

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum

Годишник за Сравнително литературознание и Балканистика
Revue de Littérature comparée et d'Etudes balkaniques
Yearbook for Comparative Literature and Balkan Studies



2017

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ejournal.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/Colloquia

ISSN: 2367-7716

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum is indexed in CEEOL (Central and Eastern European Online Library).

Focus and Scope

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum публикува проучвания по Сравнително литературознание. Акцентите са върху европейските литератури, в частност върху балканистична проблематика, главно за периода от XVIII век до днес.

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum publie des études en Littérature comparée avec un accent sur les Littératures européennes, en particulier sur les questions concernant les Balkans et surtout pour la période allant du XVIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours.

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum publishes studies in Comparative Literature with an emphasis on European literatures, in particular on Balkan issues, and mainly regarding the period from the 18th century onward.

The Peer Review Process

Получените за публикуване текстове се изпращат от Редколегията за анонимно оценяване от двама независими специалисти в съответната област. За да се гарантира анонимността, предложените статии трябва да се изпращат на Редколегията в два варианта на следния адрес: ColloquiaCL@gmail.com.

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Afin de garantir la double expertise en aveugle des articles, les propositions d'article seront soumises au Comité de rédaction en deux versions à l'adresse suivante : ColloquiaCL@gmail.com.

1. Une version complète : comportant le nom de l'auteur, l'affiliation et la notice bio-bibliographique de 5 à 10 lignes.

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En cas de désaccord entre les deux évaluateurs, le Comité de rédaction fera recours à une troisième expertise. L'expertise est effectuée, dans un terme jusqu'à trois mois, sur la base de la pertinence intrinsèque de chaque proposition, du cadre conceptuel, de la structure d'ensemble, de la méthodologie, de la qualité de la documentation, de la qualité du style. Les propositions peuvent être acceptées, refusées ou peuvent donner lieu à des recommandations pour l'auteur.

The editors will forward all texts submitted for publication for blind peer-reviewing by two independent experts in the field. To guarantee their non-biased opinion, two versions of each text ought to be submitted to: ColloquiaCL@gmail.com, as follows:

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2. An anonymous version bearing no explicit reference to the author's identity.

In case of disagreement between the two reviewers, the Editorial Committee will seek opinion from a third expert. The approximate duration of the evaluation process is three months, and it is based on the intrinsic relevance of each submitted paper, its conceptual framework, overall structure, methodology, quality of documentation, and quality of writing style. The submitted papers may be accepted, rejected, or sent back for rewrites with recommendations to the author.

Publication Frequency

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum е научно списание, създадено през 2015 г. като годишник.

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum est une revue scientifique, créée en 2015, à la périodicité annuelle.

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum is a scholarly review, established in 2015 as a Yearbook.

Open Access Policy

Публикацията е с пълен свободен достъп, съгласно принципа, че по този начин се оказва подкрепа за широкия планетарен обмен на знанието. При подбора материалите преминават през анонимна оценка от двама рецензенти.

Politique d'édition électronique : Publication intégrale en libre accès pour faciliter l'échange scientifique planétaire. Sélection et révision des manuscrits en double-aveugle.

This journal provides immediate open access to its content based on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge. Double blind peer-reviewed selection.



In this issue of *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, 2017

- *Pars pro toto*. The Literary Balkans in Europe –
Proceedings of the Literary Session of the
11th CONGRESS OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES,
SOFIA 2015

<http://balkanstudies.bg/congress2015/en/10-programm.html>

The articles have been published after a blind peer-reviewing process.

- *Miscellanea*

- Book Reviews



About the 2018 issue:

Статиите за следващия брой на списанието се приемат до
31 януари 2018 г. Текстовете за публикуване на български,
френски или английски език се изпращат по имейл на следния
адрес: colloquiacl@gmail.com

Les articles pour le prochain numéro de la revue seront
acceptés jusqu'au 31 janvier 2018. Les textes à publier seront
envoyés à la rédaction en français, anglais ou bulgare par courrier
électronique à : colloquiacl@gmail.com

Papers for the journal's upcoming issue will be accepted until
January 31, 2018. Please send your submissions in English, French
or Bulgarian by e-mail to: colloquiacl@gmail.com

Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum is indexed in CEEOL (Central and Eastern European
Online Library).

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**Cover page photos:
Ancient Serdika –
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От редактора/ Le mot du rédacteur/ Editor's Note

Новият брой на списание *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, трети по ред от основаването му през 2015 г., е съставен от три части:

1. *Pars pro toto*. Литературните Балкани в Европа
2. *Miscellanea*
3. Рецензии

***Pars pro toto*. Литературните Балкани в Европа**

В тази първа част на списанието публикуваме материалите от литературната сесия в рамките на **XI КОНГРЕС ЗА ЮГОИЗТОЧНОЕВРОПЕЙСКИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ**, който се проведе в София от 31 август до 4 септември 2015 г. Повече информация за програмата и организацията на Конгреса от страна на Международната асоциация за югоизточноевропейски проучвания (AIESEE) и Института по балканистика с център по тракология при БАН можете да намерите на следния адрес: <http://balkanstudies.bg/congress2015/fr/programm.html>.

Литературната сесия на Конгреса събра в международен диалог учени, които работят в областта на Сравнителното литературознание и Балканистиката, и изследват не само връзките между балканските литератури, но и общуването им с други литератури в Европа и света. В рамките на широко зададената тема на Конгреса: **ЮГОИЗТОЧНА ЕВРОПА И ЕВРОПЕЙСКАТА ИНТЕГРАЦИЯ**, ние, като литератори и историци на изкуствата, се съсредоточихме върху „интеграцията“ в зоната на литературното въображение и на рецепционния възглед.

Още в поканата към участниците поставихме въпросите: как литературните Балкани мислят националните разлики във формалната регионална цялост; как се справят с безразличието, заявено или премълчано, едни към други, както и от страна на Запада към всички останали; в каква степен частта изразява цялото?

В отговор, синекдохата за частичната принадлежност и за относителната представителност се сдоби с писателски имена и конкретна литературна динамика. Четем за

идейни и стилистични стъпки във времето на модерността; за значението на импулсите, дошли от контакта с Другия; за натиска върху твореца чрез определени културни политики или поради отсъствието им; за миграцията, пътуването, изгнанието.

Miscellanea

Подразбиращата се свобода при избора на теми във втората част на този брой на списанието отвежда към два континента, към различни школи на Сравнителното литературознание, към познати и по-малко познати писатели от Европа и Америка, към въпроси на идентичността и поетиката. Във фокуса на внимание са изкуствата (опера и литература), критичният нов прочит на класиката, философията на XX век и връзката ѝ с художествения текст, концепцията за музея в литературното градиво, както и един особен случай на напрежение, свързано с идентичността.

Рецензии

Рецензиите обръщат внимание на две нови български книги, свързани със Сравнителното литературознание – всяка в свой различен методологически код и географска ориентация. Продължава и очертаното още от първия ни брой намерение да представяме новите тематики на многоезични списания по Сравнително литературознание.



Le mot du rédacteur

Le nouveau numéro, troisième depuis la fondation en 2015 de la revue annuelle *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, est composé en trois volets :

1. *Pars pro toto*. Les Balkans littéraires en Europe
2. *Miscellanea*
3. Comptes rendus

***Pars pro toto*. Les Balkans littéraires en Europe**

Dans ce premier volet de la revue nous publions les actes de la session littéraire, tenue dans le cadre du **XI^e CONGRÈS D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES**, qui s'était déroulé à Sofia, entre le 31 août et le 4 septembre 2015. Plus d'information sur le programme et l'organisation du Congrès de la part de l'Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE) et de l'Institut des Etudes Balkaniques avec Centre de Thracologie auprès de l'Académie des Sciences de Bulgarie, vous pouvez trouver à l'adresse suivante : <http://balkanstudies.bg/congress2015/fr/10-programm.html>.

La session littéraire du Congrès a réuni en dialogue international des savants qui mènent des recherches en Littérature comparée et en Etudes balkaniques, et qui étudient la connexion des littératures balkaniques entre elles, ainsi qu'aux autres littératures d'Europe et du monde. Dans le cadre très ample du Congrès : **L'EUROPE DU SUD-EST ET L'INTÉGRATION EUROPÉENNE : ASPECTS POLITIQUES, SOCIO-ÉCONOMIQUES ET CULTURELS**, nous, en tant que littéraires et critiques d'arts, avons fixé notre attention sur « l'intégration » au plan de l'imaginaire littéraire et sous la lumière de la réception.

Dès l'invitation aux participants nous avons posé les questions : comment les Balkans littéraires pensent-ils les différences nationales dans la totalité régionale formelle ; comment se débrouillent-ils avec l'indifférence, déclarée ou tacite, réciproque, ou, de la part de l'Ouest envers tous les autres ; à quel degré la partie exprime-t-elle le tout ?

En réponse, la synecdoque, se référant à l'appartenance partielle et à la représentabilité relative, a reçu des noms fascinants d'écrivains et des moments précieux de dynamique littéraire. Nous lisons des textes sur des allures idéologiques et stylistiques dans le temps de la modernité ; sur les impulsions issues des contacts avec l'Autre ; sur la pression envers l'écrivain, réalisée à travers certaines politiques culturelles ou par la suite de leur manque ; sur la migration, le voyage, l'exil.

Miscellanea

La liberté thématique sous-entendue dans ce deuxième volet du numéro de la revue ouvre l'éventail sur deux continents, sur plusieurs écoles de Littérature comparée, sur des écrivains européens et américains, bien établis ou moins connus, sur des questions d'identité et sur des questions de poétique. Scrutés sous la loupe sont les arts (opéra et littérature), la lecture des classiques, la philosophie du XX^e siècle à répercussion sur le domaine de la fiction, la conception muséale en littérature, et un cas spécifique d'identité sous question.

Comptes rendus

Les comptes rendus mettent en relief deux livres bulgares nouveaux en Littérature comparée, chacun réalisé dans un registre bien différent, du point de vue de méthodologie et de géographie. Continue d'autre part l'intention, montré dès le premier numéro, de présenter l'orientation thématique de revues plurilingues en Littérature comparée.



Editor's Note

This issue of the annual review *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum* (the third since the inaugural one in 2015) has been composed in three parts:

1. *Pars pro toto*. The Literary Balkans in Europe
2. *Miscellanea*
3. Book Reviews

***Pars pro toto*. The Literary Balkans in Europe**

In Part One of the journal we have published the proceedings from the literature session held within the framework of the **11th CONGRESS OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES**, which took place in Sofia, 31 August – 4 September 2015. To find out more about the programme and the organisation of the Congress carried out by the International Association of South-East European Studies (AIESEE) and the Institute of Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, please visit: <http://balkanstudies.bg/congress2015/en/10-programm.html>.

The literature session of the Congress engaged in international dialogue scholars who have been conducting research in Comparative Literature and Balkan Studies, and have been examining Balkan literatures in connection to one another and to other literatures in Europe and the world. Given the very broad thematic scope of the Congress: **SOUTHEAST EUROPE AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: POLITICAL, SOCIOECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS**, as literary and art critics we chose to focus on 'integration' in the field of literary fiction and literary reception.

In our invitation to the Congress we included the following questions: how do the literary Balkans perceive national differences in the context of the region's formal entirety ; how do they deal with the indifference, either voiced, or silent, toward one another, or demonstrated by the West toward everyone else; to what extent does the part express the whole?

In response, the synecdoche used as a reference to partial belonging and limited representation, was enriched with a colourful list of writers' names and valuable moments of literary dynamics. Thus, we are now able to read about new ideological and stylistic aspects of our modernity; the impulses that

have come into contact with the Other; the pressure upon writers by means of certain cultural policies or subsequent lack thereof; migration, travel, and exile.

Miscellanea

The implicit thematic freedom in Part Two has allowed us to broaden the horizons to two continents, a number of schools of Comparative Literature, several well-established or less known European and American writers, as well as to questions of identity and poetics. These articles scrutinise some art forms (namely, opera and literature), the interpretation of classics, 20th century philosophy with view to its impact on fiction, the concept of ‘museum’ in literature, and a specific case of identity quest.

Book Reviews

The book reviews included in this issue have highlighted two new Bulgarian books in the field of Comparative Literature that differ in their methodological approaches and geographical scope. However, we have continued the intention stated in our inaugural issue to present new themes put forward by multilingual journals on Comparative Literature.



Dina MANTCHEVA¹

La lecture du folklore dans la dramaturgie moderniste bulgare et dans le théâtre symboliste européen²

Résumé

Afin de relever les similitudes et les particularités spécifiques entre la dramaturgie moderniste bulgare et ses modèles esthétiques, celle-ci est étudiée en rapport avec les théâtres symbolistes francophone et slaves (russe et polonais), conçus comme la synthèse particulière des tendances majeures du courant idéaliste en Europe. L'objet de recherche porte sur la thématique folklorique (contes et légendes) qui constitue l'une des grandes sources d'inspiration à la fois à l'Ouest et à l'Est européen. Y sont étudiés de manière croisée les types de sujets, les voies de leur interprétation et les principes de leur structuration. L'analyse montre les interprétations similaires du fond populaire et son importance structurelle dans les écritures en question. Cependant, les connotations nationales et sociales dans le théâtre moderniste bulgare, inspiré de son propre contexte le détachent des formes métaphysiques francophones et le rapprochent de l'écriture russe. Les pièces bulgares intensifient l'éclectisme, caractéristique du symbolisme russe et ont également recours à certains traits avant-gardistes (parodie, ambiguïté, clownerie) qui transgressent les postulats orthodoxes du courant et annoncent l'évolution ultérieure de la scène européenne.

Mots-clés : dramaturgie symboliste francophone et slave ; drame moderniste bulgare ; réécriture ; conte de fées ; légende

The Rewriting of Folklore in Bulgarian Modernist Drama and in European Symbolist Theatre Abstract

Bulgarian Modernist drama is discussed in the context of the two most representative traditions in European Symbolist theatre – the Francophone and the Slavonic (Russian and Polish) ones – to point out its aesthetic similarities and specific originality. The analysis focuses on the principles underlying the selection and structuring of the two types of folklore plots (fairy tales and legends), used on all stages where idealistic plays have been produced. The study charts out the similar interpretations of the popular basis and its structural importance in all modes of writings. However, the national and social connotations in Bulgarian theatre, inspired by its own cultural context, differ from the Francophone metaphysical forms and mark out its relationship with the Russian and Polish versions. Finally, Bulgarian plays strengthen the eclecticism, characteristic of the Slavonic stage, and make use of some vanguard trends (parody, ambiguity, buffoonery), which transgress certain aesthetical postulates and announce the further evolution of the European stage tradition.

Keywords: Francophone and Slavonic Symbolist theatre; Bulgarian Modernist drama; rewriting; fairy tale, legend

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² L'article fait partie du projet scientifique *La Norme et ses transgressions dans des concrétisations variées*, réalisé par le département d'Etudes romanes avec le soutien financier du fonds *Recherches scientifiques* en 2015 auprès de l'Université de Sofia Saint Clément d'Ohrid.

L'attrait des modernistes bulgares pour l'univers merveilleux et l'animisme magique des sujets folkloriques convient à leurs conceptions philosophiques et rattache leur théâtre à la scène symboliste européenne. Pareillement à leurs confrères à l'Ouest et à l'Est du continent, les Bulgares sont fascinés par la naïveté ingénue des récits populaires et y voient « l'expression sentimentale de l'humanité »³ leur permettant de créer des œuvres universelles et atemporelles, détachées du réel quotidien. A l'instar de l'ensemble des idéalistes, ils croient que les récits ancestraux gardent enseveli le ferment idéal des temps premiers et cherchent à déchiffrer les énigmes secrètes y contenues.

Néanmoins, le modernisme bulgare n'est pas un simple calque du modèle européen, car il porte également l'empreinte de son propre contexte socio-culturel qui l'engendre.

Afin de cerner les similitudes et les particularités spécifiques de la dramaturgie idéaliste bulgare par rapport à la scène symboliste européenne, nous étudierons de manière croisée leur recours analogique au folklore en privilégiant tout particulièrement le choix des sujets populaires, les particularités de leur interprétation et les procédés esthétiques de leur composition moderne.

Le corpus bulgare englobe les œuvres scéniques créées entre le début du XX^e s. et les années 1930, et qui illustrent l'évolution du symbolisme sur le terrain national depuis les signes avant-coureurs de celui-là jusqu'à son plein épanouissement.

Le corpus européen comprend les théâtres francophone, russe et polonais, conçus comme la synthèse de l'écriture idéaliste sur les deux grands terrains du continent – le cadre latino-germanique et le climat slave. En effet, la scène francophone des années 1890, résultant des efforts communs d'auteurs de nationalité différente (belge, française, anglaise, américaine, allemande) d'imposer la poétique idéaliste en Europe, se distingue par son caractère cosmopolite. En revanche, les dramaturgies russe et polonaise, issues de deux grandes branches ethniques slaves (celle de l'Est et celle de l'Ouest), représentent, de l'avis commun de la critique, les deux expressions scéniques les plus originales à l'Est européen au début du XX^e s.

Types de sujets folkloriques

Les auteurs bulgares suivent les tendances folkloriques ayant marqué le théâtre symboliste européen (francophone et slave) qu'ils connaissent bien et lisent le plus souvent en version originale. A l'instar des autres idéalistes sur le continent, les modernistes sur le terrain bulgare puisent leurs sujets folkloriques dans les deux genres marquants de l'oralité populaire – les contes de fées et les légendes. Ils conçoivent également les récits merveilleux, peuplés de personnages imaginaires, comme

³ Péladan, Joséphin. *Les idées et les formes. Antiquité orientale*. Paris, Mercure de France, 1908, p. 7.

le tableau immuable de l'existence terrestre définie par le transcendantal imperceptible. De même, ils associent les histoires légendaires, nourries d'événements concrets aux lois inconnues qui dirigent la civilisation humaine.

Toutefois, la production bulgare inspirée des créations populaires emprunte sa propre voie, conformément à l'horizon culturel dont elle est issue et représente une variante typologique originale du symbolisme européen. A la différence des écrivains occidentaux qui cherchent à découvrir les vérités universelles de la vie dans le fonds folklorique, les Bulgares l'envisagent plutôt en fonction de leur propre société. C'est la raison pour laquelle les Francophones s'inspirent de contes et de légendes de provenance et d'époques différentes afin d'embrasser l'histoire humaine. En revanche, les Bulgares puisent dans l'oralité de leur propre patrimoine ancestral. Ils croient que le fonds folklorique conçu par leurs ancêtres garde l'expression de l'âme nationale leur permettant d'y lire le sort de leur pays.

Enfin, si les dramaturges francophones conçoivent l'écriture primitive des anciens comme un moyen efficace de renouveler le genre théâtral, les modernistes bulgares, considèrent les récits appartenant à leur héritage comme une possibilité de se rapprocher des tendances novatrices à l'Ouest, tout en sauvegardant la spécificité de leurs traditions littéraires. Cette attention prononcée que les auteurs bulgares à l'instar de leurs confrères slaves réservent à leur patrimoine culturel, découle, dans une large mesure, de la place importante que le folklore occupe à l'Est. À la différence des créations anonymes à l'Ouest, évincées par la littérature personnelle depuis l'époque de la Renaissance, l'imagerie populaire dans les pays slaves maintient sa force vitale et sa diversité générique jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle.

Contrairement aux Francophones attirés tout particulièrement par les rapports mystiques entre la vie et la mort, les Bulgares tendent à privilégier les problèmes de l'existence terrestre. Ainsi, le motif dominant du songe, conçu comme un pont particulier entre les deux mondes, pourrait expliquer la place prépondérante qu'occupe le conte de *La Belle au bois dormant* dans la dramaturgie à l'Ouest et qui sert de base à quatre pièces modernes⁴. En revanche, les auteurs bulgares optent pour le récit merveilleux qui relate l'amour maléfique d'un dragon ou d'une oréade pour une personne humaine. D'une part, l'attention à la vie réelle dans le conte bulgare rejoint les tendances similaires slaves et se détache de l'intérêt francophone pour l'univers onirique du sommeil. D'autre part, le pouvoir maléfique qu'exerce le surnaturel sur la vie humaine, ainsi que les efforts de l'individu de s'y opposer, y fait écho à l'atmosphère de pessimisme accru dans le pays à la sortie de la Première guerre mondiale. Conformément au traité de Neuilly signé en 1919, la Bulgarie, doit céder certains de ses territoires aux

⁴ Maeterlinck, *Les Sept Princesses* ; Bataille et d'Humières, *La Belle au bois dormant* ; Trarieux, *Le Songe de la Belle au Bois* ; Lorrain, *Yanthis*.

Alliés vainqueurs et leur payer d'importantes réparations de guerre à cause de sa participation du côté de l'Allemagne. En effet, sur les huit pièces⁵ qui reprennent ce conte folklorique, cinq – soit presque deux tiers – sont écrites dans les années vingt, après la débâcle nationale à la sortie de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Le choix des légendes revisitées par les dramaturges bulgares finit par confirmer l'originalité de leur écriture. Les intrigues y suivent la tendance slave qui privilégie le contexte national aux dépens de l'univers atemporel propre aux drames francophones et se réfèrent le plus souvent à la longue période de l'occupation ottomane. Ainsi, la figure de l'enchanteur Merlin⁶, le fils du Diable baptisé au nom du Seigneur et qui prédomine à l'Ouest, semble l'allégorie de tout être humain, soumis au péché originel, mais ayant la possibilité de s'en délivrer⁷. En revanche, les histoires bulgares portent notamment sur le sacrifice au nom de la communauté⁸, sur les luttes héroïques contre l'occupant musulman⁹ et sur la dignité et l'orgueil national des victimes de l'oppression qui préfèrent la mort à l'humiliation¹⁰.

A titre d'exemple on pourrait citer, notamment : l'histoire récurrente du maître Manol qui sacrifie sa propre femme à l'œuvre collective et l'emmure dans le pont en construction pour le préserver d'écroulement ; le récit des quarante jeunes filles qui préfèrent se donner la mort plutôt que de tomber dans les mains des Ottomans ; la légende de Strahil le haïdouc qui renonce à son propre bonheur au nom de la liberté de son peuple. Les nuances patriotiques contenues dans tous ces sujets rattachent tout particulièrement les pièces bulgares à la thématique similaire dans les œuvres polonaises de Wyspianski et de Rydel.

En contrepartie, il n'y a qu'une seule pièce, créée dans les années vingt¹¹, qui s'inspire de la vie vertueuse des saints et qui rappelle le motif similaire dans le théâtre francophone et russe.

Cet amalgame d'empreintes folkloriques diverses conditionné par l'impact du contexte national dans la dramaturgie moderniste bulgare, témoigne à la fois de son originalité particulière et de sa genèse complexe, conditionnée par la double influence des versions symbolistes francophone et slaves et qui pénètrent simultanément dans le pays.

⁵ Danovski, *L'Oréade* ; Todorov, P.I., *L'Oréade* ; Savtchev, *Quand les oréades tombent amoureuses* ; Kirilov, *La Femme du Dragon* ; Grozev, *Le Dragon* ; Todorov, P.I., *Les Noces du Dragon* ; Karadjov, *La Sainte* ; Popdimitrov, *La Meunière*.

⁶ Schuré, *Merlin l'Enchanteur* ; Lorrain, *Brocéliande*.

⁷ Baumgartner, Emmanuèle. *Merlin le Prophète ou le Livre du Graal, roman du XIII e siècle*. Paris, Stock, 1980, p. 333-334.

⁸ *Les Maçons* de P.I.Todorov emprunte à la légende de la femme emmurée et du sacrifice de construction.

⁹ Todorov, P.I., *Strahil le haïdouc terrible*.

¹⁰ Strachimirov, *Au-dessus de Tombes sans Croix*.

¹¹ Danovski, *Sainte Catherine*.

L'interprétation des sujets folkloriques

Conformément à la poétique idéaliste, les modernistes bulgares interprètent librement les fables populaires. A l'instar de leurs confrères francophones et slaves, ils suppriment certaines situations de base, y ajoutent des motifs supplémentaires empruntés à d'autres récits populaires et créent une nouvelle texture syncrétique dotée d'un symbolisme plus prononcé et conçue comme allégorie de leurs propres conceptions philosophiques.

Pareillement aux symbolistes européens, les Bulgares éliminent la fin heureuse des contes de fées où le bien triomphe sur le mal et conçoivent un nouveau dénouement sous l'emprise de leur propre contexte historico-culturel. Le caractère spécifique de celui-ci pourrait expliquer les interprétations sociales, mystiques, ambivalentes ou parodiques des récits merveilleux sur la scène nationale.

Les connotations éthiques et sociales dans nombre de pièces modernistes écrites notamment vers les années 1910, font penser aux traditions réalistes et néoromantiques qui prédominent dans la littérature bulgare à cette époque¹². Celles-ci pourraient expliquer la tendance à atténuer l'importance de l'univers fantastique propre à l'interprétation francophone des contes de fées au profit du pouvoir accru du monde réel.

Dans *Les Noces du dragon* de P. I. Todorov, ce n'est plus l'être surnaturel qui cause la mort de sa belle, mais la famille même de la fille, symbole d'un milieu rétrograde soumis à des préjugés patriarcaux. Pareillement, à la différence de l'oréade dans le conte qui abandonne le berger après l'avoir ensorcelé, l'héroïne dans *L'Oréade* de P. I. Todorov quitte son mari, car elle se sent écrasée par l'atmosphère mesquine qui règne dans le village.

En revanche, ce sont les valeurs morales qui déterminent le dénouement dans *La Femme du Dragon* de Kirilov. La bête terrible qui avait causé la mort à nombre de jeunes filles, se transforme en centenaire débonnaire lorsque Gouga lui retire une écaille de son corps poilu, en le privant par ce fait de sa force fantastique. Néanmoins, la jeune femme n'arrive pas à goûter la joie dans la vie. Elle renonce de son propre gré à son amour pour Damiane, dès qu'elle apprend que son bien-aimé est marié et père de famille. En effet, la jeune paysanne ne peut pas se permettre de construire son bonheur aux dépens des autres et préfère son malheur personnel à l'idée de causer de la peine à autrui.

Enfin, l'approche mystique des sujets folkloriques, étroitement liée au motif de la fatalité dans la vie, prédomine vers le début des années 1920. Ce regard nouveau sur les contes de fées semble

¹² Хаджикосев, Симеон. *Българският символизъм и европейският модернизъм*. София, Наука и изкуство, 1974, с. 161.

engendré à la fois par l'influence de la dramaturgie occidentale et par la catastrophe nationale à la sortie de la Première guerre mondiale.

Dans *Quand les oréades tombent amoureuses* de Savtchev, le berger parvient à rompre l'ensorcellement maléfique de la fille de la forêt et à échapper au sortilège grâce à l'amour fort qu'une jeune fille éprouve pour lui. Toutefois, la fatalité continue à peser sur le jeune homme. Il tombe dans un précipice profond et y trouve la mort, comme s'il y était poussé par des forces invisibles.

En dernier lieu, l'interprétation ambivalente des contes de fées vers la fin des années 1920, témoigne de l'évolution spécifique de la version symboliste bulgare. Les auteurs y poursuivent la poétique idéaliste, inspirée par le mysticisme, l'expressivité et le goût pour l'indécis, mais ils empruntent en même temps aux techniques expérimentales des avant-gardes caractéristiques de l'époque en question. Dans *L'Oréade* de Danovski, l'enchevêtrement entre le réel et les rêves, typique de l'expressionnisme donne l'impression d'un monde opaque où la vérité semble s'estomper au profit de l'ambiguïté et de l'incertitude. D'une part, l'existence même des filles de la forêt y est mise en doute, car elles n'apparaissent que dans les visions oniriques d'un jeune homme. D'autre part, les protagonistes dans la pièce expliquent la noyade du Fou de manière différente. Les uns y voient l'intervention maléfique des êtres fantastiques, tandis que les autres l'attribuent à un simple accident.

Le regard ironique sur la naïveté ingénue des contes de fées est une autre conséquence du contact étroit entre la dramaturgie bulgare et les avant-gardes vers la moitié des années 1920. Dans *La Meunière* de Popdimitrov, la tendance à l'humanisation des êtres fantastiques, propre au folklore, est exagérée au point de rabaisser l'aura fantastique des personnages surnaturels. Saint Pierre descendu dans un village bulgare, y diffère sensiblement de son prototype dans les contes religieux. Le disciple fidèle de Jésus, considéré comme un des piliers de la communauté chrétienne, est montré comme une personne anxieuse et craintive qui a peur de tout. Il redoute l'obscurité et s'inquiète à l'idée de passer la nuit dans un réduit sombre. Enfin, il se rappelle bien les contes de sa mère ayant marqué son enfance et appréhende les malins redoutables qui y tourmentent les humains.

La représentation des diables dans la même pièce ébranle de même l'écart habituel entre les humains et les êtres surhumains dans le théâtre francophone. Contrairement aux malins tout puissants, tels qu'ils apparaissent dans nombre de récits populaires, ceux dans *La Meunière* sont plutôt des êtres craintifs. Tout en jouant de mauvais tours aux paysans, ils ont peur d'être enfermés dans une bouteille s'ils ne disparaissent pas avant le lever du jour. C'est la raison pour laquelle ils vivent sous le rouet du moulin, près du bief du barrage et cachent leurs attributs diaboliques – cornes et queue – sous des bonnets et des vêtements longs afin de tromper les humains sur leur vraie nature.

L'interprétation des légendes dans la dramaturgie bulgare s'inscrit également dans la veine de la poétique symboliste. Contrairement aux occidentaux qui prolongent les récits folkloriques pour mettre en relief leurs conceptions de l'évolution humaine, nos dramaturges poursuivent une tendance similaire de sorte à mieux rendre compte de leurs propres idées relatives au devenir national. Si les occidentaux associent le développement de l'existence au perfectionnement permanent de l'âme humaine grâce à ses réincarnations successives sur terre, les Bulgares, à l'instar des Polonais réfléchissent sur la vie de la communauté. Ils considèrent que la désintégration de la collectivité et la trahison des intérêts nationaux figurent parmi les causes essentielles du triste sort historique de leur pays, et en font donc l'un des thèmes majeurs de leurs fables d'origine légendaires¹³.

Dans *Les Maçons* de P.I.Todorov le récit de la femme emmurée dans une construction en cours pour la rendre plus solide, est complété par des épisodes nouveaux. Ceux-ci suggèrent le rôle néfaste que joue le mensonge dans le destin de la nation. De même que dans la légende où la maçonnerie s'effondre toutes les nuits, celle de l'église que les paysans modernes sont en train d'ériger est remise en cause et son achèvement semble nécessiter un sacrifice humain. Seulement, contrairement au bâtisseur dans l'histoire légendaire, les maçons dans la pièce, protègent leurs épouses et c'est la belle Rada qu'ils emmurent à son insu, en la faisant venir par subterfuge dans l'église en construction. Ainsi le temple religieux censé raffermir la foi des paysans en l'appui du Seigneur et encourager leur combat contre les brigands musulmans, se transforme au final en un lieu de discorde. Les paysans n'osent pas y entrer, car ils ont l'impression que l'âme de la victime innocente rôde à l'intérieur et les remords de l'avoir tuée les dressent les uns contre les autres.

En revanche, dans *Le Don et l'Envie* de Kirilov, le motif du mensonge dans l'histoire déjà évoquée est poursuivi par celui du châtement. Ce dénouement nouveau semble suggérer l'idée qu'un crime commis aboutit toujours à une sanction inévitable et laisse deviner un regard plus optimiste sur le devenir national. Maître Manol dans le texte moderne, ne sait pas que l'écroulement persistant du pont qu'il est en train de bâtir, résulte des pierres poreuses qu'un des ouvriers lui procure pour le saboter. Afin de mener à bien son travail, le maçon emmure sa propre ombre dans la construction au prix de sa propre vie. Des années après la mort du bâtisseur, sa silhouette immatérielle apparaît dans le village pour y révéler la perfidie et les paysans finissent par tuer le renégat.

Enfin, à l'instar des symbolistes russes, les modernistes bulgares prolongent parfois les légendes populaires par l'idée de Dostoïevski concernant la beauté censée sauver le monde. Ainsi, dans *Au-dessus de Tombes sans Croix* de Strachimirov, l'histoire des quarante pucelles qui se jettent

¹³ Strachimirov, *Au-dessus de Tombes sans Croix* ; Todorov, P. I., *Les Maçons* ; Kirilov, *Le Don et l'Envie*.

toutes dans la mer pour échapper aux persécuteurs ottomans est poursuivie par la métamorphose fantastique de celles-ci en beaux cygnes blancs dotés de la vie éternelle.

Principes structurels dans les pièces symbolistes

L'organisation de la matière folklorique dans les drames bulgares s'inscrit également dans la veine symboliste. A l'instar de leurs confrères, les modernistes cherchent à sauvegarder la fraîcheur ingénue du folklore dans leurs pièces. Ainsi, ils reprennent les procédés majeurs dans les récits populaires – le schématisme, la stylisation et la concision –, mais les subordonnent à leurs propres conceptions idéalistes concernant le caractère opaque et ambigu du monde et l'incapacité de l'individu à s'y orienter.

Les fables idéalistes nouvellement conçues, concrétisées en tableaux courts et situés souvent dans des endroits éloignés les uns par rapport aux autres, donnent une impression de morcellement temporel et spatial qui rappelle la vision naïve des anciens. En revanche, le fractionnement structurel moderne qui élimine les faits fabulaires de l'espace extrascénique révèle le caractère trompeur du réel tout en installant l'énigmatique sur le plateau. L'intrigue ainsi constituée suit la poétique idéaliste et évoque le rôle important de l'invisible.

Cependant, à la différence des événements extrascéniques dans les autres dramaturgies qui se situent souvent dans le passé, ceux dans les œuvres bulgares se déroulent, dans l'ensemble, simultanément aux épisodes montrés sur le plateau. Ainsi, les faits cachés au public n'y sont pas communiqués par des récits interposés, mais par des témoignages directs.

Dans *Les Maçons* de Todorov, des paysans rescapés du pillage des kardjalis (bandes de brigands turcs mettant à feu et à sec des villages et des villes bulgares à l'époque du joug ottoman) qui se produit au temps de la scène, y viennent pour en raconter le déroulement. D'autres y font part de leurs efforts vains pour arrêter l'ennemi. Enfin, des combattants apparaissent sur le plateau pour apporter des témoignages concernant la bataille acharnée que les villageois mènent pour repousser l'adversaire. L'espace ainsi constitué se transforme en un lieu de passage menant vers l'action principale située hors scène. Ce rapprochement de l'action invisible de l'aire de jeu – procédé caractéristique des pièces bulgares – ébranle en quelque sorte le statisme de l'action propre à la dramaturgie francophone et semble accentuer davantage le dramatisme sur le plateau.

Comme dans les autres dramaturgies symbolistes, le schématisme sur la scène bulgare diffère également de celui dans les contes de fées. Si la simplification extrême des personnages dans le folklore met mieux en relief leurs traits marqués, celle des protagonistes modernes, semble dissimuler leur vraie nature concernant leurs inquiétudes mystiques et leurs angoisses vagues. Comme le

remarque Szondi, « la vie active dans le présent cède la place à la vie rêvée dans le souvenir et l'utopie », tandis que « les relations entre les hommes sont refoulées par les relations intérieures »¹⁴.

Néanmoins, les tourments intérieurs des personnages bulgares contiennent des nuances éthiques et morales, inconnues dans le théâtre occidental. Dans *Au-dessus de Tombes sans Croix* de Strachimirov, maître Manol qui se marie avec la fiancée de son frère en abandonnant sa propre fiancée, conçoit la mort de sa femme comme un châtiment mérité du péché qu'il a commis. Animé de remords grandissants, il renonce aux joies terrestres pour se vouer à Dieu et commence à construire des temples au Seigneur à travers le pays pour racheter la faute de son passé.

Toutefois, les modernistes bulgares à l'instar des Russes et des Polonais, ne réduisent pas le primitivisme poétique à quelques procédés formels, mais y ajoutent nombre de signes anciens et modernes issus de leur propre patrimoine culturel. Ce sont notamment : les costumes folkloriques et les danses régionales, les chansons et les rituels, les mœurs et les coutumes, les dictons et les proverbes populaires, les discours archaïsants et les tournures dialectales. Les Slaves considèrent tous ces éléments – qui sont par ailleurs presque absents à l'Ouest – comme étant l'image particulière de la conscience collective, évoquant la richesse et la beauté de l'imagination populaire.

Dans *Les Noces du Dragon* de P.I. Todorov, la représentation de la sédianka, ancrée dans les traditions séculaires du village bulgare¹⁵, paraît reconstituer l'ambiance des rites identitaires à la campagne. La scène conçue comme le reflet particulier de l'existence historique et contemporaine de la nation, accentue la compassion du public pour les faits montrés sur scène et suscite son adhésion au plateau.

Suivant la poétique symboliste et conformément aux idées de Wagner concernant la synthèse des arts, les Bulgares enrichissent également leurs pièces par les langages expressifs des autres arts et notamment ceux de la musique et de la peinture pour en créer l'atmosphère magique et idéale sur la scène. Ils croient également que les signes visuels et sonores ont le pouvoir de suggérer la présence invisible des forces transcendantes en sauvegardant le caractère secret de celles-ci.

De même que dans les drames francophones et slaves, les tableaux visuels, les coloris et la lumière occupent une place importante dans les pièces bulgares, tout en suggérant le déroulement de l'action.

¹⁴ Szondi, Peter. *Théorie du drame moderne, 1880-1950*. Traduit de l'allemand par Patrice Pavis avec la collaboration de Jean et Mayotte Bollack. Lausanne, L'Âge d'Homme, collection « Théâtre recherche », 1983, p. 63.

¹⁵ Rencontres organisées le plus souvent entre jeunes filles non mariées et jeunes hommes célibataires pendant les soirées d'automne et d'hiver dans le village bulgare et pendant lesquelles les jeunes filles s'occupent de travaux domestiques (elles filent de la laine, tricotent, brodent, cousent), alors que les jeunes hommes racontent des blagues ou chantent.

Dans nombre de textes modernes, le décor scénique revêt un caractère irréel sous l'effet des éclairages qui englobent l'aire de jeu, des incendies qui se dessinent à l'horizon, ou des lueurs pâles ou éclatantes qui viennent de l'espace extrascénique. Cette omniprésence du feu, plutôt inhabituelle aux autres dramaturgies idéalistes, rappelle les conceptions mystiques des Bogomiles, selon lesquelles les flammes qui embrasent la matière visible, fruit de Satan, laissent l'âme purifiée s'envoler vers le Seigneur après s'être définitivement détachée du terrestre diabolique. Les modernistes bulgares considèrent que cette hérésie apparue au X^e s. sur le terrain national et dont les idées se répercutent vite en Italie et en France méridionale, fit de la Bulgarie « le foyer spirituel de l'Europe médiévale »¹⁶. Ils y voient le moyen de conférer une nouvelle vision théosophique à leurs pièces en les inscrivant dans le contexte occulte du théâtre francophone, tout en sauvegardant leur esprit identitaire.

Les fonctions variées du cadre sonore représentent un indice de plus qui renvoie à la stylistique symboliste développée dans la dramaturgie bulgare. Les tonalités différentes mettent en relief les conflits fabulaires, alors que la musique extrascénique paraît suggérer la voix du surnaturel invisible. Enfin, les mélodies vocales non seulement anticipent souvent sur le déroulement de l'intrigue, mais elles installent aussi l'atmosphère nationale sur la scène théâtrale.

Le rôle structurel et suggestif de la musique est particulièrement perceptible dans *La Meunière* où le climat du Prologue et celui de chacun des trois actes sont créés par une ouverture instrumentale. D'après les indications préliminaires, le dialogue initial entre le Bon Dieu et Saint Pierre est précédé d'« une musique sublime », tandis que l'arrivée des diables dans le deuxième acte est marquée par « une musique diabolique » stridente. Enfin, les premier et troisième actes qui portent sur la vie des paysans sont annoncés par « une musique populaire »¹⁷. L'atmosphère nationale y est renforcée par le rythme varié des chansons de fiançailles.

Les lieux divers qui situent l'action dans les pièces bulgares accentuent davantage leur aspect national. Ce sont des sites, liés à l'histoire nationale ou aux principales caractéristiques géographiques du pays, et familiers par ce fait au public. *La Sainte* de Karadjov a lieu à Tirnovo, l'ancienne capitale bulgare. *Il y avait une fois* de Raïnov se passe à Preslav, l'un des sièges du royaume bulgare. Les dernières scènes d'*Au-dessus de Tombes sans Croix* de Strachimirov se déroulent sur le cap de Kaliakra sur la Mer noire.

Mais, au-delà de toutes ces caractéristiques qui représentent la concrétisation spécifique de la poétique idéaliste sur le terrain national, les modernistes bulgares vers la moitié des années 1920

¹⁶ Грозев, cité par : Димитрова, Нина. *Дебати около българския гностицизъм XX век*. Велико Търново, Фабер, 2008, с. 7.

¹⁷ Попдимитров, Емануил. *Събрани съчинения: Т. 8. Драми*. София, печ. Венера, 1933, с. 3.

tendent à enrichir l'esthétique symboliste par certains éléments ludiques et clownesques empruntés aux avant-gardes et qui s'attaquent même à l'illusion théâtrale. La représentation des diables dans *La Meunière* de Popdimitrov les rapproche plutôt des clowns dans le cirque que des créations maléfiques dans les contes populaires. Tels des acrobates, les enfants des malins grimpent sur le rouet du moulin et exécutent des numéros de clownerie sur scène. Le grand Malin, quant à lui, ressemble au meneur de jeu dans un cabaret. Il enlève la bosse d'un personnage pour la remettre sur un autre et modifie ainsi l'aspect visuel des humains à la vue du public, suivant la poétique de ce type de spectacle.

Les éléments ironiques et ludiques dans la dramaturgie bulgare rappellent le procédé similaire dans les pièces russes de Rémizov et de Sologoub¹⁸. Néanmoins, il s'agit plutôt de similitudes typologiques et non pas de rapports de transmission directs. En effet, chez les dramaturges russes, la bouffonnade, inhabituelle au symbolisme francophone, vient du balagan (théâtre populaire russe présenté sur les tréteaux et formé de différents types de spectacles : guignol, clownerie, pantomime, sketch, dressage d'animaux, commedia dell'arte) et s'avère donc d'origine différente.

Enfin, à l'instar de leurs confrères occidentaux, les modernistes bulgares forgent des paratextes particuliers qui transgressent les conventions génériques et indiquent les innovations apportées dans la typologie traditionnelle des genres. D'une part, comme c'est le cas à l'Ouest et à l'Est, ils insistent souvent sur l'essence folklorique et l'atmosphère fantastique de leurs pièces grâce à différentes désignations génériques : « légende »¹⁹, « comédie conte »²⁰, « conte dramatique »²¹. Celles-ci évoquent la tendance symboliste à remplacer l'action dramatique par le récit ou par des visions concises, signe des mouvements mystérieux de l'âme humaine et inscrivent le théâtre moderniste dans le contexte de l'idéalisme européen. D'autre part, les désignations précisant le caractère national des fables modernistes telles que légende des Rhodopes²² ou légende d'Ossogovo²³ ne se retrouvent dans aucune autre dramaturgie européenne en question. Ce fait spécifique pourrait s'expliquer par le désir des auteurs bulgares d'insister sur l'aspect original de leur version symboliste tout comme sur le caractère identitaire de leur scène.

¹⁸ Rémizov, *Jeu du Malin avec un homme* ; Sologoub, *Les Danses nocturnes*.

¹⁹ Raïnov, *Il y avait une fois*.

²⁰ Popdimitrov, *La Meunière*.

²¹ Karadjov, *La Sainte*.

²² Kirilov, *La Femme du Dragon*.

²³ Kirilov, *Le Don et l'Envie*.

Conclusion

Pour conclure, notons que les types de sujets folkloriques, leur interprétation spécifique et leur réalisation scénique dans les pièces modernistes déterminent la place de la dramaturgie moderniste bulgare au sein des autres versions européennes du symbolisme.

D'une part, les intrigues folkloriques font voir les similitudes typologiques entre les œuvres bulgares et la scène idéaliste francophone. D'autre part, l'attention prononcée des auteurs bulgares envers le patrimoine culturel national illustre leurs liens avec la production symboliste polonaise et russe.

Enfin, sous l'influence de son propre contexte historique et culturel, le théâtre bulgare introduit également sa propre thématique socio-éthique, sa vision philosophique du monde, ainsi que certains procédés structurels qui lui sont propres. Les œuvres bulgares accentuent davantage l'éclectisme caractéristique de la scène slave par l'amalgame plus complexe d'éléments hétérogènes issus d'esthétiques incompatibles, dont le réalisme, le néoromantisme ou même les avant-gardes. Les dramaturges élargissent la variété de leurs procédés structurels par des signes ludiques, parodiques ou ironiques, inhabituels à la poétique orthodoxale. Par ce fait, les idéalistes sur le terrain bulgare créent leur propre écriture et contribuent à la richesse de l'esthétique au niveau européen. La production symboliste bulgare exploite ainsi les traits poétiques francophones et slaves de manière originale et semble au final plus proche des recherches expérimentales du vingtième siècle. En effet, non seulement elle préfigure l'apparition de ces dernières, mais contient déjà en elle-même quelques-unes de leurs tendances fondamentales.

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Luan STAROVA¹

Guillaume Apollinaire et Faik Konica : une amitié et une collaboration de caractère européen et balkanique

Résumé

Sur le chemin de l'exil le polygraphe albanais Faik Konica [à prononcer Faïk Konitza] rencontre en 1903 un esprit frère : Guillaume Apollinaire, poète phare de l'avant-garde et de la modernité européenne du XX^e siècle. Celui-ci qualifiait son ami albanais de 'véritable encyclopédie mobile', et également de 'Voltaire des Balkans'. La chronique d'Apollinaire publiée dans *L'Européen* en date du 29 août, à propos de la *Lutte contre les mots français en Allemagne* est le point de départ d'une correspondance de presque dix ans entre les deux hommes. Les relations sont suffisamment cordiales pour qu'Apollinaire soit reçu chez Konica lors de ses deux voyages à Londres (novembre 1903, mai 1904). Apollinaire avait bien compris et apprécié 'le dédoublement' de Konica dans sa création littéraire, et son inclination simultanée vers 'l'esthétisme européen' et 'le militantisme balkanique'. Faik Konica s'efforça d'ancrer son pays en Europe, après cinq siècles d'orientalisation qui l'aimantèrent vers l'Asie ottomane, et chemin faisant, il reconnut en Guillaume Apollinaire un chantre de l'Europe et de l'esthétique des différences. L'amitié entre ces deux déracinés ne pouvait naître et s'épanouir qu'au sein de ce rêve européen.

Mots-clés : Guillaume Apollinaire ; Faik Konica ; Europe ; les Balkans ; esthétisme

Guillaume Apollinaire and Faik Konica: a European Friendship and Cooperation Abstract

In 1903, on the road of exile, Albanian prolific and versatile author Faik Konica met a kindred spirit, Guillaume Apollinaire. The chronicle the latter published on 20 August 1903 in *L'Européen* Weekly and entitled *War on French words in Germany* would become the starting point of almost a decade of correspondence between the two men of letters. These relations would take place in a period that would become significant for their future development. In fact, their cordiality would go so far that Apollinaire would visit Konica and stay at his London home on two occasions (in November 1903 and in May 1904). Apollinaire had understood well the "double persona" Faik Konica used in his literary work: one pseudonym for his works directed towards European aestheticism, and another for the ones directed towards Balkan militancy. Konica wanted to anchor his homeland Albania in Europe, and to bring it back to where it rightfully belonged after five centuries of Orientalisation in Ottoman Asia, meeting on his way the poetry magician of Europe and of the "aesthetic of differences". The result of the effort was that relations between Apollinaire and Konica were not random and anecdotal. They derived from deep affinities that could not be neglected. The friendship of these two "uproots" could develop and could last so long only because of the European dream they both shared.

Keywords: Guillaume Apollinaire; Faik Konica; Balkan; Europe; aestheticism

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*Mais riez de moi
Hommes de partout surtout gens d'ici
Car il y a tant de choses que je n'ose vous dire
Tant de choses que vous ne me laisseriez pas dire
Ayez pitié de moi*

Guillaume Apollinaire

Singulier destin que celui du polygraphe albanais Faik beg Konica (1876-1942) qui passa au total soixante années sur les chemins de l'exil, dans des pays aussi divers que la Turquie, la Belgique, l'Autriche, les Etats-Unis, ainsi que la France où il croisa un frère en esprit, Guillaume Apollinaire, poète phare de l'avant-garde et de la modernité européenne du XX^e siècle. Celui-ci qualifiait son ami albanais de « véritable encyclopédie mobile », et également de « Voltaire des Balkans ».

Konica s'est-il bercé d'illusions ? Toute son œuvre, dit l'écrivain et l'homme d'État albanais Fan Noli, est « *comme une symphonie inachevée* ». Il reste à établir la typologie de ces déracinés albanais, écrivains et intellectuels, qui choisirent *la langue de l'autre*. Dans la France du XX^e siècle, l'histoire des idées européennes, l'aventure intellectuelle, de même que l'avant-garde artistique, doivent beaucoup aux écrivains d'origine balkanique : Tristan Tzara (le pape du dadaïsme), Eugène Ionesco, Brancusi ou le philosophe Emile Cioran, pour se borner au domaine roumain.

C'est là un choix auquel Faik Konica fut incapable de se résoudre. Il voulut garder un statut ambivalent, comme pour sauvegarder en lui des instances créatrices distinctes. Il s'ensuivit qu'aucune ne parvint à se réaliser pleinement. L'œuvre littéraire finale demeura donc inachevée et fragmentaire. Si Konica avait suivi le conseil d'Apollinaire et choisi d'écrire exclusivement en français, il ferait peut-être aujourd'hui figure d'écrivain majeur, au même titre qu'un Cioran, pressé d'adopter la langue de Stéphane Mallarmé qu'il avait traduite.

Né en 1876 au sein d'une famille noble convertie à l'Islam² dans la petite ville de Konica, rattachée à la Grèce après les guerres balkaniques, Faik Konica eut le privilège de fréquenter le collège des jésuites de Scutari dont l'enseignement joua pour lui le rôle d'une révélation. Avec l'apprentissage précoce du français, du latin et du grec, et l'initiation aux arts et à la musique d'Occident, Konica prit conscience du lien profond qui existait entre le patrimoine culturel albanais et l'humanisme européen.³ Dans l'esprit du jeune Konica, l'Orient et l'Occident n'allaient plus cesser de s'affronter. Pour lui, l'école des Jésuites apparaissait comme un pont jeté vers l'autre rive, celle d'une Europe dont l'Albanie

² La Famille de Konica connut parmi ses ancêtres Ali pacha de Tepelena, qui tint tête aux Ottomans comme aux émissaires de Napoléon Bonaparte, jusqu'à son assassinat sur ordre du Sultan.

³ Dans son âge mûr, Faik Konica se rappellera son séjour chez les Jésuites : « La grande école des jésuites à Scutari est comme un îlot (insula) dans la mer de l'ignorance qui règne en Albanie ». (F.b. K., Kleri i huaj edhe Jesuitet ne Shqypnie", Albania, 1899/77, f.7)

était séparée depuis des siècles. Le besoin de s'évader du monde balkanique, ressenti dès le séjour à Scutari, n'appartient pas en propre à Konica. D'autres représentants de la Renaissance albanaise en exil prirent aussi conscience d'une certaine continuité entre leur patrimoine culturel et l'humanisme européen. (Jeronim De Rada, Sami Frashëri, Pashko Wassa Shkodëri, Fan Noli...)

Auparavant, Konica se rendit à Istanbul, à une époque où l'Empire ottoman était proche du déclin. Déjà l'Albanie tentait de secouer le joug des Sultans, alors que le mouvement démocratique et libéral turc prenait son essor. Les mouvements d'opposition du régime en place y étaient aussi très variés : mouvement nationaux anti-ottomans, mouvements antiféodaux, mouvement religieux anti-sunnite, etc.

Faik Konica poursuivit ses études au lycée français de Galata, en place dans la capitale turque de 1866 à 1888. Dans son esprit, il s'agissait là d'une étape importante sur le chemin de la France et de l'Europe. Ce lycée impérial de Galata était alors très réputé. L'Albanais déraciné y fit du français sa langue d'usage, celle qui lui permettra de donner un jour sa pleine mesure. Sur le modèle du français, il jettera plus tard les bases d'une langue albanaise codifiée, susceptible de faire naître une véritable littérature. Étudiant en France de 1892 à 1896, il obtint son baccalauréat à Dijon en 1895, avant d'arriver à Paris à l'automne de cette même année. Habitué à la vie provinciale en France, il résiste à la fascination exercée habituellement par la capitale sur les intellectuels. Toujours en proie à sa boulimie de connaissances, il suit pendant un an, en 1896, les cours de sanscrit et d'hindou au Collège de France. Il apprend l'hébreu en compagnie d'un nouvel ami, le professeur Louis Benloew. Par l'entremise de Léon Cahun, conservateur adjoint à la Bibliothèque Mazarine et auteur du roman albanisant *Hassan le Janissaire*, il est introduit dans les arcanes de l'Université de Paris, où il se voit proposer d'enseigner l'albanais. Sans doute veut-il se consacrer tout entier à une tâche précise : disposer favorablement l'opinion française et européenne envers les peuples balkaniques prêts à l'insurrection contre le régime ottoman. Le jeune Konica se mêle à Paris aux cercles socialistes et révolutionnaires, en collaborant un certain temps à quelques journaux extrémistes.

Conscient de l'indifférence des nations européennes à l'égard de la situation politique dans les Balkans, Faik Konica met donc à profit son séjour en France pour tenter de tirer ces nations de leur inertie, et de dénoncer la propagande du Sultan. Condamné à mort par contumace par la Sublime Porte, Konica émigre à Bruxelles où malgré les tracasseries dont il est victime, il commence à réaliser le projet d'une revue franco-albanaise d'ampleur encyclopédique, *Albania*, qui laisse une place aux vues personnelles de ses collaborateurs.

Le soutien financier d'amis d'Istanbul, faisant partie du mouvement de la Renaissance nationale et culturelle des Albanais, permettra à Konica de diriger de Bruxelles, puis de Londres, la

publication de cette revue qui répond aux attentes d'une diaspora albanaise brillante, mais qui restera éclatée jusqu'à la fondation de l'Etat albanais en 1912. L'avenir de la revue *Albania* n'est pas assuré pour autant. Konica s'en plaint auprès du patriote albanais Pashk Bardhi:

« Voici dix ans que je publie l'Albania, avec de grandes difficultés, pourchassé comme je le suis par les espions du Sultan. Que faire ? Si je renonçais à la revue, que deviendrais-je ? Me mettre au service du Sultan ? J'en aurais honte. Aller en Grèce ? Cela me serait impossible, car je devrais dire aux Grecs que je ne suis pas Albanais (...) Il reste à me suicider, ou à gagner ma vie ailleurs. Mais avant d'abandonner l'Albania, je devrai mener un dernier combat pour indiquer à ce pauvre peuple le chemin de son salut »

Sur le chemin de l'exil, Faik Konica rencontre en 1903 un esprit frère : Guillaume Apollinaire. La chronique publiée dans *L'Européen* en date du 29 août, à propos de « La lutte contre les mots français en Allemagne », est le point de départ d'une correspondance entre les deux hommes⁴. Leurs relations se nouent à une période décisive de leur formation. Elles sont suffisamment cordiales pour qu'Apollinaire soit reçu chez Konica lors de ses deux voyages à Londres (novembre 1903, mai 1904), entrepris pour retrouver et reconquérir Annie Playden.

Rien ne serait cependant plus faux et plus injuste que de réduire les relations entre les deux hommes à cette dimension anecdotique. Unis par un goût commun des pseudonymes, qui dans les deux cas étonnent par leur diversité, les influences réciproques entre Apollinaire et Konica possèdent des racines plus profondes encore. L'on dispose ainsi de plusieurs témoignages qui attestent de l'admiration que portait Apollinaire au *Dictionnaire* de Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), et si l'on croit certaine évocation de leurs rencontres londoniennes, l'hypothèse que l'auteur de *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* ait découvert cette œuvre magistrale chez son ami albanais paraît fondée⁵.

Faik Konica considérait ce *Dictionnaire historique*, rédigé entre 1695 et 1697, comme un rayon des Lumières, susceptible d'éclairer les Balkans, fût-ce tardivement. Comme tant d'autres initiateurs de la Renaissance des cultures balkaniques, il retrouvait chez les Encyclopédistes une source d'inspiration contre le fanatisme, la superstition ou les préjugés de l'époque, tout autant qu'un moyen de joindre au concert européen la voix des petits pays opprimés.

La migration des légendes fascine également les deux amis qui traquent ensemble, dans les chants populaires du Jura, des formes repérées dans les récits épiques par les meilleurs *albanisants* de

⁴ De ces échanges épistolaires, seules sont conservées une quarantaine de lettres de Konica à Apollinaire, qui s'échelonnent du 16 septembre 1903 au 16 octobre 1913.

⁵ « Quand je le vis à Londres, Faik beg Konica venait de reformer sa bibliothèque, il avait vendu tous les livres pour acheter de ces éditions anglaises où le texte est imprimé en si petits caractères qu'il faut une loupe pour les lire. Il avait ainsi formé une nouvelle bibliothèque considérable. Qui tenait toute entière dans une petite armoire. Et il n'avait gardé de ses anciens livres que le Dictionnaire de Bayle, qu'il avait choisi pour maître. » (Guillaume Apollinaire, *Œuvres complètes*, tome III, Edition établie sous la direction de Michel Décaudin, Paris, pp. 349-352)

l'époque : Holger Pedersen et Gustave Mayer. Le thème du rapt de la jeune mariée, puisé dans les études d'ethnologie balkanique de Friedrich Krauss (plus précisément dans son *Sitte und Brauch des Südslaven*)⁶, est évoqué dans le récit d'Apollinaire *l'Otmica* (ce mot signifiant *rapt*)⁷, puis réapparaît dans le conte intitulé *l'Albanais*. Dans la deuxième version du roman *La Femme assise*, Apollinaire fonde dans un même personnage hybride, Canouris, l'auteur du rapt, des traits communs empruntés à Konica et à Pablo Picasso. Cette création participe du goût d'Apollinaire pour les métamorphoses et les dédoublements (ainsi, bien entendu, que pour les pseudonymes), et illustre sa volonté de décrire simultanément le monde sous toutes ses facettes, de peindre les êtres de face et de profil – précisément à la manière de Picasso. Le dénommé Pablo Canouris devait incarner le point de rencontre des péninsules ibérique et balkanique, bref, la synthèse des deux pôles de la civilisation méditerranéenne⁸.

Toujours à propos de pseudonymes, la lettre adressée par Konica à *L'Européen*, et qui fut à l'origine de ses relations avec Apollinaire (collaborateur de *l'Européen*), était signée Thränk Spiroberg⁹, de même que le texte destiné à la revue d'Apollinaire, *Le Festin d'Esopo*¹⁰ : « Esquisse d'une méthode pour se faire applaudir des bourgeois »¹¹, qui est un traité de prosodie en même temps

⁶ Le texte *Mœurs et coutumes des Slaves du Sud* se rapporte à la tradition, essentiellement méridionale et montagnarde, qui permet à une jeune fille consentante de surmonter ainsi l'opposition familiale pour épouser un garçon étranger à son village ou à son milieu (sans verser ni dans la psychanalyse de bas étage, ni dans le courrier du cœur, nul doute qu'Apollinaire devait secrètement méditer d'user de procédés aussi radicaux à l'endroit d'Annie Playden, qui était son grand amour et l'inspiratrice de ses Poèmes du mal-aimé.)

⁷ Paru dans *La revue blanche* du 15 janvier 1903.

⁸ « D'origine albanaise, il est né en Espagne, à Malaga. Mais son art et son cerveau, empreints de cette force réaliste qui caractérise la production et les esprits de la péninsule ibérique, ont gardé cette pureté et cette variété helléniques qui lui viennent de ses ancêtres (...) Dans le caractère de Canouris se mêlaient l'Espagne et l'Albanie. Et d'apparence il était comme sont les Albanais parmi lesquels il y a de beaux hommes, nobles, courageux, mais ayant une propension au suicide qui ferait frémir pour leur race si leurs qualités génésiques ne balançaient leur ennui de vivre. Ce qu'il y avait d'espagnol en Canouris n'avait pas écarté le goût pour la mort volontaire et il conservait pour les femmes un goût espagnol fortement albanisé. » (G. Apollinaire, *La femme assise*, Œuvre complètes, t.I, p. 378)

⁹ De même, la lettre du 21 octobre 1903 de Konica à Apollinaire est signée du pseudonyme de Thränk Spiroberg, mais l'auteur y dévoile sa vraie identité :

« Mon véritable nom est Faïk bég Konitza. C'est la vraie forme archaïque de bey et la seule encore en usage en Albanie. Les bégas étaient, sous l'ancien régime (qui, en Albanie, a pris fin en 1830), les feudataires du pays. Le sultan Mahmud, pour rabaisser l'arrogance de ses bégas, eut l'ingénieuse idée de décréter dans l'empire que n'importe qui pourrait porter ce titre. Aussi, aujourd'hui, a-t-il fini par signifier en Turquie *Monsieur*... »

En 1896, j'ai commencé à organiser en Albanie un mouvement politique parallèlement au mouvement littéraire. Pour ne pas compromettre ma famille, j'ai donc dû choisir un pseudonyme, un nom second comme dirait originalement Bollack. J'avais lu un roman (*Hassan le janissaire*), de Léon Cahun, l'ancien conservateur adjoint de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, roman dont le héros est un Albanais et si bien campé (une vraie résurrection de la vie au seizième siècle) que j'ai signé de Tränk Spirobey (qui est celui du personnage de ce roman) tout ce que j'écrivais en ce temps-là. Mon secret étant devenu bientôt celui de Polichinelle, j'ai repris, dans ma revue et dans les manifestes, mon véritable nom. Mais, pour tout ce qui dépasse mes affaires d'Albanie, j'ai résolu de garder ce que les Anglais appellent un nom de plume. Je l'ai seulement modelé un peu de façon à lui donner une apparence moins baroque. Je veux même lui infliger un r : Thränk Spiroberg. Et ce sera la forme définitive, parce que bég heurte trop l'oreille et que berg fera corps avec Spiro. »

¹⁰ *Le Festin d'Esopo* accorde une place privilégiée à la revue albanaise dans ses comptes rendus. Quant à la collaboration d'Apollinaire, elle tient en deux articles : *Trois faux princes d'Albanie*, (numéro 7, 1904), et *Une prophétie contemporaine touchant l'Albanie* (janvier, 1905). Dans la revue *Pan* (1909), il présente avec beaucoup de bienveillance l'essai de Konica (alias Pyrrhus Bardyli), *Essai sur les langues naturelles et les langues artificielles*, publié en 1904 par la librairie Kiessling & Cie à Bruxelles, qui entend prévenir le danger que pourrait constituer l'espéranto pour le réveil des langues balkaniques.

¹¹ *Le Festin d'Esopo*, numéro 2, décembre 1903.

qu'une critique destinée à tourner en dérision l'institution des concerts classiques. Il s'agit aussi d'une provocation qui précède d'une bonne quinzaine d'années les pamphlets surréalistes d'après-guerre, et soutient largement la comparaison avec les meilleurs d'entre eux.

Dans l'essai *La plus colossale mystification de l'histoire de l'espèce humaine*¹², qui fonctionne comme un piège, le lecteur découvre que l'orientalisme, et plus particulièrement la grammaire des langues orientales, est en fait un langage chiffré, dont le code de lecture, jalousement détenu par les initiés, dissimulerait des traits de pornographie.

Quoi qu'il est en soit, il est indéniable que l'*Esquisse d'une méthode pour se faire applaudir des bourgeois* et *La plus colossale mystification de l'histoire de l'espèce humaine*, qui tiennent à la fois de l'humour d'Alfred Jarry et des trompe-l'œil littéraires de Jorge-Luis Borges, révèlent un grand styliste.

Konica ne se départit jamais de ce dandysme et de cet esprit de provocation, y compris dans les débats plus sérieux à ses yeux. Son combat pour le renouveau de la langue albanaise (*le contexte balkanique*) est aussi celui d'un esthète (*le contexte européen*) se réclamant de Stéphane Mallarmé, de Saint-Simon, de Rémy de Gourmont.

Le début de la correspondance et de l'amitié de Konica et Apollinaire est dû en quelque sorte au hasard, puisqu'il suit la publication de l'article de ce dernier dans *l'Européen* (« La lutte contre les mots français en Allemagne »), auquel Konica apporte, sous le pseudonyme de Trank Spiroberg, une réponse. Le thème des langues va devenir une constante dans leur riche correspondance et leur collaboration qui durera pendant presque dix ans. Apollinaire était fasciné par le phénomène des dédoublements de son ami albanais, qui s'apparentait à un jeu de cache-cache : à travers ses pseudonymes Pyrrhus Bardhyli ou Thränk Spirobe(r)g, il manifestait son appartenance à une identité, celle de *l'esthétisme européen*, tandis qu'avec son vrai nom, Faik Konica, il revendiquait son « militantisme culturel albanais et balkanique ».

Le début des relations de Konica et Apollinaire coïncide avec un article de Raqueni paru dans *l'Européen* le 11 avril 1903 – article qui déclencha, à la suite de l'Exposition universelle à Paris (en 1900) une polémique sur l'approbation d'une langue internationale, auxiliaire, et artificielle de surcroît. Les débats tournèrent d'emblée à une véritable guerre de tranchées, principalement dans les pages de *l'Européen* (hebdomadaire parisien), avec même un nouveau front ouvert par Léon Bollack, inventeur de la *langue bleue* (« ainsi nommée par ses partisans, d'après la couleur du ciel, sur l'azur duquel il n'est pas de frontières », rappelle magnaniment Konica).

¹² *Le festin d'Esopo*, numéro 7, juin 1904.

L'affrontement tourna plutôt à l'avantage de celui-ci, car ses adversaires de plus ou moins longue date se montrèrent incapables de réfuter ses arguments sur le fond, et menèrent donc une guérilla sur des questions de procédure. La postérité ne leur fut pas plus favorable, si l'on songe notamment à cette prophétie enflammée de Léon Bollack : « Le XX^e siècle veut un seul langage extranational, le XX^e siècle possèdera ce langage ! »

Bien des esprits considèrent que la diversité des langues constitue une entrave à la fraternité des peuples, et que le temps est venu de déconstruire la Tour de Babel. Le volapük (créé en 1879) prétendait brièvement à cette universalité linguistique, au point que, non contents de publier dictionnaires et grammaires de cette langue, ses prosélytes organisèrent en outre son enseignement à l'École des Hautes Études de Paris. Puis vint le règne médiatique de l'espéranto (création d'Ezer Zamenhof) que Faik Konica qualifia d'« invention bizarre » et pour lequel il n'eut jamais de mots trop durs. Cette hostilité, qui se fondait sur des éléments scientifiques, s'explique également par des raisons plus personnelles : Konica craignait par-dessus tout que l'avènement d'une langue internationale artificielle ne contrariât l'entreprise de codification de la langue littéraire albanaise, dont il était l'un des principaux artisans. Dans ce projet d'adopter une langue internationale, qui n'était pas exempt d'intentions politiques et de désir de domination, Faik Konica voyait un appauvrissement spirituel de l'humanité, mais il s'indignait aussi de ce qu'on cherchât à imposer un même idiome artificiel à tous les peuples. Pour lui, les quelques propagateurs de cette théorie étaient des « ... personnalités d'intelligence supérieure embarquées dans une galère de carton ». À ce sujet, il développa sa pensée en ces termes :

« L'idée de faire parler la même langue à toutes les nations est aussi sensée que celle de réunir des chevaux, des ânes, des bœufs et des chameaux, et de les forcer à coup de bâton à tous hennir, braire ou beugler, sans distinction de l'espèce. La seule différence, c'est que les apôtres de l'espéranto remplacent le coup de bâton par la persuasion. Mais l'erreur est la même : elle consiste à considérer les langues comme des créations artificielles, au même titre que les habits et le linge, jetables et remplaçables à volonté. » (Lettre de Faik Konica du 23 octobre 1903)

Apollinaire avait bien compris et apprécié le dédoublement de Faik Konica dans sa création littéraire, et son inclination simultanée vers *l'esthétisme européen* et le *militantisme balkanique*. Il soutint la participation de son ami à la polémique de *L'Européen*, ainsi que les essais de celui-ci, publiés sous le pseudonyme de Thrask Spiroberg dans sa revue *Le Festin d'Esope*, située à l'avant-garde de la littérature européenne. De même, il cautionna en partie le livre de Konica (alias Pyrrhus Barduli), *Essai sur les langues naturelles et les langues artificielles* (publié en 1904), écrit pour porter le « dernier coup aux apôtres de l'espéranto ». Dans la revue *Pan* (mars 1909), Apollinaire présente

avec beaucoup de bienveillance *l'Essai* de Konica qui entend prévenir le danger que pourrait constituer l'espéranto pour le réveil des langues balkaniques. L'auteur confiera à Apollinaire son espoir de voir ce livre apprécié (lettre du 20 novembre 1904) :

« Avez-vous reçu un petit volume sur les « Langues », que je viens de publier ? J'ai voulu, ne vous prévenant point, vous faire une petite surprise. Voyez si je ne travaille pas, malgré mes apparences de paresse ! Ces élucubrations étaient décidément trop longues pour paraître sous forme d'article : j'ai donc dû les confier à un libraire. L'impression est loin de m'avoir plu, mais vous savez la tyrannie des imprimeurs. Au dernier moment, j'ai adopté, pour cette étude, un autre nom. J'ai, comme Stendhal, la monomanie des déguisements : c'est même la seule chose, hélas ! que j'aie de commun avec ce grand écrivain. J'ai envoyé mon essai à plusieurs critiques, littérateurs et revues. A propos, *L'Ermitage* continue-t-il à paraître ? Je voudrais envoyer un exemplaire. »
(La lettre de Faik Konica du 20 novembre 1904)

Si Apollinaire n'entra pas franchement dans l'arène ainsi délimitée, il ne pouvait qu'être sensible aux préoccupations de son ami albanais, dont il reprit ultérieurement certains des arguments les plus provocateurs, telle l'affirmation que si les tenants de l'espéranto prétendaient supprimer les organismes vivants pour leur substituer une machine universelle, la logique imposait qu'ils fondissent toutes les races en une seule¹³.

Sous le nom de Frank Spiroberg, Faik Konica suit la logique de son dédoublement dans la polémique de *l'Européen* : en dissimulant sa vraie personnalité et en soutenant des thèses issues de son *esthétisme européen*, il défend des thèmes et des prises de position éminemment *balkaniques*, en premier chef l'avenir des langues naturelles menacées par l'adoption d'une langue internationale artificielle. Mais le plus admirable en la circonstance fut que le chantre du renouveau de la langue albanaise utilisa comme principales armes de combat sa parfaite connaissance du français, de la littérature et de la culture française. Konica, ayant pris l'initiative de la polémique dans *l'Européen*, se réclama entre autres de Saint-Simon, puis appela à la rescousse, « le pape du symbolisme » Remy de Gourmont, son maître français :

« Nous prierons un écrivain français - je proposerais volontiers M. Remy de Gourmont, par exemple - d'écrire une belle page, et deux espérantistes voudront bien offrir leur concours : à l'un, on donnera ce texte, qu'il traduira, séance tenante, en espéranto ; l'autre qui sera dans une salle voisine, recevra aussitôt la traduction et sera prié de la retraduire en français. Un jury veillera à la conduite correcte de l'épreuve. Si la « retraduction » est, je ne dirais pas identique (ne soyons pas trop exigeants), mais simplement assez semblable au texte, l'espéranto aura remporté la victoire, et il n'y aura qu'à s'incliner devant sa puissance d'expression. »

¹³ Ce soutien d'Apollinaire à *l'Essai* de Konica ne se confond toutefois pas avec « une adhésion aveugle », et la recension exprime de claires réserves quant à l'hypothèse selon laquelle tout homme « a une prédisposition héréditaire à parler sa langue naturelle ». Il réclame même une évaluation scientifique de cette assertion, si contestable qu'elle constitue le point faible de l'essai de Konica.

Sous des apparences innocentes (« *je proposerais volontiers M. Rémy de Gourmont, par exemple* »), ce recours n'était autre en réalité qu'une habile manœuvre tactique, puisque Konica n'ignorait évidemment pas les opinions de Rémy de Gourmont en ce domaine, suffisamment attestées par son texte intitulé *L'espéranto des naïfs*. La tactique employée obtint des résultats si inespérés qu'ils dépassèrent probablement ses espérances.

Et, plus important encore – du moins aux yeux de Faik Konica –, Rémy de Gourmont (dont l'écrivain albanais vénérât les ouvrages *Esthétique de la langue française* et *La culture des idées*) finit par intervenir directement, toujours dans *l'Européen*, de manière lapidaire, certes, mais néanmoins décisive :

« Puisqu'il est assez souvent question de moi dans cette discussion sur la langue internationale, permettez-moi un mot. Je suis d'accord avec tous vos correspondants sur l'utilité que présenterait une langue qui comme le latin jadis put servir de truchement universel. Mais pourquoi créer, dans ce but, une langue artificielle ? Pourquoi ne pas choisir, tout bonnement, l'une des langues d'aujourd'hui vivantes ? Pourquoi pas une des plus humbles ? Pourquoi pas le catalan ou le grec moderne ?

A quoi bon construire des langues artificielles, quand il existe sur terre mille ou quinze cents langues et dialectes ? C'est ce que je n'ai jamais pu comprendre. »¹⁴

En définitive, Faik Konica se retrouva cloué métaphoriquement au pilori, flanqué de son maître à penser, Rémy de Gourmont, et de son cher ami Apollinaire (qui avait, nous l'avons vu, clairement pris son parti), c'est-à-dire dans la meilleure compagnie que pût imaginer francophile enragé ! Les coups qui plurent sur sa tête pensante le laissèrent indifférent, à l'exception d'une attaque passablement mesquine du docteur Fruictier¹⁵ qui estima que la proposition de Konica d'une épreuve écrite relevait « du procédé oriental ». Piqué au vif, celui-ci, dans sa réponse, fit pour la première et la dernière fois directement mention de son pays dans le cadre de la polémique :

« L'Albanie est à dix heures de Rome et de l'Europe centrale ; et à un mois de voyage de la Chine ; je ne connais donc pas assez l'esprit oriental pour lui emprunter des procédés et la

¹⁴ L'ire des « apôtres de l'espéranto », ainsi qu'il les désignait, s'abattit alors sur l'auteur d'*Une nuit au Luxembourg*, et s'il fallait accorder une palme d'intelligence, celle-ci reviendrait sans conteste à Ch. M. Limousin pour cette intervention : « Que si M. Rémy de Gourmont voulait bien l'apprendre [i.e. l'espéranto] et appliquer son génie littéraire à créer des œuvres dans cette langue, il rendrait service à la cause de l'internationalisme linguistique, et, qui sait, peut-être s'acquerrait-il une renommée durable que, nonobstant son mérite, il n'est pas certain d'obtenir en (langue) française, étant donné l'encombrement dans le passé, le présent et même l'avenir. »

¹⁵ Tout en centrant le débat sur des considérations essentiellement linguistiques, Konica ne manque pas non plus de réfuter, voire de railler, les prétentions humanistes de ses adversaires. Il reproche notamment au docteur Fruictier de prétendre lier le sort de l'espéranto à un idéal de paix et de fraternité entre les races. «

Ces deux questions n'ont aucune connexité et doivent demeurer indépendantes », objecta-t-il avant de poursuivre :

« Que mon voisin parle hébreu, hindou, gaélique ou islandais, je respecte sa liberté et ses devoirs et je compatis à ses souffrances ; s'il parlait espéranto, je n'aurais aucune raison de l'estimer davantage, sa qualité d'homme et non sa langue étant en jeu ici ».

température froide de nos hautes montagnes a préservé mon esprit des emballements et des illusions habituels aux vôtres. A bientôt, donc, Docteur, et sans rancune de part et d'autre. »

En l'occurrence, le *Pays des aigles*, une seule fois évoqué, était pourtant au centre des préoccupations de Faik Konica, même s'il ne se plaça jamais véritablement sur ce terrain. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que tout en défendant *la cause de la diversité linguistique*, ce natif des Balkans ne perdit jamais de vue celle des petits peuples opprimés. Les exemples d'une telle coïncidence des idéaux artistiques (esthétisme européen de Konica) et scientifiques avec la lutte pour la liberté des hommes ne sont pas fréquents¹⁶.

Les divers épisodes de la polémique sur la création d'une langue universelle, véritable guerre menée à coups d'encre et de salive, mériteraient peut-être un volume à part entière. Mais il nous paraît ici plus pertinent de souligner que la rédaction de *l'Essai sur les langues naturelles et artificielles*, résultat de la participation de l'écrivain à cette polémique, fut également pour cet esprit véritablement européen, qui balançait toute sa vie entre l'albanais et le français, l'occasion d'écrire quelques-unes des plus belles pages consacrées à l'art de la traduction littéraire, à une époque où, de surcroît, n'existait aucune théorie en la matière. Apollinaire ne s'y trompa nullement, bien sûr :

« Les opinions de M. Pyrrhus Bardyli sur la traduction sont remarquables. Cette partie de son ouvrage, issue des théories de Rémy de Gourmont sur les images et les métaphores, devrait être familière à tous les traducteurs. »

À la faveur d'une remarquable coïncidence, Umberto Eco s'est intéressé, à la veille du XXI^e siècle, au sujet qui préoccupait un siècle plus tôt Faik Konica : le 2 octobre 1992, l'écrivain italien donna au Collège de France (où Konica, nous l'avons vu, fit l'apprentissage de plusieurs langues) une conférence sur *La recherche d'une langue parfaite dans l'histoire européenne*. L'ouvrage qu'il consacra à cette question¹⁷ aboutit à des conclusions proches de celles de *l'Essai sur les langues naturelles et les langues artificielles*, même si elles sont plus modérées et même teintées d'indulgence¹⁸.

¹⁶ À l'aube du XX^e siècle, ce parti pris était tout simplement visionnaire tant l'impérialisme linguistique devint par la suite l'une des armes préférées des grandes puissances. Pour s'en tenir au cas de l'Union soviétique, dont l'Albanie allait devenir un temps le satellite après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, rappelons que Staline prévoyait que des « langues zonales » se détacheraient de l'ensemble des langues nationales, et qu'ultérieurement ces « langues zonales » fusionneraient en une langue internationale commune, qui ne serait naturellement ni l'allemand, ni le russe, ni l'anglais, mais une langue nouvelle qui aurait absorbé les meilleurs éléments de la langue nationale et zonale.

¹⁷ *La recherche d'une langue parfaite*, Seuil, Paris, 1994.

¹⁸ L'histoire des langues parfaites est l'histoire d'une utopie, ainsi qu'une série de faillites. (...) Même s'il ne s'agissait que de l'histoire d'une obstination invincible dans la poursuite d'un rêve impossible, il serait tout de même intéressant de connaître les origines de ce rêve, ainsi que les motivations qui l'ont gardé en vie au cours des siècles. (...) De ce point de vue, notre histoire s'inscrit dans l'histoire culturelle européenne, au moment où les peuples d'Europe – alors qu'ils discutent des modalités d'une union politique, commerciale possible – non seulement parlent encore des langues différentes, mais

Faik Konica et Guillaume Apollinaire auraient partagé avec Umberto Eco une même conception du Vieux continent, conçu comme un espace à la fois riche de son unité et de sa diversité. Le premier s'efforça d'ancrer son pays en Europe, après cinq siècles d'orientalisations qui l'aimantèrent vers l'Asie ottomane, et chemin faisant, il reconnut dans le second un chantre de l'Europe et de l'esthétique des différences. L'amitié entre ces deux déracinés ne pouvait naître et s'épanouir qu'au sein de ce rêve européen.

en parlent un nombre plus grand qu'ils ne le faisaient il y a dix ans, et alors qu'en certains lieux ils se sont armés les uns contre les autres, au nom de leur différence ethnolinguistique. pp. 33-34.

Liudmila MINDOVA ¹

The Dangerous Book. Observations on the Prose by Danilo Kiš, Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štiks

Abstract

The text compares three books by South Slavic authors: *A Tomb for Boris Davidovic* (1976) by Danilo Kiš, *The Lazarus Project* (2008) by Aleksandar Hemon, and *Elijah's Chair* by Igor Štiks. In different genres, all three books analyse possibilities to defend human rights, and particularly the freedom of speech and thought. In these literary worlds, Europe exists mainly with its philosophical and cultural history, but also as a place with a very long tradition both in the defence and in violation of human freedom. Of course, the book as a main symbol of wisdom and thought is the primary subject of these works, and therefore it is not surprising that their writers devote important space to 'dangerous books' and knowledge, and ask about ethic and poetic borders between permission and prohibition.

Keywords: Balkan cultures and literatures; Jewish culture; urban culture; comparative literature

Опасната книга.

Наблюдения върху прозата на Данило Киш, Александър Хемон и Игор Щикс Резюме

Текстът сравнява три произведения на южнославянски автори: *Гробница за Борис Давидович* (1976) на Данило Киш, *Проектът Лазар* (2008) на Александър Хемон и *Елияховият стол* (2006) на Игор Щикс. В различна жанрова форма и трите книги анализират възможностите за защита на основните човешки права – на живот и свобода на словото и мисълта. В художествените светове на тези произведения Европа съществува най-вече чрез своята философска и културна история, но същевременно и като място с дълга традиция както в нарушаването, така и в защитата на човешката свобода. Книгата и в трите творби е възприета като основен символ на познанието и мисълта и затова не е изненадващо, че техните автори отделят специално внимание тъкмо на 'опасната книга' и познанието, поставяйки въпроса за етическите и естетическите граници между разрешеното и забраненото.

Ключови думи: Балкански култури и литератури, еврейска култура, градска култура, сравнително литературознание

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*Books – angels, house gods – you crowded
my apartment in Sarajevo...
As if doves were alighting on my open
palms, and taking off. As if I, too, had grown wings.
The wings of angels that have protected me
since childhood from many human evils.²*

Josip Osti

Danilo Kiš is one of the most well-known writers from the former Yugoslavia and I believe it is not necessary to introduce him to the literary public in detail. It is not surprising that the Slovenian author Aleš Debeljak describes him as “the last Yugoslavian author”, referring, by the way, to Kiš’s words written for the Budapest paper *Népszabadság* in 1989: “I don’t want to give special examples, but in one way or another my destiny is a Kafkian one. This also means: it is a Jewish destiny, as well. And what is more: this is the destiny of a Jew in Central and East Europe. Some people think that this destiny could give a feeling of identity. I don’t believe that. Not because I am half Jewish, but because my life has passed through many cultures, many languages and many countries. Perhaps I am the only one in the world who considers himself Yugoslavian writer.”³

In certain circumstances, the connection between literature and national identity is overemphasized and Kiš is one of the authors who wrote about that. A Hungarian Jew on his father’s side and a Montenegrin Serb on his mother’s side, his origin is too varied to be bound only to one nationality. In his *Advices to the young writer*, he wrote the following: “If some minority tries to misappropriate you, check yourself up”⁴. Here we are not talking about the political question of the national identity. The issue of identity is important here only in its literary aspects. Because making good literature for Danilo Kiš is making literature without political, ethnic, religious pressure. One important distinction in Kiš’s poetics is the distinction between *Homo poeticus* and *Homo politicus* in looking for the point of intersection between ethics and aesthetics. We could add that Kiš highly appreciates the ethical choice but he never tried to impose his opinion on others and he never played the role of a moral judge. At the same time, he openly wrote, “The nationalist is an ignoramus by definition”⁵. Thus, ethic and aesthetic choice is something very different from the ethnic choice. The

² Osti, Josip. *Books – angels, house gods*. Translation: Mia Dintinjana. In: Blesok, No 50, September-October 2006, Skopje, p. 7.

³ Debeljak, Aleš. *Balkanska brv*. Eseji o književnosti „jugoslovanske Atlantide“. Ljubljana, 2010, s. 146.

⁴ Kiš, Danilo. *Život, literatura*. Intervjui i eseji. Priredila: Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 1990. In: Kiš, Danilo. *Sabrana dela*. CD I. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2003.

⁵ Kiš, Danilo. *Čas anatomije*. Beograd, 1978. In: Kiš, Danilo. *Sabrana dela*. CD I. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2003.

question of “blut-und-boden” is a mark of provincialism of the mind, a provincialism with heavy effects on human life.

The influence of Kiš's prose on the young generations of post Yugoslavian authors is evident⁶ and the prose by Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štiks is one of the memorable cases of this influence. However, in this context it is important also to note what particularly Aleš Debeljak says about him, and not because Debeljak wrote essays about Kiš, Hemon and Štiks, but because he is one of the most influential intellectuals and remarkable poet from the former Yugoslavia: “Danilo Kiš was a writer-hero for me. With his moral insistence that the central question for writers of the twentieth century was the question of camps, Auschwitz and Gulag; with his lyrical procedures that accommodated both, the reveries over the litany of provincial railway stations and the tremor of an anxious soul; with his claim that kitsch is indestructible like a plastic bottle; with his resigned, yet not defeatist understanding of the fact that to him, having lived the second half of his life in a voluntary Parisian exile, contemporary French intellectual debates were familiar while the debates of his native realm remained alien to his French peers; with his persistence in a belief that literature is being written with the totality of one's being, not only with the language alone, which made him cling to his Serbo-Croatian literary idiom despite the false comforts of French, the adopted language of exile's everyday life; with his principled attitude of Jewish apertain who cannot be oblivious to the destructive consequences of chauvinist elevation of a “chosen nation” to the level of a metaphysical idea which justifies each and any means to advance its protection; with the comprehensive narrative of his life and work, Danilo Kiš for me represented the most noble accomplishment of the Balkan imagination.”⁷

Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štiks were born in Bosnia, but we cannot include their poetics only in the scope of contemporary Bosnian literature. Aleksandar Hemon (1964) is mainly described as Bosnian American writer and this is reasonable because he has written and published only his first book in his mother tongue. As for Igor Štiks (1977), he writes his prose in the Croatian language, but he lives in more countries and languages (Zagreb, Belgrade, Paris, Chicago, and Edinburg) and his poetics is wide open for cultural hybridity of microcosmic cities like Sarajevo. However, that is why one of the characters of his novel *Elijah's Chair* says: “the aggressor will have won on the day that the defenders of the city turn it into a single national or religious denomination. Then the battle for the city will be lost, regardless of the military outcome.”⁸

⁶ Igor Štiks talks about that on the roundtable on Danilo Kiš's prose in 2005 in Belgrade. Štiks namely reminds of the literary inquiry in 1995/1996 when young generations of post Yugoslav readers set Kiš at the top of the literary hierarchy. See more: *Danilo Kiš (1935-2005) između poetike i politike*. Međunarodni skup pisaca. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2011, s. 43-44.

⁷ Debeljak, Aleš. *My Balkan Master*. In: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-01-07-debeljak-en.html>

⁸ Štiks, Igor. *Elijah's Chair*. Quotation according to Andrew Wachtel's translation. In: *Wasafiri magazine*. Issue 78, summer 2014, p.23-25.

In 2005 Sarajevo literary magazine *Sarajevske sveske* published Aleksandar Hemon's short essay *Čiji je pisac Danilo Kiš* ("Whose writer is Danilo Kiš") and it is an important text in relation to Hemon's perception of Kiš's poetics. After repeating some basic Kiš's concepts on nationalism, Hemon switches things over to the main issue of the literary, not national genealogy. Hemon says: "Actually Kiš is part of the transnational family of writers like Franz Kafka, Jorje Luis Borges and Bruno Schulz and the fact that his historical background includes Kolyma and Auschwitz at the same time is very important for his own identity"⁹.

Although Hemon shares with Kiš some genealogical similarities (his father is of both Ukrainian and Bosnian descent), their literary propinquity is much more interesting. Hemon also shows intertextual connections with the prose of Bruno Schulz and not only in the collection *The Question of Bruno* (2000), but also in the novel *The Lazarus project*. However, we could define *The Lazarus project* as homage to Danilo Kiš in the same way as *The Elijah's Chair* by Igor Štiks is. Both novels are connected with Kiš's book *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich: Seven Chapters of a Single Story* (1976) sharing the main topic of these stories – the dangerous book.

In one of the key stories in Kiš's collection ("Dogs and Books") the persecuted character, Baruch David Neumann, says: "And I told them not to tear them because many books are not dangerous, only one is; and I told them not to tear them because reading many books leads to wisdom, but reading only one leads to ignorance armed with madness and hatred"¹⁰.

"Madness and hatred" are a short enough and eloquent description of the life during the war that Hemon and Štiks present in their novels. Neither Hemon nor Štiks consider themselves spokesmen of non-nationalistic peaceful attitude. Just like Kiš they undoubtedly consider literature as "the last asylum of common-sense" (which is the title of one of Kiš's essays). However, we have to point out that Bosnian war and genocide intensified the abyss between utilitarian writings and "literature as such", the abyss that existed in Tito's Yugoslavia in a similar way as it exists in the world where politics domineers and defines the boundaries of the mind. But being against intervention in literature is not less dangerous for the quality of literature than defending this intervention. It is not surprising that most of the best-known authors who lived under totalitarian regime in the XX century faced the question about this danger.

The Lisbon conference on Literature (A Roundtable of Central European and Russian writers) that was held in May 1988 is one of the most important documents about the relationship between literature and totalitarianism just at the end of the Cold War. Among the participants in that conference

⁹ Hemon, Aleksandar. *Čiji je pisac Danilo Kiš*. In: *Sarajevske sveske*. No 8/9, 2005. s. 10.

¹⁰ Kiš, Danilo. *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča*. Beograd, 1978. In: Kiš, Danilo. *Sabrana dela*. CD I. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2003. See also: Kiš, Danilo. *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*. New York: Penguin, 1980. p. 110.

were: Péter Esterházy (Hungary), Ismael Kadare (Albania), Danilo Kiš (Yugoslavia), György Konrád (Hungary), Czesław Miłosz (Poland), Josef Škvorecký (Czechoslovakia), Adam Zagajewsky (Poland), Joseph Brodsky (USSR) etc. The question of Central European culture was the main topic of the roundtable and soon became a reason for really hot arguments among the participants. Although Milan Kundera didn't take part in the conference, his essay *The Tragedy of Central Europe* (1984) predetermined the directions of the conversations.

Czesław Miłosz pronounced one of the most important opinions about the dangers confronting the writer: "Martial law in Poland was a disaster for literature – not because of censorship and not because of the oppressive regime, but because all literature moved to the noble-minded side: namely, to be against the dictatorship, to be against the crushing of *Solidarity* with tanks, was a noble cause. And those things are very dangerous for literature. I realized it very early and tried not to contribute – with some exceptions, I should say – to that atmosphere of noble-mindedness and high-style morality. Many times I was inclined to say *non serviam*, as young James Joyce said about the Irish cause, and I was torn internally between a desire to practice what I consider perfection in literature and to cry of indignation and anger."¹¹ Danilo Kiš spoke in support of the same attitude and he wrote a lot about this problem in his essays and particularly in his polemic book *Anatomy Lesson* (1978). That book, which appeared two years after *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*, is an answer to the denunciations in plagiarism by some of Kiš's colleagues who were provoked or directly supported by the secret police UDBA in Tito's Yugoslavia. Although the reader of the book can clearly see the main specifics of Yugoslavian politics and literature, *Anatomy Lesson* is at the same time one of the brightest examples of poetics in the world literature. It is here that Kiš defends "literature as such" and here he describes some of the main characteristics of intertextuality. Kiš often points out: "Literature is a phenomenon of the spirit and it has its own laws and it is not the political reality that creates a literary book. Only a book can bring to life another book."

At the *Lisbon Conference on Literature* Danilo Kiš pointed out that "we are seen as spokesmen of certain dissident trends and we would like to be much more than that. At the same time, we don't want to be cowards; we want to retain this political dimension, too. We would like to do formal research and deal with substance, as well... I think it is worth making the effort to overcome this opposition between form and substance, for the cultivation of this concept is at the very nerve centre of our writings."¹²

¹¹ The Lisbon Conference of Literature: Central Europe and Russian Writers. Cross Currents. A Yearbook of Central Europe Culture. [Volume 9 (1990), pp. 75]

¹² Ibid.

It is obvious that Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štiks carry on in their writings and develop some of the major subjects that occupied Kiš's imagination and reflections in the new political and literary situation. It is remarkable that the main characters in their books are Jews, which is of course only one of the signs that show the literary relationship with Danilo Kiš. Besides, both Hemon and Štiks pointed out Kiš as their literary teacher¹³. However, we could say that Kiš is not only their teacher, but the teacher of several generations of readers in the same way as, for instance, Zbigniew Herbert is not only for European, but for world readers¹⁴. As for the Jewish descent of the characters in the novel, Jewishness for Kiš is first of all a symbol of humankind: "Jewishness has a double (literary) meaning in *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*. On the one hand, thanks to my earlier books, it creates a necessary link and widens mythologemes with which I operate (and in this manner, through the Jewish question, I gain the license to approach a particular theme, if one in fact needs a license). On the other hand, *Jewishness here, as in my earlier books, is only an effect of defamiliarization*. Whoever fails to understand this understands nothing of the mechanism of literary transposition."¹⁵

We can presume that Jewishness in Hemon's and Štiks's novels is of Kiš's fictional type because all three books show radicalization of "the banality of evil". But one can ask: "Why Jewish destiny after all? Why not Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian?" One possible answer is given above by Kiš, but the novels by Hemon and Štiks give much more: in Hemon's case the character of Lazarus Auerbach was chosen exactly as a literary metaphor (*Lazarus project* is a literary project!); in Štiks's case Jewishness is a question of great (again literary) drama of a hidden identity. So, we can say: in these books Jewishness is a question of aesthetic, not ethnical, belonging.

What about the Jewish drama of identity in Igor Štiks's novel: *The Elijah's chair*, a special chair at the circumcision ceremony, is the place where the main character of the novel meets the old Jew who will lead him away to his true identity. Besides, the character had already known his true father's name from the revealed "Blue notebook" of his mother, this Blue notebook is not the only "dangerous book" in the novel and Elijah's chair is a point of intersection of all intertextual connections in the book. From that place on, the ancient Greek drama occupies the character's life absolutely

¹³ See more about that in the papers from the roundtable on Kiš's poetics where Hemon and Štiks participated: *Danilo Kiš (1935-2005) između poetike i politike*. Međunarodni skup pisaca. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2011, 256 S.

¹⁴ The Iranian poet Mohsen Emadi (1976) who has been a political emigrant since 2009 is one of the founders of the literary project *Report from the Besieged City*. The title of the project comes from the famous Herbert's poem and the project itself connects poets from all over the world. Besides, it is symptomatic that Mr. Emadi describes the political circumstances and particularly the life situation in the Middle East in a way similar to the Yugoslavian writers during the war. Mohsen Emadi says: "Being a Middle Easterner is like having a cancer, especially now, when everything is getting worse". See more at: <http://mohsenemadi.org/2014/05/11/113>

¹⁵ Kiš, Danilo. *Čas anatomije*. Beograd, 1978. In: Kiš, Danilo. *Sabrana dela*. CD I. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2003.

literally (by then the ancient drama is evoked only in the context of the Bosnian war). So, we can say that *The Elijah's chair* is the spot between Richard Richter and Richard Schneider – the two names of the same person.

It is remarkable how Štiks succeeds in gathering in one destiny the persecutor and the persecuted – figures who are fundamental for Kiš's writings. Furthermore, at the end of his novel *Hourglass* Danilo Kiš quotes the Talmud: "For us it is better to be among the persecuted people, than to be among their persecutors"¹⁶. Igor Štiks consciously titles one of the chapters of his novel namely *Hourglass*¹⁷. On the one hand, Richard Richter should be of German descent, an heir of Jew's persecutors. On the other hand, without knowing, he is a child of a persecuted Jew. What is more interesting is that as a writer, an angry young man, Richards himself sympathizes with Jews, not with the man he had thought to be his father. In this intuitive attitude of the character, Štiks first evokes the elements of the ancient drama, namely combining human life and mystery in only one word – the destiny, which is so typical for the ancient Greeks.

From all three books, the most limited in space is *Elijah's chair*. The novel is set mainly in Wien, Sarajevo, and occasionally in Paris. *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* is set in Europe and great parts of Asia representing different cases of people persecuted for their convictions during the long history of the old continent. Although Kiš's book provokes the anger of the Yugoslav political higher class, first because it is a book about GULAG and thus opens the dangerous theme in Yugoslav political daily life (for speaking about fascism and Stalinism is at the same time speaking about nationalism and hatred, speaking about life and death of all these people who were in the Goli otok, Yugoslav concentration camp), *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* is a book that includes larger period of the "universal history of infamy". Borges is a great teacher of Kiš, and like Borges, for him is more important to create a really successful literary network than to stay only on the borders of one century and its banality. What is particularly important on that plane is the story "Dogs and books" that makes a connection between the persecution of the Jews in the XX century and their persecution during the Inquisition.

The Lazarus Project has the widest geographical scope. The narrator of the novel is a Bosnian writer who lives in America and who is looking for the life story of some Lazarus Averbuch, a Ukrainian Jew who was killed in America in 1908, just one century before the narrator started looking for the story that would make him a great writer. The connection between the name of the Ukrainian Jew and the name of the main character of the first Borges's story in his collection *A Universal History*

¹⁶ Kiš, Danilo. *Peščanik*. Beograd, 1972. In: Kiš, Danilo. *Sabrana dela*. CD I. Priredila Mirjana Miočinić. Beograd, 2003.

¹⁷ Štiks, Igor. *Elijahova stolica*. Zagreb, 2006, s. 187-283.

of *Infamy* (1935, 1954) is not accidental. The title of this Borges's story is *The Cruel Redeemer Lasarus Morell* and it spreads out from the time of Inquisition to the XIX century. This Borges's story shows important signs of the relationship between Kiš's and Hemon's books. Kiš wrote a lot about his attitude towards Borges in his essays and particularly in the book *Anatomy Lesson*, but during the roundtable on Kiš's writings in 2005, Hemon reminded the readers: "Kiš succeed in being in a dialogue with Borges, as well. It is well-known that *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* is a dialogue with *A Universal History of Infamy*, with Borges. They are, more or less, formally identical as regards titles and stories about various criminals. (...) He does all that to take away the history from the victors, to take it away from those who opened concentration camps, from those who are in power. And this project is possible in the prose at least because it must be in a dialogue or in a conflict with this fictional rhetoric of historical documents and stories about people, great events and heroes."¹⁸

The main character of *The Lazarus project* is a would-be criminal on suspicion of anarchism. The investigating officer investigated the presumable anarchism of Lazarus Averbuch (they really found and confiscated a lot of "dangerous books" in Lazarus's flat¹⁹, but after all Lazarus is not a criminal but a victim of the police paranoia, as David Baruch Neumann is a victim of Inquisition paranoia in Danilo Kiš's book). In contrast with Lazarus Averbuch and David Baruch Neumann, Lasarus Morell from Borges's story is undoubted criminal (although he "was not about to let himself be confused with those anarchists."²⁰), but he was never caught and he died in hospital under the assumed name of Silas Buckley. Changing names is typical for the world of criminals and we see "that technique" in *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*. Besides, we see this in two ways – in the world of *hangmen* and in the world of *victims*. But for us the "changing" of names in history is more interesting, namely the connection between Boris Davidovich Novski and Baruch David Neumann who are separated by several centuries. They both are the real characters of the book, two victims with the same anxious soul. The repetition and parallelism in political history and history of the spirit is something that interests Borges and Kiš, but also Hemon. Without this type of repetition, perhaps *A Universal History of Infamy* is impossible, but we can find this idea in Borges's story published a few years earlier. The first sentences in the story *The Avatars of Tortoise* are: "There is a concept which corrupts and upsets all others. I refer not to Evil, whose limited realm is that of ethics; I refer to the infinite."²¹

Infinite is the history of persecution and this is emphasised most definitely in *The Lazarus project*. Being intertextual replica to Kiš, Borges, Schulz, etc. Hemon's novel consciously includes in

¹⁸ Danilo Kiš (1935-2005) između poetike i politike. Međunarodni skup pisaca. Priredila Mirjana Miočinović. Beograd, 2011, s. 82.

¹⁹ Hemon, Aleksandar. *The Lazarus project*. New York, 2008. p. 57.

²⁰ Borges, J. L. *The Cruel Redeemer Lasarus Morell*. In: Borges, J. L. *Selected fictions*. New York, 1999. p. 24

²¹ Borges, J. L. *Labyrinths*. Selected Stories & Other Writings. New York, 1964. p. 202.

its texture well-known names. Here we can find not only the barman Schulz, but also Khrushevan from Kiš's *The Book of Kings and Fools* and herr Taube from *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*. In the same way we can find in Štiks's novel important notions on procedure of denotation and human names. As the name Lazarus connects Hemon's novel with Borges's story and The New Testament (there are several references to the raising of Lazarus and it is interpreted in different, metaphorical and direct, way), the name of Richard Richter connects *Elijah's Chair* with a large cultural tradition. Štiks shows that the names are important in the narrative directly. The meaning of Richard's surname (Richter means "Judge") is interpreted by two characters in the novel, both with key functions in the narrative – Alma Filipović and Simon. Alma is a theatrical actress; Simon is the old Jew who Richard met in Sarajevo synagogue. Alma is the last love of Richard, but at the same time, she is the person who suffers together with Richard the drama of identity, because they both learn too late that they are children of the same father – Jacob Schneider. Thus, the story of Walter Faber, *Homo Faber*, which the actress Alma Filipović turned into an amazing performance with her theatrical company in the besieged Sarajevo, gains totally real dimensions in her life and in Richard's life, too. The history invades in their personal lives as in the story that György Konrád told at *Lisbon conference on Literature* in 1988²². However, in *Elijah's Chair* Richard's description about his meeting with Max Frisch in 1976 is no less important. At that meeting, a young writer asked Max Frisch if he had gone through something similar to his novel, namely if *Homo Faber* was based on a true experience. After the rest of the young writers reacted sarcastically to this question, Frisch explained that in his own life and in the lives of his friends there was a potential for the story and finally he asked his young colleagues: "Is there something real in what you write, gentlemen?"²³

The connection between fiction and facts is always present in Kiš's prose and this connection is, let's keep in mind, "Literary transposition". Autobiographism in Kiš's case is that "real something", which makes the narrative structure more complicated – the facts are included mainly as an example in its metaphorical dimensions. Even more, we can say that after Borges, the permeability between life and literature becomes again as apparent as in the time of the baroque. People live in book and their lives are nothing less fictional than the lives of imaginary characters. Therefore, contemporary

²² György Konrad told then the following: "I guess the only wealth that people in our part of Europe have is history and memory. We share a common history with people with similar ethnic and national backgrounds... A time ago I lived in a village and in this village there was a butcher. His house was on a street corner and the street was on an incline. In proximity of this village there was a military base. Once, while the butcher's wife was in the bedroom changing sheets, a tank came through the wall into the room because the road was icy, slippery, and the front of the house was destroyed, but not very much. The next time I saw the butcher, I asked him what happened. "History came in", he said. Probably that's a typical relationship of people with history: they don't jump in but history jumps in." – *The Lisbon Conference of Literature: Central Europe and Russian Writers*. Cross Currents. A Yearbook of Central Europe Culture. [Volume 9 (1990), pp. 75]

²³ Štiks, Igor. *Elijahova stolica*. Zagreb, 2006, s. 148.

literature meets real and fictional persons and authors put themselves in their narratives not only as narrators but also as characters. For that reason, the story of Lazarus Averbuch is so similar to the story of the narrator in Hemon's novel. And even more, after all peripeties the narrator isn't sure of his own identity at all: "Everybody was me, I was everybody and after all it was no matter if I am going to die"²⁴.

In *Elijah's Chair* autobiographism is presented in a different manner. Here the narrator Ivor is a kind of author's double. But also Richard Richter himself has in his destiny some similarities with the writer of the book, at best with his traveling around the old continent. What is also very interesting in this novel is how Štiks includes real persons and characters from other books. Daniel and Simon are not accidentally chosen names. The old Jew, Simon, who has a very important part in the novel, reminds the readers of the character from the first story in Kiš's book *The Encyclopedia of the Dead*. The name of this character is Simon Magus. And really, Simon in Štiks's novel has something in common with Kiš's character, namely "the knowledge of good and evil". Just as Simon Magus says: "They offer you eternal salvations... I offer you knowledge and the desert. All who so wish may join me."²⁵ Simon from Štiks's novel says: "The truth will be uncovered. It is always revealed. That is awareness. And after that desperation comes... That is destiny, that is fortune"²⁶. And as Simon Magus asserts that the God of Peter and Paul is "A God of animosity, of hatred and jealousy"²⁷ and therefore he is not the only God in heaven, thus Simon in Štiks's novel holds that Sarajevo is one of the last microcosmic cities all over the world having many different languages, peoples and religions. As for Daniel, whose story is told by Simon in *Elijah's Chair*, he undeniably is a fictional double of Danilo Kiš. The character tells the story of his own creator, as Joseph Brodsky says that "language is not only, and not so much, the poet's instrument, but the poet is the instrument of language."²⁸

In comparison with *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*, Hemon's and Štiks's novels show in different ways the radicalization of evil. They both suffered the destruction of Sarajevo and they saw how Kiš's words on banality of nationalism, namely totalitarianism, proved its authenticity in their own lives. "Is there something real in what you write, gentlemen?" is an irrelevant question in their cases because it is clear that history invaded their lives and they have pretty vast material for a lot of books. But what they spectacularly do is not reducing their literature to an archive of moral convictions, but defending it from mediocrity of demagogic *Newspeak*. Much more – through their novels literature

²⁴ Hemon, Aleksandar. *The Lazarus project*. New York, 2008, p. 251.

²⁵ Kiš, Danilo. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead*. Northwestern University Press, 1997, p. 5.

²⁶ Štiks, Igor. *Elijahova stolica*. Zagreb, 2006, s. 167-169.

²⁷ Kiš, Danilo. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead*. Northwestern University Press, 1997, p. 9.

²⁸ Brodsky, Joseph. Interview with Natalya Gorbanevskaya. *Russkaya mysl*, 3 February 1983, p. 9.

majestically rushes into history, to fill it with significance and honour again; in the name of microcosmic cities and their inhabitants.

In his excellent book *Balkanska brv* ("Balkan footbridge"), Aleš Debeljak includes essays about the most memorable authors from the former Yugoslavia. Among them, Danilo Kiš, Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štiks have their special places. Debeljak, who reminds the reader in one of his essays that "literary citizenship"²⁹ is the one and only true citizenship, writes in his book the following: "The inheritance of the Balkan hybridity, mixing and percolation between cultures in XX century remained only in Yugoslavia. Here is the source of the title of my book. And footbridge is here because I've created the book as a device at hand for overcoming obstacles or rivers, abysses or gorges... Reading and writing books is a conversation with the others."³⁰

I hope the restored Sarajevo library owns already this Debeljak's book and along with it, all these books it refers to. Because "many books are not dangerous, only one is". And because we can say the war is over when we raise the bridge of words over the ruins.

²⁹ Debeljak, Aleš. *In Praise of the Republic of Letters*. In: *World Literature Today*. March 2009.

³⁰ Debeljak, Aleš. *Balkanska brv. Eseji o književnosti „jugoslovanske Atlantide“*. Ljubljana, 2010, s. 25.

Милена ГЕОРГИЕВА¹

**С мисията на посредник – южнославянската идея (1904-1912)
в изкуството на българския художник Харалампи Тачев**

Резюме

Харалампи Тачев е най-характерният представител на ранния сецесион в България. Дейността му е изключително разнообразна – от декоративните изкуства до основаването на първото художествено сдружение в България „Съвременно изкуство“ (1903); от живописа и книжната графика до оформлението на изложбени павилиони и монументални сгради. Като привърженик на южнославянското културно общуване той е избран за първи секретар на международния Съюз на южнославянските художници „Лада“ (1904-1912). Изследването представя дейността му на упорит популяризатор и куратор на изложби в южнославянските столици София, Белград и Загреб, на конференции, срещи и контакти с хора на изкуството, както и анализира неговото художествено творчество на южнославянска тематика. Специален акцент се поставя върху приноса му към първите големи културни събития в София: основаването на съюза „Лада“ (1904), провеждането на Втората южнославянска изложба (1906) и Славянския събор (1910). Когато разглеждаме Харалампи Тачев като културен медиатор, винаги трябва да имаме предвид двуликата му творческа същност – българска и европейска. Във времето на младите балкански национализми тази задача е била първостепенна не само за България, но и за съседите ѝ. Същото правят и неговите колеги Драгутин Инкиостри в Сърбия, Петар Почек в Черна гора и Томислав Крижан в Хърватия.

Освен това, статията анализира художествения език и поетиката на неговите произведения, вдъхновени от южнославянската идеология, така популярна в разглеждания период. Смятана от привържениците ѝ сред балканските интелектуалци за съвременна и навременна, тази идеология се приема като европейска, в смисъл че олицетворява културната взаимност, опознаване, толерантност и подчертаване на общите моменти в културното минало на младите южнославянски нации въпреки конфронтацията на политическите им национални програми. Ето защо се налага южнославянската идея да бъде „облечена“ за първи път в България именно от Харалампи Тачев с помощта на визуалните постижения на модерния стил *Art nouveau/Secession*, като в него се търсят и собствени национални интонации. Така художникът се явява посредник на много равнища: контакти, идеи, стил.

Българският стил като български вариант на сецесиона утвърждава държавността чрез новоконструирани визуални кодове, които трябва да демонстрират представа за националната идентичност, но не навсякъде, а в зависимост от политико-идеологическите акценти. През 1910 г. по повод на Славянския събор в София Х. Тачев проектира пощенска картичка на тема „Целокупното славянство“. В нея виждаме обрамчени в плетеници от орнаменти, вдъхновени от средновековни български ръкописи, ликовете на

¹ Проф. д-р Милена ГЕОРГИЕВА работи в Института за изследване на изкуствата – БАН. Член на НС на ИИИЗк. Главен уредник в Музея за история на София (2014-2015). Хоноруван професор в ПУ „Паисий Хилендарски“. Сред книгите ѝ са: *Съюзът на южнославянските художници „Лада“ (1904-1912). Българското изкуство на южнославянските изложби*. София, НИМ, 1994; *Южнославянски диалози на модернизма. Българското изкуство на изкуството на Сърбия, Хърватско и Словения (1904-1912)*. София, 2003; *South Slav Dialogues of Modernism. Bulgarian Art and the Art of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia 1904-1912*. Institute of Art Studies – BAS. Sofia, 2008 (in English); *Наздраве, Маестро! Бохемските часове на Иван Пенков*. София, 2012. Съст. и ред. на: Павел Генадиев. *Спомени за списание „Художник“ 1905-1909 и неговите художници - сътрудници*. София, 2016. Публикации на статии в Хърватия, Сърбия, Германия, Австрия.

южнославянските владетели и руския император като техен покровител. Може да се каже, че това е златното време на *българския стил*, който все повече се вглежда и черпи обилно от предакадемичните художествени системи на богатия южнославянски фолклор, занаяти и християнско изкуство. Лексиката на този нов художествен език е старинна, но синтаксисът следва правилата на стила сецесион. В корицата на „Славянска антология“ на поезията художникът отново се завръща към универсалната версия на сецесиона поради неутралността на това поле. Въпреки че през 1913 г. българската секция на „Лада“ напуска Съюза в знак на протест срещу Междусъюзническата война Харалампи Тачев продължава дейността си за славянските дружества в София, като остава верен на идеята за равноправно културно общуване между всички славянски държави.

Статията се основава на обилно количество документи за Съюза „Лада“, съхранени почти изцяло в България, както и на личните архиви на художника.

Ключови думи: Харалампи Тачев; южнославянска идея за взаимност; модернизъм; декоративни изкуства; ар нуво/сецесион; български стил

Carrying out a Mediator's Mission: The South Slavic Concept (1904-1912) in the Works of Bulgarian Artist Haralampy Tachev Abstract

Haralampy Tachev is the most typical representative of the early Secession in Bulgaria. His work is extremely diverse: from the decorative arts to the founding of the first artistic association in Bulgaria – *Contemporary Art* (1903); from painting and book design to the layout of exhibition pavillions and monumental buildings. As a proponent of South Slavic cultural communication, Tachev was elected First Secretary of the *Lada* International Union of South Slavic Artists (1904-1912). This paper presents his work as a tenacious promoter and curator of exhibitions in the South Slavic capitals Sofia, Belgrade and Zagreb, as well as his participation in conferences, meetings and contacts with artists. It also analyses his artistic creativity on South Slavic themes. Special emphasis is laid on his contribution to the first major cultural events in Sofia: the founding of the *Lada* Union (1904), the second South Slavic Exhibition (1906) and the Slavic Festival (1910). When regarding Haralampy Tachev as a cultural mediator, we should always keep in mind the dual side of his creative nature: Bulgarian and European. In a time of emerging Balkan nationalist spirits, this task was paramount not only for Bulgaria but also for its neighbouring countries. The same applies to the work of Tachev's counterparts: Dragutin Inkiostri in Serbia, Petar Poček in Montenegro, and Tomislav Krizman in Croatia.

Furthermore, this paper analyses the artistic language and poetics of Tachev's works, which were inspired by the South Slavic ideology that was popular at that time. Considered advanced and timely by its supporters among the Balkan intellectuals, this ideology is accepted as European in the sense that it embodies cultural reciprocity, understanding and tolerance, and that it underlines common points in the cultural history of the young South Slavic nations, despite the political confrontation of their national political agendas. Haralampy Tachev “dressed up” the South Slavic idea using the visual achievements of the Art Nouveau/Secession style, while seeking specific national intonations. The artist acted therefore as mediator on many levels: logistically, ideologically, stylistically.

The “Bulgarian style”, as a local version of Secession, reinforced the concept of statehood through newly developed visual codes depending on political and ideological priorities. These codes were meant to demonstrate the idea of national identity. In 1910, on the occasion of the Slavic Festival in Sofia, Tachev designed a postcard celebrating the idea of “the unity of all Slavic nations”. In it, we see, framed in ornaments inspired by medieval Bulgarian manuscripts, images of South Slavic rulers with the Russian Emperor as their patron. One could call this the Golden Age of the “Bulgarian style”, which increasingly explored and borrowed from the rich pre-academic art systems of South Slavic folklore, crafts, and Christian art. The vocabulary of this new artistic language was ancient, but the syntax followed the rules of the Secession style. For the cover of the *Slavic Anthology* of poetry, Tachev returned to a more universal Secession style because of the neutrality of this field.

This paper is based on a plethora of documents about the *Lada* Union preserved almost entirely in Bulgaria, as well as on Tachev's personal archives. Although the Bulgarian section of *Lada* left the union in protest against the Second Balkan War in 1913, Tachev continued his work with the Slavic societies in Sofia, remaining faithful to the idea for equal cultural communication between all Slavic countries.

Keywords: Haralampy Tachev; South Slavic idea; modernism; decorative arts; Art Nouveau/Secession; Bulgarian style

Заето предимно с естетико-стилистически класификации, изкуствознанието някак си се отнася небрежно към ролята на културния агент – на активния човек в художествените институции и в тяхното функциониране, на посредника между различни национално-културни общности. Такъв емблематичен пример, който бих искала да разгледам тук, е българският художник декоратор Харалампи Тачев (1875-1941) – характерен представител на ранния сецесион в България.



Харалампи Тачев, 1905 г., Лиеж, Белгия
Haralampy Tachev, 1905, Liège, Belgium

Доскоро съвсем забравен, днес той е обект на първа ретроспективна изложба² и на множество публикации, които си поставят за цел неговото възкресение в българската история на изкуството и в ненаписаната история на балканското изкуство, където той би бил виден герой.

Дейността му е изключително разнообразна³ - от декоративните изкуства до основаването на редица модерни художествени дружества⁴, от живописата и книжната графика до оформлението на изложбени павилиони⁵ и монументални сгради⁶, от преподаването в Художествено-индустриалното училище и Художествената академия до заниманията му с хералдика. В зората на модернизиращата се с ускорени темпове България културтрегерите обикновено са творчески личности. Те умеят и могат да правят всичко, принудени от обстоятелствата на първоначалната недоразвитост в художествения живот, но и от ентузиазма си на културни строители, призвани да генерират нови идеи в различни области на активност.



Фрагмент от декоративната украса на фасадата на Синодалната палата в София, 1910 г.
Fragment of the decoration on the façade of the Sinodal Palace in Sofia, 1910

² Първата ретроспективна изложба за Харалампи Тачев се проведе в залите на Музея за история на София (18 май-2 октомври 2016 г.) под името „Многоликият романтик Харалампи Тачев (1875-1941)“. Имах честта и удоволствието да бъда неин куратор, заедно с доц. В. Василчина. Изложбата бе част от по-мощен проект, включващ изучаването, реставрирането и сканирането на 1250 скици на художника, негови проекти, живописни творби, илюстрации, намиращи се в Централния държавен архив и в редица музеи, галерии и архиви в България.

³ Вж. Ж. Митева. Харалампи Тачев и българският сецесион. Свидетелство за едно творчество. В: Сердика, Средец, София, т. 3. , МИС, С., 1997, 121-182.

⁴ Вж. М. Георгиева. Лидер, художествено дружество, среда (по материали за художника Х. Тачев и дружество "Съвременен изкуство"). - В: Л. Кирова, П. Данова, Р. Заимова, Й. Бибина (ред.), *Творецът в югоизточноевропейските култури*. Институт по балканистика. София, 2001, 166-185.

⁵ М. Георгиева. Харалампи Тачев и международните изложения в чужбина, *Проблеми на изкуството* (София), 1999, № 2, 32-41.

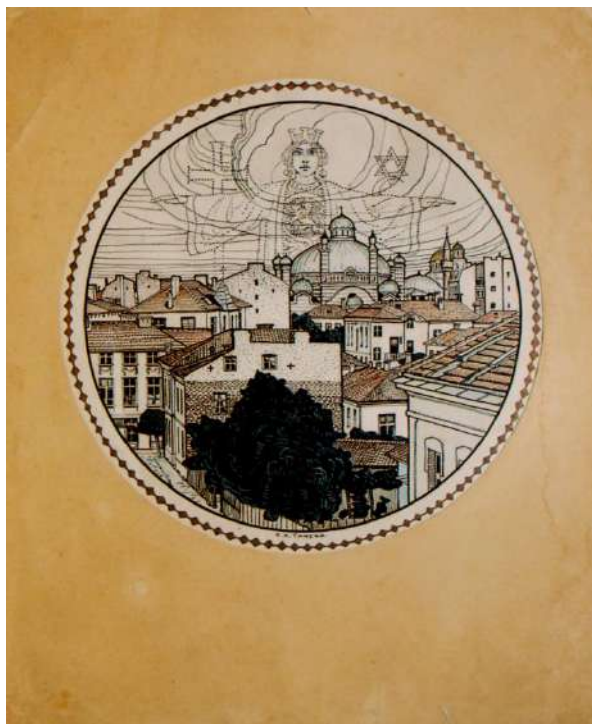
⁶ М. Митева. София и нейните декоратори или как се гради образ на европейска столица, *Проблеми на изкуството* (София), 2008, № 3, 29-31.



*Декоративни стенописи в църквата „Св. Иван Рилски“ в Габрово, 1938 г.
Decorative murals inside St. John of Rila Church in Gabrovo, 1938*



*Стъклописи в Министерството на финансите в София, 1929-1931 г.
Stained glass (1929-1931). Interior of the Ministry of Finance in Sofia*



„Три църкви“, 20-те години на XX век. Музей за история на София.
“The Three Churches”, 1920s. Sofia History Museum



Църквата Св. София, пощенска картичка, 1910 г.
Saint Sophia Church, postcard, 1910

НАРОДЕН ТЕАТЪРЪ

ЧЕТВЪРТЪКЪ 22 СЕПТЕМВРИ

14-ТО ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЕ

Начало 9 ч. в. Край около 11 ч. в.

Първи път през този сезонъ

ВЕНЕЦИАНСКИЯ = ТЪРГОВЕЦЪ =

Драма въ 5 дѣйствиа отъ В. Шекспира, прѣвѣлъ Кр. Мирски.

Л И Ц А:

Шейлокъ, еврейскъ г-нъ Ив. Поповъ	Докътъ на Венеция г-нъ Ив. Недѣлковъ
Антоніо, венец. търговецъ г-нъ Фр. Фрагевъ	Маронинския принцъ Н. Янковъ
Басanio г-нъ В. Каревъ	Арагонския принцъ Кр. Сарафовъ
Порция г-жа Ел. Сакълова	Тубаль, еврейскъ Ст. Кокутаровъ
Нерисъ г-жа П. Банчева	Ленчелото, слуга М. Христовъ
Джессика г-жа Стойчева	Стариятъ Гоббо Гено Каревъ
Лоренцо г-нъ Ст. Каревъ	Балтасаръ Б. Пожаровъ
Грациано г-нъ Г. Стойковъ	Стефано, слуга Н. Фанджикова
Салanio г-нъ П. Стойчевъ	Алонзаро Д. Дундарова
Саларио г-нъ Д. Бочировъ	

Поставилъ г. И. Шмаха, рецитационнѣ води г. Ив. Поповъ.

Цѣни на билетитѣ за вечернитѣ прѣдставления за сезона 1911—1912 г.

Партеръ 1 редъ 4-18 л.	Дополнителни мѣста въ ложѣ 3-10 л.
2, 3, 4, 5 и 6 редъ 3-10 л.	Балконъ 1 редъ 1 редъ 3-10 л.
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Ложѣ въ партерѣ № № 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 и 10 10-20 л.	2 редъ отъ № 1 до 9 и отъ № 20 до 34 — 75 л.
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Малко дѣла до 5 години вѣкъ да се допускатъ въ театръ, отъ 5 години нагорѣ — само съ билетъ.
Когато се даде амвиза въсѣмъ посетителитѣ влизатъ въ салона съда свързаното на дѣйствието.
Дамитѣ влизатъ въ театръ безъ билетъ.

Афиш за пиесата „Венецианският търговец“ от У. Шекспир в Народния театър, нач. на XX в.
Poster for the National Theatre production of Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice",
turn of the 20th century.



Покана за музикална вечеринка, 1923 г. Invitation to a musical soir  e, 1923



*Герб на град София, 1900-1936 г.
Coat-of-arms of the city of Sofia, 1900-1936*



*Поздравителен адрес за френския славист проф. Луи Леже, 1923 г. Музей за история на София
Congratulatory address to Louis Leger, French professor of Slavic Studies, 1923. Sofia History Museum*

Посредник е най-точната дума за многопосочната дейност на този художник, изявил се на различни равнища - контактологично, идейно, стилистично. В началото на XX в. европейската културна периферия, в която попадат и Балканите, търси активно западните центрове и това се осъществява от интелектуалния ѝ елит, от личностите, развиващи се като съзнателни посредници между европейската култура и бързо европеизиращите се култури на младите балкански нации, сред които са и южнославянските. Художниците изненадват с волята си да прекратят сковаващите ги граници, да пътуват и общуват помежду си, и не е чудно, че те са сред първите, които установяват така необходимите международни контакти. Самите медиатори, сред които са и художниците, се заемат със създаването на институции в услуга преди всичко на оформящата се национална държава. Националният код е основен за духа на времето и за неговите продукти, включително и художествените. Чрез този код се чете основно всяко въздействие от големите центрове и се пресява в художествената рецепция у нас. Ето защо, когато разглеждаме Харалампи Тачев като културен медиатор, винаги трябва да имаме предвид двуликата му творческа същност

- българска и европейска. Във времето на младите балкански национализми тази задача е била първостепенна не само за България, но и за съседите ѝ. Същото правят и неговите колеги - Драгутин Инкиостри⁷ в Сърбия, Петър Почек в Черна гора, Томислав Кризман⁸ в Хърватия. Изкуството в тези страни започва да си служи с методите за художествен обмен на модерното време: 1. Усилена художествена дейност, изразена в създаването на нови интернационални и наднационални художествени сдружения, какъвто е Съюзът на южнославянските художници „Лада“, съществувал между 1904-1913 г.⁹, макар и в географските рамки на Балканите; 2. Налагане като норма на цялостен графичен дизайн във визуалния облик на художествените изложби на този съюз; 3. Съизмерване на художествената продукция на инициираните от Съюза международни изложбени форуми, т.е. на тях и чрез тях тече усилен рецепция на пропуснатото, неусвоеното, недоразвитото в посока¹¹ от Запад на Изток.

Тук нямам възможност конкретно да проследя присъствието на Харалампи Тачев в организационния живот на Съюза „Лада“, но още от 1904 г. той е избран за секретар на централната секция на този съюз и има възможност да пътува до южнославянските столици, да укрепва зародилите се топли връзки, да кореспондира със секретарите и на другите секции - сръбска, хърватска и словенска. До него са запазени писма от Марко Мурат, Джордже Йованович, Риста Вуканович, Иван Мещрович, Емануел Видович, Надежда Петрович - още на времето си големи имена, а по-късно прочути художници на своите национални школи. В боричканията между групите и дружествата, които желаят да влязат или да владеят Съюза „Лада“, в сложната еволюция, която самият Съюз изживява само за 8 години, между консервативност и модерност, българският секретар проявява дипломатичен усет и опит, силно желание за консолидация, както и лоялност към първоначалната кауза на „Лада“, въпреки опасностите от доминиране или сепаратизъм, предлагани от различни национални дружества вътре и вън от Съюза. А зад каузата за културно обединение всъщност се популяризира съвременната тогава идея за сближаване на новосъздадените южнославянски нации, макар две от тях да са в пределите на Австро-Унгария.

⁷ С. Вулешев. *Драгутин Инкиостри Медењак. Пионир југословенског дизајна*. Београд, Музеј примењене уметности, 1998.

⁸ S. Domac Ceraj. *Tomislav Krizman. Retrospektivna izložba* 23.03.1995-07.05.1995. Umjetnički paviljonu Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1995.

⁹ M. Georgieva. *South Slav Dialogues in Modernism. Bulgarian Art and Art of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia 1904-1912*. Sofia, Institute of Art Studies, 2008, pp. 51-94.

Още през XIX в. движението „илиризм“¹⁰ формира представата за общия им етнически корен. Тази привлекателна за времето си обединителна и реактуализирана идеология, която често преплита политиката и културата, в новия контекст е измъчвана в реализацията си от непреодолими политически препятствия - напр. като въпроса за бъдещата принадлежност на спорната Македония и претенциите към нея на някои балкански страни. Но тази идея успява в кратък период да превърне Съюза „Лада“ и неговите четири реализирани изложби в южнославянските столици - Белград (1904, 1912), София (1906) и Загреб (1908) в един триумф на желаната културна интеграция, осъществявайки първия наднационален и периодично провеждан художествен салон на Балканите по подобие на големите международни изложби на дружествата *Сецесион* във Виена и Мюнхен. На своите конгреси и срещи създателите и организаторите на „Лада“, на които винаги присъства като делегат и Харалампи Тачев, мечтаят дори за Париж, Прага и Москва.

Само войните им попречват да изнесат южнославянското изкуство на международна сцена в големите и утвърдените центрове на изкуството. Но ако южнославянската идеология сред балканските интелектуалци в ранните години на XX век се счита за съвременна и се приема дори за европейска, понеже се основава на хуманни ценности като културната взаимност, опознаването, толерантността, то възниква остро въпросът за характера на южнославянското изкуство. Може ли да се говори изобщо за някаква негова идентичност на етническа основа или всяка художествена школа носи свои специфични национални черти, в които би трябвало да се съдържа славянският дух? Само картини с локален историко-митичен и битов сюжет ли имат място в тези изложби? Как да бъде облечена новоконструираната южнославянска идея в приложната графика, която обслужва изложбите чрез покани, плакати, каталози, албуми за спомен и пр.? Българският дълготраен, адекватен и модерен отговор на тези въпроси се вижда отчетливо в творчеството най-вече на Харалампи Тачев. Той е художникът, който целенасочено проучва и използва фолклора, произведенията на художествените занаяти, средновековните ръкописи и архитектура, т.е. извлича образци от миналото, сътворявайки ги в модерна визуална конфигурация. Но как конкретно се постига това и какви са трансформациите на художествения език? Този въпрос, особено остро вълнувал тогавашната критика, е заложен в художествените търсения на декоратора Тачев. И тук ще проследим визуалните му решения в някои характерни негови творби, свързани с

¹⁰ Вж. по-подробно: Ем. Лазарова. *Славянското движение в България*. София, Издателство Пеликан-Алфа, 1997, 88-89.

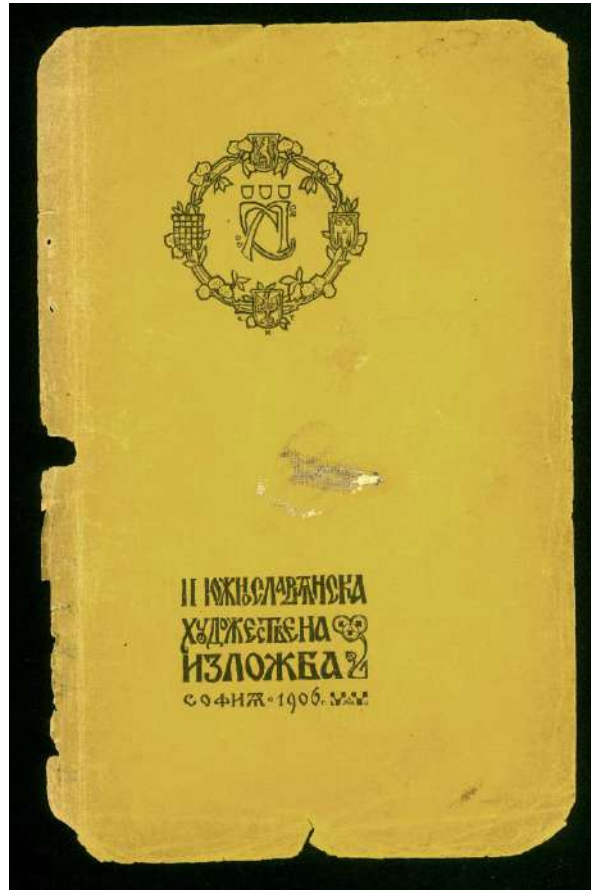
темата за славянството като братство. Веднага трябва да добавим, че те са разположени в най-разнообразни видове и жанрове на изкуството, при това в достатъчен обем, за да бъдат обект на обособено разглеждане, недвусмислено доказващо художника като горещ привърженик на културното единство между южните славяни. Харалампи Тачев се нарежда до този тип южнославянски творци, които смятат, че пътят към западните художествени центрове е свързан с опознаването на съседите, с културните взаимодействия в балканския регион като една първа реална стъпка.



*Плакат Балканска федерация. Сръбско-българска студентска среща в Белград, 1904 г.
Balkan Federation Poster. Serbian-Bulgarian Students' Meeting in Belgrade, 1904*

В плакат от 1904 г. с мотото „Балканска федерация“, рисуван от художника по повод българо-сръбската студентска среща, с която започват първите контакти в Белград, Харалампи Тачев предпочита категорично комуникативността на стила *art nouveau* (наричан в България *secession*). Този стил носи модерния език на времето, достатъчно ясен вече на всички художници. Радикалната идея на студентите за балканската федерация се символизира от класическия образ на жена с жезъл и щит, с лавров венец на главата. Символиката на протегнатите ръце, изразяващи единството, ще бъде използвана и в други произведения на южнославянска тематика. Художникът живо се интересува от актуалността на тази идея, придавайки ѝ подходяща романтичност. Много

нейни визуални запомнящи се идиоми са негови творения. В създадения именно от Тачев герб на Съюза „Лада“ са вплетени държавните гербове на четирите южнославянски страни, отново в стилистиката на сецесиона. Виждаме този герб на корицата на оформения от него каталог за Втората южнославянска изложба в София (от 1906).¹¹



*Корица на каталога на Втората южнославянска изложба в София с герб на Съюза „Лада“, 1906 г.
Catalogue cover of the Second South Slavic Exhibition in Sofia with the coat-of-arms of the Lada Union, 1906*

Там художникът използва кирилски букви в надписа - какъв по-ясен знак за славянската принадлежност на изложителите и почит към общото историческо минало, изразено чрез графемите, с внушение и за спецификата на самата изложба? По-късно Харалампи Тачев ще усъвършенства в приложното си творчество този пръв свой опит за съчетаването на сецесионна рисунка (в герба) с кирилски рисувани шрифтове (в заглавията, в надписите).

¹¹ Съюз на южно-славянските художници "Лада", София, Белград, Загреб, Люблина. II изложба, София, август-септември 1906 (Каталог).

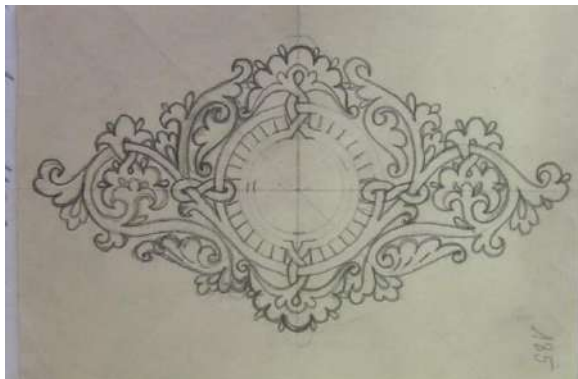


*Проект за екслибрис, свързан с идеята за общ корен на славянството, 1904 г.
Ex libris design related to the idea for the common roots of the Slavic nations, 1904*

Образът на братството винаги е основополагащ в неговата приложна графика на славянска тематика. Славянската тема заела съществен дял в творчеството му го вдъхновява за необичайни творби - напр. проектът за екслибрис от 1904 г., където една ръка държи в букет липови клончета, странната хералдическа работа „Славия“, също представляваща клонче от липа, в чиито листа са вплетени отново гербовете на всички славянски нации. Разлистващите се листенца на липата се превръщат в символ на обединението между славяните. Този флорален мотив, който много по-рано използва в творчеството си чехът Алфонс Муха¹² добре се съчетава със стил като сецесиона, обичащ цветовете и природните форми. При Тачев обаче стилът е силно натоварен с етнонационални конотации. Добре запознат и владеещ универсалните художествени средства на сецесиона, той ще се стреми по различни начини да ги употребява. За нас като изследователи точно

¹² Вж. R. Ormiston. *Alphonse Mucha*. Masterworks. London, Flame Tree Publishing, 2013.

това усилие към симбиоза е особено интересно - то ражда и т.нар. „български стил“ - едновременно наш отклик на универсалния стил, но и негово ново, местно лице¹³.

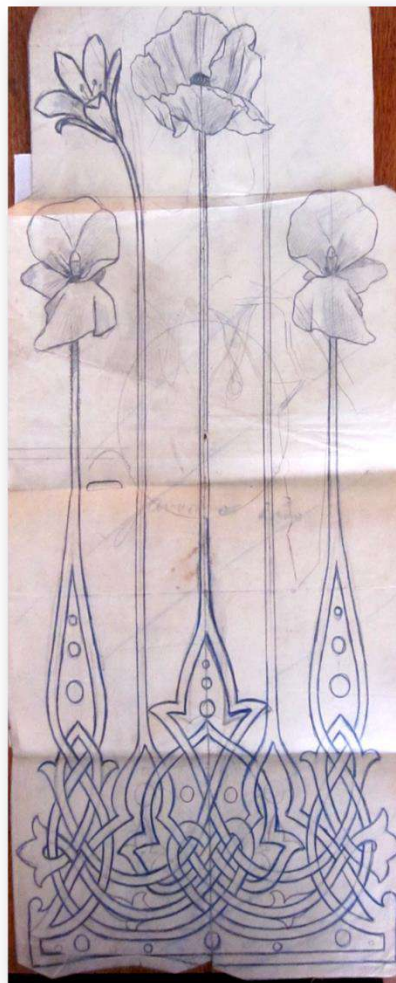


*Скици на орнаменти в „български стил“
Draft ornaments "Bulgarian style"*

Всъщност вариативността на универсалния сецесион е негово изначална черта - той притежава свойството да бъде приспособим към регионалните изисквания¹⁴, да придаде самоличност на младите нации, вкл. и южнославянските, като така ги интегрира в голямото европейско семейство.

¹³ Вж. В. Василчина. Приложното изкуство - между "българския стил", сецесиона и "родното" (от началото на XX век - до края на 50-те години). В: Ч. Попов, Т. Димитрова (ред.), *Из историята на българското изобразително изкуство*. София, Институт по изкуствознание - БАН, 1993, т. 3, 91-96.

¹⁴ Вж. Д. В. Сарабьянов. *Стиль модерн: истоки, история, проблемы*. Москва, 1989, с. 262



Проект с цветя – пример за симбиоза между „българския стил“ и „сецесиона“
Project with flowers: an example of symbiosis between Bulgarian style and Secession

През 1910 г. Харалампи Тачев проектира плакати, менюта, корици за албуми с изгледи от столицата, значки за делегатите, тържествени арки, пилони и др., свързани с украсата на Втория славянски събор, състоял се в София. Не всичко от проектираното е било осъществено - вероятно е имало и вътрешен избор между декораторите ни, така че задачите да са били равномерно разпределени. Но Тачев е представител на д-во „Съвременно изкуство“ в организационния комитет на Събора и очевидно е бил натоварен с главната оформителска дейност на повечето печатни материали, придружаващи акциите на Събора. В сборника от материали, който документиращ Събора виждаме отпечатани рисуван афиш с българска селянка от Алфонс Муха и меню за тържествената прощална вечеря на делегатите от Харалампи Тачев. Менюто на Тачев носи герба

на София, обкръжен с клончета от липови листа.¹⁵ Двама славянски художници декоратори един до друг, в авторитетен сборник с международно разпространение - това, едва ли е било случайно. Сравнението е атестат за младия български художник, който със сигурност е познавал добре творчеството на почетния член на Втората южнославянска изложба (1906) Алфонс Муха и се е учил от него (ако съдим от работата му по декорацията на българския павилион на международните изложения в Лиеж - 1905 и Милано - 1906).

През същата 1910 г. Харалампи Тачев рисува и осъществява в печатен вид проекта си за пощенска картичка на тема „Целокупното славянство“, издадена по повод на събора. В нея виждаме, оброчени в плетеници от орнаменти, вдъхновени от средновековни български ръкописи, ликовете на южнославянските владетели (сръбският крал Петър I Караджорджевич, българският цар Фердинанд, черногорският княз Никола I) и на руския император Николай II като техен покровител.



Пощенска картичка „Целокупното славянство“, отпечатана по повод Славянския събор в София, 1910 г.

The Unity of All Slavic Nations - postcard released on the occasion of the Slavic Festival in Sofia, 1910

¹⁵ Втори подготвителен славянски събор в София. Издава Славянското благотворително дружество в България. София, 1911.

Може да се каже, че това е златното време на „българския стил“, който все повече се вглежда в предакадемичните художествени системи на богатия южнославянски фолклор, занаяти и християнско изкуство. Както пише известната историчка Мария Тодорова за балканското културно наследство – „то твърдо заляга в дискурса на балканския национализъм като един от най-важните му стълбове, защото легитимира именно държавата“¹⁶. Оттук нататък сецесионът в България ще утвърждава българската държавност чрез новопроизведени визуални кодове. Но не навсякъде, а в зависимост от политико-идеологическите акценти. В противовес на пощенската картичка с южнославянските владетели и руския император, за същото събитие - провеждането на Славянския събор - е издадена „Славянска антология“¹⁷ с поезия, чиято корица, отново



*Корица на „Славянска антология“, със съставител Ст. Чилингиров, 1910 г.
Cover of “Slavic Anthology” compiled by St. Chilingirov, 1910*

от Тачев, е напълно сецесионна. Ясно е, че художникът редува двете лица на сецесиона - универсалното и националното, а често дори ги и вплита в единен образ, макар че в първите години на южнославянското културно обединение определено започва с прилагането на универсалната

¹⁶ М. Тодорова. *Балкани-Балканизъм*. София, Университетско издателство "Климент Охридски", 2004, с. 299.

¹⁷ *Славянска антология*. Съст. Ст. Чилингиров. София, 1910.

версия. Национализацията на този стил обаче е неизбежна във всички периферии, във всички млади и малки нации в Европа от началото на XX век.

Харалампи Тачев е сред най-плодовитите и разностранни художници на южнославянските изложби - представя се с проекти за прозорци, корици на книги и декоративни пейзажи. Чрез тях той си извоюва име на декоратор и живописец с разпознаваем стил. Декоративен тип живопис, много ранен за българските условия, е „Старият дворец в Любляна“ (1906 г.), показан същата година на изложбата на съюза „Лада“ в София.



*Старият дворец в Любляна, 1906 г.
Ljubljana, The Old Palace, 1906*

Отбелязвам го специално, защото е един от първите декоративни пейзажи в българското изкуство до този момент, един от първите категорични примери за двуизмерна перцепция на действителността, пренесена върху листа. В този аспект работата е манифестна за българското изкуство. Освен старинния мотив, вдъхновил българския художник от една командировка, която минава през Любляна, работата е симптоматична за новата насока, по която тръгва и живописиста в България, отказваща се от приоритетните дотогава илюзионно-академичен реализъм и битова тематика. По повод на подобни творби критиката и у нас, и в южнославянските страни, започва да дискутира проблема за „декоративността“ като метод, стил и жанр, т.е. да се замисля върху по-сложни и актуални теоретични проблеми на художествената форма и да припознава модернизма именно с импресионизма и сецесиона. Плодотворният контакт с южните славяни от Австро-

Унгария - хървати и словенци - ускорява модернизацията на българско изкуство, насочвайки го към стойностните европейски модели, които предлага многонационалното изкуство на империята.

Романтичният период на южнославянските културни контакти, на взаимни художествени въздействия и стремеж към европейска модерност, приключва с крах. Политиката задушаваше неумолимо миражите на културното единение за дълги години напред - през 1913 г. българската секция напуска Съюза „Лада“ в знак на протест срещу започналата Междусъюзническа война. Харалампи Тачев е искрен привърженик на славянската идея и по-нататък той продължава дейността си вече за славянските дружества в София, за дружествата на бялата емиграция, оставайки верен на идеята за взаимопомощ между всички славянски страни и за равноправно културно общуване между тях. Една идея, която днес политическата реалност опровергава непрекъснато, но добронамерените ѝ културни проекции от зората на “belle époque” определено се нуждаят от внимание и от поука. Още повече когато става дума за регион като Балканите...

Yordanka BIBINA¹**Public Art in Turkey: Between Politics and Aesthetics****Abstract**

What we may call “public art” in Turkey starts with the establishment of the Turkish Republic itself. Mostly, it is associated with monuments and sculptures in public spaces in the modernising urban environment within the newly founded secular state that brought changes not only to the way of life and its dynamics, but also to the entire system of values and the aesthetics of space. The most popular public space, the square, altered completely its function and vision: from being entirely the domain of men enclosed between the mosque, the bazaar, and the coffee-house, to becoming the vital point of the new Europeanised Turkish cities highlighting thus the national identity and memory, and the new political order. This brief survey focuses on the different approaches to public spaces in Turkey and to public works of art, which are more than just ideological instruments of power. The study of this situation in a society that is concerned with its own identity appears as one of the most important issues of contemporary public art in Turkey. On the other hand, public art raises awareness about the value of art in public dialogue, and helps bring forward new interpretations and artistic quests.

Keywords: public art; Turkish sculpture; Kemalism; secularism; Turkish cultural identity

Публичното изкуство в Турция: между политиката и естетиката
Резюме

Онова, което можем да наречем „публично изкуство“ в Турция, започва със създаването на самата турска Република. То се свързва предимно с паметници и скулптури в публичното пространство в модернизирания се градска среда на новата светска държава, която променя не само начина на живот и неговата динамика, но и системата от ценности и естетиката на пространството. Най-популярните публични пространства – площадите, се променят напълно като функция и визия от предимно мъжко място, съсредоточено между джамията, чаршията и кафенето, във витална точка на новия модерен европейски град, която подчертава националната идентичност и памет и новия политически ред. В центъра на краткото изследване са различните подходи към публичните пространства в Турция, станали предмет на сериозен обществен дебат, в контекста на изкуството, но и на обществените ценности, и намерили отражение в характера на самото публично пространство, за което се предполага, че е нещо повече от идеологически инструмент на властта. Изследването на тази ситуация в едно общество, загрижено за собствената си идентичност, е сред най-важните въпроси, свързани със съвременния обществен живот и корелацията му със съвременното изкуство в Турция. От друга страна, публичното изкуство създава по-голяма чувствителност спрямо ценността на изкуството в обществения диалог и съдейства за оформянето на новите визии и художествени търсения.

Ключови думи: публично изкуство; турска скулптура; кемализъм; секуларизъм; турска културна идентичност

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Art designed for public spaces determine their functional, emotional and meaningful character; it informs residents and visitors on their mutual interdependence in the expression of collective identity. The expression of this identity is an emanation of what is unique to the community, transforming everyday life, pride and values into the outspoken the community's aspirations for the future.

Public art stimulates cultural life in the city and the place. This, regardless of whom was initiated by – the authorities of the city or by private entrepreneurs, supports the development of the city and cultural tourism, re-vitalizaion of residential areas, international prestige and recognition of the city, the quality of community life.

What we may call “public art” starts actually with the establishment of Turkish Republic itself. The new concept of art replaced the old Ottoman model, introducing West European understanding of art. Rapid modernisation in all spheres of life advanced towards bringing deep social change, not just supervising societal shifts as it was in period of Tanzimat reforms. Cityscape has to change its Oriental look and to develop in line with European city model. Changes in life changed the perception of previous city centres with the mosques and surrounding. Art institutions, such as institutions of democracy have to be modernized and to attain universal values. Art entered the new spaces of modernized city. This newly born public art associated mostly with monuments and sculptures in public space in a new modernizing city and society, in a new secular state that changed not only the way of living and its dynamics but the system of values and aesthetics.

Turkish Sculpture itself find difficult ways for became a rightful art as religious limitations restricted the development of it through centuries. Except for plastic solutions mostly abstract in character in buildings and gravestones, later floral with influence of Baroque elements in fountains, architecture of palaces and villas, there were no other forms of that art. No animal or human figures allowed to be portrayed either in painting or stonework as Islam rejected them as idolatry.

Though there was interest among Ottoman elite toward European sculpture, practically there was no sculpture tradition in Ottoman times. To place a sculpture in a visible place of the city was not acceptable by Muslim population. Sultan Abdul-Aziz's natural-sized horse statue built in 1871 by C.F.Fullerand, for fear of public reaction in the public sphere in Istanbul was not shown to the public but placed in the garden of the palace. Just 50 years later, Atatürk monuments, memorials, became the image of the newly invented sculpturing tradition of the Republic. Physical reconstruction of Anatolia after the War of Independence, public works for improving the urban structure was among the primary programs of the new republican government.

Planned by experienced European experts with new approach and modern understanding of the city foreseen the public squares and parks to be important points and meeting place in the urban life. The main feature that makes new cities look differently were the placing monuments and sculptures in those areas. Republican architecture and monumental arts were seen and used as a tool to introduce and impose the ruling ideology of the Republic so the art of architecture and public art in general undertook the task of representing the state and new political regime.

Thus, the new public area was designed in order to replace the Ottoman city landscape and to create a new space heavy with totally different symbolism. For this reason, the creation of new cities includes a unity of government offices undertaking a new function, Community Centre buildings, primary schools, Palaces of Justice as well as other Republican administration structures placed on the squares of the Republic situated on the boulevards of the Republic, all this was unthinkable without the statues of Atatürk.² Unlike the Ottoman city built up around the commercial tissue of the city the newly established Republican urban centres, focused on the concept of nation-state, Turkishness, modernity and secularism turning into the public sign of all these. Atatürk statues usually placed in the centre of the city or the public spaces like street, parks, museums, and so on, where the society comes together and are thought as a part of this new function.

Republican administration was after another type of modernization quite different of Tanzimat visions and designed other types of modernity and contemporary living for the society. The Anatolia, the Anatolian culture was thought as basic unit of innovation and focuses on the Anatolian peasants, as backbones of new national culture. Ankara was chosen as the new administrative and cultural centre of the Republic instead of Ottoman cultural centre – Istanbul.

Turkey's "public art" first of all brings to mind Republic squares with Atatürk monuments and statues on them. Creation of public space projects, driven and held at the ideological request by the government and local authorities, and usually funded with state budget resulted in monumental sculptures on largely designed squares.

In 1926-1938 foreign sculptures invited to Turkey made a number of monuments – Heinrich Krippel's Atatürk sculpture in Sarayburnu was the first (1926), followed by sculpture of Atatürk in Konya, Ankara (Ulus, 1927), Samsun (1931), *Monument of Victory* in Afyonkarahisar (1936); Italian Pietro Canonica, Austrians Anton Hanak and Josef Thorak. Heinrich Krippel, 1883-1945, known Austrian sculptor, was invited in 1925 by the government of Turkey with aim to make Atatürk's sculptures. The Monument became a symbol of the town of Samsun, because here on May 1919 with military outbreak Atatürk started the Independence War. So, the Monument narrates the story of these

²Yeşilkaya, N.G. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınevi, 1999, p. 140, 147, 187.

heroic battles. Atatürk invited the sculptor to his palace and posed in person for all sculptures. Krippel prepared all drafts for the monuments in Turkey. The mold was made and later casted in Vienna cathouse in bronze. After that the parts were brought to Turkey and assembled in the places.³



Photos of casting works in Vienna cathousel and final view of the sculpture.

The Victory Monument in Ankara on the Ulus Square created by Heinrich Krippel in 1927, depicted Atatürk on his horse as a triumphant nation's commander and next to the Atatürk four stone pedestals emphasizing the image of *Mehmetcik* – a Turkish soldier, protecting the country, national hero “Kara Fatma”, known as a woman carrying a bullet symbolizing the solidarity among the nation during the Independence War, and the reliefs of people won the War, representing Atatürk integrated with people during his arrival to Ankara. This is a typical example of built-in visual symbol of Atatürk monuments repertoire.

³ <http://mksaner.blogspot.com/2011/11/ataturk-onur-ant-tarihi.html> (5.05.2017)



Monument of Victory, Ankara, Ulus Squire⁴.

Anton Hanak and Josef Thorak were also from invited foreigners who put their signature on the public art in Atatürk's Turkey. Because of the death of Anton Hanak in 1934 he had to finish the back plan of Guvenpark Monument in 1935 in Turkey⁵.



Guven Park Monument

Referring to the relationship between religion and sculpture and traditional religious restrictions on this issue, Atatürk stressed that sculptors are the protagonist of the progress in the “enlighten and

⁴ Photo is taken from the web site of Goethe Institute: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/mon/mon/trindex.htm> (5.05.2017)

⁵ Kıvanç, Osman. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Anıt Heykelleri*. Ankara, 2003, p. 98-102.

religious nation” and that they have to promote to the world the progress of the nation through the beautiful sculptures in every corner of the country.

Atatürk, with his secular-religion-free image took the squares for a long time, and became a starting point in management of the images in public art. The ideals of the Republic were “written” on the most important places in the old capitol city but perhaps the most important representation symbol of the victory of the Republic over the Ottoman past was *Taksim Republic Monument* (Pietro Canonica, 1928).

The Republic Monument (Cumhuriyet Anıtı) is a notable monument located at Taksim Square in Istanbul, Turkey, to commemorate the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. It was built in two and half years with financial support from the population and officially opened by Dr. Hakkı Şinasi Pasha on August 8, 1928. The 11 m (36 ft) high monument portrays the founders of the Turkish Republic, prominent are depictions of Kemal Atatürk (who commissioned the work), his assistant İsmet İnönü, and general Fevzi Çakmak.



Taksim Republic Monument (Pietro Canonica, 1928).

One of the main points in the ideology of new Republic was opposition to its Ottoman past. It was even “forgotten” in the schoolbook until the mid-70^s of 20th century. This opposition is quite

visible in the Taksim Republic Monument where was represented in two different visions of the young girls symbolizing the new place of women in the new modernizing society. They are placed on the both sides over the figures of Turkish soldiers and as often admitted rarely noticed by the public. On the east side is covered Ottoman girls bas relief and on the West side is the portrait of the Republican Turkish woman with long hair.



*Medallion on the East side - Republican Girl with open face...
and covered Ottoman Girl: Western Side⁶*

We can add that by the time of monument building there still were a great number of covered girls in the provinces of Turkey where the Kemalist reforms were more slowly implemented in the life style but the images on two medallions were a clear expression of the direction to what Turkish society Republic was driven.

Since 1927 due to the official state's politics number of foreign experts were invited to work in Turkey. They have to teach in Art Academy and Universities transferring the modern trends and way of thinking in correspondence with modernizing efforts of the Republican elite. Among them were architecture, artists, construction engineers and technicians, city planners etc. The renewing and development plans for the new capitol Ankara needed specialists Turkey did not have by that time. There were 40 architects from Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland working in Turkey between 1924-1940 that left their traces in modern Turkish architecture and arts. Since 1936 in Academy of Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi) Leopold Levy from France headed the Painting Department and Rudolf Belling and Bruno Taut from Germany headed the sculpture and architecture Departments. They ensure the serious reform movement not only in Turkish art education but also in modernizing the art currents and trends. They managed to introduce and impose as a practice the system of ateliers as an effective part of education⁷.

⁶ Photo is taken from: <http://www.kenthaber.com/Haber/Genel/Kose/yilmaz-erguvenc/taksim-cumhuriyet-aniti--/f55c8cd5-8058-40ff-8c87-d0f7768b6445>, Kent Haner, Yılmaz Ergüvenç, Taksim Cumhuriyet Anıtı (page open on 20.02.2013).

⁷<http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/belge/1-24053/sanatici-yetistirme-hedefli-kurumlarda-plastik-sanatlar-.html>

German sculptor Rudolf Belling (1886 – 1972) played very important role in raising Turkish sculpture. He immigrated in 1937 to Istanbul, Turkey where he lived and worked for thirty years. From 1937 he was professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, re-organizing the department of sculpture and mediating introductions towards modern art, basing his work on traditional studies. From 1951 to 1966, he was professor at the Istanbul Technical University, at the department of architecture.

In years up to Atatürk's death in 1938 Turkish sculptors also advanced in making sculptures of Atatürk. They started to express their discontent of commissioning the sculptures only to foreigners and expressed their opinion in most critical way in *Ar* magazine blaming them in megalomania and non-sensitiveness to Turkish spirit and atmosphere⁸. Kenan Yontunc created monuments of Atatürk in Edirne and Chorum, and Hadi Bara – in Adana (1935)⁹.



*The monument of Liberation (Ali Hadi Bara, 1935), Atatürk Park in Adana.*¹⁰

The acquisition of liberation and independence, the establishment of the Republic and Atatürk was the most important symbol of those values. Atatürk's secular personality gained sense of radical symbolic value in the history of the Republic. He became an ideological and political preference, the cornerstone of futuristic "modern" discourse. Indeed, there is no other Turkish greatest as Atatürk depicted and sculptured from the city to the smallest village. By allowing the dissemination of his own

⁸ Tansug, Sezer. *Çağdaş Türk Sanatı*, 5. baskı, İstanbul, 1999, Remzî kitapevi, p. 204-207.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹⁰ <https://tarihturklerdebaslar.wordpress.com/2013/08/18/bir-kurtulus-savasi-kahramani-emine-kiz/> (last open 17.05.2017)

image he had played a key role in the abolition of certain taboos from this point the violent actions of his political opponents and conservative religious circles turned later against the sculptures and busts of Atatürk. Except when sculptured is a single figure, Atatürk was positioned among children, youth and women and almost in every sculpture the people was represent as a “peasant” and in this way the image of the peasant was moved to the city which was a phenomenon in Turkish culture.

The main ideas of Atatürk for independence, freedom of thought and modern values, as well as the implementation of so-called Kemalist revolution in the life were the primary source in forming the image. His being a nation’s hero, his strength and power moved to the suggestiveness of sculptures and found opportunities to be embodied in them. Atatürk statues combine the classical iconography of a victorious commander with the image of a dreamer with eyes gazed in the future; a stable, confident leader of the modernist stance stands out in front of us. “The seek Ottoman Past” opposites the image of a healthy youth whom the future will be trusted to. Usually to the right and to the left of Atatürk there are young boys and girls with their torches that will take his victory, triumphs and beliefs into the future.

After WWII, the social and economic situation in Turkey changed especially since 1950’s. With the transition to a multiparty system in 1946, the religion-politics-individual-society relations became the core issue in political competition, too. Many parties founded in the 1946-1950 just like Atatürk’s CHP placed the important stress on religion, traditions and laicism in their political programmes. Most of new political parties treated them in conservative and traditional realm accepting an approach closed to the ideas of political Islam¹¹.

After 1950’s Turkish artists exposed their understanding of art and style and produced artefacts as they wished. This situation was reflected in the art of sculpture, the searching of forms and abstract studies also practiced besides figurative sculpture. During that period, especially in abstract works the search of plastic values, balance, shape and material became important. The years 1950-1960’s are the transitional period to modern art in Turkey. The Turkish sculptors, who desire to catch the century, turned towards abstract work of art and wanted to be independent from the government. They gained success by trying to use different techniques with different materials. During this period, new exhibition centres and art galleries have been opened. The artists of 1950-1960 periods represented the country successfully, by joining exhibitions, biennales, congresses and competitions in Turkey and abroad.

After the military coup in 1960, aiming also to restore the principles of Atatürk considered abandon by the DP’s 10 years of rule, the number of monuments increased. This was due to the desire

¹¹ Bibina, Y. *Cultural Politics of Post-War Turkey, 1945-1960*. Sofia, 1988, p. 450 (Non-published dissertation).

to refresh the memory and adherence to the Kemalist revolutions among society. The sculptures and busts appeared again in the university campuses. The synergy between architecture and sculpture gradually was given up in public works. The Atatürk sculpture making gained momentum again with next coup in 1980 and celebration of the 100 Anniversary in 1981 although the sculpture had already fulfilled its mission and turned into a commissioning activity. Some of the authors just multiplied their previous works and put them on the new pedestals all over the country. Usually they gave up of bas-reliefs on the pedestals and groups representing heroic days of Independence War giving preference to single figure of Atatürk as undeniable leader and guardian of the Republic and to great extend mythologizing his image. The avalanche of statues and busts were placed in front of universities, downtowns, schools, cemeteries, barracks, military and public buildings deprived of meaning and turned into kitsch.

With time after Atatürk's monuments and statues changed and almost lost the meaning they had in Early Republican era, i.e. to identify the squire or generally speaking – public spaces and to visualize Republican ideals and principles thus becoming the very symbols of the Republic. Since 2000, they start to be placed in officially recognized area to wreath on holidays and official occasions. This practice was followed mostly by local governments in country sides often in the background of minaret's of the mosques that during last decade became – again – an important element of the squire just like in Ottoman times and in co-existence with other Turkish grandeurs from Ottoman Past – sultans, viziers, poets of Anatolia, or the new symbols of the cities (cow, cock, cotton, cherry, melon, tulip etc.).



Statue of Sultan Bayezid II, placed in front of the building of Turkish Standardization Institute in Ankara¹².

The tension between secularists and supporters of pro-Islamic AKP appears in hostile attitude to the Atatürk's monuments, statues, busts and there are accusation from the more secular parts of

¹² Photos is taken from Wikimedia Commons:

http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosya:I._Bayezid_heykeli_Yavuz_G%C3%B6rev.JPG (28.02.2013)

society in attempts of governing party to destroy the foundations of the secular Republic through destroying or replacing the monuments of Atatürk thus sweeping the memory of everything he did for the Turkish state and Turkish nation. The social and ideological conflict appears again in controversy between Republic and Ottoman state and revivalism of all Ottoman alongside with “neo-Ottomanism” in which the AKP government is often accused and takes the forms of specific “battles for public spaces” and symbolism of monuments filled up with.

Severe opposition both in people and artistic circles arise around some megalomaniac projects like Sivriada (2005) to build a 110 m high figure of Whirling Dervish statue. The island is famous for its historical heritage from Byzantine times like monastery and church that will totally “clashed” with the image of dervish. Besides the Istanbul would “still” the symbol of city of Konya famous as a centre of Mevlevism and Whirling Dervishes. According to the history professor Özbayoğlu, the monument will “erase 1200 years old historical texture of the place” and will sweep the “sharpness” turning the island into “flat area” with nothing but a single statue on it¹³. Fortunately, the project was rejected and the island preserved its historical heritage – for now.



So, one can say that the monument and monumental arts keep their ideological and representational functions. One of the last examples is the quite disputed so called “monster” case¹⁴ around the *Monument of Humanity* in city of Kars that was destroyed by the order of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan. The 30 meters high and 700 tons of weight, statue aimed to be seen in Armenia and to become symbol of friendship between Armenian and Turkish peoples, a kind of “counter-

¹³ Sivriada'ya sivri proje. 17 Ocak 2005 / İbrahim Doğan. Sivriada'ya sivri proje. <http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/aksiyon/haber-14649-12-sivriada-ya-sivri-proje.html> (01.03.2013)

¹⁴ Monument was publically called “ucube” – “monster by him in an official interview. See: Berberoğlu, E. Heykele Ucube Dedim, *Hürriyet*, 13 Ocak; <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/16750441.asp> (02.03.2013).

monument” of many other that were built in memory of genocide. From other side the dispute showed the significance of controversy between artists and statesmen in public discussions on art and life relations.



*Monument of Humanity*¹⁵

The Monument was definitely destroyed on June 14 2011 and removed from the site¹⁶. Stefan Füle, member of the Enlargement Commission of EU, said that no state institution or government or even EU Commission could judge the aesthetic values of destroyed monument in Kars and that he was really sorry about the demolition of the only monument of Turkish-Armenian friendship¹⁷.

However, in broader picture of sculpture and other plastic arts in Turkey like elsewhere in the world, the ideal of creation a public area in places of common city living accented by a monument/statue/complex pointed on historic moments/historic memory already fulfilled its purpose and sense in the realm of modernization project and today gained its own significance. They leave the function of being visuals or enlightenment elements that have to expose the advanced European civilization to the Turkish people and turned to real dynamic of contemporary life. Yet the Squires are accepted as main public areas that supposed to host the public art, too. The same can be said about

¹⁵ Photo is taken from: <http://www.haberler.com/insanlik-aniti-yikiminda-sona-yaklasiliyor-2755446-haberi/> (5.05.2017)

¹⁶ 'İnsanlık anıtı' artıkyok. Dinçer Aktemur/Kars, (DHA).
<http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/-insanlik-aniti-artik-yok/gundem/gundemdetay/14.06.2011/1402439/default.htm>
(5.05.2017)

¹⁷ AB'densanatdersi: <http://www.haberturk.com/kultur-sanat/haber/641846-abden-sanat-dersi> (22.06.2011)

sculptures and monuments – they continue to be an important indicant in forming the very idea of public space.

What about the Atatürk's monuments while he is still living in the hearts of Turkish people they already do not need to see his image as serial productions of busts, statues, monuments that are deprived of art and aesthetics values everywhere on the squares, in front of public and government buildings, battered and even turned into hackneyed Kitsch. According to some art historians, there is no place or need in this in changing cultural, social and art environment¹⁸. Through ritualization of demonstrative practices like enwreathing his image not just becomes worn out but even meaningless in atmosphere of politics of efface (amnesia) the collective memory for Atatürk and stimulates the behaviour of disrespect (as we see) among youngest generations.

In general, we can conclude that the most important place of cultural identity reflected in the public sphere has been the subject of debate in Turkey in the context of art and social values reflected on the state of the public nature. The study of this situation in a society that is concerning about its own identity appears as one of the most important issues related to the contemporary public art in Turkey. Public art from another hand raises awareness and the value of art in the public dialogue and moves it forwards to new interpretations and artistic quests.

¹⁸ See: Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. "Siyasi/estetik gösterge" olarak kamusal alanda anıt ve heykel (The monuments and sculptures in the public place as political/ aesthetical signs). – In: METU JFA 2011/1, p. 92.

Antoaneta BALCHEVA¹

European and National in Antun Gustav Matoš's Travel Notes

Abstract

The dichotomy European/national and its creative power has marked profoundly A. Matoš's worldly and artistic credo. Two distinguished features pervade his works and his travel notes: the French and the Croatian, the modern and the home-grown. The latter two tend to unite the Western taste with the Croatian propensity for sedition. Antun Matoš's long-term aspirations strive for a well-maintained balance of the two. His travel notes feature imagologic constructs – a realm of tableaux of every manifestation of the nation's life and mentality, of European culture and civilization, of domestic developments and human manners. It is precisely by means of his travel notes that Antun Matoš recreated the mythological perception of his life as a patriotically disposed bohemian and an exile, whose works were created solely for the sake of art and literature; a person who disregarded largely the rest of the world. It is lofty artistic ideals that make all disharmonies in life disappear. The dynamic relationship between European and national served as a catalyst for the mixed feelings, typical of his works. Their emblematic presence made them ascend as a categorical imperative, which determined the vitality of his creative capacity, and turned them into a basic guideline for his writings.

Keywords: travel notes; European/national; imagology; modernism.

Европейско и национално в пътеписите на Антун Густав Матош Резюме

Изследването е опит да се разбули многопластовата и противоречива творческа същност на модерната А. Матош, навигиращ между визията за една мултикултурна Европа и копнежа за национална еманципация. Акцентира се върху пъстрата мозайка от „другости“ в пътеписите му, водеща до болезненото преоткриване и преподреждане на идентичности на нивото на европейското и националното в контекста на пространствената и времева съгъстеност на културите. Статията разглежда неговите пътеписи като имаголожки конструкции – царство на картини от всички проявления на националния живот и менталитет, на европейската култура и цивилизация, на родните взаимоотношения и човешки нрави, отразяващи превъплъщенията на модерния дух в рамките на националната самобитност.

Ключови думи: пътеписи; европейско/национално; имагология; модернизъм.

The European-national dialogue performs its role of a structurizing force through which the Old Continent's ideas and identities are formed and its historical realities are set up. Garnered around

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the project of modernity, time and again identified with the notion of Europe they put forward the sophisticated architectonics of a modern national identity which dispels the ontological boundaries set by traditional society, with regard to what is own and what is assumed, guiding towards a more explicit mutual pervasion and free exchange in both directions.

The culture of dialogue largely recognized as a prerequisite for every discourse on modernism, strongly invigorates the space-time relation between European and national within the context of Southeast Europe's historical drama of the turn of XIX century. The collapse of the great narrative implies a replacement of the genealogical and religious homogeneity by pluralism and extreme changeability, by the ambivalence of the Ego, which steals away from the obligations imposed by the 'pedagogical ethnography' of nation, to incarnate in a 'superman' of modern times, the son of its nation who keeps on emulating the foreigners' 'otherness'. The hectic exchange of real and imaginary traditions which leads to distressing revelations and rearrangement of European and Balkan identities is an assignment for the new generation which is doomed to be in a scramble for bridging the gap to overcome its 'intermediation' by parting from the syncretism of the national revival's identity code and finding a key to the construction of a modern cultural autoreflexion.

Situated at the turning point of two ages, the spiritual atmosphere of Croatia bears the stamp of a despondency and the downfall of all national and social yearnings. In 1895, on the occasion of Emperor Franz Joseph's visit to Zagreb, the Hungarian flag was set afire – a fact that made the authorities expel two groups of students from the University of Zagreb. The liberal-minded young people would go to proceed with their studies in Prague and Vienna featuring the countenance of the new modern Croatian multifarious and heterogeneous aesthetic formation. The pages of *Hrvatska misal* and the newspaper *Mladost* – an exponent of the Viennese Secession, both give witness of the quest for a course for moving away from that 'uniformed' literature, accentuating a stronger individualization of art and creativeness as a response to the inherited artistic conventions of the past, and a perceived necessity of fulfilling artistic achievements. Antun Matoš, whose short story *The Power of Conscience* (1892, *Vienac*)², is the epitome of this new stylistic formation taking over the Croatian literature, is quite expressive: "Our art cannot be national unless it becomes European, i.e. when it embodies ingenious Croatian expressiveness, a special mode of the spirit, filled with European connotations".³ For him, the antinomy European – national has to be considered within a pattern discarding any kind of philistine narrow-mindedness, eulogizing the humanistic and anthropocentric

² Moć savjesti – *Vjenac*, Br. 33, 13. Kolovoz, God. XXIV, 1892, Zagreb.

³ Matoš, A. Umjetnost i nacionalizam. In: *Odabrani eseji i putopisi*. p. 39. All translations are mine – A.B. http://gimnazija-sb.com/portal/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/matos_odabraniesejiiputopisi.pdf (5.02.2017).

pathos for the intransigent values of the universal and the beautiful in art. The ‘patriotic drive’ is just a semibreve in the entire creative suggestion – “any creativeness which has only patriotic traits could barely satisfy more than a minimal, negligible part of our emotiveness”.⁴

Spiritual identity, being a fruit of the invigorating impulse to creativeness and re-creation, rather than the emanation of frozen forms, a heritage of the past, will be the root of Antun Matoš’s visionary project. It was Tin Ujević, who in 1911 threw light on the dichotomy European/national, its creative power, and the profound stamp it left on A. Matoš’s worldly and artistic credo.⁵ He further notes in the obituary „*Em smo Horvati*” (1914):

“Two distinguished features pervade his works – the French, and the Croatian, the modern and the home-grown. These are two factors, which would have tended to harmonize in consonance with the European and our own culture, uniting the Western taste with the Croatian propensity for sedition. Antun Matoš’s long-term aspirations strive for having them well balanced”.⁶

The dynamic relationship between European and national catalyze the mixed feelings typical of his works. Their emblematic presence makes them ascend as categorical imperative, which determines the vitality of his creative capacity, and turns them, as defined by Dubravka Oraic Tolic, into a basic guideline of his research.⁷ Synergy permeates his travel notes where the central and structurizing figure of the *flaneur* peeps in, all out to grasp the fugitive, the evanescent that features one of the aspects of modernity, attuning it to its other face – the invariable enjoyment of the self. For him, *flaneurie* is “an imaginary journey appeasing the most adventurous yearnings for everything new, for flying above our low-minded and mediocre milieu”.⁸

It is, therefore, quite easy to explain the apology of modern travelling, the one that A. Matoš suggests in his itinerary „*Ferije*” („*Festivities*”): “Life is *flaneurie*, ... the great souls are all *flaneurs*...”.⁹ It is travelling, which he refers to as a “poetry of the modern civilization” in touch with the permanent process of remodelling the ‘otherness’, and identifying with foreigner, what the Croat intellectuals, too much absorbed in their national discourse, would need. A critical glimpse of the Croatian culture of travelling makes A. Matoš stand up confronted with those intellectuals’ backwardness and apathy, ironically portraying them as ones “sitting by the stove, grunting and

⁴ Ibid., p.38.

⁵ Ujević, T. Barres i Oinobarres. In: *Sabrana djela, Sv.VII*, Zagreb: Znanje, 1965, p.72.

⁶ Ujević, T. *Sabrana djela, Sv.VII*, Zagreb: Znanje, 1965, p. 102.

⁷ Oraić, D. Europsko i nacionalno u djelu A.G. Matoša. In: *Hrvatska književnost u europskom kontekstu*. Ured. Al. Flaker, Krunoslav Pranjić. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1978, 445-447.

⁸ Matoš A.G. Pjesme. Pečalba. In: *Sabrana djela, sv. 5*, ur. D. Tadijanović, Zagreb, 1973, 202–203.

⁹ Matoš A.G. Ferije. In: *Sabrana djela, sv. XI (O likovnim umjetnostima, Putopisi)*, ur. Sl. Batušić i D. Jelčić, Zagreb: JAZU, 1973, 278-282.

intriguing in the manner of old peasant wives”.¹⁰ The village people, in contradistinction, are represented as the true authors of a “modern drama of the advancement”¹¹, travelling around the world, and reaching as far as America. Travelling for him is an immanent need that haunts human spirit. Travellings have produced colossuses as outstanding as Luis Camoes, James Cook, Wagner, Byron and Chateaubriand.

The spiritual pilgrimage of A. Matoš, which conventionally started in 1894 after his defection from the Austrian army and his escape to Belgrade (Serbia), has been embroiled in a deep existential crisis, which is sooner an antipode of ethnocentric self-conceit, rather than a cultural dislocation artefact. His cultural pilgrimage fed by a multiplicity of European sources which established secular standards of the Croatian literature of modern times, comprises Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Serbia, Slovenia, and the littoral area. A written statement of his impressions can be found in the travel notes *U Munchenu, krajem januara 1908* (*In Munich, at the end of January 1908*); *Od Pariza do Beograda* (*From Paris to Belgrade*); *Od Zagreba do Beograda* (*From Zagreb to Belgrade*); *Ferije* (*Festivities*); *Pod florentinskim sesirom* (*Under the Florentine Hat*); *Od Firenze do Zagreba* (*From Florence to Zagreb*), etc. Along with the regular Croatian theme, the Italian theme has been touched in three of them, the theme about Geneva – in a couple of them, and those concerning Paris, Belgrade and Sarajevo – in one of them.

The lofty aesthetic styles of the age of Modernism, Impressionism, Symbolism and the Secession go along with the grotesque, the cartoon, as well as the pre-vanguard aesthetics of ugliness. Unlike the realists, who tend to pursue strictly educational objectives largely streamlining the travel notes, Matoš approaches the Hypolite Taine’s sociologization of arts. His travelogues feature imagologic constructs – a realm of pictures of every manifestation of national life and mentality, of European culture and civilization, the homeland ongoings and the human manners.

The spiritual geography of Europe, as depicted by him, seems rather subjectified, the natural and the urban landscapes are profoundly related to the author, who remains strongly under their influence. The antitheses and the comparisons are often used, as in the travel note *Od Pariza do Beograda* (*From Paris to Belgrade*), for example. There, the Swiss countryside does not correlate to cheese making, neither to the natural history style observations typical of the J.W. Goethe’s travel notes; it sooner approximates to the music by Gioachino Rossini and the paintings of Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901). On this backcloth of emphatically cultural associations linking to the Habsburgs,

¹⁰ Matoš A.G. *Sabrana djela*, sv. XI (*O likovnim umjetnostima, Putopisi*), ur. Sl. Batusić i D. Jelčić, Zagreb: JAZU, 1973, p. 195.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

feudalism, the Jesuits and Catholicism on one hand, and Wilhelm Tell – the disaffected, the rebel, freedom and tolerance, on the other, he has managed to construct a richly layered network of literary signs borrowed from the passing economic and political situation in Switzerland and the Croatian lands. His picture is a sign system, an aesthetic code of the absolutized author's ego, far and away from the whimsical and individualized ego of Nemčić or Weber. It has come to lure him away from the inessential things, thus bringing the reader in a hypnotic infatuation, carried along by his own emotions and thoughts as the only way to art.

By means of his travel notes, precisely, Antun Matoš recreates the myth of his life – a patriotically disposed bohemian and exile whose works have been solely created for art and literature's sake, one who largely disregards the rest of the world. The lofty artistic ideals are what makes all disharmony in life disappear. In the aftermath of his seven years spent in Belgrade (1894-1898) and (1898-1899), and a couple of years in Geneva (1898-1899), it is now the turn to his sojourn in Paris (1899-1904) where his love for the arts and freedom has taken him, thus making him open a new page in the Croatian literature.

His stay in Paris was for many aspects marked by a pro-modernist penchant as displayed in his book *Ogledi* (*Essays*, 1905): he admires the multicultural nature of the World Exhibition in 1900, the technical achievements, the industry of mining – every day, as he shares with us, he mounts the lift and goes up the top of the Eiffel tower, dreaming of aircrafts and balloons. He views the notion of beauty as a matter of universality, it spreads out even onto industry: “A Frenchman aestheticizes everything – even what seems to many an absurdity: the industry”.¹² Matoš drifts far away from the enlighteners' romantic paradigms and entirely subjectivizes the city attaching a post-Baudelairian significance as emanation of modernity thereto. Paris is the centre which introduces any aesthetic novelty, a focus of beauty, art and literature, its streets have seen “Strossmayer, Kvaternik, Starčević and Kumičić passing by – all of them disciples of the most human, most classic and most attractive Europe, just because she is the most aesthetically beautiful, and has contributed in the utmost degree to the principles of freedom throughout the world”.¹³ As if European and national fuse in this metropolis of spirit. There is a well-known quote by Matoš, that “a day in Paris means a life experience comparable to a century in Croatia”. Little, insignificant and narrow-minded is how the Croatian reality – the one he has left – looks like.

Matoš refers to France as to a new mother country, a motherland of spirit just like Italy, whom he dedicates his travelogues *Pod florentinskim sesirom* (*Under the Florentine Hat*), *Salve, Dea Roma!*,

¹² Matos, A. *Ogledi. Studije i impresije*. Zadar, 1905, p. 33.

¹³ Matoš, Antun Gustav. *Misli i pogledi*. Zagreb: Globus. Nikolajević, 1988. p. 290.

and *Rimski izleti* (*Roman excursions*). Along with historical actuality, he dwells upon the symbols of his own time. However, Matoš is not enticed by the deceitful flash of the limousines, the squash hats and the flower shops labelled Gainsborough, neither is he lost in admiration of the high speeds like Milan Begović – a younger travelogue author, and a vociferous high-speed fan. The Florentine travel notes which gradually turn into an essay-type narrative in prose, or look like a piece of writing about the art of painting, sculpture, architecture and theatre, or about the French-Italian relations. In Florence Matoš recognizes the Italy of distinctions and contrasts: happiness and anguish, holiness and evil, beauty and ugliness... In Rome, the Eternal city, he remains breathless, facing the Palatine hill palaces, the Quirinal, and the Colosseum. He treads his way on the ground keeping the footprints of the greatest triumphs, and the most deplorable degradation and disgrace to humankind. Matoš's unbending spirit spans the whole Roman history setting it in one place: saints, martyrs, wicked, heroes, tribunes, tyrants, philosophers, poets...

Approaching the European cultural standards requires the author to engage for a constant sweep of legitimation. Getting to know Italy, claims Matoš, would have meant getting to know oneself, to comprehend the Croatian psyche and its intellectuals who are cradled at the source of that culture. In *Salve, Dea Roma!* Matoš says with a touch of bitterness: "We, the Croats, although a classical example of Roman worshippers, a people of travellers... we are still missing a reputable travelogue literature similar to the Roman one".¹⁴ His profound analysis of travelling as a cultural phenomenon is a valuable contribution to a new imagology perusal of the European cultural peripheries. In the travel notes *Ferije* (*Festivities*, 1908) which was born in the aftermath of his fourteen years' exile, Matoš passes a severe judgment: the Croats do not tend to travel, and moreover, they are not familiar with Croatia, and he who does not know himself, will not be capable to gain a knowledge of the world.¹⁵

The author's critical evaluation reveals the permanent contradiction between two types of sensitivity, synchronizing different diachronic aspects. On one hand, he corroborates the idea that every traveller is a precious little stone within the mosaic, which makes the texture of a national travelling culture – a part of the patriotic platform of the romanticists. On the other hand, Matoš represents the individualist of modern times, a man of exile, a pilgrim and a traveller, who cannot sever his ties with the imaginary community, and conjure away from the nightmarish embrace history / nation.¹⁶ Stretched between the European art and the situation in Croatia, Matoš has been inside the ethnocentric individualist's discourse, who dramatically endures his motherland's hardships. The

¹⁴ Matoš, A. G. *Salve, dea Roma*. In: *Sabrana djela*, sv. XI, ur. Sl. Batusić i D. Jelčić, Zagreb: JAZU, 1973, p. 276.

¹⁵ Matoš, A. G. *Oko Zagreba i po Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 1999, p. 90.

¹⁶ Dean Duda. *Kultura putovanja*. Zagreb: Ljevak, 2012, p. 203.

aesthetics (the so called art-ism), elevated to a supreme principle in his works, life and experience, is being over and over again discredited and bothered by the biographic and political realities. In his travelogue essays the absence of freedom, the exile and the penury in a personal aspect come across the national fortunes, personified by the woeful and wretched motherland Croatia. Such a biased concept of authorship is founded to a certain extent on the romanticist understanding of the genius-author, whose stewardship of beauty is committed to the representative (national) and the universal (worldly-minded) function of the author's work. According to Dubravka Oraic Tolic, A. Matoš during his sojourn in Paris has been in full consonance with the challenges of modernity and advancement, while upon his return to Croatia, he becomes more conservative, worried by the demographic decline of the Croatian lands, by the economic backwardness and foreign domination. While the 'European' Matoš seems to be more focused on the metropolis-city, the 'domestic' Matoš is attracted by tradition, natural landscape and the urban-rural topos.

The Croatian landscape is more than a nextdoor space for him, bound up together with his own memories, pictures, sounds, atmosphere, mood – all that refines and cherishes the national identity in every soul, in each of us, in every new generation. Matoš defines the meaning of his landscape, invigorates it, humanizes it. "Birthplaces are the best biographers..." will he share with us. For him, landscape is, on one hand, a metonymy of nature, a modern European absolute.¹⁷ At the same time, thematizing on it, he adduces therein his national context tied up with the moments of his own suffering, his "Starčević-ianism"¹⁸ and the idyllic Croatian literary tradition tracking it out from Ivan Gundulić through to Franjo Marković. In the travel notes *Kod kuće* (At home) and *Oko Lobora* (Around Lobar) nature and history fuse and merge, while geography is understood as a temporalized space, an exaltation of the natural and objective landscapes.¹⁹ In the opinion of Matoš, it is not only the human being that has a spiritual make-up, the Earth has it as well, and 'it sings just as our people and history, conversing in a loud voice'.²⁰ A. Matoš's idea of landscape is closest to the ethnic model of construction of national identity worked out by Anthony Smith (National Identity, 1991), whereby landscape is poetized and sacralised, endowing the individuals with the so called "moral geography".

The aesthetic profile of Antun Matoš has turned into a peculiar metaphor of time, in the search for a guiding line of the modern time incarnations of spirit within the frames of national originality.

¹⁷ Matoš, A. G. *Dojmovi i ogledi*. Samobor, 2003, p. 160.

¹⁸ Ante Starčević (1823–1896) was a Croatian politician and writer. He is often referred to as "Father of the Homeland" by Croats.

¹⁹ Matoš, A. G. *Kod kuće*. In: Duda, Dean. *Putopisi*. Vinkovci, 1999, p. 119.

²⁰ Matoš: *Putopisi*, Privlačica, Vinkovci, 1995, p. 73.

To him the destiny has allotted the part of leading the Croatian literature away from the idyllic and sterile childhood, laying the foundations of a truly modernist art. His travel notes are original synthesis between the European context and the ingenious contribution of the Croatian elite to its cultural diversity.

Fotiny CHRISTAKOUDY-KONSTANTINIDOU¹

The Motif of Travelling in Greek Poetry in the Interwar Period

Abstract

The cosmopolitan travelling of Greek poetry begins with the emblematic work of Cavafy *Ithaka* (1910). However 'travelling' will vary its meaning in the following decades and will become the turning point for realizing the despair and the irreversible loss of the ideal by the so-called generation of the 1930s whose sense of tragic doom will cement the topos of the 'lost native land' in Greek literature. In its wanderings during the interwar period Greek poesy shows us 'travelling' (act equal to separation from/acquisition of new space and time) as sadness, but also as an adventure and infinity (N. Kavvadias); as an action, that is pointless (*The City*, C. Cavafy), and yet obtains absolute dimensions as a bearer of knowledge and wisdom (*Ithaka*, C. Cavafy), while in the end in G. Seferis's verses the voyage reaches its total disembodiment, but also its transformation into something new – into an individual/ ancestral memory (obviously the only possible island of salvation), into a transcendent immortality of a universal human consciousness.

Key words: Greek poetry; travelling; Nikos Kavvadias; Constantine Cavafy; Georgios Seferis.

Мотивът за пътуването в гръцката поезия през междувоенния период Резюме

Космополитното пътешествие на гръцката поезия започва още от емблематичното произведение на Кавафис *Итака* (1910). Мотивът за пътуването обаче ще променя своето значение в следващите десетилетия и ще се превърне в повратна точка за осъзнаване на отчаянието и безвъзвратната загуба на идеала за така нареченото поколение от 30-те години на XX в., чието усещане за трагичност затвърждава топоса за 'изгубената родина' в гръцката литература. В своето скитане сред дебрите на поетичния модернизъм гръцката лирика ни показва 'пътуването' (акт равносilen на отделяне от/придобиването на пространство и време) като тъга, но и като приключение и безбрежност (Н. Кавадиас); като действие, което обезмисля само себе си в безизходния скептицизъм на К. Кавафис от *Градът*, но и като действие, което добива абсолютно измерение като носител на панацеята от знание и мъдрост (*Итака*), за да стигнем до пълното му обезпелтяване при Г. Сеферис, но и същевременно до трансформирането му в нещо ново – в индивидуална/родова памет (очевидно единствения възможен остров на спасение), в имажинерно безсмъртие на едно универсално човешко съзнание.

Ключови думи: гръцка поезия; пътуване; Никос Кавадиас; Константинос Кавафис; Георгиос Сеферис.

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The cosmopolitan travelling of Greek literature begins with the emblematic work of Cavafy *Ithaka* (1910)². This very poem marks the beginning of an adventure which seeks the escape from one place to another, the discovery of new cities, new harbours and the beauty of nature – a voyage that is interrupted by temporary stops of passionate love and sublime aesthetic delights and that is to become finally one with the big journey to the otherworld.

The spirit of the modern 20th c. social and intellectual life stands out particularly in the creative attempts of Greek poets after 1920. The moral breakdown caused by the First World War, reinforced by the drama of the Asia Minor catastrophe (1922-1923), contributes to the formation of an antiheroic, individualistic and pessimistic psychology. The contemporary Greek feels that he lives in a defeated country without ideals, laughed at, abandoned and open to all winds. At that time cosmopolitanism pops out as an ideal of life and art in Greece. During the interwar period, it is perceived as a disposition for an adventurous wandering in the post-war city and as an enjoyment of every delight and pleasure that megalopolises offer. Anxiety, despair and along with this a flight to the modern, surprising side of life characterize the poetry that is being created in that period³. Poets after 1915 get inspired by and differ themselves from the symbolist generation of the 1890s (the so-called first symbolist wave in Greek poetry). Driven by the advice of literary critics to create verses on the basis of ‘feeling’, ‘spontaneity’, ‘musicality’ Greek neo-symbolists declare a priori their affinity to problems with a pure symbolist origin. At the same time, they want to renew Greek measured speech bringing it into contact with everyday life in the cities that get modernized after 1920⁴.

Thus, Greek symbolism from purely lyrical commences to get cosmopolitan, descriptive, fantasist. This third phase of the reception of symbolism in Greece (according to the classification scheme proposed by Costas Trypanis)⁵ takes place between 1915 and 1925 and is defined as the phase of the Greek cosmopolitan poets. Kostas Ouranis (1890-1953), Angelos Dhoxas (1900-1985), Orestis Laskos (1907-1992), Caesar Emanouil (1902-1970), Alexandros Baras (1906-1990), Nikos Kavvadias (1910-1975) are among the artists who in the turbulence of the interwar years discover the fascination of the Road (“I resemble the old wrinkled sailors,/ who stay on the Dutch harbours/....But the old sailors, motionless, still under the lighthouse/ will contemplate with an extinguished pipe/ the ships departing into the infinity”, *Nostalgia*, Kostas Ouranis)⁶. The leading poetical themes are summarized as melancholy, boredom, nostalgia, cosmopolitanism, sensualism, aestheticism – key

² Trypanis, C. *Greek poetry (from Homer to Seferis)*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 683.

³ Καραντώνης, Α. *Εισαγωγή στη νεότερη ποίηση*. Αθήνα, 1990, σ. 142.

⁴ Καραντώνης, Α. *Ibid.*, σ. 141.

⁵ Trypanis, C. *Greek poetry*, p. 652.

⁶ The translations of the poems in the article are done by the author, F. Christakoudy. This translation is based on the edition: Ουράνης, Κ. *Ποιήματα*. Αθήνα, Εστία, 2009. [«Μοιάζω στους γέρονες ναυτικούς με τις ρυτιδωμένες/ και τις σφιγγώδεις μορφές, που είδα στην Ολλανδία,/...κι όμως οι γέροι ναυτικοί, ακίνητοι στους φάρους,/ με τη μεγάλη πίπα τους σφισμένη πιά στο στόμα/ προς τα καράβια που φύγαν εκοίταζαν – ακόμα...», *Νοσταλγίες*]

words describing Greek neo-symbolism at that time⁷. The Greek cosmopolitan poets are divided into two groups: those who really lived as cosmopolitans such as Kostas Ouranis, Angelos Dhoxas, Nikos Kavvadias and, secondly, the poets (who spent long hours in Athens cafés) dreaming of distant voyages abroad, long journeys to Vladivostok and the unknown Africa, but who never actually left Greece – such are Orestis Laskos, Alexandros Baras, Caesar Emanouil.

In the interwar period Greek literature adopts trends from the development of French poetry that have found their reflection in the contemporary evolution of the country – during these years Athens has turned into a megalopolis and progresses technologically. Greek literature opens itself towards new themes – poets scornfully reject the ‘straw flute’ of Lambros Porfyas (1879-1932)⁸ and turn their back on nature, striving to explore the wonders of the modern city. French poetry has been acquainted with the image of the modern city ever since Baudelaire’s poesy (*The Swan, Spleen*, etc.), but Greek poetry starts to discover it only with the new generation of neo-symbolist poets from the interwar period. Referring to Angelos Dhoxas’s poem *Montmartre* Kostis Palamas (1859-1943)⁹ will say: “Amidst the music of your verse are revealed dancers freely adjusting their steps to a dance that is unknown to us, but that brings us genuine joy”¹⁰.

In front of the Greek reader unfolds a magical world of shining and mysterious European and world cities, vast harbours, railways, bars, yachts, strange words like ‘bistro’, ‘mansard’, ‘aperitif’. Athens listens to jazz and advertisements of trans-ocean voyages appear on the boulevards, while asphalt covered streets lead to dazzling cinemas. Thus in a few years to the history of the Neo-Greek poetry is added a new chapter that “begins with the modern, let’s call it, symbolism, and ends with the poetic cosmopolitanism”¹¹. It has found its most marvellous expression in the verses of Kostas Ouranis: “A life that is better we can begin/ Instead of weathering like a cut spearmint/ Let’s open our sails like those sailors who/ By losing their country discovered a whole world.” (*When shall we open our sails*)¹².

Indeed, Kostas Ouranis is the author who made Greek cosmopolitan poets famous. He possesses a genuine lyrical talent that draws inspiration from his real or imaginable trips such as we see them in his best-known collections of poems *Spleen* (1911) and *Nostalgia* (1920). But it is Nikos Kavvadias who transformed that trip into a one of its kind warm human welcome, into a gentle embrace that cuddles the reader with the softness of salt water and melting southern skies.

⁷ Καραντώνης, Α. *Προβολές* Α. Αθήνα, 1965, σ. 21.

⁸ Lambros Porfyas (1879-1932) is a major representative of the first symbolist generation of the 1890s. His collections of poems bear the equivocal titles *Shades* (1920) and *Lyrical voices* (1934).

⁹ Kostis Palamas (1859-1943) is a central figure of Greek literary life and, particularly, of the Greek literary generation of the 1880s, being one of the cofounders of the so-called New Athenian School (or Palamian School, or Second Athenian School) along with Georgios Drosinis, Nikos Kambas, Ioannis Polemis.

¹⁰ Καραντώνης, Α. *Προβολές* Α, σ. 32.

¹¹ Καραντώνης, Α. *Ibid.*, σ. 21.

¹² Ουράνης, Κ. *Ποιήματα*, 2009. [«Μπορούμε ακόμα μια ζωή να ζήσουμε καινούρια,/αντίς να μαραζώνουμε σαν τον κομμένο δυόσμο:/ Φτάνει να κάνουμε πανιά σαν τους θαλασσοπόρους/ που, μια πατρίδα αφήνοντας έβρισκαν έναν κόσμο!», *Πότε θ’ανοίξουμε πανιά* - my translation]

Kavvadias is a true poet of his time. His verses are innovative, the tone of his poetry corresponding to the requirements of the époque for different thematic and expression. Called the poet of the sea, he is among the most loved and read cosmopolitan authors, but his name has been left out of the official histories of Greek literature (Linus Politis and Mario Vitti have not included information about Nikos Kavvadias in their *Histories of the Greek Literature*)¹³. Nevertheless, his lyrical world of fantasy conquers readers' imagination – the collection of poems *Marabu* (1933) is a favourite among Greek sailors and until recently, they knew whole verses from it by heart. Filled with exotic names of harbours and people, his writings sound familiar to the Greek soul. People who grew near the sea, Greeks have tied their lives with the deep blue of the water expanse, being eternally fascinated with its endlessness – ever since Homer's Odysseus until the Odysseus of Kazantzakis, who finds out that the most convenient harbour for his spirit is the vastness of the South Pole! The maritime pilot Nagel, the stoker from Djibouti, the English captains – all Kavvadias's heroes look at us in a childish innocent way, sad and tired, but filled with humanism, nostalgia and genuine kindness, so far from us, but so close at the same time, with their everyday worries and woes, with their small, but not easily gained joys.

The human drama in this poetry unfolds itself in front of our eyes by means of a subdued narration without unnecessary rhetoric. The vibrant colours and aromas – intertwined by the laws of synaesthesia into an as unforgettable as humanly perceptible and empathic image – are obvious though. To the smell of Willy's hashish is added the heavy smoke of the tobacco pipe of pilot Nagel Harbor, to the perfume of the Far Eastern spices – the breeze of the evergreen Indies....

The neo-symbolist sounding of the verses gets us back to the source of creative impulses for that whole generation of poets from the 1920s and even the 1930s. For them the voyage is a vibrant energy equal to self-realization. That energy has its brilliant expression in Kavvadias's verses from the French titled poem *Mal du départ*: "I will rest an idealist and a worthless lover/ of the long trips in the open blue seas"¹⁴.

Colombo, Algeria, Djibouti, Marseilles, Singapore, Port Said, the Port of Aden, Alexandria and many other toponyms are not markers of a deliberately sought exoticism in the poetry of a traveller at heart as Kavvadias, but are those traps of time and *terra firma* in which infinity embodies itself in love, passion, jealousy, in deadly fights of harsh and life-hardened people with their fate. These numerous geographical names become a symbol of the memorable rendezvous with the beauty of life at sea. The

¹³ *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας*. Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Οδυσσεύς, 1978; Πολίτης, Λ. *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας*. Αθήνα, MIET, 1985.

¹⁴ Καββαδίας, Ν. *Μαραμπού*. Αθήνα, Άγρα, 2011. [«Θα μείνω πάντα ιδανικός κι ανάξιος εραστής/ των μακρισμένων ταξιδιών και των γαλάζιων πόντων...», *Mal du départ* - my translation].

poetry of Kavvadias is a lyrical creation of raw materials that give us the feeling of unprocessed ore – it is so true, so unvarnished, so filled with authentic compassion. And that is so because he chooses exactly the water expanse to represent the absolute fusion of the human and the divine. It is only there at sea where individuals discover, when battling for survival (sometimes even paid with death), the true values of human life – friendship, solidarity, affection. Kavvadias is a sailor, but also a dreamer, a traveller and a worshiper of the good side in the human soul.

The work of Constantine P. Cavafy (1863-1933) also leads us into a more and more fragmentary and lonely world where the universal moral categories are under question. Travelling as a beginning and an end, as separation and acquisition, as transgression and regression has marked with all the force of a wide philosophical and historical substratum his lyrical poetry. We could not possibly leave unmarked the ever-growing influence of Cavafy over the poets working in Athens in the 1920s. C. Cavafy began writing his poetry ever since the end of the 19th c., but he received little recognition at that time because his style differed largely from the then mainstream Greek poetry. It is only after the Asia Minor catastrophe that his pessimistic, individualistic and filigree verses touched the heart of the Greeks and thus the crucial historic events contributed to the retarded reception of his work. His poetry became more and more influential and widely recognized after the publication of his first full collection of poems in 1935 done by Rika Sengopoulou. The writings of the lonely and strange Greek poet from Alexandria in Egypt had its huge impact on the young authors whereas his *Ithaka* turned into a symbol for that whole generation of modern ‘cosmopolitan’ poets –the meaning of life for them was no longer hiding in reaching the dreamed shore and fulfilling one’s ideals, but in the voyage itself: “When you depart some time for Ithaka, / pray that your road is far, / filled with adventures and knowledge...”¹⁵.

The poem *Ithaka* was written in October 1910 and was published for the first time in 1911 in the magazine *Grammata* (Γράμματα) in Alexandria. It belongs to the philosophical and didactic works of Cavafy and stands in Greek literature as one of the most impressing examples for the reception of symbolism – the ten year wanderings of Homer’s Odysseus, who sets sail for his homeland, is a basis for the plot of this masterpiece that has raised Ithaka to a universal cognitive symbol, to its pluralisation and metaphorization (“perhaps you’ve already find out the meanings of Ithakas...”¹⁶). The work focuses in itself all the peculiarities of Cavafy’s style – realism, suggestivity, gradual abandoning of the rhyme through the years and usage of the *vers libre*, affinity of his metrical language, that combines extravagantly the characteristics of *katharevousa* and *dimotiki*, to that of the prose.

¹⁵ Καβάφης, Κ. *Τα ποιήματα*. Αθήνα, Gutenberg, 2015. [«Σα βγείς στον πηγαϊμό για την Ιθάκη,/ να εύχεται νάναι μακρύς ο δρόμος...», *Ιθάκη* - my translation].

¹⁶ Καβάφης, Κ. *Ibid.* [«ήδη θα το καταλάβεις η Ιθάκες τι σημαίνουν», *Ιθάκη* - my translation].

The ‘prosaic verses’ of Cavafy reveal new psychological horizons unknown to Greek lyrics till now, launching as well a specific Greek version of symbolism. As regards the thematic of his work the Great Alexandrian does for the Greek literature what Baudelaire does for the French – he depicts with a realistic sometimes even satanic tone the modern individual with his tyrannical sensitivity, sublime aestheticism, his feeling of tragic doom and loneliness. A classic example in this semantic direction is his poem *The City* where Cavafy shows travelling as an action of self-denial and undermines the whole notion of a possible change with his hopeless scepticism. At the same time through his poetics, Cavafy introduces in Modern Greek poetry what Eliot preaches for – the naked expression, the techniques of conveying everyday speaking, the careful search for simple words in which the poetical mysteries crystallize¹⁷.

During the 1920s, Cavafy’s cultural tradition and poetical credo are successfully adopted in continental Greece. Therefore, in the 1930s it comes time for a new revival of Greek lyrical poetry. Hence, commence the poetic searches of Georgios Seferis (1900-1971) whose work is destined to change Greek poesy. Kostas Karyotakis’s (1896-1928)¹⁸ influence continues to be sensed during the 1930s but the verses of his imitators lead nowhere. The change in the literary climate comes only when Seferis publishes his first collection of poems *Strophe* (1931) (*Στροφή*, which translates as ‘turn’). The poetic Renaissance related to his name has its root stock on one side in the modern concepts of European literature and on the other side in the literary work of two minor poets – Teodoros Doros (1895-1954) and Nikitas Randos (1907-1988) who first introduced in Greek poetry the writing on the basis of the subconscious elements not controlled by the logic¹⁹.

The collection of poems *Strophe* is a cornerstone in the development of Modern Greek poetry. The affinity of Seferis’s work to Mallarmé’s and Valéry’s creations is obvious; both poets have conquered the imagination of the young artist and have become models according to which he initially seeks to shape his writings. This poetic volume marks the beginning of the fourth and last wave of symbolist poetry that affects the Greek world of poetic arts, but at the same time, its verses speak more and more persistently of an artistic transition to the aesthetics of surrealism (nevertheless that in 1924 Seferis expressed his disapproval of the new literary credo). Not much later through his work *Mythistorima* (1935) (*Μυθιστόρημα* meaning ‘novel’/‘mythical history’ – even the titles become polysemantic) – positioned in the centre of Seferis’s poesy not only chronologically, but in terms of

¹⁷ Καραντώνης, Α. *Εισαγωγή στη νεότερη ποίηση*, σ. 142.

¹⁸ Kostas Karyotakis is considered one of the most representative Greek poets of the 1920s who after his suicide had a significant influence on later Greek poets introducing in Greek literature the fashion for melancholic and sardonic verse, known as *karyotakism*.

¹⁹ Trypanis, C. *Greek poetry*, p. 694.

its themes and form as well, he reaches the culmination of thoughts and tendencies developed in his early period. His next lyrical creations would rather originate from than deviate from this centre. *Mythistorima* represents also his most important collection of poems with regard to the relationship between Seferis and contemporary English poetry. It is written at the time when Seferis was engulfed by T. S. Eliot's poesy. The work is a narrative poem, which comprises of 24 poems whose number reflects the numbers of the Greek alphabet. Seferis himself has said that both history and myth, on an equal basis, take part in his verses. Speaking with the voice of the collective 'we' in *Mythistorima* he will lament over the desacralization of the holy space 'native land', he will mourn over the lack of ideal and the non-existent pilgrimages will represent the topos of a new profane reality lacking life and eternity.

In this collection of poems stand out the most important topics for his work – the antique and the Neo-Greek tradition as well as their crossing point with the European culture; the melancholy that arises from the fate of Hellenism and the nostalgia of the people belonging to the Greek diaspora who have lost their homeland. In the eighth poem corresponding to the Greek letter *H*, the poet, who has emerged in the epic discourse of the lyrical 'we', exclaims: "but what do our souls search, travelling/ on the decks of decayed ships/...bound with non-existent pilgrimages..."²⁰. The enjambments underline the feeling of scatteredness and separation. But could the trip lead us anywhere – it looks already quite impossible "in a country that is neither ours,/ nor yours"²¹. Only separation exists and as the laws of higher mathematics prove even the minor distance looks insuperable. We 'knew' (the imperfect tense functioning as conditional highlights the non-feasibility of the action), that "the islands are beautiful/ somewhere here.../ a minor distance"²². Travelling in all the cardinal directions – north, east, south, west does not lead anywhere, but at least hides in itself one truth – the truth that Seferis's Odysseus will not forget (*Θ/ 9 poem*). In the winding chimeras of words, **memory** stands as the only possible salvation, as a universal stone of alchemy – "those who will live some time here, where we end/ [...] let's not forget us, the weak souls among the asphodels"²³.

Seferis is the poet who speaking with the voice of the collective 'we' in *Mythistorima* will chant the loss of the ideal, giving a voice to the regrets of that whole generation of the 1930s, who have lost their homeland. Kavvadias will never choose a collective 'we'. He depicts the personal drama of the human being on the borderline of modernity. The relation between Seferis and Kavvadias resembles

²⁰ Σεφέρης, Γ. *Ποιήματα*. Αθήνα, Ίκαρος, 2014. [«Μά τί γυρεύουν οι ψυχές μας ταξιδεύοντας/ πάνω σέ κατασπρώματα κατελυμένων караβιών/...δεμένες άθελα μ' ανύπαρχτα προσκυνήματα», *H'* - my translation].

²¹ Σεφέρης, Γ. *Ibid.* [«...μέσα σε μιά πατρίδα πού δεν είναι πιά δική μας/ ούτε δική σας», *H'* - my translation].

²² Σεφέρης, Γ. *Ibid.* [«Τα ξέραμε πώς ήταν ωραία τα νησιά/ κάπου έδω.../ ένα ελάχιστο διάστημα», *H'* - my translation].

²³ Σεφέρης, Γ. *Ibid.* [«Εκείνοι πού κάποτε θά ζήσουν εδώ πού τελειώνουμε/...άς μή μάς ξεχάσουν, τίς αδύναμες ψυχές μέσα στα ασφοδίλια...», *ΚΑ'* - my translation].

that one between Palamas and Cavafy. Only the generation of the 1920s started to understand the verses of Cavafy. Only as time passes and big historic dramas concede their way to the tiny human plights Kavvadias will touch the heart of the Greek and world audiences.

Thus in its wanderings through the depths of Greek modernism Greek literature shows us ‘travelling’ (act equal to separation from/acquisition of new space and time) as sadness, but also as adventure and infinity (Kavvadias), as an action, that is pointless, but that also obtains absolute dimensions as a bearer of knowledge and wisdom (Cavafy) and in the end, in Seferis’s verses, the voyage reaches its total disembodiment, but as well its transformation into something new – into an individual/ancestral memory (the only island of salvation), into a transcendent immortality of a universal human consciousness.

Let us once again remind ourselves of the thought that “separate literatures take part in the European modernistic community, but alternate in their own way its schemes”²⁴. The pallet of Greek neo-symbolist poets is undoubtedly very rich – in the space of the bright south the monotony and unfriendliness are balanced with radiant landscapes and the joyful breath of the sea. The pessimism, prevailing in the writings of the authors of the 1920s and 1930s, is a reflection of the socio-political crisis that followed the wars from the beginning of the century and the Asia Minor catastrophe. At the same time the wave of cosmopolitan poets, creating fantasist visions, and global reformers of the Greek literary space like Cavafy and Seferis confirm once again the heterogeneity of phenomena related to the implementation of the modern poetic discourse in the southeast European area.

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²⁴ Кирова, Л. *Югоизточноевропейски феномени*. София, АИ „Проф. Марин Дринов”, 1999, с. 226.

Katica KULAVKOVA¹**The European *Topos* in the New Macedonian Novel****Abstract**

The European *topos* in the new Macedonian novel is accepted as a home. Young Macedonian authors consider Europe their home. The fact that they live outside the European Union, or outside the European West, which has for a long time been considered the implicit cultural centre of the world, does not make them less European. Originally born in Macedonia, a cultural centre of the distant past that used to consider Western Europe a periphery, writers such as Goce Smilevski and Olivera Kjorveziroska materialize in their works the 'Western European *topos*' in a seemingly sidelong, but none the less essential manner. They draw attention to the dark side of Western culture and the suppressed content that official historiography tends to conceal. They remind us that Europe's spiritual being knows no boundaries and that literature transcends institutional, conceptual, and ethical frontiers. Liberated from European stigma (fallacious moral, repressed memory, colonial traumas), these Macedonian authors reveal certain parts of the European Shadow (the collective unconscious, the historical archives full of shameful bits). No civilization is without its dark facets. That is the law of Light. That is how Europe is, composed of West and East, but also of North and South. It is liminal and intercultural. In its process of assimilating, it becomes assimilated.

The interpretation focuses on novels by Goce Smilevski (*Razgovor so Spinoza / Conversation with Spinoza*, 2002; *Sestrata na Sigmund Frojd / Sigmund Freud's Sister*, 2007/2010, *Vrakanjeto na zborovite / The Return of the Words*, 2015) and by Olivera Kjorveziroska (*Zakluchenoto telo na Lu / Lou's Locked Body*, 2005).

Keywords: new Macedonian novel; Europocentric narratives; scandalous images of Europe; Balkans; imagology; alterity/otherness; history; metafiction; identity; cultural conversion; Goce Smilevski

Le *topos* européen dans le nouveau roman macédonien**Résumé**

Le *topos* européen dans les romans macédoniens les plus récents est accepté comme domicile. Les jeunes auteurs macédoniens considèrent l'Europe comme leur propre maison. Le fait qu'ils vivent en dehors des frontières de l'Union européenne, c'est-à-dire hors de l'Ouest européen qui était pendant longtemps le centre culturel implicite du monde, ne les rend pas moins européens. Originaires de Macédoine, le centre culturel d'autrefois pour lequel l'Europe occidentale faisait partie de la périphérie, les écrivains comme Goce Smilevski et Olivera Kjorveziroska actualisent "le *topos* euro-occidental" d'une manière à première vue périphérique, latérale, mais d'ailleurs essentielle. Ils poussent l'attention vers la partie sombre de la culture euro-occidentale, vers les contenus que l'historiographie officielle a tendance de cacher. Ils rappellent que l'Etre de l'Europe ne reconnaît pas de frontières et que la littérature dépasse les frontières institutionnelles, conceptuelles et de valeur. Libérés de la stigmatisation européenne (morale fausse, mémoire inconsciente, traumatismes coloniales), les écrivains macédoniens reflètent

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des parties de l'Ombre européenne (l'inconscient collectif, l'archive historique pleine de taches noirs). Il n'y a pas de grandes civilisations sans visage sombre. C'est la loi de la Lumière, de l'Humanisme et de la Civilisation. Elle est comme ça l'Europe : constituée d'ouest et de nord, mais aussi d'est et de sud ; liminale et interculturelle. En assimilant, elle devient elle-même assimilée.

Mots-clefs : nouveau roman macédonien ; narrations euro-centristes ; images scandaleuses de l'Europe ; les Balkans; imagologie ; altérité/être Autrui ; histoire ; métafiction ; identité ; conversion culturelle ; Goce Smilevski

In the beginning of the XXI century, Macedonian novelists were focused on the so-called 'European *topos*'. Prominent European topics were explored in the novels of some relatively young, but also well-established Macedonian authors, in a new-fangled way. In the Macedonian novel, these topics are presented through their antinomies, starting with the contradictory ethic dimension of the European *topos*, and ending with its overlaying ethnic / national and cultural diversity.²

European topics are treated in the Macedonian novel through historical narratives with literary dimension. There are plenty of topics related to: the persecution of witches, the status of free / critical thought, of philosophers and theologians, of women intellectuals in the XII century; we ought to mention, as well, the 'Spinoza question' in context of one's identity (and the multiple fields it touches, focused on: one's name, cultural integration, anti-dogmatic beliefs, language and sexual identity); 'the Freud question' (focused on questions regarding anti-Semitism, psychoanalysis, alienation, sexual, religious and gender Otherness); the 'Macedonian question' (focused on: forced migration, acculturation, restoration of identity); post-Socialistic migrations and integrations (focused on: cultural and civilizational shock, on a clash of civilizations, the European decadence, its cultural 'creolization' and hypocrisy...).

The literary transformation of European historical narratives (stories, memories) is accomplished through several techniques, such as: psychological and biographical fiction, grotesque, epistolary, in multimedia form, historiographical meta-fiction. Moreover, the sensitization of the people from the Balkans for European topics (from *dream* to *despair*), as well as the idealization of the 'European principle', the societal transitions, the change of state borders and the notions of the very term 'border' itself, have created cultural and creative ambience for the creation of a novel with dynamic, 'Eurocentric focus'. It can be added that the new Macedonian novel constitutes a nuanced image of Europe saturated with contrasts, dark shadows, traumas and stigmas. This image is almost equivalent to the European chronotope presented in the new Macedonian novel.

The term 'new', in sense of the Macedonian novel, is not mainly focused on the newer generation

² Questions regarding Jews, Russians, Netherlands, Austrians, Germans, Italians, Portuguese, Castilians.

of novels, but on those that specifically treat the ‘European question’. These novels usually reflect the European *topos* and construct a specific literary chronotope, with an accent on Western and Central European urban places (Vienna, Amsterdam, Paris, Rome, Prague). The category ‘new novel’ is partly based on chronology and partly on style and semantics. It is basically a Euro-imagological novel that combines different genres, styles and narrative techniques: the historical and documentary technique, the meta-historical (historiographical meta-fiction), meta-fictional, intertextual, psychoanalytic, biographic, epistolary, fantastic, grotesque, allegorical.

Representatives of this literary wave of Macedonian ‘European-like novels’ are: Tanja Uroshevikj (1939), Kica Kolbe (1951), Tomislav Osmanli (1956), Ermis Lafazanovski (1961), Venko Andonovski (1964), Olivera Kjorveziroska (1965), Lidija Dimkovska (1971), Goce Smilevski (1975) and Kalina Maleska (1978). They have created meta-historiographical works with admirable aesthetic values that have caught the attention of European literary critics and audiences. The reception of some of these authors is fascinating (the novels of Goce Smilevski, for example, have been translated into over 25 languages). Some authors have won prominent European literary awards (Goce Smilevski and Lidija Dimkovska).

In recent years, Europe has become an imaginary destination and a spiritual challenge, as well as a second home, for some of these Macedonian novelists, in professional and existential terms. Some already live in the EU (Kica Kolbe, for example, lives in Germany, while Lidija Dimkovska in Slovenia); others often visit and stay for a period of time in the European literary and cultural centres (such as Goce Smilevski, the most frequently translated Macedonian author); the rest continue to live in the Republic of Macedonia, but they slowly, but surely ‘migrate’ towards the Western European region as a result of their works being translated into other languages (Olivera Kjorveziroska, Ermis Lafazanovski, Venko Andonovski, Tomislav Osmanli).³

The fact that most of these authors live in the Republic of Macedonia, or rather outside the boundaries of the European Union, makes them neither more Balkan nor less European. Only the threshold of sensibility is what is brought into question, on the Balkans, as well as in Europe; this resulted in the creation of a certain ‘criss-crossed Europe’, a zone of discrete cultural conversion and assimilation. This, consequently, reduced the rigid boundaries between European cultures. Finally, the attribute ‘European’ itself has lately experienced visible transformations that affect the category of identity in historical and in

³ The interpretation in this paper will be based on examples taken from the novels by Goce Smilevski (*Conversation with Spinoza*, 2002, *Sigmund Freud’s Sister*, 2010 and *The Return of the Words*, 2015) and Olivera Kjorveziroska (*Lou’s Locked Body*, 2005).

contemporary Europe, and these processes entail revision of the identity as such in Southeast Europe and in the Balkans.

At the beginning of the XXI century, the increased sensibility of the Balkan people towards the European *topos* became apparent. Intellectuals became visibly interested in Europe due to several major internal and external political, cultural and societal changes. Among these the most important ones were the breakup of former Yugoslavia, the declaration of independence of the Republic of Macedonia, the revision of the national and civil state (in favour of the dubious concept known as ‘multi-ethnic state’); then the change of inherited borders and moral values, the signing of the Schengen Agreement, the acceleration of migration; not less important were the manipulation with Balkan and European stereotypes of Otherness, as well as the new interpretative strategies in politics and art, the development of new technologies, media and communications (electronic publishing, social networks). Several key factors related to the European cultural policies have played their part as well. We find examples of these in the stimulative forms of integration of the Macedonian writers in European literary trends, mainly through financial support of literary translations, publishing projects with key focus on Southeast Europe and the Balkans, visits of Macedonian authors to different European residencies, winning of European awards, networking of literary festivals and associations.

This juncture affected the understanding of the European milieu, of what it meant to be a part of the European culture, but also of the very essence of the term ‘identity’. As a result of these changes, the Macedonian novel became open to the European cultural reality and history as a sort of matrix of European modernity and as a generator of subsequent ‘Euro-genic’ changes. Facing Europe closely, more personally, the Macedonian writers first experienced the European reality as a counterpoint to the marginal and marginalized Balkans, i.e. of the Macedonian ‘province’. They have also been faced with the Balkan delusions concerning European democracy, humanity and civilization. Faced with conflicting images of Europe, they began to explore the close and distant European history. They have reconstructed, in terms of fiction or meta-fiction, several historical events and personalities, primarily in terms of their internal contradictions, from the focal point of phenomenological and ontological tensions. In order to accomplish this, they did not necessarily follow, in the literal sense, the Macedonian vision of Europe. Macedonian imagology is mostly based on characters that are not Macedonians, although there are exceptional cases

(for instance in *Hrapeshko* by Ermis Lafazanovski, in *Hidden Camera* by Lidija Dimkovska or in *Casablanca* by Kica Kolbe). In other words, Europe was treated essentially, and not just through the prism of Macedonian migration in the new Macedonian novel.

The sensibility towards the European *topos* meant higher sensitivity to inherited moral, racial, gender, familial, religious and other taboos and dogmas. The liberated mind of Macedonian authors critically approached the radical forms of perfect and imperfect cultures (most notably in the opposition 'Europe as an ideal versus the Balkans as a dump'). With this the traditional (ethic, aesthetic and ideological) criteria were destabilized, as a requirement for the establishment of a new system of values, but also of categories, that had an enormous impact on literary discourse. A new 'worldview' was created, or rather a discrete perception and auto-perception of Europe and the Balkans. Therefore, the literary perception of Europe has transformed into a free perception of the world via European experiences.

What is, exactly, essential for the image of Europe in the Macedonian 'European-like' novel? Macedonian novelists offer a vision of the 'Western European *topos*' from a seemingly lateral perspective. It is evident that this approach resulted in perceiving some of the essential problems of contemporary Europe. These Macedonian writers shed light on the 'darker side' of the Western European culture, pinpointing suppressed content, that official historiography attempts to hide and forget. The new Macedonian novel reminds us that Europe's spiritual being does not recognize formal state borders and that literature has the ability to transcend the institutional framework, i.e. conceptual and other stereotypes related to ethnic values, as well as the divisions of the centralized and marginalized, of the bigger and smaller...

The Macedonian 'European-like' novels reflect, implicitly or explicitly, the relations between the Balkans and Europe, as relations between two parts of the same whole; this whole is composed of central and peripheral parts, although the identity of these two parts does shift throughout history.⁴ These novels construct a literary and conceptually provocative 'Macedonian vision' (image, imagology and interpretation) of Western and Central Europe in different periods (the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, as well as the end of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century). That production has profiled what today is already recognized as a wave of narrative imagology of Europe in Macedonian literature, a wave that deserves more careful interpretation in literary criticism and in literary theory.

Liberated from the Western European stigma (i.e. colonial delusions and post-colonial traumas),

⁴ The Balkans, which nowadays are considered a 'periphery' or as liminal and borderline regions, were once cultural centers with great significance for Europe.

the aforementioned Macedonian novelists have focused on ambitious research and on raising the awareness towards the sensitive parts of European history and on its Shadow. They enter boldly in the European archives full of testimonies of the Medieval Inquisition and the violent conversions and persecutions on religious, political, national and ideological basis, as well as of racist memories and anti-Semitic narratives.

These novelists (especially Goce Smilevski, Lidija Dimkovska and Olivera Kjorveziroska), question Europe's collective memory, eagerly inquiring and offering indisputable historical citations that illustrate the European xenophobia, moral hypocrisy, cultural hierarchy and imperial database. They have created literary, allegoric and inverted histories of Europe through the prism of the European periphery that was infiltrated and integrated in the European centres. They sometimes achieve this by carnivalization of narratives, sometimes through intertextual irony, sometimes through direct and indirect citations and personal memories, yet always remaining faithful to the method and style of literary psychoanalysis and psychological interpretations. This enabled them to reach the zones of suppressed impulses and unconscious archetypal contents, which are given in the form of concrete and recognizable historical configurations. In their novels, the immanent European cultural diversity is turned into a narrative that suffers from a guilty conscience and unsolved inner conflicts.

The aforementioned Macedonian 'European-like' writers, surrounded by the historically and politically infected Macedonian social ambient, have shaped a new, provocative, revisionist poetics of the novel, simply because they invested their time on (researching) the European *topos*. By doing so, they have manifested satiation with the domestic reality in their own country and of Macedonian history overall. This leads to an expression of resistance towards future auto-perception of domicile history, towards ethno-romantic discourses of the Balkanized 'ethnic communities' in the Republic of Macedonia, nurtured by the attempts at antiquisation by current cultural policies.

This has led the Macedonian 'Eurocentric' novelists to the true notion of the past and present European Otherness (or alterity); they have transformed Europe in an 'object of desire', which has prompted them to deconstruct, in a critical manner, the model called Europe. Namely, they have focused not only on its positive, but also on its negative aspects. They have realized that Europe, just like any other model, is and was idealized. This has led them to accept the imperfection of the European model as a necessity and as a reality. This, consequently, has formed the basis for dethroning the European 'ideal', in order to release the excess of illusions and political dramas, in the same time enabling them to get closer to an (elusive and powerful) image of Europe as it is and as it was. In reality, Macedonians have grown

weary of the powerlessness imposed by erroneous politics in the past twenty years. They have grown weary of the feeling of being 'lesser than a grain of sand', punished to sit in a narrow corner or remain in a blind alley.

Liberated from the constraints of the ideal, paradigmatic and stereotyped Europe, Macedonian novelists managed to project European reality through a prism in which one can sense the discrete charm of the European East and the Balkans. In several captivating and thoughtfully structured novels, a literary dialogue between cultures is conceived, a dialogue between the centre and the periphery, nurtured by philosophical, psychological, political and anthropological contexts. Nothing is, nor can be absolute, pure nor perfect. Neither the Centre is an ideal 'telos' of Europeanism, nor the Periphery is a liminal cultural margin; on the contrary. For example, in the core of the leading European avant-garde in the XIX and XX century, a lot of names and texts were inscribed that bear the mark of ethno-cultural 'hybrids'.

The European culture has enormous power of assimilation and appropriation. It is mimicry of 'imaginary Europeanism'. In reality, Europe is an intercultural amalgam, often presented through its most prominent figures, representatives of the peripheral and the discriminated peoples, cultures and regions. Without these, the European culture would have been far more monotonous and more sterile. Namely, can we even imagine the colourful gamma of European culture (art, science, urban culture) without the nuances given in the works by: Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Baruch de Spinoza, Franz Kafka (a Jewish contribution to European science, literature, philosophy, psychiatry), Lou Andreas-Salomé (a Russian contribution to the European cultural stage, psychiatry, literature), Gustav Klimt (an Austrian painter with Moldovan origin), just to name a few of them?

In the novels of Goce Smilevski the author treats topics verging on the scandalous (the morally illicit) or going beyond that, thereby representing a European chronotope, a European socio-cultural, existential, spiritual and religious ambient, through the prism of a certain moral code and its anomalies. The European 'being' is contradictory and schizophrenic, torn between aesthetics / science and ethics. It is intriguing that all of the more complex 'Euro-genic' deformations are observed from a moral standpoint, despite being described subtly, in an essayistic and often theoretical manner, through the usage of psychological models. The European *topos*, as well as the European imagology, initiate ethic discourse in the Balkan 'periphery', i.e. they imply relations of conflict in the system of social, religious and civilizational values. These become apparent in topics such as: the discrimination of women, racial and

religious discrimination, but also discrimination on familial, ethnic, political and gender background. Theology, philosophy, ethics, politics, eroticism and discourses of (imperial, racial, military) power or of the (colonial) impotence are constantly intersected with the question of identity and Otherness, on a macro European, but as well as on a micro-level, in the family, in the community consisting of members of the same religious belief, in the religious (often conflicting, exclusive) interpretations of the holy scriptures (the Torah, the Bible), or in the very essence of the human being.

Goce Smilevski, in his three novels, manages to demystify the European *topos* through the stories of several prominent historical figures in different historical circumstances. In his first two novels, he raises the questions of identity, intellectual freedom, homosexuality, motherhood, excommunication, incestuality and madness, in the context of Europe's racist and anti-Semitic history (*Conversation with Spinoza*, *Sigmund Freud's Sister*). In his novel *Conversation with Spinoza*, an epistolary and dialogical novel (based on the concept of 'duoglossia'), the author treats the alienation and excommunications of Jews within the Jewish (religious) community, through the character of Spinoza. The persecution of open-minded people who think differently than most others in their community (the archetypal Jewish Otherness) is first noted in the familial history in Lisbon, Portugal (through multiple conversions of the ethical and religious identity, of the name and personal legitimacy of the leading character), to continue later on in Holland, where Spinoza dares to interpret the Jewish cannon in his own rational, logical and ethical manner (which will result in his expulsion from the Jewish religious and ethnical community – the so-called *heremor* censure – as well as from his family). As a consequence of this punishment Spinoza, although a brilliant philosopher, ends honing lenses for a living, being left on the mercy of a few of his Dutch friends and other prominent intellectuals. Spinoza's identity as Judaist and as a part of the Jewish community starts to disperse simultaneously, in the same pace, as the dispersion of his open-minded, sensible, bipolar gender and sexual identity.

In the novel *Sigmund Freud's Sister* the author Smilevski challenges the humanism of the founder of modern psychoanalysis, Freud, who in 1938 left Vienna in order to protect himself from the resurgent Nazism. He (Freud) later on settled in London where he met with his close relatives, maids and pets, but not with his four sisters (which later on lose their lives in the Theresienstadt concentration camp). The main narrator in the novel is Freud's most talented sister, Adolphina Freud, a figure of a victim and of an enlightened humanist. Through her story, the author tries to depict the 'splendour and misery' of the European civilization, as its tragic constant.

In his last novel, *The Return of the Words* (2015), Smilevski uses the historical figures of Peter

Abelard (a philosopher and theologian) and Héloïse (a talented student and nun) to raise the issues, once again, of motherhood, identity and the rejected son, as well as issues of marriage, love affairs in conservative and patriarchal Christian environment, the inequality of women versus men, as well as the homosexual sensibility, using Medieval XII century France as a main background. The image of Europe in Smilevski's novels moves the main focus off the primary, stereotypical prejudice of the ideal European model, towards certain problematic and scandalous figures of Europe. This sort of aspiration has turned into a cult, which people and countries (that are not part of the European Union) follow, while the European cult is used as a leading criterion of perennial values; this, consequently, generates new imaginary and real boundaries, divisions, stigmas, traumas, new segregation and new conflicts.

Something similar can be witnessed in the novel *Lou's Locked Body* (2005) by Olivera Kjorveziroska. In her novel, the author deconstructs the methodology of physical captivity (or the quality of being locked) and of physical liberation (or being 'unlocked'). The setting for this narrative revolves around the 'imaginary history' and *mise-en-scène* of XX century's intellectual Austrian Europe. The author perceives certain common places for this cultural and historical ambient (the Austro-Hungarian setting), connected to historical figures such as: Lou Andreas-Salomé (1861-1937), Friedrich Nietzsche, Rainer Maria Rilke, Paul Rée, Sigmund Freud and his daughter Anna Freud (the key that unlocks the repressed sexuality and identity), through inner, intimate, perverse, enigmatic and just seemingly marginal aspects. She unravels the 'centres' of the stereotypical European power in a metafictional, intermediary (by usage of photographs) and intertextual manner (by citations, pseudo-citations, paraphrases and allusions), creating thus a multifocal (psychological, biographical, meta-fictional, meta-historical and subversive) image of Europe.

The novels of Goce Smilevski and Olivera Kjorveziroska show us that we ought to approach Europe's historical narratives and biographies in our own (subjective) way, as if they were our own, with the level of vividness, credibility and sensibility plausible for the world of the novel, not through the lens of philistine or avant-garde Europe. The literary truth is somewhere in between, on that spot where the Western European and Balkan sensibilities intersect, the document and its simulacra, the official and the imaginary biography, the factual and the essential motherhood, the manifested and the latent sexuality, the conscious and the unconscious, the reality and dreams, somewhere between the image of Europe trapped in constructed clichés and that liberated, insolent, polygamous, aesthetic Europe.

To summarize: the novels by the Macedonian writers that belong to the (relatively) new generation (the 60's and the 70's of the XX century) project, through sensible imagology, the conflicting faces of Europe, marked by its essential and existential antinomies, with a main focus on the European hypocrisy, presented via several historical, biographical, psychological and narrative angles. It particularly stresses the Jewish question⁵ that is firmly embedded in the collective and in the individual, in historical and mythical memory; as such, it is an issue without which the shadow of Europe cannot be recognized nor accepted.

No great civilization is saved from its dark side. That is the Principle of Light and Enlightenment, the supreme rationale of Humanism, the very essence of the Modern and the Postmodern. Such is Europe, consisted of East and West, but also of North and South; full of conscious and unconscious elements, full of blockades and obstructions, of contradictions and fascinations. By assimilating its periphery, Europe assimilates itself into this 'periphery'. By adopting the world, Europe has allowed itself to be adopted by the world. This resulted in the creation of a contemporary cultural hybrid that we, nowadays, call Europe. The process of cultural assimilation has adopted elements of cultural interaction and started to look like an enormous dialogue between cultures, in which every subject appropriates elements from his fellow speaker and vice versa. This resulted in the shrinkage of the gap between paradigmatic Europeans and other people who have migrated from other continents and peripheries.

The 'individualization' of the European being is impossible without the awakening, without the verbalization and the integration of its 'black holes'. If Europe aspires to preserve the image of being the 'cradle of civilizations', of civil democracy and modern art, if it aspires to be identified with the slogan 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', than it has to face itself in order to overcome itself and leap forward and achieve higher spiritual forms of 'being'. Europe ought to, not just formally, but essentially, face the dark parts of its history (the Inquisition, the anti-Semitism, the Shoah, the racist, religious and ethnical conversions) and to finally face and resolve its current forms of violence, of discrimination and xenophobia. Europe has the creative and the intellectual potential to achieve this, which means that it can create a vision for survival of the European civilization, no matter whether this vision is created in the centre or in the periphery. Both are part of the same whole.

⁵ Europe for the Jews is not just an ordinary continent, but more of a 'country' which they have long inhabited, spreading from Portugal and Spain in the west, to Russia and Ukraine on the east, then the Netherlands and Denmark on the north, and ending with Macedonia and Greece to the south.

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Translated by Kristina DIMOVSKA, edited by Igor POPOVSKI

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Vassilis Alexakis and Dumitru Tsepeneag – Otherness and Exile

Abstract

The paper displays and analyses the characteristics of the writing of two authors from the Balkans who immigrated to France in the 1960s and 1970s – Vassilis Alexakis (of Greek descent) and Dumitru Tsepeneag (of Romanian descent). The study traces their critical reception in both France and the lost motherland and outlines certain peculiar features of the immigrant mentality and the complicated self-perception of the immigrants in the context of the dual reality of their existence. It also addresses the causes of the inability of the writers themselves and their literary characters to belong fully to one cultural heritage, and the identity issues that arise from this fact.

Keywords: Balkan literatures; migration; identity; otherness; Vassilis Alexakis; Dumitru Tsepeneag

Василис Алексакис и Думитру Цепеняг – другост и изгнаничество Резюме

Статията разглежда и анализира характеристиките на творчество на двама автори, мигрирали от Балканите във Франция през 60-те и 70-те години на XX век – Василис Алексакис (с гръцки произход) и Думитру Цепеняг (с румънски произход). Проследява се критическата им рецепция както във Франция, така и в напуснатата родина, и се очертават определени специфични черти на мигрантската менталност и на сложното себеусещане на мигрантите в контекста на двойствената реалност на тяхното съществуване. Посочени са причините за невъзможността на самите автори и на създадените от тях художествени образи да принадлежат напълно на едно културно наследство и идентичностните проблеми, произлизащи от този факт.

Ключови думи: балкански literatury; миграция; идентичност; другост; Василис Алексакис; Думитру Цепеняг.

Amin Maalouf, writer of Lebanese descent who has lived in France since 1976, reveals some very distinctive features of the immigrant mind-set and expresses his views on the identity issues and the internal duality of the immigrant in his book of essays *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*:

How many times, since I left Lebanon in 1967 to live in France, have people asked me, with the best intentions in the world, whether I felt “more French” or “more Lebanese”? And I always give the same

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answer: “Both!” I say that not in the interests of fairness or balance, but because any other answer would be a lie. What makes me myself rather than anyone else is the very fact that I’m poised between two countries, two or free languages and several cultural traditions. It is precisely this that defines my identity. Would I exist more authentically if I cut off a part of myself?²

Maalouf argues passionately that there is no necessity to choose only one cultural and ethnical allegiance and each individual has the right to reinvent himself and his beliefs and not to be bound by some “fundamental truth” or “essence determined once and for all at birth”³.

That being said, the author himself admits that the inherent duality of the immigrant is unique and very often misunderstood by others around him. The immigrant is simultaneously more and less than other individuals: he speaks more than one language, he belongs to more than one culture and sometimes even has more than one ethnical and national consciousness, which certainly fuels his creativity, but, on the other hand, creates the constant need for him to prove his affiliations and to defy the preconceived notions and prejudices standing in his way. As a result, the immigrant very often feels like an observer and an outsider in the communities he wants to be fully accepted by.

In the introduction to her anthology *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travellers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*, the literary and cultural critic and theorist Susan Rubin Suleiman defines the broad connotations of the concept of exile and explores its “melancholy tension”⁴: “In its narrow sense a political banishment, exile in its broad sense designates every kind of estrangement or displacement, from the physical and geographical to the spiritual”⁵. Therefore, despite how successful his integration was and how well everyone treats him, the exiled individual is fated to be more or less “the other” and “the foreigner”, the constant traveller without home and roots.

This research explores the specific situation of two writers, Vassilis Alexakis (of Greek descent) and Dumitru Tsepeneag (of Romanian descent), who emigrated from the Balkans and settled in France in the 1960s and 1970s. Born in 1943, Vassilis Alexakis studied at the journalism school in Lille (France) in the period 1961-1964 and then returned to Greece. Because of the Greek Military Junta (The Regime of the Colonels) of 1967-1974, he went into exile to Paris in 1967. Currently he is constantly travelling between France and Greece. Dumitru Tsepeneag was one of the founding members of the *Oneiric group*, a surrealist Romanian literary group formed in Bucharest in 1964. He did not hide his misgivings concerning the political life in Romania and was very vocal in his opinions against the totalitarianism in the Romanian society and the lack of literary freedom. As a result of his

² Maalouf, Amin. *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*. English translation by Barbara Bray, New York, Arcade Publishing, 2000, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁴ Suleiman, Susan Rubin. *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*. Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1998, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1.

dissident activity, Tsepeneag was placed under surveillance by the Romanian secret police, the *Securitate*, and was formally indicted in 1975. The same year, while he was in France, Tsepeneag's citizenship was stripped through a presidential decree signed by Ceausescu, and the writer settled permanently in Paris. Currently he resides in both Paris and Bucharest.

This enforced separation of the two writers from their countries due to political and ideological disagreements with the authorities leaves a deep wound in their personal identity and greatly influences their writing. As individuals who express themselves in two languages and within two literatures – their native (respectively Greek and Romanian) and the French – they are subjects to literary criticism by both sides. Because of that, one of the main topics explored in the works by Alexakis and Tsepeneag is the awareness of the immigrant that he exists between two cultural and ethnical entities but ultimately belongs fully to neither one of them.

At the very beginning of his autobiographical novel *Paris-Athènes*⁶ [*Paris-Athens*], Alexakis emphasizes his vague and ambiguous place in the modern literary history: « Je pensais que, si les Français me considéraient comme auteur grec, mes compatriotes seraient davantage fondés à me classer parmi les étrangers »⁷. His inability to assign himself exclusively to any of these two cultural and literary domains, within which he functions as a writer, is clearly expressed in the novel *Je t'oublierai tous les jours*⁸ [*I will forget you day by day*]. Here, regarding his first published novel, Alexakis writes the following: « Il n'appartient pas à la littérature grecque. Peut-être n'appartient-il pas non plus à la littérature française ? »⁹ Dumitru Tsepeneag also suffers from such doubts and cannot accept easily his imposed detachment from the Romanian literary space. Affected by the fact that some of his compatriots¹⁰ marginalize him within the Romanian literature and do not let him out of the imposed label of “writer in exile”, he seeks to re-establish himself as a Romanian author.

The characters in the novels by Alexakis and Tsepeneag are always immigrants, foreigners trying to fit into the new environment. They feel like they do not belong fully anywhere – either in France or in their homeland, however, they actively fight to protect their right to speak and write (or be translated) in both languages and to be mediators between their two cultural and literary worlds.

⁶ Alexakis, Vassilis. *Paris-Athènes*. Paris, Seuil, 1989.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 20. “I thought that if the French consider me a Greek author, my compatriots could rightly attribute me to the foreign writers”. [My translation]

⁸ Alexakis, Vassilis. *Je t'oublierai tous les jours*. Paris, Seuil, 2005.

⁹ *Ibid.* p.96. “It [the novel] doesn't belong to the Greek literature. Maybe it doesn't belong to the French literature either” [My translation]

¹⁰ Here, I allude to some of the Romanian writers, literary critics and historians, who are commonly known as “the generation of the 80s years of XX century”. For example, Ion Negoitescu, a literary critic, historian, poet and novelist, declines to accept Tsepeneag's novels written in French language as part of the Romanian literature, with the argument that “the language is the sole criterion for determining a literature”.

The autobiographical novel *Paris-Athènes* by Vassilis Alexakis follows the writer's journey between Greece and France. It describes the experience of changing countries and languages and explores the identity issues that arise from this complicated process. This work is perhaps the most personal and intimate reflection of the inner struggle that torments Vassilis Alexakis, and it represents a thorough psychological analysis of the inevitable crossroad position of the immigrant. Alexakis writes not only about his personal feelings and experiences, but he is also very interested in meeting other immigrants and observing their circumstances and levels of integration. He has the ability with an astounding acuteness to recognize and point out the symptoms of the endangered and fragile identity – especially when it comes to the next generation, the children of these immigrant families. In his opinion, the parents have the privilege to remember their homeland and even to dream of a return that will never take place, but the children have no such dreams anymore. They have been culturally assimilated and Alexakis sees them as « tirillés entre deux cultures qu'ils ne possèdent le plus souvent que partiellement »¹¹.

As implied by the very title of the novel *Paris-Athènes*, the mobility between France and Greece, between Paris and Athens, symbolizes the psychological duality of the immigrant author. As Alexakis himself admits – being always on the road makes it impossible to recognize a certain space as really “his own”: « Ma fatigue est peut-être due aux efforts que j'ai consentis depuis longtemps pour conquérir une nouvelle identité sans perdre l'ancienne. [...] Mes déplacements incessants m'ont empêché de m'habituer complètement aussi bien à Paris qu'à Athènes »¹². The writer is so tired of this incessant geographical and spiritual travelling, and the internal conflicts it creates, that he even considers going through the process of becoming a French citizen, but his Greek cultural and ethnical consciousness and the loyalty to his childhood memories¹³ are too strong to allow him to do this. He also fears that the French citizenship will fracture his dual identity even more and will leave him in a state of no identity whatsoever. However, ultimately Alexakis does not give in to depression and does not let himself be defined by either the French or the Greek side. He takes the decision to embrace his duality and to learn to live with it, and even to see its positive sides: « J'avais décidé d'assumer mes deux identités, d'utiliser à tour de rôle les deux langues, de partager ma vie entre Paris et Athènes »¹⁴.

¹¹ Alexakis, Vassilis. *Paris-Athènes*. Paris, Seuil, 1989, p. 95. “Torn between two cultures they usually possess only partially”. [My translation]

¹² *Ibid.* p. 212–213. “My fatigue may be due to the efforts that I have exerted for a long time to conquer new identity without losing the old [...]. My constant movement prevented me from fully adjusting to either Paris or Athens”. [My translation]

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 195. “I decided to assume my two identities, to use in turn both languages, to share my life between Paris and Athens”. [My translation]

As was pointed out above, Alexakis feels deeply the need to reconnect with his Greek heritage. Therefore, in his novel *La Langue maternelle*¹⁵ [*The mother tongue*], which also intertwines autobiographical and fictional, the author returns to his native Greek world, however, not without emotional turmoil and increasingly complicated identity issues. The main character in the novel, the Greek immigrant Pavlos Nikolaidis, after twenty years of living in France finally returns to Greece. Pavlos takes as his project the deciphering of the meaning of the letter epsilon displayed at the entrance of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. His coming back to his homeland coincides with the Easter holidays, and the choice of this sacred time is not accidental. The religious calendar celebrates the resurrection of Jesus Christ, while Pavlos experiences symbolic resurrection. He rediscovers his relationship with the mother tongue, with the ancient Greek history and the abandoned homeland or, in other words, undergoes specific cultural re-assimilation. However, this re-assimilation is not absolute and does not occur without problems. Pavlos, as the representative of two cultural codes, the acquired French and the native Greek, continuously compares and evaluates the two codes, which in itself is a sign that he cannot belong to them completely and will always be more of an observer than a full participant in the cultural and ethnical relationships:

Il était évident qu'ils se connaissaient tous très bien, je n'entendais autour de moi que des prénoms, Yorgos, Nicos, Socrate, Éléonora, Dimitra, Catérina. À Paris, dans les mêmes circonstances, il me semble que j'aurais surtout entendu des noms de famille [...] J'ai été jaloux de ces démonstrations d'amitié comme si je ne faisais pas partie de la même société, comme si j'étais un intrus¹⁶.

Similar are the topics and the problems that we meet in the novels by the Romanian writer Dumitru Tsepeneag – especially in his series of books, including the novels *Hotel Europa*¹⁷ [*Hotel Europe*], *Ponts des Arts*¹⁸, *Maramureș*¹⁹ [Maramures] and *Camionul bulgar*²⁰ [*The Bulgarian truck*]. These four novels represent the fate of the Romanians who emigrated from their country before and after the events of 1989 in search of a better life in the European West. The narrator of the story in all four books is a Romanian dissident author who escaped from the totalitarian regime and settled in Paris. It is obvious that this narrator is a literary counterpart of Tsepeneag himself, and through his voice, we can see many of the aspects of the professional and personal life of the exiled author.

¹⁵ Alexakis, Vassilis. *La Langue maternelle*. Paris, Stock, 2006.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.45. "It was obvious they knew each other very well, I could hear around me that they were on a first name basis: Yorgos, Nicos, Socrates, Eleonora, Dimitra, Caterina. In Paris, in the same circumstances, I'd have heard mostly family names... I was jealous of the friendly demonstrations, as if I were not part of the same company, as if I were an intruder". [My translation]

¹⁷ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Hotel Europa*. București, Albatros, 1996.

¹⁸ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Ponts des Arts*. București, Albatros, 1999.

¹⁹ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Maramureș*. Cluj Napoca, Dacia, 2001.

²⁰ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Camionul Bulgar*. Iași, Polirom, 2010.

In the novel *Hotel Europa*, multiple storylines are intertwined, united by the feeling of a perpetual motion, a spontaneous and irreversible nomadism. The novel describes the escape of a young Romanian, named Ion, from his homeland and his difficult journey to the final destination – France. During the tumultuous events in the Romanian Revolution of 1989, the migration was the chosen path for many Romanians and was seen by them as the only possible salvation from the surrounding horror. Ion also believes in this imaginary dream, until he comes into contact with the new environment and, instead of prosperity, he faces the criminal underworld, hiding in the shadows of the developed western civilization. Ion is “the other”, “the outsider” in this new world, he is looked upon with suspicion (a couple of times he is called disdainfully a “gypsy”) and very often is forced to seek help from other illegal immigrants like himself who are part of the criminal underworld, which puts him in many dangerous situations. In the second storyline, the novel *Hotel Europa* simultaneously follows the efforts of the narrator, the already mentioned above immigrant dissident writer, to write a book about what is happening in Romania, including in it even an account of Ion’s adventures throughout his long journey (thus Tsepeneag actually writes about writing a novel). This Romanian dissident writer, as opposed to Ion, is a representative of the legal and intellectual migration group. He is well integrated into the French community, and his work is accepted with respect, he is even married to a French woman – Marianne (also a recurring character in Tsepeneag’s novels), but that does not mean that he does not go through serious identity issues and insecurities. The writer has to defend constantly his loyalty to the Romanian literary and cultural space, and in every conversation, he has to explain to his French friends and even to his own wife the specifics of the Romanian mind-set and his own political and social opinions.

In the novel *Maramureș* Tsepeneag develops the theme about the complex role of the immigrant writer as an intermediate figure between two literatures and two languages. He describes the consequent problematic reception of his work by the French reader who is not familiar enough with the Romanian literary trends. At the beginning of the novel, in a phone call with a French reader the Romanian dissident author defends his role as a representative of the Romanian literature who, despite living in France, writes in Romanian and has a Romanian consciousness:

- So, you are a Romanian author.
- Yes, I’m a Romanian. And for some time I’ve been writing again in Romanian.
- I didn’t even know that there are writers in Romania.
- And yet they exist. Look at the title page, there is written: translated from Romanian.
- Yes, of course, but who looks at the title page. Although, you live in Paris, right?
- Yes, I’ve lived in Paris for nearly thirty years.
- Yes, of course, now it’s getting clear...
- What exactly?
- You’ve lived in Paris since you were a little kid...

- Not so little²¹. [My translation]

In *Maramureș* we meet again many of the characters from *Hotel Europa*, but this time the journey is back to their roots – they travel from France to Romania. Here, we see that often the imagined return to the homeland has very little to do with the real physical return. Despite that at the beginning of the novel, the narrator, the immigrant dissident writer, defends passionately his Romanian identity, when he is at last back in Romania, he remains misunderstood and alone, a little out of place. His return to Romania is accompanied by many more personal and identity crises, and it is obvious that even on his home soil the writer still considers himself a foreigner:

I hope it heals not only the rheumatism but also the mental pain, or at least assuages them, prevents them from becoming deadly, such as the pain of exile, which has less to do with where you are, and more to do with the bad habit of thinking of yourself as an individual detached from the community... individual without an address, isolated and tormented by the longings. I want to say that here in Maramureș, I don't feel more at home than in the foreign countries; maybe for me "at home" doesn't exist...²². [My translation]

From all of the above, we could say that, although both Vassilis Alexakis and Dumitru Tsepeneag experience the feeling of profound alienation from certain places or people and recognize the specific "otherness" in themselves, they react in different and very personal ways. Alexakis believes that by accepting his dual identity, he will reach some kind of harmonious coexisting between his two "essences", the French and the Greek, and will protect them both. Unlike him, Tsepeneag passionately defends the priority of his Romanian identity, even when he feels estranged and displaced from the Romanian cultural entity.

These different attitudes towards the immigrant situation are also reflected in the distinctive aspects of their imposed bilingualism. This bilingualism does not occur in the same way by both authors and is motivated by different ideas and beliefs. Because the use of two languages – French and

²¹ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Maramureș*. Cluj Napoca, Dacia, 2001, p.8.

- Sunteți român așadar.

- Da, sunt și român. Iar de câtva timp scriu din nou în românește.

- Nici nu știam că există scriitori în România.

- Există totuși. Uitați-vă, scrie pe pagina de gardă: traduit du roumain.

- Da, sigur, dar cine se uită pe pagina de gardă. Însă locuiți la Paris, nu-i așa?

- Da, locuiesc la Paris de vreo treizeci de ani.

- A, sigur, atunci se explică...

- Ce anume?

- Locuiți la Paris de mic copil...

- Nu chiar așa de mic.

²² *Ibid.* p. 300. "Sper să nu lecuiască doar reumatismul dar și bolile sufletului, ori măcar să le aline, să le împiedice să devină mortale, boala depeizării de pildă, care n-are nici o legătură cu locul în care te afli, ci cu năravul de a te gândi pe tine însuși ca pe un individ rupt de colectivitate, oricare ar fi aceasta, individ izolat și măcinat de doruri fără adresă. Vreau să spun că nici aici, în Maramureș, nu mă simt mai acasă decât pe meleaguri străine; poate că pentru mine nici nu mai există un acasă..."

native (Greek or Romanian) – plays an important role in the life and work of the writers and in their self-identification, it becomes one of the most discussed topics in their prose.

Vassilis Alexakis accepts and fully realizes his linguistic duality. At the beginning of his writing career, he published his novels directly in French, but some of his compatriots criticized him because of that and claimed that he had forgotten the Greek language. To prove them wrong and to assert himself as a Greek author, he decided to return to writing in Greek language. His first novel, written directly in Greek, was *Τάλγο*²³ [*Talgo*²⁴], followed by the novel *Η Μητρική γλώσσα*²⁵ [*La Langue maternelle*]. Alexakis self-translated *Τάλγο* into French and since then has been writing simultaneously in French and Greek: “tous les livres que j’ai écrits sont le fruit d’un dialogue tantôt avec la langue française, tantôt avec la langue grecque”²⁶. The writer reveals different aspects of his character and achieves various ideological goals depending on the language he uses. On the one hand, writing in Greek symbolically returns the author to his childhood, to the world of memories and undisguised emotion; on the other hand - French is the language of fantasy, fiction and creative recreation: « Le grec m’attendrissait, me rappelait qui j’étais. Le français me permettait de prendre plus facilement congé de la réalité »²⁷. However, coming to terms with this bilingual identity is invariably accompanied by the fear that his increasing dependence on the French language could alienate Alexakis from his native Greek: « Je me suis rendu compte que j’avais pas mal oublié ma langue maternelle. Je cherchais souvent mes mots et, souvent, le premier mot qui me venait à l’esprit était français [...] Mon grec s’était sclérosé, rouillé »²⁸. Therefore, the rediscovering and reconnecting with the Greek language become one of the main themes in his work – for example, in the novel *La Langue maternelle*, the main reason for the return of Pavlos Nikolaidis to Greece is his craving to restore the lexical and emotional fullness of his native language.

Dumitru Tsepeneag adopts a much more confrontational bilingual model. Even after his permanent establishment in Paris, he initially continued to write in Romanian, and his works were translated into French by the famous translator Alain Paruit. In the 1980s, however, Tsepeneag had lost any hope that the totalitarian regime in Romania will ever fall and his place in the Romanian literary life would be restored, and he decided to turn away from his mother tongue and to write and

²³ Αλεξάκης, Βασίλης. *Τάλγο*. Αθήνα, Εξάντας, 1980.

²⁴ Alexakis, Vassilis. *Talgo*. Paris, Fayard, 1997.

²⁵ Αλεξάκης, Βασίλης. *Η Μητρική γλώσσα*. Αθήνα, Εξάντας, 1995.

²⁶ Alexakis, Vassilis. *Paris-Athènes*. Paris, Seuil, 1989, p. 6. “All the books I’ve written are the result of a dialogue either with the French or with the Greek language”. [My translation]

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 249. “Greek moved me, reminded me who I was. French allowed me to escape more easily from the reality”. [My translation]

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 11. “I realized that I’d quite forgotten my mother tongue. I often searched for words and the French ones came first to my mind [...] My Greek was getting sclerotic, rusty”. [My translation]

publish three novels directly in French, under the pseudonym Ed Pastenague – *Le mot sablier*²⁹ [*The word 'hourglass'*], *Roman de gare*³⁰ [*A train station novel*] and *Pigeon vole*³¹ [*Fly, dove!*]. Tsepeneag claims that the main reason for him to begin writing in French is that in the translation of his works from Romanian to French he sees the words written by him “murdered” by the words of the translator³². Writing in French did not last long and in the 1990s years, after the fall of the Ceausescu’s regime, the author returned to writing in his native language and started publishing his novels in both Romania and France (again translated into French by Paruit). As opposed to Vassilis Alexakis, Dumitru Tsepeneag does not believe that it is possible for a writer to belong simultaneously to two languages. Explanation of this interesting phenomenon could be sought in the very ideological and theoretical attitude of the author, who maintains that “belonging to a certain literature depends on the language one is writing in, rather than on the ethnic or racial criterion”³³. In other words, according to Tsepeneag, if you write in Romanian language you are a Romanian author, if you write in French that makes you a French author. Therefore, choosing to write in Romanian, Tsepeneag actually reinstates himself as part of the Romanian literary tradition and seeks to escape the imposed immigrant isolation. This desire manifests itself as an integral thematic thread in his novels: for example, the nostalgia that the narrator of *Hotel Europa* and *Maramureș* experiences is directed not so much at the territorial and ethnic picture of Romania as at the language that is spoken there: “[...] beyond the area of dissemination of the mother tongue, the estrangement is felt more strongly”³⁴.

Despite the different aspects of their bilingualism, Alexakis and Tsepeneag create prose, deeply influenced by the interaction of native and acquired language, and explore in depth the internal fluctuations and turmoil that this bilingualism causes in the immigrant mentality.

The identity of the immigrant writers is a diverse and fragile structure subjected to continuous attacks by external factors. The questions whether the authors feel “more French” or “more Greek or Romanian”, and whether their affiliation to one or another literature is more strong, couldn’t lead to a full and thorough response due to the simple reason that the process of self-determination is much more complex and incomprehensible than one may think. To force them to choose one side over the other would only deepen their feeling of alienation and otherness. Perhaps the only way to a better and

²⁹ Pastenague, Ed. *Le mot sablier*. Paris, P.O.L, 1984.

³⁰ Pastenague, Ed. *Roman de gare*. Paris, P.O.L, 1985.

³¹ Pastenague, Ed. *Pigeon vole*. Paris, P.O.L, 1989.

³² Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Războiul literaturii încă nu s-a încheiat*. București, Allfa, 2000, p.20.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 192. “apartenența la o literatură e în funcție de limba în care se scrie, nicidecum de criterii etnice sau rasiale”.

³⁴ Tsepeneag, Dumitru. *Maramureș*. Cluj Napoca, Dacia, 2001, p. 300. “[...] dincolo de aria de circulație a limbii materne înstrăinarea e resimțită și mai puternic”.

more objective presentation of the role of the migrant author in our contemporary society is to assume that identity with its multiplicity is not to be overcome by force but simply understood and appreciated.

Margarita SERAFIMOVA¹

Itinéraires européens dans la géographie littéraire bulgare : Sofia – Paris

Résumé

Au début du XX^e siècle Paris est la vraie patrie de l'art, la capitale intellectuelle européenne et la scène de l'art de vivre. Parmi les nombreux artistes et écrivains étrangers qui se donnent rendez-vous en ce lieu, les Bulgares formaient une importante colonie. Pour ces jeunes artistes débarquant dans la capitale française, elle est alors synonyme de fête et de liberté. L'attrait de Paris, le cosmopolitisme parisien, la place particulière dont jouit la Ville Lumière dans l'imaginaire bulgare, joue le rôle d'un catalyseur pour leur talent créateur. Au travers de leurs errances, ils servent de pont entre l'Orient et l'Occident d'une Europe depuis toujours à la fois unie et tiraillée entre ses centres et ses périphéries. Fascinés, éblouis, hypnotisés aussi bien par la brillance de Paris que par sa décadence, les écrivains bulgares vivent une quête de leur identité – scripturale, existentielle, humaine – dont l'article présent se propose de poursuivre les dédales.

Mots-clés : Paris ; mythe ; image ; Bulgarie ; lieu de l'écriture ; l'ailleurs et le texte

European Itineraries in the Geography of Bulgarian literature: Sofia – Paris Abstract

At the beginning of the 20th century, Paris was the home of art, the intellectual capital of Europe, and the scene of the art of living. Among the many foreign artists and writers, Bulgarians formed an important colony. For these young artists who landed in the French capital, it was synonymous with celebration and freedom. The attractiveness of Paris, its cosmopolitanism, and the special place the City of Light occupied in Bulgarian imagination played the role of a catalyst for their creative talent. Their wanderings served as a bridge between the East and the West of a Europe, which had always been both united and torn between its centres and peripheries. Fascinated, dazzled, hypnotised by the brilliance of Paris as well as by its decay, Bulgarian writers lived the quest for identity – literary, existential, human – whose meanderings have been examined in this article.

Keywords: Paris; myth; image; Bulgaria; place of writing; elsewhere and text

Ce bref aperçu, se propose à recréer le cadre spatial de quelques chefs d'œuvres de la littérature bulgare qui portent l'esprit parisien. Paris (mythe urbain par excellence), le voyage (sensations éphémères, images fugitives) et le texte (lieu de mémoire, gardien de rêves) – dans leur ensemble – permettent de cartographier l'un des itinéraires de plus haute valeur littéraires.

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Depuis La Belle Epoque à l'entrée dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale, Paris est la capitale intellectuelle du monde. C'est la période où la ville atteint l'apogée de son influence culturelle dans tous les domaines : littérature, musique, science, recherche, mode... Appelée la « ville Lumière » c'est un lieu de rendez-vous des artistes.

Les intellectuels bulgares font partie de cette impulsion qui transforme Paris en un concentré de l'énergie et du talent. Mais il y a aussi une préhistoire longue qui provoque cet élan vers l'Occident. Il faut chercher les raisons peut-être au Moyen Age, où la proximité de Constantinople, l'un des grands pôles du monde médiéval, nourrit chez les Bulgares lettrés de l'époque le sentiment d'habiter le centre. L'esprit d'émulation avec Byzance a joué certainement un rôle décisif dans la création d'une culture remarquable en Bulgarie médiévale. Seulement, au cours de l'histoire, ce centre se déplace au fur et à mesure vers l'ouest : Rome tout d'abord, ensuite Paris... La frustration de ce « centre perdu » et le manque qui s'installe, pourraient être à l'origine du mythe de l'Occident et de ces voyages dans les pays occidentaux et surtout à Paris, devenu une sorte de rituel obligatoire durant les années 1920 et 1930 pour un grand nombre d'écrivains.

La Bulgarie est un petit pays. Dans son livre autobiographique *Devoirs et délices*, Tzvetan Todorov écrit, en se souvenant de son débarquement à Paris :

Je ne me considérais pas comme un ignorant complet mais, quand on vient d'un petit pays, on conserve toujours une certaine naïveté dans le regard.

Et plus loin :

La géographie ne joue pas non plus en notre faveur : la Bulgarie est un petit pays qui se trouve à l'une des extrémités de l'Europe. Nous disions toujours « aller en Europe »... ce qui évoquait pour nous le voyage vers la civilisation !

Konstantin Konstantinov² note lui aussi dans son livre *Chemin à travers les années* :

Pour nous qui venions d'une capitale en miniature, de la « province » balkanique de l'Europe, Paris était tout un univers. Il n'est pas nécessaire, me semble-t-il, de souligner l'énorme influence que notre séjour dans cette ville, exerçait sur nous³.

Le choix de Paris par l'artiste comme destination de voyage et de rêveries, comme lieu d'aspiration et d'inspiration, comme terre promise, propice à l'escapade et à l'écriture, suscite des questions plus profondes qui cherchent leur réponse, notamment : à quel décor l'homme de lettre

² C'est un des grands noms de la littérature bulgare dont la prose (récits et mémoires) marque la culture nationale surtout pendant la première moitié du XX^e siècle (1890-1970). Lié à la France dans sa jeunesse, il reste l'un des traducteurs les plus connus de la langue française.

³ Konstantinov, K. *Chemin à travers les années* [Константинов, К. *Път през годините*. София, Български писател, 1981] : <https://www.bulgaria-france.net/culture/auteurs-bulgares/konstantinov-a-l-etranger.php> - 12.12.2016.

attribue-t-il le rôle de lieu d'initiation, à quel mythe confie-t-il le soin d'exprimer ses idées ? A quelle scène fait-il jouer ses personnages ou apparaître ses images ?

L'éloignement (de sa culture et de celle des autres), la distanciation (le jeu des points de vue), l'ailleurs (le confort et le déconfort de se sentir un étranger) – ouvrent un espace insoupçonné où l'expérience du vécu quitte la sphère proprement biographique pour devenir un procédé épistémologique et poétique, cognitif et créatif.

Deux approches critiques permettent de mieux cibler les recherches sur le régime particulier de l'écriture évoqué par l'ailleurs : celles de l'« imagologie » et de la « géocritique ». L'« imagologie » littéraire, qui étudie les représentations de l'ailleurs en littérature, révèle les manières dont le monde étranger nourrit la fiction. Ses méthodes de recherche permettent de déchiffrer également les illusions qu'une société crée sur son altérité et de mieux comprendre comment s'élaborent et vivent les grands mythes nationaux. Au lieu de parler d'influences culturelles, il faut plutôt se poser la question quels manques aspire-t-on à combler par ses voyages, quelles patries cherche-t-on pour ses rêves ?

Or, s'il est vrai que « l'appréhension de la réalité étrangère par un écrivain n'est pas directe, mais médiatisée par les représentations imaginaires de la société à laquelle il appartient »⁴, on pourrait – à l'aide de l'image de la France et de l'étranger, en général – deviner le concept de l'ailleurs pour les Bulgares.

L'ailleurs est souvent une question de géographie : les lieux différents produisent des textes différents. Et c'est ici que la « géocritique » intervient. Il s'avère que l'itinéraire d'un artiste entretient des relations très particulières avec ses créations, à tel point qu'on peut parfois affirmer, que sa vie fait partie de son œuvre. Seulement, à quel degré le lieu réel s'infiltre dans l'œuvre, reste un coefficient mystérieux et variable, difficile à définir. Tout cela suggère, que le contexte de l'écriture, l'espace de la naissance des impressions et des images intérieures, avant qu'elles ne se transforment en texte, puisse cacher une clé possible de son interprétation. C'est pourquoi le voyage, l'expérience corporelle du déplacement, apparaît comme un facteur à titre égal avec l'écriture, qui mène directement vers l'acte créatif.

Le premier acte est donc de partir.

Le voyage est une échappatoire, une rupture avec la banalité de la vie quotidienne et implique un rythme différent : tout se déroule sous le signe de l'*aventure*. Il s'agit ici des artistes qui visitent Paris, qui y vivent un certain temps, mais qui rentrent au pays natal enrichis de ce jeu de dépaysement, de ce dialogue entre les lieux et les cultures. Ils profitent du dynamisme d'un point de vue changeant

⁴ Moura, J.-M. *L'Europe littéraire et l'ailleurs*. Paris, PUF, 1998, p. 45.

sur le monde, d'un rapprochement et d'un éloignement alternés qui cherchent la juste mesure pour rendre visibles les détails qui autrement seraient restés inaperçus. Il s'agit donc des itinéraires, des départs et des arrivés avec le goût âpre d'un équilibre instable, d'un présent fugitif, d'un instant fugace. Cela résonne dans les genres : poèmes, lettres, journaux intimes, essais – des formes brèves ou fragmentées donc qui gardent l'esprit volatil du présent, ou – plus rarement – des mémoires qui, plus posées, prennent en compte la distance géographique et temporelle pour produire une distillation fine du passé, nuancée par la lumière et les ombres des souvenirs. Le songe de Paris⁵, l'impatience de partir et la fragilité de tout projet⁶, donnent le goût doux-amer de la lutte incessante entre l'esprit et les entraves du réel. L'attente bascule facilement en nostalgie, de laquelle témoignent par exemple les poèmes « Plus jamais » („Няма вече”⁷) de Latchézar Stantchev et « Soir » („Вечер”) d'Athanase Daltchev :

Quelque part à l'occident, s'éteint le soir.
Et le regard fixé sur lui, je me souviens
.....
À cette heure, il brûle aussi au-dessus de Paris.
On ferme le Jardin de Luxembourg.
Une trompette lance un appel sonore, passionné,
Et, comme pour y répondre, les ténèbres
Descendent légèrement sur les blanches allées.
Une bande d'enfants marche derrière le gardien
Et écoutent extasiés, dans une douce joie,
Le chant enthousiaste du cuivre
Et chacun d'eux désire être
Plus près du trompette magicien.
De toutes portes, largement ouvertes,
Sortent des gens, gais et bruyants –
Mais moi je ne suis pas parmi eux.
« Soir », 1930⁸

Les subtils croisements entre ici et ailleurs, présent et souvenir, réalité et image reflètent la frustration humaine née de l'ubiquité impossible, mais ils prouvent aussi le lien fort entre le poétique et le géographique, le texte et le lieu : un besoin intrinsèque à l'imaginaire qui le fait chercher une terre pour s'accrocher.

⁵ Cf. par exemple : Непубликувани писма на К. Константинов до Н. Лиливев, сп. *Септември*, 1985, N 11, с. 216-226.

⁶ Paris hante tous les esprits, même s'il demeure parfois uniquement dans les attentes, dans les espoirs, dans les fantasmes des intellectuels qui n'y sont pas. Ainsi, par exemple, D. Debelianov, un poète bulgare qui disparaît très jeune, n'arrive pas de réaliser ses projets de le visiter : pour lui Paris reste un rêve inaccessible.

⁷ Няма вече да вървя край Сена, / ослепен от блесналия град, / нито във тълпата край Мадлена / да се губя малък, непознат. // Да се спра пред Операта вечер, / да разглеждам наниза коли, / как от тях излизат с топли речи / в тежки дрехи хубави жени...

⁸ Traduction du bulgare par Violéta Ionova. In : Stefanova, N. (éd.), *La poésie bulgare : anthologie des origines à nos jours*. Paris, Seghers, 1968.

Le nom de Paris lui-même est déjà un générateur de textes et de rêveries. Après Marcel Proust on connaît bien la charge métaphorique de ce « nom-valise », dont la simple évocation suffit pour déclencher une avalanche de souvenirs et de sensations. Derrière le nom de Paris et ses hauts lieux se cachent des espaces heureux autant réels, que fantastiques. Le Montmartre, le jardin du Luxembourg, le quai Voltaire créent le décor d'une autre vie – plus intense, plus raffinée, plus fascinante – qui se transforme rapidement – à peine vécu – en souvenir et en poésie.

La rencontre avec Paris offre toujours un sentiment de *déjà-vu*. Au lieu de découvrir, on reconnaît les endroits familiers grâce à une carte mentale préexistante, tracée par les lectures. « La ville, mille fois décrite littérairement, s'est mise à incarner la littérature »⁹.

C'est pour cela, le voyage à Paris des écrivains bulgares apparaît également comme un pèlerinage littéraire. Aux impressions immédiates se mêlent les réminiscences littéraires et ainsi, marcher dans les pas des hommes illustres suscite une profonde émotion. Dans la plupart des cas, ces écrivains sont également des traducteurs de langue française et il s'agit donc de lecteurs avertis. Sur leur imagination les constructions, l'architecture dans son ensemble, les monuments historiques, les musées, les rues et les passages, produisent un effet « d'opérateurs d'intertextualité » (Ch. Montalbetti) et les impressions immédiates se confondent avec les images livresques.

Les écrivains bulgares arrivent pour tester *in situ* le pouvoir créatif de cette ville mythique. Ils connaissent déjà la poésie de Paris, les symbolistes, Baudelaire, l'expérience du flâneur qui erre dans cette ville immense à la fois familière et hostile, en se sentant chez soi et à l'étranger. Leur impulsion scripturale s'exprime par la formule : je marche, j'écris, donc je suis. « J'éprouve un plaisir particulier à me balader dans cette ville où je connais tout et personne ne me connaît », écrit dans une de ses lettres le compositeur Lubomir Pipkov¹⁰. Les poèmes bulgares de Paris font un éloge du mouvement et esquissent une mise en scène de la déambulation. On suit la pensée qui vagabonde, les descriptions qui peignent des tableaux. D'après les confessions de Konstantinov :

La ville, véritable chef-d'œuvre par elle-même, nous entourait jour et nuit. La beauté de ses rues, ses places, ses parcs, ses ponts et ses quais, de ses antiquaires et bouquinistes, pouvait remplir de sens des années entières d'une vie humaine¹¹.

Il n'est pas question pour autant d'un Paris monumental : nous sommes à la recherche plutôt d'un lieu vécu, à la rencontre d'une ville réelle, d'une destination possible.

⁹ Casanova, P. Paris, méridien de Greenwich de la littérature, in : Ch.Charle, D. Roche (dir.), *Capitales culturelles capitales symboliques. Paris et les expériences européennes, XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002, p. 292.

¹⁰ Lettre adressée au poète Nikolaï Liliev, le 26 nov. 1929, in : Константинов, Г. *Николай Лилиев. Човекът. Поетът*. София, Български писател, 1963, p. 248.

¹¹ Konstantinov, *Chemin à travers les années*, Op.cit. [Константинов, *Път през годините*, p. 178].

Les écrivains vont à Paris, comme on dit souvent, pour « se retrouver », mais aussi pour « se perdre ». Cette ville qu'ils veulent ardemment connaître, donne une ouverture, offre une autre échelle. C'est pour cette raison que l'on trouve autant d'images de l'étendue, de la liberté, de l'infini dans les écrits des poètes (Liliev, Bagriana, Daltchev...). Cette ville immense les inspire à quitter le monde vétuste du passé, trop étroit, étouffant, clos. Elle incarne et matérialise le songe poétique de nouveaux méridiens, de nouveaux mondes. Paris, cette ville cosmopolite, que l'on appelle « l'abrégé de l'univers » est le symbole de la liberté de l'esprit. Une bonne partie des écrivains de l'époque dont on parle, partagent les idées de l'*unanimité* et sont des adeptes d'une communauté spirituelle des peuples. On trouve dans la plupart des œuvres la représentation de cette étendue sans bornes, comme dans ce poème de Nikolaï Liliev :

Mon âme rejoint docilement
L'âme du monde entier¹².

Le voyage des poètes à Paris est aussi une quête de reconnaissance. Dans les lettres, les reportages et, plus tard, dans les mémoires des intellectuels, on trouve de nombreux témoignages de l'attention que leur prêtent leurs confrères français, des invitations à l'occasion de grandes manifestations internationales qu'ils reçoivent de la part des associations des écrivains français, des rencontres personnelles qui les ont marqués et l'amitié avec certains d'entre eux (Alain Bosquet, Paul Eluard, Luis Aragon, Jules Romain) et qui culminent à une soirée mémorable dédiée à la poésie bulgare et à la culture bulgare en général – au printemps 1939 – organisée par le PEN club français, qui attire l'attention d'un public vaste et varié ; une soirée riche en promesses, en projets communs, en bonnes intentions concernant la publication de livres et pour la plupart desquels l'éclatement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale malheureusement mettrait bientôt fin¹³. Un petit pays et une langue rare ont toujours besoin d'un certain appui et d'encouragement.

Partir loin des siens propose toujours un regard nouveau et certainement plus critique sur sa propre culture. Cette redécouverte du familier persiste dans la plupart des écrits des écrivains voyageurs, mais elle est particulièrement curieuse dans les *Lettres parisiennes* de l'écrivain humoriste Tchoudomir. Les comparaisons comiques entre les Bulgares et les Français, le travestissement ingénieux des avantages et des défauts des deux peuples, les effets drôles produits par le choc des cultures, contribuent au charme de ces tournures exquises. Prenons par exemple la constatation

¹² ...душата честита се слива с душата на целия свят („Възкръсват в душата живели”).

¹³ Latchézar Stantchev, correspondant de Paris pour le quotidien bulgare *Zarya* à cette époque, nous a laissé un reportage emblématique de cet événement in : в. Заря, 8.3.1939 : <http://slance.eu/Publikacii/LS-s-PENvParis-Zarja-1939.htm> (18.12.2016).

stupéfiante de découvrir que la langue française est fourrée de mots bulgares et par conséquent l'hypothèse qu'à l'issue de la Grande guerre la Bulgarie a peut-être été obligée de fournir au Français un wagon de mots¹⁴. Ou bien, la visite des musées qui montre non seulement que pendant les guerres les Français ont ramené à la maison tous ce qu'ils ont trouvé sur leur chemin mais aussi leur manque de sens pratique : ils ont traîné des pierre d'Égypte, des divinités en bronze ou en argile de Perse, des tableaux d'Italie ou de Flandre : des choses très peu utiles donc, surtout quand on compare avec l'esprit... utilitaire des Bulgares. Et Tchoudomir raconte l'histoire d'un soldat qui porte une machine à coudre volée sur son dos pendant trois mois en attendant le bon moment pour l'apporter à la maison¹⁵.

Il est passionnant d'essayer de reconstruire l'ambiance de cet espace bulgare à Paris¹⁶. C'est une communauté d'étudiants, de professeurs, de musiciens, d'artistes peintres, de voyageurs ou tout simplement, de « naufragés dans l'océan mondial », qui forment toute une colonie et qui habitent dans la plupart des cas le Quartier Latin, avec des soucis financiers constants, mais inspirés par la vie culturelle intense qui continue jour et nuit. En essayant de ne rien rater, ils courent les musées et les expositions, échangent des livres entre eux, suivent les nouveautés théâtrales. Ils se retrouvent le soir devant les caisses pour s'acheter des billets d'entrée aux théâtres ou aux concerts, des billets les moins chers, debout, pour lesquels il n'y a pas de vente préalable. Dans ces moments d'attente, Nikolaï Liliev, lui-même l'auteur d'une poésie très douce et mélodieuse¹⁷, donne « des cours » de poésie française en lisant à ses confrères bulgares ses dernières trouvailles poétiques. Lui c'est l'âme de la colonie bulgare. L'interlocuteur et le correspondant préféré selon l'image fournie par les lettres conservées de cette époque qui ont circulé dans la communauté francophone bulgare, il est le connaisseur incontestable de la langue et de la littérature française. Quelques années plus tard, ce rôle serait joué par Latchézar Stantchev, l'un des poètes bulgares les plus rayonnants¹⁸. Parlant un français exquis, il allait encourager ses confrères à le perfectionner eux aussi. Son cycle de poèmes intitulé *Paris au soleil* enregistre les effets surprenants de la grande ville sur l'être humain : fragile, vulnérable, perdu dans la

¹⁴ C'est une allusion ironique des contributions dont la Bulgarie étant du côté des vaincus est infligée de payer suite à sa lourde défaite.

¹⁵ Чудомир, Писма от Париж, *Съчинения в три тома*, т. 3. София, Български писател, 1981, <https://chitanka.info/text/21315-pisma-ot-parizh> (19.12.2016).

¹⁶ Cf. par exemple : Кръстев, К. С българи в Париж, в : *Спомени за културния живот между двете световни войни*. София, Български писател, 1988, с. 280.

¹⁷ Sur la musicalité de la poésie de N. Liliev voir par ex. les recherches de Galia Simeonova-Konach : http://www.academia.edu/29571709/Cultural_artefacts_Musical_instruments_and_music_in_the_Bible_On_the_question_of_the_music_of_poetry_hymnography_and_the_lyric_poetry_of_Nikolai_Liliev_in_Bulgarian (3.04.2017).

¹⁸ En 1930 Latchezar Stantchev publie son premier recueil de poèmes, *Jours silencieux* [Безшумни дни]. Après avoir terminé sa maîtrise de Langue et littérature françaises à l'Université de Sofia, il poursuit ses études à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes à Paris entre 1937 et 1939.

foule, mais en même temps, infiniment inspiré, capable d'apprécier la beauté autour de lui et d'en jouir. Émerveillé par la ville dans tous ses états, il crée son Paris poétique : dans la pluie ou sous le soleil, brouillant en été ou silencieux sous la neige.

Les Tuileries qui brillent me font signe ;
un blanc nuage au velouté de cygne
très lentement dans le lac se renverse ;
et les jets d'eau qui jasant, se dispersent
en fine écume, en rayonnante averse.

.....

Paris sous le soleil ! Brins de clarté !
Aux Tuileries se repose mon cœur.
Une quiétude azurée m'effleure.
Souffle de paix d'un univers rêvé.
« Paris sous le soleil », 1939¹⁹

Ce soir, pour moi quelle étrange surprise !
Le noir Paris est devenu tout blanc.
Par un blanc pur les places sont conquises,
une clarté neigeuse se répand.
« Neige »²⁰

Malgré les désillusions qu'une ville immense avec ses contradictions inévitablement suscite – rappelons le célèbre « Paris, Paris, toi qui est le père et l'assassin de mes espoirs » de Liliev ou « Solitude » de L. Stantchev – c'est l'effet magique qui domine la poésie née du contact avec elle. Ainsi, nous lisons chez Bagriana : « Dévoile-moi, Paris le magicien, tes secrets féériques ! »²¹, chez L. Stantchev : « Paris ! Fais-moi connaître tes mystères ! »²² ou encore chez K. Konstantinov : « Ce qui nous restait c'était la ville même avec sa magie incurable ».

Dans l'attrance pour cette ville, il y a quelque chose presque sensuel. La ville, inconnue et provocatrice, évoque, à la fois, de la peur et du désir. Séduits, les auteurs – hommes ou femmes – multiplient les images érotiques dans leurs tableaux parisiens : « Là-bas, comme une mer invisible, pointillée par des lanternes pâles, était la ville, allongée, rêvée comme une amante » – écrit K. Konstantinov²³. « Me voici, je suis venue et je m'adonne à toi toute entière »²⁴ – déclare la voix lyrique

¹⁹ Блести пред мен Жарден де Тюйлери. // Бял облак, пухкав като лебед, / във езерото бавно плава. / И водоскоците се разтопяват / във нежна пана и искри. [...] Париж подъ слънце! Блясъци отвед... // Във Тюйлери сърцето ми отдъхва, / спокойствие лазурно ме облъхва / със лъх от друг жадуван, мирен свят. Traduction de Anne-Marie de Backer.

²⁰ Тази вечер – каква изненада – // тоя черен Париж, побелял! // Бели, чисти са всички площи, // светъл сняг е навред навял. Traduction de Anne-Marie de Backer, in : Stefanova (éd.), *La poésie bulgare*. Op. cit.

²¹ *Ibid.* Le poème « Paris ».

²² Dans le poème « Soir ». Cf. <http://booksbg.orgfree.com/Publikacii/LS-s-Dontchev-ParisSous-1940.htm>

²³ Константинов, К. *Избрани разкази и пътеписи*. София, Български писател, 1968, с. 363.

²⁴ Le poème « Paris ».

de Bagriana. Une autre poétesse, Dora Gabe, avoue être amoureuse de Paris « comme d'un homme »²⁵.

Il n'est donc pas surprenant que notamment Paris se révèle le décor de connivence pour deux histoires biographiques dont les traits romanesques sont connus par tous les Bulgares. La ville transforme le réel et fonctionne comme un immense chantier de métamorphoses littéraires.

La première intrigue est liée au nom du poète Peyo Yavorov (1878-1914), dont l'histoire, dominée par l'amour et la mort, se déroule en partie sous le ciel de Paris. L'existence et l'œuvre de ce poète aussi talentueux que malchanceux, sont marqués par deux femmes, Mina et Laura, les deux *Muses* incontournables de sa poésie.

Mina, mi-enfant, mi-femme, meurt à Paris très jeune. Cette fille de santé fragile qui avait tellement admiré les merveilles de cette ville épatante, y reste, captivée pour toujours : dans les cimetières de Billancourt. Bouleversé, désespéré, seul, le poète consacre son temps parisien à porter des fleurs sur la tombe de sa bien-aimée et à écrire. À Paris il compose sa pièce de théâtre *Au pied de Vitocha*, ainsi que son *Journal Parisien*. Il dévore avidement les recueils des poètes contemporains français, s'imprègne du symbolisme, s'enfonce dans les livres philosophiques et mystiques à la recherche des réponses à ses questions troublantes sur les secrets de la vie et de la mort.

L'image de Paris pour lui s'exprime par le deuil, l'absence et le vide. Dans son *Journal* il écrit : « Quand je suis entré dans cette ville maudite, tu mourrais... ». Tenu à l'écart par la famille de Mina, qui s'était opposé farouchement à leur liaison, il n'arrivait pas à faire ses adieux, ce qui causait chez lui un manque encore plus aigu, insupportable.

J'étais au bord de la Seine. Un brouillard fin et bleu la couvrait dans cet après-midi automnal. La Seine que je devais traverser chaque jour et que je traversais toujours avec la même sensation d'un mal flou et d'un désir ardent. Et toi, tu étais dans mon esprit...
Je vivais seul avec ma douleur et je ne voulais pas la guérir. Elle restait la seule chose qui me reliait au monde.

Son *Journal*, un mélange de poésie et de prose, donne libre cours à son imagination hallucinante :

Dehors était cette grisaille sans fin, avec son bruit vague, avec ses mouvements fantomatiques, avec sa vie cauchemardesque²⁶.

²⁵ Петров, М. *Трима от големите*. Шумен, Аксиос, 2001, с. 52.

²⁶ Арнаудов, М. *Яворов – личност, творчество, съдба*. София, Български писател, 1970, с. 331.

Paris reste pour lui une ville hostile. Il désire la mort, il appelle la mort et ... elle vient, sous l'apparence d'une belle femme, Laura. Si le mal jusqu'alors a été plutôt clément, il deviendra bien réel avec l'arrivée de Laura.

Elle jouit pleinement de Paris : un allié fidèle dans les démarches amoureuses de cette femme possessive. Bien qu'elle la décrive comme « déserte » en absence de Yavorov, une ville où règnent « la pluie, la foule et la tristesse », pour elle Paris exerce une attirance magnétique. Dans ses lettres la ville apparaît comme une « complice stratégique »²⁷. Elle correspond parfaitement à sa nature ambiguë, docile et imposante à la fois. Paris est un sanctuaire qui réveille son extrémisme amoureux. Un amour fort, mais capricieux et cruel qui allait les entraîner tous les deux dans le colimaçon d'un amour vorace et fatalement jaloux.

Une telle présence, une telle capacité de variation, de rebondissement sont exceptionnelles, et Paris n'en a pas d'égal. On pourrait le déceler aussi à travers la seconde histoire biographique, celle de la poétesse Elissavéta Bagriana.

Son itinéraire dans le monde et dans la littérature commence en 1925, par une escapade en France. Ce voyage, qui joue le rôle de déclencheur de son don poétique et dont les détails significatifs contribuent à l'interprétation de son premier recueil de poèmes *L'Eternelle et la Sainte*²⁸, témoigne de l'importance du lieu pour l'épanouissement du talent.

Monter dans le train à destination de Paris représente un moment décisif dans la vie de Bagriana²⁹. Il relève à la fois de l'impulsion (l'accélération du poulx, le vertige, la conscience de transgresser une interdiction) et du raisonnement (« je rêvais de partir hors de la patrie et de revenir plus riche, plus mûre »³⁰). Dans sa poésie, le départ correspond au rêve de s'échapper de la maison (« de trois portes fermée»), de briser les « verrous rouillés » et de fuir loin des « couloirs obscurs voûtés » (« Cri »). Paris devient le synonyme de cet ailleurs rêvé. Un détail significatif : elle part en femme amoureuse. Elle et lui se précipitent vers ce voyage énigmatique, vers Paris, mais aussi l'un vers l'autre. Ils ne connaissent pas encore les habitudes l'un de l'autre, ni leurs caractères respectifs. C'est un élan pour l'inconnu, une aventure. Chacun prépare le voyage pour soi ; le rendez-vous est prévu dans le train.

²⁷ Cf. Кузмова-Зографова, К. *Яворов в театъра на епистоларните дискурси*: <http://chirpan.start.bg/> ; Найденова-Стоилова, Г. П. К. *Яворов. Летопис за живота и творчеството му*. Изд. на БАН, 1986.

²⁸ *Вечната и святата*, 1927.

²⁹ Cf. mon article *L'Ailleurs comme révélation : la France dans les poèmes d'Elissaveta Bagriana*, in : Enderlein, E. et Mihova, L. (dir.), *Écrire ailleurs au féminin dans le monde slave au XX^e siècle*. Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013.

³⁰ Делчев, Б., Султанов, С. (ред.). *Българските писатели за себе си и за своето творчество*. София, Български писател, 1970, с. 370.

Bien que séparée de son mari, Elissavéta Bagriana reste une femme mariée aux yeux de la société bulgare qui est encore trop conservatrice en cette époque. Elle est célèbre et brillante. Elle est talentueuse et entourée de jalousie. Lui, c'est Boyan Pénev, érudit, professeur à l'université, critique littéraire, essayiste, un grand nom dans la culture bulgare. Ils partent dans deux wagons différents. Le train passe quelques gares avant qu'ils n'osent se retrouver.

Paris est une scène formidable pour toutes les escapades, elle enflamme l'amour. C'est aussi une tentation intellectuelle. Pour quelques jours à Paris, ils espèrent retrouver tout ce qui leur manque à Sofia. Bagriana gardera toute sa vie le souvenir de leur arrivée, le petit déjeuner dans un café qui fait l'angle de la Seine et du boulevard Saint-Michel. La toute première impression : le goût de Paris dans le café crème et dans le croissant chaud, fondant, inoubliable.

Ils trouvent, à Paris, toute une colonie de compatriotes. Plus tard, ils apprendront que les rumeurs les ont devancés à Sofia : la poétesse et le professeur ensemble à Paris !

Ils visitent les musées, les théâtres, l'opéra, passent des jours entiers au Louvre. Le soir, Boyan Pénev prépare soigneusement le programme du lendemain à l'aide de guides et de livres. Pendant les soirées les sorties aux théâtres s'enchaînent : Comédie Française, Grande Opéra, Odéon... Pendant tous ces jours et ces nuits à Paris, Elissavéta Bagriana n'écrit pas, elle vit Paris. Pendant tous ces jours et toutes ces nuits elle ne compose pas de poèmes, elle accumule des souvenirs. Mais ces souvenirs, des années plus tard, se transformeront en poèmes. Et même ce qu'elle n'a peut-être pas apprécié pleinement et à sa juste valeur au moment de l'expérience immédiate, recevra, plus tard, une douce coloration nostalgique.

Comme beaucoup d'autres, Elissavéta Bagriana à son tour tombe amoureuse de Paris. Le spectacle de cet univers, inconnu auparavant, exerce sur elle un pouvoir fascinant. Elle se sent chez elle dans cette ville immense, protégée par son *incognito*, invitée par les trajectoires multiples, séduisantes et infinies :

J'aime tes innombrables rues grises.
J'aime [...]
Errer au hasard, étrangère et lointaine,
Perdue dans les quartiers inconnus,
Ou regarder depuis l'une des terrasses
Le fleuve de la foule qui englouti les boulevards.
« Paris »³¹

³¹ Обичам твоите безбройни сиви улици... // Да скитам без посока, чужда и далечна, / залутана из непознатите квартали, / или от някоя тераса да погледам вечер / реката на тълпата, булевардите заляла („Париж”).

Pendant leurs promenades parisiennes avec Boyan, les impressions personnelles se confondent avec les images livresques. La ville, une gigantesque œuvre d'art, leur offre son spectacle riche et généreux où leurs propres pas suivent les descriptions hugoliennes ou bien réveillent les paysages baudelairiens. Ils ont atterri dans une autre dimension et vivent intensément ce moment exceptionnel d'un dépaysement esthétique et intellectuel. C'est une vie entre parenthèses. Ils découvrent la beauté du monde extérieur mais aussi la profondeur invisible de l'âme humaine. Les visites des musées sont doublées par la lecture de la poésie ; les balades dans les rues hantées par les personnages et les histoires de la grande littérature reflètent, dans leurs longues discussions, l'étrange croisement des destins et des œuvres.

Les révélations suscitées par la ville des vivants se poursuivent dans les villes des morts :

Nous nous baladions dans les cimetières. Boyan voulait voir les tombeaux des hommes illustres. C'était une drôle d'impulsion ; plus que cela : c'était un besoin. Le soir en feuilletant les guides, il repérait tout d'abord les cimetières et notait ceux qui l'intéressaient. Il avait un penchant pour ces visites, comme s'il cherchait l'esprit vif des morts³².

Puis elle raconte ses impressions, ses réflexions, mêlées à celles de Boyan Pénev devant les tombeaux d'Oscar Wilde et de Baudelaire à Montparnasse, de Musset et de Chopin au Père Lachaise, de Balzac et de Zola à Montmartre. Les cimetières exercent une attirance hypnotique sur Boyan Pénev comme un pressentiment³³.

Son premier livre *La sainte et l'éternelle* scelle l'esprit rebelle de Paris. Le voyage s'avère une fin en soi (changer d'horizon, donner une ampleur de la vie), mais aussi un moyen d'atteindre une maturité d'esprit. Paris pour elle est la découverte d'un espace de liberté, le nom d'un dépaysement intérieur propice à l'écriture, une révélation qui donne un sens profondément symbolique à son voyage.

Paris, la ville de sa jeunesse, de son grand amour, de son bonheur, comble son être entier et devient non seulement une topographie réelle, mais aussi un *topos* poétique, lieu de l'éternel retour, tableau récurant dans ses poèmes :

Loin de toi, il y a des moments soudains
[...]
Et souffrante de nostalgie, je pars et je reviens
Comme si c'était une patrie d'une vie précédente.
« Paris »³⁴

³² Димитрова, Б. и Й. Василев. *Дни черни и бели*. София, Наука и изкуство, 1975, с. 116.

³³ Le bonheur de Bagriana sera bref : quelques mois plus tard Boyan Pénev meurt.

³⁴ Далеч от тебе, изведнџ настџпват мигове [...] // и болна от носталгия, се вдигам и пристигам / като в родина, може би от друг живот предишен.

Ainsi, voit-on facilement les traces de Paris dans les œuvres et dans les itinéraires des écrivains. C'est un décor unique qui exprime le moment, l'état d'esprit, la couleur du temps, et qui pour toute une génération de poètes du monde entier restera le plus intelligent des interprètes. Marcher dans les pas des écrivains – passages, paysages, ambiances, qui envahissent leur monde de fiction – nous guide comme une « Carte du Tendre » à la recherche des points d'intersection entre l'espace vécu et les lieux de pure invention, sans savoir parfois où nous sommes : encore dans la vie ou déjà dans le texte.

Mais une autre question moins visible et plus subtile nous fait penser au reflet des textes sur le lieu. L'enveloppe douce de l'art, évoquée par les couvertures éphémères des paysages de Christo (comme celui du Pont Neuf en 1985), pourrait être vue comme une métaphore de l'empreinte de l'imaginaire sur l'espace réel et de manière où les œuvres, engendrées par le lieu, y inscrivent leur propre histoire.

Les artistes bulgares ont-ils laissé une trace de leur passage à Paris ? Paul Valéry rappelle qu'une très grande ville a besoin du reste du monde³⁵. Sans doute, en écrivant leurs propres œuvres inspirées de l'image de Paris, des générations d'écrivains étrangers ont contribué à sa transformation d'un fantasme qui suscite l'écriture – en œuvre d'art à part entière.

³⁵ « Fonction de Paris » in : Valéry, P. *Œuvres* Tome II. Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1960, p. 1007.

Aglika POPOVA ¹

Ève nouvelle.

Observations sur le roman européen moderne de l'entre-deux-guerres

Résumé

Dans les limites de cette analyse, la littérature roumaine et la littérature bulgare – pris comme exemples des littératures balkaniques – font l'objet d'une étude comparative avec des exemples de la littérature française. Le cadre thématique du mythe de la création biblique et en particulier la figure d'Ève nous donnent l'opportunité d'y identifier des perspectives communes. Depuis l'Expulsion du Jardin d'Éden, l'humanité suit le chemin pré-ordonné de la mortalité. Néanmoins, le récit biblique ne se termine pas par la chute de l'homme. La naissance du Sauveur expie le péché de désobéissance de la première femme et la Vierge Marie devient la Nouvelle Ève, mère des vivants. Les représentations modernes d'Ève changent le décor de l'action et à la place du temps sacré se situe la réalité matérielle où le caractère se construit avec hésitation dans la phase du salut. La Nouvelle Ève littéraire prend parfois les caractéristiques d'une fugitive et d'une meurtrière. C'est à partir de l'ensemble des ouvrages étudiés ici (de Tchavdar Moutafov, d'Anna Kamenova, de Liviu Rebreanu et de Mircea Eliade) que nous distinguons plusieurs messages contemporains du roman européen. Les écrivains de la littérature

Mots-clés : mythe biblique ; couple humain originel ; Ève ; roman moderne ; littérature de l'entre-deux-guerres

The New Eve.

Observations on the Modern European Novel of the Interwar Period

Abstract

Within the scope of this article, examples from Bulgarian and Romanian literature, which are representative of Balkan literatures, have been used as the subject of a comparative study alongside examples from French literature. The thematic framework of the Biblical creation myth, and in particular the figure of Eve, allow for the identification of common perspectives. Ever since the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, humankind has been following the preordained path of mortality. However, the Biblical narrative does not end with the fall of man. The Savior's birth atones for the first woman's sin of disobedience, and the Virgin Mary becomes the New Eve, mother of the living. Modern representations of Eve require a change of scene as the common sacred time setting is reversed to actual reality, where the character building is done through the issue of assurance of salvation. The New Eve takes on the characteristics of a fugitive and a murderess. Based on the cited body of works by Tchavdar Moutafov, Anna Kamenova, Liviu Rebreanu, and Mircea Eliade, this is the point where we begin to single out the contemporary messages of the European novel. The French writers who have been selected as object of comparison are François Mauriac and Jean Giraudoux.

Keywords: Biblical myth; first human couple; Eve; modern novel; literature of the Interwar period

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Unies sous le titre présent, trois littératures européennes se rencontrent dans l'objectif de marquer le fonctionnement du mythe biblique de la Création dans le roman de l'entre-deux-guerres. Les littératures française, roumaine et bulgare sont mises en parallèle autour la figure d'Ève : la mère et la femme, l'incarnation de l'innocence et de la faute². On se propose tout d'abord de circonscrire quelques aspects préalables des littératures qui s'ouvrent pour la Bible pendant l'entre-deux-guerres. Un intérêt particulier sera porté sur l'image d'Ève et les lignes de démarcation entre le mythe religieux et le mythe littéraire, afin qu'on puisse indiquer les représentations modernes de ce mythe féminin dans le roman.

Contextes d'accueil pour le mythe originel

À l'époque de l'entre-deux-guerres, la littérature française vient de se détourner de la récente « crise du roman » – le genre, appuyé naguère sur la base du positivisme, subit un ébranlement considérable. L'écart par rapport aux courants précédents ne produit pas une simple confrontation entre les théories littéraires, mais implique la méfiance dans le roman, exprimé le plus explicitement par André Breton dans le *Manifeste du surréalisme* en 1924. Pourtant, le mépris du manifeste envers le positivisme réaliste cède, afin de donner place aux possibilités du merveilleux à féconder le roman. Cela comprend une fiction qui aspirerait à quitter le sol, animée par un personnage qui ne se heurte pas aux contraintes temporelles ; une fiction qui repartirait du féérique car « il y a des contes à écrire pour les grandes personnes »³. Publiées sur les pages d'un manifeste qui excite les milieux littéraires, ces visions prouvent la présence d'un intérêt réveillé et centré sur les sources religieuses, les littératures du Nord et de l'Orient ou bien, sur la narration mythologique saturée de thèmes métaphysiques.

En second lieu, le déclin qui suit la Première guerre mondiale renvoie vers la nécessité urgente d'être réexaminé le système de valeurs, y compris les principes des littéraires qui partagent eux-aussi la responsabilité devant l'écroulement des idéaux du temps moderne⁴. Les piliers traditionnels de la morale deviennent l'objet d'un approfondissement critique. Une nouvelle expérience littéraire surgit qui opte à retrouver dans les messages bibliques des positions refoulées par les derniers siècles, pleins d'une foi différente, la foi dans le progrès humain. Cette nouvelle tendance réunit des écrivains qui ont

² Voir Struve-Debeaux, Anne. « Ève ». In : *Dictionnaire des mythes féminins*. Sous la direction de Pierre Brunel, avec la collaboration de Frédéric Mancier. Monaco, Éd. du Rocher, 2002, p. 718.

³ Breton, André. *Manifeste du surréalisme*. <http://inventin.lautre.net/livres/Manifeste-du-surrealisme-1924.pdf> (13.12.2015), p. 5.

⁴ Un exemple éloquent à ce sujet représente le fameux essai de Paul Valéry *La crise de l'esprit* (1919). Il annonce l'évanescence d'une civilisation et de ses créateurs et soulève à son tour la question pour le redémarrage qui suit. Valéry Paul. *La crise de l'esprit*. Collection « Les classiques des sciences sociales ». Fondée et dirigée par Jean-Marie Tremblay. Bibliothèque Paul-Émile Boulet de l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Valery_paul/crise_de_l'esprit/valery_esprit.pdf (13.12.2015), p. 4.

parcouru un chemin singulier, mais qui se rassemblent autour de leur inspiration catholique : Georges Bernanos, François Mauriac et Julien Green.

En tant que période de discussions animées et de prise de conscience pour l'identité de la littérature nationale, pendant l'entre-deux-guerres en Bulgarie et en Roumanie redevient actuel le mysticisme des légendes et des chansons populaires ; les écrivains sont de plus en plus tentés par le courant théosophique, le bogomilisme et les croyances chrétiennes. Ce type de représentations témoigne de la recherche d'une continuité entre tradition et innovation qui doit résulter à son tour dans l'authenticité de l'écriture⁵. À cette étape sont publiés deux aperçus critiques notoires. Nous visons l'essai « Traits généraux de notre littérature d'aujourd'hui » („Основни чърти на днешната ни литература”, 1921) de Boyan Penev qui reste profondément gravé dans le développement ultérieur de la critique bulgare. Dans un contexte pareil se manifeste la formulation d'une nouvelle question dans la littérature roumaine : « Pourquoi n'avons-nous pas de roman » (« *De ce nu avem roman* »), exprimée par Mihaï Ralea en 1927.

L'adoption d'une approche sociologique face aux facteurs qui génèrent les processus littéraires est parmi les premiers points communs de la critique littéraire dans les deux pays. L'écrivain-créateur est vu comme un phénomène faisant partie de la société où il se développe. De cette manière sont stigmatisés le fétichisme et la superstition du peuple, selon les mots de Mihaï Ralea⁶ ; l'ambiance de vénération devant les rites, mais l'indifférentisme religieux, d'après Boyan Penev⁷. Ces reproches partent de la persuasion dans la nécessité d'être introduites de nouvelles directions esthétiques et résultent dans la comparaison avec les littératures européennes. Parmi les références partagées se rangent le roman français du XIX^e siècle et l'œuvre de Dostoïevski. Mihaï Ralea admire le rôle du catholicisme et du protestantisme pour la réalisation du potentiel intellectuel de l'Occident. De son côté, Boyan Penev, (pareillement à Dorothy Penn qui aperçoit une réaction à la fatigue du réalisme et du naturalisme dans le retour aux mythes bibliques du roman français⁸), lui, il cherche dans le mysticisme une variante hors des limites du réalisme sobre.

Les deux critiques littéraires du Sud-Est creusent l'hétérogénéité de l'écriture romanesque locale et bien qu'ils ne connaissent pas l'exemple de la littérature voisine, leurs arguments semblent

⁵ Ликова, Розалия. *Литературен живот между двете войни. Книга II*. София, Изд. Къща „Иван Вазов”, 1996, с. 7-8.

⁶ Ralea, Mihai. *Fenomenul românesc*. București, Ed. Albatros, 1997, p. 244.

⁷ Пенев, Боян. Основни чърти на днешната ни литература. В: *Изкуството е нашата памет*. Съставител Иван Радев. Варна, Издателство „Г. Бакалов”, 1978, с. 153.

⁸ Leur contemporaine, Dorothy Penn publie un article qui repart des conditions préalables pour l'engendrement de la vocation chrétienne, présente chez François Mauriac, Georges Bernanos, Henri Ghéon. D'après ses observations, le XIX^e siècle et l'analyse scientifique qu'il a soutenue, la mise au premier plan de la « bête humaine » et la négation des idéaux à suivre, ont causé un pessimisme morbide et une désillusion choquante. « Les écrivains catholiques » suivent avec leur rôle de répondre à la condition discernable dans la littérature, de même que dans la société, dénommée ici : « searching

assez proches. Chacun d'eux supporte un détachement des pratiques précédentes et la nécessité d'être établi un canon littéraire national. Mihaï Ralea et Boyan Penev cherchent à prouver que la façon de se référer à la Bible est utile à cet égard. D'une part, en tant que composant inhérent de la mémoire culturelle et d'autre, à travers la réception de la littérature occidentale.

Sur cette base notamment se projettent les perspectives de proximité avec la littérature française. L'apparence du mythe biblique se dissout dans l'ensemble des techniques narratives qui cherchent à communiquer des nouveaux contenus avec des figures connues, mais privées de thèses immanentistes. L'univers institué sur les principes traditionnels, du folklore au christianisme, est menacé et se dégrade. La réalité directe nourrit des visions apocalyptiques dont une réaction possible consiste dans le retour de l'imagination aux règles primordiales et la quête de leurs rapports avec le mode de vie concret.

La figure d'Ève – lignes de démarcation

La figure d'Ève fait l'objet d'un creusage considérable depuis les premières exégèses qui lui ont attribué une image antithétique mêlant « le religieux, l'idéologique et l'affectif »⁹. Le texte biblique introduit les figures du premier couple, Adam et Ève, sans particulariser exclusivement leurs caractéristiques. L'apparition de la femme est celle qui donne l'impulsion au développement de l'histoire du paradis et sa présence ordonne la séquence des événements qui suivent. Dans la deuxième version du mythe de la création (yahviste), les deux parties du couple se personnalisent lors de leur première rencontre qui produit l'acte mutuel de différenciation de type miroir et qui fait apparaître la notion de sexe¹⁰. Ève est envoyée par le Seigneur et admise par l'homme sous le signe d'« une aide qui lui soit assortie » (Gn 2, 18). Cet extrait rappelle que même si le genre féminin est second et provient de l'homme, la volonté divine a donné une femme égale à l'homme, parce que bien évidemment il n'a pas pu trouver parmi les animaux cette aide. Adam ne lui donne pas un nom (comme il a d'ailleurs procédé avec les animaux créés), mais l'appelle avec les mots « l'os de mes os et la chair de ma chair » (Gn 2, 23).

L'ambiguïté accompagne la femme depuis sa naissance ; une traduction suggérée du passage où elle apparaît pour la première fois, lui accorde le nom « hommese ». Elle est conjointe et semblable

for a centralizing force ». Penn, Dorothy. Three French Writers of Contemporary Catholic Realism: The Inner Consciousness Studied by Georges Bernanos, Henri Ghéon and François Mauriac. – *The French Review*, (Dec., 1938), Vol. 12, No. 2. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/381500> (14.12.2015), p. 129.

⁹ Struve-Debeaux, Anne. *Op. cit.*, p.719.

¹⁰ Кирова, Милена. *Библейската жена: Механизми на конструиране, политики на изобразяване в Стария завет*. София, ИК „Стигмати“, Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2005, p. 38.

à l'homme, sa moitié unique et en même temps, elle est l'autre et distincte¹¹. Le baptême populaire « la mère de tout vivant » coexiste avec l'empilement des interprétations de la séductrice, la responsable pour l'arrivée des maux et de la mort dans la vie humaine.

La création fait partie du paradigme chrétien qui s'achève avec l'arrivée du salut et dans ce sens, la désobéissance de la première femme ne renferme pas l'être humain dans un cycle de la naissance jusqu'à la mort. Les évocations plus tardives du couple dans la Bible sont déjà marquées par l'importance du lien matrimonial. L'unité primaire est mêlée avec l'unité en famille dans l'épître de St Paul et la parole de Jésus Christ qui affirment le cadre de la vie en communauté. Les deux sexes sont d'un statut égal, mais leurs rôles et prédestinations sont bien particularisés. La famille, formée par la spécificité de chacun des deux, fait analogie aux rapports dans la communauté chrétienne – de la même manière que la femme est tirée de la côte de l'homme, l'Église provient du flanc transpercé de Jésus Christ. La formulation de la famille trace une perfection du complètement qui n'est pas dissociable (Ép. 5, 21-33) et cette compréhension de l'union se transmet à l'organisation sociale.

Le mythe religieux trouve son élargissement dans la littérature et survit plusieurs modulations au cours de l'histoire. La confusion entre les messages de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament est visible depuis la première paraphrase française du XII^e s. – *Le jeu d'Adam*, et persiste dans des œuvres représentatives des littératures européennes comme *Le paradis perdu* (1667) de John Milton, *Caïn* (1821) de Lord Byron, le poème *Le sacre de la femme*¹² de Victor Hugo. Ces exemples de la littérature européenne développent les rôles primaires d'Adam et Ève déclarant au préalable des rapports entre un époux et une épouse.

Précédant la période concernée dans cette analyse et symptomatique dès son titre, en 1886 est publié le roman *L'Ève future* (1886) de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam. Au sujet de ce texte et de *La faute de l'abbé Mouret* (1875) d'Émile Zola, Robert Couffignal observe la nouvelle approche par rapport aux mythes provenant de la Genèse dans la littérature européenne. Il part des tendances françaises du XIX^e siècle afin de désigner le roman comme terrain d'expérimentations diverses avec la parole biblique. La structure du mythe pour le premier couple se présente dé-phasée¹³ face à l'empilement des interprétations littéraires. Le paradigme complexe de la Bible établit l'arrivée du salut et dans cette perspective la figure d'Ève se cerne comme l'anti-type de la Sainte Vierge – la Nouvelle Ève de l'humanité. Le roman du XIX^e siècle instaure son image modifiée, la Nouvelle Ève cède devant la suggestion pour Ève qui appartient à un futur du soupçon dans la phase du salut. De telle manière, on

¹¹ Struve-Debeaux, Anne. *Op. cit.*, p.718.

¹² Le premier poème de la *Légende des Siècles* (1859).

¹³ Couffignal, Robert. Éden. In : *Dictionnaire des Mythes Littéraires*. Nouvelle édition augmentée. Sous la direction de Pierre Brunel. Monaco, Éd. du Rocher, 1988, p. 549.

s'approche peu à peu au XX^e siècle, quand les écrivains reçoivent en héritage cette figure afin de la recréer à leur tour comme symbole de la femme éternelle. L'image totale d'Ève biblique se dissout dans le récit romanesque et avec l'écart de ses contours traditionnels commencent les traits d'identifications de la femme moderne.

Ève nouvelle entre l'image de la fuyarde et de la meurtrière

Les études citées permettent d'observer une continuité dans les représentations de la première femme biblique au milieu des tendances françaises. De leur côté, la littérature roumaine et la littérature bulgare traversent leurs propres processus intérieurs. Mais les points communs existent – les deux littératures vivent leur Renaissance nationale en s'appuyant sur les idées des Lumières et à une étape plus tardive, on y trouve les tendances du symbolisme. Pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, les romanciers balkaniques sont également tentés par le récit de la Genèse et signalent aussi une nouvelle individualité de la femme sur le plan du mythe.

L'étude s'attarde sur six romans, deux textes de chacune des trois littératures comparées, qui s'inscrivent dans un courant distinct en ce qui concerne l'histoire littéraire de chaque pays et par rapport à la recreation des messages bibliques. Avant de mettre en place l'analyse textuelle, il est instructif de mentionner que les expressions modernes du mythe quittent le lieu et les temps bibliques afin de se focaliser sur la vie et les tourments des personnages pris dans le temps réel. La totalité des univers romanesques n'est plus orientée vers le temps sacré des origines, mais vers les conceptions et les stéréotypes qui déterminent le présent. Cet éloignement de la paraphrase directe est évident depuis les exemples français du XIX^e siècle et dans les nouvelles circonstances articule l'équilibre menacé au milieu du couple. Plusieurs détails notoires se sont accumulés par rapport à la condition de la femme actuelle, elle a acquis des droits qui lui attribuent une différente place dans la société. Néanmoins, sa nature et sa vocation représentent une vraie énigme pour les écrivains qui étudient et cherchent à percer ses nouvelles caractéristiques. À la base du corpus textuel, les développements principaux de l'image d'Ève proposent un regroupement autour deux axes provisionnels : celle d'Ève qui précipite l'homme dans la mort et celle d'Ève qui est fuyarde.

Les interprétations mentionnées de la figure mythique se croisent dans le roman bulgare *Dilettante ou Le jardin aux mannequins* (1926) de Tchavdar Moutafov. Dès son titre devient perceptible la substitution du jardin édénique aux objets artificiels qui entourent l'homme moderne, habitant la matière grise de la grande ville. Ici les femmes ont une allure de journal, font des gestes capricieux et prononcent des paroles d'une gravité théâtrale. La rencontre imprévue du personnage

avec la Dame est l'occasion pour l'énumération des visions stéréotypées pour la nature féminine. Elle est piètre et détruit l'autre :

Elle naît méchante. Elle est négatrice de nature, elle est par conséquent la négation de tout ce qui est humain. La femme engendre des malheurs, fécondée par la peine de ceux qui l'aiment. La femme ne chérit que ceux qu'elle tourmente.¹⁴

Les détails négatifs débordent du caractère et forment une grotesque qui joue avec la poétisation de la femme fatale. À chaque attaque contre son sexe, la Dame répond simplement : « finalement, il (l'homme) emploie la femme comme une feuille de vigne pour ainsi cacher la nudité de son âme »¹⁵.

Cette Ève possible, élaborée par Tchavdar Moutafov, est privée de son vrai prénom et de contours réels, à la manière expressionniste, mais malgré cela elle représente le miroir unique pour l'homme. La connaissance de la femme est la voie vers les vérités pour soi et pour l'existence en générale¹⁶. Utilisée comme une feuille de vigne, la femme cache la tension entre le monde intérieur et le monde extérieur dans l'âme de l'homme s'approchant lentement de l'autodestruction. Elle se replie et file comme un serpent, son aide perfide ouvre devant le Dilettante les coins sombres de l'existence banale :

Le Dilettante entrevoit brusquement en lui le corps d'une femme – cette uniformité insensée de la chair éternelle, éparpillée sur les tables, voilée de lascivité, se tordant dans le péché. Que cherchait-il ici, outil aveugle de quelque force cruelle et lubrique qui noyait en vain son secret honteux dans les reflets de la magnificence ?¹⁷

L'initiation du Dilettante au monde réel le mène à l'épreuve d'un échec et l'issue des conventions matérielles est vue dans l'abandon de leur règlement¹⁸. L'ultime possibilité devant l'homme est le néant de la mort et cette conclusion reprend l'intitulé du dernier chapitre du roman « Possibilité aucune : Le rien ».

Dans cet exemple, l'interprétation du mythe efface chaque continuation, non pas seulement celle du salut. Une pareille accentuation sur le stade de la mort, amené par l'arrivée de la femme dans la vie masculine, se produit dans le roman de l'écrivain roumain Liviu Rebreanu *Adam et Ève* (1925). Il raconte sept histoires localisées en différentes époques historiques. Plusieurs personnages, intrigues

¹⁴ Moutafov, Tchavdar. *Le Dilettante ou Le Jardin aux mannequins : roman décoratif*. Traduit du bulgare par Krasimir Kavaldjiev. Paris, Éditions Le Soupirail, 2016, p. 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 28.

¹⁷ Чочева, Надежда. *Чавдар Мутафов и българската култура между двете световни войни*. София, Изд. „Изток - Запад”, 2007, с. 196.

¹⁸ Стефанов, Валери. „Дилетант” и националната романова романтика. – *Литературен вестник*, 4-10.10.1995, бр. 31, с. 12.

et *topoi* se succèdent, réunis selon un schéma répétitif : l'homme vit pour la rencontre prédestinée avec la femme qu'il reconnaît comme l'unique moitié de son âme. Leur relation est interdite par diverses coutumes et différences de classe et la retrouvaille finit par le meurtre atroce de tous les personnages masculins, devenus victimes aux obstacles politiques et sociaux. Les sept types de tortures au nom de l'amour forment les cercles passés par l'âme du jeune philosophe Toma Novac qui est blessé par son rival et meurt à son tour.

La répétition du même finale tragique pour chaque incarnation de l'âme accorde au texte une nuance de condamnation primordiale. La séparation prévue et la mortalité jettent de l'ombre sur l'existence et cependant gardent son message. Bien que Toma Novac fasse échouer à chacune des étapes vers sa réunion avec la femme, quand il passe d'un avatar à l'autre, son âme perd la mémoire pour l'existence banale et s'immerge enfin dans un état d'harmonie originaire et de savoir suprême :

Enfin il se dit que le moment de la vérification suprême dont Aleman lui avait tant parlé pouvait venir mais sa pensée se brisa, comme si son âme s'était obscurcie, cédant la place à une conscience hors du temps et l'espace...¹⁹

Alors, la fin du roman peut être vue comme ouverte et l'achèvement des sept cycles que l'âme humaine doit traverser en tant que jaillissement des « noces au paradis »²⁰ qui suivent après les souffrances terrestres. La femme fait partie de l'existence de la douleur, mais les noces signifient de plus l'union entre l'homme et l'infini.

L'observation du *Dictionnaire analytique des œuvres roumaines littéraires*, qu'on vient de citer, suscite l'analogie évidente avec le roman de Mircea Eliade *Noces au paradis*, publié en 1938. Il propose une représentation du couple qui s'appuie à un dénouement inverse du destin féminin. Une femme, Lena-Ileana, se grave profondément dans la vie de deux hommes différents avec le même signe de l'amour unique. Pourtant, elle disparaît des deux histoires sans laisser aucune trace à chaque fois quand elle se retrouve dans le piège de l'orgueil masculin. Le roman est basé sur les récits rétrospectifs des personnages masculins et quand Barbu Hasnas s'approche à la conclusion, il avoue qu'après la séparation il ne garde plus de souvenir pour Lena. Elle n'appartient plus à la mémoire puisqu'elle s'est incorporée dans la compréhension pour soi qu'il porte aussi comme son nom personnel :

La mémoire passionnelle n'est pas une qualité de mâle. Certes, je me rappelais bien que j'avais aimé, que la seule femme que j'eusse aimé réellement c'était Lena. Ce détail je n'ai jamais pu effacer de ma mémoire, à savoir que j'avais connu l'amour, que toutes mes autres aventures n'avaient été que des

¹⁹ Rebreanu, Liviu. *Adam et Ève*. Traduit du roumain par Jean-Louis Courriol. Paris, Éditions Cambourakis, 2015, p. 269.

²⁰ *Dicționar analitic de opere literare românești*. Vol. II. Coordonare Ion Pop. Cluj-Napoca, Casa cărții de Știință, 2007, p. 17.

épisodes passagers. Mais ce n'était pas vraiment un souvenir de mon amour, exactement comme je ne peux pas me souvenir que je m'appelle Barbu Hasnas...²¹

À cause de cette identification avec l'autre qui se produit dans la vraie relation, chacun des deux hommes ressent instinctivement que la fuyarde n'est plus vivante²².

Les deux œuvres mentionnées ci-dessus accusent la contemporanéité pour les souffrances masculines, sans pourtant montrer une issue. Liviu Rebreanu et Mircea Eliade se laissent à une contemplation mystique de l'éternité où la reconstitution de l'être appartient à l'ordre cosmique. Ils permettent au miraculeux de percer la réalité matérielle, mais les figures imaginaires d'Adam et Ève deviennent victimes de cette même réalité et des passions terrestres. L'auteur sacrifie ses personnages afin d'atteindre le point culminant de la narration. Le bonheur éternel n'est pas possible dans ce monde et il reste au-delà de l'humain, dans l'infini céleste.

Un exemple particulier parmi ces visions appartient à la seule femme écrivaine dans cet exposé – Anna Kamenova. Son roman *Le péché de Haritina* (1930) est considéré par l'un de ses premiers analyseurs, Maltcho Nikolov, comme glorification et doléance pour le destin chagriné de la femme dont la nature est passive²³. Cependant, les figures centrales méritent l'attention parce qu'elles tentent à reproduire deux antipodes de l'Ève actuelle. Haritina et Naïda vivent dans une ville en déclin²⁴, la première d'entre elles stylisée comme la fille bulgare typique des chansons populaires, douce et paisible, la deuxième, Naïda, de sa part, étant ardente et hors du stéréotype provincial. Naïda est la fuyarde dans ce contexte, elle quitte les restrictions de la petite ville où le futur des femmes est connu à l'avance et elle se perd à l'étranger sans réussir à trouver une nouvelle vie. D'un premier regard, Haritina incarne notamment la passivité distinguée, elle tisse et attend patiemment l'homme de sa vie. Mais sous cette apparence se fait voir sa détermination de défendre fermement son choix. Elle rejette la proposition de mariage d'un autre homme et devient inconsciemment la raison pour la mort de celui qui voudrait l'épouser²⁵ pour qu'elle triomphe à la fin et reçoive la proposition de mariage de celui dont elle est amoureuse.

L'observation de ces quatre exemples des littératures balkaniques prouve une participation involontaire dans la mort du partenaire. Les romans de la littérature française, qu'on joint en comparaison, illustrent la saturation beaucoup plus perceptible de culpabilité et de violence. Le roman *Thérèse Desqueyroux* (1927) de François Mauriac rend témoignage de la tentative d'une épouse

²¹ Eliade, Mircea. *Noces au paradis*. Traduit du roumain par Marcel Ferrand. Paris, L'Herne, 1981, p. 259.

²² *Ibid*, p. 264.

²³ Николов, Малчо. Харитиният грях. Роман от А. Каменова. – *Златороз*, 1930, № 3, с. 167.

²⁴ Milena Kirova propose le traitement de l'appariement « ville-femme » dans son article: Кирова, Милена. Романът *Харитиният грях* и греховете на литературната критика. В: *Неслученият канон. Български писателки от Възраждането до Втората световна война*. Редактор Милена Кирова. София, Алтера, 2009, с. 331-357.

²⁵ Каменова, Анна. *Харитиният грях*. София, Печатница Книпеграф, 1930, с. 97.

d'empoisonner son mari. Maléna du *Combat avec l'ange* (1934) de Jean Giraudoux se laisse aux pensées suicidaires après avoir deviné qu'elle n'est pas et ne peut pas être égale à l'homme. Jusqu'ici, la répartition des motifs montre la présence des traits d'Ève « fuyarde » dans la moitié des romans. Le sujet des œuvres *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, *Le péché de Haritina* et *Noces au paradis* inclut le détachement de la femme de la maison ou du milieu social concret. Cette ligne narrative s'entrelace avec le thème de la mort qui envahit tous les récits sans exception. Pourtant, le développement extrême des caractères français fait partie de la construction d'un nouveau modèle où les écrivains aspirent à découvrir l'avenir pour leurs personnages féminins.

Thérèse rêve de quitter le pays des Landes et à la fin du récit elle est libre de partir pour Paris où son histoire recommencera, suivie des prières de l'auteur qui protègent les êtres créés de la boue²⁶. Jean Giraudoux accorde la même attention à son personnage, l'auteur prend la forme de voix divine qui disculpe la race des femmes en déclarant :

Tu es blanche à l'œil de Dieu, douce à l'œil de Dieu, douce – assurons-nous en aussitôt – à ses mains. Te voir me rappelle à quoi j'ai pensé en te créant. Le jour de ton jour j'étais tendre, distrait ; mes erreurs sur toi viennent justement de ce que je pensais à toi.²⁷

Les dernières paroles du roman disent : « ceux qui ne viennent pas au monde ne connaissent pas les malheurs de la vie, ceux qui viennent au monde en connaissent les joies »²⁸.

Thérèse, Maléna, Ileana, Haritina ou simplement la Dame, elles se confrontent toutes aux prescriptions accumulées de la tradition biblique et littéraire qui situe leurs rôles au milieu du couple et de la famille et qui travaille avec l'ambiguïté innée de leur caractère. Dans le roman de l'entre-deux-guerres, elles représentent aussi bien l'indicateur inquiétant d'une crise qui s'approche. À cet égard, les trois littératures se rapprochent et se servent d'une même conviction avec la plasticité de cette figure biblique. Privée des identifications à la mère et à l'épouse dans la plupart des cas littéraires envisagés, la femme moderne est pour l'homme un miroir qui reflète un futur indécis. Les aspects de la fuyarde, de l'innocente et de la meurtrière se croisent dans la recherche commune du couple pour le savoir. Tout comme la scène du jardin d'Éden, Ève offre à l'homme le fruit de la connaissance pour le bien et le mal. Menaçante dans sa révolte ou libérée et ainsi imprévisible, l'Ève Nouvelle du roman moderne représente le seul vrai chemin vers les profondeurs du Soi, nous suggèrent les écrivains européens tout en s'appuyant sur le mythe biblique.

Pour conclure, Ève peut être définie comme « la seule qui nous reste », empruntant le titre du

²⁶ Mauriac, François. *Thérèse Desqueyroux*. Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1989, p. 7.

²⁷ Giraudoux, Jean. *Combat avec l'ange. Œuvres romanesques complètes II*. Paris, Gallimard, 1994, p. 412.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 475.

même nom d'un tableau de Max Ernst de 1926. Avec des cheveux coupés, étrangère aux images connues de la féminité et d'un visage invisible, Ève jette son ombre telle qu'elle est à présent et avance parmi les repères perturbés dans un monde hachuré en noir et blanc.

Adina MOCANU¹

Stories of Suffering. Bodies and Illness in Post-communist Romanian Literature

Abstract

The fall of communism means liberty of expression, among other things. Contemporary writers tackle topics that were either considered taboo, or were censored under communism, and they portray an immediate reality that reflects everyday society. One important element is the depiction of disease in the works written after 1989, namely from a perspective that pays great attention to the body. Diseases such as AIDS and syphilis terrify people, even though they are treatable and being kept under control. Departing from Susan Sontag's main idea from her essay *Illness as Metaphor*, in this article I explore the role of disease in contemporary society as depicted in two recent novels: *Cruciada copiilor* by Florina Ilis and *Lizoanca la 11 ani* by Doina Ruști. Romanian post-communist society still avoids speaking about disease, because it is considered taboo. This avoidance most often frustrates the people afflicted by disease. One of the novels discussed in the article observes the relation between the disease and its symbolical meaning in post-communist society, and this is indicative of the problems people run into in their everyday lives. Thus, I demonstrate why disease is an important element in the reality depicted in the aforementioned novels, and I also highlight how illness becomes more than a metaphor. It shows the institutionalized or structural arrangements in society.

Keywords: illness; vulnerability; post-communist Romanian literature; women

Histoires de souffrance. Corps et maladie dans la littérature roumaine postcommuniste Résumé

La chute du communisme signifie, entre autres, la liberté d'expression. Les écrivains contemporains s'attaquent à des sujets qui étaient tabous ou censurés sous le communisme, et ils dépeignent une réalité immédiate qui reflète la société au jour le jour. Un élément important est la représentation de la maladie dans les œuvres écrites après 1989, à savoir d'une perspective qui accorde une grande attention au corps. Les maladies telles que le SIDA ou la syphilis terrifient les gens, même s'ils sont traitables et gardés sous contrôle. À partir de l'idée principale de Susan Sontag dans son essai *Illness as Metaphor*, on se propose d'explorer le rôle que la maladie joue dans la société contemporaine dans deux romans récents : *Cruciada copiilor* de Florina Ilis et *Lizoanca la 11 ani* de Doina Ruști. La société post-communiste roumaine évite toujours de parler de ces maladies car elles sont considérées taboues. Cette façon d'éviter la réalité frustre, très fréquemment, les personnes touchées par la maladie. Dans les romans sur lesquels on discute dans l'article on peut observer la relation entre la maladie et le symbolisme qu'elle porte dans la société post-communiste, et cela parle des problèmes auxquels se heurtent les gens au quotidien. Ainsi, on va montrer pourquoi la maladie est un élément important dans la réalité décrite dans les romans susmentionnés, et on va également souligner comment la maladie dans les deux romans devient plus qu'une métaphore. Elle montre aussi les arrangements institutionnels ou structurels dans la société.

Mots-clés : maladie ; vulnérabilité ; littérature roumaine postcommuniste ; femmes

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Romanian literature underwent a transformation concerning the portrayal of political and social change brought by the fall of Communism in 1989 and the subsequent transition to a capitalist society. The first ten years up to 2000 were relatively uneventful literature wise (recuperation of prohibited literature, exile writings, or dissident memories)². However, after the year 2000 the goal was to find new ways to draw attention to themes that were forbidden or heavily censored during the Communism. Writers have begun to tackle controversial subjects such as the role of the individual in society, which helps to restore the authenticity of communication and emphasize social issues such as power, wealth and poverty. Florina Ilis and Doina Ruști are two of the most important writers who emphasize the importance of female strength and friendship through violent circumstances, and provides important insight into Romanian culture. Ilis attempts to illustrate the dynamic themes of race, class, gender and cultural change during the Post-communist transition. Ruști writes an expansive novel in which a girl resists violence and discrimination in the rural part of Romania. Her writing is insightful, honest, unpretentious, and eye opening.

One of the most important characteristics of the Romanian literature is the representation of the crippling STDs. In the novels written by Florina Ilis³(2005) *Cruciada copiilor* (Children's crusade) and Doina Ruști⁴ (2009) *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (Lizoanca at eleven years of age), illness is used as a metaphor for most of the changes occurred after the fall of the regime in order to critique the social issues inherent in a culture based on taboos and prohibitions.

In this article, I will argue that the girls who are ill (Irina is diagnosed with HIV infection and Lizoanca is infected with syphilis) are depicted both as victims and agents of change; they make use of their vulnerable condition in order to survive in their specific communities and they reinvent new spaces of habitation where they can act free or at least without always being considered victims. In this sense, vulnerability is not a hierarchic position and the persons who are vulnerable should not be seen as passive victims, who are weak and submit to aggressor's demands, but subjects endowed with capacity of resilience and resistance.

² Simuț, I. "Ce s-a întâmplat cu literatura română în postcomunism – Simptomatologie generală", in România literară, nr.62008, http://www.romlit.ro/ce_sa_intamplat_cu_literatura_romn_n_postcomunism_-_simptomatologie_general, (22.02.2017).

³ Florina Ilis is a contemporary writer who has published haiku volumes and novels: *Haiku și caligrame* (Haiku and Calligrammes), 2000, *Coborârea de pe cruce* (The Descent from the Cross), 2001, *Chemarea lui Matei* (The Calling of Matthew), 2002. Her well-known *Cruciada copiilor* (The Children's Crusade), 2005, was awarded numerous prizes, including Book of the Year 2005. Her latest work is *Viețile paralele* (Parallel lives), 2012.

⁴ Doina Ruști is writer, screenwriter and film director. Her novels are very famous: *Fantoma din moară* (The Ghost of the Mill), 2008, *Zogru*, 2006, *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (Lizoanca at the age eleven), 2009, received the Romanian Academy Award Ion Creanga. The latest novel is *Manuscrisul fanariot* (The Phanariot Manuscript), 2015.

Illness and vulnerability. Some theoretical aspects.

Illness is one of the oldest themes in literature. There are many examples of works that portray diseases in detail. Some Romantics were particularly fond of morbidity, and they understood literature as a wound. The modern aesthetics promoted by Charles Baudelaire is associated with illness through writing which implies an explicit subversion of the classical beauty. In her well known *Illness as Metaphor*, Susan Sontag⁵ analyses the metaphors that describe serious illnesses like cancer, AIDS, or tuberculosis. She argues that the metaphors and mythology created around these diseases make the ill people seem evil and mysterious. Sontag disagrees with the use of illness as metaphor and seeks to prove that cancer or AIDS are not curses or punishments for bad character but simply diseases who can be perceived mainly from a medical point of view. Sick people are considered vulnerable and they are reduced to a condition where they need to depend on someone else. Judith Butler⁶ writes about the body vulnerability as a starting point to think on issues such as moral responsibility. Generally, the subject who suffers from a disease is reduced to a marginalized minority and occupies a subordinate position.

In this context, I will explore the particular case of girls, especially the case of one girl who was infected with HIV, which is portrayed in Florina Ilis' novel *Cruciada copiilor* (Children's crusade) and the main character from Doina Rusti's novel *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (Lizoanca at eleven years of age) who suffers from syphilis. The people close to the girls try to reduce them to silence, but the girls are also overprotected because of their age and illness status. In the first novel, I will analyse the particular case of a girl who perhaps contracted the virus from injections with improperly sterilized equipment.

The girl comes from a poor and religious family who considers her daughter as something magical, an angel sent by God. To this day, thousands of Romanian children and youth living with HIV face discrimination⁷. They do not have access to education, health, privacy and many times their parents have to take care of them. More often than not, they are kept in their homes and they are not allowed to be seen on the streets not even nowadays. This situation became a serious problem when Ceaușescu took power; Romania had a declining birth rate and one of the highest rates of abortion and divorce in Eastern Europe. To counteract these undesired situation, this Romanian dictator instituted a number of radical policies including banning abortion, restricting divorce and providing financial incentives for working mothers. Through these measures, Ceaușescu managed to increase his control of the population, especially of women's bodies in order to boost the birth rate. However, the

⁵ Sontag, S. *Illness as metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*, Picador, United Kingdom, 2001.

⁶ Butler, J. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, VersoBooks, 2006, p.13.

⁷ UNICEF : "HIV and AIDS in Romania : taking stock", *The quarterly newsletter of UNICEF Romania*, nr.3, 2009, https://www.unicef.org/romania/United_for_children_3.pdf (22.02.2017)

implementation of his policies resulted in many infants born with disability or infected with HIV.⁸ Thus, a combination of unsound medical practice, the absence of single-use syringes, ignorance, completed by a refusal of the regime to acknowledge the presence of the virus resulted in an unprecedented epidemic. Even after the fall of the regime, many of these problems were not solved. Immediately after 1990, these cases were brought to light, but even then, because of sheer ignorance the fear of infection was blown out of proportion. Thus, the children were over-sheltered and isolated by their families, partly because of the stigma associated with their disease.

In her novel, *Lizoanca la 11 ani*, Doina Ruști plays with the cultural subtext of the disease and what it means to be healthy (thus normal) or ill (abnormal) from society's point of view. She makes use of a sexually transmitted disease, syphilis, as a metaphor through which she showcases the social and moral problems in contemporary society. Susan Sontag explains that anytime an illness is demonized, the person suffering from that illness is inevitably equated with the "evil" represented by the illness, and sick people are thus blamed and stigmatized for their condition. Sontag argues: "What makes the viral assault so terrifying is that contamination, and therefore vulnerability, is understood as permanent. Even if someone infected were never to develop any symptoms – that is, the infection remained, or could by medical intervention be rendered, inactive – the viral enemy would be forever within"⁹. Ruști's novel presents a girl who is forced to adopt a libertine lifestyle with the complicity of adults in order to escape from the domestic violence in her household. Once people find out that the girl has syphilis, she becomes a danger to society in the villagers' eyes.

Judith Butler criticizes the fact some individuals matter in our cultural, political and historical field more than the life of others, and some of them are judged to be healthy or sick, normal or abnormal, beautiful or ugly, powerful or weak. She asks: "How, then, can one think through the matter of bodies as a kind of materialization governed by regulatory norms in order to ascertain the workings of heterosexual hegemony in the formation of what qualifies as a viable body? How does that materialization of the norm in bodily formation produce a domain of abjected bodies, a field of deformation, which, in failing to qualify as the fully human, fortifies those regulatory norms? What challenge does that excluded and abjected realm produce to a symbolic hegemony that might force a radical rearticulation of what qualifies as bodies that matter, ways of living that count as "life," lives worth protecting, lives worth saving, lives worth grieving?"¹⁰

⁸ There are few articles about this topic. After 30 years, a Romanian public television researched about this issue. More than 13.000 of children were infected with HIV from 1988 to 1992. More details about this are in this tv report: <http://www.digi24.ro/Stiri/Digi24/Special/Reportaj/Generatia+HIV+Criza+secreta+a+Romaniei> (January 2017)

⁹ Sontag, S. *Illness as metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*, Picador, United Kingdom, 2001, p.108.

¹⁰ Butler, J. *Bodies that matter. On the discursive limits of "sex"*, Roudedge, New York, 1993, p.16.

In order to see the construction and representation of the female children as “bodies that matter” (Judith Butler), I will take a very close look at the figure of the girl in the two novels and I will argue that female vulnerability is a social construct. Many times, female subjects are considered weak and submissive and that is how society expects them to be. This holds true in the context of childhood as well. In these novels, vulnerability is a social construct rather than being something inherent in the characters’ physical or cognitive constitution. This makes little girls confront society’s power over their lives each day as they are expected to fulfil abridged choices and blocked access to resources because they fulfil the condition of “adult”.

Between religion beliefs and contagious illness.

Published in 2005, Ilis’s novel depicts the Romanian society after the Communist regime. The novel is constructed from bits of life, suggesting a transversal analysis of a nation at the beginning of the 3rd millennium. *Cruciada copiilor* (Children’s crusade)¹¹ is about a group of children accompanied by their teachers on a trip to the seaside by train. Each compartment of the train describes the issues each person has to have to deal with. In this presentation, I am particularly interested in Ilis’ depiction of illness and her vision on the relationship between religion and disease. Irina, a young girl infected with HIV, was raised by her parents who overprotected her until she became convinced that she is the messenger of God. She believes that her mission is to go to a church far away in the mountains because Mary, Mother of Jesus, appeared to her in a dream and promised her that she will be cured in heaven. But before that she has to endure many hardships, because she has been chosen one to suffer for the people:

“Irina’s parents from Moinești would not just sit around and wait helplessly for their 16-year old daughter to die, they would carry out the girl’s wish and the Holy Mother’s commandment to bring the girl to that secret place in the mountains that, according to the Virgin, will drip with pure and innocent blood, where their daughter will be cured, these were the words spoken by the Mother of God, as She appeared in the dream of Irina from Moinești.”¹²

In post-1989 Romania, religion has played an increasingly important role in the society. The deliberately orchestrated absence of any religious elements during the communist times sparked a powerful return of the Church after the fall of Ceausescu’s regime. The sudden shift from an existence where God was banned from people’s life by the communist government, to post-1989 found spiritual dimension where God became omnipresent is because society equated communism with atheism, and

¹¹ Both novels are not translated in English. Unless otherwise indicated translations of the paragraphs are mine.

¹² Ilis, F. *Cruciada copiilor*, Polirom, Iași, 2005, p.28 “Părinții Irinei din Moinești nu puteau sta cu mâinile în sân să aștepte neputincioși moartea fiicei lor de șaisprezece ani, vor îndeplini dorința fetei și porunca Maicii Sfinte de a o duce în acel loc neștiut dintre munți care, după spusele Preacuratei, va picura de sânge nevinovat și curat, acolo se va vindeca fata lor de boala, erau cuvintele rostite de Maica Domnului, așa cum îi apăruse Irinei din Moinești în vis.”

in order to banish any trace of communism the belief in God had to be reintroduced. The girl is considered extremely vulnerable because she readily accepts the fact that her destiny is organized by a higher being.

Ilis explores the combination between religion and illness in a slightly irreverent way from the Church's point of view. She uses irony to make the reader ask questions about sensitive issues that are traditionally unchallengeable. Ilis' scope is not to describe the girl as a weak person, but rather to try to point out an ethical dilemma; society is portrayed as lacking the sense of responsibility. In Judith Butler's words: "[...] if one seeks the resources for moral response in the self, then we assume an inner world that is composed of moral fibre or moral capacities. (...) My understanding is that our «resources» are to be found in our responsiveness, and that this is not an «internal» resource, but a feature of our relations to others"¹³.

On the other hand, Ilis creates a political space to discuss some issues considered taboo before the fall of Communism (religion, sexuality, talking about body disease etc.). People traditionally expected that institutions (religion, the Party) would solve their problems, and thus they lack the sense of responsibility and lack initiative. As Boris Buden points out: "Eastern Europe after 1989 resembles a landscape of historical ruins that is inhabited only by children, immature people unable to organize their lives democratically without guidance from another. They see themselves neither as subjects nor as authors of a democracy that they actually won through struggle and created by themselves"¹⁴. In this sense, the girl infected with HIV is taught to consider herself as a pure, innocent human being because of her disease. The infection was transmitted through contaminated blood products, syringes and needles and potentially by unsterilized instruments and this was done by the Romanian nurses in the hospitals without knowing that they were infecting the children. Lack of information about risk and preventive measures increased the rate of transmitted infections. This was a major problem because not even parents knew what kind of disease was HIV. Thus, HIV/AIDS has long been a taboo topic in Romania during and after Communism and this lack of creative output has left its imprint on the academic field and literary writings. The virus and the syndrome have been imbued with meanings in everyday life and most of the people still skirt their way around the issue rather than confront it directly:

"The Holy Mother always told her in her dreams that she will be healed. When She had spoken the word healing the girl's gaze betrayed an impossible hope that she secretly hoped would be confirmed by the monk, Did She actually say that you will be healed? asks soft-spoken brother Emanuel, and the girl tries

¹³ Butler, J. "Vulnerability as a strength", in *Reset Doc*, interviewed by Elisabetta Ambrosi, 2007, <http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000000307> (23.01.2016)

¹⁴ Buden, B. "Children of postcommunism", in *Identity. Move! Research Platform for Contemporary Dance in the Eastern Belt of the European Union*, 2014, p.7 <http://identitymove.eu/boris-buden-children-of-postcommunism.html> (8.01.2016)

to recall her suffering “if I went to a specific place, Yes?! A place surrounded by big mountains, a place where evil cannot enter and innocence will bleed, this is what She told me!”¹⁵

In this case, the girl finds solace in religion. On the other hand, her character’s purpose is to make the reader question what we feel and what we perceive regarding these hidden subjects. In order to find resources to fight prejudice against those infected, most people ignore the problem altogether and look for a spiritual cure. The writer uses the infection to show the impact of religion in society, and people’s behaviour concerning the fact that HIV is a taboo topic. Instead of treating children as vulnerable and “special” by offering them too much protection, it should provoke a reflection on roles, attitudes and behaviours towards silence and occultation of the truth about this illness. Thus, the body is discursive, in the way in which religion and illness are interlinked as proof of resisting against social death. This means that is a precondition for the development of resources that are necessary for transforming visions of how it is possible to live. In the novel, Irina’s body is also understood as a site of death and contagion, an entity suspended between health and sickness. This is why many times, a body living with HIV is perceived as an invasive agent in a “healthy” society¹⁶. Taking into account this duality one can explain why Irina’s parents make her to believe that she is “special”, so she does not perceive herself as a threat to others. Moreover, for this girl, living with AIDS is to imagine the possibilities of constructing a life contemplating the meaning of divinity, to imagine new ways of relating that can incorporate other “realities”.

Sexual disease in the contemporary discourse.

In the second novel, *Lizoanca la 11 ani* (Lizoanca at eleven years of age), the main character is infected with Syphilis, a sexually transmitted disease that has always been directly related to something forbidden, often associated with adultery, sin or divine punishment. The action of the novel takes place in a village with strong traditional values (heterosexual family, religious background, strict education). When the girl goes to the doctor for a check-up, she finds out that she contracted a very dangerous disease. The doctor suddenly triggers all the alarms and the girl becomes the centre of attention in her community. Doina Ruști explains the idea of the story on the cover of the first edition of the book: “I read this horrendous headline in a newspaper: *Eleven-year-old prostitute infects entire village with syphilis*. Then I saw the same story in all the rest of the press. The girl, who had parents

¹⁵ Ilis, F. *Cruciada copiilor*, Polirom, Iași, 2005, p.142 “Maica Sfântă îi spunea mereu în vis că se va vindeca când rostise cuvântul vindecare privirea fetei trăda o speranță imposibilă a cărei confirmare o aștepta parcă de pe buzele călugărului, a spus chiar așa, că te vei vindeca? o întreabă fratele Emanuel cu glasul blând, și fata încearcă să-și amintească de suferință dacă voi merge într-un loc anume, Da?! Un loc înconjurat de munți mari, un loc unde răul nu va putea să intre și inocența sângea, așa mi-a spus!”

¹⁶ Bunting, S. M. “Sources of stigma associated with women with HIV. *Advances in Nursing Science*”, PubMed.Bethesda: 1996; 19(2): 64–73.

and an average standard of living, was held responsible for almost all the cases of syphilis in her village. The tone of the newspaper articles, the unanimity of the accusations, and the repetition of the same headline from one newspaper to the next determined me to investigate the situation and to write this novel”¹⁷.

Modern society has established medical standards that encourage individuals to take some responsibility for body care. Raising awareness to personal hygiene has helped society progress and control itself. Both biomedicine and bioethics play pivotal roles in this constitution and normalization of society. Foucault sustains that “the health and physical well-being of population” appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries “as one of the essential objectives of political power”¹⁸.

Syphilis is the direct result of lack of protection in sexual relationships, implying abuse and exposure to poor sanitation. This is a clear alarm that something has gone wrong. As Deborah Hayden argues:

“Syphilis was life's dark secret. The word was taboo, with the terrifying diagnosis at most whispered to an intimate friend, and then only with assurances of utmost secrecy. It was too shameful to record by name in a diary and was alluded to in correspondence only in code”¹⁹.

After having sexual contact with nearly every man in the village, all the men discover that the “innocent” girl has syphilis. The problem is accentuated when the men realize that the illness of the child (apparently invisible) is about to reveal all the secrets concerning their sexual relations with her. Thus, the only doctor in that village takes advantage of the situation: she starts looking for the guilty persons by making a list in which she tries to identify those who may have contracted the disease, but she also wants to discover who has been the girl’s “lover”. Although she represents the medical authority, she compromises her professional ethics to pursue her personal vendetta against one of her former lovers. An important feature of the village is that everybody knows everybody, and this helps create connection between the unexpected illness of the girl and the men involved in this situation. In this sense, Lizoanca is presented as a very vulnerable victim who needs protection and care, firstly from her parents. However, instead of protection she only receives savage beatings from her father, Cristel.

“Cristel had reached the front door and he opened it, pushing Lizoanca against the rather musty wood planks. Florența, who was in the courtyard, hurried to open the house door. ‘Bring some rope, woman, to tie up the demented!’ It was dark in the house, and the child whimpered, unseen. Lizoanca felt the rug on the wall against her back. Her father let her go for a moment to switch hands, and as he went on he smacked her. Presently he grabbed her again by the neck with one hand, and with the other

¹⁷ Ruști, D. *Lizoanca la 11 ani*, <http://doinarusti.ro/en/> (23.01.2016)

¹⁸ Foucault, M. ‘Body/Power’, in: Foucault, M. *Power-Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. C. Gordon, New York: Pantheon, 1980, p.170.

¹⁹ Hayden, D. *Genius, Madness, and the Mysteries of Syphilis*, Basic Books, Unites States of America, 2003, p. XV.

hand he strokes her across the lips without force, as if they were playing, but she felt very humiliated and all she wanted was to dig her teeth into his hand.”²⁰

Secondly, she requires help from the local authorities, who forget that they are dealing with a young and innocent person and choose instead to have sexual relations with her. However, the girl decides not to reveal the name of the people with whom she had sexual intercourse. She already knows that her body represents both attraction and pleasure but also something forbidden. These men paid significantly more attention to Lizoanca than her parents did, and encouraged her sense of independence. At this point, she destabilizes the situation. Although everybody sees her as a victim, she decides instead to hold her ground against all the people who made her suffer. Traditionally, society forces the individual to accept whatever is imposed upon him/her in the name of the law, but Lizoanca refuses to play a submissive role. Instead of helping her, the local authorities “conspire” against the girl and want her to follow that “right” way as they define it:

“All of a sudden, a window opened in Lizoanca’s mind through which one could see the reporter’s true nature. So this is what she was up to! She had smiled at her, leaned over her, only to let her mask drop and ask her the same thing the Nurse had. As if that was the thing that mattered! Those men were nothing but good hosts who had sheltered her when the nights were cold and who fed her.”²¹

In this case, the victim is vulnerable due to her age, gender, size, physical condition but she still acts dynamically. The girl tries to protect herself from harm through her openness to the men from the village but she has limited capacity to protect herself and to escape danger.

In conclusion, the two examples of characters show how illness highlights the relation between victim and agent of change. Illness also points out the narrow way in which a victim is seen as weak, and how sometimes, for the sake of protection and dependency, it erases the right of the girls to act freely in a specific context. Irina and Lizoanca highlight how illness implies different metaphors about the body in the contemporary Romanian society, depicted in the two novels: on the one hand the divine body, pure and innocent and on the other hand, the stigmatized body which creates pleasure, desire and erotic feelings. Drawing on the work of Judith Butler on vulnerability it is important to rethink the body ontology so that the vulnerability of the girls due to their illness is not opposed to their agency, but is rather element of sociality, constituting a call to ethical engagement from the people near them.

²⁰ Ruști, D. *Lizoanca la 11 ani*, Polirom, Iași, 2009, p.55, “Cristel ajunsese în fața porții și-o deschise împingând-o pe Lizoanca în scândurile cam putrezite. Florența era în curte și alergă să deschidă ușa casei. - Adu, fă, o funie, ceva, s-o legăm pe nebulă! În casă era întuneric, iar copilul scâncea nevăzut. Lizoanca simți în spate covorul de pe zid. Taică-său i dădu drumul o clipă, cât să schimbe mâna, și din mers îi și rase o palmă. Acum o ținea din nou de gât, iar cu cealaltă palmă o lovea încet peste buze, mai mult așa, în joacă, dar ea se simțea foarte umilită și nu voia decât să-și înfigă dinții în mâna lui. În ochii ei negri, bărbatul simțea scrâșnetul roților de camion care îi torturaseră copilăria.”

²¹ Idem, ibid. p. 58, “În mintea Lizoancăi se deschise brusc o fereastră prin care se vedea adevărata față a reporterei. Vasăzică aici voia să-ajungă! Îi zâmbise, se aplecase asupra ei, ca apoi să-și dea arama pe față și s-o-ntrebe același lucru ca și Sanitara. De parcă asta conta! Bărbații ăia nu erau decât gazdele bune, care o adăpostiseră în nopțile friguroase și-i dăduseră să mănânce.”

Roumiana L. STANTCHEVA¹

Les affinités entre les littératures européennes

Résumé

Le concept d'affinité est pensé ici comme susceptible de remplacer la notion périmée d'influence ou une notion plus récente, mais non moins problématique, celle de réception, chacune impliquant l'idée d'une connexion. Le terme affinité rompt le cercle vicieux des contacts directs ou indirects entre littératures. Ce concept est différent de même des comparaisons typologiques, car les affinités inter-littéraires ne sont pas obligatoirement conditionnées par l'étape de développement social de chacun des contextes. Les Etudes culturelles qui essaient de nos jours de couvrir agressivement le domaine des sciences humaines, ne correspondent pas non plus à nos efforts, car ce genre d'études dilue la spécificité littéraire dans des messages idéologiques (postcoloniaux, liés aux minorités et contestataires).

L'approche consiste ici à juxtaposer des romans traitant des questions contemporaines de la première moitié du XXe siècle en Europe, y compris le thème de la ville moderne, la femme indépendante, le manque de cognoscibilité de l'Autre, des thèmes nouveaux qui correspondent à des questions démographiques, psychanalytiques et philosophiques de cette époque. Les romans de Colette, Camil Petrescu et Yana Yazova, respectivement de la littérature française, roumaine et bulgare, serviront d'exemples à cet égard. La comparaison non conventionnelle nous a montré l'hésitation comme un principe constructif général des trois romans.

Mots-clés : affinités ; roman européen psychologique de la première moitié du XXe siècle ; l'hésitation comme principe constructif du texte ; Colette ; Camil Petrescu ; Yana Yazova

Affinities among European Literatures

Abstract

The concept of affinity will be discussed as a concept likely to replace the outdated notion of influence, or the more recent, but no less problematic notion of reception, each of them implying the idea of a connection. The term affinity will break the vicious circle of direct or indirect contacts between literatures. This concept is different also from typological comparisons, because inter-literary affinities are not necessarily conditioned by the stage of social development of each context. Cultural Studies, which have been trying to cover aggressively the whole field of studies in the humanities, do not correspond to our efforts either, because they tend to thin out literary specificity into ideological messages (postcolonial, linked to minorities and protest).

The proposed approach consists in juxtaposing novels that deal with contemporary issues of the first half of the 20th century all over Europe, including the topic of the Modern City, the Independent Woman, the lack of cognoscibility of the Other – newly emerged themes that correspond to the demographic, psychoanalytic, and philosophical concerns of the time. Novels by Colette, Camil Petrescu, and Yana Yazova, belonging to French, Romanian and Bulgarian literature, respectively, will be used to provide examples in that regard. The unconventional comparison revealed hesitation as a general principle of construction of the three novels.

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Keywords: affinities; European psychological novel of the first half of the 20th century; hesitation as the text's principle of construction; Colette; Camil Petrescu; Yana Yazova

Le but principal de cet article réside dans la comparaison de trois romans de différentes littératures européennes - française, roumaine et bulgare - dans les années de la première moitié du XX^e siècle, afin d'esquisser des ressemblances et de promouvoir une compréhension plus cohérente sur les littératures européennes. Nous allons ignorer les possibilités et les illusions qui viennent d'autres approches comparatives et dans le but de souligner la notion d'*affinité*. *Affinité* sera employée ici comme une notion, ayant une signification spécifique en Littérature comparée, tout d'abord pour éviter le concept dépassé d'*influence*. *Affinité* est également en mesure de remplacer un autre terme plus récent, celui de *réception*, qui est tout aussi problématique dans ce cas. Les deux concepts antécédents mentionnés, l'influence et la réception, impliquent nécessairement une liaison, un contact personnel ou la connaissance d'une œuvre de la littérature étrangère, signalée au moins de manière intertextuelle. Il est utile toutefois de rappeler que la différence entre les deux consiste surtout dans le fait que le terme d'*influence* accorde de l'importance à un modèle retentissant, suivi par les autres littératures, tandis que la *réception* met l'accent sur l'activité de celui qui choisit lui-même un modèle étranger pour le transformer de sa manière.² Tout différemment, le concept d'*affinité* nous permet d'échapper au cercle vicieux des contacts, des liaisons ou des connexions directes ou indirectes.

Par la suite, il faudrait expliquer la différence entre l'*affinité* et le concept de *comparaison typologique*, tout aussi fatigué par l'usage. Pour analyser les similitudes typologiques, sont prises généralement en considération les étapes sociales importantes qui conditionnent les thèmes, traités dans les œuvres littéraires. C'est justement dans ce contexte historique que sont formulées les conclusions sur le retard d'Europe Centrale et Orientale dans les Temps modernes, par rapport à l'Occident (qui, sur cette base, a eu l'occasion de développer une pensée individualiste au temps de la Renaissance et des Lumières³). A partir de la fin du XIX^e siècle et même au-delà de la moitié du XX^e siècle dans les littératures balkaniques apparaissent des tendances littéraires qui révèlent des similitudes visibles avec les modèles littéraires occidentaux, sans que les sociétés soient complètement identiques dans l'organisation de leurs structures politiques et des processus économiques. Il est évident que nous avons besoin d'un instrument flexible, d'une approche multi-facettes pour révéler pleinement les similitudes au niveau des réalisations artistiques, sans pour autant négliger l'état général

² Cf. Pageaux, Daniel-Henri. *La littérature générale et comparée*. Paris, Armand Colin Editeur, 1994 ; Claudon, Francis. *Les grands mouvements littéraires européens*. Paris, Nathan université, 2004 ; Nitchev, Boyan : Ничев, Боян. *Основи на сравнителното литературознание*. [Les bases de la littérature comparée]. София, Наука и изкуство, 1986, pour ne donner que les exemples les plus connus.

³ Cf. Igov : Игов, Св. Балканите – „люлка“, умален моделили „другото“ на Европа [Les Balkans – ‘berceau’, modèle réduit ou le ‘différent’ de l'Europe]. In : *Пътища и пътеки на европеизма на Балканите*. Съставители Ант. Балчева, Й. Бибина; Предговор и редакция Ант. Балчева. София, ИБ&ЦТ, Изд. „Фабер“, 2014.

des phénomènes littéraires, ni les nouvelles fusions des formes et thèmes artistiques qui apparaissent dans les littératures Sud-Est européennes. Cet instrument flexible pour l'analyse comparative pourrait être l'approche à travers les *affinités*. Penser dans cette optique nous permet de comparer les thèmes, des techniques artistiques respectives et des idées, non seulement sociales, mais de même philosophiques et scientifiques.

Ajoutons, que nous préférons de ne pas fonder notre recherche sur des idées empruntées aux *Etudes culturelles*. L'intérêt dans ce domaine est axé sur la spécificité du non canonique, et, en seconde instance, la spécificité littéraire se trouve diluée dans les messages idéologiques (postcolonial, minoritaire, contestataire). Dans ce sens nous ne serons pas intéressés ici du discours féministe et de 'l'écriture féminine'. Certes, les idéologies ne sont pas à exclure et il existe un nombre important de recherches littéraires dans cette direction, surtout orientées vers l'évaluation de produits littéraires sous-estimés dans chaque littérature nationale.⁴ Il est incontestable que la littérature nous fournit des sujets importants ayant trait à la société. Mais la littérature n'en possède pas moins ses moyens d'expression spécifiques. Comment, alors, les enfermer dans une structure et une compréhension socio-économique et politique ? Quoique notre analyse se réfère à la situation de la femme à l'époque de la modernité, nous cherchons ici surtout le choc psychologique devant une situation nouvelle et les issues que les écrivains y projettent.

En acceptant le concept des *affinités*, nous avons en vue la rencontre de circonstances objectives dans le milieu de l'écrivain et des situations purement individuelles, artistiques et littéraires. D'un côté les principes du genre et des thèmes (partiellement conditionnés par la vie réelle), de l'autre la construction du texte et des personnages, les sources de l'intrigue, le dénouement (faisant partie du talent et des convictions de l'artiste). Il s'agit d'un effort d'embrasser tout le réseau dans lequel réside l'œuvre littéraire (représentations scientifiques, philosophiques, sociales, artistiques).

Nous nous proposons de déceler des exemples d'affinité littéraire dans les tendances européennes modernes pendant la première moitié du XX^e siècle. De voir s'il existe des affinités, surtout thématiques mais aussi artistiques entre les littératures européennes, en comparant des ouvrages Sud-Est européens à des œuvres Occidentales.

A cette époque, en Europe, se détache l'importance du roman psychologique, lié à la philosophie de l'intuitivisme et à la psychanalyse. Les idées sociales des classes et les pratiques menant à une indépendance relative des femmes sont tout aussi présents à l'esprit collectif. Les écrivains se

⁴ Comme exemple pour la littérature bulgare, signalons : *Неслученият канон* [Le canon littéraire non-réalisé]. Том 1-2. Съставител Милена Кирова. София, Алтера, 2009, 2013.

plaisent à étudier les problèmes de la vie moderne et de pratiquer le modernisme dans les arts. Un thème volumineux se dessine ainsi - les tourments de la famille patriarcale face à l'idée que la femme pourrait être socialement indépendante - où convergent l'élément artistique (le roman psychologique et moderniste) et les mentalités (concernant le rôle des hommes et des femmes dans la famille). Nous nous proposons donc de tracer la proximité entre les romans d'écrivains qui ne sont pas en contact réel ou tout au moins spirituel, explicite. Nous prendrons comme exemples l'œuvre de Colette, celle de Camil Petrescu et celle de Yana Yazova, pour comparer des exemples de la littérature française, roumaine et bulgare.

Les trois écrivains sont attirés par le phénomène nouveau – la femme indépendante. On voit dans le contexte européen à cette époque des femmes qui réussissent à avoir leur profession, libre ou artistique le plus souvent, et parviennent à gagner leur vies toutes seules. Cette situation modifie les relations familiales patriarcales, en affectant la suprématie de l'homme, en bouleversant les bases patriarcales, en renversant les hiérarchies, les autorités. Il ne s'agit pas d'une situation purement psychologique – chez chacun des écrivains la situation touche l'ordre social et les représentations mentales sur la famille.

Comme il a été déjà signalé, l'article ne tire pas ses impulsions de la théorie féministe et ne s'occupe pas de l'écriture féminine. Le choix dans la comparaison de ce texte n'est pas basé sur le critère de genre/sexe – notons qu'un des trois écrivains étudiés ici est un homme. De plus, celui-là n'est pas le seul dans la littérature roumaine à traiter le thème de la femme à l'époque respective ; une femme romancier (Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu) introduit le monde aisé bucarestois dans ses romans, dont les personnages principaux sont des femmes, certaines d'entre elles – des féministes (sujet possible d'une recherche future).

Une formulation amère des options pour la femme dans la société traditionnelle peut être lu dans l'œuvre de Colette (1873-1954) *La Sauvage* : "Mais une jeune fille sans fortune et sans métier, qui vit à la charge de ses frères, n'a qu'à se taire, à accepter sa chance [de se marier] et à remercier Dieu."⁵ Il s'agit d'un sujet important pour Colette et nous le retrouvons dans presque tous ses textes. Dans *La Maison de Claudine* (1922), le cadre général se réfère à la vie de la famille et à l'amour, ou tout au moins à la compréhension entre les époux. Mais dans deux autres nouvelles, *La Vagabonde*

⁵ In : Colette. *La maison de Claudine*. Hachette, 2004, p. 11.

(1910) et *Jiji* (1940), la question du choix entre la vie en famille ou en célibat qu'une femme devrait être en mesure de faire toute seule, se pose clairement.⁶

Cet intérêt de Colette pour le statut social de la question féminine a été remarqué par Julia Kristeva dans son étude, dédiée à Colette : *Colette ou la chair du monde*, volume 3 de sa recherche plus large *Le Génie féminin* : « De l'excitabilité du corps féminin, Colette apporte une connaissance qui, pour être singulière et inimitable, n'en est pas moins un fait de société. »⁷ Les personnages féminins de Colette sont en effet des êtres vifs, sensibles, sensuels, à l'esprit attirés par les arts, la littérature, la scène. Le thème de l'indépendance féminine y vient de manière logique.

Dans *La Vagabonde* (1910) l'héroïne, femme de lettres et actrice, est aussi le narrateur de l'histoire. L'évaluation et la description du mariage dans ce roman, montre la désintégration du modèle familial traditionnel.

Souvenez-vous (...) de ce que fut pour moi le mariage... Non, il ne s'agit pas des trahisons, vous vous méprenez ! Il s'agit de la domesticité conjugale, qui fait de tant d'épouses une sorte de nurse pour adulte... Etre mariée, c'est... comment dire ? c'est trembler que la côtelette de Monsieur soit trop cuite, l'eau de Vittel pas assez froide, la chemise mal empesée, le faux col mou, le bain brûlant, c'est assumer le rôle épuisant d'intermédiaire-tampon entre la mauvaise humeur de Monsieur, l'avarice de Monsieur, la gourmandise, la paresse de Monsieur...⁸

Cette œuvre met en valeur tout ce que la femme risque de perdre dans le mariage. Quand le fiancé du personnage féminin principal, Renée, lui annonce qu'il a trouvé une nouvelle maison et qu'il est en train de la meubler pour la vie à deux, la riposte ne tarde pas :

- Eh bien ! et moi, on ne me consulte pas ? Qu'est-ce que je deviens, dans tout ça ?⁹ (...) Il doit corser sa joie d'un orgueil naïf, légitime, l'orgueil d'être le monsieur assez chic pour hisser vers lui, du sous-sol de l'Emp-Clich' à la terrasse des Salles-Neuves, une « petite bonne femme de caf'conc' » ... Cher, cher bourgeois héroïque !.. Ah ! pourquoi n'en aime-t-il pas une autre ! Comme une autre le rendrait heureux ! Il me semble que je ne pourrai jamais, moi...¹⁰

La femme qui a été désillusionnée par le mariage et qui a su se débrouiller toute seule dans la vie, voit un désavantage dans la protection proposée par l'homme, même s'il s'agit d'un homme aimé.

⁶ Colette. *La vagabonde*, Roman, Albin Michel, 1957; Колет, Скитницата. Жижи. В: Колет, *Къщата на Клодин*, Романи и новели, Превела от френски Пенка Пројкова, Предговор Емилия Коралова-Стоева, София, Народна култура, 1990.

⁷ Kristeva, J. *Le Génie féminin. La vie, la folie, les mots*. Hanna Arendt, Melanie Klein, Colette, Tome III, *Les Mots. Colette ou la chair du monde*, Fayard, 2002, p. 327.

⁸ Colette. *La vagabonde*, op. cit., p. 166.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 214.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 218.

Il est question d'introduire la perspective féminine au désir amoureux, à la sensualité, traditionnellement considérée comme bestiale. L'apparition d'un prétendant de la haute société ressuscite pour le personnage féminin des états connus dans le passé et représente une opportunité pour formuler un dilemme.

Il me force à me rappeler, trop souvent, que le désir existe, demi-dieu impérieux, faune lâché qui gambade autour de l'amour et n'obéit point à l'amour, que je suis seule, saine, jeune encore et rajeunie par ma longue convalescence morale...

Des sens ? oui, j'en ai... (...) La trahison, la longue douleur les ont anesthésiés, jusqu'à quand ? (...) Mais il y a aussi des jours lucides, où je raisonne durement contre moi-même : « Prends garde ! Veille à toute heure ! Tous ceux qui t'approchent sont suspects, mais tu n'as pas de pire ennemi que toi-même ! Ne chante pas que tu es morte, inhabitée, légère : la bête que tu oublies hiverne, et se fortifie d'un long sommeil... »¹¹

Ici, comme dans tous ses romans, Colette décrit des femmes qui savent ce qu'elles veulent et qui résistent aux tentations liées au prestige social, aux désirs sensuelles ou matérielles. Ce thème, lié à la vie de la femme dans ou hors de la famille, – l'hésitation entre le désir amoureux et l'attrait de l'indépendance – constitue le principe constructif de ses textes. La tension est soutenue par l'oscillation entre ces deux potentialités (amour, plaisir, protection de la part du mari, possibilités opposées à la solitude et aux efforts constants pour gagner sa vie). Le dénouement dans *La vagabonde* opte pour la deuxième solution, plutôt dramatique, car le personnage féminin préfère de briser le couple. Pourtant il s'agit là d'une victoire. L'amour et la vie assurée ne sont pas les seules aspirations des héroïnes de Colette. Elles veulent être elles-mêmes, gagner leur vie (le métier artistique n'y est pour rien), décider toutes seules de leur sort.

Pour continuer la comparaison vers les autres exemples, pris dans deux littératures du Sud-Est européen, il est utile de noter dès le début les lieux de rencontre : l'attrait pour la femme moderne d'obtenir la formation dans une profession, opposé à la sécurité matrimoniale ; les hésitations comme principe constructif de l'intrigue ; l'emploi du cliché qui compare le désir sexuel à un être sauvage et mythique qu'est le faune dans le texte de Colette, cité plus haut.

Le roman de Camil Petrescu (1894-1957) *La dernière nuit de l'amour, la première nuit de la guerre*¹² (1930) a été construit de même sur le principe du doute de l'hésitation. L'intrigue se base sur les soupçons d'un mari de la fidélité de sa femme. Le protagoniste ne croit à rien, en dehors de ses observations personnelles et se méfie de la spontanéité de son épouse. L'histoire est racontée à la première personne, par Ștefan Gheorghidui, un étudiant en philosophie, mobilisé au début de la Première Guerre mondiale.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 70.

¹² Petrescu, Camil. *Ultima noapte de dragoste, întâia noapte de război*. București, Ed. Minerva, 1984.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que nous proposons ici un point de vue masculin, tout en abordant le même thème. La question de l'indépendance sociale de la femme entraîne des complications qui concernent, d'une autre manière, l'homme, la famille, les habitudes sociales. Il n'y a pas que les femmes qui en souffrent. Ainsi, la littérature roumaine aborde un nouvel aspect social, anthropologique et artistique tout à la fois.

L'épouse de Ștefan, Ella, est initialement présentée comme une étudiante en philologie, jeune et belle, pour être décrite plus tard par son mari comme une femme perfide, souvent comparée par lui à un animal. Ayant été plusieurs fois blessé dans la guerre, Ștefan revient à la vie civile, et se trouve vite assailli par les affres de la jalousie. Seul le divorce est capable de libérer le protagoniste des oscillations entre son imagination jalouse et la réalité incertaine.

Initialement Ștefan trouve sa femme séduisante et douée de capacités intellectuelles : « Avec de grands yeux bleus, vifs et purs comme des questions de cristal, un jeune corps agité, la bouche humide et fraîche, d'une intelligence qui jaillit de son cœur et de son esprit, elle représentait un spectacle merveilleux. »¹³ Le mari change d'opinion au sujet de sa femme, après l'acquisition d'une petite fortune, provenant d'un héritage, dont Ella n'est pas du tout désintéressée. C'est ici que Ștefan commence à comparer sa femme à un être sauvage.

... Dans l'intérêt que ma jeune épouse prêtait aux transactions je percevais l'instinct originel des femmes pour l'argent. Comme une tigresse à peine apprivoisée, la tête sur la poitrine de son dompteur, en train de lécher sa main – aussitôt qu'elle aurait flairé le sang, elle aurait bondit pour déchirer l'imprudent. Il me semble que l'histoire de l'héritage a éveillé chez ma femme la rapacité de ses ancêtres, qui somnolait dans son âme en état latent. (p. 35)¹⁴

Philosophe de formation, Camil Petrescu ne se contente pas de relater, à la première personne du singulier, l'intrigue des soupçons et des intuitions du personnage principal, mais il attribue à l'histoire des touches philosophiques. Le personnage Ștefan, lui-même jeune philosophe, ne manque pas de tenir un long discours à son épouse, concernant l'histoire de la philosophie, en citant Kant comme le plus grand penseur dans le domaine de la cognoscibilité du monde extérieur et de l'Autre.

En passant brièvement en revue les systèmes philosophiques au cours des siècles, Ștefan affirme sa conviction : "Nous ne pouvons rien connaître objectivement" (p. 62). Il fait pour sa femme

¹³ Ibidem, p. 21 - les pages des citation du roman de Camil Petrescu, en ma traduction depuis l'original roumain, seront données plus loin entre parenthèses dans le texte: *Cu ochii mari, albaștri, vii ca niște întrebări de cleștar, cu neastîmpărul trupului tânăr, cu gura neconținut umeri și fragedă, cu o inteligență care irumpea, izvorită tot atât de mult din inimă cât de sub frunte, era, dealtfel, un spectacol minunat.*

¹⁴ Dans l'original : *In acest interes al tinerei mele neveste pentru afaceri, vedeam vechiul instinct al femeilor pentru bani. Ca o tigroaică vag domesticită, în care se deșteaptă pornirea atavică, atunci când, culcata cu capul pe pieptul dresorului și-i linge mîna, dînd de sînge, îl sfișie pe imprudent, tot așa aveam impresia ca întîmplarea cu moștenirea trezise în femeia mea porniri care dormitau latent, din strămoși, în ea.*

- philologue incompétente en philosophie, "hérissée" comme un chat " – un résumé de la philosophie de Kant (p. 67).

Le monde objectif, qui fait naître nos impressions, nous ne le connaissons pas. Kant appelle ce monde 'chose en soi', Noumène. Le Noumène, cette essence des choses, est impénétrable pour l'homme. Quand ce monde veut se rendre à nous, il prend la forme dictée par nos sens, et s'organise de la manière réclamée par notre esprit. (p. 67)¹⁵

Cette incertitude du monde objectif est à la base de la construction du roman et constitue la motivation des aspects psychologiques de la narration. La tension de l'intrigue repose sur les soupçons que le mari essaie de vérifier et que sa femme réussit à calmer à plusieurs fois, mais provisoirement. Cette double explication, philosophique et psychologique à la fois, donne une image aussi bien tragique que comique à son personnage. En plus, Camil Petrescu indique explicitement dans le roman, que son personnage masculin, Ștefan, s'oppose à la mode littéraire, largement acceptée par le public roumain, au courant des modes occidentales, d'encourager la liberté des femmes lors du choix d'un partenaire :

Non seulement les romans, mais toutes les pièces de théâtre, dites de boulevard, qui étaient très en vogue à l'époque, ont proclamé *le droit à l'amour* et à cet égard, ils paraissaient nouveaux et révolutionnaires par rapport aux pièces qui proclamaient autrefois : - Tuez-la ! ... (p. 11)¹⁶

En l'occurrence, l'auteur révèle l'autre aspect du problème. Son personnage ne réussit pas à s'adapter à la nouvelle situation. Le flirt, toléré comme attitude sociale pour la femme, ne fait qu'aggraver sa souffrance intérieure. Le lecteur reste dans le doute – s'il faut compatir ou rire de ce narrateur-personnage aussi jaloux. On dirait que Petrescu veut montrer quelque peu ironiquement les souffrances d'une imagination jalouse. Le personnage principal, Ștefan, en racontant son histoire, présente l'atmosphère de son temps d'un point de vue intellectualiste, voire métalittéraire :

Dans tous les théâtres du monde on jouait surtout les pièces d'un jeune Français, dont les personnages féminins « poétiques », éloquents, aux cheveux démêlés et aux épaules nues, dans un décor somptueux, rehaussé d'une musique douce, étaient à la recherche du « bonheur », animé par la passion et détruisant tout. Les femmes de toutes les capitales pleuraient, excitées de la douleur provoquée par les hommes

¹⁵ Dans l'original : Lumea cea adevărată, care ne stîrnește impresiile, n-o cunoaștem. El [Kant] i-a zis lumii aceeaia, "lucru în sine", numen. Numenul, acest miez al lucrurilor, nu-l poate cunoaște nimeni. Când vrea să ajungă la noi, el ia forma dictată de simțuri și se organizează așa cum cere rațiunea noastră.

¹⁶ Dans l'original : Nu numai romanele, dar toate piesele așa-zise bulevardiere, mult la modă pe atunci, nu proclamau decît "dreptul la iubire", și în privința asta erau noi și revoluționare, față de piesele care proclamau în vremuri prăfuite : Ucid-o!

cruels, incapables de ressentir la beauté sublime de l'amour. (...) ... on avait atteint une véritable symbiose entre les auteurs et les spectateurs (p. 17).

Les changements dans la société roumaine, pareille au reste de l'Europe, nous dit l'écrivain à travers son personnage de la capitale roumaine, se réfèrent aux aspects moraux, sociétaux et psychologiques, concernant la vie en famille.

Les parallèles avec les romans et les nouvelles de Colette sont visibles, même si c'est en cliché négatif. Chez Colette, la femme lutte contre sa sensualité (et même contre sa propre stabilité sociale) pour ne pas devenir l'épouse dépendante de son mari. Chez Petrescu le conflit est similaire, seulement il est présenté du point de vue de l'homme. On découvre des affinités pour ce thème chez tous les deux écrivains commentés. La femme dans le roman roumain a fait des études supérieures (elle se sent émancipé dans ce sens) et affiche un comportement libre en société, sans pour autant donner des raisons claires pour son attitude (le récit du mari ne se contente jamais du peu de détails qu'il obtient dans ce sens). Pareilles dénouements chez les deux écrivains (séparation du couple), différents seulement d'après le degré d'indépendance possible dans les différents sociétés : liberté obtenue par la femme, même si au goût amère, chez Colette ; le mari décide de divorcer de sa femme (tout en assurant son existence - il lui laisse la maison où ils ont vécu) chez Petrescu.

Un second parallèle : le personnage féminin dans le roman roumain est considérée pareillement (par l'homme dans ce cas) comme un être sensuel, semblable à une bête plus ou moins sauvage (tigresse ; hérissée comme un chat). Il s'agit évidemment d'un cliché de la pensée traditionnelle (un *topoi* dans la terminologie d'Ernst Robert Curtius) qui persiste dans la société en signe de reproche et qui se trouve accentué dans les textes examinés, visant le comportement moderne.

Et enfin, mais assez important, l'intrigue est portée dans tous les deux textes par une hésitation¹⁷ psychologique. Chez Colette – hésitation entre désir de liberté professionnelle et personnelle *versus* une vie, assurée par le mari, calme mais dépendante. Je risque ici une digression dans le sens que ce problème sociale important – les droits de la femme – implique la nécessité de scruter dans les côtés cachés de la psychologie humaine et de manière collatérale stimule le récit psychologique. Il n'est pas non plus à sous-estimer le fait que la narration est menée à la première personne du singulier dans tous les deux cas, une démarche préférée pour le genre du roman psychologique.

¹⁷ Largement connue est la définition de Tzvetan Todorov du fantastique : une hésitation du lecteur entre une explication naturelle et une explication surnaturelle des événements évoqués. Tz. Todorov. *Introduction à la littérature fantastique*. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1970, p. 165. Notre analyse se sert autrement de l'hésitation, mais ne peut ne pas être tributaire de cette idée.

Plus loin dans cette comparaison à trois volets vient l'exemple du roman de l'écrivaine Yana Yazova (1912-1974), intitulé *Anna Dulghérova* (1936)¹⁸, où l'auteure impose dans la littérature bulgare le thème de la femme indépendante. Son personnage romanesque Ana Dulghérova est une jeune fille, qui vit dans une ville provinciale, et qui a l'ambition d'obtenir une formation et d'avoir une profession artistique, de devenir artiste-peintre.

La Muraille de Chine de leur vie étriquée l'étouffait et la faisait aspirer (...) à s'en aller très loin, au-delà de cette ville et de ces gens. (...) Elle ne pensait pas pourtant qu'il était possible de quitter cette vie, de se brouiller avec sa mère et de partir vers la capitale, pleine de promesses effrayantes. Elle n'était pas sûre de pouvoir partir.¹⁹

Il est important de relever ici une similitude avec les personnages de Colette. Chaque fois que les femmes s'avisent de se révolter contre le *statu quo* et de revendiquer leurs droits, ce sont surtout des femmes instruites ou artistes : peintre (le cas d'Anna Dulghérova), femme de lettre, comédienne (chez Colette), philologue et traductrice littéraire (chez Petrescu). Dans le cas bulgare, le personnage peut être considéré comme l'*alter ego* de l'auteur Yazova, qui était, elle-même, connue comme une femme moderne, au comportement indépendant, souvent commenté, aussi bien de son vivant que plus tard.²⁰ Ainsi, Anna Dulghérova, âgée de 22, s'efforce à surmonter la résistance de sa mère et de partir pour la grande ville.

A ces moments, Anna comprenait, effrayée, que ses rêves étaient bien loin d'un mariage ordinaire, qu'elle aspirait à l'interdit, et que cette attente n'avait rien à voir avec les hommes de sa ville.²¹

Elle rêve de se réaliser comme une artiste-peintre, de s'éloigner de la vie mesquine de la ville provinciale. « Je dois partir, je dois être artiste, vivre ! »²² Son amour pour un musicien bien connu, beaucoup plus âgé et, marié sans amour pour sa femme, la conduit dans une impasse. Le musicien est déchiré entre son devoir à l'égard de son enfant dans un foyer sans amour et son désir d'avoir une liaison avec la très jeune Anna. Anna, de son côté, malgré son éducation traditionnelle, dans l'esprit de la ville provinciale, trouve le courage de penser à l'homme aimé comme à un ami, compagnon, plutôt qu'à un mari, étant prête à accepter une idée inattendue, lancée par l'homme aimé. C'est bien la

¹⁸ Яна Язова, *Ана Дюлгерова*, София, Изд. Весела Кацарова, 2002.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 34-35, en original : Китайската стена на техния ограничен живот задушаваше с големи мъки у нея копнежа (...) да отиде много далече, извън тоя град и тия хора. (...) Тя не мислеше, че е възможно да се реши да напусне тоя живот тука, да се скара с майка си и да заmine за пълната със страшна неизвестност столица. Тя не знаеше дали би отишла. (En ma traduction, en Français)

²⁰ Инна Пелева. Случаят "Яна Язова", или възходът на биографията. http://liternet.bg/publish20/i_peleva/iana-jazova.htm#14 (16.02.2017)

²¹ Ibid., p. 36, en original : И в тия моменти Ана уплашено виждаше, че мечтите ѝ далеч не спират до обикновена женитба, че тя мисли за това, което е забранено, и че това, което чака, толкова не подхожда на нейните познати мъже (...)

²² Ibid., p. 46, en original : Аз трябва да замина, да рисувам, да живея!

touche moderne dans la mentalité sociale des années 1930 en Bulgarie. On peut résumer la situation par une réflexion anxieuse d'Anna, en réponse aux paroles du musicien :

- Ce n'est qu'avec un compagnon que peut être vécue cette nuit chaude au bord de la mer, à Beyrouth, sous les palmiers, près de l'eau chaude, où miroitent les bateaux des pêcheurs. (...) Anna pensait. "Il dit - avec un compagnon ! Comme il l'a prononcé calmement ! Avec un compagnon dit-il, pas avec un mari."²³

Le musicien part pour l'étranger dans l'espoir de résoudre son propre dilemme familial. Mais Anna, qui est restée sans l'appui de l'homme aimé, sans l'appui de son père également, restée incomprise par sa mère (ses parents sont séparés) sombre dans le désespoir et se laisse emporter par le fleuve qui coule devant sa maison. La fin de l'histoire peut paraître mélodramatique par le manque d'assez de motivation pour ce geste définitif du personnage. Pourtant ce geste finale accentue sur la gravité de la situation de la femme, ainsi que sur un moment de changements radicaux dans les mentalités.

Dans le contexte de la comparaison qui est menée ici toutefois, il est important d'accentuer que le roman de Yazova donne une idée nuancée de la vie bulgare de l'époque, des premières audaces des femmes de s'exprimer dans un art et d'agir de manière indépendante dans la société. La question féminine est abordée justement dans le sens de la vie moderne, qui aurait permis à la femme de manifester son choix de s'exprimer librement, de vivre de manière indépendante, non pas dans un sens moraliste que provoque le thème de l'adultère (proche à la situation dans les romans du XIX s. comme *Madame Bovary* ou bien *Anna Karénine*).

Un autre personnage du roman de Yazova, la sœur d'Anna, Marga, est introduit pour illustrer une voie différente de la révolte féminine. Marga est attirée par les activités politiques de gauche et affiche aussi un comportement libre des contraintes de la ville provinciale. Elle est encore très jeune pour avoir une profession, mais elle est attirée par des jeunes poètes bohèmes, révoltés contre le *statu quo*. Cette double révolte, exprimée différemment par les deux sœurs, confirme l'apparition d'une nouvelle génération de jeunes filles moderne à cette époque. Marga s'agite devant ses proches : « Vous ne pouvez pas me forcer. Tous les gens sont libres d'agir selon leurs idées et leurs désirs. »²⁴ Evidemment la jeune fille considère l'égalité des hommes et des femmes. Dans ce sens, par l'image complexe d'un lieu provincial, plutôt réaliste que psychologique, le roman de Yazova est proche non

²³ Ibid., p. 110, en original : Само с другар може да се изживее онази топла ноц край морето, в Бейрут, под палмите, при топлата вода, по която блещукат рибарски лодки. (...) Ана (...) се замисли: „Той каза – с другар! Тъй спокойно го каза! Другар каза, а не съпруг.“

²⁴ Ibid., p. 15, en original : Вие нямате право да ме принуждавате. Всички хора са свободни да постъпват според идеите и желанията си.

seulement de Colette, mais sous certains aspects, de même, des idées dans *Thérèse Desqueyroux* (1927) de François Mauriac.

Dans la littérature bulgare Yana Yazova, n'est pas le seul romancier qui introduit la problématique de la femme indépendante dans la société. D'autres écrivains, ont déjà abordé à l'époque respective le même thème dans leurs romans, comme par exemple Anton Strachimirov dans le roman *Bena* (1922) ou bien Kiril Khristov (1875-1944) dans son roman *Aubes sombres* (1920). Pourtant Yazova est parmi les premiers écrivains bulgares qui se sont hasardée à explorer l'esprit féminin depuis sa position de femme-écrivain.

Pour revenir aux comparaisons : l'image de la jeune protagoniste de Yazova, Anna, n'est pas divisée entre sensualité (animale) et être raisonnable. Anna est conçue dans l'antithèse entre les notions d'enfant' et d'individualité' (личност, p. 57). Notons de même que le récit dans le roman de Yazova est mené à la troisième personne par un narrateur omniscient. Cette démarche ne diminue pas cependant l'intérêt pour la psychologie du personnage. En mettant le roman de Yazova en comparaison avec les romans analysés plus haut, on peut observer que dans ce cas, similairement, l'intrigue se base sur l'hésitation du personnage, ici entre désir de partir pour la grande ville et se réaliser comme artiste-peintre et une peur provinciale de la métropole inconnue. Il s'agit comme dans les deux autres romans d'une jeune femme qui est habitée par des aspirations artistiques et intellectuelles. Le sujet est déplacé en dehors de la grande ville, mais les aspirations sont pareilles à celles du personnage de Colette, seulement à un moment de formation du caractère plus jeune.

Les trois écrivains que nous avons abordés ici, présentent des affinités similaires, consistant à décrire la femme moderne, ses efforts pour acquérir une autonomie professionnelle et une indépendance financière, pour exiger l'égalité dans la prise de décision dans la maison parentale ou dans le couple. En termes littéraires, ces écrivains s'inscrivent entièrement ou partiellement dans la tendance de la prose psychologique et du roman. La psychanalyse, la philosophie et la vie sociale moderne sont leur environnement, qui permet le développement de possibilités thématiques et narratives nouvelles.

Vivant dans la grande ville, ou aspirant à l'atteindre, la femme indépendante exprime son sens de la liberté. À travers les personnages présentés par les trois auteurs européens, plusieurs autres questions peuvent être soulevées : des idées relatives aux changements des relations de dépendance de la femme dans la famille, des dilemmes psychologiques chez les protagonistes, hommes, femmes, enfants. La dépendance des femmes, non seulement au niveau du comportement traditionnel dans la famille (un comportement de longue durée), mais aussi au niveau des indices économiques, les

entraves à la possibilité d'avoir sa propre profession et de gagner sa vie, sont souvent explicitement exprimés.

Il est difficile, voire impossible, de savoir quelles étaient les lectures préférées des écrivains Sud-Est européens et si Colette ou Mauriac (précédents les écrivains du Sud-Est par leurs publications) en faisaient partie. Les exemples que nous avons donnés révèlent un choix analogue pour des thèmes qui se positionnent hors des mentalités traditionnelles de l'époque. Les écrivains français, roumains et bulgares présentent des similitudes d'idées, de thèmes et de procédés artistiques sous plusieurs aspects. Les *affinités* entre eux attirent l'intérêt pour être observées. Par cette voie les liens peu visibles entre littératures Occidentales et Sud-Est européennes peuvent être observés en parallèle.

Francis CLAUDON¹

Hamlet et Don Quichotte

Résumé

En 1860 Ivan Tourguéniev prononce une conférence intitulée « Hamlet et Don Quichotte ». Dans ce texte Tourguéniev traite de la conception de l'homme et du monde qui se dégage de la pièce anglaise et du roman espagnol. Il a relevé aussi que les deux auteurs, leurs deux œuvres sont quasi contemporains. Mais l'interprétation philosophique et morale qu'il propose renvoie à la Russie tsariste et aux problèmes des réformes sous Alexandre II. Il existe, par exemple, un lien assez net entre la conférence et le roman *Pères et enfants*.

Pourtant Hamlet et Don Quichotte nous rappellent surtout la fortune européenne de ces deux mythes, tout particulièrement l'opéra *Hamlet* (1868) d'Ambroise Thomas et le *Don Quichotte* (1910) de Massenet. Ils invitent aussi à ne pas oublier que, à l'époque du maniérisme et du baroque, Hamlet et Quichotte s'accompagnaient encore d'un troisième héros : le Dr. Faust que Marlowe a légué, après beaucoup de relais, au compositeur Gounod pour son célèbre *Faust* (1859).

Tout ceci renvoie au salon des Viardot, amis intimes de Tourguéniev. Il est probable que dans son commentaire des héros maniéristes et baroques Tourguéniev s'est inspiré également des travaux de Sismondi et de Louis Viardot. En d'autres termes, multiples sont les liens qui rapprochent l'Ouest et la Russie, la littérature et l'histoire de l'opéra français.

Mots-clés : Tourguéniev ; Hamlet ; Don Quichotte ; opéra ; comparatisme interdisciplinaire ; histoire littéraire internationale

Hamlet and Don Quixote
Abstract

In the year 1860, Ivan Turgenev delivered a speech at a public reading entitled "Hamlet and Don Quixote". In it, he commented on the concept of man and world (*Weltanschauung*) which emerged from the English play and the Spanish novel. However, the philosophical and moral interpretation, which he proposed, referred to Tsarist Russia and the problems of the reforms under Alexander II. For example, there existed a clear link between the speech and Turgenev's novel *Fathers and Sons* („*Отцы и дети*“).

Hamlet and Don Quixote remind us mainly of the European fates of these two myths, especially the operas *Hamlet* (1868) by Ambroise Thomas and *Don Quixote* (1910) by Massenet. In the early period of Mannerism and Baroque, Hamlet and Don Quixote were accompanied by a third hero: Dr. Faustus, (a legacy from Marlowe), who too, after many relays, inspired the composer Gounod for his famous opera *Faust* (1859).

All this brings us back to the Salon Viardot, whose hosts were close friends with Turgenev. It is easy to imagine that Turgenev was also inspired by the modern commentaries of Sismondi and Louis Viardot. There are many links between West Europe and Russia, between literature and the history of French opera.

Keywords: Turgenev; Hamlet; Don Quixote; opera; interdisciplinary comparativism; international literary history

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Suites françaises

« La première édition de *Hamlet*, la tragédie de Shakespeare, et la première partie du *Don Quichotte* de Cervantès ont paru la même année, au commencement du dix-septième siècle. Cette coïncidence nous a paru remarquable ; le rapprochement de ces deux œuvres a éveillé en nous toute une série de pensées (page 1) ».

Первое издание трагедии Шекспира "Гамлет" и первая часть сервантесовского "Дон-Кихота" явились в один и тот же год, в самом начале XVII столетия. Эта случайность нам показалась знаменательной ; сближение двух названных нами произведений навело нас на целый ряд мыслей.²

Voilà ce que Tourguéniev écrivait de façon chaleureuse, un peu approximative aussi³, au mitan du Romantisme européen. Autour de l'année 2016, nous sommes donc passablement assignés à de multiples anniversaires. Dans ce contexte il n'est pas indifférent de prendre aussi en compte la fortune de ces figures légendaires à l'Opéra, c'est-à-dire plus particulièrement *Hamlet* d'Ambroise Thomas (1868, Paris) et *Don Quichotte* de Massenet (1910, Monte Carlo). Ces deux ouvrages ramènent, d'ailleurs, non sans détours, à Tourguéniev, à la famille Viardot, à la Russie impériale. Mais avant de chercher si ces compositions confèrent une valeur différente à ces personnages mythiques on doit brièvement démêler un petit écheveau de faits embrouillés.

Ambroise Thomas (1811-1896) est un compositeur aujourd'hui dédaigné mais jadis *Mignon* (1866) lui a apporté la célébrité et *Hamlet* la fortune ; le premier titre a été représenté plus de mille fois. On connaît – sans trop y prendre garde – Ambroise Thomas par le truchement de *la Marseillaise* dont il a établi la version officielle en 1894. Les spécialistes retiennent aussi que c'est à Ambroise Thomas, en sa qualité de directeur du Conservatoire, que Pauline Viardot a transmis le manuscrit autographe du *Don Giovanni* de Mozart qui est donc devenu propriété française conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Ambroise Thomas a été le professeur de composition de Jules Massenet (1842-1912). Ce dernier est beaucoup plus apprécié que Thomas. Ses œuvres demeurent de grands succès et bénéficient

² Le texte de Tourguéniev est à l'origine une conférence : *Hamlet et Don Quichotte* (1860) ; on utilisera ici le texte publié en ligne à l'adresse : <https://bibliotheque-russe-et-slave.com/Livres/Tourgueniev%20-%20Hamlet%20et%20Don%20Quichotte.htm> ; il est disponible également en version papier chez Amazon : *Hamlet et Don Quichotte* – de M. Ivan Tourgueniev – traduction de M. Louis Léger - Create Space Independent Publishing Platform; Édition : Lrg (22 mai 2015) - ISBN-10: 1512316113, ISBN-13: 978-1512316117 (consulté le 06/02/2017). La pagination (indiquée en fin de citation est celle qui apparaît dans le document électronique).

Toutes les citations en russe viennent de : http://az.lib.ru/t/turgenew_i_s/text_0240.shtml

³ *Hamlet*, suivant les spécialistes, a été composé entre 1599 et 1602 ; la division en actes et scènes, daterait de 1676 ; *Don Quichotte* a été publié en 1605, pour la première partie, en 1615, pour la seconde partie.

toujours de productions fort applaudies⁴. Toute cette société se connaissait et fréquentait le salon des Viardot. Il nous reste de ces contacts des lettres, parfois un peu superficielles, des échos mondains⁵. Pour sa part Pauline Viardot n'a chanté ni dans *Hamlet*, ni dans *Don Quichotte*. Mais elle a créé *Marie-Magdeleine* de Massenet qui date de 1873 : « Je vous dédie toute ma carrière, Madame, car je vous la devrai, Votre reconnaissant, Jules Massenet ».⁶

Voici quelques témoignages concernant Thomas :

- par exemple provenant de Tourguéniev : « Demain matin je fais 100000 visites. Le soir j'irai peut-être au théâtre, je ne sais ; **Hamlet** m'effraie un peu »⁷.

- de la plume de Pauline Viardot, à présent : « Illustre maître et ami, On me supplie de vous recommander une jeune personne qui va se présenter au concours de comédie... »⁸.

- Ou encore : « Cher Maître et ami, Je veux que vous soyez le premier à apprendre que, par une clause de mon testament, je lègue... »⁹.

Les *Cahiers Tourguéniev, Malibran, Viardot* (n°1-4/1977) ont proposé naguère un très riche florilège de ces lettres. Tourguéniev n'a pas été conquis par *Hamlet*¹⁰ ; il n'a certainement pas vu l'ouvrage plusieurs fois. Par exemple il écrivait à la fille de Pauline, 'Claudie' Viardot, le 26/III/1868 : « Je ne m'y suis guère amusé. Cependant il y avait au III^e acte un décor qui ressemblait tout à fait à un tableau de Véronèse. Cela t'aurait plu, ainsi que Mlle. Nilsson »¹¹.

Pour ce qui est de *Don Quichotte* l'écrivain russe n'a évidemment pas pu y assister. En revanche il connaissait certainement les travaux de Louis Viardot¹², voire de Sismondi¹³ et Mérimée sur l'Espagne, sa littérature, son histoire.

Dans chacun de ces opéras a chanté une personnalité qui a fait date dans l'histoire du théâtre lyrique. Le rôle d'Ophélie (soprano colorature) a été durablement marqué par sa créatrice : Christina

⁴ Voir *Massenet aujourd'hui : Héritage et postérité* : Actes du colloque de la XI^e biennale Massenet des 25 et 26 octobre 2012 textes recueillis par Jean-Christophe Branger & Vincent Giroud, Presses de l'Université de Saint Etienne, 2014.

⁵ Voir Patrick Barbier. *Pauline Viardot*. Paris, Grasset, 2009 p. 286 etc. (« une longue retraite au service de la musique »)

⁶ Barbier, p. 294.

⁷ Tourguéniev à P. Viardot le 12/III/1868. – In : *Lettres inédites de Tourguéniev à Pauline Viardot*, (H. Granjard & A. Zviguilsky eds.), Lausanne, Age d'Homme, 1972, p. 138.

⁸ 21 octobre ?- [ark : /12148/btv1b530512320 - Source : Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, LA - VIARDOT PAULINE - 8]

⁹ 15 octobre 1889- [ark : /12148/btv1b530510952 - Source : Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, LA - VIARDOT PAULINE - 10]

¹⁰ Cf. aussi Tourguéniev. *Lettres à Madame Viardot*. Ed. E. Halpérine-Kaminsky, Paris, 1907. lettre n°3, p. 155

¹¹ *Lettres inédites de Tourguéniev*, op. cit. p.245, lettre n°124.

¹² Louis Viardot, 1800-1883, a été un historien, historien d'art, traducteur, homme de lettres et directeur du Théâtre Italien de Paris, cf. la notice :

www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/viardot-louis.html

¹³ Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, 1773-1842 cf.

<http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/personnage/Sismondi/144481>

Nilsson, très fêtée en Russie, comme l'avait été en son temps Pauline Viardot. Ainsi, par exemple, les personnages d'*Anna Karénine* vont à l'Opéra écouter et applaudir la Nilsson¹⁴. Quant au rôle de Quichotte il a été créé par la basse Chaliapine, devenu mondialement célèbre, en particulier grâce au film de G. Pabst. Or Chaliapine était une trouvaille du fameux Raoul Gunsbourg, impresario, directeur de théâtre, fondateur de plusieurs établissements à Moscou et à Pétersbourg sous Alexandre II et Alexandre III, avant de venir s'illustrer à Paris et à Monte Carlo¹⁵.

Duo ou trio ?

Les deux figures qui nous occupent sont nées à la même époque, dans le même contexte¹⁶; elles se situent dans ce que les chercheurs russes ont appelé l'âge du maniérisme ou du caravagisme¹⁷; Hamlet et Quichotte ont un compagnon indispensable. Oui, c'est un trio qu'il faut réunir, en comparant ensemble le Doctor Faustus de Marlowe (1592), Hamlet et Quichotte.

L'idée de maniérisme vient de la peinture. L'esprit maniériste exemplifie une autre vie par le traitement des contours, par les sinuosités, la composition, l'éclairage; on observe cela dans les tableaux du Greco et de Caravage. En fait les peintres maniéristes traitent leurs toiles comme des décorateurs de théâtre, voire des metteurs en scène d'opéra. Souvenons-nous du coup de projecteur dirigé par Caravage sur Mathieu (*La Vocation de Saint Mathieu*, Saint Louis des Français, Rome).

Le premier sujet, pour parler comme dans un corps de ballet, serait probablement Faust. Pas seulement pour des raisons chronologiques. Dans le drame de Marlowe, le docteur nous est présenté comme un savant absolu : omniscient en philosophie, en théologie, en médecine, en astronomie, en chimie. Il est la gloire de Wittenberg, là où enseigne Luther, là où Hamlet étudie. Faust meurt, mais seulement au figuré, pour pouvoir devenir fondamentalement autre. Hamlet et Quichotte apparaissent en quelque sorte comme ses icônes maniérées. Car Hamlet est le reflet inversé de Faust; le doute, chez lui n'est pas métaphysique, mais psychologique; il lui offre une raison d'exister et d'agir, en attendant une mort historique et physique. Hamlet prend son temps, parce que le temps de son père n'est plus et que le temps d'Ophélie, de Polonius, de Claudius ne saurait advenir. "The time is out of joint. O cursed spite, / That ever I was born to set it right. / Nay, come, let's go together"¹⁸ "Les temps sont bouleversés. Maudit poison d'être né, moi, pour les remettre en ordre. Non, allez, cheminons

¹⁴ *Anna Karénine*, II^e partie, chapitre 4-5-6

¹⁵ Cf. Raoul Gunsbourg. *Cent Ans de souvenirs...ou presque*. Monaco, le Rocher, 1959, sur Chaliapine cf. p.139-141.

¹⁶ Cf. Călin-Andrei Mihăilescu. Les grandes figures de la désillusion : Faust, Hamlet, Don Quichotte. – In : *L'Époque de la Renaissance (1400-1600)*, vol. 4. Crise et essors nouveaux (1560-1610), Tibor Klaniczay, Eva Kushner & Paul Chavy, eds. The Hague and Philadelphia : Benjamins, 2000, p.597-609.

¹⁷ Cf. La typologie de la culture de la Renaissance et les problèmes d'unité de la littérature du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle. in : N. I. Balachov, T. Klaniczay, A. D. Mikhailov. *Littérature de la Renaissance*. Budapest, 1978, p. 11-47.

¹⁸ Acte I. scène 5. Vers 196-8 – dans l'édition en ligne : <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/hamlet/hamlet.1.5.html> (11.03.2017)

ensemble”. Ce temps désaccordé, chaotique et terrible s’applique non seulement à l’État du Danemark, mais aussi à l’état mental du héros dérangé ; c’est par excellence le temps psychologique, celui que la peinture appréhende mal, mais que la musique, en revanche, excelle à faire sentir. D’autre part le lyrisme de Marlowe, le style ampoulé de Hamlet tendent implicitement vers une autre langue ; ils s’épanouiront donc dans le langage intrinsèquement codé et stylisé de l’opéra. Quand le reste se fait silence, quand manque la parole, c’est le moment idéal pour chanter et laisser chanter la musique.

Don Quichotte pareillement partage avec Faust une incoercible pente vers la rêverie ainsi que le goût du vieux papier. Pour notre hidalgo, les livres de chevalerie sont des modèles allégoriques, qu’il enseigne à Sancho Pança, son double vulgaire et familier. La transformation mutuelle des deux personnages suit un cours ‘dialogique’. Or n’importe quel opéra repose lui aussi sur le dialogisme : dialogisme du mot et du son, dialogisme de la parole et de la musique, dialogisme du chanteur et de l’orchestre. Pour ce qui est du roman le fait est net dans la deuxième partie : Don Quichotte, a été vaincu par le Chevalier de la Blanche Lune (le bachelier Sansón Carrasco déguisé, 2^e Partie, chapitre 71).¹⁹ Retournant à son village sans nom, il propose au curé et au bachelier de commencer ensemble une vie pastorale. C’est une façon de dire que le réel est au-delà du fictionnel, mais le fictionnel est l’unique voie pour l’atteindre. Or il n’y pas d’art plus fictionnel et plus codé que l’opéra.

On peut estimer que le même processus se retrouve dans *Pères et enfants* (*Отцы и дети*), ce livre où le grotesque remplace l’idéal. La connexion de don Quichotte et de Sancho avec leurs utopies est ironique, et tellement prédominante qu’elle se voit transposée par Tourguéniev dans la drôle de paire d’étudiants nihilistes de son roman. Ainsi la boucle est bouclée qui va du maniérisme à la Belle Epoque, du style dialogique à l’esthétique passéiste de l’Opéra.

Hamlet et Quichotte s’expliquent assurément avec et par Faust. Ce trio emblématique du maniérisme est également contemporain, souvenons-nous, du style musical appelé « *Recitar Cantando* » (Monteverdi, *Orfeo*, 1600). En lisant Tourguéniev, n’oublions donc pas le troisième homme. En lisant cette conférence souvenons-nous aussi peut-être que Gounod, autre ami des Viardot, a fait représenter un célèbre *Faust* en 1859.

Une fortune européenne

Depuis le XVII^e siècle notre trio était donc légendaire. Tourguéniev n’a pas pu concevoir sa conférence en faisant abstraction de la transmission du mythe.

¹⁹ <http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/clasicos/quijote/edicion/parte2/cap71/default.htm> (11.03.2017)

Faust a été copieusement célébré²⁰. Goethe, Berlioz (*Huit scènes de Faust* devenues *La Damnation de Faust*), Gounod mais aussi le peintre Delacroix n'appellent ici pas de commentaires. Les programmes de théâtre et d'opéra ont souvent documenté la question²¹.

Hamlet a été popularisé peut-être davantage par l'iconographie. En 1744, déjà, avait paru une nouvelle édition des œuvres de Shakespeare, illustrée par Francis Hayman et Hubert François. Les illustrations de Hayman étaient tellement appréciées, que le propriétaire de «Vauxhall Gardens », Jonathan Tyers, avait commandé des toiles de très grand format pour décorer un certain Pavillon du Prince de Galles ; parmi elles figurait la scène de la pièce de théâtre dans la pièce, à l'acte III. Les artistes qui ont peint ultérieurement Hamlet sont Heinrich Füssli (1780-5), Thomas Lawrence (1802), John Everett Millais (1850), il y a eu, plus tard encore, Gustave Moreau, Mikhaïl Vroubel (1883), Edwin Austin Abbey (1897). Il existe enfin plusieurs portraits d'acteurs, ainsi David Garrick, notamment dans la scène du fantôme (*Hamlet* acte I, scène 4) où il s'était particulièrement illustré. Une légendaire série de représentations de *Hamlet* en France en 1827 puis en 1829 inspira les peintres romantiques Achille Devéria et Eugène Delacroix (1830, 1835 et 1839). A ces représentations assistait Berlioz, qui admira l'actrice Harriett Smithson au point de l'épouser.

Il paraîtrait tentant d'interpréter *Pères et enfants* comme une réécriture partielle et discrète de *Faust*. Car il y a dans ce roman comme un mélange des deux héros de Goethe. Bazarov, qui veut tout savoir, tout disséquer, répète l'ambition du célèbre docteur qui a tout étudié, tout lu, tout médité ; seule lui manque encore la connaissance de l'amour. Bazarov y réussit presque, lors de sa petite intrigue avec Anna Sergueïevna, mais finalement c'est un échec, comme dans les pièces de théâtre. De son côté Arcade trouve l'amour auprès de la jeune Katia, sœur un peu naïve, mais tout aussi spontanée que Marguerite. La mort affreuse de Bazarov répète la fin piteuse de Méphisto tandis que parallèlement l'union paisible d'Arcade et de Katia rappelle la rédemption finale de Faust et de Marguerite.

Tourguéniev, comme Pouchkine et bien d'autres Russes, était assurément familier des personnages maudits issus des littératures européennes occidentales.

Cervantès vu par Sismondi et Viardot

Pour ce qui est de Cervantès il paraît invraisemblable que Tourguéniev n'ait pas lu attentivement Louis Viardot et il est encore probable que, par l'intermédiaire de Mérimée, il se soit intéressé également à Sismondi.

²⁰ Cf. Charles Dédéyan. *Le Thème de Faust dans la littérature européenne*. 6 volumes, Paris, 1954-1967.

²¹ Cf. *La Damnation de Faust* programme de l'Opéra-Bastille, Paris, 1995.

Dans sa conférence de 1860 Tourguéniev défend une thèse : « Don Quichotte est un enthousiaste, un serviteur de l'idée ébloui par sa grandeur » (6)²² ; de son côté Hamlet « incarne le principe de la négation » (p.17)²³ ses caractéristiques se nomment le scepticisme et le sentiment d'impuissance : « Hamlet n'a pas le rire démoniaque, antipathique de Méphistophélès ; il y a dans son rire une certaine tristesse(...). Le scepticisme de Hamlet n'est pas de l'indifférence » (17).²⁴

Or Viardot et Sismondi soutenaient aussi à peu près la même opinion : « Ce n'est pas seulement pour lui-même qu'il faut considérer celui que l'Espagne appela le phénix des hommes de génie »²⁵. D'où des coïncidences avec Tourguéniev. Par exemple Sismondi insiste beaucoup sur une sorte de balancement omniprésent chez Cervantès (le beau/le grotesque ; l'idéal/le vulgaire) : « Ce n'est plus ce bizarre, ce ridicule original sur lequel les coups pleuvent si libéralement... Que représente Don Quichotte ? La foi, avant tout, la foi en quelque chose d'éternel, d'immuable dans la vérité, dans cette vérité qui réside en dehors de l'individu »²⁶.

De son côté Tourguéniev écrit : « Malheureusement la Russie ne possède aucune bonne traduction de Don Quichotte ²⁷(...) son nom n'éveille que l'idée d'un bouffon ²⁸ (...) tandis qu'il renferme un sens élevé, celui du sacrifice de soi-même » (p.2)²⁹. Entre la foi et le sacrifice de soi-même la relation est évidente.

Sismondi écrit encore : « la nation espagnole éprouva un changement fatal lorsqu'elle fut soumise à la maison d'Autriche, et la poésie dut changer avec elle (...) ³⁰». De façon approchante Tourguéniev souligne aussi la spécificité de cette littérature espagnole du Sud : « C'est l'esprit de l'homme du Midi qui a présidé à la création de Don Quichotte, un esprit lumineux, joyeux, naïf, entreprenant qui ne pénètre pas dans les profondeurs de la vie... » (21)³¹.

La pression politique et catholique en cet ancien temps écrasait les caractères, elle désaxait ensuite les comportements ; la folie en résulte, en particulier chez Quichotte, intoxiqué par le climat ambiant autant que par ses lectures : « Remarquez bien que ce fou, ce chevalier errant est l'être le plus moral du monde » ³²(6). Oui, Quichotte est un féal du Roi et de l'Eglise. Selon Sismondi : « Les

²² Дон-Кихот энтузиаст, служитель идеи и потому обвеян ее сиянием.

²³ В нем воплощено начало отрицания.

²⁴ Гамлет не хохочет демонски-безучастным хохотом Мефистофеля; в самой его горькой улыбке есть Унылость (...). Скептицизм Гамлета не есть также индифферентизм.

²⁵ Simonde de Sismondi (J.C.L.). *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*. Tome IV, Paris, Treuttel et Würtz, 1829, p. 1.

²⁶ Sismondi, ibidem, p. 44.

²⁷ Но, к сожалению, мы, русские, не имеем хорошего перевода "Дон-Кихота".

²⁸ под словом "Дон-Кихот" мы часто подразумеваем просто шута.

²⁹ между тем как в донкихотстве нам следовало бы признать высокое начало самопожертвования.

³⁰ Sismondi, Ibidem, p. 49.

³¹ Дух южного человека опочил на создании Дон-Кихота, дух светлый, веселый, наивный восприимчивый, не идущий в глубину жизни.

³² заметьте, что этот сумасшедший, странствующий рыцарь – самое нравственное существо в мире.

Espagnols (...) sont l'effet de la discipline cruelle des couvents, de la soumission de la pensée (...)».³³ L'influence pernicieuse de la religion sur les êtres humains ainsi que sur leur littérature, voilà le fil conducteur de Sismondi : « Tout semblait donné à cette nation (...) sa religion a presque toujours rendu vaines tant de brillantes qualités ».³⁴

De façon similaire Tourguéniev explique l'extravagance de Don Quichotte parce qu'il est écartelé entre un bon fond spontané et les contraintes extérieures trop pesantes, ainsi par exemple dans l'épisode des pourceaux :

Cet incident grossier cache un sens profond. C'est la destinée des Don Quichottes d'être toujours, surtout vers la fin de leur carrière, foulés aux pieds des pourceaux ; c'est le dernier tribut qu'ils doivent payer à la fatalité grossière, à l'inintelligence indifférente et impudente : c'est le soufflet du pharisien... Ensuite ils peuvent mourir (26).³⁵

Qu'en est-il de Louis Viardot (*Etude de l'histoire des institutions, de la littérature, du théâtre et des beaux-arts en Espagne*, 1835) ? Viardot suit un ordre chronologique et ressuscite progressivement les idées qui régnaient pendant chaque siècle. Il retrace véritablement l'évolution littéraire pour chaque période, en considérant ses points forts et ses lacunes. Or, il me semble que Tourguéniev aussi balance les effets et nuance le bilan, pour mieux faire admettre les contrastes.

Oui, les Don Quichottes trouvent, les Hamlets élaborent³⁶ (...) mais la sage nature n'a fait ni les Hamlets, ni les Don Quichottes tout d'une pièce³⁷ (...) le principe de l'analyse, ne l'oublions pas, a été poussé dans Hamlet jusqu'au tragique, le principe de l'enthousiasme dans Don Quichotte jusqu'au comique. Or on ne rencontre dans la vie ni le comique, ni le tragique absolu (28)³⁸.

Apparemment l'érudition de Viardot ne se retrouve pas chez Tourguéniev. Pourtant lorsque Viardot vient à parler du Siècle d'Or espagnol, des épisodes horribles comme la persécution des Morisques, des bûchers de l'Inquisition, il a besoin de reprendre son souffle, il annonce : « (...) je dois m'arrêter et changer de méthode. Au lieu de procéder historiquement, je dois procéder critiquement et faire d'une chronique une revue (...) »³⁹. Or la grande revue, le coup d'œil critiques, voilà où excelle le vrai talent de Tourguéniev :

³³ Sismondi, Ibidem, 50.

³⁴ Ibidem, p.179.

³⁵ И в самом этом безобразном приключении лежит глубокий смысл. Попирание свинными ногами встречается всегда в жизни Дон-Кихотов – именно перед ее концом; это последняя дань, которую они должны заплатить грубой случайности, равнодушному и дерзкому непониманию... Это пощечина фарисея... Потом они могут умереть.

³⁶ Дон-Кихоты находят – Гамлеты разрабатывают.

³⁷ по мудрому распоряжению природы, полных Гамлетов, точно так же как и полных Дон-Кихотов, нет.

³⁸ Не должно забывать, что как принцип анализа доведен в Гамлете до трагизма, так принцип энтузиазма – в Дон-Кихоте до комизма, а в жизни вполне комическое и вполне трагическое встречается редко.

³⁹ Louis Viardot. *Etude de l'histoire des institutions, de la littérature, du théâtre et des beaux-arts en Espagne*. Paris, 1835, p. 167.

L'imagination évoque volontiers le souvenir de ces deux poètes morts le même jour - 26 avril 1616. Cervantès ne connut, sans doute, rien de Shakespeare ; mais le grand tragique, dans sa maison de Stratford, où il s'était retiré trois ans avant sa mort put lire le roman espagnol déjà traduit en anglais. Ce serait un sujet bien fait pour tenter le pinceau d'un peintre penseur : Shakespeare lisant Don Quichotte. Heureux les pays où naissent de tels hommes(...) Le laurier impérissable qui couronne le génie repose aussi sur le front de la nation qui l'a produit (24)⁴⁰.

Tourguéniev, dans sa conférence, vise évidemment à décrire, par une voie oblique, sur un autre terrain géographique, dans d'autres registres temporels et sociaux, les ravages de l'esprit fort et du dogmatisme. Mais qu'il s'appelle nihilisme ou fanatisme catholique, peu importe ; Viardot l'y avait passablement conduit : « Jamais on ne s'était permis de défigurer à ce point le christianisme : jamais on ne lui avait prêté des passions si féroces, une morale si corrompue »⁴¹. Les formules sont bien tournées chez Tourguéniev. Il vibre à l'unisson de ses héros d'un soir :

Hamlet et Don Quichotte meurent tous deux d'une façon touchante ; mais combien leur fin est différente. Les dernières paroles de Hamlet sont fort belles. Il meurt calme, tranquille ; il ordonne à Horatio de vivre ; il donne sa voix au jeune Fortinbras, le seul représentant du droit héréditaire que n'ait souillé aucun crime ; mais il ne porte pas ses regards dans l'avenir. Tout le reste est silence, dit le sceptique mourant, et il se tait pour l'éternité. La mort de Don Quichotte pénètre l'âme d'un indicible attendrissement. C'est à ce moment que le grand caractère du personnage se révèle à tous les yeux (...) Non, répond le mourant, tout cela est fini ; je demande pardon à tous ; je ne suis plus désormais Don Quichotte ; je suis de nouveau Alonso le bon (30)⁴².

L'ambition morale des héros et de leur présentateur, l'élégance retenue du conférencier élèvent donc le propos à la hauteur d'un genre artistique vraiment noble ; or au XIX^e s. il n'y a rien de si noble qu'un finale d'opéra. Hamlet et Quichotte sont spontanément devenus des personnages d'opéras, de par leur fortune même, parce que telle était la mode du temps. Adorno a souligné ce type de fonctionnement qu'il nomme opportunément « *l'opéra bourgeois* »⁴³. La conférence de Tourguéniev intervenait en plein milieu de ce puissant courant.

⁴⁰ Воображение охотно вызывает пред собою образы обоих современников-поэтов, которые и умерли в один и тот же день, 26 апреля 1616 года. Сервантес, вероятно, ничего не знал о Шекспире; но великий трагик, в тишине своего стратфордского дома, куда он удалился за три года до смерти, мог прочесть знаменитый роман, который был уже тогда переведен на английский язык... Картина, достойная кисти живописца-мыслителя: Шекспир, читающий "Дон-Кихота"! Счастливы страны, среди которых возникают такие люди, учителя современников и потомков! Неувядаемый лавр, которым увенчивается великий человек, ложится также на чело его народа.

⁴¹ Viardot, op.cit., p.55

⁴² И Гамлет, и Дон-Кихот умирают трогательно; но как различна кончина обоих! Прекрасны последние слова Гамлета. Он смиряется, утихает, приказывает Горацию жить, подает свой предсмертный голос в пользу молодого Фортинбраса, ничем не запятнанного представителя права наследства... по взор Гамлета не обращается вперед... "Остальное... молчание", – говорит умирающий скептик – и действительно умолкает навеки. Смерть Дон-Кихота навевает на душу несказанное умирание. В это мгновение все великое значение этого лица становится доступным каждому (...) "Нет, – отвечает умирающий, – все это навсегда прошло, и я прошу у всех прощения; я уже не Дон-Кихот, я снова Алонзо Добрый, как меня некогда называли, – Alonso el Bueno".

⁴³ Theodor W. Adorno. *L'opéra bourgeois. Filigrane* : Musique, esthétique, sciences, société. [En ligne], Numéro de la revue, *La société dans l'écriture musicale*, mis à jour le : 16/06/2011, URL

Du Boulevard à l'Opéra : l'art des bourgeois

Cependant, pour devenir des stars du théâtre lyrique nos personnages vont devoir se distancier de leurs devanciers. Chacun pour sa part, Hamlet et Don Quichotte – comme déjà Faust avant eux – se métamorphosent en figures de mélodrame ou de boulevard.

Ainsi c'est vers 1842 que, déçu par les pâles traductions françaises de Shakespeare, Alexandre Dumas père propose sa propre version de *Hamlet*. En 1846 il la donne en représentation privée à Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Écrite avec Paul Meurice, cette adaptation de *Hamlet* connaît un grand succès et – malgré les libertés qu'elle prenait avec l'original – reste longtemps l'adaptation de référence sur les scènes françaises ; reprise au Théâtre-Français, on l'a jouée cent huit fois entre 1886 et 1890. Entre temps, François Victor Hugo avait entrepris sa traduction du théâtre complet de Shakespeare (1857-1872). C'est exactement le moment où se situe Ambroise Thomas. Et c'est aussi, probablement, ces deux versions-là de Shakespeare qui étaient les plus accoutumées chez les Viardot.

L'adaptation de Dumas va d'abord dans le sens d'un allègement du matériau scénique (six changements de décor, contre trois fois plus dans l'original anglais, et une réduction du nombre des acteurs) ; ceci répond aux exigences des théâtres français de l'époque. Contrairement à ce qui se passait du temps de Shakespeare, on est, au XIX^e siècle, plus exigeant sur le réalisme des décors, qui sont coûteux et longs à mettre en place.

Avec la suppression du prince Fortinbras, disparaît d'autre part l'arrière-plan politique existant chez Shakespeare : à savoir les conflits entre la Norvège et le Danemark et la réflexion sur la fragilité des monarchies électives.

Dumas a surtout voulu conserver les morceaux de bravoure, le théâtre dans le théâtre et les tirades célèbres («*Être, n'être pas...*»), et s'il déplace la scène du cimetière de l'acte IV à la fin de l'acte V, c'est pour donner au dernier acte une plus forte intensité dramatique.

C'est dans ce dernier acte cependant que son travail est le plus singulier. Chez Dumas, Hamlet ne meurt pas, il est même condamné à vivre par le fantôme de son père. On demeure perplexe face à cette «belle infidèle»...

Hamlet (Ambroise Thomas, 1868)

Il n'est pas indispensable de retracer toute la carrière d'Ambroise Thomas, ni les péripéties que traverse l'Opéra de Paris. Sauf sur quelques points : sous le II^e Empire l'Académie Impériale de Musique (qui joue à cette époque encore dans la salle de la rue Le Peletier) remplit une fonction quasi-

gouvernementale et emblématique. A côté de Rossini, de Meyerbeer, le répertoire tâche de se renouveler en créant des opéras de Verdi, de Wagner et d'Ambroise Thomas. Ce dernier défend les couleurs de l'école française ; à la différence de *Mignon*, ou du *Faust* de Gounod, qui sont des ouvrages de demi-caractère, *Hamlet* est un 'grand opéra'. Le genre est codé, monumental ; il faut cinq actes, des ballets, des décorations somptueuses, des chœurs imposants, des récitatifs, et des vedettes du chant capables de surmonter tous les pièges de la vocalité et de la langue française.

On trouve tout cela dans *Hamlet*. Michel Carré et Jules Barbier sont des professionnels du livret et Ambroise Thomas un artiste officiel. La direction de l'Académie a voulu frapper un grand coup.⁴⁴ Elle y est parvenue. Quelques années plus tard Thomas écrira :

Sans doute il est des chefs-d'œuvre qui sont de précieuses conquêtes pour l'art ; chaque pays doit profiter de ces conquêtes, à la condition de rester fidèle à son école et de garder son caractère distinctif. Oui, la musique a des formes changeantes (...) mais l'expression juste des sentiments tendres ou passionnés ne change pas.⁴⁵

Il est probable que les Viardot n'opinaient pas différemment sur la question des écoles nationales. Tourguéniev, pour sa part, reconnaît également l'importance de la variante géographique : « L'esprit qui a créé ce type est l'esprit de l'homme du Nord, l'esprit de réflexion et d'analyse, l'esprit pesant, sombre, privé d'harmonie et de brillantes couleurs, un esprit qui ne s'arrondit pas en des formes délicates et souvent minutieuses » (p.21).⁴⁶

En écrivant ces lignes dans sa conférence, intervenue quelque temps après la création de l'opéra parisien, il me paraît vraisemblable que Tourguéniev fait allusion à Ambroise Thomas même s'il n'admirait pas le compositeur :

Mais quel effet la musique de Verdi m'a fait après celle de M. Thomas ! Il me semblait être transporté en plein soleil après avoir erré dans je ne sais quel brouillard épais et humide. On a du moins un musicien devant soi, et non un Monsieur qui s'évertue à ne rien dire, en employant force subjonctifs. Oh ! la science des impuissants.⁴⁷

Sur le fond, Tourguéniev se retrouvait du même avis que le critique Adolphe Jullien : « C'est l'incapacité du drame de Shakespeare de se façonner en duos, en ariettes, en flon-flons et en polka qui

⁴⁴ Cf. Francis Guinle. *La Comédie shakespearienne en France. De la fête impériale à la Belle Epoque*. Lyon, Editions Universitaires, 2003.

⁴⁵ Cf. Elisabeth Malfroy. Ambroise Thomas, témoin du siècle. – In : *l'Avant-Scène Opéra : Hamlet*, n° 262, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Дух, создавший этот образ, есть дух северного человека, дух рефлексии и анализа, дух тяжелый, мрачный, лишенный гармонии и светлых красок, не закругленный в изящные, часто мелкие формы, но глубокий.

⁴⁷ *Lettres inédites à Pauline Viardot*, op.cit. p.141.

fait toute l'infirmité du livret »⁴⁸ et il pensait aussi comme le critique Langenevais, moquant une : « féerie grotesque (...) un Hamlet vert-galant et diable à quatre, qui boit, se bat et serait plutôt un compagnon de Falstaff »⁴⁹.

Hamlet à l'Opéra a été enluminé mais trahi, applaudi et tordu.

Pour ce qui est du livret la première différence de taille avec la pièce anglaise est l'affaiblissement du côté tragique au profit d'un sentiment mélodramatique typique du grand opéra français. Barbier et Carré ont beaucoup déformé l'histoire originale : il y a peu de morts, peu de sang versé : ni Polonius, ni Laërte ne sont assassinés, pas plus que Rosencrantz et Guildenstern, chargés par le roi de livrer Hamlet aux Anglais, mais qui disparaissent dans l'opéra. Le héros lui-même ne meurt pas : il est condamné par le spectre à devenir roi ; ce célèbre spectre apparaît une fois supplémentaire dans l'opéra, c'est-à-dire une troisième fois, au lieu des deux manifestations de la pièce⁵⁰. La modification la plus saisissante, parce qu'elle justifie la fin semi-heureuse obligée à l'Opéra, est la place accordée par Carré et Barbier au couple Hamlet/Ophélie. Dès le début des deux ouvrages, le héros est contrarié par le remariage de sa mère, mais il se présente comme amoureux véritable d'Ophélie. Cependant alors que chez Shakespeare Hamlet le fait savoir dans un poème lu par Polonius au couple royal (Hamlet *acte* II, scène 2), c'est une véritable scène d'amour qui réunit les deux jeunes gens dans le premier acte de l'opéra. On est là au cœur du problème. La principale différence entre Ambroise Thomas et son modèle tient au glissement du sujet shakespearien (l'incapacité du héros à passer à l'acte de vengeance) vers l'histoire d'amour. On rappellera que le problème avait déjà été le même lorsque Donizetti, dans *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), avait pareillement travesti Walter Scott. Thomas était probablement conscient de cet affadissement de la tragédie. Il a voulu s'en prémunir de diverses manières : d'abord le rôle de Hamlet a été confié à un baryton, le célèbre Jean Baptiste Faure, et non plus à un ténor, comme l'aurait suggéré la tradition. L'Ophélie de Nilsson, en revanche, devait absolument posséder le brio et les coloratures des grandes amoureuses : Lucia di Lammermoor, Marguerite de Valois, Marguerite (*Faust*). Ensuite l'orchestration fait largement appel aux cuivres⁵¹, au saxophone⁵² ; les cordes usent et abusent des trémolos, des traits, des pizzicatos dramatiques. Enfin Ambroise Thomas utilise des motifs instrumentaux qui représentent périodiquement des personnages

⁴⁸ Cf. Georges Masson. Eclats d'une carrière. – In : *l'Avant-Scène Opéra : Hamlet*, n°262, p.57.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Une fin tragique a cependant été écrite pour la création à Covent Garden, afin de satisfaire un public anglais soucieux que l'on respecte la tragédie initiale : après avoir tué Claudius, Hamlet meurt pour rejoindre Ophélie.

⁵¹ Dans les marches (marche royale I, 1 ; chœur des comédiens II, 1 ; marche funèbre V), dans l'évocation par le spectre du trône royal usurpé (I, 2).

⁵² Dans les préparatifs de la pantomime, après qu'Hamlet a demandé à Ophélie de prendre place sur ses genoux (II, 2, à 2' de la « marche danoise »).

ou des sentiments. Nous pouvons les qualifier de leitmotif même si leurs emplois ne sont ni systématiques, ni si pathétiques que chez Wagner.

On se figure facilement que les habitués du salon Viardot se sont amusés de cet opéra bancal, écartelé entre un livret qui peint l'amour impossible et une musique visant la dignité d'une pompe funèbre !

En tout cas Tourguéniev a bien senti le problème quand il parle du personnage d'Ophélie :

Mais, dira-t-on, et Ophélie ? Est-ce que Hamlet ne l'aime point ? [14⁵³] ... Don Quichotte aime Dulcinée c'est-à-dire une femme qui n'existe pas et il est prêt à mourir pour elle [15⁵⁴] ... Et Hamlet, est-ce qu'il aime ⁵⁵? son créateur ironique a pu donner à cet égoïste, ⁵⁶à ce sceptique dévoré par le démon rongeur de l'analyse (...) ⁵⁷ un cœur aimant et dévoué ? ⁵⁸

Il s'est plus à imaginer que Shakespeare, dans ses derniers jours, lisait Cervantès en méditant sur ces deux figures féminines à la fois différentes et proches⁵⁹.

On rappellera aussi que le baryton Faure avait été un très grand Don Giovanni et également un très célèbre Méphisto (*Faust*); a-t-il interprété Hamlet en tirant le rôle du côté de la séduction et de la hardiesse ? « Hamlet dit à Ophélie : <Je vous ai aimée autrefois> -Ophélie : <Prince, vous me l'avez fait croire> -Hamlet : <Il ne fallait pas me croire, je ne vous aimais pas> » (18⁶⁰). Pour ce qui est de la couleur sombre, Tourguéniev y était infiniment sensible : « Mais c'est assez parler des côtés sombres du type de Hamlet, de ces traits qui nous irritent d'autant plus qu'ils sont plus près de nous » (19)⁶¹ Y aurait-il, derrière ces mots, encore une allusion à l'opéra ? Probablement, mais elle est moins opportune, parce que la noirceur de l'opéra est celle d'un amour maudit ⁶²; au contraire la noirceur de Shakespeare est celle du pouvoir et de la nature humaine. Tourguéniev à sa suite veut souligner ces caractères habituels des sociétés bloquées, comme celle de Russie ou du II Empire décadent :

Hamlet lui aussi est un Méphistophélès, mais renfermé dans le cercle vivant de la nature humaine ⁶³; il incarne le principe de la négation(...) ⁶⁴Hamlet (...) doute du bien, c'est-à-dire, met en suspicion sa

⁵³ Но возражат нам: "Офелия? разве Гамлет ее не любит ?"

⁵⁴ Дон-Кихот любит Дульцинею несуществующую женщину, и готов умереть за нее.

⁵⁵ А Гамлет, неужели он любит?

⁵⁶ Неужели сам иронический его творец, решился дать эгоисту.

⁵⁷ скептику, проникнутому всем разлагающим ядом анализа.

⁵⁸ любящее, преданное сердце.

⁵⁹ Cf. p.23 dans la traduction de Léger.

⁶⁰ Гамлет говорит Офелии: Я любил тебя когда-то. — Офелия : Принц, вы заставили меня этому верить. — Гамлет : А не должно было верить!... Я не любил тебя.

⁶¹ Но довольно говорить о темных сторонах гамлетовского типа, о те сторонах, которые именно потому нас более раздражают, что они нам ближе.

⁶² Cf. Hervé Lacombe. *Les Voies de l'opéra français au XIX^e siècle*. Paris, Fayard, 1997, p.167 etc.

⁶³ Гамлет тот же Мефистофель, но Мефистофель, заключенный в живой круг человеческой природы.

⁶⁴ В нем воплощено начало отрицания.

sincérité, l'attaque non pas comme étant le bien, mais comme un masque sous lequel s'abritent le mal et le mensonge (17).⁶⁵

En tout cas il s'agit toujours du même travers que celui de Bazarov, celui des *narodniki*, celui des nihilistes. Et même si *Hamlet* est un opéra contestable, il a fait carrière jusqu'en Russie.⁶⁶ Tchaïkovski en a rendu compte dans les *Rousskié Vedomosti*.⁶⁷

***Don Quichotte* (Massenet 1910)**

Don Quichotte a été tout aussi populaire. Particulièrement à la suite de la Révolution française, le héros symbolisait l'individu dressé contre le conformisme catholique et royal. C'est ce qu'on voit chez les peintres et illustrateurs : Gustave Doré, Honoré Daumier, et Goya (*Don Quichotte dans sa bibliothèque*, dessin de Francisco de Goya, 1812).

Au théâtre on a connu :

**Don Quichotte* de Victorien Sardou, pièce en trois actes et huit tableaux, dont la première eut lieu au Théâtre du Gymnase le 25 juin 1864.

*Il a peut-être même un frère qui se serait nommé *Cyrano de Bergerac* (Rostand, 1897).

**Don Quichotte* de Jean Richepin, drame héroï-comique en vers, en trois parties et huit tableaux, dont la première représentation a eu lieu à la Comédie-Française le 16 octobre 1905. Le rôle de Don Quichotte était tenu par Leloir, celui de Sancho Pança par André Brunot et celui de Ginès de Passamont par Georges Berr.

Dans ces pièces tous ces héros sont de preux chevaliers de l'absolu atteignant la grandeur pathétique. A l'Opéra aussi.

Il n'importe pas d'analyser en détail l'ouvrage de Massenet. Même Chaliapine n'intéresse pas vraiment notre étude de fortune. Il serait stupide de chercher une influence de Tourguéniev ou des Viardot sur cet opéra et ses interprètes. Pourtant voici quelques rapprochements.

Chaliapine connaissait Pauline Viardot. Aurait-il lu, par hasard, le texte de Tourguéniev ? Parallèlement il n'est pas insignifiant de rappeler qu'Anton Rubinstein avait composé en 1870 un poème symphonique intitulé *Don Quichotte, portrait musical, humoresque pour orchestre*. Au fond Rubinstein approfondissait une autre idée de Tourguéniev qui avait écrit : « Malheureusement la Russie ne possède aucune bonne traduction de Don Quichotte » (2⁶⁸). Il se pourrait qu'un certain air

⁶⁵ оно заподозревает его истину и искренность и нападает на него не как на добро, а как на поддельное добро, под личиной которого опять-таки скрываются зло и ложь.

⁶⁶ Il est créé à Saint Pétersbourg le 26 octobre 1872.

⁶⁷ Cf. *L'Avant-Scène Opéra*, op.cit. p. 74 etc.

⁶⁸ Но, к сожалению, мы, русские, не имеем хорошего перевода "Дон-Кихота".

du temps permette donc de mieux comprendre Massenet qui n'est, à aucun point de vue, pas si loin de l'esprit de Tourguéniev.

Le livret écrit par Henri Cain, est un filandreux condensé en cinq actes du foisonnant roman. Très peu d'épisodes sont maintenus : la confrontation avec les bandits (acte 3), la quête de la belle Dulcinée, avec l'aide du fidèle Sancho. Et bien sûr la mort de Quichotte, qui, à l'acte 5, a fourni à Chaliapine l'occasion de son triomphe. Observons que Tourguéniev insistait, lui aussi, sur la fin de son héros, sur sa rédemption : « Je ne suis plus désormais Don Quichotte ; je suis de nouveau Alonso le bon ⁶⁹ (...) Alonso el Bueno ! c'est un mot étonnant ⁷⁰(...) Oui ce mot a encore sa valeur au moment de la mort. Tout passe, tout disparaît ⁷¹ (...) <Tout passe a dit l'apôtre, la charité seule demeure> »(31)⁷².

Par ces mots Tourguéniev exprime une noble conception de la vie et du monde ; le détachement stoïque s'y combine avec l'indulgence envers les êtres ; tolérance, fraternité, foi en la vie, croyance en l'homme qui garde un cœur, même quand il feint de le nier, voilà qui colore ses propos d'une teinte mélancolie évidente. Au fond on rejoint, une fois de plus, la philosophie de *Pères et enfants*. Et l'on constate ce même et fin mélange dans les portraits tracés par Massenet. Tous les premiers rôles sont confiés à des voix graves, sombres : Quichotte est une basse chantante, Sancho un baryton, Dulcinée une mezzo. Il s'y ajoute évidemment aussi tous les airs qui évoquent le passage du temps, la perte des illusions, aussi bien chez Quichotte (par exemple l'air fameux du 3^e acte, face aux bandits : « Je suis le chevalier errant et qui redresse//Les torts, un vagabond, inondé de tendresse ») que chez Dulcinée, qui chante, au début de l'acte 4, à la face de tous ses soupirants :

Pauvres amis, vous m'ennuyez,
J'ai bien assez de mes misères,
Lorsque le temps d'amour a fui
Que reste-t-il de nos bonheurs.

L'originalité de l'œuvre de Massenet réside peut-être principalement dans le rôle de Dulcinée. Chez Cervantès Dulcinée n'est qu'une idée, un fantôme forgé par Quichotte. Chez Cain et Massenet c'est une coquette, bien réelle, environnée de soupirants ; comme Célimène, elle les met en compétition pour qu'ils retrouvent un certain collier volé. Mais Quichotte lui lance, à l'acte 4, une magnifique exhortation pleine d'abnégation :

⁶⁹ я уже не Дон-Кихот, я снова Алонзо Добрый...

⁷⁰ называли, — "Alonso el Bueno" (...) Это слово удивительно.

⁷¹ (...) Да, одно это слово имеет еще значение перед лицом смерти. Все пройдет все рассыплется прахом...

⁷² "Все минется, — сказал апостол, — одна любовь останется".

Marchez dans mon chemin
 Et prêtez-moi
 L'appui léger de votre main
 A deux nous aimerons davantage le monde (...)
 Allons vers l'idéal ! Allons !

Ce couplet est-il si loin des propos de Tourguéniev ?

Il aime d'une façon idéale et pure, tellement idéale qu'il ne soupçonne même pas que l'objet de sa passion n'existe pas ⁷³ (...) Nous aussi, nous avons rencontré plus d'une fois des gens mourant pour une Dulcinée qui n'existait pas, pour quelque réalité grossière et souvent ignoble dans laquelle ils avaient incarné leur idéal ⁷⁴ (...) quand des hommes de ce type disparaîtront, on pourra fermer le livre de l'Histoire (15). ⁷⁵

Pour nous, lecteurs et spectateurs d'aujourd'hui, le livre de l'Histoire ne s'est jamais refermé tout d'un coup. A plusieurs égards il existe une relation bien positive entre les héros chers à Tourguéniev et leurs suites françaises, à l'Opéra. Mais d'un autre côté ces variations musicales comportent des différences notables, qui s'expliquent par les usages nationaux, par la divergence des canons et des règles. L'essai n'est pas le théâtre ; l'opéra ne fonctionne pas comme la fiction. Et puis surtout il apparaît que le duo Hamlet/Don Quichotte ne s'éclaire pas bien sans le troisième homme, sans Faustus, inventé et imposé par les Maniéristes ; et qui ne reparaît qu'en creux dans *Pères et enfants*. Oui il faut savoir lire entre les lignes de la fameuse conférence de Tourguéniev, à leur entour aussi. Toute une tradition européenne occidentale s'y manifeste, celle de Sismondi et de Viardot, qui ont été infiniment précieux pour Tourguéniev, bien plus qu'Ambroise Thomas et Jules Massenet, quand bien même ces derniers furent des habitués du salon Viardot et des figures familières pour Tourguéniev.

⁷³ Он любит идеально, чисто, до того идеально, что даже не подозревает, что предмет его страсти вовсе не существует.

⁷⁴ Мы сами на своем веку, в наших странствованиях, видали людей, умирающих за столь же мало существующую Дульцинею или за грубое и часто грязное нечто, в котором они видели осуществление своего идеала.

⁷⁵ (...) и когда переведутся такие люди, пускай закроется навсегда книга истории !

Cleo PROTOKHRISTOVA¹

Laurence Sterne's 'Noseology' and the Making of Gogol's *The Nose*

Abstract

It has become a tradition to use the succession of Gogol's short novel *The Nose* from Laurence Sterne's *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* as a key to its interpretation, and to identify its kinship to the 'noseology' in 1820s' and 1830s' Russian literature and the peculiar type of Russian Sternianism, which originated as a result of the novel's reception in Russia. In this research perspective, set originally by V. V. Vinogradov, so much work has been completed that its potential seems to have been exhausted. Nevertheless, certain vagueness and several logical gaps have been identified in the established visions about Sterne's influence on Gogol. The task of the present study is to bridge these inadequacies and to clarify the mechanisms that helped transform Sterne's 'noseology' into the puzzling world of Gogol's *The Nose*.

The examination conducted in this paper demonstrates that the essential link between the whimsical logic of Gogol's short novel, and especially the paradoxical substantiation of the theme of the nose in it, on the one hand, and Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy*, on the other, is manifested as re-actualization of an entire network of motifs that were established by the source novel and were reproduced in specific ways both in *The Nose* and in Gogol's other works. As a result of this process, strange associative groupings that seem to have been deprived of meaning were set firmly as fixed configurations. A characteristic of the specific mechanism manifested in Gogol's autotextuality is the fact that the cluster of interconnected images and notions issuing from Sterne's novel was repeated again by means of varying combinations of elements. Each of these single derivative substantiations is incomplete with regard to the paradigm, and though inexhaustible and scattered throughout various texts by Gogol, they still remain recognizable parts of a common constellation, whose prototype was created by Sterne.

Keywords: Gogol; Lawrence Sterne; 'noseology'; intertextuality.

‘Носологията’ на Лорънс Сърн и направата на Гоголевия *Нос* Резюме

По традиция, като ключ към интерпретацията на повестта *Нос* на Николай Гогол се извежда приемствеността ѝ от *Животът и мненията на Тристрам Шанди, джентълмен* на Лорънс Сърн, както и родството ѝ с ‘носологията’ в руската литература от 20-те и 30-те години на XIX век и своеобразното руско ‘стернианство’, производни от рецепцията на романа в Русия. В тази изследователска перспектива, зададена първоначално от В. В. Виноградов, е работено толкова много, че възможностите ѝ изглеждат изчерпани. Въпреки това, в установените виждания за влиянието, което Сърн упражнява върху Гогол, присъстват известни неясноти и логически процепи. Задачата на настоящото изследване е да запълни тези непълноти и да изясни механизмите, по които ‘носологията’ на Сърн е била преобразувана в загадъчния свят на Гоголевия *Нос*.

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Проведените в статията наблюдения показват, че същностната връзка между причудливата логика в повестта на Гогол и в частност парадоксалната конкретизация на темата за носа в нея, от една страна, и романа на Стърн *Тристрам Шанди*, от друга, се проявява като реактуализиране на цялостна мотивна мрежа, зададена от източника, и възпроизведена по специфични начини както в конкретната повест на Гогол, така и в други негови произведения, при което като устойчиви конфигурации се закрепват странни, привидно лишени от смисъл асоциативни групирания. Характерно за специфичния механизъм, проявен в автотекстуалността на Гогол, е че снопът от взаимосвързани образи и представи, излъчен от романа на Стърн, се преповтаря чрез вариращи комбинации от елементи. Всяка от производните единични конкретизации е непълна по отношение на парадигмата, но дори и в тази си неизчерпателност и разпръснатост из различни текстове на Гогол, те все пак остават като безпогрешно разпознаваеми участници в една обща констелация, чийто прототип е дело на Стърн.

Ключови думи: Гогол; Лорънс Стърн; ‘носология’; интертекстуалност.

Traditionally, Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* is registered in a privileged position as the source of influence for the interpretation of the famous St. Petersburg novella of Gogol *The Nose*. Alongside with *Tristram Shandy* criticism has established the succession of this work out of a broad range of texts in the Russian and from there in the Western European ‘noseology’. This instituted research perspective, originally laid out by V. V. Vinogradov², has been explored so much that its potential seems exhausted. Nevertheless, in the established concepts for the kinship between Gogol and Sterne there are certain obscurities and logical clefts, which although lightmindedly assigned to the creative wilfulness of Gogol himself, will remain credited to the account of the critics, while provoking the desire to revise them. The aim of this present consecutive attempt on the correlation capacity of Gogol's novella and Sterne's novel is to complete some of the imperfections by orienting its interpretation more specifically in the perspective of its succession from the ‘noseology’ of Sterne. At the same time Gogol's concretization of Sterne's ‘noseology’ will be read within the system of the natural predilection of the Russian author to it, as witnessed in his works *The Tale of How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich (The Squabble)* (1833), *Nevsky Prospekt* (1833-1834), and especially *Diary of a Madman* (1835).

Although these are common grounds in the research on Gogol's *The Nose*, the relations between this novella and Laurence Sterne's novel continue to be reduced solely to a readily repeated, logically built yet simplifying scheme. The principal arguments in it are the series of present internal and external factors for the accomplishment of the influence. Among these the translation of *Tristram Shandy* during the period 1804 to 1807 is pointed out; the great popularity of the English author in Russia during the 19th century is also taken into account, as well as the available multiple imitations of Sterne composed by Russian authors as additional evidence for his active creative reception. To

² Виноградов, В. В. Натуралистический гротеск. Сюжет и композиция повести Гоголя „Нос“. Във: В. В. Виноградов. *Избранные труды. Поэтика русской литературы*. Москва: Издательство „Наука“, 1976, сс. 5-44). [Vinogradov V. V. Naturalistic Grotesque. Plot and Composition of Gogol's Tale *The Nose*. In: V. V. Vinogradov. *Selected Works. The Poetics of Russian Literature*. Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1976].

these factors is also added the broadly unfolded ‘noseology’ in the Russian literature of the same period and the kindred, appearing parallel to it, ‘Sternianism’, identified not only decades later by the Russian formalists Shklovsky and Eichenbaum, but also in synchronicity with the literary phenomena that represent it.³

Other components of the so constructed research scheme are the recognition of specific internal factors (which are, for instance, the current strong interest in noseplastics in Russia at that specific historical moment or in anecdotes and phraseological expressions acting out the theme of the nose). The direct influence of Sterne on the work of Gogol is likewise included, analysed likewise in relationship with other personal literary preferences.⁴ Specially focused on the kinship between Gogol and Sterne is a more recent article by Neil Stewart,⁵ where *The Nose* is interpreted in comparison with *Slawkenbergius's Tale* from *Tristram Shandy* but the comparative analysis subordinate rather to the contrastive juxtaposition, has been harnessed basically to narratological and more general ideological purposes in such a way that the content correlations remain at the background.

The thesis this consecutive comparativist attempt on *The Nose* and *Tristram Shandy* shall try to substantiate is that Gogol's novella leads to the noseology of Sterne in a significantly deeper and sophisticated way herewith not simply the theme itself is reproduced but the complete motif network also, set out by the novel *Tristram Shandy*.⁶ Thus the topic of the nose in Gogol shall be analysed in its complex relation with a number of content elements, seemingly foreign and unrelated to it, such as, for instance, finding the nose inside a bread roll, wrapping it in a rag, the specific role attributed to the barber, the visit of the nose to the Kazan Cathedral⁷ and the like, all these emblematic signs in the alogical universe of Gogol, that also provide an opportunity of being identified as peculiar borrowings from Sterne.

It is beyond any doubt that the principal model for *The Nose* is the famous inserted tale of Slawkenbergius from *Tristram Shandy*. Sterne offers a model ‘noseological’ tale. In an outspoken disparity with the title, this tale, as is well known, is in fact not about the Slawkenbergius in the title,

³ According to a piece of evidence not fully reliable, quoted by Vasilii Maslov, Pushkin himself named Gogol ‘The Russian Sterne’ (Маслов, Виктор. Интерес к Стерну в русской литературы XVIII-го до начала XIX-го века. В: *Историко-литературный сборник, посвященный В.И. Срезневскому*. Ленинград: Академия наук, 1924. [Maslov, Vasilii. The Interest in Sterne in the Russian Literature from the 18th till the beginning of the 19th century. In: Historical-Literary Collection Dedicated to V. I. Sreznevskii. Leningrad: Academy of Science, 1924:371, quoted by Stewart 2001: Stewart, Neil. Notes on Noses. Laurence Sterne and Nikolai Gogol. Arcadia, Band 36, Heft 1, s.144].

⁴ These are the principal directions as set out in the quoted study of V. Vinogradov.

⁵ Stewart, Neil. *Notes on Noses. Laurence Sterne and Nikolai Gogol*. Arcadia, 2001, Band 36, Hewft 1, p.143-155.

⁶ The term **motif network** (мотивна мрежа) has been borrowed from Radosvet Kolarov's study *Repetition and Creation: the Poetics of Autotextuality*. See: Коларов, Радосвет. *Повторение и сътворение: поетика на автотекстуалността*. София: Народна просвета, 2010 [Kolarov 2009: Kolarov, Radosvet. *Repetition and Creation; the Poetics of Autotextuality*. Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 2010].

⁷ In the English translations, the Kazan Cathedral is rendered either as Gostiny Dvor or as the Grand Bazar as they obviously use the censored edition.

but about a certain Diego, a stranger with an incredibly large nose whose brief visit to Strasbourg provoked a phenomenal excitement and confusion among the people in the city which in the final analysis lead to its capture by the French. Sterne presented the tale as ‘a treatise by Hafen Slawkenbergius’ and himself as ‘the translator’. Respectively, the text is rendered in parallel versions in English and Latin, whereupon the size of the translation exceeds by far the size of the original (only the opening of the original is included, complemented by separate details and free interpretations). The canvas of the story is only alluded – Diego is travelling to his beloved Julia and only the plan of the last, missing part of the tale, bespeaks of their meeting. The incomplete tale, named as the ninth ‘in all my ten tales, in all my ten decades’ of the tales of Slawkenbergius, factually ends with a reference to the ‘tenth of the tenth decade’ that should tell of the desired meeting of the hero with his beloved woman. In conformity with the logics of the circumstances set forth so far, that chapter is ambiguously titled *The Intricacies of Diego and Julia*. Regardless of the artistically tangled speculations of the narrator concerning the appropriate interpretation of the obscurities related to the named intricacy, the allusion is sufficiently transparent. Otherwise the principle plot thickens around the nature of the gigantic nose which turns out to be the basic independently manifesting itself figure in the story. The citizens of Strasbourg are divided in their opinion whether it is real or artificial, and for many the ambition to touch it and thus resolve the dilemma becomes a matter of life and death.

It is easy to perceive that the story scheme of Gogol’s *Nose* is directly correlated to the story told by Sterne. In addition to the leading moment with the personification of the nose, the parallel with the oscillation concerning its nature and the oscillation in identifying it as live or dead, as natural or artificial, which is present in both literary works, is imperative. Nevertheless, however, confining the observations on the succession between *The Nose* and *Tristram Shandy* solely to the narrative of *Slawkenbergius’s Tale* is inappropriate since the topic of the nose around which the inserted tale is organized, is the leading topic in the whole novel of Sterne. Moreover its implementation is in a regime of specially marked priority. While ‘justifying’ his imperative commitment to the topic of the nose, Sterne bases his arguments on the arguments of his frantically philosophizing character, Walter Shandy, Tristram’s father, one of whose maniac convictions is also that the shape and the size of the nose, alongside with the name and the upbringing are the most important factors determining the destiny of a particular person. Following the logic of his theory the misfortunes of his son Tristram ensue mostly from the circumstance that during the delivery the doctor crushed the nose of the newly born with his forceps, and subsequently the child received by mistake the most unfavourable possibly for his development name.

Although in the course of the chapter of his novel specially dedicated to the noses Sterne emphatically declares that under the word ‘nose’ he means just “a nose, and nothing more, or less”⁸ which has misled even Vinogradov to adopt this assertion literally and seriously, which in turn has given him good reasons to consider that Gogol has proceeded ‘contrariwise’ attributing dual meaning⁹ to the nose, practically in *Tristram Shandy* the nose is accompanied by graphic sexual connotations and its traditional symbolic connection with the male reproductive organ is reconfirmed and is contextually elaborated.

A convincing proof of the validity of this notional correlation is the specially marked role of the noses in the history of the Shandy family. The narrator provides evidence to the fact that Tristram’s great-grandfather was encumbered in convincing his future wife marry him because his nose was too small. This nose, however, compared to ‘an ace of clubs’, turns out to be only the beginning of a catastrophically unfavourable trend, since it was longer than the nose of Tristram’s grandfather, and his nose, in its turn was longer than the nose of Tristram’s father. And as a logical final of this line of degradation shaped in such a way, Tristram himself, the next representative of the clan turned out to be completely deprived of a nose. A characteristic detail that supports the notional correlation implicitly present in this tale is the portentous specification of the narrator on the occasion of the misfortunate delivery of Tristram, namely, that the technique applied by the feckless doctor damaging his nose, could have had, in case the forceps was applied to his head and not to his hip, fatal consequences on ‘his ***’. Moreover the accident with Tristram’s nose turned out to be a dark omen for a subsequent, even more fatal incident when the window sash fell against the boy and – as it seems altogether – castrated him.

The undersized noses of the men in the Shandy family emblemize the sexual insufficiency of the whole family. It is to this family deficit that the ‘cock and bull story’ refers, as it is manifested in the final scene of the novel (in a very Sternean way not materialized as a story). Although it remains formally untold, the story in question – according to the artful qualification of the narrator, ‘one of the best of its kind’ – in fact is present implicitly in the narrative through a series of allusions, that the men in the family lack not only the ‘nose’, but also the ‘cock’ and the ‘bull’ rudiment. A mark of this inadequacy are the sciatica and the rather advanced age of Walter Shandy due to which by the time his son Tristram was born he could perform his marital duties only one time monthly. And because this periodicity coincides with his regular duty – winding up the wall clock, Walter Shandy for facility’s

⁸ In its concrete articulation, this assertion looks as follows, “... by the word Nose, throughout all this long chapter on noses, and in every other part of my work, where the word Nose occurs – I declare, by that word I mean a nose, and nothing more, or less”. Sterne: Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy Gentleman*. Wordsworth Classics, 1996.

⁹ Vinogradov. V. Op. cit., 33.

sake performs them as parallel activities. From here ensues the awkward situation in which the wife, accustomed to the established order of things, asks her husband at the possibly most inappropriate moment if he had not ‘forgot to wind up the clock’. The confusion of ‘animal spirits’ resulting from this awkward situation is specified by the narrator as the principal reason for the erroneous conception and also subsequently for the traumatic delivery of Tristram. A mark of that same insufficiency is also the suspicious battle wound of Uncle Toby and its location and the consequences from it are described in the novel with an imperative ambiguity. In this same order of symbols the shameful episode with the Bull of service of the family which did not justify the entrusted expectations is lined up also. And again in the same thematic line the puzzle with their pedigree mare is presented which to the general disappointment and amazement – in a portentous parallel with the misfortunate delivery of no less a person than Tristram – produced an ugly mule. All these episodes reconfirm the sexual and fertile insufficiency of the Shandy household. Compared to these, *Slawkenbergius’s Tale* appears in a compensatory contrast and the exorbitant nose of Diego respectively appears as a metaphor of a kind of the triumphant vitality.

If the novella of Gogol is read in juxtaposition to this outlined, complete and rich in content complex of Sterne’s novel, a series of moments in it, which on a contractual basis are perceived as deliberately nonsensical, assume logical explanation, while others, which are mostly estimated as peculiarities resulting from the interpretation of the author, turn out to be correlative to the output model.

Thus, ambiguous sexual connotations, concomitant with the absent or later on retrieved nose of Major Kovaloff and have become the occasion for the Freudian interpretation of the novella (carried out in its most extreme doctrinal version by Ivan D. Yermakov)¹⁰, are presented in a direct dependence with the interpretation of the nose by Sterne. It is through the English author that the succession of Gogol’s novella from the ‘noseology’ of Rabelais is accomplished, kindred to the popular-festive culture. Sterne himself draws his inspiration from a rich series of literary precedents. In the cited chapters dedicated to the noses (III, 35-37) he enumerates some of the best known representatives of the thematic line grafted by himself: Rabelais, Bruscambille, Andreas Scroderus, Prignitz, Erasmus of Rotterdam. With all these authors the discussion on noses and their size masterly juggles with the codes of the corporal symbolics, inherent to the popular-festive culture. The most significant among the precedents is *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, where the nose is the central image, specifically emphasized and correlated to the overall system of images of the material-corporal lower part.

¹⁰ See Yermakov, Ivan. ‘The Nose’. In: Robert A. Maguire, edit. *Gogol from the Twentieth Century: Eleven Essays*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1921(1974), p. 155-194.

The fantastic and absurd nose in Gogol's novella belongs to the same literary family. As model implementation of the metaphor, Gogol's story engineers the potential opportunity, manifested by each hyperbole of the corporal bulges for a final separation from the body and for its independent life. At a number of moments in the novella the interpretation of the nose follows closely the Rabelaisian model in which the principal characteristics of the popular-festive culture are manifested. In this respect particularly indicative is the episode with the visit of the Nose to the Kazan Cathedral. In the system of the festive culture the nose denotes unequivocally the corporal lower part. Its induction into the temple is equivalent to blasphemy and the reference can be identified with the paradigmatical formulas from *Gargantua and Pantagruel* where the nose is introduced to all sorts of sacral texts. An argument supporting such thesis is also the moment with which the specific episode is connected, as well the whole story – one of the greatest Christian holidays, Annunciation, which is at the same time also time for carnival *par excellence*, since it always occurs during the period of the Great Lent.¹¹ The fixation of the end of the story as 7 April also leads us to the ambivalence of the carnival language – a date which in the Julian Calendar, used in Russia, is in fact equivalent to 25 March in the Gregorian Calendar.¹² Again, finding the nose in a loaf of bread in the language of the carnival can easily be deciphered as outspoken travesty of the Eucharist.¹³

The details that are subject to additional rationalization by correlating Gogol's text to the novel of Sterne are several. Let us begin with the characteristic contrast on which the intrigue of the novella is built – the inexplicable **presence** of the nose in the loaf of bread of the barber is in parallel with its just as inexplicable **absence** from the face of Major Kovaloff. This compensatory symmetry is in fact implanted in Sterne's novel where, as it was mentioned before, the corporal excess triumphant on the face of Diego is a functional substitute of the awkward shortage in the Shandy family. It is again to Sterne that the persistent likening to **a pancake** of the smooth surface left on the face of Kovaloff after the disappearance of his nose leads us. If this comparison had appeared only once, it could have been ignored but it is repeated and this is a reliable signal it is not accidental. It is even less of an accident that the same comparison is present also in *Tristram Shandy*, besides it appears right during the

¹¹ The carnivalizing effect of the calendar can be observed also in Gogol's *Diary of a Madman*, where the last episodes located in Spain and structured in correspondence with the carnival logic are dated 30 and 34 February – non-existing dates which are guaranteed to be related to the period of the Great Lent and respectively of the carnival.

¹² This detail has been marked by Thomas Seifrid. See Seifrid, Thomas. Suspicion toward Narrative: *The Nose* and the Problem of Autonomy in Gogol's 'Nos'. *The Russian Review*, vol. 52, July 1993, p. 382.

¹³ Aleksey Dunaev prompts such an interpretation. See: Дунаев А. Г. Гоголь как духовный писатель (*Опыт нового прочтения "Петербургских повестей"*). *Искусствознание*, №1, 1998, с. 391-427. [Dunaev, A. 'Gogol as Spiritual Writer (An Attempt of Rereading St. Petersburg Tales)'. *Isskustvoznaniye*, No. 1, 1998, p. 401].

description of the smashed nose of the newly born Tristram.¹⁴ It is necessary to specify that while in English ‘flat as a pancake’ is a phraseological expression, in Russian there is an actual choice of a term for the comparison. The yet again steady reference to the heat boil on the nose of Kovaloff speaks also for the connection with the precedent, reproducing a detail from *Slawkenbergius’s Tale* where exactly a pimple on the nose of Diego is an argument in support of the thesis that the case in point is a real nose.

Again, in a correlation with Sterne’s novel an explanation may be given for the ambiguous connection between the vanished nose and the barber present in Gogol’s novella. It is appropriate to remember here that in the work of the Russian author such connections are not isolated. As Vinogradov appropriately reminds us, already in the short story *The Night before Christmas* [*Christmas Eve*] the storm pinching the character’s nose is imagined as a barber who tyrannically is seizing his victim by the nose.¹⁵ In one of the most impressive examples of the private ‘noseology’ of Gogol, the episode from *Nevsky Prospect* where Hoffman is about to cut off Schiller’s nose, the shoemaker Hoffman is imagined rather as a barber.¹⁶

At first sight in this point there is as if no connection to *Tristram Shandy*, since the barber seems to be absent from Sterne’s ‘nose paradigm’, but in fact he is presented as Gogol’s substitute of the man-midwife Dr. Slop. In the literary semantics that accompanies his figure, the barber represents a holder of medical authorities which is confirmed in *The Nose* by the no fortuitous emphasis on the inscription on Ivan Yakovlevich’s firm sign ‘Also, Blood Let Here’.

And again the characteristic rag mentioned several times as an element of the frustrated handling of the found nose by the barber Ivan Yakovlevich takes us back to Sterne’s novel (“I’ll wrap it in a rag, in some corner...”; “...wrapped the nose in a rag...”; “...to rid himself of the nose [in the rag], and return quietly...” etc.).¹⁷ In *Tristram Shandy* after the misfortune with Tristram’s nose the man-midwife tried to make a false bridge [prothesis] using a **piece of cotton** and a thin piece of whalebone out of the maid’s stays (III, 28). What is more interesting and more important in this

¹⁴ “... he has crushed his nose, Susannah said, **as flat as a pancake** to his face” (III, 27 – STERNE 1996:147) Cf. in Gogol, “... a surface **absolutely smooth, just like a freshly baked blini** [pancakes]”; “...the wound could not have healed so soon and be **as smooth as a blin** [pancake].” (Italics mine, C. P.).

¹⁵ Vinogradov, V. Op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁶ Here is the moment in question reminding us of a scene at the barber’s, “Schiller was drunk; he **sat on a chair** stamping his foot and heatedly making some point. None of this would have seemed particularly strange to Pirogov, had it not been for the extraordinary disposition of the figures. Schiller was seated, **with his head held high, while Hoffmann had seized this nose with two fingers and was wielding the blade of his shoemaker’s knife in close proximity to his skin.**” (Italics mine, C. P.).

¹⁷ The stability of the associative binding of the nose and the cotton rag is witnessed by the dedication, inscribed by Gogol in the album of E. G. Chertkova, where in the context of a playful comparison of the relations between the writer and the lady in question to the relations between their noses, there are contemplations to the effect that the nose, instead of standing in the middle of the face, could have been carried around in a pocket wrapped in a handkerchief. See Yermakov 1921 (1974): 163-165.

comparison, so far overlooked, is that the wrapping in a rag flawlessly arouses the association with swaddling or delivery. This associative move deserves special attention, since in Gogol the nose is actually in a content connection with the figure of the midwife even though this is indirect. A characteristic example demonstrating the identification of the figures of the barber and the midwife is a fragment from *Diary of a Madman* where they are imagined by the main character as demonic collaborators.¹⁸ Again, the implications contained in the obtrusive reproach of the badly smelling hands of the barber in the novella *The Nose* are also along these lines. Identical is the meaning of the stable parallels of the micro-plot of the removal (or the threat of removal) of the nose and the presence of a dog as an infernal sign (for instance, in *The Nose* and in the *Diary of a Madman*, with the presence of a paradigmatical black poodle in *The Nose* at that).

In this seemingly completely reproduced Sternean paradigm by Gogol where the nose is present by default accompanied by the ideas of delivery, sexuality and carnivalization, or – on another level, – with the images of cotton rags and pancakes, the absence of a significant content component is disturbing – a component that in *Tristram Shandy* is presented in a logical and emphatic binding with the nose. This component is the clock and its periodic winding up by Tristram's father and in it the narrator reveals the reason for the misfortunate drama with Tristram's nose. In the novella *The Nose* such a moment is absent. The careful inspection, however, indicates that the incompleteness of the paradigm is only a seeming one, because the theme of the 'irregular' nose in Gogol, too, is accompanied invariably by reference to some anomalies in the recording of the time. A detail which has been given some attention but has been also interpreted basically in the light of the grotesquely uncoordinated world of Gogol is the puzzling indication 'from eight o'clock to three [in the morning]' which the 'noseless' Kovaloff reads in the advertisement of old shoe soles. In the *Diary of a Madman* Poprishchin consecutively imagines foreign superiority in the terms of possession and in this the clock and the nose are presented in an absolutely equivalent role as signs of privileged position.¹⁹ There again, his anachronic dates appear parallel to the obsession of the character with noses.²⁰ Although

¹⁸ See the entry on '86 Marchember': "That is all ambition, and the reason is that there is under the tongue a little blister in which there is a little worm of the size of a pin's head. And this is constructed by a barber [...] I don't remember his name at the moment, but so much is certain that, in conjunction with a midwife, he wants to spread Mohammedanism all over the world, and that in consequence of this a large number of people in France have already adopted the faith of Islam..."

¹⁹ "His chamberlain's office will not procure him [...] Neither is his nose made of gold; it is just like mine or anyone else's nose. He does not eat and cough, but smells and sneezes with it." Then, "Our chief clerk has gone mad. [...] A councillor! What sort of important animal is that? He wears a gold chain with his watch, buys himself boots at thirty roubles a pair; may the deuce take him!"

²⁰ The entries on '30 February' and '34 February' contain respectively the famous moon panorama with the noses and the confidential information about the wart under the nose of the Bey of Algiers [in the Russian original it is the *Dey* of Algiers]. Analogical is the case with the entry of 'January in the same year, following after February' where the allusion of some hyperbolic, anomalous nose is present, 'All the world knows that France sneezes when England takes a pinch of snuff.'

more discretely than in Sterne, in Gogol also the disobedient nose and the disobedient clocks are presented with an identical generating meaning function.

The observations conducted so far demonstrate that the interpretation of the theme of the nose in Gogol is in a deep and natural connection with Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy*. This connection consists in the re-upgrading of a complete motif network, as set by the source and reproduced by specific ways both in the novella discussed, and in other work of Gogol, and in the process odd, seemingly devoid of meaning associative groupings become stabilized. A particularly curious moment in the specific mechanism demonstrated in the creative memory of the writer is that the sheaf of interconnected images and notions radiated by Sterne's novel is reiterated through varying combinations of elements. Each of these single concretizations is incomplete in terms of the paradigm, however, even though they are incomprehensive and only partially concurring, dispersed in various texts of Gogol at that, remaining as infallibly recognizable participants in a common constellation. There are images present in it that have been deliberately ignored in favour of focusing on the novella *The Nose*.

Such is for instance the case with the moon, which in *Tristram Shandy* is an important component of the universe of 'hobby-horses', populated by noses, cotton rags, unreliable clocks and ill-natured incompetent man-midwives. Actually, the whole novel has been dedicated to the moon, that beloved muse of Sterne.²¹ The interconnectedness between the noses and the moon will be manifested in a much more intensive form in Gogol in the famous fragment from *Diary of a Madman* (30 February):

"But I feel much annoyed by an event which is about to take place tomorrow; at seven o'clock the earth is going to sit on the moon. This is foretold by the famous English chemist, Wellington. To tell the truth, I often felt uneasy when I thought of the excessive brittleness and fragility of the moon. The moon is generally repaired in Hamburg, and very imperfectly. [I am surprised England pays no attention to that.] It is done by a lame cooper, an obvious blockhead who has no idea how to do it. He took waxed thread and olive-oil – hence that pungent smell over all the earth which compels people to hold their noses. And this makes the moon so fragile that no men can live on it, but only noses. Therefore we cannot see our noses, because they are on the moon. When I now pictured to myself how the earth, that massive body, would crush our noses to dust, if it sat on the moon, I became so uneasy..."²²

²¹ "Be pleased, my good Lord, to order the sum to be paid into the hands of Mr. Dodsley, for the benefit of the author; and in the next edition care shall be taken that this chapter be expunged, and your Lordship's titles, distinctions, arms, and good actions, be placed at the front of the preceding chapter: All which, from the words, *De gustibus non est disputandum*, and whatever else in this book relates to Hobby-Horses, but no more, shall stand dedicated to your Lordship. – **The rest I dedicate to the Moon**, who, by the bye, of all the Patrons or Matrons I can think of, has most power to set my book a-going, and make the world run mad after it." (*Tristram Shandy*, 1, IX).

²² Actually, in this case Gogol is directly indebted to Cyrano de Bergerac via Senkovsky (See. Dunaev. Op. cit., 398-400). But Bergerac belongs to the same "noseological tradition" that brings together authors such as Rabelais, Sterne, Carlo Goldoni with his Pinocchio, et al.

The observations conducted here demonstrate sufficiently convincingly that the succession between Tristram Shandy and the work of Gogol is significantly more fundamental than what has been accepted currently. The opportunity of establishing this succession is premised by recruiting also other works of Gogol in the comparative procedures, in addition to the traditionally used as illustration novella *The Nose*, but also – and this is even more important – by researching the intertextual binding of not simply independent images, but the complete motif network which, once adopted, turns into a leafing generating model for the creative memory of Gogol.

Nikita NANKOV ¹

Sartre's Theory of Temporality in *Being and Nothingness* in Anglo-American Academic Discourse

Abstract

The study “Sartre’s Theory of Temporality in *Being and Nothingness* in Anglo-American Academic Discourse” presents in some detail Sartre’s ideas of time in his *magnum opus Being and Nothingness* (*L’Être et le néant*, 1943). The topic is dictated by the fact that these ideas have not been fully discussed by original philosophical literature in Anglo-American academia (English translations from French are not considered). The essay details three topics. The first, introductory part outlines the way Sartre’s theory of temporality in *Being and Nothingness* has or, rather, has not been fully analyzed in the specialized and popular philosophical literature in English. The overview covers some 65 titles on Sartre, existentialism, and phenomenology. The second section delineates Sartre’s theory of temporality in *Being and Nothingness*. The final part speaks of Sartre’s ideas of time in his literary criticism, namely, in his essay “On *The Sound and the Fury*: Time in the Work of Faulkner.”

Key words: Jean-Paul Sartre; time; *Being and Nothingness*; *L’Être et le néant*; existentialism; phenomenology; Sartre in Anglo-American academia; critical theory

Теорията на Сартр за времето в *Битие и нищо* в англо-американската академична литература

Резюме

Студията „Теорията на Сартр за времето в *Битие и нищо* в англо-американската академична литература“ представя подробно идеите на Сартр за темпоралността в неговия *magnum opus Битие и нищо* (*L’Être et le néant*, 1943). Темата на изследването е продиктувана от факта, че тези идеи не са били детайлно обсъждани в оригиналната философска литература сред англо-американската академична общност (студията не се занимава с френски публикации, преведени на английски език). Изследването се състои от три части. Първият дял е уводен и очертава начина, по който теорията на Сартр за времето е била или, по-точно, не е била анализирана пълно в специализираната и по-популярната философска литература на английски език. Този обзор представя около 60 заглавия върху Сартр, екзистенциализма и феноменологията. Втората част представя теорията на Сартр за времето в *Битие и нищо*. Последният дял се занимава с идеи на Сартр за времето, отразени в неговата литературна критика и по-точно в статията му „За *Врява и безумство*: времето в творчеството на Фокнър“.

Ключови думи: Жан-Пол Сартр, време, *Битие и нищо*, *L’Être et le néant*, екзистенциализъм, феноменология, Сартр в англо-американската академична литература, културна теория

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Phenomenology is hardly one of the leading philosophical movements in the United States, any more than it is in Britain.

Herbert Spiegelberg

Sartre and His English-Speaking Commentators

Some students of Sartre hold, and with good reason, that in English-speaking countries, due to the delay in the translation of Sartre's works, "the judgments of his thought or actions have often been outdated or irrelevant" (Thompson and Thompson xii). Others are of the opposite opinion: "The hectic reaction [to Sartre's philosophical works] is a matter of the past. Hectic as it was, this reaction was prompted only to a small degree by the theoretical writings. [. . .] Thus, as an object for philosophical examination, Sartre seems by no means exhausted" (Hartmann xiii). In my overview of how Sartre's theory of time in *Being and Nothingness* (*L'Être et le néant*, 1943; hereafter referred to as *BN* or only the page) has been presented in Anglo-American academic discourse I side with the latter group of Sartre scholars, though these words were written some more than fifty years ago. Serious philosophical thinking--in Sartre's day and today--is at the same time re-thinking.¹ The theory of phenomenological temporality, as Paul Ricoeur reminds us, has a long history² and his work *Time and Narrative* is a brilliant example of how thinking of time is at the same time re-thinking of time (cf. Nankov).

The central topic of this paper is the theory of temporality in Sartre's chief phenomenological work *BN*. I do not deal with the structural place and meaning of Sartre's theory of time in the plan of *BN* as a whole,³ but concentrate on the theory itself. Still, generally speaking, the theory of temporality is part of the theory of the for-itself. "The For-itself rising into being as the nihilation of the In-itself constitutes itself simultaneously in all the possible dimensions of nihilation" (136). Temporality is one such form or dimension--along with reflection, transcendence, being-in-the-world, and being-for-others--or, as Sartre puts it, "the For-itself can not be except in temporal form" (136).

The English-speaking commentators of Sartre (I do not deal with writings on this thinker translated from French), if they deal with his temporal theory at all, expose it in a way that, for different reasons, often seems to go astray from what Sartre himself writes. My purpose, therefore, is to delineate the theory as clearly as possible (though the combination of clarity and *BN* often seems to be a contradiction in terms) and, as a part of this project, also to give an idea how some of Sartre scholars have written about this theory.⁴ I try to follow Sartre's logic and let him speak by means of what I think are revealing passages from his work, rather than to provide paraphrases of his ideas without respecting what he himself writes. Such a procedure is encouraged by *BN* itself, which, as a phenomenological work, tends to describe, rather than to define its object of study. By letting Sartre

speak for himself, I keep up with the principle of description and evade, as far as possible, the principle of (re)definition.

As a rule, the theme of temporality is not touched upon in the popular writings on Sartre's philosophy in English even in the cases when they deal with *BN*. The topic of temporality is not to be found, for instance, in Norman N. Greene's book *Jean-Paul Sartre: The Existentialist Ethic* and Maurice William Cranston's works *Jean-Paul Sartre* and *The Quintessence of Sartrism*. It, as well, does not seem to attract the attention of many of the serious English-speaking students of Sartre in their expository works on *BN* and Sartre's philosophy in general.⁵ The reason for the skipping of Sartre's theory of temporality, or presenting it inadequately, is hardly the delay of Sartre's translations into English. For, in the case that one believes this, it should be asked what the reason for the delay itself is. A more plausible explanation of this neglect could be the fact that in the English-speaking countries, due to the influence of analytic philosophy whose major contributions have been epistemological and methodological, rather than ontological or transcendental, certain trends in German philosophy--systematic thinking and phenomenology among them--are (still) poorly known, underestimated, and one-sidedly criticized.⁶ And, as it is well known, in *BN* Sartre is a systematic philosopher⁷ in the French-German tradition who critically draws on Descartes, Husserl, Heidegger, and Hegel.⁸

Before approaching the topic of time it will not be inappropriate to make some preliminary remarks concerning the readability of *BN* in general. These remarks, to a certain extent, explain the character of my presentation of Sartre's ideas of temporality. On the other hand, these notes shed light on how the English-speaking students of Sartre interpret him. At this point I make an early conclusion that the rest of this essay will support: this, that makes Sartre's philosophy *difficult*, is that, that makes his *philosophy*.

1. *BN* addresses a narrow philosophical community acquainted with the issues discussed. This, as it has been pointed out time and again, makes the work difficult to understand even by philosophers who are not thoroughly familiar with phenomenology (Spiegelberg, 2nd ed. 2: 447-48; and Catalano xi). This is particularly true for the Introduction, Part One, and Part Two of *BN*.⁹ Part Three and Part Four of the book are more accessible and this is the main reason why they are the most widely read and commented on parts of the work.¹⁰ After the initial wave of expository writings on Sartre, approximately from the mid1970s onward, things are changing. More recent scholarship in English demonstrates far greater interest in Sartre's ethics,¹¹ moral psychology (see Jopling), the relation of the self with the other(s) (see Schroeder; Busch, *The Power of Consciousness*; and Charmé), and his sociology (see Hayim; Craib; and Stack). This shift also means that more interpretative attention is

being allotted to the Third and Fourth Part of *BN*. These newer trends in Sartrean scholarship, on the other hand, mitigate *BN* with Sartre's later works and his less well known works in general.

2. Sartre, in *BN* (and not solely there), emulates the difficult idiom of the German metaphysical philosophers. Simone de Beauvoir writes of Sartre as a boy: "He was particularly happy when he could not understand what he was writing" (quoted in Spiegelberg, 2nd ed. 2: 447 n. 1). The boyish happiness seems to persist in Sartre's mature years as well, and this often throws his Anglo-American commentators into fear and trembling.¹²

3. In *BN*, Sartre changes his terminology from part to part. In Part One, for instance, for ontologically motivated reasons, the concept of Nothingness takes the place of the more familiar phenomenological concept of consciousness from the Introduction.¹³

4. Sometimes Sartre promises to develop in detail some of his ideas which he initially only sketches, but does not keep his word. Perhaps the most well known example is the promise from the Conclusion for a separate work on ethics that will investigate the ethical implications of *BN*.¹⁴ This work, as we know, never appeared.

5. Certain passages of *BN* are inconsistent, unclear, ambiguous, carelessly written, and thus difficult to understand.¹⁵

6. Sartre is a remarkable stylist and often tends to sacrifice philosophical meaning to rhetorical brilliance--his paradoxical aphorisms are a good example of this.¹⁶ In this sense, Sartre's philosophical style as a language construct could be a separate topic for study.¹⁷ Some commentators neutralize Sartre's verbosity by simply reducing and (over)simplifying his philosophical discourse.¹⁸ It is worthwhile asking the question, however, whether such a reduction is true to Sartre's--and Husserl's--basic idea that phenomenology is not deduction but description, and as such presupposes wide use of concrete examples.¹⁹

7. In contrast to what has been stated in 6, it could be asked how Sartre's numerous concrete examples (phenomenological descriptions) could be a supportive part in a highly abstract ontological system, or, to put it differently, whether there is an intermediary between the concrete particularity of the examples and illustrations and the abstract universality of philosophical thinking.²⁰

8. In *BN*, Sartre constantly returns to ideas and topics that he has already discussed, but in a different context and with different meaning.²¹

9. Sartre often uses similar terms with different meanings or, conversely, equates the meanings of different terms. This fluctuation and ambiguity make following him sometimes embarrassing.²² Another terminological problem is that Sartre, as is common in philosophy, borrows terms from other

philosophers, but redefines their meaning.²³ He also presents well-known ideas in the guise of new terminology (Hartmann 58-59, 58 n. 67; Naess 281; and Jones 439).

10. Part of the problems of understanding Sartre comes from the difficulties and inevitable differences in translating him. Each translation (which, in reality, exteriorizes the translator's understanding of the work) potentially leads the interpretation in a different direction.²⁴

11. Last but not least, the quest for philosophical precision sometimes violates language, and culminates in coinages such as the famous terms *néantir*, *néantisation*, and *négativité* (Naess 300; Barnes, *Sartre* 52; and Fry 51 n. 38); or in turning of the verb *exister* into a transitive verb in the phrase *existe son corps* (Part Three, Chapter 2) (Catalano 174; and Fry 11 n. 27); or in the use of the term *l'être-en-soi* whose precision results from its use in a philosophical tradition (Hegel's *Logic*), but which is logically contradictory;²⁵ or in auxiliary signs for allegedly more precise meaning, as in the case of *conscience de soi* (reflective consciousness) and *conscience (de) soi* (pre-reflective consciousness) (Barnes, *Sartre* 57; Catalano 32-33).

Sartre's Theory of Temporality in *Being and Nothingness*

Sartre's theory of temporality is developed in Part Two, Chapter Two of *BN*. Sartre speaks of time in other parts of *BN* as well (see 204-16, 496-504). His analysis is divided into three parts. The first part is devoted to "pre-ontological, phenomenological description" (107) of the three dimensions of time (107-29); the second part deals with the ontological description of static and dynamic temporality (130-49); and the third part is devoted to reflection as it relates to original temporality and psychic temporality (150-70).

1. Phenomenology of the three temporal dimensions. For Sartre, temporality is not a collection of "givens," a series of "nows," but "an organized structure," "the structured moments of an original synthesis" (107), a "totality" (110) which is built up of the three temporal dimensions--the past, the present, and the future. Time as totality is a basic idea that guides Sartre's whole investigation of temporality.

1. 1. The Past. The analysis of the past opens with criticism of two groups of theories that Sartre repudiates because they cut off the bridges between the past and the present (109-10) and thus, as one could infer, make the unity of time impossible. According to the first (Descartes), the past has no being, it "is no longer," "everything is present" (108). According to the second (Bergson, Husserl), the past is thought of "as losing its efficacy without losing its being" (109). The error of these two groups of theories, concludes Sartre, is that they consider the consciousness as the in-itself, i.e., "as being what it is" (110).

The “ontological relation which unites the past to the present” is the notion of “‘myness,’” that is to say the idea “that ‘my’ past is first of all *mine*” (110). The reconnection between the past and the present is possible if we think that my past of yesterday exists “as a transcendence behind my present of today” (111). Sartre illustrates his approach with an example of Paul who is now forty and who was a student at the Polytechnique:²⁶ “the past itself *is* in the sense that at present it is the past of Paul or of his *Erlebnis*. [. . .] The past is characterized as the past *of* something or of somebody; one *has* a past. [. . .] There is not first a universal past which would later be particularized in concrete pasts. On the contrary, it is *particular pasts* which we discover first. The true problem [. . .] will be to find out by what process these individual pasts can be united so as to form *the* past” (111-12). In the case of a dead person, it is the survivor in his freedom who is responsible for the past. The dead do not have past; they “along with their pasts are annihilated” (112). On his way to internal relation between the past and the present, Sartre first rejects the external relation between them: “the past can not be possessed by a present being which remains strictly external to it” (112). This external relation is expressed by “‘to have’ a past” (112), and implies a mode of possession where the possessor is passive (113). This relation is reached “if we study the relations of the past to the present in terms of the past” (113).

The internal relation of the past and the present, on the other hand, is expressed by “‘to be’ its own past” (114). “There is a past only for a present which cannot exist without being its past--back there, behind itself; that is, only those beings have a past which are such that in their being, their past being is in question, those beings who *have to be* their past” (114). Sartre, therefore, *a priori* rejects granting a past to the in-itself (114). If, thinks Sartre, we could prove that living matter is something other than a physical-chemical matter, we could grant a past to life (BN 114). He, however, does not deal with the proof and immediately confers a past to human reality. The past could be only human: “For Human Reality alone the existence of a past is manifest because it has been established that human reality *has to be what it is*. It is through the for-itself that the past arrives in the world because its ‘I am’ is in the form of an *I am me*” (114). After Sartre has explained in what sense human reality, the for-itself, *is* its past, he, to the end of the section devoted to the past, analyzes in what sense the for-itself *was* its past (114-20). In my opinion, the paradox that the for-itself at the same time is and was its past is explained by means of the nonidentity of the for-itself with itself.

According to Sartre, the present is the past. “The present being therefore is the foundation of its own past; and it is the present’s character as a foundation which the ‘was’ manifests. [. . .] ‘Was’ means that the present being has to be in its being the foundation of its past while *being* itself its past” (114). Sartre outlines the ontology of the past by analysis of “was.” “Was” mediates between the present and the past without being either wholly present, or wholly past. “The term ‘was’ indicates the

ontological leap from the present into the past and represents an original synthesis of these two temporal modes” (114).

Before explaining what this synthesis is, Sartre explains what it is not. (From Sartre’s text, however, it is not easy to distinguish between what the synthesis is and what it is not. My presentation of this point, therefore, follows the logic of the text and not its linear arrangement.) First, it is not death because at the moment of death our present slips entirely into our past and we, the for-itself, are turned into an in-itself, i.e., death is the moment when we become identical with ourselves and are no more responsible for our past (115). “By death the for-itself is changed forever into an in-itself in that it has slipped entirely into the past. Thus the past is the ever growing totality of the in-itself which we are” (115). Second, the synthesis is not the past as that which is opposite to my possibles, because the past has consumed its possibilities. I assume the responsibility of this past, I can change its meaning in accordance with my future project (cf. 496-504), but I cannot add or remove anything from its content. The past without possibilities is identical with itself; it is being in-itself (116). Third, the synthesis, i.e., the fact that I am not my own past, is not in the mode of becoming that is understood as change of my being. Becoming is an external bond between being and non-being, whereas Sartre is interested in an internal bond between them: “The bond between being and non-being can be only internal. It is within being qua being that non-being must arise, and within non-being that being must spring up [. . .]” (117).

The synthesis, finally, means that “it is because I *am* my past that it enters into the world” (115). On the other hand, I am not my past. “I *am* not it because I *was* it” (116).

Now Sartre asks the question in what specific way the for-itself “was” its own past. Since the past is “in-itself,” “substance” (119), it relates to the for-itself as facticity. “This contingency of the for-itself, this weight surpassed and preserved in the very surpassing--this is *Facticity*. But it is also the past. ‘Facticity’ and ‘Past’ are two words to indicate one and the same thing” (118). On the other hand, “the past, which is at the same time for-itself and in-itself” (119), that is, the past as synthesis, resembles value but is not value; rather it is “value reversed” (120). In value “the for-itself becomes itself by surpassing and by founding its being” (119). Conversely, the past is from the start in-itself (119-20). (Sartre’s logic here is ambiguous: the past as a synthesis of the for-itself and the in-itself is only in-itself, i.e., not a synthesis.)

1. 2. The Present. While the past is in-itself, the present is for-itself (120). The paradox of the present is that, on the one hand, it has being, it is--contrary to the past and the future which are no more and not yet. On the other hand, however, the present, severed from the past and the future, is not.

In his search for the being of the present, Sartre first points out that the fundamental meaning of the present is presence. “*Present* is opposed to *absent* as well to *past*. Thus the meaning of *present* is presence to ---” (121). Now Sartre asks two related questions: 1) who or what present is, and 2) to what the present is presence. His answer to the first question is: the for-itself. His answer to the second question is: to the in-itself. Sartre writes: “the For-itself is presence to all of being-in-itself” (121). The present, therefore, like the past, can only be human; the for-itself brings the present into the world. “But the For-itself is the being by which the present enters into the world; the beings of the world are co-present, in fact, just in so far as one and the same for-itself is at the same time present to all of them” (122). The present of the in-itself is, in reality, its co-presence with the for-itself as the for-itself is present to the in-itself (122). The relation of presence to --- is an internal one. It also is “an ontological relation of synthesis” (121), which means that the for-itself being present to --- is not being this to which it is being present to. Presence is also an ontological structure of the for-itself: “The For-itself is defined as presence to being” (121). What is presence, asks Sartre. It is not the external co-existence of two existents (beings-for-itself) because this would presuppose the existence of a third term (God) that has to establish the co-existence. But to establish means that this co-existence, or presence, already is, i.e., the presence would be in the mode of an in-itself which, as we have seen, is impossible. Sartre tackles this vicious circularity by pointing out that the for-itself is its own witness of its co-existence with the in-itself. This co-existence, or presence, is intentional and internal relation without being identification. The internal bond is negative; if it were not negative, the for-itself would have identified with itself, which is, in principle, not possible. “Thus the For-itself’s Presence to being implies that the For-itself is a witness of itself in the presence of being as not being that being; presence to being is the presence of the For-itself in so far as the For-itself is not” (122). Sartre concludes: “the Present is *not*” (122), and this is its fundamental meaning (123). The meaning of the non-being of the present and the for-itself is explained by the ontological relation of the for-itself to being, which is “not being” but “consciousness of --- as the internal negation of ---. The structure at the basis of intentionality and of selfness is the negation, which is the *internal* relation of the For-itself to the thing. [. . .] The present is precisely this negation of being, this escape from being inasmuch as being is *there* as that from which one escapes” (123). Therefore, the present is not an instant, for the instant is the moment when the present *is*, while we already know that the present *is not*. The present is the for-itself’s non-being *will be* present. If the for-itself is outside of itself, it is before and behind. “Behind, it *was* its past; and before, it *will be* its future. [. . .] At present it [the for-itself] is not what it is (past) and it is what it is not (future)” (123). Sartre’s reader could infer that this formula expresses the unity or the totality of temporality.

1. 3. The Future. The in-itself cannot be future or contain a part of it. Like the past and the present, it is only by human reality, by the for-itself, that the future enters the world (124). “The future is *what I have to be* in so far as I can not be it” (125).

But what is the being of the future? Again Sartre starts with negative definitions; that is to say he rejects what the future is not. His general reason for the negations seems to be that, if we accept them, the future would turn into an isolated identity, and there would be no unity or totality of the temporal dimensions. First, the future does not exist as representation in the imagination as the psychologists suggest (124-25). Second, the future is not a “now” which is not yet.

In positive terms Sartre defines the future in the following way. The for-itself flies from itself, from its present. The for-itself, in not being identical with itself, flies or escapes toward its lack. “The possible is *that which* the For-itself lacks in order to be itself [. . .]” (125). “The Future is the determining being which the For-itself has to be beyond being. There is a Future because the For-itself *has to be* its being instead of simply being it” (126). Or: “everything which the For-itself is beyond being is the Future” (126).

Sartre uses the word “future” with both a capital and small letter. Perhaps this can be interpreted as his desire to distinguish between the general principles²⁷ of this temporal dimension and the particular future that he, as a phenomenologist, is interested in. Sartre, *en passant*, mentions that “through the Future a particular future arrives in the World” (127). If my reading of the relation between the general and the particular future is right, it will explain why Sartre holds that “the Future is not solely the presence of the For-itself to a being situated beyond being” (127), but is also connected with “myself” and with “I” (127-28), which seem to be the particular forms of the For-itself. Sartre’s illustration of himself playing tennis points in the same direction (125, 128).²⁸

The final question that Sartre answers concerns the being of the future. This being is defined by the possibilities of the for-itself, of my possibilities, the free choice of which confers meaning to the for-itself’s (or my) being. Writes Sartre: “the Future constitutes the meaning of my present For-itself, as the project of its possibility” (128). Since the for-itself is its future only problematically, for it is separated from it by a nothingness which it is, the for-itself lives in anguish because I am not that future that I have to be, and which gives meaning to my present (129). The future, concludes Sartre, is not a homogeneous succession of moments to come, for my possibilities are always hierarchized.

To sum up: in this section Sartre seems to hold three intertwined points. First, the three temporal dimensions form a synthesis. Second, this synthesis, or totality, is achieved by means of an internal bond. Third, this bond is human. So, as a whole, the for-itself, by not being identical with itself, provides an internal relation between the past, the present, and the future and keeps them in unity. The

terms designating the for-itself, which is not identical with itself and affects temporality, are flight (123, 125) and temporal ekstases (130).

2. The Ontology of Temporality. On the basis of temporality as a total structure, Sartre investigates secondary ekstastic structures from two points of view. These points are defined by the assumption of temporality as a succession whose ordering principle is the relation before-after. Sartre calls static temporality the succession of before and after viewed as independent of change. If we focus on the change, we have dynamic temporality. Drawing on Kant, Sartre terms the static and the dynamic temporality order of time and course of time (130).

2. 1. Static Temporality. The order “before-after” is irreversible, that is to say, its terms can be considered “only one at a time and only in one direction” (130). Because of that, this order is separation, time is separation, “Time separates me from myself [. . .]” (131).

However, temporality is not only and primarily separation. Time is also “a division which reunites” (131). The problem now is that this unifying relation based on the order before-after is external. As usual, Sartre reflects on several theoretical possibilities that he rejects before giving his positive solution to the problem of temporality as a unifying relation. First, he criticizes the Association School for adopting this kind of unity that presupposes that the successive instants are beings in-itself. But, Sartre concludes, beings in-itself do not relate to one another (131-32). Second,²⁹ the relation before-after can exist only for a witness who establishes it. But, as Descartes and Kant have shown, this witness, in his temporal ubiquity, is, in reality, atemporal.³⁰ Such thinking, made in opposition to time, cannot lead to the temporal (132-34).³¹ Third, Sartre analyzes the positions of Leibniz and Bergson who have reacted against Descartes and Kant, respectively. Leibniz and Bergson see in temporality “only a pure relation of immanence and cohesion” (134). In the case of both Leibniz and Bergson, holds Sartre, immanence and cohesion lead to the identical, not to the for-itself (134-35).

Now Sartre is ready to offer his positive solution to the problem of time as both separation (or multiplicity) and unification: “temporality is a dissolving force but it is at the center of a unifying act,” it is “a quasi-multiplicity, a foreshadowing of dissociation in the heart of unity” (136). No one of these two aspects of temporality has priority over the other: “it is necessary to conceive of temporality as a unity which multiplies *itself*; that is, temporality can be only a relation of being at the heart of this same being” (136). This provides the internal bond between before and after (136). Sartre describes the internal relation in this way: “if A is to be prior to B, it must be, in its very being, *in* B as A’s future. Conversely, B, if it is to be posterior to A must linger behind itself in A, which will confer on B its sense of posteriority” (132). Sartre stresses again his major point, namely, that temporality is human; it comes into the world through the for-itself: “Temporality must have the structure of selfness. [. . .]

Temporality exists only as the intra-structure of a being which has to be its own being; that is, as the intra-structure of a For-itself. [. . .] But Temporality is the being of the For-itself in so far as the For-itself has to be its being ekstatically. Temporality is not, but the For-itself temporalizes itself by existing” (136). The relation before-after expresses that in its being the for-itself is not identical with itself (136). Sartre invents the term “diasporatic” in order to express “the profound cohesion and dispersion” of the for-itself (136) and, one could infer, of its temporality.

The multiple dimensions or quasi-multiples of the for-itself are various relations to its being. The in-itself, on the other hand, has only one dimension, for it is its being. The notion of ekstasis expresses the non-identity of the for-itself with itself: “the ekstasis is distance from self” (137). The for-itself, the consciousness, as non-identical with its being, has three ekstases: “(1) to not-be what it is, (2) to be what it is not, (3) to be what it is not and to not-be what it is” (137). All these dimensions exist in unity: “The For-itself is a being which must simultaneously exist in all its dimensions” (137). Sartre considers these three dimensions one by one.

The first ekstasis expresses the for-itself’s relation to its past. “It is precisely this surpassed facticity which we call the Past” (138). Since the for-itself qua for-itself comes into the world with its past, Sartre is able to pose the question of birth (138-40). He does not ask the metaphysical questions of birth (for instance, how the for-itself is born from a particular embryo, i.e., from the in-itself) that, as he thinks, are perhaps insoluble. The ontological problem of birth is the relation of the in-itself, the for-itself, and the past. To this question Sartre provides the following answers: “Birth as an ekstastic relation of being to the In-itself which it is not and as the *a priori* constitution of pastness is a law of being for the For-itself. To be For-itself is *to be born*” (139). Also: “Birth is the upsurge of the absolute relation of Pastness as the ekstastic being of the For-itself in the In-itself. Through birth a Past appears in the world” (140). Finally, the past is outside the unity “reflection-reflecting” of the *Erlebnis*, that is to say, the past is not an object of study; it is the being of consciousness (140-41).

The second ekstasis or the second dimension of nihilation explains the bond of the for-itself with its future.

The third ekstasis is the for-itself’s present. The present provides “the total synthetic form of Temporality” (142) and therefore, for Sartre, it is the most important of the three ekstases, though as a unity they are ontologically equal: “As Present, Past, Future--all at the same time--the For-itself dispersing its being in three dimensions is temporal due to the very fact that it nihilates itself. No one of these dimensions has any ontological priority over the other; none of them can exist without the other two. Yet in spite of all this, it is best to put the accent on the present ekstasis and not on the future ekstasis as Heidegger does [. . .]” (142).³²

2. 2. The Dynamic of Temporality. This section deals with the relation before-after as change or passage.³³ Change or duration presupposes the answer to two questions. First, why does the for-itself become its past? Second, why does a new for-itself arise to become the present of this past (142)? Sartre, once again, starts with rejecting the theories that, according to him, cannot answer these questions satisfactorily. All of them (here Sartre argues with Leibniz and Kant who theorize on the relation of permanence with change) share a common mistake: they assume that the human being is an in-itself and see the unity of permanence and change as external unity, and not, as Sartre suggests, an internal unity of being (142-43).

The positive thesis of Sartre is difficult to follow mainly because here his aphoristic style too often takes the upper hand over the meaning.³⁴ The general argument seems to run as follows:

After a closer look, the two questions about the for-itself's duration formulated at the beginning of the section, turn to reflect one phenomenon: "the upsurge of a new Present which is making-past the Present which it *was*, and the Making-Past of a Present involving the appearance of a For-itself for which this Present is going to become Past" (144). This, if we paraphrase it, would perhaps mean that the for-itself incessantly renounces its present into a past, for it is never absolutely present to itself.

The past of the for-itself is having been the past of the present of this very for-itself. The past and the pluperfect express that each remote past is connected as the past of a former present (144-45).

The future is also affected by the pastness of the original upsurge of consciousness. The two forms of the future--the immediate future and the far future--are differently related to the new present. In the first case, this of the immediate future, "the Present is given as *being* this Future in relation to the Past: 'What I was waiting for--here it is'" (145). The immediate future, on the one hand, is the present of its past in the mode of the former future of this past. On the other hand, it is for-itself as the future of this past, that is, as future it is not what the future promised to be. Sartre sees here a split: "the Present becomes the Former Future of the Past while denying that it is *this* Future" (145). The original future is not realized, it is no longer future in relation to the present, but only in relation to the past. It becomes "a new future ideally co-present with the Present" (145).

In the case of the far removed future, this future remains future in relation to the new present, if the present is the lack of this particular future. Otherwise, the future loses its character as possibility to the new present and becomes "an indifferent possible" (145) in relation to this new present, i.e., turns into an in-itself: what yesterday was possible, today is no longer *my* possible. This today's possible could only be contemplated upon.

Generally speaking, we could say that Sartre's thesis of the dynamic of temporality, despite its difficulty, follows a well known argument: the for-itself has to negate itself, so as not to become an in-

itself; temporality is one of the modes in which a being of for-itself has to be negated; the dynamic of temporality presents in concrete terms how temporality as negation operates through the fluctuating relations between the three temporal dimensions. The grounds for such a summary could be found immediately after the most difficult pages (144-45) in this section. Here (146-48) Sartre sums up some of his main points about temporality in general, and writes that the “dynamic character of temporality” is not “a contingent quality which is added to the being of the for-itself [. . .] [but] is an essential structure of the For-itself conceived as the being which has to be its own nothingness” (147). He also speaks of the “ekstatic character of temporal being” (147).

Change belongs naturally to the for-itself inasmuch as the for-itself is spontaneity. Spontaneity is, which means that it is both the foundation of its nothingness of being and its being. Spontaneity refuses what it posits. It escapes from itself and escapes from that very escape. It, holds Sartre arguing with Kant, is never essence. Spontaneity is irreversibility, for the order positing-refusing cannot be reversed. By constantly evading what it is, spontaneity is never exhausted in an instantaneous in-itself (148-49).

Sartre takes up what he has said of spontaneity with his terminology of the for-itself, more particularly, the dyad reflection-reflecting. His central point is the relation of similarity between the for-itself and temporality. “What applies to the for-itself as presence to --- is also naturally appropriate as well to the totality of temporalization. This totality never *is* achieved; it is a totality which is refused and which flees from itself. [. . .] Thus time of consciousness is human reality which temporalizes itself as the totality which is to itself its own incompleteness [. . .]. There is never an instant at which we can assert that the for-itself *is*, precisely because the for-itself never *is*. Temporality, on the contrary, temporalizes itself entirely as the refusal of the instant” (149).³⁵

3. Original Temporality and Psychic Temporality: Reflection. This section purports to be about the relation between an original temporality and a derived or psychic temporality. In fact, Sartre deals much more with two forms of reflection: impure and pure. As a whole, therefore, this section could be seen as a part of Sartre’s constant battle on two fronts: against psychology (represented by the impure reflection) and Husserl’s transcendental phenomenology (represented by the pure reflection) (for such an account of the section, see Macann, *Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 136-37). One could also see this section as dealing, first, with the characteristics of reflection as a for-itself, and, second, with the temporality of reflection in its two aspects--pure and impure reflection.

The first problem posed by Sartre is that of “the nature and the laws of reflection” (150), for temporality as psychic duration³⁶ belongs to reflection, and the processes of psychic duration belong to the consciousness reflected-on. Before tackling the problem of how psychic duration is the

immanent object of reflection, Sartre asks the preliminary question of how reflection is possible for a being that can be only in the past. In order to answer it, Sartre makes another digression and turns to the reflective phenomenon and its structure. He writes: "Reflection is the for-itself conscious of itself" (150). Sartre rejects the ideas of Cartesian realism and Husserl's idealism of reflection because they present the two consciousnesses (the reflective consciousness and the consciousness reflected-on) as an external connection. Sartre, who insists on the internal bond between them--and this internal connection is knowledge--holds that this connection is in the mode of unision and separation of being. "Thus it is necessary that the reflective simultaneously be and not be the reflected-on" (151). But this, Sartre reminds us, is also the ontological structure of the for-itself. The difference is that in the for-itself the two terms reflected and reflecting are in radical *Unselbständigkeit*, whereas in the case of reflection they tend to the *Selbständigkeit*, which, however, they cannot achieve (151-52). The reason for this is that though the reflected-on and the reflective are divided by nothingness, they are not a unitary structure of being which can be its own nothingness by having to be it. This is characteristic only of reflection: "it [reflection] is the for-itself which makes itself exist in the mode of reflective-reflected-on, instead by being simply in the mode of the dyad reflection-reflecting" (153). This new mode of being makes the mode of the reflection-reflecting exist as an inner structure--I am reflected on by my own temporal self. Sartre concludes: "the reflective is separated from the reflected-on by a nothingness. Thus the phenomenon of reflection is a nihilation of the for-itself, a nihilation which does not come to it from without but which it *has to be*" (153). Looking for the origin and motivation of this new negation Sartre writes: "The motivation of reflection (reflexion) consists in a double attempt, simultaneously an objectivation and an interiorization. To be to itself as an object-in-itself in the absolute unity of interiorization--that is what the being-of-reflection has to be" (154). Reflection, summarizes Sartre, is a stage of nihilation intermediate between the simple existence of the for-itself and existence-for-others (154).

The two forms of reflection--pure and impure³⁷--give a deeper comprehension of the relation between reflection and temporality. Sartre begins with pure reflection and writes that "the reflective is the reflected-on" (155), but this unity is the unity of nihilation. Reflection "is a knowledge" (155) or "a recognition rather than knowledge" (156). Descartes' *cogito*, explains Sartre, is limited to the instant. In reality, Descartes' doubt as the methodological basis of knowledge means a suspension of judgment which presupposes, first, reference to the past (our reasons for judging are insufficient), second, to the future (in order to judge we need new elements), and third, being-in-the-world of human reality where one is outside himself and is present to the object one doubts (156). Sartre writes: "reflection is the for-itself which seeks to recover itself as a totality in perpetual incompleteness. [. . .] Reflection, as the

mode of being of the for-itself, must be a temporalization, and it is itself its past and its future. [. . .] reflection is a diasporatic phenomenon; but as a *presence to itself*, the for-itself is a presence present to all its ekstastic dimensions” (157). Sartre, in explaining the temporal character of reflection, refers to what reminds one of Heidegger’s *Geschichtlichkeit*,³⁸ historicity: “Reflection therefore apprehends temporality and reveals it as the unique and incomparable mode of being of a selfness--that is, as historicity” (158).

Now Sartre introduces the notion of psychological or psychic duration or temporality (158-70 reveals Sartre’s psychology). It is described as “successions of organized temporal forms,” “the concrete flow of autonomous organizations” (158), “a successive order of facts” (159)--for instance, joy after a sadness--and is “the opposite of historicity” (158). These unities or forms are connected by relations of before and after, and are used in dating. The psychic objects are what they are; they follow each other “in universal time” and enter only in “external relations of succession” (158). They are the object of psychology. Men establish their relations on the level of these psychic facts (jealousies, grudges, struggles, etc.), but the for-itself which historicizes itself is not these states, acts, or facts. The identity of the for-itself with its psychic states would turn the for-itself into “a multiplicity of existents external to one another” (159), and thus would make the ontological problem of temporality unresolvable. This gives grounds to Sartre to attack psychology that explains the relativity in the succession of the psychic facts without ontological foundation. “In fact if we apprehend the for-itself in its historicity, psychic duration vanishes and states, qualities, and acts disappear to give place to being-for-itself as such, which is only as the unique individuality from which the process of historization cannot be separated” (159).

There are two temporalities, writes Sartre: “the original temporality of which we *are* the temporalization” (159) and the psychic temporality which is “incompatible with the mode of being of our being” (159), intersubjective reality, object of psychology, and goal of our acts. Psychic temporality is derived but does not stem directly from original temporality. Psychic temporality, as successive order of facts, cannot constitute itself. This temporality is revealed and constituted by impure or constituent reflection. Impure reflection is given in everyday life that includes as its original structure pure reflection. From here on Sartre describes impure reflection.

Pure reflection occurs in the relation of the reflective and reflected-on in the for-itself. Impure reflection (and here Sartre is not very clear due, partially, to his verbal games), on the other hand, is described by its connection with the in-itself. In impure reflection three forms exist: “the reflective, the reflected-on, and an in-itself which the reflective has to be in so far as this in-itself would be the reflected-on, an in-itself which is nothing other than the For of the reflective phenomenon” (160).

Impure reflection is in bad faith, for it cuts the bond uniting the reflective and reflected-on: “Impure reflection is an abortive effort on the part of the for-itself *to be another while remaining itself*” (161). Sartre concludes: “What is revealed to it [impure reflection] is not the temporal and non-substantial historicity of the reflected-on; beyond this reflected-on it is the very substantiality of the organized forms of the flow” (161). Psychology studies the substantial unities which are called psychic life or psyche, and which degrade the reflected-on to the in-itself. In order to clarify the nature of this in-itself, Sartre gives an *a priori* description of the Psyche.

First, the Psyche is the ego (with grammatical forms “I” and “me”) with its states, qualities, and acts; it is “our *personas* a transcendent psychic unity” (162) (Sartre describes the ego in detail on 102-05³⁹). Second, the “psychic” is given only to a special category of cognitive acts, these of the reflective for-itself (162-63). Third, the psyche is the object of psychological research. Sartre terms the immediate presence of hate, exile, etc. evidence (163-64). Fourth, and to this characteristic Sartre devotes more attention, the psychic object is the degraded form of consciousness, “the psychic object is in-itself” (165), and therefore it is the past which has priority among the three temporal dimensions. The psychologists, holds Sartre, naively distinguish the three “nows” of the psychic by seeking help in the unconscious. The psychic so apprehended, is a cohesion of isolated “nows” but not a synthesis, an ekstatic unity which is the being of the for-itself. Yet, by inertia, the psychic and the for-itself are mixed, for “the psychic is the objectivation of the ontological unity of the For-itself” (166). “Thus participating simultaneously in the in-itself and in the for-itself, psychic temporality conceals a contradiction which is never overcome” (167). The ambiguity of this mixing, Sartre thinks, is brought to light by Bergson’s theory of consciousness which endures and which is “multiplicity of interpenetration” (166). Sartre writes that what he calls “psychic temporality is an inert *datum*, closely akin to Bergson’s duration” (167).

After this analysis of the psychic, Sartre is ready to examine the interrelations of psychic forms in psychic time. First, the connection between feelings in a complex psychic form is by means of interpenetration: friendship, for instance, is tinted with envy. Second, psychic processes imply “the action from a distance of prior forms on posterior forms” (167). This action is not a simple causal one which we find in physics.

As the objectivation of the for-itself, the psychic possesses a degraded spontaneity. Discussing the character of this spontaneity, Sartre concludes that “the prior form has to effect from a distance the birth of a form of the same nature which is organized spontaneously as a form of flow” (168). And the flow, as we already know, is not a being that has to be its future and past, i.e., the for-itself, but successions of past, present, and future forms which influence one another at a distance. The influence

is either by penetration (the reflective apprehends as a single object two separate psychic objects) or by motivation (the two objects remain separate and influence one another at a distance). On the basis of this action at a distance, which is “totally magical and irrational” (168), Sartre criticizes what he designates as intellectualistic psychologists who, remaining on the level of the psychic, try to deduce this action to causality (to illustrate his point Sartre analyzes a passage by Proust).

Finally, Sartre sums up the nature of the psychic temporality and the original temporality, which here he apparently relates to the in-itself and the for-itself, respectively.⁴⁰ It is the clarity of Sartre’s summary that tempts me to summarize it at some length. In contrast to what the intellectualistic psychologists attempt, Sartre thinks, we should give up hope of reducing the rational in the psychic causality. “This causality is a degradation of the ekstastic for-itself, which is its own being at a distance from itself, its degradation into magic, into an in-itself which is what it is at its own place. Magic action through influence at a distance is the necessary result of this relaxation of the bonds of being. The psychologist must describe these irrational bonds and take them as an original given of the psychic world” (169). “Thus,” Sartre continues, “the reflective consciousness is constituted as consciousness of duration, and hence psychic duration appears to consciousness. This psychic temporality as a projection into the in-itself of original temporality is a virtual being whose phantom flow does not cease to accompany the ekstastic temporalization of the for-itself in so far as this is apprehended by reflection. [. . .] But its [of psychic temporality] essential difference from original temporality is that it is while original temporality temporalizes itself” (170). Psychic time, therefore, can be constituted only with the past and the future as past coming after the present past.

Ideas of Temporality in Sartre’s Literary Criticism

Sartre’s theory of temporality is exposed not only in *BN* but, in some of its aspects, in some of his critical essays such as “On *The Sound and the Fury*: Time in the Work of Faulkner,” written in July 1939. I do not hold that Sartre’s philosophy can be better understood through his literary work as many Sartre students, as we have seen in note 19, think. The main reason for my skepticism to this type of reading philosophy and literature is that literature does not quote philosophic ideas as such but represents artistically these ideas; in the same way literature does not deal with human beings or landscapes but with their artistic representations. All these representations are but elements that serve a higher purpose that can be defined as speaking of the human in its totality. No other discourse speaks of the human in this fashion, and this makes literature and art in general unique and irreplaceable. If literature conveys philosophical ideas, it is not through its content (its “what”) but through its form (its “how”). Sartre’s novel *Nausea*, for instance, is an existentialist classic not so much because it quotes

passages or key terms of his philosophy (if it were only this, what were we to do with the parts that do not refer directly to philosophical conceptions⁴¹ or turn Descartes' *cogito* into an ironic and polemic incantation [cf. *Nausea* 99-103]?), but because Sartre's artistic genius has been able to invent literary devices that represent structurally, by means of the architectonics of the whole work, certain relationships between the for-itself and the in-itself (for example, juxtapositions such as warm vs. cold; light vs. darkness; controversial and illogical vs. identical with oneself and complacent; animate vs. inanimate; whole vs. partial; human vs. animal; jazz vs. silence; non-ironic narration vs. ironic narration, etc.). The representation of strictly philosophical--and any other--ideas is only one, semantic, level of literature's complex architectonics.

In discussing Sartre's ideas of temporality in his literary criticism my preliminary point is that there are two types of criticism: first, one which is true to the work analyzed, that is, one that allows the work to reveal its own meanings; and, second, one which is true to its own doctrine, that is, one that imposes its own ideas onto the work. Sartre's essay is of the second type. What Sartre actually discusses is not primarily temporality in Faulkner, but his, Sartre's, own ideas of temporality spelled out *a propos* Faulkner (here I do not consider the social implications of the essay which, under certain circumstances, may have the leading role in its interpretation).

Sartre's argument in the essay has several main points and in its orientation toward the future declares clearly its indebtedness to Heidegger. The fictional technique, thinks Sartre, is related to the novelist's metaphysics; to explain the technique as a critic is to explain the novelist's metaphysics (with this move Sartre shows that he is more interested in his own theory than in Faulkner *per se*) (84-85). Further, Faulkner's metaphysics is a metaphysics of time (85). Temporality is not chronology; the former is personal, whereas the latter is measured objectively with dates and clocks (an echo from Augustine). Faulkner deals with temporality (85). Faulkner's temporality is restricted to the present, which is characterized, first, by being catastrophic (85), second, by "a sinking in," that is, the present is dissociated from the future--it appears without any reason and sinks in (85). For Faulkner, as for Proust, time is that which separates (89). This means that both Faulkner and Proust have deprived the present of its future, "its dimension of deeds and freedom" (90). In a similar way, many of their great peers--Joyce, Dos Passos, Gide, Virginia Woolf--distort time by reducing it to the instant, in other words, they split the synthetic unity, to use Sartre's terminology from *BN*, between the three temporal dimensions. And there is the rub: "but if you do away with the future, time is no longer that which separates, that which cuts the present off from itself" (91). (Here, apparently, Sartre uses the word "to separate" in two senses. On the one hand, time in the great contemporary writers separates the temporal dimensions and thus, to use the jargon of *BN*, turns temporality into chronology, and the for-itself into

an in-itself. On the other hand, the separation which is human and temporal is this which separates the for-itself from itself, from its own temporality and thus keeps the temporal dimensions in unity.) To put it differently, the present without the future turns into the perpetual present of the nonhuman objects, “into universal time, the time of planets and nebulae” (91) and loses its character of human temporality. In Faulkner, everything is absurd because human temporality strives to become nonhuman universal time. If consciousness exists in such universal time, it would be first consciousness and afterwards temporal. But that is impossible, for consciousness is always temporal: “Consciousness can ‘exist within time’ only on condition that it becomes time as a result of the very movement by which it becomes consciousness. It must be ‘temporalized’, as Heidegger says” (92). Consciousness is its future possibilities. There is no consciousness without future. Therefore, Faulkner’s characters are not true to human consciousness, but to the temporal absurdity which Faulkner himself has put into them. (If one translates the Heideggerian language of Sartre into the idiom of *BN*, one could probably say that Faulkner turns his characters into the in-itself, whereas they, as human presentations, are inherently the for-itself.) Finally, Sartre asks what is the meaning of this un-novelistic and untrue absurdity in Faulkner and many of his peers. The explanation lies “in the social conditions of our present time” (92). The whole life now, says Sartre, is bereft of future and the change could come only through a cataclysm. Faulkner’s despair, therefore, precedes his metaphysics. Sartre likes Faulkner’s art but not his metaphysics. Sartre, with the help of Heidegger, ends on a high note that, potentially, keeps the door ajar for human free choice and hope: “A closed future is still a future” (93).

1995

Notes

Contrary to the recent academic tendency to limit endnotes to the minimum--a trend dictated more by financial rather than scholarly reasons--my study relies on extensive notes to clarify why Sartre's theory of time has not been thoroughly presented in Anglo-American academia.

¹ Klaus Hartmann explains that Sartre has a "bent for *strict philosophy* and is interested in specific problems of traditional philosophy rather than in ideological solutions. In this spirit we can understand his work as the latest metamorphosis of the Western philosophical heritage, designed to take up some of its unsolved problems" (146). Herbert Spiegelberg (2nd ed. 2: 445-515) places Sartre in the phenomenological tradition. He writes that "it was Sartre who naturalized phenomenology in France. He also emancipated and remodeled it in essential points. But he did not reconstruct it methodically and systematically. For the explicit and deliberate constitution of French phenomenology we have to turn to his associates, beginning with Maurice Merleau-Ponty" (2nd ed. 2: 511). For Sartre as a thinker in the Western tradition, see also: Naess 272; and Jones 438-39.

Stuart L. Charmé, in *Vulgarity and Authenticity*, notes that Sartre's "anticipation of many of the concerns of 'postmodernists' has not been sufficiently appreciated" (3); and also: "The problematic nature of personal identity that preoccupies postmodern consciousness attracted Sartre's attention from the start of his career" (4). Charmé defines the goal of his study in the following way: "The present study investigates the complex interrelationship of self and otherness in Sartre's work with particular attention to a critical psychological component of personal identity, the theme of *civility* and *vulgarity*" (6). And also: "In time, Sartre found himself attracted to blacks, women, homosexuals, Jews, and other marginalized groups. [. . .] This book will use Sartre's philosophical system as well as his literary and critical works to explore an underlying mythology of the *vulgar Other* in his [Sartre's] work and to discuss its implications for the notion of self" (8). Further we will see that Sartre, though not fashionable as he used to be, still generates interpretations pertinent to our time.

² Ricoeur writes: "What remains, then, is to conceive of the threefold present *as* distension and distension *as* the distension of the threefold present. This is the stroke of genius of Book 11 of Augustine's *Confessions*, in whose wake will follow Husserl, Heidegger, and Merleau-Ponty" (*Time* 1: 16). One may ask why Ricoeur omits Sartre if, as Christopher Macann points out, Sartre "is deeply indebted to Heidegger" for his theory of temporality (*Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 132).

For the notion of time in the phenomenological writings of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty, see also Macann, *Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 19-24, 53-54, 96-105, 118-19, 132-36, 140, 195-98. For Heidegger on time, see Kockelmans; Dastur; and Naess 213-18. For Merleau-Ponty on time, see Carr 401-04.

³ The place and meaning of temporality in *BN* is commented upon by Catalano 69-70, 72 n. 11, 111-12; and Macann, *Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 132-33. Hartmann (94-98) offers scattered but valuable remarks on this topic; he also draws a parallel between Sartre's theory of temporality and Hegel's view of time.

⁴ Hartmann's study *Sartre's Ontology* is one of the very few books in English which deals, in a strictly philosophical--not popular--sense, with the topic of temporality in *BN*. In his investigation, Hartmann attempts a "critical interpretation" (126) of Sartre's dialectical ontology that develops from a phenomenological starting point. Hegel, for Hartmann, serves to make some of Sartre's notions appear plausible (127-28). Hartmann also "focuses on the sources of inspiration of this [Sartre's] philosophy" (146); "our analysis," writes Hartmann, "is not limited to a study of Sartre's ontology in the light of Hegel's *Logic*, but deals, from a wider perspective, with his philosophy as a union of phenomenology and Hegelian dialectic" (139). Hartmann's analysis of temporality in *BN* (85-94) is restricted to his ontological project. That is why this author deals with Part Two, Chapter Two of *BN*, but ignores the sections "Static Temporality" (*BN* 130-42) and "Original Temporality and Psychic Temporality: Reflection" (*BN* 150-70).

In his book *Sartre*, Antony Manser presents what he considers to be "the hard core of philosophic argument" in Sartre (Preface). He deals only with the first section of the chapter on temporality in *BN*, i.e., only with the three temporal dimensions (65-70). Manser's major point is that only the for-itself, not the in-itself, is temporal. In his exposition of Sartre, however, the author includes some parallels with psychologists that, in my opinion, do not support Sartre's ideas.

Alfred Stern, in his book *Sartre*, presents Sartre's philosophy and psychoanalysis and, in this context, discusses some of his creative works. Sartre's theory of temporality is briefly outlined in connection with what Stern calls Sartre's psychology of death. The author speaks, in fact, not of the whole theory, but only of the temporal dimensions. After presenting very succinctly the present and the future (167), Stern comments on the connection between the past and death

in *BN* (167-69), and illustrates his point with examples from Sartre's literary works (169-70, 197); this author also provides literary illustrations of Sartre's ideas of the future (173-76).

Hazel E. Barnes' book *Sartre* is a general, chronological presentation of Sartre's philosophical and creative writings (8). The discussion of Sartre's ideas of time (20-21, 66-74) is based on Part Two and Part Four of *BN* and deals--quite freely--more with the problem of the self and freedom than with Sartre's theory of temporality.

Joseph S. Catalano's work *A Commentary* is a detailed paraphrasing of *BN* that is more readable than Sartre's work itself and, in principle, does not quote Sartre. The author accepts Sartre's "presentations and evaluations [of other philosophers and psychologists in *BN*] at face value" (xii), that is, Catalano's work often lacks meta-distance from its subject. Catalano spends more effort in clarifying the Introduction and the first two parts of *BN*. In treating temporality in *BN* (111-31) the author, despite his commitment to Sartre's text, goes astray from the original; he, for example, gives his own examples which change the meaning of the original, does not use Sartre's terminology (especially in the presentation of section three, *BN* 150-70), etc. Catalano tackles the problem of impure reflection (*BN* 158-70) very briefly.

Gila J. Hayim, in *The Existential Sociology of Jean-Paul Sartre*, touches on temporality in Sartre on three occasions. First, the author discusses temporality in Sartre's later works (*Search for a Method* and *Critique of Dialectical Reason*; these two books are translations of Sartre's *Critique de la raison dialectique*) in connection with human action, and compares Sartre's ideas, on the one hand, with those of Max Weber (5-11) and, on the other hand, with the existential theory of action in *BN* which is interrelated with time (49). Second, Hayim briefly comments on the connection between time (the future), freedom, and the existential experience of absence in *BN* (12-13). Third, this scholar speaks of the relation of anguish and the future, and the self and the future in *BN* (17-18, 27-28). As a whole, Hayim does not deal at length with Sartre's theory of temporality as it is developed in Part Two, Chapter Two of *BN*.

Macann's *Four Phenomenological Philosophers* is a succinct and quite often critical presentation of the main ideas of Husserl's, Heidegger's, Sartre's, and Merleau-Ponty's major phenomenological works. According to this author, time for Sartre, together with freedom, are the "two pillars" (118) on which the thesis of Nothingness is erected (118-19); here Macann has in mind Sartre's presentation of the past, the present, and the future (*BN* 107-27). Macann holds that Sartre's thesis of existential time is deeply indebted to Heidegger but, as a whole, is a failure: "But the static, dualistic ontology to which Sartre now attempts to accord a specific and characteristic temporality is, in my opinion, so far removed from what is required to render intelligible a variant of Heidegger's existential time that this section [the section on temporality in *BN*] cannot but fail in its basic intention, which is to render intelligible the existential temporality of human being. To put it another way, Sartre is still so much under the spell of Descartes that he finds himself more or less incapable of transcending that very instantaneity which he himself will criticize as the limiting factor in the Cartesian conception of time" (132-33). Macann covers the main points of Sartre's notion of temporality (118-19, 132-37) and briefly mentions (140) what Sartre calls "The Time of the World" (*BN* 204-16).

⁵ Temporality is missing from more sophisticated introductions and comments on Sartre and *BN* such as: Barnes' "Translator's Introduction"; Thompson and Thompson; Naess 265-359; Barnes, "Sartre's Ontology"; Warnock, *The Philosophy of Sartre*; and Aronson.

The same holds true for some general histories of philosophy such as Stumpf 465-70; Hamlyn 325-27; Jones 418-46; and Copleston 340-89. Frederick Charles Copleston (357-58) mentions the problem of temporality in connection with freedom. In the presentation of *BN*, Marjorie Grene's *Sartre* briefly discusses temporality (131-32). The same holds true for Phyllis Sutton Morris, *Sartre's Concept of a Person*; this author speaks of "personal identity through time" and "temporal synthesis of consciousness" (42; see also 41-43).

Somewhat surprisingly, Spiegelberg bypasses the temporality of consciousness. According to him, Sartre's theory of time differs both from Husserl's and Heidegger's but "these differences are partly based on misunderstanding; in the present context these are not worth pursuing" (2nd ed. 2: 491). Spiegelberg refers to temporality *en passant* on several more occasions (2nd ed. 2: 445-46, 452, 470, 483-84, 491). The first of them is particularly interesting, for here the author complains that it is difficult to interpret Sartre, since his work is still in progress, i.e., to use Sartre's idiom, Sartre, being alive and changing his views, is still a for-itself, he is not yet dead, i.e., an in-itself which would make him identical with himself and thus subject him only to the interpretations of other people.

⁶ See Ricoeur, *Main Trends* 47-49; Craib vii; and Macann, *Four Phenomenological Thinkers* ix. For Sartre's reception in the English-speaking countries in particular, see Silverman and Elliston, Preface; their point could be summarized in this way: "Sartrean philosophy was always foreign [in the English-speaking countries]--except for those who were already committed to French thought in general" (xii).

In his work, Manser exposes his thoughts at encountering Sartre; these notes are perhaps the most interesting testimony of how an English philosopher, educated in a philosophical tradition different from Sartre's, interprets him in the mid 1960s. Manser writes: "In some ways his [Sartre's] philosophic background and methods are far removed from those in which I was educated, yet often I have found the difference to be one of terminology rather than of thought. Consequently I feel that the effort to understand him will prove worth while to those whose first impulse is to reject" (Preface; see also 73 and especially 39-53 where Manser introduces his own reading of *BN*). Manser's book contains an interesting chapter on Sartre's ideas of philosophical language compared to the English analytic philosophers; here the author endeavors to show in practice that Sartre, after all, is not so different from the British language tradition in philosophy (100-13). For Manser's effort to bridge the Continental and the English philosophical traditions, see also 260-65.

In the mid 1960s, in a collection of original American phenomenological works, the American philosopher James M. Edie, one of the then-younger leaders of phenomenological thought in the U.S., proudly proclaimed America's coming-of-phenomenological-age: "There is good reason to believe that in future surveys or histories of twentieth-century American philosophy the 1960's will be recognized as the period when the phenomenological movement finally took root in our philosophical soil and became an active and creative force in its own right" (7). Ironically, Spiegelberg, the classic historian of phenomenology, does not share Edie's enthusiasm: "There can be little doubt that at the present moment phenomenology, along with existentialism, has less philosophical status in Britain than in any other country outside Soviet Russia" (2nd ed. 2: 623). Spiegelberg adds: "Phenomenology is hardly one of the leading philosophical movements in the United States, any more than it is in Britain. Judging from some recent surveys of philosophical trends it even seems to have lost ground after 1950. In contrast to other philosophical movements recently imported from continental Europe, it has not secured a major place in the leading universities of the country" (2nd ed. 2: 626-27). The question of America's phenomenological maturity poses problems to Sartre students in the U.S. a decade after Edie's proclamation. Morris, for instance, tries to balance between the early Sartre's and English-speaking philosophers' concept of a person (ix-xi). Spiegelberg, in the third edition of his book, points out the growing popularity of phenomenology in Great Britain and especially in the United States in the 1970s, but tentatively declines to affirm that the quantitative growth means qualitative improvement too (3rd ed. 661-66).

⁷ For the systematic character of *BN*, see Naess 357-59; Fry 15-16; and Manser 39.

⁸ The whole presentation of Sartre's phenomenology (not confined to *BN* alone) in Spiegelberg's *The Phenomenological Movement* (2nd ed. 2: 445-515; in the third edition of Spiegelberg's book there are no important changes) explains how the French philosopher tries to reconcile the object and the subject (2nd ed. 2: 455, 470-71) by drawing on Descartes, Husserl, Heidegger, and Hegel. Spiegelberg's analyses stress Sartre's similarities to and differences from Husserl and Heidegger. Catalano (1-13) delineates Sartre's indebtedness to Descartes and Husserl whom, according to Catalano, Sartre takes as the paradigmatic thinkers of Cartesian realism and idealism, respectively, the two trends of thought that Sartre tries to overcome in *BN*; for Sartre's indebtedness to Heidegger see Catalano 15. Mary Warnock gives a broad picture of Cartesianism in Sartre (*The Philosophy of Sartre* 13-41), and examines Sartre's connection with Husserl, Hegel, and Heidegger in relation to the problem of the other (*The Philosophy of Sartre* 67-72). Hartmann (139-42) provides a detailed analysis of Sartre's epistemological position in *BN* and Husserl's phenomenology. He views "phenomenology as an antecedent of Sartre's philosophy which serves him as a starting point" (139). Copleston (343) mentions Sartre's indebtedness to Descartes, Husserl, Heidegger, and Hegel. In *Sartre and Hegel*, Christopher M. Fry (21-33) analyzes Sartre's relation to Husserl on the problem of intentionality. Robert D. Cumming, in his essay "Role-Playing," discusses Husserl's and Sartre's interpretation of role-playing as a starting point for an analysis of Sartrean phenomenology. Thomas W. Busch, in *The Power of Consciousness* (1-17), traces the initial encounter of Sartre with Husserl's phenomenology. The same author, in "Sartre's Use of Reductions" 17-29, analyzes Sartre's use of reduction compared with Husserlian phenomenological reduction. Frederick A. Elliston, in "Sartre and Husserl," compares Sartre's and Husserl's treatment of intersubjectivity.

For Sartre and Heidegger, see Fry 99-102, 126-27, etc. Michel Haar's article "Sartre and Heidegger" compares Sartre's and Heidegger's ideas of consciousness, nothingness, anxiety, the others, and death. William Ralph Schroeder's *Sartre and his Predecessors* investigates the theories of the self and the other of Husserl, Hegel, Heidegger, and Sartre. Grene (32-104) divides the major predecessors of Sartre (not only in respect of *BN*, but also in respect of his later philosophy) into two groups: first, the phenomenologists--Descartes, Husserl, Heidegger and, second, the dialecticians--Hegel and the two greatest nineteenth-century critics of Hegel: Kierkegaard (about whom Grene is very tentative) and Marx (and Marxism in general).

For Sartre's relations with Hegel, see: Naess 271, 281, 296; Catalano 8-9 n. 5, 42 n. 15, 58-60, 61 n. 5, 72 n. 11; and Macann, *Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 117, 125. Some of the important works in this field are Hartmann; and Fry; see also: Bernstein, particularly Part I and II; and Verstraeten. Hartmann summarizes Sartre's relation with Hegel thus: "His view of Hegel has been formed *ad hoc*, in connection with his phenomenological philosophy; it is not derived from the French Hegelian tradition" (xvi; see also xv-xvii). Fry writes: "any use of Hegel by Sartre was not systematic. To follow *L'être et le néant* precludes following Hegel" (9; see also 8, 17, 147, 150, 151, 152). Fry often argues with Hartmann about Hegel's influence on Sartre: see especially 9, 33-37, 84-85, etc.

Sartre usually opens the chapters and sections of *BN* by criticizing the ideas of the classical philosophers--Leibniz, Spinoza, Kant, Aristotle, Kierkegaard, Bergson--on certain topics. After the criticism he remodels these topics in accordance with his own goals. Sartre's indebtedness to other philosophers depends on how one reads his philosophy. For Sartre's sources and his reworking of them, see Hartmann; Copleston 343 n. 2; and Fry 3-8, 125-28.

⁹ Naess (279-337), for example, restricts his analysis of *BN* mainly to the Introduction and Part One because he considers them the most difficult in the book. Catalano also deals in greater detail with the Introduction, Part One, and Part Two, and pays less attention to Part Three, Part Four, and the Conclusion. The same, more or less, holds true for Hartmann; Jones; Copleston; and Fry.

¹⁰ Barnes, for instance, holds that "the keystone of Sartre's philosophy [. . .] [is] precisely his insistence on man's radical freedom and his ability to make a new 'choice of being'" (*Sartre* 27).

¹¹ See: Anderson; and Simont. See also the older and popular presentation of the ethical ideas of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and Sartre (in *BN*) in Warnock's book *Existential Ethics*.

¹² Copleston speaks of Sartre's professional "turgid jargon" (xiii). "His jargon is simply irritating. If what he says sometimes seems to be extremely obscure, this is not because what he is saying is unintelligible, but because he has chosen to express in difficult language something which could have been said much more plainly" (xvi). Manser deals with Sartre's language on different occasions. Some of what he writes sounds, to say the least, curious, and to say it bluntly, with a great deal of linguistic and philosophical chauvinism: "It is clear that the book [*BN*] is too long by modern English standards" (39). Or: "It is possible to find sentences that are turgid and almost incomprehensible, though some of those quoted as examples of this fault are clearer in context" (40). Also: "Part of the difficulty at the stylistic level springs, I think, from the French language itself. For the spirit of that language is not well adapted to philosophic thought" (41). To read *Critique de la raison dialectique*, according to this English philosopher, is a "herculean task" (206). Fry observes: "The influence of German phenomenology is often apparent in Sartre's versions of German phraseology and even etymology" (44 n. 22). Grene describes the attraction and repulsion of the English-speaking reader to Sartre in this way: "Man of words, indeed! A juggler of words, perhaps, who means next to nothing by them?" (28). Hayim notes the "difficult language" of *BN* (xii). Morris is of the opinion that "one of the severest difficulties is that, even in English, Sartre's ideas are obscured by his strange and difficult terminology" (ix). Warnock writes: "He [Sartre] is extraordinarily obscure and repetitive" (*The Philosophy of Sartre* 9); "he does not want to be precise, nor to get things exactly right"; Sartre is "a literary metaphysician" (*The Philosophy of Sartre* 10); Warnock complains of the "deliberate obscurity [of Sartre's later reexamination of Marxism]" (*The Philosophy of Sartre* 12). Silverman and Elliston find that *Critique of Dialectical Reason* employs a "tortuous style" (Preface xi). Spiegelberg speaks at some length of Sartre's style (2nd ed. 2: 446-47, 472, 481-82, 485, 487), and touches on nearly all the difficulties that I discuss in my essay. Perhaps the horror of the English-speaking scholar from Sartre's language is spelled out most expressively by Dominick LaCapra, who writes that *BN* is "one of Sartre's most troubled texts, a veritable textual jungle (it might be read as a philosophical systematization of a paranoid-schizophrenic world view)" (122).

Edie, in contrast to the Continental phenomenological idiom, is proud to offer a new type of phenomenological language cultivated in the United States: "There is an unspoken but clearly evident abandonment of the intricacies of technical jargon [by the authors in the collection] when this is not specifically helpful or necessary to the argument" (8-9).

¹³ See Macann, *Four Phenomenological Thinkers* 116-17. According to Macann, Part Four of *BN* devoted to Having, Doing, and Being, is "strangely incoherent, since it calls for nothing less than the substitution of a new set of ontological categories for those in terms of which the entire analysis has been conducted thus far" (111-12). See also Hartmann 20. Catalano often changes the terminology of Sartre, perhaps in order to mitigate the bewilderment by the differences between the earlier and the later terminology in *BN*; the good intentions of Catalano, however, sometimes lead to confusion instead of clarity. Such is the case with Catalano's commentary on the third section of the chapter on temporality in *BN*, "Original Temporality and Psychic Temporality: Reflection" (*BN* 150-70).

¹⁴ Catalano (191, 191 n. 4, 218 n. 2, 231) points out some other unfulfilled promises in *BN*. Spiegelberg, as I have mentioned in note 5, finds the main difficulty in interpreting Sartre's phenomenology "in its incompleteness" (2nd ed. 2: 445). By now, since Sartre is dead and many of his unpublished works have been brought to the public, this reason does not play such an important role.

¹⁵ Catalano points out many such examples (58, 65, 77, 89, 89 n. 9, 103, 106 n. 9, 118 n. 7, 123, 129 n. 14, 133 n. 2, 135, 137, 138, 142 n. 7, 144 n. 8, 167 n. 11, 215 n. 1, 228 n. 2). See also: Fry 44 n. 22; Hartmann 6 n. 10, 73, 79-82, 99, 113 n. 35, 119 n. 57, 123, 135, 135 n. 19, 141, 147; and Naess 299-300, 329. Fry (47 n. 28, 75 n. 112, 94) argues that Sartre frequently (mis)quotes Hegel and sometimes confuses Hegel's thought. Spiegelberg comments on a typical passage in *BN* in the following way: "Suffice it to say that in cases like these Sartre seems to be starting from original and significant observations, only to be carried away to paradoxical formulations bordering on the nonsensical" (2nd ed. 2: 487).

Hartmann (24 n. 69), on the other hand, points out cases in which Sartre's text is misunderstood: for example, W. Desan confuses Sartre's pre-reflective *cogito* with his *cogito*. Naess (318-20) also reminds us of the unfair, in some respects, criticism of Sartre's *le néant* by A. J. Ayer, due partially to a misunderstanding of *BN*. Misunderstanding in philosophy is often *the* understanding: Husserl's criticism of Brentano's theory of an internal consciousness, for example, involves a terminological misunderstanding (Hartmann 24-25).

¹⁶ See, for instance, the detailed analyses of Sartre's basic paradox that the for-itself, consciousness, or human reality is what it is not, and is not what it is: Naess 316-18; Catalano 84; and Jones 437-38. Spiegelberg writes of this paradox: "One feature of Sartre's style in *L'Être et le néant* calls for special comment, his new fondness for paradoxical and baffling formulations, which at times suggest even plays on words" (2nd ed. 2: 472; see also 2: 481). See also Copleston 349.

¹⁷ LaCapra is perhaps the only English-speaking scholar who, to my knowledge, promises to examine not only the thematic content of *BN* but also "the way in which the text is made" (122). In his deconstructive reading of Sartre and *BN* in particular, however, LaCapra's promises, in my opinion, are more interesting than his actual achievements. LaCapra does not discuss Sartre's ideas of temporality.

¹⁸ William Leon McBride writes: "Despite the enormous length and complexity of Sartre's writings, the core of his ontology [in *BN*] is, as one might expect and hope for it to be, essentially very simple. [. . .] This is, precisely, the phenomenon of being" (264). Catalano often both simplifies Sartre's text and adds his own examples to make Sartre's point more perspicuous; the result, as we shall see, is not always the presumed faithfulness to the original.

¹⁹ It is the descriptive character of Sartre's philosophy that tempts many of his serious commentators to interpret his philosophy using his literary works (the novel *Nausea*, in the first place) and vice versa. Perhaps the most striking example in this respect is Jones (419-28, 433, 435, 438) who presents the problem of the self, which is central in Jones' discussion of Sartre, in this way. Manser (1-19) also introduces the core of Sartre's philosophy by referring to *Nausea*; he speaks at length as well about the relation between Sartre's philosophy in general and his novels (167-88) and his philosophy and his plays (47). On *Nausea* and *BN*, see also Fry 40-45; Warnock, *The Philosophy of Sartre* 90-99; and Barnes, *Sartre* 36-47. Spiegelberg uses Sartre's literary works, including *Nausea*, in order to clarify Sartre's philosophy (2nd ed. 2: 455-57, 497). LaCapra attempts a reading of *Nausea* as "a novel antinovel or a deconstructed novel" (97); for LaCapra's deconstructive reading of the novel, see 93-116. Walter Kaufmann, in his anthology *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre* widely used in American universities as an introduction to the study of existentialism, includes, among other things, Sartre's short story "The Wall" because, as he writes, it "is one of the classics of existentialism" (280). Unfortunately, Kaufmann forgets to explain how precisely the story is connected with existentialism. It seems that in this case the belief that Sartre's literary works reveal automatically his philosophy is taken for granted. The inertia of the merging of literature and philosophy seems so strong that even a critic of the rank of Tzvetan Todorov echoes it: "Sartre's writings span the genres, and no watertight compartments separate philosophy, criticism, and fiction in his work" (44); fortunately, Todorov's analysis of Sartre's critical writing on literature does not follow this line.

²⁰ Catalano (118 n. 8, 215 n. 1) points out cases in which Sartre's illustrations refer ambiguously to his universal argument. Hartmann (13 n. 38, 62 n. 5) discusses the inadequacy of some of Sartre's examples. Naess remarks: "Although Sartre's own examples are clear enough, they are often so infused with theoretical consideration as to make any straightforward formulations of them difficult, if not impossible" (297). Spiegelberg (2nd ed. 2: 510) speaks of the positive and the negative characteristics of Sartre's descriptive method based on intuition and the choice of his examples.

²¹ Hartmann draws a parallel between Sartre's *BN* and Hegel's *Encyclopedia* and *Logic*: "Hegel's philosophical system is laid out in an architectonic order, which might be called a 'projective' order: notions occurring at the beginning of the *Logic*--being, determinate being, being-for-itself--have analogies in subsequent notions or recur in them in an

amplified manner” (130); see also 130-32. From Hartmann’s formal analysis of Hegel’s philosophy in its dialectical movement we could infer some formal principles of Sartre’s writing and dialectical thinking. Hartmann’s comparative approach leads him to this conclusion: “Sartre’s philosophy in EN [BN] is found to be the consistent transformation of Hegel’s *Logic*, resulting from a rejection of the immanence of thought” (132). Catalano points out numerous cases of Sartre’s referring to different parts of *BN* in order to develop his notions (63, 68 n. 8, 69, 72, 72 n. 11, 74, 88, 96, 103 n. 5, 108 n. 10, 110 n. 11, etc.).

²² Catalano explains some such cases (14, 26 n. 5, 29-30, 35 n. 13, 41 n. 14, 44, 46 n. 16, 57 n. 2, 79 n. 2, 118 n. 7, 126, 126 n. 11, 132 n. 1, 133 n. 2, 139 n. 5, 141 n. 6, 153 n. 2). Hartmann also deals with this problem (5 n. 8, 10 n. 30, 14-15 n. 47, 27, 29, 29 n. 92, 38 n. 25); for the meanings of such pivotal terms such as consciousness (four interpretations), the being-for-itself (two interpretations), and the in-itself (two interpretations), see Hartmann 44, 68, 87; see also 134. Naess observes: “Sometimes Sartre seems to be a slave to his own complicated terminology” (298 n. 42); see also the interesting observations on Sartre’s terms on 303 and 358. Barnes touches on the meaning of the being-for-itself (*Sartre* 53-54) and discusses three characteristics of consciousness (55-65). See also Spiegelberg (2nd ed. 2: 491).

²³ See Hartmann xvii, 5 n. 8, 6 n. 12, 10 n. 29, 11 n. 33, 21 n. 59, 22 n. 63. One of the striking examples of how Sartre reshapes terms is the way he borrows Hegel’s definition of time and uses it, with a quite different meaning, in his definition of human reality or consciousness: “Sie [die Zeit] ist das Seyn, das, indem es *ist*, *nicht* ist, und indem es *nicht* ist, *ist*” (Hegel, *Enzyklopädie* § 258, 20: 247); compare with Sartre’s: human reality or consciousness “is what it is not and which is not what it is” (*BN* 63, 74); see Hartmann’s comments on this case (94-95). Naess (280, 292-93) points out some cases in which Sartre translates Heidegger’s terms into French. See also Fry 63 n. 77, 112, etc. Spiegelberg, as mentioned, deals predominantly with the similarities and differences in the phenomenology of Sartre, on the one hand, and Husserl and Heidegger, on the other (2nd ed. 2: 445-515).

²⁴ Catalano, for instance, translates “*est été*” as “brought-to-be” rather than “made-to-be” which is Barnes’ (and Hartmann’s) version. Catalano (68 n. 7, 189 n. 3, 198 n. 1) also points out other examples of unconvincing translations. Hartmann provides several examples of incorrect translations of “*est été*” (64 n. 16; see also 21 n. 58, 35 n. 5, 62 n. 6, 88 n. 100). Naess in his quotes from Sartre often uses, within the same quote, more than one translation. Manser (Preface, 45-46, 118 n. 1) prefers to make his own translations. See also Fry 11 n. 27. The third section of the chapter on temporality in *BN*, “Original Temporality and Psychic Temporality: Reflection,” is plagued by the difficulties in the translation of the key terms “reflection,” “reflective,” “reflected-on,” etc. (*BN* 151 n. 8).

²⁵ Catalano writes: “Strictly speaking, being-in-itself is not an *in-itself* because it totally lacks selfhood” (97 n. 2). See also Hartmann 22 n. 62. Naess (290-91 n. 33, 300, 300 n. 44) makes interesting observations on Sartre’s terms.

²⁶ At this point Sartre’s initial overcoming of the ontological paradox of time--namely, that time has no being and time has being--reminds us of Augustine’s provisional solution of the same aporia. To the skeptical argument that time has no being Augustine opposes the argument that we speak in positive and meaningful terms of the being of time (Ricoeur, *Time* 1: 7). Sartre refers to the use of language in this way: “Thus the particular tenses of the perfect indicate beings who all really exist although in diverse modes of being, but of which the one *is* and at the same time *was the other*” (*BN* 112). See also Sartre’s analysis of the expression “‘to have’ a past” and its substitution by “‘to be’ its own past” (112-14), especially assertions such as “the term ‘was’ is a mode of being” (114); for language as a proof of the being of time, see also 110-14. In the section on the past, the present, and the future, Sartre time and again makes use of aphorisms, common sayings, etc., i.e., of inherited wisdom about time fixed in language. The section on the ontology of temporality is based on a common verbal agreement: “Temporality is often considered as an indefinable. Everybody admits however that it is before all else a succession” (130). Sartre’s positive thesis of duration is implicitly based on the tense system of language (144-45). Catalano (123-24), by means of his examples, makes this implicit connection between the being of the duration and the verbal tenses explicit.

²⁷ Cf. “a universal Present” (*BN* 112), “universal Temporality” (*BN* 129).

²⁸ And yet, Sartre is not easy to pin down, for the general and the particular future are intermingled, and “myself” and “I” are interchangeable with “the *Self*” as it is in this important passage: “The Future is the ideal point where the sudden infinite compression of facticity (Past), of the For-itself (Present), and of its possible (a particular Future) will at last cause the *Self* to arise as the existence in-itself of the For-itself. The project of the For-itself toward the future which it *is* is a project toward the In-itself” (*BN* 128). Here one should note the strange combination “a particular Future,” the small letter of “future” in the second sentence, and the transition from a capital to small letter in the case of in-itself in the first and in the second sentence. One could say, in general, that if Sartre’s usage of capital and small letters in the section on the three temporal dimensions highlights the notions of the universal and the concrete past, present, and future, this usage is

inconsistent. When speaking of the past and the present, Sartre prefers the small letters for the for-itself, the in-itself, the past, and the present, whereas in the part devoted to the future, Sartre, as a whole, switches to capital letters.

²⁹ In this case, I prefer again to follow Sartre's logic and not the arrangement of his arguments. In fact, this second case originally comes after Sartre's first positive description of the internal connection between A and B in BN 132.

³⁰ Cf.: "In both cases [Descartes' and Kant's] it is a temporal (God or 'I') which is charged with providing the non-temporals (instants) with their temporality. Temporality becomes a simple external and abstract relation between non-temporal substances; there is an attempt to reconstruct it entirely with a-temporal materials" (BN 133). Or: "In a word, how could a being with a-temporal structure apprehend as temporals (or intend as such) in-itself isolated in their non-temporality? Thus inasmuch as temporality is at once a form of separation and a form of synthesis, it does not allow itself either to be derived from a non-temporality or to be imposed *from without* upon non-temporals" (BN 134).

³¹ It seems that in criticizing the theory of the temporally ubiquitous witness Sartre again is in the tradition of Augustine who considers this problem when he thinks of the relation between time and eternity (cf. Ricoeur, *Time* 1: 22-30).

³² In seeing the present as the unity of the three ekstases Sartre, opposing Heidegger's stress on the future, joins the tradition of Augustine for whom the distention of the soul (*distentio animi*) brings the three temporal dimensions into the present (cf. Ricoeur, *Time* 1: 16-22).

³³ Macann, as pointed out in note 4, is skeptical about Sartre's theory of temporality as a whole. His criticism is particularly strong in respect to the dynamic of temporality and crystallizes in the question: "How can change be a characteristic of the For-itself if there is no place in Sartre's analyses for the category of becoming?" (*Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 136).

³⁴ For Catalano, the difficult reading of this section is due to "the arrangement of tenses and long sentences" (123).

³⁵ In connection with this assertion, Macann skeptically asks: "But is a succession of negations (not this, not this, not this) really so different from a succession of instants (this, this, this)?" (*Four Phenomenological Philosophers* 136).

³⁶ The psychic duration, says Sartre, occurs when I feel the flow of time, apprehend myself as a unity of succession, and as a result, am conscious of enduring (BN 150).

³⁷ "Pure reflection, the simple presence of the reflective for-itself to the for-itself reflected-on, is at once the original form of reflection and its ideal form; it is that on whose foundation impure reflection appears, it is that also which is never first *given*; and it is that which must be won by a sort of katharsis. Impure or accessory reflection [. . .] includes pure reflection but surpasses it and makes further claims" (BN 155).

³⁸ Barnes seems not to connect Sartre's historicity to Heidegger's *Geschichtlichkeit*, for she derives the English "historicizes itself" directly from the French *s'historialise* (BN 158 n. 11).

³⁹ Catalano writes of the ego in this way: "*This ego cannot be consciousness because it is present to consciousness as an object to be studied and does not have the perfect translucency of consciousness*" (109; Catalano's emphasis).

⁴⁰ It seems that in the opposition of psychic temporality and original temporality Sartre follows, once again, in the footsteps of Augustine's theory of time. Ricoeur distinguishes two modes of time in Augustine's (and in his, Ricoeur's) temporal theory in general: first, objective, linear, physical time which can be compared to Sartre's psychic temporality based on the in-itself (or, to be more accurate, it is our *perception* of objective time which is Sartre's psychic time); and second, subjective, existential, phenomenological time (presented in Augustine by the notion of *distentio animi*) which reminds one of Sartre's original temporality based in the for-itself (see Ricoeur, *Time* 1: 5-30; and Ricoeur, "Narrative Time").

⁴¹ The simplest and most radical operation in such deplorable "philosophical readings" of literature is to use the editorial scissors to get rid of these parts of the literary work that are "superfluous" in respect of certain "pure" philosophical ideas. This is the approach of Kaufmann (53), for instance, who cuts off the whole second part of Dostoevsky's "Notes from the Underground" as well as the conclusion of the first part.

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**Музеят – начини на употреба в два балкански романа
(„Черно мляко”от Елиф Шафак и „Музеят на безусловната
капитулация” от Дубравка Угрешич)**

Резюме

Статията разглежда възможната концепция за музей в литературата – „музей” не само като метафора, а като специфичен тип роман. Това е опит да се проследят възможните пресрещания (или начини на употреба) между два балкански романа – историческия музей на Дубравка Угрешич и литературния харем на Елиф Шафак. Изследователският фокус е в непрестанното изследване и търсене на човешката многоликост и човешката цялостност.

В автобиографичния си роман *Черно мляко* Елиф Шафак се опитва да „уреди” собствен литературен музей. В него тя успява да събере писателки като Зелда Фицджералд, Силвия Плат, Севги Сойсал, Халиде Едип, Айн Ранд... В *Музеят на безусловната капитулация* Дубравка Угрешич е съумяла да събере, консервира и покаже (без привидна връзка) фрагментите/снимките/книгите от своята собствена биография като своеобразен роман-музей.

Ключови думи: музей; колекция; инвентарна книга; албум; балкански романи; писателки; Елиф Шафак; Дубравка Угрешич.

**The Museum and its Usages in Two Balkan Novels
(Elif Shafak's *Black Milk* and Dubravka Ugrešić's *The Museum of Unconditional Surrender*)**

Abstract

This article examines the possible concept of the museum in literature – a ‘museum’ not only like a metaphor but also like a specific type of novel. This is an attempt to trace the possible meetings (or usages) of two Balkan novels – Dubravka Ugrešić's historical museum and Elif Shafak's literary harem. The focus of the study is on the never-ending quest and the search for human multifacetedness and human completeness.

In her autobiographical novel *Black Milk: On Writing, Motherhood and the Harem Within* Elif Shafak is trying to ‘arrange’ her own literary museum. She was able to gather in her ‘collection’ women writers like Zelda Fitzgerald, Sylvia Plath, Sevgi Soysal, Halide Edib, Ayn Rand, etc. In *The Museum of Unconditional Surrender* Dubravka Ugrešić was able to collect, preserve and show (without apparent connection between them) the fragments/photographs/books of her own biography as a kind of ‘museum’ novel.

Keywords: museum; collection; inventory book; album; Balkan novels; women writers; Elif Shafak; Dubravka Ugrešić.

На своята XXII генерална асамблея във Виена през 2007 г. Международният съвет на музеите ИКОМ определя музея като „постоянна институция, отворена за публиката, в услуга на обществото и неговото развитие, която събира, консервира, проучва, комуникира и показва

¹ **Веселина БЕЛЕВА** е докторант по Сравнително балканско литературознание в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски” (Факултет Славянски филологии, Катедра „Общо, индоевропейско и балканско езикознание”), уредник в Исторически музей – Исперих.

материалното и нематериалното наследство на човека и обкръжаващата го среда, с цел образование, изследване и развлечение.”² Въпреки привидно монолитната дефиниция, в днешната епоха на информационни технологии понятието „музей” предизвиква разнопосочни асоциации.

В Древна Елада „μουσείον” е храм на музите, философска школа, място за съзерцание, но и институцията, основана от Птолемей I Сотер около 308 г. пр. Хр. в Александрия, Египет. С разпадането на Римската империя, погълнала преди това елинистическите държави на Балканите и Мала Азия, понятието е забравено. Терминът „музей” се появява отново през XV век във Флоренция, за да обозначи колекцията на Лоренцо де Медичи. До XVII век латинската транскрипция „museum”, широко разпространена в Европа наред с „кабинет” и „камера”, служи за описание на колекция от любопитни предмети. По време на Просвещението се използва и в названието на книги – *Поетически музей* е публикувана през 1784 г., за да подчертае изчерпателността на обхвата на литературни произведения. Терминът „музей”, означаващ както експонатите, така и сградата, в която са разположени, се използва за първи път в Англия през 1682 г., за да отбележи преместването на колекцията на Елиас Ашмол в Оксфордския университет.³ Възползвам се от ретроспекцията, предложена в книгата *Историческият музей – храм на добродетели*, за да очертая основните значения (или начини на употреба) на музея: като храм, философска школа (вид институция), колекция от предмети и не на последно място книга. Стефанка Кръстева подчертава разнопосочните възгледи в съвременната музеология относно културния смисъл и роля на музея и цитира Феодоров: „Музеите са подобни на книгите: както са разнообразни книгите, така са разнообразни и музеите.”⁴

Мислен като книга, музеят несъмнено е (инвентарна) книга, в която са вписани (колекции) културни ценности – (не)материални свидетелства за човешка история. Насочвайки се към тази идея, бих искала да припомня концепцията на Амелия Личева, според която в днешната интернет-епоха речникът е актуален жанр, заради краткостта и информацията.⁵ Според нея речникът може да се уподоби, освен на енциклопедия, на библиотека, географска карта, огледало. В тази редица заместители, след която Личева е поставила многоточие, ще си

² Официален сайт на ИКОМ - <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/> (06.01.2017): „A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.” – мой превод.

³ Вж. Иванов, Д., Н.Дебрюне. *Историческият музей – храм на добродетели*. София, Университетско издателство „За буквите – о писменехъ”, 2012, с. 8-9.

⁴ Кръстева, Стефанка. *Студии по музеология (книга втора). Тотери, тезауруси, кунсткамери, виртуални пространства*. София, Издателска къща ФДК, 2003, с. 11.

⁵ Личева, Амелия. *Жанрът на речника*. – В: *Езикът и литературата – средство за /не/разбирателство*. Под редакцията на д-р Илиана Монова. София, УИ „Св. Климент Охридски”, 2003, с. 137-138.

позволя да добавя и музей. Музеят като книга (подобно на речника) предполага доверие, тъй като „уверява“, че вътре всичко е вписано и се пази.⁶ Вписаното обаче е резултат от селективен личен избор. В този смисъл музеят е нещо повече от метафора, като тип речник, той се превръща в жанр.

Личева онагледява представата за литературата като речник с известна книга на Дубравка Угрешич. Всъщност и двете писателки, за които ще стане дума, имат литературни опити в жанра „речник“. В началото на своя *Американски речник* (1993 г.) Угрешич отбелязва, че в постмодерното време този все по-често срещан жанр е излязъл от лингвистичните си рамки и се е преселил в литературата.⁷ От своя страна Елиф Шафак структурира свой *Речник на погледите*⁸ (2000 г.), като: „Непрекъснато разбъркваше разни истории и слагаше края за начало и началото в средата. Взимаше откъси от филми, сънища, статии и енциклопедии и ги скалпваше.“⁹ Енциклопедия, речник, книга, колекция, музей – уподобяването уверено стига до литературната творба и по-специално до романа. Може би актуалността на жанра „речник“ (респективно „музей“) е обусловена и от разнопосочните идеи за романа. Във великолепноето си есе *Музеи и романи* Орхан Памук уподобява романа на музей, като изтъква техния общ потенциал да архивират:

„Романите изграждат също така и един богат и въздействащ архив – на споделени човешки чувства, на начините, по които възприемаме обикновените неща, на нашите жестове, изказвания и позиции. Различни звуци, думи, разговорни фрази, миризми, образи, вкусове, предмети и цветове се запечатват в паметта само защото писателите ги забелязват и описват старателно в своите творби.“¹⁰

Всъщност и двете творби – обект на анализ в тази статия, трудно се вписват в жанра „роман“. В бележката преди първата част на *Музеят на безусловната капитулация* Дубравка Угрешич уподобява читателя на музеен посетител и го призовава да чете романа със съзнанието, че между главите, също както между експонатите, няма здрави връзки, но постепенно те се установяват сами.¹¹ В обръщение към читателя, когото оприличава на пътешественик, Елиф Шафак определя всяка книга като „пътуване, карта, отразяваща сложните

⁶ Пак там, с. 139 – Според Личева речникът вдъхва увереността, че в него всичко се пази.

⁷ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Американски речник*. Превод от хърватски Жела Георгиева. София, ИК „Стигмати“, 1999, с. 11-12.

⁸ Романът на Шафак излиза именно под това заглавие на български език. Преводът е от английски, по изричното желание на авторката. Оригиналното заглавие на турски е *Mahrem*, на английски език – *The Gaze*.

⁹ Шафак, Елиф. *Речник на погледите*. Превод от английски Красимира Абаджиева. София, „Егмонт България“, 2015, с. 174.

¹⁰ Памук, Орхан. *Наивният и сантименталният писател*. Превод от английски Боряна Джанабетска. София, Изд. „Еднорог“, 2012, с. 110-111.

¹¹ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*. Превод от хърватски Жела Георгиева. София, ИК „Стигмати“, 2004, с. 11-12.

криволици на човешкия ум и душа.”¹² *Черно мляко* не прави изключение – тя е „коктейл от разказвачество, майчинство, копнеж по пътешествията и депресия”, с нея писателката отвежда читателя на „две пътешествия едновременно – в Долината на бебетата и в Гората на книгите.”¹³ В този смисъл на романа може да се гледа като на книга, в която са вписани културни ценности (експонати) – своеобразен пътуващ музей, който периодично прекосява географски граници, надмогва забравата и преактуализира паметта. Типът роман-музей, разбира се, зависи от тематичния обхват на архива (колекцията).

Преди да навърши тридесет и пет години, родената в Страсбург, но израснала в Истанбул и Мадрид Елиф Шафак се описва в следната последователност: писателка, номад, космополит, обичащ суфизма, пацифист, вегетарианка и жена. Тя е жена, в душата си раздвоена между Изтока и Запада.¹⁴ „Но ако пишеш първо на английски, как можем още да те наричаме турски автор? Ти сега си една от *тях*, а не една от *нас*?”¹⁵ – това е реакцията на турски критик по повод факта, че Шафак пише романите си на английски и турски език. Авторката споделя, че не вярва в изкуствената двойственост между „тях” и „нас” и смята, че има и други пътища в света на творчеството – а именно номадството. Според нея вместо предварително зададена, фиксирана идентичност, можем да имаме множество флуидни принадлежности. В интервю пред Ирена Груджинска-Грос¹⁶ Дубравка Угрешич споделя, че няма никакви национални чувства. Майка ѝ е българка със слабо развито чувство за етническа принадлежност, баща ѝ – хърватин, искрено вярвал в идеята за многонационална Югославия. Самоопределението ѝ като „юго”, „постюго”, „балканка”, „циганка” е нейният начин да отхвърли налагането на определена идентичност. Две писателки, съдбовно свързани с Балканите, не съумяват „да принадлежат” на една географска ширина, нито на една единствена философия. Творбите им са опити за преодоляване на принадлежности, на граници – физически и духовни.

В романа *Министерство на болката* Дубравка Угрешич казва, че „всеки е уредник в собствения си музей”.¹⁷ В книгата *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*, издадена преди *Министерството*, писателката е съумяла да събере, консервира, изследва и покаже (без

¹² Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. X.

¹³ Пак там.

¹⁴ Пак там, с. VIII; с. 96.

¹⁵ Elif Shafak. *But why do you write your books in English and Turkish?* Pen Atlas – 28.11.2014. <https://www.englishpen.org/pen-atlas/but-why-do-you-write-your-books-in-english-and-turkish> (06.01.2017).

¹⁶ Ирена Груджинска-Грос. *Разговор с Дубравка Угрешич*. Превод от полски: Катя Белчева. Електронно списание „Литературен клуб”, бр. 125, год. X, октомври 2008 г. <http://www.litclub.com/library/prev/ugreshich/interview.html> (06.01.2017).

¹⁷ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Министерство на болката*. Превод от хърватски Людмила Миндова. София, Факел експрес, 2005, с. 129.

привидна връзка между тях) фрагментите от своята биография в своеобразен роман-музей, в който капитулира собствената ѝ цялостност. В автобиографичната *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас* Елиф Шафак също се опитва да „уреди“ собствен музей, откривайки в себе си минихарем от шест малки жени. Писателката експонира в своя литературен музей Зелда Фицджералд, Силвия Плат, Севги Соисал, Халиде Едип, Симон дьо Бовоар, Айн Ранд... Възможната концепция за музей в литературата дава основание два балкански романа (с цялата условност на понятието в конкретния случай) да станат обект на сравнителен анализ. Доколкото културно-исторически в Европа най-рано се формира музеоложка школа и още през Античността на Балканите се раждат идеите за същността на музея¹⁸, музеят като общоевропейски феномен хипотетично би могъл да бъде върхът на равнобедрения триъгълник в „триъгълния маршрут“¹⁹, който формулира Р. Л. Станчева за успешното сравняване на югоизточноевропейски (балкански) литератури. Тук ще се опитам в сравнителен план да проследя възможните пресрещания (или начини на употреба) между историческия музей на Дубравка Угрешич и литературния харем на Елиф Шафак. Изследователският фокус е в непрестанното изследване и търсене на човешката многоликост и човешката цялостност.

1. Елиф Шафак: Литературният музей.

В *Черно мляко* Елиф Шафак признава, че книгите, които са ѝ най-скъпи, я чакат в различни кътчета на света. В ръчния ѝ багаж на пътуващ писател обаче има нещо, което носи, където и да отиде – „кесийка, стара като Мъртво море, но лека като перце, която не подлежи на деклариране на никоя митница по света“²⁰ – изкуството да разказва. Ако Западът противопоставя писано слово и памет²¹, в паметта на Шафак източната и западната писмена традиция водят диалог – фрагменти от *Доктор Живаго* на Пастернак се смесват с някои от *Духовните стихове* на Руми. Силните спомени заместват дебелите книжни тела. В рецензията си²² за *Черно мляко* Рафия Закариа отбелязва, че авторката води читателите на пътуване, което променя представите ни за идентичност – тя е едновременно туркиня и американка,

¹⁸ Вж. Иванов, Д., Н. Дебрюне. *Историческият музей – храм на добродетели*. София, Университетско издателство „За буквите – о писменехъ“, 2012, с. 9

¹⁹ Вж. Станчева, Р. Л. *Среща в прочита. Сравнително литературознание и балканистика*. (Монографично изследване). София, Изд. Балкани, 2011, с. 72-84.

²⁰ Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България“, 2012, с. 27.

²¹ Вж. Личева, Амелия. Жанрът на речника. – В: *Езикът и литературата – средство за /не/разбирателство*. Под редакцията на д-р Илиана Монова. София, УИ „Свети Климент Охридски“, 2003, с. 138

²² *The Women Within Elif Shafak by Rafia Zakaria*. May 10, 2011.
<http://www.elifsafak.us/en/degerlendirmeler.asp?islem=degerlendirme&id=41> (06.01.2017).

французойка и испанка, читател на Руми и Силвия Плат, който се учи от Симон дьо Бовоар, но и от възрастната си турска баба.

В предговора към читателя Елиф Шафак споделя, че, подобно на мнозина други белетристи, се чувства по-близка с мъртвите, а не със съвременните писатели.²³ По дефиниция музеите колекционират минало. Шафак колекционира писателки, чиито биографии (пре)разказват историята на дилемата писане – майчинство. В (не)съзвучието на техните гласове „се чува” раздвоеността на самата авторка. Някои от тези писателки са избрали първото, други са опитали да съчетаят и двете. *Черно мляко* напомня каталог или инвентарна книга, която (пре)среща личности и лични истории, без да се интересува от националния или хронологичния принцип. Те са свързани чрез писането и майчинството, мастилото и млякото. В този случай музеят е храм на музите – писателки, вдъхновили или вдъхновяващи авторката, а не пантеон на славата, представящ национални герои. Структурирането му представлява каталогизиране на женски имена. В началото са дадени кратки биографични данни (една от основните функции на музея е да популяризира). Пример за това е първоначалната информация за Анаис Нин – родена през 1903 г. във Франция, писателка, оказала влияние не само върху световната литература, но и върху женското движение през XX век. Макар да е оставила романи, разкази и литературна критика, тя е известна най-вече с дневниците си.²⁴ Извън сухите факти, историята на Анаис Нин „пътува” заедно с Елиф Шафак по време на първото ѝ пътуване до Америка. В самолета Елиф си спомня за Анаис. Историите на двете писателки си съответстват – Нин също пристига в САЩ, но през 1914 г. „с калъфа с цигулката на брат си в едната ръка и с дневника си в другата, който предстои да запълни.”²⁵

Всъщност след реалната си среща с известната турска писателка Адалет Агаоглу, съзнателно избрала да няма деца, Шафак е изправена пред дилемата писане – майчинство. В паметта ѝ избухва експлозия от имена на писателки, станали майки и на такива, останали без деца. Но в инвентарната книга авторката вписва биографични данни само за определени имена, които сформират колекции. Тези колекции обединяват писателки от Османската империя, съвременна Турция, Западна Европа и Америка, дори Япония. Например, особено място в музея на Шафак заема Урсула ле Гуин – „ръката, която люлее люлката и пише книгите”²⁶. До нея стои Халиде Едип – „феминистка, политическа активистка и белетристка, дивата на турската

²³ Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. IX.

²⁴ Пак там, с. 27.

²⁵ Пак там, с. 109.

²⁶ Пак там, с. 273.

литература от османско време”.²⁷ Третото име е на Нобеловата лауреатка Дорис Лесинг²⁸ – вечното момиче, което ненавижда да стои по цял ден с невръстно дете. Може би осъзнала опасността от тази състаряваща скука, Джейн Остин²⁹ остава вярна на „самотната си изтънченост”.

Деветнайсет писателки формират ядрото, макроколекцията на пътуващия музей *Черно мляко*. На тях са посветени отделни есета – портрети. Първа е въобразената сестра на поета Фузули – Фирузе.³⁰ Вслушвайки се в гласа на Вирджиния Улф, Елиф Шафак тръгва „по следите на една изгубена белетристика”³¹ – по следите на жени, чиято писателска дарба е останала в сянка. С портрета, който прави на София Андреевна Берс,³² авторката оценностоява интелектуалния ѝ принос в литературното наследство на Толстой. Историята на Зелда Фицджералд е история „на ръба”³³ – между авторазпознаване на (не)прикритите цитати в романите на Скот Фицджералд и битието ѝ като автор на дневници, писма и на полуавтобиографичния роман *Запази ми този валс*.

На „празничен пир”³⁴ в паметта на Шафак „се срещат” французойката Симон дьо Бовоар, японките Юко Цушима и Тошико Тамура и туркинята Севги Сойсал. Въпреки разстоянието, което ги разделя, те съжителстват в своя творчески опит и общ език – този на феминизма. Неочаквано падат границите между писателки от Изтока и Запада. Както забелязва Рафия Закариа, „Шафак се движи в противоречиви географии.”³⁵ „Малките жени с големи сърца”³⁶ Луиза Мей Олкът и Джордж Елиът владеят „дидактиката, която разказва истории”³⁷. Обединява ги изкуството, което, както смята Елиът, трябва да „увеличава състраданието между хората”.³⁸ Шафак споделя тази представа за творчеството като средство да се самозабравиш заради други хора и други истории.³⁹ Дороти Паркър – „най-остроумната жена в Щатите”, „черната майка”

²⁷ Пак там, с. 166.

²⁸ Пак там, с. 215-217.

²⁹ Пак там, с. 105-106.

³⁰ Пак там, с. 32-40 – Есето, посветено на Фирузе, се нарича *Сестра с дарба*.

³¹ Пак там, с. 40.

³² Пак там, с. 61-65 – *Лунната жена* е есето, посветено на София Андреевна Берс.

³³ Пак там, с. 134-139 – Есето, посветено на Зелда, е със заглавие *Да седиш на ръба*.

³⁴ Пак там, с. 116-120 – *Празничен пир* е заглавието на есето, посветено на четирите писателки.

³⁵ Вж. *The Women Within Elif Shafak* by Rafia Zakaria. May 10, 2011.

³⁶ <http://www.elifsafak.us/en/degerlendirmeler.asp?islem=degerlendirme&id=41> (06.01.2017).

³⁷ Вж. Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. 178-182 – Есето, посветено на Луиза Мей Олкът и Джордж Елиът, е със заглавие *Малки жени, големи сърца*.

³⁸ Николчина, Миглена. *Родена от главата*. София, ИК „СЕМА РИП”, 2002, с. 142.

³⁹ Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. 182.

⁴⁰ Вж. Николчина, Миглена. *Родена от главата*. София, ИК „СЕМА РИП”, 2002, с. 143 – Николчина коментира възгледите на Джордж Елиът за морала в творчеството.

Одри Лорд и „ничията майка и съпруга” Сандра Сиснерос⁴⁰ – с книгите си те карат читателите да прескочат собствените си културни стени, да бракосъчетаят „белия баща” (разума) и „черната майка” (интуитивността). Ребека Уест не се уморява да се бори за социална справедливост и равенство, а Маргьорит Дюрас не се страхува да разработва едни и същи теми. Въпреки че днес е възприемана като муза на Рилке, Ницше и Фройд, в творчеството си Лу Андреас Саломе вижда жената като творец, не просто като извор на вдъхновение. Трите се срещат⁴¹ в процеса на „ставане” на женското начало, за което говори Симон дьо Бовоар. Алиса Зиновиевна Розенбаум се преражда в „нравствеността на рационалния егоизъм”⁴² и става Айн Ранд. А Силвия Плат просто не успява в „ставането”, тъй като изисква от себе си прекалено много – да постигне съвършенство в творчеството си (в което успява), но да бъде и „свърхжена” – „свършената Поетеса Майка”.⁴³ Тази непостижимост превръща и умирането в изкуство. В цитираното стихотворение „Аз искам, аз искам” огромното богоподобно бебе е именно това: свърхжеланието да бъдеш, неконтролируемата женственост.

Какво друго може да бъде музейният рефлекс за колекциониране на жени-творци в *Черно мляко*, ако не вулкан от женска творческа плодовитост, но и богатство от наследени устни разкази – предавани векове наред от баби на внучки. Именно тях ценят и Алис Уокър, и Тони Морисън⁴⁴, и Елиф Шафак. Самата Елиф Шафак е двадесетата писателка, която затваря/отваря кръга на женската плодовитост – тя разказва историите на тези писателки и пише тази книга, тя слуша този „Хор на несъзвучните гласове” в себе си. Цвета Хубенова пише за инстинкта ни към „м/н/оженето”⁴⁵, който всъщност е отваряне към света и към другите. По този модел разказвачката се у-множава в шест „малки жени” (по Луиза Мей Олкът), шест Палечки (по приказката на Андерсен), всяка от които разказва своя приказка. Малката Госпожичка Практична следи заглавия на книги за самопомощ. Дамата Дервиш говори на езика на Руми, Шамс от Тебриз и Ганди. Милейди Амбициозната Поклонница на Чехов се вдъхновява от творчеството на големия руски класик. Най-много философства Госпожица Циничната Интелектуалка – нейната реч огласяват Витгенщайн, Сартр, Валтер Бенямин, Мартин Хайдегер,

⁴⁰ Вж. Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. 208-213 – В есето *Книги и деца*, посветено на Дороти Паркър, Одри Лорд и Сандра Сиснерос, Шафак коментира метафората за творчеството като раждане.

⁴¹ Пак там, с. 234-238 – Лу Андреас Саломе, Маргьорит Дюрас и Ребека Уест „се срещат” в есето *Женското начало като незавършено повествование*.

⁴² Пак там, с. 170 – Есето за Айн Ранд се нарича *В прослава на егоизма*.

⁴³ Пак там, с. 78-83 – Есето за Силвия Плат е озаглавено *За поетите и бебетата*.

⁴⁴ Пак там, с. 250-254 – Есето за Алис Уокър и Тони Морисън се нарича *Писателки майки и техните деца*.

⁴⁵ Хубенова, Цвета. *Етика на наратива или удоволствие от м/н/оженето*. – В: *Езикът и литературата – средство за /не/разбирателство*. Под редакцията на д-р Илиана Монова. София, УИ „Свети Климент Охридски”, 2003, с. 179.

Емил Чоран, Хемингуей, Хана Арендт, Юлия Кръстева, Оскар Уайлд... Мама Сутляш е майчински настроена и се интересува от готварски рецепти. Незабравка Бовари не само отдава почит на героинята на Флобер, но владее езика на женското тяло – също като писателките Рита Мей Браун, Сара Уотърс, Александра Колонтай... Според Рафия Закария може би само една или две от шестте малки жени можем да определим като туркини и мюсюлманки. А да се сблъскаш с подобни типажи в книга, която включва думата „харем“ в заглавието си, е неочаквано.⁴⁶ Ако перифразирам Закария, може би именно тази дума е източният импулс за събиране на различни писателки и техните лични истории за майчинството и женствеността в една книга.

2. Дубравка Угрешич: Историческият музей.

„Изтритият живот и унищожената култура никога и с нищо не могат да се обновят. Затова днес Европа е пълна с музеи, които са замислени като места на колективен срам. Музеализираният срам е нещо като изкупление на греховете.”⁴⁷ Това е написала с горчивина Дубравка Угрешич в едно от есетата в сборника *Няма никой въщи*. Такъв е и Музеят на безусловната капитулация, построен в Източен Берлин, за да припомня историята за капитулирането на хитлеристка Германия на 9 май 1945 г. Но той е отправната точка, от която едноименният роман на Угрешич ще се опита да музеализира женската памет, женския разказ на историята, за да спаси миналото и да изчисти срама от паметта. Елиф Шафак вписва своите „музейни човешки експонати”⁴⁸ – писателки от различни епохи и националности – в своя инвентарна книга. Според Моника Попеску⁴⁹ в основата на *Музеят на безусловната капитулация* са снимките. На колективните музеи на срама Дубравка Угрешич противопоставя домашния музей – семейния (личния) албум, на голямата История – семейната (личната) история.

Романът е структуриран от фотографии, „реални или вербални”⁵⁰, които документират субективността на разказа. Неговото начало се крие в дамската чантичка от свинска кожа, която майката на разказвачката донася в далечната 1946 г. с идването си от България в следвоенна Югославия. Мамината чанта се превръща във фондохранилище на спомени – снимки, писма, жълтица, сребърна табакера, копринен шал и кичур коса. С течение на времето домашният

⁴⁶ Вж. *The Women Within Elif Shafak* by Rafia Zakaria. May 10, 2011.

<http://www.elifsafak.us/en/degerlendirmeler.asp?islem=degerlendirme&id=41> (06.01.2017).

⁴⁷ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Няма никой въщи*. Превод от хърватски Людмила Миндова. София, Факел експрес, 2006, с. 161.

⁴⁸ Пак там, с. 158.

⁴⁹ Popescu, Monica. *Imaging the Past: Cultural Memory in Dubravka Ugrešić's The Museum of Unconditional Surrender*. – In: *Studies in the Novel*, Volume 39, number 3 (Fall 2007). Copyright 2007 by University of North Texas, p. 336.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 337.

музей се препълва (със снимки), женският наратив ескалира, тогава чантата отстъпва място на албумите. Снимките са подредени в албуми, както любимите писателки на Шафак са включени в отделни есета, но хронологическият принцип отново е нарушен – „поради субективното усещане за нещата”⁵¹. Подобни източноевропейски албуми (пълни със снимки или празни) се продават на битпазарите в Берлин. Кой може да предлага подобни ценности, ако не хората, които според Угрешич са „музейна раса”⁵². Моника Попеску отбелязва, че дамската чанта от свинска кожа е иронично намигване към патриархалните класификации на архетипните женски пространства, тя е потенциален фотоалбум, който от своя страна постепенно се превръща в музей.⁵³ Всъщност и чантата, и албумите са „пътуващи музеи” (пълни с лични движими културни ценности), каквато е пълната с цитати от различни писатели, „стара като Мъртво море” кесия на Елиф Шафак.

Освен албумите със снимки, най-голямото богатство на майката от *Музеят на безусловната капитулация* са книгите – донесените в куфара и по-късно купените. За разказвачката (дъщерята) майчиното лице е снимка, върху която може да се прочете „утайката на прочетените романи, изгледани филми, утайката на женските съдби, силни, романтични, страстни...”⁵⁴ Майката обича заглавията с женски имена – Ана Каренина, Ема Бовари, Кари Арманс, Ребека, Тес, Луси Кроун... В тях дъщерята „напипва” личната история на майка си и присвоява нейната библиотека, въпреки че трудно класифицира книгите (както и снимките).

3. Ангелът на историята и романът (музеят) на носталгията.

Музеите, структурирани от двете писателки, се пресрещат в безспорната според Угрешич връзка между двата жанра – семейния албум и автобиографията: „албумът е материалната автобиография, автобиографията е вербалният албум”.⁵⁵ В литературната колекция на Елиф Шафак влизат писателки, които самата тя е чела или чете и които „пишат” автобиографичния ѝ роман. През техните лични и творчески истории прозира невъзможната абсолютна истина за писането и майчинството. От своя страна неудържимите колекции от албуми (снимки) и книги на Дубравка Угрешич поставят под въпрос границите между историографско и литературно писане.

⁵¹ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*. Превод от хърватски Жела Георгиева. София, ИК „Стигмати”, 2004, с. 37.

⁵² Пак там, с. 349.

⁵³ Popescu, Monica. Imaging the Past: Cultural Memory in Dubravka Ugrešić's *The Museum of Unconditional Surrender*. – In: *Studies in the Novel*, Volume 39, number 3 (Fall 2007). Copyright 2007 by University of North Texas, p. 342.

⁵⁴ Пак там, с. 142.

⁵⁵ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*. Превод от хърватски Жела Георгиева. София, ИК „Стигмати”, 2004, с. 55.

Музейният експонат може да разкрива, но и да скрива история, както в случая с пожълтялата снимка на трите непознати къпещи се жени. Снимката, която може да се види и в българското издание на романа на Угрешич, е направена в началото на XX век на река Пакра в Хърватска. Това е единствената известна на притежателката (разказвачката) информация.⁵⁶ Неизвестната история на тези жени, също като разказа за Фирузе, е метафора на пренебрегваните от голямата История женски истории. В *Черно мляко* Елиф Шафак тръгва по следите на писателки, чиято дарба е останала в сянка. В *Музеят на безусловната капитулация* Дубравка Угрешич музеализира непознатите, непрочетени и ненаписани делнични женски истории. Това са биографии на жени като майка ѝ, като баба ѝ, която в далечната черноморска Варна плетяла „много груби пуловери без ръкави, такива, които „топят кръста“, тупала многобройните възглавници и правела „баници, мекици и джиджипапа“.⁵⁷ Леля Пупа, госпожа Бина и Сингерграфинята са като сестри на Мама Сутляш от *Черно мляко*, която отглежда бегонии, прави туршии и мармалади, приготвя десерти. Първата е учителка, специалист по въпросите на елегантността, втората лови бримките на скъсаните женски чорапи, а третата е шивачка, сраснала се със своята шевна машина. Техните биографии „пишат“ голямата автобиография на разказвачката, която като в хипнотичен транс меси сладки в огромни количества и раздава на приятелите си. В нея писането, също като готвенето, шиенето или плетенето, се превръща в „женска работа“. Женските дейности и женската памет стават фондохранилища, музеи на безценна културна информация. А романът – инвентарна книга или албум, които вписват това музейно богатство от истории.

Автобиографията на разказвачката е (не)написана върху онази осветена групов снимка, на която е трябвало да се виждат тя и нейните приятелки, също преподавателки в университета – Нуша, Доти, Ивана, Алма и Динка. Относно тази снимка Моника Попеску коментира размиването на изкуствените граници между фотография, писане, скулптура, арт инсталации...⁵⁸ Тя прилича на белите страници в дневника на Анаис Нин – готови да бъдат изписани (оплодени) от черното мастило. Осветената снимка „едновременно позволява и възпрепятства паметта“⁵⁹. Но кой може да предизвика спомнянето, т.е. записването на всички онези женски истории в *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*? И кога млякото почернява от писателско мастило? Когато дойде *Angelus Novus*, за който говори Госпожица Циничната

⁵⁶ Пак там, с. 17.

⁵⁷ Пак там, с. 202-203.

⁵⁸ Popescu, Monica. Imaging the Past: Cultural Memory in Dubravka Ugrešić's *The Museum of Unconditional Surrender*. – In: *Studies in the Novel*, Volume 39, number 3 (Fall 2007). Copyright 2007 by University of North Texas, p. 345-346.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 347.

Интелектуалка и който изглежда толкова „самотен и безнадежден“.⁶⁰ Албумът и автобиографията според Угрешич са „дейности, ръководени от ръката на невидимия ангел на носталгията.“⁶¹ Романите на двете писателки се (пре)срещат в интерпретацията на Валтер Бенямин, в която ангелът от картината на Паул Клее „Angelus Novus“ е „Ангел на историята“⁶². Според Бенямин неговото лице е обърнато към миналото. Вместо верига от събития, той вижда единствено катастрофа, която трупа отломки върху отломки. Ангелът би искал да събере разбитото, но не успява. Неслучайно в своя статия, озаглавена *Моят герой: Валтер Бенямин*⁶³, Елиф Шафак нарича немския философ „алхимик“, който смесва литературата с философия и който в творчеството си непрекъснато колекционира. Подобно на него и Угрешич, и Шафак успешно смесват литературата с други изкуства. В този смисъл *Черно мляко* може да се разглежда като албум с портрети на различни писателки, които, събрани заедно, „изрисуват“ (авто)портрета на авторката на романа. Снимките, реални и вербални отломки от миналото, се наслагват и оформят колаж с образа на разказвачката в *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*.

„Четенето“ на *Черно мляко* и *Музеят...* през визиите на Бенямин дава възможност романът-музей да бъде дефиниран през призмата на литературознанието. Определянето му като „инвентарна книга“, „колекция“ или „албум“ от гледна точка на музеологията съвсем естествено води до диференциране на „литературен“ (Шафак) и „исторически“ (Угрешич) роман-музей – в зависимост от предложения архив. Сравнението „през Бенямин“ дава възможност за свободно превключване от музеологията в литературознанието и обратно. В този смисъл книгата (колекция, албум) от портрети/снимки представлява колаж от автобиографични фрагменти – спомени, умело вплетени в тъканта на автобиографичен роман и определящи неговата структура. Вместо верига от събития, в наративния строеж се наслагват множество „отклонения“. В своя опит за антропология на паметта Жоел Кандо⁶⁴ определя спомена като отклонение от отминалото събитие, сравнявайки го с музейния експонат, който за посетителя е далеч от контекста, т.е. от същинското си значение. И споменът, и експонатът в своята същност са фрагменти, отломки, от които се опитваме да сглобим, да реконструираме цялото. В

⁶⁰ Вж. Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България“, 2012, с. 58.

⁶¹ Угрешич, Дубравка. *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*. Превод от хърватски Жела Георгиева. София, ИК „Стигмати“, 2004, с. 58.

⁶² Вж. Benjamin, Walter. *Theses on the Philosophy of History*. Illuminations, trans. Harry Zohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1969, p. 249: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angelus_Novus (06.01.2017). Бенямин интерпретира картината на художника Паул Клее „Angelus Novus“.

⁶³ *My hero: Walter Benjamin* by Elif Shafak. The Guardian – 27.04.2012. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/apr/27/hero-walter-benjamin-elif-shafak?newsfeed=true> (06.01.2017).

⁶⁴ Кандо, Жоел. *Антропология на паметта*. Превод от френски Марио Йончев. Враца, Издателска къща „Одри“, 2001, с. 28

бележките за своя лекция от 12 януари 1980 г.⁶⁵, в която разсъждава върху диалектиката на книгата и албума, Ролан Барт твърди, че „Книгата” е обречена на отломки, от нея остава цитат, фрагмент – написана, след време тя отново става „Албум”. В творбите си и Шафак, и Угрешич постигат онова, което Барт нарича „възхвала на Албума наравно с Книгата” и което според него води до пламенна защита на Рапсодичното или на „идеята за нещо *Съшито, Скърпено, за Пачуърк*”.⁶⁶ Преведено на езика на двата романа – събраните парченца, кърпки или фрагменти, съшити, (ре)конструират миналото и създават специфично романово пространство на носталгията (Носталгичното, ако перифразирам Барт), метафора на която става Ангелът на Валтер Бенямин.

В романа на Угрешич Ангелът на носталгията е Алфред, който освет(л)ява груповата снимка с присъствието си и оставя на приятелките по едно ангелско перо. Присъствието му е материализирано след като погълналата перото Ивана забременява и ражда син. Ангелските пера изтриват паметта за случилото се. Спомня си единствено разказвачката – тя не е получила перо, но у нея остава празната снимка с бялата повърхност. Разказвачката ще има възможността да се превърне в писателка, да роди роман, в който ще впише спомените си – за тази история, но и за други незаписани женски истории – на майката, далечната българска баба, на леля Пупа, госпожа Бина и Сингерграфинята... В ролята на Ангела на историята в *Черно мляко* се явява повелителят на джиновете и на следродилната депресия Господаря Потон. Появата му прекъсва процеса на писане на истории, за да го възроди с нова сила. От старата кесийка с разкази на Шафак излизат спомени за толкова много писателки, всяка със свой разказ за творчеството и майчинството. Една от тях, Елен Сиксу – известната френска писателка-феминистка – казва, че текстът ѝ е написан „с бяло и черно, с мляко и нощ”.⁶⁷ Тази „западна” визия за писането по особен начин се пресреща с поезията на персиеца Руми: „Перото главата си свежда, / за да даде тъмна сладост на страницата”.⁶⁸ „Тъмна сладост” се нарича шестата част на книгата, в началото на която е този цитат. Резултат от пресрещането на Изтока и Запада, на източните и западните традиции на писане е *Черно мляко*. След срещата с Господаря Потон Елиф Шафак ще роди още едно дете и ще напише романа *Любов*.

В черното мляко на Елиф Шафак и осветената снимка на Дубравка Угрешич се приплъзват четенето и писането, паметта и историята, историята и литературата, музеят и

⁶⁵ Вж. Барт, Ролан. *Подготовката на романа I и II. Бележки за лекционни и семинарни занятия в Колеж дьо Франс 1978-1979, 1979-1980*. Превод от френски Галина Меламед. София, ИК ЛИК, 2006, с. 350-351

⁶⁶ Пак там, с. 344

⁶⁷ Шафак, Елиф. *Черно мляко: за писането, майчинството и харема вътре в нас*. Превод от английски Емилия Л. Масларова. София, „Егмонт България”, 2012, с. 272.

⁶⁸ Пак там, с. 227.

романът. От една страна романът-музей, който се опитам да дефинирам в предложения сравнителен анализ, се движи по траекторията на автобиографичния роман. В западноевропейската традиция обикновено това е роман за съдбата на твореца. Той е и художествена интерпретация на отношението Памет – История, въпрос, който, както отбелязва Жоел Кандо⁶⁹, е актуален за западната култура с характерната ѝ страст към опознаване на миналото. В „съшитата” структура на романа-музей обаче прозира напрежението, противопоставянето между памет и история, за което говори Пиер Нора, с акцент върху спомена, т.е. върху паметта. От друга страна двете творби поставят въпроса не просто за съдбата, но и за паметта на жената-творец от Балканите. Подобно на Ангела на Бенямин, тя е обърната с лице към миналото, взираща се в онези скрити, непрочетени и ненаписани негови детайли, към които непрекъснато се завръща. Отказът ѝ от зададена, стабилна идентичност – пътуването, географско и ментално, през множество малки истории, идентифицирането с толкова различни и същевременно толкова близки женски гласове – и в двата романа поражда онова неизбежно чувство, което най-точно би могло да се изрази с гръцката дума „носталгия” – тъга по завръщане у дома. Мислен като музей, романът се превръща в пристан на спомените, своеобразен заместител на дом. Вместо родина, той предлага проектиране на родина – възможност за завръщане и пренареждане на фрагментите (или експонатите), на спомените. А някъде в повторението, в непрекъснатото пресътворяване и лично преживяване на родина и родно, е общото балканско битие на *Черно мляко* и *Музеят на безусловната капитулация*.

⁶⁹ Вж. Кандо, Жоел. *Антропология на паметта*. Превод от френски Марио Йончев. Враца, Издателска къща „Одри”, 2001, с. 56

Igor FIATTI ¹

Trieste, périphérie slave
Une question de minorité à travers la slovénitude de Boris Pahor

Résumé

Parcourue par des sollicitations idéologico-identitaires parfois lancinantes, Trieste a vécu les tensions européennes en cherchant un équilibre impossible entre le cosmopolitisme (austro-hongrois) et l'affirmation des cultures nationales. Nous souhaitons considérer le rôle de la littérature « triestina » de périphérie, avec une application du paradigme centre/marge ; à savoir, le rôle de la littérature des minorités ethniques, notamment celui de la production littéraire de la minorité slovène. L'œuvre de Boris Pahor va nous aider à particulariser le sujet de cet essai, qui vise à saisir « le fait différentiel » exprimant la singularité de l'approche comparatiste.

Mots-clés : Trieste, minorité(s) slave(s), identité, Boris Pahor

Trieste, Slavic Periphery:
A Question of Minority through the *Slovénitude* of Boris Pahor
Abstract

Torn by ideological and identity stresses (existential ruptures *in posse et in esse*), Trieste has lived the European tensions looking for an impossible balance between the Austro-Hungarian cosmopolitanism and the affirmation of national cultures. With an application of the centre/margin paradigm, we intend to consider the role of the peripheral literature of this city – namely, the role of the literature of its ethnic minorities, especially the literary production of the Slovene minority. The work of Boris Pahor will help us to particularize the subject of this essay, which aims to grasp the "differential fact" expressing the singularity of the comparative approach.

Keywords: Trieste, minorities, identity, Boris Pahor

Parcourue par des sollicitations idéologico-identitaires parfois lancinantes, Trieste a vécu les tensions européennes en cherchant un équilibre impossible entre le cosmopolitisme (austro-hongrois) et l'affirmation des cultures nationales. Dans cet essai, nous envisageons d'analyser cette unicité « *triestina* » qui est un exemple clair d'une province devenue centre littéraire – et culturel tout court ; nous nous proposons notamment d'en examiner un aspect : la question (slave/) slovène.

Cette ville a toujours souligné son identité de frontière, à partir de l'héritage de Sigmund Freud jusqu'à la vague d'« utopie rétrognostique » de l'Autriche-Hongrie : premier port de la Double Monarchie, elle a façonné son caractère grâce à la mésalliance entre Apollon et Mercure, grâce à la répartition harmonieuse entre opérateurs politiques et économiques. (C'est un *unicum* qui a été étudié méticuleusement par Arduino Agnelli, selon qui Trieste n'a été qu'un organe de l'organisme cher aux

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« théoriciens » de l'idée de la « Mitteleuropa », une partie – à laquelle revient le mérite de ne pas ambitionner de se présenter en tant que « tout » – exempte de l'« infinitude » et du « personnel » théorisés par Hegel².) À ce propos, Angelo Vivante a formulé une hypothèse aussi anhistorique que suggestive à laquelle les historiens ne peuvent se soustraire :

Trieste serait restée la petite ville de 3 000 habitants perdus dans la campagne slave prééminente, privés de tout pouvoir d'assimilation à son égard, et de tout rayonnement sur les autres minorités citadines, si le flux générateur des échanges ne lui avait permis d'assimiler et d'italianiser peu à peu les dizaines de milliers d'étrangers accourant de toutes parts, et plus particulièrement les masses rurales devenues automatiquement le nerf de l'actuelle italianité, tergestina et julienne.³

C'est donc dans le cadre de la métamorphose qui a mené « une commune fermée oligarchique » à devenir « un *emporium* d'état cosmopolite »⁴, que la littérature évolue, presque comme un vice secret. Dans un contexte ambigu centre-périphérie qui, en réalité, se révèle plutôt comme un discours entre périphéries, il faut remarquer que l'Italie et Trieste gardent toujours un certain écart dans leur rapport culturel. Par exemple, la tradition littéraire de Trieste refuse toujours la formule de Benedetto Croce – qui en pratique finit par mettre l'accent sur la forme plutôt que sur le contenu ; à Trieste, par contre, la forme est obstinément considérée comme *ancilla substantiae* et n'a jamais la même dignité de contenu⁵. À ce propos, l'écrivain triestin Giani Stuparich (1891-1961) cite Croce et sa réflexion est exhaustive : « Il est souhaitable que l'Italie apprenne à connaître... l'âme germanique, slave etc... Mais qu'elle ne perde pas... cette clarté intellectuelle, cet équilibre moral, ce sens fin de la forme, qui est une des meilleures forces de sa riche tradition⁶ ».

Nous souhaitons considérer le rôle de la littérature « *triestina* » de périphérie, avec une application du paradigme centre/périphérie ou centre/marge⁷ ; à savoir, le rôle de la littérature

² Agnelli, Arduino. *La genesi dell'idea di Mitteleuropa* (1971), Milano, Giuffrè, 1973, p. 246.

³ Vivante, Angelo. *Irredentismo adriatico* (1912), Firenze, Parenti, 1954, p. 248. Cité par Ara, Angelo et Magris, Claudio. *Trieste, une identité de frontière*, traduit de l'italien par Jean et Marie-Noëlle Pastureau, Paris, Éd. du Seuil, 2008, p. 38.

⁴ Définitions d'Angelo Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, op. cit., p. 15. Cité par Ara, Angelo et Magris, Claudio. *Trieste, un'identità di frontiera*, op. cit., p. 35. Pour la traduction française : *Trieste, une identité de frontière*, op. cit., p. 48. En 1719, la ville compte seulement 5600 habitants, alors qu'elle devient port franc par la volonté de l'empereur Charles VI. Ensuite, elle connaît un rapide développement démographique : en 1818, la population compte 39.000 habitants, 123.000 en 1875 et 220.000 en 1925 (Mayer, Horst Friedrich, « Triest : Österreichs Tor zur Welt », in *Wien- Trieste um 1900 : zwei Städte – eine Kultur?*, Cornelia Szabò-Knotik (hg.), Wien, VWGÖ, 1993, p. 1-16). Notamment à la moitié du XIX^e siècle, la prolifération démographique est accompagnée par un développement économique impulsé en particulier par les compagnies de navigation et les compagnies d'assurances : le Lloyd, qui transportait 2600 tonnes de marchandises en 1837, en traitait 14.000 en 1851 ; les polices d'assurances des *Generali* avaient augmenté de 318.000 (1835) à plus d'un million (1845). De plus, entre 1865 et 1890, plus de dix publications voient le jour chaque année (Aphi, Elio. *Trieste* [con contributi di Giulio Sapelli ed Elvio Guagnini], Bari, Laterza, 1988, p. 59).

⁵ Voghera, Giorgio. *Gli anni della psicanalisi*, Pordenone, Edizioni Studio Tesi, 1980, p. 115.

⁶ Stuparich, Giani. *Scipio Slataper*, Milano, Mondadori, 1950, p. 152 (nous traduisons).

⁷ Minh-Ha, Trinh T., « No Master Territories », in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Tiffin, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 215-68 ; Itamar Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Studies*, Special Issue of *Poetics Today*, vol. 11, n° 1, 1990, p. 68.

« périphérique » des minorités ethniques, notamment celui de la production littéraire de la minorité slovène. L'œuvre de Boris Pahor (né en 1913) – particulièrement son roman triestin par excellence *L'appel du navire* (*Parnik trobi nji*, 1964)⁸ – va nous aider à particulariser notre lecture, qui vise à saisir « la différence ou plutôt le fait différentiel »⁹ exprimant la singularité de l'approche comparatiste.

1.

À la base de la spécificité triestine, il y a un facteur ethnogéographique : aucune autre zone de la péninsule italienne ne bénéficie d'une telle contiguïté avec le monde allemand et le monde slave. Périphérique, enchâssée dans le cœur du continent, Trieste connaît un développement culturel différencié et unique. Cependant, certaines communautés minoritaires se sont distinguées par la tenace et stimulante survie de leurs cultures originelles (durant l'épanouissement de la ville, dans un équilibre toujours très fragile entre intégration et sauvegarde identitaire). Comme le note l'historien Angelo Ara, ce discours est valable notamment pour les communautés caractérisées par une identité spécifique à la fois culturelle et religieuse : la communauté allemande, protestante, se disperse dans le milieu environnant, alors que les communautés grecque et – surtout – serbe restent ancrées dans leur individualité ; elles s'insèrent profondément dans le tissu social de la ville, mais restent tenacement liées à leur tradition¹⁰. Et, dans une dynamique centre-périphérie, les Serbes de Trieste deviennent centraux dans le développement politico-culturel de la Serbie *proper*. Vuk Karadžić, père de la langue serbe moderne, écrit en 1833 : « Trieste est la cité maritime la plus importante de notre peuple (en ce que concerne le nombre d'âmes, c'est peut-être la plus petite, mais en termes de richesses c'est la première)¹¹. » Constatation de l'aisance d'une petite communauté qui, lors de l'explosion économique du grand centre de commerce triestin, s'affirme entre le XVIII^e et le XIX^e siècle : elle contribue de façon importante aux fortunes économiques de la ville, grâce aux activités maritimes, aux banques privées et aux compagnies d'assurances. Les villas et les palais des notables serbes de l'époque et, notamment, la coupole de l'église serbo-orthodoxe de Saint-Spiridion – qui se découpe avec ses reflets d'Orient dans le paysage triestin – témoignent aujourd'hui du poids économique de cette communauté.

⁸ Cf. Pahor, Boris et Rojc, Tatjana. *Così ho vissuto: biografia di un secolo (Tako sem živel - Stoletje Borisa Pahorja)*, traduzioni di Martina Clerici, Marinka Pockaj, Tatjana Rojc, Milano, Bompiani, 2013.

⁹ Pageaux, Daniel-Henri. *Le séminaire de 'Ain Chams: une introduction à la littérature générale et comparée*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2008, p. 9.

¹⁰ Ara, Angelo. « Trieste e la mediazione tra le culture », in *Intellettuuali di frontiera : triestini a Firenze, 1900-1950*, Atti del convegno del 18-20 marzo 1983 promosso dal Gabinetto scientifico letterario G. P. Vieusseux, a cura di Roberto Pertici, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, p. 10. Tout cela est possible grâce à l'impératrice Marie Thérèse, qui reconnaît aux Grecs et aux Serbes le droit de fonder une communauté religieuse à eux.

¹¹ Karadžić, Vuk. *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska* (1836). Cité par Medaković, Dejan. *Letopis srba u Trstu*, Beograd, Jugoslovenska Revija, 1987, p. 151 (nous traduisons). Pour une ample bibliographie, voir : *Genti di San Spiridione. I serbi a Trieste 1751-1914*, Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2009.

Il s'agit de témoignages d'une richesse monumentale, une fortune capable de financer à la fois la culture et les aspirations nationales : Dositej Obradović (1742-1811), promoteur des Lumières dans la culture serbe, est accueilli plusieurs fois à Trieste où il trouve un soutien, tout comme le fondateur de la dynastie Karađorđević (Đorđe Petrović Karađorđe [1762-1817]) : il y trouve lui aussi un soutien au moment de l'insurrection antiottomane. Et cette ville, cette « Trieste fière et riche » chantée en 1844 par le prince-évêque monténégrin Petar Petrović-Njegoš (1813-51)¹², n'a absolument pas disparu de l'imaginaire serbe contemporain¹³.

Ici une précision est nécessaire. S'il est vrai que Trieste joue un rôle médiateur en transmettant à l'Italie des voix significatives de la culture de langue allemande, il est vrai, aussi, que la ville méconnaît les cultures balkanique et slave dans leur ensemble. L'ouverture vers le monde slave est tout à fait négligeable, abstraction faite de la première « découverte » de Prague – où certains Triestins étudient à l'université allemande et où Giani Stuparich a l'idée d'écrire un livre sur la réalité tchèque, *La Nation tchèque* (*La nazione czecca*, 1915). La déficience est encore plus grave, puisqu'elle a des répercussions intestines. Une seule donnée suffit à le comprendre : en ce qui concerne le nombre d'habitants, en 1912 Trieste est plus grande que Ljubljana : il s'agit de la première ville slovène du monde¹⁴. Malgré cela, les Slovènes et leur culture sont totalement ignorés, c'est le cas d'Italo Svevo (1861-1928) et Umberto Saba (1883-1957), chez qui, d'ordinaire, ils finissent dans la marmite du méprisant « *s'ciavo* »¹⁵. Et si, en général, les intellectuels ayant des horizons européens nourrissent un sens de la supériorité italienne sur les Slovènes, cette conviction est visiblement encore plus enracinée dans le milieu de la bourgeoisie moyenne qui, selon les mots du lettré Roberto Bazlen (1902-1965), éprouve sa supériorité sur les Slaves et la fait aussi peser sur eux¹⁶. On ignore que c'est à Trieste que s'est formé Primož Trubar (1508-1586), père de la littérature slovène et principale voix slovène de la Réforme protestante (les pièces d'un ou deux euro slovènes représentant son buste ne suffisent pas, aujourd'hui, à le rappeler ; les Triestins les mettent dans leur poche, distraitemment) ; probablement ignore-t-on aussi qu'à Trieste, à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, les périodiques, les librairies et les événements pour la promotion de la langue slovène se sont multipliés ; pareillement on ignore, de façon plus ou moins volontaire, que les écoles slovènes (inaugurées par les Français pendant la brève parenthèse napoléonienne des provinces illyriennes) ont été fermées par les Italiens au

12 Medaković, Dejan. *Letopis srba u Trstu*, op. cit., p. 141.

13 Cf. Les romans *Destin et commentaires* (*Sudbina i komentari*, 1993) de Radoslav Petković et *L'Observateur de la mer* (*Posmatrač mora*, 2001) de Goran Milašinović. Ici nous rappelons aussi un roman triestin de Bora Ćosić, comme l'indique le sous-titre de son ouvrage *Musilov notes : jedan tršćanski roman* (1989), qui renvoie le lecteur à la fin de la Yougoslavie, à travers Trieste et le récit du crépuscule de l'Autriche-Hongrie.

14 Bavcar, Evgen. « Écrire slovène à Trieste », in *Italo Svevo et Trieste*, Paris, Centre Pompidou, 1987, p. 223-36.

15 *S'ciavo* en dialecte triestin signifie « esclave ». Par extension, « slave » au sens péjoratif.

16 Bazlen, Roberto. « Intervista su Trieste », in *Scritti*, Milano, Adelphi, 1984, p. 248-49.

commencement du fascisme. C'est une césure d'une violence absolue, qui implique l'italianisation de cinquante mille noms de famille et, surtout, l'interdiction totale de la langue slovène. Le point de non-retour de l'intolérance est marqué par l'incendie du Narodni dom : la Maison de la culture slovène est incendiée par les *squadristi* en 1920. « Je n'oublierai jamais cet après-midi de l'été 1920, quand le Balkan fut brûlé, cet hôtel où les Slaves se retrouvaient. Dans le tragique spectacle de cette fin d'après-midi, je compris quelque chose d'énorme : les limites de cette place grandissaient dans une vision funeste d'écroulements et de ruines, comme si quelque chose de beaucoup plus féroce que la guerre passée menaçait même les bases de notre civilisation¹⁷. » Aux fins d'intégrer ce témoignage de Giani Stuparich, nous notons que le même Stuparich est aussi l'auteur du passage suivant : « Les Slovènes ont un sens inné de la servilité », ils font « partie d'une nation obscure et vaincue, courbée sur la glèbe », « ils sont sous les talons de seigneurs plus forts et plus civils »¹⁸.

2.

A Trieste, Ivan Cankar (1876-1918)¹⁹ découvre la culture slovène en tant qu'expression d'un peuple opprimé : dans son dernier discours prononcé dans cette ville quelques mois avant sa mort, il affirme : si Ljubljana est le cœur des Slovènes, alors Trieste en représente les poumons²⁰. Ainsi le contraste italo-slave se profile, amplifiant une dialectique dyadique de contradictions jamais dépassées. Contrastes inconciliables que Pahor approfondit dans son œuvre à travers la question de la slovénitude²¹. Le roman *L'Appel du navire* n'y fait pas exception, la résistance séculaire de la langue et de la culture slovènes domine incontestablement le texte : l'histoire d'amour du jeune couple protagoniste (Ema et Danilo) n'est qu'une expression de cette résistance ; et la Trieste des années 1930 que l'auteur brosse se révèle être en coulisses une ville désormais en chemise noire, où tous ceux qui voulaient réussir dans le commerce ou les affaires, endossaient « le masque de l'appartenance italienne »²².

Pahor est né à Trieste, en 1913, quand la ville était encore le port principal de l'Autriche-Hongrie ; il y réside toujours. Bien que sa « *triestinità* » soit donc peu ou pas du tout contestable, comme est peu réfutable le fait qu'il soit l'un des meilleurs écrivains slovènes contemporains, une

17 Stuparich, Giani. *Trieste dans mes souvenirs (Trieste nei miei ricordi)*, 1948), trad. par Jean-François Bory, Paris, Bourgois, 1999, p. 91-89.

18 Stuparich, Giani. « Irredentismo superato ? », in *Rivista di Milano*, 5 février 1920. Cité par Ara, Angelo et Magris, Claudio. *Trieste, un'identità di frontiera*, op. cit., p. 118 (nous traduisons).

19 Il est question du prosateur slovène majeur.

20 Cf. Cankar, Ivan. *Očiščenje in pomlajenje* (1918).

21 Si Aimé Césaire a forgé le terme « négritude » pour revendiquer l'identité noire et sa culture vis-à-vis d'une francité perçue comme oppressante, alors on pourrait pareillement parler de « slovénitude » pour décrire l'œuvre de Pahor face à l'oppression de l'italianité et en tant que rejet de l'assimilation.

22 Pahor, Boris. *L'Appel du navire (Parnik trobi nji)*, 1964), traduit par Antonia Bernard, Paris, Phébus, 2008, p. 14.

simple constatation est éloquent : le roman *L'Appel du navire* a été publié en 1964 ; pour lire la version italienne, il a fallu attendre l'année 2009 (la version française a été publiée en 2008). Ce hiatus n'a pas besoin de commentaires supplémentaires pour illustrer la réception de la littérature périphérique par excellence de Trieste qui, manifestement, a été écrasée dans l'engrenage de l'Histoire et des métamorphoses des divisions continentales²³.

Les pages de Pahor émanent d'une conscience tout à fait herdérienne de la centralité de la langue dans la défense identitaire. Vis-à-vis de l'italianisation, « tant que les Slovènes resteraient aussi fidèles à leur langue maternelle, même s'ils n'étaient qu'une poignée par agglomération, rien n'était définitivement perdu ». On constate qu'il s'agit d'une conscience absolue de *Sprachnation*, une conscience qui assume des accents apostoliques-protocrétiens – « les premiers chrétiens, malgré la suprématie du pouvoir romain, n'avaient pas cédé mais, devant la tyrannie, se cachaient dans les catacombes pour accomplir leurs rites » – et qui renvoie plusieurs fois au mythe biblique. Par exemple, peu avant la citation précédente, on peut lire : « Les garçons, eux, se réunissaient presque chaque année à Višarje, pour assister à des cours de slovène à presque deux mille mètres d'altitude, pendant environ une semaine. Les montagnes étaient de leur côté et les protégeaient de leurs flancs puissants²⁴. » La langue slovène, comme les Tables de la Loi, et le parallélisme entre le livre de Pahor et le livre de l'*Exode*, entre le mont Lussari et le mont Sinai, devient plus net si on pense à la toponymie slovène du mont Lussari : *Svete Višarje*, les Saintes Hauteurs.

Dans le roman de Pahor, le mythe biblique se reflète entre les rochers calcaires du plateau du Karst. Le peuple slovène devient le peuple élu de l'aride nature karstique, en arrière-plan de l'amour entre Danilo et Ema ; dans le Karst, dont l'eau afflue vers Trieste pour « éteindre la soif de la ville ²⁵ ». L'équivalence Karst : désert = Slovènes : Hébreux se matérialise dans un épisode dont les protagonistes sont Marta, une jeune Slovène, et le fils d'un négociant italien. Ils fuient ensemble, mais lui doit rentrer pour faire le service militaire. Cependant elle, entre-temps, commence une nouvelle liaison amoureuse.

Mais lorsque son premier amoureux revint en permission, il n'accepta pas la situation, il la chercha dans la ville, mais elle s'était sauvée chez ses parents dans le Karst pour s'en défaire. Il le devina et partit à sa recherche, la menaça de son revolver, à en faire peur aux tranquilles chaumières du mont Trstelj ; mais elle connaissait le moindre buisson et la moindre doline, et se cacha pendant que lui errait dans la lande inconnue, dont la pauvreté renforçait encore son sentiment de solitude. Personne n'entendit le coup de feu²⁶.

²³ Cf. Košuta, Miran. *Scritture parallele : dialoghi di frontiera tra letteratura slovena e italiana : studi e saggi*, prefazione di Elvio Guagnini, Trieste, Lint, 1997.

²⁴ Pahor, Boris. *L'Appel du navire*, op. cit., p. 54-53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

De ce passage, il faut surtout retenir la partie qui va bien au-delà de la tragédie d'amour – plutôt banale en soi. Ainsi : « mais elle connaissait le moindre buisson et la moindre doline, et se cacha pendant que lui errait dans la lande inconnue, dont la pauvreté renforçait encore son sentiment de solitude ». Une remarque est nécessaire en réitérant les termes de la proportion Karst : désert = Slovènes : Hébreux. Pour les Hébreux, la *Galut* (la diaspora, l'exil, l'être chassé) n'est pas seulement le temps de la damnation, mais le lieu nécessaire pour préparer la rédemption. Pour utiliser les termes d'Elias Canetti, les Hébreux sont une masse nue et errante, pour qui l'exode de l'Égypte se répète avec une régularité inexorable. Cependant, ils sont invincibles dans le désert, comme l'affirme le *Moses* de Arnold Schönberg²⁷. C'est bien dans le désert que – d'après Canetti – le peuple se voit réuni, se concentre sur soi-même, reçoit ses lois, définit sa cible. Si on ne peut concevoir la rédemption qu'à travers l'exode et le désert, alors le désert même est la maison du peuple d'Israël. Par conséquent, pour les Slovènes le Karst correspond au désert des Hébreux : la jeune Slovène connaît chaque doline et chaque buisson, alors que le garçon italien, un Gentil, ne sait pas pérégriner dans la lande karstique, hostile.

La transposition est complète, avec la sortie hors de l'histoire. Contrairement au devenir chrétien, l'Hébreu est éternel – il est depuis toujours, depuis le Commencement, dès la Genèse ; sa propre langue est la langue dans laquelle Dieu a parlé²⁸. L'Hébreu existe dans le temps, mais il est dans le temps depuis toujours ; temps et éternité se confondent dans son allure éternelle. Dès la destruction du Temple, le peuple d'Israël n'a pas vécu dans le devenir, mais dans un livre : dans la parole et dans l'écriture, dans la Torah, considérée comme préexistante à la création même. Cependant, comme l'explique Maurice Blanchot, le livre signifie absence du temps ; la tradition hébraïque apparaît ainsi articulée selon de stricts archétypes et sur le modèle de la répétition. Il s'agit d'un antihistoricisme commun à chaque vision religieuse et transcendantale, mais exaspérée par l'impossibilité dans laquelle se trouvait la religion hébraïque d'agir sur la réalité historico-sociale qui l'entourait²⁹. La même impossibilité a marqué le peuple slovène jusqu'à la récente fondation de la République de Slovénie et qui, encore aujourd'hui, caractérise *de facto* la minorité slovène de Trieste. Ainsi Ema, la protagoniste du roman, en écoutant un chœur de femmes slovènes, « avec sur ses arrières la paroi unie de la voix », est « traversée par une forte chaleur inconnue » :

27 Cacciari, Massimo. *Dallo Steinhof : prospettive viennesi del primo Novecento* (1980), Milano, Adelphi, 2005, p. 244-45.

28 Habermas, Jürgen. « Der deutsche Idealismus und der jüdischen Philosophen », in *Philosophisch-politische Profile*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1971, p. 37-66, p. 49.

29 Magris, Claudio. *Lontano da dove : Joseph Roth e la tradizione ebraico-orientale* (1971), Torino, Einaudi, 1989, p. 111.

Elle faisait partie de ces femmes, elle habitait avec elles ces petites maisons solidement ancrées au milieu de la garrigue, et éprouvait le sentiment d'être éternelle avec elles, avec la garrigue, immortelle malgré toutes les épreuves. Elle se vit aussi, le regard fixe, dans sa chambre inhospitalière, errant dans les rues, mais tout cela n'était que bagatelle face à l'histoire de son pays, arrosé par la mer, chanté de génération en génération par les femmes, dans lequel naissaient des pêcheurs, des marins et des héros³⁰.

3.

Si nous comparons le Karst biblique décrit par Pahor et l'ouvrage *Mon frère le Carso* (*Il mio Carso*, 1912) de l'auteur triestin Scipio Slataper (1888-1915), nous obtenons un prisme excellent pour évaluer la distance entre Trieste et le monde slave. Dans sa confession poétique en prose, Slataper rencontre un paysan slovène pendant une promenade aux alentours de la ville. La *bora*³¹ fait rage. « Esclave (*S'ciavo*, dans la version italienne), veux-tu venir avec moi ? Je te donnerai de grandes campagnes au bord de la mer. Notre plaine est loin là-bas, mais la mer est riche et belle. Et tu dois en devenir le maître. »³² Poussé par un enthousiasme à la Rousseau, Slataper s'imagine amener le bon sauvage slovène, ce « barbare », ce « mongol », sur les amples mers pour le faire patron des richesses du monde. Dans *Mon frère le Carso*, la vision archaïque du monde slave et balkanique est frappante : Slataper étale un répertoire plein de clichés, y compris les heiduques monténégrins et le légendaire prince serbe Marko Kraljević, adhérant ainsi au modèle dicté par la « Géographie philosophique » des Lumières et par l'« Orientalisme »³³. Le voyage vers l'Est, vers les Balkans, demeure un voyage vers la barbarie : Slataper établit des analogies avec les anciens barbares, comme le consul français Charles de Peyssonnel au XVIII^e siècle ; dans les Slovènes, il reconnaît substantiellement les Scythes décrits de façon admirable par Hérodote au V^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ.³⁴

(Plus qu'à Trieste, *L'Appel du navire* cherche le *καίπος* salvifique dans la mer où se reflète la ville : la mer, avec sa puissance, sauve la parole slovène de la mort³⁵. Ainsi, dans le roman de Pahor,

³⁰ Pahor, Boris. *L'Appel du navire*, op. cit., p. 152.

³¹ La *bora* est un vent du nord-nord-est qui souffle sur la mer Adriatique. En hiver, il est souvent violent.

³² Slataper, Scipio. *Mon frère le Carso* (*Il mio Carso*, 1912), traduit de l'italien avec une préface de Benjamin Crémieux, Paris, F. Rieder, 1921, p. 67. Voir Pirjevec, Marija. « L'immagine degli sloveni nella letteratura triestina in lingua italiana », in *Letterature di frontiera*, n° 1, Roma, Bulzoni, 1991, p. 161-68 ; Cergol, Jadranka. *L'immagine dello sloveno nella letteratura triestina italiana e l'immagine dell'italiano nella letteratura slovena del periodo fascista: confronto fra due stereotipi*, in *Literature in an Intercultural Perspective*, Koper, University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre, Annales University Press, 2015, p. 231-40.

³³ Cf. Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe : the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford Up, 1994 ; Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage, 1979.

³⁴ Cf. de Peyssonnel, Charles. *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube*, Paris, Éd Tillard, 1765.

³⁵ « [...] comme si la mer portait en soi des chants slovènes, dont la puissance préservait de la mort », Pahor, Boris. *L'Appel du navire*, op. cit., p. 151.

retrouve-t-on les motifs de la grande poésie slovène : Dragotin Kette [1876-1899] et, surtout, Srečko Kosovel [1904-1926], un fils du Karst [à la différence de Slataper, il ne le voit pas comme un espace barbare, mais comme un dispositif scénique capable de montrer le spectacle de l'existence humaine dans son unicité]. La mer est notamment prépondérante dans deux recueils lyriques de Kosovel, *Extase de la mort* [*Ekstaza smrti*, 1925] et *Tragédie sur l'océan* [*Tragedija na oceanu*, 1927], exprimant à la fois la souffrance de la population slovène et le présage d'une catastrophe imminente³⁶. Les deux poésies sont citées dans le texte, en une sorte de somme transtextuelle de slovénitude, laquelle, outre Kosovel, Kette, Cankar, inclut aussi les poètes Oton Župančič, Alojz Gradnik, France Prešeren, et les écrivains Ivan Pregelj, Bogomir Magajina et France Bevk.)

Remarquons que la conscience autocritique (ethno-nationale, slovène) revient de manière quasi obsessionnelle chez Pahor, dans le cadre d'une introspection et d'une analyse collective presque continues. Les tons se durcissent et calquent ceux de la « servilité innée » dont parle Giani Stuparich, entre le blâme pour son manque de leadership et la condamnation de l'assimilation. On reconnaît la séculaire tradition de sujétion, le fait d'emprunter la langue au maître du moment et une bonne dose de fatalisme. Mais ici Pahor – nous rappelons que le roman a été publié en 1964 – a entrevu, en visionnaire, la naissance de la première forme d'État slovène de l'Histoire, né en 1991 sur les cendres de la Yougoslavie.

Le peuple slovène est fataliste pour l'essentiel. Il est petit, donc il pratique l'attentisme. *Il sait que s'il se révolte contre une avalanche, celle-ci l'écrasera, il préfère donc se terrer en espérant que l'avalanche passera par-dessus*³⁷.

En attendant l'indépendance slovène et « en se terrant », *L'Appel du navire* ne cède jamais à l'utopie rétrognostique constituée par le passé habsbourgeois. De toute façon, comme l'a avoué Pahor lui-même, il est plutôt naturel que les traumas de la monolithique face fasciste de Trieste soient au centre de son œuvre. Il écrit l'expérience de sa génération ; du trauma éprouvé à sept ans devant l'incendie de la Maison de la culture slovène, « de toutes les conséquences psychologiques de la langue prohibée, de celle imposée, des noms et des prénoms imposés, dans une atmosphère de fin du monde, de condamnations et d'exilés »³⁸. C'est un aveu aussi traumatique que représentatif de la littérature slovène de Trieste, « périphérie » slave.

³⁶ Sur cet argument voir : Pahor, Boris. *Letteratura slovena del Litorale : vademecum : Kosovel a Trieste e altri scritti*, Trieste, Mladika, 2004 ; et la biographie de Kosovel écrite par Pahor, *Srečko Kosovel*, Pordenone, Edizione Studio Tesi, 1993.

³⁷ Pahor, Boris. *L'Appel du navire*, op. cit., p. 63. Nous soulignons.

³⁸ Discours prononcé en 2003 à l'occasion de la remise du « San giusto d'oro », in *Letteratura slovena del Litorale : vademecum : Kosovel a Trieste e altri scritti*, Trieste, Mladika, 2004, p. 153-54 (nous traduisons).

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Какво сближава песен на Стиви Уондър и наследен от Античността реторичен похват, портретите на Ана Каренина и Дориан Грей, къщата на Ламартин в Пловдив и къщата на Пиер Лоти в Истанбул? Април или август, понеделник или четвъртък са литературно предпочетените месеци и дни и какви са техните художествени префункционализации от Джефри Чосър през Т. С. Елиът, Фокнър до Томас Ман, Джеймс Джойс, Вирджиния Улф, Камю и Сартр? В каква посока се развиват взаимодействията между един литературен и един реален топос като музей? Каква е корелацията между литературните тематизации и „капаните на политическата коректност“? Перспектива към възможните отговори дава книгата *Теми с вариации. Литературнотематични етюди* на проф. д.ф.н. Клео Протохристова, компаративист, литературен историк и теоретик, титролог и тематолог. Последното определяне не е особено популярно в българските научни среди, в които назоваването на един от специфичните методи на сравнителното литературознание като *тематология* е относително ново явление въпреки доказаните му преимущества от световната наука и дисциплинираното трасиране на пътищата му в българското литературоведско пространство през последните десетилетия¹.

Едно търсене в интернет или по каталозите на българските библиотеки на определението *литературнотематичен* ще демонстрира отсъствието му за сметка на надмощието на изследователски перспективи в посоката на съчетания като литературноисторически, културноисторически, литературнотеоретически или литературнокритически. В този смисъл дефинирането на едно изследване като литературнотематично само по себе си е новост в

¹ Това трасиране в настоящето успешно се извършва от учени като проф. Протохристова в областта на европейската култура и българската литература, проф. Румяна Станчева – на територията на балканските литератури и в съпоставка с европейските литератури, проф. Дечка Чавдарова и проф. Денка Кръстева – в сферата на руската литература, а в по-далечни времена – от пионерите на българската компаративистика – проф. Иван Шишманов и проф. Михаил Арнаудов.

българската литературоведска практика и идва като компенсация на един сериозен дефицит в нея.

Предпоставените в началото въпроси могат да създадат у един бъдещ читател погрешното усещане за произволност и рискуват да събудят единствено повърхностно любопитство към съчетаването между на пръв поглед несводими категории и дискурси. В действителност обаче става въпрос за задълбочено проучване на тематични серии и зависимости, които за чисто литературноисторическите и културологични изследвания често остават невидими поради съобразяването с установени хронологии и йерархии. Едно несъмнено предимство на тематологията е и, че отваря хоризонти към интердисциплинарни връзки, което дава възможност на литературата да се гледа не като на нещо затворено в отношения като *епоха – автор – читател, контекст – творба*, а да се осмисля в рамките на един по-глобален план, който има преимуществото да надскача времеви и териториални граници.

Книгата на проф. Протохристова предлага не просто различни визии в посоката на частично изброените изследователски траектории, а преди всичко един стабилен модел за обследване, който успешно може да работи за всяко едно тематологично проучване, независимо от терена, върху който се провежда. Още заглавието – „Теми с вариации“, освен подтекстовата отпратка към музикалната форма „тема с вариации“, съдържа и парадигмата, по която се осъществява съчинението и се структурират отделните анализи в него, дефинирани в подзаглавието като „литературнотематични етюди“. Един изкушен от музиката читател с основание може да заподозре в организацията на труда на проф. Протохристова композиционната схема на Моцартовите дванадесет вариации по френската фолклорна песен „Ah, vous dirai-je, Maman“, известни в хронологическия и тематичен каталог на Моцартовите произведения като К 265. Структурно те се разгръщат в тринадесет части, като първата представя темата, а следващите са вариациите върху нея. Именно първите акорди от творбата на Моцарт се съзират и върху корицата на книгата, за да се разбере по-късно, че присъствието им там не е плод на ефектно хрумване, а импликация на изследователска стратегия.

Като изходна „тема“ в уводната си глава трудът задава тематологията и възможностите, които тя предоставя пред потенциалния изследовател. Прави се обзор на теориите за обхвата ѝ, извеждат се методологическите ѝ основания и се прецизира актуалното ѝ състояние. На читателя са предоставени аргументи „за“ и „против“ тематологичните занимания като литературоведска практика, като чрез този реторичен похват се извеждат позитивите на едно тематично проучване чрез инструментите на сравнителното литературознание. Не без чувство

за себеирония тази уводна глава се определя като „апология на тематичната критика“, но заявеното в нея няма нищо общо с лишеното от аргументация апологично писане. Напротив, набавянето на необходимите „аксиологически основания“ за методологическата стратегия на проучването става като се стъпва върху солиден фундамент на предхождащи теоретически изследвания, сред които особено са открити концепциите на Джордж Стайнър и Теодор Циолковски, определен като „един от най-ревностните практики и теоретици на тематологията“². В съгласие с „музикалното“ оркестриране на книгата тази уводна глава може да бъде разпозната като прелюдия, която настройва към конкретните тематични наблюдения. Следват тринадесет глави (подобно на частите в Моцартовата тема с вариации) – така наречените „литературнотематични етюди“, обединени в четири раздела. Последният, пети раздел на книгата, обявен още в увода като „приложение“, има функцията на завършващ и неслучайно е наречен „CODA“. В едно музикално произведение това е възможното означение за финала на творбата, който по своеобразен начин обобщава прозвучалите до момента теми, но би могло и да даде един по-различен ракурс към тях.

В първия раздел, назован „Културни универсалии“, зазвучават теми, познати от предишни изследвания на проф. Протохристова. Това са часовниците, календарът, очилата, плажът, чието обследване в книгата допълнително е разгърнато в посока на търсене на техни парадигмални за културата вариации. Към тях се добавя и една нова тема – за портрета и мястото му в литературния интериор, но и за скрития му потенциал да смислопоражда и гради тропи, чрез които литературният текст конструира художествено-естетическите си внушения, но заедно с това ги превръща и в метадискурсивен проблем. Така в хода на този първи раздел се оформя една интригуваща изследователска траектория, която повежда читателя от универсалното, видяно през циферблата на часовника и ритъма на календара, към изразенията на отношението частно/социум чрез емблематиката на очилата и плажните пространства, за да се стигне накрая до конкретните образи на индивидуалното, видяно през портретното изображение и неговата рамка.

Вторият раздел, „Устойчиви сюжети“, изненадва с ракурсите към действително устойчиви литературни сюжети и същевременно изнамира други, недовидяни литературноисторически, но несъмнено солидно литературно закрепени и с аналогична тежест за културата. Вместо тематизирането на познатото „изгубено време“ се обсъжда „проспаното време“, подтикът към което идва от един странстващ приказничен сюжет, в който сън и време

² Протохристова, Клео. Теми с вариации. Литературнотематични етюди. Университетско издателство „Паисий Хилендарски“, Пловдив, 2016, с. 9.

са в особена корелация. Съпоставката между две вариации на сюжета – в японската приказка „Урашима Таро“ и в историята на Рип ван Уинкъл – умело извлича философските му импликации, при това с валидност за един много по-обемен културен и епистемологичен контекст. В същия раздел са включени и два „етюда“, които демонстрират един парадоксален, но несъмнено „устойчив“ културен феномен – как културната памет може да промени фактологическата реалност (главата „Един паралитературен сюжет и производните му тематизации. За Ламартин, Лоти и къщите им в Пловдив и Истанбул“) и как литературната действителност може да се екстраполира в реалността, като произведе конкретни топоси и отношения (главата „Музеят като топос и повествователен модус в творчеството на Орхан Памук и Елиф Шафак“).

В третия раздел, „Метафори и символи“, се припомня един вече зададен в предишни изследвания на проф. Протохристова проблем – просвещенската „носология“, но този път той е вплетен в „носологичен“ диптих, към който е асоциирано анализирането на един от може би най-емблематичните „носологични“ текстове – „Нос“ от Гогол. Творбата на Гогол се обсъжда в съпоставителна перспектива с романа на Лорънс Сърн „Животът и мненията на Тристрам Шанди, джентълмен“. Чрез отличаването на незабелязани досега общности между двете произведения се извежда не просто само сърнианското у Гогол, а се постигат обобщения за специфичната наративна стратегия у двамата автори и се правят изводи за особеното значение на „мотивната мрежа“ за творческата памет. В перспективата на метафора/символ се оглеждат и вариациите на числото седем в главата „Вълшебната планина“ и митът за числото седем“. Интригуващото ѝ есеистично начало, определено като „карикатурно резюме“ на романа на Томас Ман, идва да подсказва многообразието в употребите на седмичката в романа на Ман, но и да отвори врати към нови тълкувания на творчеството на немския писател, подкрепени от наблюдения върху есетата му, романите му „Доктор Фаустус“ и „Йосиф и неговите братя“. Задълбочените съпоставките с Вагнеровия „Танхойзер“, но и със средновековната легенда за Танхойзер, с приказката „Джуджето Дългоноско“ от Вилхелм Хауф, с „Меланхолията“ на Дюрер, с Ницше и с още много други създават един мащабен свят на интертекстуални съотнасяния, чрез който романът на Томас Ман е разчетен като „образцова реализация“ на „митотворческия роман на модернизма“.

В четвъртия раздел, „Социални фигури и исторически личности“, съсредоточаването е върху литературни теми, производни от социални и исторически фигури. Фигурата на бръснаря, етнонимът „цигани“ и литературните тематизации на Али паша – това са трите „проби“, върху които този раздел гради един модел за проучване, вгледано във възможната

„тематично-персонажна развойна линия“ на една творба. В тази част зазвучава и Моцартовата тема, но вече не като метод на структуриране, а с конкретните си присъствия и неочаквани интерпретации в един модерен кино-проект. Всъщност музикалната тема е един от лайтмотивите в книгата, редом с темата за огледалността, към която авторката отдавна е пристрастна и чиято задълбочена интерпретация е налице в книгите ѝ „През огледалото в загадката“ (1996) и „Огледалото – литературни, метадискурсивни и културноспоставителни траектории“ (2004). Следи от огледалната тема могат да се открият и тук – в разсъжденията за очилата, в съпоставката на портретите на Дориан Грей и Ана Каренина, в търсенето на философските импликации на „проспаното време“.

Вече беше спомената неслучайността на наименованието на последния раздел на изследването – „CODA“. В него е включен само един текст – „Благовещенският сюжет и флорентинската култура на Quattrocento“, чрез който се търси отговор на въпроса „защо флорентинският XIV век така настойчиво изразява себе си именно през благовещенския сюжет“³. Всъщност отговарянето на това питане има по-друга цел, чиито основания са изразени малко преди това чрез една констатация: „Когато изкуството проявява толкова отчетлив интерес към конкретна тема, е задължително да се фокусираме върху идентифицирането на посланията, които се съдържат в нея. Очевидно е, че съответният образ или сюжет е не просто приятен и предпочетен, а че адресира определени проблеми, характерни за обществото от дадена епоха. Нещо повече, логично е дори да се предположи, че по някакъв начин това общество постига своята себеидентификация с помощта на въпросния сюжет“⁴.

Така тази последна част споделя и препотвърждава едно много важно предимство на тематичните заниманията, което в отделните си части книгата на проф. Протохристова систематично отстоява, а именно – чрез проучването на доминантните теми за културата да се проникне до сърцевината ѝ и да се постигне нейното по-задълбочено разбиране, като същевременно се извлича индивидуалното и се открояват себеидентификационните комплекси на обществото.

Заявена скромно като „учебно помагало“, съобразено с „тематологичния модул от университетския курс по сравнително литературознание“, който авторката успешно води от години, книгата на проф. Протохристова може да бъде определена като явление в българското литературоведско пространство. Освен че се движи с респектираща лекота през културни и литературни епохи, работи с текстове от различен жанров и времеви порядък, демонстрира

³ Цит. съч., с. 258.

⁴ Пак там.

завидна ерудираност и предлага стабилна методология, много ценни качества на изследването са неговото заразяващо вдъхновение и увлекателността му. След затварянето на последната страница у читателя не остава и съмнение в дълбоката неправота на твърдението на Бенедето Кроче, изнесено в увода, че „няма по-сухо изследване“ от тематичното“⁵. Споделеното от авторката в началото, че пребиваването в изследователското поле на тематологията е най-малкото „вълнуващо и забавно“, не само намира своето потвърждение при четенето на виртуозно разгърнатите теми с вариации, но и в желанието на четящия тези литературнотематични етюди да не свършват.

Впрочем „Coda“ е наименованието и на последния албум на рок-групата „Лед Цепелин“, което напомня за един друг лекционен курс на проф. Протохристова – „Рок музиката като литература“, чието реализиране в книга би било не само уместно и ползотворно, но също така „вълнуващо и забавно“. А и със сигурност носещо аналогичното на „Теми с вариации. Литературнотематични етюди“ удоволствие от четенето.

⁵ Цит. съч., с. 5.

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Книгата на д-р Людмила Миндова *Другата Итака. За дома на литературата* е един широко разгърнат проект с многолика проблематика, фокусиран върху съществени литературно-естетически процеси и явления от художествената словесност на славянския Юг. Смисълът на включените в нея изследвания, загатнат още в заглавието, е отдалечаване от еднозначното, линейно пътешествие в света на литературата и прегръщането на жребия на плодотворния, преобразен и преобразяващ Одисеев кръг на преосмислянето на редица литературни феномени от културния ареал на кръстопътния ни регион. Описани в този ключ, Балканите са демистифицирани в оптиката на една свое-чужда идентичност, „прекрачили географията, разпръснали се далеч отвъд собствените си граници“.

Далеч от утвърдени стереотипни нагласи и внимателна при употребата на установени литературоведски парадигми, авторката успешно прилага методите на литературната антропология, компаративистиката и културната семиотика в изграждането на своите знакови конструкции и модели. В оптиката на разнообразни поетики и произведения от хърватската, сръбската, словенската и босненската литератури, съпоставени с аналогични процеси и тенденции в българската и световните литератури, Л. Миндова поставя възлови за съвременното литературознание въпроси. Книгата е интерпретирана едновременно като културен и етически текст. Нейната същност е обговорена като семиотична, знакова реалност, но и като съвкупност от своеобразни синтетични модели, чрез които изследваните литературни общности се самоидентифицират в рамките на другостта, на универсалните измерения на опозициите между „малки“ и „големи“ литератури, традиция – съвременност, етика-естетика и пр.

Разчитайки битието на „художествената словесност“ по време на барока, романтизма и постюгославското пространство, авторката успява да хвърли светлина върху структурите на

менталността и социалните нагласи, върху еволюцията на многообразните пластове на индивидуалното и обществено съзнание на Западните Балкани. *Другата Итака* е търсеният от нея ключ към разгадаване на Балканите, не само като регионално, а и като космополитно пространство, като мост, който се превръща в синергийно поле за трансмисия на културната памет на Стария континент. На този поетически топос, Л. Миндова придава екзистенциално, онтологично звучене, фокусирайки богатата, многопластова проблематика на своето изследване върху метафизичното пространство на словото, в унисон с философското схващане на Хайдегер за езика като дом на битието. Под неговия покрив си дават среща едновременно съвременни за нас писатели като Данило Киш, Милорад Павич, Игор Щикс, Александър Хемон, Давид Албахари, Йосип Ости, Алеш Дебеляк, Блага Димитрова, Весна Парун, Вислава Шимборска, Томаж Шаламун, Константин Павлов, Биньо Иванов, както и представители на бароковата стилистика като И. Гундулич, Иван Бунич Вучич, Фран Кръсто Франкопан, Никола Гучетич и др. Съжителството на художествени текстове от бившето югославско пространство с произведения на бароковата поетика е провокирано от възприемането на литературата като насъщна „жива метафора“, тълкуването ѝ като динамичен процес на пренос на литературни послания, в контекста на непрекъснатата реактуализация, пресътворяване на връзката текст-автор-възприемател. За изследователката е важна именно тази филтрация, „остранностяване“ на текста, за да вникне в особеностите (и парадоксите) на поетическия изказ, за да конструира своята творческа лаборатория, в която в динамиката на „диалогичната равнопоставеност или противопоставеност“ се търси както „актуализиране на поетиката на барока в литературата от втората половина на XX в.“ (примерно в творчеството на Д. Киш и М. Павич), така и литературно-антропологична интерпретация на славистичния и балканистичен бароков дискурс.

Избраният подход позволява на Л. Миндова да разгадае полисемантичното звучене на редица художествени артефакти и съпътстващите ги модалности както в съвременната литература, така и в свързаната с нея матрица на бароковата стилистика. Срещата на различните текстове се извършва с оглед на пораждащата ги културна ситуация. В оптиката на нейното изследване основно място е отредено на ролята на интелектуалеца в местната му културна среда; тематизиране, което е „свързано и със специфичното пре моделиране на ницшеанския мотив за вечното завръщане като „завръщане“ към „родното“. Анализирайки „физиката и метафизиката на изгнанието“, Л. Миндова откроява основни за „изгнаническият текст“ проблеми, свързани с мита за Одисей: човешкото лутане и странстване, преobraженията на личността и разрушената идентичност, невъзможността на завръщането в миналото в контекста

на „детериториализацията“, деконструкцията и глобализацията. Всички те се оглеждат в пресечната точка между етика и поетика, доминиращи анализа на творчеството на Данило Киш, превърнало се в смислов център на книгата. „Homo poeticus“ и „Homo politicus“ са открити като „есеистичните полюсни варианти на онази двойка, която пресича цялата проза на Киш, в която се прави „по-етически анализ на политиката“, а в неговото художествено съзнание всяко „политическо действие се осмисля от гледната точка на естетиката и на отношението, което показва спрямо нея.“ Не е случайно, в този контекст, осмислянето на литературата като пристан, копнеж по уравновесяването на тези две категории в мечтания „дом на бездомника“, което авторката илюстрира чрез творчеството на Йосип Ости, създал „силната метафора ‘къща от език’“, и особено чрез есеистиката на Алеш Дебеляк, посветил повечето от литературоведските си занимания на югославските и постюгославските литератури, за да създаде в едно от своите есета, *Република на буквите*, метафората за „литературното гражданство“ като единствено възможно гражданство за четящия човек.

В подобен ключ се търси и отговорът в научното есе *Какво пита поезията* (за Томаж Шаламун, Константин Павлов и Биньо Иванов), което извежда тезата, че поезията е вгледана на първо място в езика, едновременно във формата и в смисъла му, и ако показва отношение към идеологическата реалност, то е отношение като към семиотична реалност. Тези разсъждения позволяват на авторката да артикулира през метафората за „литературната република“ на Алеш Дебеляк като пространство на въображението, територия на мисълта, друго наименование за дома на литературата, който като читатели обитаваме; своето виждане за Средна Европа като културна, а не политическа утопия. В нейната визия – „югоносталгията на мнозина съвременни постюгославски интелектуалци всъщност е по-скоро носталгия по въздуха на средноевропейското интелектуално пространство, което, трябва ли да го напомниме, е пространство на Логоса, на мисълта, а не на политикономическите инструменти“. В тази реторика са преосмислени и понятията за център и периферия, мястото на т.н. „малки литератури“, които би следвало да се съизмерват единствено с понятието за добра, а не „световна литература“, често обслужваща национални каузи.

Приносен момент в книгата на Л. Миндова е търсенето на балканистичния и славистичен ракурс на барока, на неговата хетерогенност и хетеротемпоралност, на парадоксите в неговото историческо и литературно битие. Респектира както боравенето с богата библиография, така и актуализирането на бароквата стилистика чрез анализа на романа *Другото тяло* на Милорад Павич. Особен акцент е поставен върху литературно-антропологичната му интерпретация, върху функционирането на образите на храненето и пиенето, на различните емоционални

състояния и творчески активности и превръщането им в метафори за естетическото и за самата литературност.

Едновременно съчетание на погледа на професионалния литературен критик с умението на талантливия преводач на художествена литература, превръщат книгата *Другата Итака. За дома на литературата* в уникално научно изследване с неповторимо звучене и дълбочина на разглежданата проблематика.

Book review:

***Interlitteraria*. Vol. 21, No 1 (2016). Belletristic Translation: a Means of Cultural-Spiritual Dialogue or a Tool of Acculturation?; Miscellanea. University of Tartu Press, Eesti/Estonia, 2016. [Interlitteraria. Том 21, кн. 1 (2016), Художественият превод: средство за културно-духовен диалог или инструмент за акултурация? ; Miscellanea.]**

Malamir Spasov / Маламир Спасов

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Interlitteraria is the peer-reviewed journal of the Chair of Comparative Literature at the University of Tartu and the Estonian Association of Comparative Literature. In the words of its editors, *Interlitteraria* “aspires to be a point of contact between East and West, North and South”, since it is being published in a “minority country”, located in a European “border” zone, i.e. “periphery”. As seen from distance *Interlitteraria* is functioning successfully as a “mechanism, translating external communications into the internal language and vice versa”, or simply “genuine mechanism of dialogue” (as the late head of the Tartu School of Semiotics Yuri M. Lotman (1922-1993) would characterize the essence of any “border”). In September 2015 in Tartu was held the international conference *Belletristic Translation: a Means of Cultural-Spiritual Dialogue or a Tool of Acculturation?* organized by the Estonian Association of Comparative Literature as a contribution to the studies in this field. The *Thematic section* of this summer issue of *Interlitteraria* consists of reports of the conference and, as promised by the editors, will continue to the winter issue. The selection presented in this issue gives an insight into the diversity of the problematics of belletristic translation as well as some of its universal characteristics, providing both synchronic and diachronic analyses of this issue’s central topic.

Volume 21 (2016) of *Interlitteraria* opens with a look into historical translation practices in the article *Doing God’s Work: The Missionary’s Task of Translation or Who Makes the Best Jesuits: Comparatists, World Literature Scholars, or Real Jesuits?* by Dorothy Figueira. This paper deals with the sixteenth-century Jesuit order and their policies in Asia, more specifically their “construction of Confucianism and the manufacture of the figure of Confucius” through interpretations of the Chinese classics. A curious twist comes when, analyzing the so called “Jesuit policy of accommodation in Asia”, the author takes the aspirations of this prominent Catholic order “as precursors for the tasks we seek to perform as Comparatists and World Literature scholars”. And what connects these two – a

Jesuit and a literature scholar (except for the comparative approach) – is a veritable model: “like the Jesuits in China who sought to package Confucius, we seek to package the world by contextualizing form and argument, canonizing a body of work, producing creative readings and projecting a vision onto the foreign Other” (p. 6). After all, such analysis takes us at the principle of translation or at the translation as a principle. Thus, it depends on the translator how much *packageable* one world is. And that is really and truly a tall order.

With the following two articles, the volume goes into the methodology of translation historiography. The first one, “*The Translator Must...*”: *On the Estonian Translation Poetics of the 20th Century* by Elin Sütiste and Maria-Kristiina Lotman, tries to present a comprehensive register of the prevailing ideas that guided the late 19th and 20th century literary translation in Estonia, as seen in writings about translation, i.e. reviews, articles, etc., along with examples from real translations. Only then, it becomes clear that “predominant ideal of translating verse and prose has been that of the artistic translation, especially since the end of the 1920s” (p. 17). In theory, this ideal is worded simple, but in fact it represents a difficult task: “a literary translator is expected to (“must”) first understand the author and the work translated and, second, convey it in such form that is regarded adequate” (p. 31). And again, it is all about the translation principle, but this time – about some principles in translating, both verse and prose; about transfiguration of translation, i.e. transformation of the world itself, as far as the translator is responsible for *packaging* (contextualizing, canonizing,... etc.) *the world*.

The second article in methodology of translation historiography, *Method and Theory: On the Compilation of a Collection of Texts in Estonian Translation History*, by Katiliina Gielen and Klaarika Kaldjärv introduces a current project and its attempt to map the “Estonian translation history through metatexts on translational issues”, i.e. writings about translation by translators themselves, and also by editors, and other intellectuals, “close to translation throughout Estonian literary history”. The reason for collecting translational thought into one compilation, according to the authors, “lies in the importance of translation for Estonian culture” (p. 35), both diachronic (for being a “minority country”, located in a European “periphery”, which in a sense owes its cultural progress to the models from the West and the East) and synchronic (for bearing in mind the future of a minor language and translation in a globalizing world). As a kind of synthesis of the two preceding articles, such an all-embracing fresco of Estonian translation history is a peculiar attempt of *packaging the theory of translation*. And that, *per se*, is translation.

Translation of poetry is the focal point of the next pair of articles. The first one, *Fetching Poems from Elsewhere: Ciaran Carson’s Translations of French Poetry*, by Miriam McIlfatrick-Ksenofontov, is about the renowned Northern Irish poet and translator Ciaran Carson. It is probably

not so strange if a writer, well known for his experimentation with language, form and genre, is also an unconventional translator. And this exactly is the case of Ciaran Carson and his unusual interpretation practice that blurs the distinction between translating and writing, which he manifested recently in his three volumes of French poetry in translation: “sonnets by Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Rimbaud; prose poems by Rimbaud; and poems by Jean Follain”. Here Carson’s approach is assessed in the light of poetics of translation of Henry Meschonnic (the French poet, linguist and theoretician of language, author of “Critique du rythme”), according to which translating would be “producing new poems in English, which do in English what the originals do in French”. As underlined by the author, the outcome of such translator’s approach is truly curious and discusses correlations like: “originality and derivation; writing and translating; the subjectivity of the translator; and the relationship between original poem and new poem” (p. 51). It is tempting here to theorize further upon such analysis, moving from particular to general, problematizing the boundary line, which each translator encounters (or transgresses...) – that sanitary cordon or space of dialogue between the principles of translation and personal creative impulses, i.e. between interpreter and author, or simply between translation and creation.

The next paper, *Intended Fallacies: Lowered Horizons, Ideological Inversions and Employed Intimacy. Translating Judita Vaičiūnaitė’s Early Poetry into Russian*, by Gintarė Bernotienė, tells about the case of Lithuanian poetess Judita Vaičiūnaitė (1937–2001) and the translations of her early poetry into Russian. This turns into a proper occasion for discussing the Soviet translation practices of the 1960s, taken as a whole. According to the author, they are typical of the nature of the Soviet literatures. Since the “intentional rewriting, expurgation and ideological remakes of the authorial text were considered normal” (p. 67), or simply regular occurrence, then the Soviet literatures in general, and the Soviet translation practices in particular, represent merely a function of the Soviet political doctrine. Bad practices of the amateur translators were in the service of the wicked censorship institutions, and vice versa – the maleficent censorship was in favour of the bad practices and incompetent interpreters. It is telling that Vaičiūnaitė never spoke in public of these controversial in many ways translations. An equivocal act of self-censorship, as paradoxical resistance to the censorship itself. The case of Vaičiūnaitė, vis-à-vis the previous article, is indicative of what happens when the interpreter transgresses some principles of translation, withal without being guided by personal creative impulses – a powerful illustration of wicked translation.

Translation of prose is in the centre of the couple of articles that follow next in the volume. Firstly *Translation of Anatole France’s L’Étui de nacre in Russia: Reception and Perception* by Natalia Nikitina and Natalia Tuliakova, explores the reasons and tendencies in the remarkably multiple series of translations of France’s renowned *Mother of Pearl*. In late 19th and first half of 20th century

Russian translations of this particular France's work appeared twice for the whole cycle, and up to sixteen times for some parts of it, with new issues appearing each half a year at times. These are facts that definitely deserves attention. Successively the authors of the article examine: the translation theories and practices – first in Russia, and later in USSR when artistic translation as a predominant ideal of translating undergoes some deviations; the reasons behind such a flood of translations like – “the popularity of foreign literature on the whole and French fiction in particular” (p. 82), and also the fact that Anatole France was regarded as the most distinguished French writer of the time, awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1921. Further, the authors continue with reflections on the theories of translation, together with a comparative analysis of the various existing translations of the work of France. Such abundance is partly explained by the complexity of his multi-layered text, which according to the authors, “has resulted in a constant search for a perfect translation”. Except for the evolving theory of translation, analysis inevitably notes political and social changes in the country during this period. In short, conclusion is that “the existing translations tend to demonstrate a significant decrease in ambiguity, inherent in France's cycle” (p. 79). And in a sense, this is what people call *lost in translation*.

The following article analyses a case, which is loaded with a message completely opposite to the previous one. *Found in Translation: The Reception of Andrei Ivanov's Prose in Estonia* by Anneli Kõvamees is dealing with the most well-known Estonian Russian-language writer, Andrei Ivanov (b. 1971), and the reception of his prose in Estonia. The author analysis, based on articles on Ivanov's prose published in Estonian literary magazines and newspapers, focuses on his most debated books and hence – major topics, such as “alienation, the question of belonging and intertextuality”. Although his main characters, defined by some critics as men “between”, “existential outsiders” and “people who belong to the cultural periphery” (p. 103), apparently fail in their attempt to make sense of existence, Ivanov's role of mediator and promoter obviously works. With regard to him, being “a man between” is loaded with meaning or simply makes sense, since his works contributed considerably for relocating the Estonian Russian literature “from the periphery into the spotlight” (p. 104), thus expanding active cultural horizons and motivating an ongoing discussion on some essential topics, such as “the definition of the Estonian literature”, but also “the position of Estonian Russians and the Estonian Russian-language literature”. Paradoxically, most of Ivanov's works has been translated in Estonian – sometimes even first published as translations in Estonian. And so, in the words of the author, “it may be said that he has been found in translations”. It is then worth saying here that synonymy is beautiful as far as *novels* communicate with modern readers and offer “a novel perspective on society” (p. 104).

Focusing on similar problematics the *Miscellanea* section gives actually a broader sense of this *Interlitteraria* issue on translation. Paradoxically, speaking of translation, i.e. of *bearing across*, one inevitably crosses beyond the topic of translation. In *The Author Ransoming the Reader or Vice Versa? The Case of Karen Blixen*, Ieva Steponavičiūtė centers on the author-reader relationship, and more precisely the case of the Danish classic Karen Blixen (also known by her pseudonym Isak Dinesen) who wrote both in English and in Danish. Two extremes in her reception are distinguished here – “the paramount interest in her person and life”, on the one hand, and “the new-critical and post-structural rejection of her biography”, on the other. The article discusses texts, such as *Babette’s Feast*, *The Young Man with the Carnation* and *Deluge at Norderney*. In search for the balance between those extremes, it traces the presence of the fictional construct of the author and the storyteller in her texts, then it demonstrates how Blixen’s texts empower the reader’s freedom and imply that reception as part of the artistic act. I would generalize it this way: interpretation is translation of meaning and vice versa – meaning of translation is interpretation.

The next article in *Miscellanea* section, *Pour une poétique du nom de personnage (Prolegomena to a poetics of the character’s name)* by Samuel Bidaud, is centred in naming fictional characters, proposing a veritable poetics of the character’s names. The works selected for the purpose of the study are mainly by writers of modern times. The author chooses two seemingly opposite to one another approaches to the subject of his research: “from an autonomous point of view”, on the one hand (which resembles a diachronic-like way of research, as soon as the character’s name “reflects a personal, a social, a physical, a generic, a geographical, an autobiographical or a referential characteristic of the character”); and “from a structural point of view”, (which is rather synchronous-like way of research, since it “consists in studying the names of the characters” within the same text, “comparing them to each other” (p. 115), extracting their thematic role), on the other. Attention is paid also to the problem with translating the characters’ names. And so, examined both diachronic and synchronous, through interpretation and translation, deciphered thus in depth, names can be quite talkative. To name means to categorize, and to humankind categorization means survival. Interpretation of the names is actually as ancient as the Book of books or even much more. So this issue proves to be a huge field of study.

In the article that follows, *Rehepapp and Robin Hood: Tricksters or Heroes?* by Paul Rüsse and Karita Nuut, characters with celebrated names remain in focus while studying the elusive differences between the archetypes of *trickster* and *hero*. Comparison here goes between the Estonian Andrus Kivirähk’s novel *Rehepapp ehk november* (2000), and J. Walker McSpadden and Charles Wilson’s *The Adventures of Robin Hood and His Merry Outlaws* (1891). Rehepapp (usually rendered as Old Barney), who is constantly tricking Vanapagan (Old Devil), is one of the oldest and most renowned personages in Estonian folklore. And Robin Hood is the famous medieval outlaw hero we

all know, perched on the edge between historical chronicles and folk tales on Albion. However, neither Robin Hood is nothing but mythological character, nor Rehepapp is purely demonic and comical counterpart of a hero. According to the authors, “the interaction of the two types is much more ambiguous... Albeit to a different degree, these personages possess traits of both the trickster and the hero but play somewhat different roles in their respective societies” (p. 130). Sophisticated and contradictory coexistence of these archetypes could be detected in each one of this notorious pair of trickster-heroes or hero-tricksters. What really distinguishes these characters is the society that created them. Not exclusively but in its major part it is probably a matter of society, so to speak. Which reminds me the words of Oscar Wilde, this brilliant cynic, who was presumably right to say that *it is the spectator, and not life, that art really mirrors*.

A literary discussion would most likely remain incomplete and stranger to literary art without steeping in the topic of the strange. Therefore, in *The Uncanny Robots of Pilot Pirx: Stanisław Lem's Tales* Dominika Oramus considers some aspects of science fiction. The article discusses a common theme in the works of Lem, which has (almost) become a binding motif in contemporary science fiction – “the motif of the robot”, as seen “in four of his short stories from the Pilot Pirx cycle: (...) *Terminus*, *The Hunt*, *The Accident* and *The Inquest*” (p.142), and also *The Mask*. Initially the paper briefly describes how the so-called “Lemology”, i.e. a veritable “minor branch of literary studies” (p. 143), evolved in Poland, and how actually Western criticism was the catalyst of this rather not anticipated development. Referring to both Polish and foreign critics the author portrays the display of this “robot motif”, as seen in the Pirx cycle, crossing successively important topics, such as “personification”, “adaptability”, and “madness” of the character. As the author herself concludes, “Lem’s fiction dealing with robots is thus inscribed within the American and European tradition of confronting the human being and its artificial simulacrum on psychoanalytic grounds” (p. 155). And so it becomes visible how different critical traditions contribute to the fully understanding of the text. As I said above, interpretation is translation of meaning and vice versa – meaning of translation is interpretation. Thus strange becomes less strange or simply shared strangeness, when strangers translate some strange stories to each other.

The last but not least article in this *Interlitteraria* issue, *The Placement of Lucian's Novel True History in the Genre of Science Fiction*, by Katelis Viglas reveals a peculiar translation of past to future strangeness. The ancient Greek Lucian of Samosata (b. About 125 CE) is considered as one of the earliest novelists in Western civilization, “well-known for his scathing and obscene irony”. There is a fictional narrative among his works, which is called *True History*, defined by experts as a genuine novel. There he parodies Homer’s fantastic tales, Thucydides’ History, also philosophers, political figures, etc. Lucian undermines the values of the classical world by satirizing the scientific knowledge

and rational experience, thus “creating a literary model”. “Through a continuous parade of wonderful events, beings and situations as a substitute for the realistic approach to reality”, he actually appears to be a forerunner of modern literary themes like voyages in the outer space, extraterrestrial life, etc., nearly two millennia before Jules Verne; let alone his fictional characters, reminiscent of the creatures from paintings of Hieronymus Bosch, associating his works with twentieth century Absurdism. Lucian enormous impact on the history of literature is not uncharted fact, but this paper is filling a gap “pointing out the specific characteristics that would lead to the placement of *True History* at the starting point of Science Fiction” (p.158). A couple of these features are emphasized here: “first, the operation of ‘cognitive estrangement’, which aims at providing the reader with perception of the difference between convention and truth, and second, the use of strange innovations (‘novum’) that verify the value of Lucian’s work by connecting it to historicity”. Here I would interpret what I said previously, stating that synonymy is even more beautiful, as far as an ancient *novel* speaks to modern readers offering a *novel* perspective on future society. This is how interpretation works and this is substantial.

As can be seen, *Interlitteraria*. Vol. 21 No 1 (2016) covers a wide range of issues of poetics and reception, but presented selection, in the words of the editors, converges “on the question of how one world – individual or collective, real or imaginary – connects to another that operates with a different set of values and meanings” (p. 5). After all, it is about the principle of translation or translation as a principle. And it always depends on the translator how much converging one world is. That is a tall order.

In his commentary to the first American edition of a Balkan novel in early 2000s, the English translator suggested that writers of small, linguistically isolated nations often have an overwhelming need to write about life in that particular small nation, perhaps as a way of helping to validate and reinforce the nation’s very existence¹. This statement is undoubtedly true. But I doubt it tells the whole truth. Minor themes go beyond minor literatures, as well as major themes are not enclosed within major literatures.

Similar to most of the *Interlitteraria* authors, I come from “a minor, linguistically isolated nation” with a “small” literature, located in the European “border” zone, i.e. “periphery”. And I know that there will be “small” literatures, languages and nations until they perceive themselves as such. Moreover, because the coin has two sides, the problem of “small” literatures, if any, is not solely within them, but also in the one who sees them, or rather sees them not. Just like some small silhouettes of men, you happen to watch from a distance. They are who they are, doing what they are doing – but

¹ M. Biggins, *Against Ideologies: Vladimir Bartol and Alamut*. In: V. Bartol, *Alamut*, Ljubljana, Sanje, 2012, p. 429.

you are the one whose mind raises the questions: Who are those people over there? And how would I find out? Coming closer would make those silhouettes larger and clearer. Once you reach them, you meet people like yourself, and yourself is probably the most tempting object to explore nowadays. But the way to yourself goes through the Other. In short, this is called curiosity. And to mankind curiosity means survival – a spiritual one.

This vision is everything but new. Just like translating. Anyway, you never know where insight could come from. Each new translation represents an opportunity. That is why a “small” literature, written in a “small” language, matters; that is why comparative literature and translation matters.