SWEDISH JOURNAL OF ROMANIAN STUDIES

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Editorial

In the second volume of *Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies* we are delighted to welcome ten articles and four book reviews on Romanian language, literature, translation, culture and theatre, written in English, French or Romanian, by academics from various traditional universities.

Literature section is illustrated by authors with affiliation to The "A. Philippide" Institute of Romanian Philology, Iași, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, and West University of Timișoara. The articles advance novel insights when inquiring into enticing subjects such as: the bodily community and its representations in the common space of the members of *Viața românească* literary group, analysed through Roland Barthes's and Marielle Macé's theories; the remix of hajduk fiction in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Romanian literature, conveying a modern lifestyle; the exile and nostalgia for the native lands in a comparative reading of the works of two seemingly unrelated writers: Andreï Makine and Sorin Titel, both of whom revealed to undergo a pilgrimage to reinvent themselves.

Translation studies is a perfect ground for "1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia to present a paper dealing with a view on the concept of fidelity in literary translation with an analysis of the Romanian poet Mircea Ivănescu's work on the overture of episode eleven, "Sirens", from James Joyce's "Ulysses". The paper is not intended to elicit the imperfections of the translation but rather to illustrate the intricacy of the task, the problems of non-equivalence that are difficult to avoid by any literary translator.

Theatre section benefits from the original intuitions of academics from National University of Music Bucharest and Military Technical Academy, Bucharest, concentrating on modernity: the importance of the Romanian theatrical project – DramAcum, as a new type of theatre and dramaturgy, within the larger European influence of the verbatim dramatic style performed in theatres under the slogan of the in-yer-face; staging O'Neill's *Hughie* by Alexa Visarion makes way for an investigation of several drama reviews that discuss the play's first night, revealing that the performance was a successful attempt at communicating and debating the conflicted values of American pragmatism and equally a crowning of the Romanian director's effort to unfold the "anti-materialism" and the fatalistic approach to existence of the American playwright.

Owing to University of Bucharest in *Cultural studies* we witness the reconstruction of the attitudes of Romanian peasants towards the vestiges of prehistoric material culture, finding out what people thought about the origin of prehistoric artefacts and what meanings were associated to them.

In the *Linguistics* section thanks to Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, and Lund University we

are introduced to three perspectives on Romanian language: the destiny of the Latin in the East is interpreted through the pastoral character of Romanity, which led to a population mobility that influenced the language at diatopic level, with a focus on the transhumant shepherds whose travels played a linguistic levelling role, despite the territorial spread of the language; the modern French impact on the Romanian language (the redefining of the neo-Latinic physiognomy of the Romanian language) is detailed from a chronological perspective, the influence of French language being considered from a linguistic perspective, but also with a view to the various social circumstances; last but not least, we are proposed a plea in favor of a linguistic updating, namely the acceptance into the literary language of feminized denominations of professions.

Due to University of Oradea, Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, and University of Craiova the *Book reviews* section engages: a tome written by Paul Cernat, an essential study for those interested in the phenomenon of the Romanian avant-garde; a book by Carmen Mușat, which analyzes and systemizes the relational character of literature and the discourses on literature, a plea for the theorist and his presence in the world, retaining a valid purpose; a volume proposing multiple interpretations, in which Carmen Dărăbuș traces the (evolutionary) trajectory of male characters, by highlighting the permanent capabilities of metamorphosis of the primordial pattern; a literary magazine bringing into attention of the contemporary readers the cultural activity of the Romanian intellectuals from exile, with a focus on Camilian Demetrescu.

Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies is published in collaboration with "1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia, Romania, and welcomes contributions from scholars all over the world.

Introduction for contributors to
Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies

Focus and Scope

Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies (Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University) publishes studies about Romanian language, literature, theatre and film, cultural studies, translation studies, as well as reviews of works within these fields. It welcomes articles that focus on case studies, as well as methodological and/or theoretical issues.

Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies is a new forum for scholars of Romanian language, literature and film that sets and requires international high quality standards. The journal accepts papers written in Romanian or English, as well as in French and Italian.

Peer Review Process

SJRS has a two stage reviewing process. In the first stage, the articles and studies submitted for publication need to pass the scrutiny of the members of the editorial committee. The studies accepted in this stage are then undergoing a double blind review procedure. The editorial committee removes all information concerning the author and invites external scholars (whose comments are paramount for the decision of accepting for publication or not) to act as anonymous reviewers of the material. Neither the identity of the author, nor that of the reviewer is disclosed. The comments and recommendations of the anonymous reviewers are transmitted to the authors.

Open Access Policy

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Literature

THE BODILY COMMUNITY. THE GESTURE AND THE RHYTHM AS MANNERS OF THE LIVING-TOGETHER IN THE MEMOIRS OF *VIAȚA ROMÂNEASCĂ* CENACLE

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Abstract: *The present article explores the collective imaginary of the cenacle, referring to the case of* Viața românească *literary group from Iași, focussing on the bodily community and its representations in the common space, understood as space-in-common. This approach shifts the interest from the ideological component that is the 'poporanism', as promoted by* Viața românească *revue, to the ethical and social aspects of the community. This does not mean that the bodily community is "more real" than the ideological community, or that it translates with fidelity the common practices of the cenacle; the bodily community is in fact another form of representation, a phantasm of the living-together, analysed through Roland Barthes's theory as the space where solitude and sociability coexist. The corporal representations of the community, always engaged in an ethical debate, is further discussed through two manners of the living-together: the gesture and the rhythm. The theoretical reference of this analysis is Marielle Macé's book* Styles. Critique de nos formes de vie, *which proposes a formal approach of life, concentrating on the ethical implications. The issues derived from this sort of reading state the relation between the body and the environment, the vicinities and the somatic interactions between the members of the cenacle, the adjustment of distances, and the maintenance of solitude inside the community. The gestures, attitudes, behaviour, verbal and non-verbal tics, clothing, the manners of speech or the rhythm of doing certain things are seen not as marks of personal identity that positions itself inside the spaces of power, but as collective signs, as form of encounter and interaction, of exposure to the others but also responsiveness of the others, of expropriation as well as appropriation, of affirmation as well as alteration of the forms of life*.
Key-words: bodily community; *space-in-common*; gesture; rhythm; *Viața românească*;

The cenacle is defined by Anthony Glinoer and Vincent Laisnay as a community of three superposed realities: form of sociability, literary

institution, and imaginary construct (Glinoer, Laisnay, 2013). To elaborate, the cenacle as a particular form of sociability refers to the relationship built up between the members of the group which can be formulated as "literary camaraderie" in the name of which the writers are supported, stimulated, and promoted, the notion of literary institution encapsulates the means the cenacle uses to legitimate itself in the "literary field", while the imaginary construct depicts the modalities of representation.[1] The present study focusses on the last aspect of the cenacle, that is the self-representation, and, particularly, on the bodily representations of the literary community, having as a reference points the case of *Viața românească* cenacle. The reason I opt for the self-representation against other forms of representation (fictional cenacles, parodies, mass-media images of the outsiders), namely for the discourse of the cenacle instead of the discourse about the cenacle, is to emphasize the reflexive dimension of the collective imaginary. In this way, the discourse is anchored in the direct collective experience, the communication moves on both vertical and horizontal axes, on the one hand, by symbolizing the community into images, mental forms, narrative topics, emblematic spaces, and, on the other hand, by pursuing the peripheral, private, and singular forms and practices that focus more on the presence than the absence of community. In addition, the self-representation is not reduced to the "statements" about community only, which are visible and aware efforts, but it also conceals an internal functionality and a secret mechanics, or what Glinoer and Laisney refers to as a "blind" representation. This means that the self-representations also take into consideration the functions and the usages of the imaginary, the ways the community employs the constructed images. Also, the representation of the embodied community favours a particular understanding of the cenacle as it has a performative implication, meaning that the simple presence of the bodies in a single space and at a certain time already states, before any kind of articulated statements, the idea of the community[2]. Along with the public or posthumous

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[1] These distinctions are not to be considered separately, because, as Guillaume Pinson and Michel Lacroix convincingly posit, there is a communication between the social practice and the collective representations of a particular group. In this perspective, the declarations of the community do not compose a "stenography of the real" (*une sténographie du réel*), but a "poetics of sociability" (*poétique de la sociabilité*) that projects an image of the community, an image that is able to create, in a sort of *tour-retour* effect, forms of sociability and social practices (Lacroix, Pinson 2006: 5–17).

[2] This idea is developed by Judith Butler in a short study from a collective book entitled *What Is a People?*, which analyses the performativity of the utterance *we, the people*. What notices the researcher is the fact that the respective utterance does not need to become an act of speech for it to be activated requiring the mere presence of the bodies that enact it without speaking. Therefore, *the embodied people* merge the linguistic performativity with the

representations, the community manufactures the phantasm of the living-together that translates into the feeling of participation of each individual to the constitution and sense of the group, a phantasm that is less connected to the ideological commitment and more likely to some forms of life such as the gesture and the rhythm. Therefore, what I have in mind is a superposition between the collective ethos and the corporal representation: the cenacle is no longer abstractly understood as affiliation to a literary direction, movement, school, or poetics (*Viața românească* cenacle has been constantly analysed in correlation with the ideology of 'poporanism' the revue promoted), but as concrete presence in a common space or, to put this differently, in a medium of life.

To illustrate this relation between space and community, between body and collectiveness, I will refer in the next paragraphs to the memoirs of "Viața românească" literary circle: Ionel Teodoreanu's *Masa umbrelor* (1946), Mihail Sevastos's *Amintiri de la „Viața românească"* (first published in 1956, and rewritten in 1966), and Demostene Botez's *Memorii II* (1970). Although published at a considerable distance in time, all the texts taken into consideration refer to the same timeframe: the period between 1906, the year *Viața românească* revue is first published in Iași, and 1930, the year the revue moves to Bucharest under the direction of Mihai Ralea and G. Călinescu. The revue's activity in Iași coincide with the existence of the cenacle that meet at the *Viața românească* editorial office or at Ibrăileanu's house; after the revue is transferred to the capital, followed by Ibrăileanu's illness and death (1936), the practices that define the cenacle disappear and are reduced to the aspects of the editorial board. In addition to the memoirs of *Viața românească* cenacle analysed here, there are other sources that fall into self-representation category such as the correspondence or the revue, but the reason I choose to focus on memoirs only is because they depict that material concrete *space-in-common* that reveals the bodily community in comparison to the epistolary communication that describes a literary community beyond the limits of the physical space bringing to attention the relationship between the actual members and the aspiring contributors, and to the mediated representations that are responsible for the public image of the group, an image outside its intimate spaces and secrete practices. Placed at the intersection of literary history and cultural studies, the present article uses pluriperspectivism, multifocalization, and heterogeneity as methods in order to decentralise the univocal discourse that is concentrated on individual authors, and to touch upon other forms of relating to art and the artistic products, integrating the problems of creativity into the social and collective

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physical performativity, as *we, the people* implies the existence of this embodied community that is "visible, audible, tangible, exposed, persistent, and interdependent" (Butler 2016: 49).

domain. The interest for communities begins to stimulate the Romanian literary studies in a variety of directions: the relation between literary groups and the spaces of power, as in Loredana Cuzmici's study, *Generația Albatros – o nouă avangardă* (2015), or Daniel Puia-Dumitrescu's book, *O istorie a Cenaclului de Luni* (2015); the constitution of national community and the power of literature to create "textual communities", as in Doris Mironescu's approach in *Un secol al memoriei. Literatură și conștiință comunitară în epoca romantică* (2016); *Dacoromania litteraria* revue from 2016, coordinated by Laura Pavel and Ligia Tudurachi, debates the idea of the community as usage, reflecting on the concept of "interpretative community" as in Stanley Fish's theory and that of "collaborative community" derived from Victor Turner's *communitas*. A pioneer researcher in the field is Ligia Tudurachi, whose articles on *Sburatorul* cenacle reflect upon the vicinities and corporal touches (2017), upon the relation between sociability and creativity (2015), between sociability and emotion (2018), as a result of the living-together. Nevertheless, little research has been published in Romania on the idea that literary communities are capable to sustain a particular manner of being, and none that reconsiders *Viața românească* group as a form of sociability rather than ideological affinity.

Space is an important factor to be taken into consideration when discussing the bodily community. Glinoer and Laisney analyse the topographical aspects of the cenacle as the location inside the city, the size of the apartments and houses, the interior design, showing that the main feature of such a space is intimacy and isolation from the outer space. This intimacy specific to the cenacle (it is not proper to saloons or cafes) encourages a particular interaction between the bodies: the members come to know each other's gestures and to react according to them, the space is sometimes insufficient for the assembly, hence the physical proximity and contact, the frequency of certain manners and practices lead to a process of ritualization. The memoirs also shape a spatial imaginary representing the space as *space-in-common*, meaning that, on the one hand, it is infused with the group's images, and, on the other hand, it is a cohesive element, with a particular identity. The interior of the room, the manner the objects are arranged, the intimate "corners" that tacitly belong to some members of the community are correlated to the collective imaginary, and produced by the group's relationships and affect. Concurrently, the space is also a producer of structure and sense, a stimulator of behaviour, gestures, and attitudes. The space generates the living-together, constraints in a positive way by driving the individuals together, "forcing" them to interact and expose to each other. Analysing the particularities of the small groups, as opposed to the forms of seclusion, on the one hand, and to the macro-structures, on the other hand, Roland Barthes asserts that community is the result of living in the same

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place (*vivre dans un même lieu*). Different from the spaces of power, the space of the living-together (*le Vivre-Ensemble*) is characterized by marginality, permeability, and mobility, sharing an ethics and a physics of distance that is explained by Roland Barthes in the terms of "suspended solitude in a regulated manner" (Barthes 2002: 37). This means that the space of *Vivre-Ensemble* is shared and individual space at the same time, the members of the community interact while they are alone, preserving their personal territory ("the signs of my space"). To sum up, the bodily community is understood as physical presence in space, presupposing a plural composition that permits the bodies to exhibit their similarities and differences, their particular gestures and rhythms escaping a synchronized movement.

To analyse the collective implications of the gesture and the rhythm, I propose as theoretical reference Marielle Macé's study, *Styles. Critique de nos formes de vie*. The French researcher defines the gesture as a "moment of individuation"[3], meaning it is not an individual biographical label that creates positions engaged in battles of supremacy, distinctive signs, aestheticized forms of life, or staged "postures" (Meizoz)[4], but singularity, because it focusses on the relations, interactions, appropriation and expropriation, affirmation and alteration of the forms of life. Therefore, the gesture, rephrased as collective, and not individual mark, from an ethically engaged point of view, is regarded, on the one hand, as a "practice of attention" (*une pratique de l'attention*), and, on the other hand, as a manner of situating inside the community ("insertion in a medium of life"). Pursuing Aby Warburg's idea on the "intensified gestures", Macé thinks that the "gestural singularities" are the result of a "physical and perceptive capacity" to see and to be seen which drives to an ethics of attention apprehended as "power to be affected" [5]. The second function of the gesture is the insertion in a medium of

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[3] "L'individuation n'encourage pas à penser des identités (un être «soi»), mais des singularités (un être «tel», un être «comme ça»). Singularités anonymes, moments fragiles d'un individu, qui impliquent avant tout une non-superposition, une tension, un débat entre les êtres et les styles qui les traversent, qui les animent sans les définir en propre, et qui peuvent aussi bien les quitter." (Macé 2016: 205)

[4] For Jérôme Meizoz, the "posture" responds to a current biographic and sociological demand of the literary study by seeking to redefine the concept of author. Hence, the author as posture refers to the modalities of the self-presentation and self-positioning in the literary field, the way the writer's image is publically promoted and negotiated by means of discourse (stylistic choices, culture, moral physiognomy), on the one hand, and by means of non-verbal elements (looks, gestures, behaviour, habits), on the other hand (Meizoz 2007).

[5] In this perspective, the oblivion is not at all an innocent neglijence but a lack of moral responsability, because it confiscates the forms of life: "C'est une vie dont le "comment" serait imposé, mutilé, inerte; mais aussi une vie dont le "comment" serait traité sans justesse, sans scrupule, lorsque les discours (les nôtres) en rendent mal compte, passent trop vite, confondent, croient reconnaître, ou négligent de douter de leurs propres opérations de

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life which is, in this particular case, the community, demanding a constant education of the diverse manners of life. In the next paragraph, I highlight some repetitive gestures in the memoirs of *Viața românească* group, that are analysed not to trace individual portraits but as a marker of the common, as discussed above. Rather than classifying the gestures according to typologies and functions, the aim of this paper is to set up a schematic scene of the gestural diversity. My interest consists in the reconstruction of the group's image, and the gesture, as posited by Marielle Macé, implies a dynamic engagement in a medium of life, it contains a collective predisposition, and not an individual imposition.

Due to their frequency and redundancy, the gestures become rituals, having significance only inside the cenacle while outside they cannot be recognized (see also Glinoer, Laisnay, 2013: 369). In fact, the writer feels solidary with the cenacle less in the ideas it promotes through the revue and rather in a certain familiarity with the other bodies, with their gestures, clothing or mimics. It is a fact that the gesture has a social component, that it develops particular bodily techniques that are specific to a certain culture, society, or group (Mauss, 2002). Therefore, the cenacle is capable to educate the bodies, to shape corporal schemes which are specific. Gestures call for other gesture, developing a somatic network that is activated only by the group and only in its meeting spaces:

> When Sadoveanu entered massively in the editorial room, with one shoulder forward, through the narrow door with two leaves, one of which was eternally fixed, after hanging his coat in the wall hanger, all the faces lightened; and Ibrăileanu even forgot to burn the paper of the cigarette. Sadoveanu fished out some small sheets from the pocket, on which were stringing microscopic letters like flees, and started reading. [...] After the reading of such a piece in *Viața românească* editorial, the comrades were astonished, mute... Only Ibrăileanu's eyes were trembling restlessly. (Sevastos 2015: 176 – 177)[6]

> One day the father Gala Galaction, white as Tolstoy and Santa Claus, made his appearance on the threshold of the daily vigils. He blessed us standing in the frame door, and making a priest like entrance. Some kissed his hand, others only faked kissing it, and the last bowed their foreheads as if at the liturgy. (Teodoreanu, 1947: 27)

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catégorisation; dans tous ces cas c'est la dimension éthique du vivre qui est maltraitée" (Macé 2016: 292). This means that there are no lives without style but only lives that are "inadequately treated", "inadequately qualified".

[6] All translations from Romanian into English are completed by the author of this paper.

The gesture materializes the reactions to the environment, meaning it represents possibilities to adapt to the gestural demands of the other. In this case, the gesture is not only recognition but also acceptance and apprehension. When Sadoveanu points his hand at the pocket of his coat in order to draw a manuscript, and Gala Galaction makes a priest like entrance, the peers respond, are engaged by the other person's gesture: they get ready to listen (Ibrăileanu forgetting to burn his cigarette!), are emotionally affected by the reading, and play along with the latter by making pious gestures. The cenacle models a participative "us" that acts and reacts, engages and responds, having value only through and for the respective community. Outside the editorial office, Sadoveanu and Galaction's gestures are incomprehensible, being emptied by the interpersonal significance they have inside.

The gestures, as mentioned before, become rituals, meaning they are universalizable, they encode a certain manner of life which is, in this case, the vocation of being a writer. This happens mostly due to a feeling of admiration towards some members of the cenacle, as in the case of Ibrăileanu, the "charismatic leader" (Glinoer, Laisney, 2013) of the group (although the cenacle escapes any hierarchy, being characterized by "literary camaraderie", the admiration for some peers act as a sort of ranking). In all the memoirs discussed here, Ibrăileanu's gestures, clothing, tics or actions are registered thoroughly, merging them into a fascinating figure. Here are a couple of examples from many others: "When vexed, he would pull the flat brim of the hat on his forehead. [...] He would grab the manuscript and bring it closer to the eyes, knit his eyebrows, and his dark pupils would start glowing row after row." (Sevastos, 2015: 19). Or: "Sometimes he found a catastrophic error in one of the printed sheets. Then he would get very angry, poke his hat with the finger down to his neck, like pushing it away. He would then knock at a little window carved in the right wall directed towards the printing office." (Botez, 1970: 338–339). Or: "The cape fell off his shoulders. He was sitting on the chair only temporarily. Every torrent of ideas, either indignation or enthusiasm, would make him stand up in a Faustian metamorphosis." (Teodoreanu, 1947: 71). After being noticed, the gesture is also registered, which means it impresses the receiver, becoming "intensified gesture", but also it fascinates, seduces, becoming an aesthetical code of life. Ibrăileanu's gestures are, for the members of the cenacle, the expressive instrument of his aesthetic experiences and feelings, hence they fall out the category of the normal behaviour, configuring a regime of exceptionality: "Sometimes he remained astonished, as if listening to the silence of the room likewise Irena who watched the struggle of a butterfly's wings between the blinds and the glass; and other times he pressed his cheek against the back of his hand like the heroine who reposed her blushing face on a marble stone."

(Sevastos, 2015: 60). It is not the only example in which Ibrăileanu is described as fascinated or even in love with Turgenev and Tolstoy's heroines and the fact is explicable as Ibrăileanu himself proposes a philosophy of the reading stating that literature is an experience of life being capable to shape attitudes. In this perspective, the gestures of the "charismatic leader" translate into embodied images the idea the cenacle has about art and vocation in literature.

Further on, I will focus on the rhythm, as another way to interact inside the cenacle. The rhythm has an important place in Roland Barthes's theory of the community, defined as physics and ethics of the distance. According to Barthes the living-together, *le vivre-ensemble*, is (or at least should be) the result of what he calls "idiorrhythmy", understood as "manner in which the subject inserts itself in a social (or natural) code" (Barthes, 2002: 39)[7], but without obeying a controlling process as the rhythm is also "suspended solitude" and "communism of the distances". To put it otherwise, the issue raised by Roland Barthes refers to the manner in which the individuals accord or discord their "personal rhythm" to the common life, the way in which they insert discontinuities into the collective movement. Marielle Macé rephrases the complex and subtle problematic proposed by Barthes's thinking: "For Barthes the living-together represents the infinite accord of the rhythm; not the unanimous regulation in the same *tempo*, but the accord of the nuances that is able to generate differences: to individuate and to allow individuation, to protect, at the same time, the chances of sociability and the chances of solitude." (Macé, 2016: 259)[8]. In dialogue with authors such as Barthes, Meschonnic, Michaux or Baudelaire, the French researcher considers that the rhythm, as manner of being in the community, is not a simple acceptance of common rules, or conformity to the common needs, but disequilibrium, a perpetual struggle of an "infinite accommodation". In a common environment, the discords, the discontinuities, the individual rhythms are agreeing, as the community is always an encounter with other forms of life, with other rhythms, wherefrom the creative dimension of the discord: "to imagine other lives apart from your own."[9]

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[7] See also the anthropology of André Leroi-Gourhan for whom the rhythm, present in the basic processes (such as muscle contractions or hand usages) as well as in the development of language and technology, is, on the one hand, the manner in which the human being inserts in the world, and, on the other hand, the origin of society. (Leroi-Gourhan 1983).

[8] Translation mine: "Car vivre ensemble, pour Barthes, c'était accorder indéfiniment des rythmes; non pas se régler unanimement sur un même *tempo*, mais accorder des allures qui devaient pouvoir demeurer différentes: s'individuer et laisser individuer, protéger à la fois les chances de socialité et les chances de solitude."

[9] Imagination has a crucial role in Marielle Macé's thinking, being no longer understood as a weakness of the mind, an escape from reality or the poets' privilege, but as a social, ethical and political practice, that enlightens our relationship with the time, space, group, nation,

The Table of Shadows is a good example to illustrate the rhythmic manner of the community, since the members of the cenacle are recalled not in individual portraits, but positioned in the common space. This location "around the table" articulates a collective form of life: each writer intervenes in the common space with his gestures, mimics, clothing, becoming engaged and noticeable for the others:

> At the top of the table (on Ibrăileanu's side, meaning the farthest point from the door) was sitting Mihail Sevastos, shy, silent, with thick velvet eyebrows, sensual red lips, plump cheeks as if painted, black vanilla hair and eyelashes of an odalisque. [...] When talking, he used a single comprehensive say: "*one thing*". That thing could be a literary issue, a jar of cucumbers, a hunt, a strike or a war. [...] Professor Ibrăileanu entered pale (as if faded, lunar), with insomnia dark circles, shaggy, self-absorbed and taciturn. The light seemed to bother him, like the owls: made him turn away from it. He was sinking inward, as in a den, far from all and everything, hardly speaking with his smoky tobacco burned lips. Only after a bunch of cigarettes and discussions (of the others), he came to life, got fired up, gesticulated, jumped off the chair, weighed in with arguments, paced nervously. [...] And suddenly he would collapse into the armchair, exhausted, afraid for his health, of germs and drafts. [...] Facing professor Ibrăileanu, at the other drawer with manuscripts of the long table, right from Sevastos, was Topîrceanu. In his high school uniform (he was fifty back then) he was the embodiment of Voltaire's sharpness in his angular ugliness. A wagtail-like rhythm put Topîrceanu in a provisory state even when he seemed to stay. He only seemed, as I said. Because he never actually sat. He was always swinging, sometimes imperceptibly, but he never really stopped [...]. When Sir Mihai (Sadoveanu) entered, the floor groaned and the chair wondered about its existence. *He was* as the moonrise in one of his landscapes, overwhelming and yet astral, telluric and yet ineffable. I didn't understand him back then (as my today illusion thinks). But I was grasping him with a feminine attention (in my eye's tail), gathering the myriads of his apparent monotony. The pal Frunză (Axinte), with his redingote from the prehistory of the redingote, hid his smile in the curly beard (Russian as much as Greek), so absent that only at the end of the meeting you remembered: he was also there [...].

nature or our own body. Therefore, the imagination becomes a form of responsibility towards the environment and towards other forms of life, because it traces paths to the possibility of the being, apprehends the differences, the discords, preserving them as such with no desire for uniformity. The social harmony, already a brand in our globalized era, is not at all the response to social and political problems, as it sacrifices the alternative forms and generate totalitarian systems, while the creative disequilibrium, the imagination, is the foundation of democratic regimes as a mutual agreement for the right to disagree.

Sometimes Pătrăşcanu showed up from Bucharest, with pointed beard and bold nose, having the colour and the vivacity of a squirrel. [...] Octav Botez, having the features of a bourgeois musketeer after twenty (sweet) years, with soft scarf, rubbers instead of spurs and (permanent) umbrella instead of sword, was living in a sort of ecstasy, as the teenagers in love. He made his entrance in a hurry, greeted, stripped out (from coats, scarves, umbrellas, rubbers) and stand among the others but also apart from them. He tried to listen and weigh in but succeed only in a fragmented superficial manner. I think that the editorial office was mostly the place where he encountered himself [...]. Doctor Cazacu got the effervescent romanticism of the civil disobedience. Just entered, he could be seen sewing the air and trumpeting. He sat on a chair but on the edge, as if temporarily, and protested something against the governance, smoking a giant cigarette from a giant cigarette holder, and, unable to keep still, flared up as conquering the Bastille once again. Doctor Cazacu was an explosion: an idealistic one. On the contrary, Mihai Carp (my former Romanian language teacher) looked like a church fresco that was only by chance dressed up with modern cloths. Handsome and pale, as the saints (and somehow Byzantine, slender), he was neatly dressed, having a fine predilection for the ties: always changing them. [...] Păstorel was coming every now and then: sometimes epigrammatically biting (what alerted Topîrceanu who was less spontaneous than Păstorel, slower), and other times showing the serious side of his speech, earnest to pedantry. As opposed to Ionel (who sceptically remained silent, being dressed in a blue silky shirt), Păstorel talked eloquently, having a ring on his finger, a tie needle, starched collar and faultless haircut. (Teodoreanu, 1947: 20 – 34)

The excerpt, which I quoted extendedly to capture the interactions between the members of *Viaţa românească* cenacle, is not a mere sequence of portraits, but, as anticipated, an imaginary performance of the rhythmic life of the community, consisted of accords and discords, of particular nuances and individual pulses. Each member is a participant to the common space by creating a self-image (*faire image* as postulated by Macé) from gestures, tics, clothing, phobias, behaviour, attitudes, manners of speech, each of them calling a special form of attention from the others, but these rhythmic singularities escape to adapt to a predetermined common motion (for Macé, *faire image* always comes with *faire avec*, that refers to the superposition of the self-image and the alternative images of the others). Reading Teodoreanu's text, we may re-imagine this rhythmic community that values, at the same time, the distance and the living-together: the insomniac Ibrăileanu who sinks into his armchair and jumps into discussion with large gestures and unusual verve only after smoking a few cigarettes, the restless

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Topîrceanu, always careful with his looks and taking the freedom to adjust his aspect in front of the others, Octav Botez who measures the room and looks over his friends' shoulders, the shy Sevastos who starts the conversation with same word, Sadoveanu who makes his entrance in silence, probably interrupting the on-going discussion, D. D. Pătrăşcanu coming from Bucharest with news and anecdotes, the surprising Al. O. Teodoreanu, feared by Topîrceanu for his spontaneous jokes, but also eloquent and serious. The portraits of doctor Cazacu and Mihai Carp, comparatively depicted by Ionel Teodoreanu ("On the contrary, Mihai Carp…"), are also relevant, because the author is not preoccupied to institute oppositions or to delineate identities that exclude each other as much as to accentuate the possibility of consensus, the "conflict of nuances", in Macé's words: in the small communities, the extraverted doctor Cazacu, with his plain effervescent gesture may peacefully coexist with the introverted Mihai Carp and his extravagant looks. All these "manners of life" cannot be understood independently; they cohabit, communicate, and adapt to each other or, to put this differently, adjust their rhythm. Another important key-aspect is the preservation of the solitude inside the community, of the "idiorrhythmy", confronted by Barthes with the communitarian integralism that forces the rhythmic uniformity on the singularities (for Barthes, the power means the imposition of an incompatible rhythms on the others): for Octav Botez, for example, the friendly reunion of *Viaţa românească* cenacle is "the place where he better encountered himself", Topîrceanu takes time to adjust his tie or his hair strand, Ibrăileanu retreats in his armchair distancing himself from the conversation, Axinte Frunză assist in silence at the discussions of the others, Sadoveanu also prefers to listen than to weigh in. In addition, Teodoreanu's memoirs is a good example for the ethics of attention discussed above. In this sense, I partially resume Sadoveanu's portrait: "I didn't understand him back then (as my today illusion thinks). But I was grasping him with a feminine attention (in my eye's tail), gathering the myriads of his apparent monotony." Three consequences may be derived from here: firstly, the human being is seen as a singularity expressed in nuances and different manners of living, and not as a well-defined identical entity; secondly, these accents and properties are to be "grasped" by the attention of the other, implying, as Macé shows, an accommodation with the differences, an exercise of imagination that unbalances the individual by positioning him face to face with the altery ("imagine other lives apart from your own"); lastly, Teodoreanu emphasizes that this accommodation with the other is infinite, because it is only an illusion to think that life might be defined and classified, when it calls for a

perpetual attention, being a continuous process of adjustment and negotiation.[10]

The living-together implies a confrontation with other forms of life, with other singular rhythms, preserving both solitude and sociability. The fundamental issue of the bodily community is the degree to which an individual is able to participate to the common life, a matter of dosage between the particular and the collective. In the end, I would like to bring into the discussion the manner in which the representation of the bodily community, analysed as rhythmic insertion in the *space-in-common*, is translated in the everyday practice of the community. As explained at the beginning of the article, the representations have a social function, they produce a social imaginary and carve figures of identity, meaning they are used and instrumented by the members of the community. To serve this purpose, I will refer once more to Teodoreanu's *The Table of Shadows*. The author records in his memoirs one of C. Stere's visit at the cenacle: "Today the monastic table of *Viaţa românească* was full, chair by chair, man by man, mountain of aches by mountain of ashes, clouds of smoke by clouds of smoke." (Teodoreanu, 1947: 43). In the mechanics of the writer's body, smoking is more than a mere vice, and rather a style of the artistic life, because it stimulates the contemplation that anticipates the writing process or, contrarily, it excites the sense and intensifies the emotions leading to existential obsessions. In small groups, on the other hand, smoking becomes a form of sociability that comes along with reading and conversation. Undoubtedly, those who share a cigar tend to neglect the discipline in the favour of a *laissez faire*, making conversation without predetermined rules (in comparison to saloons' *causerie*), regulated only by the lightening of the match and the exhaust of the smoke in the air (just think about the pause in the conversation the smoker takes to lighten the cigarette). Comparing different memoirs on *Viaţa românească* cenacle, it becomes easy to notice the attention for this collective vice, almost present in every portrait of the members. Ibrăileanu, for example, smokes a lot, with long pauses between cigarettes due to a personal ritual: being afraid of germs, he first burns the paper with the match until it carbonizes and his fingers start hurting. When appreciating a manuscript or an idea, Ibrăileanu lightens a cigarette as sign of pleasure and, on occasion, forgets even to burn it. Topîrceanu smokes cigarette after cigarette, in an accelerated tempo, especially when writing an article. Constantin Botez lightens cigarette after cigarette until coughing and choking. Always on the go, Ion Botez smokes a thick havana in the American

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[10] In fact, Marielle Macé considers that the classification of the forms of life is a confiscation by the discourses of self-performances (dandyism, asceticism, mass-media). On the contrary, the style of life is a permanent task (*tâche*), because it has no predetermined value, but is always pending, always "to be made".

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style, covered in dense smothering smoke. Stere enjoys the cigar, doctor Cazacu is in the possession of a giant holder cut out for his giant cigarette, and Mihai Codreanu, always elegant and dressed up, prefers the pipe. Therefore, each member of the community smokes in a particular manner, with different kinds of items (cigarette, cigar, havana, pipe) and lightening their cigarettes in a particular moment of their activity (conversation, reading, writing). To sum up, there are different and singular manners to do the same thing. Rewinding to the episode captured by Ionel Teodoreanu, I try to imagine the scene: all the eyes are focussed on Stere who fascinates them with his Siberian stories, a great vicinity of the bodies due to the crowded space, possible only among friends, the lightening of the cigarette, gesture that probably incited the others to lighten theirs, each in his rhythm, but still together, in which case it is presumably they borrowed the gestures of their partners, and finally, the rising smoke intertwined with the neighbour's, generating a uniform mass that diffuses the personal frontiers and reunites the individuals into a collective image.

The community, therefore, may be analysed as participation and not only as belonging, which makes possible the configuration of collective forms of life leading to some difficult ethical problems such as the modalities of insertion in a medium of life, the adjustment of distances, or the maintenance of solitude inside the community. The gestures, clothing, tics, behaviour, rhythm are forms of exposure and participation to the world, the connection between the individual and the community, the surface where individuals interact and also keep their solitude without damaging the common life. However, this sort of approach does not exclude the problem of belonging to the community. A further analysis of other forms of self-representation such as the correspondence, the articles, the polemics, the dedications, the parodies would open the discussion on the complex mechanisms of legitimation, positioning, verification, and recognition inside and outside the community.

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HAJDUK NOVELS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ROMANIAN FICTION: NOTES ON A SUB-GENRE

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Abstract: *In the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Romanian literature, hajduk novels and hajduk short fiction (novella, short-story, tale) are called to bring back a lost "epicness", to give back the hajduks their lost aura. But why did the Romanian readers need this remix? Was it for ideological reasons? Did the growing female readership influence the affluence of hajduk fiction? Could the hajduk novels have supplied the default of other important fiction sub-genres such as children or teenage literature? The present article supports the idea that, as a distinct fiction sub-genre, the hajduk novels convey a modern lifestyle, attached to new values such as the disengagement from material objects, the democratization of access to luxury goods and commodities, and the mobility of social classes. Clothing, leisure, eating/ drinking/ sleeping/ hygiene, work, military and forest/ nomad life, and ritual items that are mentioned in these novels can help us correlate the technical tendencies reflected in the making of objects to a particular ethnicity (Romanian).*
Key words: hajduk; folk ballads; novel sub-genre; corpus analysis; dissolution of epicness; mass literature

A few remarks on the richness of "genres" during the nineteenth century

Beside the apparent textual and para-textual tokens, there are historical and cultural arguments that support an integrated approach to hajduk novels, as a *sub-genre* of the Romanian nineteenth-century popular fiction. For the current analysis, the term "sub-genre" refers to a subdivision, to a set of works assembled according to shared conventions, literary devices, and literary purpose. As Wellek and Warren have shown, the nineteenth-century literature and its particular phenomena (chiefly, the development of popular print) not only changed the definition of the literary genre — from a normative to a descriptive understanding —, but also they opened it to various, short-lived hybridizations:

> "it seems preferable to say that the conception of the genre shifts in the nineteenth century, not that it — still less the practice of genre writing — disappears. With the vast widening of the audience in

the nineteenth century, there are more genres; and, with the more rapid diffusion through cheap printing, they are shorter-lived or pass through more rapid transitions. 'Genre' in the nineteenth century and in our own time suffers from the same difficulty as 'period': we are conscious of the quick changes in literary fashion — a new literary generation every ten years, rather than every fifty." (Wellek and Warren 1949: 242).

The American theorists stress on the fact that, leaving behind the normative restrictions, "the genres" become literary ephemera related to favored *topics,* to the public's fluctuating *tastes* and *moods*, to the *gender proportion* within general readership, to *the development of dedicated series* (e.g. *livre de poche*) and *to the specialization of publishers* (on what has been termed as "genre literature"). According to Wellek and Warren's assumption, variety is likely to be greater within literary traditions and societies engaged in an accelerated process of transition, for instance the transition from feudal to modern institutions occurred after the decline of the European empires in the Central and South-Eastern Europe.

The regional circulation of Hajduk novels

As already proven (Nikolova 2010, Bogdan 2011, Koliopoulos 1987, Hobsbawm 1959, Vrabie 1966), hajduk epic — both epic songs and derived literary works — is specific to the entire Balkan area, its regional spreading being favored by shared geographic, economic, social, and cultural conditions. The Bulgarian *haiduti/ hayduds*, the Serbian *hajduks*, the Greek *klephts*, the Albanian *kaçaks*, the Ukrainian Cossacks, the Croatian *uskoks,* and the Romanian *haiduci* (Bogdan 2011: 75-87, Bozanich 2017: 1-13, Gustafson 2017: 25-31) are known to have lived in the Balkan Mountains — Rodopi Mountains, Srena Gora, Stara Planina, Olympus Mountains, Romania Mountain in Bosnia (Gîrleanu 1969: 20-22), the Danube and the virgin forests as preferred settings for attacking and hiding, the Ottoman influence in the Central and South-Eastern Europe, the dissolution of old feudal privileges and, on account of modernization-waves coming from the West, the dissolution of old ways of life. At the same time, they champion a sort of "alternative economy" (Gustafson 2017: 5, 9) and a type of "paramilitary organization" (Bozanich 2017: 14-29). Authors such as the Serbians Sava Bolsulka, Miloš Crnjanski and Janko Veselinović, the Bulgarians Georgi Stoykov Rakovski, Orlin Vasiliev and Peyo Yavorov, the Hungarian Zsigmond Moricz, the Czech Ivan Olbracht, the Romanians Bucura Dumbravă and Panait Istrati, even the Turkish Yasar Kemal become widely known for their hajduk fiction.

Before them, nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century ethnographers such as Auguste Dozon (1875), Claude Fauriel (1824), Vuk

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Karadzic (1834), A. Chodzko (1879), Léo d'Orfer (1918), V. Alecsandri or G. Dem. Teodorescu not only collected a great stock of hajduk ballads they had found from Greece to Ukraine, but also "exported" them to the Western public in a translated and sometimes embellished version. As Elka Agoston Nikolova notices, numerous *haiduti* pieces have been drawn out from larger epic songs and turned into "floating fragments" that used to be sang at fairs and during military marches. The same remark on the ballads' dissolution into "floating fragments" and their re-cycling was made, at the turn of the twentieth century, by George Coşbuc (Coşbuc 1960: 227) and Barbu Delavrancea (Delavrancea 1963: 174-175). Nevertheless, the process of conversion — from anonymous ballads to authored literary works — is spurred by a perfect acclimatization of hajduk types to a rising popular culture, which leads to the establishment of "a national genre," *i.e* an original literary form that erupted and developed strictly only within the geographical and language boundaries of a nation.

Additionally, the presence of the *haiduti* female leaders (*vojvoda* are, as Nikolova proves, prevalent over men) in both epic songs and subsequent literature is an aspect which, although not confirmed by historical facts, indicates that hajduk epic and hajduk fiction incorporate a strong vector of modernization, an explicit challenge to the patriarchal society (Nikolova 2010: 458-459, Gîrleanu 1969: 34-35).

Pulp fiction in nineteenth-century Romania

In the case of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Romanian literature, the public's taste in reading hajduk fiction got even more ruling due to 3 determining factors: a. the massive publication of epic poetry — called "hajduk ballads" or "hajduk rhapsodies" and grouped under these labels — and its categorization done by G. Dem Teodorescu (Teodorescu 1985: 98-99, vol. 2); b. the emergence of original fiction (novels and short prose) and "genre-authors" who expand ballad "floating episodes" or simply embed large quotations from hajduk ballads into their "original" prose;[11] c. the circulation of Romanian translations from hajduk novels belonging to neighboring cultures, Serbian, Czech, Bulgarian, Russian. For instance, two

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[11] A.D. Xenopol, *Foiletonul Voinţei Naţionale*, no. 356, 1 Oct. 1885, p. 2: „În deobşte aceste producţiuni sunt mai pe jos de mediocre şi cu toate acestea ele au un mare răsunet în poporul nostru. Este, pentru a zice astfel, singura literatură într-adevăr căutată. După cât am aflat, se vând pe an din aceste scrieri mii de exemplare şi de aceea numărul lor sporeşte pe zi ce merge. Este o clasă întreagă de oameni care le citeşte, pe care-i interesează, cărora le procură o adevărată petrecere intelectuală, oameni cari de altfel n-ar găsi nici o plăcere la citirea unor novele de alt gen, de altminteri bine alcătuite şi frumos stilizate. (...) Cum se face de haiducii sunt atât de iubiţi şi celebraţi în timpurile noastre? Noi credem că această reîntoarcere a minţii poporului către trecut, această interesare pentru suferinţele altui timp ce ne atinge de aproape, este un semn viu al iubirei de ţară ce se manifestează în el."

translations of Sava Bosulka's hajduk novels are published in popular editions before 1920 (DRRT 2005: 321). Apparently, the transitions, transfers and alterations from folklore to mass literature occur in the same fashion as in Bulgaria (Nikolova 2010), Albania (Gustafson 2017), Greece (Koliopoulos 1987), Serbia (Bracewell 2003, Bogdan 2011, Bozanich 2017): epic songs go through a process of demythologization, the great deeds of archetypal heroes acquire a psychological determination, epic structures lose their "epicness" and eventually turn into descriptions (Coşbuc 1960: 228, Delavrancea 1963: 174-175), sub-urban love songs/*cântec de lume* (Vrabie 1969: 500-501) or ritual folk plays performed by teenagers in New Years' Eve (Nikolova 2010: 457-458, Eugen Barbu 1974: V-XVIII, Papadima 1968: 126, Papahagi: 216-221).

Consequently, *hajduk novels* and *hajduk short fiction* (novella, short-story, tale) are supposed to bring back the lost "epicness," to give back the hajduks their lost aura. But why did the nineteenth-century Romanian readers need this remix? Was it for ideological reasons? Did the growing female readership influence the affluence of hajduk fiction? Could the hajduk novels have supplied the default of other important fiction sub-genres such as children or teenage literature?

<center>***</center>

It is highly probable that "the melodramatic imagination" and its "mode of excess", which are specific to all post-revolutionary societies (Peter Brooks 1976/ 1995: X) — and nineteenth-century Romania is, in fact, a society going through a perpetual revolution and change! — had determined the development of "the hajduk sub-genre" (Ioana Drăgan 2001, Ioan Popa 2014, Marian Barbu 2003). Set side by side with *city mysteries* and *historical novels* (also called "national romances/ novels"), the hajduk sub-genre seems to be chiefly hero-oriented. The entire epic matter wraps around the main character. In the case of Romanian popular fiction, the figures of "the national hajduks" Miu, Corbea, Jianu, Grozea, Ghiţă Cătănuţă, Codreanul, Bujor, etc. seem to be purposefully fashioned so as to differ from the figures of international hajduks such as Stanislav, Velcu, Novak, etc. who are also glorified by the Romanian folklore. Compared to their ballad forerunners, novel hajduks would reveal both positive and negative traits. Grafted on the rhapsodic archetypes of clear-cut good and evil, "the melodramatic imagination" brings in the open the "moral occult," in fact, the epic hero' secret soul, a world of instincts and emotions which has not been presumed by anyone until the publication of these popular novels.

Famous figures of Western outlaws (Rinaldo Rinaldini, Robin Hood, Karl Moor) exert only a mild influence on this type of hajduk fiction, Schiller's *Die Räuber*, Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and Dumas' *Le Prince des voleurs* and *Robin Hood, le Proscrit* being translated only after 1920. The

only exceptions are Adolf Sönderman's saga, *Rinaldi Rinaldini,* translated în 1892, Louis Boussenard's *The Hajduk of Macedonia* (1904), Pushkin's *The revenge of a Son, from a Russian Hajduk's Life* (1909), Henri Conti's *Crimes of Hajduk Boric* (1909) (DRRT 2005: 178, 201, 233, 263).

In his well-known book on "primitive rebels" and "social banditry," Eric Hobsbawn has noticed that the Balkan hajduks are quite special because they achieved "the most institutionalized and conscious form of social banditry," which signals the passage from the rural to the urban way of life (Hobsbawn 1959: 20). Hajduks voice "a popular discontent" (Bogdan 2011: 73-96, Gustafson 2017: 17) and, at the same time, prove themselves able to "institutionalize" an *alternative economy*, a type of *paramilitary organization*, a *democratically-validated leadership*, all in all, they institutionalize an *outlaw lifestyle* — that is, they bring to form, thus to expression, a specific way of living and being. In a 1972 article, Hobsbawn points at the fact that

> "the most apolitical (or 'quasi-political movement') of all bandits … are the Balkan hajduk. They were more removed from sedentary peasant communities, and had an established tradition of collective organisation" (Gustafson 2017, 26).

Accordingly, the hajduk is neither "a noble robber," nor "a terror-bringing avenger" (Hobsbawn 1972: 503-505). Perhaps it is useful to bring out the fact that, compared to Hobsbawn's approach to the hajduk's archetypal "primitiveness," the eminent ethnographer Gh. Vrabie considers that the distinction between "knight-hajduks" and "robber-hajduks" should still be in place (Vrabie 1969: 361-404).

As already mentioned, the hajduk figures act like magnetic centers that organize the epic and dramatic matter of a significant number of nineteenth-century Romanian novels. While *city mysteries* — and "mysteries" are spread throughout each and every Romanian city, from small to big, from Bucharest and Iași to Brăila and Giurgiu — show a language in expansion, able to use all available resources and while *the historical novels* show an identity built on facts, the hajduk novels show the public how the collective emotions can be disciplined through the agency of a charismatic figure. If rhetoric theory is kept as reference, the three main sub-genres — city mysteries, historical, and hajduk — stand for types of *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* that fuel the mechanisms of literature by persuading the public to buy and publishers to print.

But the popularity and the strong topicality of the new "national" sub-genre can also be proven in quantitative terms.

A Corpus of Hajduk Novels in the context of 19ᵗʰ-century Romanian Literature

Excepting CoRoLa, a Romanian corpus that has included literary entries — yet, only literary works published after 1945 (Tufiş 2018, Verginica Barbu Mititelu et alii 2017) — the Romanian corpora such as ROMBAC, ROCO, BABEL, SWARA provide resources that are fit almost exclusively for linguistic queries. Literary research has not drawn great benefits from these previous endeavors, as the history of ideas, genres, movements, communities, forms as well as the quantitative research of literary style(s) must be addressed with specific tools and methods (Schöch 2017, Eder 2016, Jockers 2012).

On the account of a long and difficult standardization process (Pană-Dindelegan 2016, Mancaş 2005, Gheţie 2001), the Romanian literature published before 1945 has not received a focused treatment. As a matter of fact, the digitization of literary texts has been rather circumstantial and random. Currently, the literature collection of http://www.digibuc.ro/colectii/literatura-romana-c1330 counts only 4204 items, many of them travel accounts and poetry produced along five centuries.

Various attempts at organizing the data provided by *Dicţionarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până la 1989 (DCRR)* have pointed at the fact that the great bulk of not-digitized texts should be approached topically rather than monographically, by paying attention to prominent sub-generic clusters such as the ones previously mentioned: *city mysteries*, *historical novel* and *hajduk novel*. In case this forsaken literary patrimony will ever be made available in digital editable formats, one of the most engaging research questions would be if the corpus analysis supports the theoretical discrimination between the three sub-genres and if the hajduk novels are really any different from historical novels.

Going back to the figures provided by *DCRR,* I could notice that, between 1848 Revolution and the end of WWI, 627 Romanian novels were published, in either volume editions or press installments. At a closer look, one can notice that the number of compact volumes (**V novels**) exceeds the number of novels published exclusively as press installments (**I novels**) with approx. 11%: 350 **V novels** *vs* 277 **I novels**. Before their publication as volumes — back in those times, this should be regarded as a moment of individual consecration and of literary professionalization — some of these novels had already been introduced to readers as serials. In order to avoid overlapping, my counting of **I novels** reflects only the dictionary entries that, between 1850 and 1920, do not have a correspondent in the section of **V novels**.

Among the 350 **V novels**, I could identify 41 "hajduk novels" representing 11.71% of the total number of volumes indexed by *DCRR*, which, in quantitative terms, proves the outstanding popularity of this narrative sub-genre. Extending my search to the repository of "Mihai Eminescu" library and browsing various cheap editions authored under the veil of anonymity or by genre-writers such as N.D. Popescu, G. Baronzi, P. Macri or Stefan (Th.) Stoenescu, my search of hajduk novels needed a surer guidance.

Consequently, I established several *markers* that could tell, from a relative distance, that a novel belongs to the hajduk sub-genre and not to the city mysteries or to the historical novel: *a. Titles* that contain occupation/ legendary names: *Iancu Jianu, Captain of Hajduks*; *Ioan Mândru, the Most Famous Capitain of Hajduks*; *Bostan, a Hajduk from the Other Bank of the Milcov River*; *Mina, the Hajduk Woman*, etc.; b. *Conflicts* (as they are summarized in the dictionary entries) correlated to social, economic and cultural *transitions* from rural to urban cultures, from feudal society to early capitalism, from despotism to democracy, from closed to open spaces/ the free nature. *E.g.*: the free hajduks *vs*. the Ottoman pashas/ Phanariote princes/ corrupted local boyars; the hajduks' cave/ forest/ mountains *vs.* the boyars' courts/ cities; humble inns/ monasteries vs. luxurious chamber palaces; c. *Insertions of folk hajduk ballads* within the novel structure as scenes of leisure when the captains of hajduks feast and listen to songs that praise their own legend; d. *Footnotes* indicating novel sources: folklore collections containing hajduk ballads/ drinking songs.

The preponderance of hajduk fiction as well as its strong markers enabled me to go further and reflect whether the hajduks' nomad lifestyle (favored objects, habits, community rituals) can also be perceived as a generic indicative. If ethnographers and historians already emphasized that the hajduks lived in quasi-military communities (always dressed in green for camouflage), that their way of validating leadership had always been democratic (even before democracy was brought to Romania by the young 1848 intelligentsia), that their social skills in international networking could only rival their strategic abilities (the gang is, most of the times, international because it gathers hajduks from the entire Balkan area), now it is literature's turn to check and validate if the hajduks engendered a literary form of their own.

Conclusions

In a predominantly agricultural and rural country such as the nineteenth-century Romania, novel hajduks — as well as their forerunners form the folk epic poems — act as an accelerator of modernization. Attached to a type of "primitive" individual freedom, they usher new values such as

the disengagement from material objects, the democratization of access to luxury goods and commodities, and the mobility of social classes. Clothing, leisure, eating/ drinking/ sleeping/ hygiene, work, military and forest/ nomad life, and ritual items that are mentioned in these novels can help us correlate, in Leroi-Gourhan's way (Leroi-Gourhan 1973: 7-8), the technical tendencies reflected in the making of objects to a particular ethnicity.

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NOSTALGIA ORIGINII
LA ANDREЇ MAKINE, *TESTAMENTUL FRANCEZ*
ȘI SORIN TITEL, *ȚARA ÎNDEPĂRTATĂ*

THE NOSTALGIA OF THE PLACE OF BIRTH
IN ANDREЇ MAKINE'S *THE FRENCH WILL*
AND IN SORIN TITEL'S *THE ALOOF COUNTRY*

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Abstract*: In the Middle Ages, exile meant expatriation, the prolonged absence from the native lands, one can say that a person is in exile when it is not possible to return back home. Exile involves unsettlement; the expatriated suffers from nostalgia and tries to recover his origin, the center, his home. Thinking about the past involves an idealized representation of lived history, which may have the effect of a mythical evocation of the past.*

*The nostalgia is one of the central ideas of the novels of the Russian writer Andreï Makine, who has hardly built his identity as a Russian writer of French, his literary beginnings being not simple. The theme of the nostalgia and the parallel between two different worlds are constantly found in Makine's novels, and in **The French Will** it gets a special note. Andreï Makine says in interviews that he chose to write in French, but his country of origin is always in his soul.*

*Another writer – Romanian this time – in whose novels we find the nostalgia of origins is Sorin Titel, who reveals an unusual world, Banat, where the writer was born. The estrangement from Banat has beneficial consequences in almost all respects. Established in Bucharest, the author has the nostalgia of Banat and transforms it into an epic projection, reinvents Banat. The removal from the places of origin, the distancing, the alienation, are mandatory conditions of the pilgrimage to himself, for only by being far from Banat he could reinvent him, using the memories of his childhood. Even the title of his first book with which he begins the recuperation is enlightening: **The Aloof Country**, signifying both the Banat, geographically, and the age of childhood, at a symbolic level.*

This is the case with the two writers, Andreï Makine and Sorin Titel, writers who being far away from their native places, have fictionally translated what they feel for home - Russia and Banat.

Key words: nostalgia; exile; native place; Makine, Titel;

În opinia lui Edward Said, exilul este „ruptura de nevindecat dintre o ființă umană și un loc nativ, dintre sine și adevărata sa casă: tristețea sa absolută nu poate fi depășită niciodată. [...] Realizările exilului sunt subminate permanent de pierderea a ceva lăsat în urmă pentru totdeauna" (*traducerea noastră*) (Said 2000: 173). În Evul Mediu, exil însemna expatriere, absența prelungită din ținuturile natale, se poate spune că o persoană se află în exil atunci când nu e posibilă întoarcerea. Exilul presupune dezrădăcinare, exilatul suferă de nostalgie și încearcă să recupereze originea, centrul, un *acasă* ideal. Fixarea în trecut implică o reprezentare idealizată a istoriei trăite, ce poate avea drept efect o evocare mitică a trecutului.

În această încercare de recuperare a centrului, a spațiului de origine, este extrem de importantă identitatea scriitorului, apartenența la un spațiu; astfel, Kath Woodward subliniază importanța apartenenței în devenirea, conștientizarea și asumarea identității: „Identitatea circulă, dar este despre apartenență. Trebuie să ne amintim, pentru a ști de unde am venit, astfel încât să putem crea noi povești despre sine, fără a pierde din vedere apartenența" (Woodword 2002: XII - *traducerea noastră*).

Discuția despre o încercare de întoarcere la origine presupune aducerea în prim plan a nostalgiei, așa cum e aceasta teoretizată de Vladimir Jankélévitch. Una dintre observațiile ce se desprind din *Ireversibilul și nostalgia* se referă la faptul că „adevăratul obiect al nostalgiei nu este absența în opoziție cu prezența, ci trecutul în raport cu prezentul; adevăratul leac al nostalgiei nu este întoarcerea înapoi în spațiu, ci retrogradarea spre trecut în timp" (Jankélévitch 1998: 269). Trecutul nu trebuie doar reactualizat mental, ci și păstrat în memorie, fie ea individuală sau colectivă. Ajungem astfel la ideea enunțată de Vladimir Jankélévitch conform căreia nostalgia „este o melancolie omenească pe care o face posibilă conştiinţa, care este conştiinţă a ceva, conştiinţă a unui altundeva, a unui contrast între trecut şi prezent, între prezent şi viitor" (252-253).

Plecarea, împreună cu păstrarea în memorie a unui anumit timp şi spaţiu, reprezintă declicul nostalgiei, ce semnifică „ataşamentul de un spaţiu familiar, un acasă *(nostos)* şi suferinţa (*algia*) declanşată de ieșirea din acest spaţiu" (Deciu 2008: 258). Nostalgia presupune și o ramificare cronotopică: se poate vorbi, pe de o parte, de un timp nostalgic, și, pe de altă parte, de un spaţiu nostalgic.

Concept cheie la nivel literar, nostalgia reprezintă unul din punctele centrale ale romanelor *Testamentul francez*, de Andreï Makine şi *Ţara îndepărtată*, semnat de Sorin Titel. Pornind de la semnalarea prezenţei nostalgiei în cele două romane, îmi propun să arăt în eseul de faţă cum anume este configurată nostalgia, axându-mă în acest scop pe evidenţierea

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mecanismelor de redare a spațiului nostalgic, care este ireversibil, ceea ce face ca încercările celui plecat de a se întoarce să eșueze.

Scriitorul rus Andreï Makine și-a construit anevoios identitatea de scriitor rus de limbă franceză, începuturile sale literare nefiind simple. „Makine a ajuns la Paris cu puțin bagaj în afara iubirii sale pentru Franța și literatura ei. A aplicat pentru azil și cetățenie și și-a petrecut următorii șapte ani trăind stereotipul romantic al unui artist muritor de foame într-o mansardă pariziană" (*traducerea noastră*) (Fairweather 1999). Se menționează, în același articol, că, de câte ori se muta dintr-un loc în altul, își lua cu el manuscrisele, precum și scrisorile de respingere din partea editorilor. Scriitorul însuși părea șocat atunci când povestea cum era gata să facă aproape orice pentru a fi publicat - „retrimitea romanele cu diferite titluri și diferite nume" (*traducerea noastră*) (Fairweather 1999). Succesul a venit atunci când a primit premiile Goncourt și Médicis pentru romanul *Testamentul francez*, o scriere cu inserții autobiografice, ce relevă povestea Charlottei Lemonier, o franțuzoaică exilată în Rusia anilor '20, așa cum este prezentată de nepotul acesteia.

Mereu prins între două lumi, între două culturi total diferite, nepotul, aflat la vârsta copilăriei, conștientizează importanța limbii și începe căutarea identitară. Vorbește franceza cu bunica sa în vacanțele la Saranza, și se surprinde de multe ori gândind în această limbă, în detrimentul celei materne. Se simte mândru de îndepărtata sa origine franceză, îl face să se simtă deosebit, dar atunci când, adolescent fiind, se simte marginalizat, ridiculizat, din cauza acestui aspect, încearcă să se adapteze mediului în care trăiește, renunțând temporar la francofonie. Din acel moment nu mai folosește franceza ca pe un lucru natural, ci analizează fiecare frază, împotmolindu-se, uneori, tocmai datorită acestei conștientizări a limbii.

Tema nostalgiei și paralela dintre două lumi diferite se regăsesc în permanență în romanele lui Makine, iar în *Testamentul francez* capătă o notă aparte. Uniunea Sovietică, prezentată ca epicentru al barbariei și al totalitarismului, se află la antipodul Franței, considerată epicentru al democrației, al libertății, civilizației și spiritualității europene. Deși își construiește un univers imaginar, pe măsură ce descoperă Rusia în aspectele sale sumbre, sentimentul său de atașament și apartenență sporește.

Copilăria scriitorului este strâns legată de „implantarea grefei franceze" (Bărbuceanu 2016: 42), de către o franțuzoaică a cărei identitate este transpusă în persoana bunicii Charlotte Lemonier, în *Testamentul francez*. Ea l-a învățat limba franceză și i-a dezvăluit, prin prisma amintirilor, o imagine a țării sale natale, Franța, „căutarea identității într-o odisee care-l proiectează într-o permanentă glisare între țara natală și cea revelată de Charlotte" (42), aceasta constituind tema *Testamentului francez*. Romanul face cunoscut exilul interior al intelectualului care, fără să-și fi părăsit țara, trăiește

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imaginar într-o altă patrie, construită din lecturile parcurse, povestirile ascultate, cunoaşterea unei limbi străine (franceza).

Într-un interviu luat scriitorului de către Natasha Fairweather, aceasta face aluzie la un poet rus, Joseph Brodsky, care a afirmat că „rușii tânjesc după patrie atunci când călătoresc" (*traducerea noastră*) (Fairweather 1999). Cu toate acestea, jurnalistei i se pare că Makine nu simte nostalgie, căci el spune: „Nu eu am părăsit Rusia, ci Rusia m-a părăsit pe mine" (*traducerea noastră*) (Fairweather 1999), romancierul arătându-şi profunda dezamăgire față de realitatea rusească din perioada respectivă. Această afirmație denotă faptul că scriitorul refuză să accepte schimbările produse în Rusia după destrămarea Uniunii Sovietice şi nu doreşte s-o revadă: „Pentru mine, Rusia este ca o fostă iubită. Am în minte o imagine a ei, a felului în care obişnuia să fie şi a ceea ce însemna ea pentru mine şi mă tem ca, revizitând-o şi înlocuind prețioasele mele amintiri cu noile impresii, să nu-mi distrug această Rusie interioară, pe care încă simt nevoia să o redau în scris" (*traducerea noastră*) (Fairweather 1999). În *Testamentul francez*, naratorul „tânjeşte după Franța, o țară necunoscută, în țara sa natală. Odată stabilit în exil, o nostalgie a Rusiei îl face să descrie şi nostalgia pentru Franța când era departe de ea" (Bărbuceanu, 2016: 74). Makine însă nu are o atitudine rece față de Rusia şi consideră că, deşi e „un drum lung", reîntoarcerea acasă „este o problemă de timp", aşa cum afirmă în discuția cu Vladimir Bronnikov (*traducerea noastră*) (Bronnikov 2010). De altfel, spre deosebire de alți scriitori aflați în exil, el merge în Rusia de două ori, incognito.

Partea fascinantă a romanului o reprezintă paginile finale, prin câteva personaje secundare, dar şi prin plimbările ficționale între cele două Atlantide, cea rusă şi cea franceză. După destrămarea URSS, vrea să o aducă pe bunica sa în Franța şi apelează la un om de afaceri rus, aparţinând unei specii denumite *rusul nou*. Makine se distanțează de respectivul rus - „Aveam impresia că înțeleg din ce în ce mai puțin Rusia, pe care o vedeam acum" (Makine, 2002: 261), portretul acestuia dându-i ocazia lui Makine să observe de la distanță Rusia post-sovietică, pe care nu o cunoaşte direct. Personajul nu reprezintă doar imaginea țării natale, ci şi imaginea Occidentului – este un om de afaceri ce are succes, are legături cu alți oameni de afaceri occidentali. El este dezgustat de Saranza, oraşul de stepă învăluit în aura magică a copilăriei lui Alioşa: „Vai, dar ce târg nenorocit e Saranza asta! (…) Şi toate străzile acelea care duc în stepă. Şi stepa, care nu se sfârşeşte nicăieri…" (262).

Andreï Makine afirmă în interviuri că a ales să scrie în limba franceză, dar țara de origine este întotdeauna în sufletul său: „Acțiunea povestirilor mele are loc în Rusia, deoarece ea este mereu cu mine, nu-mi pot imagina să scriu despre altceva" (*traducerea noastră*) (Moltoni 2013).

Din toate scrierile sale transpare nostalgia față de țara maternă, în toate interviurile sale vorbește despre Rusia, chiar dacă o face prezentându-i și părțile dure. Din aceste interviuri înțelegem că un motiv posibil al exilului său în preajma destrămării URSS se datorează tocmai a capacității intuitive de a fi simțit direcția în care urma să se îndrepte țara, respectiv o tentativă de occidentalizare.

Pentru a descrie textul narativ, Umberto Eco a folosit metafora „pădure" (Eco 1997: 11), metaforă potrivită scrierilor lui Makine, ce invită cititorii într-un timp al amintirilor într-o țară dispărută, o Atlantida rusească a copilăriei, adolescenței și maturității, a cărei vastitate a rămas mereu în memoria autorului. Astfel, în operele sale, apar oameni din trecutul sângeros al Rusiei; aceste călătorii în timp permit autorului să întâlnească personaje pe care le transformă în ființe ale lumii create din amintiri. Destinele personajelor se confundă cu destinul țării, iar Makine se oprește adesea pentru a privi Rusia prin ochii acestor ființe.

Se remarcă preferința lui Makine de a accentua originea rusească a femeilor din universul său literar, prin indicarea numelui de familie sau chiar forțarea patronimului la genul feminin, obicei atât de drag rușilor; astfel, Charlotte Lemonier, bunica franțuzoaică este „Charlota Norbertovna, numele acela exotic, culmea politeții și a curtoaziei" (Makine 2002: 29).

În *Testamentul francez*, tânărul scriitor intuiește puterea cuvintelor de a transfigura realitatea: „Viața aceea se dovedea acum esențială. Trebuia, încă nu știam cum, s-o fac să înflorească în mine. Trebuia, printr-un efort tăcut al memoriei, să învăț gamele acelor clipe. Să învăț să le păstrez veșnicia în rutina gesturilor zilnice, în toropeala cuvintelor banale. Să trăiesc, conștient de veșnicia aceea...nu numai pentru a descoperi viața esențială, ci și pentru a o recrea, înregistrând-o într-un stil care rămâne de inventat. Nu voi avea altă viață decât clipele care renasc pe o pagină" (255).

Makine mărturisește în interviuri că se identifică cu toate personajele sale, care sunt exponenții trecutului și ai țării pe care a lăsat-o în urmă. Scriitorul le readuce la viață, dar și trăiește odată cu ele. A intra în dialog cu acești oameni, a-i readuce la viață din adâncurile memoriei înseamnă a nu pierde legătura cu țara natală.

Un alt scriitor, român de data aceasta, în romanele căruia găsim nostalgia originilor, este Sorin Titel, „numele de fală al Banatului" (Rachieru 1995: 148), care descoperă o lume neobișnuită, inedită, Banatul, cu toate rămășițele Imperiului Habsburgic, dar păstrând, în același timp, aproape nealterată, civilizația tradițională românească.

Scriitorul vine pe lume în Banat, în satul Margina, apoi familia se mută la Caransebeș (perioada formării intelectuale), urmează perioada timișoreană, iar ulterior se mută la București, înstrăinarea de Banat având consecințe benefice din aproape toate punctele de vedere. Stabilit în București, autorul

are nostalgia Banatului și o preschimbă în proiecție epică, reinventează Banatul. Îndepărtarea de locurile originii, distanțarea, înstrăinarea sunt condiții obligatorii ale pelerinajului către sine, căci, doar fiind departe de Banat l-a putut reinventa, folosindu-se de amintirile copilăriei. Chiar și titlul primei cărți cu care începe recuperarea este edificator: *Țara îndepărtată*, semnificând atât Banatul, din punct de vedere geografic, cât și vârsta copilăriei, la nivel simbolic.

Adrian Dinu Rachieru, vorbind despre lumea lui Sorin Titel, spune că „hinterlandul romancierului bănățean este o lume fabuloasă, îndepărtată, dilatând timpul, retrăind ceea ce, părelnic, a fost uitat" (Rachieru 1995:47). *Țara îndepărtată* evocă o lume foarte aproape de prezent, în Banat, în timpul Primului Război Mondial și după, în care recuperarea satului se face prin prisma copilăriei. Satul devine personaj colectiv, având istoria lui, exprimat prin mama, tata, Eva Nada, ce prezintă cotidianul. Universul satului este dominat de liniște, de fericire, autorul prezentând faptele cu multă căldură, cu duioșie, detaliat. Astfel, plecarea de acasă a copiilor, la sfârșitul vacanței, e descrisă pe mai multe pagini, iar prepararea colțunașilor și a cozonacilor este un eveniment important, chiar și întâmplările minore devin majore; personajele sunt receptive, „trăiesc banal și ritualic" (Buciu 2007: 31).

Sorin Titel prezintă, prin intermediul revenirii la copilărie, o lume frumoasă, populată de oameni buni, generoși, ce trăiesc în locuri memorabile, fiind în relații calde unii cu alții, *Țara îndepărtată* putând fi receptat ca „romanul deteritorializării, dar și romanul în care inocența este pândită de mari primejdii" (Ungureanu 2003: 123).

„Sorin Titel (re)descoperă lumea Banatului, o lume a copilăriei dintâi, a primelor senzații, a celor dintâi sentimente, însoțite de înfiorările pe care ți le poate da doar trecerea anilor și (în)depărtarea concretă " (Vighi 2000: 29). De aceea, în proza titeliană se remarcă prezența a numeroase toponime, porecle, gesturi, toate acestea având legătură cu universul banatic, dintre care amintim Bega, drumul de la gară spre sat, moara ce, „pe măsură ce anii au trecut, a început, încet, încet și cu totul pe neașteptate să se descompună, arătând din ce în ce mai mult ca un cadavru intrat în putrefacție" (Titel 1974: 15). Multe din activitățile de zi cu zi au loc în bucătărie, spațiu extrem de important, unde mama și Eva Nada pun castraveți la murat, fac dulceață de cireșe și bulion, colțunași cu marmeladă, găluște de griș, supă.

Totuși, eroii părăsesc, uneori, acest spațiu privilegiat și „de fiecare dată îndepărtarea de casă presupune întâmpinarea propriului destin" (Roșca 2000: 18). Îndepărtarea de locurile natale îi permite scriitorului recuperarea, salvarea de la uitare, căci, după cum spune unul dintre personaje, „nu-i ușor să trăiești printre străini" (Titel 1974: 10).

Această recuperare se face și prin evocarea unor întâmplări ce par atemporale, astfel ele rămânând vii, recompunând o lume *îndepărtată*, cu

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personaje senine. „Naratorii săi provin din spațiul banatic, care reprezintă un creuzet etnic. Tăifăsuind, ei află tihna sadoveniană și gustă plăcerea povestitului, contemplând apusul unei lumi; vor să fie ‹‹foarte exacți›› și, prin ceea ce știu, stăpânesc lumea" (Rachieru 1995: 15). Toți ceilalți îi ascultă cu atenție și cu încredere, fiindcă, deși sunt la limita fantasticului, „poveștile astea din bătrâni sunt toate adevărate. Eu, să spun drept, cred în ele" (Titel 1974: 127), afirmă mama.

Despre această lume din provincie scrie și Ovid S. Crohmălniceanu, afirmând că Sorin Titel „și-a creat o lume a sa, inconfundabilă, cu o geografie și faună proprii, scăldate de o lumină aparte, o *Yoknapatawpha* care-i poartă numele în atlasele imaginarului" (Crohmălniceanu 1984: 148).

Una din problemele fundamentale ale oricărei persoane înstrăinate este cea legată de spațiul de refugiu, ca destinație temporară sau definitivă a scriitorului. La început, într-o primă fază, cel plecat simte fascinație pentru țara/ orașul gazdă, curiozitate, precum și dorința de a asimila cât mai mult din noul mediu; dar, odată cu obișnuința, apare dorul, nostalgia pentru locul natal, de origine. Însă, el/ea se poate oricând refugia mental în acele locuri și ceea ce dă putere creatoare înstrăinării este tocmai această nostalgie, ce se cere exprimată, redată în scris.

Acesta este și cazul celor doi scriitori, Andreï Makine și Sorin Titel, după cum am arătat în rândurile de mai sus, scriitori care, departe fiind de locurile de baștină, au transpus în ficțiune ceea ce simt pentru *acasă* – Rusia, respectiv Banatul. Până la urmă, exilul, îndepărtarea de locurile natale, nu înseamnă neapărat o traumă, căci, după cum afirmă însuși Makine, răspunzând unei întrebări adresate lui de către o jurnalistă: „cu toții suntem exilați. Gândiți-vă la dvs.: trăiți în România, sunteți femeie, sunteți o femeie de această vârstă și cu acest aspect fizic, sunteți exilată în propriul dvs. corp. Sunteți exilată în propriul dvs. destin și trebuie să vă obișnuiți cu asta" (Vlădăreanu 2013, p. 9).

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Translation studies

MIRCEA IVĂNESCU – A ROMANIAN POET RENDERING THE STYLE OF JAMES JOYCE'S *ULYSSES*. THE CONCEPT OF FIDELITY IN TRANSLATING THE OVERTURE FROM "SIRENS"

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Abstract: *The following paper deals with a view on the concept of fidelity in literary translation with an analysis of the Romanian poet Mircea Ivănescu's work on the overture of episode eleven: "Sirens" from James Joyce's "Ulysses". Mircea Ivănescu is a postmodernist poet who prefers to employ an ordinary language when writing. Moreover, he is a self-taught man of letters who didn't even get a degree in the languages he translated from. When speaking of his work as a translator his attitude is often sceptical. However, "Ulise" is an acclaimed Romanian translation and critics have repeatedly praised Ivănescu's translation skills and use of language. For that reason, the paper focuses on the concept of fidelity in translation and on the effort of the Romanian poet to efficiently render Joyce's writing style in the target language and at the same time to preserve the original meaning of words. The paper is not intended to elicit the imperfections of the translation but rather to illustrate the intricacy of the task, the problems of non-equivalence that are difficult to avoid by any literary translator and some potential approaches.*
Key words: Language; Fidelity in translation; Non-equivalence; Form; Content.

Set in the Ormond Bar of Dublin's Keys the *Sirens* of this episode's title are the seductive barmaids who worked in the establishment. However, what really holds Bloom's companions in control is not them, but the power of music that they sing to themselves.

The time is four p.m, which is the appointed hour for Blazes Boylan to meet up with Molly Bloom for their lovers' tryst. Bloom's inner torment is staged tragically as Joyce puts Boylan in the actual hotel within earshot of Bloom who's listening in the next room as Boylan is chatting to his friends, unaware of the presence of his lover's husband. Bloom takes notice of the moment of his departure, so it is an extremely affecting scene and an unforgettable experience for the reader. Bloom, tortured by the knowledge of Molly's adultery, is amusing himself to the song of The Sirens in the Hall of

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the Concert Room. He alone, as Ulysses was, is able to resist the music's charms, establishing himself as the unconquered hero. In the Greek *Odyssey* the Sirens had a specific quality of their voices, that was impossible to be described by the text. By contrast, Joyce's text decomposes the features of voices and sounds, so that they can be faithfully expressed into writing. "The Sirens can be read as the dramatisation of the materiality of language and it is Bloom as the writer in the drama who acts for the reader as the de-composer of the voice and music into material sounds" (MacCabe 1979: 83).

The really extraordinary aspect of *Ulysses* is Joyce's technique of logical arrangement, refined over the years and finally employed to allocate for each episode of the book a specific art, colour, symbol, technique and organ of the body. According to the diagram conceived by Stuart Gilbert (1963: 38), the chapter "Sirens" is designed around the organ of hearing, the symbol of barmaids and the art of music. As stated by Joyce, the compositional technique that he had employed in this episode is *fuga per canonem*, a concept encountered in the field of music, derived from the term *fugue* which refers to a "composition constructed on one or more short subjects or themes. … The interest in these frequently heard themes being sustained by diminishing the interval of time at which they follow each other" (Stainer & Barrett 2009: 179).

Therefore, the *Artist*, whose works all gain greatly from being read aloud, sets off the challenge to convey music in words, as he wants to render all the effect and the emotional resonance of music in language. To do this, Joyce employs a set of literary devices like onomatopoeia, wordplay, allusions, foreign words, invocation or enumeration. Moreover, the style includes a parody of several musical devices, as Blamires (1996:86) noted: "structural development of small figures and phrases; a continuous symphonic manipulation of sharply identifiable themes; the use of emphatic rhythmic figures and patterns; varied tonal contrasts; rich onomatopoeic orchestration which mimics the interplay of strings, brass and woodwind; echo and semi-echo; contrapuntal play of phrase against phrase; percussive explosions; recapitulations in different 'keys'; and so on." After having finished working on this chapter, James Joyce commented on the process, saying "Since exploring the resources and artifices of music and employing them in this chapter, I haven't cared for music any more. I, the great friend of music, can no longer listen to it. I see through all the tricks and can't enjoy it any more." (Ellmann 1982: 459).

Joyce had been preparing himself to write *Ulysses* since 1907 and his style, method and scope represented an outfling of all he had learnt as a writer. Fourteen years later, the work was finally completed in October 1921. After having spent nearly 20,000 hours on the novel, according to his own personal estimation in a letter addressed to his patron H.S. Weaver on 24th

June 1921, the final product is a piece of work of the mind and imagination of an artist that over the decades has struck many literary critics and scholars with its unruly nature. Through the years, the novel has been translated into German, French, Spanish, Russian, Czech, Polish, Japanese, Chinese, Danish, Italian, Portuguese, Hungarian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Catalan and Romanian. When it comes to translation, only a truly great writer could take the challenge for completeness in the understanding of such a revolutionary style and language. Joyce was highly interested in getting involved in the translation of *Ulysses* and often criticised the alternatives chosen by the foreign translators. He used to believe that translation is indeed a process of cognition, mainly dictated by the translator's background, but at the same time it is a growth of consciousness toward the original text. According to Joyce, his work is so problematic that it needs "an elastic art to delineate it - without solving it", as Milesi translates one of Joyce's letters, dated 9 August 1918, written in French and referring to rendering his style in a different language (Milesi 2003: 13).

After the Second World War there was a smattering of attempts at translating *Ulysses* into Romanian. Oțoiu A. managed to successfully synthesise the Romanian response to James Joyce and the evolution of *Ulysses'* translation in the chapter *"Le sens du pousser": On the spiral of Joyce's reception in Romania*, published in the first volume of the study edited by Lernout and Mierlo: *The reception of James Joyce in Europe*. According to the study, Gellu Naum and Simona Drăghici were the first writers who attempted to offer a translation of the "Telemachus" chapter, followed by Andrei Ion Deleanu and the novelist Ion Barbu who were the first scholars to start a common project tackling the challenging translation of the whole novel. In spite of their extensive experience both as writers and as well as translators, their project was forced to be brought to an end because of Deleanu's demise in 1980.

In 1971 a new translator took the ambitious task of rendering *Ulysses* into Romanian. Mircea Ivănescu received great praise when his translation of the chapter "Oxen of the Sun" was published. "The idiomatic and vernacular 'placental outpouring' at the end of the chapter posed similar difficulties of adapting the vast number of English dialects and slang to the much narrower compass to the Romanian *patois*. Ivănescu brilliantly handled both difficulties and produced an exemplary recreation of Joyce's *tour de force*" (Oțoiu 2004: 202).

By the year 1973, Mircea Ivănescu had become one of the most appreciated translators in Romania, even though he was a self-taught man who had learnt all the languages he translated from through reading and did not own a foreign language degree. He had achieved to render into Romanian Kafka's works and Faulkner's *The Sound and The Fury* while, at the same

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time, his poems were causing great admiration with their postmodernist originality. When portraying the character of his poetry, 'it doesn't speak a different language than that of the Indigenes, an ordinary language. It doesn't rely on a selective, esoteric language, infatuated with its own transfiguring valencies, but on an immediate language, unpalatable and lacking demeanour; a language in which imprecision doesn't stimulate a productive ambiguity of meaning, only a verbosity'[12] (Cistelecan 2003: 13 – our translation).

Despite his praised talent for writing, he was always sceptical of his artistic accomplishments. The Romanian critic and friend of the translator, Matei Călinescu, acknowledges in the introduction to one of Ivănescu's volumes of poems his insecurities: "he is not himself, he is doubtful, reluctant, uncertain of his own work"[13] (2003). A similar position of doubtfulness is encountered when the poet speaks of his works of translation.

It took Mircea Ivănescu twelve years to undertake the translation of the English-based *Odyssey* in Romanian and to bring it to a desired form. So far, his praiseworthy work has remained emblematic. It first appeared in two volumes at Univers Publishing House in 1984, a time when Romanians had a great desire to read good literature, including in translation, and it was welcomed as a work that had managed to render Joyce's style quite faithfully, even though Mircea Ivănescu 'wouldn't say it was the most difficult translation, with Joyce it was a coincidence of style'[14] (Vancu 2011 – our translation).

Gabriel Liiceanu, a Romanian writer and translator, had several encounters with Joyce's translator in 2011 in an attempt to disclose "the masks" of Mircea Ivănescu. When asked about his attitude towards the revolutionary writing style and technique of the Irish author acquired during the process of translation, Ivănescu admitted that for him 'an author was nothing more than a book on the work desk of the translator'[15] (Liiceanu 2012: 166 - our translation) and that he had never taken into consideration any personal contribution to the final work in the target language; he always considered himself to be just a "bricoleur". In spite of the critics' enthusiastic approval of many features of *Ulise*, according to Ivănescu, because of the defective aspect of his translations, "all these Romanian versions will fall into

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[12] „Poezia nu vorbeşte, la el, altă limbă decât chiar cea a tribului, limba ordinară. Ea nu se mai bizuie pe un limbaj select, esoteric şi infatuat de propriile lui valenţe transfiguratoare, ci pe limbajul imediat, fad şi lipsit de portanţă; un limbaj în care impreciziile nu stimulează o ambiguitate productivă de sens, ci doar o repetitivitate."

[13] „ nu e el insusi, nehotarat, lipsit de vointa, neincrezator in propria sa opera."

[14] „N-aş spune că a fost cea mai dificilă traducere, a fost o coincidenţă de stil cu Joyce."

[15] „Pentru mine un autor era o carte pe masa de lucru a traducătorului. Atât."

oblivion"[16] (Liiceanu 2012: 166 – our translation). He even admitted in various interviews that he had never read the entire book, but instead he had worked on one chapter at a time, constraint by the publisher's demands.

Disregarding the translator's personal judgement, presumably related to the lack of time and of a reliable second opinion when working on the translation of the novel, the final work has received both praise and criticism. Adrian Oțoiu listed among Ivănescu's translation skills "an unprecedented awareness of the intricacies of the Joycean text, professional exploration of its openings, intellectual rigour and a vast cultural horizon, doubled by that linguistic resourcefulness, musical ear and ludic spirit that Joyce himself always favoured when supervising the translation of his work." (Oțoiu 2004: 203). In opposition, there are certain aspects of the work in Romanian, derived from various structural discrepancies between the two languages, that fail to render the original writing style. "Undoubtedly, there are oversights, missed allusions, unsolved puns or covered-up innuendo" (Oțoiu 2004: 203). Furthermore, as translators get often caught up in the tangled ropes of judgements and decisions, the strategies employed are not always in favour of the original author. "Possibly as a compensatory strategy for what is irremediably lost elsewhere, Ivănescu channels interpretation into his recreation but also smuggles in clarifications which should have been confined to the editorial apparatus and arguably go against Joyce's spirit of indirection" (Ionescu & Milesi 2008: 90).

In *Ulysses* "words are repeatedly deformed, wrenched, truncated, severed, shorn apart" (Gibson 2002: 107). Therefore, how does a Romanian poet, who expresses thoughts unequivocally and uses mainly unambiguous words, succeed into rendering a language particularly concentrated on musical revivalism, insisting on cacophony, on radical discord?

Although the chapter "Sirens" from *Ulysses* has many famous lines, the key lines for our purpose occur in the sequence of sixty fragments, the overture which is usually described as an introductory announcement of the episode musical motives. "The introductory flourish has been said to represent the tuning up of an orchestra. It seems more sensible to regard it as an overture, for it lays before us, in concise form, many of the themes (fifty-seven, to be exact) to be fully and richly explored in the body of the episode" (Blamires 1996: 86).

Bronze by gold heard the hoofirons, steelyring	Bronz lîngă aur ascultînd potcoavele, oțelclinchenind
Imperthnthn thnthnthn.	Sonsolensese impersinense
Chips, picking chips off rocky	Pielițe, sugînd pielițe de pe o unghie

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[16] „ toate versiunile astea românești n-au să mai fie reținute."

tumbnail,
chips.
Horrid! And gold flashed more.
A husky fifenote blew.
Blew. Blue bloom is on the
Gold pinnacle hair.
A jumping rose on satiny breasts of
satin, rose of Castille.
Trilling, trilling: Idolores.
Peep! Who's in the... peepofgold?
A husky fifenote blew.
Tink cried to bronze in pity.
And a call, pure, long and throbbing.
Longindying call.
Decoy. Soft word. But look! The
bright stars fade. O rose! Notes
chirruping answer. Castille. The
morn is breaking.
Jingle jingle jaunted jingling.
Coin rang. Clock clacked.
Avowal. Sonnez. I could. Rebound of
garter. Not leave thee. Smack. La
cloche! Thigh smack. Avowal.
Warm.
Sweetheart, goodbye!
Jingle. Bloo.
Boomed crashing chords.
When love absorbs. War! War! The
tympanum.
A sail! A veil awave upon the waves.
Lost. Throstle fluted.
All is lost now.
Horn. Hawhorn.
When first he saw. Alas!
Full tup. Full throb.
Warbling. Ah, lure! Alluring.
Martha! Come!
Clapclop. Clipclap. Clappyclap.
Goodgod henev erheard inall.
Deaf bald Pat brought pad knife
took up.
A moonlight nightcall:

butucănoasă, pieliţe.
Oribil! Şi aur fulgerând mai tare
O notă-n cvintă răguşită sunînd.
Plaf. Bum albastru-nflorind în
Păr de aur strîns în coc înalt.
Roză tresăltînd pe sîni mătăsoşi în
satin, roză de Castilia.
Triluri, triluri: Idolores.
Ia ocheşte! cine-i în... ochiada de aur
?
Clinc clinchenind în bronz milos.
Şi o chemare pură, prelungă,
zvîcnind. Chemare jinduind stins
murind.
Ademenitoare.
Dulci cuvinte. Dar iată! Stelele
luminoase se sting. O roză! Note
limpezi ciripind răspunsuri. Castilia.
Se-arată zorile.
Clinchet de birjă lejer clinchenind.
Monedă sunînd, ceas bătînd.
Mărturisire. Sonnez. Dac-aş. Pocnet
de jartieră. Să nu te părăsesc. Plici La
cloche! Plici pe coapsă. Mărturisire.
Caldă.
Iubita mea, adio.
Birje. Bloo.
Bum pe coarde disonante.
Cînd iubirea soarbe. Război! Război!
Timpane.
O pînză! Un voal vălurind pe valuri.
Pierdut. Sturzul fluid fluierînd.
Totul e pierdut acum.
Corn. Cocoarne.
Cînd a văzut întîi. Vai. mie!
Clipocire vîscoasă. Zvîcnire
mustoasă.
Ciripitoare. O, ademenire. Ispititoare.
Martha! Vino!
Clapclop. Clipclap. Clapiclap.
Doamnena maia uzitaş aceva.
Surdul cu chelie Pat a adus hîrtie şi

far: far.
I feel so sad. P. S. So lonely
blooming.
Listen!
The spiked and winding cold
seahorn. Have you the? Each and for
other plash and silent roar.
Pearls: when she. Liszt's rhapsodies.
Hissss.
You don't?
Did not: no, no: believe: Lidlyd.
With a cock with a carra.
Black.
Deepsounding. Do, Ben, do.
Wait while you wait. Hee hee.
Wait while you hee.
But wait!
Low in dark middle earth.
Embedded ore.
Naminedamine. All gone. All fallen.
Tiny, her tremulous fernfoils of
maidenhair.
Amen!
He gnashed in fury. Fro. To, fro.
A baton cool protruding.
Bronzelydia by Minagold.
By bronze, by gold, in oceangreen of
shadow. Bloom. Old Bloom.
One rapped, one tapped with a carra,
with a cock.
Pray for him! Pray, good people!
His gouty fingers nakkering.
Big Benaben. Big Benben.
Last rose Castille of summer left
bloom I feel so sad alone.
Pwee! Little wind piped wee.
True men. Lid Ker Cow De and Doll.
Ay, ay. Like you men. Will lift your
tschink with tschunk.
Fff! Oo!
Where bronze from anear? Where
gold from afar? Where hoofs?

cuţit
şi-a luat.
O chemare-n miez de noapte, clar de
lună, şoapte : departe, departe.
Mă simt atît de trist. P.S. Atît de
singuratec înflorind.
Ascultă!
Cornul de mare rece ţepos şerpuit. Ai
tu?
Fiecare şi pentru celălalt, plescăit şi
muget tăcut.
Perle: unde ea. Rapsodiile lui Liszt.
Hissss.
Nu crezi?
Nu am; nu, nu; cred; Lidlyd.
Cu un coc cu un caro.
Negru.
Cuecouadînca Haide, Ben, hai.
Aşteaptă tu-n timp ce-aşteaptă. Hi hi.
Aşteaptă tu-n timp ce hi.
Dar stai şi-aşteaptă!
Adînc în întunecosul miez al
pămîntului. Comoara impură adînc
împlîntată.
Naminedamine. Toţi s-au dus. Toţi
au căzut.
Micuţă, cu tremurătoarele foi de
ferigă ale părului ei feciorelnic.
Amin!
Scrîşnea de furie. în sus. în jos şi-n
sus.
Un rece baton iscîndu-se.
Bronzalydia lîngă minaurita.
Cu bronz, cu aur, în verdeoceanic de
umbră. Bloom. Bătrînul Bloom
înfloritul.
Se-alîntă, se zbate cu cară
cu co.
Rugaţi-vă pentru el! Rugaţi-vă
oameni buni!
Degetele lui gutoase bătînd darabana-
n ritm.

Rrrpr. Kraa. Kraandl.
Then, not till then. My eppripfftaph.
Be pfrwritt.
Done.
Begin! (Joyce 1992: 328-330)

Big Benaben. Big Benben.
Ultima roză castiliană a verii rămasă în bum floare mă simt atît de trist singur.
Pihi. Un vînt mic vîntind pihi.
Oameni adevărați. Lid Ker Cow De şi Doll.
Ba, da. Oameni ca voi. Ridicați-vă cu clinc şi clunc.
Fff! Ou!
Unde-i bronzul de-aproape ? Unde-i aur de departe? Unde-s copitele-n trap?
Rrrpr. Kraaa. Kraandl.
Atunci, nu   pînă-atunci. Si eppripfftappful.   Fi-va pfrvrîtt.
Gata.
începem! (Joyce 1996: 295-297)

The primary concern of translators is to communicate meanings. In order to do so, they have to decode the units and structures that impart messages. Apart from the intellectual, theoretical and practical features implied by the work of a literary translator, when it comes to translating Joyce, the process could entail even philosophical questions. Is the translator aware of all the meanings of the source words and expressions? Is it ever possible to convey into a target language all of one's understanding of a writing style so innovative and abundant? "Isn't the act of translating necessarily a utopian task?" as José Ortega y Gasset suggested during a colloquium. According to the philosopher's idea of *utopianism in translation*, an author of a book "has used his native tongue with prodigious skill, achieving two things that seem impossible to reconcile: simply, to be intelligible and, at the same time, to modify the ordinary usage of language" (Gasset 2000: 51). If language were merely a set of universal concepts, it would be easy to translate from one language into another. In contrast, starting from the idea that languages were developed in distinct sceneries and resulted from different types of experiences, it is utopian to assume that two words coming from different languages, refer precisely to the same objects.

For that reason, when it comes to translating literature, in particular, the concept of fidelity is worth to be brought into discussion. "Faithfulness", "devotion", "fidelity" are notions used when determining the value of the work of a translator. This is a sensitive subject, since it raises problems when

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trying to define it. In terms of relationship, the concept of fidelity in translation could be similar with fidelity in a marriage. Chamberlain states that "fidelity is defined by an implicit contract between translation (as woman) and original (as husband, father, or author)" (Chamberlain 1988: 455). At the same time, the concept of fidelity can be understood as "a male author-translator's relation to his mother tongue, the language into which something is being translated" (Chamberlain 1988: 461).

Arrojo puts forward to consideration a disregard of fidelity born toward the original text, in the light of the postmodern theories of language that appreciate translation as a form of production and not as "a mere recovery of someone else's meaning" (Arrojo 1994: 149). Validating this opinion with arguments based on ethics, she concludes that "the only kind of fidelity we can possibly consider is the one we owe to our own assumptions, not simply as individuals, but as members of a cultural community which produces and validates them" (Arrojo 1994: 160).

In the seminal work *After Babel*, Steiner believes that in translation there will always be a "degree of fidelity" between translating word-for-word and "rendering *spirit*". Moreover, in the process of translation prevails an unsteady equilibrium between the translator and the source text, either by actions of adding or cutting out. "The translator, the exegetist, the reader is *faithful to* his text, makes his response responsible, only when he endeavours to restore the balance of forces, of integral presence, which his appropriate comprehension has disrupted. Fidelity is ethical, but also, in the full sense, economic" (Steiner 1998:318). Only by means of compensation and compromise could a translator preserve the meaning and restore the balance that he had upset by his disruptive presence, because, in the end, every process of perception and reasoning is aggressive.

When speaking of the art of literary translation Wechsler introduces the issue of fidelity gradually. According to him, at first, a translator experiences a feeling of devotion towards the author that he has loved as a reader, whom eventually he is willing to share with the others. As for when referring to aspects of language, Wechsler raises the question of "fidelity to what? To the content or the form? To the literal meaning of the words or the literal meaning as the translator interprets them?" (Wechsler 1998: 66). In his opinion, the translator's interpretative skills dictate whether a source text focuses on the content or the form, in such a way that the resulting translation should mirror the style of the original. Furthermore, the concept stands between the question of applying fidelity to content or to fluency. While the former implies a reproduction of words correctly, the latter involves recreating the impact of the original, which is more important, in Wechsler's judgement.

It seems that the issue of fidelity is a matter of perception of form and content, which determines the translator to apply emphasis on the meaning of every word. In the overture from "Sirens" words are used both to conceal and to reveal the richness of one's imaginative life, mainly triggered by the perceivability of sounds. Words not only convey concepts, but also work together to represent pictorially the course of events. In consequence, form and content are interdependent. Thus, the feeling of devotion which constraints the translator can easily be steered by the phenomenon *of non-equivalence* that may occur at word level. This means that the target language is sometimes not in possession of an equivalent for a word which exists in the original text. Comparing the paragraph of our study with Baker's theory presented in her coursebook on translation *In Other Words*, there are several types of non-equivalence that can cause the lack of balance between the translator's fidelity to the source text and to the mother tongue.

First of all, there are words that refer to *culture-specific concepts*, often designating names of places or names of people, such as "Big Ben", "Idolores", "Liszt" or "Bloom". Proper names require fidelity to the original culture, which means that they are not rendered differently. However, "Castille" (Joyce 1992: 328) is translated with "Castilia" (Joyce 1996: 295), since the toponym has an equivalent in the target language. The style of Joyce is well known for employing foreign words and sometimes changing their syntax or spelling, according to the rules of English. "Naminedamine" (Joyce 1992: 330), is a construction from the Latin *In Nomine Domine* which means 'in the name of the Lord'. It remains unchanged when conveyed into Romanian, in an act of fidelity to form. However, the mother tongue's set of rules would have preferred the original Latin expression, or if the translator were to behave towards Joyce's act of creativity, the construction could be rendered as "Înuminedumine" (- our translation), rendering thus not only the association between Latin and Romanian, but also the sound-play and the syntax.

Although the source-language may have concepts that are easily understood, it can happen that the target language not to have a single word for them, which means that *the source-language concept is not lexicalized in the target language*. A situation of this kind is in the case of the onomatopoeia "Hissss" (Joyce 1992: 330), in an association of nature sounds with the "Hungarian Rhapsodies" of Franz Liszt. Unlike English, where the word stands for the sound made by snakes, in Romanian snakes are often associated with the past participle of the action: "sâsâit", so Ivănescu decides to remain faithful to the original form and content: "Rapsodiile lui Liszt. Hissss (Joyce 1996: 296)." Further on, Bloom's digestive processes are submitted by Joyce using a comparison with the sound of wind through a pipe: "Pwee! Little wind piped wee" (Joyce 1992: 330). As the target

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language cannot express the process in only one word, the translator remains faithful to the original form and assembles a new word for the target tongue: "Pihi. Un vînt mic vîntind pihi" (Joyce 1996: 297). By doing so, the musicality changes from the groups of letters "wee", "wi-", "wee", to "un", "vîn-", "vîn-". At the same time, by preserving the rhythm of the line, the idea of a sound propagated through a narrow pipe fails to be rendered. The original text continues to present, by means of explicit onomatopoeia, the sounds of Bloom's discharge of intestinal gas: "Fff! Oo!", "Rrrpr" and "pfrwritt" (Joyce 1992: 330), which are transcribed respecting the spelling rules of Romanian language: "Fff! Ou!", "Rrrpr" and "pfrvrîtt" (Joyce 1996: 297). Although the translator tries to be faithful to the form and to the mother tongue as well, the vibration of these sounds when read aloud, inevitably lowers. The sound of a passing tram "Kraa. Kraandl" (Joyce 1992: 330), remains unchanged as well, since it is difficult to transcribe in Romanian the rail sound, as our language lacks a specific onomatopoeia designing the action. "Kraa. Kraandl" (Joyce 1996: 297). It is peculiar, though, that the translator has kept the letter "k", which in Romanian is used at the beginning of only a few words related to measurements, such as "kilogram" and "kilometru". However, a translation as "Craa. Craandl" (- our translation) would have suggested the hoarse raucous sound that is characteristic of a crow.

Often in translation *the source-language word is semantically complex*. "In other words, a single word which consists of a single morpheme can sometimes express a more complex set of meanings than a whole sentence" (Baker 2018: 19). Such is the case for "Gold pinnacle hair" (Joyce 1992: 330). The word "pinnacle" creates the image of an upright bun which in the target language requires an entire explanation: "Păr de aur strîns în coc înalt" (Joyce 1996: 295), lit.: "Golden hair pulled in a tall bun". A similar problem of non-equivalence is encountered when the moment Lenehan wants to flirt with Miss Kennedy is implied: "Peep! Who's in the... peepofgold?" (Joyce 1992: 330). The expression is from the popular children's game hide-and-seek, "peep" meaning to look furtively, secretly. Romanian language, does not own just one word for the action, thus in the act of translation, even though the sound-play is conveyed, the words are no longer merged and the fluidity of the line is affected: "Ia ocheşte! cine-i în... ochiada de aur?" (Joyce 1996: 295).

Joyce frequently truncates words and creates morphemes to express various sounds, as in: "Imperthnthn thnthnthn" (Joyce 1992: 328), a construction that combines the adjective "impertinent" with the sound made by boots. Miss Douce and Miss Kennedy are looking out the window, and the waiter, "loud boots", is pestering them with questions about the object of their spying. Thus, Miss Douce threatens to tell his boss about his "impertinent insolence" (Ibid.: 332). Ivănescu employs the word "insolent"

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when translating the construction, in a struggle to compensate for the original loss in the effect of sound-play, even though this particular word doesn't appear until later in the source chapter: "sonsolensese impersinense" (Joyce 1996: 295). In Romanian the sound of loud boots is replaced by the echo of a Past Perfect, thus Ivănescu privileges the action as the focus of attention. Lit.: "he had been insolent, he had been impertinent."

"Longindying call" (Joyce 1992: 329), "The sound of the tuning fork that the blind strippling (piano tuner) has left behind in the bar" (Gifford & Seidman 1988: 291). This is another compound structure that raises the problem of non-equivalence, as the morpheme "long" can equally work as a verb and as an adverb. Therefore, the translator had to face up the problem of a double meaning which in the target language could not be expressed by only one word. The idea of having an unfulfilled desire produced by a sound that is slowly coming to an end, gradually fading away, is rendered through an act of devotion to the content and not to the form: "Chemare jinduind stins murind" (Joyce 1996: 296).

English Language holds both a flexibility of function, which means that words have often the same form whether they are nouns or verbs, as well as an openness to vocabulary, words being adopted or adapted according to different contexts. Whereas Romanian is not as flexible, sometimes requiring a group of words to express a certain idea. The translator is thus constrained to use a technique of compromise for situations where one word cannot be used to cover the same range of meaning as in the source text. This is the case of the structure "Jingle jingle jaunted jingling" (Joyce 1992: 329) when Boylan approaches the Ormond Hotel. The word "jingle" suggests both a metallic sound and a two-wheeled horse drawn carriage and it creates a leitmotif, forming distinctive sequences, continuously recurring. In order to be faithful to the content and to the form, the translator is forced to use two words in order to convey the contextual meaning and to add a new sound to the original sound-play in the form of a mirror symmetry: "Clinchet de birjă lejer clinchenind" (Joyce 1996: 296). Further on, the narrator's paraphrasing of the lyrics from *The Croppy Boy* are interspersed with Bloom's thoughts in the structure: "Embedded ore" (Joyce 1992: 339) which Ivănescu translates with "Comoara impură adînc împlîntată." Apart from adding the adjective "impure", the word "embedded", suggesting the ore fixed firmly and surrounded by a mass of earth, doesn't have a single word equivalent in the target language, requiring the use of two words to convey the proper meaning. Therefore, the technique focuses on remaining devoted to the style of repeating groups of letters "om", "im-", "în-", "îm-", "în-", even though the content suffers a slight change.

The verb "nakkering" is semantically complex as well. It is used in the chapter to describe Ben Dollard's dance toward the bar after his song, "his

gouty fingers nakkering castagnettes in the air" (Joyce 1992: 371). According to Gifford & Seidman (1988: 294) "*to nakker* or *to naker* is to sound a kettledrum". Collins English Dictionary explains the noun "naker", current only in the fourteenth century, as

> "one of a pair of small kettledrums used in medieval music"
> (2014: 425). Joyce associates the action with an imaginary percussion instrument, highlighting the clap of the fingers in the palm of the hand. The translator shows fidelity to the original meaning of the verb and explains the action, since the target language doesn't own a single word for the action: "bătînd darabana-n ritm" (Joyce 1996: 296), lit.: "tapping rhythmically a kettle drum".

There are situations when both languages are in possession of words that designate similar concepts, but non-equivalence can still occur when *the source and target languages make different distinctions in meaning*. Such is the case with the structure "Horn. Hawhorn" (Joyce 1992: 329), that refers to Lenehan's question "Got the horn or what?" (Ibid.: 344), meaning "Are you sexually aroused?". The morpheme "haw" is a part of the onomatopoeia "heehaw", the braying sound of a donkey. The Romanian equivalent is a slang designing the same concept. The cry of a donkey was impossible to be rendered, because it would have periclitated the sound-play, but it was replaced by a word with double meaning. On the one hand it could refer to the sound made by a rooster, hinting at the same idea, and on the other hand, it is slang for a gullible man and for a child's male organ: "Corn. Cocoarne" (Joyce 1996: 296). This time the act of fidelity is targeted towards both the form and the content.

The truncated onomatopoeia "Clapclop. Clipclap. Clappyclap" (Joyce 1992: 328), which mark the moment when Simon Dedalus's performance is applauded, creates a similar situation. In Romanian the structure becomes "Clapclop. Clipclap. Clapiclap" (Joyce 1996: 296). According to the Explicative Dictionary of Romanian Language, '*clap* is a word that imitates the sound made by something that suddenly shuts, like a door or a lid' (Academia Română 1998: 172). In an attempt to show fidelity to form, Ivănescu slightly betrays his native language, in order to express a concept that is known in the target language but fails to be expressed into a specific word.

A different situation of non-equivalence occurs when the target-language owns a word which has the same propositional meaning as the source-language word, but it may have a different expressive meaning. Therefore, non-equivalence is dictated by *differences in expressive meaning*. It is possible for the translator to add the evaluative element by means of a

modifier or adverb if necessary or to build the meaning somewhere else in the text. The allusion to the opera *La Sonnambula*, whistled by Richie Goulding, creates a sound-play by repeating the group of letters "-ost": "Lost. Throstle fluted" (Joyce 1992: 329). In Romanian, Ivănescu tries to remain faithful to the form and the content but is constrained to add the adverb "fluidly" to compensate for the loss in musicality: "Pierdut. Sturzul fluid fluierând" (Joyce 1996: 296). Similarly, the couplet "Ah, lure! Alluring" (Joyce 1992: 329) raises the issue of non-equivalence when translated, as the two words, despite their resemblance in form, possess differences in meaning. The translator demonstrates devotion to the content, translating the interjection and the significance, although the sound-play fails to be rendered: "O, ademenire. Ispititoare." (Joyce 1996: 296)

Further on, the interjection "Alas!" (Joyce 1992: 329), used by Simon Dedalus when performing a freely translated version of *M'appari* from Flotow's opera, is translated using the expression "Vai. mie!" (Joyce 1996: 296). "When first I saw that from endearing./ Sorrow from me seemed to depart. / Full of hope and all delighted…/ But alas, 'twas idle dreaming…" (Joyce 1992: 352-353). Even though the translation could have been rendered as "Vai!" (-our translation), the feeling of sorrow and regret of losing the dearly loved is enhanced by using a modifier associated to the speaker, lit.: "Dear me!".

Another aspect of non-equivalence is dictated by *differences in form,* when there is no equivalent in the target language for a specific form in the source text. In the overture, the use of auxiliary verbs has the purpose of building ambiguities. The construction "You don't?/ Did not: no, no: believe: Lidlyd" (Joyce 1992: 329) refers to the dialogue between Miss Douce and George Lidwell. Joyce intentionally omits the main verb in order to prolong the momentum. In Romanian the sequence is translated with "Nu crezi? / Nu am: nu, nu: cred: Lidlyd" (Joyce 1996: 296). As the target language does not employ an auxiliary verb to express a present tense the translator is constrained to name the verb right from the beginning. It is peculiar that the main verb from the past tense construction is translated with a present tense form, even though the appropriate construction according to the Romanian rules of grammar would have been "Nu am: nu, nu: crezut" (- our translation).

The original text owns certain successions of words forming distinctive sequences, continuously recurring, as in the case of units: "with a cock with a carra" and "one rapped, one tapped with a carra, with a cock" (Joyce 1992: 330). As the ballad of betrayal *The Croppy Boy,* to which the overture makes an indirect reference, reaches its climax, the word "cock" is repeated twice. "The cock of betrayal crows again as the innocent, fatherless son of the song is condemned and the usurper takes over Bloom's house" (Blamires 1996:

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94). The motif introduced in the overture is developed afterwards during the episode. "One rapped on a door, one tapped with a knock, did he knock Paul de Kock, with a loud proud knocker, with a cock carracarracarra cock. Cockcock" (Joyce 1992: 364). As Mamun points out in his essay, Joyce "uses the aural aspect of language, its playfulness, to undercut Bloom's seriousness with comedy and mockery pointed at the cuckold" (Mamun 2016: 214). Gifford & Seidman explain the paragraph from the point of view of musicality: "The sound of the blind piano's tuner's cane blends with the echo of Boylan's knocking and crowing" (Gifford & Seidman 1988: 294). When conveyed into the target language, Ivănescu tries to remain faithful to the form and spells the words differently. The first time the construction is rendered as "cu un coc cu un caro" and the second time as "Se-alintă, se zbate cu cara cu co" (Joyce 1996: 296). In Romanian, the words "coc" and "co" designate a night crow, hinting at the idea of masculinity. The nouns "cara", "caro" do not refer to the sound made by a rooster, but, according to *The Modern Romanian Language*, they could either imply the red diamonds from a deck of cards, or the flesh, originating in the Latin form "caro, carnis" and suggesting a fleshly desire. The sounds of knocking and tapping fail to be conveyed into the target language, the translator creating a highlight in the inner turmoil of Bloom.

The gerundial construction "Deepsounding. Do, Ben, do" (Joyce 1992: 329) suggests the echo of the piano chords, playing the opening of *The Croppy Boy* when Ben Dollard is encouraged to sing. In the target language the action is only implied without actually naming the verb in order to avoid a stilted style. Nevertheless, Ivănescu remains faithful to the content and applying the stress on the groups of letters "cu-", "-co" and "-ca" he employs the structure "Cuecouadînca" (Joyce 1996: 296). The same sounds could not be rendered when translating the imperative expressing encouragement, so out of devotion to the mother tongue and to the content, the form had to suffer: "Haide, Ben, hai" (Ibid.: 296).

Even when a specific form has a corresponding equivalent in the target language, "there may be a difference in the frequency with which it is used or the purpose for which it is used" (Baker 2018: 23). For situations of this type, Mircea Ivănescu utilizes various techniques in order to remain faithful to the original style, as the rhythm and the number of syllables per line are important features of the overture. Dealing with the complicated structure: "Goodgod henev erheard inall" (Joyce 1992: 329), Ivănescu manages to be faithful to the original style of truncating words and to convey at the same time the meaning "Doamnena maia uzitaş aceva" (Joyce 1996: 296), even though he omits the translation of the adverb "never". Further on, the construction "A moonlight nightcall" (Joyce 1992: 329) raises one more time the question of fidelity. Ivănescu decides one more time to remain faithful to

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the form, and to omit the translation of the compound word "moonlight". A translation devoted to the content, would have periclitated the original rhythm. Thus, "O chemare-n miez de noapte" (Joyce 1996: 296) is a better alternative against 'O chemare-n miez de noapte sub clar de lună' (- our translation).

Since this chapter is allocated to the art of music, the transposition of sounds is very important, as every object and action contribute to the musicality of the paragraph. A significant challenge for the Romanian translator is to convey the meaning, as well as the literary technique of forcing the words into a "semiotic function", as Burgess depicts Joyce's writing style, of structures containing the name of Bloom which "is chosen to support this view of Bloom's double nature. Bloom is, like Wallace Stevens's Rosenbloom, an ordinary Jewish name, but the name also means flower, and Bloom is as integral as a flower" (Ellmann 1982: 362). The moment Mr. Dedalus prepares to smoke, he blows the pipe twice, resulting in the repetition of the Past Simple form of the verb. The paragraph continues with the colour "blue" and the double meaning of the hero's name, creating a tuneful sequence: "A husky fifenote blew. / Blew. Blue bloom is on the" (Joyce 1992: 328). The title of the love song *The bloom is on the Rye* is a musical theme assigned to Bloom and to the moment Lenehan enters the Hotel and goes to the bar. Despite the struggle to compress, in order to maintain the rhythm, to find synonyms and to use shorter words, the literal Romanian translation, fails to remain devoted to the original fluidity of sounds, as it is impossible to find a suitable linguistic entity in the target language: "O notă-n cvintă răguşită sunînd. / Plaf. Bum albastru-nflorind în" (Joyce 1996: 295).

Mircea Ivănescu frequently changes the forms of verbs by replacing the Past Tense Simple with gerunds, so that "heard" becomes "ascultând" stressing the continuity of the action. The same technique is used for other verbs in the text, especially for those that characterize the sounds made by different objects: "flashed"- "fulgerând", "blew"- "sunând", "cried"- "clinchenind", "rang"- "sunând", "clacked"- "bătând". In Romanian, gerundial forms preserve the idea of musicality and of sounds echoing. A similar technique of compromise is used for "steelyring" which becomes "oţelclinchenind" lit.: "steel ringing", the original word formed from an adjective and a noun turns into a word formed by a noun and a verb in gerund, suggesting the same auditory imagery.

In conclusion, as we have stated in the beginning, any work of literary translation implies in fact a utopian task. It is impossible to render precisely in a different language a writing style so abundant in ambiguities, allusions and compressions. From the point of view of fidelity, the idea of a perfect equilibrium between the form and the content, in relation to the rules of the

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two languages is incapable of being accomplished. Indeed, the translator does not require only intellectual, theoretical or practical skills but he is also affected by an ethical problem: "a good translation can aim only at a supposed equivalence that is not founded on a demonstrable identity of meaning. An equivalence without identity. This equivalence can only be sought, worked at, supposed" (Ricoeur 2004: 22). It is impossible to avoid structural discrepancies and not to overspill in clarifications the aural aspect of a language that stakes out playfulness and distinctive sequences.

As Fritz Senn points out in his essay "a translator who undertakes so exacting a venture is embarking upon a veritable odyssee himself. Whatever his success he deserves our encouragement and admiration" (Senn 2010: 4).

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Theatre

DramAcum – THE NEW WAVE OF ROMANIAN CONTEMPORARY DRAMATURGY

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Abstract*: During the nineties, a new theatrical trend developed. It was called New European Drama or New Writing. It was represented by authors such as the British Sarah Kane, Mark Ravenhill or the German playwright Marius von Mayernburg. The classical theatre will never be able to return to itself, unless giving the spectator the utopian sense of life that only a staged play could perform, not from a delusive perspective, but from a real and personalized perspective, giving a certain meaning to reality. Being against the conservatory type, the authors put an end to all the theatrical conventions. They considered that it had to come to a point of changing the old patterns, of introducing new themes, new structures, new means of performing in the attempt of seducing and shocking the audience. Most of the dramatic texts focus on the plots about hard human existence such as racism, madness, suicide, sexuality, drug addiction and any type of abuse. The language is vulgar and slangy. All the dramatic texts when performed on stage invade the personal space of the people watching, who is now considered one of the characters. It is not only the dramatic text that is taken into consideration, but the performance itself. The new type of theatre developed in Russia, Poland and Romania, giving specific projects (Teatr.doc, The Drama Laboratory and DramAcum). All were influenced by the verbatim dramatic style performed in theatres under the slogan of the in-yer-face. The study intends to explore the importance of the Romanian theatrical project – DramAcum, as a new type of theatre and dramaturgy.*
    Key words*: Contemporary dramaturgy; In-yer-face; Verbatim; Romanian dramaturgy; DramAcum project*

The Shock of the New Theatre

Regarded as a theatre of violence and cruelty, the new contemporary dramaturgy that influenced the manner of writing, staging and performing in many European countries, had its beginnings in 1995 with Sarah Kane's[17]

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[17] The author of only five plays, *Blasted* – Royal Court Theatre Upstairs, January 1995, *Phaedra's Love* – Gate Theatre, May 1996; *Cleansed* – Royal Court Theatre Downstairs,

play *Blasted* at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in London. It was followed by Mark Ravenhill's[18] *Shopping and Fucking* in 1966 and Marius von Mayenburg's[19] *Fireface* in 2000. Started during the nineties, this new theatrical current, known as *New European Drama* or *New Writing*, rejected all the old patterns of drama writing and performing and introduced new ways of theatrical expression with the purpose of continuously readjusting the image of reality according either to the new values or to the lack of them. The message of this cruel theatre, as Antonin Artaud characterized it in his manifesto, was revealed on stage and it was meant to shock the audience not only through words but also through the settings and the acts of performing (Artaud 2018: 99). Most of the plays belonging to the new current generated certain reactions from the audience as well as from the critics mainly because such a discourse developed the uncomfortable tendency of invading the individual space. Based on themes such as madness, suicide, aggression, any type of abuse, drug addiction and sexuality, the new texts modelled the dramatic structures adapting them to the new manner of staging, more provocative for the audience. Opposed to the previous manner of playwriting, in which case the text was considered a completed work, this time, the text is more a work in progress, whose development never ends. The language of the plays became an instrument of dynamic expression revealed on stage through voice intonation, all types of sounds, cries, gestures, movements, positions, reactions, all under specific light shades. In other words, the aim of the new type of theatre was to create the metaphysics of the word, gesture and expression, but not by using metaphysical ideas or plots but by turning the theatre into a means of revealing true illusions. Thus this new theatre represented a possibility for dealing not only with all the aspects of the descriptive and objective external world but also with all the aspects of the internal world. The intention of these playwrights was to represent the

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April 1998; *Crave* – Traverse Theatre, August 1998; *4.48 Psychosis* – Royal Court Theatre Upstairs, June 2000; Sarah Kane became famous because of her controversial writings influenced by Beckett and Büchner and characterized by a naturalistic approach of themes such as loneliness, power, mental alienation and love.

[18] Considered as a very important figure of the British contemporary dramaturgy, Mark Ravenhill reveals the image of a society completely distorted by economic values in plays such as *Shopping and Fucking* – Royal Court Theatre Upstairs, September 1996; *Faust is Dead* – Actors' Touring Company, April 1997; *Handbag* – Actors' Touring Company, September 1998; *Some Explicit Polaroids* – Out of Joint, September 1999.

[19] Marius von Mayenburg may be regarded as the representative of a sacrificed generation that does not how to deal with reality as illustrated in plays such as *Fireface* – Royal Court Theatre Upstairs, May 2000; *Sugar* – Jerwood Theatre Upstairs, December 2001; *The Ugly One* – Jerwood Theatre Downstairs, June 2008; *The Stone* – Jerwood Theatre Downstairs, February 2009.

contemporary society as it is without any improvements, determining the people watching the show also to face reality.[20]

According to Aleks Sierz, the new wave of dramaturgy was impossible to be ignored since its message was so powerful that took the audience by the scruff and shook it until it got it (Sierz 2001: 12). Named *in-yer-face*, this unconventional kind of theatre[21] did not allow the audience to sit back and contemplate in detachment but took it on an emotional journey. More experimental than speculative and taping into more primitive feelings and smashing taboos, it forced the audience to react because it was no more enough for the theatre to be a vital necessity for playwrights and actors but also for audience itself (Brook 1997: 118-120). Staging private and intimate situations may lead to a strong emotional charge that could become more unsettling than the same experience in real life. Such a play may be regarded as provocative because its content was usually expressed in blatant or confrontational language or stage images but, at the same time, because of its form[22]. Content and form became able to exhibit vulgar language, provocative situations and specific typology of characters[23] in order to change theatrical sensibility.

The new kind of playwriting was called *verbatim* mainly characterized by its specific elements: aggressive language, violent scenes and social plots. The first play based on this new manner of writing was Caryl Churchill's *Serious Money*[24], staged at Royal Court Theatre in 1987. Before this moment, the method was used only for documentation, as in the case of Maxim Gorky's *The Lower Depths* for which Stanislavsky interviewed many people

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[20] Many times, the plots of the plays were inspired or even taken from TV or radio news.

[21] Aleks Sierz makes a distinction between the *hot* and *cool versions* of *in-yer-face* theatre. The *hot versions* are performed in small studio theatres and use the aesthetics of extremism: explicit actions, heighted emotions, blatant language with the intention to make the experience unforgettable. The *cooler versions* use several distancing devices among whom a larger audience, a more naturalistic style and a more traditional structure with the intention to mediate the disturbing power of extreme emotions generated by the theatrical performance. (Sierz 2001: 13)

[22] The Elizabethan stage was more often used instead of the Italian one mainly because all the boundaries between the conventional space and audience were banished. Now, by placing the audience on stage or by setting the scenes in unconventional spaces, the performing space joined the space of reception.

[23] As opposed to the 90s when the feminine character was mostly employed as a central figure, after 2000 the male character was more often used; but this figure was not similar to Ibsen's, Pirandello's or Chekov's characters, it was more of a character facing all sorts of crises. The new typology favoured characters such as impotent fathers, abusive husbands or puzzled teenagers.

[24] The plot of the play was inspired by the parliamentary elections and the crisis of the stock exchange in London. Moreover, the text was written using the interviews taken by the author to real persons.

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of the streets in order to catch the real meaning of the play; or Peter Weiss' *The Investigation,* a play that used the records of the war trials between 1963 and 1965, in Frankfurt as well as the Auschwitz survivors' testimonies. The list of examples may continue with Eve Ensler's *The Vagina Monologues* for which the author interviewed more than two hundred women on the topic of woman's social discrimination, which later generated V-Day, the international movement against abuse. The British version of this American contemporary play was Stephen Daldry's experimental performance *Body Talk*, staged at the Royal Court Theatre for which the director interviewed men between twenty and forty year-old describing different parts of their body.

Using the same manner of documentation, the new playwrights no longer adapt nor brush up the interviews. Furthermore, they reversed the process of writing: instead of starting with the theme or, at least, the idea of the future text, now they find a particular topic that may correspond to the interviews already taken. In April the 15th 2000, during a conference in Moscow, Stephen Daldry delivered an incipient theory of the method stating that one of the purposes of the documentation process is to lead the playwright to the theme, plot, characters and dramatic structure. A bit later, Royal Court Theatre together with British Council started to organize many international meetings, conferences and master-classes with the topic of the new manner of playwriting, promoting, at the same time, the new authors. This fact had a great impact generating the foundation of many experimental groups gathering directors, actors and writers that chose the *verbatim* manner for their creative process. Similar to *Dogma-95*[25], these theatrical movements proposed a manifesto for their art whose main purpose was to reflect a dynamic society exactly as it is. The three major means of their artistic expression were *docu-drama*[26], *life game* and *interview on stage.*

Based on interviews, *docu-drama* represents an entire process of collecting information about real, ordinary people among whom the most interesting ones were the baggers, the soldiers, the disabled veterans, the possible suicides, the convicts, all the dregs of society and then staging these true stories sharing all the characteristic features that might be needed. Most of times, the actors tend to improvise or to improve the story with facts from their real life. Things could be pushed even further with *life game* as a means

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[25] *Dogma-95* represents an avant-garde current of the European cinematography influenced mainly by the New French Wave. It was founded in 1995 by the Danish directors Lars von Trier and Thomas Vinterberg.

[26] The term *docu-drama* comes from the cinematographic field where it defines a cinematic hybrid, a mixture between documentary and fiction, a category officially introduced in 1942 when José Leitão de Barros's film *Ala-Arriba!* was released. The first Romanian movie very close to this type of cinematic narration was Octav Minar's *Eminescu, Veronica, Creangă*.

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that brings on stage true stories of characters that are embodied by actors who improvise having no written script at all. The whole performance develops a draft containing only few specific directions more for individualizing the characters than for plot or conflicts. Regarded as a theatrical form of *happening*, the *interview on stage* gives the actors the possibility to embody real persons and to stick to their true story and, at the same time, to take into account the audience's points of view that become new perspectives of conflict development.

These means of theatrical expression introduced a new approach that placed the dramatic discourse reception in the position of a constitutive part of the whole process of artistic creation. Although the rejection of any theatrical conventions and the preference for social topics that facilitate those true stories to be brought on stage, making the delimitation between fiction and reality more difficult to be distinguished, are the facts to be imputed to this new manner of playwriting as well as of directing and performing, *verbatim* turned to be essential for emphasizing particularly the moral intention of the new dramaturgy.[27]

The New Wave of Theatrical Projects

Exceeding the border of the United Kingdom, *in-yer-face*, the new type of theatre, influenced lots of other European theatrical movements mostly those developed in Russia, Poland and Romania. Thus, in December 2000, in Moscow the first festival of documentary theatre took place and it was later developed into a new project called *teatr.doc*. The new wave of contemporary Russian dramaturgy introduced playwrights such as Ivan Viripaev, Vladimir Zabaluev, Iuri Klavdiev, Aleksandr Rodionov, Olga Mihailova, Elena Isaeva, Alexei Zenzinov and Maksim Kurochkin. The most specific features of the Russian new dramaturgy correspond to the new aesthetic norms stating the *in-yer-face* naturalism, the vulgar language and the topics dealing with physical and psychological aggression, any kind of abuse and violence. In this respect, the Russian version of the new theatre proposed the one act play based mainly on dialogues and less on a narrative development of the plot that could be staged without any directing interventions except the basic ones. Most of the Russian projects complied with *docu-drama* method for plays such as Galina Sinkina's *Crimes with Passion*, inspired by the interviews taken to women imprisoned for murder or Iuri Klavdiev's *The Transpolar Truth* about HIV patients or Ivan Viripaev's *Dreams* that pointed out the problem of drug addiction. Almost in a similar manner, in Poland, the most important project of contemporary playwriting

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[27] On the other hand, a traditional approach to the same true stories might turn them into classical representations highlighting mainly the aesthetic aspect of the performance and thus losing the authenticity.

was *Laboratorium Dramatu* (Drama Laboratory). Gathered round Tadeusz Slobodzianek, the young actors, directors and playwrights, among whom there were Tomasz Kaczmarek, Tomasz Man, Magda Fertacz, Pawel Jurek, Robert Boleso and Joanna Owsianko founded the neorealist dramatic current. Rejecting any theatrical convention, their texts use a colloquial language and develop topics regarding the new capitalist system and its social effects: unemployment, immigration or distrust. These plays aim to present the Polish society in a critical manner as in Przemyslaw Wojcieszek's *Made in Poland* and *Whatever It Happens, I love you* or Pawel Sala's *The Bang Band* or Robert Bolesto's *147 Days*. In 2002 Pawel Demirski set up another theatrical project called *The Rapid Urban Theatre* which introduced themes such as the Iraq war or the problem of Neo-Nazism. Besides the neorealist current, embodied by the aforementioned projects, the contemporary Polish dramaturgy proposed *TR/PL* as a project highly influenced by the contemporary German Theatre represented by Christoph Marthaler, Heine Muller and Franz Castorf and by Boguslaw Schaeffer's theatre. Most of the plays written by Michal Bajer, Marek Kochan or Dorota Maslowska were meant more for reading than for staging. It is the case of Michal Bajer's *War Zone* that focuses on the family relationships as war strategies or Dorota Maslowska's *Two Poor Romanians Who Speak Polish* about two Polish who travel around pretending to be Romanian baggers.

The same tendency involving the playwright into the theatrical production as well as the necessity of new theatrical projects was also identified in Romania, during the period between 2002 and 2006. The *verbatim* manner of playwriting generated not only *DramAcum*[28] *Project* but also *Tanga Project*[29] and *The Offensive of Generosity Project*[30]. All these three projects introduced new theatrical experiences by changing the perspective regarding the relationship between the author of the play and the author of the theatrical performance. This fact facilitated the conceptual and

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[28] The name of the project is an acronym for *dramaturgie – acum – cum / dramaturgy – now – how*, having the purpose of highlighting the topics either inspired or even taken as such from reality and the manner of creating the dramatic text. .

[29] Different from *DramAcum Project*, *Tanga Project* intends to develop a new manner of performing instead of playwriting by introducing the *game theatre* based on virtual settings as in Bogdan Georgescu's *XXX Cartoons* or very short plays of only ten minutes as Vera Ion's *Red Bull*. Emphasizing more the *performative* aspect of theatre as autonomous art, *Tanga Project* was also involved in performances such as Ioana Păun's and David Schwartz's *Let's Food!* At the same time, *Tanga Project* denied the necessity of a theoretical basis and used its own means to develop and promote its theatrical productions while *DramAcum* defined itself as a theatrical alternative, similar to the other ones. (Popovici 2008: 208)

[30] Under the slogan *Build Your Community! The Offensive of Generosity Project* was initiated by *Tanga Project* in 2007. It developed on stage real events and social experiences documented in Rahova-Uranus district in Bucharest.

structural transfer of the play from the literary field to the field of theatre as performing art. The new kind of playwriting was adjusted in order to correspond not only to the literary-dramatic strategies but also to the theatrical ones for turning the act of performing into reality. All these plays abandoned the old patterns concerning the unity of time, place and plot development as well as the cause-effect logic offering instead a direct and individual intrusion of the actors into the process of theatrical construction of reality. In doing so, the theatrical performance intended to reveal its main conflicts which thus exceeded the limits of the stage and entered the social field. Moreover, the play may function as an open discourse inviting the audience to participate in the act of performing as an equal partner. Reality was brought on stage using performativity as a necessary condition of this new kind on theatre.

As a theatrical project, *DramAcum* was the first and the only artistic movement[31] that neither was included nor depended on any public institution. Its aim was to develop and promote the local playwriting. The founders of the project were initially Andrea Vălean, Gianina Cărbunariu, Alexandru Berceanu and Radu Apostol, followed by Vlad Massaci, Sorin Militaru, Adriana Zaharia and Ana Mărgineanu and later Vera Ion, Ștefan Peca and Bogdan Georgescu joined the same project, all being gathered by the professor Nicolae Mandea. The first event was a play contest[32] having the slogan: *Ai o idee? Ți-o facem! / Got an idea? We'll make it!* It was followed by a second edition of the contest[33] with another slogan: *Trece(-)ți granița! / Pass the border!* Besides the play contest, which gathered six editions, the project extended its activity by becoming involved in the process of translation for lots of important contemporary plays and by organising workshops of creative writing or master-classes and conferences on topics such as new theatrical forms and concepts or documentary theatre. Most of the representatives also started to write and direct their own texts. The first one was Geanina Cărbunariu who wrote and directed *Stop the Tempo*[34] or *madybaby.edu* followed by all her other plays. The same thing also did Ștefan Peca for his plays *Showdown* or *New York (Fuckin' City)*. For all these authors the play was more a work in progress and less a completed work.

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[31] Before *DramAcum*, there were few previous attempts to place under the spotlight the Romanian contemporary dramaturgy such as *Dramafest*, organized by Alina Nelega-Cadariu in Târgu Mureș, but none of these lasted too long.

[32] The winner of the contest was Ștefan Peca's *Punami*, a play that unfortunately was never staged.

[33] This time, one of the nominated plays, Gabriel Pintilei's *Elevator*, directed by Adriana Zaharia was staged.

[34] The play was a huge success and its nominalization at Wiesbaden New Playwriting Biennial in 2004 represented the opportunity for an international career.

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Revising the play led to the possibility of a continuous process of re-writing and re-adjusting the text according to the other dramatic or theatrical perspectives provided by the actors, the stage designer or the audience. This sort of theatre proved to be a theatre of contemporary society full of real characters telling their true stories that reflect the most important social concerns and problems. Staging a social conflict in a live performance, opposed to any theatrical *frozen moment*, may be interpreted as an open access to *performativity* for all the instances involved in such a process, from the playwright to the audience (Popovici 2008: 50). The concept of *performativity* could be regarded as a dramatic dimension of the text that is not necessary to be also identified on stage. Needless to mention that, while theatrical dimension represents an open access for the actor to the fictional story which, in its turn, belongs to a meaningful reality, *performativity* may be translated as the search for a trustful sense to be assumed by both the actor and the audience. It is the *performative act* that shades light upon reality on stage. In other words, it is expected for the theatrical performance neither to describe nor to speak about the world but to rebuild it for the moment when the play is on stage.

DramAcum – Made in Romania

Generally speaking, the verb *to perform* denotes the ability to execute an action. Transposed into artistic fields, it refers not only to the very act of playing an instrument, singing and dancing but also to the possibility of acting in a play. When these actions are realized in a theatrical performance, they are presented in their pluri-medial dimensions sustained by the spatial proximity between performance and audience (McAuley 1998: 10-12). In terms of playwriting, the same proximity allows the transfer of the documentary discourse, based on real characters and their true stories, into a fictional one, having the main aim of reflecting reality as it is but in a more intensive manner. The performed reality is exaggerated on purpose in order to make the public much more aware of it. The relationship between performance and common reality is employed by language itself. As the major means of theatrical expression, language[35] becomes capable to rebuild on stage real situations and true events. As Peter Brook stated, a word does not start as a word, but it is an end product which first began as an impulse, stimulated by attitude and behaviour which have dictated the need for that particular expression. Such a process starts inside the playwright and repeats itself inside the actor, both being conscious of the words. Brook, 1996: 12)

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[35] According to Austin, words are not purely reflective, and linguistic acts do not simply reflect a world but actually has the power to make a world. In other words, each word may represent a bond to reality. (Austin 1975: 10)

The connection between audience and actors is no longer based on pre-established conventions and codes but presupposes a direct intervention into reality. Actors do not represent characters anymore; instead they present themselves as real characters. Their performance rejects the unity of character as well as the cause-effect logic. Their acts build another true reality.[36] Transferred on stage such a reality needs to become *performative*. Building a play could be translated by experiencing reality in a *performative* manner and this represented the very beginning of *DramAcum Project* as a theatrical means of developing and promoting the Romanian contemporary playwriting. For these playwrights the dramatic text is no longer a matter of literary theory but of performing. Their texts seem aggressive but based on a true Romanian reality, revealing a *temporary contemporary*[37] world (Popovici 2008: 155). None of the plays was written, staged and promoted for posterity but for the direct influence upon the audience in search for intense theatrical experiences. Using only few instruments, these authors' intention was to generate a concise essentialism of theatre as performing art, building up a new theatricalism. Practicing a politics against the system[38], these playwrights tried to make their voices heard and, most important, distinguished from the linguistic and thematic limited background. Opposed to the classical theatre of entertainment that, so far, proved not to be interested in the true aspects of real life, the new type of theatre could generally be characterized by its unrestrained language full of poetry as well as by an anarchist aspect in perfect resonance with the contemporary society described as dark and artificial. What is staged is not fiction, but reality itself.

In order to build up a new dramaturgy, *DramAcum* organized in 2004 two main workshops of creative writing: the first one at Act Theatre in April and the second one at Colibița in August. Following Roberta Levitow's method[39], the young playwrights produced several short plays later developed in stage productions. Among all these texts, there are few that need to be mentioned: Carmen Vioreanu's *Anathema* (four boys and a mute girl meet in an abandoned building in order to perform so called satanic rituals), Vera

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[36] A good example of such a case in Romanian contemporary theatre is Ana Mărgineanu's play *89.89... Hot after '89*, staged in 2004, when the actress Coca Bloos introduced herself to the audience using her own name.

[37] Imported from visual arts, the concept of *temporary contemporary* turns the notion of contemporary into a contextually more relative one. In other words, being contemporary is only for a limited period of time.

[38] At that time, the only social play staged by a Romanian director in a public theatrical institution was *Home* at Ion CreangăTheatre.

[39] The basic principles of Levitow's method refer to the importance of dialogue and reality. Since theatre means a staged story, the playwright should be able to transpose any moral value into a life story and any real instance into a character. From this point of view, any play could represent the opportunity for a real life story to become a narrative.

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Ion's *Vitamins* (all the members of a family live in their fantasies), Gabriel Pintilei's *Elevator* (a boy and a girl have their first sexual experience in an abandoned elevator which, in the end, becomes their grave), Bogdan Gerogescu's *D.W.*[40] (a boy tries to escape his parents' violence into a virtual dream world), Nicoleta Esinescu's *Fuck you, Eu.ro.pa!* (a girl from Moldova, because of her identity crisis, turns against her own country). In October 2004, these plays became staged reading performances at Foarte Mic Theatre in Bucharest and, a bit later, staged in Romania and abroad.

Either it is an existential drama or an absurd comedy or even a poetic monodrama, the theatrical experiment is always related to specific aspects that reshape the manner of playwriting such as the language resetting, the very short scenes, a dynamic development of the plot, real life stories presented from the teenagers' perspectives. All the plays under *DramAcum brand* relate stories of average people apparently having no important significance but their message is the most powerful one as in most cases. In fact, most of these plays may sum up a general condition of the teenagers plunged into a cruel reality, as in Geanina Cărbunariu's *Stop the Tempo*[41], or refer to small and detailed fragments depicted from the very same reality, as in Maria Manolescu's *Sado-Maso Blues Bar*[42].

In the former case, the story relates about three lonely people who meet one another in a pub: Maria has three jobs in order to be capable to pay her parents' needs as persons who enjoy to buy things all the time, Rolnado wants to be cool and a DJ in order to impress girls and Paula who is a copywriter sick of her own life. They spend the night together but, in fact, they tend to isolate themselves in false identities. Each of them speaks about himself or herself without listening to the others, as in the following fragment.

> "Paula: Shit.
> Rolando: If I remember well, I haven't received a phone call for two weeks.
> Paula: Shit.

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[40] The title is an acronym of *Dream World*, a computer game.

[41] The play was first staged and directed by its author at LUNI Theatre of Green Hours in Bucharest, in 2003 and later at Focus Theatre in Dublin, in 2005. The same play, directed by Christian Benedetti, was staged at Theatre Studio d'Alfortville in Paris, in 2005. In 2006 under Wolf E. Rahlfs's direction it was staged at Die Badische Landesbuehne Bruchsal and two years later it was directed by Paolo Correira at Theatre National de Nice. During the same year, the play was also directed by Katrin Hiller at Volkstheater in Vienna and it was staged at Yorick Theatre in Târgul Mureșt too.

[42] The staged performance of this play was directed by Geanina Cărbunariu at Foarte Mic Theatre, in 2007.

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Maria: This job business really fucked me up. I still don't want to believe, but I have three jobs. Yes. And I am so tired that I cannot sleep at night.

Paula: Shit.

Rolando: I don't like to use important words... in fact I never use such words... as... I don't know... well... I don't remember... But, at that time, I was really...

Maria: Three jobs and the hope that someday I would have a place of my own. A reasonable studio... A reasonable car... A reasonable man... A reasonable kid... A reasonable dog... A reasonable shit...

Rolando: No important words... no... n...

Maria: I am 27 year old and I have three jobs. My faculty colleagues are terrible jealous of me. The only thing that I haven't experienced too often is sex. But this is my very little secret.

Paula: Shit, that's it." (Cărbunariu 2003).

The latter case is made of small flash-backs inserted into other small scenes that compose the present life of two teenagers. Two friends, an unsuccessful actor (Sa) and a former convict (Ma), plan to open the first sado-maso bar in Bucharest not only to gain some money but also to revenge on those who have hurt them. As expected, things do not follow the characters' intention so they have to change the business plan several times. The play has to rearrange the temporal line of the fragmented story, shifting from one direction to another. Each moment of the story stands for a conjunction of at least two possible narrative lines. The following fragment deals with the characters' relationship with their mutual friend, Pilă, at a certain moment of the story, but it also contains a second possible development concerning the characters' relationship with the mother of one of them.

"MA: Sa!

SA: Yes?

MA: I go now.

SA: What do you mean? Where?

MA: Home, to my mother.

SA: What about the bar? What about Pilă?

MA: Pilă isn't coming anymore.

SA: I don't believe you!

MA: I spoke to him right now.

SA: You told him not to come? You don't trust me, right? You think I'm not ok.

MA: You're ok. He just doesn't come anymore. I think we asked too much money.

SA: Ask for less!

MA: I don't think he has any. He just got out. Sa, imagine this!

SA: You had money when you got out. He had money. I heard you when he told you he has. You're lying to me. I think you don't believe in me.

MA: Yes, I do,

SA: Tell him... tell him I'm gonna do it for free, like a special offer. First night is for free. I just want an opportunity to prove how good I am; just a small chance.

MA: Tomorrow, ok? Now I have to go.

SA: Don't leave me. […] Please, Ma! I'll do anything.

MA: No. My mom is waiting for me.

SA: Bring her too. I'll make her happy. I can. I already made her happy once."[43] (Manolescu 2007).

Being written by young authors, these plays are destined for young people. The major topics belong to their area of interests while the staged theatrical performances resemble very much the reality they live in. Most of the teenagers' interests are to be found in the staged stories. Besides the topics concerning family conflicts, generation gap problems or social matters, these texts also shed light on different aspects of young people's identity crises. On one hand it is questioned the possibility of adapting to a totally new reality as in Geanina Cărbunariu's *madybaby.edu* or the impossibility to choose what nationality to belong to as Ștefan Peca's *New York (Fuckin' City)* and, on the other hand, the dilemma of having no identity at all as in Nicoleta Esinescu's *Fuck you, Eu.ro.pa!* [44]

The third edition of *DramAcum* contest selected the following texts: Gabriel Pintilei's *Blifat,* Maria Silvia Pintea's *Fragile/Do not Drop*, Ioana Blănaru's *In Two*, Maria Manolescu's *With a Little Help of My Friends*, Laurențiu Bănescu's *Karmacuantic,* Cristian Panaite's *Decomposed Bodies* and Mihaela Michailov's *I'm Afraid*. This time things were a bit changed since the new type of playwriting produced so many well-written texts that overwhelmed the directors. Their purpose was to mark the existence of the new wave of Romanian dramaturgy that has become representative for both their generation and their culture. Besides the interest for intergeneration

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[43] The fragment was translated by its author.

[44] In her monologue, the character of Esinescu's play has to face the situation of living in a country which does not exist. Being a Moldovan, she thinks that enjoying shopping facilities and advertisements as well as TV commercials may turn Chișinău into a European city. In the end she realizes that Europe is not an enormous supermarket with anything someone could possibly want and words like privatization, federalization, globalization, standardizing, popularizing, devaluing or modernization lack their meaning. Oscillating between being a Moldovan or a European, she finds herself lost in such an impossible dilemma and asks her father what her country has done for her and how could she return the favour. (Esinescu: 2006)

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conflicts or contemporary society's hypocrisies and anxieties, the playwrights intended to put under the spotlight their own country. Staging Romania represented a theatrical ambition but proved to be a difficult task and only Geanina Cărbunariu continued to deal with such a topic. Nevertheless, all these plays turned into staged reading performances and some of them were staged in different important theatres.

Till 2006, the other *DramAcum* editions followed the same pattern, discovering new important young authors and promoting them. At present, most of the events under this brand changed the perspective from mainly theatrical to social and interdisciplinary and this fact kept the project still visible. What remained after *DramAcum* theatrical experiments was the fact that all of the playwrights were involved in theatrical productions based on their texts and thus emphasizing the creative relationship between the author and the director, trying and sometimes succeeding in changing the position of the playwright inside a theatre. Moreover, these authors became known because of their writings and, in time, developed their own theatrical projects.[45]

Conclusion

According to Ereinov, the main important purpose of theatre is to reject any tendency to imitate reality (Mandea 2006: 109). Being adjusted in order to fulfill such a task the new kind of theatre which implies the new type of dramaturgy focused on finding new means and forms of theatrical expression involving not only the playwright, the actors, the director and the stage designer but also the audience. The new theatre as well as the new dramaturgy introduced the theatrical experiment as the possibility to reconfigure the dramatic settings, topics, conflict development and language. Based on *verbatim* playwriting, initiated by *in-yer-face* theatrical movement, the Romanian projects, mainly *DramAcum,* accomplished most of their goals.[46]

Similar to the Russian and Polish theatrical projects, the Romanian version of the new type of theatre and dramaturgy succeeded in exposing and augmenting the reality of *here* and *now*, as the name of the project, highlighting the importance of the unconventional methods of happening and performance and thus turning the dramatic act from *interpretative* to *performative*. What is specific to *DramAcum* as a theatrical aesthetics is

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[45] Besides the aforementioned theatrical projects highly influenced by *DramAcum – Tanga Project* and *The Offensive of Generosity Project* – there were other projects that continued *DramAcum* main objectives as *Replika,* developed by Radu Apostol and Mihaela Michailov or Bogdan Georgescu's *Turneu la țară / Touring the Country*.

[46] Although it was considered a very important theatrical project, *DramAcum's i*ntention to change the laws of Romanian theatrical system was never accomplished.

given by the new main perspective upon the dramatic act as means of social interaction and/or communication based on direct experience of reality as well as on common language and vocabulary. Increasing the importance of the playwright, the new wave of Romanian dramaturgy made its voice heard nationally and internationally and imposed its texts for many theatrical festivals and repertoires.

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A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN PRAGMATISM: STAGING O'NEILL'S *HUGHIE* BY ALEXA VISARION

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Abstract: *"Hughie or the Tale of a Memory" is the working title of the first play that the experienced artist Alexa Visarion has directed for the independent theater (a production released in 2017). The purpose of my paper, which is an investigation of several drama reviews that discuss the play's first night, is to prove that – despite difficulties with cultural reception and public taste (given a text by O'Neill that is 80 years old, as well as the director's first time with an informal theater production) - this performance was a succesful attempt at communicating and debating the conflicted values of American pragmatism and equally a crowning of the Romanian director's effort to stage O'Neill's plays in our country. Relying on insights from the Amercan doctrine of Pragmatism, I will try to show how O'Neill's text challenges philosophical premises that are inbred in the American status-quo, thereby making his plays "anti-materialistic" by promoting a fatalistic approach to existence.*
Key words: reception; pragmatism; fatalism; performance; Romanian-America cultural connections;

Introduction

To approach a text by Eugene O'Neill in the 21st century means to be aware that you are dealing with a writer who, despite having been part of American culture and having enjoyed the benefits of celebrity, nonetheless made it his life-long mission to criticize the political system of his country, to militate for the "misbegotten" ones, people for whom the American Dream will always be illusory yet who insist on living their lives in this illusion, because what makes a dreamer's life special is exactly the beauty of their unreacheable dream. Following O'Neill, the majority of classic American playwrights have dwelt upon this hybris and have produced significant, worldy-renowned drama: Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, Edward Albee, David Mamet, Sam Shepard etc. In their plays, material succes is usually what is sought after but frequently the dreamers harbor a different illusion – one connected to an impossible love affair, a dream-job or a paradisical place where they could finally be happy. Sometimes, a misbegotten's biggest challenge is being able to give up drinking, step out of the door into the light

of the street and just lead a normal existence. Eventually, however, these misfortunate creatures are inevitably shattered by the very impossiblity of their aspirations and the final resignation to their inescapable doom is soul-rending.

O'Neill's *Hughie* is an encapsulation of this moral struggle that all significant plays by the same author exhibit. "Erie" Smith is a typical O'Neillian character, a former player that has run out of luck and is being threatened by a gang to which he owes money. Superstitiously, he connects his prolonged spell of ill fortune to the death of a close acquaintance, the night clerk Hughie. The play's conflict is centered on Erie's desperate attempt to find a replacement for his former side-kick in the present night-clerk of the hotel that he is usually staying at, a guy named Charlie Hughes.

The fact that director Visarion Alexa has selected this play for staging at Unteatru is relevant for several reasons: it is a one-act play, which recommends it for an independent, low-budget theater production, it was an occasion to celebrate Alexa's 70th anniversary by staging O'Neill's last play, which at the same time represented the director's final statement about producing O'Neill's plays in Romania. For the author of the present paper, the background regarding Alexa Visarion's involvement with Eugene O'Neill's Romanian reception is more than familiar, having constituted the original impulse for embarking on my doctoral project[47]. However, despite the director's continuing efforts, his cultural project of reviving O'Neillean drama on the Romanian stage was invalidated by unsupportive cultural agents[48].

These being said, I will focus on the interaction between the production and its audience, through the prism of critical interpretation (a survey of several drama reviews). Having seen the performance and based on a previous analysis of the play's contents (its dramatic anatomy, so to speak, which in this case involves an incursion into O'Neillean anti-pragmatism), I

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[47] My thesis was defended in 2012 and published in book form in 2018, after the release of the presently-debated production. Thus, the volume has gained a certain, unhoped-for circularity: the onset of my research was given by Alexa Visarion's organization of an "Eugene O'Neill" Symposium in 2003 (at the National Theater in Bucharest and in celebration of 50 years since the playwright's death), while the concluding contribution was brought by the same director's final staging of *Hughie* in 2017.

[48] I am referring to Alexa's project of the *Romanian-American Artist's Theater*, bearing O'Neill's name. The theater was intended to stage at first O'Neill's plays (a revival of *Anna Christie* and *A Touch of the Poet* was already underway in 2004, when I joined the team as an occasional translator, working with the actors in order to adapt O'Neill's lines into contemporary vernacular) and onwards there were planned other productions of classical American drama. Unfortunately, these initial efforts were suppressed by the National Theater direction, mostly due to internal political dissensions, and the project did not bear fruit.

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will try to assess the succes of the attempted transposition of the play's conceptual universe onto the Romanian stage.

Romanian Resilience versus American Pragmatism

In an instant of self-irony perhaps, Alexa Visarion decided to celebrate his 50 years of direction by symbolically staging O'Neill's *Hugie* at Unteatru (an independent theater house), a production which was about "the meeting of generations from the world of theater, in a project that defies pragmatism." (*Contemporanul*: 20) On the surface, a very honorable intention of looking at things from outside the high cultural forum of state theater, a reputed director and respected professor of theater direction at UNATC (Alexa is a former head of the doctoral school) reaching out to the independent world of small theater and giving less known performers a chance at glory by association with his name. Looking deeper into the matter, I would argue that Alexa's choice was an informed cultural one, since the state theater houses have a very selective policy and a rigid choice of repertory, working only with enrolled directors (or with collaborators that are found to be "convenient" – an adjective that would hardly suit Alexa's personality). Moreover, Unteatru had staged and is staging several other American plays[49], whose orientation is close to O'Neill's one-act dramas (that is, expressionistic or existentialist). I consider it, however, to have been an ironic choice since *Hughie* is - as one of the reviewers put it - "an essay about failure" and also Alexa's attempts to found an independent theater enterprise dedicated to O'Neill were doomed from the onstart… therefore, what we are looking at is a case of two-fold failure paradoxically crowning a famous director's career, who – ironically I believe – has chosen O'Neill's play to celebrate his life-long achievements, which equals an expression of disappointment with the world's futility and vanity. In a way, Alexa's final directing statement is a replica of O'Neill's deathbed quipping: "Born in a hotel room and, goddamn it, died in a hotel room! " – with the spectral image of the impersonal transitory space looming large all over the script in *Hughie*[50].

Reviewing the concepts of American pragmatism[51], I would like to focus on "thought as an instrument or tool for prediction, problem solving

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[49] *The Sunset Limited* by Cormack McCarthy and *Ages of the Moon* by Sam Shepard

[50] Erie Smith's prolonged conversation with the clerk is in fact a postponement of entering the chamber of death which is the solitary hotel room upstairs where he will commit suicide, which makes the hotel lobby death's antechamber where – paradoxically – the characters may still entertain the illusion of life and dreams of success.

[51] **Pragmatism** is a philosophical tradition that began in the United States around 1870. Its origins are often attributed to the philosophers William James, John Dewey, and Charles Sanders Peirce. Peirce later described it in his pragmatic maxim: "Consider the practical effects of the objects of your conception. Then, your conception of those effects is the whole of your conception of the object." (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pragmatism)

and action" (cf. Wikipedia) and to say that O'Neill's human wrecks are deprived of *the very pragmatic virtue of common sense*, being unable to perceive their own plight or deluding themselves that they could get out of it, as Erie Smith does. According to the doctrine, "most philosophical topics — such as the nature of knowledge, language, concepts, meaning, belief, and science — are all best viewed in terms of their practical uses and successes", following which the philosophy of pragmatism "emphasizes the practical application of ideas by acting on them to actually test them in human experiences" (idem). This very act of *testing the pragmatic notions by experience* is – ironically – the test at which most O'Neillean characters fail, proving themselves unable to subsist outside the veil of illusion they have shrouded themselves in. Thus, the poster of the production very clearly reveals the plight of the main character: his entanglement in self-delusion.

Figure no. 1

Since pragmatism focuses on a "changing universe rather than an unchanging one, as the Idealists, Realists and Thomists had claimed" (cf. Wikipedia), we conclude that the philosophy of O'Neillean characters is rather idealistic and on this base we may infer an affinity with the Romanian "fatalistic" attitude as exhibited in the foundational ballad *Mioritza*. Moreover, idealism does not necessarily presuppose pessimism[52] – as the

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[52] As some critics noted, the attitude of the Romanian shepherd, when forewarned of the murder plot, is not defeatist but takes into account the possibility of death, giving his instructions under a hypothetical "and *if* I were to die…"

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millennial experience of survival by our people proves – on the contrary, it seems that idealism is just another facet of resilience.

The Play's Anatomy

Hopefully, a few excerpts from the play will bring us closer to demonstrating the tenets of American pragmatism being challenged by O'Neill's character construct. I will start with the stage directions, which in O'Neill's drama are as important as the lines themselves (especially the parenthetical references):

> SCENE: The desk and a section of the lobby of a small hotel on a West Side Street in midtown New York. It is between 3 and 4 A.M. of a day in the summer of 1928.
> It is one of those hotels, built in the decade 1900-10 on the side streets of the Great White Way sector, which began as respectable second class but soon were forced to deteriorate in order to survive. *Following the First World War and Prohibition, it had given up all pretense of respectability, and now is anything a paying guest wants it to be, a third class dump, catering to the catch-as-catch-can trade. But still it does not prosper. It has not shared in the Great Hollow Boom of the twenties. The Everlasting Opulence of the New Economic Law has overlooked it.* It manages to keep running by cutting the overhead for service, repairs, and cleanliness to a minimum."
> (O'Neill, 1988: 831)

From the onset, the audience is confronted with an image of failure that the hotel embodies, just as the end-of-the-line station that Blanche DuBois has to descend at in *A Streetcar Named Desire.* The fact that in parallel with this enterprise, others have prospered and been part of the Great Economic Boom of the twenties (derisively given a sarcastic appellation, that equates economic with hollow, thereby suggesting the spiritual emptiness usually associated with material success) – which is said to have "overlooked" the premises – makes this hotel the likely placement of the action involving more representatives of the "misbegotten" lot of humanity so dear to O'Neill. The time of the action is in keeping with the characters' mood and appearance, which I will analyze below.

In order of appearance, the characters are

The Night Clerk, who exhibits the following characteristics:

- Sits on the stool, facing front, his back to the switchboard.
- There is nothing to do. He is not thinking. He is not sleepy.

He simply droops and stares acquiescently at nothing, waiting for the end of his shift.

- He has been a clerk in New York Hotels so long he can tell time by sounds in the street.
- In appearance, he is overall "without character" and "his blank brown eyes contain no discernible expression. One would say they had even forgotten how it feels to be bored".
- He wears an ill-fitting, old and over-polished, blue serge suit.
- Upon the other man's entrance, "his gummy lips part automatically in a welcoming The –Patron-Is-Always-Right grimace, intended as a smile."
- His big uneven teeth are in bad condition. (831).

and "ERIE" SMITH, introduced to the audience as "a teller of tales":

- He walks to the desk with a breezy familiar air.
- He wears a light grey suit cut in the extreme, tight –waisted, Broadway mode, the coat open to reveal an old and faded but expensive silk shirt in a shade of blue that sets teeth on edge, and a gay red and blue foulard tie (…)[53]
- He carries a Panama hat and mops his face with a silk handkerchief; his expensive silk shirt of a daring blue is old and faded and his tie is stained by perspiration.
- He is consciously a Broadway sport and a Wise Guy – the type of small fry gambler and horse player, living hand-to-moth on the fringe of the rackets.
- He and his kind imagine they are in the Real Know, cynical oracles of the One True Grapevine.
- There is something phony about his characterization of himself, some sentimental softness behind it which doesn't belong in the hard-boiled picture. (832).

Rather unwillingly, the two characters engage in conversation and go to a first name basis, with Erie offering Hughes plentiful insight into his whereabouts and the occasional wise advice, such as "Take my tip, Pal. Don't never know nothin'. Be a sap and stay healthy." (833). On his part, Hughes pretends to listen to Erie's "gabbing", trying to forget about his aching feet and repeatedly wishing his chatty new acquaintance would go to bed (in the stage directions, Erie is referred to as 492 – the room's number – by Hughes). Their dialogue (or rather Erie's monologue accompanied by Hughes' abstracted thoughts and circumstantial muttering), acutely

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[53] Judging by the color code, the author might have intended to portray Erie as a grotesque version of Uncle Sam.

punctuated by revealing stage directions, soon takes absurdist overtones and is darkly humorous, occasionally with sinister overtones:

Figure no. 2

ERIE (*He pauses – boastfully*) Some queens I've brought here in my time, Brother – frails from the Follies, or the Scandals, or the Frolics, that'd knock your eye out! And I can still make 'em. You watch. I ain't slippin'. (*He looks at the Night Clerk expecting reassurance but the Clerks' mind has slipped away to the clanging bounce of garbage cans in the outer night. He is thinking: A job I'd like. I'd bang those cans louder than they do! I'd wake up the whole damned city!" Erie mutters disgustedly to himself*) Jesus, what a dummy! (*He makes a move in the direction of the elevator, off right front – gloomily*) Might as well hit the hay, I guess.
NIGHT CLERK – (comes to – with the nearest approach to feeling he has shown in many a long night – approvingly) Good night, Mr. Smith. I hope you have a good rest. *(But Erie stops, glancing around the deserted lobby with forlorn distaste, jiggling the room key in his hand.)* (837).

Little by little, and against the Night Clerk's will, Erie reveals to the latter how come he and Hughie bonded so well:

Christ, it's lonely. I wish Hughie was here. By God, if he was, I'd tell him a tale that'd make his eyes pop! The bigger the story the harder he'd fall. He was that king of sap. He thought gambling was romantic. I guess he saw me like a sort of dream guy he'd like to be if he could take a chance. I guess he lived a sort of double life listening to me gabbin' about hittin' the high spots. Come to figger it, I'll bet he even cheated on his wife that way, using me and my dolls. *(He chuckles.)* No wonder he linked me, huh? (845).

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The above speech sample is an encapsulation of how O'Neill's text challenges the pragmatic doctrine, philosophically speaking. While for William James the truth was that which could be directly experienced or something with immediate consequences in reality[54], for Erie the lie has exactly the same function – as long as he can find someone to believe (in) him. However, James draws our attention that it is experience which ultimately corrects our perception of truth:

> Expedient in almost any fashion, and expedient in the long run and on the whole, of course; for what meets expediently all the experience in sight won't necessarily meet all farther experiences equally satisfactorily. Experience, as we know, has ways of BOILING OVER, and making us correct our present formulas. (James)

Erie won't allow himself a truthful perception; moreover, he feels an urgent need to suck in others and make them accomplices in his self-aggrandizing quest. Therefore, EXPERIENCE, for Erie Smith (the "wise guy") is damaging because he ultimately has to acknowledge that he is a failure, running away from engagements and leading a dissipated existence. Nevertheless, up to the very end, he desperately exchanges truth for lies and seeks an audience for his illusion-making act. Cheating and tall tales have by this point become an addiction, as he gambles reality for an illusory state of happiness: the belief that he has "all the luck", with the sympathetic night clerk as a witness. Hughie or Hughes (the "sucker") is the necessary sidekick who validates this pipe-dream for Erie. Occasionally, though, Erie confesses to his deceitfulness yet he seems to delight in it:

> I sure took him around with me in tales and showed him one hell of a time. *(He chuckles – then seriously)* And, d'you know, it done me good too, in a way. Sure. I'd get to seein' myself like he seen me. (…) Oh, I was wise I was kiddin' myself. I ain't a sap. But what the hell, Hughie loved it, and it didn't cost nobody nothin', and if every guy along Broadway who kids himself was to drop dead there wouldn't be nobody left. Ain't it the truth, Charlie? (O'Neill, 1988: 846).

The above quote exemplifies once more, how O'Neill twists the pragmatic notions until they acquire a certain ambiguity or even duality, like the two faces of a coin. Thus, despite being nonsensical, the apparent monologue suddenly turns into a dialogue which is meaningful for the

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[54] 'The true, to put it very briefly, is only the expedient in the way of our thinking, just as the right is only the expedient in the way of our behaving. (W. James)

audience: "NIGHT CLERK *(His glassy eyes stare through Erie's face. He stammers deferentially)* Truth? I'm afraid I didn't get – What's the truth?

ERIE (hopelessly) Nothing, Pal." [55]

After proudly recounting how he paid homage to Hughie at his funeral (by allegedly ruining himself in the process), Erie resumes the idea once more for the sake of emphasis: "Hughie liked to kid himself he was my pal. *(He adds sadly.)* And so he was, at that – even if he was a sucker. *(He pauses, his false poker face as nakedly forlorn as an organ grinder's monkey's...)"* (847) Towards the end of their dialogue, it seems that there can be no mental connection between the two characters, each one of them drifting away on their own. While Erie is still thinking of Hughie and musing about the meaningless of existence, Charlie seems to be talking to himself in a way that is meant in fact to address the audience:

> ERIE (*breaks the silence – bitterly resigned*) But Hughie's better off, at that, being dead. *He's got all the luck*. He needn't do no worrying now. He's out of the racket. I mean, the whole goddamned racket. I mean life.
> NIGHT CLERK (*kicked out of his dream – with detached, pleasant acquiescence*) Yes, it is a goddamned racket when you stop to think, isn't it, 492? But we might as well make the best of it, because – Well, you can't burn it all down, can you? There's too much steel and stone. There'd always be something left to start it again. (848)

Figure no. 3

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[55] To follow their argument would be to obtain the following judgement: truth being nothing, the corollary is that nothing is true, so lies are everything! William James would decidedly have been baffled by this reversal of logic...

Charlie's retort is an exasperated existential moan, yet – as we have grown accustomed by now – his lines can be reverted to bring a surge of optimism, which is the note on which the play ends. When all hope seems to be lost, Charlie is suddenly converted to Erie's lying game, accepting it as the only possible escape from a stifling "reasonable" (but in fact absurd) reality. When he thinks of how the "great" Arthur Rothstein plays poker, Charlie is entranced and Erie suddenly becomes important to him because he is familiar with that renowned player. And since Charlies has accepted to play the sucker part, Erie immediately joins him in adopting the wise guy role:

> Say, Charlie, why didn't you put me wise before, you was interested in gambling? Hell, I got you all wrong, Pall. I been tellin' myself, this guy ain't like old Hughie. He ain't got no sportin' blood. He's just a dope. *(generously)*Now I see you're a right guy. Shake. *(He shoves out his hand which the Clerk clasps with a limp pleasure. Erie goes on with gathering warmth and self-assurance.)* That's the stuff. You and me'll get along. I'll give you all the breaks, like I give Hughie.[56] (550)

Figure no. 4

In the play, when the curtain falls, the two characters are caught up in a game of "craps" (that is, dice) – with Erie's "soul" being "purged of grief, his confidence restored." (851). The only changes that the director made to the script are the misterious apparition, just before the end, of a woman's figure, swirling across the scene[57], following which Erie gets entangled in the plastic

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[56] I consider that the use of the first form of the verb "I give" suggests that for Erie, the replacement has been done, like a recharging of the batteries. Now he can be lucky again, even if he feels death getting closer.

[57] possibly a symbolic death figure, like the lady in black that the sailor Hank visualizes before he swoons in *Bound East for Cardiff*

sheet at the back of the stage and the black-out follows. Erie's final words resound peremptorily in the audience's ears: "He's gone. Like we all gotta go. Him yesterday, me or you tomorrow, and who cares, and what's the difference? It's all in the racket, huh?" (851)

Critical Opinion

Alexa Visarion wants to demonstrate that even in the modest context of independent theater it is possible to illustrate a text through a minutely conducted visualization…Each moment is minutely conceived by the director who possesses the science of theatrical illustration through details. Its vision abounds in certain impressive theatrical effects, while others are forcibly brought forth…The director has thought through every scene, but the effects placed in a restrained perimeter are too abundant, since in the independent theater the intimate dramatic convention is what carries the desired emotion towards the spectator. The director's lack of experience with this type of acting space is manifest. (Lucaciu, 2017 my transl.)

…the staging exceeds the linear solid monologue structure exactly through the lack of swerves in meaning and invents a rich scenic motion, which puzzles, changing the focus much too often and breaking the flow of conscience that would have had the chance to happily complete the experience of watching the play. An overload of fuss, many strident bits, futile dangerous acrobatics and vainly-wasted energy. (…) "Hughie" aims at 'tackling' the mystery and succeeds at this task in a very obvious fashion. Meanwhile, it pretends to keep it attractive. In this it fails. The obscure feeling of watching a performance that you don't understand not because you are unable to but because it is built in such a way that it is unclear in itself about what it purports to be… (Epingeac, 2017 my transl.).

The two above excerpts illustrate the pros's and con's that the reception of the play has met with in terms of critical response. As such, the two reviews I have been quoting are an encapsulation of the notable highs and lows of the performance. The minute rendition of each character's stylistic patern is indeed a hallmark of director Alexa Visarion who, in the naturalistic manner, ascribes certain gestures or habits to each character in turn but mainly focusing on Erie. Indeed, the stage motion of the main character is abundently marked, whereas – just like in the script – Charlie is almost always stationary, his motions being usually restricted to the upper part of his body, which is visible from his desk. Like in the play, Charlie's movements are "limp" and his all-weather smile occasionaly lapses into a blank grin. However, the actor's occasional shrewd eye motion is not indicative of his

always being a worn-out "sap", the director perhaps aiming for the audience to become aware that Charlie also plays the unacknowledged judge of Erie's meanderings. As for the part of Erie, Alexa found in Bovnoczki that "total actor" many directors dream of working with. Of an equally robust yet slender constitution, Bovnoczki doesn't really correspond to the description of a stout, puffy-eyed heavy drinker and glambler. Morover, his ability to tap-dance, balance himslef, do pirouettes or sommersaults can only be equated with the character's verbal pyrotechnics. Yet, what he pulls out remarkably well (and Andrei Seuşean – Charlie – is also good at this) are the piercing moments of existential despair or those of delusional exhilaration. Perhaps Alexa wanted to insert into O'Neill's play the Shakespearen feeing that "all the world's a stage/ and all the men and women merely players…", since he is a well-known Shakespearean and Chekchovian director, who wrote a lot of essays on the dramatic universe of the two great aforementioned playwrights. Indeed, in one of his recent essays from *Contemporanul*[58], entitled "Differently, about Hamlet", Alexa Visarion discusses the ethos of Shakespeare's great tragedy in terms that would definitely match O'Neill's *Hughie*:

> A mismatch between reality and the ideal that he had forged in life, Hamlet appears as a synthesis of humanism in Shakespeare's time. They had seen the lie that was surrounding them, which made them revolt themselves, yet they were powerless in righting the wrong. They were, like Hamlet, a bunch of dreamers. (Alexa, 2017: 306, my transl.)

Similarly, we could add, Erie and Charlie both have had their separate revelations of the indeafeatabity of evil but chose to lie to themselves in order to endure a meningless existence - this schism between dream and reality in their souls making them the bearers of a "hamlet-ian sandness", in the brief moments of awareness that they exhibit. Therefore, the conclusion Alexa draws to the essay on *Hamlet* is more than fitting for the ending of O'Neill's play[59]: "It is a good thing that life is not eternal. It is good that all is passing. It is good that death exists. It is a good thing that there is an end. This is the only way in which one can play their role on the scene of life." (306, my trasl.)

Given that the play was at its first night when the critics evaluated it, we can only hope that the director will take his time to work with the actors and smooth the occassional over-acting bits thus finding a way to get across to the audience his Shakespearean message more explicitly.

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[58] Gathered in the collection *Împotriva uitării* (*Against Oblivion*).
[59] This seems an almost exact transcription of Hugie's final lines.

Final Considerations

The target of Alexa's Visarion inspired direction was – according to Richard Bovnoczki's citation – that of valorizing the text: "The text must be perceived as a cycle of life. Something revealed and also hidden. Something alternating between being laid bare and getting covered." (Contemporanul: 23) This is a comminicative feature that every good piece of literature must exhibit, an embedded ability to lure the reader by continually enticing them to find out more or to fill the gaps left across the text. Therefore, Alexa Visarion took care to build an aura of mystery before settling all the details of the performance and this ineffable but essential part of his artistic direction is very well explained by the lead actor in the play: "The proposed advancement was achieved through a dense fog in which the forms, colors and obstacles were barely perceived, indefinite, merely sketched, a few suggestive touches, so as not to allow the untimely aggregation of a form." (Contemporanul:23)

Since the actors are meant to fill up the space of performance with their living presence, the dramatic conception of the acting structure is a vital pre-requisite for starting the rehearsals. So, the two actors (Andrei Seuşan and Richard Bovnoczki) took their time to get immersed in their roles and to integrate their understanding of the text with the director's vision: "This obsessively minute advancement was aimed at circumscribing a necessary state that ensured the mysterious dimension of the performance." (Bovnoczki in *Contemporanul*: 24)

Figure no. 5

The lead actor confesses what a delightful experience it had been for him to work with a director who is totally dedicated to the actors: "The

dialogue with the actor pursues the vitality of the performance, turning the act into being. (…) The actor's being contains and sends forth to the audience what the director desires and thinks." (Bovnoczki in Contemporanul: 24) And, since according to Bovnoczki's testimony very few directors privilege the actors in this manner, he felt extraordinarily enriched both in a professional and human way by the experience.

Before concluding, I would like to mention a couple of other elements that the lead actor insisted upon in the interview: Alexa's obsession with tracking all the essential details of a scence or character and how, before working on the stage movement, the psychic structure was being heightened. Bovnoczki was amazed to see the whole dramatic construct fall into place when the director wanted it to:

> Everything went on so smoothly, precisely and rapidly that it was masterly. He [the director] almost didn't need to backtrack at all. He knew intimately and rendered precisely the essence of acting and of the performance[60]. (…) After the first night, I became aware of how much more I still had to uncover, to work at, to bore into myself so as to fill up all that he had built. (Contemporanul: 24)

The staging of *Hughie* at Unteatru was a crucial event for the Romanian theater since it constituted a meeting point between the old and the new school of acting and directing. It was made possible by the generosity with which Alexa Visarion conceived his project. His total dedication to building the performance represented a great opportunity for the team of young professionals involved in this enterprise. According to Bovnoczki, it was an artistic act accomplished in the name of Love: "The nobility and elevation of his relationship with us testified to the feeling that was at the foundation of our entire meeting. Love! This love of his put our friendship into perspective!" (*Contemporanul*: 25)

To sum up, certain technical flaws notwithstanding, it is my stated belief that the public both enjoyed and benefitted from attending this production, which constitutes an important addition to the repertory of Unteatru. Luckily, the public was more or less prepared for this meeting with O'Neill and his characters, the one act plays *Hughie* and *Before Breakfast* being the only two which can presently be said to pay homage to the American playwright's memory on the Romanian stage.

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[60] A great director always motivates the actors in his play to do their best, energizes them and shows them how to valorize their potential.

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Cultural studies

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PREHISTORIC OBJECTS IN ROMANIAN FOLK CULTURE (19TH-20TH CENTURY)

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Abstract: *In the present study we intend to reconstruct the attitudes of Romanian peasants towards the vestiges of prehistoric material culture. They have been in contact with a diversity of prehistoric artefacts: polished and perforated stone axes, silex arrow tips, chisels, scrapers, spindle whorls, jewellery, etc. We try to find answers to the following questions: What people thought about the origin of prehistoric artefacts? What meanings were associated with such artefacts? What was their place in the collective imaginary? Which were the uses of these objects?*
Key words: archaeology; popular beliefs; collective imaginary; prehistoric artefacts; thunderstones; magical practices.

The historicity of the collective memory has long been a debated matter in the Romanian folkloristics, being admitted that some information about the past is preserved in folk narratives: historical legends, epic songs. (Simionescu 1983:113-114). According to the rules of collective memory, these historical memories are projected into a mythical time, thus becoming exemplary, archetypal. The reduction of the facts to a mythical pattern explains the ahistorical dimension of the representation of the past in traditional oral communities.

The imaginary of the past time is revealed in traditions and etiological legends, which intend to explain some particularities of the landscape and especially the presence of old dwelling traces: mounds, tumuli, roads, megaliths, mottes, citadel ruins, etc. When asked about their origin, Romanian peasants would answer without exception that these places date back to „Jews" time or to the „giants" time, which were supposed to live before the Flood, a widely spread mythical motif in Romanian area (see Șăineanu 2003: 123-138; Pamfile 2002: 195-211).

In the responses to the 1871 Alexandru Odobescu's archaeological questionnaire, the primary school teachers mentioned these mythical origins when referring to the vestiges in their areas. For example:

Digging a hole of a fathom at the foot of a hill, they found several small stone and big brick walls, as well as very big and two-finger thick potsherds. This means that this place was an ancient settlement or a place from the times of the Giants or the Jews. (Șăineanu 2003:127).

The current Romanian territory displays a great abundance and variety of archaeological materials, of artefacts belonging to past times. There are also prehistoric vestiges such as, weapons, microlithic tools, jewellery, Stone Age household effects, well represented all over the country (Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic cultures: Boian, Cucuteni, Hamangia, Gumelnița, and many other). These were either accidentally dug out during agriculture works or found scattered on fields or in the gravel of rivers. Romanian peasants have been in contact with a diversity of prehistoric artefacts: polished and perforated stone axes, silex arrow tips, chisels, scrapers, spindle whorls, jewellery, etc. In the present study we intend to reconstruct the attitude of the past society towards these vestiges of prehistoric material culture. What people thought about their origin? What meanings were associated with such artefacts? What was their place in the collective imaginary? Were they abandoned right after their discovery, or, on the contrary, they were carefully kept? Which were the uses of these objects?

The information regarding the status of these prehistoric objects discovered by the Romanian peasants is few and scattered. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century some ethnographers and folklorists mention them, but they are barely present later on. This topic has never been systematically investigated, and has not been approached by ethnologists in their field work.

Gheorghe Șincai was the first writer who mentioned how Romanian peasants used these prehistoric artefacts. His book, *Învăţătură firească spre surparea superstiţiilor norodului*/*Reasonable Teaching to Sap People's Superstitions* is, in fact, Reverend Johann Helmuth's *Volks Naturlehre Zur Dämpfung des Aberglaubens* (1786), a volume written for German peasants, translated and adapted to the reality of the Romanian villages in Transylvania. The „thunderstones" are among the „false beliefs" of the Romanian peasants that Șincai mentioned and argued against. It was considered that lightning brought these stones down on the face of the earthby lightning:

Therefore, all the amazing powers these [stones] are invested with, such as, the lightning will not strike the house where there are such stones, the cows which are under spell will get their milk back if

their udders are rubbed with a thunderstone or if they are milked through the hollow of this stone. (Șincai 1964:151).

Following the rationalist trend of his time, Șincai clarifies for the peasants' understanding that these thunderstones are nothing but „ancient tools" from the time when the iron ore was not yet processed The Enlightenment scholar directs his attention to the belief in the celestial origin of the ancient objects, as well as to their apotropaic (their presence protects the house against lightning) and magical use (the cows whose milk was dried up by the malefic rituals of witches, will get their milk back). This proves that such representations were deeply rooted in the Romanian village of the 18th century. In fact, similar beliefs in the apotropaic force of these objects, i.e. to protect the house against lightning were also present among the Saxons in Transylvania. (Wlislocki 1893:98, 114).

After almost a century, in an article published in 1870, the poet Cezar Bolliac, a keen collector of antiquities, whose name is linked to the beginning of the Romanian archaeology, creates a typology of the stone objects found in Romania. He mentions numerous spindle whorls (disc-like stones, with a hole in the middle fitted onto the lower part of the spindle), perforated stones used as weights for fishing nets or for the loom threads, and the stone arrow tips:

> In order not to mislead those who are searching among wide and perforated stones, I must distinguish the ones found in riverbeds, with the soft part naturally perforated by a spring or by a fast waterflow which in time penetrates it forming a hole, sometimes a very even one. The peasants who find these stones call them «stones used by the rainbow to drink water». (…) And it is highly likely that women of yore used for therequirements of their households even the stone perforated by water often foundon water beds. (…) Stone arrows can be found around here and the peasants' simplicity call them «thunder arrows». (Bolliac 1956: 271).

Elena Niculiță-Voronca was the first to mention in the ethnographic literature the use of the prehistoric artefacts. In her collection published in 1903, the author includes the belief found in province of Bucovina that the rainbow drinks water from rivers and ponds at its both ends through perforated stones.

> The rainbow drinks water through a pierced pebble. When people find the pebble through which the rainbow drank water, pick it up and cherish it and hand it down from father to son. It is good for milking the cow, three times crosswise, when there is blood in milk; it is good for charms against quinsy, against goiter – they blow over the

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pebble and place it on the swelling. And when the cow calves, if the cow is milked through that pebble and the cow and the calf are washed with that milk and drink that milk, nothing will harm them. (Niculiță-Voronca 1998: 201).

We can identify here a few constitutive elements of the prehistoric objects perception (which will also appear later): they are precious goods, heirlooms; they belong to the magic therapeutic inventory (they are among the props used in charms); they have an apotropaic role, casting away malefic influences (it is worth noting that they have the same use as the spindle whorls in Șincai's description: a cow is milked through the hole in the stone).

In the summer of 1907, George Coșbuc sees an amulet around the neck of a girl in Gorj county: „a bit reddish flint tip of an arrow. The little girl knew from her parents that the "precious" thing worn wrapped in a fragrant Melittis leaf placed in a small red baize bag is the pebble which falls down from the sky when the thunder strikes and is a good luck charm." (Coșbuc 1907:15).

Then, the writer remembers that when he was a child, he was looking for the „thunder stone" together with other children in the village of Hordou (in Northern Transylvania) on a flat land on the hill close to his house.

A neighbour, an old man had seen the lightning struck that flat land, and after the storm he went to look for the stone fallen from the sky. We, the children, flocking after him. And to seem busy, we were also searching, and to us any pebble looking somehow different seemed to be the real one. But the old man, I know, was familiar with this type of pebble, and with all our drive to get this huge job done, we didn't find anything that the old man liked and we left the things messed up. What exactly the thunderstone is, I never found out from the people in our village, as they didn't know it themselves. Some had only heard about it, others had also seen it, the most boastful ones had found it. But there was nobody in our village to have it. They were only saying that it falls down from the sky when lightning strikes. (…) Later on, when I was studying at those high schools, I found out that it's not only in our village that lightning brings pebbles from the sky, but all over the world, and that it was not only one old man like our neighbour that was trying to find it. (Coșbuc 1907: 16).

Coșbuc quotes Pliny the Elder in order to show that this belief was also present in the Greek-Roman world, and not only: "It is strange that this superstition, which intoxicated Europe until last century, is also found in China and Japan, and in Africa." (Coșbuc 1907:18). Following Gheorghe Șincai's example, Coșbuc addresses the peasants with a scientific explanation for the origin of these objects:

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It is astonishing that this thunderstone always resembles a tool, an axe, a knife, an arrow; sometimes it is a hammer, or a file, or a chisel, and sometimes it is an awl and needle and some other things. It is as if somebody played up there in the clouds and imagined tools, all made of flint, some are rougher, while others are such a pleasant sight, all polished and nicely cut. And uneducated people search for them and wonder where these come from and what they are, and believe that only thunder could chisel flint so nicely. (Coşbuc 1907:18).

More comprehensive information could be found in Gheorghe F. Ciauşanu's *Superstiţiile poporului roman în asemănare cu ale altor popoare vechi şi noi/The Superstitions of the Romanian People in Comparison with Those of Other Old and New Peoples* (1914). In the chapter dedicated to lightning and thunder, Ciauşanu mentions a belief he had collected:

In Vâlcea, people believe that those iron or bronze arrows having a certain form, which can be found in the dirt fell from the sky. Such an arrow should be washed three times in water, and its rust together with the water it was washed in is given to the person with back twinges. It is said that when they fall from the sky, they go 9 fathoms underground, and each year go up one fathom, so they reach the face of the earth after 9 years. (Ciauşanu 2007: 178).

The same belief in the thaumaturgic properties of the „thunderstones" and in their progressively upward movement in the soil can be found in France and Germany, as Ciauşanu mentions quoting different ethnographic sources. In Artur Gorovei's *Credinţi şi superstiţii ale poporului roman/Beliefs and Superstitions of the Romanian People* (1915) there is a short note about identifying prehistoric objects with "thunder stones" in the village of Ţepu, Tecuci: „While ploughing or weeding, farmers find arrow tips, a sort of black silex, which are nothing but remains of a thunderbolt." (Gorovei 1995:232).

In his turn, Tudor Pamfile, in his book on representations of the air, briefly mentions that in the south of Moldova, „the tongue of the thunder" is considered to be „an iron arrow found in the dirt by people working the land or digging, or in some other occasions. These arrows are used in the charm against „pangs" (stabbing headaches – A.O.'s note) and against other illnesses." (Pamfile 1917:74).

The rich material in Traian Gherman's *Meteorologie populară/Folk Meteorology* (1928) also mentions the beliefs about lightning, seen as a weapon, an arrow used by God or Saint Elijah to punish the devils. In Năsăud county, they believed that lightning was not only fire, but also a sharp stone

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shaped like a scythe honing stone, thrown by Saint Elijah at the devils. In Apuseni Mountains, God Himself is the one who punishes the sinners with this honing stone which „goes down underground for a few fathoms. It has magical power: if somebody takes it out, they will be healed by any illnesses, only by touching it." (Gherman 1928:88). This stone brings luck and is really sought-after:

> Those who have such a stone will be lucky all their life, they keep it as a precious thing and wear it as an amulet. It is not uncommon for those who see the lightning on a flat land or in a lake to go and search for this precious stone. (Gherman 1928:89).

In order to have the complete image of the attitude towards the „thunderstone" we will next mention Grig Teodosiu, the primary school teacher who signs the article *Săgeata trăsnetului/The Lightning Arrow* in „Izvorașul" magazine, in 1935. In the evening of June 22nd, 1934, lightning strikes the yard of his house in Bucharest and leaves visible traces in the soil. A few days after this event, he hires a peasant from Ialomița to chop the woods he had in the yard and shows him the place where lightning had struck. The following dialogue takes place:

> - And haven't you dug deeper, Sir? – What for? Isn't it enough that the lightning messed up my place? Why should I mess it up even more? –Well, to find the thunder arrow!" Surprised, the author of the article asks for explanations: „When lightning strikes, it doesn't come without a burning arrow. God sends it from the sky, to kill the Devil. (…) More than this, the lighting is so strong that the arrow is buried in the ground. If you dig, you can find it, sometimes two metres deep, or five metres or even deeper." Then, the peasant recounts what happened in his village when people dug ten metres down where the lighting had struck and found a stone „like the stones for sharpening scythes. It was made of flint, polished on both sides and sharpened at both ends." It has the power to heal all sorts of illnesses: „stabbing pains, fever, falling sickness, and more other. Those who have such a tool, are rich. People from all over the world would come to you to heal their diseases and you would be rich, really! – Well, but how can you heal with its help? – You put the arrow on the aching spot, like a poultice, you leave it there for a few minutes or you leave it there until the illness is out of the body. And you must know that the pain just vanishes. (Teodosiu 1935: 299-301).

Noticing the teacher's disbelief, he asks for permission to dig the garden himself, but he is not allowed to do it.

Among other goals, the Monographic school between the two World Wars intended to restore the Romanian peasants' worldview, their ways of explaining the natural phenomena. Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția, who participated in the monographic campaigns in Drăguş (1929, 1932, 1938), published the findings of the research in 1940: *Gospodăria în credinţele şi riturile magice ale femeilor din Drăguş (Făgăraş)/The Household in the Magic Beliefs and Rites of Women from Drăguş (Făgăraş)*. From the very first chapter, dedicated to cosmological elements, the author considers that the natural environment favourable to human habitat marked the magical representations and practices:

> To give an example, the representation of «the fairy ones» (*iele*, A.O.'s note), maybe the most interesting representation of the region, the special feature of «the fairies' stones» - some nicely shaped and pierced stones – which is believed to remain on the places where these beautiful girls had danced, is connected with this type of stones, proof of prehistoric life in these regions. The unusual appearance of these stones struck people's imagination.
>
> Therefore, a series of healing magical practices were created, in which the fairies' stones» hold an important place. These practices are very often met in the households in Drăguş. (Cristescu-Golopenția 2002: 39-40). Two images of such prehistoric artefacts are included. (see fig.1 and Fig. 2)

One of the female informants from Drăguş village mentions the objects left by the *iele* on their dancing place:

> These holy girls leave something on the ground on the place where they dance, the fairies' stones: a stone axe, a scythe, the little carriage they play with, a stone cross and some stone beads. 'Cause where they dance pierced stones remain, nice ones. And these are made by the fairies, as if they were made by a human being. Why would they be polished like this?" (Cristescu-Golopenția 2002: 65).

 It is interesting the presence of the carriage among these objects. It is the carriage they are playing with. One of their attributes is that they fly in a carriage. (Şăineanu, 2012:.65-129). We find this representation in the responses to Nicolae Densușianu's questionnaires:

> Beautiful girls play the clarinet and dance, but they cannot be seen, they have carriages with wheels and hammers made out of stone. When people find pierced stones and stone hammers they say that the «the fairy ones, the wonderful ones» lost them. (Fochi 1974:144)

The presence of the stone carriages, believed to have been left by the *iele* as a sign of their passing, could be explained using a category of objects from the Neolithic and the Bronze Age: many votive carts (probably used in funeral rites symbolising the sun) discovered on Romanian territory: small carts made of clay and later of bronze, with two or four wheels, with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures, belonging to Cucuteni, Gârla-Mare, Wietenberg (in the south-east of Transylvania) (See Bichir 1964:67–86, Schuster 1996: 117–137) archaeological cultures. We could infer that these miniature carts discovered by peasants were considered to belong to the *iele*.

In Drăguș, the most feared disease was the one caused by the *iele*. They harm (causing limbs paralysis) those people who sleep outside at night or who step on the place where they danced. The remedy is „bathing" the suffering person in the untouched water filtered through those stones. The „bathing" is done only by old women before dawn. „You put those stones one on top of the other, you pour the water from a pitcher and count backwards (pour the water three times). You pour the water through the stones into another clean pot." (Cristescu-Golopenția 2002:122).

Adrian Fochi records a similar practice: those harmed by the *iele* can be cured if they drink the water poured through „the bead of the holy ones". "It seems that such a bead was found in the village of Nisipi-Vâlcea and the ill people are trying to obtain water poured through it, but it is very difficult to get it although there are no charges for it." (Fochi 1975:144).

In Vlădești village, to stop nose bleeding it was used a „stone struck by lightning (pierced by lightning), and three drops of blood must be poured through the hole of the stone." (Ciubotaru 2003:198).

In the middle of the 20th century, in Bihor county, in order to make the delivery of the baby easier, women in labour are given to drink water in which a „lightning arrow" had been washed. This arrow can be found where lightning strikes. „When lightning strikes an arrow plunges down the ground and stays buried for seven years before going out." (Pavelescu 1954:59-60).

Researcher Gheorghe Pavelescu saw such an arrow, dark blue, sphere-like, 2 cm in diameter, and similar to glass crystal. „The lightning arrow" is also mentioned in Almăj area. They would dig at the roots of a tree struck by lightning: „If, by any chance, there was quartz sand, quartz crystal could be formed. People called it "the arrow of the lightning". For locals, this crystal was considered a divine sign, and families kept it in secret." (Andrei 2015:128). It was given to those who went to fight in the war, after uttering the following charm: „Arrow, arrow, / Fallen from the sky, / Brought by the wind, / To us on the earth. / Protect … (the name) / Against fire, against war, / Bring him back / In one piece, as pure, / As strained silver." (Andrei 2015:128).

Consequently, we have to add another detail here: the category of „lightning arrows" covers not only man-made products, but also natural ones. When lightning strikes a sandy area, containing silica, the high temperature vitrifies the place of the impact, creating a tube-like stone, a little translucent, a sort of natural glass (fulgurite or ceraunite in mineralogy). Another natural phenomenon is the meteorites vaporizing in the atmosphere and reaching the ground as small fragments looking like polished river pebbles, shaped like arrows or discs (aerolite, impactite, tektite). (Anestin 1910-1912:163-167). This natural phenomenon was definitely the one which triggered the beliefs regarding the celestial nature of the prehistoric objects and the connection between gods of thunder or other mythical creatures and the weapons and tools they throw down on the face of the earth.

The motif of „thunderstones" proved to be remarkably old and widely spread, being present from Antiquity to the modern time at all European peoples and also in other regions of the world (north Africa, Middle East, Far East). However, it can only be found in those areas where there was a transition from the Stone Age to the Metallic Ages, therefore it is not present on American continents, on most of the African continent, Australia and South Pacific.

In Roman Antiquity, these thunderstones (most of them prehistoric artefacts) were called *lapis fulminis* or *ceraunia* – from the Greek *keraunos* – lightning, and were considered to have celestial origin. The *cerauniae* were highly appreciated, being considered magical objects, with apotropaic and thaumaturgic qualities. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* mentions the „thunderstones which have the shape of stone axes and could be found where lightning strikes."(XXXVII, 51). Suetonius, in *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* writes that Emperor Augustus had an impressive collection of such prehistoric objects in his villa on the island of Capri. He believed that these objects had supernatural qualities. In Greek and Roman Antiquity, the same beliefs were circulating at the level of the masses, these stones being used as amulets, protecting houses and people against lightning. (Faraone 2014: 257-248).

It is curios that neither Greek historians nor Roman ones were interested in the past history of human kind, in monuments and prehistoric material vestiges, although lithic artefacts have always been discovered. (Trigger 1998:307-308). It was only Lucretius who mentioned the stone weapons in *On the Nature of Things:*

> Now, in what manner the nature of iron was found, it is easy for you to learn of yourself, Memmius. Their arms of old were hands, nails, and teeth, and stones, and discovered, likewise branches torn from the forests, and flame and fires, when once they were known.

Thereafter, the strength ofiron and bronze was discovered. (V, II, 1255).

The tradition of *cerauniae*'s celestial origin was transmitted from the authors of antiquity (especially Pliny the Elder) to the Christian scholars of the Middle Ages, this transfer also taking place at the level of the masses. The meteorology and mineralogy treatises, the books on natural history (Agricola, Conrad Gessner, etc), the owners of cabinets of curiosities considered all these prehistoric objects to be artefacts which appeared as a result of the lightning, and not as human creations. This opinion persisted in spite of the fact that such artefacts were discovered in tombs, next to human skeletons, or that they clearly showed the human intervention. The worldview of the Middle Ages and, implicitly, the knowledge about the past were dominated by the principle of Bible's authority, the only reliable source for the origin of humanity. According to the holy text, the inventor of metallurgy was Tubal-Cain, Cain's great-grandson (*Genesis*, 4, 22), very close to the moment of Genesis. Therefore, there could not have been a different world before the Biblical creation.

The first scholar who came up with the idea that these objects were man-made was the Italian scientist Michele Mercati (1541-1593), after realising that the weapons and tools of the New World aborigines are very similar to the *cerauniae* considered to be of supranatural origin. In the 16th and 18th centuries, after the great geographical discoveries, the status of these objects changed as the Europeans met the archaic societies where stone weapons and tools were used, in the absence of metallurgy. In fact, the new discourse about prehistoric objects belonging to *cerauniae*, the "thunderstones", appeared together with the beginning of archaeology as a modern science (See Gaudet 2007: 97-112; Goodrum 2008: 482-508).

In rural and urban milieus, the old collective representations associated with the remains of the prehistoric material culture remain unchanged until late in the second half of the 20th century. Here are the names given to "thunderstone" in Europe: „*pierre de foudre*" or „*pierre de tonnerre*" - France, „*pietra di fulmine*" – Italy, „*piedras de rayo*" – Spain, „*donnerstein*" – Germany, „*Thorensten*" – Sweden, „*astralopeleki*" – Greece, „*gromovaiastrela*" – Russia, „*piorunowyklin*" – Poland, „*Perkuno Akmuo*" – Lithuania, „*rai-funoseki*" – Japan, etc.

Edward Taylor, one of the founders of cultural anthropology, is the first to open the study of beliefs about the „thunderstone", in his comparison between the prehistoric societies and the „primitive" ones. Here is the British scholar's opinion on the widely spread myth of the celestial origin of the prehistoric artefacts:

With regard, then, to ideas of thunderbolts as furnishing evidence of an early Stone Age, it may be laid down that such a myth, when we can be sure that it refers to artificial stone implements, proves that such things were found by a people who, being possessed of metal, had forgotten the nature and use of these rude instruments of earlier times. (Tylor 1865:225).

Unlike Tylor whose sources of information were exclusively bookish, Émile Cartailhac brings his own experience as archaeologist and good knowledge of magical beliefs and practices in the rural French world. The French peasants refuse to sell Neolithic axes which are heirlooms and are believed to protect their household. He recounts that a couple of peasants sold a stone axe to an archaeologist. „But it was a terrible storm during that night and, the next day, the man and the woman hurried back and asked for the amulet, saying that they had not slept a wink all night, fearing for the fate of their animals.''(Cartailhac 1877:19).

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the French folklorists were interested in the study of heathen surviving practices, in magical and religious facts, considering not only folkloric texts, but also some aspects of material culture. In *Le Folklore de France*, (volume I, *Le ciel et la terre*, 1904), Paul Sébillot, the author of an extended survey for recording and systematic classifying folkloric culture items, describes a practice generally spread in rural France, i.e. prehistoric stone axes were incorporated into the foundations of the houses and in the walls, placed under the threshold or oven, in order to protect them against lightnings (they were even put up in the church towers, as a sort of lightning rod!). Almost all the houses in a place in Haute-Bretagne has a stone axe in the hearth, for protection. They were kept in pockets during storms, with the phrase: „Pierre, pierre, garde-moi de tonnerre''. (Sébillot 1904:81). Another survey on the „prehistoric folklore'' (and on „thunderstones'') in France was conducted by Paul Saintyves, an important French folklorist. (Saintyves 1936).

Lastly, we would like to mention Christian Blinkenberg, the Danish archaeologist who gathers all the information accessible by that moment (1911), thus drawing up the first synthesis on the „thunderstone''. *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore. A study in Comparative Archeology*. He went through a lot of information referring to the mythological representations of the lightening and of „thunderstones'' (in the Mycenaean civilisation, then in Ancient Greece, for Etruscans and Romans, in folk traditions of different European peoples and of peoples on other continents) and suggested a set of universal constant features: 1. The stones fall from the sky carried down by lightning which buries them deep into the

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ground, to come up to the surface after a certain time; 2. They are included in the apotropaic practices meant to protect the buildings against lightning (it is believed everywherethat lightning never strikes the same place twice), are worn as amulets during storms (see Fig.3); 3. Are used in therapeutic magic for treating people's and animals' illnesses. (Blinkenberg 1911: 64-67)

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Nobody believes nowadays in the celestial origin of the prehistoric objects, and the magical, apotropaic and thaumaturgic practices, so often met in the Romanian villages in the past, have been abandoned. The information we have about „thunderstones" comes exclusively from the folkloric and ethnographic material collected at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, from the responses to questionnaires (about folklore and history), as well as from field campaigns. We believe that data about these prehistoric objects - both intriguing and fascinating – could be found in archaeologists' works. For example, three prehistoric stone artefacts were discovered during the excavation of the Mithraic temple (third century A.D.) in Alba Iulia (ancient town Apulum, in Dacia, province of the Roman Empire). Acccordig to archeologist Aurel Rustoiu:

> the presence of these stone tools is not related to any Palaeolithic or Neolithic settlement from the site or its vicinity, since noother prehistoric finds, structures or layers were discovered during the archaeological excavations in the area (…).The flint tools found in the area of the Mithraeum at Alba Iulia are too small to beused as fire-making instruments. Thus, the reason for their reuse as «discovered objects» has to be discussed by taking into consideration other practices that are related to the magical world (…).They were perceived as an effective means of protecting the owners or various constructions (houses, temples etc) against the devastating effects of lightning. In this context, the three flint tools found in the area of the Mithraeum III could have also had this "practical" function. (Rustoiu, 2018: 483-484).

While documenting the present article, I came across a note in a report from the archaeological excavations in Călinești-Oaș, in 1962. The archaeologists followed the locals who showed them where the „flint and the thunderstone" were, finding there silex tools and weapons from Palaeolithic. (Bitiri 1970:24). Therefore, the oral, folkloric tradition informed about the existence of artefacts in an archaeological site.

The complex phenomenon of „thunderstones" should benefit from an interdisciplinary approach, at the convergence area between cultural anthropology and archaeology. The international archaeology literature mentions numerous cases of prehistoric objects (stone axes) discovered in

secondary contexts, due to their apotropaic use as „thunderstones" built in houses walls or foundation. These objects appeared during archaeological excavations or during the restauration of those buildings. (Carelli 1997: 393–417). For the present study we do not intend to identify in Romania such cases of prehistoric objects mentioned in excavation reports or in restauration documents. We can just presume that there might be such situations. In Estonia it is considered that 8% of the Neolithic stone axes discovered there come from secondary contexts or from private collections. (Johanson2006:119).

We would also like to mention that in Romania there are many village museums, school museums and private collections, very similar to those cabinets of curiosities, where archaeological items (accidentally discovered or gathered from the peasants' households) could be found next to ethnographic objects. (Mateescu 2009:51-71). Future research endeavours should find out whether these prehistoric artefacts (axes, spindle whorls, etc.) have a story of their own, whether the memory of the objects is preserved, the circumstance of their discovery or their previous owners. All the elements mentioned above lead us to conclude that in the past, these objects had a different purpose, belonged to different long-gone mental horizons, like those which made possible the beliefs in „thunderstones".

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Fig. 1 Thunderstones from Drăguş, apud. Ştefania Cristescu – Golopenţia, p. 40

I. – Pietre dentruiele aparținând Mariei lui Bacioc, Ulița Mare 133
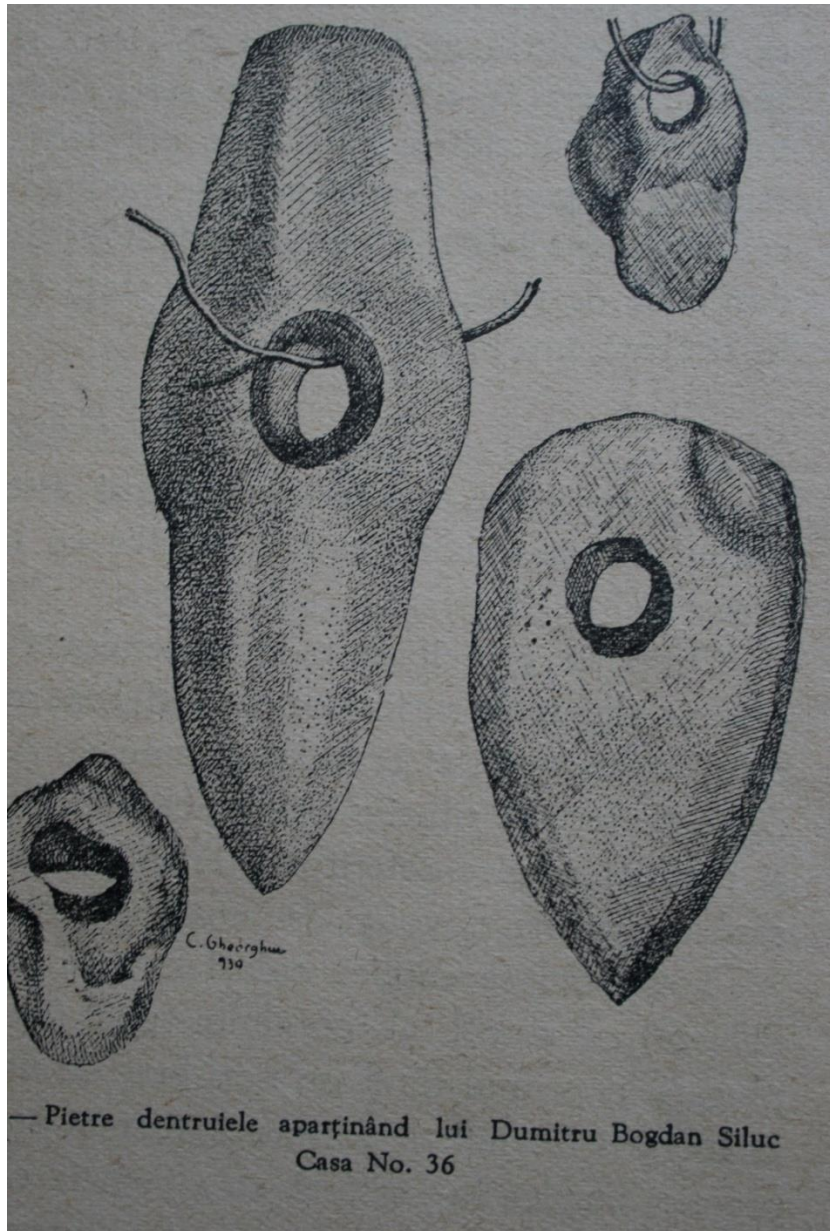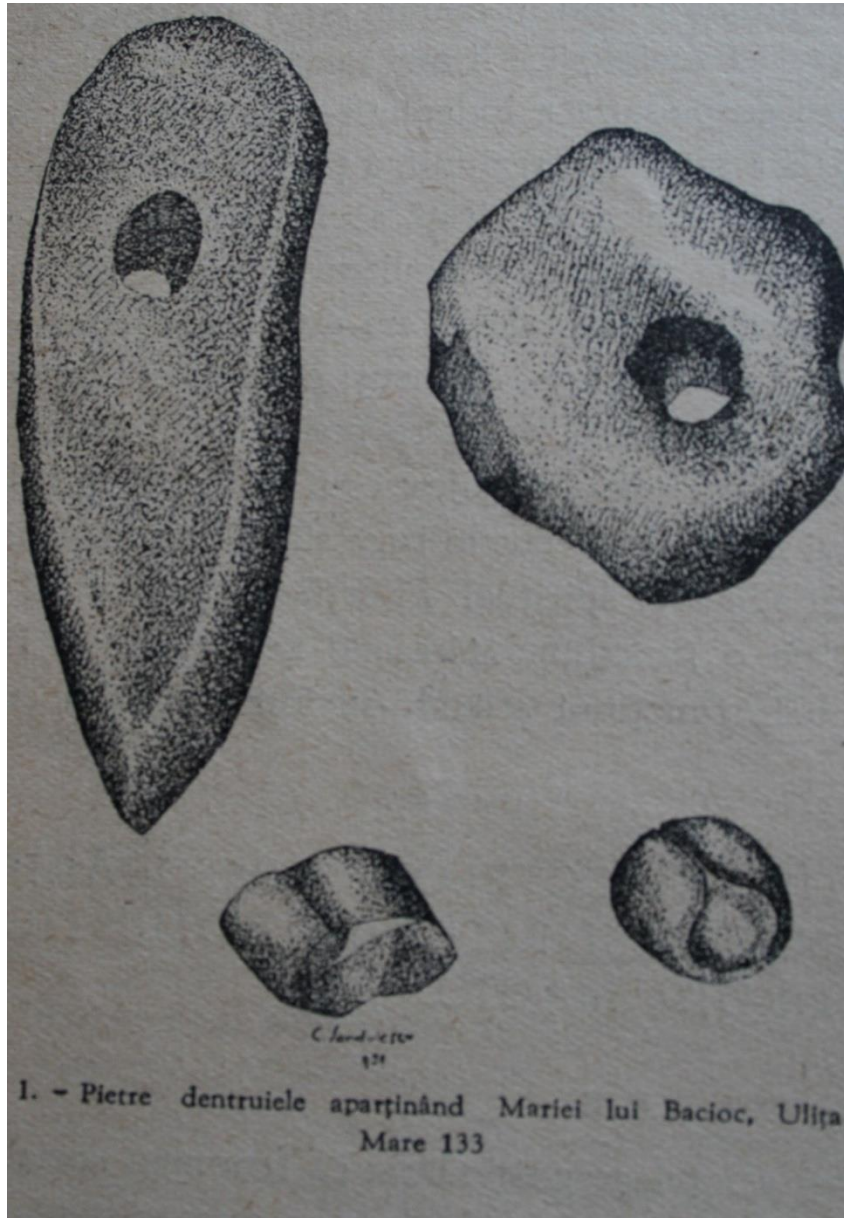
Fig. 2. Thunderstones from Drăguș, apud Ștefania Cristescu – Golopenția, p. 41
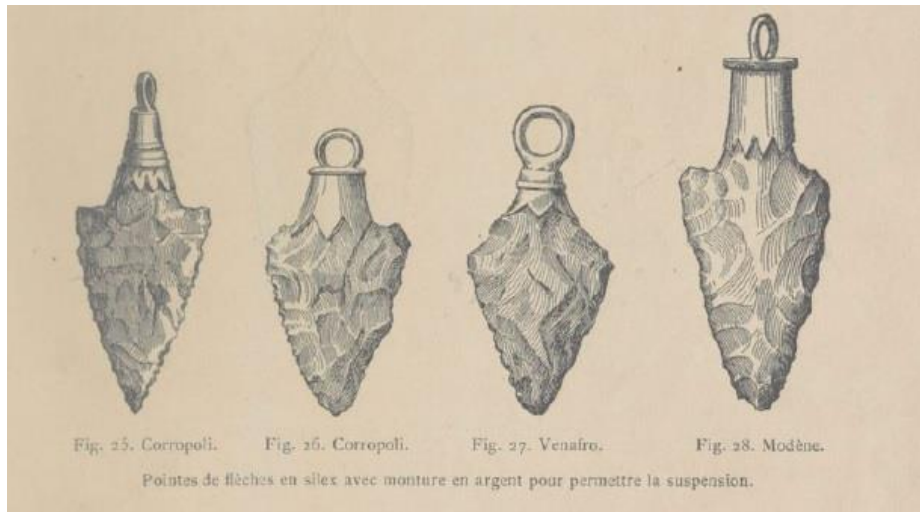
Fig. 3. Stone arrows as amulets (Italy), apud Cartailhac, p. 39

Linguistics

«BLACHII AC PASTORES ROMANORUM»: DE NOUVEAU SUR LE DESTIN DU LATIN À L'EST[∗]

«BLACHII AC PASTORES ROMANORUM»: AGAIN, ON THE DESTINY OF LATIN IN THE EAST

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Abstracts: *The shepherding tradition in Romanic peoples enjoyed some interest among linguists in the first half of the 20th century. However, this tradition has been misunderstood, poorly known, or even completely ignored. Therefore, starting from a suggestion by Alf Lombard, we took up this research direction, discussing several issues revealed by the study of Eastern Romanity. These are the rustic character of the Romanian language bearing pastoral traits; the Carpathian-Balkan space in which the language was born and the issue of continuity in the North Danube area; and the dialectal configuration of the Romanian, having four relatively homogeneous historical dialects and language varieties. In this direction, we relied on linguistic, ethnographic, historical and archaeological research, in order to emphasize the importance of shepherding in the research of Eastern Romanity.*

Genealogically, Romanian is defined as the Latin language spoken continuously in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, from the Carpathians to the Balkans, with the changes that have taken place throughout history. The pastoral character of Eastern Romanity is rendered by the early medieval chronicles; even the exonym vlah (Wallachian) *designating the Romanic population has acquired the meaning of 'shepherd'. The specificity of this community is supported by numerous linguistic facts: semantic evolutions (e.g.* ANIMAL *'living creature, animal' >* nămaie *'sheep'), specific derivations (*a înţărca *'wean', derived from* ţarc *'corral, enclosed area for animals', which initially meant 'getting the lamb into a corral, so it stopped sucking'), expressions (*a închega un gând *'crystallise thoughts', where the verb used is* a închega *'coagulate') or even morphologic elements (the structure of the Romanian numeral from 11 to 19, linked to the scoring system).*

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Throughout time, shepherding has been associated with the controversial issue of the territory in which the Romanian language and the Romanian people were born. Ethnological research has revealed the existence of four types of shepherding: local – agricultural – one, two types characterised by short transhumance, and the last one, associated with long-distance transhumance. Of the three types of transhumant shepherding, none identifies itself with the nomadic lifestyle and, therefore, the existence of a balkanische Hirtenromania *(Balkan pastoral Romanity) does not imply the phenomenon of migration, as it was erroneously believed. Shepherding, through the forms described by ethnologists, explains both the sedentary character and the mobility of Oriental Romanity. Linguistic and archaeological arguments support G. Ivănescu's view identifying the origins of the Romanian language in both the north and south of the Danube.*

The pastoral character of Romanity led to a population mobility that influenced the language at diatopic level. There is, on the one hand, a dialectal diversity due to population movements, and, on the other hand, a surprising linguistic unit, due to transhumant shepherds whose travels played a linguistic levelling role. This fact explains the linguistic unity of the Romanian language, despite its territorial spread and development in several historical provinces separated by natural boundaries.

While shepherding explains some important issues in the history of Eastern Romanity, there is still need for systematic study on this topic. A comparative study of shepherding at the level of the entire Romanity is required in order to draw a complete picture of the lifestyle that characterized Romanity especially in the mountainous areas of Europe, bearing influence on the historical languages that we can only guess nowadays.

Keywords: Eastern Romanity; Shepherding; Romanian Continuity; Romanian Dialects;

Introduction

Il y a plus de 50 ans, le Professeur Alf Lombard a tenu à l'Académie royale suédoise de belles-lettres, d'histoire et d'antiquités un discours émouvant intitulé *Les destinées du latin à l'Est*[61]. En attrayant l'attention sur la nécessité de connaître les conditions historiques dans lesquelles se développe une langue, le savant suédois souligne les difficultés avec lesquelles est confronté le chercheur qui étudie le destin de la romanité orientale: d'une côté, la romanisation de courte durée de la Dacie et, ensuite, la destruction de la civilisation romaine suite aux migrations est suivie par le silence des sources historiques pendant un millénaire ; de l'autre côté, la présence de nos jours d'un peuple de langue romane exactement dans les anciens territoires de la Dacie romaine. En conséquence, Alf Lombard

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[61] Le discours intégral en suédois, avec un résumé en français: Alf Lombard, *Latinets öden i öster*, Lund, 1967 (série Filologiskt arkiv 12). Trois décennies après, le discours a été publié aussi en roumain, celui-ci étant la version utilisée dans cet article: Lombard 1995.

n'hésite pas à parler sur le « miracle roumain », en faisant référence aux propos de l'historien français Ferdinand Lot: « un miracle historique: le peuple roumain ».

Nous nous sommes proposés, dans cette communication, de reprendre quelques-uns des problèmes soulevés par l'étude des conditions historiques dans lesquelles est né le roumain. Notre démarche est partie de la théorie concernant le caractère prépondérant pastoral de la romanité orientale, soutenue au début du siècle passé par le linguiste Ovid Densusianu. Les recherches que nous avons entreprises pour l'identification des traces linguistiques roumaines des Carpates de la Pologne, de la République Tchèque et de la Slovaquie, où les colonisations roumaines ont eu un caractère pastoral évident, nous ont confirmé que l'étude des activités pastorales peut éclaircir le passé de la romanité orientale: la continuité de l'élément latin dans l'espace nord-danubien et la configuration dialectale du roumain.

I. Une romanité pastorale

Alexandru Rosetti (1986: 75) a donné la définition généalogique du roumain: „Le roumain est le latin parlé sans interruption dans la partie orientale de l'Empire Romain - à savoir les provinces danubiennes romanisées (Dacie, Pannonie du sud, Dardanie, Mésie supérieure et inférieure) - depuis l'époque de la pénétration du latin dans ces provinces et jusqu'à nos jours". La frontière imaginaire qui séparait les zones d'influence de la langue grecque et du latin a été tracée par l'historien Konstantin Jireček et corrigée par d'autres spécialistes, en partant des inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les Balkans. D'après Ivănescu (1980: 44-77), le territoire de langue latine en Europe du Sud-Est a les limites suivantes: la ligne Jireček au sud, la « lacune de romanisation » d'où vient le peuple albanais à l'ouest, les rives de la Mer Noire à l'est et les limites de la Dacie romaine au nord-est.

Les premières mentions sur la présence d'une population d'origine romaine dans les territoires byzantins décrivent ceux-ci comme étant des bergers. Durant quelques centaines d'années, l'ethnonyme *Vlach*, que les étrangers donnaient à la population romane des Balkans, a acquiert le sens de 'berger'. Le caractère pastoral de la romanité orientale est relevé aussi dans un passage de *Gesta Hungarorum*: le chroniqueur anonyme du roi magyar Béla le IIIe (1173-1196), en parlant sur les habitants de la Pannonie à l'arrivée des Hongrois, utilise le syntagme: « Slavi, Bulgari et Blachii ac pastores Romanorum ». Bien sûr, le passage ne manque pas de controverses,

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à cause du double sens de la conjonction *ac*[62]*:* est-elle utilisée ici avec un rôle explicatif ou copulatif ? Dans notre opinion, les arguments historiques plaident pour l'interprétation avec un rôle explicatif de la conjonction: le passage de la chronique ne doit pas être lu « les Vlachs et les bergers des Romains », mais comme « les Vlachs, c'est-à-dire les bergers des Romains ». Premièrement, les Vlachs apparaissent dans les écritures byzantines en tant que bergers et descendants des Romains. Deuxièmement, la Pannonie est identifiée comme *pascua Romanorum* aussi dans d'autres écritures médiévales (v. Popa-Lisseanu, dans FHDR II: 9-12), et les découvertes archéologiques y prouvent la pratique de la transhumance depuis de l'époque préromaine même (IST. ROM. I-II, passim; pour la perspective ethnographique, voir Vuia 1964: 51). Ce fait est prouvé par le nom du lac *Balaton* de la Hongrie: l'hydronyme *Balaton* ne peut pas être séparé du roumain *baltă*, un terme du substrat daco-moesien (v. Brâncuș 2009, s.v.; Drăganu 1933: 129). Tout comme on sait, par *baltă* 'étang' ont toujours été désignés les endroits pour l'hivernage des bergers.

L'un des aspects qui individualisent la romanité orientale est le caractère archaïque de la langue. Celle-ci a été déterminée par l'interruption des liaisons de la latinité danubienne avec celle occidentale. Une autre cause est aussi la ruralisation de la vie en Dacie. Cette ruralisation a été mise sur le compte des migrations, qui ont détruit les villes du territoire abandonné par les autorités romaines. Les données archéologiques jettent une nouvelle lumière sur ce problème, d'où résulte, qu'en Dacie, la romanité ne pouvait être autrement que rurale, fait qui a contribué à l'enracinement de l'élément latin et a favorisé la romanisation de la population autochtone. L'archéologue Vasile Pârvan émettait cette idée concernant la ruralisation de la vie romaine du Danube: « Les Romains n'ont pas pu prendre des racines que dans l'endroit où ils ont pu devenir des paysans. Le Bassin du Danube est une région propice pour l'agriculture depuis le néolithique. Mais la civilisation paysanne de l'Italie et du monde romain en général était presque identique du point de vue matériel avec la civilisation paysanne du Bassin du Danube à l'époque Latène. [...] Ici tous les gens sont devenus des paysans et tous les paysans sont devenus des Romains » (Pârvan 1937: 185).

La ruralisation de la vie en Dacie a été prouvée depuis longtemps non seulement du point de vue archéologique mais aussi du point de vue linguistique: des mots qui se rapportent aux réalités tout à fait différentes, une série de termes avec du sens concret et abstrait, en gardant le premier, approprié aux réalités rustiques (v. Ivănescu 1980: 247-249). On peut donner,

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[62] Pour la présence des Roumains dans la *Gesta Hungarorum* et les controverses sur le passage cité, voir Madgearu (2005). Cf. Grzesik (2016). Pour l'usage explicatif de la conjonction copulative dans l'œuvre du Notaire Anonyme, voir Popa-Lisseanu (v. FHDR I, p. 81). Pour *ac* comme mauvaise lection de *sc* (*scilicet*), voir Iorga (1926: p. 287).

d'après Gheorghe Ivănescu, quelques exemples de changements dans le contenu qu'ont subi certaines expressions latines:

- CONVENTUS 'rassemblement' > *cuvânt* 'mot, conversation';
- EXCAPITARE 'perdre du capital' > *scăpăta*(*re*) 'devenir pauvre';
- *FRIMBIA 'la marge d'un vêtement' > roum. *frânghie* '1. corde, 2. (dial.) corde qui sert à attacher un vêtement';
- LUMINARIA '1. lumière naturelle d'un astre ou artificielle; 2. lampe' > *lumânare* 'bougie';
- MONUMENTUM '1. monument; 2. tombe' > *mormânt* 'tombe';
- PONTEM 'pont' > *punte* 'passerelle';
- RUGA 'rue, route bordée par des maisons' (cf. fr. *rue*) > arom. *arugă* 'le lieu par lequel les brebis entrent dans leur parc pour être tirés';
- SUBTILIS '1. subtil; 2. mince' > *subţire* 'mince'.

Dans les conditions d'une intense activité pastorale chez les Roumains, certains changements sémantiques du roumain prélittéraire sont explicables par cette occupation. Ces faits de langue ont été relevés par Ovid Densusianu (1915), Sextil Puşcariu (1940) et Gheorghe Ivănescu (1980: 361-362), et plus récemment par Emanuela Dima (2014).

- ANIMAL 'être, animal' > *nămaie* '(dial.) mouton';
- ANNOTINUS 'récolte agricole d'une année' > *noaten* 'agneau d'un an';
- FETUS *(pecorum)* 'le petit d'un animal, spécialement de la brebis' > *făt* 'enfant';
- FRUCTUS 'produit, fruit' > *frupt* 'viande, lait, produit d'origine animale';
- MERIDIO, -ARE 'le repos de l'homme pendant le midi' > *meriza* 'le repos des moutons pendant le midi'.

Certaines dérivations sur le terrain roumain s'expliquent toujours par l'activité pastorale: le mot *a înţărca* 'sévrer' signifiait au début 'donner l'agneau à l'enclos (en roum.: *ţarc*) pour ne plus humer le lait de la brebis'. Le mot s'est ensuite répandu dans le cas des gens aussi. Le verbe *a se întrema* 'reprendre des forces, guérir' provient du domaine pastoral, car il était utilisé seulement pour les animaux: 'être capable à marcher sur ses pieds'.

Le linguiste Sextil Puşcariu (1940: 120) a montré le fait que la phraséologie roumaine est fortement marquée par le pastoralisme (cf. Ivănescu: 362). C'est ainsi qu'on a:

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- *a închega un gând* ('concevoir une pensée'): de *a închega* 'se coaguler' (le lait) ;

- *a se îmbulzi* ('se bousculer'): de *bulz* 'boule' (de fromage) ;

- *a se băga pe sub pielea cuiva* ('s'insinuer auprès de quelqu'un'): l'origine de l'expression se trouve dans l'habitude des tiques de s'insinuer sous la peau des moutons pour humer leur sang;

- *a făgădui marea cu sarea* (litt. 'promettre la mer avec le sel', i.e. « monts et merveilles »): l'expression a une grande valeur documentaire. Dans d'autres langues, le terme de comparaison est le bleu du ciel, une montagne d'or etc., donc des choses rares ou inaccessibles. L'expression, dit Sextil Pușcariu, n'a pu pris naissance que dans une communauté exclusivement pastorale, parce que dans une bergerie le sel est très important pour préparer et conserver le fromage (v. Pușcariu 1937: 121-124).

Toujours en liaison avec l'influence du pastoralisme sur la langue, Grigore Brâncuș (2009: 158-159) montre que la structure du numéral roumain de onze à dix-neuf, composé avec *super* (e.g. *unus super decem*), prend sa source du système archaïque de notation connu par les populations pastorale (marques faites avec le couteau sur un bois, en roum. *răboj*), tandis que dans le latin danubien il s'explique par le substrat daco-moesien.

L'étude du caractère pastoral des communautés roumaines médiévales a été influencée par des erreurs, à cause de la méconnaissance des réalités pastorales. L'ethnologue Romulus Vuia (1964) dédie un travail de recherche au pastoralisme roumain, en identifiant quatre types d'activités pastorales: 1. le pastoralisme agricole local; 2. le pastoralisme agricole avec la bergerie à la montagne; 3. le pastoralisme de la région des pâturages; 4. le pastoralisme basé sur le pâturage alpin et l'hivernage dans la plaine. L'erreur fondamentale faite par les scientifiques a été l'identification du pastoralisme avec le quatrième type, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont compris le pastoralisme seulement comme la pratique de la transhumance à de longue distances. De plus, ce type de pastoralisme a été identifié par erreur avec le nomadisme de steppe. Une seule branche des Aroumains pratique le nomadisme proprement-dit: les farsherots.

II. La continuité

Le problème de la continuité des Daco-romains au nord du Danube après l'abandon de la province Dacie par l'Empire se nombre parmi les préoccupations de base des savants dès le XIXe siècle, ayant à cette époque-là aussi une motivation politique importante. L'a*lbanologue magyar István Schütz (2008: 94) désapprouve, dans un article récent, l'importance accordée par les linguistes roumains au problème de la continuité, vu comme*

une simple supposition (avec référence à L'Histoire de la langue roumaine de G. Ivănescu). Mais le linguiste G. Ivănescu (1980: 47) apporte des arguments convaincants pour la résolution de ce problème: « Qui veut écrire l'histoire du roumain doit partir seulement des dialectes latins-là qui, dans le temps, se sont transformés en roumain. Le premier devoir de celui qui veut faire l'histoire de la langue roumaine est donc de déterminer le territoire de langue latine sur lequel sont nés plus tard la langue roumaine et le peuple roumain. On est par conséquent obligés de résoudre le problème du territoire de formation du roumain avant de discuter la formation proprement-dite de la langue roumaine ». Alf Lombard, dans l'ouvrage mentionné, a accordé un vaste espace au problème de la continuité des Roumains dans le territoire de l'ancienne Dacie, comme une conséquence de la nécessité de connaître les conditions dans lesquelles se développe une langue.

Certains érudits sont d'accord à l'égard de l'absence des mentions historiques sur les Roumains. W. Tomaschek: « Les Dacoroumains sont des Daces et Gètes romanisés, ils n'ont jamais quitté la Dacie. Pendant l'émigration des peuples, dans les anciens territoires ont dominé des Sarmates, des Vandales, des Goths, des Gépides, des Slovènes, des Bulgares, des Petchenègues, des Coumans. Dans les moments où les historiens parlent de ces régions, naturellement ils parlent seulement de nations dominatrices, qui se manifestent activement, pas de la population passive, même si elle est plus nombreuse, de bergers et de montagnards de souche roumaine, qui détenait sans interruption l'ancien territoire » (*ap.* Russu, 1981, 160). W. v. Wartburg (*ap.* Puşcariu 1940: 331-332) ajoute la théorie de la retraite à la montagne: « Les Romains danubiens et balkaniques quittèrent plus tard, devant les hordes de barbares qui attaquaient toujours, seulement les plaines riches et fertiles, en se retraitant dans les vallées boisée et dans les pâturages déserts des montagnes. Ils devinrent des bergers, toujours en mouvement, en vivant des produits de leurs troupeaux...et menant une vie dure, en insécurité et avec des privations mais également sans aucune oisiveté... Le manque des traces archéologiques est compréhensible à un peuple de bergers ». Il est intéressant le fait que cet argument a été émis aussi pour les territoires habités par les bergers valaques dans les Carpates Occidentales: Kazimierz Dobrowolski (1938), qui fixait l'arrivée des Roumains dans les Carpates du Nord au moins au XIIIe siècle, attirait l'attention sur le fait que les Roumains ont commencé à être mentionnés dans les sources historiques seulement quand les grands propriétaires de terrains s'en sont montrés intéressés. Cet argument a été repris dans les dernières années par le professeur Ioan Aurel Pop, qui parle sur l'absence des Roumains de la Transylvanie dans les documents magyars: « la masse paysanne, c'est-â-dire la grande majorité de la population, ne parlait [n'utilisait] pas par des documents qu'accidentellement, pour le fait simple qu'elle était objet et pas sujet

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historique; autrement dit, elle n'était pas un facteur politique » (Pop 2011: 44).

En parcourant la bibliographie impressionnante sur ce sujet, on constate que, dans la polémique concernant le sort de la romanité nord-danubienne, les activités du berger jouent un rôle central: il est affirmé par les adeptes de la théorie de la migration et nié par ceux de la théorie de la continuité. En nous appuyant sur les recherches ethnographiques, à à nos jours on peut constater que les deux parties se trompent. Les adeptes de la théorie de la migration ont invoqué la transhumance comme argument de la mobilité des Roumains, en confondant le semi-nomadisme de la montagne avec le nomadisme de la steppe ou ont considéré que chez les Roumain le semi-nomadisme de la montagne est une activité dominante. C'est également le cas de l'historien allemand Gottfried Schramm, qui parle de la dominante pastorale dans la romanité orientale et l'appelle *balkanische Hirtenromania* (*romanité pastorale balkanique*), en expliquant ensuite l'étendue territoriale de ces communautés en faisant appel à la transhumance (v. Saramandu 2008 pour la discussion intégrale). On peut constater que certains défenseurs de la théorie de la migration n'étaient pas familiarisés avec les réalités pastorales. Pour soutenir cette idée, Condrea Drăgănescu apporte, dans divers travaux de vulgarisation, des arguments de la zootechnie: Roesler lui-même a été en erreur en considérant que les bergers roumains étaient allés avec leurs troupeaux jusque dans la Macédoine et en Grèce, en partant des Carpates et en traversant la chaîne des Balkans. En réalité, dans la route vers l'hivernage on ne traverse pas plusieurs chaînes montagneuses, la transhumance signifiant le déplacement de la montagne à la plaine. De plus, de quatre races autochtones de moutons de la Roumanie, seulement la race *țurcană* résiste au quatrième type de pastoralisme (avec la bergerie à la montagne et l'hivernage dans la plaine). De l'autre côté, pour les adeptes de la théorie de la continuité, le pastoralisme a été « le talon d'Achille ». Henri Stahl (1983: 63) montre que le problème du caractère pastoral ou agraire des Roumains a été fondé sur une base fausse, car un peuple peut être simultanément agraire et pastoral, et, de l'autre côté, « pastoral » nu signifie pas nécessairement « nomadisme ».

Le romaniste Alexandru Niculescu (1999: 41-57) a une vision équilibrée en lien avec la permanence de l'élément roumain ; il a introduit le syntagme *continuité mobile* pour désigner la permanence de l'élément latin dans les régions abandonnées par l'Empire. Il y avait une mobilité de la population en fonction de ces nécessités, ce qui permettait la circulation de l'élément ethnolinguistique. La conséquence a été que, par le déplacement, l'élément latin était renforcé ou affaibli: « La circulation directe et ininterrompue a réussi lier les régions appartenant à la *Romania antiqua* à celles de la *Romania nova* et d'en sauver l'existence ». La continuité mobile serait, donc, le mouvement régulier de la population d'un territoire restreint,

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qu'elle n'a pas abandonné pendant la période des migrations, mais l'a utilisé successivement, en revenant ensuite au lieu d'origine.

Les données archéologiques récentes – desquelles les soutenants de la théorie des migrations n'ont pas encore tenu compte – montrent qu'au présent, la continuité de la population daco-romaine ne peut plus être contestée: la découverte des vestiges céramiques travaillés sur le tour rapide de potier pendant les VIIIe-Xe siècles atteste la présence de la romanité dans la Transylvanie, car seulement les descendants des Daco-romains ont gardé ce métier. La continuité de la population dans l'espace compris entre le Prout et le Dniestr entre les Ve-XIe siècles est confirmée en 50-70% des villes et des villages pris en compte. Cet habitat humain se trouve dans les régions avec des collines et des vallées (Postică 2007: 368-371). Dans la Moldavie comprise entre les Carpates et le Prout, l'archéologue Dan Teodor (1984: passim) fait remarquer une mobilité des communautés rurales, à cause des motifs économiques (la diminution du rendement du terrain agricole) ou politiques (migrations), en revenant ensuite à leurs lieux d'origine. Même les contacts roumano-slaves partagent les érudits en deux camps: la présence des Slaves dans l'espace carpatique commence avec le Ve siècle, mais l'influence slave sur le roumain est tardive, depuis le IXe siècle. En Moldavie, les contacts roumano-slaves semblent être pacifiques, tandis que dans la Valachie ils ont été destructifs: la férocité de la première vague d'assaillants a obligé la population autochtone de se déplacer dans des régions mises à l'abri. C'est ainsi qu'explique Dragoş Moldovanu (1986-1987: 301-308) la disparition de l'hydronyme antique *Naparis*, substitué avec *Ialomiţa* < sl. com. *ILAVĬNIKA 'argileuse', celui-ci étant aussi le seul élément slave présent dans l'hydronymie roumaine majeure. Le déplacement à l'abri de la population roumaine, suivi d'un retour dans les régions de plaine (le long du VIIIe siècle) a été soutenu avec des preuves archéologiques (v. Madgearu 1997: 194).

Le caractère sédentaire des Daco-romains est prouvé aussi du point de vue linguistique. On remarque le fait que la conservation des noms anciens de plantes alpines, hérités du latin, pouvait avoir lieu seulement dans les conditions d'une continuité dans l'espace carpatique: e.g. *afină* 'myrtille', cf. lat. DAPHNE; *jneapăn* 'genévrier' < lat. vulg. IENIPERUS; *albumeală* 'immortelle-des-neiges, edelweiss' < lat. ALBUMEN, cf. it. *albume*, *ferigă* 'fougère' < lat. FILICEM (v. DER ; EWRS ; Mihăescu 1993). Les pastoralismes carpatique et celui balkanique se déroulent dans des conditions climatiques différentes. Un terme qui peut prouver la continuité des Roumains dans l'espace nord-danubien est celui de *fân* 'foin, i.e. provision d'herbes séchées pendant l'été, nécessaires pour nourrir les herbivores pendant l'hiver' (< lat. *fenum*). P. Papahagi (1925: 9), explique l'absence de ce terme dans les dialectes sud-danubiens (chez les Aroumains *earbă uscată*

'herbe sèche') par le fait que les Aroumains n'ont jamais eu besoin d'en faire des provisions parce qu'ils faisaient l'hivernage dans les régions chaudes avec de l'herbe verte pendant toute l'année.

De notre point de vue, le pastoralisme – dans ses quatre formes – explique tant le sédentarisme que la mobilité de la romanité orientale. Tout comme le prouvent les faits archéologiques, toute généralisation concernant le territoire dans laquelle est née la romanité orientale conduit à des conclusions fausses. Le pastoralisme agricole local ou celui de la zone des pâturages n'a pas besoin de transhumance. De ce point de vue, Ernst Gamillscheg[63] n'était probablement en erreur en acceptant quelques noyaux de romanité au nord du Danube. De l'autre côté, la transhumance et les colonisations sont une réalité historique. Dans la lumière des preuves archéologiques, linguistiques et ethnographiques on doit donc admettre que la romanité orientale est née au nord et au sud du Danube, entre les Carpates et les Balkans, en émettant une conclusion avec Alf Lombard (1995: 9): « Les correspondances entre l'antiquité et la contemporanéité sont beaucoup trop frappantes pour pouvoir rejeter l'idée d'une existence continue de la langue latine au nord du Danube, dans l'ancienne Dacie ».

III. La configuration dialectale

Le roumain, comme héritier de la latinité orientale, comprend quatre dialectes historiques: le dialecte dacoroumain, aroumain, méglénoroumain et istroroumain. Dans les dernières années, les dialectes sud-danubiens tendent à être considérés en tant que langues séparées. Pour notre présentation, qui a en vue les rapports généalogiques de la langue roumaine littéraire avec les dialectes sud-danubiens, ce problème ne représente aucun intérêt.

Les Dacoroumains sont les descendants de la romanité nord-danubienne et ils sont les seuls à avoir une langue littéraire. Dans le siècle passé, Sextil Puşcariu (1940: 232) faisait une observation importante concernant la connaissance de la relation du dacoroumain avec des dialectes sud-danubiens: « Tout ce que différencie le roumain du latin, d'un côté, et, de l'autre côté d'autre langues romanes, est commun à ces quatre dialectes ».

Les Aroumains sont les descendants de la population romanisée du sud de la Péninsule Balkanique. La toponymie prouve leur autochtonie dans la région du Pinde (*Săruna*, *Bitola* etc.). Pour l'écrivain byzantin Kekaumenos (le XIe siècle) les Aroumains proviennent des pays du Danube et de Sava. Son affirmation peut être comprise comme référence à certains groupes de Vlachs, pas pour tous les Vlachs, fait prouvé aussi du point de vue

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[63] Pour la théorie de Gamillscheg, continué par Reichenkron, v. la présentation critique faite par Ivănescu 1980, pp. 75-77.

linguistique: entre les variétés régionales d'aroumain, celui farsherot est plus proche du dacoroumain.

Les Méglénoroumains sont les descendants des Roumains de la Bulgarie médiévale, attestés dans le XIIe siècle dans la chaîne montagneuse des Balkans (théorie soutenue par Gustav Weigand, Theodor Capidan et Ion Gheție (pour leurs opinions, v. Gheție 1994: 56). Ion Gheție (1994: 58) prouve à l'aide d'arguments que leur langue est en fait la prolongation au-delà du Danube d'une langue de la Munténie, transplanté ensuite dans la région de Meglen, où il a subi une forte influence aroumaine.

Les Istroroumains sont les descendants des Roumains de la Serbie médiévale, déplacés jusqu'au littoral de l'Adriatique dès le XIIIe siècle (Pușcariu, Dragomir, Gheție). La langue des Istroroumains a de nombreuses concordances avec la langue du Banat.

La formation des quatre dialectes du roumain est, d'après Ivănescu (1980: 220), une conséquence des migrations du Moyen Age. On dit que ces migrations sont déterminées plutôt par les activités pastorales et moins par des événements historiques. Même s'il ne le dit pas explicitement, Gheorghe Ivănescu a en vue « la continuité mobile » de laquelle parle Alexandru Niculescu: les migrations pastorales ne sont pas équivalentes avec l'extension de l'espace habité par les Roumains ni avec une rupture entre les communautés de parleurs, mais une reconfiguration des dialectes du roumain. De cette manière on pourrait expliquer la présence du *i* épenthétique dans des mots comme *pâine*, *câine* (avec la forme étymologique *pâne*, *câne*), phénomène apporté par les Méglénoroumains dans les variétés dacoroumaines du sud et répandu au nord après le XVIe siècle (v. Ivănescu 1980: 406 ; Gheție 1975: 111-113). L'enrichissement du lexique de certains sous-dialectes dacoroumains avec des termes aroumains, constaté dans les plus anciens textes roumains, a la même cause. On constate donc que la diversité dialectale de la langue roumaine peut être expliquée par des migrations pastorales.

En insistant sur le dialecte dacoroumain, on peut parler d'une unité dialectale surprenante pour un espace si vaste, avec des obstacles d'ordre géographique (la chaîne carpatique) et historique (les variétés du roumain se sont développées pendant des centaines d'années dans des formations étatiques différentes). Tout comme l'a déjà été prouvée dans le passé, l'unité du roumain ne s'explique pas par un berceau commun limité du point de vue territorial mais par « l'homogénéisation territoriale et par le contact à effet de nivellement mené à de grandes distances par les bergers migrateurs » (Pușcariu 1940: 322; v. et paragr. 110-111). D'après Nicolae Iorga, on doit au pastoralisme aussi la conscience de l'unité des Roumains: « Il n'y a pas de berger de la Transylvanie, mais seulement berger roumain parce que, pendant une partie de l'année il habite à la montagne et l'autre partie de l'année il

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habite dans la plaine, près du Danube…, en partant des montagnes de la Transylvanie » en arrivant jusqu'à Ialomiţa, Dobroudja ou dans le Delta du Danube, mais sans perdre jamais la liaison avec son village d'origine, qui continuait à rester son élément de stabilité (Iorga 1933: 14).

S. Puşcariu constate que les montagnes n'ont pas empêché les Roumains de communiquer les uns avec les autres, parce que les bergers descendaient pour passer l'hiver dans les régions plus basses de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. D'après l'avis de Puşcariu, les Carpates représentent la colonne vertébrale de la population roumainophone. Les mêmes constats ont été faits aussi pour la région des Alpes (Puşcariu 1940: 215). De l'Atlas linguistique de la Moldavie (NALR), publié récemment, on peut se rendre compte que la frontière entre les variétés régionales de la Transylvanie et celles de la Moldavie ne se trouve pas sur la ligne des Carpates mais sur celle de la rivière de Siret. L'explication réside dans le fait que la région d'entre les Carpates et le Siret a été colonisée massivement par des gens de la Transylvanie dans les derniers siècles. On sait aussi qu'en dehors des bergers ont existé d'autre causes des migrations (par exemple les déplacements pour des raisons économiques et sociales). En ce qui concerne l'unité du roumain littéraire, tout comme elle apparaît dans les textes du XVIIIe siècle, elle est due à l'activité typographique d'Antim Ivireanul.

Conclusions

Dans le stade actuel des recherches, les conclusions ne peuvent être que partielles. Dans le caractère pastoral de la romanité orientale, soit-il sédentaire, transhumant ou nomade, on trouve l'explication pour l'extension spatiale des « bergers des Romains » et pour l'unité de la langue roumaine. La primauté qu'Alf Lombard accordait à la linguistique dans l'étude de l'histoire de la romanité orientale se justifie par l'absence des sources historiques. Même si dans les dernières années l'archéologie a enregistré de grands progrès, les preuves de l'habitation humaine dans les zones hautes sont encore faibles, à cause du fait que dans cette partie de l'Europe ne s'est pas développée une archéologie de montagne.

L'importance du pastoralisme pour les langues et les cultures romanes a été signalée il y a déjà un siècle, par quelques travaux introductifs, en suivant aussi des concordances linguistiques pastorales entre les Carpates, les Alpes et le Pyrénées, mais il n'y a pas de travaux fondamentaux dans ce domaine, qui puissent offrir une image générale du pastoralisme roumain et roman. Récemment sont apparus en Roumanie les premiers travaux de recherche sur la terminologie pastorale, un atlas linguistique pour les activités du berger étant en voie de finalisation, avec des démarches similaires en Occident. La connaissance du pastoralisme roman ouvre de nouvelles perspectives dans la recherche de la romanité en général, car cette activité

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économique n'a modelé pas seulement la langue de la communauté de bergers et ses créations littéraires, mais elle a déterminé également sa propre manière d'être.

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CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LA MODERNISATION ET LA REDÉFINITION DE LA PHYSIONOMIE NÉOLATINE DU ROUMAIN. DEUX SIÈCLES D'INFLUENCE FRANÇAISE

CONSIDERATIONS ON MODERNIZING AND REDEFINING THE NEOLATINIC PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE. TWO CENTURIES OF FRENCH INFLUENCE

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Abstract: *This contribution discusses the transformations of the Romanian language (in parallel with the modernization of the Romanian public institutions) inspired or triggered by the "French model".*

After some conceptual and terminological considerations (re-latinization, re-romanization, Latin-Roman occidentalization, re-occidentalization, modernity in the dynamics of the language), the author evokes the circumstances (historical, political, economic, cultural, social) that favored the franchizing of the Romanian language and details this process from a chronological perspective (the Hungarian and German branches, the Greek branch, the Russian branch).

With the help of relevant examples, the most significant changes brought to Romanian by French influence (phonetic, lexical, semantic, morphosyntactic changes) are presented.

The article insists on some complementary vectors in the process of franchising the Romanian language: the Phanariot princes, the preceptors and secretaries of the aristocratic families, the French consuls in the Romanian Principalities, the young people who had studied abroad and the emancipated women, the literature, the press, and the Francophone education.

Key words: *Franchising, French language, modern language, English language*

§ 1. But et prémisses de la présentation. Cet exposé parlera de plusieurs paradoxes qui ont accompagné le tourbillon des transformations inspirées ou déclenchées par le « modèle français » qui ont marqué durablement l'ensemble de la

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culture roumaine prémoderne[64], moderne[65] et contemporaine[66], la langue roumaine et les institutions publiques de la Roumanie.

Le fait que, de manière directe ou indirecte, le français a affecté le système de la langue roumaine dans toutes ses invariantes pourrait passer pour un truisme. Mais, focalisée sur l'influence que le français a eu sur l'esprit public roumain (en tant que principal vecteur de réancrage de l'espace roumain à la famille des peuples latins et à la modernité européenne) et surtout sur la modernisation de la langue littéraire roumaine, cet aperçu se donnera pour but de démontrer que notre adhésion presque trois fois séculaire à la culture et à la langue de la France sont dues plutôt indirectement et dans une moindre mesure aux Français eux-mêmes qu'à d'autres facteurs, plus ou moins conjoncturels.

Pour mieux comprendre les raisons, les modalités et les mécanismes explicites ou sous-jacents de l'influence du français sur l'évolution et sur la modernisation de la langue roumaine, cette présentation : 1) évoquera les circonstances historiques, politiques, économiques, culturelles et sociales qui ont présidé à cette influence et à ces emprunts et 2) identifiera les protagonistes qui ont stimulé et facilité la francisation du roumain, tels : les relations (diplomatiques, économiques, culturelles) entre les Pays Roumains et la France ; la contribution des érudits de l'École latiniste de Transylvanie[67] au moment de l'avènement de l'identité nationale des Roumains et du renforcement du sentiment d'unité et de continuité latine ; l'apport des hospodars phanariotes régnant dans les Principautés roumaines[68] ; la lutte menée par la bourgeoisie roumaine naissante pour l'émancipation politique et intellectuelle ; l'intense activité déployée par les Roumains éduqués en Occident, en vue d'une renaissance néolatine, anti-néogrecque et antiturque[69] ; la présence des officiers russes et des consuls dans les Principautés (pendant et après les guerres russo-turques).

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[64] Du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle.

[65] Du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'en 1918 (année de la constitution de la Grande Roumanie).

[66] Après 1918.

[67] L'*École latiniste de Transylvanie* (roum. *Şcoala Ardeleană*), un mouvement intellectuel proche de la Philosophie des Lumières. À la différence des Lumières, cette École n'a pas été un phénomène anticlérical, mais au contraire, ses idées ont été promues par des membres de l'Église roumaine unie à Rome. Plus exactement, c'est justement le catholicisme (l'Église romano-catholique et surtout L'Église grecque-catholique) qui ont servi d'intermédiaire à l'influence du latin.

[68] Sans entrer dans des détails historiques, précisons que, pendant la période de temps qui sera évoquée ici, la Roumanie actuelle était divisée en trois pays indépendants / trois principautés autonomes (à statuts différents et vassales des royaumes / des empires voisins) : les *Principautés roumaines / danubiennes* (la *Principauté de la Valachie*, la *Principauté de Moldavie*) et la *Principauté de Transylvanie*. Les deux premiers pays se sont unifiés en 1859 et le *Royaume de Roumanie* qui en résulta s'est unifiée à son tour avec la Transylvanie en 1918.

[69] « Pour une longue période, le français a joué le rôle d'un vaccin salutaire contre l'influence envahissante du slavon et du grec. » (Păuş 2010 : 137).

Plusieurs étapes seront balayées pour expliquer et illustrer ce long et sinueux parcours de la langue roumaine. Concrètement : 1) on va examiner furtivement la configuration du roumain prémoderne, en dévoilant son disfonctionnement avant l'action modernisatrice de quelques langues étrangères ; 2) on va passer en revue les transformations (phonétiques, morphosyntaxiques, lexicologiques et sémantiques) que le roumain a subi sous l'influence du français et 3) on insistera sur plusieurs voies complémentaires et qui se sont soutenues l'une l'autre par lesquelles les trois Principautés Roumaines ont établi des contacts avec la culture européenne, à part les relations diplomatiques, économiques et culturelles entre les Pays Roumains et la France. Des voies assez insolites, comme on va le voir plus loin, et, paradoxalement, périphériques à toute influence directe de la France elle-même, à savoir : a) l'apport des princes grecs phanariotes (1711-1821) dont la plupart étaient imbus de culture française ; b) la présence des précepteurs français dans les familles princières et celles des boyards des Principautés (après 1774) ; c) la présence des secrétaires français des mêmes princes phanariotes ; d) l'activité des aventuriers français errants dans les Pays Roumains où ils avaient ouvert des écoles privées (des pensionnats) ; e) la lutte menée par la bourgeoisie roumaine naissante pour l'émancipation politique et intellectuelle, ainsi que l'intense activité déployée par les Roumains éduqués en Occident, surtout en France, en vue d'une renaissance néolatine, anti-néogrecque et antiturque ; f) le rôle des femmes et g) le rôle prépondérant de la littérature française, ainsi que de la traduction, qui a enrichi énormément le roumain, tout comme celui de la presse francophone et celui des troupes de théâtre étrangères qui jouaient en français (Goldiș Poalelungi 1973 : 7-58 ; Epure 2015 : 411 ; Eliade 1982 : 227-228).

§ 2. Rapide survol de l'histoire de la langue roumaine. En tant que langue maternelle, le roumain[70] est parlé actuellement par environ 24 millions de locuteurs. À ceux-ci s'ajoutent plus de 4 millions de locuteurs qui le parlent en tant que langue seconde. Le roumain est parlé principalement en Roumanie et en République de Moldavie / République de Moldova[71] (80% de la population y déclare avoir cette langue maternelle). Mais de fortes minorités roumanophones existent aussi dans d'autres pays : en Ukraine (409 608 personnes), en Transnistrie (environ 178 000 personnes), en Serbie (en Voïvodine : 345 763 ; et dans la région des Portes de Fer tout comme dans la vallée du Timok – sans statut officiel), en Bulgarie (11 654 personnes) et en Hongrie (8 215 personnes) (UL ; INS ; BNSRM ; МЭРПМР ; РЗС). Une importante diaspora roumanophone vit également depuis les années 2 000 en Espagne, en Italie, en France ou au Portugal.

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[70] Ou *daco-roumain*, comme on l'appelle en linguistique. Langue (partiellement attestée au XIIe siècle et complètement attesté au XVe siècle) appartenant au groupe des langues romanes orientales.

[71] La *langue roumaine* est la dénomination officielle en Roumanie et en Moldavie (selon un arrêt de 2013 de la Cour constitutionnelle).

Ce qui définit le caractère roman du roumain c'est avant tout sa structure grammaticale, qui reproduit de près celle du latin. À cela s'ajoute son lexique, jusqu'à 60-65% du vocabulaire roumain étant issu du latin, directement ou à travers des emprunts à d'autres langues. Le substrat du roumain, à savoir le thraco-dace, quant à lui, est peu représenté et encore moins connu. *Grosso modo*, on lui attribue environ 160-460 mots d'origine indo-européenne, non repérés dans les autres langues romanes mais identifiés en albanais.

La position géographique périphérique du pays (par rapport à l'Empire Roman) et ses voisinages ont conduit à une évolution isolée de la langue roumaine de toutes les autres langues néolatines. Les contacts linguistiques qui en découlèrent lui avaient imprimé un aspect différent par rapport aux autres langues-sœurs et un caractère dissymétrique par rapport aux autres langues issues du latin[72]. Alors qu'une grande partie de la grammaire et de la morphologie du roumain est basée sur le bas latin, certaines caractéristiques ne sont partagées qu'avec d'autres langues des Balkans (comme le bulgare, le serbe, le macédonien, l'albanais et le grec), et ne se retrouvent point dans les autres langues romanes[73]. Parmi les plus frappantes de ces similarités, on peut citer : 1) la postposition de l'article défini, 2) la superposition formelle des cas obliques (c'est à dire la confusion entre le génitif et datif), 3) la formation du futur et du passé, et 4) l'évitement (l'abandon) de l'infinitif.

L'originalité du roumain par rapport aux autres langues romanes est donc le fruit de l'influence particulière jouée par le superstrat. La plus ancienne et la plus importante source d'emprunts est le slave commun, suivie de près par le vieux slave et continuée par les langues slaves voisines ou proches (le bulgare, le russe, le serbe, l'ukrainien, le polonais). À cela s'additionne un important apport de mots grecs, turcs, hongrois et allemands datant du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance. Pour acquérir l'aspect qu'on lui reconnaît aujourd'hui, le roumain a subi des mutations fondamentales sous l'influence de la langue française, principalement entre 1850 et 1950. Certes, d'autres langues modernes ont eu leur contribution à l'achèvement de la configuration du roumain standard et littéraire contemporain, tel l'allemand et l'anglais. Mais ce sont la culture et la langue françaises qui ont marqué un tournant authentique et incontestable dans l'évolution de l'esprit publique roumain et de la modernisation de la société roumaine en y englobant aussi, bien entendu, la langue roumaine. C'est justement sur ce processus de modernisation du roumain que va se concentrer cette présentation.

§ 3. Interlude conceptuel et terminologique. Pour bien comprendre les causes et les effets de l'influence que la langue française a eue sur la langue

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[72] Ce qui veut dire qu'il est beaucoup plus facile à un roumanophone de comprendre l'italien ou le français, que l'inverse.

[73] C'est ce qu'on appelle *union linguistique balkanique*.

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roumaine, quelques éclaircissements terminologiques apparaissent comme particulièrement importants et utiles[74].

§ 3. 1. *Relatinisation – ré-romanisation, occidentalisation (latino)-romane – ré-occidentalisation.* Il est essentiel de souligner dans le cadre de cette discussion que le roumain s'est rapproché de ses racines latines de manières très différentes en Transylvanie et en Moldo-Valachie. Au fil du temps, plusieurs termes ont été utilisés pour désigner le phénomène dont il sera question plus loin, certains d'entre eux référant à deux réalités bien distinctes, car celui-ci se présente sous un double aspect : influence du français en Moldo-Valachie et influence du latin en Transylvanie. Ce vacillement terminologique est une conséquence de la complexité (théorique et pratique) même de cet alambiqué processus qui tire ses racines des « l'antagonisme fatal » (Iorga 1910-1911 : 771-772) opposant la société transylvaine instruite prenant l'Autriche[75] pour modèle de société idéale à la société moldo-valaque instruite et cosmopolite qui considérait cette perspective à caractère historiciste comme une prémisse implicite et s'encrait dans l'archétype culturel de la France (Iorga 1910-1911 : 771-772 ; Niculescu 1978 : 88-89). C'est de cet antagonisme idéologique que découle toute une série d'oppositions et paradoxes, vu que les résultats finaux ont été pourtant convergents : *latin* vs. *roman*, *antique* vs. *contemporain*, *historique* et *philologique* vs. *littéraire* (belles-lettres), *traditionnel* vs. *moderne* (Niculescu 1978 : 98). Autrement dit, le modèle *imitatif humaniste*, *régressif* et *anachronique*[76] (le latin étant la langue idéale pour l'intelligentsia transylvaine) s'opposa au *modèle imitatif* et *progressif des Lumières* (l'intelligentsia moldo-valaque adhéra à l'idée du progrès des langues et de la supériorité des langues modernes par rapport à celles classiques, en prenant le français comme modèle de langue à imiter).

Au sens précis, *relatinisation* (Graur)[77] devrait désigner seulement la correction des mots roumains hérités par un rapprochement de leur forme latine d'origine (Reinheimer-Rîpeanu 2004 : 153). En dehors de cet emploi, *relatinisation* s'avère un terme trop restrictif parce qu'il ignore la contribution des langues romanes (Niculescu 1978 : 175).

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[74] Si possible, on a utilisé partout et de manière homogène les formes francisés des anthroponymes et des toponymes, s'ils étaient consacrés en tant que tels pendant la période évoquée.

[75] Les érudits latinistes se donnèrent pur but de puiser dans le passé pour démontrer et légitimer les souches latines du peuple roumain

[76] Ce qui suggère un contact dysfonctionnel avec la réalité (Ivănescu 1980 : 675-676).

[77] Dans un article datant de 1930 et paru dans le journal « Adevărul » sous le pseudonyme Gh. Reviga, *apud* Iordan 1970a : 72, Graur 1965, Graur 1968 : 9. Toujours en 1930, le terme était utilisé par Ovid Densusianu, dans le cours universitaire consacré à l'évolution de la langue roumaine qu'il a soutenu à l'Université de Bucarest. Le même terme avait été déjà utilisé par Antoine Meillet dans un livre paru en 1926 (Meillet 1926 : 313, une reprise de l'article « Sur le sens linguistique de l'unité latine » publié dix ans auparavant dans la *Revue des Nations latines*) que les linguistes roumains devaient sans doute connaître.

Une appellation plus large et plus permissive, telle *ré-romanisation*, pourrait être acceptée, à condition qu'elle couvre les deux directions de l'emprunt néologique : la direction latiniste de Transylvanie et la direction romane de Moldo-Valachie (Pușcariu 1974 : 434, Pușcariu 1976 : 370, 379). Sinon, ce terme devient lui-aussi tout à fait inapproprié puisqu'il falsifie la réalité, pouvant être source de fausses interprétations (Iordan 1970a : 72). Il pourrait néanmoins être toléré à l'égard du français par un artifice d'interprétation si on se met d'accord que cette langue a joué un rôle similaire à celui du latin pendant la Renaissance dans l'histoire de la langue française (Octav Nandriș *apud* Goldiș-Poalelungi 1973 : 38). Alors que tout au long des siècles les langues romanes occidentales ont été renouvelées en puisant dans le latin des mots et des tournures de phrases, le roumain a été marqué par l'influence du slave ancien, la langue cultivée de cette région de l'Europe. À la rigueur, rien ne nous empêche de considérer que le français a agi d'une manière comparable à l'influence exercée par le latin sur la modernisation des langues littéraires et sur la formation de leurs terminologies (Butiurcă 2005 : 208).

Le syntagme terminologique *occidentalisation romane* présente, quant à lui, l'avantage de mettre en vedette le rôle prépondérant de l'élément roman (français et italien) dans ce complexe processus de métamorphose[78] de la langue roumaine (Niculescu 1978 : 55-98) et même de son statut, étant donné que cet emprunt massif de néologismes romanes n'a pas abouti seulement à changer radicalement la configuration du roumain, mais, de surcroît, il l'a replacé dans les cadres de la spiritualité romane tout en l'éloignant de la communauté balkanique (Pușcariu 1976 : 415). Néanmoins, ce terme pèche lui aussi (tout comme le terme *relatinisation*) par être trop limitatif puisqu'il néglige complètement la contribution des savants latinistes à cette direction théorique et pratique (Țâra 1982-1983 : 174).

Ce genre d'inconvénients pourrait être limité par l'intermédiaire de quelques expansions nuancées à l'aide du préfixe *ré-*[79] : *occidentalisation latino-romane* lorsqu'il s'agit de la langue roumaine et *ré-occidentalisation* quand c'est la culture roumaine qu'on a en vue (Lupu 1999 : 33)[80].

§ 3. 2. *Moderne* et *modernité*. Impératifs de la modernisation du roumain prémoderne. Avant de s'attaquer au sujet central de cet exposé, il faudrait préciser en quoi consiste effectivement ladite *modernité* d'une langue et quels ont été les

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[78] Il ne faut pas ignorer toutefois le fait qu'il y eu des emprunts romans aussi par filière néo-grecque et austro-allemande.

[79] Quoique c'est à l'aide du préfixe *răs-* que le roumain rend la valeur d'intensité, alors que *ré-* est destiné à exprimer exclusivement une valeur itérative. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que le roumain avait perdu (complétement ou partiellement) son caractère roman pour le retrouver à partir de l'influence du latin et du français pendant la période prémoderne et moderne, mais que ces dernières langues lui ont renforcé sa constitution romane (Niculescu 1978 : 6).

[80] Iorgu Iordan avait parlé déjà d'ailleurs d'emprunts latino-romans pour désigner les deux directions convergentes qui ont conduit à la « modernisation de la langue roumaine dans l'esprit latino-roman » (Iordan 1970a : 74).

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facteurs (raisons intrinsèques, agents extérieurs) qui ont déclenché et gouverné le processus de *modernisation* de la langue roumaine.

Les notions de *moderne* et *modernité* sont multiforme et plurivoques, leurs acceptions pouvant varier selon l'emploi que l'on donne aux termes et aux domaines auxquels ils s'appliquent. En schématisant, on peut conclure toutefois que la modernité se veut une rupture conséquente à une crise avec un *statu quo ante* quelconque et ne répondant plus aux impératifs du moment. Une langue ayant atteint un niveau élevé de modernité serait une langue parfaitement adaptée aux spécificités de son époque (sociales, culturelles…) et en mesure de remplir d'une manière impeccable, à tout moment et pour chacun de ses utilisateurs, toutes les fonctions qui y sont attribuées[81]. Ce processus de modernisation apparaît comme naturel et indispensable pour la survie même de n'importe quelle langue[82].

Or, la condition du roumain prémoderne était plutôt minable à cet égard. Suite aux circonstances historiques et culturelles dans lesquelles le peuple et la langue se sont forgés, la langue roumaine citadine et surtout celle des salons aristocrates[83] du XVIᵉ et du XVIIᵉ siècle (état des choses qui a perduré aussi au cours du XVIIIᵉ siècle) s'est écartée visiblement du tronc latin étant gravement endommagée par les influences venues des langues de contact (le vieux-slave, le grec, le turc, le hongrois) (Eliade 1982 : 288). Bon nombre de mots de souche latine, appropriés et répondant naguère aux exigences stylistiques des locuteurs, avaient été remplacés par des emprunts maladroits du grec moderne, du turc et du russe. Greffés sur un charabia syntaxique à mi-chemin entre la tradition ecclésiastique du vieux slave et la rhétorique orientale grecque[84], le lexique commun et les terminologies spécialisées (majoritairement slaves) avaient rendu cette langue complètement non-

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[81] Conative, référentielle, expressive, phatique, poétique, métalinguistique – selon la classification de Roman Jakobson (Jakobson 1963 : 209-248).

[82] Voir les allégations de Victor Hugo au sujet de la modernisation du français : «la langue française n'est pas fixée et ne se fixera point. Une langue ne se fixe pas. L'esprit humain est toujours en marche, ou, [...], en mouvement, et les langues avec lui. [...]. Quand le corps change, comment l'habit ne changerait-il pas ? Le français du dix-neuvième siècle ne peut pas plus être le français du dix-huitième, que celui-ci n'est le français du dix-septième, que le français du dix-septième n'est celui du seizième. [...]. Toute époque a ses idées propres, il faut qu'elle ait aussi les mots propres à ces idées. Les langues sont comme la mer, elles oscillent sans cesse. [...]. C'est de cette façon que des idées s'éteignent, que des mots s'en vont. Il en est des idiomes humains comme de tout. Chaque siècle y apporte et en emporte quelque chose. Qu'y faire ? cela est fatal. C'est donc en vain que l'on voudrait pétrifier la mobile physionomie de notre idiome sous une forme donnée. » (Hugo 1912 : 40).

[83] Les voyageurs étrangers de passage dans les Principautés Roumaines avaient remarqué maintes fois d'ailleurs que les aristocrates (les boyards) valaques et moldaves, des polyglottes qui maitrisaient le grec, le russe, l'allemand et le français ignoraient une seule langue, la langue du pays, que les Phanariotes n'avaient plus le temps d'apprendre, d'autant plus qu'ils la considéraient de toute façon « incapable » d'exprimer les beautés de la philosophie et les subtilités de l'art (Eliade 1982 : 131).

[84] Un amalgame ahurissant de redondances spécifiques à la langue parlée et de détours toujours surprenants (une phrase bourrée d'ornements d'une préciosité vétuste).

fonctionnelle[85]. Le vocabulaire autochtone et la syntaxe roumaine étaient tellement corrompus à cette époque-là, que la langue était devenue presque méconnaissable.

L'idée de renouveler et d'enrichir la langue roumaine littéraire par des éléments empruntés à des langues de culture des plus prestigieuses, surtout au latin et aux quelques langues néolatines, est apparue dès le XVIIe siècle[86], le moment correspondant au début de l'intérêt des chroniqueurs moldaves et valaques pour les témoignages aptes à argumenter l'origine latine du peuple roumain et de sa langue. Deux facteurs principaux ayant influé sur le choix du français ont pu être identifiés : 1) un facteur extralinguistique (la disparition des anciennes institutions de facture slave, grecque et turque face au contact avec leurs homologues d'inspiration ouest-européenne, notamment française) et 2) un facteur linguistique (le fond lexical et terminologique, les tournures syntaxiques et la variation stylistique traditionnelles et reproduisant de près les structures équivalentes slaves, grecques, turques, etc. ont perdu terrain devant la nouveauté, la modernité, le prestige culturel, la richesse et la subtilité de la langue française). En effet, grâce à sa clarté et à son élégance, le français s'est réjoui d'un prestige tout à fait remarquable au niveau international en tant que langue de la diplomatie. Voici ce qu'en pensait, sans trace de modestie, l'écrivain, journaliste, essayiste et pamphlétaire français Antoine Rivarol : « Dégagée de tous les protocoles que la bassesse inventa pour la vanité et la faiblesse pour le pouvoir, elle [la langue française] en est plus faite pour la conversation, lien des hommes et charme de tous les âges ; et, puisqu'il faut le dire, elle est, de toutes les langues, la seule qui ait une probité attachée à son génie. Sûre, sociale, raisonnable, ce n'est plus la langue française, c'est la langue humaine. » (Rivarol 1784 : 37). Bref, la langue et la culture françaises ont exercé sur l'Europe entière une séduction hors du commun qui émanait « une force prosélytique » (*apud* Brunot 1968 : 1[87]). Cette prestance s'est bâtie sur quelques facteurs politiques et socio-culturels qui avaient contribué à la propagation exponentielle et durable du français. Il s'agit, entre autres, de la réputation culturelle croissante de la France, du renom de l'activité de L'Académie française et de son attitude (officielle et publique) exemplaire envers la langue elle-même, de l'excellente organisation de l'enseignement national français, du succès remporté par le mouvement

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[85] C'est ainsi que les premiers obstacles auxquels se sont heurtés les érudits (traducteurs, écrivains) du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle étaient l'indigence du vocabulaire (pauvreté synonymique, manque de termes abstraits, absence de termes adéquats pour nommer des notions récentes et des idées dans l'air du temps) (Munteanu – Țâra 1978 : 66-70).

[86] Ce processus d'acculturation par imitation comme principal mécanisme faisant possible la modernisation de la société (une projection des modèles culturels et comportementaux occidentaux) a fonctionné non seulement sur l'actuel territoire de la Roumanie et de la République de Moldova, mais un peu partout en Europe et même au-delà de ses confins (Butiurcă 2005 : 208, Ploscaru 2012 : 52). Et cela se reflète très clairement dans le poids de l'élément français dans d'autres langues de la région.

[87] « Lettre de Joseph de Maistre à S.E. Msg l'Archevêque de Raguse, 13 décembre 1809 ».

philosophique et littéraire de la France, des répercussions de la circulation croissante des textes imprimés… (Oancea – Panait 2002 : 139).

§ 4. Succincte chronologie de la francisation du roumain. Le français s'est insinué par tous les côtés dans les Principautés (Eliade 1982 : 227-228) : par le sud (avec les Grecs phanariotes), par le nord (avec les érudits latinistes de Transylvanie), par l'est (avec les Russes) et par le ouest (avec les émigrés de la Révolution française). Plusieurs étapes sont à distinguer dans le processus de l'occidentalisation de la langue roumaine (Charles Drouhet, *apud* Craia 1995 : 9, Lupu 1999 : 28-29, Moroianu 2009 : 104-105) : 1) 1750-1870 : a) en Moldo-Valachie, quand, sous l'influence des règnes phanariotes mais aussi par l'intermédiaire de la littérature et avec la contribution des précepteurs français, l'aristocratie roumaine s'est appropriée la culture française et b) toujours en Moldo-Valachie et en Transylvanie, quand les modèles culturels historiquement circonscrits (néogrec et russe, d'un côté, hongrois et allemand, de l'autre côté) ont été concurrencés par le modèle réformateur latino-roman, conçu à la fois comme une réaction et comme une attente socioculturelle ; 2) 1870-1918 : quand le lexique de la langue littéraire a confirmé son appartenance et son adhésion aux cultures occidentales ; 3) 1918-1945 : quand la culture roumaine a atteint l'apogée de son évolution et le vocabulaire littéraire a découvert son unité.

§ 5. Changements linguistiques sous la pression du modèle de langue française. Il n'est pas sans importance de préciser ici que, non pas seulement que la langue française ait réussi à changer toute la structure intime de la langue roumaine (Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 5), mais encore que les nouveautés apportées par le français aient stimulé aussi la créativité des locuteurs roumains à partir des ressources internes de leur propre langue maternelle[88]. Ce phénomène se manifesta surtout au niveau de la dérivation et de la composition lexicale, au niveau de la syntaxe et de la variation stylistique et expressive. Plus précisément, les transformations envisagées (et qui seront présentés ci-dessous) sont : les changements phonétiques, les changements lexicaux et sémantiques, les changements morphosyntaxiques.

§ 5. 1. Changements phonétiques. En principe, les néologismes d'origine française se sont adaptés à la structure phonétique de la langue roumaine, mais cet ajustement n'a pas toujours eu les mêmes résultats (Adamescu 1938 : 25, Moldovanu 2003-2004 : 345, Butiurcă 2005 : 208-209) :

1) le [e] final muet → [ă] : fr. *amende* > roum. *amendă*, fr. *empreinte* > roum. *amprentă*, fr. *crime* > roum. *crimă*, fr. *récidive* > roum. *recidivă*.

2) le [y] : a) → [u] : fr. *culture* > rom. *cultură*, fr. *imputable* > roum. *imputabil*, fr. *pudeur* > rom. *pudoare* ; b) → [i] : fr. *bureau* > rom. *birou* ; c) → [iŭ] : fr. *pardessu* > rom. *pardesiu* ou d) → [ĭu] : fr. *punaise* > rom. *piunezǎ*.

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[88] Pour certains cas de créativité extrême ou abusive sous la pression mentale du modèle français (*pseudo-gallicismes*, *gallicismes apparents*, *faux gallicismes ludiques*), voir Mladin 2018.

3) le [œ] (*-eur*, *-eux*) : a) → [o] : fr. *accusateur* > roum. *acuzator*, roum. fr. *procureur* > roum. *procuror*, fr. *professeur* > roum. *profesor* ; fr. *capricieux* > roum. *capricios* – selon le modèle fourni par les mots roumains terminés en *-or* (*călător* « voyageur, passager ») ou b) → [e] : fr. *chauffeur* > roum. *şofer*, fr. *chômeur* > roum. *şomer* – selon le modèle fourni par les mots roumains terminés en *-er dulgher* « charpentier »).

4) le [ó] (*-eau*, *-ó*) : a) → diphtongaison [oŭ] : fr. *bureau* > roum. *birou*, fr. *cadeau* > roum. *cadou*, fr. *manteau* > roum. *mantou*, fr. *stylo* > roum. *stilou ;* b) → [-ó][89] : fr. *radió* > roum. *rádio*[90], fr. *zéro* > roum. *zéro* ou c) → diphtongaison [ŏa][91] : fr. *colonne* > roum. *coloană*, fr. *consonne* > roum. *consoană*.

Il en est de même pour la flexion verbale à la IIIe personne : fr. *convoquer* > roum. *a convoca* (el, ea / ei, ele *covoacă*), fr. *provoquer* > roum. *a provoca* el, ea / ei, ele *provoacă*).

5) les consonnes nasales ([n], [m], [ɲ]) se dénasalisent : *document* > roum. *document*, *événement* > roum. *eveniment*, fr. *impossible* > roum. *imposibil*, fr. *intéressant* > roum. *interesant*, *sentiment* > roum. *sentiment*.

Le roumain reproduit dans la prononciation la voyelle ([i], [e]) qui accompagne la consonne française nasalisée mais pas de façon systématique : fr. *sentence* > roum. *sentinţă*, fr. *tendance* > roum. *tendinţă ;* fr. *nation* > roum. *naţiune*.

L'une des justifications de l'aspect des mots empruntés du français est la voie par laquelle ceux-ci sont entrés en roumain :

1) certains mots reproduisent en roumain l'image écrite de l'étymon français[92] (Sferle 2009, Stoichiţoiu Ichim) : roum. *certificat* (< fr. *certificat*), roum. *criminologie* (< fr. *criminologie*) ; roum. *incident* (< fr. *incident*) ; roum. *mandat* (< fr. *mandat*), roum. *pension* (fr. *pension*), roum. *sergent* (< fr. *sergent*) ;

2) d'autres mots miment la forme orale des originaux français : roum. *anchetă* (< fr. *enquête*), roum. *bordo* (< fr. *bordeaux*), roum. *coşmar* (< fr. *cauchemar*), roum. *fular* (< fr. *foulard*), roum. *manşetă* (< fr. *manchette*), roum. *mov* (< fr. *mauve*), roum. *replică* (< fr. *réplique*) ;

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[89] Une augmentation du nombre de mots portant l'accent sur la syllabe finale, comme en français, a pu être remarquée au moment des emprunts massifs de mots de cette langue.

[90] N + art. déf. *radióul*, G-D + art. déf. *radióului*. Mais l'accent se déplace à cause de la flexion devenue très difficile. Puisque même ce subterfuge rend la prononciation assez embarrassante, on a tendance à remplacer le nom par une locution équivalente : *aparat de radio* « appareil de radio ».

[91] Sauf les mots à étymon grec entrés en roumain par filière : fr. *axiome* (gr. *axioma*) > roum. *axiomă*, fr. *méthode* (gr. *methodos*) > roum. *metodă*.

[92] La voie écrite semblait être préférée au début des contacts franco-roumains (Barborică 1977 : 107) : rom. pl. *memoare* (< fr. *mémoire*), rom. *sertificat* (< fr. *certificat*), rom. *sirculară* (< fr. *circulaire*) – formes abandonnées ultérieurement.

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3) d'autres, encore, reproduisent partiellement la forme écrite et la forme acoustique : roum. *appel* (< fr. *appel*), roum. *cazier* (< fr. *casier*), roum. *pledoarie* (< fr. *plaidoirie*) ;

4) il y a aussi quelques lexèmes qui ont conservé la graphie et la prononciation françaises : *bleu*, *ecru* (< fr. *écru*), *café-au-lait*, *ivoire*, *gris-perle*, *vert-bouteille*, *bleu-vert*.

§ 5. 2. Changements lexicaux et sémantiques. Quoi que fréquemment surestimées[93], les répercussions de l'influence française sur le vocabulaire roumain restent les plus importantes de toutes les influences modernes qui ont été exercées sur la langue roumaine[94] (Hristea 1984 : 59).

Pour évaluer le poids de l'élément lexical d'origine française dans le vocabulaire (général et terminologique) roumain, plusieurs recherches statistiques ont été effectuées au cours du temps[95]. Même si les résultats obtenus sont fort disproportionnés entre eux (suite à la différence des corpus et des critères pris en compte), ils restent en effet assez impressionnants : 1) 19,3% mots d'origine française (3 749 mots) – DCR[1] (*apud* Dimitrescu 1994) ; 2) 22,12% mots d'origine française (2 581 mots) – VRLR (*apud* VRLR) ; 3) 29,69% mots d'origine française (43 269 mots) – DEI (*apud* Macrea 1961) ; 4) 38,42% mots d'origine française (49 649 mots) – DLRM (*apud* Macrea 1961) ; 5) 47,51% mots d'origine française (30,60% mots de base à étymologie unique + 9,04% mots de base a étymologie multiple + 7,87% mots dérivés à étymologie unique et multiple) – DILF ; 6) 27% termes scientifiques et techniques d'origine française à étymologie unique – 73,39% à étymologie multiple (*apud* Macrea 1982 : 72-81) ; 7) 62-95% termes scientifiques et techniques d'origine française – DTP, DER 1962-1966, DLRM (*apud* Macrea

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[93] Le nombre impressionnant d'étymologies françaises que fournissent nos sources linguistiques (éventuellement en association avec d'autres origines) pourraient conférer une perspective surestimée à ce phénomène. La justification de cet état de choses trouve ses raisons dans la commodité d'expliquer les néologismes roumains en s'appuyant sur des dictionnaires français qui sont plus à la portée des chercheurs que d'autres ouvrages lexicologiques et lexicographiques (Oprea – Nagy 2002 : 268-280).

[94] Pour expliquer un bon nombre de mots roumains, il s'avère utile de ne pas se limiter au français parlé en France, mais de prendre en considération aussi la variante belge et suisse du français : roum. *achizitor* < fr. suisse *acquisiteur*, roum. *calcaros* < fr. belge *calcareux* (Avram 1982 : 258-259).

[95] Notons, en passant, que ce processus d'acculturation par imitation comme principal mécanisme faisant possible la modernisation de la société (une projection des modèles culturels et comportementaux occidentaux) a fonctionné non seulement sur l'actuel territoire de la Roumanie et de la République de Moldova, mais un peu partout en Europe et même au-delà de ses confins (Butiurcă 2005 : 208 ; Provata 2011 ; Ploscaru 2012 : 52). Et cela se reflète très clairement dans le poids de l'élément français dans d'autres langues de la région. Le nombre des mots d'origine française dans la langue turque actuelle est estimé à presque 5 000 unités, le français étant la deuxième langue prêteuse après l'arabe. Puis, on compte environ 3 000 mots d'origine française dans le croate, toujours environ 3 000 en macédonien, au moins 2 000 en bulgare (Mladin 2013a ; Mladin 2013b)…

1970 : 34-36) ; 8) 81,6%[96] mots d'origine française (235 mots) – DCR[2] (*apud* Druță 2003).

Cette « gallomanie universelle » (Drouhet 1983 : 62) a enrichi la langue avec des structures françaises et, du coup, de nouvelles possibilités d'expression se sont s'imposées, ce qui a entraîné simultanément l'abandon d'une partie du patrimoine linguistique autochtone. Un grand nombre de mots tombèrent ainsi en désuétude et disparurent au fur et à mesure, les emprunts à la langue française remplaçant les mots d'origine slave, grecque, turque, dès que l'occasion se présentait : *jalbă* « plainte » (< sl. *žaliba*) → *reclamație* (< fr. *réclamation*), *pricină* « cause, raison » (< bg. *prična*) → *cauză* (< fr. *cause*), *diată* « testament » (< gr. *dieta*) → *testament* (< fr. *testament*), *epitrop* « tuteur, administrateur » (< gr. *epitropos*) → *tutore* (< fr. *tuteur*), *dicasterie* « tribunal (eclesiastique) » (< gr. *dikastirion*) → *tribunal* (< fr. *tribunal*), *sinet* « document, reçu » (< tc. *senet*) → *act* (< fr. *acte*), *obștesc* « commun, publique » (< sl. *obištije*) → *comun* (< fr. *commun*), *pârî* « réclamer, accuser » (< sl. *p(ĭ)rěti*) → *reclama* (< fr. *réclamer*), *macat* « couverture, étoffe épaisse généralement en laine » (< tc. *makat*) → *cuvertură* (< fr. *couverture*), *suliman* « fard » (< tc. *sülümen*) → *fard* (< fr. *fard*), *cinste* « honnêteté, probité » (< sl. *čĭstĭ*) → *onoare* (< fr *honneur*), *ibovnic* « amant, jules » (< sl. *ljubovĭnĭkŭ*) → *amant* (< fr. *amant*), *han* « auberge » (< turc. *han*) → *hotel* (< fr. *hôtel*), *jertfă* « sacrifice » (< sl. *žrŭtva*) → *sacrificiu* (< fr. *sacrifice*). Les anciens mots ont été éliminés à jamais ou ont continué de circuler en parallèle avec les mots nouveaux (doublets étymologiques synonymiques), mais avec une connotation (spéciale, supplémentaire) quelconque (Pușcariu 1976 : 72-73, Sferle 2009).

Les mots d'origine française parsèment le vocabulaire fondamental et usuel de la langue roumaine et constituent l'appui des terminologies spécialisées de tous les domaines scientifiques et techniques (arts visuels, armée, administration, botanique, chimie, droit, économie, géographie, histoire, médecine, musique, philologie, philosophie, psychologie, politique, sociologique, sport, théâtre, zoologie…)[97] (Eliade 1982 : 5). Évidemment, il y en a qui sont plus privilégiés que les autres. Même si on enregistre un nombre croissant de termes de cette classe qui laissent actuellement la place aux équivalents anglais[98] dans des domaines d'activité récents (l'informatique) ou récemment renouvelés (le secteur bancaire), un taux impressionnant de termes et de syntagmes terminologiques provenant du français continuent à se régaler dans d'autres domaines (Reinheimer-Râpeanu 2001 : 45 ; Treps 2009 : 354), tels : la gastronomie (roum. *aperitiv* < fr. *apéritif*, roum. *antreu* « plat froid / chaud servi au début du repas » < fr. *entrée*, roum. *asezona* < fr.

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[96] Sur un total de 1 552 termes sélectionnés par l'auteur de la statistique.

[97] L'argot en a eu sa part lui-aussi : *bonjour* « la poche derrière des pantalons » (dans l'argot des pickpockets), *mal !* « cartes faussement distribuées pendant une partie » (dans le jargon des accros aux cartes), *paspartu* « passe-partout, crochet », *tapeur* « profiteur », *tapeză* 1. « prostituée », 2. « amante», (*de*) *pamplezir* « astucieusement ; formellement, par amusement » (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001 : 129).

[98] Même à peine adaptés au spécifique du roumain ou bien gardant leur forme d'origine.

assaisonner, roum. *aspic* < fr. *aspic*, roum. *beșamel* « sauce ~ » < fr. (sauce) *béchamel* / *béchamelle*, roum. *bușeu* « un certain type de pâtisserie » < fr. *bouchée*, roum. *compot* « fruits au sirop » < fr. *compote*, roum. *coniac* < fr. *cognac*, roum. *crochetă* < fr. *croquette*, roum. *croasant* < fr. *croissant*, roum. *crudități* < fr. *crudités*, roum. (a) *dejuna* < fr. *déjeuner*, roum. *desert* < fr. *dessert*, roum. *ecler* « patisserie de forme allongée et fourrée de crème pâtissière » < fr. *éclair*, roum. *fursec* « petit four » < fr. (*petit*) *four sec*, roum. *garnitură* « plat d'accompagnement » < fr. *garniture*, roum. *lichior* < fr. *liqueur*, roum. *maioneză* < fr. *mayonnaise*, roum. *meniu* « liste des divers mets qui composent le repas » < fr. *menu*, roum. *omletă* < fr. *omelette*, roum. *pateu* 1. « mélange finement haché de morceaux de viande ou d'abats, de gras, d'herbes, d'épices (charcuterie) » ; 2. « feuilleté à la viande, aux champignons… (pâtisserie) » < fr. *pâté*, roum. *piure* « purée de pomme de terre » < fr. *purée*, roum. *sirop* < fr. *sirop*, roum. *sos* < fr. *sauce*, roum. *sufleu* < fr. *soufflé*, roum. *tartină* < fr. *tartine*, roum. *vinegretă* < fr. *vinaigrette*…), la mode et les domaines connexes (roum. *acaju* < fr. *acajou*, roum. *bluză* < fr. *blouse*, roum. *broșă* < fr. *broche*, roum. *cochet* < fr. *coquet*, roum. *corset* < fr. *corset*, roum. *etichetă* < fr. *étiquette*, roum. *frez* « rouge moyen doux (couleur) » < fr. *fraise*, roum. *grena* « rouge violacé sombre (couleur) » < fr. (*rouge*) *grenat*, roum. *jachetă* « jaquette-blouson » < fr. *jaquette*, roum. *lila* « mauve rappelant la couleur des fleurs de la plante du même nom » < fr. *lilas*, roum. *manechin* < fr. *mannequin*, roum. *mov* (couleur) < fr. *mauve*, roum. *oranj* (couleur) < fr. *orange*, roum. *palton* < fr. *paletot*, roum. *redingotă* < fr. , roum. *siluetă* « allure générale d'une personne » < fr. *silhouette*…).

§ 5. 2. 1. La dérivation. Pour ce qui est de la dérivation, l'influence du français sur le roumain a eu trois conséquences majeures (Butiurcă 2005 : 209) : 1) l'abandon de certains suffixes anciens : a) *-nic* > Ø (*idealnic* > roum. *ideal* < fr. *idéale*, *moralnic* > roum. *moral* < fr. *moral(e) ;* b) *-esc* > Ø (roum. *românesc* > roum. *român* < fr. *roumain*, roum. *franțuzesc* > roum. *francez* < fr. *français*) ; 2) le remplacement de certains suffixes anciens par de suffixes français : *-icesc* > *-ic* (roum. *filosoficesc* > roum. *filosofic* < fr. *philosophique*, *politicesc* > roum. *politic politique* ; 3) des calques partiels à l'aide des préfixes empruntés au français (Tărâță 2012 : 5).

§ 5. 2. 2. Le calque. L'intérêt pour le calque (total ou partiel) comme moyen d'enrichissement de la langue, c'est à dire moyen efficace pour remplir des trous lexicaux ou tout simplement pour diversifier le vocabulaire, est apparu au cours du XIXe siècle, suite à la nécessité de créer une terminologie (scientifique, philosophique, grammaticale…) autochtone appropriée et en concordance avec la terminologie européenne. C'est ainsi que le nombre des calques lexicaux et phraséologiques du français est particulièrement élevé en roumain, le *néologisme de sens* étant la principale forme d'emprunt jusqu'à la moitié du XIXe siècle (Ursu 1962 : 117-118n ; Blochwitz 1970 : 905 ; Sferle 2009 : 33-49). Si la plupart des unités phraséologiques de cette période sont calquées sur le français (Hristea 1975 :

499-505 ; Hristea 1984 : 100-161), il ne faut pas perdre de vue toutefois que d'autres sources concurrençaient souvent la langue de Voltaire (spécialement le latin).

Le roumain a calqué du français soit des préfixes ou des préfixoïdes, soit des racines, soit les deux à la fois, soit, enfin, le sens. Toute la typologie du calque peut être illustrée avec des unités lexicales / terminologiques et sémantiques roumaines de provenance française (Avram 1958 : 315-332 ; Hristea 1997 : 10-29 ; Butiurcă 2005 : 209-211 ; Stoichiţoiu Ichim).

1) calques lexicaux intégraux, mono-lexicaux et phraséologiques : roum. (a) *da un ceai* < fr. *donner un thé*, *a fi în legitimă apărare* < fr. *être en légitime défense*, roum. *a fi în posesia* < fr. *être en possession*, roum. *a intra în vigoare* < fr. *entrer en vigueur*, roum. *a pleda cauza cuiva* < fr. *plaider sa cause*, roum. *Adunare constituantă* < fr. *Assemblé constituante*, roum. *câine-lup* < fr. *chien-loup*, roum. *Camera de comerț* < fr. *Chambre de commerce*, roum. *ceai dansant* < fr. *thé dansant*, roum. *ceas-brăţară* < fr. *montre-bracelet*, roum. *conform normelor în vigoare* < fr. *conformément aux normes en vigueur*, roum. *Consiliu de Stat* < fr. *Conseil d'État*, roum. *covor roşu* < fr. *tapis rouge*, roum. *cu titlu de împrumut* < fr. *à titre de prêt*, roum. *cutie neagră* < fr. *boîte noire*, roum. *energie verde* < fr. *énergie verte*, roum. *gaură neagră* < fr. *trou noir*, roum. (a) *întreprinde* < fr. *entreprendre*, roum. *nou-născut* < fr. *nouveau-né*, roum. *piaţă neagră* < fr. *marché noir*, roum. *proces de intenție* < fr. *procès d'intention*, roum. *proiect de lege* < fr. *projet de loi*, roum. *sânge albastru* < fr. *sang bleu*, roum. *umor negru* < fr. *humour noir*, roum. *undă verde* < fr. *onde verte*… ;

2) calques de structure morphématiques, complets, partiels (surtout), phraséologiques : roum. (a) *menţine* < fr. *maintenir*, roum. (a se) *complace* < fr. (se) *complaire*), roum. (a) *conlocui* < fr. *cohabiter*, roum. (a) *consimţi* < fr. *consentir*, roum. (a) *contraface* < fr. *contrefaire*, roum. (a) *contrazice* < fr. *contredire*), roum. (a) *deduce* < fr. *déduire*, roum. (a) *descrie* < fr. *décrire,* roum. (a) face anticameră < fr. *faire antichambre*, roum. (a) *impune* < fr. *imposer,* roum. (a) *insufla* < fr. *inspirer*, roum. (a) *interzice* < fr. *interdire*, roum. (a) *întredeschide* < fr. *entrouvrir*, roum. (a) *întreţine* < fr. *entretenir*, roum. (a) *întrevedea* / (a) *întrezări* < fr. *entrevoir*), roum. (a) *prestabili* < fr. *préétablir*, roum. (a) *prevedea* < fr. *prévoir*, roum. (a) *preveni* < fr. *prévenir,* roum. (a) *propune* < fr. *proposer*, roum. (a) *surprinde* < fr. *surprendre*, roum. *demers* < fr. *démarche*, roum. *extraparlamentar* < fr. *extraparlamentaire*, roum. *turn de fildeş* < fr. *tour d'ivoire* ;

3) calques lexicaux de structure sémantiques : *nebun* « pièce aux échecs » < fr. *fou*, *rădăcină* (a unui cuvânt) < fr. *racine* (d'un mot) – *rădăcină* (a unei ecuaţii) < fr. *racine* (d'une équation) ;

4) calques mixtes (lexico-grammaticaux)[99] : *direct* (< fr. *direct*) → un sextet étymologique combiné (hérité / obtenu par voie interne / emprunté / calqué) : *drept*,

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[99] Création de nouveaux mots par transfert entre différentes parties du discours et par transfert de catégorie grammaticale sous l'influence d'une autre langue ayant pour résultat une spécialisation sémantique des unités.

-ă, adj. (< lat. *directus*) ; *drept*, adv. , prép. (par conversion depuis l'adj.) ; *drept*, *-uri*, nom neutre (< fr. *droit*, s. m. < lat. *directum*, nom post-adjectival) ; *drept(ul)*, nom neutre (*singulare tantum*) (< fr. *droit* < lat. *directum* « ce qui est droit ») ; *dreapta*, nom fém. + art. (< fr. *droite*, contr. *gauche*) (Moroianu 2003).

En outre, le calque : 1) a conduit à l'apparition de doublets lexicaux étymologiques ± différences de sens (Hristea 1960 : 249-250 ; Ciompec 1962 : 139) : *angular* (< fr. *angulaire*) vs. *unghiular* (< *unghi*, selon fr. *angulaire*) ; *diriginte* « maître d'études / de classe ; chef d'un bureau (de poste, de douane), d'un chantier » vs. *dirigent* « director » < fr. *dirigeant ; dependinţă* « dépendances, attenances, annexes » vs. *dependenţă* « dépendance » < fr. *dépendance* et 2) a contribué à l'extension de quelques familles lexicales en roumain (la famille du mot *carte* 1. « livre », 2. « lettre, épitre » s'est enrichie avec les significations suivantes : *carte de joc* « carte de jeu », *carte de vizită* « carte de visite », *carte poştală* « carte postale » ; *curte* 1. « cour, patio », 2. « entourage d'un souverain et lieu où vit le roi » : (a) *face curte* (cuiva) « faire la cour (à quelqu'un) » et *Curtea de Casaţie* « Cour de cassation »).

§ 5. 3. Changements sémantiques. Quant aux valeurs sémantiques, les emprunts au français n'ont pas eu une destinée homogène (Iliescu 2003-2004 : 277-280 ; Stoichiţoiu Ichim).

1) Certes, il y a un bon nombre de mots qui se sont transmis du français au roumain tels quels, surtout les unités terminologiques scientifiques et techniques : roum. *dol* « faute faite intentionnellement (droit) » < fr. *dol*, roum. *galactic* < fr. *galactique*, roum. *imparisilabic* < fr. *imparisyllabique*, roum. *impunitate* < fr. *impunité*, roum. *judiciar* < fr. *judiciare*, roum. *juxtapoziţie* < fr. *juxtaposition*, roum. *kaki* < fr. *kaki*, roum. *paleografie* < fr. *paléographie*, roum. *peisaj* < fr. *paysage*, roum. *postverbal* < fr. *postverbal*, roum. *procuror* < fr. *procureur*, roum. (a) *recolta* < fr. *récolter*, roum. *roz* (couleur) < fr. *rose*, roum. *spectrograf* < fr. *spectrographe*.

Mais il y en a d'autres où on peut constater :

2) des extensions sémantiques en roumain (sens inexistants dans le français actuel) : fr. *chouette*[100] → roum. *şuetă* « causette, petite causerie, conversation familière sans grande importance entre proches » ; fr. *magnétiser* 1. « donner à un matériau les propriétés de l'aimant», 2. « attirer, subjuguer » → roum. (a se) *magnetiza* – même sens + « se griser, se saouler » ; fr. *modiste* « personne qui fabrique / qui vend des chapeaux / des accessoires de mode pour femmes » → roum. même sens + (roum. actuel) « créateur / styliste de mode, styliste haute couture » ; fr. *navette* 1. « instrument de tissage qui fait se croiser le fil de trame et le fil de chaîne », 2. « véhicule effectuant de courts trajets répétitifs », 3. « faire la navette – aller et venir d'un endroit à un autre » → roum. *navetă* – même sens + (roum. actuel) « boîte / caisse (partitionnée) utilisée pour le transport de denrées

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[100] De l'expression *faire la chouette* « être en communication avec quelqu'un » (*Ma correspondance est très active, **je fais la chouette** à trois personnes*) < fr. *jeu de (la) chouette / cul de (la) chouette* (jeu de dés populaire au XVIIIᵉ siècle).

alimentaires » ; fr. *porte-bagages* « dispositif / accessoire pour ranger les bagages dans / sur un véhicule » → roum. *portbagaj* « coffre – espace d'une voiture où l'on range les bagages » ;

3) des mutations (déformations / altérations) sémantiques nuancées : fr. *casserole* > roum. *caserolă* « barquette », fr. *bleu* > roum. *bleu* « bleu clair » ;

4) des affaiblissements / restrictions sémantiques : roum. *acaju*, *frez*, *grena*, *lila*, *mov*, *oranj* désignent seulement des noms de couleurs et non pas des noms d'objets, comme leurs étymons français : *acajou* (lat. *Swietenia* et *Cedrela odorata*), *fraise* (lat. *Fragaria*), *grenat* (lat. *pyrope-almandin*), *lilas* (lat. *Syringa vulgaris*), *mauve* (lat. *Malva sylvestris*), *orange* (lat. *Citrus sinensis*) ;

5) d'importantes pertes de sens, généralement causées par le fait que les notions / les réalités désignées par ces mots étaient déjà caduques en français au moment où les deux langues sont entrées en contact : fr. *charlotte* 1. « entremets composés de fruits ou de crème et de biscuits » (et, par extension : « charlotte de veau / aux légumes / aux champignons »), 2. « ancienne coiffure de femme (populaire au XVIIᵉ et au XVIIIᵉ siècle) » → roum. actuel – seulement « entremets » (premier sens) ; fr. *décolleté* « qui est échancré et laisse apparaître les épaules, le cou et la naissance de la poitrine » → roum. *decolteu* – même sens + « frivole, léger, futile » ;

6) d'importantes pertes de sens et des extensions sémantiques : fr. *batterie* (< *battre*) « ensemble d'éléments associés et ayant la même fonction » : 1. « batterie d'accumulateurs », 2. « batterie thermique (batterie chaude, batterie froide) », 3. « instrument de percussion, ou groupe constitué de plusieurs musiciens jouant de ces instruments », 4. « œuvre musicale exécutée par les tambours pour accompagner la marche militaire », 5. « ensemble, groupe musical constitué de plusieurs musiciens jouant d'instrument de percussions », 6. « croisement ou choc des jambes pendant le temps de suspension d'un saut (en danse classique) », 7. « élevage en batterie – méthode intensif d'exploitation et d'élevage d'animaux pour la consommation humaine », 8. « groupe de pièces d'artillerie (armement) », 9. « batterie de cuisine – ensemble d'ustensiles de cuisine », 10. « batterie de boîtes aux lettres – ensemble de boîtes aux lettres dans les immeubles » → roum. *baterie* 1. « unité d'artillerie comprenant des canons, des moyens de traction, l'équipement et le personnel afférents », 2. « groupe d'appareils, de dispositifs ou de pièces identiques associés pour un but commun (*batterie d'accumulateurs*) », 3. « ensemble d'instruments de percussion » + 4. « seau à vin / seau à Champagne ».

§ 5. 4. Changements morphosyntaxiques. En général, les tentatives d'imposer certaines normes du français dans la morphologie et dans la syntaxe ont été vouées à l'échec (Alistar 1973 : 25).

Paradoxalement, la différenciation de la langue populaire à travers les styles fonctionnels forgés sur le modèle du français a été accompagnée par la redécouverte de certaines structures analytiques, spécifiques au langage populaire et que la langue littéraire avait rejeté en faveur de leurs équivalents synthétiques : 1) le génitif avec la préposition *de ;* 2) le datif avec la préposition *la ;* 3) la ressuscitation de l'infinitif,

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amoindri (voire disparu) sous l'influence des langues balkaniques voisines ; 4) la suppression du complément pronom personnel pléonastique ; 5) la suppression de la préposition avant le relatif *care* dans les phrases attributives.

§ 5. 4. 1. Le nom. Au regard du genre des noms, on constate que les féminins du français ont été absorbés par la classe des noms neutres en roumain : fr. *élément* > roum. *element*, fr. *incendie* > roum. *incendiu*, fr. *personnage* > roum. *personaj*, fr. *prélude* > roum. *preludiu* (Butiurcă 2005 : 209 ; Butiurcă 2007 : 129).

§ 5. 4. 2. Le verbe. La flexion verbale a subi des modifications majeures à cause de la concurrence entre l'étymon latin et celui français : roum. (a) *dirige* / (a) *dirija* (fr. *diriger*), roum. (a) *protege* / (a) *proteja* (fr. *protéger*), (a) *corecta* / (a) *corija* (fr. *corriger*) (*ibidem*).

Entre 1840-1860, quelques verbes néologiques entrés en roumain du français ont été encadrés à la Ière conjugaison, tout comme en français : (a) *contribua* < fr. *contribuer*. roum. (a) *dispoza* < fr. *disposer*. La forme actuelle s'est imposée sous l'influence du modèle latin : roum. (a) *contribui* < lat. *contribuere* ; roum. (a) *distribui* < lat. *distribuere*.

Certains verbes français ont eu des difficultés à s'intégrer à la Ière conjugaison parce que le roumain dispose de deux catégories de paradigmes à cette conjugaison : 1) sans suffixe flexionnel : (a) *aduna* (1. « ramasser » ; 2. « additionner ») – (eu) *adunø* et 2) avec suffixe flexionnel : (a) *lucra* « travailler » – (eu) *lucr**e**z*.

Les verbes de la IIe (*réussir*) et de la IIIe (*appartenir*) conjugaison terminés en *-ir* ont trouvé place en roumain : 1) soit à la IVe conjugaison : (a) *reuşi* (« réussir ») – avec le suffixe *-esc*, par analogie avec (eu) *privesc* ((a) *privi* « regarder » < sl. *praviti*), (eu) *folosesc* ((a) *folosi* « utiliser » < *folos* < ngr. *ofelos*), 2) soit à la IIIe conjugaison : (a) *aparţine* (« appartenir »).

§ 5. 4. 3. Changements syntaxiques. L'un des plus importants progrès de la langue littéraire moderne sous l'influence du français consiste dans l'abandon de la phrase mimant (reproduisant) l'architecture phrastique latine ou orientale, une phrase d'une longueur à ne plus maîtriser et comblée de tournures sophistiquées et d'inversions déroutantes.

Le contraste entre les deux types de syntaxe est bien évident chez nos premiers traducteurs de la littérature française. Rationnels et clairs lorsqu'ils rendaient ces textes en roumain, ils s'égaraient et sombraient dans la confusion la plus totale dès qu'ils essaient de coucher sur le papier leurs propres idées et sentiments (Eliade 1982 : 289). Mais, peu à peu, ils ont renoncé aux longues périodes circulaires avec le verbe en dernière position (comme en latin), sur le modèle des documents anciens, rarement et occasionnellement segmentées par la ponctuation (à une distance de dix à quinze lignes), où il fallait ignorer les trois quarts du texte pour en parvenir aux significations vraiment bien dissimulées (Eliade 1982 : 343-345). À part cela, c'est juste l'exercice de traduire mot à mot des textes français, à l'aube de cette activité (XIXe siècle) qui a conduit à la suppression progressive d'un tas d'ornements stylistiques superflus.

Bref, c'est comme ça que la phrase roumaine littéraire moderne est devenue plus courte et plus rythmée, plus harmonieuse et plus nuancée, mieux organisée et mieux munie d'instruments grammaticaux spécialisés pour exprimer la coordination et notamment la subordination (Iordan 1970 : 72 ; Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 298-415). Donc plus adéquate à exprimer adroitement, clairement et subtilement les structures logiques de la pensée (Mancaş 1974 : 45).

§ 6. Les premières grammaires et les premiers dictionnaires en français. À la fin du XVIIIe et au début du XIXe siècle, on a fait traduire du français au grec[101] des manuels (d'histoire, de philosophie, de mathématique…) et, un peu plus tard, on a commencé à traduire du français au roumain ou à rédiger des outils originaux d'apprentissage de la langue française (Rosetti – Cazacu – Onu 1971 : 61-77 ; Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 18 ; Istoria 2002 : 436-437 ; Butiurcă 2005 : 206 ; Marinescu 2005 : 42 ; Nemeş 2010 : 1 ; Păuş 2010 : 140, 145) ; Mitrofan – Fuior 2012 : 70 ; Lungu Badea 2013 : 89-98) : 1) glossaires / dictionnaires[102] (Jean-Alexandre Vaillant[103], *Vocabular purtăreţ rumânescu-franţozesc şi franţozescu-rumânesc urmat de un mic vocabular de Omonime*[104] ; Petrache Poenaru[105], Florian Aaron[106] et Georg Hill[107], *Vocabular franţezo-românesc după cea din urmă ediţie a dicţionarului de Academia Franţozească, cu adăogare de multe ziceri, culese din deosebite dicţionare*[108] ; Theodor Codrescu[109], *Dicţionariu franceso-românu*[110] ;

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[101] Que de nombreux Roumains aisés comprenaient et maitrisaient mieux que la langue française.

[102] Ouvrage précurseur : C. et Ilie Kogălniceanu (manuscrit attribué à ~), *Dicţionar francez-român*, 1797 (les mots / les expressions en roumain sont parfois remplacés par des mots / des expressions en grec) (Seche 1966 : 21).

[103] Jean Alexandre Vaillant (1804-1886), enseignant (tuteur, puis enseignant au Collège « Saint-Sava » de Bucarest), historien et linguiste franco-roumain, nationaliste romantique et partisan la Révolution roumaine de 1848.

[104] Bucureşti : În Tipografia Friderh Valbaum, 1839.

[105] Petrache Poenaru (1799-1875), auditeur étranger à l'École polytechnique (France), secrétaire particulier du héros révolutionnaire roumain Tudor Vladimirescu, pédagogue et organisateur de l'enseignement roumain (fondateur de l'École centrale de Craiova), ingénieur et inventeur (du stylo à plume), mathématicien, membre de l'Académie Roumaine.

[106] Florian Aaron (1805-1887), historien, écrivain, pédagogue (professeur à l'École centrale de Craiova, à l'école de Goleşti, au Collège « Saint-Sava » de Bucarest, à l'Université de Bucarest ; professeur de Nicolae Bălcescu, personnalité de la Révolution roumaine de 1848), ardent propagateur des idées de l'École latiniste transylvaine en Valachie.

[107] Professeur au Collège « Saint-Sava » de Bucarest, Georg Hill a fondé avec Florian Aaron le premier quotidien de Valachie (*România* ; 1837-1838).

[108] Tome I-II, Bucureşti : Tip. Colegiului Sf. Sava, 1840-1841 (le dictionnaire enregistre beaucoup de barbarismes, des mots qui n'existent pas en roumain).

[109] Theodor Codrescu (1819-1894), éditeur, rédacteur, typographe, traducteur, écrivain, pédagogue, partisan de l'Union des Principautés roumaines, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine.

[110] Vol. I-II, Iaşi : Tipografia Buciumului Românu, 1859 (une version du *Dictionnaire* de P. Poenaru, Fl. Aaron et G. Hill, complété par du latin).

Nifon Bălăşescu[111], *Dictiunariu romāno-francesu* şi *Dictionnaire francais-roumain*[112] ; Raoul de Pontbriant[113], *Dictiunaru romāno-francesu*[114] ; Domiţian Pisone, *Dictionariu romanescu, latinescu, germanescu şi francescu lucrutu după sistemulu Lexiconului de la Buda cu mai multe adaugeri şi modificaţiuni*[115] ; Josaphat Snagovano[116], *Vocabulaire de quelques mots latins expliqués en roumain et en français*[117] ; Ion Costinescu[118], *Vocabularu romāno-francesu. Lucratu dupe dicţionarulu Academiei francese dupe alu lui Napoleone Landais şi alte Dicţionare latine, italiane, etc.*[119] ; G. M. Antonescu, *Dictionariu Romāno Francesu*[120] ; Fréderic Damé[121], *Nouveau dictionnaire roumain-français*[122]…) ; 2) grammaires[123] et guides d'orthographe (Grigore Pleşoianu, *Limba franţuzească şi ortografia ei sau Gramatica franţuzească foarte înlesnitoare[124]* ; Ghermano Vida[125], *Gramatică practică romano-franţozească*[126] ; Costache Aristia, *Prescurtare de grămatică*

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[111] Nifon Bălăşescu (de son vrai nom Nicolae Bălăşescu, alias Nicolae Bălăşcu, 1806-1880), professeur et organisateur de l'enseignement roumain (premier directeur du Séminaire orthodoxe de Bucarest), participant actif et éminent à la Révolution roumaine de 1848 (en Transylvanie).

[112] Tome I-II, Bucarest, 1859 (seulement les lettres *a* et *b* ; avec beaucoup de mots inexistants en roumain).

[113] Raoul de Pontbriant (1811-1891), romaniste, traducteur et lexicographe franco-roumain.

[114] Bukarest – Paris – Leipzig – Göttingen, 1862… (un dictionnaire roumain-français étymologique – pour les mots roumains).

[115] Bucureşti : Tipografia Weiss Ioanne, 1865.

[116] Ioasaf Snagoveanu (alias Ion Vărbileanu ; 1797-1872), hiérarque (archimandrite), prêtre à l'Église du Collège « Saint-Sava » (1834-1842), participant à la Révolution de 1848, fondateur de la Chapelle roumaine à Paris.

[117] Paris : Editura Barouse, 1867.

[118] Ion Costinescu (1810-1893), auteur du premier ouvrage cinégetique et du premier dictionnaire explicatif général en roumain.

[119] Bucureşti : Tipografia Naţională Antreprenor C. N. Răsulescu, 1870.

[120] Bucureşti : Tipografia Uvrierii Asociaţi din Bucureşti, 1872.

[121] Frédéric Damé (1849-1907), journaliste, historien, philologue et traducteur français établi en Roumanie. Collaborateur d'Ulysse de Marsillac (1821-1877). En 1873, il fonde le premier journal en langue française à Bucarest (*La Roumanie*). Bon connaisseur de la langue roumaine, il a été professeur de français au Collège « Saint-Sava » et (co-)fondateur de plusieurs publications en roumain et en français (*Naţiunea română*, *L'Independence Roumaine*, *Cimpoiul*, *l'Étoile roumaine*, *La Roumanie contemporaine*, *La Politique*).

[122] Tome I-IV, Bucureşti : Imprimerie de l'État, 1893-1895.

[123] Précurseurs : En 1785, l'hospodar Nicolas Caradja (roum. Nicolae Caragea) a écrit en grec une grammaire de la langue française (imprimé en 1806) ; en 1786, Gheorghe Vendoti a écrit une autre grammaire française.

[124] 1830.

[125] Ghermano Vida (cu numele laic Gheorghe Vida ; ?-1853), archimandrite de Transylvanie, adepte des idées de l'École latiniste de Transylvanie, professeur, entre autres, de Vasile Alecsandri et de Mihail Kogălniceanu et de Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

[126] Gramatica Romano-Galica. In Buda, Cu tiparul Crăeştii Universităţi, 1833.

franţozească[127] ; Theodor Codrescu, *Noua Gramatică franceză a lui Noel şi Chapsal*[128] ; Grigori Mălinescu, *Ortograful Francez. Metodă comparativă*[129] ; A. Wagner, *Gramatica teoretică şi practică a Limbei francese*[130]…) ; 3) abécédaires (Grigore Pleşoianu[131] et Stanciu Căpăţâneanu[132], *Abeţedar franţezo-rômânesc pentru tineri începători*[133] ; Costache Aristia[134], *Abecedar franţozesc*[135] ; Grigorie Mihăescu[136], *Carte metodică pentru a învăţa limba franceză*[137] et *Abecedaru franţezo-românescu pentru junimea Română*[138] ; Costache Aristia, *Abecedariu francezo-român*[139] ; Ieronim Al. Abbeatici, *Abecedar francezo-român*[140] ; Vasile Ursescu, *Abecedariu francezo-rômânu*[141] ; J. Maurer, *Carte de citire şi de traducere franceză, însoţită de un vocabular care conţine toate vorbele întrebuinţate într'ensa şi precedată de un abecedar frances*[142]…) ; 4) recueils de dialogues (Grigore Pleşoianu, *Dialoguri francezo-române*[143] ; Theodor Codrescu, *Dialoguri fraţezo-române pentru învăţătura tinerimei*[144] et *Dialoguri Franceso-Românesci pentru Tinerime, Precedate de un Abecedaru, de un Vocabularu, şi urmate de Anecdote, de quâteva traducţii din literatura Românească şi de proverburi*[145] ; Vasile Ursescu, *Dialoguri francezo-române*[146]…) ; 5) cours / méthodes d'apprentissage (K. K.

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[127] D'après François Noël et Charles-Pierre Chapsal. Bucureşti, Tip. Lui Eliad, 1835 (le texte roumain aux caractères cyrilliques).

[128] Iaşi : Inst. Albinei, 1843 (avec alphabet de transition ; une traduction d'après la *Nouvelle grammaire française sur un plan très méthodique* de Jean-François-Michel Noël).

[129] Iaşi : Tip. Balassan, 1878.

[130] Fălticeni : Tip. « Junimea", M. Seidman & Co. , 1879.

[131] Grigore Pleşoianu (1808-1857), professeur, traducteur, publiciste. Avec Stanciu Căpăţâneanu, il a fondé l l'École centrale de Craiova.

[132] Stanciu Căpăţineanu (ca 1800-1848), professeur, promoteur de l'éducation roumaine, traducteur, magistrat. Avec Grigore Pleşoianu, il a fondé l'École centrale de Craiova

[133] Craiova, 1828.

[134] Costache Aristia (alias Constantin Aristia ; 1800-1880), acteur (disciple de François-Joseph Talma), organisateur du mouvement théâtral (co-fondateur du Théâtre national de Bucarest), écrivain et homme politique roumain d'origine grecque, participant à la Révolution Tudor Vladimirescu (1821) et à la Révolution de 1848.

[135] Bucureşti : Tipografia Colegiului Sf. Sava, 1839.

[136] Grigorie Mihăescu (1812-1860), professeur à l'École centrale de Craiova, et maire de cette ville, participant actif à la Révolution de 1848.

[137] Craiova, 1844.

[138] Craiova : Tipografia lui Iosif şi Iancu Moisi, 1851 (avec alphabet de transition).

[139] Bucureşti : Tipografia I. Eliade, 1848.

[140] Bucureşti, 1855.

[141] Bucureşti : Editori D. D. Russu şi Petriu la Vulturu Negru, Imprimeria Nifon Mitropolitulu, 1856.

[142] Ploeşti, Editura Librarei G. Cârjan, 1886.

[143] Craiova, 1830.

[144] Iaşi : La Inst. Albinei, 1842. (cu alfabet de tranziţie).

[145] Ediţia a doua, Iaşi : Editor G. Caliman (Institutul Albinei Românesci), 1846.

[146] Bucureşti, În tip. lui Iosef Copainig, 1850.

Aristia, *Elemente de Limba Franceză*[147] ; I. Stahl, *Metodă practică pentru învăţarea lesnitoare a Limbei Francese*[148] ; Honoriu Wartha[149], *Methoda practică spre a înveţa cu înlesnire Limba Francesă*[150] ; Henri Léon Godefroy Lolliot, (1857-1925), *O nouă metodă pentru a ănveţa limba franceză, Bacalaureat în Litere şi Sciinţe*[151] et *Limba franceză fără profesor. Metodă pentru a înveţa singur a scrie şi a vorbi franţuzeşte*[152] ; Charles Marmotte, *Scii franţuzesce ? sau Metodulu nou pentru a învăţa franţuzesce fără cea mai mică dificultate în șase septemâni*[153] ; Arséniu Vlaicu, *Curs complet de limba francesă. Metoda I. Fetter*[154]…) ; 6) encyclopédies, recueils d'exercices (Ieronim Al. Abbeatici, *Exerciţii genereale elementare francezo-române*[155] ; Gheorghe Asachi[156], *Encyclopédie primaire à l'usage de la jeunesse moldovalaque qui étudie la langue française. Enţiclopedie începătoare pentru tinerimea românească care invaţă limba franţeză*[157])…

§ 7. **Les filières de la francisation.** D'une manière tres schèmatique, on peut constater que la francisation du roumain s'est produite par trois voies principales : 1) par filière hongroise et allemande, en Transylvanie, 2) par filière grecque, en Moldo-Valachie et 3) par filière russe toujours en Moldo-Valachie.

§ 7. 1. **La francisation à travers la filière hongroise et allemande (en Transylvanie).** D'ordre historique et culturel, la (ré)-romanisation transylvaine a suivi une voie complètement différente de celle des Principautés danubiennes. Autonome, mais vassale de l'Empire d'Autriche dès la fin du XVIIe siècle[158], la Principauté de Transylvanie a parcoru ce processus « du bas vers le haut », c'est à dire depuis la classe rurale moyenne (prêtres, maîtres d'école des villages) envers la haute société. Ce rapprochement de la culture de l'ouest et du centre de l'Europe a été plus long et s'est déroulé « du haut vers le bas » en Moldo-Valachie, depuis l'aristocratie (hospodars, boyards) envers le bas peuple sans y pénétrer profondément.

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[147] Bucureşti : Tipografia Colegiului Sf. Sava, 1843.

[148] (tradusa și prelucrata după D. F. Ahn). Bucureşti : Tipografia lui Ferdinand Om, 1855.

[149] Honoriu Wartha (1839-1894, librar.

[150] (după Dr. F. Ahn, de). Cursul al doilea. Bucureşti : Librariu-Editore Honoriu C. Wartha, 1866.

[151] Bucureşti : Edit. Tip. Curţii Regale, F. Göbl Fii, 1886.

[152] Bucureşti : Tip. N. Georgescu, 1888.

[153] Craiova : Librar Editore și Tipograf Filip Lazar, 1887.

[154] Braşov : Editura Librăriei H. Zeidner, 1899.

[155] Bucureşti, 1853 (en roumain avec alphabet cyrillique).

[156] Gheorghe Asachi (1788-1869), poète, romancier, dramaturge, journaliste, pédagogue, traducteur, érudit et polyglotte, guide et animateur de la vie artistique et culturelle (organisateur des premières représentations théâtrales en langue roumaine en Moldavie), organisateur des écoles en Moldavie (créateur l'Academie Mihăileană à Jassy).

[157] Iaşi : Inst. Albinei, 1839.

[158] Après avoir fait partie de Dacia, de l'Empire romain, du Royaume de Hongrie.

C'est dans la langue et la culture latine que les érudits de l'École latiniste de Transylvanie[159] trouvèrent les moyens et les arguments les plus forts dans la frénésie collective de ré-ancrage de l'espace roumain à la famille des peuples latins et à la modernité européenne au moment du réveil du sentiment d'unité et de continuité latine[160] dans cette province du centre-ouest de la Roumanie actuelle[161]. Forcés de réfuter le statut de « tolérés » des Roumains transylvains[162], les représentants de l'École latiniste ont soutenu par des arguments étymologiques, orthographiques et grammaticaux la thèse de l'origine latine de la langue roumaine. Ce fut donc l'idéologie latiniste, promue dans une première étape par les représentants de ladite École latiniste transylvaine (Gheorghe Șincai[163], Samuil Micu Klein[164], Petru Maior[165], Ion Budai-Deleanu[166], etc.) qui trônait aux fondements de cette modernisation.

Formés dans des écoles de renom de l'Europe occidentale, où ils ont appris le latin et ont eu accès à des documents relatifs à la romanisation de la Dacie[167], les savants transylvains se sont rendus compte que le grand nombre de mots d'origine slave, grecque, turque ou hongroise de la langue roumaine ne correspondaient point au caractère latin de cette langue.

Mais, à part la mise en valeur du patrimoine lexical d'origine latine, l'idéologie latiniste a stimulé aussi l'orientation de la culture roumaine vers les langues occidentales romanes (français, italien), considérées de vrais modèles à imiter par toutes les autres langues européennes. Concrètement, la spiritualité française s'y est insinuée par l'entremise (Radu 1982 : 35-62) : 1) de la filière hongroise (surtout dans les écoles dirigées par des clercs piaristes (frères des écoles

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[159] La filière allemande de provenance catholique de l'Empire austro-hongrois ne peut pas être négligée elle non plus, celle-ci se reflétant, entre autres, dans l'aspect de certains néologismes transylvains. Contrairement aux autres pays européens, la Hongrie (y compris la Transylvanie) a été exceptionnellement conservatrice quant au maintien du latin, ce qui a pu donner aux intellectuels transylvains l'impression que cette langue continuait à remplir le rôle d'une langue universelle (Réau 1938 : 13-14).

[160] Processus qui avait débuté après 1780.

[161] Qui était habitée majoritairement par des Roumains.

[162] Par rapport aux Hongrois et aux Allemands, catholiques, uniates, calvinistes, luthériens.

[163] Gheorghe Șincai (1754-1816), historien, philologue, traducteur et poète roumain des Lumières.

[164] Samuil Micu Klein (de son nom laïc Maniu Micu ; 1745-1806), théologien, historien, philologue, traducteur et philosophe roumain des Lumières.

[165] Petru Maior (ca 1756-1821), théologien, historien, philologue et écrivain roumain des Lumières.

[166] Ion Budai-Deleanu (1760 / 1763-1820), écrivain, philologue, linguiste, historien et juriste roumain des Lumières.

[167] Un territoire (dans l'Antiquité) de la région carpato-danubiano-pontique qui correspondrait approximativement à la Roumanie et à la République de Moldavie de nos jours, ainsi et qu'à des régions adjacentes.

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pies) du début du XIXe siècle) ; 2) de la filière allemande[168], comme forme d'expression élitiste en tant que langue officielle qui a remplacé le latin à partir de 1784.

Rappelons que Vienne, la capitale de l'Autriche-Hongrie, était bien francisée dès le XVIII[e][169]. Montesquieu avait constaté en 1728 que « Notre langue est si universelle, qu'elle y [à Vienne] est la seule chez les honnêtes gens, et l'italien y est presque inutile. » (*apud* Brunot 1967 : 776, *apud* Moldovanu-Cenuşă : 188).

Toutefois, les effets de la relatinisation du roumain sous l'influence du mouvement latiniste transylvain n'ont pas eu l'ampleur de la francisation des autres Principautés. Le latinisme avait fait preuve « d'une extraordinaire étroitesse d'horizon, de manque de perspective littéraire », parce que, étant seulement historiens et philologues, les latinistes sont restés insensibles face aux événements artistiques et n'ont pas été capables de toucher aux nombreux aspects de la vie quotidienne. Or, l'influence française s'est insinuée conjointement avec l'influence des mœurs françaises, avec le romantisme qui avait le don de séduire les âmes et qui s'est associé avec l'éveil national des Roumains (Densusianu 1977 : 348-349).

§ 7. 2. La francisation à travers la filière grecque (en Moldo-Valachie). L'affaiblissement du caractère oriental de la société et de la langue roumaine grâce au contact avec la langue et la littérature françaises a débuté pendant la seconde décennie du XVIIIe siècle, conjointement avec l'arrivée des princes phanariotes[170] en

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[168] Vienne, la capitale de l'Autriche-Hongrie, était bien francisée dès le XVIIIe. Montesquieu avait constaté en 1728 que « Notre langue est si universelle, qu'elle y [à Vienne] est la seule chez les honnêtes gens, et l'italien y est presque inutile. » (*apud* Brunot 1967 : 776, *apud* Moldovanu-Cenuşă : 188). L'impératrice Marie-Thérèse « La Grande » elle-même se montrait très intéressée de bien maîtriser la langue française et d'adopter les idées progressistes venues de l'ouest de l'Europe, quoi que les autorités autrichienne ne se soit ménagé en rien pour entraver leur propagation dans l'empire (Iorga 1924 : 23).

[169] L'impératrice Marie-Thérèse « La Grande » elle-même se montrait très intéressée de bien maîtriser la langue française et d'adopter les idées progressistes venues de l'ouest de l'Europe, quoi que les autorités autrichienne ne se ménageaient en rien pour entraver leur propagation dans l'empire (Iorga 1924 : 23).

[170] Les *Ghica* : Gheorghe Ier (Ghika ; 1600-1664 ; caïmacan en Moldavie – 1711 et Hospodar de Valachie – 1659-1660 ; Grigore Ier (Ghica ou Ghika II ; 1628-1674 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1660-1664, 1672-1674) ; Grigore II (alias Grigorie Ghica III, Grégoire Ghyka ; 1695-1752 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1726-1733, 1735-1739, 1739-1741, 1741-1748 et de Valachie – 1733-1735, 1748-1752) ; Scarlat (alias Skarlat Ghyka ; 1715-1766 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1757-1758 et de Valachie – 1758-1761, 1765-1766) ; Grigore III (alias Grigorie Alexandru Ghica VI, Grégoire Alexandre Ghyka ; 1724-1777 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1764-1767, 1774-1777 et de Valachie – 1768-1769) ; Mathieu (roum. Matei Ghica ; 1728-1756 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1752-1753 et de Moldavie – 1753-1756) ; Alexandre Ier (alias Alexandru Ghika VII ; hospodar de Valachie – 1766-1768) ; les *Kallimachis* : Alexandre (gr. Alexandros Kallimahis, roum. Alexandru Calimachi ; 1737-1821 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1795-1799) ; Scarlat (gr. Skarlatos Kallimahis, roum. Scarlat Calimachi ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1806-1819 et titulaire *de jure* du trône de Valachie – 1821) ; les *Mavrocordato* : Nicolas (gr. Nikólaos Mavrocordatos, roum. Nicolae Mavrocordat ; 1680-1730 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1709-1710, 1711-1715 et de Valachie – 1715-1716, 1719-1730) ; Jean Ier (gr.

Valachie et en Moldavie (Rosetti – Cazacu – Onu 1971 : 61-77), le règne phanariote ayant une contribution décisive à la dé-orientalisation de ces provinces (Călinescu 1982 : 61).

Pour devenir prince régnant (voïvode, hospodar), dans ces pays, vassaux de l'Empire ottoman et touchés par une crise politico-financière chronicisée et causée par une monarchie élective tout à fait désastreuse, il fallait être élu par l'Assemblée des boyards et entériné par le Sultan, suzerain des Principautés. Aussitôt après avoir monnayé cher leur accord, les voïvodes devaient payer gros à la Sublime Porte pour être maintenus au trône. À cela s'ajoutaient les autres contributions, de plus en plus importantes, qu'il fallait verser aux Ottomans en signe de soumission ou d'allégeance, tels le tribut[171] et la dîme[172]. Afin de mieux parvenir au pillage des Principautés, la Sublime Porte y installa des princes phanariotes, des anciens drogmans[173], en leur majorité. Ces drogmans étaient dans les pays orientaux des

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Ioannis Mavrocordatos, rom. Ioan Mavrocordat ; 1684-1719 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1757-1758 et de Valachie – 1716-1719) ; Constantin (fr. , gr. Constantinos Mavrocordatos ; roum. Constantin Mavrocordat ; 1712-1769 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1735-1741, 1744-1748, 1756-1758, 1761-1763 et de Moldavie – 1733-1735, 1741-1743, 1748-1749, 1769) ; Alexandre Ier – le Bey Fou (gr. Alexandros Mavrokordatos, roum. Alexandru I Deliberiu < tc. Deli-bey « le Bey Fou » ; 1742-1812 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1782-1785) ; Alexandre II le Fugitif (gr. Alexandros Mavrokordatos to Firaris, roum. Alexandru Mavrocordat Fugitul ; 1754-1819 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1785-1786) ; les *Mourousi* : Constantin (gr. Konstantinos Mouroussis ; roum. Constantin Moruzzi ; 1730-1787 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1777-1782) ; Alexandre (gr. Alexandros Mourousis, roum. Alexandru Moruzi / Moruzzi ; 1750-1816 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1792-1793, 1802-1806, 1806-1807 et de Valachie – 1793-1796, 1799-1801) ; les *Racovitza* : Michel (roum. Mihai(l) Racoviță ; 1660-1744 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1703-1705, 1707-1709, 1716-1726 et de Valachie – 1730-1731, 1741-1744) ; Constantin (roum. Racoviță, allem. , pol. Rakowitza ; 1699-1764 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1749-1753, 1756-1757 et de Valachie – 1753-1756, 1763-1764) ; les *Ypsilantis* : Alexandre (1725-1807 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1774-1782, 1796-1797 et de Moldavie – 1786-1788) ; Constantin (roum. Constantin Ipsilanti ; 1760- 1816 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1799-1801 et de Valachie (1802-1806). Ainsi que : Nicolas Caradja (roum. Nicolae Caragea ; 1737-1784 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1782-1783) ; Constantin Hangerli (ou Hangherli, fr. Handjery ; ca 1760-1799 ; hospodar de Valachie – 1797-1799) ; Alexandre Soutzo (fr. Soutzos, Soutzou, gr. Alexandros Soutsos, roum. Alexandru Suțu ; 1758-182 ; hospodar de Moldavie – 1801-1802 et de Valachie – 1806, 1818-1821).

[171] *Tribut* (< lat. *tributum* « contribution »). Le tribut pouvait être constitué de biens de valeurs, de production agricole, ou de monnaies.

[172] Ou *dime* (< lat. *decima pars* « dixième partie »). La dîme est une contribution féodale annuelle et obligatoire qui représentait 10% des principaux produits (biens) extorqués par les membres des classes sociales féodales riches aux ceux qui en dépendaient.

[173] *Drogman* (< arab. *tourdjoumân*) ou *dragoman* (< it. *dragomanno*) « traducteur ». Descendants en partie de l'aristocratie et de la haute bourgeoisie byzantine, les dragomans siégeaient, après la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans (1453), dans le Phanar (< gr. *fanari* / *phanarion*, traduit en turc par *fener* « lanterne », puisque l'un des principaux monuments qui s'y trouvaient à l'époque byzantine était un grand sémaphore qui servait de moyen de communication à grande distance), un quartier historique de la vieille ville d'Istanbul. C'est donc du nom de ce quartier que dérive leur appellation.

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interprètes au service des Européens chargés des relations avec le Moyen-Orient et fonctionnaires au service de l'administration ottomane. La caste élitiste et assez restreinte des drogmans assumait donc la tâche d'interprètes, mais parfois également celle de chargés de mission, de négociateurs et d'intermédiaires.

C'est à cause du Coran qui interdirait aux musulmans, dit-on, que les gérants des Principautés pour le compte de la Sublime Porte sur le plan politique, administratif et financier furent choisis parmi les Phanariotes. Argument insoutenable toutefois, car aucune sourate ne formule une pareille interdiction. Il s'agirait plutôt d'une longue tradition[174] combinée à une commodité typiquement « orientale » dans le sens que les Turcs riches préféraient faire payer des professionnels de la traduction plutôt que d'accomplir eux-mêmes ces tâches. Certes, les drogmans étaient, par la force des choses, des petits despotes dans un monde assez barbare et très traditionnaliste. Mais, paradoxalement, même si le régime phanariote a été une période ténébreuse pour la population autochtone à cause de la fiscalité excessive pratiquée au profit des Turcs, cette étape marqua le début de l'européanisation des classes supérieures roumaines. Quoique ce procès ait été initialement assez superficiel. Malgré le caractère discontinu du régime[175], les Phanariotes sont devenu les intermédiaires de la culture moderne, plus exactement de la culture des Lumières françaises. Afin de faire lever la culture de la Grèce au niveau de celle ouest-européenne et… au préjudice des Turcs, ils se donnèrent pour but exclusif de s'approcher de l'Occident. Et agissant toujours au nom du patriotisme grec, ils ne se ménagèrent en rien pour saboter ceux aux services desquels ils se sont mis pourtant. Polyglottes innés, par vocation et aussi par profession[176], les princes régnants phanariotes ont eu un rôle essentiel dans la pénétration des idées illuministes dans le domaine politique, économique, social et culturel. Possédant le sentiment de la culture et un vif intérêt pour ce qui se passait en Europe, les Phanariotes dont les aptitudes intellectuelles et le niveau culturel étaient beaucoup supérieurs à ceux des Moldo-Valaques, se sont entourés d'érudits, ont fondé des écoles, ont stimulé les traductions et les publications. Imbus de culture française et grands admirateurs de celle-ci, plusieurs hospodars ont eu des contributions significatives quant à l'intérêt porté à la civilisation occidentale et à la francisation de la langue roumaine. Les personnalités les plus emblématiques restent : Nicolas Mavrocordato[177], Constantin Mavrocordato[178], Alexandre Ypsilantis[179],

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[174] Le prophète Mahomet lui-même était analphabète et ce sont des scribes qui avaient fixé par écrit quelques-unes de ses révélations.

[175] Les Phanariotes étaient élus pour des mandats de trois ans, mandats renouvelables et interchangeables entre la Valachie et la Moldavie.

[176] À part le grec, leur langue maternelle, ils parlaient couramment le turc, ainsi que d'autres langues modernes, telles l'italien et le français.

[177] Lettré distingué (auteur d'un traité de morale générale et d'une tentative romanesque en grec ancien), Nicolas Mavrocordato, qui parlait couramment grec, turc, roumain, français, allemand, russe et latin, a fondé à Bucarest des écoles, une bibliothèque et une imprimerie.

Nicolas Caradja[180]. Souhaité par certains boyards grecs et roumains de Moldo-Valachie, ignoré, redouté[181] ou même nié par d'autres, l'exemple des hospodars phanariotes a été suivi de près à l'instant même par des représentants du cercle restreint de la haute classe gréco-roumaine qui n'avaient d'ailleurs aucun contact avec les larges masses populaires (Gàldi 1939 : 39, Niculescu 1978 : 73-74 ; Niculescu 2001).

Rien de plus naturel, dans ces circonstances, qu'un bon nombre de néologismes d'origine romane soit entré en roumain par filière grecque, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, des dérivés à l'aide du suffixe : *-(ar)isi* : *adresarisi* (< fr. *adresser*), *ocuparisi* (< fr. *occuper*), *publicarisi* (< fr. *publier*). La conjugaison de ces verbes suivait toutefois le paradigme roumain des verbes en *-i : mă amuzarisesc* « je m'amuse », *te amuzariseşti* « tu t'amuses », etc.)[182] (Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 78-79 ; Ursu 1965 : 371-379 ; Eliade 1982 : 296 ; Mitrofan – Fuior 2012 : 71-72).

Bons connaisseurs des langues classiques et des langues néolatines, les humanistes roumains du XVIIᵉ et du début du XVIIIᵉ siècle avaient d'ailleurs déjà enrichi le vocabulaire avec des néologismes romanes, parfois par une filière grecque, polonaise ou russe : *articule* « article », *avocat* « avocat », *calendar* « calendrier », *cristal* « cristal », *diamant* « diamant », *experienţia* « expérience », *fantezie* « fantaisie », *metafisică* « métaphysique », *oraţie* « oration », *providenţia* « providence », *parolă* « mot, parole (secret, parole d'honneur) » (chez Ion Neculce[183]) *decadă* « décade », *meleon* « million », *providenţie* « providence » (chez

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C'est à partir de ses règnes que les deux Principautés furent quasi-exclusivement gouvernées par des Phanariotes pendant un siècle.

[178] Très cultivé et imprégné de l'esprit des Lumières, Constantin Mavrocordato, qui parlait couramment roumain, turc, grec, persan, italien, français, s'est entouré d'un personnel occidental de formation jésuite et humaniste, a financé des universités, des écoles, des hôpitaux et a constitué une bibliothèque à réputation européenne (noyau de l'actuelle Bibliothèque Académique).

[179] Alexandre Ypsilantis a imposé une taxe aux monastères pour soutenir les écoles et a réorganisé l'enseignement de la Valachie, selon le modèle français (c'est à ce moment-là que l'étude obligatoire de la langue française y fut introduit).

[180] Épris de culture occidentale, Nicolas Caradja avait été proposé par ses amis français au titre de membre correspondant de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de Paris.

[181] Attachés aux valeurs traditionnelles ou simplement très intéressés à ne pas manquer les privilèges gréco-turcs, les conservateurs, nommés *tombatera* par les jeunes progressistes (< ngr. *ton patéra* « imitant (papa) ») 1. « revêtement de tête ou vêtements de mode orientale », 2 (fig.) « personne avec des idées dépassées, rétrograde », allusion à la façon démodée dont ils s'habillaient), rejetaient constamment et violemment cette influence.

[182] Un phénomène semblable s'est produit en Transylvanie où on a utilisé le suffixe *-ălui* pour les verbes empruntés au français ou au latin : *formălui* (< fr. *former*), *recomandălui* (< fr. *recommander*), *aplicălui* (< fr. *apliquer*).

[183] Ion Neculce (1672- ca 1745), grand boyard moldave et chroniqueur pendant le règne de Démètre Cantemir.

Constantin Cantacuzène[184]), *canțilar* « chancelier », *comendant* « commandant », *diplomă* « diplôme », *fundament* « fondement », *poetic* « poétique », *prinţipal* « principal » (chez Démètre Cantemir[185]).

§ 7. 3. La filière russe (en Moldo-Valachie). En Moldavie et en Valachie, l'influence française a fait du chemin grâce aussi à la présence des Russes dans ces deux pays et cela à deux reprises : pendant la Septième guerre russo-turque (1787-1792)[186], les Principautés se trouvant alors effectivement sous l'occupation des troupes russes (1769-1774), et à nouveau pendant la Huitième guerre russo-turque (1806-1812)[187]. C'est dans ces circonstances que les boyards roumains sont entrés en contact avec les officiers russes, dont plusieurs d'origine française, allemande ou grecque, qui avaient tous une éducation cosmopolite. En outre, comme ces officiers étaient de différentes origines et nationalités, la connaissance du français était devenue impérieuse à la communication au sein de l'armée même.

Il faut rappeler que les Russes étaient considérablement francophiles et francophones et cela datait depuis longtemps. Le milieu aristocratique russe avait subi une forte influence française et la langue française s'y est amplement diffusée vers la moitié du XVIIIe siècle, depuis l'époque de Pierre le Grand[188], cette influence s'étant renforcée pendant les règnes d'Élisabeth Ière[189] et de Catherine II[190] (Eliade

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[184] Constantin Cantacuzène – l'Écuyer (roum. Constantin Cantacuzène stolnicul ; 1639-1716), boyard valaque qui a fait ses études à l'Université de Padoue, avec des intérêts pour l'histoire et la géographie.

[185] Démètre Cantemir (roum. Dimitrie Cantemir ; 1673-1723), encyclopédiste, compositeur, écrivain et souverain moldave (1693, 1710-1711).

[186] Cette guerre, qui opposa l'Empire russe et l'Autriche à l'Empire ottoman (inquiet de l'expansion russe vers le Sud), prit fin par le Traité de Jassy (1792).

[187] Cette guerre, qui opposa l'Empire russe à l'Empire ottoman, prit fin par le Traité de Bucarest (1812), suite auquel la Moldavie historique fut coupée en deux (la moitié orientale entra dans la sphère d'influence russe, alors que celle occidentale resta sous influence turque).

[188] Quoi que le tsar Boris Godounov (ca 1551-1605) ait créé des écoles avec des professeurs français, c'est à partir du règne de Pierre Le Grand (1682-1725) qu'on peut parler d'une influence française profonde et cohérente en Russie. Pour former ses futurs officiers de marine, le tsar les envoyait étudier en France, à l'École des Gardes-Marine (ancêtre de l'École Navale), à Brest ou à Toulon. En 1720, des ingénieurs, des architectes et des artisans formés en France arrivaient à Saint-Pétersbourg.

[189] Élisabeth Ière (née Élisabeth Petrovna, dite Élisabeth la Clémente ; 1709-1762), fille de Pierre Le Grand, a reçu dans sa jeunesse une éducation à la française et a été complètement envoûtée par la culture française. C'est le grand début de la francophilie et de l'usage de la langue française dans la noblesse, qui va durer jusqu'en 1917. À sa Cour, comme plus tard à celle de Catherine II, on parlait français. Élisabeth fit venir des savants français à l'Académie des Sciences et des artistes français à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts pour y enseigner mais aussi une troupe de la Comédie Française. C'est un architecte français, premier architecte de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Russie, qui apporta son style à l'édification des palais, des églises et des intérieurs impériaux.

[190] Bien que prussienne, l'Impératrice Catherine II (née Sophie Frédérique Augusta d'Anhalt-Zerbst, dite Catherine la Grande ; 1762-1796) a été conquise par la France et les Français.

1982 : 145-147). À cette époque-là, quand les mœurs et les idées progressistes françaises ont affecté les hautes couches de la société russe, on y pratiquait une sorte de bilinguisme coordonné, avec parfois la prédominance du français. La grande majorité des fils de nobles ont eu des précepteurs qui les ont enseignés la langue française et les ont familiarisés avec la civilisation française. Le long du temps, le français est devenu la langue des salons en Russie, étant parlée aussi par les femmes, de plus en plus émancipées.

En un mot, les officiers russes ont vite séduit l'aristocratie moldo-valaque aussi par la qualité de leurs manières, nommée à cette époque-là « politesse française ».

Le résultat de cette occidentalisation, parfois de surface, a été une ruée vers le luxe et le moderne (en provenance de France) dans tous les domaines : nourriture, habitation, vêtements, meubles, divertissement. Graduellement, en Moldo-Valachie, les maisons et les meubles orientaux ont été remplacés avec ceux apportés de l'Europe. L'urbanisme de Bucarest a copié de façon frappante le modèle de la ville de Paris tel qu'il a été tracé par le baron Hausmann. Les boyards roumains ont fait systématiquement appel aux architectes français, leur commandant des bâtiments similaires à ceux qu'ils avaient admirés lors de leurs voyages en Europe (hôtels particuliers, maisons de rapport, établissements financiers, villas, châteaux…). Cette présence française s'est concrétisée par la nomination de Michel de Sanejouand[191] comme architecte en chef de Bucarest (1835), celui-ci se donnant pour but de faire cesser le développement chaotique de la métropole par la mise en œuvre d'un plan d'urbanisme. Plusieurs maîtres français débarquèrent ensuite à Bucarest, devenue capitale des Principautés roumaines en 1859. Parmi eux (Evmoon 2013 ; Marinache 2015) : Paul Gottereau[192], Joseph Cassien-Bernard[193], Albert Galleron[194], Louis

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Elle correspondait avec Voltaire, qui l'appelait « La Sémiramis du Nord ». On dit même que Diderot, qui a été reçu à la Cour, se permettait de caresser les genoux de la Tsarine ! (Simachko 1992).

[191] Michel de Sanejouand (?-1835), membre de l'École des Beaux-Arts de Paris, professeur d'architecture à Bucarest.

[192] Paul Gottereau (1843-1924), architecte de la Maison Royale, a signé plusieurs édifices imposants de la ville : la *Caisse d'épargne* – une copie du *Petit Palais* de Paris, le *Palais de la Fondation Universitaire Carol Ier* (actuellement *Bibliothèque Centrale Universitaire*), l'ancien *Palais Royal*, ainsi qu'une aile du *Palais de Cotroceni* (devenu la résidence principale du prince Ferdinand).

[193] Joseph Cassien-Bernard (alias Joseph Marie Cassien Bernard, Marie-Joseph-Cassien Bernard, dit Cassien-Bernard ; 1848-1926), élève de Charles Garnier, membre de la Société des artistes français, co-concepteur (avec Gaston Cousin) du *Pont Alexandre III* de Paris, co-auteur (avec Albert Galleron) de la *Banque Nationale de Roumanie* (avec Albert Galleron).

[194] Albert Galleron (alias Paul Louis Albert Galeron ; 1846 / 1847-1930), auteur de l'*Athénée Roumain* (siège de l'Orchestre philharmonique nationale) et de l'ancien siège de la *Banque Nationale de Roumanie*.

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Blanc[195]… Puisque l'école française d'architecture a posé son empreinte sur Bucarest, on surnomma la ville le « Petit Paris des Balkans ».

Des domestiques français sont apparus dans les foyers des riches. Le français et le piano sont devenus indispensables pour l'éducation d'une fille de bonne condition sociale. Les manières élégantes, ainsi que la musique classique et les danses européens en vogue (la valse, le quadrille, la polka), les jeux de chance – autant d'éléments civilisationnels et culturels de souche française mais empruntés par filière russe – avaient envahi les salons et définissaient désormais le profil de tout membre de l'aristocratie roumaine ou de la bourgeoisie en ascension (Eliade 1982 : 156-159). Cette caractéristique cosmopolite et philo-française s'est intensifiée au début du XXᵉ siècle. Dans un livre écrit lors de son séjour diplomatique en Roumanie (en 1920), Paul Morand a évoqué d'une manière très éloquente, l'atmosphère sociale et politique de Bucarest du début de siècle : dans les familles aristocratiques, toute personne ayant reçu une formation quelconque pouvait facilement converser en français, l'histoire et la littérature de la France étaient bien connues dans ce milieu où on lisait constamment des journaux français et les dernières parutions littéraires françaises pouvaient être achetées mêmes dans les librairies des villes de province[196].

L'influence russe a rendu encore plus intense l'influence des Phanariotes, qui a continué à être très active. Si l'aristocratie moldo-valaque avait appris la langue française des Phanariotes, ce sont les Russes qui leur avaient appris à bien maîtriser cette langue, au détriment du russe (Eliade 1982 : 157). Car les Russes utilisaient un français plus raffiné, plus élégant, voire plus affecté[197], ressemblant moins au parler quotidien et du coup plus proche du français des lettres de Voltaire[198]. De toute façon, les Roumains estimaient que les Russes parlaient français mieux que les peu de Français, précepteurs ou secrétaires, qu'ils avaient connus personnellement et, bien sûr, mieux que les Phanariotes et que les boyards. C'est ainsi que les officiers russes ont vite séduit l'aristocratie moldo-valaque par la qualité de leurs manières, nommées à cette époque-là « politesse française » et c'est ainsi que l'idéal des aristocrates autochtones était devenu de parler français « comme… un général russe » (Eliade 1982 : 156). La suprématie de la langue française fut accentuée dès le deuxième tiers du XIXᵉ siècle par le biais des diplomates et officiers russes présents dans les Principautés roumaines, hommes de culture et très francisés. Et, paradoxalement, ce sont donc les Russes donc qui ont introduit dans les Principautés danubiennes le raffinement du savoir-vivre… occidental !

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[195] Louis Pierre Blanc (1860-1903), architecte franco-suisse. On lui doit le *Palais du Ministère de l'agriculture* et celui de la *Faculté de médecine*, ainsi que le bâtiment central de l'*Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza »* (Jassy).

[196] Paul Morand (1888-1976), écrivain, diplomate et académicien français, ministre de la légation française en Roumanie (1943-1944), époux de la princesse Soutzo (née Hélène Chrissoveloni ; 1879-1975).

[197] Mais cette affectation était perçue comme particulièrement ensorcelante.

[198] Sinon, ils exagéraient un peu, en le prononçant avec affectation et de façon charmante.

Ce sont éminemment les terminologies militaire, politique et administratives qui se sont enrichies avec des termes français par l'intermédiaire de la langue russe : *adjutant* / *aghiotant* (arch.) (< rus. *адъютант* < fr. (officier) *adjoint*), *artilerie* (< rus. *артиллерия* < fr. *artillerie*), *avangardă* (< rus. *авангардный* < fr. *avant-garde*), *cabinet* (< rus. *кабинет* < fr. *cabinet*), *cancelarie* « bureau / section d'un établissement administratif (public) » (< rus. *канцелярия* < fr. *chancellerie*), *cavalerie* (< rus. *кавалерия* < fr. *cavalerie*)[199], *comerţ* (< rus. *коммерция* < fr. *commerce*), *consul* (< rus. *консул* < fr. *consul*)[200], *departament* (< rus. *департамент* < fr. *département*), *economie* (< rus. *экономия* < fr. *économie*), *gardă* (< rus. *гардия* < fr. *garde*), *general* / *gheneral* (arch.) (< rus. *генерал* < fr. *général*), *industrie* (< rus. *индустрия* < fr. *industrie*), *infanterie* (< rus. *инфантерия* < fr. *infanterie*), *invalid* (< rus. *инвалид* < fr. *invalide*), *parlament* (< rus. *парламент* < fr. *parlement*), *proprietar* (< rus. *проприетар* / *оприетер* < fr. *propriétaire*), *rezidenţă* (< rus. *резиденция* < fr. *résidence*)[201], *tratat* / *tractat* (arch.) (< rus. *трактат* < fr. *traité*), *voluntar* / *volintir* (arch.), *volontir* (arch.) (< rus. *волунтер* / *волонтер* < fr. *volontaire*)… L'influence russe s'est fait sentie également dans la façon d'accentuer les toponymes néologiques – noms de pays terminés en *-ia*, où, excepté *Românía* et *Rusía* (accentuation à la française), l'accent tombe sur l'antépénultième syllabe, comme en russe : *Ánglia*, *Bélgia*, *Itália*, *Norvégia*, *Suédia*. Un bon nombre de ces néologismes son facilement reconnaissables à cause des terminaisons spécifiques *-ie* (*artilerie*, *cavalerie*, *comisie*) ou *-ţie* (*administraţie*, *asociaţie*, *autorizaţie*, *comisie*, *constituţie*, *naţie*), par rapport à leurs équivalents plus anciens terminés en *-(ţ)iune* et qui descendent directement du français : *administraţiune*, *asociaţiune*, *autorizaţiune*, *comisiune*, *constituţiune*, *naţiune* (Iordan 1956 : 314, Berejan 1964 : 3)[202].

§ 8. La francisation et le rôle des précepteurs, des secrétaires et des consuls français. Les Phanariotes n'ont pas été les seuls intermédiaires de l'influence française de cette époque-là. À ceux-ci s'ajoutaient des Français natifs[203] employés pour accomplir les tâche de gouvernantes et de tuteurs pour les enfants princiers ou bien de confidents ou encore de secrétaires particuliers[204] de leurs nobles parents[205] (les deux dernières fonctions étant exercées parfois

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[199] Autres étymologies possibles : it. *cavalleria*, germ. *Kavallerie*.

[200] Le mot est entré en roumain avec les premiers consulats (russe: 1782; autrichien : 1783; français : 1798; anglais : 1802; prussien : 1818; *apud* DER 1958-1966.

[201] Autres étymologies possibles : it. *residenza*, germ. *Residenz*.

[202] Opinion contestée par : Todoran 1959 : 212, Oprea – Nagy 2002 : 186-187.

[203] Si les propagateurs de la civilisation sociale n'étaient pas tous d'extraction française (il y en avait aussi des Italiens, des Ragusains, des…), « le maître de langue française était le seul précepteur que l'Orient chrétien voulût engager et entretenir » (Iorga 1918 : 57-58).

[204] Dès le début du XIXe siècle, ces secrétaires cédèrent la place aux élèves grecs de France, chez lesquels les Phanariotes appréciaient autant les compétences politiques que la discrétion.

[205] Les princes étant obligés de renseigner la Porte sur ce qui se passait en Occident (Iorga 1918 : 58).

simultanément), tout comme des fonctionnaires étrangers en mission auprès de la Cour ou des voyageurs étrangers errants dans les Principautés (Iorga 1918 : 54, 55 ; Dumas 2012 : 4 ; Epure 2015 : 411)[206].

Ce « secrétariat » était au fond une forme de surveillance déguisée qui exprimait la méfiance des autorités françaises à l'adresse des Phanariotes. Les secrétaires français faisaient aussi office de consuls officieux, étant chargés de rédiger la correspondance des princes régnants phanariotes avec les agents secrets et les grandes puissances. Ils étaient recommandés, nommés et payés par l'ambassadeur français à Constantinople, avec lequel ils portaient une correspondance chiffrée. Ce qui ne les a aucunement empêchés de jouer un double rôle, ces enseignants et / ou précepteurs français[207] présents à la Cour des princes phanariotes après 1774 étant considérés aussi « les yeux et les oreilles du sultan vers l'Europe » (*apud* Epure 2015 : 412).

Dès la fin du XVIIIe siècle, la France a attribué un rôle important aux Principautés dans le maintien de l'équilibre européen, voyant dans ces pays un obstacle à l'expansion russe et en même temps, les autorités françaises ont identifié dans les Principautés un point d'observation stratégique des régions (l'empire tzariste et celui habsbourgeois) où l'accès des agents français n'était pas possible, ainsi qu'un champ d'entraînement pour des diversions antirusses et anti-habsbourgeoises. Seulement les mêmes Français n'hésitaient pas non plus à mettre en doute la fidélité des hospodars phanariotes. C'est ainsi que des agents[208] de l'ambassadeur français à Constantinople ont été envoyés dans les Principautés pour se mettre au service des hospodars.

Après que la Russie eut obtenu la permission de la Sublime Porte d'accepter des consuls et vice-consuls dans les Principautés danubiennes[209], un consulat général de France a été fondé à Bucarest[210] et un vice-consulat à Jassy (Oțetea 1932 : 330-349 ; Eliade 1982 : 130-131 ; Lascu-Pop 1994 : 90 ; Lupu 1999 : 15 ; Istoria 2002 : 436). « Simples fonctionnaires, sans connaissances spéciales et d'une intelligence médiocre, ils [les consuls] se bornaient à défendre contre une administration souvent abusive leurs 'Juifs français', nés en Galicie ou dans le Levant, et à faire dans leurs rapports le journal des événements, grands ou petits, qui se passaient sous leurs yeux. » (Iorga 1918 : 114).

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[206] Tels : Jean Mille (ou Millo), attaché auprès de Grigore Ghyka (1747), François Linchou, commerçant et homme de confiance de Constantin Racovitza (1741-1760), Jean Louis Carra, attaché auprès de Grigore III Ghica… Pour un répertoire plus ample des secrétaires personnels des princes phanariotes, voir Epure 2015 : 413 sqq.

[207] Ces précepteurs n'avaient pas toujours un niveau intellectuel trop élevé et ils n'étaient même pas très honnêtes (Epure 2015 : 413).

[208] Le citoyen Fleury – consul à Bucarest, et le citoyen Parent – consul à Jassy.

[209] Suite au Traité de paix de Koutchouk-Kaïnardji (1774) qui mit fin à la guerre russo-turque de 1768-1774) (Epure 2015 : 411).

[210] En 1798, après dix ans de négociations, autrement dit après la Révolution française, car la royauté avait constamment refusé de nommer des agents dans les Principautés.

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§ **9. La francisation et le « bonjourisme ».** Au cours du XIXe siècle, la France a eu donc un grand mot à dire au sujet de tous les moments cruciaux de l'histoire de la Roumanie moderne.

L'occidentalisation de la société roumaine doit beaucoup à l'adoption du modèle culturel français suite aux contacts de plus en plus intenses établis entre la Moldo-Valachie et Le Consulat français[211] ou Le Premier Empire[212], tendance qui a été renforcée également par l'adoption partielle du même modèle culturel par les Russes (Giurescu 1966 : 126). Ainsi, une sympathie réciproque commença à se développer entre les Principautés et la France, notamment lors de la Monarchie de Juillet[213], sympathie qui s'est concrétisée, entre autres, par le départ de jeunes boyards pour faire des études dans divers établissements scolaires parisiens (après 1820) et la mise en place d'un pensionnat français destiné à accueillir les enfants des élites de l'époque (par Jean Alexandre Vaillant, en 1830)[214].

Plus tard, la Révolution roumaine de 1848 a repris la devise de la Révolution de Deuxième République : « Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité ». La France a regardé avec intérêt et sympathie le mouvement révolutionnaire, pendant qu'on y est. Le gouvernement intérimaire, composé en grande partie d'anciens disciples de Jules Michelet[215] et d'Edgar Quinet[216] et d'admirateurs de Lamartine[217], a été soutenu par la France, intéressée de limiter l'expansion russe. Face à la volonté d'accroître l'influence française en Valachie et vu le déficit de moyens financiers pour rémunérer les enseignants étrangers, la meilleure solution pour les jeunes des familles riches était d'aller faire des études en France (Epure 2016 : 280).

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[211] *Le Consulat* (1799-1804), un régime politique (autoritaire) français dirigé en principe par trois consuls et en réalité par le seul Premier consul : Napoléon Bonaparte.

[212] *Le Premier Empire*, régime impérial de la France (1804-1814, 1815), qui a fait suite au Consulat et a été entrecoupé par la Première Restauration.

[213] *La monarchie de Juillet*, dite « libérale », désigne le régime politique du royaume de France (1830-1848) qui a succédé à la Restauration (dite monarchie « conservatrice » ; 1814-1830) et qui a marqué la fin de la royauté en France (sous Louis-Philippe Ier).

[214] Transféré depuis 1832 dans les locaux du Collège « Saint-Sava ».

[215] Jules Michelet (1798-1874), historien et écrivain romantique républicain et anticlérical français, philo-roumain par ses écrits (*Principautés Danubiennes*, *Madame Rosetti*, *1848*) et par le soutien moral accordé à quelques porte-drapeaux de la Révolution de 1848 dans les Principautés roumaines qu'il a eu parmi ses étudiants au Collège de France.

[216] Jean Louis Edgar Quinet (1803-1875), historien, poète, philosophe et homme politique républicain et anticlérical français, philo-roumain par ses écrits (*Les Roumains*, *Les Principautés danubiennes*) et par le soutien moral accordé à quelques protagonistes de la Révolution de 1848 dans les Principautés roumaines qu'il a eu parmi ses étudiants au Collège de France. Quinet avait même des relations de famille avec l'intelligentsia roumaine ; il s'est marié en secondes noces avec Hermione Ghikère Asaky (1821-1900), fille du poète moldave Georges Assaki (1788-1869), ancienne auditrice au Collège de France et divorcée du prince Mourouzzi, petit-fils d'un prince régnant de Valachie et de Moldavie du même nom, Alexandre Mourouzzi.

[217] Président d'honneur de l'Association des étudiants roumains de France.

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Dans ce contexte, les contacts directs avec le système de l'enseignement du français se sont intensifiés. Malgré les restrictions évoquées déjà plus haut, certains jeunes roumains ont eu la possibilité de voyager et d'étudier en Europe. Accompagnés par leurs anciens précepteurs français, les jeunes hommes, étaient envoyés dans les grandes capitales d'Europe, surtout à Paris (Eliade 1982 : 305). Cela était devenu quasiment une mode. Les jeunes intellectuels roumains[218] percevaient dans l'appropriation de la culture française et dans l'acquisition du français le meilleur moyen de mettre fin à l'isolement culturel, intellectuel et économique des Pays Roumains où l'avait plongé l'occupation ottomane face à l'Occident (Păuş 2010 : 134). C'est par cette voie que de plus en plus de jeunes Roumains de la classe supérieure ont eu l'occasion de se (faire) changer les mœurs dans le sens de la modernisation, ainsi que la possibilité d'assimiler de manière directe les idées et l'esprit spécifique (voire critique) de la société française (Vesa 1975 : 150 ; Gorun 2006 : 1 ; Dumas 2012 : 5).

En outre, en 1818, le Conseil Central des Écoles de Valachie[219], avait pris elle aussi l'initiative d'envoyer un nombre de jeunes gens choisis parmi les meilleurs élèves des écoles du pays mais de condition matérielle modeste pour achever leurs études à Paris ou à Rome, de les envoyer, comme l'on disait couramment à l'époque, « à l'intérieur » (ce qui voulait signifier le fait que les Moldo-Valaques se considéraient eux-mêmes « à l'extérieur » du monde civilisé de l'Europe) (Eliade 1982 : 305).

Néanmoins, le nombre de ces étudiants roumains est resté assez faible au début en raison de l'hostilité manifeste des générations plus âgées et conservatrices, ainsi que des autorités politiques qui craignaient une imminente « contamination » avec les idées progressistes (révolutionnaires, libérales…) de l'époque[220]. Tous ces opposants avaient peur qu'une fois de retour ces jeunes européanisés allaient répandre chez eux « la désobéissance et la non-croyance » (Vesa 1975 : 150), puisque les idées derrière les renouveaux qu'ils proposaient bousculaient le conglomérat des préjugés et la routine mentale placée sous l'autorité de la tradition. Et il se passa ce qu'il fallait se passer, en dépit de la résistance extrêmement coriace qu'ils devaient surmonter. Rien de plus naturel dans tout cela, attendu qu'au moment où les peuples entrent en contact et commencent à se civiliser ils s'imitent l'un l'autre de plus en plus vite et de plus en plus facilement, de sorte que le processus devient presque automatique et inconscient (Tarde 2001 : 142-143). De retour dans leur pays d'origine, les jeunes « bonjouristes » (voir *infra*) devenaient donc les diffuseurs les plus actifs et les plus efficaces des idées novatrices véhiculées par la

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[218] Désignés par la presse française « les Français de l'Orient » (*apud* Vasile 2004 : 231).

[219] Roum. *Eforia şcoalelor*, l'institution centrale qui contrôlait et dirigeait l'enseignement en Valachie.

[220] Mais, peu à peu, ce phénomène de l'envoi des jeunes gens pour s'instruire à l'étranger a pris ampleur, ce qui fait qu'en 1920 on retrouve rien qu'à Paris, par exemple, plus de 3 000 étudiants roumains (Ralea 1997 : 1).

civilisation française et les plus fervents promoteurs de la culture de ce pays[221]. Une fois rentrés chez eux, il était de coutume qu'ils occupent des positions de premier plan dans la vie politique et culturelle[222] justement grâce au prestige que leur conféraient leurs études à l'étranger. Ceux-ci faisaient donc usage de toute l'influence dont ils disposaient pour déterminer la réalisation des réformes qu'ils considéraient comme nécessaires pour encourager le progrès des Principautés et, après l'Union de 1859, du jeune État roumain.

Rentrés dans les Principautés non seulement imprégnés d'idées progressistes, mais aussi avec l'habitude de parler français entre eux ou de parsemer de mots et expressions françaises leurs conversations courantes, beaucoup de jeunes gens instruits en France à partir de 1830-1840 avaient un air assez curieux. Ce *bilinguisme culturel* ou *diglotisme* (Edouard Pichon, *apud* Goldiş-Poalelungi : 39) tournera vite au *bilinguisme avancé* : une langue très bizarre, une sorte de *mixtum compositum*, moitié français et moitié roumain. Suite à l'emploi excessif et maladroit des structures néologiques françaises, la langue roumaine était devenue pour la deuxième fois un idiome complètement incompréhensible (Bolintineanu 1961 : 559), avec un vocabulaire cosmopolite formé de mots et de phrases standardisées (Puşcariu 1976 : 390-391). Des mots français pouvaient ainsi s'insinuer parfois dans une phrase roumaine ou vice-versa, des mots roumains pouvaient s'infiltrer facilement dans une phrase française. Ce genre de « volapük » franco-roumain avait l'air odieux et ridicule (Xenopol 1909 : 76). Et c'est cette diglossie snobe et bizaroïde qui valut aux jeunes ayant passé leur jeunesse en milieu francophone l'appellation ironique de *bonjouristes* (roum. *bonjurişti*) ou *francisés* (roum. *franţuziţi*). Face à ce processus de francisation brutale, nombreux ont été ceux qui avaient désigné à l'opprobre public la « gallomanie » des « franco-prétentieux » dont le spectre d'acculturation menaçait la société dans son ensemble. Cette effervescence linguistique, source toujours fertile pour un emploi abusif et / ou

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[221] « Cufundată până la începutul secolului XIX în barbaria orientală, societatea românească, pe la 1820, începu a se trezi din letargia ei, apucată poate de-abia atunci de mişcarea contagioasă prin care ideile Revoluţiunii franceze au străbătut până în extremităţile geografice ale Europei. Atrasă de lumină, junimea noastră întreprinse acea emigrare extraordinară spre fântânele ştiinţei din Franţa şi Germania, care până astăzi a mers tot crescând şi care a dat mai ales României libere o parte din lustrul societăţilor străine » (Maiorescu 1978 : 125). « A Paris, nous ne sommes pas venus seulement pour apprendre à parler le français comme un Français, mais pour emprunter aussi les idées et les choses utiles d'une nation aussi éclairée et aussi libre. » (Mihail Kogălniceanu, *apud* Iorga 1918 : 141).

[222] Voir quelques noms de cette illustre pléiade : Vasile Alecsandri, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Ion Ghica, Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1819 / 1825-1872 ; ancien disciple de Jules Michelet et d'Edgar Quinet au Collège de France, poète, romancier, homme politique et traducteur roumain), Alexandru Odobescu (1834-1895 ; ancien disciple de Jules Micheletet d'Edgar Quinet au Collège de France, écrivain, archéologue et professeur d'archéologie à l'Université de Bucarest, homme politique – secrétaire de légation à Paris, directeur du Théâtre national de Bucarest, Ministre des Cultes, de l'Éducation et des monuments historiques, directeur de l'École Normale Supérieure).

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fautif d'emprunts au niveau de la prononciation ou du sens, a été souvent dénoncée par quelques intellectuels authentiques de l'époque, tous d'excellents connaisseurs de la langue et de la culture françaises, tels : Costache Faca[223], Costache Caragiale[224], Costache Bălăcescu[225], Mihail Kogălniceanu[226], Vasile Alecsandri[227], I. L. Caragiale[228]. Vasile Alecsandri, par exemple, l'un des jeunes intellectuels qui avaient étudié lui-même à Paris, a ironisé dans un cycle de pièces de théâtre[229] la tendance des petits boyards de province d'assimiler superficiellement la langue française, le mode de vie européen et les pratiques sociales venues de France. Les tentatives de Ma'am Kiritza, son fameux personnage féminin, de traduire mot à mot en français des idiotismes roumains restent tout à fait mémorables : (a fi) *tobă de carte* « être bourré / un puits de science » (litt. (être) *tambour d'instruction*), *de florile cucului* « en vain, sains but, pour des prunes » (litt. *pour des fleurs de coucou*), (a vorbi) *ca pe apă / ca apa* « (parler) couramment, de manière fluente » (litt. (parler) *comme l'eau*)… (Alecsandri 1968 : 43).

§ 10. La francisation et les femmes. Il ne serait pas sans intérêt de souligner ici que ce sont les jeunes et les femmes qui ont eu un rôle tout à fait déterminant

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[223] Costache Faca (ca 1801-1845), boyard roumain anti-« bonjouriste » qui coqueta avec la littérature, étant ainsi considéré comme écrivain roumain. Sa plus importante contribution littéraire a été une scénette en trois actes – *Comodia vremii* (*La Comédie du temps*, 1833), publiée en 1860 (une imitation et localisation de la comédie de Molière *Les précieuses ridicules*) sous le titre *Franțuzitele* (« Les femmes qui imitent la manière de vivre des Français et utilisent des mots français sans que cela soit nécessaire »).

[224] Costache Caragiale (1815-1877), acteur, dramaturge (*O soaré la mahala sau Amestecul de dorinți / Une soirée dans la banlieue ou Le mélange de désirs*, *Îngâmfata plăpumărească / La présomptueuse matelassière*, *Doi coțcari / Deux charlatans*) et professeur d'art dramatique, oncle du dramaturge Ion Luca Caragiale.

[225] Costache Bălăcescu (1808-1880), poète et dramaturge roumain (*O bună educație / Une bonne éducation*).

[226] Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-1891), historien et homme politique roumain, 4e Premier ministre de Roumanie après l'Union des Principautés roumaines de Moldavie et de Valachie, membre de l'Académie roumaine, le représentant de la Roumanie pour les relations avec la France. Il a signé ses premiers ouvrages avec une version francisée de son nom, Michel de Kogalnitchan (variante légèrement fautive pourtant, parce que le partitif est exprimé deux fois : par la particule française *de* et par le suffixe roumain *-an*).

[227] Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890), poète, dramaturge, folkloriste, diplomate et homme politique (ministre des Affaires étrangères), considéré comme le créateur du théâtre et de la littérature en Roumanie, après avoir été une personnalité marquante de la Moldavie dont il a soutenu l'union avec la Valachie. Avant de s'adonner à la littérature, Alecsandri avait commencé des études de pharmacie, de médecine et de droit à Paris (1834) qu'il a vite abandonnées. Ses premières créations littéraires ont été écrites en français, langue qu'il maîtrisait particulièrement bien.

[228] Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912) écrivain roumain (romancier, nouvelliste, poète et dramaturge), considéré comme le plus grand dramaturge roumain et l'un des plus grands écrivains roumains.

[229] *Chirița în Iași / Ma'am Kiritza à Jassy*, *Chirița în provinție / Ma'am Kiritza en province*, *Chirița în voiaj / Ma'am Kiritza en voyage*.

dans l'assimilation de l'élément d'origine française dans le milieu culturel roumain. Ce qui pourrait surprendre à l'égard de ce sujet c'est la contribution privilégiée qu'eurent les femmes dans une société tellement traditionnaliste et plutôt misogyne comme l'était celle du XIXe siècle. Surtout que les femmes sont réputées plus coriaces que les hommes face aux innovations et gardiennes par vocation du *statu quo* des langues (dites *maternelles* !). Assurément, il faut admettre que l'influence française dans les Principautés s'est manifestée, avant toute motivation intellectuelle, politique et culturelle, par l'intermédiaire de la… mode. C'est suite à la curiosité féminine, à l'intérêt des femmes pour tout ce qui était à la mode et à la rivalité sociale que l'esprit français et la langue française se sont incrustés dans l'espace social et culturel roumain. Purement et simplement comme une manifestation de la modernité. Parler cette langue est devenu le signe d'un statut social prestigieux (Craia 1995 : 18). Indiscutablement, les prédilections et les goûts relativement raffinés des belles de la haute société moldo-valaque du XIXe siècle étaient exclusivement francophiles. Pendant que les hommes s'astreignaient à leurs démodés habits orientaux et parlaient grec, plus ouvertes à la civilisation occidentale, les femmes s'y plaisaient à parler français, à jouer du piano et... à flirter avec les « bonjouristes ». Elles furent donc les premières à être devenues civilisées et, comme le processus de civilisation ne se fait pas sans un certain ridicule, du moins dans un premier temps, on retrouva parmi elles un bon nombre de « précieuses »[230]. Voilà pourquoi les auteurs de l'époque, peut-être sans même s'en rendre compte, ont représenté si fréquemment le ridicule de la demi-civilisation dans les femmes (Ibrăileanu 1984 : 81-82). En somme, *Franțuzitele* (« Les Précieuses à la française »)[231] de Costache Faca et *Ma'am Kiritza* de Vasile Alecsandri n'étaient que le reflet d'une nouvelle et insolite réalité sociale.

§ 11. La francisation et le rôle de la littérature, de la presse, du théâtre. Le contact avec l'Occident et en particulier avec la langue française s'est fait aussi à l'aide des livres lus en leur langue d'origine (achetés ou empruntés à de riches bibliothèques privées ouvertes au grand publique[232]), à l'aide des traductions, des spectacles de théâtre mis en scène par des troupes étrangères, ou bien à l'aide de la presse francophone.

§ 11. 1. La francisation et la littérature. À partir du XVIIIe siècle, les œuvres des classiques français circulaient déjà en version originale dans les Pays roumains. On lisait Bossuet, Racine, Corneille, La Fontaine, Boileau, Molière…

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[230] Voilà pourquoi c'est à travers les femmes que les auteurs de l'époque ont représenté si fréquemment le ridicule de la demi-civilisation (Ibrăileanu 1984 : 81-82).

[231] A l'origine, cette pièce de théâtre a été titrée *Comodia vremii* («La comédie du temps »), le nouveau titre lui étant attribué par Ion Heliade Rădulescu, son éditeur (*Franțuzitele* – au féminin !).

[232] Comme celle du baron Samuel de Bruckenthal à Sibiu (XVIIIe siècle) ou celle du comte István Csáky d'Arad et de la comtesse Júlia Erdödy, son épouse (début du XIXe siècle ; 3 000 livres sur un total de plus de 5 000 livres étaient des titres français) (Eliade 1982 : 225, Lupu 1999 : 42).

Certains des propriétaires de ces livres, avaient même l'habitude de faire des annotations en marge de ces textes, faisant des suggestions de traduction en grec ou en roumain[233] (Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Florian, Marmontel) et vice-versa (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, l'Abbé Prévost).

Dans un délai assez court, on est passé de l'hégémonie des bibliothèques seigneuriales et monastiques à une prééminence des cabinets de lecture fréquentés par des lecteurs issus des couches moyennes de la population.

Entre 1838 et 1850, les préférences des lecteurs roumains étaient différentes. À l'époque, l'on lisait des romans, des livres de mémoires, des volumes de correspondance, des nouvelles et des contes, les plus demandés écrivains étant Balzac, Dumas, Chateaubriand et Byron. Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de la Métropolie de Bucarest rédigé en 1836 inventorie 2 275 titres latins, 1 497 titres français, 300 grecs, 49 allemands, 18 turcs, 13 anglais et un titre russe. Pendant la même période, les cabinets de lecture ont prêté 4 048 livres en français, 481 en anglais, 88 en allemand, 23 en italien et 13 en russe (Georgescu 1992 : 121-123, 191-192, Eliade 1982 : 268-292).

Il n'est pas moins vrai que des auteurs mineurs étaient également très appréciés à cette époque-là. Ce goût pour des poètes mineurs était dû notamment et justement aux défauts de leurs œuvres qui, étant bourrés de sentiments plus ou moins conventionnels, de galanterie résolument inusitée (« à la française ») et d'une sensualité hors mesure, pouvaient être facilement comprises par les boyards moldo-valaques peu cultivés, en leur servant en plus de modèle pour leurs propres déclarations d'amour faites à des beautés locales : des « Aphrodites » surveillées de près par leurs parents, voire des femmes mariées (Eliade 1982 : 276).

Dès la première guerre mondiale, c'était le livre français (surtout le roman) qui était habituellement préféré par les femmes roumaines. Très peu de femmes s'adonnaient à la lecture en langue nationale. Seules les ouvrières lisaient des romans feuilletons en traduction. En général, c'était une question d'amour-propre (souvent une qualité pour un futur mariage) et de dignité sociale qu'une jeune bourgeoise apprenne le français pour pouvoir lire (Eliade 1982 : 100-101).

Des relations personnelles solides et durables s'instaurèrent entre certains lettrés roumains et français : entre Ion-Heliade Rădulescu[234], Victor Hugo[235] et Alphonse de Lamartine[236] ou entre Ion Ghica[237], Jules Michelet et Edgard Quinet,

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[233] Un grand nombre d'auteurs français ont été d'abord lus et traduits en grec (Eliade 1982 : 268).

[234] Ion Heliade Rădulescu (1802-1872), poète romantique et classique, essayiste et homme politique humaniste et réformateur roumain, traducteur prolifique de littérature étrangère en roumain, auteur d'ouvrages sur la linguistique et l'histoire, membre fondateur et le premier président de l'Académie roumaine.

[235] Qui a eu d'ailleurs une nièce, Augusta Trébuchet, mariée avec un « bonjouriste » moldave, Xenofon Eraclide.

[236] Élu en 1847 Président d'Honneur de l'Association des Étudiants Roumains de France.

par exemple[238]. D'autre part, presque tous les écrivains de la génération 1848 (Vasile Alecsandri, Alecu Russo[239] Mihail Kogălniceanu) ont commencé par écrire en français. Au début du XXe siècle, Alexandru Odobescu et Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu[240] faisaient couramment leur correspondance privée en français.

Plus tard, les Romains assimilèrent si bien le français que bon nombre d'écrivains choisîtes effectivement cette langue pour s'exprimer, au détriment du roumain (la comtesse Anna de Noailles, la princesse Marthe Bibesco, Hélène Vacaresco, Tristan Tzara, Panaït Istrati, Benjamin Fondane, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Eugène Ionesco).

§ 11. 2. La francisation et la presse. La presse écrite a eu un rôle majeur dans la diffusion des éléments de la culture française et un nombre important de journaux publiés soit uniquement en français, soit bilingues (en roumain et en français) en témoigne pleinement.

Les publications françaises, dont le tirage était de quelques centaines d'exemplaires, circulaient partout dans l'Empire ottoman et étaient utilisés par toute l'élite intellectuelle des Balkans, y compris par celle moldo-valaque (*Le Bulletin des Nouvelles*, *Le Courrier d'Orient*, *Le Courrier de Smyrne*, *L'Écho de l'Orient*, *L'Impartial de Smyrne*, *Le Journal de Constantinople*, *Le Moniteur ottoman*, *Le Spectateur de l'Orient*…).

La presse française (*L'Almanach des Dames*, *Le Journal encyclopédique*, *Le Journal littéraire*, *Le Mercure de France*, *Le Spectateur du Nord*) était régulièrement et scrupuleusement lue dans les Principautés (Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 29), tout comme les publications francophones qui sont parus dans l'espace culturel roumain (*La voix de la Roumanie*, *Le Journal de Bucarest*, *Le Moniteur Roumain*)[241] (Craia 1995 : 47-52).

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[237] Ion Ghica (1816-1897), ancien disciple de Jean-Alexandre Vaillant au Collège « Saint-Sava » de Bucarest, mathématicien, ingénieur, économiste (premier professeur roumain d'économie politique, à l'Academie Mihăileană de Jassy), écrivain, académicien, homme d'État (ministre, premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres des Principautés unies), diplomate (ministre plénipotentiaire de la Roumanie à Londres), pédagogue.

[238] Les deux derniers, grands souteneurs de l'Union des Principautés Roumaines (1859) et dont les cours au Collège de France étaient suivis par des étudiants roumains.

[239] Alecu Russo (né Rusul « le Russe », il a fait rectifier son nom pour qu'il ressemble à celui de Jean-Jacques Rousseau ; 1819-1859), écrivain (la plupart de ses œuvres ont été écrites en français et ont paru à titre posthume en traduction) et homme politique roumain. Son père a épousé en secondes noces la veuve du consul français de Constantinople (1833). Il paraît que ses derniers mots furent en français : « Courage, mes amis ! Réveillez la patrie, si vous voulez que je m'endorme content ! » (Russo 1942 : 7-19).

[240] Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (né Tadeu Hasdeu ; 1838-1907), professeur de philologie comparée à l'Université de Bucarest, écrivain, philologue, linguiste, historien, folkloriste, journaliste, directeur des Archives de l'État, membre de l'Académie roumaine.

[241] Le premier journal en français et en roumain dans les Principautés, un périodique à caractère militaire (*Le Courrier de Moldavie* – écrit au début avec un seul *r*) a paru pour une courte période pendant l'occupation russe (1790). En 1839 est publié le premier journal français des Pays Roumains à paraître régulièrement (*L'Écho du Danube*).

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Pour se faire une image plus claire de l'intérêt général porté à la presse française / francophone, il serait utile de mentionner que 56 journaux français et 2 journaux roumains-français paraissent dans la région durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, tandis que pendant la même période il y avait seulement 11 journaux allemands et 6 journaux roumains-allemands (Valcan 2007-2008 : 105).

§ 11. 3. La francisation et le théâtre. Dès la fin du XVIIIe siècle, des compagnies françaises et italiennes de théâtre ont été régulièrement présentes en Moldo-Valachie. Jusqu'en 1850, ces troupes étrangères qui la plupart du temps jouaient en français avaient bien familiarisé le publique avec les idées occidentales. Leur influence a été tellement forte que le théâtre en roumain naquit avec une extrême difficulté et uniquement suite à une puissante campagne des écrivains qui militaient pour la cause de la renaissance nationale en ridiculisant les « imitateurs des Français » (roum. *franțuziți* ; c'est à dire les francisés, les pasticheurs des Français) (Valcan 2007-2008 : 105).

§ 12. L'enseignement francophone. C'est Alexandre Ypsilantis qui a réorganisé en 1776 l'enseignement public en Valachie en introduisant, parmi d'autres disciplines, la langue française comme objet d'étude à l'Académie princière de Bucarest[242], institution ouverte à des couches sociales assez larges. Le parcours académique de l'établissement était organisé en cinq cycles d'études, chacun d'une durée de trois ans. Les deux premiers cycles étaient réservés à l'étude du grec et du latin : grammaire en premier, littérature classique en second cycle. Pendant le troisième cycle, les élevés se consacraient à l'étude de la poétique, de la rhétorique et de l'éthique d'Aristote, ainsi qu'à l'apprentissage de la langue italienne et française. Au cours de deux derniers cycles on enseignait l'arithmétique, la géométrie, l'histoire et la géographie (quatrième cycle), la philosophie et l'astronomie (dernier cycle) (Istoria 2002 : 436).

Comme à cette époque-là les Roumains des Principautés ne pouvaient pas voyager en dehors de leur pays d'origine qu'avec la permission du sultan ou de l'hospodar et ne pouvaient donc pas fréquenter des écoles étrangères[243], les fils des princes régnants et des boyards ont dû faire leurs études à la maison. C'est dans ces circonstances qu'apparut et se développa une forme d'enseignement privée, pratique courante qui avait été introduite par Constantin Ypsilantis (en Valachie) et par Grégoire Ghyka III (en Moldavie). Ces écoles « domestiques » privilégiaient l'étude

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[242] Roum. *Academia Domnească*, précurseur du Collège national « Saint-Sava » (« Saint-Sabas »).

[243] Pourtant, des Roumains érudits ayant fait leurs études à l'étranger avaient existé. Le journaliste et révolutionnaire français Jean-Louis Carra (1742-1793) a évoqué quelques personnalités de cette catégorie : Manolache Bogdan (ca 1793-1854) – échanson, connétable, préfet de police, gouverneur, le médecin Theodorakis, le médecin le plus érudit de tout l'Empire Ottoman, savant polyglotte et professeur de mathématique à l'Académie princière de Jassy… (Epure 2015 : 412).

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de la langue et de la littérature françaises[244] même si tous les enseignants auxquels on avait donné cette mission n'étaient pas forcément sélectionnés parmi les meilleurs représentants de la spiritualité française[245].

Cette tâche était souvent confiée à des aventuriers d'occasion, des errants démunis, des refugiés français[246]. Il y avait parmi eux de nombreux nobles français, après la chute de Napoléon Ier et la Restauration de l'ancien régime, et de nombreux officiers français (des Français, mais aussi des Belges et des Suisses) fuyant la Russie, mais aussi des gens avec un passé plus banal, de modeste condition intellectuelle et parlant plutôt le patois de leur région d'origine que la langue littéraire (Dumas 2012 : 5 ; Epure 2015 : 419). En plus, les seules méthodes utilisées pour aboutir au but de leur tâche étaient la conversation de salon et la mémorisation. En tout cas, l'instruction reçue était assez étriquée. Les études des jeunes garçons (celle des jeunes filles étant encore pire) « se bornent à leur faire apprendre, depuis l'âge de huit ans jusqu'à vingt, le grec moderne, et généralement aussi quelques connaissances du grec ancien, du français, de la géographie et de l'arithmétique[247] » (Recordon 1821 : 108). Quoi que ce soit, c'est en essayant d'imiter le prince régnant que les boyards ont appris le français, se sont constitués des bibliothèques avec des œuvres françaises et ont engagé des précepteurs français pour l'éducation de leurs enfants.

Bon nombre de Français et de Françaises (des veuves le plus souvent) de France ou de Suisses[248] d'origine noble ou bourgeoise qui se sont installées dans les Principautés (surtout après la Révolution française de 1789-1799) sont devenues enseignants dans des familles boyardes, ont enseigné le français dans le cadre des écoles grecques ou ont pris la direction des écoles privées (des pensionnats[249]) (Xenopol 1897-1898 : 150 ; Iorga 1924a : 251 ; Lăzărescu 1985 : 19 ; Ioniţă 2007 : 48-49 ; Dumas 2012 : 5, 7 ; Epure 2015 : 412, 413, 417, 419 ; Epure 2016 : 282). En

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[244] Des Français étaient embauchés par les familles riches non seulement en tant que maîtres de français mais aussi pour donner des leçons de musique, de danse et de dessin (Istoria 2002 : 437).

[245] Voir Epure 2015 : 413-416 pour un inventaire des plus connus précepteurs et professeurs de français de cette époque.

Mais il est également vrai que les enseignants autochtones ne se sont pas remarqués par une meilleure formation. Ceux-ci essayaient de mener à bien leur mission à côté « des modestes maîtres de village, ivrognes parfois et débauchés, possédant quelques livres, quelques lexiques, des livres d'astronomie et des résumés, en quatre volumes, d'énormes grammaires » (Iorga 1933 : 118).

[246] Royalistes, révolutionnaires, officiers désaffectés… ; surtout après 1806 (Istoria 2002 : 437).

[247] « Ils n'apprennent ordinairement que par l'usage le valaque, leur langue maternelle, que plusieurs d'entre eux ne savent ni lire ni écrire, et qui n'a pas même d'orthographe fixe ; en sorte qu'elle pourrait être regardée comme un véritable patois. ».

[248] Pour un répertoire plus ample des « maîtres de français » des enfants des princes phanariotes et des boyards, voir Epure 2015 : 413 sqq.

[249] Pour un répertoire plus ample des pensionnats français, voir Epure 2016 : 280 sqq. et Mureşanu Ionescu 2012 : 136 (pour les pensionnats de Moldavie).

principe, ces établissements privés, laïques ou confessionnels (les écoles *Notre-Dame de Sion*[250]), étaient ouverts à une élite de la population (des enfants des boyards de deuxième ou de troisième rang, des prêtres, des commerçants…) et pratiquaient la méthode d'immersion totale, où, du moins au départ, toutes les matières étaient enseignées en français.

Les lacunes de l'enseignement, public ou privée, ont été comblées par une lecture assidue et par la pratique de la langue en milieu mondain. Acquérir le français est devenu dans les circonstances de l'époque non seulement très à la mode dans le milieu de l'aristocratie, mais aussi une nécessité culturelle et politique (Ioniță 2007 : 46). Après avoir usurpé le grec, le français s'utilisait de plus en plus souvent dans la conversation ou dans la correspondance officielle et privée (Goldiş Poalelungi 1973 : 43). Et les fruits de cette ténacité ne se sont pas laissé attendre. À tel point que des observateurs étrangers ne cessaient pas de s'étonner de l'intérêt que les Roumains portaient à cette langue. L'envie d'apprendre le français était devenu tellement intense et étendue qu'elle risquait de menaçait de « dégénérer en épidémie ». Cette appétence affectait même les femmes les plus âgées tellement que le manque d'enseignants soit devenu complètement aigu (comme le notait l'informateur du consul russe à Jassy en 1806 (Istoria 2002 : 437 ; Epure 2015 : 418).

De toute façon l'intérêt pour le français se propagea et, peu à peu, la langue acquis un statut privilégié (« ceux qui ignorent le français n'entrent pas à l'école supérieure » ; Iorga 1933 : 173)[251]. En effet, dans le système d'enseignement de haut niveau le français est apparu comme l'outil idéal (et unique) en raison du manque de confiance que la langue romaine inspirait à ce stade historique de son développement (marqué par une précision insuffisante et un degré de subtilité peu satisfaisant et, en conséquence de ces faits, par l'absence de traductions fiables d'ouvrages scientifiques et artistiques fondamentaux). C'est ainsi que le prince Mihai Stourdza[252] était enclin au choix du français comme langue d'enseignement dans l'établissement d'enseignement supérieur qu'il a lui-même fondé (Iorga 1933 : 221) :

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[250] *Notre-Dame de Sion* est une congrégation religieuse catholique fondée en 1843 par deux frères, les prêtres français d'origine juive convertis au catholicisme Théodore Ratisbonne (1802-1884) et Alphonse Ratisbonne (alias Alphonse de Ratisbonne, Marie-Alphonse Ratisbonne ; 1814-1884). Créées à Jassy (1866), ces institutions d'enseignement religieux se sont installées aussi à Bucarest et à Galați, où elles ont fonctionné avec beaucoup de succès jusqu'en 1948.

[251] Bien que les autres langues étrangères (le latin, le slavon, le grec, le turc, le russe, l'allemand, le polonais) vont continuer d'être étudiées dans les écoles des deux provinces roumaines (avec des poids différents selon la région et le type d'école).

[252] Mihail Sturdza (1794-1884), prince régnant de la Moldavie (1834-1849), fondateur d'une école supérieure (du niveau du lycée) et de l'Academie Mihăileană (en 1835 ; ainsi appelée d'après son prénom : *l'Academie Michelienne* < *Mihail* « *Michel* ») qui forma le noyau de l'Université de Jassy (la première université de Roumanie).

« Or, n'ayant pas encore ces richesses dans notre langue, ni en original, ni en bonnes traductions, il est évident qu'il faut recourir pour le moment au français, langue répandue et disposant du plus grand nombre d'œuvres originales, étant en plus propre par sa richesse à donner d'excellentes traductions. ».

L'importance accordée à la langue française dans les Principautés au cours des premières décennies du XIXᵉ siècle est devenue si exacerbée qu'elle a provoqué une véritable querelle entre les nationalistes progressistes et les réformistes. De connivence avec des représentants de l'élite roumaine, certains intellectuels français établis dans les Principautés[253] ont tenté de saper le rôle récemment acquis de langue romaine, celui de langue nationale dans les établissements de l'enseignement supérieur[254].

Bien que le roumain ait été déclaré langue officielle d'enseignement, beaucoup d'écoles privées et même publiques préféraient le substituer intégralement par le français. Les arguments en étaient à la fois subjectifs et objectifs : d'une part, on faisait plus de confiance aux professeurs étrangers, voire français (et à leurs méthodes et outils didactiques, les mêmes qui étaient employés en France) qu'aux enseignants autochtones, et d'autre part, parce que ceux qui maîtrisaient déjà la langue française (d'anciens étudiants en France, par exemple) avaient du mal à s'adapter à l'enseignement en langue roumaine en raison des lacunes des terminologies spécialisées (Iorga 1971 : 133 ; Păuş 2010 : 137, 140, 141, 143 ; Dumas 2012 : 6-7 ; Epure 2016 : 288-289).

En 1847, Mihail Sturdza supprima la langue roumaine dans l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur[255]. Le prince a transformé l'Académie Mihaileană en *Collège Français*[256] et, ayant le français comme seul outil de communication, des manuels exclusivement français et des professeurs venus de France pour y enseigner, c'est ainsi que cet établissement est devenu la première institution publique complètement bilingue de Moldavie[257] (Iorga 1971 : 133 ; Păuş 2010 : 137, 140, 141, 143 ; Dumas 2012 : 6-7 ; Epure 2016 : 288).

Georges Bibesco[258], quant à lui, a promulgué la même année que Mihail Sturdza en Moldavie une loi interdisant l'enseignement en roumain dans les classes supérieures du Collège « Saint-Sava » de Bucarest.

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[253] Les plus acharnés ont été les professeurs Jean Alexandre Vaillant à Bucarest et Charles Malgouverné à Jassy.

[254] Et reproduisant ainsi le rôle joué dernièrement par la langue grecque.

[255] La première tentative de substituer la langue roumaine par la langue française en Moldavie date depuis 1836, mais elle a été vouée à l'échec parce que le Comité académique, dirigé par Gheorghe Asachi, s'y est opposé de façon catégorique.

[256] Dont la direction fut confiée au Français Charles Malgouverné qui dirigeait déjà un pensionnat à Jassy.

[257] Déclaré contraire aux Règlements organiques, le collège a été fermé en 1849.

[258] Georges Bibesco (roum. Gheorghe Bibescu ; 1804-1873), hospodar de Valachie (1843-1848), partisan de l'union de Valachie et de la Moldavie sous la souveraineté d'un prince étranger, a développé l'instruction publique et a envisagé de créer à Bucarest un grand

Sous prétexte de moderniser le système de l'éducation, les deux princes phanariotes, Mihail Sturdza (en Moldavie) et Georges Bibesco (en Valachie) tentaient d'y amoindrir voire d'y anéantir le caractère national. La tentative de remplacer la langue roumaine par la langue française essayait de dissoudre le mouvement progressiste interne stimulé par l'enseignement en langue nationale, mais aussi de décourager la „fuite" des jeunes aisés pour étudier en France (où ils étaient exposés au risque d'entrer directement en contact avec le mouvement révolutionnaire et de se convertir à l'anarchisme).

La Révolution de 1848 a mis fin au processus de dénationalisation de l'enseignement, mais, en tant que langue étrangère, le français a continué à être présent dans les programmes scolaires. Toujours avec un poids très considérable et même en s'érigeant en principal pilier de l'enseignement, au même titre que l'étude du latin ou du grec (ancien et moderne).

§ 13. Quelques constats conclusifs. Suivant une longue tradition (depuis le XVIIIe siècle), la Roumanie s'est sentie attachée à la France par des affinités culturelles et par des intérêts politiques très ponctuels. C'est à partir de cette époque-là que le roumain réintégra le monde roman occidental et cela dans une grande mesure grâce au français et à la culture française. L'unification de la Moldavie et de la Valachie (1859) a été soutenue par des personnalités françaises telles Jules Michelet et Edgar Quinet et elle s'est accomplie avec l'aide de Napoléon III. C'est toujours avec l'aide de la France[259] que l'indépendance des Pays roumains se réalisa (1877). Conduite par le général Henri Matthias Berthelot[260], la mission militaire française y a eu un rôle essentiel pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, contribuant effectivement à la reconstruction de l'armée roumaine. Cette caractéristique cosmopolite et philo-française s'est renforcée au début du XXe siècle.

Pour une longue période, la culture et la civilisation françaises ont constitué l'idéal des aspirations à suivre des Roumains[261], les aristocrates et les nouveaux bourgeois autochtones voyant dans les Français le « résumé le plus complet de la civilisation » (*apud* Cornea 1972 : 513, *apud* Moldovanu-Cenuşă 2013 : 184). Subséquemment, les Roumains ont cherché dans leur ascension vers la modernité

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collège français avec des professeurs amenés de France afin de former les futures élites roumaines.

[259] En quête de retrouver son influence de jadis, après la défaite subie devant les Allemands lors de la Guerre franco-allemande de 1870.

[260] Henri Mathias Berthelot (1861-1931), général de l'armée française, conseiller militaire du roi roumain Ferdinand pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, citoyen d'honneur de Roumanie et membre d'honneur de l'Académie roumaine.

[261] De surcroît, ce prestige magique eut le même effet un peu partout en Europe. « Le nom de la France, constatait Louis de Nalèche en 1856, électrise les populations ; il est porteur d'un prestige de grandeur et de générosité que personne ne le nie » (Nalèche 1856 : 15). L'influence du français n'était toutefois que le pendant nécessaire de l'influence de la civilisation française. Pour qu'une langue se généralise, il suffit qu'elle soit le support d'une civilisation (Meillet 1926 : 118).

leur propre image dans la culture et la spiritualité françaises[262], idée parfaitement synthétisée par l'historien roumain Alexandre Xenopol (Xenopol 1909 : 74, 77) : « Toute la civilisation du peuple roumain est due à l'imitation de la civilisation française », ou bien « En un mot, nous copions en tout et toujours la France. Nous sommes juste une reproduction plus ou moins fidèle de la civilisation française. » (*ibidem*).

Il faut avouer toutefois que ce lien spirituel entre « la grande nation latine de l'Occident et sa sœur cadette du Danube » (Iorga 1918 : 198) était bien asymétrique. Si la France avait strictement des intérêts concrets et bien précis dans les Pays danubiens (politiques, stratégiques, économiques), ceux-ci visaient plus haut et cherchaient au-delà d'une protection politique effective de la France (parfois accomplie, parfois seulement promise), un modelé culturel et spirituel. Et cette adoration absolue et sans conditions pour la France et pour les Français a connu constamment des formes tout à fait stupéfiantes. Les déclarations faites par deux personnalités marquantes de la spiritualité roumaine en témoignent pleinement. Dans un mémoire envoyé à l'empereur Napoléon III pour lui solliciter de l'aide en vue de la constitution d'un État roumain puissant, Ion C. Brătianu[263], faisait usage d'un ton peu sentimentaliste, en évoquant les bénéfices économiques et politiques dont la France allait s'en réjouir si l'existence de cet État devenait une réalité durable (Valcan 2007-2008 : 102) :

> « La constitution de cet État roumain serait la plus belle conquête de la France à l'extérieur de son territoire. L'armée de l'État roumain serait l'armée de la France en Orient, ses ports à la Mer Noire et au Danube seraient les entrepôts du commerce français et, du fait de l'abondance de nos bois de construction, ces ports seraient à la fois les chantiers de la marine française ; les produits brutes de ces pays riches approvisionneraient largement les fabriques de la France, qui trouverait en échange un grand débit dans les mêmes pays. Enfin, la France aura tous les avantages d'une colonie, sans avoir à supporter les dépenses qui en découlent. ».

Ce genre d'attitudes explique très bien pourquoi on n'a pas tort de parler dans ce cas particulier d'une vraie colonisation des Roumains en l'absence du colonisateur. Une réalité factuelle reconnue par les Français eux-mêmes : la Roumanie est devenue « une véritable colonie qui nous a rendu au centuple les frais que nous avons faits pour elle » (rapport adressé par le général Henri Mathias Berthelot au Quai d'Orsay en 1918, *apud* Durandin 1981 : 637), Nulle part en

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[262] « La culture française, au moment de l'avènement de l'identité nationale des Roumains, a eu le rôle de révélateur et de miroir pour la culture roumaine. » (Păuș 2010 : 138).

[263] Ion C. Brătianu (1821-1891), éminent porte-drapeau du libéralisme politique, grand homme d'État du XIXe siècle, membre honoraire de l'Académie roumaine. Ion C. Brătianu a déployé une activité littéraire assez considérable, ses pamphlets politiques écrits en français étant tous publiés à Paris (*Mémoire sur l'empire d'Autriche dans la question d'Orient* – 1855, *Réflexions sur la situation* – 1856, *Mémoire sur la situation de la Moldavie depuis le traité de Paris* – 1857, *La Question religieuse en Roumanie* – 1866).

Europe, écrivait Neagu Djuvara[264], l'influence française n'aura été plus profonde et plus durable qu'en Pays roumain. À tel point qu'on peut dire sans exagération que pendant plus d'un siècle, du début du XIXe siècle et jusqu'au lendemain de la Première Guerre mondiale, les Roumains ont été littéralement « colonisés » par la France – sans présence du colonisateur. C'était probablement la plus belle réussite d'influence par la culture que l'on ait enregistrée dans l'histoire moderne (Djuvara 1989 : 308). Plus tard, le philo-allemand Nae Ionescu[265] (Ionescu 1931 : 82) témoignait lui aussi d'une manière très éloquente et suggestive de cette fascination sans bornes que la France et les Français ont eues sur les Roumains :

« Sans conteste, nous aimons les Français. Nous parlons français et lisons en français. Nous voyageons surtout en France et nous faisons des études dans ses universités. Nos institutions d'enseignement sont organisées selon le modèle français. Plus que cela : nous apprenons à connaître l'histoire du monde en fonction de l'histoire de la France. Il en était ainsi de mon temps, il en est pareil à présent aussi. C'est bien pourquoi nous sentons un je-ne-sais-quoi pour les Français. À tel point que souvent nous sentons Français. / Cet amour est si fort qu'il prend quelquefois des formes aberrantes. […] Mais il y en a d'autres encore. Je crois qu'il n'y a pas au monde un autre pays où les ministres ne connaissent que de façon très approximative la langue de leurs concitoyens, parlant en échange un français impeccable. Nous avons de tels ministres. Cela peut ne pas être grave ; mais ce n'est pas normal non plus. Ce qui est plus grave c'est qu'il y a eu et il y a encore chez nous des ministres – des hommes respectables – qui, à un moment donné, auraient pu dire : que la Roumanie disparaisse, pourvu que la France triomphe. De tels hommes auraient été lapidés partout dans le monde. Chez nous, ils jouissent d'un grand honneur, tellement notre amour pour la France et tout ce qui est français est profond. / C'est vrai, nous ne sommes pas certains que cet amour a un correspondant du côté des Français. Les mouvements de générosité envers nous sont rares. Ou en tout cas nous ne les connaissons pas. Tout soutien de leur part a été souvent marchand. [...] On nous a prêté de l'argent. Et cela est vraiment vrai. Mais c'est l'argent le plus cher que la France a jamais prêté à qui que ce soit. / […] / Fraternité de sang et lien spirituel franco-roumain ? Non. Un vrai amour des Roumains pour les Français, prenant parfois des formes exagérées et anormales. À laquelle on ne répond pas en fait dans la même mesure. Ainsi, nos relations sont claires : nous les aimons ; eux – dans le meilleur des cas se laissent aimés. *Et encore* ! / Ce n'est donc qu'ici, chez nous qu'on doit chercher la signification de notre amour pour nos frères français. »[266].

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[264] Neagu Djuvara (1916-2018), diplomate, historien, écrivain et journaliste roumain et français, officier de l'ordre des Arts et des Lettres.

[265] Nae Ionescu (né Nicolae C. Ionescu ; 1890-1940), philosophe, logicien, éducateur et journaliste roumain, idéologue du mouvement nationaliste du Royaume de Roumanie – la *Garde de fer* (1927 – début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale).

[266] « Incontestabil, iubim pe francezi. Vorbim franţuzeşte şi citim la fel. Călătorim cu predilecţie în Franţa şi le cercetăm universităţile. Instituţiile noastre de învăţâmânt sunt organizate după modelul francez. Mai mult: învăţăm să cunoaştem istoria lumii în funcţie de

Ces allégations nous permettent de mieux comprendre combien paradoxal fut en réalité ce longue et complexe processus de rapprochement de la culture et de la civilisation roumaines de celles françaises, ainsi que celui de la modernisation de la langue roumaine sous l'influence de la langue française.

En résumé, les vrais acteurs de tout cela ont été : des grecs (les hospodars phanariotes) et leurs imitateurs autochtones (les boyards), les précepteurs français ayant trouvé asile en Moldo-Valachie, les quelques ambassadeurs et secrétaires français envoyés en Moldo-Valachie autant par les Français que par les Turcs (tous soupçonneux envers les hospodars moldo-valaque), les jeunes « bonjouristes » et les émancipées de l'époque, des officiers russes, des religieux (romano-catholiques, uniates) en Transylvanie… En fait, peu de Français de souche, très peu…

Et juste un dernier paradoxe à évoquer à la fin. De manière directe ou indirecte, le français a affecté le système de la langue roumaine dans toutes ses invariantes : 1) les invariantes *diastratiques* (le *sociolecte cultivé* vs. le *sociolecte populaire*), 2) les invariantes *diaphasiques* (c'est comme ça que se sont constitués les styles de la langue littéraire : belles-lettres, scientifique, juridico-administratif, journalistique) et 3) les invariantes *diamestiques*[267] (*écrit* vs. *oral*). Chose curieuse, pour marquer l'opposition avec des styles fonctionnels tels le style scientifique, juridico-administratif…, la langue littéraire[268] se ressource systématiquement par les temps qui courent en puisant dans le patrimoine linguistique traditionnel du roumain. D'où une préférence particulière et constante accordée aux mots d'origine turque, slave… et une tendance à faucher constamment les emprunts au français (ressentis comme trop neutres, insuffisamment expressifs).

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istoria Franței. Așa era pe vremea mea – așa e și acum. De aceea și simțim cu francezii. Așa de mult, încât adesea simțim ca francezii. […] Cred că nu există pe lume o țară în care miniștrii să nu cunoască decât foarte aproximativ limba concetățenilor lor, dar să vorbească în schimb impecabil franțuzește. Noi avem asemenea miniștri. Asta poate să nu fie grav; dar nici normal nu e. Mai grav e însă că s-au găsit și se găsesc la noi miniștri – oameni respectabili – care într-un moment dat ar fi putut spune: să piară Rumânia, numai să învingă Franța. În orice altă parte a lumii, asemenea oameni ar fi fost lapidați. La noi se bucură de mare cinste. Atât de adâncă e la noi iubirea pentru Franța și cele franțuzești. / Este adevărat, nu suntem siguri dacă acestei iubiri a noastre îi corespunde, din partea francezilor, una la fel. Mișcări de generozitate față de noi sunt rare. Sau în orice caz nu le cunoaștem. […] Ni s-au dat bani cu împrumut. Și asta e adevărat. Sunt însă banii cei mai scumpi pe care i-a împrumutat vreodată cuiva Franța. / […] / Frăție de cruce și legătură sufletească franco-română ? Nu. O reală iubire, uneori de forme exagerate și anormale, din partea rumânilor pentru francezi. La care însă nu se răspunde de fapt cu aceeași măsură. Așa încât raporturile noastre sunt clare: noi îi iubim ; ei – cel mult se lasă a fi iubiți. Et encore ! / Înțelesul dragostei noastre pentru frații noștri francezi trebuie căutat deci numai aici, la noi. ».

[267] Selon la distinction proposée par Alberto M. Mioni en 1983 : *diamésie* – distinction entre langue parlée et langue écrite (Wüest 2009 : 147).

[268] Dans le sens de « langue des œuvres littéraires ».

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DACĂ NU MAI EXISTĂ LIMITĂRI DE GEN ÎN AREALUL PROFESIONAL, DE CE AR MAI EXISTA ELE ÎN LIMBĂ?

IF THERE ARE NO GENDER LIMITATIONS IN THE PROFESSIONAL REALM, WHY WOULD THEY PERSIST IN LANGUAGE?

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Abstract: *The historical evolution of languages has been more than once influenced by the sheer influence of scholars who re-channeled some linguistic phenomena or simply consecrated aspects of colloquial usage. This happened in the history of Romanian language when the Latinist scholars cleansed the lexicon and parts of morphology of various non-Latin borrowings and derivations whereas they revived or inserted Latin formations. Taking account of this, it would be hard to justify the rejection of many feminized denominations of professions used already by people in everyday conversations. With the advance of technology and with the support of the third wave of feminism women are able nowadays to embrace whatever professional field they may want. On the other hand, there are numerous international conventions that acknowledge the role played by women in the setting up of the postindustrial society. That is why my article is a plea in favor of a linguistic updating, namely the acceptance into the literary language of feminized denominations of professions.*

Key words: gender linguistics; gender studies; usage; norm; feminine suffixes; equality of chances.

Scopul acestui articol este acela de a contrapune uzul unei norme nu îndeajuns de bine fundamentată. În contextul ideologic şi educaţional actual, feminizarea substantivelor ce denumesc profesii este solicitată de mai multe asociaţii care îşi asumă rolul de a îmbunătăţi condiţia femeii în societatea postindustrială. Există, de asemenea, şi convenţii internaţionale care vizează acelaşi aspect. În ce măsură normatorii limbii ar trebui să ia în considerare contextul extralingvistic?

Combaterea descriminării de gen nu poate fi susţinută fără un studiu amănunţit al limbii în uz. După cum ştim, gramaticile normative ale limbii

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române recomandă în multe cazuri denumirile masculine ale diverselor profesii, meserii şi ocupaţii. Nu numai că efectele sunt discriminatorii, dar pot fi şi comice. Bunăoară, cazul Ioanei Pârvulescu, scriitoarea căreia i-a fost decernat Premiul Uniunii Europene pentru Literatură în anul 2013 şi despre care s-a spus că este nu doar critic literar, dar şi poet. Înainte de a purcede la investigaţia lingvistică aş vrea să recapitulez câteva iniţiative privitor la echilibrul de gen.

Există în spaţiul naţional al României un ghid de promovare a egalităţii de şanse între femei şi bărbaţi pe piaţa muncii, respectiv *Egalitatea de gen*, proiect Posdru /156/1.2/G/133630. Încă de la începutul acestuia se precizează că într-o democraţie autentică „nici unul din cele două sexe nu ar trebui să aibă o pondere mai mare de 60% în funcţii publice" (*Egalitatea* 2015:4). În acest sens, sunt comparate mai multe ţări europene, dar subiecţii principali ai comparaţiei sunt România şi Spania. Astfel, se arată că generalizarea „Planului de Egalitate", care trebuie implementat de orice entitate publică sau privată din Spania, a avut ca efect creşterea ratei de activitate în rândul femeilor de la 36,70% la 51% între anii 1997 şi 2009 (5). Rata de ocupare a femeilor în 2010, în procent de 60%, a fost un deziderat al Strategiei Lisabona. De asemenea, în UE există şi Strategia Europeană de Ocupare.

Amintesc şi etapele efortului de construcţie a egalităţii de şanse: Tratatul de la Amsterdam din 1997 prevedea principiul nediscriminării pe criteriu de sex. La fel, *Cartea drepturilor fundamentale ale UE din 2000* interzice discriminarea pe motive de sex. Există şi o Directivă (76/2007/CEEE) ce conţine principiul egalităţii de tratament dintre femei şi bărbaţi cu privire la accesul la încadrarea în muncă, la formarea şi la promovarea profesională, precum şi la condiţiile de muncă. Directiva 2006/78/EC prevede crearea unui cadru general în favoarea egalităţii de tratament în ceea ce priveşte încadrarea în muncă şi ocuparea forţei de muncă, aici fiind inclusă şi definiţia discriminării directe şi indirecte[269]. Ar trebui menţionat şi forumul unde s-a discutat *Strategia pentru egalitate între femei şi bărbaţi 2006-2010*, cu şase axe prioritare de acţiune în UE în domeniul egalităţii de gen. Dintre acestea, axa 4 se referea la eradicarea tuturor formelor de violenţă bazate pe gen, în timp ce axa 5 viza eliminarea stereotipurilor de gen.

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[269] *Discriminarea directă* implică aplicarea unui tratament nefavorabil unei persoane, faţă de cel aplicat unei alte persoane într-o situaţie similară, pe motive de apartenenţă religioasă, handicap, vârstă sau orientare sexuală. *Discriminarea indirectă* pleacă de la aceleaşi motive, dar este rezultatul distorsionării unei practici sau criteriu aparent neutre, astfel încât să dezavantajeze o persoană în raport cu altă persoană.

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Mainstreaming = integrare

În Spania există un Institut al Femeii care gestionează două observatoare de gen: Observatorul pentru Egalitate de Gen şi Observatorul pentru Imaginea Femeilor.

În *Echilibrul de gen în produsele mediatice* se preia în mod natural diferenţierea de gen în terminologia profesională recentă: „anual, sunt mai multe absolvente decât absolvenţi ai facultăţilor, masteratelor şi doctoratelor. Or, acestea-s potenţiale experte. Pur şi simplu, din inerţie, noi, jurnaliştii, mergem la experţi mai des decât la experte" (*Echilibrul de gen* 2016:5). Situaţia este uşurată în acest caz de faptul că substantivele cu terminaţia în consoana „t" la masculin singular obţin forma de feminin prin adăugarea terminaţiei vocalice „ă", ceea ce nu comportă nuanţe ironice sau condescendente.

Un alt paragraf recurge la aceeaşi categorie de substantive pentru a demonstra naturaleţea pluralului feminin: „Doar noi mergem la protagonişti/protagoniste şi nu viceversa" (7).

Demonstraţia judicioasă din acest program oficial este că limbajul este purtător de ideologii: „În jurnalism, ca şi în viaţă, nu există teme străine de problematica de gen. Contează abordarea. Orice temă poate fi privită şi din perspectiva de gen" (8). Propriu-zis, lucrăm pe două paliere, *langue* şi *parole*, iar ele nu pot evolua în diviziune. Nu este vorba despre uzul preferat de mase în acest caz, ci de o întrebuinţare ideologizantă a limbii împotriva limbajului. Respectiv, este opusă evoluţia ştiinţifică şi de prestigiu a limbii unor variante existente în limbaj, dar respinse cu motive structuraliste sau fonetice (nu sună bine!). Vom oferi pe parcursul articolului câteva exemple în acest sens.

Echilibrul de gen nu se poate realiza în afara flexibilizării limbajului, oricâte măsuri birocratice s-ar lua. Aşa cum observă şi autoarele ghidului: "Stereotipurile de gen s-au răsfrânt şi în limbaj. Depăşirea stereotipurilor necesită a utiliza forma feminină, cel puţin, acolo unde e posibil (reporteră, deputată, fotografă, consilieră, ingineră etc.) (9). Imposibilitatea ar avea în vedere evitarea şocurilor fonetice care ar putea rezulta din feminizarea tuturor profesiilor sau din suprapunerea formei de feminin a unui adjectiv cu forma inovatoare de feminin a unui substantiv (*mecanică, bufonă* etc.).

Androcentrismul sau „centrarea pe bărbat" (10) s-ar putea evita prin diverse supravegheri şi epurări ale limbajului sexist: evitarea generalizărilor şi a termenilor cu caracter absolut, evitarea apelativelor stereotipice, eufemistice, peiorative, a diminutivelor sau formelor excesiv de politicoase cu referire la persoanele din categoriile discriminate („drăguţă", „stimată şi frumoasă doamnă"), evitarea calificativelor de întărire a unor stereotipuri, dar şi a descrierilor stereotipice sexualizate despre vestimentaţie şi aspect corporal (11), eliminarea comportamentelor de *slut shaming* (abordarea femeilor ca târfe), eliminarea substituirii identităţii profesionale cu cea de gen

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(„femeia”, în loc de „directoarea X”), renunţarea la numirea indirectă, adiacentă unei personalităţi masculine („soţia lui...”, „fiica/nora lui...”, evitarea privilegierii indicilor de aparenţă fizică şi/sau de statut marital („mamă divorţată”) utilizaţi în locul formelor de feminin fără determinanţi descriptivi.

Dat fiind că femeile au ajuns să ocupe posturi de conducere şi să practice meserii/profesii destinate iniţial bărbaţilor, este firesc şi corect politic ca aceste denumiri să fie racordate la indicatorul de gen. Iată de ce jurnaliştii pun întrebări referitor la şabloane lingvistice: „De ce, atunci, continuăm să ţinem femeile la respect sau sub tăcere prin menţinerea formelor masculinizate pentru mai multe profesii/funcţii, dar şi alte mărci ale limbajului sexist în limbă conform unor norme gramaticale pe care e timpul să le schimbăm?”. Mai mult, Academia română este acuzată de „sexism în practica lingvistică” (13). Se solicită o mai mare deschidere către uz, precum şi înţelegerea faptului că norma lingvistică este ea însăşi în evoluţie, fiind făcută de persoane cu o mentalitate de epocă.

Mobbing **şi** *glass ceiling effect*

Astfel de acuzaţii pot avea consecinţe grave, întrucât ele ar putea fi asociate fenomenului de *mobbing*, un tip de discriminare dintre cele patru „omologate”: directă, indirectă, pozitivă sau negativă.

În general, mobbingul este definit ca o aplicare sistematică (aproximativ 6 luni) de rele tratamente unui coleg (de regulă bine pregătit profesional, integru şi entuziast; adică un potenţial pericol pentru conducere sau pentru cei corupţi) şi care îi pot cauza victimei probleme sociale, psihologice sau psiho-somatice. Una dintre tacticile subordonate *mobbing*-ului este şi hărţuirea sexuală, precum şi discriminarea de gen. Interesant este că *mobbing*-ul, spre deosebire de *bullying*, este îndreptat în contra persoanelor cu calificare înaltă.

Discriminarea de gen conduce la *segregarea ocupării* pe genuri, care poate fi de două tipuri:

1. segregarea pe *orizontală* (capacităţile psihologice şi emoţionale ale bărbaţilor şi femeilor ar fi diferite, deci nu orice loc de muncă ar fi potrivit pentru oricare din ambele sexe);

2. *segregarea pe verticală* (femeile sunt distribuite în ocupaţiile de la baza piramidei ocupaţionale, deci cele cu prestigiu scăzut şi venituri reduse).

În plus, femeile ar avea de luptat şi cu *glass ceiling effect* (efectul de obstacol transparent), adică îndepărtarea unor bariere artificiale invizibile care le limitează accesul la cariere complexe, pe măsura pregătirii lor profesionale.

Uz, normă, limbi artificiale. Masculinitate şi feminitate

Eugen Coşeriu acorda o mare importanţă uzului: „vorbitorul are totdeauna dreptate ca vorbitor, nu ca lingvist, nu când începe să explice" (Coşeriu citat de Munteanu 2018:98). Lingvistica integrală pe care o promova era fundamentată pe câteva norme: norma *congruenţei* la nivel universal; norma *corectitudinii* (idiomatice) la nivel istoric şi norma *adecvării* la nivel individual. În vorbire, aceste norme pot fi suspendate (în anumite situaţii) de jos în sus, inductiv. Norma congruenţei ar putea fi suspendată direct de norma adecvării prin trei modalităţi: prin *metalimbaj*, prin *extravaganţă* (cu precădere în basme) şi prin *metaforă* (98).

Astfel, uzul este amplasat mai presus de normă, chiar dacă acesta reprezintă o *conştiinţă lingvistică sincronică* bazată pe o *cognitio clara confusa* (după Leibniz, cf. Coşeriu citat de Munteanu 2018:99), pe când norma este făcută de vorbitori cu o *conştiinţă lingvistică diacronică* întemeiată pe o *cognitio clara distincta* (99).

Limbile naturale, faţă de cele artificiale (Esperanto, Interslavic, Interlingua şi altele) sunt rezultatul constant negociat al unui context lingvistic. Nici măcar cele trei limbi artificiale menţionate nu au reuşit să elimine complet componenta „naturală" din „anatomia" lor. Însă nici limbile naturale nu pot să îşi elimine din compoziţie normarea „artificială" a lingviştilor. Norma şi uzul vor colabora şi se vor contrazice în ambele paradigme.

În ceea ce priveşte exprimarea genului, s-a spus că limba română ar fi caracterizată de masculinitate „dominatoare" atât în privinţa gramaticii, cât şi a lexicului (Munteanu 2018:101). Astfel, în spatele unei colectivităţi strânse sub substantivul la plural „fraţi" se pot afla mai multe surori şi un singur frate. La fel şi în cazul substantivului la plural „elevi". În această privinţă, Otto Jespersen (*Philosophy of Grammar*, carte din 1924) susţinea că există o „logică lingvistică" ori că „limbajul are o logică proprie" (Munteanu 2018:101).

În 1999, Irina Petraş scria eseul *Limba – stăpâna noastră. Încercare asupra feminităţii limbii române*. Mai rezervat, Cristian Munteanu consideră că ar putea fi identificată o „masculinitate tolerantă a limbii române" (102) şi îşi bazează afirmaţia pe terminaţiile la feminin ale adjectivului *bărbat*, chiar dacă acesta are ca provenienţă latinescul *barbatus*, „cu barbă". E adevărat că într-*O scrisoare pierdută* a lui I. L. Caragiale hortativul „Zoe! Zoe! Fii bărbată..." (act IV, Scena V) este folosit ironic, însă la Petre Ispirescu, în *Voinicul cel fără tată*, nu: „Fii bărbată, mamă, ţine-ţi firea până mă voi întoarce, şi ai să fii veselă şi sănătoasă ca piatra, după ce vei bea apă vie" (104). Mai mult, există o veche medalie instituită prin Decretul Regal Nr. 2812 din 3 noiembrie 1903, suspendată în 1947, dar reinstituită prin Legea

nr. 29/2000, Medalia Bărbăţie şi Credinţă, care nu este rezervată doar bărbaţilor merituoşi.

De ce nu utilizăm armele morfologice din dotare?

Gramaticile româneşti actuale vorbesc despre un gen *natural* şi un gen *gramatical*. Din raţiuni de istorie a limbii, de fonetică, dar mai cu seamă de suprasemnificare peiorativă se evită pe cât posibil neconcordanţa dintre genul gramatical şi sex. Astfel, dacă sufixele *–esă, -easă (poetesă, baroneasă)* sunt mai predispuse interpretărilor laterale, sufixe moţionale ca *–ă* sau *–oare* nu comportă la fel de multe conotaţii ale discreditării. Chiar şi aşa, rareori vom întâlni în documente oficiale formele *ministră, doctoră/doctoriţă, ambasadoare, directoare*. În variaţia terminaţiei de gen *profesor/profesoară* se poate recunoaşte distincţia practicată de persoanele cu un nivel mai ridicat de educaţie: *profesor* este ambigen când se referă la ierarhia universitară, dar acceptă femininul *profesoară* dacă avem în vedere structurile învăţământului secundar. Totodată, chiar în relaţie cu titlurile academice intervine o subtilă nuanţare a uzului. De exemplu, dacă ne adresăm generic unei femei cu titlu universitar (asistent, lector, conferenţiar) putem recurge la apelativul *profesoară* sau pentru a flata, sau pentru că nu îi cunoaştem cu exactitate titlul. De neauzit/necitit este întrebuinţarea femininelor *lectoriţă, conferenţiară*, deşi din punct de vedere morfologic ele sunt perfect „egale". *Asistentă* implică o specificare semantică cu referire la domeniul medical.

Propriu-zis, la nivel de limbaj cultivat, unele substantive denumind profesii se comportă ca substantive unigen (*jaguar, hipopotam, elefant, rinocer*), deşi ele pot forma masculinul sau femininul perfect valabil din punct de vedere gramatical.

Întrebarea este dacă nu a venit momentul, ţinând cont de ideologia de gen şi de multiplicarea identităţilor sexuale, să realizăm formele de feminin şi masculin fără discriminare cel puţin în ce priveşte genul personal, aşa cum este el descris în GALR, pe baza opoziţiei [+uman]/[-uman].

În limba engleză situaţia este uşurată de existenţa *genului comun*, opoziţia de sex având nevoie de marcatori suplimentari pentru a fi realizată (*assistent, attendant, driver, professor, teache*r).

„La substantivele nume de persoane, categoria genului poate fi marcată lexical, morfologic sau identificată cu ajutorul unor cuvinte din context care exprimă genul" (Redeş 2009:53). Chiar şi aşa, compusele cu *–man* sau *-woman* au ajuns adesea să fie considerate discriminatorii şi se tinde către eliminarea mărcilor de gen: *postman* devine *mail carrier*, *fireman* devine *firefighter*, *policeman* devin *police officer* (*53*). În plus, engleza este mai puţin discriminatorie în ce priveşte uzul, căci adăugarea la formele de masculin a sufixelor moţionale *–ess, -ine, -ette* şi *–ix* nu declanşează semnificaţii lateral-subterane (*goddess, actress, murderess, heiress,*

ambassadress, duchess, hostess, executrix, heroine, mistress (exemple preluate din Redeş 2009:54). Doar femininul *poetess* are conotaţii ironice, aşa cum are şi *poetesă* în limba română.

Conflictul dintre uzul colocvial şi cel oficial

Aşa cum subliniam mai sus, uzul colocvial este mult mai tolerant la evidenţierea diferenţei de gen, în timp ce uzul oficial (limba literară însemnând şi multitudinea de variante prezente în beletristică, unde *parole* nu numai că este precumpănitor faţă de *langue*, dar apar şi formaţiuni inedite, care îşi vor dovedi în timp utilitatea ori inutilitatea) este mult mai „suspicios", mai „rău". Norma nu are mare încredere în sufixele moţionale *–ă* şi *–iţă*, în timp ce uzul le foloseşte copios.

Aşa cum remarcă Roxana Joiţa, „genul numelor de profesii şi meserii corespunde, în general, genului natural" (Joiţa 2016:291). Procedeul prin care se realizează diferenţierea de gen este moţiunea, „procedeu de formare a substantivelor animate feminine de la cele masculine sau a celor masculine de la cele feminine prin derivare regresivă" (DSL 2001:330, citat în Joiţa, 2016:291). Rezultă că parametrul *animat*, atât de important în limba română, este afectat de o dispunere pe paliere diverse ale lexicului profesional: „Forma de masculin utilizată în locul celei de feminin este considerată literară, iar forma de feminin, obţinută cu ajutorul unui sufix moţional, a devenit familiară şi deci o caracteristică a limbajului colectiv (Uşurelu citat în Joiţa 2016:291). Aşa cum am menţionat mai sus, această observaţie trebuie luată *cum grano salis* căci adresarea cu *doamna profesoară* în cazul cadrelor didactice femei din învăţământul secundar ori al titlurilor academice de până la cel de lector nu comportă nicio nuanţă ironică.

Moţiunea - procedeu prin care se formează substantive animate feminine de la cele masculine sau invers (DSL 2005:330) - este o modalitate productivă în limba română. Invariabilitatea lexicului profesional (preferinţa pentru formele de feminin marcate prin mijloace lexicale şi sintactice) face parte din dinamica limbii actuale în care forma de masculin a unei profesii, folosită pentru ambele genuri, este considerată cea literară. Călăraşu (330) identifica în absenţa opoziţiei de gen o rămăşiţă a mentalităţii patriarhal-medievale.

Tot mai multe cercetătoare militează pentru *feminizarea* lexicului profesional, motivaţia fiind şi extralingvistică. Stricteţea masculinizării arealului ocupaţional poate friza absurdul, aşa cum se întâmplă în cazul formulei „domnişoara student", situaţie lingvistică ce nu comportă nuanţe de reverenţă administrativă. Diferenţierea pe bază de statut de marcă a prestigiului profesional şi social este înregistrată de lingvişti (Gruiţă 2006:77) cu referire la exemplul pe care l-am oferit mai sus: „doamna profesoară/doamna profesor".

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Alți cercetători propun soluții de tranzit-compromis, chiar dacă ei le prezintă cu fermitate: „în absența unor reguli clare de selectare a femininului/masculinului în ceea ce privește numele de profesii, se recomandă alegerea formei feminine dacă aceasta există și nu are conotații peiorative sau familiare (*academiciană, astronaută, cercetătoare, ingineră, conferențiară, psihiatră*), dar nu *decană, decăniță, doctoră, doctoriță* (Dragomirescu și Nicolae citat în Joița 2016:292). Dacă forma de feminin nu există, se apelează la formule de tipul *doamna/domnișoara* + masculin (*doamna decan, doamna ministru*) (292). Or, limba nu suportă mult timp asemenea normări care nu reprezintă nici măcar normări, ci preferințe conjuncturale.

Există, totuși, serii de dublete cu sufixe moționale diferite de la aceeași bază substantivală feminină (*doctoriță – doctoră, decăniță – decană*). Dar și denumiri masculine de profesii se pot forma de la cele de feminin, de exemplu, substantivul masculin *coafez* creat prin derivare regresivă din femininul *coafeză* – format din *coafor* și sufixul moțional *–eză* (293). Observăm că în cazul masculinizării unei profesii cândva rezervată femeilor nu întâlnim suspiciuni de nivel lingvistic scăzut. Vrem, nu vrem, lumea se schimbă și dicționarele vor trebui să înregistreze variante lexicale de negândit cândva. De pildă, încă găsim în anunțurile de angajare forme lexicale perifrastice care treptat devin hipercorecte: *fete-barman, frizer-fete, picolițe(fete)* (294).

DEX și DOOM2 refuză adesea să înregistreze denumiri de profesii formate de la masculin cu prefixele *-iță, -oare, -istă*, ori includ recomandarea, *rar*, ca în cazul substantivului *redactoare*. Opoziția formală de gen, exprimată așa cum știm prin indici lexicali (sufixe lexicale moționale sau prin indici sintactici (acordul cu determinanții) (295) manifestă tendințe de relaxare odată cu importanța crescândă a femeilor în segmentul profesional al societății. Totodată, introducerea pe scară largă a utilajelor și a roboților industriali face ca femeile să poată accesa orice meserie care cândva fusese practicată exclusiv de bărbați.

Alte lucrări de sinteze gramaticale nici nu abordează problematica despre care vorbim. De exemplu, lucrarea lui Ion Popa și a Marinelei Popa, *Limba română. Gramatică, fonetică, vocabular, ortografie și ortoepie* (Ediție revizuită în conformitate cu noul DOOM), Editura Niculescu, 2015, nu detaliază genul substantivelor în pofida celor aproape 500 de pagini ale cărții.

Concluzii

Dacă plecăm de la premisa că „trăim într-o lume genizată” (Borza 2006:9) și dacă ținem cont de numeroasele cursuri aparținând tematicii de Gender Studies introdusă în programele de studiu de la universitățile românești – nu putem ignora tendințele de evoluție lingvistică prezente în uz.

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Nesocotirea acestora a condus în rândul specialistelor din varii domenii la numeroase acuze de discriminare. Astfel, au apărut puncte de vedere ca acestea: bărbatul este substantiv şi adjectiv, femeia este numai substantiv, deci nu ar implica şi calităţi; bărbatul cumulează sensuri pozitive, energice şi decisive, pe când femeia nu prezintă încredere; bărbatul este mai „productiv" lingvistic vorbind decât femeia, întrucât ar exista şapte derivate pentru bărbat şi doar trei pentru femeie (12). O altă acuză este că nu ar exista un corespondent feminin al substantivului *bărbăţie*, cum ar fi „femeieţie" (14).

Din toate aceste aspecte ar rezulta „o cultură de masă invadată de mesaje patriarhal-denigratoare la adresa femeilor" (19). În sprijinul eliminării oricărui tip de discriminare, este invocat articolul al doilea din Legea Nr. 202/2002: „Măsurile pentru promovarea egalităţii de şanse între femei şi bărbaţi şi pentru eliminarea discriminării directe şi indirecte după criteriul de sex se aplică în domeniul muncii, educaţiei, sănătăţii, culturii şi informării, participării la decizie, precum şi în alte domenii, reglementate prin legi specifice" (21).

Nu în ultimul rând, nu trebuie să uităm că evoluţia istorică a limbilor nu a fost niciodată complet „naturală". Lingviştii au intervenit constant în stabilirea normei iar uzul adesea şi-a găsit loc în normă. Să ne aducem aminte de relatinizarea limbii române, prin aducerea în prim-plan a unor cuvinte şi morfeme sau împingerea altora în plan secund, de către savanţii care îşi doreau o limbă cu mult mai puţine „aluviuni" slave, turceşti, maghiare şi greceşti.

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Book reviews

REVISITING THE AVANT-GARDES

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Abstract: *The tome written by Paul Cernat, a known specialist of the avant-gardes, analyzes the anatomy and human blueprints set out by the Romanian and European avant-gardes found under the immediate influence of the symbolic year of 1933. The "amphibian" nature of these radicalisms is characteristic for an entire process of modernization. That is why Paul Cernat critically revisits all of the marquee and obscure cases, offering us a critical panoramic view that invites novel re-assessments. The studies are written using a blend of tools you might see a literary historian and a portraitist wield in their work, a blend that lets shine truly special expressive abilities, and qualities in terms of synthesis. Whether tackling famous names, household figures from around the world – such as Ionescu and Blecher – or discussing the work of more provincial or minor writers, the author withholds from us no memorable quote. An essential study for those interested in the phenomenon of the Romanian avant-garde.*

Key words: Romanian avant-garde; radicalism; re-reading; surrealism; absurd;

The first chapter, *Căderea în modernitate* (*Falling into Modernity*), focuses on Eminescu's destiny in the group Junimea [The Youth] as a form of nihilistic avant-garde. What we know for certain from reading this section is that Paul Cernat always exhibits more conceptual possibilities than the subjects he chooses. I would venture to say that his subject matter is always beneath his critical level. If he were to use these leanings to approach a major literature, he would certainly enjoy a more notable level of success.

The poet Eminescu, accepted in this group of young intellectuals who had spent their formative years getting educated in Western schools, finds in the attitude of critic Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917) – the head of the group – a measure of snobbery towards the spirit of the times; Paul Cernat is interested in the fact that Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889), considered a Neo-Romantic, uses the term "nihilist" for the new literary school of thought; Maiorescu wasn't just a conservative critic, but also proved to be a nihilist in disguise as

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well. The researcher is interested here not in the avant-garde, but Junimea's relationship with the nihilistic spirit. He believes that the term used by Eminescu comes from an intuition that surpasses the poet's intentions. We can identify in the poems of Eminescu, for example, a sort of disenchantment of poetry, a notion that is in step with the pessimism of Schopenhauer and the nihilism of Nietzsche. Cernat tends to believe that, in the poem *Epigonii* (*The Epigones*), a famous work in Romanian culture, Eminescu did not adhere to the theories of Titu Maiorescu, but satirized Junimea and its forms which were devoid of real content. Maiorescu established Eminescu, who was joined Junimea with the great writers of the time – Slavici, Creangă and Caragiale. On the other hand, Alexandru Macedonski accused the linguistic trivialities and the barbaric Germanophile manner in which Eminescu operated; as a matter of fact, as a Neo-Latin adept opposed to Germanism, Macedonski was at the starting point of a new direction for the beginnings of the Romanian avant-garde, the one that was represented by "aesthetic Francophilia" against Junimea (the other direction was socialist and belonged to Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea).

Chapter two, *Dada export-import*, begins with an applied study retracing the history of the Dadaists. The emphasis rests on the preoccupations of Tristan Tzara, whose pursuit of a theory of de-legitimization sought de-provincialization – to topple fixed, traditional values and to desert a world ruled by war and technology. Let us not forget that the World War reached its massive scale, unprecedented in history, because the technological growth of the arms industry made it possible. Dada was a movement, Cernat believes, that was trans-national and anti-nationalist in nature; like all of the pacifists of that time, its members perceived war as a product of Western bourgeoisies; on the other hand, Tzara's origin and education were held against him, as they had nothing to do with German humanism, as the other leaders would have preferred. Cernat uses numerous direct and critical sources to retrace the image of a group whose legacy was hard to follow in Romanian culture. Beside the Dadaists, the "De Stijl" movement and their artistic revolution are there in the Romanian avant-garde publications. The similarities between poet Ion Vinea's manifesto and the manifesto in the magazine "De Stijl" are "striking," the literary historian believes. We can, thus, speak of an impure Constructivism, "hybridized with Imagism and Futurism" within the Integralism specific to the magazine that gave it its name in Romania. The architectonic and plastic achievements are essential, and the ideatic relationship with the "De Stijl" group is obvious.

An extremely applied and useful demonstration is carried out concerning the progressive revolutionary nature of the historic Romanian avant-garde of the 1930s. The fact is that the French drama of Ionesco, for example, explicitly hails from I.L. Caragiale and Urmuz, while the

"buffoonish nihilism" of *Nu* (*No*) stems from "the carnivalesque relativism of Tzara's manifestos". The novel was contested by the generation of Ionesco, Cioran, Eliade and the rest because it represented an expired form of bourgeois positivism – an idea borrowed from Futurism. Cernat precisely explores the young representatives of the time, paying attention to the Futurist influences, ideological conflicts and nuances in the polemics of ideas.

Chapter four shows how the revelatory experiences of Ilarie Voronca and Geo Bogza changed the face of Romanian poetry. Voronca serves up the most spectacular images of the modern metropolis in Romanian inter-war poetry, prophesying the release of the sentence from the constraints of logic. When analyzing the poems and recounting the literary context, Cernat displays an archivist's conscientiousness. Bogza, on the other hand, writes a very transnational poetry. Cernat directs his interest towards the most famous tome of the Romanian inter-war avant-garde, *Poemul invectivă* (*The Invective Poem*) by Bogza. Bogza has probably hoped for nothing other than to change the reader. Poetry must transform the reader on the inside, and the method or means for achieving this transformation were obvious (shock, aggression, reportage poems, etc.). Just as spectacular, through Cernat's lens and penmanship, are the journalistic and prose books of Bogza. His famous prose book *O sută şaptezeci şi cinci de minute la Mizil* (*One Hundred Seventy-Five Minutes in Mizil*) is also analyzed in detail, seemingly becoming the ideal ammunition for the hermeneutical Cernat.

Chapter five, dedicated to the Romanian surrealists of the 1940s, brings forth names that are slightly more obscure, such as Jules S. Perahim, Gherasim Luca, Paul Păun, Virgil Teodorescu and D. Trost. While some migrated out of Romania in time and saved themselves from totalitarianism, others, such as Teodorescu, collaborated with the communist power. Aurel Baranga, although a talented and promising avantgardist, became the servant of the regime after 1945. The last great Romanian surrealist, Gellu Naum, seems to Paul Cernat to be living all ages at once. And Cernat is right.

A separate chapter is dedicated to the lone avant-gardists. The author draws up a few historical-literary sketches, always searching for a synthesizing memorable phrase, akin to a G. Călinescu. The names of the heretics from the various iterations of the avant-gardes are also present here. In these analyses, Cernat portrays these poets and times with an unabashed intent to render them in a definitive fashion, as if to compile a dictionary. There are joyous and ironic biographies, all of them well weaved with intelligent expressions.

The last part is spent developing a veritable micro-monography dedicated to Max Blecher, starting from the latest research, critical editions and re-interpretations of the oeuvre of this famous Romanian Kafka. Cernat

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believes that there is always more to the prose of a writer who makes of the twilight zone of their own life a true hypnotic spell. On the subject of Eugen Ionescu, the researcher remarks the Balkan tradition with its air of fantastic realism sourced from folklore. I would venture to say that Paul Cernat seeks to extract exotic formulations even in the most depleted of subjects by using, for this purpose, even a few guilty comparisons.

When reading his interpretations, you get the impression that there is nothing left to be understood. Most certainly, Cernat's critical devotion exceeds even the expectations of the authors.

In the book *Vase comunicante*, the researcher does not debate literary history issues with a general approach, but is rather more detail-oriented, thus moving reception to areas that are completely new and remarkably fertile for those who will analyze the literary phenomenon of that time from now on. Along with Ion Pop, he is the most versed researcher of the Romanian avant-gardes. But unlike any other specialist on the avant-garde, Paul Cernat is a critical source of memorable verdicts. *Vase comunicante* is the most Călinescu-esque tome that bears the name of the Bucharest academic. Beside the other studies on the avant-gardes, this one confirms that Paul Cernat is a European-level specialist and, at the same time, the most gifted critic of his generation.

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THE THEORY OF LITERATURE AS A DECLARATION OF LOVE

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Abstract: *In* Frumoasa necunoscută. Literatura şi paradoxurile teoriei*, Carmen Muşat analyzes and systemizes the relational character of literature and the discourses on literature. She revisits famous notions of modernity which can be capitalized on in our current context, where we speak of the death of the author and even the end of literary theory. In all of the approaches that she takes in the book, the author is certain that the theorist and his presence in the world retain a valid purpose, as they can counterargue, wherever the case may be, and justify the beauty of literature from novel points of view.* Frumoasa necunoscută *presents to us an inventory for an ideal way to look upon the world and literature. Carmen Muşat is a researcher who is up to date with the most sophisticated conceptual systems. The result of this is a narration under the form of a complex declaration of love for literature and the paradoxes of theory*.

Key words: literary theory; chronotope; the death of the author; palimpsest; literary canon;

Few are the researchers who have remained the captives of a theoretical project as if in a love story. Starting from the very title of her most recent book, Carmen Muşat herself projects her activity as a literary theorist and critic as a sort of perpetual fairytale. Come to think of it, doesn't the relationship with literary theory become, following decades of study and devotion, a fairytale to the connoisseurs? How many still believe in theoretical resources as the years go by and literature changes, inspiring the feeling that we have gone on foolish paths? However pragmatic they may be, literary theorists should be recognized as the most prone towards utopia among philologists. Carmen Muşat stands apart among them as a character, as she harmonizes pragmatism with the most sensitive representations, lucidity with the oneiric, abstract arguments with practical figures and so on. In any case, the words *The Beautiful Unknown* appeal to the imagination of those who study literary theory and search for arguments for its actuality. But, even more than that, it renders in undeniable terms the special status of the discipline in the larger frame of philology.

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Carmen Mușat proves herself, from the get-go, to be a passionate reader. Starting with her identification with the heroes of literature to her ideal relationships with family. It all escalates when she discovers something that's apparently unimportant: that reading is, as Gheorghe Crăciun put it, a strategy to keep and potentiate the humanity within us. An alternative form of knowledge. This was, in fact, "the bodiless beauty" that the prose writer was talking about. And thus, we can say that, from the first pages of the book, Carmen Mușat also initiates an implied, subtle dialogue with Gheorghe Crăciun's "Beauty." Bodiless or unknown, "the beauty" represents that inexpressible reality, the unknown in an equation. And besides, the function of literature is for her also a fundamentally human one. The author is convinced that, whether we know it or intuit it, we are looking for answers and interpretations about ourselves and the world that can offer us an ideal coherence. *Frumoasa necunoscută* is a story about looking for meaning.

The first chapters debate longer-standing issues that have extended into the present, all from the sphere of literary theory. The author makes her case around the idea of the frontier between life and literature. What paths of access does such a frontier have to offer? How does literary theory help us in understanding the hazy areas on the border between real life and fiction? Carmen Mușat does not omit the importance of Russian formalism in the theoretical articulation of modernity. The crisis of authority is also meticulously analyzed. Major interest is ignited, she believes, when it becomes clear that the main preoccupation of theory is to constantly challenge all of the concepts that have shaped Western thought. Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope has remained probably the most significant in this sense. The Russian theorist's concept seems to Carmen Mușat to be an answer to the challenges set forth by historical context. Bakhtin's chronotope can be perfectly integrated into literary theory, especially given that we cannot read a text without considering its temporal and spatial coordinates. But also without considering it as a possibility of subversive interpretation in the sense that, when interpreting the oeuvre of Rabelais in an era of censorship, Bakhtin manages to read these texts in reference to the dramatic reality of his time (where the perpetual carnival, the world-upside-down, the buffoonery, the appearance vs. essence dichotomy, the comedy of language are ever-present). Another master of allusive discourse, Paul de Man solidifies the author's convictions that there is a fundamental bond between theory and biography. The concept of the American academic also made history ("prosopopeia is the trope of autobiography"). This Greek term means that the person who writes about their past creates a new relationship with themselves, but also that, by leaving aside some aspects or masking others, the author does not render them any less alive and exotic. In other words, in any autobiography, what is absent is

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just as important as what is present. The study of Maurice Blanchot is just as applied. Herein, the author correlates the relationship with a secret identity, the literary work as a perfectly autonomous world in itself, and anti-memory; above all else, she concludes that the writer remains a temporal being, who is historically determined. Tzvetan Todorov ends his excursion into the history of literary theories with an emphasis on the theory of evil in a complicated century.

Part two of the book analyzes the manner in which literary theory can become a propaganda tool (socialist realism) and examines the lost author – starting from R. Barthes' concept of the death of the author, all the way to Jean Rousset, Foucault, Derrida, Searle and others. Carmen Mușat is interested in the place and role of the concept of the author in relation with the fictional universe that they always create through the language and social reality that they, the author, find themselves in. In order to complete this archaeological process concerning literary theory, the researcher also analyzes the role of the reader. The guide that takes us through the notions crystallizes in a specific concept: the narrative palimpsest (partially borrowed from G. Genette). These are ingenious interpretations, among them being the one applied to Don Quixote, where there character is filtered even through the plays on language of Wittgenstein.

The chapter dedicated to the literary canon is also very well synthesized and useful. The author is convinced of the fact that no history of literature can have an impact on readers anymore, as it can no longer impose a canon – as was the case last century. She is also sure that the battles concerning the canon will never cease, in the same way that no debate about the canon will ever cease outside ideology. The latter must demonstrate that, between ideology and utopia, there is a relationship that is constructive.

The final part of the book comes to a conclusion that was known for some time, namely that the hypotheses surrounding the end of literary theory are growing more frequent. Gadamer seems to Carmen Mușat a lively and adequate model in this sense. Along with Popper, the two thinkers make a case for the founding order on the principle of freedom, whether it is political, in thought or critical. The author then goes on to run through the entirety of current concepts related to literary theory. Among the conclusions she reaches, one opinion of hers says that a literary work is made all the more mysterious the more it confounds expectations, if it stimulates imagination and, especially, curiosity. On the other hand, the reader's horizon of expectation (Jauss) argues differently, because for too long have critics insisted on the authors' intention and not on the literary work's production of meaning. Thus, meaning, for Gadamer, always exceeds the author. So, given that, how do we read? Carmen Mușat claims that the professional reader must have the qualities of a detective who pays attention to all of the particulars,

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who is interested in essential details. By reading and re-reading, we discover and build the meanings of a literary work.

At the end of *Frumoasa necunoscută*, beyond the inventory of issues related to literary theory, Carmen Muşat finds that, in the same way as authors, she too survives through her oeuvre. Through her own beautiful unknown. All in all, the tome is an excellent synthesis, written with academic rigor, dynamic and juicy in many instances. Carmen Muşat is an archaeologist of concepts who steps into their world not unlike Alice in Wonderland and comes out the victor, as if the entire meaning of her life cannot occur anywhere other than inside literature.

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PERSONAJUL MASCULIN
SAU CRIZA REÎNTREGIRII ARHETIPALE

THE MALE CHARACTER
OR THE ARCHETYPAL REUNIFICATION CRISIS

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Abstract: *The outlining of male character traits is an intriguing concern in the literary exegesis and Carmen Dărăbuş manages to combine her passion and her vast knowledge from the philological and psycho-social sphere, to thoroughly and complexly analyze the characters of Romanian and universal texts. By proposing multiple interpretations, the author traces the (evolutionary) trajectory of male characters (chronologically speaking), by highlighting the permanent capabilities of metamorphosis of the primordial pattern.*
Key words: male character; archetype; evolution; myth;

Pasiunea pentru studiul complexităţii personajului literar se remarcă şi de această dată în cazul doamnei Carmen Dărăbuş, care, la cincisprezece ani de la publicarea lucrării *Despre personajul feminin. De la Eva la Simone de Beauvoir*, alege să analizeze, cu aceeaşi obiectivitate, ipostazele sub care (de această dată) bărbatul îşi prefigurează traseul evolutiv, dar şi valenţele ce îi configurează „tribulaţiile [...] la confluenţa articulărilor mitice cu cele sociale" (Dărăbuş 2019:7). Studiul *Despre personajul masculin. De la unitatea androginică la disiparea postmodernă* determină, urmăreşte şi compară faţetele interşanjabile ale arhetipului în urma contopirii sale cu realul, la nivelul eterogen al articulării psiho-sociale.

Experienţa acumulată în ultimii ani prin publicarea unui număr important de studii (*Comparatismul, întâlnire a spaţiilor culturale, L'application du scénario dans l'imagologie comparée, Literatura de limba română din Serbia şi antropologia culturală, Înlumea ex-iugoslavă – literatura ca studiu cultural*) o determină pe autoare să recurgă la abordarea comparatistă, întrucât, precum însăşi susţine, „comparatismul creează deprinderea unor abordări tolerante, stimulând dezvoltarea

complexă a spiritului uman, evitarea enclavizării de orice fel, punând permanent accentul pe latura formativă" (19). Pornind de la diverse repere teoretice şi aspecte culturale necesare cititorului în parcursul literar şi analitic, doamna Carmen Dărăbuş realizează o pertinentă etapizare, la baza căreia stau o serie de variabile: mitul, erosul, raportarea la social, cunoaşterea sau alienarea, conturând astfel cinci capitole inedite, urmate de o bibliografie amplă, actualizată, ce tinde către exhaustivitate.

În *Preliminarii*, autoarea porneşte de la stabilirea coordonatelor termenului „personaj", realizând o interesantă abordare transdisciplinară. Domeniile de investigaţie depăşesc sfera literaturii, iar mitologia, sociologia, hermeneutica sau psihanaliza sunt câteva dintre noile direcţii ce îi fundamentează argumentele. De altfel, Carmen Dărăbuş îşi semnalează dintru început intenţiile de abordare globală, în detrimentul strictei ancorări în literatură: „Cartea intenţionează o situare a personajului masculin în rama studiilor culturale şi de istorie a mentalităţilor" (20). Între personaj şi mediul său de provenienţă se realizează o legătură impenetrabilă, o interdependenţă previzibilă şi asumată, fiind astfel necesară „cunoaşterea spaţiilor culturale diverse prin intermediul literaturii universale şi familiarizarea cu norme, ritualuri, tabuu-uri culturale" (13). Arhetipul, fundament al existenţei, cunoaşte metamorfoze în funcţie de modul de raportare a omului la lume, iar în acest context „personajul, uneori confundat cu persoana,e dependent de cuvânt şi subordonat portretului" (16).

Capitolul *Articulări mitice şi eros* debutează prin raportarea la mitul androginului, un „mit fecund în spaţiul european şi nu numai" (21), subliniind ideea conform căreia sinteza masculinului şi a femininului devine terenul fertil în care ulterior erosul se manifestă plenar. Incursiunile în *Miturile lui Platon*, în elemente de spiritualitate indică, în lucrările de naturofilozofie, unde Johann Wilhelm Ritter prefigurează statutul de androgin al omului viitorului (după modelul cristic), sau în cutumele ortodoxiei privind unitatea duhovnicească sunt menite să constituie un real îndrumar pentru cititorul pasionat de ineditul temei. Din acest punct, conexiunile cu personajul literar se realizează fluent şi firesc, întrucât „literatura este forma prin care se prelungeşte naraţiunea mitică, o formă germinativă, care traduce sensibilitatea epocilor" (28). În romanul balzacian *Séraphita,* autoarea remarcă incapacitatea celor două personaje, Wilfried şi Minna, de a înţelege complexitatea androginului, puterile limitate ale ochiului şi minţii umane fiind responsabile pentru dubla receptare bărbat/femeie a omului desăvârşit. Ieronim şi Cezara refac cuplul adamic sub protecţia spaţiului insular, iar Thalassa şi Caliope, aceste reprezentări ale Evei primordiale, susţin eterna interconectare a erosului cu thanatosul. Exploatând mitul cuplului Isis şi Osiris, Robert Musil accentuează în *Omul fără însuşiri* „sentimentul de depersonalizare exercitat de un sistem social invaziv" (44), plasând

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incestul undeva la graniţa dintre sacru şi profan. Nevoia de reunificare arhetipală, de refacere a cuplului paradisiac stă şi la baza nuvelei *Şarpele*, în care Mircea Eliade îşi devoalează intenţiile, oferind repere prin însăşi onomastica personajelor: „Dorina, un posibil derivat de la dor şi Andronic – andros- bărbat, în greaca veche" (45). Ca o contrapondere, în *Gemenii* şi *Travesti* de Mircea Cărtărescu, Carmen Dărbăbuş remarcă o fragmentare a unităţii androgine, cauzată, aparent paradoxal, tocmai de actul iubirii. Autoarea se apleacă, prin detalieri concludente (Dorian Gray, Gatsby), şi asupra mitului lui Narcis, reliefând portretele unor veritabili egocentrişti, de un indiscutabil şi trufaş radicalism, care ating apogeul singurătăţii şi al neîmplinirii, ajungând să recurgă la inevitabila renunţarea de sine.

În capitolul *Articulări sociale. Copilărie, adolescenţă, raporturi filiale şi paterne,* Carmen Dărăbuş îşi lansează sieşi o provocare în sfera cercetării, întrucât „interesul pentru copil şi adolescent ca personaje literare este o cucerire destul de târzie a literaturii" (78). Dacă imaginea lui Telemahus apare sub forma fiului docil, care nu doar că îşi ajută tatăl, dar îi şi continuă menirea, copiii Medeei nu sunt altceva decât nişte instrumente punitive prin care eroina sancţionează infidelitatatea lui Iason. Odată cu Renaşterea, optica se schimbă, iar Gargantua, cel născut din urechea mamei sale (asemeni Atenei din urechea lui Zeus), este o sinteză a efectelor educaţiei asupra dezvoltării spiritului uman. Autoarea subliniază diferenţele de mentalitate în funcţie de gen în cazul copiilor şi al tinerilor, situaţie specifică secolului al XVIII-lea, ce răzbate neîngrădit din *Legăturile primejdioase* ale lui Laclos: „Sistemul diferenţiat al educaţiei tinerilor din nobili, conform căruia fetele erau trimise la mănăstire până la vârsta căsătoriei, mai mult spre a fi lipsite de tentaţii, iar băieţii erau învăţaţi să mânuiască sabia, să călărească şi chiar să cânte un madrigal nu îi pregăteşte, în mod egal, pentru viaţă, restrângând mult experienţa fetelor" (99). O categorie aparte în studiile doamnei Carmen Dărăbuş o reprezintă tentaţia de a decodifica misterele erosului adolescentin. Secolul XX, cu optica lui inovatoare, aduce cu sine înclinaţia către psihologism şi, ca atare, în literatură se abordează tot mai des tema maturizării, a trecerii de la copilărie către starea de adult. Conflictele interioare, clocotul specific vârstei, întâile sentimente la limita dintre virginal şi erotic, toate creionează o lume a tranziţiei, a ezitărilor şi totodată a revoltei, magistral surprinsă de Alain Fournier, Robert Musil, Ch. Dickens, F. M. Dostoievski sau J. D. Salinger.

Capitolul *Inserarea în lume. Cunoaşterea: Profetul, Iniţiatul, Exploratorul, Călătorul, Artistul,* se apleacă asupra nevoii personajului masculin de raportare la propria devenire. În demersul său, acesta parcurge mai multe trepte ale cunoaşterii, care îi individualizează existenţa. Prometeu, eroul civilizator, dispune, asemeni lui Tiresias, de darul profeţiei. Ulise parcurge un lung drum al modelării destinului personal,

călătoria în sine simbolizând actul descoperirii, al iniţierii, al perfecţionării şi al cunoaşterii. Don Quijote, cavalerul ce vânează iluzii, pare a porni într-o nesăbuită aventură în numele unei cauze nobile, însă întregul său demers nu este altceva decât o metaforă a permanentei căutări de sine. Secolul XX aduce inovaţii la nivelul conturării personajelor, astfel încât autoarea remarcă noi categorii sociale în opera lui Thomas Mann: intelectualul şi artistul. „Intelectualul, prin puterea de a se reînnoi spiritual, prin forţa de a analiza minuţios, iar artistul prin faptul că reprezintă axul central al evoluţiei umane" (159). Analiza se extinde cu deosebită minuţiozitate asupra scrierilor lui Fitzgerald, Tournier, Eliade, Nabokov, Yourcenar sau Coelho, glisând mereu spre corelaţii cu psihanaliza jungiană.

Capitolul final, *Alienarea. Macho în conflicte. Dictaturi,* aduce în prim-plan problema identităţii, reluând mitul primordial al androginului. Separarea categorică a celor două părţi „a dus la alcătuirea unor individualităţi distincte, demonstrând că alteritatea este apriorică identităţii" (199). Jorge Luis Borges, în eternul lui proces de căutare de noi semnificaţii, îşi asigură dedublarea necesară pentru a se salva de alienare. Atât Andrei Bolkonski din *Război şi pace*, cât şi Nick Adams, personajul din *În vremea noastră*, se luptă cu demonii războiului, în timp ce Frederic, eroul lui Hemingway, în cadrul unei clipe de introspecţie, alege o combinaţie între sinceritate şi bravură, preferând cinismul situaţiilor cu adevărat profunde, chiar răvăşitoare: „Eram făcut să mănânc şi să beau şi să mă culc cu Catherine" (Hemingway 1992: 121). Fiecare analiză întăreşte ideea conform căreia arhetipul original transcende timpul şi se materializează la nesfârşit în noi şi noi exemplare, păstrând proporţiile culturale şi sociale ale epocii.

Lucrarea doamnei Carmen Dărăbuş atrage prin ineditul temei şi prin deosebita capacitate de abordare transdisciplinară a subiectului ales. Observat printr-o lupă a maturităţii creatoare, personajul masculin se supune paşnic extrem de temeinicului demers analitic şi sistematizator, devoalându-şi secretele în faţa cititorului. Subiecţii din literatura română şi universală, analizaţi prin filtrul comparatismului, devin astfel eroii unui amplu studiu ce se impune prin tact, rigoare şi o desăvârşită pasiune pentru acurateţea detaliului.

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ANTILETHE – O REVISTĂ PENTRU REMEMORAREA EXILULUI ROMÂNESC

ANTILETHE – A MAGAZINE FOR THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE ROMANIAN EXILE

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Abstract: *A literary magazine having a distinct character among all Romanian publications is Antilethe. Its name remind us of the Lethe River (the river of oblivion in Greek mythology) because the main purpose of the founder – Mihaela Albu – together with the editorial board - is an act of restitutio. In short – to bring into attention of the contemporary readers the cultural activity of the Romanian intellectuals from exile. Each issue has a specific subject - Vintilă Horia (no. 1), Mircea Popescu (no. 2), Ștefan Baciu (no. 3) and Camilian Demetrescu (no. 4). Our presentation is mainly focused on the life and activity of the great artist Camilian Demetrescu.*

Key words*: literary magazine; Romanian exile; oblivion; restitutio; cultural activity;*

Începând cu toamna anului 2018 apare la Craiova o revistă cu o personalitate distinctă, denumită de directorul fondator, Mihaela Albu, – *Antilethe*. Numele, preluat dintr-o însemnare a lui Vintilă Horia („*Lethe era fluviul uitării*, în care sufletele celor morți se spălau de amintiri înainte de a intra în eternitate. *Antilethe am botezat acest jurnal, pentru ca totuși să nu uit*") (Horia 2004: 77) este explicat mai pe larg – deopotrivă cu justificarea demersului revuistic – în „Argumentul" care însoțește cele patru numere care au apărut până în prezent.

Originalitatea revistei constă în faptul că întregul cuprins este alcătuit din texte semnate de scriitori care au trăit mare parte din viață în exil și publicate la momentul respectiv în alte spații geografice, interzise la noi decenii întregi. În „Argument" este explicat, de altfel, foarte clar scopul editorilor: „Prin revista noastră încercăm să contribuim la punerea în circuitul public a unor articole, eseuri, poezii, jurnale etc. scrise și publicate departe de țară și rămase în cea mai mare parte încă necunoscute, venind astfel în sprijinul celor interesați de fenomenul cultural al exilului românesc, aducând

totodată în atenţie însăşi personalitatea unuia sau a altuia dintre cei pe care-i numim *mari necunoscuţi ai culturii române*. Portretele pe care şi le-au făcut unii altora, schimbul epistolar dintre ei, jurnalele ori memoriile dau seamă – peste timp – despre dimensiunea umană, dar nu mai puţin de talentul şi dăruirea fiecăruia întru păstrarea unei limbi frumoase şi curate." (Albu 2018: 6)

De aceea, fiecare număr este dedicat uneia dintre personalităţile româneşti care au trăit în exil (Vintilă Horia - nr. 1, Mircea Popescu – nr. 2, Ştefan Baciu – nr. 3 şi Camilian Demetrescu – nr. 4), ediţia fiind completată şi cu alte materiale necunoscute publicului cititor din ţară, de vreme ce exilul a fost un subiect prohibit în timpul perioadei comuniste. Pentru edificare, enumerăm aici câteva dintre rubricile constante: *File din literatura exilului*, *Reviste româneşti în exil*, *Din presa exilului, Restituiri. Texte originale în versiune românească* sau *Din exil despre exil* ş.a.

Numele enumerate mai sus sunt încă (cvasi)necunoscute cititorului din ţară. Ne vom opri pentru o succintă prezentare asupra artistului de talie internaţională Camilian Demetrescu, deşi fiecare dintre cei patru a căror activitate culturală formează tematica unui număr din *Antilethe* s-ar cuveni prezentat cu mai multe amănunte asupra operei literare (ori artistice), dar şi a activităţii jurnalistice şi chiar de ctitor de reviste, cum a fost cazul lui Ştefan Baciu.

„Născut în 1924 la poalele munţilor Bucegi (la Buşteni) – aşa cum se menţionează în primul articol („Artistul şi gânditorul Camilian Demetrescu") –, acesta va absolvi Academia de Arte Frumoase din Bucureşti, frecventând, în paralel, şi cursurile facultăţilor de medicină şi de filosofie. Începând din 1950 şi până în 1969, artistul a traversat o perioadă de intensă activitate afirmându-se atât în sfera artelor plastice (ca participant la numeroase expoziţii din ţară şi din străinătate), dar şi printr-o intensă activitate publicistică pe teritoriile criticii de specialitate, devenind director al revistei *Arta*." (Anghelescu 2018: 9)

Dar multe amănunte asupra activităţii sale în plan artistic şi jurnalistic le află cititorul (în paginile numărului 4) din interviurile cu soţia lui Camilian, Mihaela Demetrescu, precum şi cu artistul însuşi, cel în care acesta este intervievat de Marilena Rotaru şi, respectiv, de Mircea Brenciu (acesta din urmă fiind şi ultimul interviu pe care l-a acordat Camilian Demetrescu).

Extragem pentru exemplificare câteva dintre aprecierile – privind omul şi opera sa – pe care le semnează în paginile revistei unii dintre autori. Astfel, Marilena Rotaru, în preambulul interviului arată că „A fost unul dintre oamenii pe care rar îi poţi întâlni. *Artist, scriitor, cărturar*." (Rotaru 2018: 24) Dan Anghelescu, în articolul de deschidere a „Mozaicului portretistic", intitulat „Artistul şi gânditorul Camilian Demetrescu" scrie despre „mutaţiile înregistrate la nivelul *limbajului* său artistic" (Anghelescu 2018: 10), datorate, probabil, şi restaurării bisericuţei de la anul 1000, precum şi despre

„re-întoarcerile către un nou ev mediu în care *alegoria* şi *simbolul* revin în prim plan". (Anghelescu 2018: 11)

Iar aceste alegorii şi simboluri sunt cel mai bine reliefate în tapiseriile sale, câteva dintre ele, cele *din ciclul Hierofaniilor,* fiind, din 2007, aşa cum informează Marilena Rotaru, „expuse în sala de audienţe a Vaticanului, acolo unde Papa primeşte regii, împăraţii şi preşedinţii planetei. Un mare artist român, Camilian Demetrescu, salută pentru totdeauna, din inima Vaticanului, capetele încoronate şi şefii cancelariilor acestei lumi." (Rotaru 2018: 25)

Cele câteva repere privind capitolul dedicat lui Camilian Demetrescu s-ar cuveni completate cu altele din celelate rubrici, cu semnalarea poemelor semnate de Virgil Ierunca, Horia Stamatu ori Ştefan Baciu, cu un fragment din *Memoriile unui fost Săgetător* de Vintilă Horia, cu prezentarea uneia dintre cele mai importante reviste din exil – *Limite* de către Mihaela Albu, cu două articole ale lui Camilian Demetrescu publicate în această revistă şi multe altele.

Pe scurt, revista *Antilethe* ne pune în faţă acea Românie *de dincolo*, care, aşa cum subliniază Mihaela Albu („în numele redacţiei") „a fost reprezentată de valoroşi intelectuali – scriitori, filosofi, jurnalişti, oameni de ştiinţă şi, nu în ultimul rând, de câţiva politicieni." (Albu 2018: 5) Activitatea scriitoricească desfăşurată de ei în exil este astfel subiectul principal al acestei „publicaţii-*oglindă* a fenomenului cultural românesc desfăşurat în teritoriile din afara ţării". Prin ea, se arată, editorii doresc să ofere „o mai bună cunoaştere a vieţii şi activităţii – nu de puţine ori dramatică şi complexă – a celor pentru care exilul a fost, aşa cum afirmase metaforic Monica Lovinescu, „o *paranteză cât o existenţă*". (Lovinescu 1997-1998: 171)

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