider that not any criticism or reaction against the United States of America should be seen as anti-American, arguing that there are significant differences between objective observations of the negative impact of American policies and worldwide influence and subjective, unfounded tendencies to always perceive America in a negative light.²

In his definition of anti-Americanism, Paul Hollander shows that not all complaints against America are symptoms of anti-Americanism. He includes in the latter category criticisms that are determined by people's subjective reactions, by their emotional response to things they perceive as American or having originated from America rather than by what America really does to provoke such negative reactions. Hollander admits that:

“...hostility toward the United States, and especially certain aspects of American culture, is not always or entirely irrational, and even some of its irrational manifestations may originate in conditions that warrant concern”³.

However, he states that the specific type of hostile attitudes which can be described as anti-American are largely irrational and not related directly to American actions.

In a more recent study, Hollander compares two conflicting perceptions of anti-Americanism in terms of whether it stems from reason

¹ See Kroes and van Roseem, 1986; Lacorne et al., 1990; Rubin and Rubin, 2004; Roger, 2005; O'Connor and Griffiths, 2006; Markovits, 2007.

² See Hollander, 1992; Hollander, 2004; Berman, 2004; O'Connor and Griffiths, 2006; McPherson and Krastev, 2007; Markovits, 2007.

³ P. Hollander, 1992, p. XI.

or emotion. According to one of these perceptions, anti-Americanism appears as a rational and to a large extent reasonable reaction to American actions, as “*an entirely plausible and justified response to the nature of American society and U.S. foreign policy*”⁴. This type of reaction against America requires little analysis in Hollander’s opinion. A much more interesting and challenging explanation of the phenomenon is provided by the opposite perception, which depicts anti-Americanism as an emotional reaction determined more by one’s inability to deal with the immediate environment than by America itself.

Hollander considers that the understanding of emotion-driven anti-Americanism requires thorough analysis, which should focus on issues such as the complex and often ambivalent nature of the phenomenon, or the various sources of criticisms against America. Due to its irrational character, anti-Americanism encompasses ambivalent attitudes of attraction toward and rejection of the United States. In many cases, it is also based on a process of generalization, as critics of America only choose to focus on its negative side and perceive it as “*an unmitigated and uniquely evil entity and the source of all, or most, other evils in the world*”⁵, thus assuming American influence to be the main cause of all the difficulties people have to face.

There are several other analysts of the phenomenon that share Hollander’s view on anti-Americanism as a mainly irrational response. One of them is Roger Kimball, who emphasizes the lack of logical reasoning in the discourse of many anti-American supporters:

“*Anti-Americanism is hard to argue with. I don’t mean that there is an abundance of good arguments in favor of the phenomenon. Quite the contrary: in so far as arguments enter the arena at all, they usually lean heavily on assertion backed up by belligerence and cliché. But it is seldom that argument does enter. Anti-Americanism has always been more a matter of attitude than argument. It depends on, it draws its strength from, the wells of passion, not reason.*”⁶

Russell Berman also focuses on the apparent resistance of anti-Americans to reasonable argumentation, as well as on their tendency

⁴ P. Hollander, 2004, p. 9.

⁵ P. Hollander, 2004, p. 12.

⁶ R. Kimball, 2004, p. 239.

to automatically and constantly associate America to negative values. In his view, one of the main characteristics of anti-Americanism is that its source can be found in people's imagination, in their perception of America, rather than in America itself. He goes as far as stating that due to all these aspects the phenomenon "*functions as a prejudice, magnifying the power and presence of its presumed opponent, turning it into a ubiquitous threat*"⁷. Therefore, the core features of anti-Americanism are represented by generalization, overreaction to real and mostly imagined threats, reconstruction of reality based on people's biased interpretation of American actions.

Andrei Markovits also defines anti-Americanism as a prejudice, as a:

*"generalized and comprehensive normative dislike of America and things American that often lacks distinct reasons or concrete causes"*⁸.

Similar explanations of the concept are provided by many of the researchers whose conclusions are presented in *The Rise of Anti-Americanism*, a book-length study edited by Brendon O'Connor and Martin Griffiths. In the introductory chapter, the two editors define anti-Americanism as "*a disposition or sensibility rather than a substantive set of beliefs or arguments*", which implies "*an across-the-board abhorrence of American politics, culture and people*"⁹ and advocate the need to differentiate between reasonable criticism and emotionally-driven negative views. In another chapter, O'Connor argues that the nature of anti-Americanism is a heterogeneous one and that the phenomenon is characterized by:

*"a series of criticisms and prejudices regarding the United States that have haphazardly been labeled anti-Americanism"*¹⁰.

2. Romanian perceptions of Western European anti-Americanism

The articles discussed below are selected from two prestigious Romanian cultural journals, namely *Revista 22* and *Dilema Veche*. As I will show further in my study, they illustrate many Romanian intellectuals' wonder at the increasingly aggressive European anti-Americanism, which they often describe as an unfounded and irrational phenomenon.

⁷ R. Berman, 2004, p. 34.

⁸ A. Markovits, 2007, p. 17.

⁹ P. O'Connor and M. Griffiths, 2006, p. 1.

¹⁰ P. O'Connor, 2006, p. 11.

In an article published in 2003 in *Revista 22* entitled “A căzut o stea (din drapelul American?)” (“A Star has Fallen (from the American Flag?)”, Traian Ungureanu refers to anti-Americanism as a symptom of a world that is still trying to find its direction after the terrorist actions forced all countries to redefine their positions. The starting point of the discussion is represented by the disintegration of Space Shuttle Columbia in February 2003. If a similar catastrophe which resulted in the destruction of Challenger in 1986 had simply been perceived as a technical failure, the 2003 catastrophe was used as a pretext by critics of America, who interpreted it as a sign that American society is doomed to fail, or even that divinity itself is no longer on America’s side. Ungureanu considers this case is a very good illustration of how anti-Americanism functions. He shows that this ideology is based on selective reading of real events, whose interpretation serves the purpose of reinforcing the validity of anti-American ideas.

The same selective feature of anti-Americanism is emphasized by Andrei Cornea. In his article “Pacifistii noștri dragi” (“Our Dear Pacifists”), published in the same journal, Cornea expresses his amazement at the large number of protests against American military presence in Iraq, as well as at the heterogeneous structure of protesting groups, whose members come from a large variety of social strata and have different education and income levels. What is even more surprising is the existence of strong protests in Western European countries as France, Germany or Switzerland, whose governments have publicly expressed they do not support America’s war on terrorism and will not send their own troops in Iraq. In these countries such protests are therefore futile, which makes Cornea wonder whether peace is really the protesters’ main concern, or it only serves as a pretext for them to express their general dissatisfaction with the world they live in, choosing America as a target:

“What do these protests – which otherwise reflect the European public opinion’s reaction against the war in Iraq – indicate? Pacifism, or rather no longer dissimulated anti-Americanism? Or maybe, at a deeper level, the projection of an irrepressible and unconscious fear of the large Muslim communities within European countries, the fear to lose their national identity, the fear of decadence, as well as remaining traces of left-wing

ideology according to which capitalism and America are the Great Satan.”¹¹ (my translation)

Cornea identifies more proofs to sustain his argument that the protests are anti-American rather than anti-war. For example, he notices the protesters' selective approach on war-related issues. Most criticisms target representatives of American power and its allies, while terrorist leaders as Saddam do not get the same negative attention. Similarly, Cornea finds it curious that such movements were not organized or did not have the same intensity in Europe during the Yugoslavian crisis, when geographically war was actually closer to Europeans than it is now.

Anti-American discourse is described by Cornea as highly paradoxical, especially because although America is blamed no matter what it does, people continue to have unrealistic expectations from it, requiring U.S. policies and actions to respect standards they would not consider necessary if another country implemented them. The journalist suggests another paradox is represented by the fact that when Europeans openly express their complaints against American violence and use of force, they do so knowing the U.S. will not actually retaliate. This might explain why they gather in such large numbers to show their opposition to America and its allies for participating in the war, but are more reserved in challenging representative figures of terrorist groups.

In another article published in 2005, Cornea focuses again on the Western Europeans' tendency to expect America to never fail, then express their joy when it does and perceive the failure as a proof of Europe's superiority. Cornea starts his discussion by describing a contemporary event – hurricane Katrina – and international reactions caused by American authorities' inability to deal with the crisis properly. The perspective he

¹¹ A. Cornea, 2003, “Pacifștii noștri dragi”. Original text: “Ce indică atunci asemenea manifestații, care reflectă de altminteri o opinie publică europeană în majoritate împotriva războiului din Irak? Pacifism, sau mai curând un antiamericanism care nici nu mai încearcă să se disimuleze? Sau poate, mai adânc, defularea unei frici irepresibile și inconșiente de marile comunități musulmane din interiorul țărilor europene, teama de pierdere a identității naționale, teama de decadență, cât și un stăngism rezidual pentru care capitalismul și America rămân Mareale Satan”.

adopts is based on the perception of America not simply as a state whose evolution has nothing in common with that of European countries, but rather as:

“the quintessence of our world: with its technical advantages, its wide diversity, but also with its troubles, its poverty, its fanaticism, its bravery”¹² (my translation).

The city of New Orleans, where the hurricane produced extreme damage, also illustrates Cornea's point: the city is a mixture of civilizations – the traces of the French influence and the presence of American capitalism in the form of sky-scrappers, as well as a mixture of lifestyles – people populating the sky-scrappers shared the city with others who lived in slums and could not even afford to leave the city to save themselves. It is this blending that makes American society similar to any other. Consequently, blaming American authorities exclusively for not knowing how to deal with an event as Katrina is an inappropriate reaction, as similar problems could occur in other countries as well. According to Cornea:

“It would be ridiculous or superficial these days to point our finger at America contemptuously or to release our own frustrations by patronizing the Americans because they have not risen up to our expectations. Anti-Americanism or Schadenfreude is today more inappropriate than ever.”¹³ (my translation)

In the following lines of his article, he expands on the topic, trying to show the rising criticism against America is unjustified not only because American society has many things in common with European ones, but also because European countries themselves have made serious errors, not being able to control and eliminate damaging social phenomena:

¹² A. Cornea, 2005, “Lemnul strâmb al umanității”. Original text: “...chintesența lumii noastre în ansamblu: cu binefacerile sale tehnice, cu diversitatea sa enormă, dar și cu mizeriile ei, cu sărăcia ei, cu fanatismul ei, cu curajul ei”.

¹³ A. Cornea, 2005, “Lemnul strâmb al umanității”. Original text: “Ar fi ridicol sau superficial zilele acestea să arătăm cu degetul la America cu dispreț sau să ne eliberăm de frustrările proprii privindu-i de sus pe americani fiindcă s-au dovedit mult inferiori așteptărilor avute de la ei. Antiamericanismul sau Schadenfreude sunt astăzi mai deplasate decât oricând”.

“Who is better? The Germans? God forbid! The Russians, the Chinese? Ridiculous. The French? Remember the Terror! The Swiss? Remember Calvin’s Geneva. The Spanish? Remember the Inquisition! The Romanians? Remember the miners’ protests!”¹⁴ (my translation)

Cornea concludes his comparison by clearly stating that in his opinion the same flaws the U.S. is blamed for can be identified in European societies. Furthermore, he states there are several American values that should represent an example for citizens from other countries:

“Therefore, we ourselves are like America – or worse: wherever we are, we are at least as bad as them – or worse: careless, superficial, violent, unrestrained, locked in our selfishness. Our politicians are like theirs – or much worse; we violate values we had promised to respect just like them – or much more frequently. On the other hand, we do not have their enthusiasm, their optimism, their efficiency, their power.”¹⁵ (my translation)

Petre Iancu also argues that in many cases critiques of America are unjustified and represent the need to project other countries' own failures onto a nation they perceive as more powerful. In his article “La bursa antiamericanismului” (“At the anti-American Stock Exchange”), published in 2008, he states that the target of such projections is often a group or a nation whose evolution produces paradoxical feelings of distaste, fear, and at the same time envy. Unfortunately, the critics' perception relies on subjective selection of information: in the case of anti-Americanism, as in the case of anti-Semitism, only negative aspects are integrated in critical discourse, while positive ones are ignored:

¹⁴ A. Cornea, 2005, “Lemnul strâmb al umanității”. Original text: “Cine sunt mai breji? Germanii? Ferească Dumnezeu! Rușii, chinezii? Ridicol. Francezii? Amintiți-vă de Teroare! Elvețienii? Amintiți-vă de Geneva lui Calvin. Spaniolii? Amintiți-vă de Inchiziție! Românii? Amintiți-vă de mineriade!”

¹⁵ A. Cornea, 2005, ”Lemnul strâmb al umanității“. Original text: “Așadar, noi însine suntem ca America – sau mai rău: oriunde am fi, suntem cel mult ca ei – sau mai rău: neglijenți, superficiali, violenți, incontinenti, închiși în egoismul nostru. Politicienii noștri sunt ca ai lor – sau mult mai rău; valorile în numele cărora ne-am angajat le încălcăm ca și ei – sau mult mai des. În schimb, nu avem entuziasmul lor, optimismul lor, eficiența lor, puterea lor”.

“Blaming those we should admire or be grateful to for all the imaginary wrongs and shortcomings is dishonoring and immoral, but unfortunately very normal. Are the Jews “smart” and gave the Bible to the world? Too bad. And few people can forgive the Americans for repeatedly saving Europe from Nazism and Communism. Or for insisting to export their own freedom and welfare, trying to impose democracy and the rule of law in a world of tyranny.”¹⁶ (my translation)

Another feature of anti-Americanism is that in many cases it is rooted more in people's dissatisfaction with their own society and inability to change their surrounding environment than with American values or policies. As Iancu claims:

“To compensate for our feelings of inferiority it is simpler to denigrate the others than to reach the same position as them. It is easier, for instance, to damage the image of the U.S.A. than to try to raise ourselves at the level of a nation that does not only believe firmly in the intangibility of freedom, dignity and individual rights, but is also ready to bear daily the not inexpensive cost of actions required for protecting its humanist beliefs.”¹⁷ (my translation)

Radu Pavel Gheo presents anti-Americanism as common European ideology. In his article “Ghidul incorrect politic al Europei Unite – partea a doua” (“The Politically Incorrect Guide of United Europe – Part II”), he shows that anti-American discourse has been integrated in the European

¹⁶ P. Iancu, 2008, ”La bursa antiamericanismului“. Original text: “A-i învinui de toate realele și tarele imaginare pe cei pe care ar trebui să-i admirăm sau cărora le datorăm recunoștință este dezonorant și imoral, dar, din păcate, și foarte natural. Sunt evreii ‘deștepti’ și au dat Biblia? Cu atât mai rău. Iar pe americani prea puțini îi pot ierta pentru că au salvat Europa în mai multe rânduri de nazism și comunism. Ori pentru că insistă să exporte propria lor libertate și bunăstare încercând să impună, într-o lume a tiraniilor, domnia democrației și statului de drept”.

¹⁷ P. Iancu, 2008, ”La bursa antiamericanismului“. Original text: “Întru compensarea complexelor noastre de inferioritate e mai simplu să-i denigrăm pe alții decât să ne săltăm pe noi în poziția lor. Mai ușor este, de pildă, să șifonăm imaginea SUA decât să încercăm să ne ridicăm la nivelul unei națiuni, care nu se rezumă la a crede în mod ferm în intangibilitatea libertății, demnității și drepturilor fiecărui om în parte, ci e gata să plătească zilnic și prețul defel ieșin al saptelor, de care e nevoie spre a-și apăra convingerile umaniste”.

mainstream as a unifying element, as an attitude that is common to most Western Europeans. The increasing dissatisfaction with the U.S. became stronger after the end of the Cold War, when Europeans felt they no longer needed the American presence to keep the Soviet Union under control. However, paradoxically, while criticizing America, Europeans are aware that their actions will have no serious repercussions and that they can still rely on the U.S. to provide them support if required.

3. Conclusions

To sum up, the focus of my article was to identify the main characteristics of European anti-Americanism, as they are illustrated in articles written by Romanians. As shown in the previous section of my study, most journalists highlighted the extremely subjective nature of anti-American trends in Europe. The anti-Americans' approach is, according to the cited journalists, based on selection of specific aspects of reality, which convey information about America's failures, ignoring its successes. They also perform a one-sided interpretation of reality, using facts as devices to prove their point that America is somehow inferior to Europe. At the same time, anti-Americans seem to ignore that the same flaws they can identify in American society are also present in European ones, and the threats that America is exposed to can always turn against Europe. The European anti-American attitude is also perceived as a paradoxical one: while creating the image of America as dangerous or unable to compare itself to other societies, Europeans set high standards for the U.S., and have higher expectations from it than from other countries.

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LA CREATIVIDAD DEL LENGUAJE COMO ARMA SOCIAL

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Abstract:

All through the year 2011, movements with similar characteristics have taken place in several countries, movements that were based on a social awakening with an impact upon the economic, political and cultural sphere. It is within this context that one can notice that language is not an isolated element, the socio-linguistic studies or the discourse analysis studies revealing the relationship between language and society as well as the common aspects of their development. The social movement set off in Spain in May 2011 (15 – M), has reunited thousands of people in the public squares where there was talk of the democracy that the people had thought long lost; the movement had as a slogan: *they don't represent us*. The slogans that are being shouted out show the way in which the thinking, the ideas, the political and social situation of a community are being influenced through the concise messages that generate group feelings – real weapons of social struggle.

Key words: power, language, domination discursive structures, context/text control, social influence

Rezumat:

De-a lungul anului 2011 au avut loc în mai multe țări mișcări cu caracteristici similare, bazate pe o deșteptare socială cu impact în sfera economică, politică și culturală. În acest context, se observă că limbajul nu este un element izolat, studiile socio-lingvistice sau de analiză a discursului relevând relația dintre limbă și societate, precum și aspectele comune din evoluția lor. Mișcarea socială semnalată în Spania în mai 2011 (15 – M), a reunit mii de persoane în piețele publice, unde s-a vorbit despre democrația pe care poporul o credea pierdută; ea a avut drept lozincă: *ei nu ne reprezintă*. Sloganele strigate arată modul în care sunt influențate gândirea, ideile, situația politică și socială a unei comunități prin prisma mesajelor concise care generează sentimente de grup, adevărate arme de luptă socială.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Putere, limbaj, structuri discursivee de dominare, control al contextului/textului, influență socială

A lo largo del año 2011 se suceden en varios países una serie de movimientos de características similares que se basan en un despertar social de grupos de población que no están conformes con la situación del

momento¹. En este tipo de movimientos cobrarán gran importancia aspectos sociales, económicos, políticos y también culturales, ya que cada comunidad responderá a estas “revoluciones” desde sus propios referentes y realidades. Es en este contexto donde podemos observar que el lenguaje no será un elemento aislado. En relación a esta situación y tomando enfoques que van desde la sociolingüística, la lexicología o el análisis del discurso veremos algunos ejemplos de la relación entre lengua y sociedad y la evolución conjunta e interrelacionada de ambos elementos.

El papel que juegan los movimientos sociales en la evolución de la lengua. La creación léxica

Si nos centramos en la neología y en su actividad de creación léxica, observaremos que esta no puede ser separada de la realidad histórica, social y cultural en la que aparece.

En la época del Imperio romano se tomaban términos del griego para hablar de “*philosophia*”, “*poesis*”, “*scaena*” porque se consideraba a la cultura helénica como una cultura más elevada en materia de artes y espiritualidad.

También la revolución industrial e ideológica de la Ilustración trajeron, en este caso al español moderno, términos como “*mecánica, civilización, progreso, sociedad, cosmopolita*”.

En la misma línea de relación entre lengua y sociedad, Margarita Garrido (2010) afirma hablando de la independencia de las colonias hispanoamericanas tras la colonización que:

*“Uno de los principales logros de la Independencia fue poner en circulación un conjunto de ideas y un lenguaje con el que la posibilidad de un orden social distinto al colonial se instaló en el imaginario social. Al producirse la crisis del Imperio español y al pasar de la fidelidad al rey a la Independencia, fue necesario definir quiénes y cómo gobernarían, producir una nueva legitimidad y para ello, un lenguaje distinto con el que se pudiera decir y entender el nuevo orden político republicano que se estaba fundando. Los términos **derechos, ciudadano, representación,***

¹ Estos movimientos sociales responden al sobrenombre de “primaveras”, término que se empieza a acuñar a partir de las llamadas “primaveras árabes” que fueron revoluciones populares surgidas en Túnez, Egipto, Libia y Yemen. Más tarde, la situación político-económica en Europa llevará a movimientos de protesta social con puntos en común con aquellos, como el movimiento del 15-M en España.

soberanía, libertad, igualdad, república, elecciones, congreso y constitución se dijeron, se imprimieron y se leyeron en diversos espacios públicos, conformando un repertorio distinto de conceptos y palabras”

De igual forma, si atendemos a los cambios ocurridos en España en los primeros años del siglo XXI, veremos que algunos términos como: “*indignado, mileurista, nini, nimileurista, perroflauta, yayoflauta, Simiocracia, Españistán, crisis, basura, burbuja inmobiliaria, apretarse el cinturón, bajarse los pantalones, vacas flacas, primavera*” aparecen en el vocabulario español, como una semilla que nace de la nada, como el mismo movimiento social que ellos describen.²

La motivación para que ocurra este tipo de evolución lingüística ha sido estudiada como sugiere García Platero (1996) a partir de causas que en algunos casos son objetivas, por la necesidad de nombrar una nueva realidad y en otras ocasiones subjetivas a partir de una necesidad expresiva del hablante.³

Por eso ante esto, y centrándonos en ese aspecto de subjetividad que aparece en la creación léxica y relacionándolo no solo con la necesidad expresiva personal, sino también con la social, debemos pensar que al estudiar el léxico no estamos tratando solo con simples significantes, sino que podemos estar hablando de auténticas armas sociales en forma de significados que pueden ser usados de muy distinta manera, ya sea como instrumento de denominación hacia una manera de construir y controlar nuestra realidad⁴, pero también como un instrumento de categorización, opresión, des prestigio, e incluso desde el punto de vista inverso como herramienta de subversión del status quo, instrumento de difusión de una

² En esta línea se puede consultar el estudio *Creación léxica, registro coloquial y expresividad en los foros de Facebook*, de Libuse Kucerová (2011).

³ Resumen de García Platero 1995-1996 en *El Neologismo español actual*, de Alvar Ezquerra, Manuel.

⁴ Lacan habla de la importancia del lenguaje en la construcción del “yo” en su teoría del desarrollo psicosexual. Para ilustrar esta idea podemos citar a Felluga, Dino que dice: “Lacan is properly post-structuralist, which is to say that Lacan questions any simple notion of either "self" or "truth," exploring instead how knowledge is constructed by way of linguistic and ideological structures that organize not only our conscious but also our unconscious lives.” Esto dará lugar a interesantes interpretaciones acerca de la importancia de “nombrar” y el uso que se puede hacer del lenguaje consciente o inconscientemente, lo que relaciona estas teorías con el análisis del discurso.

ideología, o como elemento de unión dentro de una comunidad. La lengua, según estas ideas y ya sea en forma de poesía o de discurso político, puede mover sentimientos ocultos que generen una fuerza mayor que la de un ejército.

Los mecanismos del poder

Ya que hablamos de la relación entre lenguaje y control social, podemos reflexionar sobre cómo se construye ese control de la sociedad a través del poder. Ese poder puede ser considerado un elemento que se puede obtener o perder, si atendemos a una concepción del poder basada en la economía. También puede considerarse en base a ideas de Foucault⁵ como una hegemonía del conocimiento histórico y científico con un sentido ya no de propiedad, sino de estrategia:

“Para Foucault, el poder no es algo que posee la clase dominante; no es una propiedad sino que es una estrategia. En tal sentido, el poder no se posee, se ejerce y sus efectos no son atribuibles a una apropiación sino a ciertos dispositivos que le permiten funcionar a cabalidad”(Ávila-Fuenmayor, 2007)

Pero quizás en una línea más interesante para nuestro estudio y siguiendo en la misma línea de concepción del poder como estrategia de control social, tenemos los estudios de análisis del discurso de Teun van Dijk (1994). A través de sus teorías, van Dijk dirige nuestra atención hacia los mecanismos más puramente lingüísticos que entran en juego en esta estrategia de control del poder.

No obstante, y en la misma línea, observa también Grijelmo (2000) lo siguiente acerca de las intenciones políticas que se ocultan en el manejo de las palabras por parte de los poderosos:

*“Si hubiéramos acometido un análisis más atento del lenguaje de los nazis habríamos podido detectar la llegada del fascismo en Europa y del nacionalsocialismo en Alemania. Se habrían podido advertir ambos con la progresiva corrupción y barbarización del lenguaje precisamente en la polémica política.”*⁶

Dice Van Dijk (1994) que los grupos dominantes son los que tienen

⁵ Ávila-Fuenmayor, Francisco: *El concepto de poder en Michel Foucault*, 2007, consultado en serbal.pntic.mec.es/~cmunoz11/avila53.pdf

⁶ Grijelmo, Alex. *La seducción de las palabras: un recorrido por las manipulaciones del pensamiento*. Taurus, 2000.

acceso a la manipulación y al uso de estructuras discursivas de dominación, de desigualdad y de limitaciones de la libertad.

Según él, la gente que tiene el poder, desde el presidente, el primer ministro, hasta el profesor, el médico, son personas que hablan, que escriben, que tienen la atención y el reconocimiento de la sociedad y por eso son escuchados, es decir, controlan el discurso público.

El discurso y la comunicación se convierten entonces en los recursos principales de los grupos dominantes. Este es un poder que permite controlar los actos de los demás, define quién puede hablar, sobre qué y cuándo. En referencia a esto podemos observar algunos de los eslóganes que rápidamente aparecen durante el movimiento social del 15-M en España y que buscan precisamente denunciar ese control del discurso por los centros de poder, en este caso, los medios de comunicación: “*no saldremos en los periódicos, saldremos en los libros de historia*”, “*nos mean encima y la tele dice que llueve*”.

Dice Van Dijk que la forma última de poder es la que se ejerce por medio del control mental para conseguir que otros piensen lo que uno quiere. Según él (1994, p.11), “*los grupos que tienen acceso a esas formas de poder y de control social son generalmente grupos que han sido legitimados y tienen a su vez acceso al discurso público. Esto es lo que en Gramci se conoce como hegemonía*”.

Para que un grupo social aparentemente minoritario se enfrente a esa hegemonía para encontrar su acceso al discurso tendrá que hacer uso de algunas de las armas que están a su alcance como manifestaciones, protestas y actos públicos, estrategias de no cooperación y desobediencia civil, ocupación del espacio público, boicots económicos, uso de las redes sociales, y, sobre todo, estrategias de comunicación como el uso de pancartas, carteles, publicación, radio o televisión que difundan un tipo de discurso específico y representativo de sus intereses.

El uso de estas herramientas de protesta social, puede generar la adquisición de mayor poder a través de una mayor variedad de acceso discursivo, es decir, se trataría de una apropiación de los medios en los cuales se ha desarrollado el discurso del poder de forma tradicional.

Para ilustrar esta idea de relación entre lengua y sociedad, podemos estudiar un caso concreto en el que se vean reflejadas algunas de estas características.

El movimiento 15-M. Lenguaje y poder

El llamado movimiento 15M nace como un movimiento ciudadano que se despliega en mayo de 2011 por toda España. Un 15 de mayo de 2011, un colectivo llamado *Democracia Real Ya* reúne a miles de personas

en plazas de toda España. Se realizan asambleas, comisiones, acampadas con una organización casi de pequeñas ciudades, con el fin común de llevar la democracia que se sentía perdida al pueblo, de llevar la voz y las decisiones sobre sus propias vidas a aquellos sectores que se sentían negados. Todo ello bajo el lema: *no nos representan*⁷

Este movimiento es rápidamente calificado por los distintos centros del poder como: “*antisistema, perroflautas, jóvenes, violentos, alteradores del orden*”, pero sus miembros se empeñan en decir que no son un grupo antisistema, sino una alternativa necesaria, que no son solo jóvenes, sino que son el pueblo, que no ejercen la violencia, sino que se defienden de ella.

Ahora, en este contexto de rebelión social, estamos presenciando justo un movimiento que pretende alzar su propia voz con los elementos que tengan a su mano para, de alguna forma, intentar tomar el poder. El pueblo, ahora, como minoría, parece querer tomar la palabra, el discurso.

En definitiva, la lucha está servida y la dialéctica encontrará un campo de batalla donde surgir como arma revolucionaria, pues esos mismos centros de poder que desprestigian a este colectivo y transmiten su mensaje de autoritarismo verán como, en este caso, algunas de sus propias armas de control social pueden ser usadas precisamente para luchar contra el sistema establecido.

La subversión de los actos discursivos

Podemos entonces pasar a analizar cómo se gesta en este contexto esa subversión del poder precisamente utilizando armas como el lenguaje que habían sido hegemónicas de otros organismos hasta este momento.

Tomemos, por ejemplo, dos aspectos nombrados por Van Dijk como: control del contexto, y control del texto.

Si el primero se refiere a que los sujetos poderosos controlan el lugar, el momento, los temas, los participantes en un discurso para ejercer su hegemonía vemos que, en contraposición, los movimientos populares hacen un intento de, precisamente, tomar la calle como lugar, incluir a todos los participantes como sea posible, realizar asambleas con intención de alzar la voz y tomar decisiones e incluso hacer uso de las redes sociales con las que

⁷ Fuentes: http://www.cadenaser.com/espana/articulo/cronologia-15-m/csresrpor/20110612csresrnac_4/Tes, y <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/06/12/espana/1307896186.html>

muchos de ellos han crecido.⁸

En cuanto al control del texto, deberemos hacer también una división según esquemas de Van Dijk entre el control de las superestructuras y el control del lenguaje.

Si bien, las superestructuras están bajo control del poder en el caso de la prensa, la televisión y otras formas de comunicación, podemos afirmar que los carteles, los lemas y los eslóganes aparecen como una fuerte alternativa que se caracteriza por creatividad en los niveles sintácticos, semánticos y léxicos a través de juegos de palabras, humor, contrastes, realidades compartidas, y también el uso de un lenguaje coloquial, sencillo, en un nivel de discurso fácilmente aceptado que se acerca mucho al de la industria del entretenimiento para llegar más fácilmente y de forma más benéfica a distintos estratos de la población.

En relación a esta situación, Gene Sharp (1993), otro de los grandes teóricos de la revolución como estrategia para acabar con una dictadura, nos ofrece interesantes reflexiones acerca de cómo un grupo puede rebelarse ante el poder establecido:

“Si las influencias psicológicas e ideológicas llamadas factores intangibles que normalmente inducen a las personas a obedecer y a ayudar a los gobernantes son debilitadas o invertidas, la población va a estar más inclinada a desobedecer y a no cooperar.”⁹

Algunos de los métodos de acción observados y catalogados por este autor, incluyen, además de algunos de intervención física, social o económica, otros que se acercan más al tema analizado aquí y basados en estrategias de comunicación como: consignas, caricaturas y símbolos (escritos, pintados, dibujados, impresos, gesticulados, hablados y parodiados); estandartes, carteles y comunicaciones desplegadas; volantes, panfletos y libros; nuevos signos y nombres y/o nombres simbólicos.

Es en este momento donde podemos analizar más concretamente cuáles son los elementos y estructuras lingüísticas que aparecen en el movimiento 15-M y cómo se enmarcan dentro de las ideas expresadas en este artículo.

⁸ Algunas de estas técnicas aparecen citadas en *El lenguaje y las prácticas de los nuevos movimientos sociales*, Carmona-Sevilla 22-26 sept. 2008.

⁹ Gene Sharp, *De la Dictadura a la Democracia*, 1993, p. 52.

Los eslóganes del 15-M, o cómo el lenguaje influye en los movimientos sociales.

Las características de cómo el lenguaje actúa como elemento subversivo del discurso dentro del contexto del movimiento social del 15-M pueden ser resumidas de la siguiente manera:

- Simbolismo en el lenguaje. Es un elemento que juega con la dicotomía y el significado de nosotros/ellos. Algunos ejemplos son “*si luchamos podemos perder, si no estamos perdidos*”, “*si la política es un chiste, ¿por qué no nos hace gracia?*”, “*no somos mercancía en mano de políticos y banqueros*”, “*no podemos apretarnos el cinturón y bajarnos los pantalones al mismo tiempo*”. El uso en plural hace que nos sentamos incluidos en un gupo frente a un “enemigo” común (esto creará pertenencia a un grupo amplio, cultural, lingüístico, vecinal, etc...) También conceptos como “abajo/arriba”, e incluso “izquierda/derecha” (aunque esto en menor medida ya que el movimiento huye de ideologías como hemos visto anteriormente).

- La presentación que se hace de “nosotros” es una imagen positiva con elementos asociados a la justicia, hermandad, fe, esperanza, bondad, solidaridad, frente a una imagen negativa de “ellos” que aparecen como ladrones, injustos, explotadores, manipuladores, malvados, insensibles, etc... Esto a la vez rompe con los intentos del poder de calificar al otro con términos como “*antisistema, perroflautas*”, etc. Algunos ejemplos de esto son: “*El pueblo no es anti-sistema, el sistema es anti-pueblo*”, “*Sol nunca había brillado tanto*”, “*no hay pan para tanto chorizo*”, “*no falta dinero, sobran ladrones*”

- Muchos de los temas representados apelan a un sentimiento o realidad común de gran parte de la población que los hace fácilmente identificables. En algunos casos son motivaciones fuertemente emotivas como la de perder una casa, el paro, la falta de derechos básicos. Esta asociación emocional es parte de la construcción de un modelo que hace que algo se reciba con más intensidad. Ejemplos: “*sin casa, sin curro, sin pensión, sin miedo*”, “*tu banco y cada día el de más gente*”¹⁰.

- Estas formas de expresión se alimentan de la forma del lenguaje

¹⁰ Juego de palabras de la palabra “banco” como entidad financiera o como mobiliario urbano donde duerme alguien que está en la calle porque no tiene dinero.

publicitario en aspectos como su inmediatez, brevedad, uso del juego lingüístico e ideológico, tamaño limitado para que pueda aparecer en una pantalla de televisión, en una foto, en un cartel, o que se pueda leer y recordar fácilmente, por ejemplo: “*yes we camp*”, “*pienso, luego estorbo*”, “*parados, movéos*”, “*no podemos apretarnos el cinturón y bajarnos los pantalones al mismo tiempo*”, “*si acabas la carrera en España tienes tres salidas: por tierra, mar y aire*”, “*tu banco y cada día el de más gente*”, “*me sobra mucho mes al final del sueldo*”, “*me gustas democracia, pero estás como ausente*”.

- Pueden ser también clasificados en diferentes subtipos de mensajes. Por ejemplo estarían los que apelan a la burla y satirización de los centros del poder (“*no hay pan para tanto chorizo*”, “*no somos mercancía en mano de políticos y banqueros*”), los que llaman y motivan a una movilización activa (“*si luchamos podemos perder, si no estamos perdidos*”, “*parados, movéos*”, “*¿qué le vas a decir a tus hijos cuando te pregunten qué hacías? viendo la tele?*”, “*apaga la TV enciende tu mente*”), los que ofrecen una visión esperanzadora casi romántica (“*Sol nunca había brillado tanto*”, “*otro mundo es posible*”, “*las ideas también son armas*”, “*mis sueños no caben en tus urnas*”), los que buscan la denuncia (“*no somos mercancía en mano de políticos y banqueros*”, “*Error 404: Democracia not found*”, “*Ni cara A, ni cara B, queremos cambiar de disco*”, “*El pueblo no es anti-sistema, el sistema es anti-pueblo*”) y más clasificaciones que serían posibles atendiendo al tipo de cada mensaje.

- Las superestructuras donde aparecen pueden ser papeles, cartones, muros, la calle, el mobiliario urbano o incluso el propio cuerpo. Todos ellos lugares alternativos con gran significado de uso popular. Por extensión, también acabarán incluyéndose las redes sociales, e incluso la prensa y la televisión que se convertirán en difusoras de este mensaje.

Conclusiones

Como vemos, el eslogan en este tipo de movimiento social refleja a partir de un ejemplo lingüístico no exento de contenidos y referentes culturales un sentir popular con una intención de subvertir el poder establecido y de influir sobre el resto de habitantes.

A partir de las estrategias de control del discurso de los centros de poder tradicionales, estos colectivos toman partido ahora de esas mismas

herramientas para comunicar un mensaje alternativo. Los medios, las formas, los contenidos, y la manera en que estos se difunden nos permiten analizar cómo el pensamiento, las ideas, y la situación política y social de una comunidad pueden estar fuertemente influenciadas por el uso y desarrollo de mecanismos lingüísticos como estos en forma de eslóganes.

El ingenio, la comicidad, las temáticas cercanas a la población y el tipo de mensaje conciso y estudiado para que genere un sentimiento de grupo funcionan como efectivas armas de lucha social.

En este aspecto, no podemos dejar de tratar de la importancia de las redes sociales y de Internet que actúan en este contexto como elementos democratizadores de la información, así como los medios de comunicación tradicionales como algunos programas de televisión que se hacen eco de estos lemas, ya no solo por informar, sino por difundir estos mensajes ingeniosos, creativos y humorísticos dentro de sus intereses de entretenimiento.

Aplicaciones como Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, sms, You tube, o el boca a boca difunden también rápidamente los mensajes actuando además de forma directa como difusores del movimiento social.

Con toda esta evidencia y el interesante análisis que se puede hacer de estos mensajes y de sus formas de difusión, no podemos negar la relación existente entre lenguaje y sociedad, lo que abre un interesante campo de estudio hacia este tipo de movimientos sociales y los elementos lingüísticos que forman parte de ellos.

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THE SILENT TRUTH OF THE ALBANIAN RELIGIOUS SYMBOL AND THOUGHT DURING THE YEARS 1921-1939 UNDER THE ENGLISH FOCUS OF OBSERVATION AND DESCRIPTION

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to highlight one of the frequently discussed periods of the Albanian history; that of the years between 1921 and 1939, whose said and unsaid facts have very frequently been misjudged. Its focus is to bring evidence of the way English visitors, writers, missionaries and journalists of the time have perceived the religious co-existence and the problems that accompanied it, the formal measures undertaken by the government to improve the spiritual relations and the sharp contradictions between both main religious faiths at the time. The paper will also bring evidence of other religious sects in Albania and the way they worshiped God through symbols, customs and principles, which made them a means of introducing light and knowledge even in the most remote areas of the country. The data, descriptions and analysis have been mainly withdrawn from books, published diaries and articles written by foreign visitors of the time or later historians of the Albanian life.

Key words:

Religious co-existence and tolerance, symbolism, truth, principles.

Rezumat:

Această lucrare își propune să analizeze una dintre perioadele cele mai discutate din istoria Albaniei, aceea dintre anii 1921 și 1939, ale cărei evenimente - spuse și nespuse - au fost, în mod frecvent, judecate greșit. Scopul lucrării este acela de a arăta felul în care vizitatori, scriitori, misionari și jurnaliști englezi din acea perioadă au percepțea co-existența unor religii și problemele care au însoțit-o, de a arăta care au fost măsurile formale asumate de către guvern pentru a îmbunătăți relațiile spirituale și de a scoate în evidență ascuțitele contradicții dintre cele două credințe principale din acea vreme. Studiul se va aplica, de asemenea, și asupra altor secte religioase din Albania și a felului în care acestea îl venerau pe Dumnezeu prin simboluri, obiceiuri și principii, care reprezentau o modalitate de a răspândi lumina și cunoașterea chiar și în colțurile cele mai îndepărtate ale țării. Datele, descrierile și analizele au fost, în cea mai mare parte, extrase din cărți, jurnale publicate și articole scrise de vizitatori străini din vremea respectivă sau, ulterior, de istorici ai vieții albaneze.

Cuvinte cheie:

Co-existență religioasă, toleranță, symbolism, adevăr, principii.

The Albanian geographical position has always been a lure for foreign visitors. The eagerness to know what is happening in this small country, almost geographically neglected, in spite of its attractive colorful history, has time after time blown fresh winds from abroad. It is interesting to view the way in which the crash of mentalities within the country reveals itself in the writings of the newcomers who carry with them not only a different nationality, but also a completely different cultural background.

The British and American people who visited Albania were numerous and the reasons for which they focused their research in Albania during the years 1921-1939 were various as well. In this respect, the way in which they perceived the Albanian reality at that time depended on their background, their education or profession, on the awareness they had of this small country, the part of the country they visited, as well as the reason for which they entered it. For mere visitors, Albania was a hospitable land of tough people who were used to carrying a gun with them and had little concern about a governmental imposed law. For politicians and diplomats, it was a country whose boundaries had caused enough trouble to the international diplomatic discussion. For economists, it was a nation on the verge of collapse that was still finding enough space to survive financially; for journalists and ethnographers it was a living museum that proudly displayed civilization manners, attitudes, dress and tools elsewhere forgotten for centuries.

Involved in a new reality, which in most cases reveals itself to be not as bad as they had heard about, these visitors observed the Albanian state at the time. Their writings witness the gasp of surprise when their western mentality faces an almost medieval way of life in this country. They are impressed by the traditional clothes and the fanaticism with which the Albanians preserve customs almost forgotten in Europe. There are a lot of aspects which carry the heart of the Albanian life and culture at the time and which attracted the attention of the visitors to the point that they felt the need to write and share their impressions with a larger public. The writings, in which this gist finds itself best described, provide reliable evidence which should be taken into consideration when trying to rebuild an image of that historical period.

One of the things which impressed most English visitors was the religious co-existence in Albania and the problem of tolerance, the formal measures undertaken by the government to improve the state of the

religious faiths, the contradictions between main religions and the attitude the Albanian had to religion.

A historical approach to the religious dominance in Albania

In October 1938, *Gazeta e Korçës* published an article written by Glaud Golding entitled “King Zog’s Albania” (“Shqipëria e Mbretit Zog”)¹. The journalist described the way Albania had been trying to emerge from the backwardness inherited in centuries and was trying to enter – under the Italian wing – a European age of civilization. The journalist did not forget to write something even about a very hot issue in Albania, *religion*: “*Last April, when the Muslim Zog and the Roman Catholic Geraldine Apponyit got married, the international politicians got pretty surprised; It can’t be!*” (*Gazeta e Korçës*, 8 October 1938) They thought that Albania did not need such a public liberalism in terms of religious tolerance, especially when it came to a very important personality such as the King. Both faiths, the Christian and the Muslim one, had long been setting themselves in opposition and they had been trying to dominate the spiritual world of the Albanians (Ghegs or Tosks², rich or poor, living in central Albania or in bordering areas) and to share the political power in terms of national and international politics. With his marriage King Zog tried to crown all the efforts to settle the religious schism which had been disturbing the social peace that he was trying to introduce in Albania. In fact it had not been that easy for him.

For centuries, Albania had been living through sharp religious contradictions, being the dictum of the Turkish rule. Their pitfalls had been felt by the Renaissance long before King Zog got the throne. Edwin Jacques, a protestant missionary who spent 8 eight years in Albania since 1932, preaching and teaching, wrote a book about the history of Albania entitled “The Albanians”. In his approach to the religious developments he claimed that history had taught the Albanians to appreciate their being patriots more than members of religious communities. This had been the guiding principle of the Renaissance writings of many patriots like Pashko Vasa and Sami bej Frashëri who had “*encouraged the national feeling over all religions*” (Jacques, 1995, p.438), as a dynamic element of the Albanian War of Independence. Religion had in fact been one of the most influential tools used by invaders to dominate the country; and the root of the religious intolerance in Albania went back to its historical developments of the 4th

¹The article was published originally in the *London Evening Standard* on 2 September 1938.

²People in Albania living respectively in the North and the South.

century. Miranda Vickers, who is another well-known researcher and writer of the Albanian history, claims that the religious schism in Albania started during the time this country was inhabited by the Illyrians. While the northern Illyria fully attached itself to the Western Church under the direct influence of the Pope, the southern Illyria felt that devotion to the Easter Church of the Thessaloniki Vicariate would be more convenient for these territories. (Vickers, 1999, p. 3) With the religious movements of the 11th - 12th centuries, Albania was finally organized in three archbishoprics: Naupakt, Durrazzo and Ohrid; most of these still remained under the influence of the Constantinople Patriarchate, while some territories in the northwestern part of Albania kept recognizing the Pope of Rome as their religious authority. (ASHSH, 2007, p. 245) As a result the Albanian North and South were respectively labeled *Catholic* and *Orthodox*.

What happened in Albania after this, can be best summarized in Rose Wilder Lane's words, an American Red Cross missionary that traveled northern Albania with the aim of opening a school there by the early 1920s. She wrote:

"I introduced Albania as a small Catholic minority in the Old Turkish Empire (...). The Albanians became Catholic before the Roman invasion and were such even when the Turkish came. They remained Catholic (...) till after the death of Gjergj Kastriot, when some of the main landlords in the central area, (...) bought their independence by a verbal submission to the Mohammedan faith. The northern tribes have always remained Roman Catholics, while southern Albania is mostly Greek Catholic." (Lane, 1923, p. 218-219)

The general English opinion about the above issue is that the Albanian geographic features added to the above religious discrepancy. In Northern Albania the relief forms, and the opportunities it offered to communication, shaped the cultural and religious views of the people who lived there. The Turkish army could never penetrate the northern Alps completely. The chieftains who controlled the life of these northern tribes did not need to convert their religious faith since there was no one to impose governmental rules to them while under Turkey. Their mates, who lived in more accessible areas of the north – in which the Turkish army could easily exercise its power of invasion – were obliged to convert mainly not because of the religious principles. They did this to be able to protect

their office and in order not to be deprived of the power they had in their regions. As a result, the northern Catholics lived in regions that were closer to Rome and too geographically complicated for the Turkish army to reach, while the northern Muslims lived in regions that were closer to Constantinople, alongside the main roads and closer to the main cities.

That is what happened even with the strong families of the south. Vandeleur Robinson, who was an Englishman working for the League of the Nations, in the function of the Regional Manager for the South-Eastern Europe, explained the reasons why the Albanian leading families had been obliged to convert their faith as follows:

“The peculiar feature of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire was that the distinction between the ruling and subject peoples did not rest upon race, blood, language, geography, or any of the usual criteria of “nationality”; it rested solely upon religion. If you were a Moslem, you counted as a Turk, no matter what your national origin (...) and landowners must turn Moslem if they wished to be sure of retaining their estates.” (Robinson, 1941, p. 13)

This early politics is what characterized later developments between religions and the impact that faith had on the political and social status of the people in Albania.

• ***Religious communities in Albania during 1921 - 1939***

Having always shared a good deal of the historical and political issues in Albania, the religious split in Albania during the years '20 and '30 of the last century, had clear-cut and well-defined boundaries. In order to understand the geographical extent and influence areas of each, the government of King Zog included in a Census organized in 1930, even a question about religious faith. According to its findings, in Albania there were 696.000 Muslims of all sects, 200.000 Orthodox, while only 105.000 were declared Catholics. The most commonly accepted ratio between these main religious communities was respectively 70%, 20% and 10%. Besides, there were even some surprising numbers for other categories: 204 Jewish, 72 Protestants and 85 “others” of which 24 claimed being atheists. (Jacques, 1995, p. 437) Values approximately equal have also been introduced by Joseph Roucek, an American sociologist who wrote many articles about the economic state and cultural heritage of Albania during the 1930s. He claimed that with 71% Muslims, 10% Roman Catholics, and 19% Greek Orthodox, Albania was maybe the only country in Europe where religion

and nationality were not virtual synonyms of one-another. With the presence of some Jewish (who had entered Albania in the late '30s to escape the German discrimination), it definitely distinguished itself from other European countries for the lack of anti-Semitism. (Roucek, 1939, p. 85)

A very interesting observation was that of V. Robinson who noticed that a small community of Uniates was living in Elbasan. They used the Greek language, the old Slavic and even their own language in their religious liturgy; their priests could be married and they considered themselves part of the orthodox faith. The only difference is that they recognized pope as their religious authority. In Europe the Uniates used a compromising attitude between the Orthodox and the political position of the peoples that worshiped Latin rites. According to the same writer this sect was born when the Austrians and the Hungarians invaded orthodox nations and tried to denationalize them by converting their religion to Catholicism; there was an angry reaction, however there was a convenient outcome as well: Uniates. “*From a political point of view,*” explains Robinson, “*the Uniates are the Pope’s “Fifth Column” in the Orthodox Church, in his perpetual struggle for souls; they are the means by which obstinately Orthodox communities in Catholic countries can be pulled half way over the border. The Vatican sometimes finds it worth to expend money upon Uniate communities; and the Uniate Church at Elbasan is a case in point.*” (Robinson, 1941, p. 94)

During his stay in Elbasan, Robinson noticed that even though the religious conversion was forbidden by law in Albania, the Uniate priest of that church did not hesitate to lure new believers with small sums of money as charity offers of the aid fund sent by Rome. Fortunately matters of religion were a great deal less important than those of honor in Albania and the Albanians were tolerant in terms of religion, therefore the Uniates were not persecuted for their religious conversion. (*Ibid.*)

Among the above three main religious groups there was a further subdivision, which considered itself a bridge that united the edges of the power gap between the Muslims and the Christians; they were the Bektashi. The duality of this sect dated from the religious gap of after the death of Gjergj Kastriot (Albanian national leader of the 15th century). Jason Tomes, an American biographer of King Zog of Albania, (2004) introduced the features of this somehow more “*synchronic*” religion, by defining it as a “*half-religion*” of “*Muslims who drink alcohol and consume pork*” (Tomes, 2004, p. 150) The first traces of this faith in Albania go back to the 14th-15th

centuries when Bektashi missionaries were sent in Albania by the Bektashi headquarters in Dimoteka. Since Albania reflected pagan traces in its Christian faith, this new form of worshiping was welcomed by the Albanians at that time.

Carleton Coon was a professor at Harvard University when he undertook a journey in northern Albania in 1929. He was mostly concerned about the Albanian language and the Dinaric characteristics of the Albanian tribesmen of the north. In one of his visits in these regions he came across a group of Muslims, that he called, members of “a heterodox brotherhood”. (Coon, 1950, p. 35) According to the data that they provided for him, the Kheval Family, who founded Egypt, was of Albanian origin. When they moved to Cairo they carried with them even the coffins of their ancestors, one of which had been the founder of the Bektashi sect. Even though by the time C. Coon was writing the report the Kheval Family had converted to Islam and was worshiping the Hannaf rites (part of the Sunni ritual tradition), the temple and the coffins were still preserved. That was the reason why many Albanian dervishes of the XX century were educated in Egypt and the ones that Coon met in north not only had a good knowledge of the Arabian and other Muslim lands, but had also been successful in opening a number of Bektashi monasteries in Has and Gjakova highlands. (Coon, 1950, p. 35)

These findings were supported by John K. Birge (1937), who wrote that according to the data that he had directly received by Nijazi Dedei, the Head of the officially recognized Bektashi Community in Albania, in 1933, the number of the Bektashi in the old Turkish Empire amounted to 7.500.000; 1.500.000 of them lived in its eastern provinces and 200.000 lived in Albania alone. (14) Later, Ali Pashë Tepelena had encouraged the strengthening of this community in order to alienate the Albanian Muslims from the Turkish influence and function as “*hotbeds of the Albanian nationalism*”. (Federal Writers Project, 1939, p. 32) From that time on this sect is reported to have been “*performing charitable offices and spreading the creed of mutual helpfulness and universal love*”; by doing this “*they were incidentally doing what they could to diminish the breach between the Muslim populace and the Christians*”. (ibid.) During the years ’30 this sect had “its golden age” thanks to the official support they received from King Zog. A number of new tekkes and small centers were reestablished in the south and almost all of them would welcome every visitor that knocked on

their doors no matter what his/her religious faith. (Qendra Shqiptare për të Drejtat e Njeriut, 2004, p.170).

The hospitality of this sect is described by Dayrell R. Oakley-Hill, a British inspector of the Albanian Gendarmerie (1928 -1939), in Pilisht near Çorovoda. He was impressed by the atmosphere which was like the “*Arabian Nights*” with “*tables full of chicken, bread, fruit bowls and glasses of grape*”, by the look of the tekke Father “*with a long beard (...) wearing a kind of loose dress and carrying on his head a huge high turban*”, and by the fact that the Father did not mind “*the presence of a female in the tekke*” (Oakley-Hill, 2002, p. 29)

Melville Charter, an American journalist of the National Geographic Magazine (1931), described almost the same reactions. However, there were two special qualities of this sect that attracted his attention in a tekke in Gjirokastra. The first was that around the bed in which he slept there were “*four angles*” and he could not guess whether they were “*Mohammedan or Christian*” as a sign of the duality of this sect. The second was the message conveyed by the words of the head of the tekke, Father Suleiman, about religious tolerance and the religious common truth. “*The world is divided into religions thanks to what each person thinks he has found. However, it is the unknown, the one we are all looking for, the one which unites the whole human beings in one.*” (The National Geographic Magazine Vol. LIX, No.2 , 1931:142) This explains the tolerant paintbrush that is used to describe Bektashism in Albania as a religion, whose main principle lied on brotherhood and love for the humanity.

• ***Religious co-existence and its reflection in the Albanian life***

Even though in the books and articles referred to in this paper, the Albanian is mostly described as a supporter of the religious tolerance, the discrepancy between religions in Albania during the early decades of the last century was a common phenomenon in social and political relationships. This gap at the time was not only geographic. In the description of the Albanian mentality written by the authors of the book “The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and the New” (1939) noticed that the difference between both main religions went beyond the principles and rites of the respective faiths. In fact there were obvious dissimilarities in diet and the way they got dressed, in the approach that Albanians had to the work of women in agriculture and in the attitude they had towards children's education. However, the sharpest religious divergence in Albania lied somewhere near the center where it took another color, that of the

power. In 1921 Harry Eyres, British Minister in Albania between 1922 and 1926, reported to his country's Foreign Office:

"I have been talking with ministers and they strongly claim that there can be no disparity between both religious faiths, and they wish to truly reveal this. However, they say – "There are more of us, Muslims, and consequently we should take the power (...) The Christians, on the other side, agree on submitting themselves only to a majority government, not to a powerful one." (as cited in Vickers, 1999, p.108)

In this respect, English authors report that the Christian community often complained about the way it had been politically treated so far in Albania. Most of the state income in the 1920s was supplied by the national and international trade taxes and duty income that south-eastern Albania (where the orthodox community lived) had with Greece and Yugoslavia (due to its geographical position). However, only a little part of this budget was spent for the southern Albania, the rest went for keeping a national army and the Muslim state administration. Joseph Swire, an English visitor, researcher and historian of the Albanian history of the 1920s and 1930s, in his book "The Rise of a Kingdom" (2005) argues that the Christians had hoped that after the country had gone through its political settlement, they would be fairly treated due to the economic and educational advantages they had in comparison with the Muslim community. However, according to the author that was still a utopic thing to claim for Albania at that period due to the fact that the ex-Turkish functionaries and the powerful Muslim landlords were still in duty and this meant that the order of the past had not changed much till that time.

This was not affected even by the arrival of the American emigrants, who chose to come back to their homeland in the early '20s. Since they were of the southern orthodox origin, they hoped that the education that they had received abroad and the cultural refreshment they were carrying with them when they entered Albania would somehow contribute to a better perspective for the public rights of the Christian community. However they would still have to wait a change of mentality. (Swire, 2005, p. 325) Margaret Hasluck, who resided in Albania for 13 years up to 1939, would address the young Albanians by teaching them:

"You are Muslim, most of the Albanians are, and Europe considers Muslimism as something of the East, Asia and Africa. You should try to

overcome this wrong judgment; your country is in Europe. (...) You are free to handle your religious conviction as you wish, but you should take care that they do not dominate politics. I don't think you are rigid Muslims, furthermore, I could say you are not that even ardent in terms of religious matters. (...) I know that it is difficult but I would hope Albania would involve itself in a deep religious revival (...)". (as cited in Newman, 1936, p. 209-210)

The government did not wish that the religious diversity – whose ties went back to respective international relations of Albanian sects – had further negative outcomes in the national disparity. (Ryan, 1951, p. 320) In 1930 the parliament declared that the Albanian state was non-sectarian “*which gave it the right to exercise its control over religious institutions*” and stated that “*the heads of these institutions, the bishops, their direct subordinates as well as their parsons, should be of Albanian origin and speak the Albanian language*”. (Fischer, 2003, p.169)

In order to calm down the Muslim powerful attitude, Ahmet Zogu chose to create a Cabinet of Ministers which “*balanced the interests of all Ghegs, and Tosks, landowners and merchants, Christians and Muslims.*” (Tomes, 2004, p.123) He would rather discourage people from thinking that since he was a Muslim himself, he would prefer to have Muslims around him, and emphasized that “*the government was secular, without any official religion*” (Jacques, 1995, p. 439) He gave important offices to Pandeli Vangjeli and Kostaq Kote, both orthodox from Korça (Tomes, 2004, p. 123); he declared that “*everyone was entitled to worship his proper religion*”. (Jacques, 1995, p. 439) At that time Albania was on the top of the holiday list in Europe because of the three religious celebrations; 21 days in a year altogether, and even though by 1929 “*Sunday was a holiday for everyone, Muslims could rest even on Friday*”. (Robinson, 1941, p.105)

The government went ever further by giving a patriotic emphasis to the textbooks and educational classes. “*The first reading section of the elementary books started with the sentences: "I am an Albanian. Albania is my country."*” (Tomes, 2004, p. 150) These measures were part of a strategy to show that what Albania needed at that time was that religious institutions committed themselves into a more generous treatment of each-other within the Albanian territories. In order to do this, they needed to get independent charters from their respective higher authorities. It was not an easy enterprise since it involved international relations and required the right people to be carried on. As a first step, the government encouraged the

organization of a congress of the representatives of the Albanian Muslim community in Tirana on March 1923. At the end of the Congress, it was decided that this institution would function independently from the Caliphate of Constantinople by declaring that “*the Albanians owned their trust to their mother land*”. (Swire, 2005, p. 329) The Congress did also approve the abolition of polygamy in Albania and the fact that the Muslim women would no longer be obliged to wear the veil in public places. These reforms were a sign that this sect was inclining its religious tendency to a more Albanian context.

Furthermore, despite some institutional drawbacks, he was able to help the Albanian Church get an autocephalous charter from the Ecumenical Patriarch in April 1937. Soon after, a Church of Albania had been founded under the management of a synod of five bishops and an Archbishop of Tirana; the latter was at the same time as the Head of the Albanian Church. (Robinson, 1941, p. 98) As E. Jacques noticed “*The church and the mosques at the time were meant to serve the state, while the Catholic Clergy, patriotic of each faith, would preach the Albanian gospel*”.(Jacques, 1995, p. 441)

The king crowned these cautious dealings with the careful avoidance he paid to the fact that his future Queen was a Catholic. The press dedicated entire pages to her biographic charts, but in none of them did they mention her Catholic belonging. The wedding ceremony was by no doubt “civil”, a clear reflection of being an Albanian whose religion was Albanian-like. (Jacques, 1995, p. 441) Even though Geraldine Apponyi (the Queen of the Albanians) was an ardent Catholic and the King had not asked her to convert her religion neither before nor after getting married, the Pope would not approve a marriage of that kind and did not send any official representatives on the wedding day. The Vatican could only unwillingly give its consent to this marriage after thorough discussions carried with the intermediacy of the Italian government later on.

• ***Conclusive thoughts about the Albanian religious attitude***

In the writings of the English who visited and lived with Albanian families in the north, center or south, the religious attitude is described reflected in its simple, basic and human function. In the writings of Rose W. Lane, the religious intolerance takes a softer touch upon the way religion was incorporated into the mountaineer’s everyday life. There are two the things which seemed to impress an outsider most. The first one was the “*wooden cross, darkened by the weather and the time*”, which “*stood high*

in front of them (travellers), surrounded by piles of stones over a grassy hillock." It stood there not just to tell everybody passing by that it was a Catholic area. The author thought that it had a more significant function. The missionary priests had thought further. They had "*placed a cross on each pathway resting-place, to remind the outcasts of God*". (Lane, 1923, p. 33)

Furthermore, when *God* or *Cross* was mentioned, the northern Catholics did always relate these with their veneration to the *Sun*. That is why the church in the north had not managed to transform many of the mental perceptions that the mountaineers had about *God*. They were all good Catholics and attended the church ceremonies regularly. Yet they would still bury their dead without a coffin, putting three apples on his/her chest and they would, in most of the cases carve a *sun* besides the *cross* on the gravestones. (*Ibid.*)

It is because of elements of this kind that the researchers of the Albanian life found parallel symbols between the religious faiths of the Albanians in the early 20th century with that of the pagan beliefs. Edith Durham, another traveller and ethnographer of the early 20th century in the northern Albania territories noticed that a cross with a half-moon above and below was a frequent occurrence in the tattoos of the mountaineers. In other cases the cross had small circles at the edges of its three sides, or the cross itself took the form of the sun circle. The cross was there to reveal Christianity, while the other elements symbolized the sun, the life, the light and the good. Durham also noticed that, in the tattoos of the Muslims, the star was formed by two triangles, which, according to her, represented the sun and its rays. In a Muslim graveyard the sun was represented by a circle, while the moon by a sickle. This made her conclude that '*the Muslim Albanian has not really detached himself from Christianity; he has given up the cross but still preserves some of his ancestors' symbols: the sun and the moon*'. (Durham, 1990, p. 474) In fact even later researchers in the Albanian historiography showed that the significance of both these elements goes beyond the modern perception of the day and the night, the light and the dark and the good and the bad. It goes back to the Illyrian worship of the cult of the *sun*, as a source of health and fertility and of bracing power. (ASHSH, 2007, pp. 54, 59)

This seems to be the reason why most of the above-mentioned British and American writers conclude their insights of the Albanian religious relation with phrases similar to the one cited below from Joseph Rousek (1939): "*The Albanian does not cling tenaciously to religion, and it forms*

no obstacle to social fraternization between Muslims and Catholics.” (85) That is because the religious faith, at its basic level, did not deepen the geographical gaps neither worsen the principle of being different because of worshiping different faiths. This led the Albanian of the 1920s and 1930s far from being a religious fanatic. The Sunni Muslims practiced their religious rites in the mosques; they did not do their daily prayers regularly in their houses like other Muslim communities members did. Furthermore, there was an obvious share of power between state and religion to the point that they were both considered authorities of the same level. During one of his journeys in the southern Albania, Nigel Heseltine (a British traveller) noticed that above the fireplace of the monastic house where he spent the night, “*there was a picture of Skenderbeg, a portrait of King Zog and beside them stood pictures of important orthodox authorities.*” (Heseltine, 1938, p. 37) This goes to justify the description with which Carleton Coon (1950) concluded his approach to the religious attitude of the Albanians:

“In Albania one frequently hears the remark that ‘Albanians are not very religious.’ This is usually said with pride, for the presence of the three religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Muslims keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that the church and the mosque are in many ways superfluous. A man’s loyalty is to his ‘blood’, that is, his extended family.” (37)

To conclude, it seems that, from an English point of view, the Albanians revealed a uniqueness in their particular way of religious belief. Their attitude to worshiping God was more pragmatic, more specific, more earthly. They preferred to worship a more national God, which spoke Albanian and who had been helpful to his ancestors, too. Therefore even though he would swear by putting his right hand on a cross, “*he would not forgo the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath validity.*” (Coon, 1950, p. 37)

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FROM LEGENDARY TEXTILES TO FIBRE ART, CULTURAL FINGERPRINTS IN TEXTILE ART

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Abstract:

In his *Manifest pour métamorphose du monde* (Manifest for the metamorphosis of the world) the great philosopher Edgar Morin, Pierre Gonod and the artist Paskua declared in 2009 that understanding the world is becoming impossible on account of the current fragmentation of thinking. They preach the development of a global conscience and the safeguarding of human unity and diversity. Metamorphosis implies the wish to transform visions and perceptions. Our vision is fragmentary, as our mental barriers can often be stronger. In enhancing this vision, it seemed essential that one should discover, contemplate and reflect so as to be able to appreciate the particularity but also the diversity of textile arts, of fibres and techniques in fibre art. In a more and more globalised world, textile arts can offer representations of society and humanity in search of a new identity.

Key-words:

Textile art, fibre art, diversity, cultural identity, know-how.

Rezumat:

În lucrarea *Manifest pour métamorphose du monde*, marele filosof Edgar Morin, împreună cu Pierre Gonod și cu artistul Paskua declarau, în 2009, că înțelegerea lumii a devenit imposibilă din cauza actualei fragmentări a gândirii. Ei propovăduiesc dezvoltarea unei conștiințe planetare și salvagardarea unității și diversității umane. Metamorfoza implică dorința de a transforma viziuni și percepții. Viziunea noastră este fragmentară, căci barierele mentalului sunt adesea mai puternice. Această viziune poate fi extinsă în mod esențial prin descoperire, contemplare și reflecție - ca demersuri necesare în aprecierea particularității, dar și a diversității artelor textile, a fibrelor și tehnicilor utilizate în *arta din fibre*. Într-o lume tot mai globalizată, arta textilă propune reprezentări ale societății și umanității aflate în căutarea unei noi identități.

Cuvinte cheie:

Arta textilă, arta din fibre, diversitate, identitate culturală, savoir-faire.

In order to explain these transformations, the present article proposes a revision of the process of evolution from a handicraft culture to organizational culture. The question that arises is if we can describe, evaluate and preserve our cultural heritage, in such a way as to go beyond

the mere understanding of its various dimensions and thus realize the importance inherent in everyone who interacts with specific cultural fingerprints. In order to highlight the value of textiles, this very particular cultural heritage of mankind, there is no need to replace the general view of culture, with its ideologies, terms and definitions, but to understand the relation between traditionally transmitted arts and contemporary textile art. This applies not only to the concept of cultural landscape, related to textile art, but also to the cultural policy of international interest and the concepts that have paved the way for this particular field of contemporary art. Textile art today deals with transformations such as the magic of metamorphosis, where the imaginative human mind and the handicraft skill concur in creating a rich textile universe filled with tradition, innovation, creativity and modernity. To understand these unbelievable transformations of textiles from thread to fibre art, we propose to start from the legacy of legends, myths and stories.

During ancient times textile arts were held in high esteem. The Greek goddess *Athena*¹ was the favourite child of all-powerful *Zeus*² and oversaw everything from wisdom and war to the arts, industry, justice and skill. She was also known for her wonderful weaving skills. Another famous mythological legend is about a maiden named *Arachne*³. She refused to acknowledge that her knowledge came, in part at least, from the goddess *Athena*, challenging her to a weaving contest. *Arachne* made a magnificent tapestry and *Athena*, envious of her success, was so offended by the girl's choice of subjects (The Loves and Transgressions of The Gods), that she destroyed her tapestry and loom and transformed her into a spider. Besides *Athena*, there is also a well-known legend of other three powerful daughters of *Zeus* who used threads to direct the lives of humans and other gods. There is also the well-known legend of *Ariadne*⁴'s thread. The Greeks believed life was spun by *Clotho*⁵, measured by *Lakhesis*⁶ and the thread of

¹ Goddess of wisdom and strategy in Greek mythology, *Zeus*'s favourite child.

² The god of the sky and thunder in Greek mythology.

³ According to Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, *Arachne* was a talented mortal weaver.

⁴ A Cretan princess. Daughter of king *Minos*. She became the immortal wife of *Dionysus*. The meaning of her name is "most holy".

⁵ Daughter of *Zeus* and *Themis*, according to Greek mythology. She is also mentioned in the 10th book of the Plato's *Republic* as the daughter of Necessity. In Roman mythology it

life was cut by *Aetropos*⁷. These three sisters were known as The Fates or *Moirai*⁸. The idea that life was spun around a person at birth was a popular one in Greek mythology, literature and poetry. We can see The Three Moirai, or The Triumph of Death, represented in a Flemish tapestry (c. 1520), in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Related to the thread of life stories in ancient China there is a legend of the Red String of Fate⁹, a thread which holds that when children are born, invisible red threads connect them to the ones whom they are fated to be with. Over the years of their lives, they come closer and eventually find each other, overcoming the distance between them. This is also popular in the tradition of cultures in the Far East.

Another interesting legend originates in the Rari village, located at the foot of the Andes in Chile, where a girl finds a horse's hair on the surface of the village river and starts to create a small fibre piece. This technique of *crin* is one of Chile's most distinctive folk crafts, halfway between weaving and basketry, which began here over 250 years ago and is still practiced by local women to create objects or small figures, plaited disks from coloured horsehair. After discovering the flexibility of horsehair they combined a

was believed that she was the daughter of Uranus and Gaia. She and her sisters were collectively called the Three Fates.

⁶ He is the measurer of the thread of life woven by Clotho's spindle, which determines Destiny

⁷ The inevitable. She was the cutter of the thread of life. She chose the manner of each person's death

⁸ Moirai – It seems that in Mycenean religion Aisa or Moira was originally an abstract power related to the end of life. At the moment of birth she spins destiny, because birth ordains death. Later she is accompanied by the "Spinners", who are the personifications of Fate. The act of spinning is also associated with the gods, who at birth and at marriage don't spin the thread of life. Everything which has been spun must be winded on the spindle, and this was considered a cloth, like a net or loop which captured man.

⁹ The red string of fate, also referred to as the red thread of destiny, red thread of fate, and other variants, is an East Asian belief originating from Chinese legend, also used in Japanese legend. According to this myth, the gods tie an invisible red string around the ankles of those that are destined to meet each other in a certain situation or help each other in a certain way. Often, in Japanese culture, it is thought to be tied around the little finger. According to Chinese legend, the deity in charge of "the red thread" is believed to be Yuè Xià Lǎo (月老, often abbreviated to "Yuèlǎo" [月老]), the old lunar matchmaker god who is also in charge of marriages. The two people connected by the red thread are destined lovers, regardless of time, place, or circumstances. This magical cord may stretch or tangle, but never break. This myth is similar to the Western concept of soul-mates or a twin flame.

Mexican plant fibre Ixtle (the so-called Tampico) which provided structural strength. Later on, this plaited disk became the emblem of the village flag, and so horsehair became the new Chilean gold¹⁰

These legends or other themes related to textiles, or textile art, such as the transformation of fibres or the symbolism of the threads, are related to the evolution of man as a transmitter of know-how. They all converge to form a history of innovation, a series of extraordinary transformations, which are part of the movement of life and the natural environment. In a global view, all continents, with their own particularities, share this heritage to join in the contemporary artistic dynamics, where creativity and imagination are fully developed in contemporary works of art and where differences mean enrichment.

In the “Manifest for the Metamorphosis of the World” (*Manifest pour la métamorphose du monde*)¹¹, the famous philosopher Edgar Morin, together with Pierre Monod, French futurist and political scientist, and the artist Paskua, advocated the development of a global conscience and the safeguarding of human unity and diversity. They stated that our understanding of the world is made impossible by a fragmented way of thinking. The confinement of topics makes it impossible to perceive and conceive fundamental global issues, hence the need for a mentality which links the various fields of knowledge and enables one to conceive the relation from global to local and vice versa. This policy is aware of creating a social, professional link between various cultural structures, organizations, so as to promote a cultural policy which invites us to reflect on the importance of our way of thinking and to take part in this great movement of transformations in our contemporary society.

From Threads to Fibre Art

As far as textiles are concerned, we can appreciate the diversity of fibres and techniques, if we consider spatial medium which invites us to

¹⁰ Kevin Murray, independent writer and curator posted on the website www.craftunbound.net

¹¹ Edgar Morin, philosopher and sociologist; Pierre Gonod, futurist and political scientist; Paskua, artist, founder of the movement "International Art Movement for the Metamorphosis of the World". The three authors send a message to the world's artists regarding the dimensions of the global crisis (n.a.)

discover, contemplate and reflect. If we refer to textiles especially, they provide a unique opportunity to discover both the technologies of the past, with a relay on natural resources, and the present use of contemporary materials and processes. This gives us a better understanding of the evolution and transformations of human conditions, meanings and way of living. In textile art today we can highlight the so-called extra-ordinary changes of form, techniques and meanings, which can be spotted, deciphered and assimilated by the eye. Textiles express their most sensitive, striking aspects, via a simple but very particular “key-words” system, threading its way between them, like landmarks offering information and underlining specific elements. This metamorphosis of textiles is about breaking down the barriers between the fields of knowledge and know-how, techniques and materials, and encouraging an intercultural dialogue and exchange in a more and more globalised world where the tendency is to unify all aspects of life. Where inequalities continue to grow, there is the willingness and the need to harness the energy of all nations so as to preserve and conserve this particular textile heritage, which illustrates society and humanity as well.

Textiles take form from a raw material that is chosen, worked on, transformed. This important choice is made according to local resources, but also to a system of values where symbolic stakes, social involvements, historical reasons and economic interests are intertwined. Today textile technology can be completed by the use of computer processes, different kinds of materials of synthesis, relying from the start on environment resources, whether mineral, vegetal, animal (hair, skin, wool). The use of varied hair (horse, camel), wool (sheep, goat), cotton or flax was very common in ancient times, but it is used today as well in contemporary textiles because the possibilities are endless. All over the world surprising vegetal fibres are used to produce textile pieces in different combinations: bamboo, raffia, rattan, orchid, bark, banana tree fibre, pineapple fibre, palm tree fibre. Animal fibres are just as extraordinary, such as sea silk or spider silk.¹²

The processes of dyeing fibres and materials evoke not only long-standing technologies but also the transmission of cultural and historical identities. We can identify particular ways of dyeing at the scale of a

¹² Specie of spider, *nephila madagascariensis*, *Les ailes de la soie*, Musée des confluences, Silvana Editoriale SPA, 2009, page 62.

continent, country, region or population. For instance, the ancient technique of dyeing with indigo (a colour obtained from *indigofera* plants)¹³ is used even today by different artists and in different regions of Africa (like Bamako), India, Japan. This process is the result of an operational chain which involves several craftspeople located in different places. It comes into shape as the result of different hands working on the fabric, a fabric which becomes a mirror of their universe. There are many different kinds of dyeing processes, transmitted from generation to generation, such as *ikat*¹⁴, used nowadays all over the world by contemporary artists but also by a Philippine tribe, T'nalak, who use the traditional weaving methods with *abaka* fibre (*buntal* and *piña*), also called “manila hemp”¹⁵. We can see that techniques based on traditions create a new space of existence, a so-called cross-fertilization, where creativity is limitless.

Some rare pieces of our textile heritage are bear witness to human inventiveness and creativity. The tubular beads made of bamboo in the period of the Qing Dynasty in China were used to create coats which allowed the skin to breathe and prevented the clothes sticking to the skin during the hot damp season. The breastplate item of armour made of rattan and orchid fibres in the Central Highlands of New Guinea by the *Daani* ethnic community or the vertical rigid tubular structure made of rattan¹⁶ create a texture like a ribbed knit garment with “threads” made of straps and stems rolled around a core of vegetal twisted fibres. Another tubular weaving system used by the same ethnic community represents a true technical feat, consisting in attaching a thread hank to a fixed point, distributing the threads in two groups in order to create warp and weft, then plaiting them in spirals. The result is a very elegant extensible *sheat*, dyed according to the *plangi*¹⁷ technique, designed for ceremonies, marking

¹³ *indigofera* – the Latin name of indigo. The plant was one of the original sources of indigo dye. (n. a)

¹⁴ *ikat* – or *ikkat*, traditional tie&dye technique used to pattern textiles on either the warp or weft fibres. (n. a)

¹⁵ *buntal* comes from a wide leaf palm, and the fibre is extracted from the stem of the leaf; *piña* is a fibre extracted from pineapple tree leaves *Ananas comosus*.

¹⁶ *rattan* - fiber obtained from the palm tree *Calamus rotang* family.

¹⁷ *Plangi* - ancestral tie&dye textile technique used to decorate the surface of fabric by the application of an external material, knots or cotton thread. Reserve tie&dye process consisting in pinching a part of the textile between the thumb and the forefinger to form a

important moments of life (engagements, funerals etc.). Another example is a piece of African textile, made by beaten bark. Before cotton fabric and clothing came into use for the population of the Congo Basin, beaten bark loincloths were the only piece of clothing. Through different operations (soaking, pressing, during) they obtained a flexible and resistant fabric, which was passed under the crotch, tied to the waist with a belt and decorated with hand painted stripes and geometrical ornaments by the women of the tribe. Ancient textiles, techniques and materials are perennial points of reference and sources of inspiration for contemporary artworks. All these come together today as a single garment: art, design and craft, the expression of the inner self of the artist. From loin cloth to fine cloth, these transformations in time became a contemporary concept: the art of clothing is no longer only about functionality, being followed by items of fashion design, draping bodies, more in tune with a body's form, thus often superseding the fabric's original purpose of cover and protection.

To illustrate a few specific aspects of textiles and analyze their importance, value and significant transformations in the course of time, we should briefly examine the case of fibre art as an example: in most of the cultural and artistic studies and speeches, fibre art is a term referring to both a new and an old art form. “The use of fibrous materials as a medium for art works is not new; woven, knitted, printed and otherwise treated materials have long appeared in the history of mankind.”(Henning, 1977)¹⁸ “Traditionally, however, they appeared as functional objects. The term fibre art, sometimes called art fabric, was introduced after the World War II to characterize new artistic developments in textiles. This article deals only with fibre art developments since World War II and with the challenges present in describing that art for inclusion in text and image databases. In time, databases might even contain the sounds of fibres as they move in currents of air. For the present use, however, it is difficult enough to concentrate on the description of the physical appearance and condition, the composition, content and design and the intent of the art.” (Lunin, 1990)

cone which is then tied. The result derives from the dye only being absorbed in the exposed sections. (n. a.)

¹⁸ HENNING, Edward Burk. Chief curator of modern art at the Cleveland Museum of American Art.

The 1950s brought the serious recognition of the artist-craftsman's contribution not only in the art of fibre but also in several media. During this period the studio artist revolutionized the creative concept of the object. In the late 1950s, Lenore Tawney, a weaver, moved to three dimensional forms with "constructions, evoking the power and spatial relationships of sculpture" (Nordness, 1970)¹⁹. In 1961 the opening of Tawney's exhibition at the Staten Island Museum heralded the first major exhibition of American Art Fabrics. This event marked the point at which "art fabric was healthfully and joyously launched in America" (Constantine & Larsen, 1981). The sense of creativity and imagination has nowhere been better captured than in the contemporary concept of fibre arts, started with the artistic trend of American expressionism during the 60s. Almost at the same time there occurs a similar artistic phenomenon in Europe, started with the first Tapestry Biennial of Lausanne²⁰ (first edition in 1962), with the participation of Polish artists – Maria Chojnacka, Krystyna Czarnocka, Wojciech Sadley, Magdalena Abakanowicz²¹ – who initiate a new trend in textile art, through the new technical freedom and conceptual subjects – drawing from intuition, rather than convention. "This is the point where the organic meets the non-organic, where the still alive meets that which is already dead, where all that exists in oppression meets all that strives for liberation in every sense of this word" – Artur Starewicz wrote about his works. These Polish textile artists redefined textile art during the 60s and 70s by combining the power of expressivity and creating innovative forms, with a

¹⁹ L. Nordness, 1970, pp.13.

²⁰ Major artistic exhibition in Europe organized by the Centre International de la Tapisserie Ancienne et Moderne (CITAM), initiated by Pierre Pauli (1916–1970), curator of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lausanne and Jean Lurçat, the French painter/ tapestry artist. For over thirty years Lausanne was the capital of contemporary textile art, thanks to its International Tapestry Biennials. (HU<http://www.toms-pauli.chUH>).

²¹ Magdalena Abakanowicz, is one of the most distinguished artists of the latter half of the 20th century. She studied at Warsaw's Academy of Fine Arts from 1950-1954. Having completed her studies, in the 1960s, she began to develop her own, individual technique. Using textiles, a medium which, traditionally, come closer to painting, she started to create monumental and autonomous sculpted works relating to a broad concept of human identity in both a universal and a private, if not even intimate, dimension. These works, towering structures, suspended, as a rule, from the gallery ceiling, and so characteristic of Abakanowicz, were known as Abakans. (Exhibition at the National Museum in Krakow, 2010, Curator: Dominik Kuryłek, HUwww.muzeum.krakow.plUH).

deep respect for the qualities of the materials and their textures, which was later to characterize the “Polish School of Weaving”. As a collective artistic team, they revolutionized the field of textiles and established weaving as a medium for translating abstract concepts into tactile, textile works of art. The French tradition of tapestry woven from fine wool, linen or silk was transformed by the Polish weavers when they introduced in their works uneven hand-spun wool, thick cotton cord, and hemp rope. By exploiting the organic qualities of these materials and using unconventional weft yarns, they created an intuitively developed texture with a very particular expressivity.

Following these artistic developments there is a very particular and special fibre art trend in Japan. To mention only a few important artists and works presented last year in New York at Japan Society’s Galleries, and this year at The Museum of Craft and Folk Art (MOCFA) in San Francisco, within the exhibition entitled *Fibre Futures: Japan’s Textile Pioneers*, we should refer to: Akio Hamatani’s “W-Orbit”, Hiroko Watanabe’s²² “Red Pulse”, Fuminori Ono’s “Feel the Wind”, Reiko Sûdo’s “Fabrication”, Atsuko Yoshioka’s “Construction for a String Quartet”, Mitsuko Akutsu’s “Time J-15”, Kinya Koyama and Kioku Suru Jikû’s collective works “Space-Time’s Memory”.

“Since textiles contain functional and symbolic references for everyone, we each have invisible connections to the media and consequently possess an idiosyncratic relationship with various textile materials. It is these invisible connections that contemporary artists seek to investigate and exploit through their appropriation of materials, tools and techniques, previously the sphere of only domestic makers.”¹⁹(Lawrence, 2011)

Through textile art, there is a networking world of reference, a heritage network which corresponds to the idea of opening up to appreciating the permanence and innovation of know-how and the perpetuation of human genius. Through textile crafts and arts, creation reveals the expression of cultural identity, the link between the artisanal and the artistic becoming a metamorphosis of materials, from nature to textile, enriched with colours, motifs, meanings, concepts, which illustrates the diversity of

²² Hiroko Watanabe, President of International Textile Network, Japan.

textile know-how. Textiles reflect societies and reveal unique human experience, thus aiming to progress from ordinary points of view to an enriched perception of the world.

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DESTINÉES EUROPÉENNES

EUGEN SIMION - (LITERARY) CRITIC – A FORM OF CHARACTER

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Abstract:

The article presents the life and activity of one of the greatest contemporary Romanian literary critics. President of the Romanian Academy, member of the French Academy of Arts, Eugen Simion approached the work of classical and contemporary Romanian writers as well as that of international writers such as E. Ionescu, E. Cioran, M. Eliade, P. Popescu.

Key-words:

E. Simion, literary criticism, literary history.

Rezumat:

Articolul prezintă viața și activitatea unuia dintre cei mai mari critici și istorici literari contemporani. Fost vicepreședinte și președinte al Academiei Române, membru al Academiei de Arte Franceze, Eugen Simion a abordat atât opera unor scriitori români mai vechi sau mai noi, cât și a unora de circulație internațională (E. Ionescu, E. Cioran, M. Eliade, P. Popescu).

Cuvinte-cheie: E. Simion, critică literară, istorie literară.

On the 25th of May this year, the academician Eugen Simion celebrates his 80th anniversary, an age as beautiful and impressive as his accomplishments.

That is why I considered it would be more appropriate to pay homage to Eugen Simion, the man and scholar, by re-reading his books, because the ideas comprised in them are a true invitation to dialogue for those who choose to take this action. I am following this type of spiritual communication, and among the meaningful consequences of going through his studies I will pause at the teacher's redefining of the critic act and, through it, to the exigencies that the literary critic serves in his activity.

To begin with, I would dare to note that few researchers of Romanian literature have defined with such insistence the theory of the critic's work, perceiving its evolution, instruments and purpose in focusing on the phenomenon of creation. In these books, one will find numerous suggestions which, through the frequent comebacks and nuances, take the shape of a profession of faith. This is the one that I would like to pause over, configuring it the best way I can, after reading his books.

In Professor Eugen Simion's point of view, "*the mission (and, thus, the justification for the literary critic) is to prove, among others, the character of uniqueness of the literary masterpiece*". *The literary critic faces this paradox (artistic uniqueness is analysed with instruments that tend to bear the name of the universally-valid), by using the instruments of science, because today's literary critic cannot be accomplished outside of science*. Although, as G. Călinescu used to say, "*the investigation environment of the literary critic is the ineffable*", the critic must have a set of principles and master means of analysis which would guard him from the danger of impressionist evasion. Without minimizing his profession, Eugen Simionescu accepts the presence of the subjective element in the literary critic, as the ineffable factors (taste, intuition, expressivity) "*preside a science that does not exist outside language*". That is why the professor considers the critical exercise to be a form of creation that includes alliances with other disciplines and, more often than not, takes advantage of the means and discoveries of exact sciences. This does not mean that a critic, a connoisseur of the essential works and new means of analysis is beholden to use them all. The reality that today we cannot disregard psychoanalysis, semiotics, enlisting themes or literary sociology does not justify clogging the critic into methodology, nor limiting it to speculations around the theory. Their purpose is to aid the critic to appropriately read a text and discover its functioning method.

To the aforementioned ideas I will add the nuances from the essay "Patru imagini ale criticii" (Four images of criticism) where Professor Eugen Simion makes a brief overview of the types of criticism that, at the time, were exclusively confronting each other. The analysis does not exclude them, but explains them by finding both their legitimacy and their weaknesses, establishing their evolution and borderlines, and, mainly, their effort towards a more perfectible knowledge of the horizons of literary work.

From the impressionist critic, Professor Eugen Simion assumes the feeling that, filtering everything through the water of joy, this grants it autonomous statute and creative fantasy. He agrees with the positivist critics, those erudite nerds “determined to study until the four-leafed clover until the tenth rung”. In these Darwinists of the letters, he sees the authors of histories of literature intended as works of science, whose supreme aim is the great summary. He does not fully agree with the *new criticism*, which brings to the foreground “*the image of the critic as a theoretician of literature and of the theoretician as a man of method (guelf)*”, due to the fact that he disposes of the traditional gifts of the critic without regret. For them, the work only exists as a function, not as an aesthetic object, and Eugen Simion’s regret (alongside with Jean-Pierre Richard) is that the work as a unique, irreducible universe risks disintegrating in this operation. For the postmodern critic (“*a hermeneutic who can rise and watch the work from above*”), who entered the scene as a **ghibelline** (*man of pleasures*) and wants to be a critic of the total, not the fragment, Eugen Simion suggests an image that is less in accordance with the ones already used: that of the Nichita-like angel who flies over the city with a book in his hand. And he adds: “But, be weary, the book is open and, in the skies, the angel is reading...”

Indispensable to the critical spirit, in the way of opening towards the great categories, “*philosophy is a free meditation aiding to the discovery of the metaphysics of the work*”. Happily limiting the adventure in the field of approximations, philosophy enlightens our knowledge and makes a reliable guide of life and creations in the “forest” of the unknown.

The critic must allow himself to be attracted by the great subjects, something that can be clearly seen in the work and activity of Eugen Simion. His study subjects are not small, although not even small things should be left at the will of those who have their intellectual scope limited to narrowing intellectual subjects. The critic considers himself challenged by great subjects and believes in his destiny as a hermeneutic of the latent ideas in literary creation. The extent of these works requires equal competence and, as a consequence, all the great projects followed by Eugen Simion have become reference studies, regardless of whether they refer to the amplitude of the spirit of Eliade, to that of Eugen Ionescu or Marin Preda, or to the fiction of the intimate diary or the beginnings of our poetry.

The polyphonic discourse of today's critic has regrettably expropriated the direction guidance from the cultural field, which has almost ceased its significance. However, this sort of orientations are found in the professor's activity, first as a thorough selection of the subjects, second, through their development into broad critical summaries, and, third, by establishing them in the pages of books, whose life is certainly longer than published literary works. Written in the capital of the great European literary debates, and polemically evaluating the disputes of the moment, valid even now (a few years ago it was translated in the USA and met with high acclaim), *The Return of the Author* must be considered the professor's response to the offensive and the excesses of the structuralist and textualist methods of the eight decade of the last century. At the same time, it is also a book that grants literary direction, through obstinately defending the "rights" of the author. Along with the four volumes in the series "*Romanian Writers of Today*", *The Return of the Author* has, as they say, the significance of a vector in our literary criticism. Although the literary critic does not have an effigy or a protecting deity, Eugen Simion establishes, among the rising models of the mythology in the field, Mercutio rather than the more frequently evoked Caliban. From Shakespeare's characters, it is not Caliban, but Mercutio, who seems to better express the true drama of the critic: "*A lot can be learned from this character's tragedy and, in the first place, one existential thing: the expression of a death as sublime as all for naught. I like to believe that Mercutio can also be a symbol of the critic: the symbol of his sacrifice in the world of literary vanities, big or small, humble or conceited, always restless and greedy. If we are to accept, like Lovinescu did, the idea that any critic requires a sacrifice, the power to give up, the noblesse of losing, then the critic is, like Mercutio, the victim of a conflict that does not concern him*".

Eugen Lovinescu, whom Eugen Simion considers to be "*the true architect of our literature in its modern phase*", has been mentioned in the previous quote. As one should know, the two of them shared great appreciation of each other. The recovery of the great interwar critic for the generations of today was done in *E. Lovinescu, the Cured Sceptic*, a book in

which the professor saved all his great contributions from being ignored. Lovinescu gave our literature the concepts of synchronism and modernism, thus setting directions and selecting the perennial literary values. Furthermore, “his page is a superb prose of ideas that we also read for its beauty”. These truths, that have become a common good of our literary history, also find their reflection in the one who established them. Professor Eugen Simion has repeatedly proven that, despite the modest activity of the “Sburătorul” cenacle and magazine, Lovinescu’s criticism had a great impact in the era, due to his bright spirit and fizzy talent, which accompanied his incontestably zestful discourse. Lovinescu was the first to note that, in fact, criticism is a contest of ideas, stimulating thinking into acting accordingly.

However, what one must remember here is not Lovinescianism as a phenomenon comprised in the literary chronology, but the Lovinescian lesson that Eugen Simion carries further, not only as an interpreter of his illustrious predecessor but also, as I find worth mentioning, as a mentor of contemporary literature.

Lovinescu’s lesson (continuing Maiorescu’s principles) entitles Eugen Simion to evoke the *talent* in the analytical performance and to consider that, in turn, the critic must also be an artist. Few people accept this truth regarding the literates, yet all agree that it is only through it that the work as a source of inspiration and object of analysis reshapes itself, becoming another form of literature in which the spirit manifests itself, polemically or cordially, at the deeper level of the critical demonstration.

I could end this short article appraising the way in which Eugen Simion understands and practices literary criticism with the image of the angel in the work of his friend and high-school colleague, Nichita Stanescu. This would be especially appropriate insofar as the critic has dedicated numerous pages of enlightened understanding to the poet that started the third great revolution of the Romanian artistic language, thus watching over his posterity, which has sometimes been unjustly challenged.

I will not end before evoking the advice addressed by Professor Eugen Simion to the young practitioners of literary interpretation. Among

these teachings, I will pause over the request of not mixing literature with politics (which does not mean that literature and politics are not accepted as distinct ways of life, as some people have erroneously understood), but mostly to the encouragement he addressed to the young – that of taking, in the name of their future profession, a bow of faith and sacrifice: “*Literary criticism implies a long sacrifice. Accept that you must organize your lives, sacrifice your vacations, socialization, sometimes even your friendships. Your reading must be slow and, most of all, thoughtful*”.

Signalling these ideas excerpted from Professor Eugen Simion’s books, which I consider to synthesize a profession of faith, I can see more clearly why the literary critic, in his role as a writer, cannot live outside the “ambiguities” generated by art. His voices and, as a consequence, his writings, permanently assume the object of knowledge and the irreversible will of understanding others. Through all these, *the finger of light* will point at the way to the truth. Literary criticism is a thoughtful reading which manifests itself as an act of creation and comprehension.

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CONFLUENCES

EXOTIZACIÓN, DOMESTICACIÓN Y NIVELACIÓN EN LA TRADUCCIÓN DE OBRAS LITERARIAS Y DE TÍTULOS DE OBRAS DE ARTE PLÁSTICO

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Abstract:

The theory of literary translation presupposes, apart from the norms that require a minimum semantic equivalence between the source language and the target language, a strategy of the translator's intervention in the text as well. This strategy is oriented towards three directions, as follows:

1) the translator replaces linguistic and cultural elements specific to the original text with elements that are characteristic to the culture it addresses, in order to facilitate a better understanding for the readers; 2) the translator preserves those three elements specific to the "exotic appearance" that confer upon the text its uniqueness dimension; 3) the translator brings together, through "cultural levelling" (which is intimately related to the adequacy of the first direction), conceptual and stylistic elements intrinsic to the source text and elements that are intrinsic to the target language. As the relationship between form and content constitutes the essence of artistry itself, the translator will endeavour to make his efforts head for an act of creation and not of betrayal towards the original text.

Key words:

Translation, translation strategies, appropriateness, exoticisation, levelling.

Rezumat:

Teoria traducerii literare presupune, dincolo de rigorile păstrării unei minime echivalențe semantice dintre limba sursă și limba ţintă, și o strategie a intervenției traducătorului în text. Această strategie este orientată în trei direcții, după cum urmează:

1) Traducătorul înlocuiește elemente lingvistice și culturale specifice textului original prin elemente caracteristice culturii căreia î se adresează, spre a le facilita cititorilor o mai bună înțelegere; 2) Traducătorul păstrează acele elemente specifice "aerului exotic" care îi conferă textului dimensiunea unicătății lui; 3) Traducătorul aproape, prin "nivelare culturală" (intim legată de adecvarea primei direcții), elementele conceptuale și stilistice proprii textului sursă de cele ale limbii ţintă. Cum relația dintre formă și conținut constituie însăși esența artisticității, traducătorul se va strădui ca eforturile sale să meargă în sensul unui act de creație și nu de trădare față de textul original.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Traducere, strategii de traducere, adecvare, exotizare, nivelare.

El problema de la aceptabilidad del texto traducido en la cultura de llegada ha llevado a los traductores, desde los principios mismos de la actividad traductora, a manipular de forma consciente el contenido del texto original. En un primer momento de manera inconsciente, y más delante de un modo más exhaustivo, los traductores han reflexionado siempre sobre la justificación de su intervención en el texto de partida para acercarlo a la cultura meta. Esta intervención implica la adopción de distintas estrategias traslativas entre las que destacan la exotización y la domesticación. A lo largo de la historia, estos dos términos no se han empleado como tales, aunque los traductores hayan usado sistemáticamente las estrategias traslativas a las que dan nombre.

La domesticación consiste en la sustitución de cualquier tipo de elementos lingüísticos y culturales propios de la cultura del texto de partida por otros elementos lingüísticos y culturales característicos de la cultura de llegada. Todo acto de traducción implica, en cierto modo, un grado de domesticación, ya que al traducir se domestica necesariamente. Esta estrategia también se ha denominado naturalización, nacionalización o paráfrasis. El traductor opta por la domesticación cuando algún elemento del texto original resulta excesivamente exótico y puede provocar un problema de comprensión intercultural en los lectores de la traducción.

En cambio, la exotización, también denominada extranjerización o imitación, supone el uso y conservación de elementos lingüísticos y culturales característicos de la cultura origen en el texto traducido. El traductor emplea esta estrategia con el fin de conservar en el texto meta la esencia del término en cuestión, confiriendo de este modo un aire exótico al texto traducido.

El concepto de nivelación o normalización parte de la idea de que todo texto literario posee un cierto «relieve» que lo diferencia de cualquier otro tipo de texto. Cuando el traductor no plasma en el texto meta dicho relieve literario, se produce la nivelación del mismo, es decir, que el texto traducido queda desprovisto de todos los elementos propios de un texto literario. A diferencia de las anteriores, el traductor no lleva a cabo esta actuación traslativa de manera consciente. Esto supone un riesgo puesto que el traductor sólo se centra en reescribir de manera normativa, según la gramática de la lengua de llegada, cayendo así en el peligro de una recreación reductora.

La traducibilidad del texto según James Holmes

La cuestión de la traducibilidad es un asunto recurrente en la historia de la teoría de la traducción. En la traductología moderna, James Holmes¹ trata el problema de la exotización y la domesticación desde el enfoque de la traducibilidad de la poesía, que es extrapolable a cualquier otro campo de la traducción, como los que se tratan en este comentario: la traducción de obras literarias y de arte plástico.

Holmes afirma que al traductor se le presentan una serie de problemas que deberá resolver tomando decisiones coherentes. Primero, desde el punto de vista sintáctico, el traductor deberá decidir si conserva o no la sintaxis del texto original. Si se conserva puede dar como resultado una sintaxis antinatural en la lengua de llegada. Sin embargo, si se opta por reproducir el texto con la sintaxis propia de la lengua meta se corre el riesgo de perder los rasgos literarios del texto. Esto último es lo que Françoise Wuilmart denomina «nivelación» en su artículo «Le péché de “nivellation” dans la traduction littéraire»². En el caso de la traducción de títulos de obras de arte plástico, este aspecto no es tan relevante, a menos que el título en sí contenga una referencia literaria.

Desde el punto de vista cultural, en el texto original pueden aparecer referencias propias de la cultura origen como topónimos, alusiones históricas, gastronómicas, etc. Estas referencias no despertarán ningún tipo de asociación en el lector de la traducción, por lo que se perdería considerablemente la información cultural imprescindible para la comprensión del texto. Según Holmes, el traductor posee distintas estrategias para enfrentarse a este problema: puede conservar el término (exotización), lo que le obligará a aclarar su significado mediante algún tipo de nota aclaratoria; o puede reemplazar el elemento cultural del texto de partida por otro propio de la cultura de llegada que haga referencia a un elemento cultural parecido (domesticación). Esta última actuación supone la aparición de nuevos problemas, ya que el nuevo referente cultural debería corresponder al mismo espacio temporal e histórico del texto original. En cualquier caso, la decisión que tome el traductor determinará la actuación traslativa a lo largo de todo el texto porque, de lo contrario, incurriría en incoherencias manifiestas.

1. J. Holmes, 1988.

2 F. Wuilmart, 2007.

Traducción de títulos de obras de arte plástico

En el caso de la traducción de los títulos de obras de arte plástico, la exotización o domesticación de la referencia cultural supone un problema mayor, puesto que en algunos casos todo el título constituye una referencia cultural. En esta situación, como describe María Luisa Rodríguez Muñoz, tras el análisis de traducciones de títulos de obras de arte plástico en el artículo «Tendencias actuales en la traducción de títulos de obras de arte plástico»³, existen dos grandes grupos de técnicas empleadas: de conservación y de sustitución parcial o completa de los mensajes lingüísticos. La conservación corresponde a la exotización y se puede llevar a cabo mediante tres estrategias de traducción: la recepción, la adaptación ortográfica y terminológica y la glosa intra y extratextual. Según Rodríguez Muñoz, la sustitución permite ilustrar, difundir, reclamar un patrimonio histórico o facilitar la tarea del público general al interpretar el arte posmoderno. La traducción parcial, el doblete y la traducción total son las técnicas de sustitución más comunes. Las obras de arte conceptual son el caso más extremo de traducción total, puesto que las palabras no representan sólo una metáfora del arte sino su verdadera esencia, por lo que la traducción adquiere una importancia vital y el efecto que producen estos trabajos en el público receptor depende casi exclusivamente del traductor.

Las tendencias apreciadas en la exportación e importación lingüística de arte son:

- El tratamiento diferenciado en la traducción de obras antiguas y modernas. Los títulos de obras antiguas se domestican, generalmente debido a que existe ya una traducción acuñada y forma parte del acervo artístico de la cultura meta.
- El mantenimiento del idioma original en la exportación de arte inyecta nuevos significados a la obra. En este caso optar por la extranjerización no sólo se trata de una elección que el traductor realiza para dar un aire exótico a la obra sino que además añade nuevas connotaciones.
- El mantenimiento de estrategias de traducción modificadoras en determinados contextos. Aquí nos encontramos casos de domesticación, que pueden estar condicionados por varios aspectos, según el contexto en el que se lleve a cabo la traducción y en función de las características del público meta.

³ M. L. Rodríguez Muñoz, 2009.

– La elección del inglés para titular obras de arte, por su preeminencia en el mercado artístico internacional y lengua de moda. El autor de la obra de arte elige el inglés de forma deliberada con fines meramente estilísticos, por lo tanto el traductor debe conservar el título en inglés para que provoque el mismo efecto en la cultura de llegada. No se trataría entonces de una exotización del título, sino simplemente de una no traducción.

La invisibilidad del traductor según Lawrence Venuti

Las discusiones sobre las estrategias traslativas de exotización son frecuentes entre los traductólogos en los últimos años. Han contribuido especialmente a este debate las publicaciones de Lawrence Venuti que, en su libro *The translator's invisibility*⁴, utiliza la expresión «invisibilidad del traductor» para denominar la situación del traductor en la cultura angloamericana actual. Este investigador parte del análisis de la idea generalizada de que una buena traducción es precisamente aquella que no parece una traducción y se lee de forma fluida. El hecho de que el efecto de la transparencia haga que el trabajo de traducción pase completamente inadvertido, contribuye a la marginalidad cultural y a la explotación económica que sufren los traductores desde hace mucho tiempo. Para el investigador norteamericano, la domesticación equivale a una reducción etnocéntrica del texto extranjero a los valores culturales de la cultura de llegada. Venuti estima que una traducción exotizadora en inglés puede ser una forma de resistencia frente al etnocentrismo, al racismo, al narcisismo cultural y al imperialismo angloamericano.

La nivelación en la traducción literaria

El concepto de nivelación que propone Françoise Wuilmart está relacionado con la concepción etnocentrista que denuncia Venuti. Aunque no se trate del mismo contexto cultural, ya que Wuilmart se centra en la cultura francesa, la idea es perfectamente extrapolable. La nivelación del relieve literario propio de la cultura extranjera que llevan a cabo los traductores franceses viene condicionada por el afán de domesticación, al idealizar la lengua y cultura de llegada. La investigadora ilustra este hecho con una traducción al francés de una obra de Franz Kafka, donde el

⁴ L. Venuti, 1995.

traductor había utilizado una sintaxis propia de un texto literario original francés, cargado de frases subordinadas, traicionando así el estilo conciso y a veces abrupto del autor checo.

Como alternativa y modo de resistencia a esa tendencia domesticadora imperante en la práctica traductora angloamericana contemporánea, Venuti propone una extrajerización que se manifieste de forma evidente en el discurso, mediante el uso de elementos léxicos y sintácticos que se pueden denominar «exóticos» o «poco idiomáticos» (arcaísmos, neologismos, extranjerismos, etc.). Por lo que, de este modo, el texto traducido aparecerá ante el lector como tal, es decir, la labor del traductor se hará claramente perceptible en el texto. De este modo, el lector percibirá los elementos de la cultura extranjera y reflexionará sobre el papel fundamental del traductor como mediador intercultural imprescindible para la transmisión del mensaje de un texto en lengua extranjera.

Los postulados de Venuti aparecen claramente reflejados en los distintos tipos de nivelación que describe Françoise Wuilmart en su artículo:

– La nivelación cultural. Wuilmart opta por acercar el elemento exótico a la cultura de llegada en vez de sustituirlo por un elemento propio de la cultura de llegada. Así, según la investigadora, adaptar los elementos culturales a la cultura de llegada constituye una acción reductora y una forma de nivelación que se podría calificar como éticamente censurable o, como diría Venuti, etnocentrista.

– La nivelación estilística. Wuilmart considera que la relación entre el contenido y la forma es fundamental, puesto que en el texto literario, sobre todo en poesía, la forma no se puede separar del contenido, pues es parte integrante del mismo, y la nivelación de estos elementos hace que la traducción resulte una traición al texto original.

Conclusiones

Para concluir, consideramos en primer lugar que las estrategias translativas que se han tratado en este análisis, es decir, la exotización, la domesticación y la nivelación, constituyen la base principal de la práctica traductora. Esta afirmación se apoya en los numerosos debates traductológicos que existen aún en la actualidad acerca del empleo adecuado de cada una de ellas.

Asimismo, aunque los artículos elegidos se refieren a dos ámbitos muy distintos de la traducción, hemos podido constatar que las estrategias traslativas que se emplean en ambos son las mismas. Así, podemos deducir que tanto la exotización como la domesticación son estrategias con las que el traductor debe estar familiarizado y cuyo empleo adecuado darán como resultado una buena traducción. La nivelación está íntimamente ligada a la domesticación. Si bien se trata de un fenómeno que se da en mayor medida en textos literarios, también podemos encontrarla en otro tipo de textos, por lo que el traductor ha de estar alerta para evitar caer en el error de la normalización.

De todas maneras, consideramos que, cualesquiera que sean nuestras elecciones a la hora de emplear una estrategia u otra, ante todo debemos tener siempre presente al receptor del texto meta, que será el que guíe nuestra acción translativa.

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GREEKS AND BARBARIANS IN HOMER'S “ODYSSEY”

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Abstract:

Homer's “*Odyssey*”, viewed as a relevant literary source for Archaic Greece, has led to the development of different research domains through the medium of hermeneutics or text interpretation. One of these directions regards the reconstitution of social aspects pertaining to the Archaic Greek world. Given that Odysseus' adventures unfold beyond the borders of the world known by the hero, Greek identity can only be rendered by exclusion, the exclusion of the *Other*: the reverse of the reprehensible deeds or aspects of the *Other* comes to define the real, or at least desirable, characteristics of the one operating the exclusion.

Key words: Mythology, society, barbarians, Odysseus.

Rezumat:

Greci și barbari în “Odysseia” lui Homer

Odysseia, în calitate de izvor literar relevant pentru perioada Greciei arhaice, a oferit oportunitatea dezvoltării mai multor direcții de cercetare pe filiera hermeneuticii, a interpretării de text. Una dintre aceste direcții este reconstituirea aspectelor sociale ale lumii grecești arhaice. Cum aventurile lui Odiseu sunt plasate dincolo de lumea greacă propriu-zisă, identitatea greacă nu se poate reconstitui decât prin excludere, excludere a *Celuilalt*: reversul aspectelor condamnabile la *Celălalt* devin trăsături reale sau, cel puțin, dezirabile ale celui care exclude.

Cuvinte cheie:

Mitologie, societate, barbari, Odysseus.

To some extent, subscribing the *Odyssey* to the so-called *euhemerism*¹ has presented us with the chance of reinterpreting the myth so as to reveal the social reality of the Archaic Greek world. Given its analytical spirit,

¹ The word *euhemerism* derives from the name of the philosopher Euhemeros. He lived around 300 B.C. and considered that the gods were in fact people who lived at some point on earth. Their mythological adventures were no more than legendary exaggerations of events that had actually taken place. (F. Robèrt , 1950, p. 113) To some extent, we could translate the *euhemerism* as any attempt to reduce mythology to a simple alteration of historical, real events. (F. Robèrt , 1998, p. 10)

philosophy is the first science of the ancient Greeks to have provided a key of access to the mythical world, which is allegorical interpretation. By reversing the poles of the comparison, philosophy has provided us not only with a tool, but also with a method. With mythical thought, everyday experience is given a clear meaning by reference to the great deeds accomplished *in the beginnings* by the gods, whilst with Ionian philosophers, primary events and the forces that created the universe are conceived when observing one's surroundings and everydayness. *The Primary* does no longer clear up or transfigure the ordinary; on the contrary, it is the ordinary that makes *the primary* comprehensible.²

Following the same *negative* pattern, "*Odysseus' world*"³ might become comprehensible as well. By *negative* it is meant that Odysseus' wanderings, happening beyond the borders of the Greek world, cannot render Greek identity other than by exclusion. It is the exclusion of *otherness*: the reprehensible deeds or aspects of the *other*, when reversed, become the traits, real or at least desirable, of the one who excludes.

Ancient moralists such as Plutarch or Maximus of Tyre discovered within the Homeric epic standards of behaviour for individuals as well as for cities, whether they are represented through the heroes' examples of bravery, of reasoning, of moderation, or whether through the gods' embodiments of wisdom and reason.⁴ Ancient morality developed around the conflict between reason and instinct. This spiritual struggle is illustrated by Odysseus' adventures: the monsters he escapes from, the dangers he surpasses symbolize the passions restrained by the wise one.⁵ Odysseus is thus presented as an ideal of humanity, a metaphorical figure of wisdom itself⁶.

The aim of the present paper is not to approach the issue of wisdom or of morality at the ancient Greeks (concept which appeared rather late in the Greek world⁷), but to identify, as far as possible, the traits that might reveal their social structure, diet, and religious life.

² J. P. Vernant, 1995, p. 133-134.

³ See M. I. Finley, 1964.

⁴ F. Buffière, 1987, p. 2.

⁵ F. Buffière, 1987, p. 209.

⁶ F. Buffière, 1987, p. 292.

⁷ Towards the end of the 5th century B.C. (see E. Dodds, 1983, p. 56).

Odysseus' adventures develop away from the welcoming seas or from civilized humans. He is to encounter barbarian populations, fruit-eaters (Lotus-eaters) or man-eaters (Cyclops and Laestrygonians), monsters (Scylla and Charybdis), arbitrary gods (Eol), sorceresses (Circe), guileful maidens (Sirens) or jealous ones (Calypso). Only a night's distance away from Ithaca will he discover the Phaeacians, a hospitable people led by their kind king, Alcinous, and his enchanting daughter, Nausicaa.⁸

One can identify two different spaces: one that is coherent, of the world known by the poet and implicitly by the hero, where the voyage develops within verisimilar coordinates, and one of extraordinary adventures, of monsters, and of imprecise calls. Therefore, when leaving from the Ciconians, Odysseus actually leaves behind the *bread-eaters*⁹ for hyperbolized mankind. Beyond an invisible barrier which cannot be mapped, existence is governed by other laws.¹⁰

Driven off from his itinerary by the winds, past what was considered to be Cape Maleia, the first land encountered by Odysseus is that of the Lotus-eaters:

“Nor did the Lotus-eaters think of killing my comrades,
but gave them lotus to eat.
And whoever of them ate the honey-sweet fruit of the lotus
no longer wished to bring back word or return home,
but there they wished to remain among the Lotus-eaters,
feeding on the lotus, and to forget their homecoming.”¹¹

Therefore, the first trait of such a world is related to their gastronomic habits, to their food, whose main property was not to glut (unlike the bread), but to bring self-abandonment. We can consider a reference to the Lethe stream in the Hades, out of which the deceased was supposed to drink in order to lose his self-consciousness, to become alienated from his human

⁸ V. Bérard, 1930, p. 112.

⁹ *Od.*, VI, 8.

¹⁰ G. Gérmain, 1954, p. 538.

¹¹ *Od.*, IX, 92-97.

existence.¹² From this perspective, the Lotus-eaters are placed beyond the confines of mankind.

The most accurate definition of the barbarian¹³ seems to correspond to the description of the land and of the nature of the Cyclops, which refers to such aspects as their occupation, their diet, their social and religious structure. They are “*an insolent and lawless folk*”, and even though they have barley and cereal crops and grapes from vines, they are incapable of leading a different kind of life other than pasturing flocks. They are strangers to ploughing and sowing, for all these things grow solely under the rain of Zeus¹⁴.

This *natural growing* of crops and vines, without any human intervention, is reminiscent of the *Golden Age* sung by Hesiod in his *Theogony*, who suggests that agriculture was closely related to the reverence characterizing the Greeks, which was absent among the Cyclops, who paid “*no heed to Zeus, who bears the aegis, nor to the blest gods*”¹⁵.

The Cyclops weren’t concerned with navigation either,
“*For the Cyclops have at hand no ships with vermillion cheeks,*
Nor are there ship-wrights in their land, who might build them well-
benched ships,
Which could perform all their wants,
Passing to the cities of other men, as men often
Cross the sea in ships to visit one another-craftsmen.”¹⁶

The everyday activity of the Cyclops, which is looking after their flocks, is reflected in their diet. They eat cheese and drink milk for dinner, but not wine. As he wasn’t used to it, Polyphemus becomes intoxicated with the wine he is given by Odysseus. The same inebriating effects seem to have acted upon Odysseus when the Cyclop

“*Sprung up and laid his hands upon my comrades.*

¹² J. P. Vernant, 1995, p. 144.

¹³ F. Robèrt, 1950, p. 297.

¹⁴ *Od.*, IX, 109; 111.

¹⁵ *Od.*, IX, 275-276.

¹⁶ *Od.*, IX, 125-129.

*Two of them together he seized and dashed to the earth
like puppies, and their brains flowed forth upon the ground and
wetted the earth.*

*Then he cut them limb from limb and made ready his supper,
and ate them like a mountain-nurtured lion, leaving nothing -
ate the entrails, and the flesh, and the bones and marrow.*

*And we with wailing held up our hands to Zeus
seeing these cruel deeds, and helplessness possessed our spirits.”¹⁷*

If by greeting the strangers Odysseus understood feasting and giving them gifts, out of some sort of diplomatic conception meant to create a bond within a system of mutual obligations and responsibilities¹⁸, Polyphemus, for a change, proposes to Odysseus, as a gift, to eat him last:

*“Nobody¹⁹ will I eat last among his comrades,
and the others before him; this shall be your gift.”²⁰*

The fact that

*“neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws,
but they dwell on the peaks of mountains
in hollow caves, and each one is lawgiver to his children
and his wives, and they have no regard for one another”²¹*

denotes that the Cyclops ignore all that a city-structured society presupposes. It is worth noting, though, the frame of an *oikos*²² society, organized around the family and thus neglecting the extended structure of the community. The gluttony, the irreverence of the Cyclops are features of what the ancient Greeks defined as *hybris* or *lack of measure*, the punishment for such an abuse being none other than death.

¹⁷ *Od.*, IX, 288-295.

¹⁸ M. I. Finley, 1964, p. 160.

¹⁹ *Nobody* (*Outis*) is the name Odysseus assumes in order to trick Polyphemus.

²⁰ *Od.*, IX, 369-370.

²¹ *Od.*, IX, 112-115.

²² *Oikos* is the Greek term used for *Home*. It also stands for a social structure organized around the family, around the home.

The Laestrygonians are to some extent similar to the Cyclops; they also pasture flocks of sheep²³, “no works of men or oxen appeared”²⁴, they are giants (“Laestrygonians came thronging from all sides, a host past counting, not like men, but like Giants”²⁵) and anthropophagi:

“They pelted us from the cliffs with rocks huge as man can lift,
and at once there rose throughout the ships a dreadful din,
alike from men were dying and from ships that were being crushed.
And spearing them like fishes, they carried them home for their
loathsome meal.”²⁶

What differs from the Cyclops’ way of life seems to be their social structure, suggested by a range of terms such as: city, palace, place of assembly, “king over people”²⁷.

The Cimmerians are stigmatized due to a geographical limitation, living at the edge of the “deep-flowing” Ocean:

“Where is the land and city of the Cimmerians, wrapped in mist and cloud.
Never does the bright sun look down on them with his rays
either when he mounts the starry heaven
or when he turns again to earth from heaven,
but instead horrid night is spread over wretched mortals.”²⁸

There is a wide range of debates regarding the nature of the Cimmerians, whether real (by association with the Cimmerians from the North of Bosphorus) or imaginary, though, from a metaphorical point of view, we can subscribe this folk to a philosophical system of oppositions, common in ancient Greece: the light and the heat of the sun were associated with the civilized, whilst the cold, dark night was the very symbol of barbarianism.

²³ *Od.*, X, 81-84.

²⁴ *Od.*, X, 98-99.

²⁵ *Od.*, X, 119-120.

²⁶ *Od.*, X, 121-124.

²⁷ *Od.*, X, 110.

²⁸ *Od.*, XI, 15-19.

By contrast, the land of the Phaeacians, even though miles away from the “bread-eaters”²⁹, seems to be both related to and remote from the Greeks in terms of their way of life. The description that Nausicaa gives of the Phaeacian city sketches its fundamental traits: a citadel with towers and great walls, with a port to harbour their ships, a sacred area dedicated to Poseidon, the patron god of the city, and, of course, a place of assembly.³⁰ What Odysseus describes seems to be mankind in the superlative:

“Within (Alcinous’ palace), seats were fixed along the wall on either hand, from the threshold to the innermost chamber, and on them were thrown robes of soft fabric, cunningly woven, the handiwork of women. On these the leaders of the Phaeacians were wont to sit drinking and eating, for they lived in unfailing abundance. And golden youths stood on well-built pedestals, holding lighted torches in their hands to give light by night to the banqueters in the hall. And fifty slave women he had in the house, of whom some grind the yellow grain on the millstone, and others weave fabrics, or, as they sit, twirl the yarn, busy as the tall poplar tree; and from the closely woven fabrics the soft olive oil drips down. For as the Phaeacian men above all others are skilled in speeding a swift ship upon the sea, so are the women cunning workers at the loom; for Athene has given to them above all others knowledge of beautiful handiwork, and excellent character. Outside the courtyard, close to the doors, is a great orchard of four acres, and a hedge runs about it on each side. In it grow trees tall and luxuriant, pears and pomegranates and apple trees with their bright fruit, and sweet figs, and luxuriant olives.

²⁹ *Od.*, VI, 8.

³⁰ *Od.*, VI, 262-271.

*The fruit of these neither perishes nor fails
in winter or in summer, but lasts throughout the year; and continually
the West Wind, as it blows, quickens to life some fruits, and ripens others;
pear upon pear waxes ripe, apple upon apple,
grape bunch upon grape bunch, and fig upon fig.
There, too, is his fruitful vineyard,
one part of which, a warm spot on level ground, is for drying in the sun,
while other grapes men are gathering,
and others too, they are treading; but in front are unripe grapes that
are shedding the blossom, and others that are turning purple.
There again, by the last row of the vines, grow trim garden
beds of every sort, blooming the year through,
and in the orchard are two springs, one of which sends its water
throughout all the garden,
while the other, opposite to it, flows beneath the threshold of the court
toward the high house; from this the townsfolk draw their water.
Such were the glorious gifts of the gods at the dwelling of Alcinous.”³¹*

The Phaeacians are also familiar with the unwritten law of hospitality, organizing a great feast to honour Odysseus. The famous singer, Demodocus, strings his lyre for the guests, the locals engage in athletic competitions, and Odysseus is laden with gifts from the king before embarking for Ithaca.

The Phaeacian society is the exact opposite of the barbarian one of the Cyclops or the Laestygonians, but equally remote from that of the Greeks, given its utopian (it exists in complete isolation, it is extremely wealthy and shows infinite hospitality) and downright fabulous (the Phaeacians are ideal sailors, “*for they have no pilots, nor steering oars such as other ships have, but the ships themselves understand the thoughts and mind of men*”³²)

³¹ *Od.*, VII, 91-131.

³² *Od.*, VIII, 557-559.

traits.³³ The fantastic development is characteristic of utopian thinking, and expressive of a longing for a better world. Utopia is born within a society for which it represents an answer (a model of what society should be like).³⁴ Phaeacia is not just *Ou-topos, Nowhere*, but also *Eu-topos, The Ideal Place*³⁵, the ideal society conceived as a goal to reach for.³⁶

Therefore, the Phaeacians are to be defined as worthy, pious and hospitable householders. Still, Nausicaa's fear of the Phaeacians' "evil speech, for they are insolent folk among the people"³⁷; Athene's guile of enveloping Odysseus in a mist all the way to Alcinous' palace, as he had been advised not to turn his eyes on any man nor question any, "for the people here have no patience with strangers, nor do they give kindly welcome to him who comes from another land"³⁸; and, later on, the rude challenge to a competition addressed to Odysseus by one of Alcinous' sons, all these were considered a concession of the author, constantly compelled to reconcile the legendary tradition regarding the hospitality of Phaeacians with what might have been a different reality known to the poet's audience, willing to object to an excessively idealised image of the Phaeacians.³⁹

The image of the Greek man, dedicated to working the land, but also a connoisseur of sailing, could be partially revealed through literary comparisons, such as:

"And as a man longs for supper,
for whom all day long a yoke of wine dark oxen has drawn the jointed
plow through fallow land,

³³ M. I. Finley, 2002, p. 246.

³⁴ M. I. Finley, 2002, p. 243.

³⁵ M. I. Finley, 2002, p. 240.

³⁶ M. I. Finley, 2002, p. 243.

³⁷ *Od.*, VI, 273-274.

³⁸ *Od.*, VII, 31-33.

³⁹ F. Robèrt considers that the episode concerning the Phaeacians is referring to the inhabitants of the Island Scheria, hinting at their questionable reputation. (see F. Robèrt , 1950, p. 294-295)

*and gladly for him does the light of the sun sink,
that he may attend to his supper, and his knees grow weary as he goes;
even so, gladly for Odysseus did the light of the sun sink.”⁴⁰*

*“And soon as on a plain four yoked stallions
spring forward all together beneath the strokes of the lash,
and leaping high swiftly accomplish their way,
even so the stern of that ship leapt high, and in her wake the gleaming
wave of the loud-sounding sea foamed mightily,
and she sped safely and surely on her way.”⁴¹*

Conclusions

In the light of the facts presented above, it can be seen that the inhabitants of the lands described by the poet, where no man has ever been before Odysseus, are either giants or privileged folk.

The criteria taken into account for categorizing their *otherness* concern social structure, everyday activity, diet, reverence, degrees of hospitality and geographical positioning, according to which one can identify, when underlining certain aspects, two major categories of barbarians: those limited by their diet (Lotus-eaters and Man-eaters) and those limited by their geographical positioning (Cimmerians and Phaeacians).

As regards geographical positioning, what is worth observing is the mellowing of the barbarians' traits as Odysseus approaches Ithaca – the strangers' attributes are gradually softened, as, having left behind the ruthless Cyclops and Laestrygonians, Odysseus encounters the kind king Alcinous of the Phaeacians, only a night's journey away from Ithaca. For that matter, the Cyclops and the Phaeacians represent two extremes, pitted against each other in a perfect symmetry, more or less intentional, as proved in the lines that open almost every new adventure of Odysseus:

⁴⁰ *Od.*, XIII, 31-35.

⁴¹ *Od.*, XIII, 81-85.

*“Alas, to the land of what mortals have I now come?
Are they cruel, and wild, and unjust
or are they kind to strangers and fear the gods in their thoughts?”⁴²*

Therefore, opposed to the ruthless barbarians are those who revere the gods and observe the rules of hospitality and all that comes from it (offering feasts and gifts).

By reference to their image of *otherness*, the Greeks would define themselves as inhabitants of cities, organized around their *oikos*, but still interested in the greater structure of the community; they are defined as farmers, but also sailors, *bread-eaters*, god-fearing, hospitable, living next to a *euxeinos pontos* (*welcoming sea*).

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⁴² *Od.*, VI, 119-121.

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Anexe

FOLK	GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONING	SOCIAL STRUCTURE	DIET	RELIGION
Lotus-eaters	-away from Kythera (IX, 110)	-	- lotus-eaters	-
Cyclops	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>an insolent, lawless folk</i> (IX, 106); - <i>neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws</i> (IX, 112); - they live in caves; - they seem to be organized in <i>oikoi</i>, ignorant to all that a community implies: <i>but they dwell on the peaks of mountains/ in hollow caves, and each one is lawgiver to his children/ and his wives, and they have no regard for one another</i> (IX, 113-115) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they pasture flocks; - are not familiar with ploughing or navigation; - they feed on cheese, humans and drink milk instead of wine; - they are ruthless; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they pay paid <i>no heed to Zeus, who bears the aegis, nor to the blest gods</i> (X, 275-276)
Laestrygonians	-Telepylos, Lamos' citadel	- citadel with a palace, place for assembly and king to rule over people (X, 110)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - shepherds; - man-eaters; - <i>no works of men or oxen appeared</i> (X, 98-99) 	-
Cimmerians	-at the fringe of the deep-flowing Ocean	-	-	-
Phaeacia	- far away from the <i>bread-eaters</i> (VI, 8), but still a night away from Ithaca	- citadel with towers and high walls, place for assembly and royal family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - crafted sailors; - hospitable, connoisseurs of the unwritten law of hospitality (see the feast in honour of Odysseus, his being presented with gifts by the king Alcinous before departure) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poseidon is the patron of the city
Odysseus' world	- next to a welcoming sea	- <i>oikos</i> social structure, oriented towards the family, but with a sense of community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - occupied with agriculture and sailing; - bread-eaters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fearing the gods

GRECS ET MACEDONIENS DANS L'*ANABASE D'ALEXANDRE*¹

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to investigate the perception of Macedonians in Arrian's *History of Alexander*. The analyse concerns the text's various layers and the way this sedimentation of facts and, more importantly, of interpretations, affects the relation between Greeks and Macedonians. Firstly, we identified the author's own perception of Macedonians among the various imprints left behind by his sources. Secondly, we would like to point out to the methodological relevance this approach has on the sources analyse for Arrian's *History of Alexander*.

Keywords:

Ethnicity, Greeks, Greek identity, Macedonians, Second Sophistic

Rezumat:

În studiu de față ne-am propus să investigăm percepția macedonenilor în *Anabasis Alexandri*. Relațiile dintre greci și macedoneni sunt analizate din perspectiva stratigrafiei operei. În primul rând dorim să punem în evidență, investigând diacronic acumulările care alcătuiesc lucrarea, percepția pe care Arrianus însuși o avea despre macedoneni. În al doilea rând sperăm ca prin această abordare să aducem o contribuție metodologică la analiza surselor lucrării *Anabasis Alexandri*.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Etnicitate, greci, identitate greacă, macedoneni, a doua sofistică

1. Préliminaires

Dès la première contribution au problème de la perception des Macédoniens dans *l'Anabase d'Alexandre*, due à P. A. Brunt², cette direction d'étude a attiré l'attention des plus influents chercheurs de l'époque d'Alexandre. Badian³, Borza⁴, Bosworth⁵ s'en sont

¹ Cet article représente une partie révisée de l'étude que j'ai élaborée dans le cadre d'une bourse octroyée par New Europe College (octobre 2010 – février 2011). La version initiale paraîtra, en format électronique ou en volume, dans le *New Europe College Yearbook 2010-2011*.

² P. A. Brunt, 1983, vol. 1, p. XXXVII, n. 33.

³ E. Badian, 1982, pp. 34-37.

successivement occupés apportant des conclusions incitantes, portant surtout sur l'interprétation du texte. Récemment, le problème a été repris dans le contexte de la Seconde Sophistique⁶. Avec néanmoins des nuances, les opinions semblent rester cantonnées dans les conclusions formulées par P. A. Brunt :

"Hence they [the Greeks] did not see that the Macedonians were of the same stock as themselves [...] in Alexander's time they [the Macedonians] perhaps did not wish to be so regarded, for Arrian, following his main sources, who were Macedonians by birth (Ptolemy) or adoption (Aristobulus and Nearchus), is normally careful to distinguish and even to contrast Macedonians and Greeks."⁷

L'affirmation implique nier toute prétention de la part des Macédoniens de se voir accepter comme Grecs, au moins jusqu'au règne d'Alexandre. Cependant, les informations que nous tenons d'Hérodote (*Eg. Hdt.*, 1. 56 ; 5. 20, 22 ; 6. 44 ; 7. 9 ; 8. 43, 137-9 ; 9. 45) et Thucydide (*Eg. Thuc.* 2. 99. 1 – origine grecque de la famille royale macédonienne opposée à celle barbare de leurs sujets ; mais : 2. 80. 1 – la distinction entre Macédoniens et barbares part probablement d'un système tripartite Grecs – Macédoniens – barbares) parlent d'une situation bien plus complexe, dans certains cas même opposée, pour la période classique : les Macédoniens, ou au moins leurs élites, prétendaient être acceptés comme Grecs. Dans le cas de *l'Anabase d'Alexandre*, les conséquences de cette négation doivent être envisagées en plan synchronique (les sources primaires de la campagne d'Alexandre) aussi bien que diachronique (les élaborations ultérieures ou, dans certaines situations, antérieures, utilisées directement ou indirectement par Arrien). Or, cette perception unilatérale nous semble quelque peu curieuse. C'est pourquoi nous nous proposons de reprendre, en essayant de sonder la stratigraphie interne de l'œuvre, les passages traitants des relations entre Grecs et Macédoniens. On souhaiterait surprendre, en premier lieu, dans la diachronie dont le texte d'Arrien est incontestablement porteur, les empreintes de la perception que l'auteur lui-même avait de la question macédonienne. En deuxième lieu, par cette enquête, nous espérons

⁴ E. N. Borza, 1996, pp. 122-139; voir aussi *Id.*, 1992, pp. 21-25.

⁵ A. B. Bosworth, 1980-1995, vol. 1, p. 203 ; vol. 2, pp. 84-85 ; *Id.*, p. 113, *sqq.*

⁶ S. R. Asirvatham, 2005, pp. 107-125 ; *Id.*, 2010 a, pp. 193-204 et 2010 b, pp. 99-124.

⁷ P. A. Brunt, 1983, vol. 1, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII.

apporter une contribution méthodologique à l'analyse des sources de *l'Anabase d'Alexandre*.

2. Le vocabulaire des rapports ethniques dans *l'Anabase d'Alexandre*

Il est incontestable qu'Arrien semble en général très attentif, tout au long des sept livres de *l'Anabase*, à ne pas confondre Grecs et Macédoniens. Mise dans cette perspective, l'affirmation de P. A. Brunt qu'on vient de citer est valide. On ne retrouve presque jamais dans *L'Anabase* le mot *hoi Hellenes* recouvrant de manière généralisée Grecs et Macédoniens. Mais Arrien semble moins vigilant quand il utilise le deuxième ethnonyme. Parce-que l'opposé est par contre valable et la situation, d'ailleurs très fréquente, a été toujours ignorée. C'est un fait universellement accepté que dans l'armée dont s'est servi Alexandre dans la campagne d'Orient il y a eu à chaque instant des troupes grecques à côté de celles macédoniennes. Pourtant, une rapide et élémentaire enquête statistique montre qu'à un total de 259 mentions des Macédoniens, il correspond un nombre de seulement 77 mentions des Grecs. Tout en tenant compte du fait qu'Alexandre a fait la campagne des Balkans avec seulement des soldats macédoniens, et que quelques fois Arrien nomme expressément les Thessaliens (mentionnés seulement 21 fois dans l'entier de l'œuvre), en se passant ainsi du mot *Hellenes*, la différence reste significative. La seule explication possible est qu'Arrien emploie, et de manière répétitive, le mot *hoi Makedones* comme synonyme de soldats (Macédoniens en principal, mais aussi d'autres origines et notamment des Grecs). Et, effectivement, on rencontre cette formule dans *l'Anabase*. Prenons un exemple pour mieux nous expliquer. Relatant le début de la bataille d'Issos (1. 14. 5), Arrien oppose à l'armée perse simplement le mot « les Macédoniens » : *οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας...* « *Car les Perses se dressaient contre les Macédoniens...* » (n. tr.). Et ce type d'opposition, armée ennemie – armée macédonienne, se réalisant à l'aide des ethnonyms respectives, est usuel dans *l'Anabase*.

Voyons maintenant comment Arrien oppose ou inclut en se référant aux Grecs. En racontant le siège de Thèbes, Arrien rapporte les Thébains aux Grecs :

Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἐλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ δέξυτητι τοῦ ἔργου, [...] οὐ μεῖόν τι τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἐλληνας"⁸ « Ce désastre des Grecs, cette ruine d'une grande ville, [...] n'épouvanterent pas moins le reste de la Grèce » (tr. François-Charles Liskenne et Jean-Baptiste Sauvan)

Et après quelques lignes :

'Ες δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἐλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος...⁹ « Aussitôt que la nouvelle de la ruine de Thèbes fut répandue dans la Grèce... » (tr. François-Charles Liskenne et Jean-Baptiste Sauvan)

On retrouve des formules similaires pour les Lacédémoniens (2. 14. 6) : *Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἐλλήνων*, « *les Lacédémoniens et autres parmi les Grecs* » (n. tr.) et les Thessaliens (5. 27. 5) : *Θετταλοὺς [...] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων* « *les Thessaliens [...] et les autres Grecs* » (n. tr.). Arrien se sert de la structure : ethnyme + *[te kai /de] hoi alloi Hellenes*, qui est une formule inclusive, où figure toujours le pronom démonstratif *allos* au sens de « le reste ; les autres », quasi-exclusivement pour les diverses groupes de Grecs. Par contre, quand Arrien met à côté les Macédoniens et les Grecs, le rapport est de simple juxtaposition : *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς "Ἐλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας* (1. 11. 3) « *laissant le gouvernement de la Macédoine et des Grecs à Antipater* » (n. tr.), ou : *ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (2.1.1) « *en Macédoine et en Grèce* » (n. tr.), *Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἐλλήνων* (5. 27. 4) « *Macédoniens et Grecs* » (n. tr.), *ῶν τὰ τε ὄνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς τότε πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι πρὸς Ἐλλήνων τε καὶ Μακεδόνων* (7.15. 4) « *parmi ceux-ci, il y avait quelques-uns lesquels noms et costumes se voyaient pour la première fois chez les Grecs et les Macédoniens.* » (n. tr.). Il se sert seulement du syntagme de juxtaposition *te kai*.

A en juger par les situations présentées, on dirait qu'Arrien faisait soigneusement la séparation entre Grecs et Macédoniens. Et cette situation est confirmée au niveau du langage où l'on retrouve un vocabulaire clair et sans équivoque. Pour les groupements des Grecs il emploie un syntagme

⁸*Arr.*, 1. 9. 1.

⁹*Ib.*, 1. 10. 1.

inclusif, réalisé à l'aide du pronom *allos*. S'il doit réunir Grecs et Macédoniens, il se sert de la simple juxtaposition. La similitude avec le type de démarcation qu'opérait Diodore¹⁰, assez différente de celle qu'on rencontre chez Polybe¹¹ ou Denys d'Halicarnasse¹², peut suggérer une datation antérieure à la période hellénistique. En ce cas, on devrait reléguer l'information aux histoires écrites pendant la période des diadoques, immédiatement après la mort d'Alexandre, c'est-à-dire aux sources primaires de son règne. Dans les pages suivantes, nous nous arrêtons sur cette hypothèse, qu'on examine pour une sélection d'occurrences.

3. La perception ethnique et sa relevance dans la chronologie de l'œuvre

Une datation vers la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., dans l'intervalle entre la mort d'Alexandre et la disparition des derniers camarades survécus censés avoir laissé des mémoires écrites est confirmée, indépendamment de notre démarche, par Bosworth pour le passage 1. 11. 3. Il l'attribue sur des considérations de style à Ptolémée¹³. Dans la même situation se trouve le passage 2.1.1, emprunté lui aussi par Arrien¹⁴ à Ptolémée.

Pour le passage 5.27.4, l'interprétation est rendue plus difficile par le fait qu'il est inclus dans un discours qu'Arrien attribue au Macédonien Coenus. Prononcé à Ophis, le discours est un mélange¹⁵ de *topoi* puisés dans la rhétorique du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. D'un point de vue différent, c'est un bon exemple de production littéraire de la Seconde Sophistique : style atticiste, vision grecque sur les faits énoncés, ce qui étonne d'ailleurs dans un discours attribué à un Macédonien. Comment expliquer alors la même soigneuse distinction entre les deux ethnies qu'on vient de rencontrer dans les précédents passages, si ici on est vraiment confronté avec le résultat des efforts littéraires d'Arrien même ? D'après nous, ce souci doit être interprété comme un ‘archaïsme’, une distinction obsolète, empruntée par Arrien à la tradition littéraire, autre exemple d’imitation du discours classique.

¹⁰V. E. N. Borza, 1996, p. 127.

¹¹Eg. *Polyb.*, 4. 29.

¹²Eg. D.H., *A.R.*, 20. 1. 3.

¹³A. B. Bosworth, 1980, vol. 1, p. 98.

¹⁴Ib., vol. 1, p. 177.

¹⁵Ib., vol. 2, p. 352.

Le passage de 7.15. 4 qui reproduit l'épisode des ambassades reçues par Alexandre à Babylone en 323 av. J.-C., est, par contre, pris des travaux de Ptolémée ou Aristobule. On a la certitude grâce à un commentaire qu'Arrien fait lui-même à la fin. Après avoir énuméré les ambassades qui sont censées avoir émerveillé à la fois Grecs et Macédoniens, Arrien reprend une anecdote sur l'ambassade des Romains et leur entretien avec Alexandre, nomme les sources, et la rejette comme improbable. Il ajoute que l'ambassade des Romains ne figure ni dans la liste de Ptolémée ni dans celle fournie par Aristobule, sources qu'il a évidemment consultées.

Nous avons laissé de côté une occurrence un peu particulière. Il ne s'agit pas d'opposer deux entités ethniques, comme dans les exemples qu'on a vus jusqu'ici. Les Macédoniens sont associés de manière inclusive au terme à valeur générique et distinctive *hoi xenoi* « les étrangers » : [...] μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων , [...]¹⁶ : « non seulement les Macédoniens mais aussi les autres étrangers » (n. trad.). Arrien marque, par l'emploi de ce terme au sens distinctif, la nette opposition entre Macédoniens et les autres, les étrangers, qui sont en effet ici les Grecs. Il est d'autant plus intéressant de retenir que le mot *hoi xenoi*, les étrangers, – qui marque une perspective non-grecque – figure chez un auteur qui, on vient de le voir, présente dans une perspective grecque un discours auquel les Grecs sont censés ne pas avoir été présents et qui, il faut le rappeler, touche à l'essence des rapports entre royauté macédonienne et ses sujets. Revenant au cas qui nous occupe, c'est-à-dire la mort de Parménion, un autre sujet purement « macédonien », il est évident que le texte reprend une source. Cette source ne semble pas être grecque, car un Grec aurait peut-être préféré l'usuelle formulation à termes ethnonyms, plutôt que de s'appeler « étranger ». Mais cette source est aussi très précise en séparant les Macédoniens des autres, ce qui nous fait penser à une perspective macédonienne. De plus, ce type de distinction coïnciderait avec la situation présente au temps du règne d'Alexandre : quand les hostilités entre Macédoniens vainqueurs et Grecs soumis auront justifié une très nette démarcation pratiquée simultanément par les deux groupes. A cause de la sélection des sources qui nous sont parvenus, on connaît surtout le point de vue grec. Par contre, il est tout à fait justifié de supposer que les vainqueurs

¹⁶Arr., 3. 26. 4.

ont eu, au moins du temps de Philippe II et d'Alexandre, une aiguë conscience de leur supériorité et donc aussi de leur individualité. En effet, notre supposition est confirmée, car Arrien cite l'autorité de Ptolémée¹⁷ pour l'entier passage relatant la mort de Parménion.

Un cas intéressant pour notre démarche est celui qu'Arrien présente à 2. 14. 4 où on lit : Οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα¹⁸ : « *Vos ancêtres qui ont attaqué la Macédoine et le reste de la Grèce ...* » (tr. par François-Charles Liskenne et Jean-Baptiste Sauvan). Il s'agit d'un cas d'inclusion, tout à fait similaire, de point de vue de la structure, aux cas analysés plus haut. Cependant, le sens est surprenant. Il fait de la Macédoine une partie de la Grèce. D'ailleurs, l'interprétation du passage a posé des problèmes. E. Borza¹⁹ suggère d'interpréter le démonstratif *alle* comme signifiant *beside*, au lieu de le lire comme dans tous les autres cas où l'on rencontre la même structure. Bosworth²⁰ en remarque lui aussi la difficulté, mais rejette tout intervention sur la lecture du texte. Il ne pense pas non plus que celui-ci soit un cas de redondance. Car le syntagme est bien attesté dans cette forme, notamment chez Polybe²¹, entre autres auteurs hellénistiques. Il essaie de trouver la solution dans l'interprétation contextuelle – une lettre qu'Alexandre aurait adressée à Darius – et considère que l'inclusion de la Macédoine dans une Grèce élargie est une manœuvre de propagande. D'après le chercheur cité, Alexandre aurait voulu présenter comme légitime sa campagne contre les Perses et intégrer la Macédoine à la Grèce aurait fait partie de ce programme. Mais l'explication de Bosworth ne nous semble pas convaincante. Si Alexandre avait vraiment voulu se présenter par ces mots en vengeur d'anciennes agressions, le passé de la Macédoine, ancienne vassale de l'Empire Persan, lui aurait fourni un prétexte suffisant. Or, l'expression est courante chez Polybe, comme le note aussi Bosworth. Et on a déjà vu quelle est la perception des Macédoniens, et implicitement de la Macédoine, chez Polybe. Pour l'historien hellénistique, les Macédoniens

¹⁷A. B. Bosworth, 1980, vol. 1, p. 159.

¹⁸*Arr.*, 2.14.4.

¹⁹E. N. Borza, 1996, p. 145.

²⁰A. B. Bosworth, 1980, vol. 1, p. 231.

²¹*Eg. Polyb.*, 7. 9. 7.

sont implicitement des Grecs. De plus, le texte qu'Arrien 'cite' ici est une lettre. Et l'authenticité de la correspondance d'Alexandre est un domaine très contesté. La plupart des chercheurs²² inclinent aujourd'hui à considérer les lettres d'Alexandre des faux, et, pas du tout surprenant, elles sont généralement datées à l'époque hellénistique²³. Arrivés à ce point, notre hypothèse est la suivante : nous sommes confrontés ici à un anachronisme et cet anachronisme, Arrien l'a emprunté à la source qu'il mentionne, la lettre. Arrien reprend donc la formulation de sa source, une lettre de fabrication hellénistique, période pour laquelle le syntagme reflète la réalité quotidienne. Notre interprétation présente un double avantage. D'un côté, elle explique pourquoi Arrien assimile la Macédoine à la Grèce ici, sans que la confusion soit répétée ailleurs. De l'autre, on n'est plus forcé à imposer une interprétation particulière, forgée pour cette situation, du lexique comme Borza, où du contexte historique comme Bosworth.

4. Macédoniens et Grecs au temps de la Seconde Sophistique : le témoignage d'Arrien

Mais Arrien ne se borne pas à l'emprunt mécanique des images et des modes de pensée désormais révolus, comme dans les cas analysés. En suivant la perception des Macédoniens dans l'œuvre d'Arrien, nous proposons l'examen de deux autres cas où Arrien, au nom propre ou par voie d'un discours, reprend des images liées à la perception des Macédoniens, et en particulier de la famille régnante, datables dans la période classique. Bien entendu, la présence chez Arrien des thèmes classiques n'a rien de spectaculaire. En fin de compte, Arrien est considéré comme l'un des représentants majeurs de la Seconde Sophistique non seulement grâce à la maîtrise du dialecte attique, mais aussi à cause de sa préférence pour des motifs antiquisants. Ce qu'il faut souligner ici c'est que, tout en réutilisant une tradition consacrée, Arrien crée un message nouveau, qui parle de manière directe de son époque. Par conséquent, en suivant le sort d'un thème, à savoir la perception des Macédoniens, il est possible à la fois de faire une brèche dans la sédimentation d'un ouvrage et de tenter par cette voie de dévoiler dans quelque mesure l'ordre dans lequel cette sédimentation s'est produite et, tout en récupérant la signification

²²V. P. A. Brunt, 1983, vol. 2, pp. 288-293.

²³L. Pearson, 1955, pp. 429-455.

initiale, parvenir à une meilleure compréhension de la perception que l'auteur du texte avait des notions et des faits qu'il employait.

Le premier passage fait partie de la virulente invective moralisatrice d'Arrien – intervention qui répond probablement à des considérations de style, car elle intervient exactement au centre de l'ouvrage, résume les exploits d'Alexandre jusqu'à ce point et préannonce les erreurs du *hybris* à suivre²⁴ – invective causée par la torture, la mutilation suivies de l'exécution de Bessos de la part d'Alexandre. L'indignation face à la cruauté du geste du roi détermine Arrien à lui évaluer les accomplissements, mais aussi le patrimoine culturel: ἐσθῆτά τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὃν μετέλαβεν²⁵: « [préférant] le costume des Mèdes à celui macédonien, que son ancêtre Héraclès lui avait transmis » (n. trad.) Il est facile de reconnaître ici la généalogie argienne qui descendait jusqu'à Héraclès de la dynastie macédonienne. Elle est fréquemment véhiculée par les orateurs attiques, la créditant comme Isocrate²⁶, ou la repoussant, comme Démosthène²⁷. Cette généalogie présente néanmoins des particularités chez Arrien. Elle n'est plus utilisée pour fournir le ‘passeport’ grec. Par contre, elle joue ici le rôle de relier Alexandre à son héritage macédonien. Nous constatons, par rapport à la période classique, une distorsion de perception, ou plutôt une perte de signification. Ce qui avant servait à dissocier la royauté du pays, la Macédoine, et des sujets, les Macédoniens, ici s'est complètement fondu avec eux. Nous sommes confrontés à une perception tout à fait différente où Macédoine et Grèce s'identifient l'une avec l'autre, et c'est précisément la perception de l'époque romaine. En effet, dans notre passage, la généalogie est utilisée avec d'autres images courantes concernant Alexandre, comme l'adoption du faste perse, et le tout représente la variation d'Arrien sur un *topos*²⁸ – très populaire dans la rhétorique de son temps²⁹ – concernant les vertus et les vices du Macédonien. On le connaît de Tite Live³⁰, de Dion

²⁴ V.P. A. Stadter, 1980, p. 83.

²⁵ *Arr.*, 4. 7. 4.

²⁶ Isochr., *Ad Phil.*, 76, 79, 113, 115, 127, 154.

²⁷ Demosth., *Or.*, 9. 31, 18. 185-186.

²⁸ A. B. Bosworth, 1995, vol. 2, p. 45.

²⁹ V. Whitmarsh, *The second sophistic ...*, p. 68 *sqq.*

³⁰ T. L., *Ab urb.*, 9. 17. 3-19. 17.

Chrysostome³¹, et surtout des deux ouvrages rhétoriques de Plutarque, *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute*. On voit donc, quand on compare la forme initiale avec celle qu'on retrouve dans le texte, que le passage n'est pas un emprunt direct à la littérature classique. Il a connu l'intermédiaire du milieu rhétorique de la Seconde Sophistique. Arrien présente, à titre de réflexion personnelle, un *topos*, mais il faut le noter, ce *topos* lui est contemporain et reflète son goût en matière de style et son adhésion tacite – et probablement inconsciente et involontaire – aux réalités de son temps.

Le deuxième passage fait partie d'un discours. Il est attribué à Callisthène qui l'aurait prononcé au banquet où Alexandre a demandé de la part des participants la *proskynesis*, le salut par prosternation :

... ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν παιδί, Ἡρακλείδη δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Αἰακίδη, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργους ἐσ Μακεδονίαν ἤλθον, οὐδὲ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν. οὕκουν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θεῖαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἡ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιμεσπισθῆναι ως θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, βαρβαρικὰ χρὴ ἔχειν τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεμνῆσθαι σε ἀξιῶ, ὡς Αλέξανδρε, ἡς ἔνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθεῖναι τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκεῖσε ἐπανελθὼν ἄρα γε καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους προσαναγκάσεις ἐσ τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἡ Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀφέεη, Μακεδόσι δὲ προσθήσεις τήνδε τὴν ἀτιμίαν, ἡ διακεκριμένα ἔσται σοι αὐτῷ τῶν τιμῶν ἐς ἄπαν, ως πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἐλληνικῶς τιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρβαρικῶς,³²

«[...] mais au fils de Philippe, mais au descendant d'Hercule et d'Achille, mais à un prince dont les ancêtres, venus d'Argos dans la Macédoine, n'y ont point obtenu l'empire par la force et la violence, mais

³¹Cf. Suidae Lexicon, δ 1240.

³²Arr., 4. 11. 6-8.

conformément à nos lois. Hercule ne reçut pas les honneurs divins pendant sa vie, et, même après sa mort, il ne les dut qu'à l'ordre d'un oracle. Que si, nous voyant en petit nombre au milieu des Barbares, tu veux en prendre les mœurs, Alexandre, souviens-toi de la Grèce. C'est pour soumettre l'Asie à la Grèce que cette expédition a été entreprise. Espères-tu à ton retour, forcer les plus libres des hommes, les Grecs à t'adorer ? ou, s'ils sont exempts de cette honte, est-ce aux Macédoniens seuls que tu la réserves ? ou bien ambitionnes-tu un double hommage, homme pour les Grecs et les Macédoniens, veux-tu être un Dieu pour les Barbares ?» (tr. par François-Charles Liskenne et Jean-Baptiste Sauvan)

Arrien reprend, cette fois-ci dans la bonne tradition classique, la généalogie du roi. Nous retrouvons aussi l'opposition Grecs – Macédoniens. Le passage rappelle sous plusieurs aspects Isocrate³³. Gestion des rapports Grecs – Macédoniens mise à part, autres similitudes sont le gouvernement en roi légitime de la Macédoine et surtout la triple perception de l'altérité: Grecs – Macédoniens – barbares orientaux. Il est vrai, la perception tripartite était courante au II^e siècle ap. J.-C. Nous la retrouvons chez Aelius Aristide³⁴, le contemporain d'Arrien qui l'applique aux Romains. Mais la présence de la distinction entre Grecs et Macédoniens, et surtout les réflexions sur l'attachement des Grecs à la liberté – ailleurs³⁵ Arrien a un mépris mordant pour le présumé attachement des Grecs Thébains à la liberté – nous renforcent dans la conviction qu'Arrien a utilisé directement le milieu de la rhétorique attique du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. comme source pour le discours de Callisthène.

Les deux exemples, nous l'espérons, ont démontré de manière satisfaisante comment, en suivant les rapports entre Grecs et Macédoniens dans la diachronie, nous sommes parvenue à identifier – aux moyens d'une attentive interprétation des nombreuses particularités dont cette diachronie est porteuse – les divers milieux culturels d'où Arrien a tiré son inspiration pour des passages dont il n'avait donné aucune indication relative aux sources utilisées.

³³ *V. supra*, p. 8, n. 26.

³⁴ Aelius Aristides, *Or.*, 14, pp. Jebb 200, 201, 214, 225.

³⁵ *Arr.*, 1. 7. 2 : Ἐλευθερίαν [...] παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὄνόματα « liberté [...] vétustes et beaux mots » (n. trad.).

Conclusions

Dans la présente étude nous nous sommes proposée de développer un moyen de sonder la sédimentation des sources dans les ouvrages historiques, en nous concentrant sur *l'Anabase d'Alexandre*. A cette fin, nous avons choisi la dynamique du rapport Grecs – Macédoniens. L'analyse de cette dynamique – en changement continu du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., quand se sont produits les événements narrés, au II^e siècle ap. J.-C., le moment de la rédaction d'Arrien – nous a donné la possibilité d'investiguer ce processus même. Nous avons pu rejoindre deux types de conclusions.

Premièrement, grâce à cette méthode très sensible à la chronologie, nous sommes arrivée à identifier les sources pour certains passages sur lesquels Arrien ne donne aucun renseignement. Ce fait contribue à une meilleure compréhension de la méthode historique d'Arrien. Parce que l'historien ne se limite pas à reprendre ses sources principales. Il tire son inspiration de la littérature grecque en son entier et la correcte identification des sources et des motifs dont il se sert est indispensable pour toute analyse pertinente de son œuvre.

En deuxième lieu, notre analyse surprend à l'intérieur de *l'Anabase d'Alexandre* les changements intervenus dans la perception des Macédoniens. Au début vaguement perçus comme des lointains parents des Grecs, menant un train de vie primitif à la frontière Nord, les Macédoniens ont acquis au temps des campagnes d'Alexandre un sens d'identité propre, macédonienne, qui transparaît chez Arrien assurément grâce à l'emploi des sources comme Ptolémée ou Aristobule. Du côté grec, la situation conflictuelle du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., fait reculer toute tentative d'assimilation et transforme les Macédoniens vainqueurs des Grecs en non-Grecs, voire pleinement barbares. Tout au long de l'existence des royaumes hellénistiques, l'élite macédonienne aussi bien que la population est progressivement assimilée par la culture grecque. Les sources de cette période parlent de ce changement de statut en incluant les Macédoniens de manière tacite parmi les Grecs. L'époque romaine voit ce processus déjà achevé. Pour Arrien, Grec, héritier du royaume hellénistique de la Bithynie, les Macédoniens sont des Grecs et, surtout, Alexandre représente un moment de gloire de l'histoire grecque.

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LES ETHNONYMES DANS LES *HISTOIRES* D'AMMIEN MARCELLIN

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Abstract:

This paper analyzes the role of ethnonyms in Ammianus Marcellinus' *Roman History*. On the one hand, the different ways of naming 'the other' represent a literary device used by the historian in order to classify people from outside the Roman border. Therefore, people well known to Romans are less 'barbaric'. On the contrary, unknown people or with superficial contacts with the Romans are described as mere savages. On the other hand, the list of barbarians is an essential element in understanding Ammianus' conception of history and of inhabited world, and also of how he places himself in relation to his predecessors, Greek and Roman historians, and his audience.

Keywords:

Ethnonym, otherness, Roman Empire, barbarians, classical tradition

Rezumat:

Studiul de față analizează rolul etnonimelor în *Istoriile* lui Ammianus Marcellinus. Pe de o parte se constată că diversele modalități de a-l desemna pe „celălalt” reprezintă un procedeu prin care istoricul stabilește o ierarhie a popoarelor din afara granițelor Imperiului: cele mai cunoscute sunt considerate a fi „mai puțin barbare”, spre deosebire de cele necunoscute sau doar superficial cunoscute care tind să se identifice cu sălbăticia. Pe de altă parte inventarul populațiilor barbare este un element esențial pentru înțelegerea concepției lui Ammianus despre istorie și despre oicumă, precum și a locului pe care și-l atribuie prin raportare la tradiția istoriografică și la publicul său.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Etnonim, barbar, alteritate, Imperiul Roman, tradiția istoriografică antică.

Nomme l'autre dans l'Antiquité

Pendant l'Antiquité classique, les auteurs d'ouvrages à caractère historique manifestaient un intérêt particulier au détail ethno-géographique. Les nombreuses descriptions de lieux et de peuples présentes dans les récits des historiens Grecs et Romains permettaient à ces derniers d'offrir à leur auditoire une représentation plus complète et nuancée de l'écoumène. Afin

de créer une image intelligible du monde connu, l'historien utilisait un système de symboles réalisé à l'aide des procédés stylistiques comme l'analogie, la comparaison ou l'exemple tout en se basant sur un bagage culturel partagé par son auditoire.

L'ouvrage historique de l'auteur du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C., Ammien Marcellin, rédigé en latin, dans la tradition de l'histoire universelle d'Hérodote, est particulièrement riche en descriptions géographiques et ethnographiques. En fait, ces digressions constituent un vrai récit parallèle qui complète les données politiques et militaires de la narration principale. Chez Ammien, elles ont un rôle à la fois narratif et esthétique. L'insertion d'un *excursus* qui coupe une narration est un procédé qui vise à temporiser l'action, à créer le suspense et à attirer l'attention du lecteur sur la suite du récit¹. D'autre part, les digressions ont le rôle de faire délester l'auditoire², *delectare*, étant, dans la plupart des cas, des morceaux très élaborés du point de vue stylistique. De plus, elles sont une manière de l'auteur de communiquer avec son public, lui offrant le plaisir de découvrir dans le récit ses propres connaissances.

Ammien Marcellin construit l'image de l'autre en combinant deux procédés complémentaires : la description du mode de vie des peuples, y compris leurs traits physiques et moraux, et la dénomination. La présente étude se propose d'investiguer les fonctions des ethnonymes employés dans les *Histoires*. Nous démontrerons que les divers types de désigner l'autre ont, d'un côté, le rôle d'établir une hiérarchie entre les peuples étrangers, de manière que les plus connus par les Romains étaient « moins barbares », tandis que les moins connus tendaient à être identifiés à la sauvagerie. De l'autre côté, l'inventaire des peuples est un élément essentiel pour la compréhension de la conception que l'auteur avait de l'histoire et du monde, ainsi que de la place qu'il s'attribuait par rapport à la tradition et à ses contemporains.

Avant de passer à l'analyse concrète, il s'impose pour notre démarche une classification des populations barbares mentionnées ou décrites dans les *Res gestae*. On distingue trois catégories par rapport à leur historicité. Dans une première catégorie on inclut les peuples dont l'existence réelle est attestée et qui étaient connus aux Romains grâce à des contacts de nature

¹ T. D. Barnes, 1998, p.73.

² G. Sabbah, 1978, p. 541.

militaire, des échanges commerciaux ou culturels, rapports qui avaient déjà une longue histoire du temps de l'auteur. Au pôle opposé se situent les peuples qui tiennent du mythe. Entre ces deux catégories on trouve les peuples qui ont fait partie de l'histoire à un moment donné, mais dont au IV^e siècle ap. J.-C. on gardait seulement le souvenir.

La dénomination de l'autre³ – partie essentielle de la « fiche identitaire » de tout peuple participant à l'action régie par l'historien – comporte deux aspects : les termes génériques et les ethnonymes.

Les termes génériques avec lesquels Ammien désigne les peuples demeurant au-delà de la frontière romaine présentent différents niveaux d'altérité. Le terme ayant une connotation négative par excellence est *barbarus*. A l'origine, le terme était employé dans une acception linguistique, désignant les peuples qui parlaient une autre langue que le grec. Ensuite, il s'appliquait à celui qui ne participait pas à la civilisation gréco-romaine. Pour cette raison, tous les peuples non intégrés à l'Empire étaient des barbares⁴. On remarque donc l'évolution du terme vers un sens politique et culturel.

Des termes plus neutres, sans pour autant être dépourvus de connotations secondaires, sont ceux qui signifient « peuple » : *gentes exteræ*, *genus*, *gentiles*, *nationes* opposés au syntagme *populus Romanus* qui désigne le citoyen. La variété sémantique de ces termes trouve un équivalent dans la multitude des peuples qui entraient en contact avec les Romains. *Gentes exteræ*, *gentiles* et *genus* ont pour racine *gen** qui exprime la filiation, indiquant, dans son sens initial, les descendants d'un ancêtre commun. Par rétrécissement sémantique, ce sens de communauté basée sur des liens de parenté évolue, désignant ceux qui ont ou prétendent avoir une ascendance illustre, soit un dieu, soit un être fabuleux ou un héros fondateur. A l'époque tardive, le pluriel des noms *gens* et *gentilis*, adjetif pris substantivement, s'appliquait seulement aux peuples non-romains. Le mot *natio* se rapproche sémantiquement de *gentes*. Sous l'influence du latin chrétien, *nationes* sont les peuples païens, les peuples non-intégrés à la communauté romaine qui ignoraient donc la nouvelle religion propagée, dans une première étape, entre les frontières de l'Empire⁵.

³ F. Hartog, 1980, pp. 249-259.

⁴ E. Saglio, G. Humbert, 1877, pp. 670-672.

⁵ A. Ernout, A. Meillet, 2001⁴, p. 430.

Dans les *Histoires* d’Ammien Marcellin, l’identification des peuples étrangers à l’aide des ethnonymes offre une image plus nuancée de l’autre.

Ce n’est pas sans importance pour notre problème de mentionner le fait que les philosophes antiques prenaient une attention spéciale aux noms de choses. Pour les adeptes de Pythagore, nous informe Diogène Laërce dans ses *Vies, doctrines et sentences des philosophes illustres* (VI, 17), les noms étaient l’image des choses. Connaître le nom était une étape essentielle de la connaissance de l’objet désigné. De plus, le fait d’utiliser le nom d’un objet confère à celui qui l’emploie un pouvoir sur l’objet en question. Ce pouvoir sur l’objet, conféré par la connaissance du nom, joint à une familiarité consolidée des Romains avec les populations germaniques résultant des nombreux contacts, explique, chez Ammien Marcellin, l’énumération très précise des noms d’un nombre de tribus. Pour notre historien, ces tribus étaient les ennemis toujours vaincus par l’armée impériale.

Souvent les noms propres des peuples ont une signification qui est en fait le trait caractéristique du peuple ainsi dénommé. Par exemple le nom de peuple *Heniochi* est la translittération latine du mot grec ἑνίοχος qui signifie « cocher, conducteur de char ». Ammien Marcellin explique le nom de cette population scythe demeurant dans la région de la Mer Noire à partir d’un événement légendaire. Selon la tradition historique héritée par Ammien, les fondateurs du pays des *Heniochi*, Amphitus et Cercius, étaient les cochers des frères Dioscures (Ammien Marcellin, XXII, 8, 24). Il faut ajouter que l’événement représente une transposition dans le mythe d’un trait définitoire des peuples nomades en général, à savoir le fait qu’ils passaient pour de bons cavaliers aux yeux des Grecs et Romains.

Un aspect aussi intéressant est celui de la toponymie dérivée de noms de peuples qui occupe les espaces respectifs. Dans les *Histoires* on note la présence d’*Alamannia* (XX, 4, 1 ; XXX, 3, 1), *Francia* (XXX, 3, 7), *Gothia* (XXX, 2, 8) ou *Scythia* (XXIII, 6, 14 ; 40 ; XXXI, 5, 13 ; 8, 4). Cet espace, habité par les barbares, prenant le nom de la tribu, assume aussi ses caractéristiques. Il s’agit ainsi d’un type de paysage très peu modifié par l’homme, on pourrait dire même sauvage si l’on prend en considération la symbolique que les anciens attribuaient à la montagne, à la mer, à la grotte, à la forêt ou aux sources⁶. La ville, le symbole de la civilisation gréco-

⁶ R. Buxton, 1994, pp. 80-113.

romaine, en est toujours absente. Cet espace est construit en opposition avec le territoire représenté par l'Empire et cette différence est soulignée à travers le nom même. Comme dans le cas des ethnonymes, les toponymes ont le rôle de souligner, à un niveau neutre, la singularité de chaque lieu, et, au niveau symbolique et en conformité avec la théorie selon laquelle l'espace de l'« autre » s'oppose à son propre espace⁷, à travers la dénomination on essaie de comprendre et de connaître l'espace étranger, qui est en principe hostile, afin de se l'approprier.

Le discours ethnographique d'Ammien

Passons maintenant à l'interprétation de la place des ethnonymes dans le discours ethnographique d'Ammien.

Les populations barbares le mieux connues des Romains sont évidemment les tribus celtes. Paradoxalement, ni la proximité géographique, ni les contacts séculaires entre ces deux populations, ni même la connaissance directe des Celtes acquise par notre auteur (voir par exemple son témoignage ethnographique sur les Celtes, résultant de l'expérience personnelle : XV, 12, 1) ne l'empêchent pas de s'inspirer de l'image des peuples celtes créée par les historiens Grecs⁸. La description des Celtes est totalement soumise à la tradition. Ils sont de haute taille, *celsiores*, et ont la peau claire, *candidi*. En effet, l'historien mentionne comme source l'ouvrage de Timagène, un historien Grec du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. (XV, 9, 2). Le même auteur lui fournit l'explication du nom des Gaulois. Le terme le plus fréquemment utilisé est *Galli* avec le toponyme correspondant, employé par les Grecs comme le dit Ammien. Autre ethnosome est *Celtae*, à l'origine le nom d'un de leurs rois (XV, 9, 2). Le fait que la population ait adopté le nom de son roi bien aimé *amabilis* chez Ammien, ainsi que la mention *eius uocabulo*, « avec un terme de leur langue », suggère qu'il s'agit d'un ethnosome indigène, situation assez rare pour la période qui nous préoccupe et qui s'explique par la familiarité des Grecs et des Romains avec ces populations. Le témoignage de César, selon lequel ces peuples étaient appelés par les Romains *Galli*, mais qui chez eux s'appelaient *Celtae*, confère plus de crédit à cette information (*De bello Gallico*, I, 1, 1). Enfin, une autre appellation, *Galati*, était le nom grec de la mère du roi en question

⁷ A. A. Moles, E. Rohmer, 1977, p. 109.

⁸ T. D. Barnes, 1998, p. 100.

mais elle faisait aussi allusion au lait, aliment consommé par ces populations (XV, 9, 3). Cette opération de triple dénomination – deux noms propres provenant des noms communs grecs et un anthroponyme indigène –, partie de la rhétorique de l’altérité⁹, sert à l’historien pour classer avec plus de précision les Celtes dans la hiérarchie des peuples du monde connu, car, comme le remarquait F. Hartog, pour les Grecs, et les Romains il faut ajouter, trouver des équivalences aux noms propres allogènes était une manière de marquer le fait que le peuple étranger et les Grecs partageaient des traits communs¹⁰.

Les caractéristiques des Celtes sont déterminées en grande partie par la proximité géographique de l’Empire. Les *Aquitani*, les voisins des Romains qui ont le privilège de bénéficier des bienfaits de la civilisation, sont un peuple pacifique, *quieti*, mais aussi viciés par le luxe et la richesse de l’Empire, étant ainsi un obstacle faible dans le plan d’expansion territoriale des Romains (XV, 11, 5). Les *Belgae*, plus éloignés de l’Empire, sont plus forts que les *Aquitani*, leur caractère demeurant pur et sauvage (XV, 11, 4). Le message d’Ammien est évident : une population barbare, une fois touchée par la civilisation, perd sa liberté. Seulement le peuple romain peut bénéficier des avantages de la civilisation sans pour autant perdre son courage.

Les tribus germaniques sont appelées de manière générique *Germani*. Parmi ces populations, les plus redoutées des Romains à l’époque d’Ammien étaient les *Alamanni*. En raison de la menace qu’ils représentaient pour l’Empire, le territoire est nommé d’après leur nom et Ammien insiste aussi sur la présentation détaillée des différents clans, avec leurs localisation géographique : les *Letienses*, par exemple, occupaient le territoire du côté de la province *Raetia* (XXXI, 10, 2 ; 12, 1). D’autres clans étaient les *Bucinobantes* (XXIX, 4, 7) et les *Leti* (XVI, 11, 4 ; XX, 8, 13 ; XXI, 13, 16). L’influence de Rome sur ces populations est évidente au niveau de l’organisation sociale. En fait, Ammien révèle leur évolution depuis l’organisation sociale de type tribal vers une forme de gouvernement qui peut être traduite pour le public romain dans les termes d’un *regnum* avec un *rex* pour souverain. Il jouit d’autorité et de prestige parmi les autres chefs militaires (XX, 4, 1 ; XXIX, 6, 8). La digression relative à

⁹ F. Hartog, 1980, pp. 251-252.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-257.

l'organisation sociale des tribus germaniques a donc une double fonction : d'un côté la royauté est une *interpretatio Romana* d'une réalité extérieure à la civilisation de l'Empire, d'autre côté, l'allusion à la royauté, type de gouvernement expérimenté et détesté par les Romains, est une manière de suggérer l'infériorité des *Alamanni* par rapport aux Romains.

D'autres populations d'origine germanique présentes dans les *Histoires* sont les *Franci* avec leur territoire *Francia*. Parmi eux, Ammien distingue les *Salii* et les *Atthuarii*. Ces populations ont un statut ambigu dans les *Histoires* en tant que barbares et en tant que peuplades non seulement admises dans les frontières de l'Empire, mais aussi jouissant d'un réel pouvoir pendant le règne de Constance II (XV, 5, 11). L'attitude de notre historien envers les *Franci* est mise en évidence par son jugement sur l'usurpation du général Silvanus¹¹, d'origine franque. D'un côté Ammien lui reconnaît les qualités de chef militaire, de l'autre côté il l'accuse de couardise, « *suopte ingenio Siluanus etiam nulla re perterrente timidior* »¹², et, surtout, condamne l'action d'usurpation. Donc, pour Ammien, l'excellence militaire des *Franci* est le résultat des contacts avec les Romains, tandis que le traitement de leur caractère « national » est soumis aux stéréotypes ethnographiques traditionnelles.

Les peuplades des *Saxones*, des *Picti*, des *Scoti* et des *Attacotti*, la principale menace pour les provinces *Britannia* et le nord des Gaules, ont comme trait distinctif la férocité, « *bellicosa hominum natio* »¹³, en fait la seule caractéristique qui comptait pour les Romains. Ce manque d'intérêt de l'historien s'explique par leur écart géographique de Rome¹⁴.

De la même famille que les *Alamanni*, les *Gothi* affectaient, au IV^e siècle, les provinces romaines du côté du Danube. L'immense territoire contrôlé par ces peuples au Sud-Ouest des Carpates est appelé, dans les *Histoires*, *Gothia* (XXX, 2, 8). Parmi eux, Ammien distingue les *Greuthungi*, voisins des *Alani*, occupant la partie orientale de ce territoire, entre le Don et le Dniepr (XXXI, 3, 1) ; à l'Ouest de Dniepr se trouvaient les *Thervingi*. Entrés plus tard en contact avec les Romains et habitant l'espace voisin des peuples des steppes, appelés par les anciens de manière

¹¹ F. J. Guzmán Armario, 2002, pp. 748-750.

¹² XV, 5, 7.

¹³ XXVII, 8, 5.

¹⁴ G. Dagron, 1984, p. 52.

générique *Scythi*, ces peuples germaniques sont décrits schématiquement : on leur associe un comportement sauvage. Dans ce sens, ils sont souvent comparés à des bêtes sauvages¹⁵ et on leur applique des qualificatifs comme *bestia* (XXXI, 8, 9 ; 15, 2), *ferinus* (XXXI, 7, 9 ; 9, 1), *belua* (XXXI, 8, 8). Une autre population germanique, présentée toujours à travers des clichés, sont les *Taifali*, demeurant dans le bassin inférieur du Danube depuis la moitié du III^e siècle ap. J.-C. L'évocation des rituels d'initiation des *Taifali*, basés sur des relations homosexuelles et des actes de violence (XXXI, 9, 5), suggère, de manière indirecte, leur statut de peuple périphérique, en dehors de la civilisation.

Les *Burgundi* jouissent d'un traitement particulier dans les *Histoires*. Dans leur cas, Ammien ne recourt pas au procédé courant de l'ethnographie classique, celui d'attribuer un nom latin à une réalité étrangère. En fait, l'historien choisit d'utiliser la nomenclature originelle de leurs chefs suivie d'une explication. Ainsi *hendinos* est traduit en latin par le mot « roi » et l'équivalent latin du *sinistus* est le mot « prêtre » (XXVIII, 5, 14). Selon le témoignage d'Ammien, le *hendinos* était déposé en cas de pénurie alimentaire ou de défaite militaire – situation qui, selon la critique moderne, serait à l'origine de la monarchie médiévale¹⁶ – tandis que le *sinistus* jouissait de priviléges pendant toute sa vie. L'affirmation, selon une tradition ancienne, dont l'origine malheureusement n'est pas donnée par Ammien, que les *Burgundi* auraient été apparentés aux Romains (« *Romanorum cognati* », XXVIII, 5, 11) semble expliquer l'attitude favorable d'Ammien. Il les admire pour leur courage (XXVIII, 5, 9) et leur amour de la justice (XXVIII, 5, 14). De plus, la comparaison de la royauté des *Burgundi* avec le système monarchique des Egyptiens (« *solent Aegyptii casus eius modi suis adsignare rectoribus* », XXVIII, 5, 14), peuple barbare certes, mais vu aussi comme le berceau de la civilisation par le Grecs et les Romains¹⁷, a le rôle de les intégrer aux valeurs de l'*humanitas*¹⁸. Il faut noter aussi le fait que la familiarité du public de Rome avec les *Burgundi* permet à l'historien d'employer la terminologie indigène pour décrire les réalités locales à la place de l'*interpretatio Romana*. Un traitement similaire

¹⁵ R. C. Blockley, 1975, pp.183-184.

¹⁶ J. Matthews, 1989, p. 313.

¹⁷ F. Hartog, 1980, pp. 33-35.

¹⁸ P. Veyne, 1989, p. 397.

d'un peuple barbare est saisissable chez Hérodote, pour n'en donner qu'un exemple, à propos des Gélons, eux aussi tenus pour avoir des ancêtres d'origine grecque¹⁹.

Les Sarmates, *Sarmatae* en latin, sont mentionnés par Ammien dans des contextes militaires, en raison de leurs nombreuses incursions dans les provinces romaines *Moesia Superior* et *Pannonia Secunda*. De même que dans le cas d'autres populations nomades, les vastes steppes de la plaine de Tisza portent chez Ammien le nom de cette population, *Sarmatia* (XXVII, 13, 4). L'historien mentionne deux clans ennemis des Sarmates : les *Liberi Sarmatae* et les *Limigantes* (XVII, 13, 1). Il faut noter que le qualificatif du nom des *Liberi Sarmatae* indique qu'en effet il ne s'agit pas de deux clans, mais d'un seul. Le qualificatif *liberi* fait référence à la stratification sociale des Sarmates, hypothèse soutenue aussi par l'observation de l'historien concernant les *Limagnates* : ces derniers étaient les esclaves, « *serui* », des premiers (XVII, 13, 19). Il y a donc une « noblesse d'épée » qui exerçait son autorité sur le reste du peuple.

Les populations les plus sauvages des *Histoires* sont les tribus nomades des Huns, *Huni*, les Alains, (*H*)*Alani* et les *Saraceni*. La plus mémorable description à caractère ethnographique d'Ammien est celle des Huns (XXXI, 2, 1-12). En fait, cet historien est le premier auteur qui offre des informations sur ces populations très peu connues au IV^e siècle, son témoignage étant la source pour les récits de ses contemporains : Eunape²⁰, Claudien²¹, Olympiodore de Thèbe²², Sidoine Apollinaire²³ ou Jordandès. Il faut reconnaître à l'origine de la description des Huns le modèle du nomade forgé par Hérodote. De fait, ils habitent un territoire hostile, au Nord de la Mer d'Azov, ils ont un aspect terrifiant, « *prodigiosae formae* » (XXXI, 2, 2) qui les rapproche des figures mythiques des centaures, et ils mènent une vie primitive. Leur caractère synthétise les vices propres aux peuplades des steppes, la *feritas* (XXXI, 2, 1), et des peuples orientaux, la *uanitas* (XXXI, 2, 11). Plus « humanisés » que les Huns sont les Alains, mieux connus par auteurs Grecs et Romains. C'est dans ce sens qu'Ammien précise leur

¹⁹ Hérodote, IV, 108.

²⁰ O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, p. 9.

²¹ R. Syme, 1968, p. 15.

²² J. Matthews, 1970, p. 93.

²³ P. Heather, 1989, pp.107 et 110.

ancien ethnyme, « *antea Massagetae dictis* » (XXXI, 2,12). L'état plus élevé de civilisation des Alains par rapport à leurs voisins est illustré aussi par la forme d'organisation sociale – ils choisissent leurs chefs appelés *iudices* parmi les preux guerriers (XXXI, 2, 25) – et par leurs croyances religieuses – ils vénèrent un dieu anonyme à attributions militaires, identifié par Ammien, avec le dieu Mars de Panthéon gréco-latin, « *ut Martem* », (XXXI, 2, 23).

Les *Saraceni* ont une image similaire à celle des Huns et des Alains dans les *Histoires*. L'insistance de l'historien antique sur ces éléments qui recommandent les Saracènes comme des peuples nomades – par exemple le fait qu'ils habitent les déserts d'Arabie, qu'ils pratiquent des rituels terrifiants (l'habitude de boire le sang de l'ennemi vaincu, XXXI, 16, 6) ainsi que leurs traits de caractère, la *celeritas* et la *crudelitas*, soulignant, de manière générale, leurs vertus guerrières, et, en particulier, le type de combat qui leur est propre : les attaques-surprise à cheval – a déterminé Y. A. Dauge à affirmer que :

« *Le caractère des Saracènes est considéré par Ammien comme l'un des meilleurs exemples de la mentalité nomade: l'incertitude de leur comportement, soumis à l'espace et au temps, leur activité stérile et négative sont l'expression même de la uanitas pure.* »²⁴

L'opinion d'Y. A. Dauge est nuancée par J. Matthews. Comparant les descriptions des différentes peuplades nomades des *Histoires*, l'historien britannique constatait que, à part les exagérations à caractère exotique, la similitude des descriptions de ces peuples s'expliquerait par une similitude réelle entre ces peuples au niveau du mode de vie²⁵.

Un cas particulier est représenté par les populations barbares – non-romanisées – demeurant entre les frontières de l'Empire comme les *Isauri*, population montagnarde de la zone côtière d'Asie Mineure qui emprunte les caractéristiques négatives attribuées aux berger²⁶ – ils sont qualifiés de *rebelles* et de *latrones* (XIV, 8, 2) – et les populations Maures du désert Sahara, « *Mauricae gentes* » (XXVI, 4, 5 ; XXX, 7, 10). L'énumération des différents clans des Maures, *Baiurae*, *Cantauriani*, *Auastomates*, *Cafaves*, *Isafenses*, *Mazices*, tous aux noms indigènes, a le rôle de marquer la

²⁴ Y. A. Dauge, 1981, p. 337.

²⁵ J. Matthews, 1989, pp. 335-337.

²⁶ Giorcelli Bersani, 2001, p. 27.

différence par rapport aux Romains, le fait, que même si formellement ils sont intégrés à l'Empire, ils ne partagent pas les bénéfices de la civilisation. De fait, dans le récit d'Ammien, ils se rebellent contre l'autorité de l'empereur (XXIX, 5).

L'ennemi oriental de Rome est, par excellence, l'Empire Persan et cela depuis le III^e siècle av. J.-C. Pour désigner les habitants de cet empire, Ammien utilise, de manière interchangeable, deux termes : *Parthi* et *Persae*. A un premier niveau d'interprétation, il semble que l'historien ignore les transformations subies par l'ennemi oriental : en fait la *Parthia* des Arsacides fait place à *Persia* en 226 ap. J. –C., quand le dernier des rois Arsacides, Artaban V (213-226), est déposé par Ardashîr I^{er}, le fondateur de la dynastie des Sassanides. Le chercheur A. Chauvot, à la suite d'une analyse des contextes dans lesquels Ammien utilise l'un ou l'autre des termes, remarquait que les occurrences du terme *Parthicus* sont liées à des situations où le conflit entre Rome et l'Empire Persan est présenté dans une perspective multiséculaire, tandis que *Persicus* est employé dans les contextes qui font référence à des réalités géographiques, politiques et administratives, sociales ou militaires contemporaines à l'auteur²⁷. Cette hypothèse nous semble convaincante et nous voulons ajouter seulement le fait que cette apparente inconséquence d'Ammien peut avoir à l'origine aussi des raisons d'ordre idéologique : établissant de manière consciente une équivalence parfaite entre *Parthi* et *Persi*, l'historien a l'intention de « cacher » la menace réelle représentée par l'Empire des Sassanides en le confondant avec un adversaire moins redoutable, souvent vaincu.

Il nous semble intéressant d'analyser brièvement la manière dont Ammien se sert de l'image des Perses. Tout d'abord, l'admiration pour la société persane est une modalité d'apporter une critique voilée à sa propre société. Louant les qualités guerrières des Perses et l'attention qu'ils prêtent aux affaires militaires (XXIII, 6, 83), il critique l'état dans lequel se trouve l'armée romaine. De même, le système juridique romain est soumis à une double critique. Premièrement, par l'admiration de la pratique des Perses de choisir leurs juges parmi des individus ayant une conduite irréprochable et une expérience dans le domaine de la loi, deuxièmement par une affirmation que l'historien attribue aux Perses mêmes : ainsi, selon

²⁷ A. Chauvot, 1998, p. 396.

Ammien, les Perses se moquaient de la pratique de nommer en tant que magistrats Romains des personnages souvent ignorants, aidés de conseillers (XIII, 6, 82). Mais, les Perses restent « l'autre ». L'égalité entre Romains et Perses en ce qui concerne la civilisation – et, fait notable, ils sont comparés en deux reprises avec les Grecs (XVIII, 5, 8; XXIII, 6, 75) – et le pouvoir militaire, cette égalité partielle est relativisée par l'allusion à l'origine scythique des Perses (XXXI, 2, 20). L'information est insérée dans la digression sur les Alains, les associant ainsi aux peuplades nomades, les plus proches de la sauvagerie dans les *Histoires*. L'origine sert, dans le cas des Perses, à marquer la profonde différence entre les Romains et tout autre peuple, soit-il autrement l'égal des Romains.

Les *Seres*, population très peu connue aux Grecs et Romains, sont introduits dans les digressions sur la partie orientale de l'écoumène grâce à leur caractère exotique (XIV, 3, 3 ; XXIII, 6, 60 ; 64 ; 67 ; 69; XXXI, 2, 15). Ils sont présentés de manière très schématisée, l'auteur insistant sur la richesse de leur pays, d'où arrivent des produits de luxe comme les perles. Le nom que l'ethnographie grecque, et ensuite celle romaine, leur attribue, reflète cette image stéréotypée du peuple oriental méconnu : l'ethnonyme signifie, en grec, « soie »²⁸, donc une allusion à un produit de luxe, très apprécié par les anciens et qui était originaire de Chine.

Les *Aegyptii* ont, dans les *Histoires*, les caractéristiques imposées par la tradition historique grecque. En conformité avec la tradition initiée par Hérodote, la représentation des Egyptiens est contrastante : d'un côté, on a une profonde admiration pour la civilisation millénaire de ce peuple, à l'origine de tout savoir, y compris de la consécration des cultes honorant les dieux (XXII, 16, 17-22), et, d'autre côté, la critique visant leur caractère turbulent, qui refuse toute forme d'autorité (XXII, 16, 15 ; 23), opinion partagée par les auteurs de l'*Histoire Auguste*²⁹. Donc, du point de vue culturel, les Egyptiens étaient considérés, pourrait-on dire, les précurseurs de la civilisation gréco-romaine. Mais l'exotisme de leur pays - manifesté à travers des phénomènes naturels inusuels (XXII, 15, 31) et une faune bizarre (XXII, 15, 14-27) ainsi que dans leurs mœurs très différentes de celles des Grecs - les place dans la catégorie de l'autre.

²⁸ A. Ernout, A. Meillet, 2001⁴, p. 617.

²⁹ R. Syme, 1968, p. 25.

Les *Histoires* comptent quatre apparitions des Hébreux. Il s'agit de l'allusion à la conquête de la Judée par Pompée en 63 av. J.-C. (XIV, 8, 12), de la comparaison faite par Marc-Aurèle entre les Hébreux et les Marcomans, les *Quadi* et les Sarmates, tous ces peuples ayant un caractère turbulent (XXII, 5, 5), la décision de l'empereur Julien de remettre en état le Temple de Jérusalem (XXIII, 1, 2) et la mention d'une ville habitée autrefois par des Hébreux, rencontrée par les soldats Romains de l'empereur Julien au cours de leur marche contre les Perses (XXIV, 4, 1). À la différence des autres auteurs Romains qui leur attribuent les traites du barbare oriental, la *uanitas* et la *ferocia* comme, par exemple, Tacite³⁰, on remarque chez Ammien une indifférence générale, plutôt favorable aux Hébreux. Il est fort probable que, pour la question des Hébreux, l'historien aurait assumé l'attitude de l'empereur Julien qui menait une politique favorable à leur égard.³¹

Demeurant au Sud de l'Egypte, les *Blemmyae*, population presque inconnue aux Romains, sont présentés, dans les *Histoires*, à travers le parallèle à un animal exotique, l'hippopotame (XXII, 15, 24). Ammien raconte que cet animal énigmatique a quitté l'Egypte pour éviter les chasseurs, s'établissant dans le pays des *Blemmyae*. Soulignant l'extrême altérité de l'espace géographique occupé par l'animal et le peuple, Ammien établit un rapport d'identité entre les deux. Les éléments communs qui relient les *Blemmyae* à cet animal ont le rôle de suggérer l'exotisme du peuple sans connotation négative supplémentaire, usuelle d'ailleurs dans le cas des peuples barbares comparés aux bêtes sauvages. En fait, les *Blemmyae* se rangent dans une catégorie à part, plus proche des peuples imaginaires, sans une véritable existence historique.

Passons maintenant à l'analyse de cette catégorie de populations barbares fabuleuses ou qui tiennent du mythe. Ces populations imaginaires – élément obligatoire du code de communication entre l'historien et son public – confèrent une dimension exotique et érudite au récit. Du point de vue ethnographique, elles représentent l'altérité extrême. Elles peuvent être divisées en deux catégories selon l'espace géographique occupé. Les unes sont placées dans un espace à la limite du monde connu, côtoyant les peuples « réels » et contribuant par leur présence à la dimension mythique de l'espace liminaire. Les autres ont un rôle exclusivement littéraire,

³⁰ Y. A. Dauge, 1981, p. 256.

³¹ J. Matthews, 1989, p. 145.

comme parts des figures de style. Dans la première catégorie on inclut les Amazones, les Anthropophages et les Galactophages, dans la deuxième les Lotophages et les Phéaciens. En ce qui concerne les Amazones, Ammien n'apporte rien à l'image créée par Hérodote. Pour l'historien romain, ce peuple fait partie de l'histoire grecque (XXII, 8, 17). L'épisode de la victoire d'Athènes sur les Amazones, par contre, a une signification d'actualité : la digression sur les Amazones est insérée dans la description de la Thrace, région présentée par Ammien en raison de son importance pour la compréhension de la campagne de Julien contre l'Empire des Sassanides (XXII, 8, 1). Mentionnant la célèbre victoire athénienne dans ce contexte, Ammien établit un dialogue entre passé et présent. De cette manière il suggère une analogie entre la situation passée des Grecs, vainqueurs des Scythes, et la situation présente des Romains en guerre avec les « Scythes » contemporains, à savoir les Perses. La présence des Anthropophages (XXXI, 2, 15) et des Galactophages (XXIII, 6, 62) – dont les noms évoquent des habitudes alimentaires aberrantes aux yeux des Grecs et des Romains³² – dans le voisinage des Alains a le rôle de souligner, en exagérant, la diversité des peuples qui menacent l'Empire. Les figures stylistiques ayant dans leurs composition les populations homériques des Phéaciens (XVIII, 5, 7 ; XXVII, 8, 4) et des Lotophages (XIV, 6, 21) parlent de l'éducation et des préférences littéraires des contemporains d'Ammien³³.

La dernière catégorie est celle des peuples attestés par l'histoire, mais qui, du temps d'Ammien Marcellin, avaient cessé d'exister. Il s'agit des anciens peuples d'Italie et de la Sicile: les *Aurunci*, les *Sicani* (XXX, 4, 12) et les Etrusques (XXIII, 5, 10 ; XXV, 2, 7). Les deux premiers peuples sont évoqués dans le contexte de l'invective contre les avocats d'Orient qui invoquaient les lois de jadis pour faire absoudre les parricides. Le nom des Etrusques est lié chez Ammien à l'ancienne religion romaine dont il est l'adepte. Ces présences dans les *Histoires*, qu'on peut définir comme antiquaires, ont un double rôle : de placer l'historien dans une tradition littéraire prestigieuse et, à travers l'intemporalité qu'elles impliquent, de suggérer l'éternité de l'Empire.

Conclusions

A la fin de cette étude il s'impose quelques conclusions.

Au niveau métatextuel, on a souligné premièrement que l'ethnonyme est un élément fondamental du dialogue permanent d'Ammien avec ses prédécesseurs historiens Grecs et Romains. Les noms de populations

³² J. -N. Robert, 1994, pp. 117-149.

³³ P. M. Camus, 1967, pp. 34-36.

barbares qui animent les *Histoires* sont, à quelques exceptions, ceux qu'on trouve dans les ouvrages historiques depuis Hérodote. Le problème des changements d'ethnonymses intervenus au cours du temps est résolu par l'historien de deux façons. Une manière courante est celle des ethnonymses-paires. On a parlé, dans ce sens de l'alternance entre *Parthi* et *Persae*. L'autre est basée sur un procédé d'analogie. Ainsi les Huns, peuple méconnu des historiens Grecs de l'âge classique, sont assimilés aux Scythes d'Hérodote en raison d'une série de traits communs dont le plus significatif est le nomadisme.

Cette observation nous a menées à une seconde remarque. Ce dialogue avec la tradition littéraire est aussi un dialogue avec le public, à savoir les destinataires de l'œuvre d'Ammien. D'abord, la liste impressionnante des noms de peuples barbares – réels ou du domaine du mythe – témoigne de l'érudition de l'auteur et, en même temps, offre au public cultivé le plaisir de découvrir dans l'œuvre ses propres connaissances. Le nombre d'ethnonymses d'origine indigène répond au goût de l'exotisme de l'audience d'Ammien.

Au niveau intratextuel, nous avons tiré les conclusions suivantes.

Premièrement, le catalogue des ethnonymses met en évidence le caractère universel de l'histoire d'Ammien. À travers les noms des peuples, l'historien souligne la diversité du monde, diversité manifestée dans les traits physiques, les mœurs, l'organisation sociale, les croyances de ces peuples.

Deuxièmement, révélant l'immense variété des groupes ethniques qui peuplent l'écoumène, Ammien tire un signal d'alarme sur la menace qu'ils représentent pour l'Empire, mais en même temps, utilisant des doublets de type *Parthi/Persae* l'auteur diminue le pouvoir réel de ces peuples et exprime, de cette façon, la conviction que les Romains disposent des ressources nécessaires pour vaincre tout ennemi.

Enfin, la présence antiquaire des peuples qui n'existaient plus à l'époque d'Ammien ainsi que des populations issues du monde du mythe a non seulement une fonction littéraire, mais aussi le rôle de relativiser la dimension temporelle, éternisant l'Empire de Rome.

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CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES IDENTITAIRES

REMINISCING THE BLANK SPACES OF SOJOURN: SUBLIMATING EMOTIONAL FLIGHTS IN TABAN LO LIYONG'S *Words That Melt a Mountain*

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Abstract:

Taban Lo Liyong's profundity as a prominent writer from East Africa is often showcased by his wilful eccentricity and dogged iconoclasm, which exuberantly dot the lines of his poetry collections. For much of his writing career, Liyong has sustained a cultivated equanimity towards the paradox of being widely accepted by the budding African literary critics, while being deliberately neglected by the Western critics. His maverick disposition to literary craftsmanship is stridently exhibited in the thematic strands of *Words That Melt a Mountain*: an unabashed treatment of controversial subject matters; an intrusive and digressive narrative technique; a confident assertive ego; an effervescent erudition in his writing and a disturbing frankness in the treatment of sex.

This paper examines how the poetics of *Words That Melt a Mountain* are grounded in the experiences of Liyong's sojourn in Japan. It highlights the way in which these reminiscences ferment the interplay of themes which oscillate between an audacious narrative of erotic explorations and a penetrating introspection into African mythopoesis.

Key words:

Reminiscing, the blank spaces of sojourn, sublimating, wilful eccentricity, emotional flight, Taban Lo Liyong.

Rezumat:

Rememorarea spațiilor vide ale străinătății: sublimarea evadărilor emoționale în *Words that Melt a Mountain*, de Taban Lo Lyong

Profunzimea lui Taban Lo Liyong ca eminent scriitor din Africa de Est este adesea pusă în valoare de o excentricitate deliberată și un obstinat iconoclasm, care punctează cu exuberanță versurile volumelor sale de poezie. Pe parcursul carierei sale poetice, Liyong a afișat o cultivată seninătate în fața paradoxului de a fi unanim acceptat de noii critici literari africani, dar neglijat în mod deliberat de către criticii vestici. Atitudinea sa nonconformistă în arta literară este strident ilustrată de ramificațiile tematice și discursivee din *Words That Melt a Mountain*: tratarea fără ocolișuri a unor subiecte controversate; o tehnică narrativă intrusivă și digresivă; assertivitatea încrezătoare a ego-ului; o efervescentă erudiție a scriitorii și o franchețe tulburătoare în abordarea sexualității.

Prezenta lucrare examinează maniera în care poetica volumului *Words That Melt a Mountain* își trage seva din experiențele trăite de Liyong în timpul sejurului său din Japonia. Este ilustrat modul în care această rememorare alimenatează jocul tematic care oscilează între o îndrăzneață narătivă despre explorarea erotismului și o introspecție pătrunzătoare în resorturile unui mitopoeis de tip african.

Cuvinte cheie:

Rememorare, spațiile vide ale străinătății, sublimare, excentricitate deliberată, evadare emoțională, Taban Lo Liyong.

Introduction

Arguably East Africa's most pedantic and controversial writer, Taban Lo Liyong is perhaps South Sudan's most prodigious and colourful poet. The poetic of his *Words That Melt a Mountain* constitutes a landmark in African poetry. It is a poetry collection crowded with weird symbols and libidinous metaphors. Embedded in Liyong's poetry is a resonant tone of defiance and lingering air of non-conformism about the established norms of the poetic craft. Liyong' poetic is drugged on anarchic gusto, nuanced by shifts in time and place, and accentuated by the intersection of fantasy and reality. His witty philosophy, overbearing pedagogical disposition and suffocating penchant for vulgarity have earned him an unparalleled enmity from the established critics of African literature. Adrian Roscoe, for instance, has described as eccentric and curious the way he unconventionally used lowercase letters without punctuation in *Another Nigger Dead* (Roscoe, 1977:114). This is subtly paralleled by the surmise of Eldred Durosimi Jones, who considers the maverick poise of Liyong's poetry as 'sometimes straight, sometimes ironic, serious, parallel, contrasting, are massed together to produce a prickly, jumpy effect' (Jones, 1973:176-77). But the most incongruous of the critical salvos ever fired at Liyong was deleteriously delivered by Peter Nazareth, when he unabashedly blurted out that Liyong is ideologically irrelevant as a

spokesman for the Third World peoples and that he is an artistic failure (Nazareth, 1978: 38).

However, F. Odun Balogun has strongly underscored the artistic significance of Liyong in the distinguished African literary hall of fame when she relentlessly rallied a deserving support for his literary candidature in the African literary enterprise ‘Taban does not flatter the people of the Third World, just as he does not condone the weakness of the people of the developed nations. Rather, he uses his art to challenge the former to match the achievements of the latter. Taban believes in the unity of all men, ‘in the final analysis’, he says, ‘society is also one’, and he sees the differences in human beings as only a matter of ‘difference in degree’, for, as he points out, ‘A reliable balance sheet of innate qualities of the Blacks and Whites and the Yellow has not yet been drawn up. For all practical purposes, there are no differences in them. This is why Taban applies the same rule to all and believes the Third World has the capacity to catch up with the developed nations’ (F. Odun Balogun, 1998:260-261). While this paper does not intend to serve as a propagandistic platform for eulogizing the stupendous proclivity of Taban Lo Liyong’s literary provenance, it aims, however, to highlight how the avant-garde and the iconoclastic disposition of Taban Lo Liyong has shaped the poetics of *Words That Melt A Mountain* (1996) and captured the emotional shifts grounded in the staccato bursts of reminiscences of his stay in Japan.

Words That Melt a Mountain fervently coalesces Liyong’s cultural incursion into Japanese society and the attendant social disequilibrium he experienced during his sojourn there. Liyong’s position as an outsider affords him a rare privilege of probing perceptively into the socio-cultural fabric of Japanese society. Unlike Aime Cesaire’s *Cahier d’un retour au pays natal*, whose fauna, landscape and images are depressingly emphasized instead of the individuals figuring in the landscape, Liyong’s *Words That Melt a Mountain* mediates the individuals’ exhibition of cultural nuances. Liyong’s often obtrusive voice reverberates consistently in the poems. None of the poems in this collection has a title, they are rhetorical, loosely structured, and each poignantly narrates the poet persona’s exuberant, hilarious and convivial experiences. They display a verbal erudition which betrays compelling emotional shifts. The structural-linguistic significance of these emotional shifts in the *Words That Melt a*

Mountain strikingly reflects Sunday Anozie's views on the linguistic criticism of literary works. He observed that there are two underlined assumptions in the structural-linguistic method of literary crafting:

"The first is the realization that a poetic work contains a system of ordered variants which can be isolated and represented vertically in the form of superimposed levels, such as phonology, phonetic, syntactic, prosodic and semantic. The second is that modern structuralism—especially in the form of its offshoot, generative grammar – provides an adequate theory and method for accounting for such levels and in dealing with the internal coherence of the given work of art". (Anozie, 1984:106)

Liyong has adopted this stylized approach of stringing together scraps of experience rendered in poetry because it is the most convenient way of rendering life lived in fits. While European and Western literatures copiously advocated a reduction of the author's presence within the work, evoking James Joyce's injunction that 'the artist, like the God of creation', ought to 'remain within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails' (Joyce, 1984: 194), Liyong often assumes the role of obtrusive commentator in *Words That Melt a Mountain*, offering explanations and illustrations when necessary.

Facilitating the Dialogue between Writer and Reader in Literary Production

The collection starts with an invitation to the readers, by the Poet's persona, to a literary dialogue. The writer has most often constituted the cynosure and bastion of literary creativity, but Liyong reverses this omnipotent role of the writer, by emphasizing the collaboration and synergy between writer and reader towards the aesthetic fructification of a literary work. He argues that the success of any literary production only thrives on dialogue, rather than on the selfish monologue which only justifies the writer's gratification, thereby alienating the readers:

*"Dear Reader,
Writing is an invitation to a dialogue.
First the writer chooses the theme and expounds on it.
The reader is provoked to respond; silently or loudly,
Prosaically or poetically.
The debate that ensues amplifies the theme...
The mind's empire is enlarged, and the heart
Can understand
what it would never have condoned*

before.

*Toleration is the answer
To a multicultural
uni
world.” (i)*

Liyong has unambiguously demonstrated, in this introductory poem, that writing should not be the exclusive prerogative of the author, but it should rather be an exchange of ideas between the writer and the reader. This reminds one of Chinua Achebe's opinion that 'the triumph of the written word is often attained when the writer achieves union and trust with the reader, who then becomes ready to be drawn deep into unfamiliar territory, walking in borrowed literary shoes so to speak, toward a deeper understanding of self or society, or of foreign peoples, cultures, and situations' (Achebe, 2012:61). It is only logical for the writer to sustain this link between him and the reader, because the reader axiomatically constitutes the vibrant audience of any literary production. Such exchange is deemed beneficial to literary enterprise because, when 'the writer chooses the theme and expounds on it/the reader is provoked to respond; silently or loudly, and the dividend of such exchange strikingly 'amplifies the theme'.

Mythologizing African Cultural Consciousness in the World Literary Order

The exploration and adoption of mythology in the works of contemporary African writers is no doubt designed to re-write African cultural consciousness in the world's new literary order. It will not be out of place to acknowledge the fact that contemporary African writers, even though they write in non-African languages like English, French and Portuguese, have their inspiration rooted in the sacrosanct African culture, its cosmology, landscapes and social patterns obtainable in their respective cultural milieu. Suffice it to say that 'Modern African literature right from the beginning has drawn upon two major traditions and their respective thought and imaginative systems: the Western literary tradition and the African oral tradition.

One insists on the epistemological difference between history and fiction, the other on the pragmatic identicalness of both. For the majority of African writers, the two traditions exist to be of mutual assistance in the

evolution of the new literature in Africa, and the distinction between history and fiction is accepted as valid' (Ogundele, 1992:9). In an untitled poem whose first line begins with 'When I hit my right foot against a stone', the poet points to the interrelationship between man, inanimate objects and the supernatural elements in African cosmology. Africans maintain a corresponding anthropomorphic attitude to stones, water, forest and animals. This is significantly emphasized in the words of Mazisi Kunene 'Each society is concerned with its destiny within the cosmic arena. Without this perspective, the society can only be stamped into directions it does not fully comprehend or does not feel ready to follow...myth can take many forms. It can reorganize the historical content in terms of modern perspectives. It can create an attractive vision defining in familiar cosmic terms the future possibilities of society. Myth can be used to celebrate the achievements of society, making them fall into an acceptable social order' (Kunene, 1980:190). The poem is deftly anchored in the stylistic influence of African mythopoeia tropes, employed in the poem to reiterate African cosmological exegesis:

"When I hit my right foot against a stone
It portends bad news ahead.
So it happened as I walked to work.
A letter from Kampala, a fax message from Khartoum,
lunch at the canteen; all went well.
But you were not at your desk...
your friend later told me you had a cold.
The secret of your heart is out
mother earth already knows." (3)

Liyong's almost obsessive, but avowed fidelity to African mythology is effusively demonstrated in the poem: 'When I hit my right foot against a stone/It portends bad news ahead'.

Despite the poet's being away from Africa, his mind flies between Japan and Africa. Consequently, myth serves as a conduit for bridging the distance. The poem is grounded in the anthropomorphic signage derived from African mythology which the poet has telepathically harnessed to probe accusatorily into a supposed friend's whereabouts. But the friend's gender is not disclosed in the poem. However, no sooner had the persona started to pursue this train of thought on mythopoeia than the poem's

coherence was interrupted by another, non-mythological, discourse which was not conclusively pursued: ‘ But you were not at your desk.../ your friend later told me you had a cold/ The secret of your heart is out/mother earth already knows’. This veering off the discourse of African mythology remarkably denotes the eccentric characteristic which usually ricochets off the poetry of Taban Lo Liyong. Nevertheless, the signification of African mythology in the poem finds a striking parallelism in another untitled poem in the volume:

*“The shrines to the ancestors we also have.
My mother long ago cleared with my father
long dead
If in the East he had friends and kindred spirits
who would look after me.
My dear ancestors said man goes by plane
But they, the spirits, are all in the air or underground
Linked and interlinked all the time.
They already hobnobbed with eastern spirits.
So I went and had a good time.
So I came again.” (69)*

Here the aesthetics of African culture is explicated from the levels and depths of mythopoeia. The poem essentially reiterates the African belief system, whose signification would be incomplete without its accrued appurtenances that admit the inextricable communion between the persona and his ancestors. There is an invocation of sufficient divination of mysteries of the future concerning the persona, reminiscent of Wole Soyinka’s word in *Myth, Literature and the African World*: ‘The past is the ancestors’, the present belongs to the living, and the future to the unborn. The deities stand in the same situation to the living as do the ancestors and the unborn, obeying the same laws, suffering the same agonies and uncertainties, employing the same Masonic intelligence of rituals for the perilous plunge into the fourth area of experience, the immeasurable gulf of transition. Its dialogue is liturgy, its music takes form from man’s uncomprehending immersion in this area of existence, buried wholly from rational recognition’ (Soyinka, 1976:148). Juxtaposed on the Japanese religious belief system, which is also replete with the concept of ancestral veneration, the ubiquity of the ancestors is remarkably emphasized in the

poem: ‘But they, the spirits, are all in the air or underground/Linked and interlinked all the time.’

Soyinka has acknowledged the African mythopoeic perspective on the divine assistance of the ancestors as the protective and filial duties of the ancestors to their wards. This is not limited to the shores of the African continent, but, as suggested by Liyong, it covers other areas of the universe. This ontological relationship between the ancestors and the persona in the poem is accomplished by the conviction that the African ancestors can naturally interlink with the Japanese ancestors so as to ensure his safety and well being. Even though the poet lives in Japan, he is confident that the ancestors’ aura is always with him, because the ancestors are ‘linked and interlinked all the time’ and since ‘They already hobnobbed with eastern spirits’, his sojourn in Japan will be hitch-free, because they will constantly attend to his spiritual queries. The paraphernalia of African cultural consciousness in the poem, such as ‘shrines’, ‘ancestors’ and ‘spirits’, fittingly sublimate the linguistic and cultural enigmas that revolve round African anthropology.

Cultivating Affection and Delineating Emotion

The notion of ‘love,’ like all notions delineating human beings from the animals, is based on a fundamental contradiction, which emphasizes human emotion in rationalizing the individual’s erotic gratification, contrasting it to the particularity of the bestiality of sex which usually accompanies the coital performance. Among other things, love initiates a bond based on affection, which can blur racial differences, reinvigorate the universality of humanity and recuperate the emotional warmth between lovers. This is ambitiously pursued and sustained in the pages of *Words That Melt a Mountain*. In the untitled poem below, Liyong demonstrates the import of a seamless blissful link between man and woman, which needs to be jealously guarded:

“How does it feel to be in love?
It feels liberated: nothing matters any more...
Not even the whip on the back.
It makes one feel warm, and breathe quicker;
It makes the impossible look possible.
After a while, you cannot see anymore
with your outer eyes.

*You only know the warmth that envelopes you
And the pull towards the beloved.
For me I start talking – anything that comes to mind.
For you I notice the glands make your mouth water". (61)*

Although love is complicated by the passion it generates between two individuals, neither the tenderness of its cultivation nor the fervency of its consummation is strong enough to obliterate its appeal to humanity. Despite the blissfulness that love connotes, its capability to generate petty bickering and mutual distrust is acknowledged in the poem. In another untitled poem, Liyong also alludes to the possibility of infidelity in a relationship:

*"Friendship or love involves opening up.
Baring the heart of one
to let in the fire of the other.
It is self-obliteration
In favour of the other.
Where there is a seed of suspicion there is distrust.
Where both are rock-bottom weak and harmless,
There will grow a joint strength to protect the duo.
Since even I distrust myself at times,
most times
A friendship that gives one some other soul
Who is as foolish as one is just too good to miss". (66)*

Selflessness in the pursuit of the love game is succinctly advocated and treated in terms of its mystique. Love between a man and a woman is situated between two fundamental trajectories: outright sincerity and wilful deception. Between the two are embedded altruism, sacrifice and dedication, pitted against selfishness, deceit and suspicion. Liyong didactically pontificates on the challenges to pure and seamless love, which he rhetorically enunciates in the poem: 'Friendship or love involves opening up/Where there is a seed of suspicion there is distrust'. These challenges are rendered in a simple language, whose forcefulness is accentuated by the poet's magisterial tone. In advocating a commitment on the part of the two lovers in the poem, however, Liyong points to a commendable balance of judgement:

'Baring the heart of one/to let in the fire of the other./It is self-obliteration/In favour of the other.'

If the lovers are to savour the passion accrued from a love feast, Liyong suggests that the two individuals engaged in a relationship need to remind each other that love is naturally demanding, tasking and unconditional.

The place of sex/love in search of Global Harmony

In most African societies, individuals often choose not to discuss sex openly. When this occurs, it is usually expressed through snatches of overheard conversation or in subdued tones. To openly broach sex in a traditional African setting represents a daring act, which somewhat attracts a prescribed level of sanction. But Liyong believes that every society must seek out its space and create a convenient platform where sex could be discussed with brutal honesty, for the overall benefit of society. Sex is a topic which paradoxically generates both passion and revulsion in Liyong's *Words That Melt a Mountain*:

*"This is a town where traditions are broken silently.
There is a tacit understanding that you understand
the hunger within and permit the other,
Nay, cooperate with the other,
In slacking her thirst from the forbidden well.
In the bus a girl came and placed her front against my knee.
The bus jerked and swerved, she gasped and sniffed.
I looked and saw the appeal and let things be."* (15)

The comparative evaluation of African and Japanese reactions to the issue of sex constitutes the locale of this unnamed poem. Liyong sets in counterpoint African and Japanese approaches to sex. He obliquely condemns the African girl's reticent, coy approach to sex, but unobtrusively does a clinical riff on the psychological disposition of Japanese society's brash approach to sex: 'this is a town where traditions are broken silently/there is a tacit understanding that you understand'. The complementariness between the milieu and the Japanese girl is strikingly demonstrated in the poem. It bears out the suggestion of Hallie Burnett that the 'writer must give thought to each word and weigh each one spoken or written for its true sense, its effectiveness, and colour, because each word a writer uses must have meaning, weight, feeling, and particularity' (Burnett, 1983:46). To get this point across, the poet chooses some metaphors and images of eroticism such as: 'the hunger within', 'In slacking her thirst

from the forbidden well’, ‘a girl came and placed her front against my knee’, ‘the bus jerked and swerved, she gasped and sniffed’, ‘I looked and saw the appeal and let things be’. Liyong abundantly demonstrates, through these metaphors and images, how ‘discourse [...] is in fact one of the places where sexuality [...] exercise[s] in a privileged way some of [its] most formidable powers’ (Foucault, 1981: 52). He exploits and manipulates these metaphors and images to heighten the anecdotal evidence of a Japanese libidinous disposition. Liyong’s maverick treatment of sex is replayed in another untitled poem:

“*Sex is tedious.
Ask a mating dog, mated bitch.
Saint Paul was right; do it for perpetuation of the species
for goodness’ sake.
Holding hands, stirring up the heartbeat,
Loving by the eye, lying side by side
and hearing the tom-tom of hearts,
kissing caressingly,
Kissing succulently, kissing vacuuminly
and letting time pass;
Feeling the little hairs, the nape, nipple,
beckoning the guard.
The result is exhalation.*” (6-7)

There is no doubt that Liyong is a controversial poet whose audacity most often unsettles the contemporary African literary orthodoxy. His unambiguous treatment of sex calls to mind its paradoxical functions of pleasure and stress: ‘sex is tedious’, ‘kissing caressingly’ and ‘kissing succulently/the result is exhalation’. Liyong’s broaching of the subject reflects Julia Kristeva’s opinion on the process of creating a text and her suggestion that, in the process of writing, the writer needs to lose his or her worldliness, as it were, so as to ensure that: ‘The subject of narration(s) is drawn in, and therefore reduced to a code, to a nonperson, to an *anonymity* (as writer, subject of enunciation) mediated by a third person, the *he/she* [*here I*] character, the subject of utterance’ (Kristeva, 1980:74). Even though the ambience of the poem is pervaded by an aura of eroticism, sex becomes synonymous with both fun and suffering, rather than with unlimited

hedonism. This paradoxical function of sex is further pursued in another untitled poem:

*"For love of making love
Is wearing out, is wearing down.
It is the tiring of the body,
It is the exercising of the body
It is driving of the muscles to the rigor
mortis
of ejaculation.
And then the bathing in sweat
And the re-forming of the iron files
Into a future usable instrument."* (45-46)

As in the poem discussed above, the paradoxical theme of pleasure and exhaustion is tenaciously pursued in this poem. It is imperative for the reader to pay unbiased attention to the layers of meaning inherent in the poem and consider attitudes to sexual activities in all lands and climates. Liyong unequivocally reiterates the idea that, for all the intensity of sexual desire, the act itself can be energy sapping and undoubtedly emotionally tiring afterwards. However, sex is believed to be the prelude to the much needed love between man and woman and the aspiration for building a harmonious world. Liyong's representation of sex as an antidote to global hatred and acrimony reads like a romantic manifesto for harnessing global peace. This notion is effervescently inscribed in another untitled poem:

*"When man-and-woman come together
In the communion of the spirit,
And the entanglement of limbs and flesh,
There shall have been re-enacted
That divine fellowship
Of the union of kindred spirits
To which humanity owes itself;
And which alone
Will keep the world rotating
And give humanity an existence guaranteed."* (104)

Liyong basically foregrounds the theme of a harmonious global relationship among people of the world by two fundamental motifs in the poem. The first focuses on the bond between men and women. The second

emphasizes the exchange of love between man and woman, which he sees as the harbinger of enduring affection. Liyong perceives love in sum total, as the definitive elixir, ostensibly needed for the transformation of the turbulent world, while sex serves as the much needed tonic that could kick-start this transformation.

Appraising Transcendental Wanderlust through Divination

Liyong appropriates the subtlety and the traditional undercurrents which abound in African oral tradition in the form of symbols, images, proverbs and divination, to essentially explicate some mysteries peculiar to African cultural experience. This practice has been fittingly corroborated by Charles Bodunde, for whom ‘the influence which the various elements of oral traditions exert on modern African writing, especially poetry, is indeed tremendous. In fact, major African literary texts indicate attachment to the African cosmic setting’ (Bodunde, 1992:25). Divination is a practice common to all African ethnic groups and societies. As a cultural practice, its signification has attracted an overwhelming subscription from most people living on the continent. Like other African writers, Liyong utilizes the divination motif to shed light on his wanderlust trajectory in *Words That Melt a Mountain*. This motif underscores the influence of African oral tradition in foretelling the future of Liyong’s wanderlust, as shown in the following poem:

“*After my father had consulted his ancestors
And had been told that I would belong to the world...
I do not know how hurt he could have been,
But I think my elder brother had already gone out
Into the world and fought a war
With other Africans, and under the British,
Against Japan and Hitler’s men in Europe.
And, my father had been donated
to the colonial government
As a policeman in Kajokaji...*” (94)

Liyong suggests, with hindsight, that he seems to have assiduously prepared to globe-trot right from his infancy, tenderly evoked in the poem. His sojourn in Japan, as well as in other countries where he previously sojourned, seems to confirm the plausibility of African divination and

oracular practices which he evokes in the poem. His continuous sojourn in different countries of the world is symptomatic of a transcendental wanderlust of his family tree, towards which he has, in turn, taken an insufferable glib attitude:

*"And his own father had been a headman
In the royal household of Limi...
We left enclosures over a hundred years ago.
And, with all the movement of peoples
up and down, east and west
all over Africa,
Who knows where we had come from?
The Berlin Conference pegged us in the Sudan,
But where would we have been by now
With our wanderlust?
perhaps in Japan?" (95)*

Liyong is building up to his most impassioned moment in this poem, in which his authorial voice is ostensibly delineating his ambiguous identity. Appropriately, he ingeniously betrays an uncanny attitude towards his genealogical migratory history, hedged about with the continuous movement of his ancestors from ‘the royal household of Limi’, to being ‘pegged in the Sudan’ by the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, which conducted to the scramble and partition of African countries among the European colonial powers. This partitioning metaphor is poignantly used to criticise the European colonial powers. He recalls the tragedy of the internal displacements in Africa, the social crises suffered by the bulk of the African ethnic groups, taken from their kith and kin in one country and yoked with different ethnic groups of another country, whose linguistic and cultural inscapes they did not share. Liyong essentially sees himself as a victim of this historical mishap, because he has often been mistaken for a Ugandan or a Kenyan in most cases. But his identity is further complicated on account of his coming from the fledgling republic of Southern Sudan, who had to fight a long war of independence with the Arab-Islamic government of Northern Sudan.

Conclusion

In examining Taban Lo Liyong's poetics in *The Words That Melt a Mountain*, the reader comes across a multiplicity of poetic fermentations, distilled from the reminiscences of Liyong's sojourn in Japan. Liyong reminisces on and analyses the traditional African values as they shape collective African attitudes to the issues of identity, culture, sex and religion. The fact that all the poems in this collection are untitled reflects an eccentric and iconoclastic approach to literary production. This attitude has often pitched him against the contemporary African literary orthodoxy. Much criticism was levelled against him and his literary works on the grounds of his non-conformism. But what is indisputable about Liyong is his erudition, his penetrating imagination and unabashed frankness in discussing sexual issues. Although most of the poems in the collection are written under the guise of scraps of thought, they remain essentially grounded in and germane to the topical issues which impact on African cultural consciousness in relation to cultures from other lands.

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THE NARRATIVE TEXT IN THE NOVEL “OTHELLO THE MOOR OF VLORA”¹

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Abstract:

In the novel “Othello the moor of Vlora”, one of the most accomplished works of the Albanian contemporary literature, we have analyzed the narrative technique, which, from the linguistic viewpoint, is also characterized by the kind of discourse used by the author. I. Ways of connecting parts of speech and clauses in direct and indirect speech. These connections might be: 1. Asyndetic Connections 2. Syndetic Connections. II. Structural features of the narrator’s speech (first person speaker) a. Speech features of the narrator in this work are: very long and complex where the equality and dependency relations are combined. b. There are also cases when, for stylistic reasons, subordinate clauses function as separate sentences. c. Syntactic structures with homogeneous parts of speech. III. Semantic priorities of these structures depending on the linguistic means which acquire stylistic – emotional values. a. Linguistic means on morphological level b. Linguistic means on syntactic level. IV. Semantically, it is obvious that the analyzed narrative text mainly consists of narrative, descriptive and dialoging sequences.

Key words:

Narrative technique, parts of speech, morphological level, syntactic level, narrative sequences.

Rezumat:

În studiul despre romanul *Othello, maurul din Vlora*, una dintre screrile cele mai complexe din literatura contemporană albaneză, am analizat tehnica narativă care, din punct de vedere lingvistic, este caracterizată de un anumit tip de discurs pe care autorul îl folosește. În ceea ce urmează, vom analiza anumite aspecte lingvistice cum ar fi: I. Modalități de a corela părți de vorbire și fraze în vorbirea directă și indirectă (1. Conexiuni asindetice 2. Conexiuni sindetice); II. Caracteristici structurale ale discursului naratorului (narațiunea la persoana întâi); III. Priorități semantice ale acestor structuri în funcție de mijloacele lingvistice care dobândesc valori stilistice – emoționale (a. Mijloace lingvistice la nivel morfologic; b. Mijloace lingvistice la nivel sintactic). Din punct de vedere semantic, este evident că textul narativ supus analizei constă, în principal, în secvențe narrative, descriptive și dialogice.

Cuvinte cheie:

Tehnică narativă, părți de vorbire, nivel morfologic, nivel sintactic, secvențe narrative.

¹ <http://www.toena.com.al> , “Othello, the moor of Vlora”, an etude to the love for Vlora and Venice of XIV-th century.

The novel “Othello the moor of Vlora” written by Ben Blushi, is considered to be one of the most accomplished works of the Albanian contemporary literature. Such assessment is directly connected with the narrative technique, which from the linguistic viewpoint is also characterized by the kind of speech used in this work. Together with the speech syntactic features, it inevitably highlights the stylistic features enabled by it. (Contemporary stylistics pays special importance to the means through which special feature of expression is achieved.)

In it, as in any literary work, we notice that the *intrigue* is the one which enables the compactness of the narrative text. Certainly, the plotting of intrigue means the two closely connected elements: fable and intertwining (interweaving).

In the novel, the fable as a set of events is presented in this structure:

The plot (the arrival of Othello in Vlora)

Episode 1: Othello in Africa; 2: Othello in Venice; 3: Othello in Vlora

Development

Setting: Vlora

Event:

- Othello and Doctor Stefan Gjika; Othello accused of murder; Othello in prison.
- Vlora under the leadership of Balsha II, and later under his wife's leadership, Komita

Complication:

Othello comes back in Venice.

Solution:

The tragic death of Desdemona and Othello.

These components of narrative structure are *interlaced* according to a logical-temporal-causal order chosen by the author. So, through “*Licentia poetica*”, the author has created the narrative structure which is simultaneously transmitted in all its components such as: theme, motive, narrator, character and idea. Based on the narrator and linguistic elements, the analysis leads us to the conclusion that the First person speaker appears in direct as well as in reported speech; and because of their interweaving a unique technique of discourse is achieved. It will be analyzed in structural and semantic levels.

I. Ways of connecting parts of speech and clauses

As with the style of the artistic literature, the narrator seems to be identified with the author, but he remains a creation, and as such, it can be analyzed from the stylistic – syntactic levels as well. From this viewpoint, we are starting our analysis with the way in which parts of speech/clauses are connected.

The main discourse element of this novel is that of the narrator, which, when realized as a complex sentence, is distinguished from a considerable number of clauses creating equality and dependency reports (relations). For example:

“... when seasons changed (were replacing each other), when the sky got dark, when it was droughty or when the storm chopped the leaves down, the trees changed their colour, then frightened they bent to the ground to protect themselves, or stretched their arms towards another tree to hold on and so they adapted themselves to the world learning to lie, captivate, hate or betray.” p. 62.

By analyzing the ways clauses are **connected [reported parts (character's words) and reporting parts (author's words)]** we notice that:

Firstly:

a. The author alternates the syndetic connections with the asyndetic ones, giving much versatility to the text. Concretely the following connections are realized:

1. Asyndetic connection (which appears in two syntactic reports (relations), the equality and dependency reports). (“*This distinguishes girls from women, I think. The former offer love without being asked, the latter ask for love even when you do not offer it*”. p. 50).

“Bellini spoke a lot about the magic of picture and at his last gasp, he said to me: Picture is (means) eternity, my son. ...he said to Belini’s son: Emilia is not a woman, but she is not a grandmother, either.” (p. 81)

(In both cases, the syntactic relations between these two clauses are of the dependency type; the subordinate clause is joined with the main clause asyndetically (by means of intonation) and it functions as an object clause.

2. Syndetic connection, when clauses of complex sentences are connected by conjunctions setting equality or dependency relations. *It seems that only because of fear it may be repeated, therefore I came to tell it to you.* p.71. (The reports between these two clauses are expressed by a

compound clause, that is to say the connection is coordinating but syndetic, using causative - consecutive conjunction –*therefore*.) You need to know that **the taste of tea does not come alike from the rim of the cup.** p. 51. (The conjunction *that* serves to join two clauses and its dependent part is an object clause.)

b. Since the direct speech comes through the author's words (first person speaker), we need to stress that we do not encounter structures where the verb or reporting part is missing.

Secondly, subordinate clauses in direct speech are complementary:

• In the case of direct speech, despite syndetic and asyndetic connections in complex sentences, syntactic relations of dependency are expressed by:

1. Subject clauses (when the subordinate clause plays the role of a subject for the main clause of the sentence).

Two weeks later Komita had received a letter where it was written: I am bringing the weapons the day when I will conquer (invade) Vlora.

2. Object clauses (when the subordinate clause plays the role of an object for the main clause).

By pampering the bones of her own body by hand, he turned towards Emilia and said: As you like Emili. p. 87

When his mother had given the handkerchief, he had looked at her straight into the eyes and had said: If I take the handkerchief, you won't love your father any more. p. 10

Balsha finds it difficult to accept to run his wife's property, the doctor used to say.

His sister laughed, while the boy, turning up (furrowing) his nose as if he wanted to take the dust away (expel the dust) from there, he said:

Flutura doesn't move and we don't want it. p. 28

How about this woman, the elder sister asked the younger one. p. 28

Based on the detailed analysis, we noticed that the object clauses predominate and there are no cases of predicative subordinate clauses. We rarely encounter cases of the complex sentences with relative clauses (when the subordinate clause modifies a noun, pronoun or a phrase which appear in the main clause); e.g. Today I know something about which I had doubts before; **black and white people are the same in their soul.** p. 142

*Jago started to laugh as he had done the day when he came back from the cemetery, but he restrained himself when he thought that he might look creasy and spoke calmly by checking each pore of his face which **had an inborn defect: in no case it looked friendly.***

- In the case of indirect speech, the reporting clause is followed by more than one dependent clauses.

Thus, for example, we encounter complex structures, where subordinate clauses might be more than 10: *But Desdemona explained why there was noise when their feet were heavy (tired) like people, why the bells rang (toll) when it didn't rain, why it was still day (light) and the night had not fallen yet when the sun was hiding behind the high buildings, why people in pictures were not alive, but dead, why the streets were cabled so that the sea and mud would not drive in the house, why, when you get ill, it is not enough just to pray to recover (get over), but we should put leeches on the skin, why when some dies, he is put in a case which flies to get to another place, why as father had said it, because of the sun's turning, some people are white and some are black, why two people who get married should go to the church to get God's permission to have children, why the fire could be kept at home without burning it, why glass is invented to join (blend) water with fire.. p.89.* In these examples, the noun clauses represent indirect interrogative clauses which can be expanded with other types of subordinate clauses: relative clauses, adverb clauses of time and cause, which in some cases are compound in between them.

In the case of indirect speech, morphological means are avoided (interjections, particles, subjunctive and imperative moods, first and second person etc.) and their absence dims the emotional connotation. The author compensates this “problem” through the frequent alternation of it with the direct speech, which semantically brings an alternation of the text and referential functions with the poetic one as well.

*“When Othello had asked who those people who laughed, cried, ate fruits or kept long swords were, he had been given the answer **that they were fighters or angels together with their wives.** p. 11*

For example; *Both of them were calm, but if Albano Kontarini was like that because of belief, his son was because of disbelief. It has seemed to Emili as if her father had said to look for Desdemona being sure that she would not find her.” p. 47.*

II. Structural features of the narrator's speech (first speaker, person)

a. As the narrator's speech is the main element of the narrative structure in this novel, being a simple or complex sentence, it is distinguished for its complex and very long structures; however **the equality and dependency relations are masterfully combined**; e.g.:

*“When seasons changed (were replacing each other), when the sky got dark (black), when it was droughty **or** when the storm chopped the leaves down, the trees changed their colour, then frightened they bent to the ground to protect themselves, **or** stretched their arms towards another tree to hold on **and** so they adapted themselves to the world learning to lie, captivate, hate **or** betray.”*, p. 62.

• There are also cases when for stylistic purposes, subordinate clauses function as independent ones. Actually, parts of compound sentences stand as separate sentences. E.g.:

*“Life was not the one it was and maybe he mustn’t be the one he was. **But** in this gloominess which was rapidly growing, because of the lizard’s twist in the ear...p. 86. **But** the doctor could not become a woman and science was very poor in that direction...p. 137. **Therefore**, Desdemona was white, Emilia was pale...”p. 90*

In these examples, the second clause is part of the complex sentence. They are introduced by coordinating conjunctions, something that happens only for stylistic reasons, because otherwise it would break the grammatical rules of Albanian language.

c. Structures with homogenous parts

Strings of homogenous parts are to be considered as valuable stylistic creations. Homogenous parts can be expanded with other parts or unexpanded; e.g. *In the morning, the doctor called him. He took out some more letters in which there were figures, words, squares, circles, stones, birds, fish, fruit, plants, vegetables, flowers, hearts, and some other things which Othello did not know. p.163. Smilingly, he slaughtered (butchered) seven pigeons...., sprayed them with burnt sugar, carrot oil, hazelnut powder, eggplant seeds and in the end he added three glasses of green liqueur. p. 164*

III. Semantic priorities of these structures depending on the linguistic means which gain stylistic emotional values

It is known that there is not any general stylistic norm, but there are stylistic values, which should be seen in connection with the purpose and linguistic expression in every literary work. Therefore, syntactic structures should be analyzed even for the semantic expressive and emotional values as well.

a. Linguistic means of morphological level

From the linguistic means of the morphological level which gain emotional stylistic values, we would separate **the types of verbs that dominate in the reporting part**. We need to remind that these verbs have either literal meaning (the verbs speak, say, think, remind, ask etc.) or a figurative meaning (the verbs that show the flow of speech: start, continue, interfere etc.). They may also show emphasis, mitigation or disdain (contempt, disrespect) of the saying, such as: emphasize, beg, mock etc. We can say that in the reporting part (when there is a direct speech) the use of the verb *say* predominates, that is to say a verb with literal meaning while the other verbs with are used less.

“The world is new and there are still many things to be discovered, started to speak Stefan Gjika”. p. 140

(The following direct speech lasts for more than two pages, from p. 140 to p.142.)

In the case of indirect speech, the author, in most of the cases, uses verbs with literal meaning, while verbs with figurative meaning are not frequently used. This happens because of the narrative structure; e.g. *It was said that some days after he got married, Balsha had captured three girls*; p. 107

“Up until the daughter was born, Balsha complained that his wife was cold, insensitive, and selfish.

People believe that jealousy is a kind of disease.” p. 316

“What if you don’t come back in Venice and don’t find the handkerchief, asked the doctor. I forgot it in Albano Kontarini’s house, answered Othello.”

Direct speech is also characterized by the use of linguistic means such as interjections, particles, imperative and subjunctive mood, the first and the second person of the verb etc., which have emotional and stylistic values. Linguistic situation, in this case carries stronger poetic function than the case of indirect speech.

b. Linguistic means of syntactic level

1. The position of reporting part in these structures becomes stylistically and emotionally much more expressive not only in direct but also in indirect speech. Possible positions are: before, after and in the middle of the reported parts; e.g. “**When they arrived at Stefan’s house, they laid him on the floor like a dead person.**”

“**If you had brought it the other day, I wouldn’t have bought it, he said to the boys while paying**”. p. 121

“**As you want to be alone, so let it be.**” p. 87

“**The scar that Othello had left on his body, would accompany him throughout his life.**

“**There have always been people who have doubted the existence of God. (distrusted in)**” p. 130

“**His grandmother, who was now standing naked somewhere (at some point) in the living room, had spent most of her life opposite that armchair listening to Marko Polo, who used to speak and drink tea telling about the world.**”

2. Frequency of interrogative sentence is one of the other means of syntactic level, which, as structure of the direct speech, brings stylistic and emotional values in this work.

“**Did she accept (agree with) this condition? Did she say no? ... Why at the beginning and not throughout lifetime? Do you believe more in the handkerchief or in the (juice) flavor of love? Why did he say to his father that he must not love you? Why isn’t there any escape?**” p. 162

IV. Narrative sequences

After a detailed analysis of the syntactical structure, within the linguistic frame and in order to completely supplement it, it is essential to return to the analysis of narrative text, where the operation undertaken by the author is the **partial change of facts pursuit: narration starts from a point of event. Othello appears in the first paragraph of the first chapter and then the author continues with** episode 1: Othello in Africa; episode 2: Othello in Venice and returns to “the starting point” in chapter 4. (Such operation ensures “an epic way of narration”).

Since the text appears as a semantic macrostructure, the semantic notion of compactness is naturally connected with it, so we can take the component sequences apart.

Leo Apostol states that a text is a sequence of speech acts which can be considered like itself as a unified speech act. Generally based on the French linguistic school, we notice that sentences are component parts of a superior unit, of morphology, which in itself makes a component of the sequence, which is component part of the text.

The sequences of narrative text in most cases are narrative, descriptive, argumentative, explanatory and dialoguing sequences. After 200

referring to their specific composition, we state that in the above treated narrative text, we distinguish narrative, descriptive and dialogging sequences.

It is exactly this sequential combination that conditions speech peculiarity in this novel. The narration model is of this structure: **narrative (reporting)-descriptive sequence; narrative (reporting)-dialogging sequence**. For example:

“Othello was crying while the doctor kept on breathing deeply the fresh air of the morning. As I saved you twice, I want from you to do two things for me: firstly, I want you to bury me in the yard of my house and secondly, not to tell anybody that I died of plague. I don’t want people remember me as a loser. I am really calm because you are the proof (evidence) of my victory (success) over death and even though no one is going to learn about this, it’s enough for me. In Vlora people remember failures much more than victories. But the city is closed up being afraid of the Turkish and if you tell others that the plague has entered our house, it will be destroyed, although the plague passes quicker than any occupation..... Othello was stiff and in tears like a person who learns that someone has wanted to kill him, but who didn’t manage. More precisely, like a person who has been killed and was brought back to life at the last minute...”

There are cases when narration predominates in the narrative (reporting)-descriptive sequences and in some other sequences (which are less frequent), description prevails.

This heterogeneous scheme is characterized by dynamism, as narrative (reporting) sequences are known to be dynamic, as the character is displaced ahead in the plan of the events. Descriptions do not function as appendixes, as such they create some commodity for the readers. In that way, the novel imposes a constant rhythm of reading (there are no sequences that are over passed by the reader “thinking” that they are unimportant – invalid – and it is the plot that they are interested in). Therefore, due to such finesse, this novel has “amazed” and at the same time pleased the reader because of his eagerness to read every page of it with the same intensity.

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<http://www.toena.com.al> , “Othello, the moor of Vlora”, an etude to the love for Vlora and Venice of XIV-th century.

Appendix

The events are set in the years 1300 – 1400 in two well-known urban centers of the Middle Age, in Venice and Vlora, between which the political and commercial relationships were quite intensive for that time. The historic background is real: Vlora of the years before the Turkish invasion and the attempts of its suzerain Balsha II to extend his dominions and to withstand the flow of the Turkish troops to the South of our country; his murder in the battle field and the governing of the Principality by his wife, Komita Muzaka; the alliance with the Serbs through the marriage of her daughter, Rugina, with the Serb prince Mrkzha Zharakov, who was congratulated by the citizens of Vlora, (Kasi); the indifference of Venice and all the other Italian principalities, leaving Vlora and Albania alone to confront the new invaders who were coming from the distant Asia. The Contarini family from Venice, the descendants of Marko Polo from father's side and Vlora from his mother's side, complete the historic background on the other side of the Adriatic Sea, by stirring up our imagination about the real lifestyle of this Mediterranean region that covers a period of more than six hundred years. This seems to be the most favorite topic of the author. The characters of this novel are taken from the well-known tragedy of Shakespeare “Othello, the moor of Venice” and are playing the same role but are set 100 years ago, before the well-known play writer was born. This makes the most original finding and the most unbelievable intrigue of the author. Othello, Desdemona, Emilia, Jago, Kasi etc. are well-known characters of the world literature, but they are found to act not only in Venice, but in Vlora too, interacting with interesting figures created by the author, such as the famous doctor Stefan Gjika, the fearless man from Vlora, Andrea, the Turkish occupier, Hamit etc.

The narrative style, which is now characteristic for the author, the rich language and deep erudition, place the novel “Othello, the moor of Venice” among the best and most accomplished novels of the Albanian literature.

ÉVÉNEMENTS

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