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I. FONDEMENTS

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EMERGENCE OF HUMAN LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Like other animals, man expresses his simple and acute states by sonorous and imagistic manners that are more expressive than words, but these acts have too little to do with superior mental faculties. Many animals possess vocal organs with the same general structure, which they use to communicate, so it is possible they should develop in the same direction. Several other animals have vocal organs, but they do not use them too well to communicate, which is related to the level of development of their brain and intelligence. But what differentiates man from the other superior animals is not the mere articulation, the understanding of uttered sounds or even the simple ability to assign certain sounds to certain ideas. It is man's infinite ability to associate the most various sounds to various ideas, which comes from the great development of the human mental ability.

Keywords

Language, communication, learning, anatomic structure, social bases

Preliminaries

As every language needs to be learned, it goes without saying that human language is not an instinct or a deliberate invention. And since man has a tendency to speak, language is not an art either. It is a slowly, gradually and unconsciously developed subproduct of the biosocial evolution of a primate.

In this context, imitation plays an important part in acquiring (i.e. learning and producing) the uttered language, originating in the imitation and alteration of various natural sounds, from the voice of other animals to one's own sounds produced and accompanied by gestures. After this first step in

the formation of vocal-articulated language, as voice was used more and more for this purpose, the vocal organs oriented and perfected in this direction, based on the transmission of the effects of use, which worked towards the development of the ability to speak. Furthermore, the ties between the active and frequent use of language and the development of the brain became close, so that at the appearance of the genus *Homo*, man's ancestor must have been much more evolved than the other primates. The continuous exercise of these abilities influenced the mind, activating it in a new direction and stimulating it to function towards the development of thinking, so that a complex thought can no longer be produced in the absence of the word. Thus, the uninterrupted use of language worked on the brain and produced transgenerationally transmissible effects, which affected the ameliorative development of speech, coevolution of language and thinking, leading to structural and functional changes that were later transmitted transgenerationally[1].

Natural sounds

Given certain physical conditions – the most important of which is the presence of an (atmospheric or aquatic) environment in which atoms can move freely – and biological ones as well – the most significant being the anatomic endowment of animals with elements such as an air sac at the end of a system of tubes (or with organs that can rub against each other), and due to the ability to develop certain somewhat expressible affective and emotional states and to interact, the animals came to produce perceptible sounds. The capacity to react responsively and act imitatively to environment-generated stimuli and the mere natural exercise of the various organs producing inherent and natural sounds brought about the emission of sounds from the fundamental category of those produced by a fruit falling from a tree or by grass being stomped by a predator. After the spontaneous and semiconscious emission of sounds carrying purely natural information, the exercise in that direction could lead to the production of sounds with communicative potential. Following the relatively intense and contextualized production,

[1] Darwin 1875.

evolution and selection of sounds, some of them acquired vital meanings (the identification of the source of food, danger and potential advantages or disadvantages). The animals with such an anatomy which had learnt this use of sounds became apt to use that source for a different purpose than the initial one, as a result of a process of exaptation or using the elements of a spandrel in such a manner.

Exaptation is a process of reorientation – not exclusive – of a role of a constitutive part in order to perform a different function from the initial one, together with which that particular structure has possibly developed. Adaptation refers to the situation in which the organism responds to certain adaptative (internal and/or external needs) using its abilities and creates adapted means for survival in certain conditions. Exaptation refers to the situation in which the organism adds new functions to the same structure – possibly by operating small adaptative restructuring[2].

Spandrel is a metaphorical term borrowed from architecture designating a secondary – unnecessary and unharmful – product, a result of evolution by adaptation and natural selection, which is a phenotypic trait. This result may be particularly useful to evolution because it may serve adaptation or it may turn into a useful tool of survival and reproduction[3].

Although animals can produce sounds in various ways and manners, generally for anatomical and physiological reasons, with most of these animals it is the sounds generated by the upper airways that predominate. It is thus proven that vocalisation is a natural and current ability, related to the anatomo-physiological complexity of certain components of those particular beings.

Speech

The transition from isolated or interlinked sounds that human organism can produce to their formation as elements of a communication system allows one to observe the fact that human (vocal-articulated) speech shares features with other similar systems (mainly avian) and the

[2]Gould & Vrba 1998; Norde & van de Velde 2016.
[3]Gould & Lewontin 1979; Solé & Valverde, 2006.

acts and developments it implies rely on perception, subsequent memorisation, production of vocal imitations, learning and adaptative-ameliorative evolution.

The premises of the appearance of human language

A hotly debated issue, the emergence of the vocal-articulated human speech has not yet rid itself of stakes and prejudices and research has not yet been able to provide overwhelming evidence to support a hypothesis or a correct set of hypotheses. This is probably due not so much to the still insufficient level of investigations as to the complexity of the issue.

This almost inextricably combines the need to find the biological and social premises which made it possible for certain biological developments to acquire usages and develop needs that should generate a tool and a way of social communication. Those developments must have been quite strong and important at the species level which supports the idea of polygenesis of human language. The latter must have relatively simultaneously developed within several communities, isolated from each other, starting with the stage in which the development of the human being and of the community required and allowed this. Moreover, it is difficult to admit that the initial development was unhindered, continuous and successful, meaning that neither the human being, perhaps, nor definitely the current vocal-articulated language are the results of a first constitution that prevailed and continued to this day. It is very likely that, in various areas, different developments should have occurred, functioning to some extent and later disappearing, sometimes leaving traces behind, i.e. they were not continuous. Then, because biosocial factors and needs went on working imperiously, the developments re-emerged and maybe some of them gave in again until a time in which they started to become stable, to acquire a necessary nature and to generalise within the species[4].

Usually, when the effort is made to find out how the initial process of the emergence of human vocal-articulated language occurred, most researchers consider the occurrence of developments that led to anatomic

[4]Dor 2015.

evolutions (the appearance or mutation of genes, appearance or modification of neural structures and of anatomo-physiological structures, in general) and functional ones (the development of social behaviours in a coevolutionary way, possibly as response to a new necessity). Being in a position to indicate things more precisely, some researchers make choices in one direction (structural) or another (functional), generally taking into account an adaptative process, and tend to hierarchise the previously outlined complex of causes. Thus, some tip the balance in favour of the FOXP2 gene, of bipedalism or of the mirror neurons[5], for example, pointing out that the evolutive origin of human language lies in the basal anatomical substrate, lateralised to the left hemisphere[6].

Following the functional exercise and development of the structure, the organism came to access and, at the same time, to alter larger, deeper and more complex areas of its interactional environment (physical, biological social). The complexity of these newly emerged demands challenged the functional structures beyond certain thresholds of complexification, the evolutive solution thus arising being to acquire a way of making energy consumption more efficient and its products more profitable. This solution is lateralisation, a form of structural and functional asymmetry. Thus, the liver or the heart have asymmetrical positions, whereas structures such as the hands or the legs, though symmetrical, are asymmetrical in terms of the individual's inclinations and, consequently, in terms of their abilities (attack, defence, feeding, cleaning etc. are not carried out equally by using any hand and the apparent symmetry of swimming and walking is the result of a pressure towards symmetry not of actual symmetry)[7].

Similarly, in the brain, lateralisation occurs structurally (starting with less clear aspects, such as the external configuration of the whole, going through some already more obvious ones and reaching the networks of neural and sanguineous circuits) and functionally (various processes and actions such as vocal articulated speech, writing, the numerous control and

[5]Kohler *et al*. 2002; Galati *et al*. 2008.
[6]Gannon *et al*. 1998.
[7]Corballis 2017b.

regulations processes etc.). In contrast with what it may look like at first glance, the brain is not a 'mirror' organ.

As regards the left cerebral cortical lateralisation, which is the topic of this paper, it is present in both chimpanzee species (*Pan troglodytes* and *P. paniscus*) as well as in other animals, therefore it is not an exclusively human trait[8].

Others believe that human language is the consequence of living within a community and of the need for social cohesion[9], which prompted the transmission of information in the form of stories[10] or gossip[11], or that the transition from gesture to voice occurred by means of music[12]. They also say that language is the product of love[13] (seen not as an emotion, sentiment etc., as in the current and common understanding at the profane, scientific, psychological, philosophical, theological etc. level, but as complex biosocial state and process)[14], resulting from the mother-offspring interaction[15], for love is also related to socio-cultural causes and to the biological development in the environment, at the same time acknowledging the crucial nature of the plasticity of the brain[16].

Finally, according to some others, language development derives neither from the biological organism nor from the language of the environment, but from the functioning of perceptual systems, which detect the relationships between language and the world, using them to orient attention and action[17], whereas others believe that the emergence of language is due to the dynamic structure of the social-interactional environment in which the child evolves[18].

[8]Gannon *et al*. 1998.
[9]Dunbar 1996; 2012; 2017; Falk 2004; 2009; Sheridan 2005.
[10]Dor 2015; Dunbar 2017; Boyd 2005.
[11]Dunbar 1996; Dor 2015.
[12]Dunbar 2017; Killin 2017.
[13]Burunat 2015.
[14]Burunat 2014; 2016.
[15]Falk 2004; 2009; Sheridan 2005.
[16]Burunat 2015.
[17]Dent 1990.
[18]Zukow 1990.

Although they seem to be in contradiction, endowed only with their own reasons, all these opinions, some of which very refined and considering fine elements of detail, are connected to the bases of human language and none can be categorically denied at a certain level, all of them being acceptable from a certain perspective and for a certain stage of the process. This is because human language is not the consequence of a single factor or of a biological or/and social occurrence, but the result of a multitude of factors and events, some derived from others, all intertwined at a given moment and having deep and entangled, evident or latent roots. Such evolutions issue from the co-occurrence of several states and processes, which have become effects and factors, interlinking and potentiating each other, generating cascade and convergent effects, at least partially, i.e. not unidirectional effects, but often developed and acting on several levels and concurring only in some of their sometimes-secondary aspects. Therefore, the only fact that cannot be accepted is the absolutizing of a cause or a factor, with the implicit elimination of all the others.

Since its inception, language must have been the early result of the complex manifestation of several factors, having several causes and acting under several pressures. As it was exercised, the development it underwent was sequential, with various outcomes (including those in the category of causes and factors) producing new causes, factors and effects, always entwined and generating new ways of existence and patterns of action, always growing into a coevolutionary spiral. At the different moments of its formation, functioning, dissemination, development, consolidation and becoming, it is but natural that one or the other of the aspects highlighted by the various researchers should have had some importance in accordance with the requirements of the stage. The result at various times, however, could have been generated only by the entire complex of causes and factors, under the entire complex of pressures that, during the process of complexification, prompted ones to grow, others to be born, all of them stimulating, modelling, modifying and nurturing the development of the complicated behaviour and secondary biosocial product, to different extents, though.

The extent to which each of these hypotheses can be demonstrated and its compatibility with the vocal-articulated language as organ and tool, as gradually and historically developed structure and behaviour, make one probably believe that: a) the foundation of language is material and motor[19]; b) it does not emerge as a consequence of a revolution that caused the appearance of 'something' 'new', but rather as a result of a development that could be structurally and behaviourally speculated, which generated a diversification in both respects. In fact, as one will further see, researching the relationship between gesture and vocal language – at motor and neural levels – may lead to understanding that mental activities appear and develop as a result of the interactions between the biological organism and the natural and social environment[20].

Organic premises. The examination of the matter on a phylogenetic scale reveals that the initial roles and functions of organs which form the complex known as the *phonation apparatus* were connected to fundamental vital processes (nutrition, breathing, perception etc.). The particular evolution of a certain branch of hominids comprised several modifications, from genetic to structural ones[21], then neural and behavioural. These elements' interrelating, exercising together and later coevolving, along with the resulting functional changes, could entail the unification of those components and the adaptation of the whole resulting complex, in a direction that was to allow some kind of behaviour and some kind of use of them (communication by means of vocal-articulated sounds). Naturally, the exaptation process occurred slowly, without abandoning the initial roles and functions, with partial outcomes and with the relative concord of the structural and functional states. The current result was gradually reached at the cost of gruelling efforts, required by subsequent needs, which entailed consistent anatomo-physiological modifications. Considering only the articulating anatomo-physiological structures or the neural ones, or the very human language, one notes that they are so complex because their evolution must have occurred

[19]Savage-Rumbaugh *et al*. 1993; Ferretti & Adornetti 2014.
[20]Iverson & Thelen 1999.
[21]Lieberman *et al*. 1972; Fitch & Giedd 1999.

gradually, over a period of time that goes beyond the origins of modern man, 2-3 million years ago[22].

FOXP2 is a gene from several regions of the brain and is present in its own and characteristic forms in the genetic endowment of many other animals, having numerous roles in the development of animals in which it exists. The amino acid sequence and the pattern of neural expression of FoxP2 genes are extremely well-preserved, from reptiles to humans, which points to the important role this type of genes plays within the vertebrates' brain – regardless of the presence or absence of any relationship with vocal imitative learning. At the same time, its expression indicate the neural zones and circuits which have had a crucial role in the developments and evolutions that brought language into existence and in the development of those particular neural circuits and the behaviours they mediate[23].

In humans, the changes occurring in various areas of the brain – connected by the basal ganglia circuits that are related to the FOXP2 gene – along with the mutation of this gene (most likely subject to evolutive pressures and the target of natural selection)[24] favoured the appearance of speech (without the abandonment of gestures)[25]. As several data types point out, the FOXP2 is involved in language[26], but is not a gene of 'language'. This is not only because there are genes which have a unique and exclusive role[27], but also because it is involved in brain development –being essential for modulating the plasticity of important neural circuits[28] – and in the functioning of certain specific areas (with effects on language, speech and knowledge), then in the development of lungs and of the oesophagus, as well

[22]Harrison 1995.
[23]Scharff & Haesler 2005.
[24]Enard *et al*. 2002.
[25]Gentilucci & Corballis 2006; Gentilucci *et al*. 2008;Reimers-Kipping *et al*. 2011; Schreiweis *et al*. 2014.
[26]Maricic *et al*. 2013.
[27]Jablonka & Lamb 2005.
[28]Fisher & Scharff 2009.

as in the control of the expression of other genes[29], its presence making it more difficult for breast cancer to appear[30].

In mice, FOXP2 affects motor coordination, the learning of ultrasonic vocalisations, the development of lungs, brain and oesophagus, being also involved in brain modelling, bone remodelling, the consolidation of upper limb and intervertebral disc strength, i.e. in the development and morphogenesis of some components, which, in humans, contributed to the appearance of speech. Its absence in mice entails serious (potentially lethal) lung developmental defects and failure of oesophageal muscular development, asFOXP1 and FOXP2 are the most important regulators of lung and oesophagus development, the entire family of FOX genes cooperating within the tissues in which its members are co-expressed[31].

FOXP2 is involved in the formation of neural circuits regulating motor and cognitive abilities[32]. Through the entire complex of actions and effect its functioning brings about, this gene has led to the coevolution of anatomic and neural adaptations related to speech and bipedalism and is deeply involved in the appearance and stabilisation of speech[33]. It is also engaged in the acceleration of the probabilistic acquisition of language features by means of the segmentation of language and action elements, facilitating the transition from declarative to procedural learning, thus adapting the brain to human language[34].

Crucial for the vocal learning, this gene, which is indispensable to speech and language acquisition, is involved in other forms of motor learning as well, so that, as far as it is known today, this gene type (in the forms present in different species) seems to play a key role within the neural circuits in charge of motor learning. Therefore, the structural alterations of the gene,

[29]Vargha-Khadem *et al*. 1998; 2005; Lai *et al*. 2001; 2003 Enard 2002; 2011; Teramitsu *et al*. 2004; Groszer *et al*. 2008; 2009; Fisher & Scharff 2009; Kurt *et al*. 2009;Gaub *et al*. 2010; Wattkins 2011; Dediu 2015;Staes *et al*. 2017; Murphy 2018.
[30]Cuiffo *et al*. 2014.
[31]Shu *et al*. 2007.
[32]Lieberman 2007.
[33]Xu *et al*. 2018.
[34]Schreiweis *et al*. 2014.

performed in the vinegar fly, affect the brain anatomy and motor learning and habit acquisition processes (equivalent to those governing vocal and linguistic learning in humans)[35]. In fact, the importance of this gene for human language was discovered following the attempt to ascertain the causes of some deficiencies with linguistic consequences in a family[36].

Basal ganglia. The appearance and development of basal ganglia was a neural change important for the emergence of language[37], playing a significant part in language acquisition and learning[38]. These agglomerations of neural bodies, gathered in a relatively well-delimited structural assemblage of grey matter, located at the base of cerebral hemispheres, are essential for higher cognitive functions, among which the strengthening of learning and procedural memory, and for the emotional behaviour (their damage may affect the cognitive function and emotional behaviour). Although the major role of basal ganglia refers to motor control, given that their function goes beyond motor planning and control and governs the initiation, amplification and refinement of signals facilitating decision making, they are important for controlling vocalisation[39]. In terms of our discussion, their chief role, during childhood, is to train the patterns of the motor vocal tract; during adulthood, they are involved in the emotional-prosodic modulation of utterances[40].

Various experts, who have made experiments and observations, present different conclusions in many respects, but the data so far – extracted from the analysis of the role and involvement of basal ganglia – are likely to provide a general conclusion on the relation between structures and functions, confirming the opinions claiming that motor systems have had a significant role to play in the appearance of higher cognitive functions[41].

[35] Mendoza *et al*. 2014.
[36]Vargha-Khadem *et al*. 1998; 2005; Lai *et al*. 2001; Watkins *et al*. 2002.
[37]Vargha-Khadem *et al*. 1998; Brainard & Doupe 2000a; Scharff & Haesler 2005; Bolhuis *et al*. 2010; Enard 2011; Simonyan *et al*. 2011; Wattkins 2011; Kojima *et al*. 2018.
[38]Ackermann *et al*. 2018.
[39]Booth *et al*. 2007.
[40]Butler & Hodos 2005; Nieuwenhuys *et al*. 2008.
[41]Lieberman 2007; Zenon & Olivier2014.

The physiological basis necessary for the sensorimotor skills required by articulated speech was provided by the morphological changes initiated by the FOXP2 gene in the basal ganglia[42]. This contributed to the fine regulation of the cortical circuits of the basal ganglia, which is relevant for the acquisition and plasticity of the language of birds and humans[43]. The connections with the cerebellum (which is engaged in certain cognitive functions, in acts of articulation, segmentation of the sonorous flow and control of coarticulation and which includes circuits that build and store internal representations of the linguistically generated world on the long term) enable the basal ganglia to participate in language production and processing[44], being involved in auditory retroversion, sensorimotor adaptation and learning[45]. Through their relations with other brain nervous structures and due to circuit loops, basal ganglia acquire the potential to transmit information and thus, by means of the developed connections, to take part in purpose-driven behaviours[46].

Vocal tract movements led to movements that created syllabic and metrical patterns – an important step in verbal sensorimotor acquisition. The role of basal ganglia in the process of accommodation of laryngeal and supralaryngeal movements involved in articulation, in that of processing the signals related to evaluation and selection and in motor learning has been crucial. They have helped exercise and the results of exercise get established on certain coordinates, whereas the patterns of motor speech have become automatised.

As many other complex motor skills, speech is not innate either. It appeared during evolution and was acquired gradually, through the trial/error process. Studies conducted on birds – which learn how to produce complex vocalisations by means of trial and error – show that the learning process involves actions with exploratory and evaluation variability of the resulting

[42]Flaherty & Graybiel 1994; Lieberman 2007.
[43]Brainard & Doupe 2000a; Enard 2011.
[44]Desmond & Fiez 1998; Macoir *et al*. 2013; Nozaradan *et al*. 2017.
[45]Houde & Jordan 1998; Bohsali & Crosson 2016.
[46]Miyachi 2009.

performances, with a view to acquiring motor skills leading to the improvement of the performances of this faculty. Given the relationship between basal ganglia and rapid behavioural variation – related to vocal learning[47]– and between emotive prosody and the amount of dopamine[48], it is clear that basal ganglia played a major part within the new type of communication behaviour.

Bipedalism. Throughout evolution, during the occurrence of evolutive acquisitions, morpho-structural changes, which are difficult to explain in terms of the causes that induced and determined their occurrence, happened relatively often at anatomical level. However, they brought about a cascade of events, intertwined and potentiating each other, by themselves and by their consequences[49]. One of these changes was the hominines' standing on their hind limbs, probably a sporadic to frequent occurrence, which offered benefits and was selected evolutionarily and, in the case of *H. sapiens sapiens* – at an ontogenetical level and from a certain age – became the only (or the dominant) way of terrestrial locomotion and a premise for other changes[50]. This positional change became permanent and entailed skeletal, cerebral, circulatory, respiratory and digestive modifications, developments, adaptations and evolutions, virtually affecting all the organs, apparatuses and functions of the organism as well as the relationships among them, with various and sometimes interlinked consequences – a process that led to the modification of the type of control over breathing[51] and an increase in the accuracy of sounds produced[52]. Naturally, the biological, behavioural, social, mentality etc. developments, adaptations and evolutions do not occur due to the action of only one factor and much less of an event, which implies that none of these evolutions are exclusively the result of bipedalism. Even so, the biped stance was the one that triggered and supported those evolutions, exercising pressures which caused a wide range of modifications. Such a

[47]Kojima *et al*. 2018.
[48]Simonyan *et al*. 2011.
[49]Vaughan 2003; Friedman 2006; Harcourt-Smith 2007; Corbalis 2009; Hurford 2014.
[50]Harcourt-Smith 2007.
[51]MacLarnon & Hewit 1999.
[52]Savage-Rumbaugh *et al*. 1993.

change could have been the deep and major cause of the morphological change, three of the consequences of bipedalism being of particular interest here: a) the increase in volume of the skull and brain; b) the descent of the larynx and c) the release of the forelimbs.

Increase in volume of the skull and brain. Bipedalism resulted in a number of structural changes which brought about adaptative-evolutive modifications of the ontogenetic patterns in the brain, a process which led to its morphological reorganisation and diversification. The evolutive reorganisation of the development occurred in three major ways: a) the modification of prenatal development of the cranial base and of the face – which reflects the adaptation to bipedalism; b) an increase in the growth rate of the skull in the first period after birth – an essential process to get a bigger brain; c) the specific change in facial development – which reflects dietary adaptations[53].

The evolutionist alteration of the cranial ontogenetic programme led to the morphological reorganisation of the skull and its diversification – because evolution favours the situation in which several (or slightly differentiated) solutions appear within a path, and if they are viable and possibly useful, they have chances of survival. Although nature has found means of making energy consumption more efficient, given that there is no direct, univocal and absolutely mandatory relationship between the size of structures and functional complexity, one may say that the size of the human brain has played an important role in the establishment of human higher skills.

The brain is a computational organ par excellence (i.e. rational in an etymological sense). Its calculations consider the survival and reproduction of the organism which has developed it and which it serves[54], hence all its possibilities and concrete ways of existence and functioning in an efficient manner. Through the brain, the body acquires the ability to perceive similarities and differences, to classify, compose and decompose information, to draw conclusions and, based on these, to actuate the organs[55].

[53]Bookstein *et al*., 2003; Zollikofer 2012.
[54]Martin 1983; Givón 2002a; Jablonka & Lamb 2005.
[55]Martin 1983; Givón 2002a; Jablonka & Lamb 2005.

The increase in brain size is due to environmental and dietary factors[56], social factors[57], modifications and developments of sensory channels[58]; more competitive senses and increased skills need a more efficient 'manager' which, once a certain evolutive threshold has been exceeded, implies a bigger organ. Although the process of growth of the brain size is simultaneous with the appearance and evolution of modern mammals, it is not necessarily associated with an increase in intelligence or in the intellectual skill. The increase in brain complexity objectively entails modifications of the volume and automatically includes structural modifications with functional consequences. In this respect, the number and nature of synapses are more important than, say, those of individual neurons.

Vocal communication – including that of other mammals and birds – is in coevolutive relationship with the brain and requires a brain capable of determining and processing the vocalisations of a particular species. Therefore, the ability to speak involved morphological causes at the base of the skull (compartmentalisation of components, relative positions, volume, their relations).

Descent of the larynx[59]**.** The structures which experienced adaptations, exaptation and functional developments, acquiring roles in vocalisation – such as the larynx or the mandible – also underwent evolutions with structural results which would later be used to form a phonation apparatus.

Humans' great acquisition, which the other primates lack, was the structural-functional complex that could bring about the ability to produce vocal-articulated speech, resulting from the stabilisation of evolutions and adaptations with certain genetic, morphological (neuromuscular and bone) and functional structures, used in hundreds and thousands of small functions and coordinates in order to generate an inventory of sounds upon which speech rests.

[56]Bailey & Geary 2009; de Casien *et al*. 2017.
[57]Bailey & Geary 2009.
[58]Leakey & Lewin 1992.
[59]Crelin 1987; Lieberman *et al*. 2001.

Both structurally and functionally, the larynx shows traces of the successive adaptative modifications to the environment and life conditions, the coevolution of morphology and activity leading to morphological adaptations that developed the function which, in its turn, encouraged the evolution of the structure for the purpose of exaptation. Thus, the larynx – a sphincter protecting the lungs of certain aquatic creatures – became an organ capable of allowing a high intake of air and, in a certain creature, a speech organ[60].

Although the laryngeal descent is not an exclusively human feature, as it is also encountered in other mammals and primates (in chimpanzees, for instance, it is primarily caused by the descent of the laryngeal skeleton relative to the hyoid, but it is not accompanied by the descent of the hyoid relative to the palatal plane), in human adults, whose larynx is descended in the neck, it is the result of an adaptative response to demands unrelated to vocalisation itself, but from which it has benefited[61]. The positional changes of the larynx must have occurred at least partially during the hominid evolution – not all of a sudden – and involved functions such as breathing, swallowing, locomotion and vocalisation as well as some evolutive changes of these mechanisms, along with a change in the relationship between phonation and articulation for the purpose of vocalisation. The process has two stages: a) the laryngeal skeleton descends relative to the hyoid – phylogenetically, in the ancestors of humans and chimpanzees, ontogenetically, in children – and b) the hyoid descends relative to the mandible and cranial base, in humans[62].

The results of research conducted on chimpanzees (males and females), aged between one month and 14 years, focusing on the changes in size and shape of the pharynx, the vocal tract, the spatial positions of the larynx, hyoid, mandible and hard palate, relative to one another and to the oral cavity, as well as on growth lines point out that certain aspects regarding the vocal tract shape have obviously changed in ontogeny, primarily in the

[60]Hast 1983; Negus 1929; 1949
[61]Fitch & Reby 2001.
[62]Marshall 1989.

first year and before adolescence. The ratio between the pharynx height and the oral cavity length (important in speech) decreases with age and stabilises.

The larynx and pharynx in the first hominids were probably located in the upper part of the neck, as they are in present-day primates (excluding man). Such a position would allow breathing and a good placement of the epiglottis, necessary for food ingestion, without endangering the airways, but would hinder the ability to change laryngeal sounds[63]. The position of upper respiratory structures (larynx and pharynx) is important for understanding breathing, swallowing and the ability to vocalise. On the other hand, the shape of the basicranium and its exocranial orientation are related to the positioning of laryngeal and pharyngeal structures, which is in relation to the upper respiratory system, because there is a close connection between the degree of basicranial flexion and the position of upper respiratory structures due to the established mechanical relationships between the cranial base and the area linked to it, which contribute to the act of breathing[64].

In children under the age of 1 and other primate species, the relationship between the alterations of the basicranial line and the changes in the upper respiratory system is similar; the upper respiratory structures are in an elevated position, the tongue entirely in the oral cavity and the epiglottis easily covers the glottis.

In human new-borns, there are various structural and functional differences as compared to the adults[65]. Thus, the location of structures and the opposition of the glottis relative to the palate allow the infant to breathe and suckle, stimulating nasal respiration. The positioning of structures is adapted and is different from that of the adult (the larynx is in a more vertical position, the thyroid cartilage is in and under the hyoid arch, vocal cords are rather transversal, the epiglottis is short etc.). The child's larynx differs from that of the adult in terms of consistency, size, position and shape. With the exception of the hyoid – a bone that, in adults, has been identical in size and shape to the current one for the last at least 60,000 years, which shows that it

[63]Laitman & Heimbuch 1982.
[64]Laitman & Reidenberg 1988.
[65]Prakash & Johnny 2015.

is very unlikely for changes to have occurred in the visceral skeleton since then[66]–, the structure is cartilaginous and apparently amorphous, the airway is narrow and the larynx is located in the upper part of the neck.

Although at birth the hyoid and the larynx are higher than in other mammals, they descend gradually, then the process continues at an accelerated rate in the first part of childhood, after which the laryngeal skeleton descends relative to the hyoid and so does the hyoid relative to the mandible and the cranial base. After the second year of life, exocranial flexion between the hard palate and the foramen magnum occurs in humans, a change which coincides with others happening at the level of positional relations within the upper respiratory system. At the same time, the tongue and larynx descend in the neck, altering their functional relations. There is a tight relationship between the exocranial orientation at the base of the skull and the positioning of upper respiratory structures as well as between the larynx position, the orientation of pharyngeal constrictor muscles and the orientation of the occipital base[67].

That is why the human larynx is large, the partially pharyngeal tongue separates the epiglottis from the palate (the decreased contact between the epiglottis and the palate is obvious in many primates, but in these, the pharynx is small, the tongue is oral, thin and long), the human supralaryngeal vocal tract develops into a double resonant system that is just as long horizontally as it is vertically. From an acoustic-articulatory perspective, such a morphology of the phonation apparatus, the location of the pharynx relative to the basicranium, breathing[68] along with the tongue mobility contribute to the appearance and development of the articulated speech process and to the production of complex sounds.

At the species level, the larynx is not differentiated and displays similarities and structural correspondences in various animals[69]. Able to resonate and emit sounds as a result of several types of events

[66]Arensburg *et al*. 1989.
[67]Laitman *et al*. 1978.
[68]Laitman & Reidenberg 1988.
[69]Hast 1983.

(communication is implicit, the difference carrying or being able to carry meaning), the larynx has come to be defined by the innervation system rather than by the morphology and interrelations of components. The physical foundation of phonation is the laryngeal skeleton – including the vocal cords.

The first phase may be associated with the evolutionary changes in swallowing. The descent of the hyoid and of the larynx relative to the mandible is caused by the functioning of the muscle involved in deglutition and points to the various functional roles of the hyoid during speech (it provides the basis for the movements of the tongue participating in vocal tract articulations, as speech requires the independent control of these functions) and transport of the food bolus. This process increases the risk of accidental choking during swallowing, reduced risk of early acquisition of the movement (ascent of the hyoid, compatibility of the laryngeal skeleton with the hyoid, bending of the epiglottis and obstruction of the laryngeal orifice). It is remarkable that the process occurs although the spatial constraints related to deglutition impose greater restrictions on the rate and degree of orolaryngeal descent than the adaptations required by vocalisation.

A development of the swallowing mechanism, adapted to dietary changes and to the consistent growth of the hominid organism, the first descent weakens the link between the laryngeal skeleton and the hyoid, allows the epiglottis to lose contact with the velum and the larynx to move independently of the hyoid and shows that these physical connections were weak in the ancestors of chimpanzees and humans[70].

The mere fact that, at the birth of the human being, part of the equipment is not positioned and prepared to produce speech does not indicate some kind of economy (as in the case of the lungs devoid of air, for example) but points out that speech was a recent acquisition, which had not yet passed from ontogenesis to phylogenesis. It is an acquisition which is not necessary for the mere survival of the creature, a potential that can be updated not only by simple exercise – as many others –, but by prior structural and morphological changes.

[70]Lieberman *et al*. 2001.

The second descent increased the risk of accidental aspiration of fluids and food and may be connected to the skeletal developments evolving in the hominid period, namely the ventral cranial base flexion during childhood, reduced prognathism due to sphenoid shortening and increased mandibular size. Along with tongue mobility, these modifications of the facial and mandibular skeleton contribute to the appearance of the double resonator[71].

Release of forelimbs. The transition to the bipedal stance was a slow process, which probably occurred accidentally and sporadically at first; then it was adopted in certain situations for which it was suitable and efficient and was gradually assumed completely entailing the loss of adaptations peculiar to the four-legged posture. Furthermore, this stance brought about infinitely more than its primary and direct benefits. Used sporadically or systematically, the bipedal stance allowed the release of the forelimbs resulting in their being used for purposes other than support and locomotion. The new usages proved to be profitable, both by extending the range of possible actions and by acquiring new attributes of these very uses, which created the premise for conjugating the instinctive and deliberate or controlled adoption of the bipedal stance. Thus, the succession of operations led to their amplification, following the path from diversification to refinement.

In algebraic and geometric proportion, such a development starts by using hands to perform actions for which other parts of the body were used (adaptation), then fulfilling new activities – impossible or never done before – (exaptation) and comes to operations performed at unprecedented quality levels (improvement)[72]. Thus, due to the occurrence of a phenomenon followed by morphological and structural changes and by ensuing functionalities and as a result of the coevolution of structure, function, use and demands, a structure which probably served for swimming, support and terrestrial movement, for grip, defence and attack becomes one which can do all this and many other things (calligraphic writing, painting, playing musical instruments, various artistical or technical operations of infinite finesse) with increasingly improved accuracy and delicacy.

[71]Nishimura *et al*. 2003.
[72]Corballis 2009.

But the release of the forelimbs is important in this discussion because bipedalism opened the way to the production of manual gestures and also allowed one to look at the other one's front of the body – and implicitly at the other one's face –, which led to exploiting and enhancing body movements, in general, and orofacial ones, in particular.

Gesture. To a greater extent than sounds, gestures are a natural given. Considering this as well as certain anatomic (structural and nervous) and functional determinations, the onset of communication is probably related to symptom and natural gesture[73]– which are natural acts also capable of taking on relevance and significance. At the same time, gestures are important, even indispensable, for the process of learning how to make tools, in which case they may prevail over speech, especially during the stage when the apprentice is inexperienced. Then, under verbal guidance, the production of tools becomes more efficient, gesture and word develop one another and extend the entire complex of activities through the network they thus form, coevolving at the same time[74]. Thus, the making of tools is closely related to communication[75].

By the manner in which it appears and develop and by the gradual amplifications of its effects, gesture is phylogenetically and ontogenetically important[76] and has social implications and consequences[77], generally participating in the cumulative cultural evolution and contributing to its progress[78]. The symptomatic nature of gestures[79], therefore, makes them implicit and then suitable for being used in interindividual communication (from a producer to a certain receiver), as gesture underlies the articulatory act[80].

[73]Thelen 1979; Poizner *et al*. 1987; Browman & Goldstein 1989; Blake *et al*. 1992; Blake & Dolgoy 1993; Kimura 1993; Armstrong *et al*. 1995.
[74]Morgan *et al*. 2015.
[75]Frey 2008; Jablonka *et al*. 2012; Steele et al. 2012; Stout & Chaminade 2012; Cataldo *et al*. 2018.
[76]Hewes 1973; Bates *et al*. 1989; O'Neill *et al*. 2005; Gentilucci & Corballis 2006; Goldin-Meadow *et al*. 2007; Corballis 2009; Kelly *et al*. 2010; Jablonka *et al*. 2012;Sterelny 2012; Corballis 2013; Goldin-Meadow & Alibali 2013; Esteve-Gibert & Prieto 2014;Hurford 2014; Dewaele *et al*. 2015; Boundy *et al*. 2016; Kendon 2016; Corballis 2017;
[77]Smith & Delgado 2013.
[78]Jablonka *et al*. 2012; Sterelny 2016.
[79]Fónagy 1988.
[80]Studdert-Kennedy & Goldstein 2003.

Although they can communicate – and, based on this, may serve for communication – orofacial gestures are limitative because they fulfil their role only if individuals are close enough to one another (or to others) and maintain a good eye contact. In their turn, brachial gestures may become complementary, thus opening the circle. As long as the community is not too big (several dozens of individuals), the relationship between its needs and communication skills can be harmonious and such a solution works. The increase in interactions within large groups[81] makes gesture – which is not as nuanced and liberating as speech – no longer be able to satisfy those needs adequately.

The fact that gesture can be used as an articulatory movement[82] probably facilitated the appearance and adoption of 'speech', which responded to the growth of: a) the community, b) the frequency and intensity of contacts within it, c) the need for precision in communication. However, the association of speech with the communication system existing until then enhanced the force of communication and diversified its possibilities – naturally, with increased need to master the system well. This process occurred naturally, as a consequence of an evolution probably determined by the manner in which the organism formed, because brachial manual, orofacial and orolaryngeal movements are controlled by structures located in Broca's area (F5 area in the other primates), where there are also some of the mechanisms relating perception to action[83].

Therefore, given the plasticity of organs and of body mechanisms, in general, the relative directed and intense exercise of the organs involved in vocalisation and articulation would entail the formation of motor and nervous networks which were to serve speech and gradually specialise – without this process of exaptation leading to the elimination of other fundamental or derived functions of the components of that particular complex.

The aforementioned reveal another important aspect of this discussion, namely the plurimodal nature of the brain. Thus, some impulses

[81]Cataldo *et al*. 2018.
[82]Mcneill 1992; 2012.
[83]Heiser *et al.* 2003; Binkofski & Buccino 2004; Arbib 2005a; Skipper *et al*. 2007; Petkov *et al*. 2009.

the brain transmits entail – in children – movements of hands and prattling[84]. Like the brain, communication – even in its elaborate form, the vocal-articulated speech – is also plurimodal[85] (plurimodality is no stranger to other primates[86]). This kind of communication is supported by the development of certain areas of the brain (particularly the parietal ones) and by their relationship with one another[87].

Mirror neurons. A natural extension of the action of recognition and a central factor for culture, mimetic capacity[88] is involved in the unfolding and evolution of countless processes of organismal and social development and evolution, its evolution serving as basis for becoming a necessary precursor of language.

Due to a neural pattern from the premotor areas (generated by observing the action and similar to that generated by the occurrence of the action), primates have a fundamental mechanism of recognising the action performed by others. Following the acquired observation, the mere perception or just the thought in that direction may stimulate the energetic discharge towards that part, which triggers an adequate response to the behaviour observed or mentally evoked. This process occurs by means of the mirror neurons and indicates the close relationship between the representation of reality and speech. Observation – from the actor to the observer and vice versa – of the fact that an involuntary response affects behaviour leads to recognising or assigning an intention and to establishing a dialogue; this is the core of language. The mechanism of mirror neurons is fundamental to empathy, understanding and imitation, and, in humans, to learning and language as well[89].

Broca's area has a mechanism which activates the neurons when visual stimuli provide perceptions of an action which, once observed, may trigger the performance of that action. In other primates, the corresponding

[84]Petitto & Matenette 1991; Petitto *et al*. 2001.
[85]Slocombe *et al*. 2011; Sterelny 2012; Levinson & Holler 2014.
[86]Taglialatela *et al*. 2007; 2011; Meguerditchian *et al*. 2014
[87]Murphy 2018.
[88]Buccino *et al*. 2004; 2004a; Maran 2011.
[89]Rizzolatti & Craighero 2004; Iacoboni & Dapretto 2006; Levy 2011; Chirilă 2019.

area (F5 area) coordinates the muscular movements of the upper limbs, in relation to a visual or auditive stimulus (audio-visual mirror neurons), whereas in humans it is the centre which controls articulatory movements in relation to an auditive stimulus[90].

If in the orofacial communication system the addition of a sound could only enhance the meaning of facial expression (the performance precision being not too important), the moment sounds acquire descriptive value they are bound to remain identical with themselves, in identical situations, and to clearly differentiate, in different situations. In other words, in order for the gestural communication system to function, it is not strictly necessary for imitation to be rigorous. An approximate or quite inaccurate communication can be satisfied by appropriate tools and has the advantage that it can be practised by anybody. A communication whose needs for precision increase requires the exact imitation of sounds – the development of vocal-articulated speech being the very solution meeting such a demand. It is thus understood that all elements and factors engaged in the process undergo evolutions and coevolve in relation to the imperative nature of the need.

Primates are animals which tend to perform by imitation what they have perceived by senses; to them, the actions of others (mainly those of their fellow creatures, but not only) represent stimuli and are potential models, sometimes of vital importance. The very social organisation is impossible without considering these sequenced and hierarchised stimuli. At the same time, even if the elements of the act, their enchainment, the entire act have taken shape in the mind (although it is hard to prove that the mind is not wrong), the muscular, nervous etc. components need activation and exercise in order to get results similar to mental projections, i.e. the executive organs need exercise, which is carried out by various classes of stimuli.

The tendency to communicate using any means and investing energy is typical of primates. Thus, chimpanzees can construct means of auditive communication for specific purposes, generating a system through which they communicate efficiently[91], whereas orangutans, which produce sounds using

[90]Fogassi & Ferrari 2005.
[91]Hopkins *et al*. 2007.

a tool, in order to signal something modulated[92], are able to select the tactics that remedy failed communications, depending on how well they are understood; in case of partial understanding, they repeat these signals and if there is no understanding, they change the way of communication[93].

Being a natural extension of the action of recognition and a central factor for culture, mimetic capacity[94] is thus engaged in the evolution of so many processes of organismal and social development, underlying a necessary precursor of language.

Broca's area has a mechanism triggering the neurons when visual stimuli provide perceptions of an action which, once observed, may cause the performance of that action. In other primates, the corresponding area (F5 area) coordinates the muscular movements of the upper limbs, in relation to a visual or auditive stimulus (audio-visual mirror neurons), whereas in humans it is the centre which controls articulatory movements in relation to an auditive stimulus[95].

Coupled with the mechanisms of learning, the generic structures which accord action with its performance set off the cultural evolution of human languages. Transcending and enclosing orofacial and brachial manual communication, the vocal-articulated language appeared gradually as a result of the evolution of a basic mechanism which originally was not related to communication: the ability to recognise actions[96]. Without being a human feature, the gestural-manual system exploited the system of matching observation with performance and paved the way for the evolution of the open vocalisation system, known as *speech*[97].

[92]Hardus *et al*. 2009.
[93]Cartmill & Byrne 2007; Leavens 2007.
[94]Buccino *et al*. 2004; 2004a; Maran 2011.
[95]Fogassi & Ferrari 2005.
[96]Meltzoff & Moore 1977; 1983; Gallese *et al*. 1996; Stamenov & Gallese 2002; Ferrari *et al*. 2003; Buccino *et al*. 2004; 2004a; Leslie *et al*. 2004; Arbib 2005; 2012; Skipper *et al*. 2007; Arbib *et al*. 2008; Molenberghs *et al*. 2009; Whitehead 2010; Fogassi & Ferrari 2012; Gentilucci *et al*. 2012; Petit 2012; Repetto 2012; Braadbaart *et al*. 2014;Mooney 2014; Fogassi 2017.
[97]Heiser *et al*. 2003; Iacoboni, 2005; Gentilucci & Bernardis 2007; Abramson*et al*. 2018.

The semi-abandonment of communication through signs and the exercise in the new direction required the use of complex sound emissions (combinatorial sounds), and the new anatomic potential made language move from its brachial manual origins to the emission of sounds. Gradually, gestures would lessen their importance, vocalisation would gain autonomy and thus the relationship changed, for gesture became an accessory (however, instinctually, it did not disappear, as it remained a companion reflecting the genesis of the entire functional structure – as certain reflexes or movements remain associated with each other). As a consequence of these updated possibilities, the speech lateral circuit developed, this neural premise underlying interindividual communication and eventually the vocal-articulated language[98].

Social premises of human language. At the confluence of behaviour and development there may occur a multitude of capacities, finely conjugated as the creature acts and interacts in a given environment and at a given moment[99]. After the emergence of a functional structure, correlated with other parts of the whole in which it participates, the development by exercise of this structure and, at the same time, the correlation of structure and function with others stimulate or at least provide the premises for the complexification and refinement of that structure and of its functions.

Sociality and cooperation. Primates' biological endowments, lifestyle, exercising and adaptative evolution led to the development of their own behavioural patterns. The ability to combine objects, to build and use tools and do all this in increasingly complex manners is common to many primates, for the same neural circuits and areas govern the combination of

[98]Lieberman *et al*. 1972; Bruner 1975; Holloway 1981; Tomasello *et al*. 1985; Kurata & Tanji 1986; Tobias 1987; Petitto & Marenette 1991; Kendon 1994; 2014; Rizzolatti *et al*. 1996; Goldin-Meadow 1998; Blake 2000; Butcher & Goldin-Meadow 2000; Corballis 2003; Petitto *et al*. 2004; Arbib 2005a; Ozçalişkan & Goldin-Meadow 2005; Gentilucci & Corballis 2006; Armstrong & Wilcox 2007; Capirci *et al*. 2007; Goldin-Meadow 2007; Roy & Arbib 2007; Gentilucci & Dalla Volta 2008; Gentilucci *et al*, 2008; Villarreal *et al*. 2008; Aboitiz & Garciá 2009; Corballis 2009; 2010; Tellier 2009; Smith 2010; Aboitiz 2012; Cartmill *et al*. 2012; Gentilucci *et al*. 2012; Liebal & Call 2012; Macedonia & Kriegstein 2012; Braadbart *et al*. 2014; Bohn *et al*. 2016; Goldin-Meadow 2017; 2018; Tramacere & Moore 2018.
[99]Iverson 2010; Evans 2014.

symbols and the use of tools, the performances achieved by the other primates matching those of two-year-old children[100].

More than in the other primates, due to the increasingly demanding development through exercise, to their endowments and performances, humans came to distinguish themselves in terms of the connection between the various emotions they experienced, creation and use of tools, subsequent cortical differentiations, acquiring distinct, relatively modular skills necessary for the complex combination of objects and for grammar.

An important aspect is domestication, a phenomenon which spread and expanded. Thus, the contact with a domesticated fellow creature influenced and amplified one's own domestic state, on the one hand, and stimulated the conversion of competitive situations to collaboration[101] (for example, the common upbringing of children[102]) and their harmonious mixture (as in the case of real emulation), on the other hand. These acquisitions tended to be used for the establishment of subsequent functions, which were complexified and in accordance with those advanced stages[103].The secondary results of the domestication process and the entailed coevolution provided complex bases for the communication process (in general), including the abilities to acquire the vocal one, i.e. of vocal-articulate language[104].

Within this social framework of competitive collaboration, vocal-articulated language came to facilitate all human activities, stimulating their development in certain directions. Hence, one may conclude that when it appeared, language must have been part of the computational network[105]– which might account for its tendencies to dominate the other behaviours.

The fact the actions and behaviours contributed to an overwhelming extent to the emergence of such complex functions is also proved by the

[100]Greenfield 1991.
[101]Nowak & Krakauer 1999; Corballis 2009; Tomasello 2009.
[102]Jablonka *et al*. 2012; Dor 2015.
[103]Theofanopoulou et al. 2017; Murphy 2018.
[104]Calvin 1982; Davidson & Noble 1993; Gibson & Ingold 1993; Jablonka *et al.* 2012; Stout & Chaminade 2012; Aboitiz 2017; Marquez 2017; Theofanopoulou *et al.* 2017; Murphy 2018; 2019.
[105]Morgan *et al*. 2015.

anatomy of the brain, viewed in relation to language. The Broca and Wernicke areas, constitutive neural circuits and the connections between areas involved in language in general, the situation of other primates point out that language was nothing but a consequence of some evolutive developments of cerebral and nervous structures, arising from the exercise oriented by special needs. (The other primates have remarkable skills, which cannot be minimalised, to engage in symbolic and nuanced communication[106]). Furthermore, the fact that lateralisation might be related to the differentiated distribution of spatial and sequential abilities – in that the making of tools would lead to a lateralised tendency to the left side in order to perform sequential movements, which proved useful for language – reinforces the abovementioned because lateralisation implied the specialisation of two types of memory systems, active memory for sequential (and possibly identification) tasks on the left side, active memory for tasks related to spatialisation on the right side. This shows that lateralisation is not the result of the specialisation of cerebral areas, but of the organisation of those particular neural networks, with the left hemisphere strengthening the connections with the frontal lobe and the right one with the areas involved in sight. (Hence, the slight differences in anatomical organisation between the left and right areas involved in language.)[107].

All this supports the assumption that such a complex behaviour as language is rooted in the intertwining and coevolution of a biological organism equipped with various possibilities of development and subject to certain demands required by its enhanced exercise, in a stimulating environment, which led to the development and amplification of those possibilities that, in an increasingly challenging environment, were able to fit into a coevolutive spiral.

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…AND, STILL, WHAT DO TRANSLATIONS DO?

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Abstract

The old discussion about the purpose of translations in shaping a culture has been very often revisited in the last decades. This paper provides a number of examples, some very substantial, capable of illustrating the valences of translations. Even when they are not very successful, translations may change the mentalities of the receiving community, may entail the foundation of a great literature, may save a language from death or, in any case, may delay its natural disappearance, may sustain an ideology. The liberation from the 'pure language' of the original is a gain for both the source text and the target text.

Keywords

Translation, control and self-control of texts, the autochthonization principle, ideologisation of translation.

1. Motivation

The following considerations are an attempt to synthesise some observations and finds gathered in a lifetime by a modest translator and mainly a historian of other people's translations – from various languages into Romanian, in principle. Some of these notes have been carried in our professional baggage for more than a half a century. It is the case of the information about the translator Livius Andronicus, for example, with whom we became acquainted in the autumn of 1970, having been baffled by him being labelled as a 'founding writer' of one of the greatest literatures in the world. Our notes now make up a casuistry regarding what *translations do, how they do it* and *what they represent* in people's lives.

However, it so happened that, a few years ago (in 2014, to be more exact), a scholarly study, *Ce fac traducerile?* ('What do translations do?'), was published and extensively propagated online. Its author, Prof. Dr Alexandru Gafton, engages in an argument, across centuries naturally, with

Mihail Kogălniceanu, that *spiritus rector* of the century of great Romanian spiritual effervescence. Frightened by the mania for translations, adaptations from and imitations of foreign writings – many of them of modest quality even in the original – the founder of the providential yet ephemeral journal *Dacia literară* had given the verdict in the famous *Introducție*: *Traducțiile nu fac o literatură*[1] (which translates as 'Introduction: Translations do not make a literature').

In his usual philosophico-philological style, the author academically approaches the issue regarding 'what translations do'. Of the extensively valuable ideas relevant to the interdisciplinary and holistic approach of this topic, we shall further quote assertion no. 4:

„*Prin traducere, elemente, forme, structuri şi funcţii ale gîndirii, ideologiei, mentalităţii şi moravurilor generate de o anumită civilizaţie, cultură şi societate, pe calea limbii aceleia, pătrund în gîndirea, ideologia, mentalitatea şi moravurile unei alte civilizaţii, culturi şi societăţi, servite de o altă limbă. Un astfel de contact, o astfel de pătrundere, la nivelul a două complexe sociale, este mijlocit de instrumentul fundamental de comunicare, iar nu altfel. Lucrul acesta înseamnă şi că înseşi limbile – care, o dată, deţin formă, conţinut, structură şi funcţii ce deservesc calitatea lor de instrument, în al doilea rînd, există şi ca entităţi cu viaţă şi capacitate de autodeterminare proprii – intră în contacte proprii, una cu cealaltă*."[2] (meaning that 'Through translation, the elements, forms, structures and functions of thought, ideology, mentality and mores generated by a certain civilisation, culture and society,

[1] Mihai Kogălniceanu, „Introducție", in: *Dacia literară*, nr. 1, 1849, Iași: "*Dorul imitației s-a făcut la noi o manie primejdioasă, pentru că omoară în noi duhul național. Această manie este mai ales covârșitoare în literatură. Mai în toate zilele ies de sub teasc cărți în limba românească. Dar ce folos! Că sunt numai traducții din alte limbi și încă și acele de-ar fi bune.* ***Traducțiile însă nu fac o literatură.*** (emphasis added)." (The quotation translates as: 'With us, the crave for translations has turned into a dangerous mania, for it kills our national spirit. This mania is particularly overwhelming in literature. Books in Romanian come off the press almost every day. But what's the use? They are only translations from other languages and if only they were all good. **Translations nevertheless do not make a literature.**')

[2] Al. Gafton, „Ce fac traducerile?", 2014, cf. https://www.academia.edu/31886774/Ce_fac_traducerile. In this quotation, we have preserved the author's writing style, in that he uses *î* instead of *â* in all situations, with the exception of the word family of *român*.

by way of that language, penetrate into the thought, ideology, mentality and mores of another civilisation, culture and society, served by a different language. Such a contact, such a penetration at the level of two social complexes is mediated by the fundamental communication tool and not otherwise. This means that languages – which, on the one hand, have a form, content, structure and functions inherent to them as tools, and, on the other hand, exist as entities with their own life and self-determination ability – come into their own contacts, one with the other').

Well understanding the context in which the 1848 Romanian ideologist made that statement, the distinguished modern philologist considers, nevertheless, that its understanding by contemporaries and successors as an 'operational truth' is 'shallow' and explains in a consistent essay which is the impact of translations on the evolution of humanity. Lately, this idea has been commented on by scholars from various perspectives[3]. Still, as usual, our eternally young confrere has moved faster and more inspired than others[4].

Nolens volens, our casuistry is confined to such statements. This is why we have paraphrased the title of the cited essay. Essentially, the supporting texts underlying our own observations are the translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, along with the commentaries of various exegetes, translators and editors of the so-called 'Homeric' creations or other types of texts.

1. What can translations do?

1.1. Translations release the texts from the captivity of the original language

The idea belongs to the German philosopher and literary critic Walter Benjamin and refers to the well-known truth that the translation is not a mere mechanical transference, but it confers new forms of life on the primary text, always invigorated by the infusion of supplementary sources given by each new integration into the language, mentalities and culture of the respective nation and by each new version in each language.

What is it about? There has been much debate about the principle launched – very successfully at the time – by Walter Benjamin, in the preface

[3] Cf., among others, Ionuț Vulpescu, 2014; Paul Cernat, 2016; Peter Sragher, 2018, p. 4; Eugen Munteanu, 2018; Tudorel Urian, 2020.

[4] However, not faster than Eugen Munteanu apparently, as the latter, in the 2018 article, refers to an older work of his on the same topic. Cf. E. Munteanu, 1986, p. 6.

to the 1923 elegant bilingual French-German edition of Charles Baudelaire's *Prose Poems*[5]. The German philosopher, literary critic and translator discusses the 'principle of liberating *pure language*'. In the case of translations, the 'language' in an original text is liberated from imprisonment if the rendition is good. Such examples are the famous translations provided by St. Jerome for the *Vulgate* from the *hebraica veritas* (and not directly from the *Septuagint*, in fact, not only from this, as has been recently found) or Johann Heinrich Voss from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, by Hölderlin from Sophocles' tragedies (*Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex*) and Pindar's *Hymns* etc. Later on, two ideas began to circulate nuancing W. Benjamin's theory. The first one is that those great translators, just like any others, released the pure language of the original only to bind it again, each in their own language. In other words, they changed one prison with another, from a different historical-geographical and spiritual-linguistic space. Then, a recent study written by Marc de Launay from the Université libre de Bruxelles[6] points out that the mere fact of resuming older ideas (from 1916) about the general theory of language in the preface to his translation and in the context of explaining his translation strategies erroneously placed W. Benjamin among the forefathers of traductology as an independent science, within the wide scope of the sciences of the word[7].

2.2. Translations operate a control procedure over the texts put into contact

In terms of *discourse analysis*, we may judge the role of translations by applying two principles formulated by Michel Foucault in his famous *The Order of Discourse*: that of 'commentary' and of 'rarefaction of the text'[8]. According to the philosopher from the Collège de France, there are texts

[5] Charles Baudelaire, *Tableaux parisiens*. Deutsche Übertragung mit einem Vorwort über die Aufgabe des Übersetzers von Walter Benjamin, Heidelberg, Verlag von Richard Weißbach, «Die Drucke des Argonautenkreises», 5, 1923.

[6] Cf. Marc de Launay, "Benjamin à la tâche" , in: *Equivalences*, nr. 47/1-2/2020 (issue on the theme "Démythifier la traductologie" and celebrating its 50th anniversary – "50e anniversaire", coord. Christian Balliu & Françoise Wuilmart), pp. 107-126.

[7] Cf. the discussion about Muguraș Constantinescu, 2021, p. 23.

[8] Cf. Michel Foucault, 1998, pp. 23-26.

which are *said* and texts which *say*. The former category includes the types of discourse that 'are recounted', in that they are *fundamental*, *eternal* and *immutable*. These are the Homeric poems, among many others in the spiritual heritage of humankind. They are endowed with the *ability to generate new texts*, springing into existence directly from the former, known as '*commentaries*'. Unlike a fundamental text, the commentary 'says' and is *temporary* and *changing*. Together, these two text types form a certain procedure of control and delimitation of human discourse, in general, namely an *internal procedure* through which discourse exercises its own control, operating a certain classification, order and distribution of the primary text, relatively independent of external interventions[9] (of civil society, of state, religious authorities etc.)[10].

Basically, Foucauldian 'commentary' means at least three series of new texts: a) exegeses on an original creation; b) translations; c) the original creations based on the exploitation of themes, motifs, characters or primordial literary techniques – Homeric ones in the examples we have selected[11].

[9] *Ibidem*.

[10] They may interfere, in their turn, not only in the original texts, but also in translations, cf., among many others, the situations revealed in P. Gh. Bârlea, 2021.

[11] Commentaries such as "exegesis" and/or "text edition" are those that range from the scholars of the Great Library of Alexandria (Zenodotus of Ephesus or Aristarchus of Samothrace) to Friederich August Wolf, and his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, 1795, (the exegete deserves to be mentioned because he used the term 'philology', imposing the concept as a discipline of study in the academic environment), and from here to the modern Giambatista Vico, Erich Auerbach, Geoffray Kirk and so on. As regards the translations, one should mention the Latin L. Andronicus and Publius Baebius Italicus, the English George Chapman (1598 - *Iliad* and 1616 – *Odyssey*), the German Johann Heinrich Voss, *Odyssey*, 1781 and *Iliad*, 1793, the French Leconte de Lisle (1866 – *Iliad*; 1868 – *Odyssey*), and the present-day Dan Slușanschi (1998-2012) or Daniel Mendelsohn (2020). For Homer-based original creations of all kinds – adaptations, reinterpretations etc. – see Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Posthomerica* by Quintus of Smyrna; *Le roman de Troie* of Benoît de Saint Maure, James Joyce' *Ulysses* or the more recent *În drum spre Ikaria* by Gabriel Chifu, or Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad*. Sometimes, the three types are to be found together in the same modern writing, such as the novel of D. Mendelsohn, *An Odyssey: A Father, a Son, and an Epic*, 2017, which also includes a personal creation and consistent exegetic fragments and translations belonging to the novelist, exegete translator and classicist professor authoring the book.

In all cases, the secondary texts resulting from the 'commentary' upon the primary fundamental text show how rich its internal resources are, how many hidden messages are still to be discovered in it. In other words, the exegeses, translations and original creations produced in the extension of the primary text point out its polyvalent nature, its ability to always be re-actualised. This, however, brings about a paradox: an old text, declared fundamental, eternal, immutable, proves to be, in fact, eternally renewable, open. Michel Foucault goes even further with the subtlety of highlighting paradoxes, the role play between the fundamental text and the secondary one, which resumes it, being two-fold:

"[...] *the commentary must say for the first time what had, nonetheless, already been said, and must tirelessly repeat what had, however, never been said.*" (p. 25).

To put it another way, the role of translations into modern languages (as that of theoretical interpretations, original creations based on old ones etc.) is not restricted to rendering the essential of a masterpiece, but also extends to that of revealing hidden meanings, suggestions of great subtlety in the original text. Such achievements do not depend only on the competence-performance relationship in the personal structure of the individual approaching the text, but also on the compensatory virtues of the language in which that translation (and text analysis etc.) is written. We already know, even before Wilhelm von Humboldt's masterful demonstration, that there is an 'inner genius' of each language manifesting itself in two ways:

a) the linguistic community, marked by certain living conditions and mindset, imprints a structure specific to that language, particularly at lexico-semantic and stylistic level, but also at the morpho-syntactic and phonetic level;

b) the linguistic structure requires a certain way of 'cutting' the surrounding reality one sees, understands and expresses only in the manner in which the language used allows one to do it.[12]

Here, a second Foucauldian principle, complementary to the abovementioned, is appropriate: *the principle of rarefication* of the discourse, materialised in the "*issue of the author*"[13]. The successive revisitations on the

[12] Wilhelm von Humbodt, 2008, p. 345.
[13] M. Foucault, *op. cit*., pp. 26-28.

fundamental text strengthen the authorship, even that of Homer, who we know is actually only a symbol of the anonymous *aoidoi* in the age of the genesis and dissemination of the two great epic poems. On the other hand, being always different, secondary texts – translations, in our case – do not greatly privilege the person of the translator, much less that of the exegete, although, unlike the legendary Homer, they have a definite identity and an intellectual status of great influence (such as George Chapman, Leconte de Lisle, Giambattista Vico, Goethe, Schiller, Erich Auerbach etc.).

All these processes illustrate the double nature of the phenomenon known in the universal history of translations:

a) the base-text is better and better preserved, despite it becoming older as time goes by, in fact, it regenerates continually, developing new ideatic and aesthetic details;

b) the base-text undergoes successive reinterpretations, through 'localisations' which make the message perceivable by the receivers in certain new geographic areas and historical epochs; these adaptations distort the 'atmosphere' of the original.

In all cases, we are referring to the role of internal control of translations over the evolution of thinking of human communities under discussion.

2.3. Translations may lay the foundations for a national literature

If we accept the fact that the founder of Latin literature[14] is Livius Andronicus, we must also acknowledge that this future great classic literature, which inspired the founders of many national modern literatures, owes its beginnings to translations from Greek.

Basically, L. Andronicus' masterpiece is the translation of the *Odyssey* into Saturnian Latin verses[15]. A freedman born in the Greek-speaking Tarentum, who later became a private then public pedagogue, he

[14] Appius Claudius Caecus (4th-3rd centuries BC) was only the precursor of Latin literature and the 'literary fragments' kept from him are, in fact, politico-juridical discourses, maxims and grammatical (actually phonetical and graphical) recommendations.

[15] The Saturnian verse was an Italic verse, rather little-known today for it was not used for a long time, and the text fragments preserved are poor and with variations of metrical formulas. Basically, it consisted of three iambs, a long syllable and three trochees.

used that text as a teaching material for his lessons of language, history, mythology, morality and civic education. About 40 verses of the entire poem have been preserved. Afterwards, having become famous, he translated by adaptation several plays written by the great Greek tragedians – *Aiax Mastisgophorus* and *Equos Troianus* from the Trojan cycle; *Aegisthus* and *Hermiona* from the Atreidae cycle; *Danae*, *Ino*, *Andromeda*, *Tereus* from the legendary cycle of female personalities – and comedians (*Gladiolus*, *Ludius*, *Virgus*) – with satirical references to the military fanfaronade – which have become commonplace within the Latin literature. The few dozens of verses, kept especially in later grammatical treatises as a sample of the old language rather than literary values (see, however, the quotes from Cicero and Horatio), prove the use of iambs consisting of six or seven syllables. The translation technique is that of modalisation, which goes as far as what we now call 'adaptation' – therefore, not a translation proper.

Finally, due to his reputation of being a great 'writer', he was requested to compose a religious hymn in honour of the goddess Juno, at a turning point for Rome (the battle against Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, in the second Punic war – 207 BC). The patriotic religious ode *Carmen Parthenion* (207 BC) is the most 'original' writing of Livius Andronicus, although it strikingly resembles the Greek poems (see, the hymns attributed to Homer, the hymns of Pindar, Sapho and so on).

Specialised treatises are quite reserved when it comes to Livius Andronicus' pencraft[16]. He did not excel as a translator either. A Grecophone torn away from his environment in his adolescence, before having the chance to complete his studies, he struggled with the study of Latin in the house of a Roman aristocrat (the family of Marcus Livius Salinator's descendants, of the ancient gens Livia), but living among the slaves. However, even the masters spoke that *sermo rustica*, for Latin was by its nature a "language of peasants and soldiers". Long after him, the Latin translators complained about *egestas linguae nostrae* ("the poverty of our language") just as modern language

[16] Cf. Rodica Ocheșanu, in: *Istoria literaturii latine.*, 1972[2], pp. 68-69: "*interes poetic scăzut*" ('low poetic interest'), "*lipsă de aptitudini poetice*" ('lack of poetic skills').

translators two thousand years later (Romanians or of other nations) were to complain, in the beginning, about the "narrowness" of their language.

Still, given the circumstances, the shortcomings and merits of translations are balanced. Livius Andronicus did not grasp the caesura in the catalectic dactylic hexameter in Homer's poem, hence, he did not understand the rest of the decorative epithets. Nor did the metrical foot chosen for Latin serve the heroic poem well (the iambic senarii and septenaries of the Latin Saturnian). Homeric metaphors did not appeal to him either – but the Homeric images have been much discussed in terms of translations. The Greek ἕκρος ὀδόντων 'the fence of teeth'("which let slip those reckless words"), cf. *Od*., I, 64, becomes in Latin (in which the Homeric poem is call *Odyssia*) the simple and prosaic *ex tuo ore* 'from your mouth'.

The same would happen in the case of the adaptations from the great Greek tragedies. Only those poetic images which were found in the expressive Latin spoken language of the time were reproduced, cf. *Aiax*:

Praestatur laus virtuti, sed multo ocius verno gelu tabescit. "Praise is bestowed on virtue but vanishes more quickly than frost in the Spring."

At sentence level, the opposite may happen – enunciative sentences may be rendered by exclamations or apostrophe-type statements[17]:

"*Grant me this support that I ask of you, that I beg of you*;
Reach out your hand, help me!"

These ways of transfer with pathetic effects, typical of the beginnings of a literature, incapable of rendering the simple gravity of the Homeric poem, are related to a Roman aesthetics of the age[18]. In fact, the complex sentence, with numerous subordinate, adverbial, object etc. clauses, is often reduced to mere juxtapositions, which alter the succession and integrity of the Greek Homeric *kolon*. And, we are told, that is not because Latin did not already have the object structures – infinitival or with the necessary connectors –, but because the Homeric narrative style was not understood in its letter and spirit[19].

[17] Cf. Sc. Mariotti, p. 51, *apud* P. Grimal, 1994, p. 61.
[18] *Ibidem*.
[19] Cf. A Traina, 1970, p. 21 *sqq*.

On the other hand, L. Andronicus knew how to adapt everything to Roman traditions – which explains his success at the time. In tragedies, he dealt with Greek literary-mythological characters connected to the prehistory of Latins – Juno, Danae, Ino (that became the Italic *Mater Matuta*) – or to the popular figures of braggart soldiers, young spenders etc. In Latin literature, these dramatic texts became known as *fabullae*, which is justified precisely by the fact that only the story of certain characters is retained from the complexity of Greek plays. The Latins would praise such works for the models of heroism and virtue, on the one hand, and for the antimodels of social conduit, on the other hand, which they offered to young generations, and this view of art works remained fixed in their head throughout their history.

From here, the path to onomastic adaptations, and not only, was not too long. In verse I, 1, in which the divinity is invoked, L. Andronicus does not use the word *musa*, although it was already naturalised in Latin, but an old and respected Latin term, with a magical, incantatory charge – *Camena*. Therefore,

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ

becomes:

Virum mihi, *Camena*, *insece versutum*...

The names of the great Greek deities, which were very familiar to Romans, were not given as such either, but by equivalents: *Kronos* becomes *Saturnus*, *Hermes* becomes *Mercurius* and so on and so forth. And the eponymous hero, *Odysseos*, becomes *Ulixes* in L. Andronicus' Latin. We should keep this detail in mind!

Only when he does not find a convenient equivalent does he adopt the Greek names, but they are adapted phono-morphologically to the specific of Latin language: Gk. *Λητώ* becomes *Latona*, Gk. *Καλγπσω* becomes *Calypso* etc.

In conclusion, Livius Andronic did not leave us original creations, but he translated, adapted, paraphrased, imitated Greek creations. The linguistic and stylistic level is rather modest, given the objective conditions (the stage of development of Latin language and culture) and the subjective ones (his own competences). However, literary and cultural historians proclaim unequivocally:

„*Livius Andronicus a pus bazele literaturii latine, el a deschis drum nou în genurile epic*, *dramatic şi liric*. *Datorită lui influenţa greacă pătrunde*

larg la Roma."[20] (which translates as 'Livius Andronicus laid the foundations of Latin literature; he opened a new path in the epic, dramatic and lyrical genres. It is owing to him that the Greek influence became widespread in Rome').

Therefore, one may speak about two huge achievements due to translations (which were not even very professional):

a) they lay the foundation of a literature which would become, in its turn, a basis of universal literature for thousands of years of human spirituality;

b) they facilitated cultural interinfluences between two ethno-linguistic, political-economic and military communities that formed the basis of modern civilisation worldwide[21].

To these, we should add another achievement of detail, but not devoid of significances. After the success of the poem *Carmen Parthenion* (for the danger of Hasdrubal's entry in Rome had been avoided, cf. Livy, XXVII, 37, 7), the so-called Latin 'writers' (whatever their number or whatever their kind) were given the right to organise a professional confrerie, *Collegium Poetarum*. The Roman Senate even granted them their own headquarters, maintained with public money, where they could hold their meetings, on the Aventine Hill, in the Temple of Minerva (allegedly, for the religious services honouring the protective gods of museums). Today, we may say that Livius Andronicus' translations facilitated the establishment of the Latin Writers' Union, in 207 BC.

That is what translations can do!

2.4. Translations may save a language

There is evidence that a translation may prevent the aging and even the death of languages. The writer and essayist Ioan T. Morar recounts what he found out during a trip to the New Caledonia[22]. In the days of French

[20] R. Ocheşanu, "Livius Andronicus", in: *Istoria literaturii latine*..., 1972, p. 62.

[21] Naturally, any national literature began, in principle, with translations from other languages and imitations of earlier models, from other cultural-linguistic areas. Of the numerous opinions formulated in this regard, we shall quote the most recent one, belonging to a great Romanian literary historian and critic: „*In principle, literature does not come from anything other than literature; any writer - even a genius - in the phase of literary beginnings, follows a pattern which he/she does not hide, but proudly proclaims. Never did the activity of translation prove more creative than in the auroral stage of literatures*.", cf. M. Zamfir, 2021, p. 4.

[22] The discussion starts from the successive decisions of the recent popes of Rome to replace the Latin version of the *Mass* in Catholic churches with that in the modern national languages,

Christian missionaries, the Catholics spread the Word of God and strived to teach French and even Latin to the natives, whereas the Protestants tried to translate the Christian teachings into the locals' languages. This meant that they had to learn the native languages, partner with some sharp-witted indigens in order to carry out the difficult work of compiling glossaries, which later became dictionaries, elementary grammars etc. Naturally, the newly converted also learnt a little something from the missionaries' languages. I. T. Morar refers to the Borearé tribe, in which the *Huailou* language is still spoken[23]. Meanwhile, numerous other languages in the area have already disappeared or are facing imminent extinction[24]. A sad case is that of a language spoken only by three local survivors of a tribe[25].

Returning to the Huailou language, the process of translating the Bible was obviously extremely difficult not only because any linguistic transfer is difficult, but also because the locals did not have a normed language. However, the enormous differences in the *realia*, knowledge and mentality weighed the most. For example, how can one explain to the natives – co-authors of the translation, after all – an Old Testament comparison such as that of the camel going through the eye of a needle if there is no animal in

to reinstate it. The philosopher Michel Onfray, a confirmed atheist (who states, nonetheless, that: "Even if God is not part of my world, my world is that which made the God of Christians possible" and "Christianity has shaped a civilisation which is mine and which I believe I can love and protect without repenting, without waiting for forgiveness"), joined in the controversy with his article "The mass in Latin, a liturgical heritage", in: *Le Figaro*, *apud* Ioan T. Morar, "Traducerea care salvează", in: *România Literară*, nr. 36, 4 sept. 2021, p. 8.

[23] Incidentally, the author of the interesting article in RL is surprised that close tribes speak very different languages. No wonder, that is how it is everywhere. When Europeans came to present-day Brazil (1 May 1500), three hundred languages were spoken there – *different languages*, not dialects, idioms etc. In terms of differences and similarities, Romanian dialectologists (Nicolae Mocanu and D. Loșonți) have found on the spot that there are more common (phonetic, lexical, grammatical) elements in villages separated by the Danube (i.e., a village in Romania and the other one facing it, but in Bulgaria) than are in neighbouring villages located in Romania, therefore on the same bank of the Danube.

[24] They are recorded in the *Red Book of Endangered Languages*, part of the *Atlas of the World's Languages*. The existence of such isolated vernaculars, belonging to small communities, explains the extremely great number of languages recorded by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which is in charge of valuable working tools such as UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, 2009, etc.

[25] Unfortunately, according to I. T. Morar, the three are engaged in a feud, do not speak to each other, so that language is as good as dead.

New Caledonia except the Kagu bird (which, I. T. Morar says, has no natural enemies, therefore it does not even bother to fly and that is why it has lost this skill)? The author of the article assumes that the image of "Noah's Ark" must have seemed such a nonsense to the locals, as the various kinds of animals on board probably sounded strange to them. Further on, he wonders what they really understood about such ancient cities as Jerusalem, Rome and others, for they lived in forests, close to the paradisiacal state. What about the biblical fragments about the desert ("the flee into the wilderness")? They lived surrounded by luxuriant vegetation and waters. Or "why is gold precious"? Not to mention many others. They could not write, so the graphical signs must have initially been seen as magical symbols (which they are, we might say…), part of some kind of strange ritual. Somehow, the *Bible* was translated into the local idiom, the people became more cultivated, because the experience of translations generated forms of training and educations, managed to write down samples of oral literature produced by their own myths. The grandson of the first couple engaged in the work of translation (dictionaries, texts, basic grammar), Delim Wema, who spoke with I. T. Morar, came to study in Paris and taught a course on Melanesian civilisation there. In any case, in all the tribes in which this experience was repeated (and there were many because the Protestant missionaries were very diligent), the translation of the *Bible* stimulated an entire process of civilisation (schools, cultural life, local writings) and, if it did not to save, as we have said, those languages from certain death, at least it delayed it for long. Moreover, the corpus of written texts is extremely precious to the future generations of anthropologists, translators etc.

3. Translations facilitate the reception of the world from an autochthonous perspective

3.1. Latin versions – a model of translational autochthonization[26]

The Latin versions of the Homeric poems were the first examples of departure from the letter and spirit of the original text. And here we are not referring to the old, rough and naïve translation of Livius Andronicus, which is the first artistic creation in Latin (the end of the 3rd century BC), or to the

[26] In this chapter we have used an earlier text of ours, cf. P. Gh. Bârlea, 2015, pp. 23-37; *Idem*, 2016, pp. 26-31.

translations from the classical age of Latinity. We are referring to the late achievements, from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, when European national languages were still considered too immature to be able to render such masterpieces, although national epopees had already been created in those very languages. Only one adaptation, from the series of parallel texts, such as the 12th-century *Le roman de Troie* of Benoît de Saint-Maure's, could appear in archaic French. Otherwise, the Renaissance Humanism privileged the study of Latin Antiquity, so the French and Italian representatives of Humanism made *translations from Homer into Latin*. These are Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, Nicolò dello Valle, who provided timid versions in prose or verse, in the Latin language and meter. The Latin translations of Lorenzo Valla, *Iliada*, c. I-XVI, and Agnolo Poliziano, *Iliada*, c. II-V, were very well-known[27].

All of them used, according to the old tradition, the ancient Latin onomastics, i.e. theonyms, anthroponyms, toponyms etc., so that, to this day, *Odysseos* has been better known as *Ulysse*, from the Latin *Ulyxes*. In fact, the entire Greek Pantheon was adapted to Latin spirituality, which gave rise to a whole range of other "naturalisations" of the original text in our cultures.

3.2. The first translations into national languages and the method of 'naturalisation'

Once unleashed, this series of successive adaptations was hard to stop. Not even the resumption of scholarly studies directly on the Greek text, in the last stage of the Renaissance, favoured by the increasingly better Greek editions, could divert the trend based on the concept launched by the Latins – *translation* 'transfer, transformation, change to another form'.

Again, Italy and France proved to be a fertile ground for the Greek editions.[28] Unfortunately, the ever more scientific character of text editors did

[27] Cf. D. M. Pippidi, „Introducere" la *Iliada*. Romanian version by G. Murnu, Bucureşti: Editura Garamond S.A., pp. 33-34.

[28] The Italian scholar Demetrios Chalcocondyles, born in Greece, coordinated the publishing of the first edition of the Greek text in Florence, in 1448. Another remarkable work is the academic edition printed in Venice in 1571, by Aldo Manuzio. In France, valuable editions,

not encourage a proper view of translation. European national languages – Romanic, German etc. – were still undergoing a process of establishing a supradialectal literary version, and the idea that only popular genres – novel, short story, satirical poem – could be written in the *sermo vulgaris*, the national version, still prevailed in the literary creation of the age. The intellectual genres – epopee, epistle, philosophical lyric poetry etc. – continued to be written in Latin for a long time, just like scientific, juridical, diplomatic, theological etc. works.

Even after modern languages were finally considered capable of rendering the wealth of ideas and aesthetic values of the Homeric poems, the Latin model continued to prevail upon translational conceptions, through many of its distortions. The 17th and 18th centuries may be considered the age of the first important translations into the modern languages and cultures of Europe[29].

Therefore, translations essentially influenced how the base-text was received and entailed adaptations, autochthonizations and new interpretations in the target languages.

4. Translations may support ideological trends

As it is known[30], Amanda Gorman's poem *The Hill We Climb* triggered a huge discussion among specialists and, to a large extent, non-specialists, apparently on the issue of translation ethics. Why is this translation so important? The text deals with the racial and social conflicts in the American modern, allegedly democratic and civilised, society, which

which stand out through the accuracy of the text and the necessary philosophical apparatus, are those of Turnèbe, 1554, and Henri Estienne, 1566.

[29] In France, the translation of the *Iliad* began in 1545, due to the efforts of the poet Hugues Salel, and was completed by his apprentice Amadys Jamin, in 1580-1605. In England, the *Iliad* is published in 1598 and the *Odyssey*, in 1616, through the effort of George Chapman, one of the first great 'Homerists' of the modern age. In Germany, after the 17th-century versions of J. V. Rexius (in prose) and Johann Spreng (in verse) (1610), the 18th-century translations of Johann Heinrich Voss – *Odyssey*, 1781 and *Iliad*, 1793, made history, becoming landmark editions in the history of German[29] and European Homerology. In the meantime, many other editions – partial or integral, in verse or prose, in original or modern verse etc. – came out.

[30] Cf. Radu Uszkai, 2021, p. 13.

basically would not get it out of anonymity. Nor would poetic art, dominated by the *spoken word* (the oral style) and *slam poetry* ('loud poetry'), particularise it very much in the present-day American and universal literary landscape. It became known for the fact that the author herself, a charming African-American young lady, recited it at the inauguration of the American President Joe Biden (20 January 2021). Immediately afterwards, various publishing houses worldwide wanted to translate and publish it along with other creations of the fortunate writer. Among these, Meulenhoff Publishing House in the Netherlands, which entrusted this task to the poet/poetess (for it is a nonbinary person) Marieke Lucas Rijneveld, known for their novel *The Discomfort of Evening*, winner of the 2020 "International Books Prize". We should mention that it was Dorman herself who selected the translator, and the publishing company considered it 'the dream choice'. However, following the intervention of some writers, translators and journalists, who proved to be supporters of the *cancel culture* (or *call-out culture*) trend, the contract was cancelled. The leader of protesters who prompted this decision was the Black Dutch journalist Janice Deul. In an article which went viral online, she claimed that this translation could only be made by "a spoken word artist, young, a woman and unapologetically Black". Very soon, the same thing happened again when it came to translating the poem into Spanish. Victor Obiols, a white man known for his excellent command of the two languages in question, was initially commissioned for the job[31]. After handing his version over to the "Univers" Publishing House in Barcelona, he was notified that his profile did not meet the requirements of the American publisher or of US literary agents[32].

None of those who learn about these details have ever known that there might be other criteria of real, well-intentioned selection of translators than the foreign language skills. We may add here the various criteria invoked

[31] He has translated William Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde, among others.

[32] The French editors, who moved more slowly, had time to find an "adequate" female translator. We have used the quotes for two reasons: 1. Because this term is used by the new ideologists of translations and cultural ethics; 2. Because professional "adequacy" seems at least questionable to us. The choice of the French publisher was the Belgian-Congolese Marie-Pierra Kakoma, a singer whose stage name is Lous and the Yakuza.

by the external ethics of translations (various moral aspects etc.), amid the rapid development of traductology as an independent science in the field of the sciences of the word, but they are part of the internal, virtually negligible mechanisms of book industry.

But the 'revolutionaries' of traditional anti-culture place the extraprofessional criteria – race, ethnic group, religion, gender, involvement in their general protest movements against anything – above anything else and the issues regarding the adequacy to style are reduced to the appetence of potential translators for the orality of poetic structure and literary productions which are approved of *live*, spontaneously and 'definitively' by reciting in front of a loud and heterogenous audience, ready to destroy the aura of sacredness, intimism and elitism of grave traditional poetry. In addition, the ideology of metaphysical essentialism cultivated by J. Deul et comp. seems to impose sociometric rigours as well: a white author can only by translated by a white person, for example. According to this argument, for a young author there should be a young translator (it is what J. Deul actually said), for a female writer there should be a female translator, for a Chinese – another Chinese, and for a wine-loving writer – a translator fond of the same type of wine. An enclavisation of translations is actually called for, as it has been noted[33]. There is no longer the idea of the translator's 'getting lost in the text', of his/her creative imagination[34] or that of 'ethical narrativism', discussed by the philosopher Richard Rorty, an idea which exploits the latencies of literature in order to understand other ways of life and implicitly draw cultures towards one another[35].

Fortunately, not all publishers did as the Dutch, Spanish and French ones. The German translation of the novel *The Discomfort of Evening* was made by three women with very different racial, ethnical and religious identities. Still, the huge wave of the ideology of destroying millenary

[33] R. Uszkai, *loc. cit.*
[34] Cf. Nuria Barrios, the Spanish translator of Amanda Gorman's poem, in an article published in *El País*.
[35] *Apud* R. Uszkai, *loc. cit.*

traditions, which allegedly favour white race supremacy, has found a fertile ground even in the theory and practice of translating.

Conclusions

Translations are a much more complex and much more fertile human activity than one might think. From changes of mentality in the linguistic community of the recipients of texts in contact to supporting new ideologies spread all over the world, from the enrichment of language to their rescue, from providing creation models to founding an entire literature – the role of translations multiplies and diversifies endlessly.

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DOSAR *Dilema veche* – „Fac traducerile o literatură?", cf. https://dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/dilemateca/articol/fac-traducerile-o-literatura-literatura-romana-tradusa-in-franceza-spaniola-engleza-si-germana

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II. CONFLUENCES

BEOBACHTUNGEN ZU ZWEI- UND MEHRSPRACHIGEN WÖRTERBÜCHERN DIE DAS DEUTSCHE BEINHALTEN UND IN DER ZEITSPANNE 1918-1933 ERSCHIENEN

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Abstract
In this article the bilingual and polyglot dictionaries that include the German language issued between 1918 and 1933 are listed. Of these, two dictionaries of special terminology are detailed (one dictionary of forestry terms and one of botanical terms). Closely corresponding to immediate practical needs, such dictionaries represent a specific type of lexicography since 1918 to 1933.

Keywords
Cultural transfer, language contact, German, Romanian, terminology, dictionaries.

Forschungsrahmen

Die Erforschung lexikographischer Werke aus den Jahren 1918-1933 erfolgt im Rahmen desProjekts *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur in Rumänien (1918-1933). Post-imperiale Realitäten, öffentlicher Diskurs und kulturelle Bereiche* (es wird von dem rumänischen Forschungsfond finanziert und von Prof. Dr. Andrei Corbea-Hoișie geleitet[1]). In diesem Forschungsvorhaben geht es nicht darum, die deutsch-rumänischen Kontakte durch das Prisma der Überschneidungsbereiche zwischen zwei getrennten kulturellen Einheiten zu

[1]Diese Forschung wurde durch einen Zuschuss der rumänischen Nationalen Behörde für wissenschaftliche Forschung, CNCS – UEFISCDI, Projektnummer PN-III-PCCF-2016-0131, unterstützt.

betrachten. Im Gegenteil, das Projekt basiert auf der Vision der Ideenströmung des so genannten *cultural turn* in den Geisteswissenschaften, die die „kulturelle Differenz" als eine variable Kategorie versteht, welche von Kontexten und Situationen abhängt, wobei die Grenze zwischen den in Kontakt stehenden Einheiten eher fließend und schwankend ist. Der Ansatz bedient sich daher intensiv eines in den 1990er Jahren vorgeschlagenen Konzepts, nämlich des Konzepts des „kulturellen Transfers"; nach der „transkulturellen" Vision sind Individuen und Kollektive in einem gemeinsamen „Kommunikationsraum" gleichzeitig „Sender" und „Empfänger" von Zeichen, Symbolen und kulturellen Codes, die sich nicht gegenseitig tilgen, sondern in offenen Feldern miteinander verbunden sind.[2]

Konkret geht es bei dem Projekt, an dem wir beteiligt sind, darum, durch interdisziplinäre Teams von Historikern, Sprachwissenschaftlern und Literaturwissenschaftlern alle Elemente (soweit wie möglich) zu erfassen und in Beziehung zu setzen, die das so vielfältige Bild der Präsenz der deutschen Sprache und Kultur in den Teilgebieten des rumänischen Staates nach 1918 ausmachen. In jedem der identifizierten Themenbereiche werden kulturelle Transfers aller Art und in alle Richtungen im Zeitraum 1918-1933 ins Auge gefasst.

Das Projekt besteht aus zwei Hauptabschnitten. Der erste geht von einer imagologischen Untersuchung der Repräsentationen der ehemaligen Feindmächte Deutschland und Österreich im rumänischen öffentlichen Raum nach 1918 aus. Auch, wird der Stellenwert der deutschen Sprache und Kultur in der Sekundarschul- und Hochschulbildung untersucht. Der Zugang der rumänischen Gesellschaft zur deutschen Kultur im dritten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts wird u. a. anhand von Übersetzungen deutscher wissenschaftlicher und literarischer Literatur, der ausdrücklichen Zugehörigkeit wichtiger rumänischer Intellektueller zur deutschen Kultur und des massiven Rückgriffs auf die deutsche wissenschaftliche Bibliographie in führenden akademischen und kulturellen Publikationen, der Daten über die intensive Zirkulation rumänischer Studenten an Universitäten in Deutschland

[2]Siehe die Beschreibung des Projektes auf https://ro.glcr18-33.com/synopsis.

und Österreich, der Präsenz des deutschen Repertoires auf Theater- und Kinoplakaten usw. belegt und überprüft.

Im zweiten Teil des Projekts werden Aspekte der regionalen Verbreitung sowie der gesellschaftlichen „Vorliebe" für Deutsch als Muttersprache inventarisiert und die „Kanäle" der Pflege und Verbreitung des Deutschen in den „kulturellen Feldern" der deutschsprachigen Minderheiten wie Kirche (evangelisch und katholisch), Presse, Vereine und kulturelle Einrichtungen der Minderheiten erfasst.

Zwei- und mehrsprachige Lexikographie zwischen 1918 und 1933

Ein flüchtiger Überblick über den Zeitraum 1918-1933 bezeugt mehrere zweisprachige und mehrsprachige lexikografische Werke (einschließlich des Deutschen), deren Analyse die Beobachtung von Mircea Seche (1969: 290) bestätigt, dass es bei dieser Art von Wörterbüchern „kein bestimmendes Verhältnis zwischen Umfang und Qualität gibt: jedes Werk, ob groß oder klein, das angemessen konzipiert ist, kann auf verschiedenen Ebenen der lexikografischen Wissenschaft als gut angesehen werden". Die Liste der zweisprachigen Wörterbücher (Rumänisch-Deutsch oder Deutsch-Rumänisch) umfasst folgende Werke:Schroff W. Maximilian, *Dicţionar român-german*, Bucureşti, Editura Librariei Socec & Co., Anonima, 1922 (2. Auflage), 1925 (3. Auflage) (I. Auflage – 1916);Schroff W. Maximilian, *Dicţionar german-român,* Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1922 (2. Auflage) (1. Auflage – 1912); Aurel Râșcanu, *Dicţionar tehnic german-român(pentru toate ramurile de inginerie, matematică, fizică, chimie, mineralogie şi fortificaţie),* Cernăuţi, Editura Tipografia Universităţii, 1920, 2. Auflage, 1929; Calistrat Şotropa, *Dicţionar român-german şi german-român al limbii române oficiale: pentru jurişti şi funcţionari de bancă, căi ferate, poştă şi silvicultură: der rumänischen Amtssprache: für Justiz-, Bank-, Bahn,- Post- und Forstbeamte*, Cernăuți, 1921, 2. Auflage 1923; Grigorovitza Em. și W. Ghül, *Dicţionar complet german-român*, Bucureşti, Librăria Universala, 1922; G. Coman, *Dicţionar enciclopedic german-român*, 2 Bände, București, Tipografia „Cultura", 1925; G. Coman, *Dicţionar complect român-german*, București, 1931; H. Tiktin, *Rumänisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, București,

Staatsdruckerei, fasc. 24/25, 1924, fasc. 26/27, 28/29, 1925; Ioan Pătrăşcanu, *Dicţionar comercial german-român*, București, 1929; Nicolae Paşcovici, *Dicţionar silvic german-român*, Rădăuţi, Editura Librăria E. Schledt, Tiparul la Institutul de Arte Grafice «Arta», 1931.

Was die mehrsprachigen Wörterbücher (einschließlich Deutsch) aus den Jahren 1918-1933 sind folgende eruirt worden:Alfred Schlomann: *Dicţionar tehnic ilustrat*, *Elemente de maşini şi uneltele cele mai uzuale în 6 limbi: germană, engleză, franceză, rusă, italiană și spaniolă*, München u. Berlin bei R. Oldenburg, București bei Cartea Românească. Der Anhang zur rumänischen Sprache wurde von Ing. M. Cioc u. A. Rainu bearbeitet, 1922; *Compass: anuar român pentru finanțe/rumänisches finanzielles Jahrbuch/román pénzügyi évkönyv.*

Beinhaltet ein rumänisch-deutsch-ungarisches Fachwörterbuch von finanziellen Fachausdrücken, Cluj, 1924; Ștefan Cantuniari, *Lexic mineralogic-petrografic: german-francez-român*, Lexique mineralogique-pétrographique: allemand-français-roumain = Mineralogisches-petrographisches lexikon: deutsch-französisch-rumänisch, București, 1925-1926. Welches in der Zeitschrift *Analele minelor din România.* Organ al Asociaţiei Generale a Inginerilor şi Industriaşilor de Mine din România publiziert wurde; Virgil Gh. Coman, *Dicționar tehnic: francez-german-italian-englez-român*, București, Tipografia Gutenberg 1926; Zach. C. Panțu, *Plantele cunoscute de poporul român. Vocabular botanic cuprinzând numirile române, franceze, germane şi ştiinţifice*, Bucureşti, Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1929.

Wir haben je eines der zweisprachigen oder polyglotten Wörterbüchern, die die Rolle eines professionellen Informationswerkzeugs übernehmen, für die Ausmusterung ausgewählt, und zwar das Wörterbuch von Nicolae Pașcovici und das Wörterbuch von Zach C. Panțu.

Nicolae Pașcovici, *Dicționar silvic german-român*, Editura Librăria E. Schledt, Rădăuți, 1931.

Das Vorwort des Wörterbuchs gibt einige Hinweise über die Motivation und die Absichten des Autors. So bemerkt N. Pașcovici im Vorwort das bisherige Ausbleiben eines deutsch-rumänischen Wörterbuchs der forstwirtschaftlichen Fachbegriffe. Wegen dem Mangel einer rumänischen forstwirtschaftlichen Literatur musste der rumänische Förster

bis dahin auf deutsche Literatur zurückgreifen und daher deutsche Begriffe kennen. In dem Bestreben, ein nützliches Hilfsmittel „für den Anfänger" zu schaffen, hat der Autor „die gebräuchlichsten Begriffe aus den Bereichen Forstwirtschaft, Planung, Waldschutz, Botanik und Jagd" gesammelt. Ziel des Autors ist es zunächst, „die Lektüre deutscher forstlicher Fachbücher zu erleichtern" und damit dem Fachmann zu helfen, sich zu informieren und zu orientieren.

Nicolae Pașcovici ist sich bewusst, dass das Wörterbuch vervollständigt werden muss, und hofft auf die Mitarbeit mit anderen den Forstleuten, um zur nächsten Phase überzugehen, nämlich der Ausarbeitung eines „großen deutsch-rumänischen und dann rumänischen forstwirtschaftlichen Wörterbuchs", das die forstwirtschaftliche Terminologie in der rumänischen Sprache festigen und festschreiben würde.

Es ging also darum, einen unmittelbaren praktischen Bedarf zu decken, d.h. die Möglichkeit auf deutsche Fachwerke zurückzugreifen und dann (eventuell in Zusammenarbeit) ein rumänisches Lexikon der forstwirtschaftlichen Begriffe zu erstellen, da die Forstwirtschaft ihre eigene spezifische rumänische Terminologie definieren und etablieren musste. Das Werk ist relativ bescheiden (auch vom Umfang her - es umfasst 87 Seiten).

Was bei einer einfachen Durchsicht des Wörterbuchs sofort ins Auge fällt, ist die sehr große Anzahl von Titel-Syntagmen im Verhältnis zur Anzahl der einzelnen Titelwörter: *Abbringung des Holzes – scoaterea lemnului (la drum tare); Abfahren der Hölzer – transportarea lemnelor; abfälliger Stamm – trunchiu conic; Abgabe des Holzes – predarea lemnului; Abrücken des Holzes – corhănirea lemnului până la drum; abschälen die Bodendecke – a curăți solul de pătura sa; Abschluss der Klause – stăvilarul opustului; Abschürfen der Rinde – zdrelirea coajei; Abtriebsbedürftigter Bestand – arboret care necesită a fi exploatat; Dichtigkeit der Luft – densitatea aerului; Einpflanzen in Saaten – împădurire prin însămânțare; Engringiges Holz – lemn cu inele anuale dese (de calitate bună); Entnahme der Buche – extragerea fagului; Oculieren der Pflanzen – altoirea plantelor prin oculare.*

Die Anzahl der Titelwörter ist wesentlich geringer; hier einige Beispiele:*Abfuhr – transport; Enteignung – expropriere; Entwässerung –*

drenare; Pfeiler – contrafort; Plasterung – pavare; Sämling – puet; Runse – ravenă; Unterbau – infrastructură; Verholzung – lemnificare; Vorsteher – plantator; Zellstoff – celuloză.

Der Aufbau des Wörterbuchs ist einfach und hat nur zwei Abschnitte: das Titelwort (oder Titel-Syntagma, ohne Akzent oder morphologische Angaben) und die rumänische Entsprechung. Manchmal wird die rumänische Entsprechung durch ein Synonym oder Syntagma verdoppelt, wie es die folgenden Beispiele bezeugen:*Abdämmung – îndiguire, stăvilar; Abfallsholz – deșeuri, resturi de lemn; abgestockt – exploatat, tăiat, amenajat; Abhang – coastă, versant, pantă; Abhieb – tăiere, exploatare; abholzen – a defrișa, a despăduri; abspüren – a urmări, a explora; Abzweigung – ramificație, bifurcare; Pfütze – mocirlă, smârc, glod; Gehang – coastă, povârniș; Fussteig – potecă, cărare.*

Es gibt auch zahlreiche Situationen, in denen das Titelwort im Deutschen ein Komposita ist und im Rumänischen einem Syntagma entspricht:*Abfallswasser – apă scursă de la fabrici; Abfuhrsweg – drum de scoatere; Abhiebsfläche – suprafață de exploatare, Absatzverhältnisse – condițiuni de desfacere; Absteigerungsprotokoll – proces verbal de licitație, Abtriebszeit – timpul în care se face exploatarea; Durchforstungsart – natura răriturei; Gatterschenkel – brațele gaterului; nachforsten – a împăduri ulterior; Obermast – fructele de pădure de deasupra solului ce servă ca nutreț la vânat; Offenverkohlung – carbonificarea lemnului în sobe; Semenwaldwirtschaft – regimul codrului; Waldschadenprotokoll – registrul pentru procese verbale de delicte silvice.*

Ein Blick in das Wörterbuch zeigt, dass es nicht viele Entlehnungen aus dem Deutschen gibt:*Revierhammer – ciocanul de marcare al revirului* (din germ. *Revier*, „porțiune limitată dintr-o suprafață, sector, zonă"); *Furnier – furnir*(din germ. *Furnier*); *Gatterschenkel – brațele gaterului*(din germ. *Gatter*) und noch nur einige mehr.

Viel zahlreicher sind die lateinisch-romanischen Entlehnungen, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen:*Abdachung Neigung des Bodens – declivitatea solului, gradul de înclinare a solului* (din fr. *déclivité*, lat. *declivitas*, -*atis*);*Abschätzungsmetode – metodă de estimație* (din fr. *estimation*, lat.

aestimatio, *-onis*); *Abteilungslinie – linie parcelară* (din fr. *parcellaire*);*Abtragsmasse – volumul debleului* (din fr. *déblai*„lucrare de terasament sub nivelul solului"); *Entwässerungsanlage – instalație de drenaj*(din fr. *drainage*); *Pfeiler – contrafort*(din fr. *contrefort*); *Runse – ravenă*(din fr. *ravin*); *Unterbau – infrastructură*(din fr. *infrastructure*); *Umleggucker – diopterul mobil*(din fr. *dioptre*); *Verfügbarkeit – disponibilitate*(din fr. *disponibilité*); *Wetterfahne – giruetă*(din fr. *girouette*); *Windmesser – anemometru*(din fr. *anémomètre*) etc.

Bei Begriffen aus verwandten Bereichen treten manchmal diastratische Zeichen auf:*Absint – pelin (botanică); Ackerhundskamille – romăniță de câmp (botanică); Engelsüsswurzel – fereguță (bot.); Einlassung doppelte – înscăunare dublă (constr.); Ohrwurm – urechelniță (zool.); Reiher – bâtlan (zool.)* etc.

Zach. C. Panțu, *Plantele cunoscute de poporul român. Vocabular botanic cuprinzând numirile române, franceze, germane și științifice*, ediția a II-a, București, Editura Casei Școalelor, 1929.

Die erste Ausgabe dieses Werks, die 1906 erschien, enthielt 3600 Pflanzennamen. Die Ausgabe von 1929 bringt eine beträchtliche Erweiterung des Wörterverzeichnisses mit sich; mehr als 1000 neue Benennungen sind hinzugekommen und auch die Informationen über Pflanzen wurden erweitert und vervollständigt. Darüber hinaus fällt das Wörterbuch sowohl durch seinen Umfang (424 Seiten) als auch durch die Qualität und den Reichtum der Informationen auf, was die (manchmal beträchtliche) Länge der Artikel erklärt.

Während sich das vorher vorgestellte Wörterbuch (das Wörterbuch der forstwirtschaftlichen Begriffe) eindeutig an Fachleute wendet, scheint dieses Wörterbuch ein Wörterbuch für die breite Öffentlichkeit zu sein, was jedoch nur teilweise zutrifft. In der Einleitung der Ausgabe von 1906 erklärt der Autor, dass einer der Gründe für die Erstellung dieses Werks darin bestand, „das Studium der schönen Wissenschaft der Botanik zu erleichtern und populärer zu machen". Andererseits meint Zacharia Panțu in dieser Einleitung, dass sich das Werk auch an „Leute, die Botanik studieren" (d. h. Fachleute) richtet, da ihm einige Ungereimtheiten aufgefallen sind, die er gerne korrigieren möchte. Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass er seit Beginn

seiner Arbeit auf zahlreiche Ungenauigkeiten in Fachwerken und Wörterbüchern zu Pflanzennamen gestoßen ist. Ausgehend von der Tatsache, dass die rumänische botanische Nomenklatur in vielen Fällen unzureichend festgelegt war, begann er bereits 1890 mit einer Kampagne zur Sammlung von Material aus verschiedenen Quellen: Abhandlungen (oder anderen schriftlichen Quellen), Fragebögen und Feldstudien.

Die Ausgabe von 1929 enthält zunächst das Vorwort von 1906 und fügt ein weiteres Vorwort zur neuen Ausgabe hinzu. In diesem Vorwort werden die Gründe für den Nachdruck des Werkes genannt: die in der Zwischenzeit gesammelten Namen hinzuzufügen (u.a. durch das Entgegenkommen prominenter Fachleute wie Dimitrie Brândză oder Olga Mălinescu, aber auch durch die Bemühungen und Hilfe von Mitarbeitern aus dem ganzen Lande, denen er herzlich dankt); der zweite Grund bezieht sich auf die Tatsache, dass die erste Ausgabe äußerst positiv aufgenommen wurde (was sowohl durch die Erschöpfung der Auflage als auch durch das positive Echo, u.a. von Titu Maiorescu, der die Ausgabe von 1906 als „von größtem Nutzen für die Zusammenstellung des Wörterbuchs der Rumänischen Akademie" bezeichnete, belegt wird.

Das Material ist sehr akkurat organisiert. In einem ersten Schritt hat der Autor versucht, eine Hierarchie zwischen den zahlreichen Synonymen in der Botanik zu erstellen. Aus der Reihe der Synonime wird ein Hauptvertreter (der Kopf der synonymischen Reihe) ausgewählt; dies ist das Titelwort. Die anderen Begriffe in der Synonymreihe werden ihm untergeordnet sein. Diese Art und Weise, das Material zu ordnen, wird wichtige Folgen haben, denn die Botaniker sind der Meinung, dass es Zacharia Panțu gelungen ist, eine grundlegende botanische Terminologie zu schaffen, die hauptsächlich aus volkstümlichen Wörtern besteht.

Die Definition besteht aus strengen Schemata, die Folgendes umfassen: das Titelwort, regionale Synonyme (eventuell mit Angaben zum Verbreitungsgebiet), die französischen und deutschen Entsprechungen der Pflanzennamen, den wissenschaftlichen Namen in lateinischer Sprache, ein konventionelles Zeichen, das angibt, ob es sich um eine ein-, zwei- oder mehrjährige, holzige oder krautige Pflanze handelt, den erläuternden Teil, der

Folgendes umfasst: Einordnung in die Familie, Beschreibung des Stängels, der Blätter, der Blüten, der Früchte, Angabe des Wuchsorts und der Entwicklungszeit. Diese Daten werden häufig von anderen (enzyklopädischen) Daten über die Verwendung der Pflanzen, von medizinischen Rezepten im Zusammenhang mit den Pflanzen, deren Symbol im Volksglauben begleitet. Im Folgenden werden zwei Beispiele genannt:

Condurul-doamnei, *(Mold.), bostănei (Mold.), Butucași (Trans.), Călțunaș, Ciocănași și Ciocănăței (trans.), Floare-cu-două-cozi (Bănat-Almaș), Flori-cu-două-cozi (Mărămureș), Lobidrag (Oltenia), Lobisdrag (Oltenia), Lopostani (Trans. Năseud), Lupidragi (Oltenia), Lupisdrag sau Lupisdragi (Oltenia-Mehedinți), Năsturții (Basarabia), Nemțoaice (Trans. Brașov), Pinteni și Rostoponi (Trans.), Sultănele. [fr. Capucine; g. Kapuzinerkresse]. – lat. Tropaeolum majus L. Plantă agățătoare erbacee din fam. Tropaeolaceae, frunze peltate lungpețiolate; florile mari galbine roșcate au un pintene drept. Această plantă, originară din Peru, se cultivă mult prin părțile noastre ca ornamentală. Iulie-Octombrie. Melif.*

Dediței, *Adormițele, Dedeței, Dediță (Bucovina), Dedițe, Sisinei, Sufletele (Bănat), Vânturele (Bănat). [fr. Pulsatille, Coquelourde, Coquerelle, Herbe-du-vent; g. Kuhschelle, Küchen schelle, Grosse-Küchen-schelle]. – Anemone Pulsatilla L. syn. Pulsatilla vulgaris. Plantă erbacee, veninoasă din fam. Ranunculaceae, frunzele păroase de 3 ori penatisecate, cu lobii lineari, ascuțiți; florile erecte, în formă de clopot (campanulate) sunt mari și de o coloare albastru-violacee; involucrul format din frunze sesile, concrescute la bază într-o vagină; fructele păroase sunt prelungite la vârf într-o coadă lungă acoperită cuperi. Crește pe coline uscate, prin poieni și margini de păduri. Martie-Aprilie.Această plantă o întrebuințează româncele noastre la colorat.*

Das Wörterbuch selbst endet mit drei alphabetischen Registern: der wissenschaftlichen Namen und der französischen und deutschen Korrespondenten (die sich auf das rumänische Wort beziehen), was Mircea Seche (1969: 184) zu der Ansicht veranlasst, dass es sich in der Tat um ein spezielles einsprachiges Wörterbuch handelt, das von drei speziellen zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern verdoppelt wird.

Schlussfolgerungen

Neben den zweisprachigen rumänisch-deutschen und deutsch-rumänischen Wörterbüchern für den allgemeinen Gebrauch entstanden in den Jahren 1918-1933 zweisprachige oder mehrsprachige Wörterbücher (die sich in Bezug auf Quantität und Qualität der Informationen unterscheiden), die sich speziellen Terminologien widmeten und die Rolle von professionellen Informationsinstrumenten in genau definierten Bereichen übernahmen. Diese zweisprachigen Wörterbücher sind eine besondere Form der Lexikographie der Jahre 1918 bis 1933, da sie sich eng an den unmittelbaren praktischen Bedürfnissen orientieren.

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LA GRAMMAIRE D'UN ROI DE LA POÉSIE ROUMAINE

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Abstract

„A king of poetry”, as Eminescu called him in *Epigonii*, Alecsandri was an initiator of fundamental fields, such as poetry, theatre, prose and even linguistics. The first Romanian grammar written in French was the grammar of the bard from Mircești, Vasile Alecsandri, who was, at that time (1862), at the Bavaria Hotel in Munich, together with his friends, A. Locini and Al. Papadopol-Calimah, and they all decided to write this study. The grammar was published in Paris in 1863, under the pseudonym V. Mircesco. The poet had wanted to write it for a long time, being convinced that, in this way, he could make the Romanian language known beyond the country's borders. The work, published by the Maisonneuve et C-ie bookstore in Paris, Quai Voltaire, 15, was entitled *Grammaire de la langue roumaíne per V. Mircesco, précédé d'un aperçu historique sur la langue roumaine par A. Ubicini*.

Key words

Grammar, linguistics, poetry, norm, history .

Resumé

« Roi de la poésie », comme l'appelait Eminescu dans sa poésie, *Epigonii*, Alecsandri était un initiateur de domaines fondamentaux, tels que la poésie, le théâtre, la prose et même la linguistique. La première grammaire roumaine écrite en français fut celle de Vasile Alecsandri, « le barde de Mircești », qui se trouvait alors à l'hôtel Bavaria à Munich, en 1862, avec ses amis A. Ubicini et Al. Papadopol-Calimah, avec qu'il décida d'écrire cet ouvrage. La grammaire est publiée à Paris, en 1863, sous le pseudonyme de V. Mircesco. Ce projet avait germé depuis longtemps dans l'âme du poète, convaincu que, de cette manière, il pourrait faire connaître la langue roumaine au-delà des frontières du pays. L'ouvrage édité par la librairie Maisonneuve et C-ie à Paris, Quai Voltaire, 15, s'intitulait *Grammaire de la langue*

roumaine par V. Mircesco, précédé d'un aperçu historique sur la langue roumaine par A. Ubicini.

Mots-clés :
Grammaire, linguistique, poésie, norme, histoire.

Motto:
„Ş-acel rege-al poeziei, vecinic tânăr şi ferice,
Ce din frunze îţi doineşte, ce cu fluierul îţi zice,
Ce cu basmul povesteşte – veselul Alecsandri,
Ce-nşirând mărgăritare pe a stelei blondă rază,
Acum secolii străbate, o minune luminoasă,
Acum râde printre lacrimi când o cântă pe Dridri."
(Eminescu, 1990 : 33)

À une époque sans normes claires et unitaires dans la linguistique, domaine dans lequel il y avait de grandes controverses concernant la langue, Alecsandri a exercé son activité littéraire dans la poésie et la dramaturgie, ainsi que dans la linguistique. Il a certainement réussi à créer un pont entre sa pratique d'homme de culture et son attitude de théoricien du langage. Ce sont deux niveaux qu'il a su positionner magistralement dans leurs interférences.

Vasile Alecsandri fut membre de la commission de l'Académie Roumaine qui édifia les fondations du système orthographique de la langue roumaine, celle qui établit la transition de l'alphabet en écriture cyrillique à celui en caractères latins. Il le fit avec une contribution particulière à la création du langage poétique, le constellant de réverbérations de l'expression du rythme et de la rime, mais aussi avec une nette inclination pour la littérature populaire, qu'il valorise de manière exemplaire, pas comme les autres, avec des interventions notables dans le domaine de la dramaturgie. Il fut « ce roi de la poésie, toujours jeune et heureux [TDLA] » (Eminescu 1990: 33).

Pionnier dans tant de domaines, Alecsandri s'avéra être un promoteur aussi dans le domaine de la grammaire roumaine, offrant ainsi à notre pays la première grammaire roumaine écrite en français, à Paris, en 1863, sous le pseudonyme de V. Mircesco, *Grammaire de la langue roumaíne par V. Mircesco, précédé d'un aperçu historique sur la langue roumaine par A. Ubicini*, publiée par la librairie Maisonneuve et C-ie à Paris, Quai Voltaire, 15.

L'ouvrage fut réédité en 1885. C'est un livre de 176 pages, auxquelles s'ajoute une introduction de 26 pages. L'ouvrage ne contint qu'une morphologie grammaticale, « mais complétée par un vocabulaire de mots courants et quelques dialogues tels que des guides de conversation » (Iordan 1978 : 63).

Cet ouvrage constitua donc la première grammaire roumaine écrite en français.

Vasile Alecsandri, installé en 1862 à l'hôtel Bavaria à Munich, avec ses amis A. Ubicini et Al. Papadopol-Calimah, a décidé d'écrire ce livre. Ce projet avait germé depuis longtemps dans l'âme du poète, convaincu que, de cette manière, il pourrait faire connaître la langue roumaine au-delà des frontières du pays.

Qu'il y ait eu ou non des doutes sur l'identification du nom V. Mircesco avec V. Alecsandri, Alexandru Iordan publia un article dans lequel il présente des indications claires sur cet aspect. Il cite des sources telles que : « G. Bengescu dans *Bibliographie franco-roumaine* à la p. 64 sous Nr. 181 », ou « soții Rally [le couple Rally] dans *Bibliographie franco-roumaine*, vol. I, p. 2, Nr. 17 » (ouvrages en français); « G. Adamescu dans vol. I, p. 79, Nr. 23 dans *Contribuții la bibliografia românească* [Contributions à la bibliographie roumaine] », ou « N. Zaharia dans *Viața și opera lui V. Alecsandri* [La vie et l'œuvre de V. Alecsandri], pp. 55-56 » (œuvres en roumain). La source la plus importante mentionnée par Iordan appartient cependant à Iuliu Tuducescu, qui, sur la grammaire d'Alecsandri a écrit ce qui suit : « Cette grammaire de la langue roumaine a été écrite par V. Alecsandri avec A. Ubicini et Al. Papadopol-Calimah à Munich, à l'hôtel Bavaria, en 1862. Je possède les informations ci-dessus du défunt Al. Papadopol-Calimah qui a inscrit de sa propre main sur la couverture du livre à côté de l'auteur V. Mircesco entre Parenthèses (V. Alecsandri) » (Iordan 1933 : 380-381).

La grammaire a été conçue par Alecsandri pour les étrangers. Il adressa ce commentaire à Alexandru Hurmuzachi : « Je suis heureux que vous ayez été satisfait de la lecture du prodigue *Sgîrcitului risipitor* [*L'Avare gaspillant* - TDLA] et de ma *Grammaire*. Je n'ai jamais prétendu être un parfait grammairien et, si j'ai commencé un travail aussi dur, je l'ai fait pour permettre aux étrangers d'étudier plus facilement notre langue ». Florin Popescu rapporte à propos de cette lettre qu'« elle a été envoyée de Iassy, le 14 mars 1863, peu de temps après avoir envoyé sa grammaire à Al. Hurmuzachi [TDLA] » (1980 : 23).

Alecsandri a rédigé cette grammaire, comme il l'a lui-même avoué, « afin de faciliter l'étude de notre langue aux étrangers, manifestant ainsi une fois de plus son attention aux problèmes de langue et le bon sens avec lequel il résout le plus souvent ces problèmes [TDLA] » (Niculescu 1966 : XXXIV). Il semble donc bien qu'Alecsandri ait écrit cet ouvrage en collaboration avec A. Ubicini et Al. Papadopol-Calimah, à l'instigation de J.A. Vaillant (Iordan 1933 : 381). La grammaire a montré un intérêt pour « le système orthographique – rationnel, mais appliqué de manière incohérente – utilisé pour écrire le texte roumain en lettres latines; sinon, elle n'a pas donné beaucoup de satisfaction principalement en raison de la langue recommandée dans les dialogues, avec trop d'éléments (régionaux, désuets ou des mots au vernis français) différents de la norme de l'expression littéraire [TDLA] » (Iordan 1978 : 64).

Le travail « est parti de l'idée de latinité, (...) mais aussi de la nécessité de faire connaitre, en Europe, la réalité roumaine. Et où mieux le faire que dans le Paris de Napoléon III, l'empereur attentif et bienveillant aux problèmes roumains ? Et qui pourrait mieux faire cela que V. Alecsandri – entre 1861-1863 voyageant en France – et A. Ubicini (en fait, Honoré Abdolonyme Ubicini)? [TDLA] » (Niculescu 1983 : 19).

Les problèmes liés à la langue roumaine ont constamment préoccupé Alecsandri, manifestant une attitude pertinente contre « l'étymologisme, contre tout écart par rapport à la réalité de la langue du peuple, toute forme de pédantisme qui pourrait rendre la culture plus difficile à atteindre les larges masses [TDLA] » (Nicolescu 1966 : XXXIV).

L'attitude d'Alecsandri, matérialisée par diverses observations linguistiques, se trouve dans une symbiose unique avec ses œuvres littéraires. N'étant « un théoricien du langage que par sa pratique d'écrivain, d'homme de lettres et de culture [TDLA] », Alecsandri a écrit une œuvre littéraire, notamment poétique, qui reflète les idées de la génération d'écrivains moldaves et valaques du milieu du siècle dernier [ndlr – 19ème siècle], lorsqu'on déclarait – contre les principes latinisants – que la langue roumaine est le « témoignage de la nationalité du peuple [TDLA] », qu'elle doit être développée de « manière mesurée et sage », sans « changer sa forme originelle [TDLA] », sans « lui donner un aspect étranger: toucher cet autel sans respect est une profanation [TDLA] » (Niculescu 1983: 19).

Niculescu est aussi celui qui observe le moment initial de l'influence de la langue française dans la langue culte de l'époque, aspect facilité par l'écriture de cette grammaire : « d'abord par une série de calculs syntaxiques : *PE ONORUL meu (=sur mon honneur;* Alecsandri et ses autres auteurs contemporains ont respecté le genre du nom !); *IUBESC jocul de cărți* (= j'aime le jeu aux cartes); *ce oră AI*? (= *quelle heure avez-vous*?); *hai să facem un lucru*! (= *faisons une chose*); *se discută mult ASUPRA cărei chestii*? (= *on discute beaucoup sur quelle question*?); *ce se zice DE nou*? (= *que dit-on de nouveau*?); *PAROLĂ*! (= *sur ma parole*!); *îl cunosc din vedere* (= *je le connais de vue*) » etc. Deuxièmement, par le vocabulaire : une série d'éléments français s'avèrent faire partie du discours cultivé de l'époque : *ai DEJUNAT* ? (en plus de quoi il apparaît également : avez-vous fait de la zacusca ?) (=*avez-vous déjeuné*?). *PROPRIETARII SE OCUPĂ și cu creșterea vitelor*? (=*les PROPRIETAIRES S' OCCUPENT-ils de l'éleve [probablement élevage] des bestiaux*?); *aurora, faptul zilei* (= *l'aurore*); *EFECTUL CIVILIZAȚIEI* (= *l'effet de la civilisation*) [TDLA] » (Niculescu 1983: 19).

Mioara Avram (1983) soutient qu'« aucun des arguments linguistiques fournis ne résiste à la critique [TDLA] », et présente, elle aussi, avec des arguments solides que cette grammaire n'était écrite que par Vasile Alecsandri, « certains faits linguistiques non seulement ne peuvent rien prouver sur la paternité du texte, mais ils sont mis en cause à tort comme éléments d'influence française susceptibles d'être attribués à un étranger [TDLA] » (Avram 1983: 240-241). À la fin de son article, l'auteur insiste sur la prévalence donnée au travail d'Alecsandri d'avoir été « notre première grammaire à l'usage des locuteurs étrangers [TDLA] », comme l'a mentionné Niculescu, affirmant que la première grammaire pour les étrangers était « Elementa linguae dacoromane sive valachicae » de Samuil Micu et Gheorghe Șincai, imprimé à Vienne, en 1780, « qui comprenait également, outre la grammaire elle-même, un vocabulaire bilingue organisé sur des champs sémantiques et quelques textes dialogués [TDLA] » (Avram 1983: 245). Mioara Avram mentionne également la première grammaire écrite pour les francophones de J.A. Vaillant « auquel on attribue également le rôle d'inciter Alecsandri à une entreprise similaire, *Grammaire vallaque à l'usage des Français*, Bucarest, 1836 [TDLA] » (Avram 1983 : 245). Elle souligne également à propos de cette grammaire que c'est justement « la première grammaire de la langue roumaine écrite par un roumain pour les francophones

et est importante en ce sens, en la publiant en France, où le même Vaillant, cité plus haut, avait consacré à la langue roumaine un chapitre de son ouvrage en trois volumes *La Roumanie ou Histoire, langue, littérature, ortographe, statistique des peuples de la langue d'Or, ardialiens, vallaque et moldaves résumés sous le nom de romans*, Paris, 1844, cité par A. Ubicini dans l'introduction à la grammaire discutée ici (p. XXIII) » (Avram 1983: 245).

Particulièrement impliqué dans la rédaction des documents officiels, soucieux de leur orthographe et de leur style, ayant un profond respect pour la langue roumaine, qu'il considérait comme « le livre de la noblesse et le témoignage de la nationalité d'une nation [TDLA] » (Alecsandri 1876 : 137), Alecsandri – dans le domaine de la langue littéraire – parvint à transmettre aux générations futures des solutions qui ont trouvé leur justification théorique, linguistique et surtout pratique. Ses principes théoriques sur la langue littéraire et, surtout, sur l'orthographe de la langue roumaine sont magistralement transposés dans sa grammaire, le premier ouvrage roumain de linguistique en langue française.

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THE ROMANIAN PRESS IN HABSBURG BUKOVINA

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Abstract

This article aims at a brief description of the main Romanian press landmarks in Bukovina (1775-1918). Starting from the first chronicle printed in Chernivtsi (1811), the first Bukovina newspaper edited by the brothers Gheorghe and Alexandru Hurmuzachi was published between 1848 and 1850. The late 19th century brings to the fore the press representatives of the various Romanian political factions in Bukovina, which dominated the public scene until the outbreak of the First World War.

Keywords

Bukovina, history of the press, Romanian, Habsburg.

In 1803, teacher Ioan Bilevici took the first steps for the establishment of a newspaper in Bukovina, submitting – through the vice-governor Hofrath Graf v. Sweeters – a request to the imperial court in this respect on June 16, followed by a second request filed on 26 December 1803. However, Bilevici was refused, being motivated, among other things, by the lack of a structure necessary for the censorship of such a Romanian “diary of intelligence”. The rejections of the two requests were also accompanied by the remark that “the publication of a newspaper is not compatible with Bilevici’s professional duties as a teacher”.[1]

Fifteen years passed until the second attempt to establish a newspaper. This time, the request came from Teodor Racoce, the translator for the Romanian language at the Government of Lviv. A native from the the village

[1] I. Caproșu, Ș.-M. Ceaușu, et. al., 1998, p. 563.

of Carapciu in the northern Bukovina on the border with Galicia, Racoce had previously been employed at the district chancellery of Bukovina, which was based in Chernivtsi, and since the early 1816 he worked as a translator at the Government of Lviv. In his application no. 2474 of June 17, 1816, he requested permission to publish a newspaper in the "Moldavian language", which was to be "weekly printed", as well as a "journal for intellectuals".[2] By the authorization no. 8772 of February 25, 1817, Teodor Racoce received the requested approval and, therefore, first proceeded to print an advertisement for the newly issued newspaper (announcement dated March 8, 1817)[3]. However, for reasons not yet elucidated by the literature, no issue of the newspaper planned by Racoce was printed. His journalistic commitment and publishing activity will materialize in publishing a literary anthology of almost 200 pages. Published under the title "Chrestomatic românesc" ["Romanian Chrestomath"], the work was printed in 1820 by the printer Peter Eckhardt from Chernivtsi and, although it was initially planned as an annual journal, it ceased to be published. The anthology contains exclusively translations of literary texts, most of them from the Latin classics (Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Rufus, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, etc.), but also translations from the modern literatures, all the texts being interpreted by Racoce himself[4].

Only a few Romanian chronicles will be published until 1848 in the same Eckhardt printing house the only one in Bukovina. Edited by the teacher Vasile Țintilă under different titles such as *Calendariu pentru anul* [*The Chronicle of the Year*] ..., *Calendarul pentru casă* [*The Chronicle of Home*] or *Calendarul Bisericii Răsăritului* [*The Chronicle of the Eastern Church*], several editions were published between 1811 and 1824. After a break of fifteen years, it was resumed in 1841 under the title *Calendarul pentru Bucovina* [*The Chronicle of Bukovina*] or *Calendarul pentru Ducatul*

[2] T. Bălan, 1927, p. 351.
[3] I. Lupaș, 1916, p. 71.
[4] G. Răduică, N. Răduică, 1995, p. 68.

Bucovinei [*The Chronicle of the Duchy of Bukovina*] and continued to be published for several decades.[5]

The Viennese events of the 1848 spring were to have an impact on Bukovina as well. The Romanian and German ruling elites, led by Anton Kral and Eudoxiu von Hurmuzachi, demanded the separation of the former Moldovan district from Galicia. The abolition of the Metternich system and the liberalization that took place offered the aspiring representatives of the educated bourgeoisie in Chernivtsi new possibilities of public expression: it didn't take a long time for a press to be set up since the publication of pamphlets in which, for the first time, everyone's political opinion was available to the public in printed copy. In the autumn of 1848, the Bukovina printer Ferdinand Eckhardt, as editor, and Gheorghe Hurmuzachi, as owner and editor, requested permission to publish a newspaper in Chernivtsi. Based on a report by Anton Kral, Anton Kunz and Alois Alth, it was proposed to the Ministry of Interior through the mayor of Chernivtsi to authorize the publication of a bilingual newspaper called *Bucovina* with its Romanian and German subtitles: *Gazetă românească pentru politică, religie și literatură* / respectiv *Romanische Zeitung für Politik, Kirche und Literatur* [*The Romanian Journal of Politics*, *Religion and literature*][6] respectively. The first issue printed on October 16, 1848 had four pages with the text on two columns both in Romanian and German respectively. From a financial point of view, the newspaper was supported by the Hurmuzachi family, who also imprinted a strong political character on the newspaper by supporting the separation of Bukovina from Galicia and calling for Bukovina to become an autonomous duchy of the Habsburg Crown. We must not forget that the eldest of the brothers, Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi, who had studied law at the University of Vienna, was the author of "Petiție pentru autonomia Bucovinei" ["Petition for the Autonomy of Bukovina"], signed by most Bukovinian personalities of

[5] V. I. Schipor, 2016, p. 55.
[6] T. Bălan, 1924, p. 4.

different nationalities which caused a stir after it was handed over to the Emperor Ferdinand in June 1848.[7]

Almost all the articles in the newspaper were printed in both Romanian and German, the exception being the feuilleton column. Usually this space was reserved for the Romanian culture and literature, texts considered representative for the entire Romanian nation being published here. Under the title "Poezia populară a românilor" ["Romanians' Popular Poetry"] several relevant works for the Romanian culture, such as the ballads *Toma Alimoş* and *Miorița* were published for the first time. Apart from Gheorghe and Alexandru Hurmuzachi, who often signed their contributions as editors of the newspaper, Iraclie Porumbescu and Aron Pumnul can be identified among contributors, the latter being responsible for the Romanian literary section. Aron Pumnul's study *Neatârnarea limbii române în dezvoltarea sa şi în modul de a o scrie* [*The Independence of the Romanian language in its Development and Writing*] is given a great significance by the editors, who allow in the feuilleton column of a rather large typographic space in relation to the four pages of the newspaper. The study was published in several parts, over more than ten issues, and was continued by another one on the Romanian literature: *Fragmente din literatură românească* [*Fragments of the Romanian Literature*]. Besides *Toma Alimoş* (in no. 2 of January 13, 1850) and *Balada Mioarei* (in no. 11 of February 18, 1850), previously mentioned, other popular works such as *Mihu Copilul* (in no. 20 of March 22, 1850) or *Păunaşul Codrilor* (in no. 36 of October 28, 1849) were published for the first time in the feuilleton. Vasile Alecsandri, Andrei Mureşanu, Iraclie Prorumbescu (no. 10, 1850), D. Bolintineanu (no. 12, 13, 16 and 23/1849), Vasile Cârlova (no. 15 and 18 / 1849), Vasile Pogor (no. 20/1849) and others' writings were published in the same column. G. Sion published excerpts from his own work reunited under the title „Din manuscrisul *Panorama Moldovei*" ["On the Manuscript *Panorama Moldovei*"] in several issues in 1850.

[7] The text of the petition was reproduced together with the *Motivation of the Petition* and other 25 documents regarding the acquisition of the state of autonomous duchy of Bukovina in 1861 within the volume: Ceaușu / Lihaciu, 2021, pp. 107-109.

Among the relevant articles that describe the political situation in Transylvania we mention *Epistola pastorală* [*The Pastoral Epistle*] and Andrei Şaguna's appeal to the patriarch (no. 10/1849); Avram Iancu's letter regarding his activities (no. 44/1850); the correspondence from Transylvania regarding the arrests of some Romanian priests (no. 37/1849), as well as the series published in 1849, along several issues, entitled *Din istoria românilor din Transilvania* [*On the History of the Romanians in Transylvania*]. Some short pauses in the newspaper's publication can be attributed to the political circumstances and censorship measures. Gheorghe Hurmuzachi reported extensively on the censorship process against the newspaper.[8] Almost two years after the publication of the first issue (October 1848), during which time the newspaper was published with several delays and breaks, the publication of the newspaper was finally stopped on (September 20, 1850). The reason could be to increase the national-Romanian character that the newspaper has acquired over time, a key role in this regard being played by various Romanian personalities from Transylvania and Moldova. In addition, there was also a negative response from the authorities to the application for authorization to operate its own printing house.[9]

Apart from *The Chronicle...* which was now uninterruptedly printed annually since 1841, no Romanian press product will be published until Bukovina achieved its full autonomy in 1861. Only in 1865 was the printing of a periodical publication initiated by the *Asociaţia pentru literatura şi cultura română din Bucovina* [*Association for Romanian Literature and Culture in Bukovina*]. Initially edited by A. Dimitroviță and carried on by I.G. Sbiera *Foaia Societăţii pentru literatura şi cultura română în Bucovina* has been published for five years, between 1865 and 1869. Thus, since January 1865, the first Bukovina journal is published in Chernivtsi. *Foaia Societăţii pentru literatura şi cultura română în Bucovina* is a monthly journal of literature, culture and folklore in which the literature itself occupies a leading place among its pages. Among the signatories of the literary texts we find Vasile Alecsandri, Iacob Negrruzzi, D. Petrino, Vasile Bumbac, Al.

[8] For example, see the extensive article dedicated into issue no. 20/1849 of the Bucovina newspaper.
[9] I. Lihaciu, 2012, pp. 169-175.

Hurmuzachi, Vasile F. Pop, G. Tăutul, Gh. Sion, M. Rosetti or Dimitrie Bolintineanu. Legends and popular poems collected from all over Bukovina are also published. The journal also includes translations from K.E. Franzos and J.W. v. Goethe. At the same time, V. Alecsandri publishes from the manuscripts of Costache Negri and Alecu Russo.[10] There are also articles dealing with the field of church, documents about the history of Bukovina or folklore articles signed by Simion Florea Marian and Elena Niculiță Voronca. Among its pages we can find information on general politics, the journal also being published as a political newspaper, while the political chronicler of this era was Gheorghe Hurmuzachi.[11] Journals such as *Aurora Română* [*The Romanian Aurora*] (1881-1882, 1884) or the bimonthly *Amicul Poporului* [*The People's Friend*] (founded in 1878) can only be considered attempts to build a bridge to a new stage of initiatives to establish a permanent environment of the Romanian press in Bukovina.

There is no coincidence that this rise began immediately after the election of Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici as the Metropolitan of Bukovina and Dalmatia in 1880. This charismatic personality of the Orthodox Church considered that the privileged position of Romanians as a supposed "historical nation" in Bukovina was threatened by the imposition of the German language and culture under the influence of incipient centrifugal nationalisms in other provinces of the monarchy. The Romanian journal of the Orthodox Church *Candela* [*The Candle*], which Morariu-Andrievici founded in 1882, gradually became the center of an editorial enterprise attached to the metropolitan printing house that led to the printing and distribution of the Romanian spiritual and secular books. The activity of the center around the metropolitan was also linked to the rise of active political groups since the late 1870s. On behalf of an educated, germinating Romanian bourgeoisie, with clearly expressed national views, *Concordia* Association which served the Romanian national objectives and opposed the "old Romanian politicians" willing to compromise was founded in 1885. Its press or rather its "spokesperson" was the bimonthly *Revista Politică* [*The Political Journal*]

[10] I. Loghin, 1926, p. 130.
[11] Ibid.

(1886-1891), published in Suceava (but printed by Eckhardt in Chernivtsi).[12] In order to be even more active in the political life, more persuasive in everyday life and to better pursue its political goals, the *Concordia* Association (led since 1895 by Zaharia Voronca), turned the journal into a daily newspaper, under the title *Gazeta Bucovinei* [*Bukovina Gazette*]. In fact, on the one hand, this sealed the establishment of the Romanian National Party and significantly shaped the national discourse of the Romanian groups and parties in their argument until 1918. Hiring experienced Romanian journalists from Transylvania (such as George Bogdan-Duică, Pompiliu Pipoș or Valeriu Braniște),[13] who outlined their militant discourse in their fight against the Hungarian centralism, was vital for the national rhetoric of the Romanian press in Bukovina.

The conflicts between the different factions of the Romanian national movement were also reflected in the diversity of the political press representatives. On the one hand, these conflicts were aroused by the different positions adopted towards the Austrian administration, but also towards the new political camp being formed, namely the Ukrainian nationalists. The split of the Romanian National Party by "Tinerii Români" ["The Romanian Youth"] led by Iancu Flondor and George Popovici in 1897 led to the cessation of publishing *Gazeta Bucovinei* [*Bukovina Gazette*], whose place was taken by *Patria* [*The Fatherland*] (1897-1900), edited by Valeriu Braniște.[14] In a radical tone, almost irredentist and launching into a direct confrontation with the government, the newspaper was subjected to retaliation from the administration, culminating in a printing ban. The more moderate Romanian conservatives issued their own publication, *Timpul* [*The Time*], while the rigid line of *Patria* [*The Fatherland*] was taken over by *Deșteptarea* [*The Awakening*], which has been published since 1892. The national-Romanian political scene seemed to become irrelevant when Aurel Onciul decided to get directly involved in the political life of Bukovina: in Brno, where he had been district governor for a time, he began publishing the

[12] I. V. Cocuz, 1989, p. 35.
[13] I. N. Oprea, 2004, p. 85.
[14] Ibid, p. 43.

newspaper *Privitorul* [*The Viewer*] (1902-1903), which quickly became the "spokesman" for his alleged anti-oligarchic and anticlerical program, a popular program especially among the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants. Onciul's tactic to assert himself first in alliance with the representatives of the Ukrainians, Jews and liberal Germans against the main figures of the Romanian nationalists, especially Iancu Flondor, and then to legitimize his group of supporters as in fact the only defender of the Romanian interests in Bukovina[15] was expressed in the speeches of his daily *Voința poporului* [*The People's Will*] (1905-1908), the newspaper being (especially after 1906) also the witness of his oscillation towards the furious anti-Semitism of Lueger's Viennese-social-Christian inspiration. The opposing camp founded *Apărarea națională* [*The National Defense*] (1906-1908); after a brief reconciliation (1908-1909) within a common Romanian Christian Social Party, whose press representative was the newspaper *Românul* [*The Romanian*],[16] the two wings separated again, which led to a new journalistic controversy. The early 20th century was thus marked by incisive and belligerent mutual criticisms between Aurel Onciul's *Foaia poporului* [*People's Leaf*] (1909-1914) and *Patria* [*The Fatherland*] (1909-1910) and Iancu Flondor's *Viața nouă* [*The New Life*] (1912-1914). Despite the political divergences an offensive Romanian national activism, an ideal of national emancipation was developed in both camps, and their newsrooms respectively. Of the Romanian-language political newspapers in Bukovina, only *Lupta* [*The Struggle*] (1906-1910), a social-democratic monthly, advocated for constructive cooperation between nationalities.

The First World War sealed the end of the Habsburg Monarchy and brought the environment of the Romanian press in Bukovina into a new era. The first issue of *Glasul Bucovinei* [*The Voice of Bukovina*] newspaper is published on October 22. The leading committee headed by Ion Nistor and

[15] I. V. Cocuz, 1989, p. 63.
[16] Ibid, p. 61.

Sextil Pușcariu expresses its intentions, and a month later it issues no.14 "Fulfilling A Golden Dream" of *Glasul Bucovinei* [*The Voice of Bukovina*].[17]

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JIDDISCHE VERLAGE UND BIBLIOTHEKEN IN DER BUKOWINA DER ZWISCHENKRIEGSZEIT. ERKUNDUNGEN IN DER CZERNOWITZER PRESSE*

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Abstract
Compared to the Habsburg era, when Yiddish writings were hardly printed in Bukovina – due to the centralized policy of Vienna and the openness towards integration and assimilation on the part of numerous Bukovinian Jews, as well as because of the status of Yiddish as the language of uneducated Jews – the Yiddish printing industry, as well as the Yiddish libraries didn't develop until the early 1920s, simultaneously with the emergence of national identity concepts. This paper is based on descriptive research and discusses the importance of these institutions in shaping trajectories of cultural, national and linguistic identities.

Keywords
Bukovina, Czernowitz, Yiddish, publishing houses, libraries, interwar period, press.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrages besteht darin, die wichtigsten Momente in der Geschichte jüdischer Verlage und Bibliotheken in der Bukowina der Zwischenkriegszeit zu pointieren und ihre Rolle bei der Verbreitung jiddischer Literatur und Kultur zu erläutern. Diese Institutionen sollen hier als bedeutende Wissensorte in enger Verbindung mit unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen im Prozess der Produktion und Vermittlung

* Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des vom Rumänischen Ministerium für Forschung und Innovation, CNCS – UEFISCDI, geförderten Projekts *„Yiddish Culture in Greater Romania (1918-1940): in the Aftermath of the Empires and challenged by the New National State"* (Projektkennziffer: PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0317; Projektleiterin: PD Dr. Camelia Crăciun), das am New Europe College in Bukarest durchgeführt wird.

des Wissens verstanden werden. Viele Informationen aus diesem Artikel stammen sowohl aus Bukowiner jiddischen als auch aus deutschsprachigen Zeitungen, wie *Di Frayhayt*, *Arbeter-tsaytung*, *Tshernovitser bleter*, *Kultur*, *Oyfboy*, *Ostjüdische Zeitung*, *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt* und *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*. Somit nimmt sich diese Studie vor, ein weniger bekanntes Kapitel der jüdischen Bukowina ans Licht zu bringen und neue Impulse für die Forschung zu geben.

Czernowitz – eine „Gegend, in der Menschen und Bücher lebten“[1]

Die Bildung und die deutsche Kultur wurden in der Auffassung zahlreicher Juden zum zentralen und „normativen Ausdruck für Europäertum“ (Wistrich, 1999: 113), deren Aneignung ihnen den Weg zur Emanzipation und Integration in die deutsche Gesellschaft ebnen sollte. Dieser leitende Grundsatz war im Diskurs der liberalen Doktrin tief verwurzelt und spiegelt sich in den Anschauungen einer großen Zahl österreichischer Juden auf eine symptomatische Weise wider. Die von der Habsburgermonarchie vertretenen Werte wurden für zahlreiche österreichische Juden, insbesondere für die bukowinischen, mährischen und böhmischen Juden zum zentralen identitätsstiftenden Referenzmodell. Das Interesse für die soziale und politische Modernisierung, die Abneigung gegen die zeitgenössischen Nationalismen, die Loyalität der Monarchie gegenüber als Garant des politischen Gleichgewichtes und der Stabilität entsprachen vor allem den Vorstellungen eines großen Teils des Czernowitzer Bürgertums, deren Vertreter den Reihen des jüdischen assimilierten und deutschsprachigen Bildungsbürgertums entstammten.

Die zur Auflösung der Habsburgermonarchie führenden Ereignisse des Jahres 1918 wirkten auf die Mehrheit „österreichisch-bukowinischer“ Juden desorientierend und tief verstörend. Einerseits kristallisierte sich die Tendenz der Idealisierung und Verklärung des „Goldenen Zeitalters“ der Habsburgermonarchie heraus, die somit ein breites und fortdauerndes Narrativ mit mythologisierenden Zügen erzeugte. Andererseits brachte dieser

[1] Dieses Diktum entstammt einer Ansprache, die Paul Celan 1958 bei der Verleihung des Literaturpreises der Stadt Bremen hielt.

historische Moment viele Juden dazu, eigene Ausdrucksmittel zur Bewahrung ihrer Bukowiner Identität zu finden, indem sie nach neuen kulturellen und ideologischen Positionierungen suchten. In der Zwischenkriegszeit entstand in der Bukowina, insbesondere in Czernowitz, ein reges literarisches und kulturelles jiddischsprachiges Feld, an dem sich Autoren wie Elieser Steinbarg (1880–1932), Moshe Altman (1890–1981) und Jacob Sternberg (1890–1973) beteiligten. Auch der jiddische Balladendichter und Dramaturg Itzik Manger (1901–1969) näherte sich diesem Feld und wurde zu seinem Vertreter. (Solomon, 2000: 36f.) Das Phänomen der Popularität dieser kulturellen, literarischen und publizistischen Projekte kann mit der Dynamik der Migrationsprozesse innerhalb der benachbarten jüdischen Gemeinden in Verbindung gebracht werden, da zahlreiche galizische und bessarabische Juden im Folge antisemitischer Ausschreitungen während des Ersten Weltkrieges in die Bukowina flüchteten. (Marten-Finnis, 2011: 70) Diese waren größtenteils Jiddisch sprechende Juden, die überwiegend traditionalistischen und ultraorthodoxen Kreisen entstammten oder aus den Reihen der Sozialdemokratie kamen. Gleichzeitig sind viele „altösterreichische" Bukowiner Juden, die während des Krieges in den Westen geflüchtet sind, nicht mehr in die Bukowina zurückgekehrt, was zur Profiländerung der bukowinischen jüdischen Bevölkerung führte. Das Kleinbürgertum und das jüdische Proletariat wurden zu einer immer lautstärkeren Kraft, die die Vorherrschaft der deutschen Muttersprachler allmählich zu schwächen begann. (Corbea, 1998: 49) In der Zwischenkriegszeit florierten insbesondere im urbanen Milieu der Bukowina reife und inhaltsreiche publizistische, literarische sowie politische Projekte, die als identitäts- und sinnstiftende Prozesse interpretiert werden können.

Verlage

Die Erfindung des Buchdrucks markierte einen Wendepunkt in der Menschengeschichte, der nicht nur eine wichtige technische Umwandlung, sondern auch eine geistige und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung darstellte. Somit konnten wissenschaftliche und philosophische Erkenntnisse, sowie literarische Werke dem breiten Publikum zugänglich gemacht werden. Auch

die Verbreitung von gedruckten Büchern in hebräischer und auch jiddischer Sprache kannte nach der Entstehung des Buchdrucks eine fortdauernde Entfaltung. Im Kontext der „jüdischen kulturellen Renaissance“ Ende des 19. und Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde dem jüdischen Verlagswesen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, indem die jüdische Buchkunst und Buchgrafik eine Blütezeit erlebten. (Soxberger) Berühmte Verlage wurden in großen jüdischen Ballungszentren, wie Wilna, Warschau, Berlin, London, Paris, New York oder Buenos Aires gegründet, vor allem in Ländern, die eine auf Meinungsfreiheit basierende Politik gegenüber dem jüdischen Presse- und Verlagswesen führten.

Im Vergleich zur Habsburgerzeit, als jiddische Schriften in der Bukowina kaum gedruckt wurden – aufgrund der maßgebenden zentralistischen Politik Wiens und der Öffnung gegenüber Integration und Assimilation von Seiten zahlreicher Bukowiner Juden, sowie wegen des Status des Jiddischen als Sprache ungebildeter Juden oder als ‚Frauensprache‘ –, entwickelte sich erst in den frühen 1920er Jahren, gleichzeitig mit der Herauskristallisierung nationaler Identitätskonzeptionen, auch ein bedeutendes jiddisches Druckwesen. Die Tätigkeiten der „Jüdischen Verlagsgesellschaft Kultur“, die ab 24. Juni 1921 als Genossenschaft mit beschränkter Haftung bestand, stellen somit ein wichtiges Medium für die Verbreitung jiddischer Kultur und Literatur in der Bukowina dar. Sie war Teil des „Jüdischen Schulvereins für die Bukowina“, der 1919 in Czernowitz von Chaim Lecker, Schulreferent im Nationalrat und Vorsitzender der Kultursektion, gegründet wurde. Der Verein strebte die Entwicklung eines jüdischen Unterrichtssystems an und unterstützte dabei den politischen Kampf für die offizielle Anerkennung der jiddischen Sprache. Bei der ersten Kulturkonferenz vom 7. bis 9. Januar 1921, an der sich 56 Delegierte (u.a. Elieser Steinbarg, Jakob Sternberg, Moshe Altman und Arthur Kolnik) beteiligten, wurde eine „Kulturföderation für Altrumänien, Bukowina, Bessarabien und Transsilvanien“ (Gal-Ed, 2011: 111) mit dem Zentralkomitee in Czernowitz ins Leben gerufen. Das Komitee beschloss die Gründung des Verlags Kultur, dessen Vorhaben sowohl die Koordinierung

der jüdischen Kulturarbeit im ganzen Land als auch die Herausgabe von Lehr-, Kinderbüchern und pädagogischer Literatur war.

Die jiddische bukowinische Presse berichtete ausführlich über dieses damals neu ins Leben gerufene Projekt und kündigte regelmäßig die Neuerscheinungen des Verlags an. Eins der Blätter, das an den Aktivitäten des Verlags Kultur großes Interesse zeigte, war die poale-zionistische Zeitung *Di Frayhayt*, die in der Ausgabe vom 1. September 1921 der Leserschaft das Buchangebot des Verlags bekanntmachte:

„In bikher-lager funem farlag kultur gefunen zikh tsu farkoyfen di beste lerbikher far ale gebiten un far ale stufes, kinder-literatur, pedagogishe un oykh di nayeste visenshaftlekhe un shene literatur. Eyner fun fi hoypttsvekn funem farlag kultur iz tsu farzorgen di yudishe shulen, ovend-kurzen, biblioteken un oykh andere gezeshaftlikhe kulturele intitutsies mit di beste bikher far di nayeste veltfarlagen.“[2]

Die erste Publikation des Verlags war das Schulbuch *Alef beys* aus dem Jahr 1921, mit jiddischen Texten von Elieser Steinbarg und Illustrationen von Arthur Kolnik, Reuven Rubin und Salomon Lerner. Auch das von Israel Schäfler herausgegebene Monatsblatt *Kultur* lässt sich mit den Aktivitäten des „Jüdischen Schulvereins“ verbinden. Die poale-zionistische jiddische Zeitung *Di Frayhayt* unter der Herausgeberschaft von Feiwel Sternberg und der Mitarbeit von Leo Schäfler, Chaim Lecker, Schlomo Bickel und Schmuel Aba Soifer trug ebenfalls zur Verbreitung der Aktivitäten des Verlags Kultur bei, indem die Neuerscheinungen, aber auch die zukünftigen Veröffentlichungen regelmäßig präsentiert wurden. Somit wurde in der Ausgabe vom 18. August 1923 die „ershte serie fun di kultur-bikher“ angekündigt. Sie sollte folgende Erscheinungen umfassen und durch Subskription verkauft werden: Elieser Steinbargs *Mayselekh fun Breyshes*. *Viazoy di feygelekh hobn gelernt khumesh*, *Dos maysele fun der katshke*, *Dos maysele fun di blumen*, *Der emes*, L. Kvitkos *Kinderlider*, I. Mangers *Dos tsigaynerfidele*, M. Goldenbergs *Der sod funem toyt*, M. Altmans *Fun di kinderyorn*, J. Sternbergs *Lider*. Im Verlag Kultur wurden 1926 auch Moishe

[2] Die in diesem Beitrag aufgeführten Zitate in jiddischer Sprache wurden von der Autorin den Richtlinien des YIVO folgend transkribiert.

Altmans Band *Blendenish: tsvey noveln* und Motl H. Breitmans Roman *Ven der mon hot geblit* herausgegeben. Die Kulturzeitschrift *Shoybn*, die 1924 von Jakob Sternberg redigiert wurde, erschien ebenfalls im Verlag Kultur. Außerdem wurden Bücher von Autoren, für die der „Jüdische Schulverein" warb, im gleichnamigen Verlag gedruckt, wie Chaim Leckers *Yudishe krestomatie* (1919) und eine Mappe mit zwölf Holzschnitten von Arthur Kolnik, die 1928 unter dem Titel *Durkh di briln* veröffentlicht wurde. Diese Mappe enthält zwölf jiddische Fabeln von Eliezer Steinbarg, die anlässlich des 20jährigen Jubiläums der Czernowitzer Sprachkonferenz zum ersten Mal in Buchform publiziert wurden. Posthum wurden Steinbargs Fabeln 1932 unter dem Titel *Mesholim* in Czernowitz neu aufgelegt.

Das Vorhaben Bukowiner Poale-Zionisten, einen Verlag im Andenken an ihren ehemaligen Mitarbeiter und Leiter Meir Rosner zu gründen, wird in den Ausgaben vom 28. April 1921 und vom 22. September 1921 des Parteiorgans *Frayhayt* angekündigt. Der Verlag sollte sich zum Ziel setzen, „Parteiliteratur", vor allem in jiddischer Sprache, herauszugeben, um Vertreter der Arbeiterklasse anzusprechen.

Für das Jahr 1922 war die Herausgabe eines Arbeiterkalenders geplant, der Daten aus der sozialistischen und poale-zionistischen Weltbewegung beinhalten sollte, sowie einen literarischen Teil unter der Mitarbeit von Elieser Steinbarg, Jakob Sternberg, Barbu Lăzăreanu, Chaim Kraft, Chaim Lecker, Schlomo Bickel und Schmuel Aba Soifer.

Jiddische Bücher und Periodika, die in der Bukowina veröffentlicht wurden, erschienen auch in Druckereien mit einem breiteren Profil. Viele davon waren Besitztümer von Juden, die oft jüdische Arbeitskräfte beschäftigten. Jiddische Publikationen wie *Tshernovitser bleter*, *Arbeter-Tsaytung* oder *Di Frayhayt* wurden bei Mercur, Orient und Hornik&Birnbaum gedruckt.

Bibliotheken

Als Institutionen des Selbststudiums und –entfaltung wurden die öffentlichen Bibliotheken zum wichtigen „Indikator für die zunehmend urbane, von den Werten allgemeiner Bildung und des Bürgertums geprägte

Lesekultur“ (Kirchhoff, 2011: 325). Auch in der Bukowina stellten die öffentlichen Bibliotheken ein bedeutender und antreibender Faktor für die Verbreitung wissenschaftlich-kultureller Inhalte dar. Zugleich lässt die aufmerksame Untersuchung ihrer Präsenz die Entwicklung nationaler, sozialer, religiöser und politischer Positionierungen erkennen. Bibliotheken, die bedeutende Bestände in jiddischer und hebräischer Sprache beherbergten und sich insbesondere von Seiten junger Bukowiner Juden einer großen Popularität erfreuten, gehörten meistens verschiedener Kulturvereine, Bildungsstätte, karitativer, religiöser oder politischer Organisationen. Die Bibliothek des „Jüdischen Schulvereins“, die sich „zu einer der bedeutendsten und größten jüdischen Bibliotheken des Landes“ (Soifer, 1925: 98) entwickelte, nachdem diverse andere kleine Bibliotheken wie die jüdische Volksbibliothek der akademischen Verbindung „Jüdische Kultur“ übernommen worden waren (Winkler, 2007: 175), soll in diesem Kontext erwähnt werden. Die Bibliothek des im Jahr 1907 gegründeten linksorientierten Vereins „Morgenrojt“ spielte ebenfalls eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Verbreitung jiddischer Kultur- und Literaturwerte, vor allem zwischen den Jahren 1920–1930, als der Verein seine Aktivitäten intensivierte. Die Mitglieder dieses Vereins standen dem Programm des jüdischen „Bundes“ nahe und gehörten dem Bukowiner jüdischen Kleinbürgertum und Proletariat an. Auch die zionistische Frauenorganisation „Deborah“ besaß eine kleine Bibliothek, die zionistische Schriften wie auch Belletristik enthielt. Außerdem sollen die Bibliothek des Oberrabbiners Josef Rosenfeld mit ihren zahlreichen theologischen, geschichtlichen, linguistischen und belletristischen Büchern sowie die Bibliothek der „Safah-Iwriah“ erwähnt werden. Dazu wurde die Bibliothek der jüdischen Toynbeehalle Ende der 1920er Jahre zum wichtigen Aufbewahrungsort und Verbreitungsvehikel von Büchern mit jüdischem thematischem Schwerpunkt. Die Bibliothek verfügte über mehr als tausend Bände aus allen Gebieten menschlichen Wissens in hebräischer, jiddischer, rumänischer, deutscher und französischer Sprache sowie Periodika. Politische und religiöse Anführer, sowie zahlreiche Intellektuelle aus den Reihen des Bukowiner Judentums waren ständig vom Gedanken beherrscht, ihren Glaubensbrüdern, vom

sozialen Stand abgesehen, zeitangemessene Bildungs- und Informationsmöglichkeiten anzubieten. Dieser Entschluss kann mit der ausprägten Wissbegierde Czernowitzer Bürger in Verbindung gebracht werden, die in der Tradition einer immer noch präsenten Idee des Europäertums und Humanismus standen und dies trotz aller geschichtlicher Brüche. Dazu soll die zentrale Rolle der Sozialethik im Judentum erwähnt werden, die sich auf Begriffe wie Wohltätigkeit, Wohlfahrt und Fürsorge stützt.

Die Bibliothek der bereits erwähnten jüdischen Toynbeehalle in Czernowitz sollte allen potentiellen Interessenten das Wissen zugänglich machen. Dafür kämpfte das Kuratorium der von den Eheleuten Markus und Anna Kislinger gegründeten jüdischen Toynbeehalle, sowie dies aus einem Artikel, der im *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt* am 21. März 1928 veröffentlicht wurde, zu entnehmen ist:

„Die Bibliothek, die schon heute über ungefähr tausend Bände aus allen Gebieten menschlichen Wissens verfügt, soll wesentlich erweitert werden, damit dem starken Bildungsstreben der jüdischen Bevölkerung, namentlich jener Kreise, welche angesichts der Teuerung auf dem Buchmarkte sich eigene Bücher nicht anschaffen können, vollauf Rechnung getragen werde. […] Gleichzeitig wird eine Aktion zur Anschaffung von periodisch erscheinenden Zeitungen und Zeitschriften des In- und Auslandes eingeleitet, um dem Lesebedürfnis der jüdischen Bevölkerung auch in dieser Richtung bestmöglich zu dienen.

Fazit

Obwohl die jiddische Kulturlandschaft der Bukowina eine wichtige Komponente dieser multikulturellen und -ethnischen Region war, stellt die jiddischsprachige Kultur in der Bukowina ein Thema dar, das bisher marginal oder kursorisch erforscht wurde. Auch wenn sich Forscher diesem Thema widmeten, wurden insbesondere bekannte geschichtliche Ereignisse oder berühmte Figuren in den Mittelpunkt ihrer Untersuchungen gerückt. Der relativ leichte Zugang heutzutage zu verschiedenen Archiven, Bibliotheken und digitalen Plattformen stellt den Forschern wertvolle Quellen zur

Verfügung, wodurch den aktuellen Forschungsstand mit neuen Informationen oder Perspektiven ergänzt werden kann.

Das Hauptvorhaben dieser Studie bestand eben darin, die Rolle jüdischer Verlage und Bibliotheken in der Bukowina mithilfe von ausgewählten Pressequellen hervorzuheben. Als wichtige Wissensvermittler trugen diese Institutionen zur Verbreitung jiddischer Kultur und Literatur auf beträchtliche Weise bei.

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Viele Informationen aus diesem Artikel stammen aus den Zeitungen *Di Frayhayt*, *Arbeter-tsaytung*, *Tshernovitser bleter*, *Kultur*, *Oyfboy*, *Ostjüdische Zeitung*, *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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III. CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES IDENTITAIRES

YANKEV SHTERNBERG AND THE MODERNIZATION OF YIDDISH THEATRE IN INTERWAR ROMANIA[1]

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Abstract

The end of the First World War brought the theatre audience back to the performance halls. The Yiddish theater, with a few decades of experience and an already assured popularity, was already considered to be the vector for the preservation and promotion of the Yiddish culture and Jewish identity in the Romanian lands. In this context, from the musical to the avant-garde performance, the artistic concept proposed by poet and director Yankev Shternberg modernized the Yiddish theater left by Avram Goldfaden and turned it into a true ferment for the revival movement of the Yiddish culture in Romania.

Keywords

Yiddish theatre; modernism; Romanian Jewry; interwar Romania; Eastern European Jewish culture.

The social mission of the Yiddish theater[2]

After Avram Goldfaden's era, when Yiddish theater functioned as a socio-educational tool for the masses, in the early twentieth century, Yiddish

[1] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0317 within PNCDI III.

[2] The current project continues my previous work on the history of Yiddish theatre in Romania, namely my retrospective volume, *140 de ani de teatru idiş în România*, ICR, 2016, but focusing on the interwar period specifically.

theater became, in a fully acknowledged way, an important means of preserving and promoting Yiddish culture and Jewish identity among the Jewish population already involved into an intense process of acculturation and modernization. Thus, during the First World War, immediately after the Chernivtsi Conference[3] of 1908 and the subsequent extensive debates on the promotion of Yiddish as the national language, a number of cultural initiatives emerged publicly, having as the main purpose the revival of Yiddish culture and theatre in Romania. Among these initiatives, a significant one was represented by the *Licht*[4] group. Its most important outcome, the first Yiddish-language literary magazine in the Old Kingdom, bearing the same name as the group, *Licht*, was published in Jassy between 1914-1915, being edited by a group of intellectuals consisting of Efraim Waldman, Iacob Groper, Matatiahu Friedman, Moti Rabinovici and, later, Yankev Botoshanski. Printed at the Kadimah Publishing House, *Licht* magazine included programmatic articles in which Yiddish theater was defined as the most accessible way of promoting Yiddish culture among the masses, confirming that Yiddish theater played an increasingly significant role, beyond its already mentioned educational and cultural significance. Thus, in the magazine's platform, the editors stated that

"*Our program is also interested in the Jewish theater. The only way to preserve the Yiddish word, more effective than any other, is this theater. (...) The Jewish scene must be a means of education, to bring the Jews closer through the Yiddish word. (...) The Jewish theater is the only way to bring closer and make the different layers of the Jewish population communicate with each other*"[5].

Indeed, *Licht* magazine's discourse in favor of Yiddish theater was based on the broad impact of this cultural phenomenon and its history in

[3] Between 30 August and 3 September 1908, the first Yiddish Language Conference took place in Chernivtsi, where the language of the Ashkenazi Jews was proclaimed the national language, holding equal rights with Hebrew, and where projects to promote Yiddish culture were discussed. The Conference was attended by numerous personalities, including Sholem Ash and Abraham Reizen, but also I.L. Peretz.

[4] P. Almoni, 1943.

[5] *Licht*, an I, no. 2, 1914, p. 97, *apud* Israil Bercovici, 1998, pp. 116-117.

Romania, even before the publication of the magazine's theoretical platform and initiatives. After the period when the Yiddish theatre gained worldwide popularity due to Abraham Goldfaden's creation of the first theatre company in Jassy in 1876 and due to his efforts of taking it everywhere Jewish communities lived, Yiddish theatre thrived in Romania. Touring successfully across Eastern Europe, Goldfaden promoted Romania as a popular destination for Yiddish actors and companies who travelled extensively and performed in the country, attracting and educating a large public on Yiddish drama. Thus, immediately after the end of the First World War, many local companies began to travel on tour in Romania and present various forms of theatrical productions, including drama, comedy and musical. In the post-war context, many famous Yiddish-speaking actors came from all over the world to perform in Romania: Misha Fishzohn, Paul Baratoff ("Fraie Idișe Folksbine" from Vienna), Solomon Shtramer (the Jewish theater "Habimah" which performed in Transylvania), Sara Kanner, Moris Siegler, Maly Picon, Bulov, Nelly Kassman, Heyman Prisant, Iacob Rechtzeit, Ludwig Satz, Moris Schwartz, Herz Grossbart, Sidy Thal, Beny Adler, Seidy Gluck, Sigler company, Herman Yablokoff and Iacob Kalich brought here shows that had enjoyed success in America and in other Western countries[6]. Indeed, Yiddish theater was an important part of Jewish cultural life both before, but also after the First World War; Romania attracted, thanks to its large audience of theater lovers, the most important Jewish actors in the world, becoming an interesting and frequented destination, raising the quality of Yiddish drama in Romania.

Yankev Shternberg's theatrical perspective

Certainly, the most active and prolific intellectual in the Yiddish-speaking cultural environment in Romania during the interwar period was Yankev Shternberg (1890-1973), poet, journalist and, perhaps most importantly, theater director, initiating many projects that have transformed Bucharest into a new Yiddish cultural center and managing to attract other Yiddish-speaking intellectuals around him. During the interwar period, he

[6] Bercovici, pp. 120-125.

was considered a central figure in Yiddish theater in Romania not only as a director, but also as an artistic director for an international company, playwright and theater theorist. He exerted an extraordinary influence both on the Yiddish theater in Romania, but also on the Romanian interwar theater in general.

Born in 1890 in Bessarabia, in Lipkan, a *shtetl* known as the birthplace of many famous Yiddish writers, Yankev Shternberg received a traditional education in the *heder*[7], followed by a five-year period at the Russian secondary school in Kamenets Podolski. In 1913, at the age of 23, the young Shternberg moved permanently to Bucharest, the capital of the Old Kingdom, and remained here until 1940, when he returned to his native Bessarabia, to Kishinev, which had become Soviet territory. Fleeing the Nazi threat, he found refuge in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in 1941, and in 1943 in Moscow. In 1949, he was sentenced for Zionist activity to a ten-year sentence in Stalinist camps, returned to Moscow in 1954, and was rehabilitated after Stalin's death[8].

His Romanian period is dominated by theatrical initiatives, followed by literary and journalistic projects. He began writing poetry and prose early; his first poem, *In a shlitn* (In a sleigh), was published in *Folks-Shtime*, the Yiddish-language newspaper in Vilna, in 1907. Moving to Bucharest in 1913, he was initially attracted to journalism and the editorial work that he practiced for several years, during the First World War, but soon began to get involved in theatrical projects.

After the end of the First World War, Yiddish theater underwent important changes. After a period of rise and a peak in popularity, which ended in the early twentieth century due to economic and political reasons, most actors and companies decided to leave Eastern Europe and move to America, where Eastern European Yiddish-speaking immigrants had already settled in successive waves. Actors and companies still activating in Eastern Europe were going through a period of stagnation, and the end of the First World War determined a drastic change that Yankev Shternberg took full advantage of. After the trauma of the war, the population desperately needed

[7] *Heder* represents the traditional religious Jewish school attended by boys aged 3 to 13.
[8] Moyshe Lemster, "Yankev Shternberg", in: Gershon David Hundert (ed.), 2008.

entertainment and any kind of easy fun; as a result, musical and cabaret performances were becoming very popular in Romania. At the same time, Yiddish theater became the central element in the cultural platforms of many intellectual associations and publications, being perceived as a means of preserving and supporting Yiddish culture in Romania. In this complex context, Yankev Shternberg formulated his perspective regarding the Yiddish theatre, confessing that:

"*I have developed, from literary and theatrical perspective, due to the Romanian environment, just as my great predecessor, the father of Yiddish theatre, Avram Goldfaden, who reached his potential as a theatre creator only in Romania, although he travelled through the whole world, through Jewish centres of different sizes and development stages … I have understood that the only way to attract the great Jewish masses is to propose a traditional-cultural theatre. Not even a literary theatre which I greatly supported during that time … This is why I created a socio-political theatre, a musical theatre which, I think, was at that moment the first ever theatre of this type in Yiddish. This type of theatre was born in Bucharest on the eve of the October Revolution … I presented on stage in ironical terms the bourgeois assimilation process, I attacked the rabbinical authorities, I have fought for progressist Jewish culture, for Jewish emancipation, for their citizenship rights … for Yiddish-language progressist literature.*"[9]

The musical: *Bucharest Yiddish Theater*

Following his ideas and projects, but taking into account the needs of the public, Yankev Shternberg created in 1917, in Bucharest, an avant-garde initiative promoting a Yiddish musical-theater[10] or cabaret, known as the *Bucharest Yiddish Theater*, the first of this type in Yiddish and which attracted a significant audience. Here he staged musicals based on scripts written with his two collaborators, writers Yankev Botoshanski and Moyshe Altman. Between 1917-1918, Shternberg wrote and produced nine plays and

[9] Bercovici, p. 118. [my translation]
[10] Bercovici, p. 119.

musicals in Yiddish, adding to the popular Goldfadenian tradition new artistic trends in line with the preferences of the new audience. During this period, he began to assert himself as one of the most popular directors in interwar Romania.

His two collaborators, Yankev Botoshanski (1892/95-1964) and Moyshe Altman (1890-1981), remarkable Yiddish-language intellectuals, also came to Bucharest from the new periphery of Greater Romania. Moyshe Altman, born in the same year and in the same place as Shternberg, respectively in 1890 in the Lipkan *shtetl* in Bessarabia, was a writer and journalist and received the same traditional education as his fellow writer, followed by studies at the Russian school in Kamenets Podolski. Unlike Shternberg, Altman moved to Chernivtsi in 1919 and worked for various Jewish institutions and cultural publications such as the Yiddish Cultural Federation of Romania as a lecturer in Jewish and world literature, traveling through the Bessarabian *shtetls*. After an early debut in print with Yiddish poetry, at the age of 14, Altman made his editorial debut with *Blendenish* (Radiance), a volume of prose published in Chernivtsi in 1926[11]. Although his decision to move to Bucharest brought him to the Capital only in the early 1930s, his collaboration with Shternberg and with the local Yiddish press began earlier and had already earned him a reputation in Romania.

Shternberg's second collaborator was Iacob Botoshanski, a remarkable writer, journalist and playwright. A few years younger than Shternberg, Botoshanski was born in 1892 (or, according to other sources, in 1895) also in Bessarabia and received the same traditional religious education as the other two intellectuals presented. For a while, Botoshanski had a plan to study in the *yeshiva*[12], but he abandoned it after a few years and continued his studies in Russian schools in Odessa and Kishinev. His acculturation to the Russian milieu is proved by his literary debut in both Russian and Yiddish in 1912 in local newspapers. Moving to Bucharest a year after Shternberg, in

[11] Moyshe Lemster, "Moyshe Altman", in: Gershon David Hundert (ed.), *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008.

[12] *Yeshiva* is a higher Jewish religious educational institution, where future rabbis were trained.

1914, he showed Socialist sympathies and became involved in politics. After participating in the creation of *Licht* magazine and acting as one of its editors, he wrote and directed many short plays with Yankev Shternberg. After more than a decade, he left Romania for good in 1926 and moved to Buenos Aires[13].

Guest stars: *Di Vilner Trupe.* ("The Vilna Troupe").

After the musical theatre project, the second initiative concerning the revitalization of the Yiddish cultural life in Romania generated by Yankev Shternberg was *Di Vilner Trupe*, a theater company known for the first staging of S. An-sky's famous play, *Der dibek,* in 1920, at the first commemoration of the author. Already a famous company in the world of Yiddish theater when it arrived in Bucharest on tour, *Di Vilner Trupe* was a renowned company in the former Tsarist Empire that enjoyed a European reputation due to its extensive tournaments and innovative modernist perspective. Arriving in Romania at the invitation of Isidor Goldenberg[14], *Di Vilner Trupe* had a large repertoire consisting of classical and contemporary Yiddish plays, but it also performed Russian, German and French works staged during the eight years of activity, since its creation in 1916 in Vilna. Therefore, its presence was a great cultural event not only for the Yiddish-speaking audience, but also for the Romanian-speaking audience due to its special artistic accomplishment. From the very beginning, being founded as a literary theater company, *Di Vilner Trupe* brought together numerous actors trained in the famous Russian and Polish theater schools or influenced by the Moscow Art Theater and by the vision of Konstantin Stanislavski[15], yet very new for the Romanian public. Following I.L Peretz's theatrical perspective on a literary theater capable of bringing Yiddish performance to the level of the greatest dramatic cultures in Europe, *Di Vilner Trupe* went far beyond the entertainment role that Yiddish theater has had since Goldfaden's time and brought together modernist and Symbolist influences, folklore, Romanticism

[13] Sol Liptzin, 1985, p. 356.
[14] Bercovici, p. 125.
[15] Miroslawa M. Bulat, "Vilner Trupe", in: Gershon David Hundert (ed.), 2008.

or Expressionism[16]. Between 1924-1927, the company settled in Romania, but, in the end, despite its popularity, it fell apart due to financial difficulties and professional offers received by the actors.

In Romania, *Di Vilner Trupe* enjoyed great success and also performed in front of the Royal Court its most popular show (with over 150 performances), the adaptation of Yankev Shternberg and Iosif Bulov's after Osip Dimov's play, *Der zinger fun zain troier* (The Singer of His Sorrow) or *Yoshke Muzikant*, bringing together both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences[17], intellectuals and the Romanian-language press. In fact, the company was a cultural phenomenon in itself, enthusiastically presented to the general public by well-known Romanian intellectuals and writers such as Ion Marin Sadoveanu and Victor Eftimiu, but also by Romanian actors such as Tanți Cutava[18]. Its songs turned into hits, and Romanian theaters proposed various collaboration projects, prompting a general increase in interest for Yiddish culture among Romanian society, consisting in requests to stage Jewish theater performances in Romanian and in projects of Yiddish literary evenings involving Romanian actors. Due to the great popularity of *Di Vilner Trupe*, the initiative to establish branches of the association "Friends of the Jewish Theater" in Bucharest and in the provincial cities was born, with the specific purpose of financially supporting the company[19].

In Romania, the activity of *Di Vilner Trupe* was coordinated by Yankev Shternberg who, between 1924 and 1927, was the artistic director of the company. During these years, Shternberg produced pieces by I. L. Peretz, Shalom Alehem, Osip Dimov, Gogol and Tolstoy, which represented real events for the cultural life of Bucharest. With Yankev Shternberg managing the artistic activity of the company that was recognized for its modernist and avant-gardist approach, *Di Vilner Trupe* reached the peak of success, transforming itself into a true avant-garde theater in Bucharest.

[16] Ibid.
[17] Nahma Sandrow, 1996, p. 221.
[18] I. Bercovici, pp. 129, 131.
[19] I. Bercovici, p. 126.

Original projects: *Bukarester Yidishe Teater Studie* (BITS) and its reception

In 1930, after the break-up of *Di Vilner Trupe*, Yankev Shternberg's next theatrical project was *Bukarester Yidishe Teater Studie* (BITS), a local Yiddish-language theater that brought together highly talented artists such as M. H. Maxy, Arthur Kolnik, M. Rubingher, Max Halm, M. Poleanski, H. Schwartzman, but also the actors from *Kovno Trupe*: Levitas, David Licht, Glezer, Kaplan, Olshanetskaia, Ruth Taro or Scheinbaum[20]. Like *Di Vilner Trupe* a few years ago, BITS enjoyed great success, although Shternberg's modernist approach brought him some criticism. Yankev Shternberg's staging of the play *Bay nakht afn altn mark* (At night at the Old Market) by I. L. Peretz was much appreciated and popular, as many theatrical chronicles testify; summing up the general reception of the show, A. Toma concluded: "Are you asking me for my opinion on Shternberg's theater? I respond after the impression of the first show: a revelation. (…) And here there is the richness of Shternberg's poetic and plastic fantasy."[21] Practically, the well-known cultural magazine *Adam* dedicated an entire issue[22] to the echoes of the first show, bringing together reactions from Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals who watched the show despite the linguistic difficult accessibility. For example, Tudor Arghezi, the great modernist poet, confessed having attended Shternberg's performance despite the linguistic barrier, while still being impressed by the genius of the director:

"*Because we don't have to understand the language in which Bay nakht afn altn mark*[23] *was performed, the meaning of the fable and the consequence of the play was indifferent to us. We went to see the show because we knew it was organized, in all its complexity, by a young, enigmatic*

[20] I. Bercovici, p. 147.
[21] A. Toma, „Însuflețitorul", in: *Adam*, year I, no. 16, 1 February 1930.
[22] Romanian-language cultural magazine *Adam* dedicated the issue of 1 February 1930 to Iacob Sternberg's staging of I. L. Peretz's *Bay nakht afn altn mark*: A. Toma, „Însuflețitorul"; Dr. L. Ghelerter, „Se face ziuă…"; Ury Benador, "Sternberg"; Tudor Arghezi, Studio Teatrului Idiș din București. „Noaptea în târgul vechi"; H. St. Streitman, „Un creator".
[23] *Bai nakht oifn altn mark*, a play from the classic Yiddish repertory written by I. L. Peretz.

and distant artist named I. Sternberg and whose stage achievements instinctively interested us. Intermittently manifested and employing strictly personal means that no financial capital supports, Mr. Sternberg has the heroism to remain in a Bucharest which is too limited to unleash his artistic neuroses and, from time to time, with his angelic trumpet sounds the rising of dead from a bell tower"[24].

Undoubtedly, Shternberg's BITS promoted a new type of Yiddish theater, the "total theater", in line with the latest modernist cultural trends of the European scene that led to the professionalization of actors and to a particularly complex artistic production for the general public that included not only Yiddish speakers, but also the general public, interested in quality shows. Attending Shternberg's performances represented an exceptional experience, as B. Iosif wrote in his chronicle:

"*For the Jewish audience, a premiere of Sternberg's is like climbing the mountains. The lungs that breathe the atmosphere clogged by the secular dust of the shund*[25] *of some 19th century stars can hardly adapt to the ozone trapped within Sternberg's backstage. Both spectators and artists! The lack of training forces them to gasp for air at first and to get mal d'air. (...) For Sternberg's audience, the premiere is like the first time taking the plane. On the descent, they return to the ordinary world with the dimensions balanced by the peaceful coexistence of all the contradictions of reality. With their foot on the ground, they miss returning to the dizzying ascent. (...) And this maladaptation will last as long as Sternberg persists in offering us his shows only as seasonal gifts. Between the "Jewish theater" and Sternberg's theater there is the distance between the traveler by foot and the vertigo of the air vehicle. Because Sternberg's world, of poetry and theater, is a four-dimensional space*."[26]

[24] Tudor Arghezi, 1930.

[25] *Shund* represents a special form of theatre (but also art, in general) of low quality, accessible for the larger public.

[26] B. Iosif, „A patra dimensiune a lui Iacob Sternberg", in: *Adam*, year VI, no. 74, 30 September 1934.

Together with Moyshe Altman, Yankev Shternberg returned to his passion for musicals and staged *Rojinkes mit mandlen* (Raisins and Almonds), with the scenography and costumes of the famous artist M. H. Maxy, followed by *Scotsl Kint,* written with the same Moyshe Altman; because the demand for tickets for these shows was high, it was decided that they should be performed in Bucharest and in the main cities in Romania in a national tour between 1933-1934[27].

To better illustrate the impact and success of Yiddish theater in Romania during the interwar period, as well as the prestige of Yankev Shternberg, an informative description of interwar Jewish theatrical life offered by a great Yiddish actress, Hayele Grober, on tour through Eastern Europe in the mid-1930s and acting in Romania, is edifying:

"*In 1935, I received the invitation to have a tour in Romania. Romania was known for having the best theatre audiences. Great actors from Europe and America were travelling far to act and perform there. In Romania, performances were organized all-year-round: in winter, performances were organized in the city's theatre halls, while in the summer, they took place in summer gardens. Even the most remote and small shtetls were included. If a small shtetl did not host a theatre hall, the performance was organized in an improvised wooden barn. Old and young people hurried to the theatre shows. Actors recall that, when two performances were advertised for the same day, spectators came to the matinee with a small lunch bag and also stayed for the evening performance. I received the invitation for touring in Romania from two writers who were directing the theatre, Yankev Shternberg and Moyshe Altman. I started my tour in Bucharest where I met poet and theatre director Yankev Shternberg. By then, Shternberg-Altman was already a famous artistic brand in Romania. They introduced the genre of Yiddish-language revue shows to the Romanian audience. (...) Yankev Shternberg also directed*

[27] I. Bercovici, p. 159.

in the Romanian mainstream theatre. We were traveling from midnight on, sleeping during the day and performing every evening in another city. Everywhere we went, the halls were full."[28]

Also, for the Bucharest cultural life, the impact of the Yiddish theater was overwhelming; thus, the jubilee of the establishment of Yiddish theater in Romania, organized on May 9, 1926 at the historic *Jignitsa Garden* in Bucharest by the Jewish Cultural Federation, brought together Jewish actors and intellectuals, but especially non-Jewish artists. Not only representatives of the most important theaters participated, but also the most popular actors, among them actors Constantin Nottara and N. Soreanu on behalf of the *National Theater*, V. Maximilian, one of the most important stars of the *Bulandra* company, Constantin Tănase, the director of the *Cărăbuș* company, representing the artists' union, but also members of the *Scena* artistic society. Out of professional solidarity, when proposing a list of donations for the construction of a building to house a permanent Jewish theater in memory of Avram Goldfaden, the first to join and make donations were actors Constantin Tănase and C. Nottara[29].

Epilogue

After the early beginnings represented by Avram Goldfaden's efforts to educate the Yiddish-speaking masses, Shternberg suceeded to address the intellectual elite (regardless of their language) with his new theatrical approach, bringing new artistic forms of expression and dramatic genres on the scene. The Yiddish theatre boom generated by the protean figure of Yankev Shternberg and by the theatrical projects created by him and by his collaborators turned the artistic phenomenon into a popular and ultimately more accessible form of art for wider audiences as, we know, theatre has a

[28] Hayele Grober, *Main veg alein*, Tel Aviv, 1968, pp. 60-65, *apud* Israil Bercovici, 1998, p. 164.
[29] Bercovici, pp. 140-142

way of getting its artistic message across despite language barriers. To conclude, the words of H. St. Streitman come naturally, as he expressed his wonder in front of the incredible talent of Y. Shternberg, while also amazed by his persistence in producing art for the local public, despite adversities and resistance:

"I already knew that Sternberg was a man of talent. A rounded, mature, largely recognized talent, with a deep, profound mark. But I didn't know, I wouldn't even have guessed, that he was a stubborn, irreducible director. How could he, now, during this time of growing social upheaval, carry out with his bare hands, almost having nothing to build upon, this dramatic workshop in which so much youth, enthusiasm, vitality were buzzing and throbbing, like in a beehive? (...) But that much I understood very well: that this is the work of a robust and authentic creator."[30]

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[30] H. St. Streitman, „Un creator", in: *Adam*, year I, no. 16, 1 February 1930.

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REVISITING INDIAN MYTHS IN GITHA HARIHARAN'S *THE THOUSAND FACES OF NIGHT*. A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

India is a museum of language, culture and Indian English Literature is an expression of its people, their culture, traditions and, their ways of life. Culture is defined as common belief shared by a large group of people belonging to a particular region; is passed from one generation to other. It is set of manners, customs, practices and morals, and norms. Stories based on traditions are called Myth. They are sacred tales that explain the world and human experience and play fundamental role in society. The Present research study examines the interplay of mythological stories of *Gandhari, Damayanti, Amba* and how Githa Hariharan links these mythological characters with fictitious characters as portrayed by her in *The Thousand Faces of Night.*

Keywords

Culture, myth, liberty, patriarchy, society.

Introduction

Contemporary Indian English Novelists are writing in the most complex phase of Indian society and culture. With the continuous advances and changes taking place in society, the identity of an individual in general, essentially that of a woman is changing radically. The women novelists are recognized for the originality and indigenous flavour of soil that they bring to their work. A growing number of novelists like Shashi Deshpande, Anita Desai, Arundhati Roy, Bharti Mukherjee, Githa Hariharan, Nayantara Sehgal,

Manju Kapoor, Namita Gokhale, and many others have questioned the culture where identity and individualism have been unheard of by the female genders.

"*Their writings reveal the problem in the relationships between urban and educated men and women in modern Indian society where freedom has given women a chance to fulfil their desires, but due to several conscripting attitudes of the society this newly gained freedom causes terrible pain in their lives. Men women in the Indian Society do not have the same kind of freedom to express themselves. Women are still greatly dominated by men and the society in general.*" (Ghosh, 21)

According to Merriam-Webster custom is defined as "the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group." As per T.S. Eliot, there are three ways of regarding culture, as that of the individual, of a group or class, and of a whole society'. The culture of a whole society comprises urbanity or civility, learning in all branches, philosophy, and the arts. Culture is something alive and its effects are seen in the whole society. Myth is a system of "Hereditary stories which were once believed to be true by a particular cultural group and which served to explain why the world is as it is and things happen as they do to provide a rationale for social customs and observances." (Abrams, 170)

A group of people living in a community that share the same culture is called society. It consists of people and institutions around us, our shared beliefs and our cultural ideas

The Thousand Faces of Night: A Critique

The story of the novel deals with three women Characters-Devi, the Central Character; Sita, her mother, and Mayamma, the maidservant. The three women belong to three different generations but their status in society has not very changed. They struggle hard for their identity, self-respect. Devi is a young girl who graduated from abroad suddenly she is brought into the system of arranged marriage yet she tried to fulfil all the requirements but failed. Sita is the mother of Devi, a well-grown woman who has given all her life to the husband and well-being of the family. Mayamma is a maidservant

at Devi's in-law house. She is the most victimized, exploited woman who was cheated by her husband, mistreated by her mother-in- law, left by her son.

The stories of Gandhari, Damayanti, and others in the life of these characters and their intervention with others in the novel. The novel established the relationships which originate out of the emotional needs of human beings coming in contact with one another around them.

"Githa Hariharan's feminism is based on understanding of myths and lores. She has given a finest treatment to the myth and reality in Indian social life." (Feminist Perspective in Githa Hariharan's Novels, 28)

As a young girl, Devi inquisitively tries to know the mystery of life and during her childhood, her grandmother told her several stories.

According to the Indian social setup, marriage is considered a traditional role of women. Devi is not interested to marry, but she accepts the proposal for not hurting the feelings of her mother. The mother "*weaves a cocoon a secure womb"* (Githa Hariharan,13).

Devi recollects her grandmother's story of *Damayanti* that was taken from the *Mahabharata. Nala,* the king of *Nishad* was brave, handsome, and virtuous. *Damayanti'*s father decided to hold her *Swayamvara*.

Damayanti was brave and determined to espouse Nala. So, she threw the garland around his neck and espoused him amidst all the intrigues made even by the gods.

Her grandmother concludes the story with a moral, *"A woman gets her heart's desire by great cunning"* (Githa Hariharan, 20). The story of Nala- Damayanti fascinated her. From this story, Devi established the concept of *Swayamvara*.

The next story narrated by her grandma is about Gandhari who plays a significant part in the Mahabharata. Gandhari was married to a very rich prince, whose Palace was "twice as big twice as magnificent as her parents Palace" (Githa Hariharan, 28). On all the ways he is very rich and "the Marble Pillars Shone like Mirrors". (Githa Hariharan, 28) Whereas on meeting her husband for the first time in such a rich palace, she was taken aback for "The White eyes the pupils glazed and useless" (Githa Hariharan, 29).

Gandhari in anger vowed never to see again the world; so, she bound her eyes with the help of a veil. Summing up the story Devi's grandmother says: "*she embraced her destiny--a blind husband with a self-sacrifice worthy of her royal blood"* (Githa Hariharan, 29).

Through this story Devi learned life through her grandmother's choice of Gandhari and acclaims:

"The lesson brought me five steps close to adulthood. I saw for the first time that my parents too were afflicted by a kind of blindness. In their blinkered world, they would always be one, one leading the other, one hand always in the grasp of another". (Githa Hariharan, 29)

Gandhari's story once again reflected the life of Sita., Devi's mother. Before Marriage, she likes to play the veena. She entered her husband's house with a veena as part of her dowry. After completing the household affairs, which was considered as the foremost duty of the housewives, she used to play the veena. One day her father-in-law called her for performing some works before puja in the morning. She could not hear, as she was playing the veena. The father-in-law scolded Sita. *"Put the veena away. Are you a wife, a daughter-in-law"?* (Githa Hariharan, 30)

In a wave of momentary anger and frustration, she pulled out the strings of veena and vowed not to play the veena again and replied in a whisper*: "yes, I am a wife and a daughter-in-law"* (Githa Hariharan, 30). Women in the Indian society have always lived under the protection of their husbands or children and felt safe in their confinement. This very confinement has made them slaves. They are the victims in the hands of the patriarchal structure. Githa Hariharan's women characters are trapped between tradition and modernity and have become the victims of gross gender discrimination of the male-dominated society.

So, the stories are part of the culture in India. They play an important part in teaching and making of a person's ideology. The novelist presents the Brahminical order since caste and custom pervade India. Devi's stay in the U.S. makes it impossible for six prospective grooms to accept Devi as a wife. Marriage is a sacred and important custom. Devi recalls her grandmother's stories at the time of her marriage. Devi's grandmother narrates stories from

Ramayana and Mahabharata that include an ideal woman who follows the footprints of her husband. In Devi's grandmother's stories, there are only heroes and heroines, the sun shines brightly and everything is splendour. Devi is happy that her grandmother is not active to see her wedding. She declares, *"*I am glad she is not here to see me at my *Swayamvara*, the princess robe she lovingly stitched for me frayed round the edges and two sizes too large*"* (Hariharan1992, 20).

"The Thousand Faces of Night is a unique example of such narration. The myth and reality in Githa Hariharan's novels form her unique tradition of the complex issues of women. Her able thinking echoes a new voice and new awakening coming in the world of women. It seems that she has carefully studied feminism and feminist movements in contemporary India and has treated these complex issues in a careful style. She is anticipating the arrival of 'New Women' in the new millennium on Indian horizons in a bold manner. The problem faced by new women has been described by Githa Hariharan by pin-pointing different facets of myth and reality." (Feminist Perspective in Githa Hariharan's Novels, 31-32)

Concluding Remarks

Indian Writing in English has been acclaimed around the world for its innovation, radically new approaches to the art of storytelling. Devi 's grandmother's narration is a kind of revisionist myth-making in its own right: she does not dwell on the more prominent figures like *Savitri Anushuya* often celebrated as paragons of female virtue.

The notion of making one's own choices is discussed through the stories of Damayanti, *Gandhari*, the protagonist's mother, Sita, and the protagonist herself. The first story of the grandmother is of princess *Damayanti* who gets her heart's desire despite all the efforts made by gods to make her select one of them instead of King *Nala*.

When Devi wanted to know why she pretended to listen to other Kings when she wanted to marry King *Nala.* Grandmother said "*Because a woman gets her heart's desire by great cunning. "* (Hariharan 20).

As even if a woman is free to make her choices, she has to be on guard and see if she is not being cheated out of her rights. While playing in the house once Devi found her mother's photograph holding a *veena* in her hands. The grandmother mentions the whole story of Sita and the veena playing incident. But before telling the reason she told her the story of *Gandhari* from the great epic the *Mahabharata.* After finding how the truth about her husband's blindness was hidden from her, in her fury, she makes a vow and tears off a piece of cloth and ties it over her eyes for the whole life. The grandmother comments on it "*Gandhari was not just another wilful, proud woman, she embraced her destiny a blind husband with self-sacrifice worthy of her royal blood"* (Hariharan 29).

Later grandmother tells the story of Devi's mother, Sita; was also a dutiful wife. Once seeing *pooja* room in a disarray her father-in-law got furious and shouted at her to stop the practice. She pulled stings out of the wooden base. It was her way of protest. To prove that she was a dutiful wife, she stopped playing *veena* forever. Grandmother does not make any comment on it but leaves it for Devi to conclude: It was not being dutiful but a way of rebelling against the social nature of domesticating a woman. It's a strange kind of rebel, but there is anger in it. Devi's grandmother is her first teacher. She skilfully narrates the stories from the past of *Gandhari, Amba, Damayanti* to her. These stories act as a Prelude to womanhood and develop a strong foundation of morals to Devi's personality. Through these stories, she develops a vision of women's fate. Devi's choices in life in the words of Indira "Devi, who is a modern feminist. Though she lacks the will to choose and her early decisions are faltering. We note development in her character. Initially, she quits the U.S.A leaves behind Dan because of A sense of filial piety, marries Mahesh as a good daughter should attempt to be full-time. Mahesh as a good daughter should attempt to be a full-time wife and House maker as an Indian Pativrata should. Gradually she shows her resolve in waking out with Mahesh and even greater determination in waking out on Gopal." (40)

"*Githa Hariharan's The Thousand Faces of Night a significant contribution to women studies. It is a Mahabharat of feminism. She exploits*

the rich reservoir of our collective consciousness by peeping into the psyche of mythical characters specially the women victims. She tries to link them to "our lives" ...Gandhari, Damayanti, Amba are brought with their dignity intact. They don't belong to distant past; one has to look around identity them." (Changing Faces of Women in Indian Writing in English, 135)

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SE PRÉPARER À MOURIR AU MOYEN ÂGE: PRÉSENTATION DE QUELQUES *ARTS DE BIEN MOURIR* EN FRANÇAIS

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Abstract
The global health crisis that marks the start of the 21st century has sparked renewed interest in the research community for the great plague episodes that have marked history. The 'black plague' which raged in the middle of the 14th century and decimated part of the European population deeply marked mentalities. The 'Arts of Dying Well' is one of the most original manifestations of the changes that took place during this period in the way of perceiving death and of preparing for it. This article concerns a draft edition of some of the most representative Latin and French versions of these medieval texts.

Keywords
Thanatology, philology, Middle Ages, health crisis, death.

Introduction

La dimension planétaire prise par la crise sanitaire qui a touché et touche encore tous les continents et toutes les populations depuis la fin de 2019 a amené la communauté scientifique à se tourner vers les grandes pandémies qui ont marqué l'Histoire mondiale depuis l'Antiquité sous des noms variés – « peste noire », « grippe espagnole », « H1N1 »… – pour chercher, dans différents domaines scientifiques – histoire de l'homme, histoire de la médecine, histoire des idées, histoire tout court… – les réponses opposées par chaque époque à ces différentes périodes marquantes.

Notre contribution à ces préoccupations de la communauté des chercheurs portera sur les textes qui se sont répandus en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge sous le titre générique d'*Artes bene moriendi* ('arts de bien mourir') en réaction aux ravages causés par la pandémie connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de « peste noire ».

Nous commencerons par situer cette pandémie dans son contexte historique (§ 1), pour dégager les spécificités et les conséquences culturelles et artistiques qu'elle a entrainées (§ 2), ce qui nous permettra d'expliquer l'essor des *Artes bene moriendi* (§ 3). Nous nous arrêterons à quelques arts de bien mourir en français, ceux qu'avait prévu d'éditer le philologue belge Pierre Ruelle à la fin de sa vie (§ 4), pour mettre au jour les principales caractéristiques du corpus qu'il avait constitué (§ 5).

1. Les grands épisodes de « pestes » de l'histoire de l'Humanité

Le mot *peste*, du latin *pestem* 'fléau', apparait dans la langue française à la fin du XV^e^ siècle, dans les *Chroniques des ducs de Bourgogne* de Georges Chastellain, un siècle après que l'Europe eut été ravagée par ce que jusqu'alors – d'Aldebrandin de Sienne à Eustache Deschamps – on désignait en français sous le nom d'*empedimie* ou *epidemie*, forme francisée du grec ἐπιδημία ('confinement').

Sur un plan historique, le mot *peste* est essentiellement attaché à trois grandes épidémies à grande mortalité.

La première s'est développée sous le règne de Justinien, empereur de Byzance de 527 à 565, d'où son nom de « peste justinienne ». Elle s'est répandue sur tout le bassin méditerranéen pendant quelque 220 années, de 547 à 767, par vagues successives d'une dizaine d'année chaque fois. La seconde, connue sous le nom de « peste noire » en raison de la couleur sombre des bubons qui la caractérisaient, a débuté vers 1330 dans l'Empire mongol et a sévi en Europe entre 1347 et 1352, y faisant en quelques années quelque 25 millions de victimes. Elle se répètera par la suite sporadiquement par vagues d'une dizaine d'années jusqu'au XIX^e^ siècle, époque de la troisième et dernière grande épidémie. Celle-ci débute en Chine, dans le Yunnan, à partir de 1855 et se propage à la faveur de révoltes sociales menant à des soulèvements et à des rassemblements. Elle atteint Hong Kong en 1894, puis

Bombay et de là se répand en Inde, puis, via les navires du commerce maritime, finit par toucher le monde entier. Elle arrive en Europe par Porto et Glasgow (en 1899-1900), et touche Marseille en 1903, puis finalement Paris en 1919.

2. La « peste noire » du XIV^e^ siècle et ses conséquences culturelles et artistiques

Le deuxième épisode de peste, qui marqua le milieu du XIV^e^ siècle, est le plus connu. La maladie ne s'était plus manifestée en Europe pendant six siècles et son retour a été marqué d'un taux de mortalité très élevé. On estime en effet qu'elle a tué un tiers, voire la moitié de la population de l'Europe, comme en témoigne Froissart dans ses *Chroniques* :

[…] car en ce temps, par tout le monde generalement, une maladie que on clame Epidemie couroit, dont bien la tierce partie du monde mourut […][1]

La maladie s'est alors propagée d'autant plus rapidement et a frappé d'autant plus fort que les populations étaient affaiblies depuis le début du siècle par une longue période de refroidissement climatique caractérisée par d'importantes précipitations[2], ayant entrainé des épisodes répétés de famines et des épidémies de typhus, ainsi que par des guerres, dont la Guerre de Cent Ans (1337-1453). Ces conditions de vie particulières, génératrices de misère et d'exode, ont contribué pour une large part à la propagation de la maladie.

Durant cette période, la mort est partout. Elle touche toutes les classes sociales, tous les genres et tous les âges : personne n'est épargné. Cette omniprésence de la mort, ou plutôt des mourants, contribue à modifier les pensées : l'Homme devient obsédé par elle.

L'Europe du Moyen Âge est une Europe chrétienne. On observe alors dans l'art chrétien l'émergence, puis la prolifération de représentations de la mort, des attitudes à adopter face à elle et face à ceux qui meurent.

Émile Mâle est le premier à dresser l'inventaire de l'iconographie créée autour du trépas : on y voit des combats entre anges et démons au-dessus

[1] Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart,* I, II, V. Notre trad. : *car à cette époque, à travers toute l'Europe d'une manière générale, se répandait une maladie que l'ont appelle « épidémie », dont mourut bien un tiers de la population de l'Europe*.

[2] Cette période de refroidissement, caractérisée par la suite de « petit âge de glace », culminera aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles (on en trouve notamment des représentations dans l'œuvre de Pieter Brueghel l'Ancien et de son fils) et se poursuivra jusqu'au XIX^e^ siècle.

de celui qui agonise, des « danses macabres » dont on trouvera des illustrations en peinture, en gravure, en poésie… à travers toute l'Europe.[3] Mais c'est Alberto Tenenti qui est le premier à mettre en perspective cette « religion de la mort »[4] dans un Moyen Âge finissant et à montrer comment la mort, placée au centre de tout, fait naitre une nouvelle pensée, une nouvelle manière de se préparer au décès, une nouvelle manière de se sentir mourir. Cette nouvelle perspective macabre s'explicite dans un genre de texte nouveau : l'*Ars Moriendi,* un « témoin précieux des formes de croyances de la masse »[5] de l'époque.

3. Les *Artes bene moriendi*

Parmi les diverses formes d'art que les ravages causés par la peste et l'omniprésence de la mort ont inspirées, les *Artes bene moriendi* ou *Arts de bien mourir* sont à la fois l'une des plus innovantes et l'une des plus populaires de la fin du Moyen Âge.

La mort ayant frappé massivement et sans discernement dans toutes les couches de la société et le clergé n'ayant pas été épargné, l'Europe chrétienne trouve en ces textes une manière originale d'accompagner les mourants dans leurs derniers instants en l'absence de prêtres : famille, ami, chacun peut par ces textes assister un mourant, ce qui aurait été impensable auparavant.

Les *Arts de bien mourir* qui se sont répandus à travers toute l'Europe de l'époque se sont développés au départ de trois versions primitives en latin : une version longue, dite version *CP*, en raison des premiers mots du texte latin *Cum de presentis exilii miseria mortis transitus;* une version courte, dite version *QS*, qui commence par *Quamvis secundum Philosophum, tercio Ethicorum*. Une troisième version, perdue, serait à l'origine de deux versions en anglais.

[3] Cf. Association de recherche sur l'art macabre européen, *Danses macabres d'Europe*, en ligne : https://danses-macabres-europe.org, consulté pour la dernière fois le 5 septembre 2021.
[4] Alberto Tenenti, *Ars moriendi*, p. 446.
[5] *Ibid*.

Procédant en 1991 à une actualisation des recensements réalisés par Catherine Mary O'Connor en 1942[6] et Roger Chartier en 1976[7], Pierre Ruelle dénombrait de ces textes 228 versions manuscrites en latin, 72 en allemand, 10 en français, 9 en italien, 1 en provençal, 11 en anglais et 1 en catalan, pour un total de 332 copies, un rayonnement qu'il comparait à celui du *Roman de la Rose*, l'œuvre en langue vernaculaire qui a connu la plus large diffusion au Moyen Âge et est connue par 331 manuscrits[8]. Ce dénombrement de Pierre Ruelle n'inclut pas les 14 versions xylographes et les 65 incunables du XV^e^ siècle qui ont diffusé les *Arts de bien mourir*, que l'on trouve recensées par le *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*[9] à la même époque. Nous avons aujourd'hui encore bien du mal à mesurer la diffusion et le succès de ces textes si particuliers.

En dehors du texte lui-même, de nombreux manuscrits, xylographes et incunables qui reprennent et traduisent, parfois très librement, la version courte des *Arts de bien mourir*, offrent une série de onze illustrations et gravures qui ont contribué à la popularité de l'œuvre, dont elles ont assuré une diffusion plus large que les textes mêmes, touchant ainsi la plus grande partie, illettrée, des fidèles du XV^e^ siècle.

4. Un projet éditorial

En dépit de la réponse originale que constituent les *Arts de bien mourir* à l'omniprésence de la mort et à la carence de prêtres liées aux grands épisodes de peste de la fin du Moyen Âge, ces textes n'ont guère retenu l'attention des médiévistes, qu'ils soient historiens ou philologues.

En 1942, Mary Catherine O'Connor leur consacrait une volumineuse thèse[10] qui aurait pu ouvrir la voie aux chercheurs mais devait rester sans lendemain.

À la fin des années 1980, le philologue belge Pierre Ruelle, sur le projet duquel nous nous arrêterons au § 5, entreprenait d'éditer vingt-sept

[6] Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well*.
[7] Roger Chartier, *Les Arts de mourir*, 1450-1600, p. 53.
[8] Ernest Langlois, *Le Roman de la Rose*, t. I, p. 49.
[9] Le *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*, initié en 1925, est aujourd'hui consultable en ligne : https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/GWEN.xhtml
[10] Mary Catherine O'Connor, *op. cit.*

adaptations en latin et en français de la version longue et de la version courte de ces *artes*, un projet auquel son décès en 1993 mit fin avant qu'il ait pu le mener à son terme. En 2011, pour marquer le centième anniversaire de la naissance du philologue belge, ses héritiers confiaient à Alain Dierkens, Craig Baker et Annick Englebert, médiévistes de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, le soin de conduire le projet à son achèvement; un rapide état des lieux révélait que dans l'intervalle, c'est-à-dire près de vingt ans après l'arrêt du projet, les textes sélectionnés par Pierre Ruelle n'avaient toujours pas suscité l'intérêt des médiévistes, et n'avaient pas fait l'objet d'une étude, ni *a fortiori* d'une édition. En 2021, le constat demeure inchangé, en dépit d'une crise sanitaire planétaire qui a suscité un regain d'intérêt de l'ensemble de la communauté scientifique pour les témoignages écrits laissés par ceux qui vécurent à l'époque de la « peste noire », des témoignages qui constituent une part qu'on ne saurait pourtant ignorer du patrimoine culturel européen.

Aujourd'hui, le projet éditorial de Pierre Ruelle qui nous a été confié par ses héritiers[11], plus que jamais d'actualité, est en voie d'achèvement, grâce à la collaboration de la petite équipe d'universitaires héritiers du projet que nous avons constituée avec l'appoint de nos étudiants.

Nous avons pu disposer de l'ensemble des documents de travail de Pierre Ruelle sous la forme des feuillets dactylographiés, des photocopies et des tirages d'après micro-films qui constituent aujourd'hui le *Fonds Pierre Ruelle* de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Mons, ainsi que de feuillets manuscrits et dactylographiés mis à notre disposition par le fils et la belle-fille du philologue hennuyer.

Le projet de Pierre Ruelle était de réaliser l'édition critique d'un sélection d'*Arts de bien mourir* en latin et en français, représentatifs et de la version longue CP et de la version courte QS, désignés alphabétiquement de A à Z + AA[12] :

[11] Son fils David et sa belle-fille Janine, qui n'ont pas manqué de nous soutenir par la suite en marquant un intérêt constant pour notre travail.

[12] Les références mentionnées ici sont celles qui ont été identifiées entre 1987 et 1989 par Pierre Ruelle ; certaines cotes ont été modifiées depuis lors, mais ayant pu disposer directement des reproductions des manuscrits, incunables et xylographes à partir desquelles le philologue avait travaillé, nous ne nous sommes pas encore arrêtés à réactualiser les références obsolètes.

- A : manuscrit latin conservé à Vienne (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 4014, ff. 5r-26r);
- B : manuscrit latin conservé à Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. latin 3772, ff. 3r-50v);
- C : manuscrit latin conservé à Bruxelles (Bibliothèque royale, ms. 2924-25, ff. 1r-38r);
- D : manuscrit latin conservé à Paris (BNF, ms. latin 3592, ff. 38r-71v);
- E : manuscrit latin conservé à Paris (BNF, ms. latin 3613, ff. 198r-248v);
- F : manuscrit latin conservé à Dijon (Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1276, ff. 63r-88v);
- G : incunable latin conservé à Bruxelles (KBR);
- H : incunable latin conservé à Colmar (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Colmar, inc. XII-1556);
- I : manuscrit français conservé à Bruxelles (KBR, ms. 1640, ff. 400r-403r);
- J : manuscrit français conservé à Lille (Bibliothèque municipale de Lille, ms. 406*, ff. 1r-34r);
- K : manuscrit français conservé à Paris (BNF, ms. fr. 1746, ff. 144r-199r);
- L : incunable français conservé à Toulouse (Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1250);
- M : manuscrit latin conservé à Paris (BNF, ms. latin 3463, ff. 77v-99v);
- N : xylographe latin conservé à Londres (British Library);
- O : xylographe latin conservé à Paris (BNF);
- P : incunable latin conservé à Cologne (Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln);
- Q : manuscrit français conservé à Vienne (ÖNB, ms. 3391, ff. 451-469);
- R : manuscrit français conservé à Lille (BM, ms. 322, ff. 33r-42v);
- S : xylographe français conservé à Lille (BM);
- T : incunable français conservé à Paris (BNF, inc. D862);
- U : incunable français conservé à Paris (BNF, inc. D852);
- V : incunable français conservé à Paris (BNF, vélin 351);
- W : incunable français conservé à Oxford (Bodleian Library);
- X : incunable français conservé à Chantilly (Bibliothèque et Archives du Château de Chantilly, inc. 164);

- Y : incunable français conservé à Paris (BNF, vélin 355);
- Z : incunable français conservé à Paris (BNF, inc. D859);
- AA : manuscrit français conservé à Paris (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 2117, ff. 1r-45r).

Pierre Ruelle ne s'est pas spécialement expliqué dans les notes qu'il a laissées sur les critères qui ont présidé à la sélection de ces 27 versions du texte; après avoir procédé aux dénombrements des différentes versions latines et françaises, il nous indique sans plus :

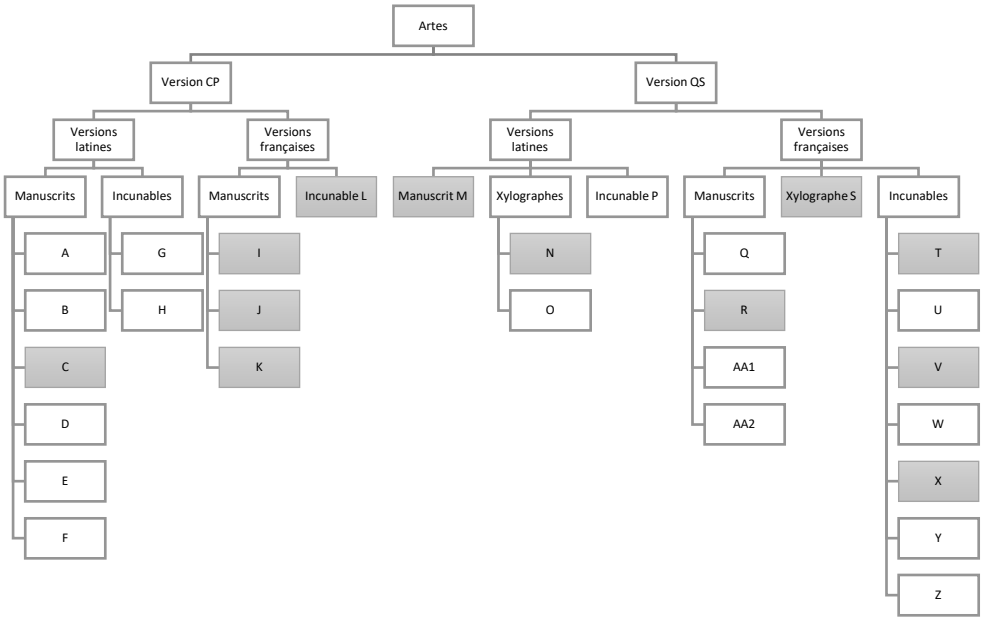
„Nous nous proposons de publier : 1) un représentant latin (ms. C) de la version CP avec toutes les variantes du ms. B et quelques spécimens des variantes de six autres représentants latins de cette version (mss. A. et D-H), 2) les trois traductions françaises connues de nous (mss. IJK) de la version CP, 3) la traduction française amplifiée (incunable L) de la version CP, 4) deux des quatre représentants latins connus (le ms. M et le xylographe N) de la version QS ainsi que les variantes du xylographe O et de l'incunable P par rapport au xylographe N, 5) cinq des neuf représentants français connus de la version QS (ms. R, xyl. S, inc. TVX) avec les variantes du ms. Q par rapport à l'incunable T et celles des incunables UWYZ par rapport à l'incunable V, 6) deux représentants français du XVI^e^ s. (AA1 et AA2) de la version QS conservés dans un même ms.

Pour d'évidentes raisons, il ne nous était pas possible de courir l'aventure d'une édition tenant compte de tous les manuscrits latins connus. Du moins pensons-nous pouvoir offrir une vue d'ensemble satisfaisante de la tradition française et de ses sources."[13]

La présentation qu'il fait de son projet peut être représentée de la manière suivante[14] :

[13] https://moriendi.ulb.be/index.php/le-fonds-ruelle/11-projet-editorial

[14] Représentation arborescente réalisée par Craig Baker. Les étiquettes grisées dans ce *stemma codicum* sont celles qui correspondent aux textes que Pierre Ruelle se donnait à éditer intégralement.



5. Un corpus de textes à découvrir

Le choix de Pierre Ruelle s'est porté sur les textes qu'il estimait les plus représentatifs des deux versions les plus répandues des *Artes bene moriendi*.

D'une manière générale, si nous passons outre les variations de la partie introductive qui permettent de trier les *Artes bene moriendi* en deux versions, CP et QS, ces *Artes* s'organisent selon une structure récurrente en six chapitres :

1. le premier invite à accepter la mort;
2. le deuxième présente les cinq tentations auxquelles est soumis le mourant (la perte de la foi, le désespoir, l'impatience, l'orgueil, l'avarice) et les moyens de les repousser;
3. le troisième présente les questions à poser au mourant;
4. le quatrième donne la vie du Christ comme modèle;
5. le cinquième chapitre donne aux proches et à la famille le rituel à suivre autour d'un lit de mort;
6. le sixième reprend les prières à dire pour le mourant.

On aurait tort toutefois d'imaginer que, face à un canevas si contraignant, chaque version reproduit fidèlement son modèle.[15] On sait que le Moyen Âge ne témoignait pas la même sensibilité que nous face à la notion de propriété intellectuelle, et si certaines des versions retenues par Pierre Ruelle ne présentent entre elles que des différences minimes (comme les deux versions latines M et N), d'autres se signalent par des différences parfois substantielles.

Les écarts entre les différentes versions que le philologue se donnait à publier se marquent essentiellement à deux niveaux : celui des sources convoquées (§ 5.1) et celui des qualités littéraires (§ 5.2).

5.1. Les sources convoquées

Les sources convoquées par les auteurs des *Artes bene moriendi* sont, comme on peut s'y attendre, essentiellement des sources chrétiennes. De la Vulgate, sont principalement cités les *Psaumes*, *pour l'Ancien Testament* et, pour le *Nouveau Testament* les écrits pauliniens – *Épitres aux Romains, aux Éphésiens, aux Philippiens, aux Corinthiens et aux Hébreux* – et les quatre Évangiles. Parmi les Pères de l'Église et les divers commentateurs de la doctrine chrétienne, ce sont les noms de Grégoire I^er^ et saint Augustin qui émergent, le premier à travers ses *Homeliae* et ses *Moralia*, le second à travers ses sermons *De verbis Domini* et ses *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Les philosophes de l'Antiquité sont plus rarement convoqués : en dehors d'Aristote et de la référence à l'*Éthique à Nicomaque* que l'on retrouve en ouverture de la version courte :

„Si comme dit le Philosophe en ses Ethiques :

Quamvis secondum Philosophum, tercio Ethicorum, omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima, morti anime nullatenus est comparanda."[16] *(manuscrit M, f. 77v)*

on ne retrouve guère dans le corpus des *Arts de bien mourir* sélectionné par Pierre Ruelle que le nom de Sénèque, cité à travers ses *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (ou *Lettres à Lucilius*).

[15] Un projet éditorial de l'ampleur de celui de Pierre Ruelle aurait été dans ce cas d'assez peu d'intérêt.

[16] Notre trad. : *Bien que selon Aristote dans sa 3^e^ partie de l'Éthique ait dit que la mort du corps est la plus terrible de toutes les choses terribles, elle n'est aucunement comparable à la mort de l'âme.*

L'auteur de la version amplifiée L – un incunable conservé à la Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse – nous offre à cet égard la version du texte la plus riche en citations et références. Il s'éloigne certes assez peu de son modèle pour ce qui est des références à la Bible et des commentateurs de la doctrine chrétienne, qu'il enrichit cependant de quelques références, qui lui sont propres, à des textes d'auteurs chrétiens – le *Cathemerinon* de Prudence, le *Deuxième livre de Samuel* ou la *Légende dorée* de Jacques de Voragine. Mais il multiplie les références à des auteurs de l'Antiquité voire, parfois, à des auteurs contemporains, à des textes philosophiques et scientifiques, convoquant plus régulièrement Sénèque que les autres auteurs d'*Arts de bien mourir*, et citant pêle-mêle des ouvrages que l'on ne s'attendrait pas à trouver dans de tels textes, comme la *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, de proportioni et de proportionalita* de Luca Pacioli, les isopets, le *Libro de moribus* de Caton.

5.2. Les qualités littéraires

Sur un plan plus esthétique, il faut reconnaitre que certaines des versions du corpus nous offrent des textes assez peu inspirés : certains auteurs se bornent en effet à enfiler les différentes articulations du texte sans aucune recherche stylistique, ce qui est particulièrement perceptible dans les parties consacrées à l'énumération des tentations, des interrogations ou des oraisons. Ainsi l'auteur du texte de I aligne-t-il avec hâte les *interrogacions* de celui qui « officie » et les réponses du mourant en les réduisant à leur plus simple expression :

„Icy s'ensieult la seconde partie, qui contient .vj. interrogacions.

Mon amy ou amie, veult tu morir en la foy chrestienne de Nostre Saulveur Jhesucrist comme leal et vray filz de saincte Eglise? Respond «Oÿl».

La seconde. Demandes tu pardon a Dieu, a tous saincts et sainctes de tes deffaulx et pechiés passés et de ce que tu as fait contre leur amour et bonté et ne les as point honnourés conme tu deuissez ? Respont « Oÿl ».

La tierche interrogation.

As tu bon pourpos et voulenté d'amender ta vie se tu reviens en santé et prie Dieu que il te voeille donner grace de cecy faire et d'avoir vraie repentance, de non rencheïr en pechiet ? Respont « Oÿl ».

La .iiij^e^. interrogation.[17]*[…]" (manuscrit I, ff. 400vb-401ra)*

Dans un contexte où la mort frappe partout sans prévenir, ce qui prévaut ici est, clairement, le souci de voir le rituel achevé avant que le mourant ne rende son dernier souffle.

De même, dans certaines versions enchainent les références à ce que le Moyen Âge appelait les « autorités » sans prendre la peine de les gloser ou de les traduire

„Unde et Augustinus : Fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et humane salutis inicium. Et ideo iterum dicit Apostolus : Impossibile est sine fide placere Deo. Unde Johannis .iij°. : Qui non credit, jam judicatus est."[18]

(manuscrit C, f. 5v)

„Et, pour ce, dist Platon que la souveraine philosophie est incessanment penser a la mort et que la mort de l'ame est la separacion d'icelle de Dieu.

Il est aussy escript en Jheremie, le .ij^e^. chapitre : « Mon poeuple a fait deux maulx, car il m'a relenqui, qui suis la fontaine de vie. »

Saint Augustin dit aussy, en son livre de La Cité de Dieu, que « La mort de l'ame est quant Dieu la delaisse, aussi comme la mort du corps est quant l'ame le delaisse. »

Et, pour tant, dist ung sage clerc de la loenge de la mort des bons tant seullement : « La mort n'est riens aultre chose sy non une issue de la prison.»

Et le psalmiste David dist : « Tire mon ame hors de la prison. » La fin du bannissement est la deposition du tres grief fais, c'est a dire du corps.

[17] Notre trad. : *Ici s'ensuit la seconde partie, qui compte six questions. Mon ami(e), veux-tu mourir dans la foi chrétienne de Notre Sauveur Jésus Christ comme un fils loyal et sincère de la sainte Église ? Répond : oui. La deuxième : Demandes-tu pardon à Dieu, à tous les saints et sainctes de tes erreurs et péchés passés et de ce que tu as fait à l'encontre de leur amour et de leur bonté et de ce que tu ne les as pas honorés comme tu l'aurais dû ? Répond : oui. La troisième question : As-tu une réelle intention et volonté d'amender ta vie si tu retrouves la santé et de prier Dieu qu'il veuille te donner la grâce de le faire et d'avoir une vraie repentance, de ne pas retomber dans le péché. répond : oui. La quatrième.* [etc.]

[18] Notre trad. : *C'est pourquoi Augustin : « La foi est le fondement de toutes les bonnes actions et le début du salut humain ». Et de son côté Paul dit : « Il est impossible de plaire à Dieu sans la foi ». C'est pourquoi Jean, au verset 4, a déjà été jugé ».*

|[58] L'Apostre aussi dist : « Las moy, maleureux homme ! Qui sera cellui qui me delivera de ce corps mortel ! »"[19] (manuscrit J, ff. 3v-4r)

Il résulte parfois de cette accumulation de citations et de renvois à de multiples sources de la part des auteurs des textes d'une froide érudition. Ici encore, l'auteur du texte amplifié de l'incunable L nous livre un texte qui se distingue de celui des autres auteurs en ce qu'il y laisse s'exprimer sa propre sensibilité, livrant un texte émouvant, d'une grande beauté :

„Mais, pour ce que j'ay devant dit que ce livre sera mué et translaté de latin en françois, ne veulléz pas penser par malice que je veulle arrogaument et par vaine gloire entreprendre sur ce qui est contenu en la sentence et deduction d'icelluy livret ne aussi par folle hardiesse, mais penséz ce estre fait par amour et charité. Car je sçay bien que, a ce faire, mon entendement est moult petit et seroit a moy chose moult difficile, qui suis povre et meschant, vouloir enseigner la chose en laquelle je n'ay pas esté instruit et eslargir et donner ce de quoy il ne m'appartient rien ou mettre hors viande laquelle je n'ay pas goustee."[20] (incunable L, f. a ii r)

En guise de conclusion

Témoignages importants de l'histoire des mentalités, les *Artes bene moriendi* constituent un corpus de textes surprenants dont on s'étonne qu'ils soient restés jusqu'à ce jour inexplorés : outre les informations qu'ils nous

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19 Notre trad. : *Et pour cela, Platon dit que la souveraine philosophie est de penser sans cesse à la mort et que la mort de l'âme est la séparation de celle-ci d'avec Dieu. Il est aussi écrit dans* Jérémie*, au chapitre 2 : « Mon peuple a commis deux fautes, car il m'a abandonné, moi qui sui la fontaine de vie ». Saint Augustin dit aussi, dans son livre* La Cité de Dieu*, que « La mort de l'âme est quand Dieu la délaisse, comme la mort du corps est quand l'âme le délaisse. Et de même dit un sage clerc à la louange de la mort des bons seulement : « La mort n'est rien d'autre sinon une sortie de prison ». Et David le psalmiste dit « Tire mon âme de la prison ». La fin du bannissement est le dépôt du très lourd fardeau, c'est-à-dire du corps. Paul dit aussi : « Pauvre de moi, malheureux homme ! Qui sera celui qui me délivrera de cecorps mortel ! ».* [etc.]

20 Notre trad. : *Mais parce que j'ai dit plus haut que ce livre sera adapté et traduit du latin vers le français, veuillez ne pas croire, par malice, que je veuille m'en prendre par arrogance et par gloriole à ce qui est contenu dans le texte et dans l'exposé de ce petit livre, ni par une hardiesse inconsidérée, mais pensez que je le fais par amour et par charité. Car je sais bien que, mes compétences pour cette tâche sont très minces, et ce serait pour moi une chose très difficile, moi qui suis pauvre et misérable, de vouloir enseigner une chose dans laquelle je n'ai pas été instruit et développer et donner ce qui ne m'appartient pas ou distribuer une nourriture à laquelle je n'ai pas gouté.*

livrent sur la manière dont on a pu se préparer à la mort dans d'une pandémie à laquelle l'Occident chrétien n'était pas préparé ou sur les auteurs que l'on lisait au Moyen Âge et sur la manière dont on les comprenait, ils sont aussi le lieu où s'exprime la sensibilité d'un Moyen Âge qu'on considère encore trop souvent comme fruste et peu soucieux de spiritualité. Un projet comme celui qu'avait envisagé Pierre Ruelle prend alors tout son sens.

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LA QUESTION DE L'AUTORITÉ DE L'ENSEIGNANT EN MILIEU SCOLAIRE CONGOLAIS. REPÈRES POUR L'AMÉLIORATION DU PROCESSUS D'ENSEIGNEMENT- APPRENTISSAGE

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Abstract

An in-depth study on the functioning of schools in the Democratic Republic of Congo reveals a certain indiscipline to varying degrees to such an extent that this situation negatively influences the teaching-learning process.

In this study, we aim to identify the factors undermining the education authority in a school learning situation in schools in the Democratic Republic of Congo. This paper leads to some concrete proposals for improving the teaching-learning process by re-establishing the educational authority, particularly the viable relation between teacher and pupil.

Key words

Authority, teacher, learning, teaching, school environment, improvement.

Résumé

Une étude approfondie sur le fonctionnement des écoles en République Démocratique du Congo permet de constater une certaine indiscipline à des divers degrés à tel enseigne que cette situation influence négativement le processus d'enseignement-apprentissage.

Dans cette étude nous nous proposons de relever les facteurs qui nuisent à l'autorité de l'enseignement en situation d'apprentissage scolaire dans les écoles de la République Démocratique du Congo. Cette étude aboutit à certaines propositions concrètes pour améliorer le processus d'enseignement apprentissage par le rétablissement de l'autorité de l'enseignant, notamment d'une relation viable entre l'enseignant et l'apprenant.

Mots-clés

Autorité, enseignant, enseignement, apprentissage, milieu scolaire, amélioration.

Introduction

L'état de lieu des écoles en République Démocratique du Congo permet de pointer à des divers degrés une certaine indiscipline, une certaine Violence des élèves à l'égard de leurs enseignants, l'absence de la maitrise du savoir des enseignants, l'absence d'une volonté politique de contrôle, la précarité dont vivent les enseignants au quotidien, le manque de participation ou de la collaboration des parents à cette œuvre éducative ou mieux, cette panoplie des problèmes entraine par voie de conséquence le manque de l'autorité de l'enseignant en milieu scolaire.

Pourtant, l'enseignant a tout à gagner pour construire son autorité au plus près du modèle œdipien, une autorité qui sait dire non avec calme et détermination pour que le processus d'enseignement-apprentissage se déroule comme il se doit. Ainsi, les questions principales auxquelles cette étude tente d'y répondre sont entre autres :

Quels sont les facteurs susceptibles de nuire à l'autorité des enseignants en situation didactique ? Y a- t-il des remèdes pouvant proposer pour sortir les enseignants du Congo du carcan qui sans doute étouffe indirectement ou directement les acteurs de l'éducation en milieu scolaire ?

Cette étude se structure donc à quatre points essentiels :

Au premier moment, nous allons essayer d'élucider les concepts clés qui dans une large mesure forment l'armature de cette recherche.

Au deuxième moment, nous allons esquisser en grands traits quelques théories relatives à l'autorité et à la discipline en milieu scolaire.

Au troisième moment, nous allons présenter les données empiriques relatives à l'autorité des enseignants en milieu scolaire Congolais et spécialement dans la province du Sankuru et plus précisément dans la ville de Lodja.

Et enfin, au quatrième moment, nous allons tenter d'indiquer quelques repères pour soutenir les enseignants dans cette épreuve didactique en se basant sur la littérature pédagogique existante.

1. Approche définitionnelle

À ces jours, l'élucidation des concepts s'avère indispensable dans la mesure où les concepts sont de plus à plus polysémiques. Et de ce fait, cela

permet à des degrés divers de replacer les concepts dans leurs contextes d'usage tout en évitant certaines équivocités ou malentendus. Parmi ces concepts nous pouvons citer : école, enseignant, élève, autorité, apprentissage scolaire, facteurs nuisant à l'autorité etc.

1.1. L'école

Dans son ouvrage intitulé *Discipline en classe et autorité de l'enseignant, éléments de réflexion et d'action*, B. Rey définit l'école comme un lieu où l'on apprend, un lieu où l'on donne un enseignement collectif, institution où les jeunes sont incités à apprendre selon des modalités d'apprentissage très particulières.[1]

Entre temps, Dean et Timonf définissent pour leur part, l'école comme unité des vies sociales organisées dans la société pour répondre collectivement aux besoins de formation des jeunes. Autrement dit, c'est un lieu où l'on instruit les élèves, un établissement où se donne un enseignement collectif. Elle est un environnement scolaire qui, dans un environnement donné, et par un type de fonctionnement, mobilise des ressources pour que les élèves accueillent le savoir de telle sorte qu'ils Soient dotés d'un certain nombre des caractéristiques des niveaux supérieurs.[2]

Enfin, pour M.-T. Estrela, « l'école apparaissant comme l'institution créée pour la transmission intentionnelle du savoir jugé socialement utile, sa mission principale est naturellement une fonction de transmission culturelle (…)»[3].

1.2. L'enseignant

Le concept 'enseignant' recouvre une sémantique large. Il est perçu par le *Dictionnaire Robert* comme celui qui est chargé de l'enseignement.[4]

En sciences de l'éducation, le concept est perçu dans son rapport avec le milieu scolaire. Dans ce sens précis, il est considéré comme celui qui est chargé d'enseigner les savoirs aux apprenants, il les aide à cet effet à acquérir

[1] B. Rey, 2004, p. 30.
[2] Dean et Timonf, cités par Ray, *op. cit*., p. 32.
[3] M.-T. Estrela, 1994, p. 37.
[4] Cf. M. Develay, 1996.

des savoirs scolaires, des connaissances intellectuelles nécessaires pour la société. En d'autres termes, l'enseignant décrit, explique, questionne, évalue, encourage, menace et persuade les apprenants.[5]

1.3. L'élève

Le dictionnaire universel définit l'élève comme une personne qui est instruite dans un art ou dans une science par un maitre; une personne qui reçoit les leçons d'un maitre, qui fréquente un établissement scolaire.

1.4. L'autorité

Le vocable ''autorité'' a été souvent assimilé à l'usage de la force d'un individu supposé supérieur sur un individu inférieur. Plusieurs auteurs, en effet comme H. Arendt, ont tenté de définir ce concept à ce sens.[6]

Dans l'usage le plus courant et en sciences de l'éducation, B. RAY explique qu'on ne dira pas qu'un individu a de l'autorité s'il est obligé pour se faire obéir, d'utiliser la force ou la menace. L'autorité de l'enseignant doit au contraire s'exercer non pas par la force mais par le savoir.[7]

C'est dans cette fourchette d'idées que Ray définit en substance, le terme ''autorité'' comme mise en œuvre d'une obligation mais non d'une force.[8]

Ainsi, dans la présente étude nous utilisons le mot ''autorité'' comme étant les « prérogatives » qu'à l'enseignant sur l'apprenant en vue de la réalisation des objectifs pédagogiques d'apprentissage scolaire.[9]

1.5. L'apprentissage scolaire

D'une manière générale, l'apprentissage sous-entend le processus d'acquisition par l'apprenant, des connaissances, des compétences ou comportements nouveaux sous l'effet des interactions avec le formateur.[10]

L'apprentissage est donc la mémorisation en plusieurs essais de même information pour une modification durable du processus cognitif; de plus, le

[5] M-T. Estrela, 2009, p. 8.
[6] H. Arend, 1998, p. 15.
[7] Cf. B. Ray, 1999, pp. 99-106.
[8] B. Rey, *Les relations dans la classe au collège et au lycée*, p. 106.
[9] B. Felouzis, 1997, p. 8.
[10] C. Charon et al., 2007, p. 12.

concept ‘’ apprentissage scolaire est défini par Tukanda, qui cite à son tour Dewey comme l’action d’intégrer progressivement des connaissances par l’interaction avec le milieu, l’enseignant et l’apprenant.[11]

1.6. L’enseignement-apprentissage

L’enseignement sert essentiellement à pallier aux insuffisances de la capacité d’adaptation des humains pour vivre de façon libre et responsable dans une société afin de s’y épanouir et y exercer un métier.

Ainsi, on parle de situation d’enseignement-apprentissage lorsqu’il s’agit du processus d’apprentissage qui articule étroitement des activités de l’enseignant à celle des élèves et réciproquement.

Ce processus, en effet a pour fonction essentielle de mettre les élèves à construire des nouvelles connaissances sur base des connaissances actuelles à travers les interactions avec les apprenants et les enseignants.

1.7. Les concepts „facteur” et „nuire”

Nous entendons du concept ’facteur’ comme celui qui est susceptible d’influencer positivement ou négativement le comportement d’un individu. Dans le contexte de cette étude, le facteur est perçu comme élément nuisant à l’autorité de l’enseignant en situation d’apprentissage scolaire.

Concernant le concept ’nuire’, il faut dire que face à l’enseignant, le verbe ’nuire’ est entendu dans le sens de „ce qui gêne”, „ce qui dérange ou sape l’autorité” du formateur.

2. La question de l’autorité et de la discipline en milieu scolaire

2.1. Autorité

Dans l’antiquité, ce terme est attribué à la notion de pouvoir. Du point de l’étymologie, protestas’ signifie la capacité de se faire obéir par la fonction institutionnelle. L’autorité renvoi au nom latin ’auctoritas’ venant du verbe

[11] M. Tukanda, *Evaluation de l’efficacité des établissements d’enseignement Secondaire. Analyse des indicateurs favorisant la plus-value pédagogique des établissements*. Thèse de doctorat, ULB, 2010.

latin *augere*, qui signifie « augmenter » c'est-à-dire la capacité de faire et d'autoriser à.

Le terme „autorité" traduit l'idée d'augmenter l'efficacité d'un acte juridique ou d'un droit. Cette augmentation peut être ajoutée de l'extérieur par une place ou une hiérarchie. Ainsi, l'étymologie de ce mot permet de comprendre sa vraie nature. A l'école l'enseignant possède une autorité de droit accordée par les institutions et il fait autorité en faisant grandir l'enfant.

V. Hugo, dans son œuvre *Les misérables*[12], démontre que l'autorité globale de quelqu'un provient essentiellement de son pouvoir sur les autres.

Une seconde référence philosophique nuance l'association d'autorité au pouvoir. En effet, H. Arendt, dès les années 60, explique que : « puisque l'autorité requiert toujours l'obéissance; on la prend souvent pour une forme de pouvoir ou de violence ».[13] ou d'après elle, l'autorité, ce n'est pas une soumission à laquelle on doit s'assujettir sans réfléchir. Le porteur d'autorité et ceux qui doivent la respecter, doivent établir une réflexion commune avant de l'adopter.

Assurément, le statut du professeur est établi, les enfants sont au courant que par sa position, c'est cette personne qui va commander, le fait qu'il ait conscience de cette hiérarchie permet de comprendre qu'il faut éviter d'abuser de cette place et plutôt s'attacher à établir avec les élèves, des règles autour desquelles ils réfléchiront avec le professeur. Il est judicieux de créer une sorte de contrat entre le professeur et les élèves tout en respectant cette hiérarchie, qui de toute façon s'impose à ce métier.

B. Robbes[14] a différencié 3 conceptions de l'autorité. Il s'agit de 3 façons d'imposer le statut d'enseignant dans notre société.

A/ **L'autorité, autoritarisme** : l'autorité est souvent prise dans le sens de domination sur l'autre dans le but d'obtenir l'obéissance des élèves ou leur soumission.

[12] V. Hugo, 1996.
[13] H. Arendt, 1989, p. 15.
[14] B. Kobbes, 2010. Lire aussi le même auteur dans, *Les trois conceptions actuelles de l'autorité, un cahier pédagogique*, site de CRAD, 2006.

B/ **l'autorité évacuée :** est l'inverse de l'autorité autoritariste.

En effet, elle se caractérise par l'absence de cadre, des limites et d'une certaine peur du conflit qui amène une perte de statut de chacun. L'enseignant refuse en quelque sorte d'exercer l'autorité au sein de sa classe. L'autorité évacuée a une connotation péjorative.

Elle fait référence au rôle de la police; et pourtant, l'enseignant, en adoptant cette position, se décharge de l'autorité qu'il confie à d'autres.

C/ **L'autorité éducative :** pour B. Robbes, l'autorité éducative est considérée comme une nouvelle autorité qui prend en compte quelques caractéristiques de deux conceptions précédentes. Il lui associe trois sens indissociables à savoir : être autorité (autorité de statut : protestas); avoir de l'autorité (s'autoriser à … dans le but de faire grandir) et faire l'autorité (capacité et compétences de l'enseignant). En cela s'ajoute une reconnaissance mutuelle entre élève et enseignant. En un mot, l'autorité se fonde sur l'asymétrie enseignant-élève non une réciprocité des postures. A nous de travailler sur cette capacité de se faire obéir avec le consentement libre de celui qui obéit.

2.2. Autorité et discipline

L'obéissance renvoi à la discipline. Mais qu'est-ce que la discipline ? Pour E. Kant, l'homme est un animal qui a besoin d'un maître.

Certes, la discipline permet de sortir l'homme de sa descendance animale, mais l'enseignant n'est pas un dompteur qui a pour but de dresser l'élève. La question que l'on peut se poser est de savoir comment rendre la discipline accessible aux élèves ?

Il convient de faire remarquer que pour les élèves, la classe est un milieu unique dans lequel on doit bien se comporter; or, le comportement exigé, est bien souvent différent selon les années scolaires en fonction du professeur. En ce moment, c'est à lui de faire partager son autorité dans le sens de faire conscience aux élèves de ce qui est négociable ou non négociable. Nous savons que la discipline ne repose sur son autorité.

En effet, le maitre arrive dans la classe avec son idée de l'autorité. Il est donc primordial de l'exposer aux enfants afin qu'ils anticipent sur leur comportement à adopter.

De plus, en s'appuyant sur les réflexions d'E. Piairat, la sanction éducative a trois finalités :

- Une finalité politique : la sanction ne pas une manifestation de la loi. En effet, la classe a des règles de la vie, l'école a un règlement, si l'on ne respecte pas une de ces règles, on doit rappeler pour ne plus l'enfreindre;

- Une finalité éthique : elle rend responsable de ses actes. La sanction doit permettre à l'enfant de réfléchir sur l'acte qu'il a commis;

- Une finalité psychologique : la sanction marque un coup d'arrêt à un acte; elle limite les pulsions dans le sens où, en reprenant Kant, nous savons que „homme est animal qui a besoin d'un maitre''. Plus un enfant est jeune, plus il est nécessaire d'incarner la règle afin d'aller à la rencontre de certaines habitudes qui deviendraient néfastes pour lui-même.

Ces trois finalités sont directement liées pour conserver un cadre légitime dans la classe. L'école est un lieu de scolarisation, les enfants ont besoin des limites à leurs vies, ils ont aussi besoin de comprendre pourquoi elles s'imposent en eux…

La vie collective nécessite des limites. On ne peut pas toujours faire ce que l'on veut, surtout lorsque l'on est ensemble. Les élèves, dans une classe, doivent avoir les mêmes limites afin de se sentir dans le même cadre. „Être logé à la même enseigne" est pour eux, une base à l'autorité de l'enseignant. Il faut donc, que la discipline, passant par les sanctions, soit communiquée aux élèves. La classe est plus un lieu de ritualités que de règles. Les sanctions peuvent devenir des ritualités à partir du moment où elles sont légitimes et explicables aux yeux des enfants.

3. Présentation, analyse et interprétation des données

Dans le développement de ce troisième point de notre investigation, Il sera question de la présentation des instruments de la recherche, de la présentation sommaire du milieu d'étude et enfin, de la présentation des données leur analyse et leur interprétation.

3.1. Approche méthodologique

Dans cette étude, nous allons utiliser l'approche qualitative (observation, analyse des documents) et l'approche quantitative fondée spécialement sur l'enquête par questionnaire, dans le but de récolter les données du terrain pour vérifier si la pratique d'autorité et de discipline dans les écoles concernées sont conformes aux différentes théories que nous venions d'énoncer.

Il s'agit concrètement de relever les facteurs nuisant à l'autorité et à la discipline des enseignants.[15]

3.1.1. Presentation des ecoles impliquees dans la recherche

N°	**Dénomination**	**Régime de gestion**	**Nombre d'enseignants consultés**	**Observations**
01	Lycée LOKENYE	Conv. Cath.	11	Mixte
02	Inst. ESEMULA	Idem	09	Mixte
03	Inst. SHINGA	Idem	08	Mixte
04	Inst. Mr. A. YUNGU	Idem	07	Mixte
05	Lycée DIKONGELO	Idem	06	Mixte
06	Inst. Sr. DETTE	Idem	05	mixte
Total		06	46 enseignants	

Commentaire

Ce premier tableau reprend les écoles ou les instituts secondaires du régime conventionné catholique de la Sous-division de l'EPST/Sankuru de LODJA1. Celles-ci sont représentées par 46 enseignants, dont chacune à un nombre limité dépendamment de leur taille.

3.1.2. Elèves impliqués dans l'étude

N°	**Dénomination**	**Régime de gestion**	**Nombre d'élèves impliqués**
01	Lycée LOKENYE	Conv. Cath.	32
02	Inst. ESEMULA	Idem	26
03	Inst. SHINGA	Idem	29
04	Inst. Mr. A. YUNGU	Idem	27

[15] G. Mialaret, 2004.

05	Lycée DIKONGELO	Idem	23
06	Inst. Sr. DETTE	Idem	19
Total		6 écoles	156 élèves

Dans ce deuxième tableau, nous reprenons pour l'essentiel, le nombre d'élèves concernés qui s'élève en 156 élèves.

3.2. Méthodes et instrument de recueil des données

Dans cette étude, nous avons mobilisé l'observation participante, la documentation comme méthode dans l'ultime but de mieux identifier et comprendre notre population d'étude.

En revanche, pour recueillir les données spécifiques de notre étude, nous avons pour l'essentiel utilisé l'instrument de la recherche qui nous a paru plus adopté à notre problématique.

Ainsi, par instrument de recherche, nous entendons les outils qui permettent au chercheur de collecter les données dont 'il a besoin. Des propositions ayant certaine forme et un certain ordre sur lequel on sollicite l'avis, Dans le cadre de nos investigations, nous avons plus utilisé les questionnaires qui sont en fait une suite le jugement ou l'évaluation d'un sujet interrogé.

3.3. Déroulement de l'enquête

Dans le souci de recueillir les informations utiles et exemptes de toute ambiguïté, nous avons fourni toutes les explications nécessaires aux sujets interrogés.

3.3.1. Dépouillement des protocoles et techniques de traitement

Une fois tous les protocoles récupérés, nous avons procédé au dépouillement. En effet, le dépouillement a consigné à l'analyse de question par question en faisant les pointages des faits ou comportements proposés, des réponses intimées par les participants (enseignants et élèves) compromettent l'autorité de l'enseignant en situation d'enseignement-apprentissage scolaire.

La technique a été déterminée par la nature des données recueillies après la formation des fréquences observées pour chaque fait ou chaque

comportement, à tel enseigne que nous avons opté pour le calcul de pourcentage ci- après :

$$\% = \frac{n}{N} x100$$

% = pourcentage;
N = fréquences d'observées
N = effectif total des sujets participant à l'enquête.

3.4. Présentation et interprétation des résultats

Après le choix de la population d'étude et des instruments de recherche, nous présentons ci-dessous, l'ensemble des données recueilles et tentons de les interpréter à la lumière des approches.

Ceci étant, les résultats sont présentés à deux volets : d'abord au regard des points de vue des enseignants et ensuite au regard des points de vue des élèves.

5.1. Résultat au regard de points de vue des enseignants

TABLEAU N°4

Participants	Faits ou comportements de l'autorité	%
46 enseignants	Incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à dispenser le cours	42(91,30%)
	Relation de camaraderie avec les élèves	19(41,30%)
	Port de vêtement négligé ou ridicule	17(36,99%)
	Être corrompu par les élèves	33(71,73%)
	Parler d'une manière monocorde	15(32,60%)
	Poser des questions compliquées	12(26,08%)
	Avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe	38(82,60%)
	Absence de réactions aux sottises des élèves	41(89,13%)
	Mauvaise expression française	32(69,56%)
	Partialité de l'enseignant	36(78,26%)
	Admonester les élèves sans cause	31(67,39%)
	Insulter les élèves ou les mépriser	15(32,60%)
	Punir collectivement les élèves	26(56,52%)
	Punir individuellement les élèves	9(19,56%)
	Etre soulard	31(67,39%)
	Mauvais contrôle de sa propre personne	28(60,86%)

Commentaire

Au regard de critère de mise, dix-sept faits ou comportements propres à nos sujets comme facteurs ou comportement compromettant l'autorité de l'enseignant, douze sont perçus comme tels par des enseignants du secondaire:

- Incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à dispenser ses enseignements pour 90,30% d'enseignants ayant répondu à notre question, l'enseignant incompétent à dispenser ses enseignements est aux yeux des élèves sans autorité. Une fois l'incompétence de l'enseignant perçue par les élèves, ce dernier perd toute son autorité et devient sujet de bavardage et moquerie de la part des élèves de son enseigne en classe.

- Le fait d'être corrompu par les élèves : 71,73% d'enseignants du secondaire ayant participé dans cette étude estiment que la corruption fait perdre à l'enseignant toute son autorité. Devant une sottise, l'enseignant corrompu fait sembler de n'ai pas voir la sottise de l'élève quand il n'a pas le courage de lui reprocher ou de le punir.

- Avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe : 82,60 d'enseignant affirment qu'avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe est une cause principale de perte d'autorité de l'enseignant. Beaucoup d'enseignants surtout les jeunes enseignants, n'ont pas d'autorité sur leurs élèves à cause des relations amoureuses qu'ils ont avec les filles qu'ils enseignent voire sur les garçons qu'ils utilisent pour cette cause que l'on appelle communément « Zéro 8 ».

- Absence des réactions aux sottises des élèves : 89,23% d'enseignants estiment que l'absence des réactions à la sottise des élèves est à la base de perte d'autorité de beaucoup d'enseignants. Lorsque l'enseignant ne réagit pas, les élèves sont confirmés dans leurs sentiments d'être en présence d'un être sans réaction, comme « chosifié ». S'il réagit, alors il répond a la provocation comme l'élève le souhaite. Il est donc tout afin important que tout professeur réagisse dès le début à tout comportement qui peut être perçu comme manquement à la règle de la cause.

- Mauvaise expression française : 69,56% d'enseignants voient cette cause comme aussi l'une des causes à la base de l'autorité de l'enseignant. Le français est la langue qui véhicule notre enseignement,

quand cette langue est mal parlée par l'enseignant, ce dernier est assimilé à l'enseignant incompétent.

- Partialité de l'enseignant est une des causes à la base de sa perte de l'autorité. Pour les jeunes élèves, l'enseignant est quelqu'un de juste, quelqu'un d'impartial. A partir du moment qu'ils constatent qu'il a des parties pris ou qu'il est injuste, ils ne lui font plus confiance, c'est son autorité qui est mise en cause, par conséquent, l'enseignant perd une grande partie de son autorité.

- Admonester les élèves sans cause 67,39% d'enseignants affirment qu'admonester les élèves sans cause est l'une des causes de perte de l'autorité de l'enseignant. Certains enseignants admonestent les élèves pour des comportements qu'ils n'ont pas eus. Comme nous avons déjà dit plus haut, de telles erreurs, trop souvent répétées, font apparaitre l'enseignant comme un éducateur qui manque des aptitudes pédagogiques et lui fait perdre son autorité. D'autres se lancent dans des réprimandes collectives, faute de pouvoir désigner le seul responsable, ce qui démontre que l'enseignant n'a pas une maitrise suffisante de sa classe ou tout simplement il a une vision floue de ce qui se passe dans la classe. Au sujet même de réprimande collective, 56,62% d'enseignants affirment que les punitions collectives sapent l'autorité de l'enseignant.

- Être soulard : 67,39% d'enseignants estiment qu'être soulard est l'une des causes de perte de l'autorité de l'enseignant. L'enseignant perçu par les élèves comme soulard est à leurs yeux un enseignant sans personnalité.

- Mauvais contrôle de sa propre personne : 60,86% d'enseignants voient cette cause comme étant aussi l'une des causes qui sont à la base de perte de l'autorité et de la personnalité même de l'enseignant. Il Ya perte de l'autorité et de la personnalité chez l'enseignant qui manifeste un mauvais contrôle de sa propre personne : tics de langue, postillons habillement immuables, vêtements négligés ou ridicules.

5.2. Résultats aux regards des points de vue des élèves

Participants	Faits ou comportements de l'autorité	%
156	Incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à dispenser le cours	58(98,71%)
	Relation de camaraderie avec les élèves	58(37,17%)
	Port de vêtement négligé ou ridicule	35(22,43%)

	Être corrompu par les élèves	118(75,64%)
	Parler d'une manière monocorde	42(26,92%)
	Poser des questions compliquées	98(62,82%)
	Avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe	126(80,76%)
	Absence de réactions aux sottises des élèves	114(92,30%)
	Mauvaise expression française	89(57,95%)
	Partialité de l'enseignant	112(71,79%)
	Admonester les élèves sans cause	124(79,48%)
	Insulter les élèves ou les mépriser	145(92,94%)
	Punir collectivement les élèves	142(91,02%)
	Punir individuellement les élèves	2(1,28%)
	Être soulard	134(85,89%)
	Mauvais contrôle de sa propre personne	119(76,28%)

Commentaire

Considérant toujours le critère de 60% d'avis soutenant les faits ou comportements sapant l'autorité de l'enseignant, sur dix-sept faits ou comportements proposés à non sujets comme facteurs compromettant l'autorité de l'enseignant, onze sont perçus par les élèves de sixième secondaire comme facteurs compromettant l'autorité de l'enseignant :

- L'incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à dispenser le cours : 98,71% d'élèves voient l'enseignant incompétent comme sans autorité. Une fois qu'ils perçoivent l'incompétence de l'enseignant, l'enseignant perd son autorité. Dès son entrée en classe, c'est de la rigolade et on lui pose beaucoup de questions, occasion de rire encore d'avantage;

- Fait d'être corrompu par les élèves : 75,64% d'élèves ayant réagi à notre questionnaire estiment comme les enseignants, que la corruption fait perdre à l'enseignant toute son autorité face à la bêtise de l'élève, l'enseignant corrompu est timide, il n'a pas le courage de reprocher ou de punir l'élève fautif;

- Poser des questions compliquées : 62,82% d'élèves voient ce facteur comme celui sapant l'autorité de l'enseignant. Pour eux, l'enseignant posant des questions difficiles à l'interrogation, à l'examen est un enseignant sans autorité, pour lui, avoir cette autorité, le seul moyen c'est de poser des questions compliquées pour que les élèves le respectent;

- Avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe : 80,76% d'élèves affirment qu'avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa

classe est une des causes principales de perte d'autorité de l'enseignant. Beaucoup d'enseignants surtout les jeunes enseignants, n'ont pas d'autorité sur les élèves filles à causes des relations amoureuses qu'ils ont avec elles;

- Absence de réactions aux sottises des élèves : 92,30% d'élèves, comme l'ont affirmé les enseignants, estiment que l'absence des réactions aux sottises des élèves est à la base de la perte d'autorité de beaucoup d'enseignants. Lorsque l'enseignant ne réagit pas, les élèves sont confirmés dans leurs sentiments d'être en présence d'un être sans réaction ou d'une personne « chosifiée ». ces propos sortant de Micheline à l'endroit de Jeanne, son amie, est un témoignage fort éloquent : « jeton et courons, il ne fera rien»;

- Partialité de l'enseignant : 71,79% d'élèves voient la partialité de l'enseignant comme une grande cause faisant perdre à l'enseignant son autorité. Comme nous avons déjà souligné, pour les jeunes élèves, l'enseignant est quelqu'un de juste d'impartial. A partir du moment qu'il constante qu'il y a de partie pris ou qu'il injuste, ils ne lui font plus confiance et là, les élèves ne le considèrent plus; il est à leurs yeux sans personnalité et sans autorité;

- Admonester les élèves sans causes : 79,48% d'élèves affirment qu'admonester les élèves sans causes est l'une des causes de perte de l'autorité de l'enseignant. Certains enseignants admonestent les élèves pour des comportements qu'ils n'ont pas eus. Comme nous avons déjà dit aux points de vue des enseignants, de telles erreurs, trop souvent répétées font apparaitre l'enseignant comme un camp de clairvoyance et lui fait perdre son autorité;

- Insulter les élèves ou les mépriser : 92,94% d'élèves estiment que ce comportement fait perdre à l'enseignant son autorité. Le fait d'insulter ou de mépriser publiquement les élèves, finalement les élèves le manqueront et ils n'auront plus même un minimum d'autorité sur eux;

- Punir collectivement les élèves : 91,02% d'élèves voient que les punitions collectives sapent l'autorité de l'enseignant car les élèves innocents, ceux qui n'ont rien fait du mal, sont punis. Tout ça montre que l'enseignant à une vision floue de ce qui se passent dans la classe et c'est son autorité qui est toujours mise en cause;

- Être soulard, comme les enseignants l'ont souligné : 85,89% d'élèves estiment que ce comportement est aussi l'une des causes de la perte d'autorité de beaucoup d'enseignants. L'enseignant perçu par les élèves comme soulard est à leurs yeux un enseignant sans personnalité ni autorité. Quand on le voit à classe, c'est l'image de son état d'ivresse à la cité qui leur revient en tête et devient un sujet de moquerie;
- Mauvais contrôle de sa personne : 76,26% d'élèves voient cette cause comme étant aussi l'une des causes qui sont à la base de la perte de l'autorité et de la personnalité de l'enseignant même comme nous l'avons fait remarquer aux résultats concernant les enseignants, il y a perte d'autorité et de personnalité chez l'enseignant qui manifeste un mauvais contrôle de sa propre personnalité : tics de langue, postillons, habillement immuable, vêtements négligés ou ridicules, etc.

Dans ce point, nous avons présenté les résultats de notre enquête menée auprès de 46 enseignants et 156 élèves de six écoles secondaires du réseau catholique de la sous-division provinciale de Lodja I. En ce qui concerne les facteurs nuisant à l'autorité de l'enseignant en situation d'apprentissage, les résultats de cette étude révèlent comme facteurs nuisant à l'autorité de l'enseignant : l'incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à disperser ses enseignements (facteur affirmé par 91,30% d'enseignants et 98,71% d'élèves), le fait de se laisser corrompre par les élèves (facteur affirmé par 71,73% d'enseignants et 75,4% d'élèves), avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe (facteur affirmé par 82,60% d'enseignants et 80,76% d'élèves), absence des réactions aux sottise des élèves (facteur s'élevant par l'affirmation de 89,23% d'enseignants et 92,30 d'élèves), mauvaise expression française (facteur affirmé seulement par les enseignants : 69,56% d'enseignants), partialité de l'enseignement (facteur affirmé par 78,26% d'enseignants et 71,79% d'élèves), admonester les élèves sa cause, affirmé par 67,39% d'enseignants et 79,48% d'élèves), Etre soulard (facteur affirmé par 60,86% d'enseignants et 85,89% d'élèves), insulter les élèves ou les mépriser (facteur affirmé seulement par les élèves : 92,94% d'élèves), punir collectivement les élèves (facteur affirmé seulement par les

élèves : 91,02% d'élèves), poser des questions compliquées (facteur affirmé seulement par les élèves : 62,82% d'élèves).

4. Quelques repères pour le maintien de l'autorité de l'enseignant et de la discipline en classe

Après l'esquisse théorique de la question de l'autorité en classe. Nous avons procédé à une analyse empirique des données relatives à l'autorité et à la discipline dans les écoles catholiques de Lodja pour relever les facteurs qui entravent le processus d'enseignement apprentissage. Au terme de ce parcours, nous avons cru utile de formuler certaines propositions pour prévoir, remédier et anticiper certains comportements nuisant à l'autorité de l'enseignant et à la discipline en classe. Parmi ces pistes de solution, nous pouvons orienter certains vers : le contrat didactique, l'anticipation des comportements des élèves, le développement des activités métacognitives, l'intégration et la considération de la notion de l'erreur, la collaboration enseignant et famille et enfin, l'enseignant doit aider les élèves à réussir leurs épreuves.

❖ Le maintien de l'autorité de l'enseignant et de la discipline en classe s'inscrit dans une large mesure dans le respect du contrat didactique. Celui-ci, en effet, implique, comme dit Brousseau[16], une détermination implicite et explicite laquelle l'enseignant et l'apprenant doivent respecter. Il peut donc être défini comme l'« ensemble des comportements de l'enseignant qui sont entendus de l'élève, et l'ensemble des comportements de l'élève qui sont entendus de l'enseignant ».

Cette notion met en perspective l'importance des relations entre l'enseignant et les élèves en classe sur fond respect mutuel, des règles pour l'établissement de l'autorité et de la discipline.

❖ Dans le souci de bien tenir sa classe, l'enseignant doit être en mesure non seulement de comprendre, d'interpréter les comportements des apprenants mais aussi et surtout d'anticiper. Cela nécessite de trouver en évidence, une bonne connaissance épistémologique des apprenants.

[16] G. Brousseau, 1986, p. 127. Pour plus d'information, lire H. Przesmycki, 1994. C'est pour cela que l'autorité et la discipline en classe doivent se fonder sur le contrat didactique dans la mesure où le contrat didactique prend en compte l'idée du partage des responsabilités.

❖ Les activités métacognitives permettent à l'élève de prendre à la fois conscience de son activité de penser et de son comportement en classe. Il s'agit pour l'élève de connaitre, de prendre conscience de son mode d'être en classe lors du processus d'enseignement pour qu'il puisse éviter tout ce qui peut nuire à cet apprentissage[17].

❖ Dans son ouvrage « l'erreur, un outil pour enseigner » J.P. Astolfi montre la nécessite pour l'enseignant de se servir des erreurs des élèves comme outil didactique pour faciliter les apprentissages scolaires[18]. Par cette conception, en servant des erreurs des élèves comme outil de son enseignement, l'enseignant pourra réussir les respects de son autorité par ses élèves et la discipline en classe.

❖ Pour améliore la qualité de l'enseignement et même maintenir la discipline en classe, les pédagogues de tous les temps recommandent une bonne collaboration entre les enseignants et les parents par les occasions de communication (réunion des parents et livre de communication).

❖ L'école est le lieu spécialisé pour les apprentissages et pour la découverte de la culture à laquelle on appartient en prônant des valeurs qui se veulent universelles. Pour réussir à arracher son autorité de la part des élèves et maintenir la discipline en classe, l'enseignant doit aider les élèves à réussir leurs épreuves, à les surmonter sans beaucoup de peines.

Conclusion générale

Cette étude consacrée à une enquête empirique sous la question de l'autorité de l'enseignant et notamment les facteurs qui peuvent nuire à celle-ci en situation d'enseignement apprentissage, avait pour mobile déterminant d'aider les enseignants concernés à améliorer leurs pratiques enseignantes et leurs pratiques d'enseignement. Il s'agissait en gros, d'analyser les facteurs qui nuisent cette autorité et par de là, compromet le processus d'enseignement apprentissage. C'est dans ce contexte précis que nous avons cherché à répertorier les éléments susceptibles d'entrainer non seulement l'indiscipline en classe mais aussi et surtout entrainer la perte de l'autorité de l'enseignant.

[17] Y.M. Devela, 1998, pp. 93-99.
[18] M. Develay, *op. cit*., p. 90. Voir aussi J-P. Astolfi, 1997.

De surcroit, les résultats de notre étude révèlent comme facteurs nuisant à l'autorité des enseignant : incompétence notoire de l'enseignant à dispenser ses enseignements, le fait de se laisser corrompre par les élèves, avoir des relations amoureuses avec les filles de sa classe ou de son école, absence de réaction aux sottises des élèves, mauvaise expression française, partialité de l'enseignant, admonester les élèves sans cause, être soulard, insulter les élèves ou les mépriser, punir collectivement les élèves, poser des questions compliquées. Ces résultats confirment en grande échelle nos hypothèses avancées.

En citant Ray dans cette étude, nous avons retenu que, avoir de l'autorité, ce ne pas exercer un pouvoir, mais c'est arriver à se faire obéir sans utiliser les moyens coercitifs, c'est donc arriver à ce que les élèves obéissent à l'enseignant volontairement.

Somme toute, pour avoir plus de chance d'établir une relation d'autorité avec les élèves, l'enseignant doit se conduire en sujet plutôt qu'en objet. Pour cela, il doit être réactif vis-à-vis des événements de la classe, aux sottises des élèves, mais ne jamais faire comme si on ne voyait pas ce qui s'y passe.

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L'EXTRACTIVISME À LA PÉRIPHERIE DE LA VILLE DE KANANGA: LA FILIÈRE DU *GNETUM AFRICANUM* (MFUMBUA)

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Abstract:

The NTFPs refer to any biological resource except that obtained from timber from woods or any other forested ecosystem. Thus, the NTFPs are ecologically forest-based, whether they come from the spontaneous flora or crops (home gardens, agroforestry, rural orchards) or from wild animals (Tabuna, 1999). They include vegetables, mushrooms, fruit and their extracts, essential oils, edible insects, honey, medicinal plants, game animals etc.

Extractivism refers to collecting NTFPs for commercial purposes (Nguenang et Feteke, 2000).

Key words

Forested ecosystem, extractivism, "tindeurs", improvement.

Résumé

Les PFNL désignent toute ressource biologique excepté toutes les formes de bois d'œuvre-issue de la forêt ou de tout autre écosystème boisé. Ainsi les PFNL sont écologiquement forestiers, qu'ils soient issus de la flore spontanée ou de cultures (jardins de case, agro-forêts, vergers villageois) ou de la faune sauvage (Tabuna, 1999). Il s'agit des légumes, champignons, fruits et leurs extraits, huiles essentielles, insectes comestibles, miel, graisse, plantes médicinales, gibiers, etc.

Et l'on entend par extractivisme, la collecte des PFNL, à but commercial (Nguenang et Feteke, 2000).

Mots-clées

Écosystème forestier, extractivisme, « tindeurs », amélioration.

Introduction

L'écosystème forestier de l'Afrique Centrale regorge de nombreuses ressources dont les Produits Forestiers Non Ligneux (PFNL)[1], collectés et utilisés par les populations locales tant urbaines que rurales depuis toujours. (Wickens, 1991 ; Hedin, 1992 ; Tabuna, 1999).

La FAO définit les PFFNL comme tout bien d'origine biologique autre que le bois dérive des écosystèmes forestiers, des autres terres boisées ou des arbres hors forêt (Falconer, 1990).

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Et l'on entend par extractivisme, la collecte des PFNL, à but commercial (Nguenang et Feteke, 2000).

En effet, si une partie des PFNL est destinée à l'autoconsommation, une autre est commercialisée sur les marchés locaux, nationaux voire internationaux. De ce fait, les PFNL constituent une source de subsistance et de revenus pour de nombreux ruraux et citadins pauvres. Cet extractivisme a toujours fait partie d'un système de réseau informel et artisanal et plusieurs auteurs en ont souligné l'importance entre pays africains de l'Ouest et du centre mais aussi avec des pays non africains (Woldeselassie, 1989; Falconer, 1990, Cunningham & Mbekum, 1993; Mialoundama, 1993; Tabuna, 1999).

Cette étude se propose se renseigner sur la dynamique sociale liée à la cueillette et à la commercialisation du Gnetum Africanum[2] à Kananga et ses environs. Il s'agit de caractériser les aspects socio-démographiques et économiques des populations impliquées dans cette activité.

[1] On les appelle aussi Produits Forestiers Autres que le Bois (PFAB).

[2] Synonyme Thoa africana. Ce légume est appelé Koko en Français, Eru en Anglais, Nkoko en portugais, Fumbua en lingala et MFUMBUA en Tshiluba.

Le Gnetum africanum WELW existe à l'état spontané dans les forêts tropicales humides, depuis le Nigeria jusqu'à la République Centrafricaine (RCA) et à l'Angola. Les feuilles de Gnetum africanum et de l'espèce similaire G. buchholzianum sont consommées comme légumes, cuites avec de la viande, du poisson ou un ragoût à base d'arachides ou encore en salade. Hachées en fines lanières, elles peuvent être séchées pour une utilisation ultérieure. Afin de ramollir ce légume plutôt dur, on le mélange avec du grassé (Talinum triangulaire). La teneur en matière sèche des feuilles fraîches de Gnetum africanum est beaucoup plus élevée que pour d'autres légumes-feuilles vert foncé ou vert moyen. Ceci donne une impression de fermeté pendant la préparation, ce qui amène certains consommateurs à considérer le Mfumbua comme un substitut de la viande. Ce légume contient 16,5% de protéines, 5,9% de lipides, 70,6% de glucides, 7,0% de sels minéraux et comme micronutriments les vitamines A et C, la présence des acides aminés essentiels lui confère une haute valeur nutritive (Mialoundama, 1993).

Au Nigeria, G. africanum est utilisé pour traiter le mal de gorge, les hémorroïdes, l'hypertension artérielle, la dilatation de la rate et comme purgatif. En RCA, on consomme les feuilles pour traiter les nausées et comme antidote contre le poison de flèches fait avec periploca nigrescens. Au Cameroun, les feuilles sont mâchées pour atténuer les effets de l'ivresse et on les prend en lavement contre la constipation et pour faciliter l'accouchement. On les utilise aussi pour traiter les furoncles et les mycoses aux doigts. A Kinshasa, il est principalement consommé comme légume, mais certains clients répugnent le Mfumbua en provenance du Kasaï à cause d'une certaine amertume qui serait due à la présence des flavonoïdes. A Kananga, ce légume n'est pratiquement pas consommé !

I. Matériels & méthodes

L'étude a été réalisée à l'aide d'un questionnaire pré-codé et d'interviews auprès de 260 personnes exerçant l'activité de cueillette et/ou de commercialisation du Mfumbua localement appelées « tindeurs »[3] dont 191 hommes (73,5%) et 69 femmes (26,5%) issues de cinq Communes de la ville de Kananga. Les Chefs d'escale de deux Compagnies aériennes à savoir,

[3] Du verbe lingala *kotinda* qui signifie „expédier, envoyer".

SERVICE AIR, Compagnie Africaine d'Aviation (CAA) ainsi que les présidents de l'association des « tindeurs » au niveau de ces agences ont été mis en contribution. Nous nous sommes servi des balances de ces agences pour peser les bottes et les sacs du Gnetum africanum. L'enquête a duré 8 mois du 2 août 2019 au 31 mars 2020.

Les paramètres pris en compte ont été les lieux d'approvisionnement, le statut de cueilleur ou d'acheteur du « tindeur », le sexe, l'âge, le niveau d'études, l'ancienneté dans la filière, le statut matrimonial, la religion pratiquée, autre activité exercée, les difficultés rencontrées, la satisfaction ou non du « tindeur » et la quantité du Gnetum commercialisée.

Enfin, nous avons calculé les paramètres de la distribution normale des fréquences et recouru au test d'homogénéité par calcul des intervalles de confiance au seuil de signification de 95%.

II. Résultats

Tableau I : Sites d'approvisionnement de Kananga en *Gnetum Africanum*

Commune de résidence des « tindeurs »	Nombre de sites inventoriés	Principaux sites et leurs distances (km)
Kananga	13	Luandanda (35), Muamba Mbuyi (30), Tshikaji (12) et Nkonko (10)
Katoka	12	Mfukumba (50), Mikalayi (25), Lulua (15)
Ndesha	03	Demba (69), Bena Mande (7), Lulua (15)
Lukonga	31	Demba (69), Zapo-Zapo (45)
Nganza	10	Kapinga wa Kamba (30), Katubue (20), Tshikaji (12)

Tableau II: Catégorie des „tindeurs" par Commune

Commune de résidence	« Tindeurs » cueilleurs	« Tindeurs » acheteurs	N
Kananga	25	25	50
Katoka	20	30	50
Ndesha	21	29	50
Lukonga	29	28	57
Nganza	26	27	53
TOTAL	**121**	**139**	**260**
%	**46,5**	**53,5**	**100**

Tableau III : Caractéristiques socio-démographiques

Paramètre	Caractéristiques	N	%
Age (ans)	16-20	29	11,2
	21-25	30	11,5
	26-30	44	16,9
	31-35	39	15,0
	36-40	39	15,0
	41-45	25	9,6
	46-50	25	9,6
	51-55	06	2,3
	56 et plus	23	8,9
Sexe	Hommes	191	73,5
	Femmes	69	26,5
Niveau d'études	Analphabète	06	2,3
	Primaire	22	8,5
	Secondaire	213	81,9
	Supérieur	19	7,3
Ancienneté (ans)	0-2	75	28,8
	3-5	96	36,9
	6-8	50	19,2
	9 et plus	40	15,0
Statut matrimonial	Marié	201	77,3
	Célibataire	44	16,9
	Divorcé	18	6,9
	Veuf	03	1,2
Autre activité	Aucune	224	86,2
	Agriculture	15	5,8
	Enseignement	06	2,3
	Fonction publique	06	2,3
	Secteur privé	11	4,2
Religion	Catholique	80	30,8
	Eglise de Réveil	65	25,0
	Protestante	50	17,7
	Kimbanguiste	44	16,9
	Islamique	21	8,1

Tableau IV : Difficultés rencontrées par les « tindeurs »

Difficultés	N	%
• Irrégularité des vols aériens	129	49,6
• Périssabilité du G. africanum	54	20,8
• Mauvais état du réseau routier	30	11,5
• Rareté du G. africanum	23	8,8
• Communication téléphonique	22	8,5
• Modicité du bénéfice	02	0,8

Tableau V : Quantité du G. africanum expédiée à Kinshasa

Compagnie aérienne	Période	Quantité (kg)	Frais d'expédition (FC)
Service Air Compagnie Africaine d'Aviation (CAA) 	Janvier-mars 2020 Janvier-mars 2020 **Total**	270.283 1.223.241 **1.493.524**	112.099.050 408.122.350 **520.221.400**

Source : Services de fret des Compagnies Aériennes

Tableau VI : Satisfaction ou non des « tindeurs »

Satisfaction	N	%
OUI	235	90,4
NON	25	9,6

N = effectif

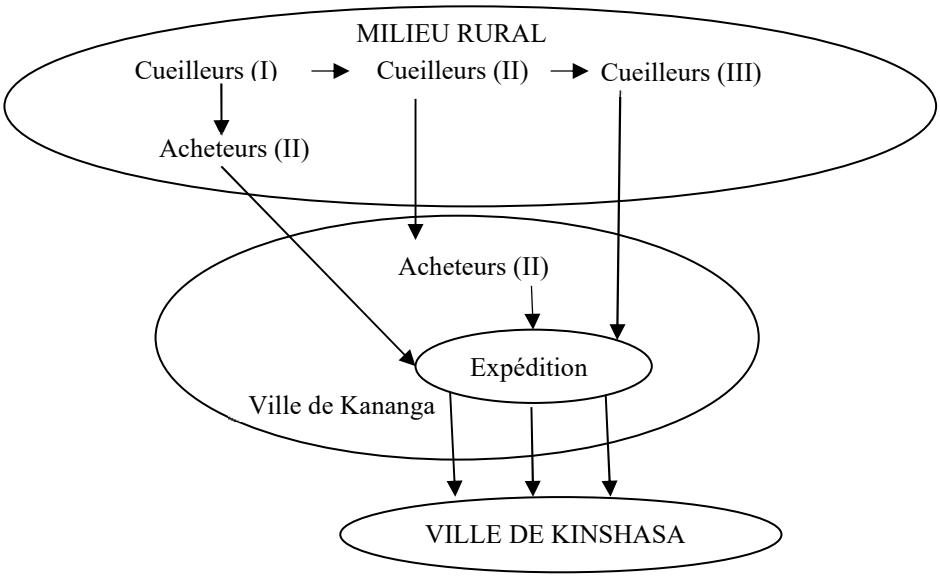

Fig. 1. Circuits de commercialisation du G. africanum.

2. Discussions

A. Approvisionnement de Kananga en *G. Africanum*

Au total 55 sites différents d'approvisionnement ont été inventoriés dont deux tiers (62%) sont à plus de 30 km de la ville de Kananga. Les sites

les plus proches sont à 7 km de la ville –Muimba, Bena Mande et Tshibaji- et les plus éloignés respectivement à 99 et 119 km à savoir Bakwa Mpika et Bena Mbala. Ceci met en exergue d'une part, l'impact du déboisement et de la déforestation et d'autre part, la pression croissante exercée sur cette ressource à la suite de la démographie galopante et de la pauvreté persistante.

L'analyse des circuits de commercialisation a permis de distinguer trois catégories d'acteurs : les cueilleurs (I), les acheteurs expéditeurs (II), et les cueilleurs expéditeurs (III) (cfr fig.1)

- Les uns récoltent le G. Africanum dans les environs de leurs villages puis le vendent à des acheteurs venus de Kananga qui en assurent l'expédition vers Kinshasa;
- D'autres cueillent le Mfumbua puis viennent le vendre à des acheteurs sur place à Kananga qui l'expédient à Kinshasa. Ces « tindeurs » acheteurs représentent 53,5% des enquêtés.
- D'autres enfin récoltent cette manne puis l'expédient à la Capitale. Ces « tindeurs » cueilleurs représentent 46,5% de notre échantillon (Tableau II).

La différence statistique entre les fréquences de ces deux catégories des « tindeurs » n'est pas significative.

B. Caractéristiques Socio-démographiques des « Tindeurs »

Les personnes impliquées dans la cueillette et/ou la commercialisation du G. Africanum sont des jeunes adultes; 57% ont un âge compris entre 26 et 45 ans; leur âge moyen étant de 35,4 ±12 ans. Toutefois une frange non négligeable d'adolescents (11%) mais aussi des personnes âgées (9%) œuvre dans cette activité.

La filière est dominée par les hommes (74%). Cette activité était au départ négativement perçu par les femmes en raison du caractère pénible du transport de cette ressource par vélo sur des routes impraticables. Mais nos recherches ont révélé que de plus en plus de femmes s'y adonnent (26%). Certaines ont tissé des relations avec des clients ruraux qui leur apportent le Mfumbua à Kananga, quitte à elles d'en assurer l'expédition vers Kinshasa. Le manque de débouchés économiques, dans une ville essentiellement administrative ainsi que les perspectives de rentabilité de l'activité – eu égard

à la demande croissante- seraient à la base de l'attraction tant des jeunes adultes que des femmes vers cette filière.

Au Cameroun, dans la Zone de Forêt Humide (ZFH), les commerçants de PFNL sont pour la plupart des femmes, bien que les travaux de NDOYE (1995) NDOYE, RUIZ PEREZ & EYEBE (1997et 1998) aient révélé que c'étaient les hommes qui commercialisaient à plus grande échelle.

La plupart des vendeurs de Gnetum (82%) ont un niveau d'études secondaires ; ce qui reflète une fois de plus la pauvreté fonctionnelle de la ville de Kananga.

L'ancienneté dans la filière de 85% d'acteurs varie de 0 à 8 ans avec une moyenne de 4,9 ± 3,7 ans. Et c'est dans la commune urbano-rurales de Lukonga et de Nganza où l'on retrouve une proportion élevée d'opérateurs dont l'ancienneté va de 9 à 17 ans aussi bien chez les hommes que chez les femmes. Signalons que deux des cinq présidents de l'association sont de sexe féminin.

Quant au statut matrimonial, on note la prédominance des mariés (77%), c'est-à-dire des personnes ayant des charges sociales qui doivent subvenir aux besoins vitaux des familles. Les célibataires viennent en seconde positions avec 16% des cas.

A part la commercialisation du Gnetum, 86% de nos enquêtés n'exercent aucune autre activité. La vente du Mfumbua constitue donc leur unique source de revenus, corroborant ainsi les observations de nombreux auteurs selon lesquelles l'extractivisme constitue une source de subsistance et de revenus pour de nombreux ruraux et citadins pauvres (MIALOUNDAMA, 1993; WICKENS, 1991).

Enfin, les « tindeurs » sont catholiques (31%), adeptes des Eglises de Réveil (25%), protestants (18%), Kimbanguistes (17%) et musulmans (8%). Il n'existe donc pas d'interdits religieux relatifs à l'exploitation du G. africanum dans notre milieu.

C. Goulots d'étranglement de la filière

Il ressort de cette étude que les vendeurs de Mfumbua sont principalement butés à l'irrégularité des vols cargo (50%), la périssabilité de la marchandise (21%) et au délabrement du réseau routier (12%). En effet, en

cas d'absence des vols cargo, une quantité importante de Gnetum se dessèche faute d'infrastructures d'entreposage, appropriées. Ce qui constitue un manque à gagner pour de nombreux vendeurs qui n'ont d'autre choix que de jeter le Mfumbua abîmé. Par ailleurs, la plupart des routes de desserte sont dans un état de délabrement avancé ; d'où la pénibilité dans l'approvisionnement de la ville de Kananga. Bref, le transport tant aérien que terrestre constitue une contrainte majeure. Ndoye, Ruiz Perez et Eyebe (2000) ont également rapporté l'effet des problèmes de transport et des carences infrastructurelles sur les transactions de l'écorce de Garcinia kola entre le Gabon et le Cameroun. Aussi le manque d'installation d'entreposage constituait non seulement une contrainte tant pour les ruraux que pour les commerçants traitant les produits périssables, mais aussi et surtout une caractéristique importante du commerce des PFNL dans toute la Zone de Forêt Humide du Cameroun.

En dépit de ces goulots d'étranglement, 90% de nos enquêtes sont satisfaits du rendement de l'activité. En effet, quoique très périssables, la vente des feuilles de Gnetum laisse des marges bénéficiaires nettes élevées (voir plus loin).

D. Approvisionnement de Kinshasa

Les jours de l'expédition, les « tindeurs » acheminent la marchandise soit aux bureaux de compagnies aériennes situés en ville soit directement à l'Aéroport National de Kananga (Lungando) pour les formalités d'embarquement (Lettre de transport aérien (LTA), paiement des frais d'expédition et de la taxe de l'Etat.

Une botte de Mfumbua coûte 50 francs congolais à Kananga et ses environs et revient à 200 FC à Kinshasa d'où un bénéfice moyen de 160 FC.

La quantité du Gnetun expédiée à Kinshasa au cours du premier trimestre de l'année 2020 a été de 1.543.604 kg ayant généré 502.221.400 FC de frais d'expédition aux deux Compagnies aériennes.

Sachant qu'un sac de 500 bottes de Mfumbua pèse 50 kg, le nombre de sacs expédiés à Kinshasa a été de 1.543.604 kg/50 kg/sac contenant 15.436.000 bottes. Le bénéfice moyen par botte étant de 160 FC, cette quantité de Gnetum a rapporté environ 2 milliards 470 millions de FC.

Lorsqu'on soustrait de cette somme les frais d'expédition, on trouve un bénéfice de l'ordre d'un milliard 970 millions de FC.

Par extrapolation de ce bénéfice trimestriel sur toute l'année 2019, on obtient un montant de 7 milliards 900 millions de FC soit plus de 8 millions de dollars américains pour 6.000 tonnes vendues.

L'ancienneté moyenne des « tindeurs » étant de 5 ans, la commercialisation du Gnetum depuis 2011 aura déjà généré 39 milliards de FC soit plus de 40 millions de dollars américains aux populations locales impliquées dans cette activité.

E. Perspectives

Cette étude a montré que G. Africanum constitue une ressource stratégique dont la commercialisation est une activité fort rentable. Mais cette ressource est soumise à une pression croissante à la suite d'une forte demande comme en témoignent des distances de plus en plus grandes à parcourir pour se la procurer.

Par ailleurs, cette manne est encore principalement récoltée à partir des populations naturelles et la méthode actuelle de récolte qui consiste à arracher les tiges entraîne une destruction massive des stations naturelles. Une récolte raisonnée consistant à ne prélever que les pousses latérales ou une partie des tiges serait de bon aloi car par après, de nouvelles pousses peuvent se développer là où la tige a été coupée ou là où les pousses latérales ont été enlevées.

Des possibilités d'amélioration tant de la qualité que la productivité existent, eu égard à la diversité considérable rencontrée dans les collections de cette ressource (MIALOUNDAMA et MBOU, 1992). Des méthodes de multiplication végétative utilisant des boutures des tiges feuillées ont récemment été mises au point au Limbe Botanic Garden, à Limbe au Cameroun (Shiembo, Newton & Leaky, 1996 ; Shiembo, 1997).

Dès que de nouvelles méthodes de multiplication et de culture auront été mises au point, il y aura des perspectives de développement pour G. africanum comme nouvelle espèce cultivée qui pourrait alors être vendue à un prix attractif.

3. Conclusion et suggestions

Au terme de cette étude sur la filière du Gnetum à Kananga et ses environs, les conclusions suivantes peuvent être retenues :

Sur 55 sites d'approvisionnement de Kananga en Mfumbua, 11 (20%) ont été les plus grands pourvoyeurs mais les distances à parcourir deviennent de plus en plus grandes.

Trois catégories d'acteurs interviennent dans les circuits d'approvisionnement : les cueilleurs, les acheteurs et les cueilleurs expéditeurs, appelés « tindeurs ».

Les opérateurs économiques de la filière Mfumbua sont principalement des hommes, dont plus de la moitié sont jeunes, ayant un niveau d'études secondaire et une ancienneté moyenne de 5 ans.

La plupart des acteurs sont mariés et n'exercent aucune autre activité. Ils appartiennent à toutes les confessions religieuses.

L'irrégularité des vols aériens, le caractère périssable de la marchandise et le mauvais état des routes sont les principales contraintes, en dépit desquelles, la plupart des « tindeurs » sont satisfaits de leur activité.

La régularité des vols Cargo, la viabilisation des routes de desserte, le transport du Mfumbua par véhicule en lieu et place du vélo et la construction d'entrepôts appropriés à l'Aéroport National de Kananga ou à côté des bureaux des compagnies de transport aérien peuvent permettre de garantir une offre stable.

Concomitamment, il faudrait parvenir à concilier l'amélioration des moyens d'existence des populations locales concernées avec la conservation durable des forêts.

Des recherches doivent également être entreprises en vue de la domestication de cette ressource.

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IV. ÉVÉNEMENTS

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE „*LATINITATE – ROMANITATE – ROMÂNITATE*" TWENTY YEARS AFTER

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The longevity and rhythmicity of an international scientific event greatly depends, naturally, on the social-economic and cultural context in which it is organised. In Romania, the latest decades have been extremely turbulent, with frequent and unexpected changes in the government configuration, which have entailed appropriate structural and strategic reorganisations in all fields, including the cultural-scientific and educational ones, which rely, to a large extent, on the decision-maker at the top of society. Sometimes, the novelty of some stages lay in the fact that there was no vision, no coherent strategy in organising a field of activity. However, at the micro level, some activities were successfully carried out due to precisely configured initiatives of strongly united and deeply motivated people, through an immense investment of energy, of professional competence and, last but not least, of subjective willpower, which made up for the hardships of the microsocial context.

This has been the case with the organisation of the International Conference "Latinitate-Romanitate-Românitate" in Târgoviște, known as the "LRR Conference" or in short "LRRx", *x* being the number of editions throughout the twenty years of existence of the event, 2001-2021.

The initiative belonged to the author of these lines[235], the event being dedicated to the International Day of Latinity, proclaimed as such shortly before in the calendar of great international celebrations, on the 15th of May. The organisation which proposed this day of celebration was the Latin Union, an international body which comprises 37 states covering four continents[236]. In 2000, the same P. Gh. Bârlea had set up a branch (Antena Târgoviște) of the Romanian Office of the Latin Union within Valahia University of Târgoviște and organised almost all the editions of the conference under its auspices[237]. The organisational effort was supported by the University management (at that time, P. Gh. Bârlea was also the vice-rector of the university) and by the local authorities – Dâmbovița County Council, through the County Culture Inspectorate (director: Viorica Arghir), Târgoviște City Hall and Târgoviște City Local Council. Over the years, various other local or national institutions and bodies have become our partners. We should mention the National Museum of Romanian Literature (managed by Prof. Dr Lucian Chișu and Prof. Dr Ioan Cristescu); Dâmbovița County School Inspectorate, "Acta Legalia" Notary Office (through Doru Tudor Lucian) and, more recently, "Tony Bulandra" Municipal Theatre of Târgoviște. Of course, all these collaborations have been time-limited, lasting between three and seven years, in various stages – depending on objective or subjective circumstances. There was an edition when the initiator was left completely alone, supported materially and spiritually only by his family. That year, the host university simply provided a modest classroom, in which the conference was held – with a single extensive section.

But, immediately after this watershed, the collaborations rebalanced, new partnerships were established and the roles of each party involved were

[235] We are pleased to mention that, in usual conversations, including those of the local administration or the UVT management, another term has been used, "Bârlea's conference".
[236] The Latin Union was founded by 12 states in Madrid in 1954 and reached its peak in 1983-2000, when its headquarters were in Paris. It suspended its activity in 2012 due to financial problems.
[237] It should be noted that Antena Târgoviște of the Latin Union continued to function as an independent entity, though integrated into the structure of the DICE Cultural Association, even after the dissolution of the Latin Union in December 2012.

very well assigned[238]. People like Prof. Gavriel Păunescu, a councillor with Târgoviște City Hall, or the economist Daniela Popa, the City Hall financial director, either remained with or got back to the initiator until the end. Valahia University rectors Florea Oprea, Ion Cucui (with an episode of temporary cancellation of the event), Călin Oros, Laura Gorghiu and vice-rector Gabriela Teodorescu have supported the conference; the latter helped us get the financial backing from the Ministry of Education and also took part in many conference editions. The County Cultural Centre has been a long-term partner through Dr Adriana Ion, an active and competent representative of the successive managements of the institution. The latest editions have benefited from the unconditional contribution of Prof. Dr Monica Ilie, Deputy Mayor of the City of Târgoviște, Economist Teodora Macarie, TMTB, Radu Florian, Columna TV etc.

They have provided the support on which a tightly-welded team of organisers has been built. In the beginning, this team included Mihaela Anca Vintilă, Anca and Andreea Fanea, Mihai Cuciureanu and so on. For several years now, the team has been coordinated by Prof. Dr habil. Raluca-Felicia Toma and its composition has been almost unchanged: Dana and Marius Diaconu, Adriana Ion, Marinușa V. Constantin, Oana Voichici, Georgel Stoica, Gabriela Chiran, with notable participations of Cosmin Moise, Andreea Popa Savu, Denisa Nistor, Rodica Enache, Valentin Lixăndroiu etc.

The initial purpose of the event was rather didactic-formative. We wanted the young teachers – assistant lecturers, lecturers, associate professors – to get acquainted with a matrix-organised form of scientific confrontation and meet great personalities of Romanian philology and their own colleagues from other parts of the country and of the world, therefore, to facilitate their professional inclusion in the large family of academics and researchers from the various subfields of the sciences of the word. On the other hand, we

[238] At the risk of being considered immodest, I should mention that, without exceptions, all institutional collaborations have relied on the initiator's personal relationships with the representatives of partner entities. Out of respect for the truth, it is also to be remarked that the conflicts which led to temporary or definitive ruptures with some of the partner institutions were also caused by the same personal approach to collaboration in organising the Conference.

greatly encouraged the participation in the event, even as mere auditors, of undergraduates, master's and PhD students. We wanted them to see other faces than their teachers' and become aware of other manners of presenting specialised knowledge, i.e. to get accustomed, from "an early age", to the competitive spirit that would provide sound and solid socio-professional training and moral sense. These objectives took into account the realities of those years: the mobilities, particularly those based on national, European, international grants, were much less officially supported than now and accessing grants, projects etc. was almost non-existent. All we could do was invite various higher education personalities and researchers from the country and abroad to come to our conference, offering them as many facilities as possible: accommodation and meals provided free of charge, exemption from any participation fee, organising visits, shows and trips on the last day of the event – an additional day, in fact – and sometimes reimbursement of travelling expenses. That is why we needed the financial support from local administration institutions and various partners. Thus, we encouraged established professors and researchers to come accompanied by their younger colleagues, by assistant lecturers, doctoral students, undergraduates – which is actually an older international tradition. In time, the conditions for participation have changed, as young people today move much more easily anywhere in the country and abroad.

From the very beginning, young people have had the chance to listen to and interact directly with the "authors of works in the specialised bibliographies", as they say in the academic metalanguage. In some cases, some of these contacts have materialised in doctoral internships, collaborations with specialised journals and collective volumes, joining teams of great national and international projects or even employment at research institutes or universities.

Over the years, the series of experts have obviously changed with the coming of younger generations. The first editions were patronised by Eugenio Coșeriu, Marius Sala, Eugen Simion, Iancu Fischer, Gheorghe Tohăneanu, Lucia Wald, Gabriela Creția, Silviu Sanie, Gheorghe Ceaușescu, Victor

Grecu etc.[239] In the following decade, the invited specialists were Gheorghe Chivu, Baudouin Decharneux, Xavier Luffin, Olga Inkova, Emilio Manzotti, Cécile Vilandre de Sousa, Maurice Mathé, Sorin Dumitrescu, Silviu Angelescu, Lucian Chișu, Libuše Valentová, Alexandru Gafton, N. Georgescu, Ion Lihaciu, Ana Maria Minuț, Ștefan Găitănaru, Adrian Niculescu and others. Young assistant lecturers and lecturers have become, in time, well-known personalities in their fields, such as Florentina Nicolae, Mioara Codleanu, Cristina Tamaș, Ion Milică, Sorin Guia, Raluca Toma, Adina Chirilă, Alice Toma, Liliana Soare, Tomaš Vašut, Cristina Halichias, Maria-Luiza Dumitru, Ileana Tănase, Adrian Chircu, R.-M. Bârlea, Silvia Florea and many others. The youngest class of participants include Veronica Nedelcu, Cosmin Căprioară, Olimpia Varga, Florentina Rusu, M.V. Constantin etc.[240] Some of them have become, in their turn, doctoral advisors, occupying important positions within the university hierarchy and all of them have published books and articles of international renown.

The presentations delivered have been published in volumes, which has maintained a rhythmicity of the conference. We are referring, first of all, to the publication which has become the academic journal *Diversité et Identité Culturelle en Europe (DICE).* The title has its own history and so does the birth of the journal[241].

As of 2010, after the 9th edition of the Conference, all papers that were not selected for DICE were included in a separate collective volume called *Studii de limbă, cultură și comunicare,* coordinated by Raluca-Felicia Toma. Four such annual volumes were published, sometimes printed the year following the Conference at which the studies were presented. As usual, the series was marked with stars * – for the 9th edition, 2010, volume printed in 2011; ** – for the 10th edition, 2011, volume printed in 2012; *** – for the

[239] I now realise that of those listed here only Gabriela Creția and Eugen Simion are still alive.
[240] Regarding the participants who published their works in the first decade of existence of the journal DICE, cf. M. V. Constantin, "*Index locorum – DICE* 2004-2013", in: DICE, 10/1, 2013, pp. 203-216. However, it is to be mentioned that not all contributors participated in the Conference.
[241] Cf. P(etre) G(heorghe) B(ârlea), "DICE – An anniversary retrospective/Retrospective anniversaire", in: DICE, 10/1, 2013, pp. 7-18.

11th edition, 2012, volume printed in 2013; **** – for the 12th edition, 2013, volume printed in 2014. The first two volumes were published by "Bibliotheca" Publishing House, Târgoviște, with an ISBN, whereas the next two – by the Publishing House of MLR (Romanian Literature Museum) in Bucharest – with an ISSN (2343-7782). These volumes also included a chapter dedicated to issues of didactics of the Romanian language and foreign languages – in pre-university and higher education.

The latter component established itself through the ever-closer collaboration with the School Inspectorate in organising the Conference, especially as the former graduates, master's and doctoral students of Valahia University of Târgoviște had now become middle- and secondary-school teachers. Many of them had participated as mere auditors in earlier editions of the Conference, during their student years, and now they had their own papers on all thematic aspects of the scientific event, particularly the didactic one. In fact, from that period, all LRR editions have necessarily included a didactic section as well and the number of participants has grown year after year. In 2014 and 2015, this conference proceedings were entitled *Cultură și Comunicare*, being coordinated by P. Gh. Bârlea and R.F. Toma. Both were printed by the MLR Publishing House, Bucharest, but with the old tribulations of CIP registration: that of 2014 – with ISBN (978-973-167-2441), that of 2015 – with ISSN (2343-7782). As usual, R.M. Bârlea, Constantin G. Stoica, M.V. Constantin were involved in their materialisation. Of course, the chapter on didactics was preserved in the volume structure, not to mention that many contributions of those particular teachers covered other chapters as well ("Interculturalitate"; "Comunicare și discurs"; "Probleme de limbă și stil" etc.).

In 2016, we decided to divide the papers selected for publication into two volumes: one kept the title *Cultură și Comunicare* (CC), the other was entitled *Studii de didactică a limbii și literaturii* (SD). P. Gh. Bârlea and R.F. Toma remained the two editors and, in 2017, Marinușa Constantin joined them. In 2017, Roxana Magdalena Bârlea became the sole coordinator of the CC collection, as did F. Toma and M.V. Constantin for SD in 2018.

Since 2016, all three publications – *DICE* (semestrial journal, registered by CNCS and indexed in several international databases); *Cultură și Comunicare (CC); Studii de didactică (SD)* – annual collective volumes, have become accessible in PDF format, on the website of DICE Cultural Association (asociatiadice.org); also, a separate site has been created for the DICE journal (diversite.eu), a requirement imposed by the new international academic conventions. In 2017, the editorial board and the relationships with the publishing house were settled, with MLR București as the only publisher. DICE editorial secretaries are Constantin Georgel Stoica and Oana Voichici; the latter has also undertaken the difficult task of translating those abstracts and key words that are not written in English – which is a must for DICE – or even entire articles, many of them with a high degree of linguistic difficulty.

In 2020, a fracture in the process of producing the printed version of the three volumes occurred. The changes in the political and economic structure at the top of Romanian society and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic made it impossible for the publisher to print CC 2020 and SD 2020 as well as DICE 18-1/2021. The publications were however available on the two abovementioned websites.

Anyway, the general social-political and economic situation in Romania and worldwide causes major disfunctions in the most unexpected ways. The 20th edition of LRR, which was supposed to be an anniversary one, was held in a relatively modest format, imposed by the sanitary precautions – of actual distancing in space, which meant a reduction in the number of face-to-face participants[242] etc. – that we deemed to be more important than the festive display to which we might have been entitled.

On the other hand, the general spiritual atmosphere in not too serene either. In every place, there is a discouraging fatigue, if not the very effect of a(n) (inter)cultural negativism, with disastrous movements in education at all

[242] In fact, the total number of participants was comparable to that in the previous editions "of the good old days", but we designed an alternative participation system: *online* and *in praesentia*. More specifically, we reduced the duration of the Conference to three half days, with face-to-face attendance of only one third of the participants in the central amphitheatre and the halls dedicated to section works; the other two thirds were present *via electronica*. Naturally, the overall atmosphere was not the same as before…

levels, in scientific research, in cultural production as a whole. Extremisms of all kinds, gathered in the avalanche of ignorance, hate, racism, intolerance, functional illiteracy, codified as *cancel culture*, have come to light with a recrudescence that no one would have imagined. It is unbelievable that people with higher education can so easily become disseminators of conspiracy theories; it is incomprehensible how spoken and written word professionals may promote ideologies of behavioural deviation and denial of fundamental human values.

What is now happening in the world seems to cancel everything that has been achieved in the last decades in terms of respecting one's cultural identity in diversity. Multilingualism, acculturation and socio-professional integration strategies, acquisitions in the fight against prejudices, the stereotypes and cliches in the frequent process of generating identity attributes, liberal and democratic conducts acquired through the vast phenomenon of mobilities of entire generations of young people for training and educational purposes, with a view to building a better world seem to have been achievements lacking substance and general vision.

There is no need for us to become more sceptical than the surrounding realities impose, but it is with sadness that we should remark how disoriented the generation which should take over the initiatives leading to the aforementioned achievements is now, already too exhausted to struggle with an increasingly harsh life, in a context that is ever more devoid of safe landmarks. In other words, the challenges of the immediate future are growing and those who must face them are gradually becoming more and more unsure of themselves.

Are we perhaps to leave it all to chance, relying on the idea that the unpredictable may at times have a silver lining as well?

DICE Cultural Diversity and Identity in Europe
http://www.diversite.eu/dice

Our journal is dedicated to the European Cultural Dialogue, with reference to universality, and features analyses regarding connections between particular and general, individual and collective, local and universal thinking, language, attitudes, behaviours, creation, and concrete action. The sections of each book entail different aspects of these topics:

- ideological, political, socio-economic, educational fundamentals of global and European cultural dialogue;
- cultural identity *vs* multilingualism; minority languages/ national languages/ official languages/ universal languages; diachronic and synchronic elements in cultural, linguistic contacts;
- alterity theories and practices, mentality evolution, institutionalized culture in the connection "Localism Europeanism - Globalism";
- affiliations, inter-influences, particular representations of cultural trends, schools, international movements in literature, art, science, religion, education, etc.;
- distribution in space and time of certain themes, styles, creation techniques of traditional and modern culture of different peoples.

2. Submission guidelines

Our publication generally follows the usual rules of desktop publishing. To ensure graphical unity the publishing house is entitled to make small formal changes.

• **Application deadline** of the suggested materials for publishing:
- 1st of March for No. 1; 1st of September for No. 2 of each year.

• **Writing languages**
- Text: in French or English, German, Spanish, and Italian.
- Abstract (max. 100 words) and keywords (max. 5) should be written in English (and Romanian).

• **Length**
- We accept studies and articles of maximum 15 pages, at TNR, 12, 1.5 spacing (approx. 40.000 characters).

• **Formatting**
- Title in All Caps, 16, Regular, Bold, and Centered.
- Forename and surname at 14, regular, right alignment, under the title.
- Member's institution at 14, regular, right alignment, under the name.
- Personal e-mail address at 14, regular, right alignment, under the institution name.
- *Abstract* and *keywords* will appear in successive order, entitled as such, with one row spacing, after the identification data.
- Quotes in italic, between inverted commas and with reference. If the quote is longer than 1 row, it will be inserted in a new paragraph.
- Bibliographic references can appear in footnote, e.g.: A. Coulon, 1993, p. 42.
- Final bibliographic references will follow the system APA 5th:
  COULON, Alain, 1993, *L'Ethnomethodologie,* Paris: PUF.
  PINKER, S.; PRINCE, A., 1996,"The nature of human concepts", in: *Communication and Cognition*, 29, pp. 307-361.
- Images, tables, graphics, must follow the copyright laws and resolution/size conditions (300 ppi) and dimensions/framing in the text.

• **NB:**
The authors will accompany their papers by a declaration that the text is entirely the result of their own work.
The editorial board assumes the right to verify the potential situations of plagiarism or copyright infringement.

• **Contact**
- Contributions can be sent via e-mail**,** in both Word and PDF format, at **gbarlea@yahoo.fr**

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