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THE LOST ILLUSIONS OF THE REGAINED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE POST-COMMUNIST CINEMATOGRAPHIC ART IN ROMANIA AS COMPARED TO HUNGARY, POLAND AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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Abstract: *A question arises firmly: why can film makers create works in conditions of intellectual and social - political constraint and obstruction, while they cannot create them in conditions of freedom? Were these accomplished in total freedom? To answer this question, we shall select several illustrative examples for the above-mentioned countries. But, before this, let us show what the political and social context of the analysed communist period was, and what were the artistic performances of these film makers, not forgetting to mark and describe the mechanism of propaganda and communist censure. The differences of hues refer to the totally different way in which these countries perceived and accepted or not the communism and to the structure of the communist system varying from a regime to another. Compared to totalitarianism, dictatorship does not destroy any opposition; although it is a callous political regime using violent methods, dictatorship does not cancel any form of the civil society.*

Keywords: *cinematography, events, freedom, communism*

Freedom of expression

“Freedom of expression, of thought, opinion and beliefs, and freedom of creation of any kind, orally, by images, sounds and other public communication means, are inviolable. Censorship of any kind is forbidden.

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Freedom of expression will prejudice neither the person's dignity, honour, private life, nor the right to his/her own image. Freedom of expression is guaranteed by the Romanian Constitution". The same text, with small variations, is written in the fundamental laws of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. This is the legal fundamental according to which film makers from the central European space have been free to create valuable cinematographic works. But this legal fundamental had no factual coverage. The censorship of the communist system worked almost without fault, preventing hundreds of creators to express what they really thought and believed, in the art of filmmaking, for dozens of years. Let us see how George Orwell described censorship and duplicity:

«To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them, to use logic against logic, to repudiate morality while laying claim to it; to forget whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again»¹

Nevertheless, dozens of valuable cinematographic works emerged at the surface. Which was the secret of this guild amidst the intransigence and absurdity of a constricting and rigid system as the communist one? Assessing this period and its cinematographic masterpieces emerged from the slump and pain of the "golden era", one can notice a paradox: there were more numerous and more valuable works then, than in the post-communist period, when freedom of expression was not restricted in any way. The 70's and 80's in communist countries, the most liberal decades from the political point of view, coincided with creating real film schools in almost all the communist countries. This is the period which

¹ George Orwell, 1984, (Bucharest, Univers Publishing House 1991), 34

makes the object of this analysis. The young Romanian, Polish and Czech film makers managed to "dribble" the rigours of the communist censure and offered the audiences valuable and original films. Tired of the communist censors, the young creators made great efforts to create as they thought and believed, wishing to avoid the appearance of a void of truth between what they thought and what their films showed. They imagined themselves and hoped to reach a time in which censorship would have totally disappeared. This time came immediately after 1989, the year of the revolutions and political changes from Central and Eastern Europe. But the regained freedom of expression, as man's fundamental right in a democratic and civilized company, has not led to the discovery and creation of great works of art. The exceptions were few and had almost nothing to do with those who were shouting their despair before 1989. In other words, no great film maker from the communist period managed to equal as value and appreciation the cinematographic work of that time, except for several cases, which can only confirm the rule. The regained freedom of expression did not trigger as a *sine qua non* condition the creation of real cinematographic masterpieces.

From the cultural point of view, the 2nd day of November, 1948 was, for the Romanian cinema, the beginning of the *period of the socialist film* by the elaboration of the decree of the nationalization of the cinematographic industry and regulation of the trade with cinematographic products. The teaching of the great ideologist Lenin: "*The cinema is the most important art for us, as it is a propaganda instrument*" guided the cultural cinematographic policy of Romania until the 60's of the 20th century. The films had to reflect the *new man's* fight against the *retrograde* society, against *the society of man's exploitation by man*, to militate for the *realities* of the new society to be shown: *the gorgeous accomplishments of the working class allied with the working peasants*. Rare were the exceptions of cinematographic masterpieces as "The Lucky Mill" (in Romanian: "La moara cu noroc") of Victor Iliu in 1958. The apparent liberalization brought by Nicolae Ceausescu starting with 1965 allowed the

film makers to hope that the leading class of that time would perceive the film as a work of art. But things went in another direction. The two great political events (The Prague Spring of 1968 and the visits of Nicolae Ceausescu in China and North Korea of 1971) determined radical mutations in the cultural cinematographic ideology.

Aesthetics is once again required to have "educational" (i.e. Methodist) value, "ethical" (anti-bourgeois) quality and "militant" (activist - communist) feature; all under the dictatorial sign of the "national" (anti-cosmopolite and xenophobic) inspiration. As in all the radical variants of the communism of the 20th century, the nation comes to confound with the Great Ruler's image and policy. This last imperative appears in Romania in 1971 as a rough signal of establishing Nicolae Ceausescu's cult of personality.²

The cinema permanently developed its activity under the rigorous political control of the Committee for Socialist Culture and Education, so that neither of its products should have contained "dissonant" elements with the official ideology.

Of the 550 films of the communist period, approximately 222 (i.e. 40%) may be considered as having a political, propagandistic feature, the rest being entertainment, musical comedy, films for children ... With very few exceptions, the propaganda from the cinema faithfully followed the political evolution lines of the Romanian Communist Party. It was first pro-Soviet, internationalist, anti-Romanian, then national-communist,

² Paul Cernat, Ion Manolescu, Angelo Mitchievici, Ioan Stanomir, *Explorations in the Romanian Communism vol.I* –, Chapter: *Communism at the 'Prosecutor's Office* by Ion Manolescu. *Adventure and Propaganda in Detective Film*, (Polirom Publishing House 2004), 286-288

*anti-citizen, anti-intellectual, anti-occidental, vehicle of Ceausescu's cult.*³

How those films were, is expressed below:

*The works of literature and art are meant to show as faithfully as possible, in their own language, the accomplishments, preoccupations, aspirations, thinking and feeling of the large popular masses; they must be inspired permanently from the living spring of the social and national realities of our country.*⁴

Also, the feelings about film-making in that period are depicted as follows:

*After 1989, none of the Romanian film makers who had made film in the communism acknowledged his/her contribution to hatred, not to mention mea culpa.*⁵

Nevertheless, there were also films which made a gap in the ideological barrier. It is the case of the film "The Reenactment" (in Romanian: *Reconstituirea*), made in 1968, and directed by Lucian Pintilie, who also made "Why Do the Bells Toll, Mitica?" (in Romanian: "De ce trage clopotele, Mitica?") in 1979 – a film which was forbidden by the censure. "It is the first film, as work of art, which, in an ironical, cynic tone, introduces us in the Romanian moral and spiritual inferno, in the mockery labyrinth, the

³ Cristian Tudor Popescu, *The Deaf Film in the Dumb Romania: Politics and Propaganda in the Romanian Fiction Film (1912-1989)* (in Romanian: *Filmul surd in Romania muta: politica si propaganda in filmul romanesc de fictiune*), (București, Editura Polirom, 2011), cover 4

⁴ The Programme of the Romanian Communist Party

⁵ Cristian Tudor Popescu, *The Deaf Film in the Dumb Romania: Politics and Propaganda in the Romanian Fiction Film (1912-1989)* (in Romanian: *Filmul surd in Romania muta: politica si propaganda in filmul romanesc de fictiune*), (București, Editura Polirom, 2011), 300

Romanian specific and degrading variant of the Balkan spirit", said Alice Manoiu, a film critic, in a cinema almanac. Then, Lucian Pintilie was allowed to emigrate to the West, his theatre mise-en-scenes provoking great political scandals. That is why he is not included in this analysis, his work from the West having all the attributions of a total freedom of expression. The Romanian film generation of the '70ies had three remarkable representatives: Dan Pița, Mircea Daneliuc and Mircea Veroiu.

Dan Pița. His début was associated with a natural disaster - the spring floods of 1970. Together with several colleagues from his generation, among which Mircea Veroiu, he shot the Romanian full length documentary "Water Like a Black Buffalo" (in Romanian "Apa ca un bivol negru") (1970). The début in the fiction film occurred relatively quickly after graduation. Pița and Veroiu made together the famous "The Stone Wedding" (in Romanian: "Nunta de piatră") in 1972, quickly followed by "The Spirit of the Gold" (in Romanian: "Duhul aurului"). Having as their source of inspiration Agârbiceanu's works about the life of the inhabitants from the Apuseni Mountains, the two films surprised by their plasticity, narrative substantiality and the impression of strangeness they brought into the dull and conformist landscape of the Romanian film of that time. The films made by Mircea Veroiu, "Fefelega" and "Mârza" prefigured a hyperaesthetic and contemplative film maker, while "At a Wedding" (in Romanian: "La o nuntă") and "The Crate" (in Romanian: "Lada") made by Pița, revealed a dynamic and combative personality. Both films were bought by the New York Museum of Modern Art. After several episodes from the TV series "An August in Fire" (in Romanian: "Un august în flăcări"), distorted from the point of view of its history, made together with Alexandru Tatos and Doru Năstase, Pița made his début with the film "Philip the Good" (in Romanian: "Filip cel bun") (1974), a crude and sensitive scanning of the disorientation of a young man, typical for that time, too frail to face the moral degradation around him. About this film, its creator said:

The result was a good film which had much to suffer - it was practically maltreated by the censure. Dumitru Popescu (censor), who was nicknamed God, wrote scenes and invented personages which diluted the critical and polemical accent of the film directed to the Romanian society of 1974. They threatened me with the withdrawal of my name from the credits. The film remained in the drawer for a whole year, and my scripts and proposals were being rejected systematically. Time passing, I negotiated the type of changes [to be made] and accepted to make only those which seemed acceptable to me.⁶

In "Tănase Scatiu" of 1975, Dan Pița developed the status of an image poet, in counterpoint with the portrait drawn in sharp lines of the arriviste Tanase Scatiu, interpreted by Victor Rebengiuc. Although its action occurs in the "regime of the bourgeois and the landowners" (filming fragments from the literary series of Duiliu Zafirescu), the film was not shunned by the "long arm of the censors".

At "Tanase Scatiu" (1975), which was also censored by Ceausescu himself, the scriptwriter Mihnea Gheorghiu had to write a scene which we filmed and introduced between the two parts of the film "Life in the Countryside" (in Romanian: "Viata la tara") and "Tanase Scatiu".⁷

"The Contest" in Romanian: "Concurs" (1982) makes, under the pretext of touristic orientation, a callous social and political satire of the communist times, a courageous film which proposed a veritable parable of the society ruled by Ceausescu, a horizontally radiography of the society,

⁶ Dan Pița, *Cinematographic Confessions* (in Romanian: "Confesiuni cinematografice"), (București, Editura Fundației PRO București, 2005), 19

⁷ Dan Pița, *Cinematographic Confessions* (in Romanian: "Confesiuni cinematografice"), (București, Editura Fundației PRO București, 2005), 21

using daily events, characters and personages. Then, there were the filming of the psychological novel "Days of Sand" (in Romanian: "Zile de nisip") of Bujor Nedelcovici (who emigrated to Paris over four year), the film "Sand Cliffs" (in Romanian: "Faleze de nisip") of 1983, which visualizes in fact the inner conflict of an intellectual (Victor Rebengiuc) who, because of haughtiness and vanity, irremediably destroys the destiny of an innocent young man (Gheorghe Visu). The film unleashed a great political scandal, being forbidden. Although it does not make the object of my analysis, I return to the film "The Re-enactment" (in Romanian: "Reconstituirea") made by Lucian Pintilie, film analyzed by Anca Alexandru in a study of which I present several ideas:

Grandeur, obsession, egocentrism, persecution, finally resulting in the failure of the "electric man" to accomplish his target (in "Sand Cliffs"), prove the fallibility of the "machine man", concept promoted by Stalin in the 30's to describe the "ideal new man". The communist myth of egalitarianism is emphasized in the "Sand Cliffs" by means of informing on others and denunciation, and the dramatic tones similar with those from "The Reconstitution" of Lucian Pintilie reveal the way the socialism imagines the intrusion in the citizens' private life, throwing them into the shade. The main conflict is based on the duel between "machine-man" (or the "electric man") and the "politically unengaged" citizen, who is capable to challenge the infallibility of the "re-educated man", conflict in which the intention of the latter to re-educate the former comes up (challenging by it the socialist ideological project) against the other's refusal to accept the exposure and to acknowledge guilt.⁸

⁸ A volume coordinated by Viorela Manolache, *Beyond Propaganda: a Historical and Political Instrument of the Romanian Film* (in Romanian: *Dincolo de propagandă: un instrumentar istorico-politic al filmului românesc*), chapter *The Films*

"A Two Step Dance" (in Romanian: "Pas în doi") (1985) after the script "The Bachelors" (in Romanian: "Nefamiliștii") by George Bușecan is the following valuable film from Dan Pița's cinema. This film has content, force and style and offers a portrait of the young generation of that period, with the help of two young excellent actors: Claudiu Bleonț and Petre Nicolae. This film was to be nominated for the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival in 1986.

"The White Lace Dress" (in Romanian: "Rochia alba de dantela") and "November, the Last Ball" (in Romanian: "Noiembrie, ultimul bal"), both of 1989, and film versions of certain literary works are examples of aestheticism, artistic register in which the director seems to have withdrawn in that time, tired of the ideological censorship. This is mostly the artistic direction of the director Dan Pița until 1990, year in which, due to the political changes, freedom of expression became an obvious reality, which could not be denied, but not sufficient enough for substantial artistic accomplishments, or at least of the same value with those in favourable or even hostile conditions and circumstances. "The Way" (in Romanian: "Drumul") of Dan Pița was somehow saved by the film "Luxury Hotel" (in Romanian: "Hotel de lux") from 1992 awarded with the Silver Lion at the Venetian Festival. The film was a parable with notes of surrealism and expressionism, with a vertical construction, with hallucinating stills and with a rich symbolism, but excellently sustained. It is the parable of a totalitarian social and political regime which has, although it localizes in time and space the communist Romania, a generally universal dimension thanks to the approached topic: incommunicability, solitude, anguish, despair, intolerance, evil.

'Reconstruction' and 'Sand Cliffs' in the Romanian Cinema (in Romanian: *Filmele Reconstituirea și Faleze de nisip în cinematografia română*), *Against a Potemkin City* (in Romanian: *Împotriva unui oraș Potemkin*), by Anca Alexandru, (Techno Media Publishing House, Sibiu, 2010), 112

The director, scriptwriter, actor and writer Mircea Daneliuc. After literary studies, he graduates in 1972, at the section film direction of the Institute of Theatrical Art and Cinema (in Romanian: IATC). "The Race" in Romanian "Cursa (1975), the début film of Mircea Daneliuc, reveals the director's faith profession: the source of inspiration must be the reality, the individual's problems and desires as they are, with no make-up on. Two men and one woman are forced by circumstances to travel together hundreds of kilometres in the cab of a trailer transporting a giant part. The director refuses the idealization, the misrepresentation of a reality, showing it as it is: The films of Daneliuc, except for "Glissando", have the structure of documentary, of reportage. Mircea Daneliuc transforms the banal, the daily, an incident, in an aesthetic act, offering to the local meanings and significations of large horizons.

"Microphone Test" in Romanian: "Proba de microfon" (1980) tells the story of making a TV reportage at the Northern Railway Station. The film is the author's protest against the mendacious realities, the duplicitous mentalities of the dictatorship years. The personages, the television reporter, a cameraman and a young woman caught without ticket move with no direction in an amorous triangle. Mircea Daneliuc (scriptwriter, director and interpreter in this film) wants to undermine conformism, to destroy prejudices, to offer another vision on the Romanian world of the 80's.

"The Cruise" in Romanian: "Croaziera" (1981). A group of young people, winners of various contests from the scope of the "socialist competition", are awarded with a cruise in boats, on the Danube. Structured on the motive of the ship-like world, the film gradually changes into a discreet ritual of initiation in corruption, in blackmail, in hypocrisy. The director is the cruel man with reality and people, smearing it by greediness, cheating, hypocrisy, envy, evil.

"Glissando" was finished in 1982, after a harsh conflict with the political authorities, but the president Nicolae Ceausescu approving its broadcasting in the initial variant only after two years. Still, the film was

censured, the premiere taking place on September the 2nd, 1984, in Bucharest, in the shorter variant. "Glissando", after an idea from the story "The Man from the Dream" (in Romanian: "Omul din vis") by Cezar Petrescu, is a parable about totalitarianism having in its centre the personal drama of a card player around whom the director develops a great fresco of a decaying epoch, marked by oppressive leaders. The action develops in a building with an uncertain identity, a hybrid among casino/tripod, bathroom, interrogatory room, torture room, library, concert hall, madhouse, barrack, conjugal universe. The intellectual and academic public received this film with great interest, film which determined numerous debates at that time, terrifying the communist authorities. The film was selected in 1985 at "The Sample from Venice".

"Iacob" (1987) is the story of a miner from Transylvania and of his fight with the authorities accusing him unjustly of theft. As punishment, Iacob is transferred to another mine, far from home. In order to get back faster to his children, for Christmas, he sneaks into the cable car. But the electricity is turned off. Remaining at 200 metres above the abyss, Iacob must stand the cold ... Apparently, the action of the film happens in the '30s. But this is just a subterfuge to escape censorship, as Romania of the '80s, in which the cold, injustice, and evil were a State policy, forced each individual to fight exactly the same way as Iacob in order to survive.

After 1990, the film "The Snails' Senator" (in Romanian: "Senatorul melcilor") is a film which deserves all the attention due to the acuity of the critical observation, of the humour and the caustic satire addressed to a society lacking principles, menial and brutalized, groping desperately to find a sense which is not provided by the leading class. A senator arrives in a mountain locality to inaugurate a wind plant. Although he receives complaints from the peasants, annoyed for the way they have been put again in possession of the land, he pays no attention to them and accommodates in a villa formally belonging to Ceausescu, in which the French President, Charles de Gaulle, had also slept. So as to impress three foreign journalists, who were actually interested to buy a plot of land in the

mountain, he orders ... "escargots" for them for the following lunch. But there are hardly any snails, as it is not their time.

Mircea Veroiu graduated from the Bucharest Institute of Theatrical Art and cinema in 1970, after attending the Institute of Physical Education and Sport. He becomes known in 1970 with the documentary about the floods from that year, "The Water Like a Black Buffalo" ("in Romanian: "Apa ca un bivol negru"), in collaboration with Stere Gulea, Pierre Bokor, Iosif Demian, Roxana Pana and Dan Pița, just to mention some of them. In 1974, he directs accompanied by Dan Pița the film "The Stone Wedding" (in Romanian: *Nunta de piatră*). He makes the film "Hyperion" (1975), followed by "Minia" (1977), "The Spirit of Gold" (in Romanian: *Duhul Aurului*) (1977), "Beyond the Bridge" (in Romanian: "Dincolo de pod") (1977) and "Between Parallel Glasses" (in Romanian: "Intre oglinzi paralele") (1978). He directs two Romanian western films: "The Prophet, the Gold and the Inhabitants from Ardeal" (in Romanian: "Profetul, aurul si Ardelenii") (1979) and "The Artist, the Dollars and the Inhabitants from Ardeal" (in Romanian: "Artista, dolarii si Ardelenii") (1981), to turn back to his specific style with the "The End of the Night" (in Romanian: *Sfarsitul noptii*) (1982), "Waiting for a Train" (in Romanian: "Asteptand un tren") (1982), "The Sign of the Serpent" (in Romanian: "Semnul sarpelui") (1984), ("Adele" (in Romanian: "Adela") (1985), "Fatally Injured by Love of Life" (in Romanian: "Sa mori ranit din dragoste de viata") (1985), "The Shadow of the Sun" (in Romanian: "Umbra soarelui") (1986). He received the Award of the San Remo Festival for "Adele". The Italian critics called him the 2nd Romanian Visconti, which tells a lot about the style and vision of the Romanian film author. In 1986, he emigrated in France and settled in Paris, where he made no film. After 1990, he turned back in Romania and made several films.

"The Sleep of the Island" (in Romanian: "Somnul insulei") (1994) is a meditation on the artist's condition and freedom of creation.

"The Debauchee" (in Romanian: "Craii de Curtea Veche") (1995) - film version of the novel with the same name, "The Debauchee", by Mateiu

Caragiale. It is an intricate film, with a thick and hardly processed literary material for an appropriate cinematographic language.

"The Woman in Red" (in Romanian: "Femeia în roșu") (1997), a film version of the novel "The Woman in Red" by Mircea Nedelciu's eponymous novel, made by Adriana Babeti and Mircea Mihaies, describing the story of the Romanian who was an accomplice at the murder of her lover, the famous gangster John Dillinger, in Chicago.

From the parable film "The Eleventh Commandment" (in Romania: "A unsprezecea poruncă") (1991) by filming a Romanian fairy tale "Cough and Twinge" (in Romanian: "Tusea si junghiul") 1992), passing through the derisory and the ugly of a daily existence brutalized by vices and lack of hope, as well as in "The Conjugal Bed" (in Romanian: "Patul conjugal") (1993) and "This Disgust" (in Romanian: "Această lehamite") (1994), the director Mircea Daneliuc enters the political world with "The Snails' Senator" (in Romanian: "Senatorul melcilor") (1995), film nominated at Cannes. Afterwards, there came "Ambassadors Seek Country" (in Romanian: "Ambasadori, căutam Patrie") (2003) , "The Nervous System" (in Romanian: "Sistemul nervos") (2005), "The Foreign Legion" (in Romanian: "Legiunea Straina") (2008), "Marilena" (2009) and "Floating Things" (in Romanian: "Cele ce plutesc") (2009), chaotic films both technically and as script, in which Mircea Daneliuc seems to have decided to punish the public, delivering to it bizarre and intricate stories about imaginary ambassadors, about the avian influenza, about women who want to find a sense in life, but only succeed to complicate their lives by themselves, about consented rapes and denied loves, about business with guard dogs for exportation, with expelled gypsies in conflict with the citizens as dishonest as the latter, about sex and useless violence, in short, an ugly and sick world. This artistic confusion seems to have its source in the absence of a reason to protest, as, after 1989, freedom of expression becomes a certainty, and there is no reason to protest any more. This may be an explanation, but it can also be the fact that he could not adapt to the totally changed conditions of the Romanian society after 1990.

As for Dan Pița, "Pepe and Fifi" (in Romanian: "Pepe și Fifi") – 1994, "I Am Adam" (in Romanian: "Eu sunt Adam") – 1996, "The Man of the Day" (in Romanian: "Omul Zilei") – 1997, "Second hand" – 2005, "Dream Woman" (in Romanian: "Femeia visurilor") – 2005 and "Something Good out of Life" (in Romanian: "Ceva bun de la viata") – 2011 represented rather mediocre films, in which the dynamism, the narrative substantiality, the incisiveness and even that impressing metaphorization, but justified, which consecrated him, were replaced by the lack of coherence, oddness, compromise with the facile and sketchiness. Elena Dulgheru wrote about Dan Pița referring to that period: "To create permanently can be as monstrous as to be permanently at a mating age." The physical and psychological ego cannot resist, the inner tiredness becomes more and more hidden and then everything has a false note: false enthusiasm, false revolts, covered in worn forms of the previous works." But I think this explanation can be applied also to the post-revolutionary artistic failure of Mircea Daneliuc. With an obvious inclination towards aestheticism and literature, the last films of Mircea Veroiu, "The Debauchee" (in Romanian: "Craii de Curtea Veche"), 1995 and "The Woman in Red" ("Femeia în roșu"), 1997 (he dies in December 1997), are overloaded with plasticity and bookishness. There is also their impossibility to adapt to the new way in which the film is watched as a phenomenon, after 1990, the allegorical film, metaphorizing, almost philosophically, is replaced, with few exceptions, by the minimalist and realistic film. Unfortunately, their films made after 1989 cannot but confirm the paradox stated by André Gide: "Art lives from constraints and dies from freedom".

The events from 1956 and the cultural vision of Hungary

Stalin's death in 1956 and the recognition of the excesses of the Stalinism encouraged the Hungarian opposition to ask for the man's rights to be observed, the evacuation of the soviet troops from Hungary, freedom of the press and the word, political pluripartitism, organization of general

elections and change of the Hungarian bankrupt economic system. Street demonstrations begin, the Hungarian communist government cannot face them and asks for the help of the Soviet troops. Conflict appears between the demonstrators and the Soviet troops, the Soviets mime negotiations with the reforming Prime Minister Imre Nagy and occupy Budapest on November 3rd, 1956. Imre Nagy is arrested, and János Kádár shall be imposed as the leader of the Government. The insurrection ends with thousands of dead and wounded, 16,000 persons are deported, over 100,000 are exiled. The Hungarian political authorities initiated certain small reforms taming the Hungarian communist intelligence system, allowing among its leaders many reformers (they even took over the power after 1989, leading successfully the transition to the market economy and democracy) and leaving some breathing valves for the Hungarian society. This is the political context in which a valuable Hungarian cinema school significantly consolidates in the '60s - '70s, if we take into account the great number of valuable directors and works of cinematographic art. István Szabó, Marta Mészáros and Miklos Jancso are perhaps the most representative directors of the Hungarian cinema before 1990, who also worked after 1990.

István Szabó (Budapest, February 18th, 1938) graduated from the Higher School of Theatre and Film of Budapest. He makes his début in 1964, with "Age of Illusions", a film which, together with "Father" (1966) and "A Love Movie" (1970), form an autobiographical trilogy. The climax of his creation is represented by "Mephisto" (1981), after the homonymous novel of Klaus Mann, winning the Academy Award for the Best Foreign Language Film, in 1982. "Mephisto" together with "Colonel Redl" (1985) and "Hanussen" (1988) form his second trilogy.

"Mephisto" (1981) is the story of a German native actor discovering success and satisfaction in the period in which the National Socialist Party comes to power. Exalted by glory, he denies the past and gradually submits to the Nazi power. A parable about power, the film is an analysis of the

relationship between artist and power and of the condition of the artist in a totalitarian society.

"Colonel Redl" (Hungary–Germany, 1985), the Jury's Special Prize, and the Interpretation Prize for the actor Karl Maria Brandauer, and the Award of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts, after the drama of the "furious young man" John Osborne, "A Patriot for Tomorrow".

Located in the epoch of the Austrian - Hungarian empire, the action carefully describes the evolution of Alfred Redl, a young man with modest origins, and his aspirations to the highest positions in the military hierarchy of the empire. Having reached this position, his unlimited ambition prevents him from understanding clearly the mechanisms of history, which is hitting him implacably, destroying him.

"Hanussen" (1988) - Hanussen's paranormal capacity draws the Nazis' attention to him, amplifying his fame and power, but he ends up being used by them, and the price of the pact he does with the Power is too big.

"Meeting Venus"- 1991, and "Being Julia" (2004), Szabo's films in English, critically describe the artistic world and benefit from the contribution of two great American actresses, Glenn Close and Annette Bening. With "Sweet Emma, Dear Böbe" (1992), Szabó returns to Hungarian topics, more social than historical. In the centre of the story, there are two young teachers of Russian who face a new situation due to the lack of use of the subject matter they teach after the end of the communist government. The film wins the "Silver Bear" at the Berlin Festival of 1992.

Márta Mészáros was born in Kispest on September 19th, 1931. Marta Mészáros receives in 1952 a scholarship at Moscow Cinematographic Academy. Her films, "Free Breathing" (1973), "Beautiful Girls, Don't Cry" (1970), "The Adoption" (1975) and "Nine Months" (1976), are pervaded by warmth, lucidity, their dominant theme being "the search for the father". Not for the father as a physical presence, but as a moral, emotional landmark. However, the essence of her films is not to emphasize some conflict situations, but the woman's emancipation. The relationship between the director and censorship are presented by herself in an

interview in the magazine *Senses of Cinema* 2002, called "Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times".

"Goodbye, Little Red Riding Hood" (1989), a Canada-Hungary co-production, received the Silver Award at „Ragazzi Bellinzono”, at the International Film Festival for Children, Switzerland. Using as a pretext the story of the Little Red Riding Hood, Marta Mészáros transposed it artistically by the cinematographic language, in a parable about the woman and her researches. There comes an autobiographical trilogy: in 1984 "Diary for My Children" - Winner of the Grand Prix Spécial du Jury at the 1984 Cannes Film Festival, in 1987 – "Diary for my loves" - Winner of the Silver Bear at the 37th Berlin International Film Festival and "Diary for My Mother and Father" - 1990, in which the scriptwriter seems to adjust the relationships with the history and herself. She makes a documentary film in 2004 about Imre Nagy called "The Unburied Dead."

Miklos Jancso was born in 1921 in Vac and has Romanian origins from his mother's part; after legal studies, he is awarded a diploma in film direction in 1950 at the Academy of Theatre and Film Arts of Budapest. In 1966, the first film from the epic trilogy appears: "The Hopeless Ones", nominated at Cannes for Palme d`Or. Then "The Red and the White" - 1967 and "Silence and Cry" 1968. His style is characterised by long, almost hallucinating, movements of the filming camera over the Hungarian steppe, following the personages seemingly overwhelmed by the hostile history. The allegory and the symbolism are elements which become style in the films from the communist time made by Miklós Jancsó, the films of the beginning of the `70s being witnesses to this end: "Elektra, My Love" and "The Red Psalm" (1972), which receives the Best Director Award in Cannes. In 1978 "Hungarian Rhapsody" and 1979 "Allegro Barbaro" form the first two parts of a trilogy he does not manage to finish, as his films become too expensive productions to be filmed in Hungary. He makes several films in Italy, the most famous being "Private Vices, Public Virtues", his own interpretation of the Mayerling affair. "God Walks Backwards" (1991) and "Blue Danube Waltz" (1992) together with "The Lord's Lantern

in Budapest" (1999) are the best films of the 90ies, the last one being a satire about violence, politics, business and religion in the Hungarian modern society.

“For me, life is a continuous philosophical and physical movement: the conditions are based on movement, movement of the ideas, movement of the masses”, declares **Miklos Jancso**. Under this idea, his whole creation is constructed, the Hungarian history and its great battles and conflicts being a source of inspiration. The usual theme of his films is the abuse of power.

As a conclusion to Szabo's artistic evolution, we can say that, in the period before 1989, his films approached and analyzed either the individual's destiny in his evolution towards maturation, or his destiny within the historical and political context of totalitarianism. His films remained almost of the same value, only the approached themes being different.

The artistic destiny of Marta Meszaros had a balanced progress, her films always being landmarks for the Hungarian cinema. By analyzing the artistic evolution of **Miklos Jancso** we can state that she had small oscillations, but never sudden falls and spectacular involutions.

1. The Prague Spring and the cultural Czech Republic

The fall of the communist system in the Czech Republic was made by the so-called "*the velvet revolution*", a peaceful process by which the Czech Communist Party lost the political and administrative power of the country. The liberal reforms coming from the Soviet Union by the so-called Perestroika, lead by Mihail Gorbaciov starting with 1985, materialized in the beginning of the political reforms in its satellite countries. As it concerns the Czech Republic, a group of intellectual lead by Vaclav Havel published a manifest called "Charta 77" even from 1997, in which they expressed their disagreement to the new regime. On November 17th, 1989, in Prague, the police attacked thousands of students protesting against the communist regime. This event provoked the beginning of massive demonstrations. The Civic Forum was created and was lead by the

playwright Václav Havel, who became the president of the country. A general strike took place on November 27th, 1989, the events escaped control, and the communist party, without the Soviet ally, had to give up power. These events were somehow announced as of January 1989, when demonstrations were organized to celebrate the student leader, Jan Palach, who had set himself on fire, as a sign of protest to the suppression of the freedom of expression, twenty years ago, during the "*Prague Spring*". Prague is one of the most important European cinematographic centres. Here, they created the most famous Faculty of High Cinematographic Studies (F.A.M.U.) after the 2nd World War. Here again, the so-called "the Czech cinematographic school" was born in the '70s – '80s, school whose representatives are, for example: Milos Forman, Vera Kitilova and Jiri Menzel.

Jirí Menzel (Praga, February 23rd, 1938), director and theatre and film actor, is an illustrious representative of this school. The film made in 1966, signed by Ivan Passer, Jaromil Jires, Vera Chytilová, Jan Nemeč, Evald Schorm and Jirí Menzel ("The Small Pearls"), may be considered the manifest of the new Czech wave of the Prague school. He made his début in 1966, with "Well Guarded Trains", the Academy Award for the Best Foreign Language Film in 1967. The film has at its basis the literary work of the prose writer Bohumil Hrabal, one of the most original and the most popular Czech writers from the second half of the past century. The action happens in an isolated railway station from the Czech Republic, during the Nazi occupation and follows the maturation of a shy adolescent named Miloš (Václav Neckář), recently employed at the railway station. An anti-hero by excellence, clumsy and inappropriate, Milos shall prove his courage as nobody would have expected.

"Capricious Summer", 1968, the Best Prize at Karlovy Vary International Film Festival, is the film version of the Vladislav Vancura's novel. The events from the summer of 1968 and the hushing up of the Prague Spring put him under brutal restrictions. He resumes his activity only in 1970, with the film "Larks on a String", stopped by the censure until

1989, receiving the Golden Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival in 1990. "Na samote u lesa" ("Seclusion near a Forest"), 1976, "Postriziny" ("Cutting it Short"), 1981, "Vesnicko má stredisková" ("My Sweet Little Village"), 1985, Academy Award nominalization; "Konec starych casu" ("End of Old Times"), 1989, are films made in the characteristic style, a combination of prosaism and poetry, of proverbs and philosophic ideas, of vulgarity and intellectual elevation. The film "Zivot a neobycejna dobrodruzstvi vojaka Ivana Conkina" ("Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin"), 1994, was awarded the Medal of the President of the Italian Senate, Venice, 1994, with the "Golden Charlotte" Award, 1994.

"I Served the King of England" (2006) starts from the homonymous novel signed by Bohumil Hrabal and presents the story of a waiter from Prague during the first half of the past century, receiving a nominalization at the Golden Bear in 2007.

Milos Forman was born in Caslav, February 18th, 1932, and, as a film director, he makes his début with "Konkurs" in 1963, immediately followed by "If It Hadn't Been for These Small Pubs". In the same year, he also signs "The Ace of Spades", the Golden Sale Award and the Young Critics Award, Locarno, 1964. "The Ace of Spades" has in the centre of the story of a young man who cannot adapt to life, the family discipline. He makes "Love of a Blonde" in 1965. The CIDALC Award, Venice, 1965, and the Best Prize "Chrystal Globe", Paris, 1966. As in the previous film, the major theme of the conflict between generations, of certain states of uncertainty, can also be seen in this film. The small details, from clothes to emotional, psychological moods and mentalities, customs and conducts, the usual inter-human relationships, all forming a certain way of living after all, the director transforms them in cliché, stereotypes, to suggest a way of living with no prospective, aspiration, which is dull and sad. The events from the summer of 1968 find him in Paris, after which he settles in USA, where he makes his début with "Taking Off", 1970, the Grand Special Jury Prize, Cannes, 1971. He quickly integrates in the American atmosphere and, in 1973, the episode from "Visions of Eight" (the 1972 Olympic Games seen by

eight directors), the part dedicated to the decathlon from the 1972 Munich Olympics. He directs the film "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" in 1975, the Academy Award for the Best Film and the Best Director, a film about the inner revolt of the free man against the totalitarian system.

"Amadeus" (1984) is rewarded with 7 Academy Awards. The atmosphere, the force to alternate humour with the profoundness of dramatism following the destiny of a genius as Mozart, transforms the film in a real poetical art. To be noted that the director returns to the Czech Republic especially to film. In Prague, the place where Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart conducted in premiere the opera "Don Juan".

"Valmont"(1989) after the "Dangerous Liaisons" by Choderlos de Laclos. The baroque France is the background of the amorous drama having Valmont in its centre, a guy prepared to seduce any beautiful woman, no matter her marital status or her social position. Together with the marquise de Merteuil, they arrange a seduction game, but they lose its control, transforming both of them into victims. After 1990, he made "The People vs. Larry Flint", in 1996, a biography of Larry Flint, a businessman with a scandalous reputation owed to the implication in the industry of publications and films for adults, "Man on the Moon", in 1999, with Jim Carrey in the leading role, film based on the spectacular life and career of the comedian Andy Kaufman, and in 2006, "**Goya's Ghosts**", having the famous painter Francis Goya in the centre of the story.

Vera Chytilová (Ostrava, Czech Republic, February 2nd, 1929) is a valuable member of the Prague school, together with Milos Forman, Jirí Menzel, Jaromil Jires, Jan Nemeč, Evald Schorm. Representative for this movement is the film collectively signed, "Perlicky na dne" ("Pearls of the Deep"), 1965, to which Vera Chytilová contributes together with Jaromil Jires, Jirí Menzel, Jan Nemeč, Evald Schorm.

"Sedmikrasky" ("Daisies"). Two adolescents with the same name, Marie, decide to make a number of farces destroying the world they consider rotten. The Government forbids this crazy farce in 1966. Her films were usually postponed or cancelled by the censure. She was forbidden for

6 years to make films. She writes an open letter to the president Gustav Husak in 1976, in which she describes to him her artistic position. Supported by a great number of persons, Chytilova is allowed to make a film with a reduced budget in 1977 - "Hra o jablko" ("The Apple Game"), for which she is awarded a prize at the Chicago Festival.

"Pasti, Pasti, Pasticky"(1998). A rape is the centre of this story, then the culprits' castration by the victim, both transformed in a parable about power, in a metaphor of the "will to power", of "life philosophy", treated in an absurd tone, in a grotesque tone, in a macabre tone.

Her films were appreciated for the visual experiments and for the courageous disclosure of the moral problems of the contemporary society. Her eclectic, feminist, intellectual, and cine-vérité style, always humorous, allowed the critics to read and construe the films on many levels of understanding.

Vera Chytilová and Jirí Menzel, who chose to remain in the Czech Republic after the Prague Spring had to face the strictness of the censure, but their films have not lost their originality not even after 1989, as it concerns the former, and their charm and poetry, as it concerns the latter, both remaining relevant landmarks of the Czech and world cinema. Milos Forman, settled in USA after 1968, had no harsh confrontation with the communist ideological censure.

2. The catholic communism in Poland

Massive rebellions broke out in March 1968 due to the interdiction to allow the representation of a play by Adam Mickiewicz at the Polish Theatre in Warsaw, the given reason being the anti-Soviet messages of the play. The Polish Authorities reproached these rebellions to the Zionists and used this incident to launch an anti-Semitic campaign at a broad scale: the Jew were forbidden certain rights, for example, to hold offices in the public administration, to teach in schools and universities, the Jew organizations of any kind are shut down.

In Poland, the strikes of 1970 from the Gdansk Shipyard, the constitutional amendments of 1975, officially stating the monopoly of the

Communist Party and proclaiming the “*irreversible*” alliance with the USSR were events with a decisive role, leading to the mobilization of the intellectuals and the student organizations and, eventually, to the end of the communist regime. One cannot neglect the message of the Catholic Church, amplified when Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of Cracovia, was elected Pope on October 17th, 1978, taking the name of Pope John Paul II. The famous words “*Do not be afraid*”, said when visiting Poland (April 1979), seriously shook the communist block. The Gdansk Agreements regulating new relationships between the State and the civil society, the recognition of the “*Solidarity*” independent trade union, the first free trade union from a communist country, and of its leader, Lech Walesa, were achieved by the general strike of August 1980. All these lead to the total and political discredit of the communism as ideology and practice.

The creation in 1943 by the director Aleksander Ford of a cinematographic sector and of “Film Polski” film House in 1945 represents the Polish cinematographic nucleus. The works of directors very different as style (Jerzy Kawalerowicz, Krzysztof Zanussi, Aleksander Ford, Andrzej Munk, Roman Polanski, who leaves Poland, making himself an international career, then Krzysztof Kieslowski, Jerzy Skolimowski) put the bases of the Polish cinematographic school ever since the '60s. This school is characterized by the specific qualities of the Polish culture, enthusiasm and passion determined by a self-pride with accents of pathos, of historical consciousness of the affiliation to a nation with a great and tragic past.

Andrzej Wajda, born on March 6th, 1926, in Suwalki, graduated from Lodz Film School, makes his *début* as a director of full length films in 1955, with “*Pokolenie*” (“*Generation*”), film which, with “*Kanal/They Love Life*”), the Special Jury Award, Cannes, 1957, and “*Ash and Diamond*”, 1958, FIPRESCI Award, Mostra di Venezia, 1958, form the Resistance Trilogy. He changes the historical register and goes to the everyday life making “*The Ladies of Wilko*” in 1979. As a style, he belongs to the symbolic realistic current, binding without being propagandist,

undertaking a different theme, but essential ("I have always involved in the life of my country by the films I made". The following films are as relevant: "Everything for Sale" (1969), "Birch Forest" (1970), "The Wedding" (1973), "The Man of Marble" (1976), "The Chronicle of Adolescence" (1986), "Danton" (1982), a co-production with France. The novel "The Idiot" by Dostoyevsky is transposed on the screen in 1994 under the name of "Nastasija", underlining from the title the key personage of this film. "Pan Tadeusz", launched in 1999, is a historical film about the life of the poet Adam Mickiewicz. He receives an Academy Honorary Award in 2000 for "the recognition of five decades of extraordinary film direction".

"Katyn" (2007), a historical drama about the massacre of the Polish officers and intellectuals in Katyn Forest (where the director's father lost his life, too) is nominated for an Academy Award for the Best Foreign Language Film. The next film, "Tatarak" (2009), is a "film in film" drama about life and death. The film is structured around Martha, a middle-aged woman, married to a workaholic who rediscovers the pleasure to live by meeting a young man, exactly when it is too late for both of them. This film wins the FIPRESCI Award of the European Film Academy and is nominated for the Golden Bear at the Berlin Festival, and Wajda wins again in Berlin the Alfred Bauer Prize (for discovering new horizons in cinema).

Krzysztof Zanussi was born in 1939 in Warsaw, studied philosophy courses at the Jagiellonian University (Katowice) in Poland, physics at the University of Warsaw, film direction at Lodz Film School. Loyal to his studies, his first full length film, "The Crystal Structure" of 1969, analyzes the relationship between the scientific progress and the professional one, revealing the intellectual and aesthetical dimension of the daily life.

One of the early successes of Krzysztof Zanussi was "Illuminacja" (1973). This film tells the story of Franciszek, who is divided between a cold, analytical relationship with the world, of the physical science, and a close relationship by a love story with a young woman, Agnieszka. The title of the film refers to the moment in which the brain is able to see the truth

clearly. His most known titles remain: "The Structure of Crystals" (1969), "Family Life" (1971), "The Constant Factor" (1980), "A Year of the Quiet Sun" (1984). Even after 1990, his films remain loyal to the desire to morally interrogate the individual, following him either at the end of his artistic life, as the old composer from "The Silent Touch", 1992, or in a limit situation, when choices are beyond diplomacy, as in "Persona non grata", 2005. He also makes "At Full Gallop", 1996, "Life as a Fatal Sexually Transmitted Disease", 2000. The films of Krzysztof Zanussi received many awards: the OCIC Award at the Berlin International Film Festival; the Jury Prize and the Prize of the Ecumenical Jury at the Cannes Festival, Silver Hugo Award at the la Chicago International Film Festival; the David di Donatello Award; the FIPRESCI Prize and the Golden Leopard at the Locarno International Film Festival.

Krzysztof Kieslowski was born in Warsaw on June 27, 1941 and graduated from the National Film School of Łódź in 1968. The daily life of the citizens, workers and soldiers was an inspiration source for his early documentaries. The workers discussing the reasons of the strikes of 1970 from the television film "Workers '71" were the cause of his film being broadcasted under a censored form. "Personnel" (1975) and "The Scar" (1976) filmed in a documentary style, with many non professional actors, talk about the workers' life in a disastrous social and economic system. "The Camera Buff" (1979) and "Blind Chance" (1981) concentrate on the individual's moral and ethical destiny. The fact that Kieslowski belonged to the movement of the Cinema of Moral Anxiety, together with other Polish directors, such as Janusz Kijowski, Andrzej Wajda and Agnieszka Holland (who emigrated in France in 1981) created him great troubles, as most of his early films were censored, filmed or mounted again, or simply forbidden ("Blind Chance" was launched in Poland only in 1987, about six years after its completion).

The political trials from Poland during the martial law (1980), seen from the view of the phantom of a lawyer and his wife, are the subject of

the film "No End" (1984), who is the most obvious political film. It was severely criticized both by government and dissidents.

"The Decalogue" (1988) contains a series of ten medium length films, where action takes place in a block of flats from Warsaw, each film being based on one of the Ten Commandments. This film was created for the Polish television with German funds. The 5th and 6th episodes were transformed even in long length films and launched under the names of "A Short Film about Killing", respectively "A Short Film about Love".

The last four films of Kieślowski were foreign co-productions, made partly with French funds, and they were by far his greatest commercial successes.

The dual principle of the modern world was the core subject of the mysterious philosophical drama "The Double Life of Véronique", with Irène Jacob in the leading role. "Three Colours: Blue" (1993) - the French national motto "Freedom, equality, brotherhood" inspires the first part of a trilogy signed by Kieslowski, and its subject - freedom - is expressed in the heroine's attempt to offer herself a new beginning in life, far from suffering and restrictions.

"Three Colours: White" (1994) - presents the second theme of the trilogy, equality. Losing his wife and job, the protagonist, Karol, sets himself two targets: to take his revenge on his wife who left him, and to get rich.

In "Three Colours: Red" (1994) a young woman, a model, runs over a dog with her car; trying to find its owner, to make friends with him, she discovers what brotherhood is.

Many prestigious international prizes, the Golden Lion for the Best Film and the Silver Lion for the Best Director at the Venice Film Festival, the Silver Bear for the Best Director at the Berlin International Film Festival and three Academy Award nominalizations crowned his three films.

It is true that the Polish School, solid and creative as it was, managed to squeeze the best through the Caudine forks of communist censorship,

also making many films in co-production with foreign partners, these being possible due to a relatively permissive political regime, meaning that the authorities had to accept a certain official dissidence of the artistic intellectuals.

CONCLUSIONS

Searching and studying the artistic progress of the filmmakers from Romania in the last part of the communist period, on one hand, and from Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland, on the other hand, we can state that Romania had no chance to create and consolidate a real film school. Among the causes that we could enumerate are: self-pride and lack of cohesion among the directors of the same generation, together with the incapacity of a common project to gather the same creating energies, as well as the huge obstacles created by the communist censure at the beginning and the ideational decay and change of the cinema paradigm after 1990. We could also add the features specific to certain advanced biological ages, although, if we compare the creators' ages from the analyzed countries, we can notice that in Romania, the directors we are talking about, were about 50 years old in 1990, the best age for creative maturity. Thus, the illusions of freedom of creation after 1990 have not come true. The really artistic works were made after 1990 only in a small measure and with rare exceptions, these being given in the analysis. The Romanian directors making the object of this analysis have not managed to transfigure the exterior reality, filtered by the artist's vision of imagination and power of expression, in a new reality, a true work of art. Benefiting from another political and social situation, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland allowed the creation of real film schools even before 1989, while the Romanians could not create and consolidate any school for the above-mentioned reasons. The artistic destiny of these Romanian directors may have been different after 1990, had Romania had a real film school before 1989. The existence and solidity of these film schools before 1990 allowed the Hungarian, Czech and Polish creators to develop

valuable, solid and coherently built films even at the age of their biological and artistic maturation.

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6. The Programme of the Romanian Communist Party

“TRILOGÍA DE LA TRAICIÓN” DE JUAN GOYTISOLO, ENTRE LA DECONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA IDENTIDAD ESPAÑOLA Y LA UTOPIA ISLÁMICA

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Abstract: *While adopting the theoretical poststructuralist premise of the world as a discourse, the paper embraces the postmodern critical perspective on the impossibility of writing an objective history – a matter that derives from the very subjective and thus arbitrary condition of modernity. On the one hand, the research aims to approximate the iconoclastic tendency of deconstructing the myths of Hispanity within the narrative space of the three novels composing what the critics refer to as “Tríptico del mal” or “Trilogía de la traición” of Juan Goytisolo. On the other hand, it aims to approximate the utopian idealization of the Islamic world in search of an authentic identity, free of the ideological discourse of the official Spanish historiography. Starting from the marginalization of the Arabic cultural element and its relevance for the Spanish culture during the eight centuries of Spanish-Muslim coexistence (711-1492), Juan Goytisolo (1930 – currently living in Marrakech) displays an undisguised and unconditional sympathy towards the Islamic world in an attempt to recover the margins, within the broader context of the confrontation between East and West. This eventually becomes a dominant pattern in his novels, leaving an imprint on their overall structure.*

Keywords: *deconstruction of identity, Islam, Hispanic myths, utopia of identity reconstruction*

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La ideología, en su función integradora¹, es el elemento fundamental del imaginario social para la construcción de la identidad textual de cualquier comunidad. A un nivel menos profundo, sobre todo en los regímenes totalitarios, la función integradora se prolonga en la función legitimadora del poder, que se vale de toda una retórica del discurso público. Partiendo del supuesto de que todo poder supone una reivindicación de legitimidad², cuanto menor es la credibilidad de la legitimación tanto mayores son las exageraciones de la retórica del discurso público, que acaba rayando, al nivel más superficial de la ideología, en distorsión, disimulación, mentira³, o sea en el significado peyorativo de este componente básico del imaginario social. La ideología va degenerando, cuando la función legitimadora del poder contamina la ética, la religión, la ciencia⁴. Es por eso que la utopía, según Michel Foucault, es el complemento necesario de la ideología⁵ en su significado primario de integración de la identidad. “La ideología conserva la realidad, mientras la utopía la cuestiona. El entrecruzamiento necesario entre ideología y utopía revela el funcionamiento del imaginario social, que se apoya en la tensión entre una función de integración y una función de subversión”, ya que este “no puede ejercer su función excéntrica sino sólo

¹ Cf. Michel Foucault, «L'idéologie et l'utopie: deux expressions de l'imaginaire social », curso impartido en el Collège de France, en 1976 y publicado en volumen, junto con los demás cursos de 1975 – 1976, por la editorial Seuil, 1986, p. 385. Actualmente, desde más de un decenio, se ha proyectado la publicación en edición integral de los cursos del autor, en la colección EHESS (Ecole de Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) de las editoriales Seuil y Gallimard.

² Ibidem, p. 384.

³ Ibidem, p. 383.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 386.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 388.

por medio de la utopía y de su función de duplicar lo real por el canal de la ideología”⁶.

Esta relación compleja entre la degradación de la ideología y la necesidad de la utopía en su función subversiva, creadora de una sociedad alternativa, va orientando la presente investigación en torno a un aspecto controvertido de la narrativa del escritor español contemporáneo Juan Goytisolo (1931 -).

El propósito que subyace la escritura de Juan Goytisolo en la “trilogía de la traición” o el “tríptico del mal”, integrada por *Señas de identidad*, *Reivindicación del conde don Julián* y *Juan sin tierra* es deconstruir los mitos de la hispanidad que fueron contribuyendo a forjar la identidad del narrador protagonista mostrando su carácter subjetivo, poco fiable, y poniendo de relieve el que esa mitología nacionalista haya respondido a imperativos ideológicos de legitimación del poder en el transcurso de la historia.

Interesado por la marginalidad, además de luchar por una completa y utópica desvinculación identitaria, propone el modelo musulmán, que no es más que una proyección idealizada, es decir, la contrapartida mitificadora que conlleva toda actitud iconoclasta. El mundo ficcional goytisoliano se mueve entre la ideología y la utopía. Intenta deconstruir la mitología nacionalista española exorcisándola, para proponer una imagen utópica del mundo musulmán, contraponiendo “el hombre robot creado por las ideologías” a la imagen atractiva de la realidad sensorial del pueblo de Marrakech que, “libre, disponible, ligero” integra hombres que “gozan, ríen, desean, ajenos al Poder y a sus mentiras”⁷.

Ante esta configuración conceptual dicotómica, surge un problema. Se trata precisamente, de que toda ideología no tendría oportunidades de existencia, en su nivel profundo de integración identitaria si no se

⁶ Ibidem, p. 391.

⁷ Juan Goytisolo, Julián Ríos, “Desde *Juan sin tierra*”. *Juan sin tierra*, Madrid, Editorial Fundamentos, 1977, p. 11.

actualizara permanentemente por medio de los acontecimientos fundacionales de la memoria social. La ideología es un fenómeno social que se va forjando, arraigada en la historia remota o reciente, en el marco de la comunidad. Que carezca de un referente adecuado a las circunstancias, que esté adicta a la legitimación del poder y a sus intereses políticos, que sea un instrumento de opresión y manipulación poco o nada importa. El mundo árabe idealizado no constituye excepción alguna al propósito, ya que tampoco puede sustraerse a cualquier integración ideológica para adquirir identidad. De no ser así, no existiría como sociedad. Por lo tanto, las sociedades islámicas, donde transcurre la existencia de esos hombres árabes aparentemente despreocupados, propensos al placer más que al poder, están sujetas a su propia ideología oriental. Lo que le importa antes que nada a Juan Goytisolo es que esta ideología no sea la nacionalista occidental católica hispánica. No cabe la menor duda de que las cosas son así, ya que de otro modo, como lo ha hecho buena parte de la crítica, se tacharía a Goytisolo de ingenuo, lo que sería francamente un absurdo. Sólo la opresión del centro confiere significado a la resistencia. Sin opresión no hay resistencia a la opresión. Creer en una existencia completamente autónoma del individuo, exenta de cualquier integración ideológica, por utópica que sea, no puede ser más que el privilegio de la escritura. En este sentido, Goytisolo parece estar en busca, según él mismo no se cansa de repetirlo en sus ensayos y entrevistas, de una “autenticidad” personal, o bien, del “hombre integral”⁸ o, dicho de otro modo, representando su división como división, no como integridad. Sólo buscando fisuras en la integridad es como se hace justicia a la condición humana posmoderna.

El mundo árabe mitificado, como contrapartida de la deconstrucción, gira en torno a una masculinidad agresiva. Al mitificar el mundo viril musulmán, el escritor crea un paraíso de los sentidos, manteniendo así en pie una estructura jerárquica patriarcal, en la cual, edén concebido para los

⁸ Juan Goytisolo, *Cogitus interruptus*, Barcelona, Editorial Sex Barral, 1999, p. 236.

hombres, la mujer no tiene voz propia. En vez de reprocharle a Goytisolo la imagen sumamente misógina de su obra (actitud constante de una parte de la crítica), que contrapone a una virilidad hipertrofiada la destrucción del cuerpo y la voz femeninos, sería interesante explicar el porqué de ese misoginismo. Contaminación de este nuevo paraíso árabe que relega la mujer a una condición marginal? ¿Cómo se compagina este aspecto de su obra con su interés por los marginados del discurso eurocéntrico occidental? ¿No será una vuelta al pensamiento binario europeo? La solución parece más bien una investigación del ámbito oscuro y secreto de las pulsiones que subyacen su escritura, o sea el genotexto, en palabras de Julia Kristeva.

El exorcismo personal goytisoliano va casi siempre unido al exorcismo colectivo, o bien, a la desmitificación de la ideología oficial que respalda el mito nacionalista de la “España eterna”, “sagrada e imperial”. La deconstrucción de este mito tiene dos blancos preferidos, la moral católica y el lenguaje “calcáreo” que la respalda, vertientes complementarias al servicio de la ideología franquista, en particular, y nacionalista española, en general. Estos dos blancos de la intención deconstructivista goytisoliana corresponden a una firme reivindicación de la libertad individual, esencial para la construcción antitética de su personalidad.

Este aspecto está relacionado con la tercera vanguardia (1967) a la que pertenece el escritor. Pere Gimferrer⁹ opina que la escritura iconoclasta de Goytisolo es también una reivindicación prohibida por el franquismo de los valores de la vanguardia y, sobre todo, de la búsqueda típicamente vanguardista de la “libertad total”, que dio lugar, a su vez, a una crítica tanto de la moral, en cuanto sistema represivo, como del lenguaje, en cuanto instrumento oficial de su implementación. Pero hay que matizar la vinculación de Goytisolo con la vanguardia. Si, a principios del siglo XX, la negación vanguardista del pasado era más bien un parricidio, la negación

⁹ Pere Gimferrer, “*Juan sin tierra: El espacio del texto*”. *Juan sin tierra*, Madrid, Editorial Fundamentos, 1977, p. 175.^o

de la así llamada generación “experimentalista” de posguerra, a la cual pertenece Goytisolo, es más bien una negación del propio pasado. Sus primeras novelas entre las que Juegos de manos, La resaca o Fin de fiesta se han adscrito al “realismo social” y a su visión “moral” de la literatura. La negación del propio pasado para escritores como Goytisolo corresponde a un suicidio simbólico, que remite a la relación dicotómica de “víctima y verdugo” que va reiterándose a lo largo de su obra.

Muy consciente del papel esencial de la representación y del lenguaje en la legitimación de la ideología oficial, Goytisolo va socavando la autoridad de los mitos nacionales españoles que pretenden modelar una identidad personal y colectiva monolítica, mediante la deconstrucción de sus representaciones textuales, esto es, del canon literario e histórico en que dichos mitos se inscriben. El recurso “deconstructivista” más utilizado es la parodia de la que se vale para crear una intertextualidad lúdica que pone de relieve, mediante su uso carnavalesco, los ejes lingüísticos de la manipulación ideológica y, por extensión, de la construcción identitaria.

Al arremeter contra un lenguaje concebido como identidad perfecta entre significado y referente, Goytisolo, en virtud de la arbitrariedad del signo lingüístico, embiste, en realidad, con un referente adulterado por una representación lingüística (ya que todo lenguaje es ya un caso particular de la representación), cuyo valor semántico es toda una negación del signo, en su compleja relación de significante y significado. Por eso no deconstruye sólo una retórica, sino también el mundo, o bien, la identidad “textual” que dicha retórica forja. Situada en el marco del sistema totalitario franquista, la deconstrucción lingüística goytisoliana de los mitos nacionales corresponde a una “literatura de la delincuencia”, orgullosamente asumida por Goytisolo. En efecto, el tono lúdico y la ironía se vuelven políticamente subversivos dentro de un sistema caracterizado por una monolítica visión del mundo. Pero su obra pretende ir mucho más allá de lo meramente lúdico, queriéndose convertir en una subversión política que rechaza cualquier intento de encuartelamiento ideológico. Cabe mencionar aquí también que, para Goytisolo, hay dos maneras de

encarar esa “literatura de la delincuencia” que profesa: mediante temas subversivos y un lenguaje subversivo, para las normas sociales y morales de la época.

Lo que Goytisolo propone principalmente como “literatura de la delincuencia” es una traición a la representación identitaria mítica de España y de los españoles, esto es, una violencia contra la construcción ideológica nacional. Tal como el autor no se cansa de repetirlo, tanto en sus novelas como en sus ensayos y entrevistas, el enemigo con el que pretende embestir es la red semiótica nacionalista cuajada durante el franquismo, pero forjada gradualmente sobre todo a partir de la España de los Reyes Católicos.

Según Goytisolo, la reivindicación de un “destino providencial” o de un “genio” español, sólo puede ser filológica, basándose en una hermenéutica de varios textos históricos y literarios. Dicha hermenéutica fundacional del nacionalismo español ve la “verdad” como atributo de la representación (histórica, literaria, etc., esto es, textual) y el signo lingüístico como referente “auténtico” de la realidad extratextual, desconsiderando los intereses ideológicos peculiares de cierta sociedad, que condicionan dicha representación. Si se tiene en cuenta que, con el tiempo, los textos históricos llegaron a afianzarse en los argumentos de los textos precedentes, lo que se presencia muy a menudo en un trabajo de investigación histórica es un palimpsesto de textos que remite a un significado muy oscuro, oculto por debajo de los varios estratos textuales. En resumen, la mitología nacionalista “redentora” así creada se legitima en una hermenéutica de carácter filológico sobre varios textos, un palimpsesto, al cual se le da la significación más propicia para los anhelos individuales y colectivos de encontrar unas “señas de identidad” inmutables, una construcción identitaria monolítica individual y nacional.

Es contra este palimpsesto petrificado-pero no por eso impotente-que se dirigen los esfuerzos “mitoclastas” de Goytisolo, “traidor” frente al mito de la superior “esencia” hispana, con todo lo que éste conlleva. Se puede

también argüir que Goytisolo quiere traicionar la visión (noventayochista, sobre todo) castellanizante de la “España sagrada” y “eterna”, perspectiva que marginalizó o reprimió la parte “oriental”, representativa, según Goytisolo (ya desde cuando escribió Campos de Níjar en 1960) de un mundo sensual, placentero y humano, opuesto al lugar de la “razón estreñida”, esto es, a la construcción textual de Castilla.

En este sentido voluntariamente subversivo, Reivindicación del Conde don Julián se propone resucitar y apropiarse la imagen legendaria del Conde don Julián, el traidor por antonomasia del discurso nacionalista español. La figura de don Julián estuvo estrechamente relacionada—por parte de la historiografía oficial—con el comienzo de la presencia invasora de los árabes en la Península Ibérica y, por lo tanto, con la “contaminación” de la “pura esencia” hispánica por elementos “bárbaros”. Como “traidor”, el conde visigodo vino convirtiéndose en el símbolo de una especie de incentivo centrífugo que abrió las puertas “hispánicas” a la ineludible confrontación con la inquietante alteridad de la cultura árabe. La reivindicación de la figura del conde visigodo por Goytisolo corresponde, por consiguiente, también a un acto orgulloso de asumir la figura del “otro” (oprimido y aborrecido) para convertirse en un signo contrario y subversivo frente a la ideología nacionalista franquista imperante del momento. La identificación del narrador con la figura del conde “maldito” llega hasta la transformación de Julián en Ulyan, “un moro de complexión maciza” que va a rematar simbólicamente la destrucción de los mitos y valores nacionales, facilitando una deseada desvinculación completa del territorio español, “tierra ingrata, entre todas espuria y mezquina”¹⁰, que pretende darle una identidad.

¹⁰ Juan Goytisolo, *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*, Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 1995, p. 204.

Sin embargo, la “traición” llevada a cabo por el insólito don Julián goytisoliano es más bien, tal como lo advierte Sami Nair¹¹, una traición a la representación negativa oficial de la alteridad y, más específicamente, del “otro” árabe, auténtico “fantasma de la invasión” (del espacio, del cuerpo y de la lengua) para el subconsciente colectivo español. Lo que el narrador pretende hacer es, en consecuencia, reivindicar la alteridad reprimida por la ideología oficial para poder situarse así en una posición marginal. En realidad, Goytisolo no deja de reiterar en toda su obra que está principalmente interesado en la marginalidad (por ejemplo, en la simbólica figura del Judío Errante), o bien, en el paria en general, ya que la ubicación extramuros confiere, en su opinión, la muy anhelada libertad del que, fuera de la esfera de cualquier poder exterior y de su sobreimpuesta red obligatoria de configuración identitaria, no tiene “nada que perder”. Esta es la razón por la cual Goytisolo se ficcionaliza en el “otro” árabe para la cultura española dominante. Pero, a la vez no deja de ser el “otro” cristiano/ europeo/ español/ occidental, en el mundo musulmán, ya que toda descentración lleva aparejada una referencia al centro. Su condición de exiliado le mueve a considerarse, tal como lo confiesa él mismo, “afrancesado” en España y español en París, castellano en Barcelona y catalán en Madrid. A nivel psicológico, la reivindicación del “otro” traidor corresponde a una solidaridad compensatoria con la figura genérica del paria o del oprimido, ya que Goytisolo, tal como lo confiesa en uno de sus libros de memorias¹² o, indirectamente, en *Señas de identidad* y *Juan sin tierra* (cuando el narrador reproduce, por ejemplo, la carta de una de las antiguas esclavas de su bisabuelo), siente la angustiosa necesidad de expiar “los pasados crímenes de mi linaje” “parasitario” y “decadente”, anhelo que

¹¹ Nair, Sami. “Territorios del paria”. *Escritos sobre Juan Goytisolo*: Coloquio en torno a la obra de Juan Goytisolo, Almería, 1987. Coord. Manuel Ruiz Lagos. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988, p. 85.

¹² Juan Goytisolo. “Coto vedado” en *Memorias*, Barcelona Ediciones Pnínsula, 2002, p.17.

no deja de recordar la visión terapéutica cristiana católica sobre la expiación de la culpa.

La progresiva destrucción y profanación de los valores y símbolos nacionales representa también una especie de exorcismo personal, de desarraigo frente a un pasado familiar oscuro y pesado, ilustrativo de la opresión y la “iniquidad social española”, cómodamente ocultas bajo una fachada de respetabilidad legitimada por la moral católica. He aquí por qué ésta será uno de los blancos preferidos de Goytisolo para su deconstrucción “traidora”, sumamente violenta, por medio de multitud de actos de profanación, que van dirigidos, por un lado, contra los símbolos más sagrados del cristianismo y, por el otro, contra el propio pasado (la infancia) del narrador, el cual lleva la fuerte impronta del catolicismo que le fue imbuido por medio de la educación.

En efecto, ya desde el principio de *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*, se presencia la confesión del narrador, según la cual anhela cortar “el cordón umbilical” que le une a España, amarra que es justamente su pasado y, sobre todo, su niñez. Es por eso que el narrador se convierte en el “verdugo”, el “otro” árabe. El uso de la segunda persona autorreflexiva convierte las tres novelas en un diálogo ininterrumpido del narrador con las diferentes hipóstasis de su yo, el cual asume el papel de guía en el permanente viaje imaginario de Occidente a Oriente y de Oriente a Occidente, para el tú, en sus diferentes y contrapuestas hipóstasis, que adoptan la condición de personajes recurrentes.

Álvaro Mendiola de Señas de identidad, por el apodo de Figurón que tiene en *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*, representa una autoironía por parte de Goytisolo, que confiesa en su libro de *Memorias*¹³, refiriéndose a la figura de Figurón de su novela, que él mismo solía ser “aspirante a figurón”, en un “continuo afán de representar, robar luz, jugar al personaje importante” en los ambientes típicamente exhibicionistas de las tertulias literarias españolas. Álvaro Peránzules quiere ser la imagen

¹³ Juan Goytisolo, “Coto vedado”, op. cit., 181.

del yo público, o bien, del personaje contrastado al yo auténtico, tal como lo confiesa el mismo Goytisolo en su libro de memorias. Por eso, destruir al Figurón será destruir la “máscara” permitiendo así que la “autenticidad subjetiva”, tan anhelada por el narrador, aflore y triunfe. Reivindicación del Conde don Julián llega a simbolizar una búsqueda de identidad mediante una muerte iniciática (frente al pasado), seguida por el acceso a un mundo permisivo (árabe) de signos contrarios al mundo tradicional negado. Dicha búsqueda de identidad se realiza mediante la división dicotómica del narrador en verdugo y víctima a la vez, “consciente de que el laberinto está en ti: que tú eres el laberinto: minotauro voraz, mártir comestible: juntamente verdugo y víctima”¹⁴.

La solución “constructiva”, que tiene que seguir a la deconstrucción identitaria perpetrada, supone un exilio perpetuo o bien, sobre todo a partir de Juan sin tierra, un ininterrumpido viaje de índole textual y la invasión orgullosa del mundo autónomo de la escritura, “sacrificando el referente a la verdad del discurso y asumiendo [...] las secuelas de tu delirante desvío”¹⁵. La misma “invasión” goytisoliana de España sólo puede darse, de hecho, en el espacio del texto, donde la invasión ficticia puede reiniciarse, de modo psicológicamente compensatorio, en cualquier momento. El exilio asumido por Goytisolo en su vida “real” tiene, además, una correspondencia eficaz en la forma narrativa elegida, más ensayística que novelística, sobre todo a partir de Reivindicación del Conde don Julián. Goytisolo llega así a considerarse una especie de “baladeur”, capaz de circular “libremente de un tema a otro, como circulan los vagabundos, los gitanos, los locos, los mendigos”¹⁶. El “nomadismo de ideas” que Goytisolo elige es, tal como lo advierte Julián Ríos¹⁷, “un remedio contra el exilio y la pérdida de la tierra [...]. En este sentido, la página es un Ersatz

¹⁴ Juan Goytisolo, *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁵ Juan Goytisolo, *Juan sin Tierra*, Barcelona, Editorial Seix Barral, 1975, p. 77.

¹⁶ Julián Ríos, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

de la tierra perdida”. El tema recurrente del viaje, supone, además, una celebración de su reivindicación de la libertad y la diferencia. La estructura del viaje por la historia nacional mitificada es un recorrido emprendido por una especie de “vándalo” sin ninguna piedad, cuyo riesgo consiste en no descubrir nada nuevo al fin y al cabo, sino sólo en poner a prueba la validez de una imagen previa, anterior al viaje.

Toda la “traición” y rebeldía goytisolianas se consumen sólo en el espacio de la escritura, por muy limitativa que ésta sea, debido a la frustración causada por “el margen que separa el objeto [referencial] del signo y la futilidad de los recursos empleados para colmarlo”¹⁸. Aquí sería oportuno recordar la interpretación del mismo Goytisoló, a través de Roland Barthes, de la cita (tomada de Sade, sobre el añorado crimen con efecto perpetuo), que abre *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*. Para Goytisoló, Sade pretende “transformar las imposibilidades del referente en posibilidades del discurso”. Esta hermenéutica goytisoliana deja vislumbrar su angustia ante las limitaciones del lenguaje, único espacio, sin embargo, en que no deja de buscar la “libertad total” frente a cualquier sistema ideológico susceptible de encerrar la multifacética realidad humana en un esquema rígido.

El escritor intenta tan sólo destruir el “lenguaje calcáreo” y claustrofóbico de la propaganda nacionalista mediante un “onanismo de la escritura”, lo que viene a decir una “enigmática, liberadora proliferación de signos” autónomos, que componen una “estructura verbal con sus propias relaciones internas, lenguaje percibido en sí mismo y no como intercesor transparente de un mundo ajeno, exterior”¹⁹.

Más allá del carácter desafiante y lúdico de su escritura compensatoria, se puede entrever un auténtico desgarró en Goytisoló, como en el caso de Luis Cernuda, los dos considerándose españoles “sin

¹⁸ Juan Goytisoló, *Juan sin tierra*, op., cit., p. 126.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 312.

ganas” de serlo, pero que “lo [son] porque no puede[n] ser otra cosa”²⁰, viviendo escindidos “entre la realidad y el deseo”. La búsqueda desenfadada de una compensación discursiva en la literatura aparece como un exorcismo mediante la escritura “onanista” o sea autorreferencial, reivindicada por Goytisolo.

Más allá de todo desengaño ante el alcance de la representación, en el anhelo de revelarse mediante la escritura, se vislumbra un género de “auto-erotismo”, en palabras de Julia Kristeva. Goytisolo mismo repite una y otra vez que está “en busca de la ecuación que [...] aúne sexualidad y escritura”²¹. La subversión lingüística se une a la subversión moral, en un mismo esfuerzo de reivindicación de la libertad y la diferencia. Se trata, en primer lugar, de socavar la moral católica tradicional que, en opinión de Goytisolo, niega el cuerpo de modo maniqueísta o lo sublima, legitimando la (hetero)sexualidad sólo dentro del matrimonio y con fines reproductivos. Al arremeter contra esta visión represiva, Goytisolo reivindica “el goce y el placer” del cuerpo, en general y la homosexualidad, en particular, forjándose una identidad antitética por contraposición al modelo oficial. Un concepto lúdico ilustrativo para la multivalente deconstrucción goytisoliana, es el de “cogitus interruptus”, que parodia el famoso cogito cartesiano y, según Goytisolo, toda la funesta tradición ilustrada logocéntrica, relacionándolo con una de las prácticas sexuales condenadas por la moral española oficial. Además, entretejiendo escritura y sexualidad, Goytisolo propone de modo explícito en *Juan sin tierra*, como se ha visto ya, “el onanismo de la escritura”, de una escritura subversivamente autorreferencial. Ni que decir tiene que la escritura de la misma ideología oficial nacionalista es igualmente autorreferencial, ya que carece de validación extratextual.

Además de su función subversiva (tanto moral como política), las abundantes “aberraciones” y perversiones (a lo Sade o Bataille) presentes

²⁰ Juan Goytisolo, *Libertad, libertad, libertad*, Barcelona, Anagrama, 1978, p. 17.

²¹ Juan Goytisolo, *Juan sin tierra*, op. cit., p.255.

en la obra de Goytisolo remiten simbólicamente a un angustioso anhelo de autotrascendencia, es decir, de superación de los estrechos límites convencionales de la experiencia humana. Socavando los contornos estables de la moralidad oficial que (de)limita la experiencia humana, el trastorno que la imaginación pornográfica conlleva supone la entrada en otro “orden de representación”, lo que concede a este tipo de literatura un valor epistemológico, ampliando subversivamente el universo cognoscitivo de los lectores e iniciándoles en las zonas oficialmente prohibidas. Enfocados desde esta perspectiva, los mundos ficcionales de Bataille, Sade o Goytisolo se transforman en un contraataque violento a los límites morales y representacionales que encierran al ser humano en una especie de cárcel, ontológica y epistemológica a la vez, convirtiéndolo en el perfecto sujeto indefenso, incapaz de rebeldía, (por no poder ni siquiera conceptualizarla), de cualquier régimen totalitario. La univocidad semántica, legitimada en nombre de valores supremos, será siempre el mejor instrumento de legitimación y conservación del poder político.

Por el otro lado, la utopía del mundo “permisivo” árabe que Goytisolo propone tanto en el plano personal-moral como en el plano hermenéutico-literario no deja de ser “visión orientalista”, o bien, otro mito, forjado por esfuerzo constructor después de la fase “mitoclasta” en nombre de la cual arremete contra la “petrificada” ideología española. Se podría argüir que el novelista quiere construir otra mitología sobre las ruinas de la deconstrucción llevada a cabo, es decir, que la imagen propuesta del mundo árabe cumple la función “sacrogenética”, en palabras de Luis Martín-Santos²², lo cual deja entrever que tanto la ideología española nacionalista deconstruida como la utopía oriental propuesta están relacionadas con una construcción semiótica y, por lo tanto arbitraria, por subjetiva, de la realidad.

²² Citado en Gloria Doblado, *España en tres novelas de Juan Goytisolo*, Madrid, Editorial Playor, 1988, p. 62.

En conclusión, la interacción de ideología y utopía es ineludible, en el sentido de que lo “posible” del pensamiento utópico no se puede nunca desprender por completo del sistema de representación vigente, del que depende para su imposible realización. El mecanismo ideológico de producción de significados establece siempre límites representacionales, determinando así incluso el lenguaje utópico, que nunca puede transgredir enteramente los códigos utilizados en la interpretación y apropiación de la realidad. Goytisolo necesita la cultura española, aunque le sirva sólo de contramodelo, para definirse como “otro”. El anhelo de evadirla, se entrelaza, tal como él mismo lo ha reiterado varias veces, con el amoroso deseo de cambiarla, o bien, de liberarla. Con *Juan sin tierra* y otros libros posteriores, esta ansia de cambio radical se extiende a todo el mundo occidental, convirtiendo a Goytisolo en un escritor con marcadas preocupaciones sociales. Sin embargo, el engagement sartriano “del intelectual deshacedor de entuertos frente a todas las injusticias del mundo”²³ le parece equivocado en el fondo, por ser “un residuo laico de la religión cristiana, una especie de ejercicio de santidad cívica, tan autosatisfecho como ineficaz”. La disidencia por la cual aboga Goytisolo es más bien estética, ya que, siguiendo, tal como lo confiesa, la línea de pensamiento de Roland Barthes en *Le degré zéro de l’écriture*, cree que lo importante no es la representación propia del realismo crítico, sino el inconformismo estético que lleva aparejado implícitamente un inconformismo ideológico.

Dado que todo lenguaje es de modo inherente representación, portadora de una implícita visión del mundo, Goytisolo intenta producir una escritura ajena a la alienación, que cuestiona los estables y rígidos supuestos ideológicos de una cultura, invitando a la apertura hacia otros modelos culturales y, en última instancia, hacia la confrontación con la alteridad, para la reconstrucción utópica de su propia identidad.

²³ Juan Goytisolo, *Disidencias*, Barcelona, Editorial Sex Barral, 1978, p. 301.

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EL ESPAÑOL COLOQUIAL: LA EXPRESIÓN DEL VALOR SUPERLATIVO

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Abstract: *Research of the colloquial register – which is the general term for the mode of speech used naturally and spontaneously in everyday life by speakers – is one of the most important and fertile fields of study in current linguistics and, in this article, we propose to make some observations on the expression of superlatives in colloquial Spanish.*

Keywords: *colloquial register, speakers, communicational context, elevated register*

o. La investigación del registro coloquial – término que designa en general la modalidad idiomática empleada natural y espontáneamente en la vida cotidiana por los hablantes – constituye uno de los campos más importantes y fértiles de la lingüística actual.

Para definir el concepto fundamental de **registro coloquial** se parte del supuesto que los registros lingüísticos – que vienen determinados por la situación de uso, por el contexto comunicativo – ilustran convencionalmente dos tipos: el formal, que abarca las manifestaciones lingüísticas conscientemente formuladas, con fines comunicativos a nivel culto (por profesores, conferencistas etc.) o artístico (por escritores, periodistas etc.) y el informal-coloquial, del habla familiar, conversacional, de la calle.¹

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¹ Antonio Briz, *El español coloquial: situación y uso*, Madrid, 1996, pág.16.

La vitalidad y dinámica de la lengua coloquial y, por lo tanto, la necesidad de su conocimiento y estudio, presentan interés tanto para la lingüística general como, y sobre todo, para la aplicada, con prioridad en el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras, fenómeno cada vez más amplio e intenso a estas alturas en nuestra realidad sin fronteras, en la cual la comunicación es fundamental. En este ámbito hay que subrayar que también en el proceso de la traducción, especialmente literaria, es de fundamental importancia y utilidad conocer a fondo el registro coloquial de las dos lenguas: la lengua fuente y la lengua meta.

Al surgir de la realidad directa, viva, de los hablantes, la lengua coloquial dispone de recursos expresivos de gran riqueza y complejidad, capaces de reflejar los matices más finos. Se manifiestan en ella tendencias múltiples, a veces contradictorias, como son la a la economía y comodidad, por un lado y, por el otro, una extraordinaria capacidad imaginativa, que asegura una intensa expresividad, ya que el coloquio está fuertemente regido por la afectividad.

En comparación con otros idiomas, el rumano por ejemplo, el español coloquial presenta una situación aparte, porque tiene una fisonomía bien definida, es decir rasgos propios muy acusados. En efecto, en la investigación del español coloquial hay que atenerse a un importante factor extralingüístico, de orden socio-psicológico. Si el aspecto coloquial de cualquier lengua supone, como hemos mencionado ya, una asombrosa riqueza y variedad de recursos expresivos, para el español debemos tomar en cuenta además toda una serie de predisposiciones psíquicas naturales de sus hablantes: la gran fuerza imaginativa y de improvisación, el humor, el vitalismo, el subjetivismo, el apasionamiento.²

² Manuel Criado de Val, en *Fisonomía del español y de las lenguas modernas*, Madrid, 1972, hace interesantes observaciones sobre la fisonomía del español, sobre su perfil estilístico, que surge de peculiaridades psicológicas propias, que lo distinguen de los demás idiomas modernos. Así, con respecto al papel primordial de la afectividad que es, junto con el humor, “la gran clave del español”, precisa: “La consideración y, en muchos

Todo ello favorece sensiblemente una expresión plástica, matizada, que encuentra en el coloquio su campo más adecuado. En consecuencia, el español coloquial supone, además de las características del coloquio en general, destacadísimas peculiaridades que a menudo representan dificultades con que se tropieza al trasladarlas a otro idioma.

Por todas estas razones, es natural que la investigación del español coloquial constituya una de las problemáticas más enfocadas hoy en día por los especialistas, que se ocupan detalladamente de su definición, estructura y rasgos sobresalientes, la bibliografía de que disponemos siendo muy nutrida.³

De los variados recursos con que cuenta el español actual para realizar la intensificación, que refleja de modo ilustrativo la preponderancia de la expresividad en el coloquio, nos proponemos a continuación presentar los términos y las construcciones de valor superlativo, de impresionante frecuencia y vitalidad.

Al examinar el coloquio atendiendo a los distintos niveles de análisis lingüístico – nivel morfosintáctico, léxico-semántico, fraseológico, fonético - Antonio Briz parte del concepto de **intensificadores** (categoría pragmática del habla) “que son en la conversación estrategias retóricas de dar a entender más de lo que realmente se dice, de manifestar realizando los enunciados con finalidades diferentes”.⁴

Los términos y expresiones de valor superlativo se basan en intensificadores de la cantidad y de la cualidad, que enfatizan e hiperbolizan el concepto básico. Se suele distinguir dos categorías de hechos: una positiva, que expresa grandes cantidades o altos grados de

casos, la asimilación afectiva no solo de los objetos y de las personas, sino también de las ideas, determinan una gran cantidad de rasgos del español. Muchas de sus aparentes contradicciones y muchas de las dificultades de su interpretación solo pueden resolverse contando con esta fuerza afectiva que predomina en la psicología española.” (pág. 273).

³ Véase la bibliografía selectiva que indicamos más abajo

⁴ *Op.cit.*, pág.53

intensidad, y la otra negativa, que designa cantidades (muy) pequeñas o mínimas. Generalmente, las construcciones con valor de intensificación van acompañadas de entonación exclamativa o de una entonación especial que evidencia, más allá del contenido objetivo del mensaje, el espontáneo énfasis expresivo del hablante.

Cabe precisar que del amplio corpus de ejemplos extraídos de la prensa escrita (revistas sensacionalistas como “¡Hola!”, “Diez minutos”, “Semana”, “Gaceta ilustrada” etc., o revistas muy difundidas, como “Cambio 16”) y hablada (emisiones de televisión, películas etc.), pero también de conversaciones entre amigos o familiares, o sorprendidas en la calle, presentamos aquí solo algunos de los más ilustrativos, con sus correspondientes rumanos si se da el caso, agrupados en tres grandes categorías.

1. La primera categoría incluye los adjetivos, numerosos, que poseen por sí solos un valor intensificador, lo que los convierte en portadores de contenido superlativo. Algunos de estos adjetivos, que también pueden funcionar como adverbios (o pueden formar adverbios correspondientes con el sufijo *-mente*), son normales en el español general y en varios idiomas, el rumano entre ellos, como: *extraordinario*, *excelente*, *espléndido*, *colosal*, *fenomenal*, *formidable*, *fantástico*, *fabuloso*, *impresionante*, *increíble*, *genial*, *grandioso*, *magnífico*, *maravilloso* etc. Pero el español coloquial abunda en otros adjetivos de esta índole, que reflejan con un índice expresivo más alto la máxima intensificación de la cualidad. Así: ***alucinante***, ***apabullante***, ***apoteósico***, ***bárbaro***, ***bestial***, ***brutal***, *clamoroso*, *divino*, *espectacular*, ***fatal***, ***gigantesco***, *mortal*, *monumental*, ***mayúsculo***, *portentoso*, ***redondo***, ***regio***, ***rico***, *sensacional*, ***soberano***, ***soberbio***, ***tremendo*** y el frecuentísimo ***estupendo***. He aquí unos ejemplos: Fue un encuentro *apoteósico* - “A fost o întâlnire extraordinară”; Catalanés y vascos pueden darle un disgusto *soberano* al gobierno - “Catalanii și bascii pot provoca o supărare colosală guvernului”; ¡Me ha salido *redondo*, preciosa! -” Mi-a ieșit grozav, frumoaso! Esta niña rubia es muy *rica* - “Copila asta blondă e o dulceață”.

A pesar de que algunos de los adjetivos de esta última serie - salvo los que van en negritas - tienen correspondientes en rumano con dicho valor (cf. *divin, senzațional*) - destacamos el hecho de que en español su presencia es mucho más viva en el habla coloquial, como amplitud y frecuencia, llegándose a menudo a su uso abusivo. En ello influye sin duda el importante papel que juega en la vida moderna el lenguaje de la publicidad, en que abundan este tipo de adjetivos, p. ej. “Londres es así: si quiere teatro, en Londres hay obras *fenomenales*... La mayoría de los museos son gratuitos y ofrecen fantásticas colecciones de arte; además, está siempre el *fabuloso* show de las calles”.

Cabe señalar también la serie de adjetivos de valor superlativo que proceden de varias jergas (la estudiantil, la de los delincuentes, de los drogadictos, de los gitanos etc.), que corresponden plenamente en rumano a *mișto, de milioane*: *acojonante, canuto, cojonudo, chachi* (con la variante *chanchi*), *chipendi* (con la variante *chipendi lerendi*), *chulo, chupi, descojonante, flipante, guapo, guay, huevudo, molón, morrocotudo, pipudo, pistonudo, pocho, pocholo* etc.: Lo pasamos *chachi* en la fiesta de Manolo – „Ne-am distrat de milioane la petrecerea lui Manolo”; ¿Has visto qué *guay* es todo? – Ai văzut ce *mișto* e totul?

Observamos que, a veces, la tendencia de emplear adjetivos de valor superlativo determina la aparición ocasional de adjetivos sorprendentes, intraducibles literalmente en el contexto, p.ej.: El *fecundo* pensamiento que se me ocurrió... – „Gândul teribil care mi-a trecut prin minte...”.

Finalmente, subrayamos que entre los intensificadores más frecuentes en el coloquio están los adjetivos marcados negativamente: *atroz, espantoso, fatal, horrendo, horrible, infernal, jodido, pavoroso, puñetero*, etc., de equivalencia más o menos exacta: „groaznic, cumplit, infernal, oribil, înspăimântător”.

2. La segunda categoría se refiere a los dos recursos principales con que cuenta el adjetivo español para formal el grado superlativo, el analítico, por la anteposición del adverbio *muy* (u otros, como *sumamente, extremamente, excepcionalmente, tremendamente* etc.), y el sintético,

mediante los sufijos *-ísimo* y *-érrimo* (o por varios prefijos, especialmente *re-*).

El habla coloquial demuestra obviamente predilección por el último, que aporta mayor énfasis e intensidad expresiva. En efecto, decir de una mujer que es *guapísima* es más entusiasta que *muy guapa*.

La misma tendencia a la mención enfática determina el hecho de que en el coloquio se aplique el sufijo en cuestión a adjetivos que normalmente no lo admiten, ya que son de por sí intensificadores y la cualidad que designan no precisa más realce: *estupendísimo*, *exactísimo*, *impotentísimo*, *perfectísimo*, *primerísimo*, *remotísimo*, *ultimísimo* etc. En estos casos el traslado al rumano es incompleto, p.ej.: Es una obra *perfectísima* – „E o operă cu totul (și cu totul) perfectă”; en *primerísimo* lugar „în primul (și în primul) rând”.

Mencionemos entre los intensificadores también a los sufijos diminutivos, recurso frecuente al que acude el habla coloquial. Se conoce que el carácter del diminutivo español suele ser más afectivo que propiamente dimensional, pero en el coloquio la unión de ambos aspectos hace que adquiera matices intensificadores y ponderativos, lo que lo acerca al superlativo, p.ej.: Es la *purita* verdad - „E adevărul gol, goluț”; Estamos *perdiditas* – „Suntem pierdute”.

Finalmente, señalmos como muy activas en el habla coloquial actual las formas de superlativo constituídas por prefijos, desde los tradicionales *re-* y *requete-* hasta los hoy omnipresentes *archi-* (*archiconocido* „arhicunoscut”), *extra-* (*extracurricular* „în afara planului de învățământ”), *hiper-* (*hipersensible* „hipersensibil”), *super-* (*supereminente* „foarte elevat”) y *ultra-* (*ultraderechista* „de extrema dreaptă”).

3. La última categoría, sin duda la más interesante por su riqueza y alto índice de expresividad, comprende las construcciones de valor superlativo basadas en sustantivos (y locuciones formadas a base de sustantivos) en función adverbial como intensificadores de cantidad (es decir equivalentes a „muchísimo”), o en función adjetival como intensificadores de calidad (equivalentes a „estupendo, excelente,

impresionante, magnífico, tremendo” etc.). Teniendo en cuenta su estructura, hemos distinguido 4 subclases:

a. Sustantivos sin determinante alguno: *bandera* („steag”), *bomba* („bombă”), *cañón* („tun”), *chipé* (con la variante *chipén*) y *fetén* (ambos son gitanismos) „adevăr”, *fenómeno*, *horror* (más usual en plural, *horrores*), *hostia* („azimă, pâine sfințită), *padre* („tată”) etc. En rumano no es usual este tipo de intensificadores (salvo *trăznet*), por lo tanto en el contexto hay que traducir estos sustantivos por adjetivos o adverbios de sentido superlativo, p.ej.: matrimonios *fetén* „căsătorii strălucite”; me gusta *horrores* „îmi place grozav”; noticia *cañón* „știre senzațională”; te das la vida *padre* „ duci o viață colosală (mișto/ de milioane)”; este tío está *cañón* “tipul ăsta e trăznet /mișto” etc.

Señalemos que *bandera*, *bomba* y *cañón*, aplicados a una mujer, significan „con muy buen tipo”, „de buen cuerpo”; además *bomba* se usa muchísimo en la expresión pasarlo *bomba* („ a se distra grozav/nemaipomenit”).

b. Sustantivos determinados por el artículo definido, en la estructura : **verbo** (*ser*, *estar*, verbo auxiliar) + **artículo definido** + **sustantivo**, p.ej.: estar *la mar* de contento „a fi extrem de mulțumit” y había *la mar* de gente „era o grămadă de lume”; en la lengua coloquial se usa con el mismo sentido adverbial “mucho”, “gran cantidad, magnitud o dimensión” otros sustantivos, como *la tira* „fâșie, bandă”: lleva en la cara *la tira* de maquillaje – “are pe față o groază de farduri”. Excepcional vitalidad presentan construcciones como *ser la hostia*, *la monda*, *la pera*, *la órdiga*. Los primeros tres sustantivos aparecen además con la forma reforzada mediante el prefijo *re-*, de amplio uso coloquial para denotar la máxima cualidad: *ser la rehostia*, *la repera*, *la remonda*, equivalentes a “ser el colmo, el no va más”.

c. Sustantivos determinados por el artículo indefinido: *una barbaridad* (“o barbarie”) *una burrada* (“o prostie”), *una enormidad* (“o enormitate”), *un disparate* (“o absurditate, o grozăvie”), *un mogollón* (“un morman”), *un montón* (“o grămadă”), *una porrada* (“o grămadă/

mulțime”), *un porrón* (“un ulcior”), *un rato* (“o clipă, un răstimp”) etc., todos intensificadores de intensidad, significando “extraordinario, colosal”, o de cantidad: “muchísimo”, “en gran cantidad”.

Algunos de estos sustantivos (una *enormidad*, *un disparate*, *un montón*) tienen su correspondiente rumano, p.ej.: Pagas *un disparate* por este cursillo “plătești o groază (de bani) pentru cursul ăsta”, pero en la mayoría de los casos hay que traducir el sustantivo por un adjetivo superlativo o por una locución, p.ej. el usadísimo me gusta *una barbaridad* “îmi place extraordinar/ la nebunie”; este coche ha costado *una burrada* “mașina asta a costat enorm/ochii din cap”.

Como prueba de la incesante capacidad creativa del habla coloquial se pueden mencionar otros sustantivos, transparentes desde el punto de vista semántico en la lengua común, donde están marcados positivamente, sugiriendo la idea de superlativo, mientras que en el registro coloquial se refuerza poderosamente su función intensificadora: *un ángel*, *un amor*, *un bombón*, *un cielo*, *un encanto*, *una gloria*, *una monada*, *una ricura*, *un portento*, *una preciosidad*, *un sol*, *un sueño*, *un tesoro* etc. En rumano la serie de correspondientes es más escasa: un înger, un vis, o dulceață, o drăgălășenie, o comoară, o minune/minunăție. He aquí unos ejemplos: Mi amiga ha puesto una boutique que es *un amor* - “... a deschis un butic care e un vis”; París es *una gloria* “...e o minunăție”; este niño es *una ricura* „copilul ăsta e o drăgălășenie/dulceață”; el vestido rosa es *una monada*, cômpratelo „rochia roz e o minune, cumpără-ți-o!”

d. Abundan en el coloquio las locuciones con la estructura **de + sustantivo**, con el valor superlativo que nos ocupa: „extraordinario, excelente, magnífico”, o „muy grande, colosal, fuerte, impresionante”. Bajo el aspecto semántico, el adyacente preposicional marcado enfáticamente es el equivalente de un adjetivo o de un adverbio, estas construcciones siendo, según afirma A. Vígara Tauste „locuciones que soportan básicamente el significado y, por su carácter, no solo ofrecen en el la

cualidad, sino también la gradación cuantitativa de ella. Constituyen, en realidad, sustitutos significados de ambas cosas”.⁵

Estas locuciones son: *de abrigo, de antología, de bandera, de bigote, de buten, de caballo, de campeonato, de carajo, de chipén, de cine, de espanto, de fábula, de locura, de narices, de miedo, de órdago, de pánico, de película, de perlas, de pistón, de postín, de rechupete, de tronío*. También en este caso los equivalentes rumanos son menos numerosos en el registro coloquial: *de milioane, de groază, de zile mari, de pomină*, siendo más frecuentes los superlativos de la lengua común. Unos ejemplos: Se dio un golpe *de campeonato* „s-a lovit de groază”; hoy hace un tiempo *de fábula* „azi e o vreme excelentă”; me encuentro *de narices* desde que tomo vitaminas „mă simt minunat de când iau vitamine”; fue un banquete *de órdago* “ a fost un banchet de pomină”; un viaje *de película* „o călătorie de vis”.

En conclusión podemos afirmar que, además de los recursos tradicionales para expresar el valor superlativo, en el español coloquial es muy viva la necesidad de apelar a otras posibilidades, menos gastadas y, por lo tanto, más dinámicas y expresivas. Aunque en parte estos recursos pueden darse también en otros niveles idiomáticos, el coloquio es el campo en el cual llegan a la plenitud de su desarrollo, tanto en lo que se refiere a la capacidad constante de crear modismos cargados de expresividad, como a su frecuencia de uso, extremadamente alta. Ellos reflejan fielmente la portentosa capacidad creativa del hispanohablante, que busca y encuentra permanentemente maneras de dar realce a lo que ve, oye, siente, piensa, imagina.

Apreciando la primordial importancia del registro coloquial en el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje del español, coincidimos con M.Martín Sánchez que afirma: “Nadie puede estimar que habla un idioma si no domina sus dichos y locuciones coloquiales, porque en ellos está el

⁵ A.M.Vigara Tauste, *Aspectos del español hablado. Aportaciones al estudio del español coloquial*, Madrid, 1980, pág.28.

alma del grupo que lo habla y muchas veces su historia, sus miedos, alegrías y penas.”⁶

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⁶ Manuel Martín Sánchez, *Diccionario del español coloquial (Dichos, modismos y locuciones populares)*, Madrid, 1997 (Prólogo).

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ORTOGRAFÍA DE LOS ANGLICISMOS. GRADOS Y CLASES DE ADAPTACIÓN

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Abstract: *The present article aims to analyse the spelling of Anglicisms. The paper explores the different group-level adaptations that Anglicisms experience till they are accepted by the Spanish language as a part of its own dictionary. When an Anglicism enters the Spanish language, it passes through certain phases in its evolution. In the first phase, it is introduced without any modification. There is also a migratory phase when the word has different spellings, but in some cases the word can be introduced in its original form. In what could be described as the final phase, the Anglicism has suffered certain changes in spelling.*

Keywords: *Anglicism, Spanish language, spelling.*

La lengua como instrumento de comunicación entre personas se encuentra en continuo desarrollo y cambio. “Una lengua que nunca cambiara sólo podría hablarse en un cementerio.”, afirma Fernando Lázaro Carreter.¹ Un factor importante en la evolución de una lengua está representado por los préstamos lingüísticos que contribuyen al enriquecimiento del vocabulario. Los *anglicismos* como préstamos lingüísticos procedentes del inglés (británico o americano) son palabras o frases que pueden estar adaptadas o no al sistema de la lengua española.

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¹ Fernando Lázaro Carreter, *El dardo en la palabra*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutemberg-Círculo de lectores, 1997, p. 575.

En este artículo nos ocuparemos de la ortografía de los anglicismos, nos interesan los grados y clases de adaptación que experimentan los anglicismos cuando son aceptados por el español para funcionar como si fueran palabras y expresiones propias.

Al referirse a la ortografía de los anglicismos, Chris Pratt establece una dicotomía importante de grafías “aceptables” e “inaceptables”. Una grafía aceptable es la que está en consonancia con las pautas ortográficas del español actual, y la inaceptable es la que no lo está.² Entre las grafías inaceptables menciona las vocales geminadas: “**ee**” – *jeep, pedigree*; “**oo**” – *boom, scooter*; y las grafías geminadas: “**bb**” – *hobby*; “**ff**” – *sheriff*; “**pp**” – *hippy*; “**ss**” – *boss, cross*; “**zz**” – *jazz, puzzle*;

Los distintos grados de asimilación de los anglicismos están condicionados por factores distintos: dificultades de adaptación gráfica, algunos anglicismos poseen un ámbito de uso más restringido, así como por la fecha de entrada del anglicismo en el español.

Las dificultades de adaptación de los anglicismos al sistema ortográfico español resultan principalmente de las diferencias fonéticas y ortográficas que hay entre el español y el inglés.

Teniendo en cuenta que la relación entre la escritura y la pronunciación del español es más estrecha que en otras lenguas –el danés o el francés, por ejemplo – podemos afirmar que la ortografía del español es principalmente fonética mientras que la ortografía inglesa es etimológica, y por lo tanto la relación entre grafía y pronunciación es mucho más compleja.

Felix Rodríguez González considera que “aunque hay notables diferencias en el sistema grafémico del inglés y del español, la ortografía inglesa es pronta y fácilmente aceptada por los préstamos del español, especialmente en una primera etapa. El carácter extranjero del anglicismo se hace evidente a resultar de la existencia de letras inusuales (*k* y *w*) y

² Chris Pratt, *El anglicismo en el español peninsular contemporáneo*, Madrid, Gredos, 1980, p. 119-153

algunas combinaciones de letras (*sh, wh, ehr, oa, ou*), incluida la geminación de vocales (*oo, ee*) y consonantes (*bb, nn, etc.*). Con el tiempo, sin embargo, muchos préstamos se adaptan a las reglas grafemáticas del español, como muestra la sustitución de *k > e* y *w > v, g*, y la simplificación de letras geminadas y combinaciones de letras.”³

Presentamos a continuación las diferentes etapas de la adaptación de un anglicismo y a continuación los cambios generales en la grafía de los anglicismos.

1 ° El anglicismo aparece sin adaptación ninguna

Normalmente, los anglicismos como préstamos más o menos recientes del inglés, tienden a mantener su forma original. En este caso, el anglicismo aparece escrito entre comillas o en cursiva y junto a la palabra inglesa es frecuente que aparezca su traducción o alguna explicación en español de su significado, lo que demuestra que el escritor considera que el anglicismo es desconocido por su novedad. Veamos algunos casos:

- (...) para coronar la tarde, participó de una actividad ***after office*** (después de oficina) con su juventud militante en un bar. La Nación - 12.10.2007 | Política

- Se trata de las clases aeróbicas de **body language** o lenguaje corporal. 26-12-2007 | eltiempo.com | Abc del Bebé

- (...) una **BlackBerry** (dispositivo inalámbrico que admite correo electrónico, telefonía móvil, SMS, navegación web (y otros servicios de información inalámbricos), y un iPod. Estilos | EL UNIVERSAL online | 2007-11-04

³ Felix Rodríguez González, “Variaciones grafemáticas de los anglicismos en los medios de comunicación: tendencias y factores condicionantes”, en *Estudios de Filología Inglesa. Homenaje a la Dra. Asunción Alba Pelayo*, Coordinadoras Teresa Gibert Maceda, Laura Alba Juez, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, 2008, p. 270.

- Está todo en el proceso de **brainstorming** (búsqueda de ideas)", añadió. Finanzas | EL UNIVERSAL online | 2007-09-14

- Tardamos meses en pasar el **crash test** (prueba de impacto)", (.....) ELPAIS.com> Deportes. 09/04/2007

- Puede iniciar una terapia de rejuvenecimiento facial o hacerse un **peeling** o exfoliación al cacao. ELPAIS.com> *elviajero* 21/12/2012

Los contextos en que el anglicismo se emplea con algún comentario demostrativo de su significado son muy numerosos. Las frases presentadas son una selección de ejemplos extraídos tanto de la prensa peninsular (*El País*) como de la prensa hispanoamericana (*El Universal* – México, *El Tiempo* – Colombia y *La Nación* – Argentina).

2 ° Algunos anglicismos presentan distintas grafías

El tener varias grafías a la vez puede ser debido a varias causas:

a) Volver a la grafía etimológica en el caso de los anglicismos asimilados. El que escribe la palabra elige deliberadamente la ortografía etimológica en el caso de los anglicismos asimilados desde el punto de vista fonético y ortográfico sea por esnobismo sea por el color local o debido al uso internacional que tiene el anglicismo en su forma cruda. Por ejemplo, puede elegir escribir **cocktail**, a pesar de que la grafía normal desde hace ya tiempo es *cóctel*, o **whisky** en lugar de *güisqui*, **smoking** por *esmoquin*, **slogan** por *eslogan*, **snob** por *esnob*, **zapping** por *zapeo*, **zoom** por *zum*, **standard** por *estándar*, **stress** por *estrés*, **ticket** por *tique*, **dandy** por *dandi*, **derby** por *derbi*, **doping** por *dopaje*, **nylon** por *nilón*, *nailon*, **penalty** por *penalti*, **póker** por *póquer*, **scanner** por *escáner*.

- El año pasado, Caride había anunciado en el **cocktail** con la prensa el lanzamiento de Speedy TV como un servicio de valor agregado, pero la empresa no avanzó con el negocio. *La Nación*-online-19-12-2007

- El estadio Santiago Bernabéu, albergará este domingo el **derby** madrileño. | EL UNIVERSAL online | 2007-08-21

- "Hizo un gol de **penalty** y otro de cabeza. La Nación-online/ Deporte: 23.08.2007

- El brillo se contrasta con mate en modelos de satén, **nylon** y terciopelo. EL UNIVERSAL online | 2007-12-22

- Seguro que no he sido el único que además del clásico **zapping** televisivo, en este caso, he tenido que alternarlo con el **zapping** en el iPad y en el móvil. ELPAIS.com > 15/08/2012

El anglicismo no se ha afianzado aún en español con una grafía determinada, aunque una opción en concreto puede predominar sobre las demás. A la diversidad de grafías puede contribuir el desconocimiento del inglés de la persona que escribe el anglicismo que extiende una norma ortográfica que se aplica a todas las palabras de ortografía similar.⁴ Por ejemplo, *basket* / *basquet*; *techno* / *tecno*; *yankee* / *yanki*; *dugout* / *dogaut*; *handball* / *handbol*; *input* / *imput*; *kitsch* / *kitch*; *pullman* / *pulman*; *scone* / *scon*; *thinner* / *thínner* / *thíner* / *thiner*; *stretch* / *strech*.

3º El anglicismo puede permanecer en su forma original sin sufrir ninguna alternancia

Algunos anglicismos mantienen su grafía original, ya que no violan las reglas ortográficas españolas, pero sí cambian su acentuación, incluso reciben la tilde ortográfica española: **fólder** (Del ingl. *folder*); **sándwich** (Del ingl. *sandwich*), **mánager** (Del ingl. *manager*), **máster** (Del ingl. *master*, y este del lat. *magister*, maestro), **míster** (Del ingl. *mister*), **tráiler** (Del ingl. *trailer*), **chárter** (Del ingl. *charter*), **póster** (Del ingl. *poster*), **récord** (Del ingl. *record*), **tóner** (Del ingl. *toner*).

En el caso de los anglicismos pertenecientes al lenguaje publicitario y comercial, el hecho de conservar su forma original está justificado por su uso internacional y por su función denotativa que desempeñan en la

⁴ Delia Rodríguez Segura, *Panorama del anglicismo en el español*, Universidad de Almería, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999, p. 162.

comunicación: *best seller, casting, holding, leasing, full time, lobby, marketing, mass media, overbooking, stand, stock.*

Los anglicismos que están relacionados con la moda, el deporte, la música conservan su forma original porque el prestigio y la sonoridad de la palabra inglesa constituyen en la mayoría de los casos la única ventaja de su presencia en la lengua española: *glamour, disc-jockey, display, blazer, blues, body, jogging, music hall, paddle, panty, punk, ranking, reggae, rock, rock and roll, ring, rugby, show, top-model, sex appeal, sexy, short, western, windsurf,* entre otros.

4º Los anglicismos han sufrido cambios en la grafía

El proceso de adaptación de los anglicismos a las normas ortográficas del español incluye una serie de cambios generales que éstos deberían sufrir para normalizar su presencia en el español. Sin embargo, ya hemos visto ejemplos de anglicismos que todavía no los han sufrido, otros probablemente no los sufrirán y otros, ya antiguos en español, que permanecen inalterables.

A continuación presentamos los cambios generales que experimentaron algunas voces inglesas tras una alargada presencia en español.

A. Adaptación ortográfica en las vocales

1. Las vocales dobles inglesas se sustituyen por las vocales simples españolas que más se le asemejan:⁵

◆ **ee > i:** *feeling > filin; meeting > mitin; pedigree > pedigri; spleen > esplín; yankee > yanqui;*

◆ **oo > u:** *boomerang > bumerán; football > fútbol (futbol); shampoo > champú; shoot > chut; zoom > zum;*

Este cambio no se ha producido en palabras como *boom, look, hooligan, overbooking, scooter, speech, tofee*

⁵ Todas las palabras que citamos para ilustrar los cambios en la grafía figuran en el *DRAE (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española)*, la 22ª edición, Madrid, 2001.

- ◆ **oa > o:** *goal* > **gol**; *roast beef* > **rosbif**;
- ◆ **ea > i, e:** *leader* > **líder**; *sweater* > **suéter**;

El cambio no se produce en *striptease*, *leasing*, *sex-appeal*.

2. La **y** cambia a **i**: *dandy* > **dandi**; *derby* > **derbi**; *penalty* > **penalti**; pero hay más palabras en las que este cambio no se ha producido: *body*, *brandy*, *curry*, *lady*, *display*, *ferry*, *jersey*, *hobby*, *hockey*, *lobby*, *kayak*, *spray*, *tory*.

3. Algunas vocales sencillas se sustituyen por otras como en **u > o** en anglicismos ya antiguos: *punch* > **ponche**; *clutch* > **cloche**; *rum* > **ron**

B. Adaptación ortográfica en las consonantes

1. Consonantes simples:

a) La “**k**” inglesa seguida por las vocales “e” “i” pasa a escribirse „**qu**”: *basket(ball)* > **básquet**; *bikini* > **biquini**; *khaki* > **caquí**; *poker* > **póquer**; *smoking* > **esmoquin**; *yankee* > **yanqui**; *junki* > **yonqui**;

En cambio, la grafía “**k**” permanece invariable en posición final en *crack*, *flash-back*, *look*, *punk*, *rock*, *kayak*, *stock*.

Otros anglicismos más recientes conserva la “**k**” en posición inicial y media (sobre todo delante de la terminación – *ing*): *kit*, *bróker*, *marketing*, *overbooking*, *ranking*.

b) La “**w**” desaparece de la ortografía: *bowl* > **bol**; *crawl* > **crol**; *interview* > **interviú**; *mildew* > **mildiú**; *sweater* > **suéter**;

No parece que este cambio vaya a producirse en anglicismos modernos como *windsurf*, *web*, *software* sin duda porque la pronunciación de la consonante “**w**” ya no resulta tan “extranjera” al español medio como antes.⁶

2. Grupos de consonantes:

a) Las consonantes geminadas se simplifican: *baffle* > **bafle**; *drill* > **dril**; *groggy* > **grogui**; *pudding* > **pudin**; *pullover* > **pulóver**; *scanner* > **escáner**; *stress* > **estres**; *tennis* > **tenis**; *zipper* > **zíper**;

⁶ Delia Rodríguez Segura, *op. cit.*, p. 166

b) Los grupos consonánticos formados por dos consonantes distintas se simplifican: **-ng** > **-n**: *meeting* > **mitin**; *boomerang* > **bumerán**; **-rd** > **r**: *standard* > **estándar** (pero no en *récord*); **-ck-** > **c**: *cocktail* > **cóctel**. Excepciones: anglicismos antiguos como *hockey* (desde 1904, según las fuentes de Fernández García⁷), *stock* (desde 1886)⁸.

c) Los anglicismos que empiezan por una “**s-**” seguida por una consonante añaden una “**e-**”: *scanner* > **escáner**; *slogan* > **eslogan**; *smoking* > **esmoquin**; *to sniff* > **esnifar**; *snob* **esnob**; *spleen* > **esplín**; *sprinter* > **esprínter**; *standard* > **estándar**; *stress* > **estrés**;

En conclusión, podemos afirmar que la adaptación de un anglicismo al sistema ortográfico del español es un proceso de larga duración y sólo gracias a su uso frecuente, prolongado y extendido, es probable que se cambie su forma de escritura y el anglicismo termine siendo adoptado por el castellano.

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⁷ A. Fernández García, *El anglicismo en el español (1891-1936)*, Oviedo, 1972, p. 139.

⁸ *Ídem*, p. 234.

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VALORI DEL VOCATIVO NELL'INTERAZIONE ONLINE DEI GIOVANI CYBERNAUTI ROMENI

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Abstract: *The way the romanian online community, most of them young people, are addressing their interlocutors virtual adds to the vocative forms a strong emotional tone. We might notice that the vocative doesn't necessary have practical values, maintaining contact with dialogue partners, but rather gains expressive values, for asserting and maintaining personal status against other parties.*

Keywords: *vocative, value, expressiveness, communication, online space.*

1. L'avvento dei nuovi media ha determinato il ritorno della scrittura, mentre la convergenza delle nuove tecnologie ha cambiato i suoi tratti salienti. Una volta considerata un sistema statico, piuttosto chiuso e assai rigido, oggi invece la scrittura rappresenta un sistema aperto. Bisogna ricordare che in molti contesti odierni la scrittura è diventata digitale, in questo modo essendo sempre più chiamata a coprire le necessità delle nuove forme di interazione caratterizzate da un feedback quasi sincrono, spesso assimilabile al dialogo faccia a faccia. In pochi decenni i nuovi media sono diventati mezzi di comunicazione di massa, utilizzati quotidianamente non soltanto a fini professionali, ma anche in diverse attività ludiche, di studio e/o semplicemente nei rapporti sociali. Infatti si parla sempre più spesso di una vera e propria rivoluzione della scrittura

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che sta per avere un'importanza sempre maggiore nella comunicazione¹. Numerosi studi recenti mirano a definire la natura scritta e orale dei testi prodotti con i nuovi media e mettono in risalto un fatto ormai evidente: l'avvicinamento della lingua scritta alla lingua parlata dipende evidentemente dagli scopi della comunicazione, dal rapporto esistente tra gli utenti e dalla natura informale del mezzo di comunicazione. Sotto le dita dei giovani, dato che sono loro i protagonisti dell'interazione all'interno della comunità virtuale, dunque quelli che utilizzano di più il computer o il cellulare, sta nascendo una nuova forma di scrittura, dettata dall'immediatezza dello scambio di informazioni e dalla necessità di rendere reale la presenza nella rete degli altri interlocutori. Così si spiega il fatto che le caratteristiche generali del linguaggio utilizzato in rete è facilmente sovrapponibile al linguaggio giovanile.

1.1. *Caratteristiche generali del linguaggio giovanile.*

Tra i fenomeni linguistici più spiccati rilevati dagli studiosi si possono evidenziare :

- l'uso delle abbreviazioni e delle sigle e (*geogra, pisi, supi, LOL*);
- la suffissazione giocosa (*bunăciune, kentană, gipan, merțan*);
- gli usi figurati (*a sări în textile, felinare, a băga radarul*);
- l'uso delle parole gergali (*șmen, tun*);
- la presenza degli internazionalismi e pseudointernazionalismi (*look, cool, funny*);
- l'enfasi (*mortal, bestial, criminal*);
- l'uso metaforico delle parole appartenenti ai linguaggi settoriali (*a-si mișca organismul, a căsca pavilioanele, a procesa, a reseta*).

Molti di questi elementi lessicali, si tratta di quelli che riescono ad avere più di una vita effimera, passano a far parte della lingua comune².

¹ Vintilă Mihăilescu, *Etnografii urbane. Cotidianul vazut de aproape*, București, Polirom, 2009, p. 13.

² Giuseppe Antonelli, *L'italiano nella società della comunicazione*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007, pp. 43-67.

Vanno poi ricordati anche altri elementi caratteristici del linguaggio giovanile presenti nel dialogo online: la scarsa pianificazione sintattica, la minima esplicitazione dell'articolazione del discorso (l'appoggio alla prosodia, l'affidamento al contesto del discorso con il ricorso all'implicitezza ecc.).

Quindi, ecco come in uno spazio virtuale dove i confini convenzionalmente accettati nella vita reale scompaiono, in cui il tempo può espandersi o contrarsi a seconda dei casi, in cui l'interazione è praticamente illimitata e al riparo dell'anonimato, ciò che potrà differenziare i cybernauti romeni - non dimentichiamo, per lo più giovani - sarà la loro capacità di comunicare, di essere creativi, di esprimere le emozioni nel loro proprio stile concedendosi permanentemente cambiamenti delle regole del linguaggio, soprattutto per imporsi di fronte agli altri utenti con le ingegnose soluzioni linguistiche trovate.

In questo modo, a causa del desiderio di recuperare l'oralità attraverso mezzi specifici della scrittura, il linguaggio adoperato nella rete assomiglierà sempre di più al parlato: l'uso creativo della lingua, nonché gli espedienti grafici, sostituiranno l'intonazione, i gesti e la mimica³.

All'interno del romeno contemporaneo sta diventando sempre più evidente l'esistenza di una varietà linguistica generazionale, diversa dalla lingua romena standard, cioè normativa. Si tratta di una varietà linguistica principalmente caratterizzata da un alto grado di informalità e da una spiccata espressività, i cui promotori sono senz'altro i giovani con il loro linguaggio. Entrambe le caratteristiche, tanto l'informalità quanto l'espressività, riguardano non tanto la denominazione delle cose, quanto piuttosto la loro valutazione soggettiva⁴.

³ Michele Cortelazzo, "Il parlato giovanile", in Luca Serianni e Pietro Trifone (a cura di), *Storia della lingua italiana, II, Scritto e parlato*, Torino, Einaudi, 1994, pp. 291-317.

⁴ Rodica Zafiu, *Diversitate stilistică în româna actuală*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2001, pp. 187-195.

2.0. Dal punto di vista pragmatico-discorsivo, il modo in cui si rivolgono i cybernauti ai loro interlocutori imprime una forte componente affettiva alle forme del vocativo⁵ (-e,-ule,-o, -lor) che vengono solitamente associate alle interiezioni caratteristiche per l'oralità familiare. Si nota spesso che nella comunicazione online il vocativo non viene adoperato necessariamente a fini pratici, ma piuttosto espressivi, vale a dire non per mantenere il contatto o per attirare l'attenzione, ma per far primeggiare il desiderio di ognuno dei giovani utenti dell'Internet di stabilire il proprio status nei rapporti con l'interlocutore individuale o collettivo con cui interagisce. Dato che la possibilità di adoperare il nome proprio al vocativo è in generale esclusa, perché l'identità dei partner di dialogo è quasi sempre mascherata da ID sofisticati la cui trascrizione risulterebbe difficile, i giovani romeni ricorrono spesso a termini generici (*omule, femeie, fată, frate, vere, moșule*), con o senza interiezioni: „băi omule, mai potolește-te cu întrebările că începi să enervezi lumea”,_<https://www.facebook.com/maroti.cezar/posts/>; „băi oameni buni. ziceți-mi și mie eu ce naiba fac cu blogul ăsta?”, www.cakeinmyear.ro; „băi, fraților, ce m-am speriat la testul ăla”, roportal.ro; „Suntem în noiembrie, femeie”, gam.ro; „Fată... păi dacă-l iubești”, *ibid.*; „Ce-ai, fată să mă bage la corupere de minori”, *id.*; „fracțioare, vezi de neon”, diseara.ro.

2.1. La cordialità dei termini affettuosi collegati al *vocativo inverso*⁶ (*mamă, tată* e particolarmente le forme diminutive), nonché di quelli popolari provenienti dal linguaggio dei bambini - *baby talk* - (*nenea, tanti*) è quasi sempre raddoppiata dall'ironia, con un effetto comico garantito: „mamă, tu ești manelar sau houser?”, buddha.voce.ro; „Restu`...pe bani,

⁵ Il vocativo - forma caratteristica del discorso orale - si trova anche nei testi scritti: può essere mimato nei dialoghi letterari, può essere rivolto da un autore ai propri lettori e oggi soprattutto compare nei dialoghi online.

⁶ Nel linguaggio familiare rivolto ai bambini, il mittente si auto-identifica alla fine dell'enunciato con il termine che indica il suo rapporto di parentela con il suo più piccolo interlocutore.

mămică”, roportal.ro; „*Tătuță*, e grea limba română”, ibid; „*băi tăticu* tu chiar nu te-ai prins?!”, hackpedia.info; ”*păi* asta-i viață *măi nene?*”, bogdancoman.ro; „*ia nene* o carte despre droguri!”, cafeneaua.com; „*băi tanti* am pomenit numele tău?”. ibid.

L'ironia, a volte addirittura maliziosa, rappresenta una presa di distanza da parte del parlante: essa può insinuarsi nelle forme del vocativo, forme che fanno ricordare sempre il periodo dell'infanzia attraverso le espressioni incontrate nelle fiabe, nei libri o nei film per bambini (*fata moșului*, *dragii moșului* etc., *față palidă*, *fratele meu alb*): „să mergem mai departe cu povestea noastră, *feții moșului*”, ionutz6.blogspot.com; „*Dragii moșului*, Mă gasiți într-o dispoziție Emil Gârleanusciană”, muzicabuna.ro; „cască ochii când citești, *fatză palidă*”, lumeamica.ro; „*Băi fratele meu alb*, traficul din capitala țării ăsteia mă înfioară”, blogcatalog.com; „*fratele meu alb*, ori vrei piraterie, ori vrei să-l iei din magazin, original”, forum.softpedia.com.

Tra le ultime espressioni elencate, *fratele meu alb* sembra essere di gran lunga preferita forse perché rappresenta il tic verbale di una persona molto nota nel mondo calcistico romeno, tic spesso ridicolizzato ultimamente in vari show televisivi. Un'altra spiegazione potrebbe essere che l'espressione si presta alle amplificazioni ironiche, potendo essere estesa a seconda del contesto linguistico e dell'ispirazione della persona che la usa: „*Fratele meu albsau negru (?!?)....da matale pe ce pamânt traiești?*”, piticu.ro; „*LMA fratele meu alb și cu burtă*”, artaseductiei.ro; „*și, fratele meu alb caucazian*, ce s-o mai lungim, apare iarba dracului”, bloguresti.blogspot.com; „*cool fratele meu negru, pardon alb*”, trilulilu.ro.

2.2. Non mancano, anche se non sono molto numerose, le forme di vocativo con valore generico, provenienti dalla lingua inglese (*man*, *lady*, *baby*) o spagnola (*amigo*, *hombre*, *hermano*): “*Guys and ladies*, nu vă certați între voi”, www.roportal.ro/discutii; „*men* da tu te-ai uitat la dată?”, forum.softpedia.com; „Ce să te ajut *man?* (...) nu pe picioare *man*”, ibid; „*Senzații, baby*, asta vrei, nu?!”, cafeneaua.com; „*Baby* până pleci câte ore mai ai”, radio 21.ro; „*Amigo*, tu chiar urmărești aberațiile alea de pe

Jetix?”, robintel.ro; „*amigos*, nu mai faceți pe «pupincuriștii» pe aici”, unatc.ro/forum; „*Hombre*, tu știi ce ai de făcut”.

2.3. Carica di connotazioni ironiche e con effetti decisamente comici risulta essere anche la forma di vocativo con cui ci si rivolge all'altro partecipante al dialogo online adoperando il nome di una personalità ben nota, diventata un punto di riferimento in un campo scientifico, artistico (*Einstein*, *Nostradamus*) oppure con il nome di un personaggio appartenente al mondo del film, dei libri, dei cartoni animati (*Xena*, *Ninja*), ugualmente famoso, nome dunque che può essere ridotto ad un solo tratto caratteristico con valore simbolico: „Ești prost, bă, *Einstein!*”, simonatache.ro; „măi *Nostradamus!!!* ce tare ești !”, ifotbal.gsp.ro; „Băi *Nostradamus*, tu încă nu te-ai potolit?”, emokids.ro; „Băi *NINJA*, ești cam fraier”, gsmland.ro; „Ce mă roade pe mine: tu manânci de la Ikea, băi *ninja?*”, fluture.friendlyfrog.ro; „*Xena*, prințesă războinică ce ești, uită-te mai bine”, libertatea.ro; „Băi *Ghost*”, forum.computergames.ro. Questo procedimento si basa, ovviamente, sulla reputazione di tali persone /personaggi e sulla complicità degli altri partecipanti alla conversazione online. Accompagnare frequentemente questi famosissimi nomi propri a delle interiezioni specifiche del linguaggio colloquiale ha quale effetto sicuro, al di là del ribadire lo spirito caustico dell'emittente, la ridicolizzazione dell'interlocutore.

2.4. Molti dei termini dispregiativi ed offensivi sono chiaramente usati con intento aggressivo e al fine di ottenere effetti umoristici volgari. Un inventario, alquanto sintetico, delle forme di vocativo⁷ utilizzate dai giovani nella comunicazione elettronica evidenzia una grande diversità dei mezzi di espressione. Se all'età e al pathos di cui fanno prova i giovani interlocutori nel discutere vari argomenti, aggiungiamo le condizioni specifiche dell'interazione mediata da Internet (tra l'altro, la moltitudine dei partner di dialogo, ma la loro assenza fisica), osserveremo che in molti

⁷ Si sa che con un vocativo il mittente può proiettare sul destinatario del suo messaggio una connotazione positiva o negativa attraverso appellativi valutativi

di questi casi nè i rapporti cordiali o almeno imparziali, nè la censura del linguaggio definiscono le conversazioni nel mondo virtuale. Noteremo che al contrario, non di rado il buon senso e l'educazione sono messi tra parentesi a favore del registro colloquiale-gergale, di un linguaggio spettacolare e pittoresco. Nonostante gli avvertimenti dei regolamenti circa il comportamento dei cybernauti all'interno della grande comunità virtuale, gli slittamenti linguistici sono molto frequenti e spesso ripetitivi a causa della contaminazione degli interlocutori, segno dell'estensione di un modo di comunicazione disinvolto, spontaneo.

Va notato il fatto che gli appellativi valutativi dispregiativi presenti nelle forme di vocativo riguardano raramente l'aspetto fisico del partner di dialogo, visto che possono essere adoperati soltanto nei casi in cui vi è un interlocutore con una foto personale („*Băi caricatură*, mai lasă-ne!”, *gaborpaul.wordpress.com*; „ce mai faci, *băi arătare?*”, *moldova.net*; „*băi umflatule*, ție ți-e cald cu dinți-n gură?”, *metalhead.ro/forum*), ma gli esempi forniti da Internet in questo senso rivelano piuttosto l'uso di termini ormai banali, come *nasol*, *nașparliu* („*bocciule... nasolule... nașparliule!*”, *corinamirea.blogspot.com*). Tuttavia, l'ironia e la giocosità dei giovani possono talvolta produrre delle innovazioni linguistiche molto fantasiose, come ad esempio *frumops*: „te repeți, *frumopsule*”, *chatlogs.meebo.com*; „*măi frumoapso*”, *zoso.ro*.

2.5. Nei dialoghi mediati dal computer, gli appellativi ingiuriosi adoperati dai giovani prendono di mira principalmente la stupidaggine. Si tratta di uno spazio dove trovano posto:

- i cliché linguistici tipici del linguaggio colloquiale („*Băi prostule*, î cheamă Maximilian, dar i se spune Max!”, *uups.ro*; „La cât de simple sunt femeile, *băi tâmpitule*”, *board.metin2.ro*; „*Mă' prostovanule* el susține că imperiul bizantin a fost de limbă latină”, *forum.softpedia.com*; „Na, *băi prostea* definiție din DEX-ul pe care mi-l bagi mie în ochi”, *9am.ro*;

- i derivati diminutivi marcati ironicamente („bine, *băi tembelică*”, *220.ro*; „cum îți permiți *bă retardinio* să vorbești așa cu mine?”, *metalhead.ro/forum*);

- i termini attinenti ai linguaggi settoriali („*Băi handicapatule* crezi că toți sunt ca tine”, *forum.softpedia.com*; „*băi retardatule* probabil ai zburat numai cu caruciorul de butelii până acum”, *220.ro*).

Non mancano certamente quelle forme di vocativo in cui facilmente si fa sesire l’atteggiamento familiare, falsamente didattico, ironico, in cerca dell’effetto comico (“*Măi băietzică (...)* tu chiar ești bolnav, *9am.ro/forum*; „*băi fetitzo...de ce nu vrei tu să nu te mai faci de râs?*”, *ibid*; „*băi copil fără viitor*, în primu rând încearcă să vorbești frumos”, *cocalaria.ro*).

I più spettacolari, i più espressivi appellativi sono quelli che si prestano alle amplificazioni ironiche, appellativi che poi assumono connotazioni tra le più diverse e contribuiscono ad alimentare il gioco espressivo dei giovani („*Păi, mă prostu societății, mă cretinoidule*”, *gds.ro*), soprattutto le metafore animalesche („*Băi papagalule fără pene ce ești*”, *youtube.com*; „*Băi BOU BALȚII*, de unde știi tu ce gen de muzică ascult eu? Manele ascuți tu, *DOBITOCULE*”, *gdo.ro*; „*ornitorincule blazat*”, *zoso.ro*).

2.6. A volte la fantasia giocosa, la ludicità, il desiderio di distinguersi con qualche "trovata" linguistica, tipiche per l’età adolescenziale, si riscontrano in delle soluzioni linguistiche del tutto sorprendenti: „de la shatra vii tu, *CRETINOIDULE, MAIMUTZOI CUFURIT*”, *libertatea.ro*; „da, *băi chiflă repetentă!*”, *evz.ro*; *Măh numismatule, măh bancnotă de 2 bani*”, *ibid*.

Il parlare ironico, spesso cinico dei giovani, l’uso degli eufemismi e dei difemismi rappresentano elementi di una incontestabile tecnica ludica

La forma ironica o sdegnata di vocativo, frutto di una espressività voluta, ricercata, non spontanea, degenera molto rapidamente in aggressività, mentre gli epiteti offensivi diventano prevalenti: „*băh nesimțiților băh*, cum îndrăzniți să-mi publicați poza fără voia mea ?????”, *libertatea.ro*; „*Băi analfabetule*, ca să înțeleg ce spui, nu mai scrie, desenează”, *roportal.ro/discutii*; „*Băi jigodie* veziți de treaba ta și nu mai înjura (...), *animalule*” (*ibid.*); „*băi penalule*”, *fireballplanet.com*; „*tu arăți ca o zgaibă infectată, rahat cu ochi!* cum îți permiți s-o numești pe

Madonna creatură execrabilă, căccăccioaso cu urdori și foame în gât!”, libertatea.ro.

Ovviamente, la punteggiatura è di solito trascurata, la separazione del vocativo dal resto della frase con la virgola sono regole spesso ignorate.

2.7. Spesse volte l’atteggiamento anticonformista e il desiderio di scioccare, specifici nell’età giovane, trovano eco in termini ed espressioni molto volgari.

I giovani valutano la realtà in modo profondamente soggettivo e quindi scelgono la semplificazione, le abbreviazioni e, naturalmente, la personalizzazione del linguaggio che usano. In questo modo affermano la propria individualità, distaccandosi dal mondo degli adulti attraverso un linguaggio "duro", che abbonda di espressioni indicibili. Assistiamo dunque alla soppressione di qualsiasi tabù linguistico, situazione che determina a sua volta la desemantizzazione e il disfemismo.

In riguardo ai termini volgari, il linguaggio giovanile - contrariamente a ciò che molti pensano - non "pecca" più di quello degli adulti, solo che, rispetto al linguaggio colloquiale, predilige un aumento espressivo del termine volgare moltiplicandone la frequenza d'uso e la ripetizione in molti contesti differenti, situazione che porta inevitabilmente alla perdita della carica semantica iniziale.

Naturalmente, il codice linguistico costruisce uno spazio sociale e il linguaggio giovanile può indicare un rapporto conflittuale con il mondo esterno, derivato dall’instabilità emotiva, e quindi finisce per avere forti connotazioni negative. E' certamente un linguaggio viscerale, allor quando non è addirittura aggressivo.

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OTHER WORKS

AROUND THE WORLD WITH A BOOK: OKAKURA KAKUZŌ'S *THE BOOK OF TEA* AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS

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Abstract: *This paper investigates a work that still circulates widely, both as a bilingual primer for the study of English, and as an introduction to “the heart of Japan”, and has been translated into over thirty languages. The paper first looks at how Okakura Kakuzō’s The Book of Tea reshaped and reinterpreted a piece of Japan for the English-speaking world in 1906, discussing the author’s choice and methods. Next, it considers the rendering of The Book of Tea back into Japanese (1929, 1938, 1956), analyzing the challenges and timeliness of each translation. Lastly, it looks at the Romanian versions (1925, 2008), in order to raise the question of the world translating Okakura’s Japan into languages other than English.*

Keywords: *Okakura Kakuzō, “The Book of Tea”, linguistic and cultural translation, Japanese and Romanian translations*

Okakura Kakuzō is a fairly well known name worldwide, as are his English works introducing Japan to the world, such as *The Ideals of the East*¹, *The Awakening of Japan*² and this paper’s main topic, *The Book of Tea*, which is still popular with Japanese and foreigners alike, and often introduced as a key to “the heart of Japan”. Having studied English since

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¹ John Murray Publishers, London, 1903.

² Century Publishers, NY, 1904.

his early childhood days, Okakura was fluent in the language, a skill extremely rare and valued – then and now – , which put him in direct contact with numerous Japan-fanatics, artists and travelers, whom we might refer to as proto-Japanologists today. He was their connection to Japan, and they were his connection to the West – but at the same time with himself and his cultural heritage, which many Japanese rediscovered and learned to re-appreciate after the Meiji Restoration³.

While the amount of scholarly knowledge in English and Japanese about Okakura’s conception of art, nation, Asia, Japan and the world, as well as the way his work was (mis)interpreted and used in support of Japanese nationalism has been growing constantly, there have been comparatively few attempts at looking at his writing from the standpoint of translation⁴, regardless of the fact that the process of rendering words from one idiom into another, and ideas from one culture into another played an extremely important role, both in Okakura’s writing of his English works, and in their “relocation” and “re-acclimation” within Japanese consciousness, twenty years after the publication of the original work. The fact that Japanese (and Chinese) culture was “translated” into English to match the needs of a specific audience left its mark from the beginning on the structure, language, and contents of *The Book of Tea*; subsequent translations into other languages are, in their turn, bound to show the traces of the above-mentioned process – a process of merging texts from different languages/ cultures/ ages into a unifying and apparently transparent “modern” English text; also, the translator’s access

³ More details about the process, for example in Christopher Benfey’s *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics and the Opening of Old Japan* (Random House, NY, 2003).

⁴ One such attempt, to which the present study is indebted, is Naoko Fuwa Thornton’s insightful “Translation as a Counter-Colonial Tool: Okakura Kakuzo’s *The Book of Tea*”, in *Studies in English and American Literature* 40, pp. 13-19 (Japan Women’s University, 2005).

to knowledge about, and understanding of the source-culture (Japanese) or secondary source-texts (Japanese translations) are further elements that have to be taken into account when analysing the linguistic and cultural implications of Okakura's text.

Therefore, in my paper I intend to consider first the way *The Book of Tea* was written, incorporating translations of various classical Chinese and Japanese texts; furthermore, I plan to analyse two very different ways it was rendered into Japanese, in 1929 (revised in 1938) and 1956, and finally briefly look at the Romanian translations of 1925 and 2008, in order to tackle issues such as translator (in)visibility, foreignisation and domestication, culturally-informed translation⁵, etc.

When we think about translation and Japan, the first thing that comes to mind is the period of frantic rendering of Western texts into Japanese, at the beginning of the Meiji period. As it has been often pointed out, when opening to the West after hundreds of years of isolation (*sakoku*, 鎖国), Japan was facing an across-the-board crisis, which was to be remedied via translation, the best way to reboot the country's "old" cultural/ social/ linguistic system, at the level of both form and content. One of the problems faced by translation in the early years of the Meiji was the lack of a unitary target-language, since Japanese had yet to find itself, especially as the language of knowledge and literature, among the various styles (*gikobun* 擬古文, *gabun* 雅文, *kanbun-kundokutai* 漢文訓読体, *genbun-icchi-tai* 言文一致体, etc), as well as dialects in circulation at the moment⁶.

⁵ For the definition of the terms, refer (mainly) to Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility* (Routledge, NY, 1995) and Itamar Even-Zohar's *Polysystem Studies* (in "Poetics Today" 11:1, 1990).

⁶ Details about the numerous "styles" in usage at the beginning of the Meiji era, and their connection to translation can be found, for example, in Yukari Fukuchi Meldrum's "Source-Based Translation and Foreignization: A Japanese Case", in *An Invitation to Translation Studies in Japan* 2, pp.39-53 (Japan Association for Interpretation Studies,

On the other hand, Japan had, as a matter of fact, a long tradition of translating Chinese texts, using katakana glosses to indicate the word order and add Japanese grammatical markers to produce the so-called *kanbun kundoku*; except that, neither was *kanbun* considered a piece of writing in a foreign language, nor was the practice of adding Japanese glosses to it considered translation per se. For a long time after the Restoration, it was as natural, for the elites at least, to read and write in *kanbun* as it was to do it in Japanese⁷.

While Japan was bringing itself up-to-date with western realities, it was being in its turn discovered, its culture sampled, its idiosyncrasies translated for the West. There were the accounts of the first travelers to Japan, the guidebooks, the “Things Japanese”⁸ collected by Chamberlain, or the “Queer Things about Japan”⁹, as experienced by Douglas Sladen; then there were Morse’s monographs on Japanese architecture¹⁰, or Fenollosa’s essays about Asian art¹¹. Japanese literature too was gaining English expression, with Suematsu Kenchō’s famous 1882 translation of *Genji Monogatari* (源氏物語), as well as numerous other collections of

SIG Translation Studies, Tokyo, 2008. Available online at http://honyakukenkyu.sakura.ne.jp/shotai_vol2/03_vol2_Meldrum.pdf. Accessed July 2013).

⁷ An extensive study on *kanbun kundoku* as translation can be found in Judy Wakabayashi’s “The reconceptualization of translation from Chinese in 18th century Japan” (pp. 122-145, in *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms and Image-Projection*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 2005).

⁸ Basil Hall Chamberlain (John Murray, London, 1890).

⁹ Anthony Treherne & Co, London 1903.

¹⁰ For example, the famous *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Harper, NY, 1885).

¹¹ For example, his *The Masters of Ukiyoe: a Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School* (The Knickerbocker Press, NY, 1896) etc.

mainly classical poetry, Nō theatre, and folk stories, put together by Japanese and foreigners alike¹².

Around the turn of the century, therefore, Japan was finally turning to look upon itself; this is when Japanese men of letters such as Uchimura Kanzō¹³, Nitobe Inazō¹⁴, or Okakura Kakuzō wrote their English works, in an attempt to counter the western misconceptions about Japan and show the world its genuine face. But to believe they could actually do that was obviously an illusion. First of all, they were using the language of the cultural colonizer, which inexorably shaped their way of seeing and representing their own country and culture. Second, their choice of subject, as well as their approach, were determined by their expectations, and previous knowledge of their foreign audience, for whom they needed to both domesticate and foreignise Japan, in order to capture their interest and stimulate their admiration in a way that would make cultural idiosyncrasies charming, but not incomprehensible.

Let us now look more closely at one of the prominent figures promoting Japan abroad at the beginning of the 1900s, the Japanese arts scholar, Okakura Kakuzō.

* * *

Born in Yokohama, Okakura Kakuzō received intensive English education at the Hepburn missionary school, until his father accidentally discovered he could not read kanji, and sent him to study the Chinese and

¹² Among the foreigners translating Japanese texts into English, let us mention here only a few very famous names, such as Lafcadio Hearn, B.H. Chamberlain, Fenollosa, and Ezra Pound, all of whom have greatly contributed to making Japanese literature known abroad.

¹³ Author of *Japan and the Japanese* (Min'yusha, Tokyo, 1894), republished as *Representative Men of Japan* (Keiseisha, Tokyo, 1908).

¹⁴ Author of *Bushidō: the Soul of Japan* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1905).

Japanese classics at a temple. Later, he studied law and politics at the Tokyo Imperial University, but, in a twist of fate, wrote his graduation thesis on the theory of art, and was assigned after graduation to work for the ministry of culture and education, where he met Ernest Fenollosa, his former professor, and became his assistant, accompanying him in his various trips, during which they surveyed and collected Buddhist art from the temples of Japan.

Later on, he acted as guide and interpreter for a number of foreigners visiting Japan to discover its beauties and discover themselves. A young man in his twenties, he saw his own country for the first time through the orientalisng eyes of his companions, while translating its culture for them; this informed his experience, as well as shaped his discourse (and theirs)¹⁵.

His appreciation for Buddhist and other types of traditional art was shaped by Fenollosa's concepts, and Okakura even converted to an esoteric sect of Buddhism together with his teacher and W.S. Bigelow. On the other hand, as Charles Benfey points out in his volume *The Great Wave*¹⁶, the friendship with the American painter LaFarge, who "knew precisely where Japan belonged in American culture", made him begin "to assemble the heady mix of "the wisdom of the East", the charm of Japanese arts and crafts, and a taste for martial valor that so impressed Western audiences later in his career". Around 1900, Okakura also translated various Tao texts for Fenollosa, an experience that most likely bore fruit later, when he undertook the writing of *The Book of Tea*.

It would thus be appropriate to say that Okakura found his voice and identity through translating and interpreting language and culture, in other words, by re-mixing the discourses of several of the foreign travelers he had come in contact with. As the most obvious examples, let me

¹⁵ Such as the physician and art collector William Sturgis Bigelow, the zoologist and orientalist Edward Sylvester Morse, or the painter John LaFarge and his historian friend Henry Adams, who were all guided around Japan, at some point or other, by Okakura.

¹⁶ See 3.

mention here that the expression “a tempest in a teacup”, which we find in the first chapter of *The Book of Tea* draws on Chamberlain’s “a veritable storm in a teacup”¹⁷, while the reference to the “bric-a-brac” of European interior design in the chapter on the tea room echoes Morse’s observation in his *Japanese Homes*. It is, of course, only natural that his English vocabulary was borrowed from the books he had read, and that the words (and with them, the ideas) of the Other had thus become his own, as in any process of language acquisition—which is more often than not motivated by the learner’s desire to identify with the foreign culture¹⁸.

The Book of Tea is a patchwork of texts, quoted from English, Chinese and Japanese—but some of the quotations are incomplete, some of the translations inexact; sources are often not mentioned, interpretations inappropriate, texts attributed to the wrong person. For example, Laotse’s ideas about “emptiness” are incompletely quoted and interpreted from a western perspective¹⁹, and Kutsugen’s words “the sages move with the world” are misquoted as “the sages move the world”; in another instance, Laotse’s words are translated as “Heaven and Earth are pitiless”, while different translators give almost opposite interpretations to the philosopher’s original *kanbun* aphorism. Moreover, Fujiwara Teika’s poem²⁰

¹⁷ From *Things Japanese*, see 8.

¹⁸ As Gardner, E.C. states in his study, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation* (Arnold, London, 1985).

¹⁹ As Fuwa Thornton notices (see 4), Okakura uses the word “vacuum” to refer to Laotse’s “emptiness” under the influence of Robert Boyle’s scientific terminology, and, instead of stressing, as Laotse does, the idea of non-existence, interprets vacuum as something to which each person can attach a different meaning: “A vacuum is there for you to enter and fill up to the full measure of your aesthetic emotion.” (cf. *The Book of Tea*, p.27).

²⁰ Okakura does not mention the author of the poem, only that, according to Rikyū, “the secret of making a roji was contained in (this) ancient ditty”.

I look beyond;/Flowers are not,/Nor tinted leaves./On the sea beach/ A solitary cottage stands/In the waning light/Of an autumn eve. (p.37)²¹

quoted in *The Book of Tea* as an expression of Rikyū's image of the ideal *roji*'s "utter loneliness" is actually illustrating his master's concepts²²; on the other hand, the *tanka*

*If I pluck thee, my hand will defile thee, O flower!
Standing in the meadows as thou art, I offer thee to the
Buddhas of the past, of the present, of the future. (p.58)*

Is attributed by Okakura to Empress Kōmyō, while it actually belongs to Monk Henjō²³. Also, many of the so-called quotations are so ambiguous that they are impossible to trace, which makes one wonder if they are not actually figments of Okakura's imagination. One such example is the observation of "a Ming author" about the shortcomings of translation, which Okakura quotes in the chapter about Taoism.

Translation is always a treason, and as a Ming author observes, can at its best be only the reverse side of a brocade,— all the threads are there, but not the subtlety of colour or design. (p.22)

The metaphor of translation as the back of a brocade strikes a chord, and the words have often been quoted as illustrating Okakura's ideas about translation, usually without reference to the said "Ming author" to whom they are supposed to belong. The way the quotation appears in *The Book of Tea*, half-internalized, without exact mention of the source, is emblematic

²¹ In my paper, for the sake of convenience, I am using the Dreamsmyth edition (William Adams, US, 2001; pdf file of the 1906 edition, available online at http://mysite.verizon.net/william_franklin_adams/portfolio/typography/thebookoftea.pdf).

²² According to Sen no Sōtan (Rikyū's grandson), as quoted in his book *Sawa Shigetsu Shū* (茶話指月集, dictated to his disciple; 1701).

²³ According to Hiroshi Muraoka's notes in the 1929 translation.

for Okakura's attitude: he has made the Other's discourse his own, erasing himself as a translator. While lamenting the inferior status of translation, as something robbed of the original's "subtlety of colour and design", by making free use of approximate quotations and translations, Okakura avoids bringing in front of his readers the irregular and unclear reverse side of the patchwork brocade. He has hidden all the loose threads, and created a new texture, one that obscures the old ones, that is, the texts before translation.

He has also achieved another thing: by piecing together fragments originally in English, with classical Chinese or Japanese texts translated in the same beginning-of-the-20th-century idiom, by coining new words or finding English equivalents for Japan-specific terms, and drawing parallels between Japanese culture and western culture, he has succeeded in showing, on the level of both form and content, that Japan is on par with the world, and that its traditions can be resurrected within the modern framework. At the same time, by giving foreign expression to Japanese culture, and offering it an international luster, he has paved the way for its re-appreciation on a national level.

Michael Emmerich, in his article "Making *Genji* Ours"²⁴ points out that Arthur Waley's translating *The Tale of Genji* into English was crucial for the re-evaluation of the 11th century work in modern Japan. He quotes Masamune Hakuchō's words from *An English Translation of Genji Monogatari*: "I always found it a very boring book—limp and slippery and devoid of anything that might strike a chord in the readers' hearts. But now, reading it in English, I find for the first time that I can follow the plot, I understand both the action and the psychology of the male and female characters (...) I have the feeling, though, that if this English translation

²⁴ "Making *Genji* ours: Translation, world literature, and Masamune Hakuchō's discovery of *The tale of Genji*," in *Translation in Modern Japan*, edited by Indra Levy (Routledge, 2010), pp.234-253.

was translated anew into Japanese, it might attract a large and avid readership that would enjoy it as one of the great novels of the world.”²⁵

Of course, Waley’s *Genji* was not translated back from English into Japanese, but *The Book of Tea* was, first in 1929, then in 1936. The 1929 edition was revised and republished in 1938, and then in 1939 (all three editions appeared from Iwanami Shoten).

* * *

A lot had been written on *cha-no-yu* in Japan before, mainly in moral training textbooks and almanacs²⁶, but most references were to the formal aspects and tea ceremony etiquette, as part of the necessary education of children and women. According to historian and tea ceremony specialist Kumakura Isao²⁷, it was only after the publication of the first translation of *The Book of Tea* that Teatism and flower arrangement started to be considered central to Japanese art.

Nevertheless, while the translation might have renewed the interest in tea as an art, it must have done so in a more “re-domesticating” way than

²⁵ From Masamune Hakuchō’s “Eiyaku Genji Monogatari”, in *Kaizō* 15-9, September 1933 (quoted in Emmerich, 22).

²⁶ The examples are indeed numerous; from 1886 and well into the 1940s, various textbooks for children and almanacs for ladies include volumes such as “The Basics of Cha-no-yu” (茶の湯の心得), and discuss elements of *sadō* in connection with “good manners” and “domestic order and harmony”. From the second half of the 1920s aesthetic or historical studies of *cha-no-yu* start appearing (for example *Senke Sōan Cha-no-yu no hihō* (The Secret Ways of Senke Tea Ceremony, 1937), or *Mono no aware* (1939), with chapters about “Cha-no-yu no michi” (The Way of Tea), and “Cha-no-yu no kokoro, bukyō no kokoro” (The heart of tea, the heart of buddhism).

²⁷ “Sadō-ron kara mita *Cha-no Hon* no issuitsu-sei” [The Peculiarity of *The Book of Tea* from the Point of View of Tea Ceremony Theories] (in *Cha no hon no hyaku-nen*, Shogakukan, Tokyo, 2007)

Okakura would have ever appreciated. First of all, even though *cha-no-yu* and *sadō* were terms already known and used in the western world, Okakura had made a point of using the word Teism to encompass the tea ceremony, the way of the tea and all its cultural ramifications, a choice Naoko Fuwa Thornton²⁸ identifies as his reaction to the cultural colonialism of the west. On the other hand, the Japanese versions all use *sadō* to refer to the conceptual side of Teism, and *cha-no-yu* to refer to its formal requirements, in the way it had always been done. It can indeed be argued that Okakura's intentions are thus nullified, and tea is, at least partially, dragged back into the "Japanese-only" context.

But Hiroshi Muraoka's translation²⁹ goes much further than that: most of the other Japan-specific terms that Okakura had translated into English are re-connected to their original signifieds, with all the historical and cultural meaning they carry within the Japanese tradition; thus, "the art of flower arrangement" becomes *ikebana* (生け花), the Taoist "real man" is *shi* (士), and the phrase "landscapes, birds and flowers" is translated as *sansui-kachō* (山水花鳥).

Also interesting is the way quotations from Chinese and classical Japanese sources are translated, and especially the way the approach changes over the years. In Muraoka's first translation, wherever the source could be identified, the original text was quoted instead of a translation of Okakura's text; the Chinese did not even have the *katakana* glosses necessary for transforming it into *kanbun-kundokutai*; brief explanations of words and expressions were given in the text, but overall it was assumed that the reader will be able to understand the classical language as such; a similar treatment is seen in the case of quotations from Japanese classics, where, regardless of misquotations or mis-referencing, Okakura's text is short-circuited, and the so-called "original" is introduced into the

²⁸ See 4.

²⁹ *Cha no hon* (『茶の本』) 1929, Iwanami Shoten.

Japanese translation. The 1938 revised edition³⁰ includes glosses and more explanations and endnotes, but is, in effect, employing the same “re-naturalizing” translation strategy, which firmly places Okakura’s theories about art and tea within the Japanese/ Asian culture and tradition. The reasons (conscious or subconscious) behind both the choice to translate *The Book of Tea* at this specific point in time (more than twenty years after the publication in English)³¹, and the “re-domesticating” translation strategies employed by Muraoka can be found in the socio-historical background of the period. The 1930s are the years when a new current, Japanese Romanticism (*Nihon Rōman-Ha*, 日本浪漫派), opposing modernism and calling for a re-evaluation of traditional Japan was becoming popular in the literary and artistic circles; in the second half of the decade, this current merged with a greater movement towards re-valuing Japan in opposition with the West, a movement backed by the nationalistic government, and which culminated with the special events organized to celebrate 2600 years since the enthronement of emperor Jinmu, in 1940³².

³⁰ There exists another Japanese version of *The Book of Tea*, translated in 1936 as *Cha no Sho* (茶の書) and included in *Okakura Tenshin’s Complete Works* (岡倉天心全集), published from Seibunkaku, and translated by Watanabe Masakazu. I have chosen not to deal with it in my current paper as the strategies used by Watanabe are a combination of those used by Muraoka’s in his first and second editions.

³¹ On the other hand, Nitobe’s *Bushidō*, published first in English in the US in 1900, was immediately afterwards (1901) published from Shokabō, a Japanese publishing house in Tokyo, and the Japanese version (translated by Sakurai Ōson) appeared in 1908 from Teibi Publishers. Even before the Japanese translation, the book circulated rather widely in English; its popularity might be ascribed to the fact that the ideas discussed by Nitobe were more attuned to the Japanese military ambitions around the time of the Russo-Japanese War and afterwards.

³² 二千六百年記念行事 preparations for this event were officially announced in 1935. The celebrations included the summer Olympics in Tokyo and winter Olympics in

In stark contrast with Muraoka's Japanese version of *The Book of Tea* we find Akira Asano's translation, published in 1956³³. Before translating *The Book of Tea*, Asano, a well-known nationalist, had published a collection of essays about Okakura, in 1939³⁴. From around the same time, he had also become an active member in Daitō-juku (大東塾), a rightist group with ultra-nationalistic ideas, which supported Shintō beliefs, the imperial family, and traditional Japanese values. Also, as a member of the Association for the New National Studies (*Shin-kokugaku Kyōkai*, 新国学協会), Asano was dedicated to the establishment of the so-called "Imperial Way" literature (Kōdō-bungaku, 皇道文学). Considering his background and areas of interest, it is no surprise that he found Okakura's text appealing and embarked on rendering it into Japanese after the War. A new translation was indeed long overdue, and Asano's responded most directly to the needs of a generation that, even though it was no longer fluent in *kanbun* or old Japanese, felt the need to believe in the value of Japanese traditions, and the revival of Japan after the scarring experience of the war³⁵.

Sapporo, the International Exposition, special arts exhibitions, issuing of commemorative stamps, and ceremonies at the Meiji and Ise Shrines. Along with revised editions of the first translation of *The Book of Tea*, and two new English editions from Kenkyūsha (1938) and Kairyūdō (1938), two new Japanese versions of *Bushidō* (1935, from Keibundō, translated by Ishii Kikujirō, and 1938, from Iwanami Shoten, translated by Yanaihara Tadao) and an English reprint (1938, Kenkyūsha) appeared around the same period, obviously related to the exaltation of Japan and Japanese values taking place officially and unofficially around the year 1940.

³³ *Cha no hon* (『茶の本』), Kadokawa Bunko.

³⁴ *Tenshin Ronkō* (『天心論攷』), from Shisōsha, 1939.

³⁵ It is also far from surprising that for more than two decades after the end of the Second World War, there are no reprints or new translations of *Bushidō*; in English, it only appeared from Tuttle in 1969, and from Teibi (Japan) in 1970, while new Japanese translations also tend to be grouped around the same year.

Nevertheless, and quite unexpectedly if one considers Asano's penchant for Japanese-ness— but, on the other hand, maybe predictably, in view of the “new”, postwar Japan-in-the-making, Asano chooses to actually translate *The Book of Tea*, exactly as it had been written by Okakura half a century before, and avoids using domestic terms, informed by Japanese culture and tradition. Except for the case of *sadō*, he tends to translate Okakura's terminology more literally, with the “traditional” equivalents mentioned occasionally in brackets. Thus, “the code of the samurai” is *samurai no okite* (さむらいのおきて), not *bushidō*, “the art of flower arrangement” is *hana wo ikeru jutsu* (花を生ける術), not *ikebana*, and the Taoist “real man” is simply *shinjin* (真人). He does the same with the classical Chinese and Japanese texts which had been translated by Okakura in English, and which are here rendered into what can be considered the equivalent of plain 20th century English, that is, the plain modern Japanese of the 1950s. Of course, the sources are mentioned in the endnotes, the originals quoted, and Okakura's inconsistencies clarified, but overall Asano's strategy clearly takes into consideration the fact that *The Book of Tea* is a foreign language text, which should be translated as such, its defamiliarizing capabilities exploited wherever possible.

Moreover, Asano makes the translation process itself visible for the reader, by using glosses such as *kareiji* for *daigaku*, *oriento* for *tōhō*, *echiketto* for *reigisahō*, etc. In other words, the Japanese culture is given back to Japan, but only after being filtered through the English language, and while preserving most of the signs of the filtering process. This choice is, as I have mentioned before, informed by the needs of a different audience, too, but at the same time marks the changing attitudes towards translation, in which the translator's goal is no longer the text's transparency and his own invisibility. Along with a diffidence towards “repossessing” Okakura's discourse as-is, in an age when national values had been shaken and submitted to the relativising gaze of the West-as-enemy, Asano's translation succeeds in presenting before the Japanese reader's eyes a text that is at the same time familiar and foreign,

a text both about their own culture/ language, and about the culture/ language it has been filtered through— as opposed to Muraoka’s versions, which had been oblivious to the role of English as medium, thus simplifying Okakura’s discourse to fit perfectly their readers’ horizons of expectation, and the socio-historical background at the time of the publication.

* * *

As for the Romanian translations, they also show two rather distinct strategies; the first one, published in 1925, is signed by Emanoil Bucuța, who admits in the Preface to not knowing much about the author, and to have used the book initially to practice translating from English to Romanian. It is probably safe to say that he did not have a lot of knowledge about Japan, and therefore his translation is “clean” of all the cultural implications the Japanese translators could not avoid referring to. Bucuța transliterates Japanese names according to Romanian script and common pronunciation rules, and declines foreign words according to Romanian grammar. He uses rather “local”, culturally-informed words to render Japan-specific terms (such as “biserică”/ church for “zen Buddhist chapel”, or “lac”/ lake instead of “mare”/ sea as a translation of “sea”), but on the other hand, literally translates Okakura’s English, uncontaminated by any scholarship about Japan or the Japanese language, choosing to render Teism as “cultul ceaiului” (the cult of tea), which might be quite close in meaning to Okakura’s intention.

My translation, on the other hand, is tainted by my knowledge of the book’s “original” culture; I chose to mark long vowels and double consonants according to modern transliteration norms³⁶, and steer clear of

³⁶ Also because what was acceptable in 1925 in terms of rendering foreign words into Romanian is no longer valid, and, to the much more cosmopolitan reader of today

“over-localized” words (such as “church”, which Bucuta had used to refer to the “Buddhist chapel”); thus, I would say that I err by relying too much on my own knowledge of Japan, when translating Teaism as “calea ceaiului” (the way of tea), “the art of flower arrangement” as “ikebana”, and “No dances” as “teatrul Nō” (Nō theatre). On the other hand, my knowledge about the Japanese culture helped me, in my opinion, make better decisions when translating expressions such as “foolishness of life” as “nimicnicia vieții”, since both the original cha-no-yu, and Okakura’s Teaism are closely connected to the idea of the ephemeral, a nuance lacking in Bucuță’s term “nebunia vieții”, i.e., “the insanity of life”.

* * *

In order to write *The Book of Tea*, Okakura had skillfully put together a variety of sources, some of them documented, some maybe invented. He—more or less—succeeded in effacing himself as a translator, making the discourse of the Other his own. He turned a tradition deeply imbedded in the Japanese background into something completely new and universal, by using one equalizing idiom, the English of his time. When his book first traveled to Japan, it was poured back, not only into the mould of the Japanese language, but also into that of its underlying culture, in a way that reinterpreted Teaism as “the way of tea”, thus ignoring some of Okakura’s efforts towards internationalization. This happened at a time when Japan had started its march towards nationalism, and the transformation was unavoidable, even if, maybe, unconscious.

Akira Asano too is associated with nationalism, but his version of *The Book of Tea* takes a different stand when it chooses to flatten all types of discourse and translate them as plain, modern Japanese. His method makes the translation process more visible, and reinstates Okakura as

such representations as “Cicamașu”, “Kioto”, or “Așikaga Yoșimasa” would have appeared strange.

translator, too. It presents Teatism as something Japanese, but at the same time new and modern, even if, or exactly because, it is filtered through the defamiliarising lens of a foreign language. This is a different attitude towards self and Other, which points to the changes Japan was undergoing in the post-war period.

On the other hand, the Romanian versions clearly show the role knowledge about the source culture can play in the translation act, as well as the differences in the translation strategies favoured by the two moments in time and societies that gave birth to the two versions. Worth noting here is the fact that the 1925 edition is part of a collection of books aimed at bringing culture to the masses, while the 2008 one is a so-called coffee-table book, a hard-cover with illustrations that one is supposed to peruse while sipping tea or coffee in one of the numerous tearooms-cum-bookstores that are recently becoming popular in Romania.

With every word chosen or coined, with the decision to add in-text notes, endnotes, footnotes, *kanbun* glosses, *ateji*, illustrations, hard covers or the English version for comparison, *The Book of Tea* goes through another transformation; a new text is created every time, corresponding to a new Japan: made in translation.

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TRANSLATING THE OTHER, CONSTRUCTING THE SELF

Japanese premodern encyclopedias and the transculturality of knowledge

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Abstract: *In its sublimated and highly stylized premodernity as a closed country, Japan reached an impressive level of assimilation and conversion of foreign cultural and technological assets, originating primarily from the Chinese mainland. However, by the dawn of the 19th century, one of the greatest achievements of the school of the so-called rangaku-sha (scholars of Dutch studies, residing mainly in Nagasaki) became the translation process of important Western books tackling the problematic of organizing and systemizing Western knowledge which was on the brink of an unprecedented explosion due to the industrial and technological development. This paper analyzes two early Japanese encyclopedias, both emerged as translations: one of Chinese origins (Wakan sansai zue, 1712) and one of French origins, transported to Japan via Dutch merchants arriving at Dejima (Kôsei shinpen, 1811-1840). Thus, oscillating between original Chinese models and subsequent Western archetypes, along the history, Japanese encyclopedias seem to challenge such asymmetrical notions as identity and alterity through new formulations of ideas flows and their transformational nature: Emerging knowledge as means of historical power metamorphoses through educational implementation into real – political as well as economic – power and reveals encyclopedic practice in Japan's case as one of the secret weapons in the course of its astonishingly fast modernization and its miraculous postwar resurrection.*

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Keywords: encyclopedias, pre-modern Japan, *Wakan sansai zue*, *Kôsei shinpen*, encyclopedic practice in Japan

1. Introduction: coping with the other

Michel Foucault writes at the beginning of his seminal study *Les Mots et les choses* (Foucault 1966:7):

Ce livre a son lieu de naissance dans un texte de Borges. Dans le rire qui secoue à sa lecture, toutes les familiarités de la pensée – de la nôtre: de celle qui a notre âge et notre géographie –, ébranlant toutes les surfaces ordonnées et tous les plans qui assagissent pour nous le foisonnement des êtres, faisant vaciller et inquiétant pour longtemps notre pratique millénaire du Même et de l'Autre. Ce texte cite une «certaine encyclopédie chinoise» où il est écrit que les animaux se divisent en: a) appartenant à l'Empereur, b) embaumés, c) apprivoisés, d) cochons de lait, e) sirènes, f) fabuleux, g) chiens en liberté, h) inclus dans la présente classification, i) qui s'agitent comme des fous, j) innombrables, k) dessinés avec un pinceau très fin en poils de chameau, l) et caetera, m) qui viennent de casser la cruche, n) qui de loin semblent des mouches». Dans l'émerveillement de cette taxinomie, ce qu'on rejoint d'un bond, ce qui, à la faveur de l'apologue, nous est indiqué comme le charme exotique d'une autre pensée, c'est la limite de la nôtre: l'impossibilité nue de penser cela.

While it is unclear what specific Chinese encyclopedia both Borges and Foucault refer to, it is important to note the fact that Foucault uses the bizarre taxonomy mode quoted as a means to highlight the different paradigms of knowledge organization in different cultures and at different points in time. Backing on this seminal study of the paradoxes and

contradictions of knowledge administration across times and spaces, the current paper's main goal is to underline the paradigm shift from Chinese to Western models in Japanese premodern encyclopedias, in a comparative approach. Accordingly, two encyclopedias are taken into account as emblematic archetypes of this process: *Wakan sansei zue* and *Kôsei shinpen*, which both marked at the time of their release turning points in the history of ideas and knowledge administration in Japan. Within the comparative analysis, the two works are regarded both in their intrinsic dimension as containers of knowledge and in their extrinsic aspects in a wider historical-geographical context referring to cultural orientation on a specific social background while including economic developments and political on-goings.

A further dimension of these proto-encyclopedias functioning as socio-cultural phenomena is the relationship between culture and power, as well as the asymmetries between these two parameters, affecting illustrations and (auto-)biographical writing as means to express the self and the other in a coherent, convincing manner. In the same way as works of consumption literature reflect the tensions between production processes and readership, on the one side, and publisher and bureaucrats, on the other side, encyclopedias as containers and manipulators of historical knowledge in a close country as Japan used to be from 1602 until 1686 refer to themselves as sources of power, overcoming the status of cultural products and turning into important social agents in the making of historicities between Japan and China and between Japan and the West. Thus, the historical flow of encyclopedic knowledge within Asia and between Europe and Asia as concretized in Japan's case includes transcultural discursive elements deeply implemented in the narrative structures of Japanese encyclopedias as "knowledge depositors and manipulators" (as stated by Mr Saitô Fumio, editor of the Heibonsha World Encyclopedia, in March 2010). In this train of thoughts, the following lines analyze the process of the emergence of the self as an ideological construction (on the basis of Louis Althusser's concept of

ideology; Althusser 1976:34) while translating and internalizing the “Great Other” represented in Chinese and Western encyclopedias imported to Japan and translated into Japanese before the Meiji Restoration. Hereby, Julia Kristeva’s ‘semiotic’ and ‘symbolic’ concepts in the process of identity formation as discourse is of great help (Kristeva 1974:144): within the on-going process of maturing identity awareness in the “symbolical order” – that is, the order of the individual tackling the problematic of its inner and outer world(s) –, constant remembrances of the “semiotic order” – that is, the infant worldview being confronted with realities not yet understandable or hidden – erupt and disturb the self searching for balanced freedom.

I approach the research on encyclopedias anthropologically, regarding them in the larger context of their emergence and development rather than as linguistic artifacts. Anthropologically grounded, there are two levels of encyclopedic practice to be taken into account in the forthcoming analysis – as form and as contents, underlying five paradigms of theoretical thinking related to encyclopedias:

1. Encyclopedias exist and flourish in the stress ratio between media and message as these terms were defined and implemented by Marshall McLuhan (1962:14): on the one hand, they conserve and preserve knowledge as given in a certain region at a certain moment in time, whereas they are also “living, printed witness” of the state of knowledge in that particular context, referring to what their producers considered to be important in their specific worldview.

2. Encyclopedias exist traditionally as knowledge containers and as means of knowledge organization, systematization, transmission and preservation, as the analysts Hans Jörg Sandkühler (2009:68), Michel Foucault (1969:65) and Firtz Machlup (1984:135) see them. The encyclopedic principle does not appear, in this perspective, as a compensation for the loss of a once-upon-a-time homogeneous world due to the advent of the pluralism, but rather as the renewal of *conditio humana*, adapting itself to current upheavals and turnovers.

3. Zygmunt Bauman (1993:26) and Mike Featherstone (1995:21) employ the term 'encyclopedia' as instruments of knowledge transfer, translation and transgression: thus, 'encyclopedia' is one of those cultural forms in which several possible worlds co-exist under the hegemony of pluralism, so that the apparently uncontrollable variety is reduced to a fascinating unity overcoming the domination of the individual.

4. A further knowledge paradigm appears in the context of [over]specialized knowledge, as Bauman (1993:34) puts it. Manuel Castells (1997:287) refers to encyclopedias as timely conceptions, while in Slavoj Žižek's writings they are subject of gendered readings to reflect and enforce the male-female asymmetries (Žižek 1998:154). However, in the stress ratio between being represented and representing, as Joy Hendry (2000:61) puts it, encyclopedias appear as compound knowledge and socialized form of knowledge on the marketed world of knowledge display and knowledge control.

5. Finally, within the manifold human universe, the 'encyclopedia' takes over the preservation of the concepts to create orientation from the past to the future. Indeed, the 'encyclopedia' does not simply reflect the present while perpetuating the past, but rather establishes the pillars for the morrow's worlds. Thus, complex relations of submission (*Unterwerfung*) and repression (*Unterdrückung*) in Foucault's parlance (Foucault 1969:78) as well as of knowledge inversion and subversion as Yoshimi Shun'ya (2006:83) refers them, emerge, simultaneously designating four paradigms of encyclopedic contents:

(ア) Firstly, there is the balance between self (identity) and other (alterity), as Judith Butler (1990:72) and Julia Kristeva (1974:142) point out in the textual analysis of literary forms.

(イ) Secondly, there is the evolution experienced by cultural assets in late-modern societies from ethics to aesthetics and from imagination to ideology, as to be dealt with in writings by Terry Eagleton (1990:65).

(ウ) Thirdly, there is the tension between text as discursive formation and image as non-discursive representation, as Kristeva (1974:227) refers in her analyses of contemporary cultural phenomena.

(エ) Fourthly, there is the narrative level of the printed materials and the meta-narrative level of the sources, institutions, authors, spatio-temporal contexts, readerships, as to be found in Geertz's, Kristeva's and Foucault's analytics of power relationships in times of cultural reproduction (Foucault 1969:132, Geertz 1973:43, Kristeva 1974:208).

Accordingly, the epistemic conditions necessary for the success of transculturality as mediated by encyclopedias, that is, the recognition of the diversity of cultures as well as the co-existence of apparently incommensurable cultures at both the macro-level of society and the micro-level of individual, presuppose addressing transculturality while sketching a conception of culture by way of an epistemological perspective through which transcultural understanding and action becomes possible. Basic premises in this endeavor are the following points (Sandkühler 2002:83):

(a) Pluralism is a fact of the modern world; there is no rationally sustainable way around it.

(b) This factual pluralism, perceived primarily as the expression of a plurality of ethical, social and political attitudes, is based on a dimension of freedom which realizes itself epistemologically and which must be investigated epistemologically.

(c) This freedom expresses itself in a diversity of cultures of knowledge such as, for example, art, philosophy and science which are equally legitimate. None of these cultures may claim superiority over others through recourse to hierarchical forms of rationality.

(d) Cultures of knowledge are molded by beliefs that compete with one another. This competition engenders the problem of relativism.

(e) Pluralism and relativism present philosophers with the task of formulating anew their claims to rationality.

In this train of thoughts, encyclopedias appear as practical manifestations of philosophy, taking into account the plurality of thoughts and ways of life, evolving into an epistemic democracy. They do it sincerely, objectively, as a constructive critique of any hegemonic claims of individual cultures of knowledge (see Sandkühler 2002:83). Thus, the current study offers, after a short survey on the encyclopedic situation in Japan until the release of *Wakan sansei zue* and *Kôsei shinpen*, detailed presentations of these two works which highlight the main characteristics of the genre in Edo-Japan (1603-1868). Crucial issues within the dynamically changing ideological and aesthetical orientation of the Japanese intellectuals' views of knowledge organization and taxonomic system(s) from Chinese models to Western standards emerge, anticipating – maybe subliminally – the forthcoming opening of the country by mid-1800. In this concern, an important departing point is marked by the words of the distinguished expert Sugimoto Tsutomu, Japanese linguist and specialist in *rangaku* (Netherlands studies) of international fame, as quoted below:

Japanese intellectuals in Edo-Japan belonged to the samurai class and as such didn't have to work in order to make a living. As there were hardly any wars, they also didn't have to fight to prove their status. Consequently, they had very much time to think and read, to write and see the future, envisaging their assumptions on the current on-goings. That's why both *Wakan sansei zue* and *Kôsei shinpen* appeared at knot moments in the history of Edo-Japan: they condensed in their pages the essence of past times and the

longing of the present, while at the same time, announcing future incidents. They were not simple printed media usable to gain information and to develop knowledge necessary for the everyday life, but profound manifestos to guide the masses in their search for own identity. It is important to understand this function of Japanese printed media *Wakan sansei zue* as well as *Kôsei shinpen* stand for in order to appreciate the real reasons why the 17th and the 18th centuries belonged to such a culturally blossoming period for Japan and why the Meiji restoration took place, after all. (during an interview in March 2010)

Cognitive processes and statements about reality essentially depend upon whichever understanding of the relationship between knowledge and reality is preferred. These understandings are themselves parts of universal frameworks, namely of visions and representations of the world. The external world – things in themselves as well as their characteristics – offers no guarantee for the rightfulness of knowledge, as every specific bit of knowledge comes under certain determinate cultural and epistemic conditions. Such conditions are, for instance, schemata of perception and experience, descriptive schemata and contexts of symbolic forms, instrumental means of knowledge and cultural forms of action and behavior. Truths – encyclopedic or not – are therefore only contextually and-or indexically conditioned, provided, additionally, with the critical reservation typical for human endeavors (see Sandkühler 2002:90-91). Knowledge is not independent from intentional propositional attitudes, from beliefs, opinions and ideals; the objectivity of propositions is bound up with the subjectivity of the propositional attitude. Since knowledge and the plurality of knowledge have the status of contextual and perspectivist constructions, they are relative; they cannot be protected *a priori* from skeptical attacks, and their truth competes with the truth of others. In such a culture of knowledge, reality does not exist as a finished world. Instead, phenomenal reality exists as the constant task of epistemic and practical

design and reproduction (see Sandkühler 2002:95). This is what encyclopedias do: within such a culture of knowledge carrying a risk related to the relativisation of previously stable standards of knowledge and action, encyclopedias stabilize cultural relativism and ethno-pluralism which cannot provide a ground for the solution of the problems resulting from the tension between the universality of human needs, the particularity of cultures and the individuality of people's goals in life.

2. Between Eastern and Western knowledge paradigms

Contrary to the prevalent opinion that encyclopedias are available in Japan only since its modernization and hasty import of Western civilization patterns, at a closer look, one can trace the origins of encyclopedia or encyclopedia-like works as far as back to the early Heian period (794-1185/1192), in the ninth century. Encyclopedic books had been imported from China at an early date, and encyclopedia-like works had been published in Japan for well over a thousand years before Japan's first modern encyclopedias were officially released after Japan's opening to the West, during the Meiji period (1868-1912)¹.

The first proto-encyclopedia produced in Japan was the 1000-scroll *Hifuryaku* (秘府略, literally “Summary of the Palace Library”), compiled in 831 upon the emperor's orders by Shigeno no Sadanushi 滋野貞主 and others, of which only fragments survive today (Kornicki 2000:57). The first truly Japanese-style encyclopedia is said to be Minamoto no Shitagô's 源順 (911-983) 10-scroll work *Wamyô ruijushô* 倭名類聚抄 from 938, meaning literally *Lexicon of Japanese readings of words or Japanese names [for things] classified and annotated*, begun in 934 at the request of Emperor Daigô's daughter. Written in ancient Japanese syllabary system *man'yôgana* (a system using *kanji* to represent Japanese pronunciation) and based on an ancient lexicographical collation system developed in Chinese dictionaries, the *Wamyô ruijushô* contains entries

¹ Kornicki (2000:34)

arranged by category and categorizes *kanji* vocabulary, primarily nouns, into 24 main headings (*bu* 部) divided into 128 subheadings (*rui* 類; see Sugimoto 1995:68). For instance, the *tenchi* (天地 "heaven and earth") heading includes eight semantic divisions, e.g., *seishuku* (星宿 "stars and constellations"), *un'u* (雲雨 "clouds and rain") and *fûsetsu* (風雪 "wind and snow"). It quotes over 290 sources, both Chinese (e.g., the *Shouwen Jiezi*) and Japanese (e.g., *Man'yôshû*). Each dictionary entry gives the Chinese character, Chinese pronunciations with either a homonym or *fanqie* spelling, definitions, and corresponding Japanese readings in ancient *man'yôgana*. The broadly inclusive *Wamyô ruijushô* dictionary was an antecedent for Japanese encyclopedia, until the present day providing linguists and historians with an invaluable record of the Japanese language over 1.000 years ago².

Passing over the 13th century *Chiribukuro* (塵袋, literally "Rubbish Bag"), an 11-scroll book on the origins of things whose innovative question-and-answer format was much imitated throughout the medieval period, one comes to the Tokugawa period (1602-1868), when Japan closed itself to the Western world for more than 250 years. During this time, there were sustained efforts to create an own epistemological system as alternative to the imperialist-colonialist ethos from the outside, especially from the West (see Howland 1991:291). This system was basically founded upon the Confucian doctrine and took China as model. However, towards the end of the shogunal regime, as internal economical, political and social problems became uncontrollable, there was a paradigm shift from Chinese models to Western ones, especially transported by the so-called Dutch studies (*rangaku*). Two works played in this context a most important role.

² Sugimoto (1998:62)

2.1. *Wakan sansei zue*: the fascination of knowledge organization

The first work to be taken into account is *Wakan sansai zue*: in the 17th century, the *Sancai Tuhui* (三才圖會 *Sansai Zue* in Japanese, literally, *Illustrated book of the Three Powers*), a 14-part, 106-scroll illustrated encyclopedia published in Ming China in 1609, entered Japan. In 1712, emulating the *Sancai Tuhui*, Terajima Ryôan 寺島良安, a doctor from Ôsaka, published the above mentioned *Wakan Sansai Zue* (和漢三才圖會, literally *Illustrated book of the three powers in Japan and China*), the first Japanese illustrated encyclopedia (Rémusat 1827:78). Written in classical Chinese which was the language of scholarship throughout East Asia at the time, the book featured illustrations of subjects in the three worlds of heaven, earth and man, respectively humanity. It reflected the outlook of its day with such fantastical entries as "The Country of the Immortals" (不死国 *fushi koku*) or "The Land of the Long-Legged People" (長脚国 *naga-ashi koku*) as well as several taxonomy systems of animals, plants and birds according to the Chinese model (Rémusat 1827:154). Its logical presentation, topical divisions and discussion of alternative explanations for the same phenomena, however, anticipated the modern encyclopedia genre. *Wakan sansai zue* describes and illustrates various activities of daily life, such as carpentry and fishing, as well as elements of the universe (e.g., plants, animals, constellations etc.). Due to its historical value, reproductions of the *Wakan Sansai Zue* are still in print in Japan.

Figure 1

Subject headings in *Wakan sansei zue*

卷数	分類	Translation
1	天部	Sky
2	天文	28 lunar constellations
3	天象類	Celestial phenomena
4	時候類	Time divisions

5	曆占類	Astrological divisions of time
6	曆択日神	Astrological predictions about happy and unhappy days
7	人倫類	The states of the humans
8	人倫親族	Parental degrees
9	官位部	The Magistrats
10	人倫之用	Human actions
11	經絡部	Body lines
12	支体部	Body parts
13	異国人物	Descriptions of foreign countries
14	外夷人物	Foreign peoples
15	芸器	Liberal arts
16	芸能	Talents
17	嬉戯部	Games
18	樂器類	Musical instruments
19	神祭附仏供具	Sacrifices and the instruments used for the cult of Fo
20	兵器防備具	Defensive weapons
21	兵器征伐具	Offensive weapons
22	刑罰	Tortures
23	漁獵具	Instruments for fishing and hunting
24	百工具	Utensils employed by artisans
25	容飾具	Furniture and hygienic utensiles
26	服玩具	Ornaments and jewels
27	絹布類	Fabrics
28	衣服類	Clothes
29	冠帽類	Hair styles
30	履襪類	Shoes
31	庖厨具	Kitchen utensils
32	家飾類	Furniture
33	車駕類	Cars and chairs to carry

34	船橋類	Ships and bridges
35	農具類	Agricultural instruments
36	女工具	Female work
37	畜類	Domestic animals (1)
38	獸類	Four-legged animals
39	鼠類	Rats
40	寓類 怪類	Monkeys and fabulous animals
41	水禽類	Water birds
42	原禽類	Ground birds
43	林禽類	Forest birds
44	山禽類	Mountain birds
45	龍蛇部	Saurian reptiles and Ophidiens
46	介甲部	Chelonian Reptiles (1)
47	介貝部	Testaces (2)
48	魚類 河湖 有 鱗魚	Fish with shells, rivers and lakes
49	魚類 紅海 有 鱗魚	Fish with shells, great rivers and sea
50	魚類 河湖 中 無鱗魚	Fish without shells, rivers and lakes
51	魚類 紅海 中 無鱗魚	Fish without shells, great rivers and sea
52	卵生類	Insects born out of an egg (1)
53	化生類	Insects born through metamorphose
54	濕生類	Animals born in humidity
55	地部	The earth
56	山類	Mountains
57	水類	Water
58	火類	Fire
59	金類	Metals
60	玉石類	Precious stones

61	雜石類	Different species of stones and minerals
62	本 中華 末 河南	China's geography (I) Continuation: China's geography (II)
63	河西	Continuation: China's Geography (III)
64	地理 大日本国	Earth's description
65	地部	Japan's description
66	上野	Continuation: Japan's description
67	武蔵	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Musasi, Sagami and Itsu
68	越後	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Yetsugo, Sado, Yetsuchiu, Sinano
69	甲斐	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Kai, Suruga, Tôtômi and Migawa
70	能登	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Noto, Kawa, Yetsu-zen, Fida and Mino
71	若狭	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Wakasa, Aumi, Owari, Ize, Sima and Iga
72	山城	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefectures Yamashiro
73	大和	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefectures Yamato
74	摂津	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Tsunokuni
75	河内	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefecture Kawauchi
76	和泉	Continuation: Japan's description Prefectures Izumi, Kinokuni and Awaji
77	丹波	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefectures Tanba, Tango, Tasima, Farima

		and Inaba
78	美作	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefectures Mimasaka, Fakki, Izumo, Oki, Bizen, Bit-siou and Bigo
79	阿波	Continuation: Japan's description: Prefectures Awa, Tosa, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki, Iwami, Suwo and Nagato
80	豊前	Continuation: Japan's description (final): Prefectures Buzen, Bungo, Chikuzen, Chikugo, Fiyoga, Figo, Ozumi, Satsuma, Fizen, Iki and Tsushima
81	家宅類	Houses and Habitats
82	香木類	Trees, particularly perfumed trees (1)
83	喬木類	Tall trees
84	灌木類	Small trees
85	寓木類	Parasite plants and those resembling to bamboo-trees
86	五果類	Five main species of fruits
87	山果類	Mountain fruits
88	夷果類	Foreign fruits
89	味果類	Tasty fruits or plants remarkable due to their taste
90	瓜果類	Fruits similar to melon
91	水果類	Water fruits
92	本 山草類上卷 末 山草類下卷	Mountain herbs: medicinal plants Mountain herbs, continuation
93	芳草類	Smelly herbs
94	本 湿草類 末 湿草類	Plants living in humidity Plants living in humidity, continuation
95	毒草類	Poisonous plants
96	蔓草類	Climbing plants

97	水草 藻類 苔類	Aquatic plants (1)
98	石草類	Rock plants
99	葷草類	Plants similar to garlic
100	瓜菜類	Cucurbitaceous plants (1)
101	芝茸類	Mushrooms
102	柔滑菜	Oleraceous plants
103	穀類	Cereal plants
104	菽豆類	Leguminous plants
105	造釀類	Alimentary preparations

In the introduction of his detailed analysis – until now, the only one in a Western language of *Wakan sansai zue* – Abel-Rémusat notes in 1827:

Dans l'examen préparatoire que j'ai dû faire des livres Chinois de la Bibliothèque du Roi avec l'intention d'en rédiger un catalogue complet et détaillé, ma première attention s'est portée naturellement sur ces grandes collections où les Chinois rassemblent des traités sur toutes sortes d'objets et qui sont comme le résumé de toute leur littérature. Ces ouvrages me présentent beaucoup d'avantages, en ce qu'ils me fournissaient les moyens de prendre des notions générales des matières dont les, traités particuliers doivent ensuite m'offrir le développement. Il y a toujours, d'ailleurs, dans l'arrangement et la progression des idées, dans la manière de classe et de subordonner les unes aux autres les différentes branches des connoissances humaines, un moyen sur d'en mesurer l'étendue et d'en apprécier la valeur. L'encyclopédie d'une nation est, en réalité, le tableau le plus fidèle et le plus complet de ses lumières et de son génie³.

³ Rémusat 1827:168)

In this perspective, the stronger the arguments for a mono-logical taxonomy system seem to emerge, the clearer Diderot's thoughts on the encyclopedia arise and gain quasi-universal value:

Actually, an encyclopedia aims off to gain the scattered knowledge on the earth's surface, to expose the general system of this knowledge to humans and to deliver it to those coming after us, so that the work of the past centuries was not useless for the coming centuries; so that our grandchildren become not only more educated, but at the same time happier and more virtuous, and so that we do not die, without making out of ourselves worth of being human. (quoted in Dierse 1977:44)

Thus, the encyclopedia turns into the symbol of a developed scientific co-operation and into an instrument for unifying the sciences and fulfilling fraternity between the 'new encyclopedists' – that is, those leading intellectuals of each era striving for knowledge preservation and continuation. An encyclopedia in which the authors seek to bridge existing gaps and to connect different points of view on the same issue, while simultaneously, consciously struggling with the frustrating incompleteness of human knowledge, might be particularly destined for people in the process of confronting themselves with on-going inner developments and quests for authentic selves. Pluralism is an attitude, highlighting the fact that intellectual judgments and concepts are basically subject to an ever changing historical-cultural diversity⁴. This attitude arose, apparently, at the beginning of the 20th century, as the – social as well as individual – awareness became unavoidable that “all the number systems, the color-naming, the cosmogonies and technologies of different societies rest on basic principles as fundamentally different as those of various moral

⁴ Sandkühler (2009:84)

attitudes and social systems”⁵. However, as repeatedly observed, until the 19th century, ‘representation’ generally appeared to be widely unchallenged as a concept for indicating the state and function of the performances of consciousness and of action – of perception, thought, experience and cognition, of artistic practices and of technological models. Around 1850, ‘representation’ as concept increasingly became a problem in philosophy, the sciences and the arts: while the process of the concept’s problematisation might have been interpreted as a crisis of representation, the emergence and establishment of alternatives to ‘representation’ generated a paradigm shift. The question “what is the crisis of representation?” finds its answer in the problematisation of the concept ‘representation’ as driven by the ever more strongly preferred assumption that under ‘representation’ no structure-preserving copy of reality can be grasped – and apprehended. Thus, the idea of representation as a copy of reality seems to be based on a realistic metaphysics of substance, on a metaphysical realist epistemology and on a corresponding theory of truth, so that this metaphysical vision rather evokes the crisis of representation than lead to pertinent solutions.

Furthermore, both in sciences (initially and above all, in the natural sciences like physiology and physics) and arts (above all, in neo-impressionistic painting) as well as in philosophy (above all, in Kant-oriented philosophical directions), the so-called ‘encyclopedic approach’ might inspire the development of alternative paradigms. Philosophers like Ernst Cassirer have succinctly formulated this paradigm shift: “We cannot seek the genuine ‘immediate’ in external things, but must seek it within ourselves.” (quoted in Dierse 1977:59) Such a paradigm shift might flourish as ‘constitution’ or ‘construction’ to replace the plain reformulation of the concept of ‘representation’ as differentiated from the image-concept. The consequences are manifold: the ‘truth’ of ‘reality’ becomes even more volatile, and ‘representation’ as ‘constitution’ or

⁵ Toulmin (1978:65); also see Toulmin (1985:29)

‘construction’ is intensively confronted with perspectivism, pluralism and relativism. Cultures of knowledge change on these grounds, as do technical cultures of action. Simultaneously, historicity and cultural contextuality take priority as directions of thought and inquiry⁶. Acknowledging the necessity to combine through juxtaposition the incommensurability of knowledge with the relativism of human life as well as the insatiability of human curiosity with the pluralism of possible existential approaches becomes, thus, the task of the authentic encyclopedic work.

2.2. *Kôsei shinpen*: from Confucianist worldview to Western taxonomy

The second important work to be taken into consideration while regarding the paradigm shift from the system of Chinese knowledge to the Western-oriented cognitive patterns through means of encyclopedic writings is *Kôsei shinpen*. Translated between 1811-1844 by a group of *rangakusha*, namely representatives of the above-mentioned Dutch studies (*rangaku*), *Kôsei shinpen* (freely “Encyclopedia for Household Use”, literally “A New Book of Welfare”) is the Japanese version of the Dutch book *Algemeen Huishoudelijk-, Natuur, Zedekundig- en Konst-Woordenboek* which, in its turn, is the Dutch translation by Jacques Alexandre Chalmot in 1778, Leiden, of Noel Chomel’s *Dictionnaire oeconomique contenant les moyens d’augmenter et conserver son bien et mesme sa santé* (1709; Bésineau 1972:102).⁷ The translation process of

⁶ Sandkühler (2002:86-87)

⁷ The full title of *Chomel’s Dictionnaire oeconomique* is as follows: „Dictionnaire oeconomique, contenant divers moyens d’augmenter son bien, & de conserver sa santé, avec plusieurs remèdes assurez & éprouvez pour un très-grand nombre de maladies, et de beaux secrets pour parvenir à une heureuse & longue vieillesse. Quantité de moyens pour élever, nourrir, guérir & faire profiter toutes sortes d’animaux domestiques, comme Brebis, Moutons, Boeufs, Chevaux, Mulets, Poules, Abeille, & Vers à Soye. Différens Filets pour la pêche de toutes sortes de Poissons, et pour la Chasse de toutes sortes d’Oiseaux &

Kôsei Shinpen appears as part of the exchange which was at first limited to trade between the close Japan and the Netherlands; this trade exchange, however, gradually moved to the exchange of knowledge, as the cargo delivered by Dutch ships and imported by Japanese noblemen or shopkeepers sometimes included books in Dutch which allowed Japanese intellectuals during the Edo period to become acquainted with Western scientific knowledge – and to appropriate it. The contact between Japanese intellectuals with Dutch books would crystallize precisely into the so-called *rangaku* (Dutch studies), flourishing especially during the reign of the 8th shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751, reign period 1716-1745)⁸. Tokugawa Yoshimune was interested in products from overseas as a means of encouraging new industries and domestic production; an important gesture was the relaxation, in 1720, of the Book Ban Order which allowed the import of non-Christian books and actively promoted the learning of foreign knowledge, such as having intellectual

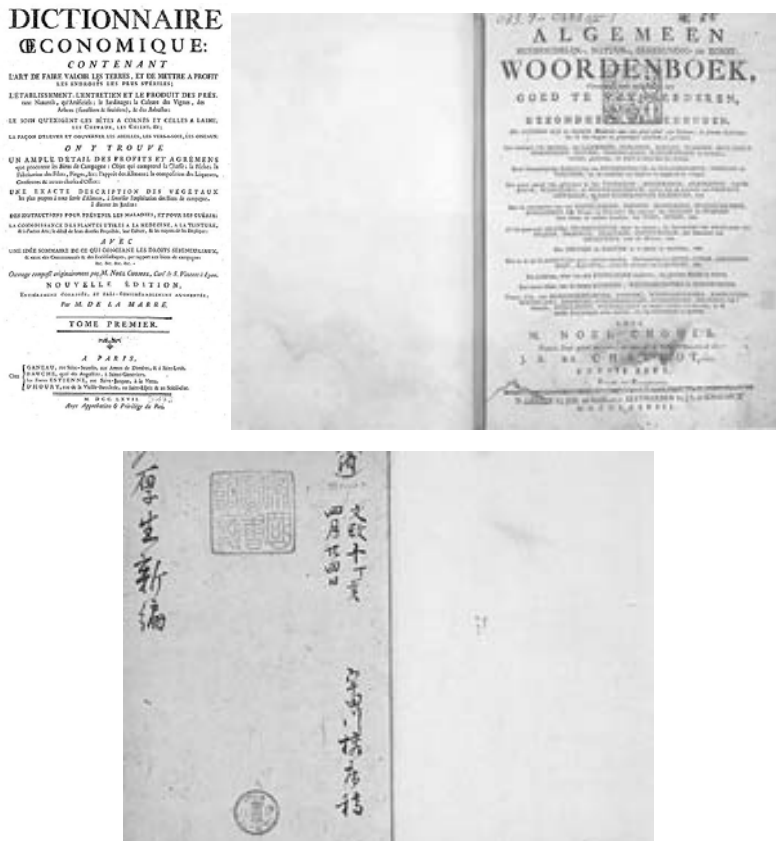
d'Animaux, &c. Une infinité de secrets découverts dans le Jardinage, la Botanique, l'Agriculture, les Terres, les Vignes, les Arbres ; comme aussi la connoissance des Plantes des Païs étrangers, & leurs qualitez spécifiques, &c. Les moyens de tirer tout l'avantage des Fabriques de Savon, d'Amidon ; de filer le Coton, de faire à peu de frais des Pierres artificielles, fort ressemblantes aux naturelles, de peindre en mignature sans sçavoir le dessein, & travailler Bayettes, ou Étoffes établies nouvellement en ce Royaume, pour l'usage de ce Païs, & pour l'Espagne, &c. Les moyens dont se servent les Marchands pour faire de gros établissemens, ceux par lesquels les Anglois et les Hollandois se sont enrichis en trafiquant des Chevaux, des Chèvres, des Brebis, &c. Tout ce que doivent faire les Artisans, Jardiniers, Vignerons, Marchands, Négocians, Banquiers, Commissionnaires, Magistrats, Officiers de Justice, Gentilhommes & autres d'une qualité, & d'un emploi plus relevé, pour s'enrichir, &c. Chacun pourra se convaincre de toutes ces vérités, en cherchant ce qui peut lui convenir, chaque chose étant rangée par ordre alphabétique, comme dans les Dictionnaires.”

⁸ Bésineau (1972:103)

samurai learn the Dutch language⁹. Later on, as advocated by the astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu, the Shogunate government established in 1811 an official translation organization of Dutch books at Tenmondai in which Udagawa Yoan, Baba Sajûrô, Otsuki Gentaku, Aochi Rinso and others served; among other works translated, the translation of the Dutch version of N. M. Chomel's work as *Kôsei shinpen* was an important achievement¹⁰.

Figure 2

From *Dictionnaire oeconomique* through *Algemeen Woordenboek* until *Kôsei shinpen*



⁹ Sugimoto (1998:79-81)

¹⁰ Bésineau (1972:105)

The title itself, namely *Kôsei shinpen*, reflects the spirit of the time oscillating between Chinese traditional models and Western innovations: *Kôsei* goes back to a line from *Shokyô/Shu Ching (The Book of Writings)*, attributed to Confucius, and refers to the construction possibilities of an harmonic life based on Confucianist virtues such as increasing efficiency, responsibility and loyalty, virtues strongly propagated by the official doctrine of the Tokugawa regime¹¹. Contrarily, *Shinpen* has a very pragmatic meaning ('new book' or 'new edition') and reflects the translators' consciousness of not translating Chomel's original, but a new, revised edition of his work. *Kôsei Shinpen* as encyclopedic work is basically a truncated version of Chomel's original, including entries resulting from a very realistic and practical approach. Christian or religious elements are completely deleted, and most included entries refer to such concrete fields as biology, pharmacy, mineralogy, commerce, industry, nutrition or astronomy (Sugimoto 1998:68). Some translated entries are plainly wrong, mainly because of the non-existence of those issues in Japanese context (such as 'albatross'), but remarkable is the effort to tackle unknown matters: translation appears as a means to cope with the unknown while incorporating it.

The main goal of this huge translation work, which lasted between 1811 and 1845, was precisely the spreading of Western-rooted knowledge among a broader audience and the popularization of scientific information on the West. As, at that time, encyclopedia-like works such as household-books or guidebooks to which *Kôsei Shinpen* belongs, existed in the stress ratio between entertainment, education, systematization of existing knowledge and information upon the outside world, *Kôsei Shinpen* deals with pragmatic issues while accessing knowledge and accumulating information (see Sugimoto 1998:21). As Bésineau notes in his study of *Kôsei Shinpen* from 1972:

¹¹ Bésineau (1972:104)

Ainsi qu'on l'a montré l'histoire du *Dictionnaire* Chomel en japonais, ce grand ouvrage de traduction n'a finalement pas atteint le but que se proposaient l'administration du Bakufu et les traducteurs du Tenmondai, c'est-à-dire précisément la diffusion dans un large public des connaissances scientifiques de l'Occident à cette époque. Ce serait néanmoins une grande erreur que de minimiser la valeur intrinsèque de ce travail et l'importance qu'il eut dans l'histoire culturelle du Japon, dans les années décisives qui ont préparé la restauration Meiji. Car quelques soient les résultats immédiats obtenus, il reste que ce travail considérable a exercé une influence étendue sur la vie intellectuelle des dernières années de l'ère de Edo. Cette traduction, étendue sur une très longue période, a été l'occasion pour nombre de savants et d'intellectuels japonais, d'étendre et d'approfondir leurs connaissances scientifiques et linguistiques, et cela sous le patronage du Bakufu lui-même. De plus ce même patronage du Bakufu, dans la société sémi-féodale du temps, contribua au prestige social et intellectuel des Rangakusha dont l'influence directe et indirecte sur la Restauration Meiji est suffisamment évidente¹².

It is for sure no coincidence that in the decades to come, the group of translators who tackled the problematics of knowledge transfer and appropriation in *Kôsei Shinpen* at Tenmondai will form the core of the intellectuals and technocrats to ground the Imperial University of Tôkyô in 1877 which became in time a light-house of humanities research, in Asia as well as worldwide.

The translation process of *Kôsei Shinpen* sets a final line to the first step of becoming aware that knowledge is power in the Japanese world

¹² Bésineau (1972:103)

(see Matsuda 2008:149). The ideological switch from Chinese models to be accelerated after the First Opium War (1839-1842) marked the increasing consciousness of the Tokugawa regime that the isolation politics couldn't last any longer and the success of the active play on the world stage could only be guaranteed by a profound understanding of and coping with the Western powers (see Watanabe 2008:27-28). Simultaneously, the efforts to systematize and thus, to control knowledge – own and other knowledge – as means to attain power increased and would reach a first climax in the forthcoming Meiji period (Matsuda 2008:165). It was in the first half of its modernity, that is, from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 until the bitter defeat in 1945, that Japan attempted what one could call a gamble with power: in this time span, there is an intensive search for identity based on its own historical past, but taking into account the insinuating other.

Encyclopedic philosophy doesn't implement what is supposed to be acknowledged as being true and what is not: rather, encyclopedic knowledge is a circumstance, a way of thinking, a possibility to purchase knowledge and to receive orientation through that very knowledge. Basically, the philosophy is encyclopedic in its consideration for the universal and its attempt to systemize the universal within comprehensible frameworks. The question what does belong to the current circle of knowledge and what may be excluded becomes thus a mere rhetorical instrument to highlight the dialectical nature of knowledge and its situational position. While Japan's relationship to its "great others" – China during premodern age and the West since mid-19th century – was thoroughly an ambivalent one, its import of knowledge and technology was an unidirectional pursuit (Maeda 2009:32-35). Encyclopedias as blocks of condensed knowledge mediating the transfer process encompassed in their copying and translating practices the partially confusing citational endeavor, in which the composition of own entries overcomes the classical translational mechanism.

Later on, mainly during the "[Western] civilization and enlightenment" (文明開化 *bunmei kaika*) movement during the 1880s, the Westernizer

Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-1897) compiled Japan's first modern encyclopedia, the *Hyakugaku renkan* (百学連環, literally *The Chain of Many Sciences* or *The Linked Circle of Hundred Sciences*), a special series of lectures delivered at Nishi's private academy, the Ikueisha, from late 1870 to early 1873. In this seminal work, Nishi attempted to present systematically the combined knowledge of the West, China and Japan, ordered according to Western categories, particularly patterned upon Auguste Comte's positivism and his "law of three stages" (theological, metaphysical, positive) and his "encyclopedic law" (systematic and hierarchical classification of all sciences). Furthermore, Nishi promoted the teachings of John Stuart Mill, that is, he rejected the deductive method traditionally used by Confucian scholars in favor of the Western inductive logic as a more scientific way of learning. Nishi was aware of the fact that simply internalizing the "powerful other" (the West) wouldn't lead to self-empowering, as the situation of the colonies had taught: he proposed the strategy of taking over that "powerful other" by adopting its inner mechanisms and by playing its own game on an equal level. Knowledge, more than technology, was the main means Nishi saw to acquire this goal (see Howland 2002:102). Subsequently, in *Hyakuichi-Shinron* (*New Theory of Hundred and One*, 1874), he went so far as to reject Confucian ethics altogether as no longer appropriate for Japan, but was very careful not to reject Japanese heritage itself. In *Jinsei Sanpô Setsu* (*Theory of the Three Human Treasures*, 1875), he urged the Japanese citizens to seek the goals of health, knowledge and wealth, instead of the Confucian subservience and frugality, and thereupon, in his lectures to the military, he emphasized Western-influenced discipline and obedience over Chinese prescribed seniority and hierarchy (see Howland 2002:119-127). Basically, Nishi saw as paramount for a nation to possess its own conceptualized and systematized knowledge; this discloses his awareness of the function of knowledge for a nation's emancipation from the status of being represented by other nations to the status of itself representing other

nations, as Joy Hendry puts it, a process that will reach its climax during the 1970s and 1980s.

3. Conclusion: emancipating the self

It is common sense that we don't come from nowhere and we aren't heading towards nowhere. In the current world, philosophy takes this common knowledge into account when it presents reality both in its historical origin, its palpable present and its possible future. More precisely speaking: philosophy makes us understand that human existence, though transient and ephemeral, has a departure point, an established trajectory and a final destination. Philosophy is, as often noticed, the science of the universal. However, humans are generally interested in the individual and the particular, in the now and here. The ideas of universality and totality, therefore, lead towards dead-ends when 'the whole', as fascinating as it might be, suffocates the individual¹³:

Pourtant le texte de Borges va dans une autre direction; cette distorsion du classement qui nous empêche de le penser, ce tableau sans espace cohérent, Borges leur donne pour patrie mythique une région précise dont le nom seul constitue pour l'Occident une grande réserve d'utopies. La Chine, dans notre rêve, n'est-elle pas justement le lieu privilégié de l'*espace* ? Pour notre système imaginaire, la culture chinoise est la plus méticuleuse, la plus hiérarchisée, la plus sourde aux événements du temps, la plus attachée au pur déroulement de l'étendue; nous songeons à elle comme à une civilisation de digues et de barrages sous la face éternelle du ciel; nous la voyons répandue et figée sur toute la superficie d'un continent cerné de murailles. Son écriture même ne reproduit pas en lignes horizontales le vol fuyant de la voix; elle dresse en colonnes l'image immobile et encore

¹³ Sandkühler (2002:97)

reconnaissable des choses elles-mêmes. Si bien que l'encyclopédie chinoise citée par Borges et la taxinomie qu'elle propose conduisent à une pensée sans espace, à des mots et à des catégories sans feu ni lieu, mais qui reposent au fond sur un espace solennel, tout surchargé de figures complexes, de chemins enchevêtrés, de sites étranges, de secrets passages et de communications imprévues; il y aurait ainsi, à l'autre extrémité de la terre que nous habitons, une culture vouée tout entière à l'ordonnance de l'étendue, mais qui ne distribuerait la prolifération des êtres flans aucun des espaces où il nous est possible de nommer, de parler, de penser¹⁴.

In the scientific pursuit of encyclopedias, the dynamics of knowledge and power as well as the discursive construction of identity highlighting issues of transculturality and transnationality emerged stunningly obvious in Japanese encyclopedias, more than in their Western equivalents. Dialectic containers of knowledge, Japanese encyclopedias mediated a certain worldview as common understanding, based on flows of information transformed into blocks of knowledge and implemented as such, by an elite of technocrats, within a population obeying rules and regulations without questioning. While dealing with knowledge organization and translation, Japanese encyclopedias, apparently more intensively than their Western counterparts, enforce indeed specific existential outlooks on human experience and progress. Thus, they underline hidden interactions between knowledge and information in a trans-cultural context. Oscillating, in time, between original Chinese models and subsequent Western archetypes, they challenge such asymmetrical notions as identity and alterity, through new formulations of idea chains and their transformational nature: The emergence of knowledge as means of social power through educational implementation

¹⁴Foucault (1966:9)

which metamorphoses into real – political as well as economic – power reveals encyclopedic practice in Japan’s case as one of the secret weapons in the course of its astonishingly fast modernization and its miraculous postwar resurrection.

While early encyclopedias – in the West, as well – usually followed systematic order principles, it was not until the so-called ‘Enlightenment encyclopedias’ that the alphabetical organization of the lemmata became paramount. This loss of a taxonomic order to govern knowledge organization was compensated, in a way, by philosophers’ attempt to moderate the inelastic structure of post-Enlightenment encyclopedic works through the juxtaposition of Francis Bacon’s systematization of sciences, and through deliberately arranged patterns, to be found perpetually within the single encyclopedic entries¹⁵. Still, the main advantage of the alphabetical order is its function as a signal, a request for independent thinking and a veto gesture against the arrogance of an intellectual authority represented by the systematics of the scholastic philosophy. Thus, the readership overcomes the restriction imposed by the system and chooses its way from A to Z, according to a seemingly objective over-principle: the alphabet. Hegel’s conceptual system of an ‘encyclopedia of the philosophical sciences’ opposes Francis Bacon’s vision of the encyclopedia as an expression of human welfare grounded on experience and rationality:

All people should consider what the goal of knowledge really is, and that the goal of knowledge itself neither the joy in the speculation nor the acquisition of the rule over others, nor the profit, nor the fame, nor the power or another of these unimportant reasons is, but the well-being and use of life for all humans. They should complete and channel this realization of knowledge in mercy and love¹⁶.

¹⁵ Blom (2004a:79), and (2004b:32)

¹⁶ Collison (1966:121)

It is an open question if Hegel's hierarchical model, based on philosophical thinking and culminating in a worldview of philosophy as the measure of all things, still has a chance to survive in a pluralist world exploring the possibility of the dialectic equality of all symbolic forms, thus liberating them from their subordinated ranking. Furthermore, there is Friedrich Schlegel's thesis that "the encyclopedia exists virtually and by all means only in fragments", as knowledge is never finite and as the human thirst for enlarging his horizons and his perspectives is insatiable¹⁷. Nevertheless, in an analogue manner as fugitive information turns into crystallized knowledge, what is to a certain point in time known as culture, identity or art depends on the level of the disrupting forces from within or – better said – from above the society. After the important paradigm shift from Chinese classical models to Western innovative archetypes in the last third of the Tokugawa period, Japan struggled to remain intact, a cultural monolith, in the Asian region while trying to compete with Western powers in their own supremacy system¹⁸. Later on, at the turn of the millennium, it would change its definitional strategy from absorbing or letting itself being absorbed in a system to challenging the existing system via its own development models and plans, all based, as in case of Meiji Restoration as well, on technocratic visions rather than on humanist ideals. The condensation of liquid information into solid knowledge through encyclopedias in late Tokugawa period would experience its climax during the 1970s and 1980s, with the subsequent uncontrollable dissipation of solid knowledge into liquid information – not coincidentally, a reflection of Japan's historical trajectory.

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¹⁷ Darnton (1979:76)

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THE IDES OF MARCH: A ROMAN NOVEL

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Abstract: *The present article continues the analysis of mythological and historical motives used by Thornton Wilder in his postwar novel, "The Ides of March". Wilder moved from the use of mythology in "The Cabala", and of legend, in "The Woman of Andros", to depicting a major historical figure in "The Ides of March". As literary technique, the gallery of portraits of his first Roman novel, symmetrically delineated in an episodic pattern, is replaced by a narrative device that the author employs quite successfully for the first time - a variant of epistolary form supplemented by historians' accounts.*

Keywords: *Roman novel, The Ides of March, Thornton Wilder, narrative technique*

After *The Woman of Andros* Thornton Wilder started to accept the twentieth-century America as a fascinating place and age to live in and write about. This growing conviction, along with his extensive study of European theater, made him abandon the distant romantic scenes of his first three novels and search for material in the present American setting inhabited by unpretentious characters who communicated in a colloquial idiom. His one-act plays in the collection entitled *The Long Christmas Dinner* (1931) move more or less in a world of actuality, and his novel *Heaven's My Destination* (1935), set in the period of the Great Depression, portrays an American similar to those who populate the realistic literature of the United States, surrounded by numerous secondary characters who

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behave like average Americans. His three long plays that follow, *Our Town* (1938), *The Merchant of Yonkers* (1938), and *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1942), are also set in America and express "an effort to find a value above all price for the smallest events of our daily life."¹ Although Wilder's classical bent still remains obvious in these works, he definitely tries to view life through an American perspective and describe human adventures of real Americans:

The real Americanism will be important in the future as a belief in the significance and even in the concealed implication of every event. [...] Just think what it means to every American to believe himself permanently, directly, and responsibly bound to world destiny. The significance that this belief imparts to the simplest dealings and the simplest events seems to me the beginning of all achievement. Such a trend precedes all great cultures.²

In spite of this period of declared Americanism, with his first substantial postwar work, *The Ides of March* (1948), Wilder literally returns to the Roman antiquity he had left since the time of *The Cabala*, and produces "a fantasia on certain persons and events of the last days of the Roman republic."³ After he revisited Italy during the war, he decided to return to a Roman setting, not the modern or the mythological one of his first novel, but that of Caesar's Republic, through a literary reconstruction of events of which the historical fidelity is rather

¹ Especially on *Our Town*, Wilder made this statement in his Preface to *Three Plays*. See *Three Plays*, New York: Harper and Row, 1985, xii.

² Interview with Walther Tritzsch, "Thornton Wilder in Berlin," *The Living Age*, CCCXLIX (1931), 47.

³ See author's prefatory note in Thornton Wilder, *The Ides of March*, New York: Harper and Row, 1987, ix.

irrelevant.⁴ Whereas mythology permeated the pages of *The Cabala*, and legend the story in *The Woman of Andros*, *The Ides of March* depict a major historical figure through a narrative device that the author employs quite successfully for the first time. The gallery of portraits of his first Roman novel, which were symmetrically delineated in an episodic pattern, in this novel replaces a variant of epistolary form supplemented by historians' accounts, inscriptions and samples from original Latin poetry. In the prefatory note Wilder calls the attention of the reader "to the form in which the material is presented," and makes references to certain chronological violations:

Within each of the four books the documents are given in approximately chronological order. Those in Book One cover September, 45 B.C. Book Two, which contains material relevant to Caesar's inquiry concerning the nature of love, begins earlier and traverses the whole of September and October. Book Three mainly occupied with religion begins earlier still and runs through the autumn, concluding with the ceremonies of the Good Goddess in December. Book Four resuming all the aspects of Caesar's inquiry, particularly those dealing with himself as possibly filling a role as an

⁴ "The Italian surrender on September 7, 1943, foreshadowed the move of the airplanes section of Mediterranean headquarters from North Africa to Caserta, Italy, about fifteen miles from Naples, Wilder, now a lieutenant colonel was billeted in a trailer in the English Gardens that Lady Hamilton had laid out for the Queen of Naples. There was no hot water for shaving, but a palace stood nearby and behind it an arboretum, spacious grounds, tall trees. During off-duty hours Thornton walked alongside the ancient aqueduct that supplied the city's water, composing in his head material for a postwar novel about Julius Caesar." See Gilbert A. Harrison, *The Enthusiast: A Life of Thornton Wilder*, New Haven and New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1983, 238.

instrument of "destiny," begins with the earliest document in the volume and concludes with his assassination.⁵

Each chapter embraces and extends the previous one, which makes the novel's structure "comparable to a set of bowls placed one within another."⁶ All end with a misfortune for Caesar, which pre-shadows the final catastrophe of his assassination recorded by Suetonius from *Lives of the Caesars* at the end of Book Four, a technique reminiscent of the catastrophic endings of *The Cabala* episodes.

The first chapter commences with a report by the College of Augurs, gives the essence of Caesar's personality, introduces most of the persons closest to him, except for Cleopatra who appears in the next chapter, and ends with Caesar's epileptic seizure after the first assassination attempt at Clodia's party. The second starts with a letter from Servilia to Caesar's wife Pompeia about the arrival of the Queen of Egypt, deals with the love affairs of Clodia and Catullus, Caesar and Cleopatra, and ends with the latter found in an embrace with Marc Anthony. The third chapter, like the first one, opens with Caesar's religious preoccupations requesting a purification of the rituals of The Bona Dea, and concludes with the profanation of the rites instigated by Clodia Pulcher and aided by Caesar's wife, whom he ultimately divorces. The final chapter begins with Servilia's letter inviting Brutus to Rome to help depose Caesar which is eventually effected with the latter's assassination at the end of the novel.

Central to all four Books is certainly Julius Caesar, the focal point of the other personages' thoughts and deeds. Like the major figure in most of Wilder's works he is "a consciously wrought projection of an aspect of the author's idealized self."⁷ He recalls the tragic Cardinal Vaini and continues

⁵ Wilder, *The Ides of March*, x.

⁶ Malcolm Goldstein, *The Art of Thornton Wilder*, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1965, p. 132.

⁷ Richard H. Goldstone, *Thornton Wilder: An Intimate Portrait*, New York: Saturday Review Press/Dutton, 1975, 213.

asking the philosophical questions about love and religion that were initially posed in the pages of *The Cabala*. The historical Caesar wished to reform the political, economic, and religious structure of ancient Rome, but his plans were violently disrupted by Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators. Similarly Wilder delineates the portrait of a public Caesar who undertakes serious reforms. In the first chapter it is made explicit through his journals that he accepts human destiny and despises superstition:

I have inherited this burden of superstition and nonsense. I govern innumerable men but must acknowledge that I am governed by birds and thunderclaps. [...] What can I do against the apathy that is glad to wrap itself under the cloak of piety, that tells me that Rome will be saved by overwatching Gods or is resigned to the fact that Rome will come to ruin because the Gods are maleficent?⁸

He philosophizes on man's potential and the limitations of the average human being continuing a line of thought established in *The Women of Andros*:

Man—what is that? What do we know of him? His Gods, liberty, mind, love, destiny, death—what do these mean? You remember how you and I as boys in Athens, and later before our tents in Gaul used to turn these things over endlessly. I am an adolescent again, philosophizing. As Plato, the dangerous beguiler, said: the best philosophers in the world are boys with their beards new on their chins; I am a boy again.⁹

Caesar explains that for him there are four realms in which he seems to recognize the possibility of life's mystery: love, poetry, destiny, and the

⁸ Wilder, 5-6.

⁹ *ibid.*, 8.

particular moment of vision that accompanies his attacks of the "sacred Malady." Throughout Wilder's works love has been a highly favored theme and the gift of poetry greatly esteemed. In *Our Town* the poets and the saints are the ones who can perceive life's precious gifts in the little dear moments of human existence. In the letter that concludes Book One written by Asinius Pollio to Virgil and Horace, some fifteen years later, Caesar explicitly states "that poetry, life love, indeed proceeded from the Gods and that both were accompanied by a state of possession that had universally been conceded to be more than human."¹⁰ Poetry civilizes men, and it is "by poets that all men are told that we press forward to a Golden Age and they endure the ills they know in the hope that a happier world will arrive to rejoice their descendants."¹¹

The ideal of poetry becomes incarnate in Catullus whose unrequited love for Clodia, another favorite Wilder formula, is catastrophic, but also the source of an incomparable beauty that remains immortal in his lyric verses. Clodia Pulcher, one of the major female figures in the novel, is also presented in Book One as a woman of "beauty, health, wealth, birth, and intelligence," but deprived of the "perfect felicity in every moment of every day."¹² It is a common belief that she poisoned her husband and has improper relations with her brother, but she claims that Caesar, being her ex-lover, bears the responsibility because he made her what she really is, his "creature" and his "monster."¹³

The joys of love and their implications become the central theme of Book Two, in which Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, arrives in Rome to reassume her relationship with Caesar, and the feverish passion of Catullus for Clodia is heightened. The legendary Cleopatra had always fascinated Wilder and inevitably occupies the position of the major female

^{10.} *ibid.*, 77.

^{11.} *ibid.*, 79.

^{12.} *ibid.*, 16.

^{13.} *ibid.*, 44-45.

character in the novel. In one of his very early journal entries, 1917, the author recalls the moments of this admiration:

When as a little by I heard of Cleopatra for the first time and how in the following days the name seemed to be mentioned in everything I read and how chance sights and sounds became reminiscent of her and stray objects would suddenly suggest an association with her.¹⁴

Like the characters of Princess d' Espoli or Chrysis in his previous works, the heroine of *The Ides of March* is a charismatic personage of exquisite beauty, divine grace and intelligence:

Her skin is the color of the finest Greek marble and as smooth: her eyes are brown, large and most living. From them and from her low but ever-varying voice proceeds an unbroken message of happiness, well-being, amusement, intelligence, and assurance.¹⁵

Caesar, who has fathered her son Caesarion, admits that she also has "a genius for administration," and understands him "in a realm where few are capable of understanding" his achievements.¹⁶

Her appearance in the Roman scene offends the moral code of the conservative patricians, as it had happened with the other Alexandrian in *The Woman of Andros*, and causes the conflict of the private with the public Caesar:

She is indeed a woman now and a most queenly one. At moments I find myself dreaming that she is more woman than queen and must arrest my thoughts. Cleopatra is Egypt. No word she lets fall and no caress she dispenses is without a political implication. Each conversation is a treaty and every

¹⁴ Harrison, 253.

¹⁵ Wilder, 138.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 93.

kiss a pact. I could wish that association with her did not require so constant a vigilance and that her favors had more abandon and less art.¹⁷

The private Caesar addresses her as his "pearl" or "lotus," and demonstrates in his letter a fascination similar to that of Wilder in his journal entry:

But what would I not do for the great Queen of Egypt? I have not only become a thief: I have become an idiot. I can think only of her. I blunder my work. I forget names.[...] I make visitors wait: I postpone tasks--all this that I may hold long conversations with the everliving Isis, with the Goddess, with the witch who has stolen my mind away. There is no drunkenness equal to that of remembering whispered words in the night. There is nothing in the world that can compare with the great Queen of Egypt.¹⁸

In his turn, the public Caesar refuses Cleopatra to bring their child to Rome, and explains to her the existential solitariness of a leader:

The condition of leadership adds new degrees of solitariness to the basic solitude of mankind. Every order that we issue increases the extent to which we are alone, and every show of deference which is extended to us separates us from our fellows. In looking forward to the Queen's visit I promise myself a mitigation of the solitude in which I live and work.¹⁹

But Cleopatra's reply indicates that his isolation is rather self-imposed and excessive:

¹⁷. *ibid.*, 113.

¹⁸. *ibid.*, 129.

¹⁹. *ibid.*, 105.

Is it not the danger of rulers to increase this solitude by ascribing to others that motivation alone? [...] I ascribe the urgent lessness of your conduct to the fact that you have, indeed, created for yourself a solitude that is excessive even for the ruler of a world.²⁰

His conflict becomes more tragic at the end of Book Two, when Cleopatra is surprised "struggling and protesting in the embrace of a very drunken and ardent Marc Anthony."²¹ Consequently, Caesar's love for Cleopatra becomes unrequited like Catullus' love for Clodia, which is highlighted in the same chapter.²²

The latter requests from the poet to consider a change in his feelings to view her in a friendly manner as "the nature" of friendship "makes no claims" "establishes no possession," and "is not competitive."²³ Catullus' response is full of pain, anger, and expresses a Platonic view of love, as it is exposed in Plato's *Phaedrus*, already mentioned in *The Woman of Andros*:

You swore you loved me, and laughed and warned me that you would not love men forever. [...] Never, never can I conceive of a love which is able to foresee its own termination. Love is its own eternity. Love is in every moment of its being: all time. [...] All, all that Plato said was true. It was not I, I myself, who loved you. When I looked at you the God Eros descended upon me. I was more than

²⁰. *ibid.*, 106-107.

²¹. *ibid.*, 143.

²². Catullus, the greatest of the Latin lyric poets fell overwhelmingly in love with Clodia, a beautiful and intelligent aristocrat who regarded their relationship quite frivolously. The poet traced the whole story of his misplaced love in *The Poems to Lesbia*, verses unsurpassed for the expression of direct personal emotion, which assured him immortality.

²³. Wilder, 102.

myself. The God lived in me, looked through my eyes and spoke through my lips.²⁴

Catullus' unrequited love finds an outlet through his verses quoted in the original Latin by the author, whereas Marc Anthony's affair with Cleopatra becomes the cause of another rejection, that of the actress Cytheris, until then lover of Marc Anthony, who laments accordingly:

It filled my days with radiance as it filled my nights with unbearable sweetness. For fifteen years I have found no reason to ask myself why one lives or why one suffers. I must now learn to live without the loving glances from those eyes on which I have dreamed my life away.²⁵

The chapter on the pleasures and misfortunes of love manifested in the relationship of the three couples succeeds Book Three focusing on religious issues, specifically those of syncretism and deification that had furnished adequate subject material for *The Cabala*. Like Wilder, who in his early youth had been exposed to Christianity and the exotic cults, Cardinal Vaini introduced certain syncretizing reforms in the Christian religion. In his turn, Julius Caesar attempts to reform the mysteries of the Good Goddess by allowing "each woman to find out in herself her own Goddess."²⁶ He sees "the importance for administration of encouraging an identification of the Gods of other countries" with those of Rome, and explains in detail that of the Gallic and the Roman gods as well as Venus' with her Eastern counterparts Astarte and Astoreth:

If I live long enough, or if my successors also see the importance of this unity among the cults, all the men and women in the world will call themselves brothers and sisters, children of Jupiter.[...] The votaries of the Good Goddess

²⁴. *ibid.*, 108-109.

²⁵. *ibid.*, 144.

²⁶. *ibid.*, 155.

during the rites wear a headdress which is certainly neither Greek nor Roman and which is known among them as the "Egyptian Turban." How it came to be there no one has ever explained. But who can explain the symbols, the influences, and the expressions of that universal mixture of joy and terror which is religion?²⁷

The theme of deification and the possible divinity of the personages, which was dominant in *The Cabala*, Wilder further explores in *The Ides of March*, particularly through the main characters of Caesar and Cleopatra. The historian Cornelius Nepos records the royal physician Sosthenes talking about the supernatural effect Caesar has had in popular belief:

It is said that he was conceived by his mother of a bolt of lightning.[...] There is no abnormality that has not been charged against him and it is believed that, like Jupiter, he has predilections within the animal kingdom.²⁸

Pliny the Younger, about one century later, mentions that people believed Caesar's body had not been burnt after his assassination, but seized by a mystery cult, was divided into many pieces, which were buried under different parts of Rome. In this manner, Caesar's "sparagmos" fulfilled "an old prophecy which affirmed that the survival and greatness of Rome was dependent on his murder and dismemberment."²⁹

Cleopatra's arrival in Rome also fires "the imaginations of the people to so luxuriant a body of legend," as in her union with Caesar the Roman people celebrate "the nuptials of the Unconquered Sun and the Fecund Earth."³⁰ While Caesar appears as the questioning mind that philosophizes on the issue of divinity, Cleopatra unreservedly applies for

²⁷. *ibid.*, 168.

²⁸. *ibid.*, 173.

²⁹. *ibid.*, 175.

³⁰. *ibid.*, 173.

admission to the mysteries of the Good Goddess supporting her divine claims with immense documentation on her descent from the Goddess Qu'ed and the Goddess Cybele identified through "emanation" with the Roman Goddess.³¹ In her capacity of deity, Cleopatra can easily sense divinity, which she recognizes in Caesar, who views as naive and dangerous "this ascription of divine attributes:"

The history of nations shows how deeply rooted is our propensity to impute a more than human condition to those remarkable for gifts or to those merely situated in conspicuous position. I have little doubt that the demigods and even the Gods of antiquity are nothing more than ancestors about whom these veneration have been fostered.³²

After all these interpretations of the divine, Caesar could possibly agree with that of Catullus who was "certain that love is the only manifestation of the divine and that it is from love, even when it is traduced and insulted, that we can learn the nature of our existence."³³ The great poet dies eventually reconciled with Caesar, who at his deathbed praises Clodia Pulcher "as though she were some Goddess."³⁴ It is quite ironic that the same Clodia will very soon commit such a sacrilegious act as the profanation of the Mysteries of the Good Goddess by introducing her brother, who had formerly seduced Caesar's wife, dressed as a votary in the ceremonies. Book Three ends quite tragically for the public and the private Caesar as sacrilege, a failure in the affairs of the state, and his divorce with the involved Pompeia, an absolute domestic scandal, presage his actual collapse at the end of the concluding chapter.

³¹ *ibid.*, 157.

³² *ibid.*, 169.

³³ *ibid.*, 170.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 182.

In the documents of Book Four, Marcus Brutus is introduced with the vague suspicion of Caesar's concealed paternity, of which the legitimate object or not, the former definitely enjoyed the tacit affection of an older for "a younger man of notable capability."³⁵ The woman's role in the Republic as "political heads" or influential brides is also emphasized in this chapter, whereas Caesar utters final reflections on his position of "Destiny's favorite," and the changing attitude of the people towards the master they had loved now merging "with all the masters they had hated."³⁶ When the chain letters of his assassination are discovered, he believes that it will "help to illuminate the ancient problem of 'de natura deorum' for such an assassination would of necessity disclose the metaphysical-historical meaning."³⁷

During his metaphysical struggles Caesar contemplates on the mystery of mortal life:

Life, life has this mystery that we dare not say the last word about it, that it is good or bad, that it is senseless, or that it is ordered. That all these things have been said of it is evidence only that all these things are in us. This "life" in which we move has no color and it gives no sign. As you once said: the universe is not aware that we are here.³⁸

Like Chrysis, who in *The Woman of Andros* had welcomed "the bright and the dark," Caesar embraces "all experience," and admits, in a rather existential manner, that "life has no meaning save that which we may confer upon it," echoing Camus' view that legends, or myths even, do not have a meaning of their own, but wait to be incarnated. In *The Woman of Andros* existed the assumption "where there is an unknowable there is a

³⁵ *ibid.*, 203.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 204-205, 219.

³⁷ Helmut Papajewski, *Thornton Wilder*, trans. John Conway, New York: Ungar, 1968, 72.

³⁸ Wilder, 232.

promise," which taken up by Caesar is rephrased into the hope of final knowledge maintained in the future generations:

I dare to ask that from my good Calpurnia a child may arise to say: On the Meaningless I choose to press a meaning and in the wastes of the Unknowable I choose to be known.[...] We are not in relationship to anything until we have enwrapped it in a meaning, or do we know for certainty what that meaning is until we have costingly labored to impress it upon the object.³⁹

The above lines echo the epigraph of the novel from Goethe's *Faust* translated by Wilder as follows, with the addition of a gloss:

The shudder of awe is humanity's highest Faculty
Even though this world is forever altering its values.
Gloss: Out of man's recognition in fear and awe that there is an Unknowable comes all that is best in the explorations of his mind, – even though that recognition is often misled into superstition, enslavement, and overconfidence.⁴⁰

A year later Wilder retained the memory of Caesar as he had made him, like Goethe, on a hint from history:

A great weeper – but over the wonder of life, not over life's much – advertised pathos, and that's what I liked best about him. Goethe was like Caesar – amazed wonder, not tender sympathy.⁴¹

³⁹ *ibid.*, 233.

⁴⁰ Papajewski says that Wilder has not recognized the passage's syntactical context, and is of the opinion that his interpretation of Goethe's text is wrong. See Papajewski, 73-74.

⁴¹ Harrison, 253.

The perspective by which Caesar views the wonder of life owes a great deal to the general influence of the existentialist philosophers, which prevails throughout the novel. Wilder had been reading extensively Sartre, Camus, and Kierkegaard. The summation of his reading he briefly expressed in a letter:

There is no God; there is the concession of the absurdity of man's reason in a Universe which can never be explained by reason; yet there is the freedom of the will defended for the first time on non-religious ground, and how.⁴²

Wilder himself tells that *The Ides of March* can be considered as written "under the sign of Kierkegaard," and most critics discuss the novel in relation to Sartre's existentialism.⁴³ Kuner believes that Wilder does not go beyond a kind of agnosticism and refers to Sartre's *The Flies* (*Les Mouches*), also mentioned by Goldstein along with *Morts sans sépulture* (*The Victors*), which Wilder had translated.⁴⁴ For Burbank, who in connection with *The Alcestiad* discusses *The Ides of March* under the chapter title "Existentialism and Humanism," the metaphorical irony basic to the novel "consists in Wilder's substitution of 'Unknowable' for Sartre's 'meaningless' in describing the operation of the universe."⁴⁵ Castronovo simply mentions Camus but none of the above critics and many others,

⁴² From a letter he wrote to his "war buddy" Joe Still. See Harrison, 245. For Wilder's attitudes toward the existentialists, see his *Journal* entries on Kierkegaard, Sartre, Camus, Maritain. Wilder had also worked on a play in 1953 called *The Heir*, a drama about "the Existentialist man who, in words Camus quoted to me from Dostoyevsky, is afraid that he doesn't hate everything enough." See David Castronovo, *Thornton Wilder*, New York: Ungar, 1986, 160.

⁴³ M. C. Kuner, *Thornton Wilder. The Bright and the Dark*, New York: Crowell, 1972, 176.

⁴⁴ Wilder had met Sartre, and the latter impressed by his interest "placed the American disposition of his plays in Thornton's hands." See Harrison, 245.

⁴⁵ Rex Burbank, *Thornton Wilder*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1978, 100.

who have viewed the novel as a dramatic reworking of Roman history in terms of the existential philosophy, seems to have noticed that Camus had also been interested in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* and, like Wilder, had chosen one of the "twelve Caesars" as a vehicle of his philosophy of the absurd in his thesis-play *Caligula* (1938-39).⁴⁶

The difference lies in that Wilder's Caesar is not an incarnate of the absurd, he undermines the existential "Unknowable," and seeks some meaning in the nature of things reconfirming the gloss of Goethe's epigraph. He might recall the alienated personages of the existentialists in his private life, of which he is severely accused by Cleopatra, but as a statesman, he is under "the obligation to create, moment by moment" his own glorious Rome that Wilder had praised in *The Cabala*:

Wilder's Caesar is an emblem of fortitude who stands up to disaster by resolute action. Nothing could be farther from Wilder's early indecisive people; this latest protagonist – equipped with the philosophical resources of the existentialists – has committed himself to "the first and last schoolmaster of life" – "living and committing oneself unreservedly and dangerously to living."⁴⁷

Although the novel has been considered as "the most comprehensive literary exposition of the existentialist conception of life created thus far in America," Wilder is not a committed existentialist and displays the school's philosophical ideas in a liberal manner very dissimilar to that of an obvious proponent like Camus.⁴⁸ Even if Goethe's glossed statement

⁴⁶Caligula became emperor of Rome in 25 A. D. Suetonius gives a detailed account of his life and assassination in *Lives of the Caesars*. Thanks to his teacher, and writer of *Les Iles (The Islands)*, Jean Grenier, Camus became acquainted with the "Twelve Caesars" at a very young age. See Mary Koutsoudaki, *The Dionysiac Myth in Camus and Williams*, Athens: University of Athens, S. Saripolos' Library, 1987, 45-59, 69.

⁴⁷Castronovo, 132-133.

⁴⁸See Goldstein, 144, and Castronovo, 132.

remains the philosophical basis of the book. *The Ides of March* is not a thesis-work, but a novel composed from a curious blending of resources, historical as well as personal, which all have contributed to the creation of an original Caesar.

It is interesting that the historical background and Wilder's personal experiences actually juxtapose ancient with modern history. *The Ides of March* is a postwar novel and Wilder, having served in Europe and Africa between 1942 and 1948, was affected by the presence of great dictators like Hitler and Mussolini on the stage of world history. Sartre's play that he had translated was also about the French resistance against the Germans, and it must not be overlooked that Lauro de Bosis to whom, together with Edward Sheldon, the book is dedicated, was an Italian poet of noble extraction who "lost his life marshaling a resistance against the absolute power of Mussolini" as "his aircraft pursued by those of the Duce plunged into the Tyrrhenian Sea."⁴⁹ In the margin of a copy of his novel Wilder later noted that "the broadsides of Conspiracy" against Caesar had been inspired by the leaflets circulated in Mussolini's Rome by Lauro de Bosis on whom he modeled the character of Catullus.⁵⁰

The second dedication is to Edward Sheldon, "who though immobile and blind for over twenty years was the dispenser of wisdom, courage and gaiety to a large number of people."⁵¹ He inspired one of the off-stage

⁴⁹. Wilder, v. Lauro de Bosis, son of the poet Adolfo de Bosis, was for Wilder "a most advanced, sophisticated young man and yet as sunny and idealistic as any New Englander. See Harrison, 81.

⁵⁰. Wilder's "review" of *The Ides of March* was noted in margins of a copy given to Terrence Catherman, a young American he had met in Germany shortly after the war. See Harrison, 253-254.

⁵¹. Wilder, v. Edward (End) Sheldon was a successful dramatist who for years had been bedridden, a victim of osteoarthritis. Poet Conrad Aiken mentions that "the atmosphere of reverence as friends approached Sheldon's bed was so thick you could cut

characters of the novel, Lucius Mamilius Turrinus, to whom the most confidential letters on politics, love, poetry and religion are addressed. Turrinus was a blinded and mutilated general of Caesar's who, rescued by the latter from the Belgians, since then resided in seclusion on the island of Capri. He belongs to Wilder's injured identities, reminiscent of the maimed Philocles in *The Woman of Andros*, whose silence highlights the notion of pain while his strength and sensitivity "cause his friends to develop insights as they communicate with him, and as Wilder told Sheldon of his anxieties about his plays, Caesar confides his deepest fears and hopes to his fellow campaigner."⁵² The sinister affection Caesar feels for the mutilated Turrinus, who has experienced one of the cruelest forms of "sparagmos," preshadows his own bloody death and legendary dismemberment that follows after the end of the novel.

Even though the recent deaths of the twentieth-century dictators might have contributed somewhat to the writing of the novel, Wilder's portrait of Julius Caesar bears no resemblance to the figures of Mussolini, Hitler, or Stalin. Unlike his contemporaries, the author is not interested in investing his writing to draw portraits of the psychologically corrupt or the psychopathic:

So far from having a Mussolini in mind, Wilder in creating his hero must deliberately have cast off the image of that pompous, vacuous Italian as well as the images of the dehumanized Austrian and the devious, barbaric Georgian – except in so far as their overruling of territories had engulfed the world in destruction – in order to seek the man, Julius

it." He had become a legend and his home the center of literary and dramatic network. "With End," Wilder said, "you shared a thing in a state of growth." See Harrison, 161.

⁵²-Castronovo, 133.

Caesar, chief architect of the Roman Empire as well as its dictator.⁵³

Similarly, Wilder's Caesar bears no resemblance to the other literary Caesar's like Shaw's or Shakespeare's, for example. Shaw's Caesar is witty and charming, but "he is only another disguise behind which Shaw himself is lurking."⁵⁴ Shakespeare's hero is not Caesar, who is more or less caricatured in the play, but Marcus Brutus. Unlike Shakespeare's, Wilder's Caesar is no enemy of thought, likes to read and has faith in humanity. He is charming, magnanimous, and decorous in conduct, even during the moments prior to his death, which recall the Andrian Chrysis having perished in an equally dignified manner.

The classical beauty of Wilder's Caesar who views the world from a philosophical perspective also justifies the fact that the initial concept of *The Ides of March* predated his reading of the existentialists as well as his Roman visit during the Second World War. In 1929 he had written E. H. Marsh seeking advice "on a conversation-novel turning upon the famous profanation of the Mysteries of the Bona Dea, with Clodius, Clodia, Catullus, Caesar, Cicero," but it was not until he interrupted the writing of *The Alcestiad* in 1945, and "just for fun began the Caesar-Clodia-Catullus-Cicero novel in letters" that further attention was given to this idea.⁵⁵ In one of the 1939 entries to his *Journals*, the early title of the novel, "The Top of the World," makes clear that he intended to delineate a tragic figure of unsurpassable stature backed with his series of impressions from admired authors:

Suppose I wrote "The Top of the World" and prefaced it with this note: "In this novel I have put into Julius Caesar's mouth words gathered from many authors in many different

⁵³. Bernard Grebanier, *Thornton Wilder*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1964, 39.

⁵⁴. Kuner, 178.

⁵⁵. Harrison, 253.

ages. The discourse to Catullus on nature is a paraphrase of Goethe's "Fragment" of 1806. The arguments on the immortality of the soul in the conversation with Cicero are from Walter Savage Landor, and he in turn was indebted for several of them to Plato and Cicero.⁵⁶

His adoration of the gifted persona is more than evident, but in a later entry he believes that his judgment has considerably matured in that direction since the time of *The Cabala*: "In *The Ides of March* I already scraped the moss from the word gifted, with its implicit allusion to a wise rather than a blind and haphazard donor."⁵⁷ The change was not solely of content but involved a remarkable development in form to which his friendship with Gertrude Stein had contributed. Their conversations on the portrait of his Caesar, and their exchange of opinions on the novel form had positively influenced his artistic development. Twenty-four years after the novel was published, Wilder mentioned in response to a question on whether the novel form is dead:

Gertrude Stein once said to me, "One of the things we have to face in the Twentieth Century is the decline of the belief in an imagined thing." I tried to get around this by trickery in *The Ides*—documents, letters pseudo-authentic. We are beginning to see the decline of belief in an externally reported life.⁵⁸

And in an earlier entry, Wilder had explained that what really fascinated him while he was writing the novel, was mainly the representations of "life's diversity" and "time's achronicity":

⁵⁶See February 3, 1939, *The Journals of Thornton Wilder, 1939-1961*, ed. Donald Gallup, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, 2.

⁵⁷See Goldstone, 212.

⁵⁸Harrison, 254-255.

All that is what kept me interested in *The Ides of March*. No view of life, then, is real to me save that it presents itself as kaleidoscopic,--which does not mean essentially incoherent. (The very children's toys of that name show us always a beautifully ordered though multi-fragmented pattern.)⁵⁹

With the overwhelmingly rich and diverse material used for the composition of the work, Wilder succeeded in creating a volume by which it is testified "that mere accuracy does not determine the reality of truth."⁶⁰ Caesar's sonorous Latin speech, the women's voices, Catullus' rhapsodies along with Cicero's objective realism, Cornelius Nepo's chronicling, and Suetonius' historical entry make the *Ides of March* the most compelling and artful vision that Wilder has produced in his fiction.⁶¹

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⁵⁹ See February 15, 1954, *The Journal of Thornton Wilder*, 1939-1961, 328.

⁶⁰ Herman Stresau, *Thornton Wilder*, trans. Frida Schutze, New York: Ungar, 1971, 83.

⁶¹ In 1963 a dramatization of the novel was attempted in Berlin's Renaissance Theatre, but the German translation did not do justice to Caesar's story. In this project Wilder had been encouraged by Jerome Kilty's play *Dear Liar*, which was similarly based on letters. A second attempt in London turned out to be another failure, and Caesar remained a memorable dramatic figure of fiction, which never made it on the stage.

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